





## ATLANTIC OCEAN



FRANCE

ITALIA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

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PREFACES

## THE UNION AND SOUNDNESS OF AN INTERMUNICIPAL PROJECT

One of the best ways of characterizing Romanesque art is by using the words union and soundness. When it began spreading across Europe, the Romanesque style sought to unite people around Christ through the construction of churches or bridges that promoted trade and social interactions, with the clear intention of forging closer relationships among different peoples. All these infrastructures were built in granite, a symbol of solidity.

Within this spirit, of which we are the heirs, in 2010 the municipalities of Amarante, Baião, Celorico de Basto, Cinfães, Marco de Canaveses and Resende joined their efforts to those already made by the municipalities of Castelo de Paiva, Felgueiras, Lousada, Paços de Ferreira, Paredes and Penafiel to successfully implement the common goals proposed by the Route of the Romanesque.

Everyone's commitment to such a major undertaking – the tourist and cultural dynamization of the territory of the Sousa, Douro and Tâmega valleys – has been showing its positive effects. This project has been asserting itself as a solid bond of intermunicipal connection, based on Romanesque art.

In fact, this vast territory, one of the largest in Portugal population-wise, needed a common link that would attract the economic resources that are essential for the development of these 12 municipalities. Quite possibly, while acting alone, these municipalities would not be able to create synergies that would allow Romanesque art to become a tourist and cultural attraction.

The results speak for themselves: monasteries, churches, chapels, memorials, castles, towers and bridges, which were lost in past memories, are now elements that foster the creation of tourist facilities, promote the development of cultural activities, perpetuate the intangible heritage and are part of the territorial planning process.

So, the success of the Route of the Romanesque is the result of the union among municipal forces that knew, at the different political, social, religious and economic levels, how to assert Romanesque art as an element capable of making a difference and turning this region into the foremost tourist destination in Portugal for those interested in Romanesque art.

The stories, legends, facts and personalities we present in this monograph prove that the Romanesque style is, therefore, in the region's DNA, thus symbolizing the soundness of the union between the municipalities of the Sousa, Douro and Tâmega valleys.

Thus, the project of the Route of the Romanesque presents itself as the great anchor for the development of the entire territory.

#### MANUEL MOREIRA

Chairman of the AMBT – Association of Municipalities of the Baixo Tâmega

## ROMANESQUE ART AS A VECTOR FOR REGIONAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Much has been said, written and even put into practice, such as initiatives or projects, with the aim of promoting Northern Portugal as a tourist destination. Since it is not famous for its sun and beaches, the region had to find an alternative based on its historical and cultural heritage. The attempts have been many but, these days, not many initiatives have been truly successful. One of the exceptions is the Route of the Romanesque.

The Route of the Romanesque has been developing its project based on turism products – the cultural and landscape touring – considered as a priority within the National Strategic Plan for Tourism and by the Regional Tourism Agenda, according to which Northern Portugal should be one of the Portuguese regions with a higher rate of tourism growth, based on a sustainable development supported by the qualification, excellence, competitiveness and innovation of its tourism offer, turning this economic sector into an anchor for regional development.

Arising from a combination of forces between local and the central administration, in collaboration with several regional entities, the Route of the Romanesque has been a prominent project for the tourism dynamization of the territory of the Sousa, Douro and Tâmega valleys, with economic, cultural and social outcomes that are on everyone's plain sight.

The increase in the number of visitors and tourists or the awards won by the Route of the Romanesque prove that the Romanesque heritage and the union of efforts among various entities are the real example of what can be done to promote a territory.

It is indeed with great pleasure that we gaze at our national and international visitors and see that they are fascinated by our history, by our culture, based on ancient values, or by our hospitality. These signs show us that we are in the right path and that it is possible to use our historical and cultural elements to stimulate tourism and, consequently, our local economy. This monograph, published in two volumes, is another indispensable instrument to learn about and promote this project and its monuments, as well as to foster the tourism development we all wish for. In this work, skilfully written by its authors in close collaboration with the Route of the Romanesque, we care able to deepen our historical, cultural and artistic knowledge on an age-old territory that makes us all proud and on which we pin many of our hopes.

Reading the chapters that make up these volumes is learning about a significant part of the heritage that is the bastion of our nationality: – Who dares not to be proud to know that important families from our region, such as the Ribadouro, the Baiões or the Sousões, were key-lineages in the creation of the Portuguese kingdom? – Who will not be delighted by the fact that King Afonso Henriques, King Sancho I or princes and princesses lived in our region? No one remains indifferent, because this is our history, our world... our identity.

Simultaneously, these chapters show that, behind this heritage, there are countless initiatives that can still be developed by public and private entities with the aim of turning this territory into a unique and highly successful touring destination. So, everyone is invited to join in.

The Route of the Romanesque deserves to be congratulated for this work. The region and all of us as well.

## INÁCIO RIBEIRO Chairman of VALSOUSA – Association of Municipalities of the Vale do Sousa

## THE ROUTE OF THE ROMANESQUE, A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

Today, the project developed in the Sousa, Douro and Tâmega valleys is undeniably acknowledged by its excellence in terms of territorial qualification and planning, achieved through the promotion of local heritage so as to make this territory into the foremost tourist destination in Portugal for those interested in Romanesque art.

So, the Route of the Romanesque seeks to be a lever for this region, thus making the connection between the political authority and the cultural, economic and social agents, without ever forgetting local populations, who are the guardians of timeless stories, legends and knowledge.

Therefore, this project intends to put into practice the words of Llorenç Prats when he argues that the protection of heritage is a social construction, in other words, an element capable of joining together forces and assets, quite often estranged.

And the success of the Route of the Romanesque is a reflection of those wills brought together. From the initial six municipalities and 21 monuments and we are now 12 municipalities and 58 heritage elements. Yes, we've grown!

So, Romanesque art is our most precious asset. However, unlike what is normally done with treasures, we do not wish to hide it. We want to show it, promote it, turn it into a unique experience. We want people to rekindle their past and become aware of the potential that this treasure has to offer in the present and the future.

In addition to the political and social partnerships, forged amidst rivers and mountains that have shaped the territory's natural frontier, a new one has arisen, this time at the academic level. And the result of such collaboration is this two-volume monograph.

This work – much like the one published in 2008 and focused, at the time, on the Route of the Romanesque of the Vale do Sousa – takes on a leading role in the dissemination of the history and art of the 34 new Romanesque monuments, but it also plays a secondary role by providing new historical data on the municipalities that became part of the project: Amarante, Baião, Celorico de Basto, Cinfães, Marco de Canaveses and Resende.

Although this monograph focuses on the monuments that are part of the expansion of the Route of the Romanesque to the municipalities of the Baixo Tâmega and Douro Sul regions, we could not fail to include three monuments that, despite being located in municipalities from the Vale do Sousa, were also included in 2010 due to their architectural and historical relevance.

We do hope that this monograph may reach all audiences, leaving no one indifferent, as, in fact, is the trademark of the project itself.

Welcome to the Route of the Romanesque, a construction built by all of us.

ROSÁRIO CORREIA MACHADO Director of the Route of the Romanesque

1<sup>st</sup> CHAPTER

#### ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE AND ARTS

omanesque architecture was developed between the late 10th century and the first two decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, there is a striking dynamism in the definition of original plans, new building solutions and in the first architectural sculpture experiments, especially in the regions of Burgundy, Poitou, Auvergne (France) and Catalonia (Spain). However, it is between 1060 and 1080 that Romanesque architecture consolidates its main technical and formal innovations. According to Barral i Altet, the plans of the Romanesque churches, despite their diversity, are well defined around 1100; simultaneously, sculpture invades the building, covering the capitals and decorating façades and cloisters. The Romanesque has been regarded as the first European style. While it is certain that Romanesque architecture and arts are a common phenomenon to the European kingdoms of that period, the truth is that one of its main stylistic characteristics is exactly its regional diversity. It is from this standpoint that we should understand Portuguese Romanesque architecture, which developed in Portugal from the late 11th century onwards. The Braga cathedral and the monastic church of São Pedro de Rates (Póvoa de Varzim) still preserve a few residual sections that were built between the last years of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the early 12th century. However, the expansion of Romanesque architecture in Portugal coincides with the period of Afonso Henriques (1143-1185) who took on the government of the "Condado Portucalense" [County of Portugal] in 1128 and crowned himself king in 1139; his reign lasted until 1185. The construction of the Romanesque buildings of the Coimbra, Lisbon and Porto cathedrals and of the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra began in this period. The church of this monastery, which was founded in 1131, presented a completely new architecture in the context of the Romanesque style that was spreading across Portugal at the time. Although it was deeply changed in the 16th century, we know some features of the original temple due to 16th-century documents and to the conservation of some Romanesque elements, which are very few indeed. With a long chancel and a rather wide but somewhat short nave covered by a barrel vault, the church had aisles covered by transverse vaults that worked as counterforts to support the weight of the central nave. This structure included a two-storey porch-tower with three naves which reveals Romanesque influences from the Burgundy region, like the ones of Tournus, Paray-le-Monial or Romainmôtier.

The construction of the old Coimbra cathedral, a work of major importance in the development of the Romanesque style in Portugal, began in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, although its chronology is still quite controversial. Jorge de Alarcão, in a study about the city, considers the possibility that the works began during the period of the bishop João Anaia (episc. 1148-1154), and not under the prelate of Miguel de Salomão (episc. 1162-1176), as it is usually said. The architects responsible for this work, which was consecrated in 1174 or 1175 by the latter, were the foreign masters Roberto and Bernardo and the "Portuguese" master Soeiro. The origin of the building and stylistic solutions used in the old Coimbra cathedral has been dividing the researchers, who either consider that it follows the Romanesque model of Auvergne or Poitou, or find parallels in Northern France, particularly in the Normandy region. The internal appearance of the naves and the triforium's organization model recall the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Spain),



Church of São Pedro de Rates (Póvoa de Varzim). West façade.

while the galleries are more similar to the churches from the North of France. Designed in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century by the "foreign" master Roberto and sponsored by King Afonso Henriques, the Lisbon cathedral was probably one of the most erudite constructions of the Portuguese Romanesque Period, an expression that was almost completely obliterated by the earthquakes and a series of restoration works.

The aforementioned examples demonstrate the influences of artists from other European kingdoms in the assertion of Romanesque architecture in Portugal. They are also signs of vitality and openness to innovations; these phenomena were associated with the presence of the Benedictine and Cistercian monastic orders, the canons regular of Saint Augustine and the military orders of the Hospital and Temple in a territory that was rising as a kingdom at the time.

However, in general, Portuguese Romanesque architecture has smaller programmes that are not so artistically rich when compared with the examples we've already mentioned. Between the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and over the 13<sup>th</sup> century, many monastic or parishes churches received new buildings that replaced the old churches which had a rather compartmentalized architecture, as usual in 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>-century temples. The influences of these pre-existing elements in the Romanesque buildings had an impact that, despite the fact that it has long been understood and characterized, still requires deeper analyses. The systematic use of apses with a rectangular chevet and the use of the diaphragm arch until the Gothic period are two examples of the permanence of solutions that were being used in the Iberian Peninsula for a long time and whose origins date back, either to the High Middle Ages, or to the period of the Roman occupation of the Peninsula.

In recent years, the study of Romanesque architecture and art has managed to consolidate new perspectives that we cannot fail to mention. The idea that the religious Romanesque architecture was an austere and plain architecture – sober, colorless and deprived of ornaments or liturgical furniture – is still very rooted in Western culture. The changes made to the temples, either motivated by liturgical and devotional changes, or due to works carried out according to the taste of each period, introduced deep transformations inside the Romanesque churches. On the other hand, the practice and concepts of restoration of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and a significant part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century sought to restore the temples to their pristine condition, stripping them of elements from the Modern Period and giving Romanesque churches the sober, uniform and austere appearance that many of them currently show. In fact, the Romanesque temples were radically different from this archetype.

Resuming issues that have already been addressed in the previous research regarding the Romanesque monuments of Vale do Sousa, the truth is that the discovery and restoration of the stone choir of the Santiago de Compostela cathedral in the 1990s, the publication of the works by Barral i Altet (2006), Kroesen (2009), Palazzo (2010) and Baschet (2008 and 2012), among others, and the exhibition *Les Premiers retables XIIe-début du XVe siècle : une mise en scène du sacré* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 2009) have contributed to a greater awareness of the true nature of Romanesque architecture and arts.

To varying degrees, depending on the available means for their construction and embellishment, Romanesque churches were sumptuous. The façades painted with vibrant colors, the sculp-



Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Spain). West façade. Partial view.

tures on the tympana, the columns, archivolts and galleries had a very different expression from that the one they currently show. The study of the west façade of Notre-Dame-la-Grande of Poitiers allowed finding significant traces of a rich color palette; the Romanesque polychromy is projected through the use of new technologies, which provides a truly impressive visual experience.

Following the restoration of the Portico of the Glory of the Santiago de Compostela cathedral, the traces of the original polychromy (12<sup>th</sup> century) have already been identified and documented. In Portugal, the issue of polychromy in Romanesque architecture hasn't been the subject of a research work based on the required technology yet. In the narthex of the Braga cathedral, in the church of the ancient Cistercian monastery of Ermelo (Arcos de Valdevez), in the chevet of the church of Rio Mau (Vila do Conde) and in the transept of the mother church of Sernancelhe, among others, we find traces in capitals, arches and friezes that indicate the practice of applying color on stone. Despite the scarcity of examples and, especially, the lack of studies that prove the Romanesque origin of the pigments, there is no reason to exclude the existence of this practice in Portugal, since it is quite common in its neighboring peninsular regions.

Sometimes, inside the churches, besides the figurative mural paintings, there were also colorful tapestries covering the internal walls. On the altars there were crosses, reliquaries, chalices, candlesticks and carved altarpieces. The altar frontals were manufactured with different materials such as painted wood, silver or gold, and also engraved and polychrome leather painted in gold, blue and red – colors that were commonly used in the Iberian Peninsula.

The earliest altarpieces, whose existence is unequivocally proven by documents, can be dated back to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, although there are indications that they may have appeared around the year 1000. While in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the only objects allowed on the altar table were the chalice, the cross and the liturgical books, this principle gradually changed allowing the placement of reliquaries and carved images of Christ, the Virgin and saints. In Europe, the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries represent a flourishing period for jewellery, whose most important field was that of liturgical objects.

The main altar of the Santiago de Compostela cathedral received a ciborium in 1100, a gilded silver frontal in 1105 and, in 1135, an altarpiece, requested by the archbishop Diego Gelmírez (episc. 1100-1139). From this ensemble, which disappeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there is still a drawing by J. Vega y Verdugo, made around 1606, and a description in *Historia compostelana*. These elements allowed Serafín Moralejo and Justin Kroesen to propose a hypothetical reconstruction in 1980 and 2009, respectively.

Since the reign of Afonso Henriques corresponded to the most erudite and monumental period of Portuguese Romanesque architecture, the idea that the other arts did not followed this movement makes no sense. However, the collection of jewellery and other metal objects that may be surely considered as Romanesque is very limited. Full-body sculptures, altarpieces and other elements of liturgical furniture are residual or even non-existent in Portugal. However, the documents from that period guarantee that there were plenty of items.

In Portugal, the documentary references to altar frontals, which were called "frontalem", date back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century Mumadona Dias's will is a well-known example in which, among the different assets donated to the monastery of Guimarães in 959, she also offers "frontales".



Monastery of Ermelo (Arcos de Valdevez). West and south façades.

In this case, these were probably fabric frontals, considering that they are referred together with other vestments and not with jewellery or other metal objects.

In the document regarding the works and donations that the bishop of Coimbra, Miguel Salomão, made in favour of his cathedral, we find information that allows distinguishing an altar frontal ("tabula de ante altare") from a "tabula de super altare", i.e., an altarpiece. Miguel Salomão also paid for the paving of the apses – made of good-quality square slabs –, the altar or the ensemble to which the altar belonged, and the altar frontals, one of which was gilded and manufactured by master Ptolomeu. The high sum paid by Miguel Salomão seems to indicate that the frontal was manufactured using a precious material.

The bishop of Coimbra also commissioned the enlargement of the silver "tabulum altaris" and an altarpiece with the representation of the Annunciation. Several pieces of jewellery were commissioned by Miguel Salomão. We highlight the gold cross made in honor of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin, on whose altar it was probably displayed on a permanent basis. The base of the cross kept a particle of the "Holy Cross" flanked by the images of Our Lady and Saint John the Evangelist, a common iconography in the representation of the Calvary. There are other examples that demonstrate the richness and pomp of the liturgical implements of the Coimbra cathedral during the episcopate of Miguel Salomão. Afonso Henriques, in addition to a chalice made of the purest gold, also offered silver "altar boards" to the cathedral.

The main altar of the Coimbra cathedral was also highlighted and covered by a baldachin and canopy supported by four columns with a hanging silver dove that was used to keep the Eucharistic reserve. With its golden silver frontals and the Annuntiation altarpiece, it probably had a somewhat similar look to that of the equivalent ensemble from Santiago de Compostela cathedral.

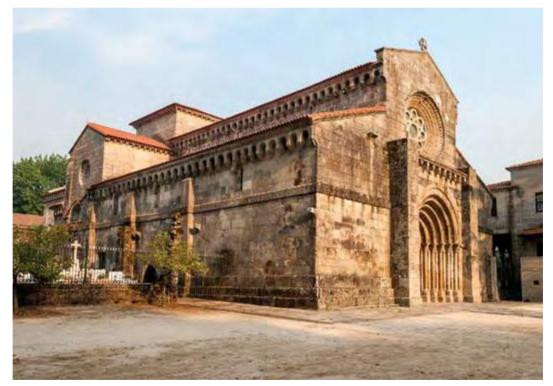
Considering that the most important obligations and practices of the cathedral clergymen are the "services of the altar and the choir", it is logical to think that both would be the most prominent places in the building. The discovery and reconstruction of stone choir by master Mateus, which is well-known and documented mainly in the works by Otero Túñez and Yzquierdo Perrín, has placed the issue of Romanesque choirs in the centre of the research. The stone stalls occupied the first three bays of the central nave (counting from the transept); another bay was occupied by the altars, the tombs and also by the "leedorio" where the liturgical texts were read. The choir's sculpture, with a high formal quality and an erudite programme, still preserves parts of the original polychromy.

After analyzing the wills of the clergymen from the Coimbra cathedral drafted between 1104 and 1324, the *Liber Anniversariorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbriensis* (commonly called *Livro das Kalendas* [Kalendas Book]) and part of the documents from the *Livro Preto: cartulário da sé de Coimbra* [Black Book: Cartulary of the Coimbra cathedral], we believe we've found some information that, despite being very fragmented, allows placing the Romanesque choir of the old Coimbra cathedral in the two bays of the central nave that are close to the transept. The altar's pomp, the presence of a choir and of several tombs are examples of the rich internal decoration of the Coimbra cathedral.

The construction of the monastery of Santa Cruz (1131) and the Romanesque building of the Coimbra cathedral show how important was the role that the city of Coimbra played in the

kingdom's formation and assertion process, an aspect that has already been well developed by Portuguese Medieval historiography. It was also in Coimbra that the Portuguese Romanesque style took on its most erudite expressions, and is was also one of the centres where the Romanesque architecture was firstly implemented. The dynamism of the city, which was the capital of the "kingdom" of Afonso Henriques, is quite clear in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century architecture that reflects the wealth and political stability of that period.

And it is precisely in the city of Coimbra that we find one of the sources that fed the Romanesque style from the Sousa basin that, radiating from the building of the Monastery of the Saviour of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), gave rise to what Manuel Monteiro classified as the "nationalised Romanesque" style. This architectural movement of the Portuguese Romanesque style is characterized, on a very general level, by its late nature (most buildings date back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a fact that is understandable if we consider that they are mainly derived from the style of Coimbra, which was an already fully-formed artistic centre) and, especially, by a combination of several influences (some of which foreign) that, together with the local pre-existence, gave rise to a very peculiar artistic language, which was very limited to a specific region; however, this fact that did not prevent its defining elements from disseminating across neighbouring regions, such as the Tâmega and Douro basins. We will come back to this subject further ahead.



Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). General view.

### ROMANESQUE STYLE AND TERRITORY: THE DOURO AND TÂMEGA BASINS

n order to understand the architecture that was left to us by the Romanesque Period it is rather significant to study its relationship with the landscape, according to a territorial meaning. Although, for long a time, the historiography of Romanesque architecture tended to emphasize the landscape that surrounded the buildings characterizing it, in a general way, in terms of its bucolic nature or its presumed rural character, the truth is that since the works developed by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida researchers have tried to analyze this landscape as a territory. In fact, considering the notion of "landscape" as a portion of "territory" covered by our line of sight, its use in the understanding of Romanesque architecture becomes considerably more restrictive than the concept of "territory" itself, which is related to a larger portion of land.

Throughout the history of architecture, and particularly during the Romanesque Period, the territory needs to be understood as an agent, in its broader aspects: anthropological, orographic, geographical, hydric, economic, demographic, religious, etc. In fact, it is the combination of all these constraints that will dictate the size and shape of the architectural legacies built during the Romanesque Period. The assertion, transformation or, ultimately, the abandonment of these structures over time is deeply rooted in the combination and chronological evolution of these factors.

In the Sousa basin these aspects are quite obvious. It was no coincidence that the Benedictine monks chose a low land – where irrigated agriculture would be successful and there was plenty of water – to build the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras). We should add the fact that the surrounding territory was part of the so-called "terra de Sousa" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] and, although this Monastery was more connected to the lords of Barbosa and Tougues, some of the Sousa's properties were given to Pombeiro. These assets were still quite substantial despite the fact that the inheritance was divided up in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. The prosperity of this Monastery resulted, largely, in the prosperity of the entire region as well.



Monastery of Pombeiro (Felgueiras). General view.

Similarly, the location of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira) has also been understood as an accomplished example of what was once a typical settlement with agrarian origin that was deeply rooted in an open valley framed by farming fields and dispersed rural farmhouses. Besides, its patronage rights were shared by some of the families that got settled in the region, which was dominated by the old nobility of the Sousa and the Ribadouro counts.



Monastery of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira). South façade.

Once, Alexandre Herculano appreciated the importance that the monasteries had in the Middle Ages as settlers of uninhabited places, because both populations and arable lands quickly grew around them. As in the lands of Sousa, the foundation of several monasteries in the Tâmega and Douro basins should be understood with the same logic. Both the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo and the Church of Vila Boa de Quires, both in Marco de Canaveses, are part of the group of monasteries that were built during the 11<sup>th</sup> century in what was once the "civitas" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Anegia. It is hard to accurately define the extension of this territory that extended to the north of the Douro almost across the entire municipality of Baião, the entire municipality of Marco de Canaveses and most of the municipalities of Penafiel, Paredes and Gondomar; to the south of the river, the territory took up some area from the municipality of Castelo de Paiva and also a significant part (the north side) of the municipalities of Arouca and Cinfães. We should not forget its strategic nature as a place where it was possible to cross the river, in its confluence with the mouth of the Tâmega. For José Mattoso, the land of Anegia, whose seat was located on a promontory in Entre-os-Rios (Eja, Penafiel), still presented a series of conditions considered as favourable for monastic life in the following centuries: an uneven land that is seldom visited by travellers, with a well-rooted resident population, which was recently cleared for cultivation or repopulated.

In the municipality of Amarante, Freixo de Baixo, Mancelos and Travanca are Monasteries whose fortune can be understood in terms of its intimate relation with the increase of agricultural activities in their surrounding territories. Around the first one, located in a valley where much of the traffic between the Minho and Trás-os-Montes regions circulated, the rural atmosphere can still be experienced: hanging vineyards, cultivated patches and forest spots. Mancelos stands on the edge of the tilled plain of the brook of Cruz and asserted itself as a witness of the interest of manorial and ecclesiastical powers in managing the region. On the other hand, Travanca's architectural structure itself exudes the solid financial condition of the region's agricultural activity, which involved the Monastery and the successive demands of those who were associated with it throughout history. The remains of this Medieval Monastery reflect the growing influence that the monastic institution had on the region's economical, political and religious control. The Church of the Saviour of Lufrei (Amarante) is located in a fertile valley near the confluence of two small streams, although most parish churches were built on higher or lower hills or summits.

Located in Resende and built halfway up a slope, the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros that, in the Medieval Period belonged to the royal patronage, still shows us the organization of the Medieval parish: "ager" (farming area), "saltus" or "thicket" (with oaks and chestnut trees, i.e, hardwood trees) and "monte" or hill (for grazing). According to Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, that division, established as a "micro-agro-forestry-system", satisfied a balance between cereal production in winter and grass and pastures for cattle in the summer, together with wood and bunches of twigs for the household, acorns and chestnuts for fattening pigs and weeds for the pigpen, wood for the fire and the oven. This system was accomplished around the late 11<sup>th</sup> century and reached its climax before the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century.

Returning to the monasteries, we should not forget Saint Mary of Cárquere (Resende), which was built on the left bank of the river Douro, also a halfway up the hill, on a spur over the Corvo valley, a location that was not too exposed. This location may be associated with the preexistence of an old hermitic settlement, followed by a hermitage and then by a sanctuary. The narrative is seen as a sign of sacralisation. The legends woven by the canons regular of Saint Augustine (the healing Afonso Henriques by Our Lady of Cárquere or the White Lady as an intercessor for the newborns), who ruled the area in spiritual and temporal terms until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were part of a consolidation and promotion strategy that was aimed at ennobling a heritage that was naturally supported by an extensive series of properties and contributions, within a vast region to the south of the Douro river.

Built near the road that connected Porto to Penafiel, on a site that in 1758 was still considered "deserted", isolated or peripheral, the Chapel of Our Lady of Piety of Quintã (Paredes) stands as a space of community or patron-related devotion, becoming a protective and unifying element of the communal term. Its location is extremely expressive: built according to the canonical orientation, it took advantage of the surrounding agricultural area to lay its foundations. So, it is natural that its origin was a small building intended to worship a propitiatory Christian entity.

Valadares (Baião) is, as the toponym recalls, a fertile valley with a healthy environment. The Church of Saint James, in addition to being an excellent historiographical example of the search for a connection between the Romanesque style and the landscape, shows what can be



Monastery of Freixo de Baixo (Amarante). Aerial view.



Monastery of Cárquere (Resende). General view.

understood as a symbol of a communal desire for fertility: the rabbit carved in relief on the north side of the main façade, at the bottom of the gable.

Located at approximately 500 meters above sea level, away from the circulation channels that were parallel to the watercourses, the Chapel of Our Lady of Deliverance of Fandinhães (Paços de Gaiolo, Marco de Canaveses) was built according to the canonical orientation, so it is not facing the human and agricultural space it was supposed to protect. Therefore, its path was definitively marked by this distance and by the advance of humanization into the valley, which culminated in the transfer of the parish seat to Paços de Gaiolo, while extinguishing the one in Fandinhães. The migration of the local population to places with lower altitudes may have justified the possibility that the Romanesque building was left unfinished.

Built on the left bank of the river Tâmega, near the Medieval bridge that once existed in Canaveses, the location of the Church of Saint Nicholas (Marco de Canaveses) can't be understood without a reference to this road element and to the temple that was built next to it on the opposite bank and on a hilltop: the Church of Saint Mary of Sobretâmega (Marco de Canaveses). Since they are separated only by the river, the path of the old route (a hypothetically Roman route and, later, a Medieval road) may partly explain the location of both Churches that were built chronologically and geographically close to one another.

The parish Church of Escamarão (Cinfães) itself shows the importance achieved by a village located on the top of a hill at the confluence of the rivers Paiva and Douro. This area with attractive landscape features belongs to the temporal domain of the monastery of Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses); it is within its line of sight and has quick ways of communicating both with the Porto and with the inner Douro region. It seemed more convenient to the abbots of



Church of Saint Nicholas (Marco de Canaveses). West and south façades. On the background, the Church of Sobretâmega (Marco de Canaveses).

this Benedictine monastery to cross the Douro in order to manage their assets than to overcome the mountainous foothills where the monastery had been built.

It would be interesting to confront the typology of the original church (hermitic, monastic or manorial foundation) with its location, particularly in terms of its relationship with human settlements, its proximity to or distance from water courses, ridges and other referential orographic elements. This work would require crossing data between different subjects, something which is not compatible with this research. However, we cannot fail to present a few general aspects regarding the location of the churches within the territory.

First of all, the compliance with the canonical orientation, in which the chevet faces east and the axial door faces west. About 80% of the Churches that were studied respect the east-west orientation precisely; 16% are a bit distant from that position and were built in the southwest-northwest direction; only one (the Church of Veade, Celorico de Basto) was subject to an inversion of the chevet's position already during the Modern Period – it is facing west or, being more accurate, southwest.

The relation between the location and the spot height points us to type of foundation that is located at an average altitude of 261 meters. The distribution of the temples by altitude ranges between 540 meters (Valadares) and 50 meters (Escamarão) revealing constructions that were generally built halfway up the slopes, along the valleys. A considerable number of Churches (10) were built at an altitude of between 201 and 300 meters.

Although the Churches of Saint Mary of Sobretâmega and Saint Nicholas of Canaveses express, through their location, a close relationship with the path that leads to their gates, it isn't always easy to learn about pre-existence that allow us to relate the construction of the temples with the presence of important circulation channels. The deep territorial changes, demography and the human needs that have shaped the landscape according to specific needs, or economic contexts, make it impossible to associate the buildings, and even certain patron saints (such as Saint James the Greater), with roads or major paths. However, we cannot fail to point out that, underlying the intentions of some of the founders of churches – primitive hermitages –, who were seeking God in the solitude of the valleys, was the idea of distance from worldliness and, therefore, from the paths through which dangers and desires travelled. Moreover, opposing a certain idea of mobility that is stimulated by the current concept of tourism, journeys were made by important people – kings, bishops and lords –, particularly in the Middle Ages. In the rural world, travelling was a fearful thing, and journeys occurred almost invariably within the protective space provided by the communal boundaries of villages and parishes.

In this context, bridges were simultaneously grand and threatening structures; perhaps that is the reason why they are some of the buildings that are most associated with legendary narratives. By associating their construction with the devil, with saints, kings and queens, the peasant – who was so often forced to contribute with taxes for the construction of bridges – created his own image of the stone crossings that allowed crossing the safe borders of his community: hazardous locations. Bridges brought estranged margins closer together, they made it possible for the king's agents to collect taxes in a fast and safe way, they opened the way for troops on the march to war and allowed the arrival of famine and plague.

In the case of the five Bridges included in this phase and in the new territory encompassed by the Route of the Romanesque, i.e., the Douro and Tâmega basins, the study revealed the existence of infrastructures with a local and regional nature that were built in the Modern Period; however, it is possible that some of them replaced earlier structures from the Medieval Period. Except for the Bridge of Fundo de Rua (Aboadela, Amarante), which can be included in a series of crossings that had a supra-regional relevance (by ensuring the passage between the coast and the Trás-os-Montes region across the Marão mountain), the crossings of Veiga (Torno, Lousada), Arco (Folhada, Marco de Canaveses), Esmoriz (Ancede, Baião) and Panchorra (Resende) are examples of stone Bridges with one or two arches that connect the banks of water courses whose flow is still rather weak. So, they served community, parish or municipal interests, and the local institutions and communities were probably responsible for their construction.

Their builders, trying to reproduce ancient models, created rather simple structures, with trestle-shaped (Bridges of Arco and Esmoriz) or horizontal (Bridge of Panchorra) platforms, which allowed the flow of people and the circulation of beasts and carts. In this context, the expressive vernacular language of the Bridge of Panchorra reflects a need to ensure the arrival of vehicles and cattle to the communal term, in an area that was particularly favorable to herding.

Roads, boats or bridges are, therefore, the result of royal interventions in terms of territorial organization, as its bureaucratic machine grew. The legacies for community bridges that were usual in the Middle Ages became associated with institutional or private works in the Modern Period. In fact, we should note, despite the lack of significant documentary evidence, the relationship between certain monasteries and the bridges that were built in their territories.



Bridge of Veiga (Lousada). Upstream view.

Moreover, it is nonetheless remarkable that King Afonso Henriques left a monetary legacy in the hands of the Cistercians of Tarouca for the continuation of the works on the bridge over the Douro (between Barrô, in Resende, and Barqueiros, in Mesão Frio) or that the crossings of Fundo de Rua, Veiga and Cavez (Cabeceiras de Basto) stand on paths leading to properties that belonged to the Monastery of Pombeiro.

The saints or venerable builders that were associated with religious orders, such as Gonçalo of Amarante or Lourenço Mendes, suggest the monks' responsibility in the dissemination of passages according to economic and spiritual interests. Processions and pilgrimages marked the Middle Ages, although we must contradict the old axiom that all roads lead to Rome (Italy). Or to Santiago de Compostela. The regional local sanctuaries were certainly the catalysts to most of the Medieval and Modern traffic. The Church of the Monastery of Ancede (Baião) attracted the attention of shepherds who were seeking the cure for rabies granted by touching the "holy skull" of an presumed monk; in the Church of Ribas (Celorico de Basto) the organic remains from an obscure friar or hermit also operated a similar miracle and in the Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira (Cinfães) the patron provided protection against the lack of appetite. Although hermitages, by being often isolated and prone to epiphanies (or excesses), were the most popular sanctuaries, there were also some churches at the end of a few pilgrimage routes. But if the routes were used to seek salvation and the Sacred, they were also places of exclusion and death.

The memorials, which may be dated back to the first half and the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, were erected on apparently isolated sites, but often close to major roads, thus opposing the Medieval trend of placing graves and tombs in sacred spaces, within the areas that belonged to churches and chapels. Besides, these generally correspond to burial sites of the "faithful to God" who, somehow, suffered an accidental death or were killed in duels, thus being ecclesiastically forbidden to be buried in consecrated places. That is surely the case of the Memorial of Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses).

The manorial domain of an agricultural estate is felt in Lordelo (Paredes), not only in the evident verticality of the Tower of the Alcoforados (built on a granite outcrop), but also in the control and surveillance provided by the northeast balcony. In the Romanesque Period it was also common to use granite outcrops as foundations for buildings. In addition to this example, we should highlight the case of the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros and the even more striking case of the Castle of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto). Built on top of a hillock, to better exert a territorial control over the area that was once called the "terra de Basto", this Romanesque Castle took advantage of the existing batholiths and outcrops for the construction of its foundations, an aspect that also proves its rocky origin.

As proven by the examples that were shown here, the choice of the site on which to build a church (or even a funerary, housing or military structure) responded, in the Romanesque Period, to the immediate possibilities and potential that the territory had to offer. These obviously have an impact on the structure, size, ornamentation, in short, in the nature of the remaining legacies which are well illustrated by the built heritage that integrates the Route of the Romanesque.

#### Devotions

hen we previously mentioned the fact that some churches were sanctuaries, we made it by highlighting a few cases of relics, including the holy skull of the Monastery of Ancede or the body of an obscure monk or hermit worshiped in the Church of Ribas. In the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses) there was also an attempt to elevate the prelate Sisnando to the altars. The similarity with another venerable Iberian namesake from the 10<sup>th</sup> century seems to have influenced this local sanctification. However, much like in the previous examples, it was nothing more than a frustrated and delayed strategy for attracting devoted pilgrims. The relics, which were so important in the Middle Ages, including in terms of church plans, were negligible in this region from the worship point of view. However, they clearly played their role in the dedication of the temples, even though the choice of the churches' patron saints always expressed a preference for the figures of Christ and His Mother.





Monastery of Ancede (Baião). Church. Sacristy. Reliquary. Holy Head.

Indeed, seven Churches were consecrated to the Saviour and 10 to the Virgin; all of them represent a consecration trend from the High Middle Ages. In the case of the Saviour, although we cannot ascertain the identity of the venerated character, who Pierre David considered that, in some cases, was an obscure martyr and not the embodiment of Christ, the church as an institution itself and common people accepted the subversion and worship, turning it into another venerable entity, together with other male and female saints, notwithstanding the divinity of the Nazarene. So, the name Saint Saviour appeared and was gradually turned into Holy Saviour, Divine Saviour and, today, just Saviour, in order to emphasize the specific nature of the divine substance of Christ.

In the case of the Churches that were studied, only the one of Tarouquela (Cinfães) gets its name from the patron saint – Saint Mary Major –, thus emphasizing the primacy of the Mother of Christ. Marianism played a key role as an expression of several individual and collective needs; it was a devotion to which the devotees resorted due to its maternal and protective role and to the functions that were ascribed to it by the faithful – of Health, of the Remedies, etc.

In the hierarchy of choices, the Christological and Marian invocations came first, being followed





Church of Tarouquela (Cinfães). Chancel. Main altarpiece on the Gospel side. Sculpture. Virgin of the Milk.

Parish church of Gondar (Amarante). Chancel. Altarpiece on the Gospel side. Sculpture. Saint Mary.

by the apostles. One of them, Saint Andrew, was chosen to be the patron saint of three Churches (Ancede, Telões (Amarante) and Vila Boa de Quires), followed by Saint James (Valadares). However, it is Saint Martin who is associated with the largest number of Churches in the region (Fandinhães, Mancelos, Saint Martin of Mouros and Soalhães). Whether this is the bishop of Tours (316-397) or his namesake, the prelate of Dume (6<sup>th</sup> century), the presence of both, as patrons of churches, hints the advancement of the Christianization of rurality and the consolidation of the Reconquest movement.

Saint Nicholas (São Nicolau de Canaveses), Saint Isidore (Santo Isidoro de Canaveses (Marco de Canaveses)), Saint Christopher (São Cristóvão de Nogueira) and Saint John the Baptist (Gatão (Amarante)) are, in a certain way, eccentric patron saints within the context of this territory. Each of them may respond to the specific needs dictated by the communities that have taken them as patrons. In fact, both the case of Saint Christopher (which follows "Saint" Saviour) and Saint Nicholas, refer us to late dedications, and their Churches are included in the category of the "resistance Romanesque" or "rural Gothic" style as material expressions of this temporality that announces the definition of parish boundaries in a kingdom under consolidation.

However, it was still during the Middle Ages that the Marian devotion seems to have stood out from all the others. The predominantly Gothic sculptures that mark a particularly fertile period in the manufacture of public devotional imagery are an expression of this filial homage that was paid by the parish's devotees and, in some cases, from pilgrim who came from afar. Although the sitting Virgin of the Milk of the Church of Gondar (Amarante) is the utmost symbol of this Marian expression – a combination of the rigid formalism of the Romanesque majesty with the Gothic compassionateness –, we highlight the Gothic-like Virgins of the Churches of Sobretâmega and Jazente (Amarante), the White Virgin of the Monastery of Cárquere and even the invocation of this primitive convent of canons regular that, throughout its history, attracted countless pilgrims. In a certain way, each of these images became an alternative to the scarcity of relics and were often sought so that, through touch, contact, or the extraction of material elements, they could ensure a greater effectiveness of the divine intervention.

### The manorial nobility of Tâmega and Douro

he prologue of the *Livro velho de linhagens* [Old book of lineages] warns about the need to know the noblemen's ancestors in order to avoid bad marriages and statues deviations, but also to ensure that there was knowledge and, in a certain way, respect for the bonds between the nobility and the "coutos", "honras", monasteries and churches".

We cannot ignore the attraction felt in the Middle Ages by manorial nobility for the foundation and donation of monasteries, turning them into their own churches and family pantheons. In fact, the relationship between noble families and religious orders is quite well known. According to José Mattoso, the success of an order depended on how much its interests coincided with those of the ruling class or, even, of the clergy. Besides, the connection between a given family and a religious community was an important support for its prestige, especially in the eyes of the local lower-class population.

Although, as we have been stressing, the geographical and landscape heterogeneity of the territory under study does not allow a comprehensive and unifying historical reading of the ensemble, it is nevertheless possible to make a brief characterization of the lineage movements in this particularly attractive space for small group of elite "terra-tenentes" [landowners] from a country under construction. In fact, a remarkable number of members of these elites moved along the Tâmega and Douro valleys.

If, on the one hand, the Douro river has always been a remarkable dividing line that separated social and demographic realities that were particularly different in some sections and river banks, on the other hand, in a territory that is roughly bounded by the foothills of Marão and Montemuro and stretches along the Tâmega valley, there were clashes and unions between families that sought administrative, tax and land control. The monasteries were instruments in this strategy, since they were founded and supported by certain individuals who belonged to local or regional clans from the lower, medium, or high nobility.

The same *Livro velho de linhagens* is filled with allusions to knights and other lay people who built monasteries, or had themselves buried there, or made their sons and daughters join them: the Gascos and the Ribadouros in Vila Boa do Bispo, Tuías (Marco de Canaveses), Alpendorada and Cárquere; the Portocarreiros and the Fonsecas in Mancelos and Ermida do Douro (Cinfães). And further north, the Guedões and, from them, the Aguiares and the Alcoforados or the Moreiras were connected to churches and to the Castle of Arnoia itself. Smaller or less significant lineages within the regional context did not fail to participate in the foundation of private or family churches and monasteries, as in the paradigmatic cases of the Church of Tarouquela and the Chapel of Fandinhães. However, within this complex system of families that, in the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, competed among themselves for regional prestige and within the court of a country under construction, it is sometimes difficult to understand the advance or retreat of lineage strategies.

In a schematic way and according to the layout by A. Almeida Fernandes and José Augusto Sottomayor-Pizarro, this territory congregated the interests of three fundamental lineages since the 10<sup>th</sup> century: the Sousões together with the Guedões, between the Ave and the Tua rivers, control-



Monastery of Mancelos (Amarante) Cross and west façade.

ling the course of the Tâmega river to the north; the Gascos on the final section of the Sousa river, along the south Douro region up to the Távora river; and the Baiões, in a small enclave squeezed between the Douro and the Tâmega rivers. The families that between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries still held several rights in the region's churches and monasteries – some of which had been founded by them or were under their sphere of domain and support – came from these areas of influence.

The Church was confronted with cases of abuse by the nobility that claimed rights of board or lodging, tax collection and placed elements of their clan or individuals of their trust in charge of certain monasteries – these abuses were multiplied by the number of descendants of the founding couple, like in the already mentioned cases of the Monastery of Mancelos or the Church of Tarouquela, whose abbesses struggled to put an end to certain excesses by alleged relatives or to defend one of the parties, especially the rights of their own lineage. Indeed, monasteries were often a reflection of the struggle for power that was taking place in the territory, including weddings and extinctions of lines of succession that could strengthen their status or bring them to ruin. There are numerous examples for both cases, but the situation of the Resendes, whose pantheon was in the Monastery of Cárquere, seems paradigmatic. Their rise and fall reproduces the path of many Medieval families: entangled in disputes, they sometimes joined the wrong party in power struggles or witnessed the extinction of their agnatic lines with the consequent eradication of their family name and male representation – symbols that were so important within the Medieval society. This bellicose nobility turned their tower-houses, as the Alcoforados', into their bastions, mimicking each other and even opposing the royal power, which was rising and consolidating itself at the time.

Closer to the Modern Period, the three main families were divided into lineages and the multiplicity of surnames, most of them based on toponymy, reveals the places and manor houses from where these "new" families dominated their assets: the aforementioned Resendes,



Church of Tarouquela (Cinfães). East and south façades.

the Baiões, the Ribadouros, etc.. And although the rights in churches and monasteries were limited by the church as an institution, the right of patronage and other privileges continued to place the Church against nobility. For example, the lords of Baião often claimed patronages and rights from the Monastery of Ancede, such as the toll of the Ermelo (Baião) fair.

Francisco Craesbeeck, an 18<sup>th</sup>-century memoirist, by resorting to tomb epigraphy found many descendants of the old Medieval lineages who were buried in the churches and expressed their status and position through chapels, coats of arms and the aforementioned right of patronage. Although the lay patronage was merely residual in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it had been established in the Church of Valadares, by the Lords of Baião, and in the Church of Tabuado (Marco de Canaveses), by the Barros. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros remained under the rule of the counts of Marialva and it was later integrated into the heritage of the University of Coimbra. The institutional patronage, such as the commendations where the nobility could not fail to intervene, was the most common one. So, the powerful Pintos da Fonseca ruled the Church of Veade (through the order of Malta) and the order of Christ ruled the Churches of Gondar, Ribas, Vila Boa de Quires and Lufrei.

Although the right of patronage implied giving contributions for building works and liturgical objects associated with the chancel – a duty that nobility didn't always fulfil, as proven by the complaint that the abbot of Saint Christopher of Nogueira makes in his memoir of 1758 –, being able to present the parish priest, obtaining some of the church's revenue and leaving a mark through artistic campaigns granted prestige and powers to the holder of such benefit. That is the reason why the great modern renovations of the old Medieval churches sometimes bear the stamp of their patrons who brought to the ecclesiastical space trustworthy artists and artisans from the most important artistic centres who, thanks to their status, they knew and admired. A particularly expressive example from this movement is the fresco campaign carried out in the churches of the Marão region, which were associated with members of the family of the lords of Baião; in the Church of Valadares, for example, a 15<sup>th</sup>-century abbot called João Camelo de Sousa ordered the chancel to be entirely painted with an extraordinary profusion of hagiographic themes.



Monastery of Ancede (Baião). Aerial view.

### ROMANESQUE LEGACIES IN TÂMEGA AND DOURO

### Chronologies

Ithough the study of Romanesque architecture is conditioned by the fact that there are virtually no documentary sources that may prove the foundation or construction of monasteries, churches or civil buildings (considering that the aforementioned *Livro Preto: cartulário da sé de Coimbra* is a remarkable exception), the truth is that there are other sources that, in an indirect way, allow us to delimit the examples under study within a possible chronological time frame.

First of all, we should mention the royal inquiries, which were large-scale surveys to assess the condition of royal rights ordered by the central government and carried out in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries; they are a record, although a very imperfect one, of the Kingdom's properties, demography and general revenues. While the royal inquiries of 1220, commissioned by King Afonso II (k. 1211-1223), focused on the diocese of Braga, the ones commissioned by King Afonso III (k. 1248-1279) in 1253 encompassed a broader territory (Entre-Douro-e-Minho, Trás-os-Montes and Beira Alta), and were also followed throughout the entire reign by several private inquiries to royal properties, terms, municipalities and "julgados" [a type of Portuguese administrative division]. Therefore, given the lack of documentation regarding the Portuguese Middle Ages and, more specifically, regarding the history of the buildings that remained from that period, these inquiries are one of the most significant sources in their study.

Although tradition ascribes a monastic origin to the Church of Ribas (Celorico de Basto), the truth is that none of these inquiries refers the cenobitic nature of the space or alludes to



Church of Ribas (Celorico de Basto). West façade

any interference by the canons regular of Saint Augustine. Regarding the Church of Veade (Celorico de Basto), located close by, the royal inquiries of 1258 mention the name of Dórdia Peres de Aguiar, best known for being the mother of the master of Santiago, Peres Paio Correia, which immediately suggests a connection between the lineage of the Guedões and this Church. These are also the last inquiries that inform us that the monarch was the patron and presenter of the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros (Resende) at the time.

A listing from 1320-1321 regarding the payment of ecclesiastical tithes in favour of the Crusades requested by King Dinis (k. 1279-1325) to Pope John XXII (p. 1316-1334) is a good indicator of the economic importance of the Churches under study. Although it doesn't allow assessing the physical dimension of the Churches and monastic complexes, the percentage paid on church properties allows us to evaluate their financial status and, therefore, their ability to carry out higher or lower artistic and architectural investments. Although there are no studies that compare the tax amounts that were paid with the churches' status (abbey, chaplaincy, etc.) and their distribution within the national territory, it seems to assume that a smaller percentage of collected tax corresponded to a small church, in some cases a curacy, chaplaincy or affiliate, and that the large amounts were paid by the most prominent monasteries and abbeys of which the robust Romanesque structure is still a proof.

However, there is another element that, because it managed to survive, emerges as an important source for dating of the remaining elements. We are talking about epigraphs. Some of them only contain a carved date, while others provide more data, but the truth is that these are one of the most precious elements for dating Portuguese Romanesque architecture. Besides, although they sometimes only show a date, their location may be a good hint regarding the completion of a building or one of its construction stages. The allusion to the year 1385 (Era of 1423) in an inscription whose characters are already Gothic, placed next to the main portal of the Church of Escamarão (Souselo, Cinfães), is a reliable indicator of the late chronology of its construction that we believe may have been completed already in the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The existence of more precise datings also allows, by comparison, to date buildings that show similar characteristics and are located nearby. The most accurate inscription is the one of the Church of Ribas, which by using the expression "iste fecit" indicates the year 1269. However, since it is currently out of context, we cannot guarantee if it alludes to the completion of a part of the Church or of its entirety, although we believe that the second possibility is the most likely one, in view of a series of stylistic and structural arguments. In fact, within all the buildings under study, this Church in stands out for the homogeneity shown by its architectural structure, which is particularly visible on the outside (because its interior is masked by elements from other periods). However, in this case, homogeneity is not a synonym for atavism. Quite on the contrary. The Church of Ribas, built round the mid-13th century, is an excellent example of the resistance of the Romanesque shapes, despite the great receptiveness to the new Gothic shapes, as evidenced by the writing of this inscription.

In Church of Tarouquela (Cinfães) there are traces of an inscription on the chevet, which was truncated and partly reused on the southeast corner of the bell tower. It indicates the year 1214 (Era of 1252). Its original placement may have had the intention to perpetuate, the consecration of the Church (because if its chevet was already built is was possible to celebrate the different liturgical

acts), or the completion of one of its construction stages and, if so, precisely the one associated with the chevet. In the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros we find a similar situation: on the north side of the chancel's external wall we may still find an engraving with the year 1217 (Era of 1255).

Besides providing us with accurate dating information, these epigraphical examples confirm the late nature of the Romanesque legacies from the Tâmega and Douro basins, a feature that is actually usual in the Romanesque style of the Vale do Sousa. Its chronology is particularly centred in the  $13^{th}$  century, although we have identified examples that may even be dated back to the following century. It is therefore, within this context, that we must understand the reuse of an inscription (unpublished) inside the chancel of Saint James of Valadares (Baião), on the Gospel side. Because it shows the year 1188 (Era of 1126) – despite its inverted position – we are able to confirm that this late Romanesque architecture that we are now studying partially replaced pre-existing buildings.

The inscription that, in the Church of Veade, alludes to the death of Dórdia Gomes in 1159 is surely not in its original location. Its permanence in a building that underwent significant transformations in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but where some of the lateral Romanesque walls were reused, can be understood as a will to assert a certain historical value of the building (or even of the person who is believed to be the founder of the primitive monastic institution at the origin of this parish).

Although its whereabouts are currently unknown (which does not allow assessing its historical accuracy), the truth is that in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century there is reference to the existence of an inscription with the date 1180 in Vila Boa de Quires (Marco Canaveses). While the Church's current building may belong to the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in 1118 there are already documentary references to the "monastery known as of Villa Bona de Queiriz".

In the Monastery of Mancelos (Amarante), on a separate ashlar placed in a space next to the Church, we may read the year 1166 (Era of 1204). Despite the fact that this inscription doesn't give us any information about the nature of the event that was celebrated, in addition to being out of context, the truth is that its epigraphical quality suggests an important moment in the history of the Monastery, perhaps the consecration or dedication of the Romanesque Church. However, the remaining Romanesque traces lead us to a later chronology, probably already from the following century.

We should point out another aspect that corroborates this late chronology of the Romanesque style from the Tâmega and Douro basins. In many of the buildings under study we find stones carved with initials that, by themselves, are a temporal element that is closer to the architecture classified as Gothic because they adopt alphabetic shapes. Furthermore, these stonemasons' marks are the ones that give us information about the reuse of Romanesque ashlars in given transformations from later periods. The back wall of the apse of the Church of Tarouquela is a good example. Inside the chancel and vault of the Church of Barrô (Resende), the initials are easily identifiable, like in the voussoirs of the archivolts of the south side portal of the Church of Vila Boa Quires.

Finally, we cannot fail to make a brief reference to the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses), a building that has plenty of funerary inscriptions. Despite the fact that it was carved *a posteriori*, the sign that places the passing of the bishop Monio Viegas, the "Gasco", in 1022 seeks to perpetuate the name of the person who supposedly founded this Monastery, as well as its antiquity. Only in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century may we find documents that record the presence of Augustinian canons in the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo, who were

responsible for the construction (or reconstruction) of the Church, whose traces are still visible and tell us about the transition to the following century.



Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses). West façade.

As we've been noticing, the study of documentary information associated with the data provided by epigraphy allows ascribing a more precise date to the buildings under study, and those may work as a basis for an attempt to build their history. This does not invalidate the fact that many of them are associated with legends and traditions that, even today, are dynamic and attractive elements. As indicated by the toponym itself, the history of the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo cannot be separated from the tradition associated with the martyrdom of the bishop Sisnando, whose tomb was probably related to the Monastery's origin. The epithet ""do Bispo [of the Bishop]" was added to "Vila Boa" [Good Village] in a later period". We owe the dissemination of this legend during the Modern Period to the Crosier canons, as well as the one of the Monastery of Cárquere (Resende) which alludes to the miraculous healing of King Afonso Henriques. In the Church of Ribas, possibly due to canons from the same order, tradition and certain chronicles also associated the foundation of the Church with a narrative whose topics are common to those of other foundations: the bishop who seeks the miraculous place, the hermit chosen to show the signs, etc..

Incredible as it may seem, it is said that the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros, was built in a single night by the "Moors". The latter are also associated with the history of the Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira (Cinfaes), for having changed the location of the primitive Church, also in a single night.

But we should not me misled into thinking that this only occurred with religious architecture. Like in a series of other castles, the legend of the conquest of the Castle of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto) is still very present amongst the locals, as well as the legendary feat of Martim Vasques da Cunha, whose consequences have long been considered an explanation for the state of abandonment to which this military structure was consigned.

This *corpus* of narratives, albeit overly used by the local monographers, sometimes helps to justify the choice of the building's location, its importance within local and regional contexts and to explain its connections with certain lineages or families.

### Religious architecture

Besides these data – some more believable, others more fanciful –, we should highlight the most important document: the building itself. Of course, few Romanesque churches have reached our days as they were originally designed. Either because they were showing a certain state of decay or by simple desire/need to update its style or liturgy, the truth is that most of them underwent deep changes in terms of structure and ornamentation over the centuries. The transformation of architecture is a reality that needs to be understood within a given context.

In the Monastery of Cárquere we identify two significant architectural transformation moments: during the Gothic period the primitive chevet was replaced (as confirmed by the composition of its vault and mullioned window) and, sometime later, already according to the style that was spread across the country during the reign of King D. Manuel I (k. 1495-1521), an extensive intervention was carried out in the Church's body, which is stylistically identified on the north side and main portals and masked the Romanesque building while reusing it.

So, while studying the Romanesque architecture, we should always bear this in mind. Over the centuries, the value, the strength and the character/quality of their vestments were recognised, which allowed its preservation. In the geographic area of the Tâmega and Douro basins we find several examples in which we can feel that there was, shall we say, a respect for the pre-existing structure, which did not prevent it from being masked in many different ways. Besides the Monastery of Cárquere, we should mention the possibility that the same thing occurred partially in the Church of Fervença (Celorico de Basto), already in the 1970s. The proportions of the nave compared to those of the chevet may suggest that. But, if that did not occur, at least there was an obvious reuse of older materials, as proven by the nature of the external walls. It is confirmed that the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo is a blatant example of the reuse of Medieval buildings during the Modern Period. It is easier and more cost-effective to adapt than to demolish and rebuild. In this Church of monastic origin, the Romanesque traces we can see today are associated with the windows that were opened during the latest restoration interventions, thus contrasting with the plaster that the interventions carried out in this millennium added to the Church, which stand out either on the main façade, or on the south side of the chancel, or even in its interior.

The nave of the Church of Gatão also reveals its Medieval structure in the crevices that illuminate it. On the south elevation, the portal, the eave and the corbels are also a few other proofs. In the Church of Telões (Amarante), the openings – showing a clear Romanesque taste – confirm the same reuse/adaptation of a Medieval structure. However, the Church of Veade (Celorico de Basto) is a curious case. The Baroque transformation preserved large sections of the Romanesque walls from the nave's side elevations, either because this was a way to remember the antiquity of the building that was associated with the commandery of Malta (an aspect corroborated by the description made above), or because their reuse minimized the financial investment made on the intervention of 1732.

But this respect that the Modern Period, and particularly the Baroque Period, partly had for the structure of the Romanesque churches is also shown in a different way: the maintenance



Church of Veade (Celorico de Basto). North façade.



Chapel of Fandinhães (Marco de Canaveses) South façade.

of the church's body to which a new chevet is added. In the Church of Real, the major transformation carried out between 1750 and 1760 kept only part of the main façade and in the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo (Amarante), with a similar chronology, the modification of the Romanesque nave was accompanied by the construction of a new chevet.

As we know, the Modern Period was prolific in the replacement or expansion of the primitive Romanesque chevets by larger ones, in order to allow them to give a proper response to a new liturgical staging and to accommodate the magnificent main altarpieces that the Baroque style designed in such an affectionate way. As it had also happened in the Church of Sousa (Felgueiras), in the Vale do Sousa, the primitive chevets of Tarouquela or Barrô were expanded at the time in order to welcome new and spectacular altarpieces. The original vaults were kept in both Churches, and there was even an attempt to give them a formal continuity, partly because in most cases we are able to see that there was an obvious reuse of the ashlars carved in the Romanesque Period, like in the Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira. That did not happen in the Monastery of Travanca where, from the outside, we can clearly see that the construction of the deep Romanesque chevet, not only replaced the primitive one (internally decorated with two levels of columns, possibly showing an identical scheme to that of the apse of the Monastery of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira)), but also partly truncated south apse chapel.

In "terra de Basto" [a type of Portuguese administrative division], the deep transformation carried out in the 1830's sought to provide the Romanesque Church of Veade with a spectacular and scenographic Baroque altarpiece. However, for several reasons, this option forced a reorientation of the Church: the façade was then turned to east, thus confronting a public space with the Houses of the Commendation. The chevet was built to the west because, if it was placed on its primitive location, it would surely be much smaller. The Church of Fervença and the Church of Abragão (Penafiel) are the exact opposite of the previous examples because only the primitive chancel – the *sacro sanctum* – was preserved.

We cannot fail to mention the specific case of the Chapel of Fandinhães (Marco de Canaveses), where only the chancel and the foundations of the nave's lateral walls have survived. That which had been designed as a triumphal arch was turned into the main portal. The documentary sources don't provide any information. Only archaeology may clarify whether the nave was never built or if, as it has been generally advocated, it was demolished so that its ashlars could be reused in the construction of the new parish church, which is currently located in Paços de Gaiolo (Marco de Canaveses).

The Monastery of Freixo de Baixo stands out for preserving significant traces of the monastic ensemble that once surrounded it. As in the Monastery of Ferreira, the foundations of the original galillee (which is currently the churchyard that precedes the Church) are still kept close to this church from Amarante. Besides, to the south of the Church, we can still see traces of the primitive cloister that, as far as we know, still existed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Despite the fact that it was deeply transformed over the centuries, the "conventinho" [little convent] of the Monastery of Cárquere can be regarded as one of the few monastic structures of Medieval flavour (or vernacular nature) associated with a Romanesque religious building that still survives.

So far, we've only mentioned structural examples. However, in the series of buildings under study, it is rather evident how the Romanesque architecture, by the apparent simplicity of its look, proved to be a space that was easily adjustable to new devotions, a goal that was achieved through the use of the most varied techniques.

There are traces of mural painting in 15 of the Churches under study. It is a significant series of mural paintings whose general chronology is placed between the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; some of them had been concealed by altarpieces that were removed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, thus being revealed to the devotees and the public (Churches of Gatão, Telões, Saint Nicholas, Tabuado, and Saint Isidore (these three in Marco de Canaveses)), while other are still hidden by them (Churches of Valadares, Ribas, Telões and Lufrei (Amarante)). Of some of them we only have a few historiographical reports or poor iconographic legacies: Churches of Real, Travanca, Gondar (Amarante), Jazente (Amarante) and Escamarão. Although there are only panels *in loco* or even detached (like the *Epiphany* in the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo), the truth is that historiography has considered that at least some of these Churches were partially or almost entirely covered with mural paintings. This is what the discovery made in the Church of Lufrei seems to suggest. The chancel of the Church of Vila Boa de Quires allows us to have an idea of how the above mentioned celebration of colour coated the Romanesque sacred space, keeping in mind the *naïve* and the recent nature of the polychromy from the vault and the triumphal arch.

In general, we are also able to identify representations of the patron saint, often flanked by other hagiographic figures. In the Church of Valadares, behind the main altar, Saint James the Greater appears accompanied by Saint Catherine of Alexandria, by the scene of the mourning over the Body of Christ or the Piety, by Saint Barbara and Saint Paul. In the Church of Saint Isidore of Canaveses, the bishop of Seville was assisted by the Virgin and Child, by Saint Catherine of Alexandria, but also by Saint Michael weighing souls and defeating the dragon and by Saint James the Greater, depicted as a pilgrim. We should highlight the Classicist language and the outstanding quality of this ensemble when compared to the remaining pictorial scene of the period; it was painted by "Moraes", who signed it and dated it in 1536. It was surely commissioned by an important patron who was familiar with the latest artistic languages introduced among us by the sponsoring action of Miguel da Silva (1480-1556), a man of the Portuguese "Renaissance". The enthroned Christ of the Church of Tabuado is surrounded by Saint John the Baptist and Saint James the Greater. Besides these representations, which are located in the Church's noblest place - the apse's back wall and the lateral sections right next to it -, there are also traces of figurations in the Church's body: in general, these scenes allude to the life of Christ and His Mother and are framed by decorative elements that, by analogy, have allowed specialized researchers to identify the geographical sphere of action achieved by certain workshops, among which we highlight the one ascribed to the "Master of Valadares", which was active between 1480 and 1500. We may find some examples in the Church of Valadares, of course, in the Church of Gatão or in the Church of Saint Nicholas of Canaveses, just to mention a few examples.

In fact, we should not forget that the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, within a context that was common to different areas of the Portuguese country, marks the existence of a series of commissions for sculptured altarpieces or altarpieces that combine painting with sculpture. This means that mural painting should be understood as a less expensive way to answer the same liturgical, devotional and iconographic motivation. As we'll see further ahead, other techniques and sup-

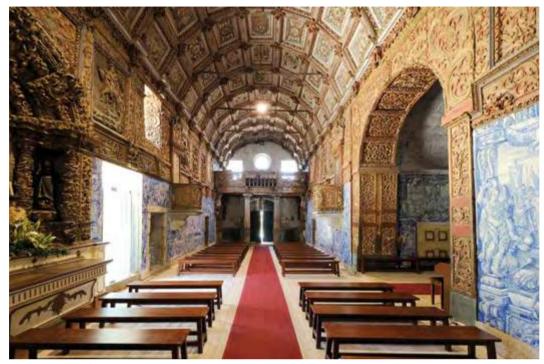


Church of Valadares (Baião). Chancel. Back wall (behind the main altarpiece). Angel.

ports were used to achieve a similar goal, this time in the context of the Counter Reformation: paintings over tiles, boards or canvases and woodwork or imagery sculptures. The Churches of Soalhães (Marco de Canaveses) and Saint Christopher of Nogueira are excellent examples of how the Romanesque building was so suitable to welcome these arts that actually hide it and, of course, give it a different legibility.

The Modern Period witnessed at least two stages in terms of transformation of the ecclesiastical space, which are summarized below: the fresco campaigns were succeeded by plain painted altarpieces that opened the way for the large and complex Baroque interventions. And while there are not much examples of frescoes, there are also very few specimens of Mannerist programmes, which were replaced by the volume of the Baroque woodwork and sculpture. One of the most expressive examples of that type of altarpiece, which we are still able to see together with the frescoes, is the one of Church of Lufrei that preserves the main altarpiece that was already mentioned by Francisco Craesbeeck in the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

But, indeed, the Baroque expression – in its National Style [1690-1725] – was the main responsible for the modification of the spaces of the chancel and nave, the former under the patron's responsibility and the latter under the administration of the parishioners, who were represented by a judge. Without intending to simplify an issue that deserves individual approaches, it is possible to accept that the lay or ecclesiastical patron, as an institution, once provided with the financial capacity and the access to circles of artistic production could make a greater artistic investment on the space that it was responsible for. However, that wasn't always an axiom, and the case of the Church of Soalhães is particularly expressive: the investment made on the nave is clearly higher than the one made on the chancel, giving rise to an extravagant alliance between techniques and materials that embody the expression *horror vacui* [horror to emptiness]. Moreover, in the



Church of Soalhães (Marco de Canaveses). General interior view from the chancel.

Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira the parishioners and the abbot himself were the ones who paid for a complete work of art, in which the woodwork, the sculpture and the coffered ceiling created a scenography that masked the old Medieval space.

So, the Romanesque architecture did not reach our days in its original state. Besides the aspects mentioned above, we cannot fail to highlight the depth of a few restoration interventions carried out during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that, seeking to assert what they considered to be the building's pristine nature, contributed in a significant way to create the image we have of them today. We will return to this subject further ahead. Anyway, regardless of the transformations they underwent, we can identify both the differentiating and common features of the series of religious buildings under study, as well as, of course, the late nature of their construction, as we were already able to partly verify.

Generally speaking, this is a series of Churches built with a single nave, which may be larger or smaller, although, so far, the specific case of the Chapel of Fandinhães hasn't allowed us to ascertain if it ever existed or not. We only find a different sense of space in the Monastery of Travanca, which is created by the existence of three naves.

As we've already seen, only a Church with the size of the one built in the Monastery of Travanca could convey the economic, political and social significance that the Benedictine Monastery achieved in the region. Considered by Manuel Real as one of the best examples of the "Benedictine plan for three-nave churches", it is also one of the most rhythmic Romanesque spaces in Portugal, despite the irregularities it shows. Together with the sacred space, a mighty free-standing bell tower reminds us that the abbot of a monastery is a noble man. Although it worked as a belfry, today this tower is imbued with a military spirit (created by the crenellated crown) which has always been more rhetorical than actually real, a feature that was emphasized in this case during the restoration interventions of the 1930s. It is within this line of thought that we should understand other towers placed next to churches such as the Churches of Cárquere, Freixo de Baixo or Mancelos (Amarante). In the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros (Resende), the fact that the composition of the first third of the Church creates a tower-shaped volume has led historiography to fit it within the concept of "fortress-church", emphasizing an alleged militarized nature that was also highlighted here by the restorations carried out in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the Romanesque Period, bell towers could appear as an autonomous belfry placed on the side or in front of the church, flanking one or both façades, or even attached to the main façade. In general, in the buildings under study, the belfries appear attached to the main façade (Churches of Valadares, Lufrei or Saint Nicholas of Canaveses), attached to the nave (Church of Gondar), built over stone volumes that are perpendicular to the façade (Church of Tabuado) or, further back, to the chancel (Church of Real) or, alternatively, built as free-standing towers (Churches of Jazente and Sobretâmega (Marco de Canaveses)).

The bell tower of the Church of Vila Boa de Quires was built in 1881, when the Church was expanded to the west. In this case, the value of antiquity prevailed over the need for a renovation, so the design of the original façade was respected, despite the "small differences" that were introduced. The compositions of this façade and of the Church of Barrô's show some similarities due to the fact that, over the portals, we find a mullioned window, in the former, and a rosette, in the latter, both framed by a large window. Ultimately, this scheme finds its origins in the old Coimbra cathedral and was later repeated on the main façade of the Porto cathedral, which was geographically closer to the regional centre under study.

And, in terms of façades, we cannot fail to highlight the proto-Gothic oculus of Tabuado, which we believe may have served as a model to the one that the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments] designed in the Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) during the restoration works that followed the fire that occurred in the Monastery in the early hours of March 9<sup>th</sup> 1927. In the context of several interventions undertaken by this institution it was alleged that the reinstated elements were based, either on traces found *in loco*, or on elements preserved in similar buildings that were geographically and chronologically close. There are obvious parallels between the composition of the façade of this Monastery from Penafiel and the one of the Monastery of Travanca, in Amarante. Together with the difference in volumes shown by the three naves that embody the interior of both monastic Churches, in the Monastery of Travanca we are able to see an appropriation of the so-called "nationalised Romanesque" style which spread from the Monastery where Egas Moniz – known as the Governor and Schoolmaster – is buried.

One of the most characteristic features of this Romanesque style, which evolved around the river Sousa basin and extended to the Tâmega basin, is precisely associated with the peculiar composition of the main portals. Framed by a protruding body, thus allowing to create a greater depth around the archivolts, the tympanum is supported by corbels shaped as bovine heads. These also appear in the Church of Tabuado. Another feature that characterizes many of the portals in this region is the alternation between cylindrical and prismatic shafts on the columns that support the archivolts, which is based on the model of the south portal of the church of São Tiago of Co-

imbra. In the Tâmega basin this formula appears in two main portals – the one of the Church of Saint Isidore of Canaveses and the one of the Church of Tabuado –, repeating the scheme that has already been identified in the Churches of Paço de Sousa, Ferreira, Sousa or Airães (Felgueiras).

But there are other defining elements of the "nationalised Romanesque" style that are also identifiable in the Tâmega and Douro region. The way of sculpting the predominantly vegetal motifs – using the bevelled technique, which is typical of decorative woodwork – suggests the



Church of Tabuado (Marco de Canaveses). West façade. Portal.

use of traditional carving techniques and reveals the power of local pre-existence. In Coimbra, this type of relief – which suggests a Mozarabic influence – actually produced a few stylized shapes, despite its symmetry and the intersection of themes. We identify this plasticity, which is more engraved than modelled, in the capitals of the Churches of Barrô (on the chevet's transverse arch), Vila Boa de Quires and Tabuado (on the main and south portals) and Travanca (on the main portal).

This way of carving in relief is the exact opposite of the artistic treatment given to the sculptures in the capitals found on the triumphal arch of the Church of Fervença that, for being more leafy and turgid, suggest the influence of the Romanesque architecture built along the left bank of the river Minho, whose primary source is the Galician cathedral of Tui (Spain). This influence is suggested by the turgid nature of its bulky sculpture which includes phytomorphic and vegetal motifs. The sculptural motifs found in the Church of Tarouquela reveal that the local artists made their own interpretation of the Benedictine themes that spread from the Braga-Rates axis, thus giving their sculptures an obvious regional flavour. Its profusely decorated chevet shows that, in the Romanesque Period, there was also a certain feeling of *horror vacui*, which also reflected the economic and political power of those who held its patronage. And in the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo, on a capital from the main portal, we see a repetition of the plaiting theme, which we had already found in the Monastery of Ferreira, also on the main portal, despite the obvious difference in terms of quality/conservation of the carving.

Finally, in this attempt to connect the Romanesque monuments of the Tâmega and Douro basins to the ones of the Sousa's, it is relevant to mention the identification of the cornice resting on little arches in two Churches and one Chapel: Gatão (side elevations of the chancel), Saint Martin of Mouros (main and side elevations) and in the Chapel of Fandinhães (individual pieces in the churchyard). The cornice on little arches, an imported model and a familiar element in the Sousa basin (Churches of Paço de Sousa, Ferreira, Sousa and Airães), spread from the old Coimbra cathedral across considerable areas of the Portuguese Romanesque style.

As we can see, it is possible to integrate chronologically and stylistically some of the elements of the Churches under study in the so-called "nationalized Romanesque". The most striking cases are the ones of Travanca (at the top) and, partly, Vila Boa de Quires and Tabuado. However, we should not get the idea that the influences felt in the area under study stop there. In some buildings the influence of the Romanesque style from Porto is quite obvious considering the use of dihedral tori as a decorative elements placed on the archivolts. Through the Monastery of Travanca, this element whose origin lies in the Limousin region (France) arrived at Real, whose Church belonged to its patronage. Besides these Churches, the temples of Vila Boa do Bispo (inside the nave's crevices), Fandinhães (on the crevices), Freixo de Baixo and Mancelos (on the corresponding main portals) also adopted the dihedral tori. So, the Romanesque architecture of the Tâmega and Douro basins may so be characterized by the lack of aesthetic homogeneity that is partly a result of the numerous influences felt in the region, as we'll get the chance to see.

The Romanesque façade of the Church of Vila Boa do Bispo was probably a *unicum* within the Portuguese architecture of the period; its decoration with blind arcades only has similarities with examples found outside our borders, the closest of which is in Galicia (Spain). While in the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo the main façade is one of the few Romanesque elements that still persist, the one of the Chapel of Fandinhães was certainly never designed as such, being a result of the adjustment of the triumphal arch to its new functions through the construction of a door.

The so-called "Tarouquela dogs" are a controversial motif, taking into account their originality within the region. They are placed on the imposts, on each side of the portal and may be described as a pair of four-legged animals with nude human bodies hanging from their jaws, attached by the legs. With a clear apotropaic nature, they show a desire to ward off evil forces. Formally, we find similarities with the guardian figures of the portals of the church of São Pedro de Rates, which are placed at the level of the bases of the south portal. But, in terms of composition (and even of iconography), we can find an association with a theme whose origin lies in Braga, which was very popular in the churches built during the Romanesque Period in the territory around the Tâmega and Douro basins. It is the composition in which there are monsters swallowing naked figures that hang from their mouths, suspended by the legs. We find this motif in the Churches of Saint Martin of Mouros (main portal and capital of the formeret (wall rib) from the Church's first bay), Veade (on separate capitals kept in the Church's premises), Travanca (main portal, external capitals of the north apse chapel, capital near the apse on the formeret (wall rib) from the last bay on the Epistle side) and Tarouquela (crevice in the chancel sheltered by the chapel of Saint John the Baptist). In the scholar António Coelho de Sousa Oliveira's opinion, we are before a variant of the theme of *Daniel in the lions' den*, whose



Church of Saint Martin of Mouros (Resende). Triumphal arch. Capitals. On the right, Daniel in the lions' den.

primary source is found in Mesopotamia (actually integrated in Iraq) and underwent a formal evolution until it reached the Western world. His analysis finishes with the identification of the theme's inversion in the portico of the Monastery of Pombeiro (Felgueiras), where it takes on the opposite meaning: while, traditionally, this theme represents the fight of the virtuous soul against devilish temptations, which are symbolically shaped as wild animals, its opposite intends to remind the Christians, when they enter the temple, of the need to be virtuous, to fight sin and to avoid being caught by temptations.

The fact that Romanesque sculpture has an intentional message is well-known, especially the one that is represented on the temples' façades. The interpretation of the symbolism of narrative themes is quite recent among us. But, in general, we should not forget that in the Romanesque Period the association of the church with the House of God was inevitable. Hence the careful use of ornaments which, in general, are located on the openings, thus ennobling them.

From the Romanesque sculptures of Vale do Sousa, we may highlight the capital on the Gospel side of the transverse arch of the chancel of the Church of Airães as one of the rare figurative examples in the region. On it, despite the advanced chronology of the theme, we see the representation of two kneeling angels holding candlesticks in their hands. In the Church of



Church of Tarouquela (Cinfães). Chapel of Saint John the Baptist. Corbel. *Exhibitionist*.



Church of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses). Triumphal arch. Capital.

Barrô, on the Epistle side of the triumphal arch, we see a hunting scene whose central figure is a man who, besides playing a hunting horn, is holding a spear in his right hand. On his right side there is a quadruped (perhaps a bovine) and on the opposite side there is a character that seems to be holding a sort of shield in the right hand and a club in the left hand. The topic of *hunting*, as an allegory of the struggle against evil, is also depicted on the opposite capital, where a boar is being grabbed by its paw and ear by two quadrupeds, perhaps two dogs. In the Monastery of Travanca, we highlight a capital placed on the formeret (wall rib) located on the Epistle side, close to the chancel, where three human figures were carved: the one in the middle is feminine and the one on the right is holding what may be a sword in its hand. We should also mention the capital on the Gospel side of the triumphal arch of the Church of Tabuado, where a man carved in relief is attached to the capital's frustum by a rope; historiography as considered it as a representation of the arrest or destiny of a criminal, thus warning the sinner. However, it has been recently discovered that this capital was designed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, fitting into what could be classified as a "neo-Romanesque" sculpture, were it not for its cement support.

Despite not being abundant in the Portuguese Romanesque style, the figurative capitals have some relevance in this region. In addition to the iconographic themes mentioned above, we should mention the Herculean figures that, like the atlantes, appear with their faces on the capitals' corners as if they were supporting the impost with their backs. We see them on the main portals of the Monastery of Travanca and the Chapel of Fandinhães, repeating a model that has already been studied in the Church of Abragão, in the Sousa basin. In the portal of the Monastery of Mancelos, the corbels have two human figures carved in relief, a female one and a male one. In the Church of Tarouquela and in the Chapel of Fandinhães, there are two corbels that show a sexual theme, the *exhibitionist*. It is the representation of a man that is placing one of his hands over his genitals. Still within this topic, we should mention the corbel placed on the south side of the Church of Saint Isidore, where we believe there is a representation of a phallic motif.

Besides these anthropomorphic figurations, we should also mention the representations of hybrid beings in capitals, such as mermaids, which are present in the triumphal arch of the Church of Vila Boa de Quires. Among all mystical entities, the fish-tailed mermaid was one of the most depicted themes in our Romanesque style. According to Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, the lustful mermaid with a feminine face, long hair and a fishtail in one of the most popular themes. In Portugal, this iconography of the mermaid, whose origin is probably post-Carolingian and it will be spread throughout central Europe, almost replaced the Classical shape of the mermaid: the one that represents it with a female head and the body of a bird, which is also known as harpy. In the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo we find one of the better preserved examples that, showing an identical model to that of the north portal of the Monastery of Travanca, represents the double-tailed mermaid. Its good state of repair allows seeing the scales that are finely carved in relief. This capital is high up on the south side elevation of the chevet. In the Church of Tarouquela, on the main portal, two capitals also show this representation of the double-tailed mermaid. In the Church of Veade, this theme takes on a very peculiar shape in what is currently the south side portal: the double-tailed mermaids that adorn the first voussoirs of each of the two archivolts that shape it.

Alluding to the "original sin", the serpent also appears in several examples of Romanesque

architecture from the Tâmega and Douro basins. Both on the south side portal of the Church of Tarouquela and on the main and north portals of the Monastery of Travanca, we see representations of two intertwined snakes. However, in the Chapel of Fandinhães, on one of the capitals of the main portal, two snakes become one at the capital's corner. Besides these animalist figurations, we should mention the corbels shaped as bovine heads from the portals of the Churches of Vila Boa de Quires, Travanca and Tabuado. In a few corbels there are representations of bovine heads, although there is a clear tendency in these regions for using plain and square corbels (which suggest a late chronology themselves) or for choosing geometric decorations.

The way how these animalist representations are adjusted to the context of the Romanesque capital requires them to take on very peculiar shapes. And this adjustment becomes even more peculiar when it is extended to the voussoirs. The controversial portal of the tower of the Monastery of Travanca is an example of two different ways of adjusting animalist motifs to the archivolts' voussoirs, both proving the strength that the influence of the Romanesque style developed around the Braga-Rates axis had.

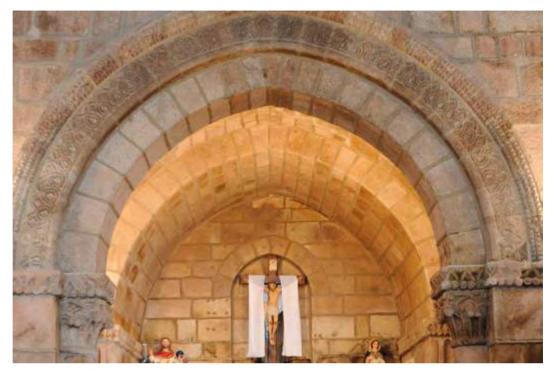
A very typical – and even defining – artistic and compositional language from this regional focus of the Portuguese Romanesque style that spread across an entire peripheral area was developed both in the Braga cathedral and in that which was one of the earliest Benedictine monastic houses in Portugal. One of its unique aspects is precisely associated with the way how the animal figures are arranged: the birds and four-legged animals are carved around the perimeter of the voussoirs, whose surface was sunken to highlight the figuration of their bodies, leaving a continuous edge on the corner. So, on both sides of the voussoirs, we find symmetrical and antithetical compositions, with the animals joining their heads above the arcade's angle. This ornamental scheme is more suitable for the echinus of capitals and was transported to the archivolts' voussoirs. We may find reflexes of this formula not only in the aforementioned outer archivolt of the portal of the tower of the Monastery of Travanca, but also in the Romanesque blind arcades that are still visible on the façade of the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo, which follow the same scheme. Besides, on the main portal of the Monastery of Pombeiro we had already found the same scheme.

It is in this same area that we find the origin of the *beak-heads*. This motif was imported from the Anglo-Saxon culture and it was from São Pedro de Rates that it was widely disseminated across the Portuguese territory. We're talking about the depiction of animal heads that are biting the voussoirs' torus. In addition to the inner archivolt of the portal of the tower of the Monastery of Travanca, this motif also appears on the outer voussoirs of the back crevice of the pantheon of the Resendes (Monastery of Cárquere), on the arch surrounding the south crevice of the chancel of the Chapel of Fandinhães, and on the triumphal arch of the Church of Tarouquela – a unique example in Portugal. However, in the last example, instead of the traditional bird heads, we find representations of tiger or wolf heads. In the cloister of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa we are still able to find a single voussoir with this theme.

Since we mention the influences from the Braga region, we cannot fail to make a brief reference to the presence of the typical palmettes from Braga in the Tâmega basin, particularly in the Church of Fervença (on the triumphal arch's imposts which are extended as a frieze along the collateral walls), in the Church of Saint Isidore (on the main portal's imposts which are extended as a frieze



Monastery of Travanca (Amarante). Tower. Portal. Voussoirs.

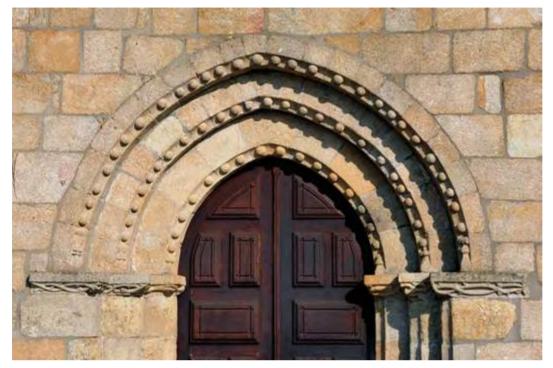


Church of Fervença (Celorico de Basto). Triumphal arch.

along the main façade) or in the Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira (on the north elevation, close to the bell tower). This motif results from the simplification of the Classical palmette, reducing it only to its external outline and taking on a shape that resembles an inverted heart.

Now, we should mention that we were able to identify, in the monuments under study, the presence of motifs carved in relief that, being part of the general repertoire of the Portuguese (and international) Romanesque style, can be found more or less everywhere. They were cataloged by Joaquim de Vasconcelos in the monumental work published by Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu in 1918 under the title *Arte românica em Portugal* and we were able to identify some of them (no.s 2, 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 25, 42 and 45) in Churches of Barrô, Freixo de Baixo, Vila Boa de Quires, Ribas, Tabuado, Tarouquela and Travanca, as well as in the Chapel of Quintã (Paredes). This means we can immediately conclude that the Romanesque builders from the Sousa, Douro and Tâmega basins knew a decorative repertoire that, coming from other places, arrived here due to the circulation of artists, or even, perhaps, to the circulation of models and drawings.

However, we should highlight the motif that was identified by Joaquim de Vasconcelos with the no. 12 – "spheres, loose; high relief", due to the particular acceptance it had in the area under study. The motif that we most commonly mention as "pearls" or "half-spheres" is inventoried in, at least, nine of the 37 buildings under study (Churches of Barrô, Escamarão, Saint Christopher of Nogueira, Vila Boa de Quires, Soalhães, Sobretâmega, Tabuado, Valadares and Veade). It appears both on the arches' voussoirs and as a decorative element on consoles and corbels. However, it is in the Church of Ribas that we feel the use (and abuse) of this decorative motif that is placed on cornices, friezes and imposts and gives this building a decorative homogeneity (that goes hand in hand with a clear architectural unity) which is unique within the



Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira (Cinfães). West façade. Portal.

series of buildings under study. In the Church of Ribas, a chronological advanced building, the pearl motif should be understood as an element of resistance of the Romanesque vocabulary that, in the peripheral regions, extended beyond its temporal boundaries.

As we know, the study of the Portuguese Romanesque style should be understood in terms of its own diachrony, rather than in terms of its geographical distribution. Chronological variants are more persistent than geographical differences. This is why we don't find it strange that there is a lack of consistency and coherence between the Romanesque legacies of the Tâmega and Douro basins. Considering they were so far from the main artistic centres of the time and, generally speaking, were asserting themselves as artistic peripheries, it is perfectly natural that most of the religious buildings from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards show a very peculiar appearance, which may be understood like a mark of the Romanesque architecture that was built here.

The number of Churches that show the persistence of Romanesque formulas in a chronology which is already coeval to a new aesthetic language is quite significant. However, we should not get the idea that, at a time when the Gothic style was already asserting itself in other artistic centres around Portugal, the knowledge about the new building formulas hadn't arrived here yet. The mullioned windows on the back wall of the apse of the Church of Escamarão and on the chancel of the Monastery of Cárquere are good evidences that it had. However, the French Gothic style, which emerged in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century in the Île-de-France region (France) and underwent a great expansion over the two following centuries, was seldom reflected in the Portuguese religious architecture through the opening of large lighting windows or through the creation of large, diaphanous and interconnected spaces.

Moreover, since the Portuguese Gothic style is more connected to Southern Gothic solutions, which privilege wall masses, it is through the massive look of the walls that it actually stands

out. As Lúcia Rosas reminds us, a style cannot be characterized just by its shapes, but also by the relationship between the parts of the building, by the use of the built space, by the way it is embellished and symbolized and by the different ways to meets the requirements of its own period.

The permanence of a given *modus aedeficandi*, the non-update of a given decorative repertoire (by the artisan and the commissioner himself) or, simply, economic constraints, may be at the origin of an architectural typology that the most traditionalist historiography has called "rural". Just because today we find most of the examples classified as rural within agricultural surroundings, that doesn't mean that a given architectural formula should be classified as such, mainly because the Romanesque Period itself stands out largely due to its markedly rural economy and society, especially if compared with the urban nature that defines the Gothic period. Moreover, the perduration of shapes over time demonstrates the popularization of this architectural style, which has justified the option made by some authors of using the name "popular" instead. The determinants "rural" or "popular" are both peripheral, and should be understood considering the fact that the "resistance" of an architectural style in its spatial, structural, decorative and, above all, conceptual dimensions is underlying them both. It is mainly in the judicial districts of Northern and Beira that we may find most of the legacies of the "resistance Romanesque" style.

Only according to this line of reasoning may we understand why – from the point of view of contemporary historiography – the Churches of Gondar, Lufrei, Jazente, Real, Valadares or Saint Mammes of Vila Verde (Felgueiras) in "terras de Sousa" are fitted within a stylistic label that, in general, is identical to that of the Churches of Saint Martin of Mouros, Travanca, Tarouquela or Veade. The former, in addition to being closed in on themselves, are distinguished precisely by the composition of the portals, which are usually inscribed in the thickness of the walls themselves and don't have a tympanum or columns to support the predominantly broken archivolts. They stand out for the absence of sculptural decorative motifs and, therefore, their corbels are plain and square. However, this does not invalidate the emergence of more elaborate and advanced elements: in the apse of the Chapel of Quintã, and also in the chapel of Saint John the Baptist of the Church of Tarouquela, we already see front corbels that are typically Gothic and have a similar profile to the ones from the chevet of the Monastery of Cête (Paredes). And because the funerary chapel of Tarouquela has been dated (1481-1495), it is a good indicator of what the most purist historiography has classified has been fitting into a series of Gothic buildings with an archaic taste, which was widely spread in the judicial districts of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, Trás-os-Montes and Beira.

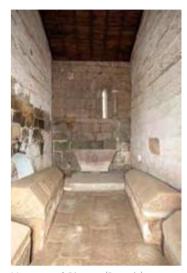
In the Churches of Real and Mancelos, the imposts on the portals are the result of the overlapping of rounded elements, which are a sign of an advanced chronology. In the Church of Gondar, the oculus on the façade is proto-Gothic. Within this particular family of buildings we should also mention the curious case of the Churches that face each other on opposite banks of the river Tâmega: Saint Nicholas and Sobretâmega. We have already mentioned that, taking into account their location, one cannot be understood without the other, or without learning about the close relationship between both Churches and the now vanished Medieval bridge of Canaveses together with the road passed over it. They are structurally identical and both built after 1320.



Chapel of Quintã (Paredes). South façade. Chancel.

### Funerary elements

owever, we should seek the roots of the personalization of the Medieval tomb in the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Besides the development of masonry work during the Romanesque Period, the new mental attitudes towards Afterlife greatly contributed to this phenomenon. In this period there was an emphasis on the belief that each soul was judged individually right after death. The most important members of the lineages began reserving a burial space close to the monastery they sponsored, like a sort of pantheon, with a lifelong suffrage service. The pantheon of the Resendes in the Monastery of Cárquere is an example of that. As we've already seen, although one of the most significant Romanesque traces from this monument (the frieze of the back wall with the *beak-heads*) is located in this space, the four graves inside it are from the Gothic period. Their lids show the coat of arms of the Resendes (in gold, with two black passing goats placed one above the other and covered with gold drops) and three inscriptions that identify those who were buried there: Vasco Martins de Resende (I), the grandson of Martin Afonso; his son Gil Vaz de Resende; and the descendant of both, Vasco Martins de Resende (II).



Monastery of Cárquere (Resende) Pantheon of the Resendes.

Over time, we feel a gradual monumentalization of the grave; there was an increasing urge to customize the grave, by using inscriptions, insignias, paraments and coats of arms for that purpose. The tomb chests of the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo, where the lying figures are accompanied by their identifying insignias (Nicolau Martins and Jurio Geraldes), as well as by inscriptions that allude to the name and date of death of the people buried in them, are a reflection of this will. The memory of those who found their eternal sleep in these chests is further emphasized – like in the tomb of the prior Salvado Pires – by the presence of the coats of arms that confirm his noble origins.

In the Church of Soalháes there is a tomb chest in the apse that, considering its location (and state of preservation, despite the transformations the Church underwent), can only be associated with one of the Church's patrons. It already dates back to the Gothic period, as suggested by the micro-architectures, and today it is difficult to identify who was actually buried here because the coats of arms were painted on small shields.

The sword engraved on the lid of the tomb sheltered by arcosolium placed at the nave's level on the south elevation of the Church of Real only allows us to confirm that we stand before the burial site of a knight. Something similar can be said about one of the burial lids found in the churchyard of the former parish church of Fandinhães or of one of the tomb chest lids kept the inner surface of the Church of Tarouquela. Besides the sword, one is engraved with an abbess' staff and another with corn stalks (which lead us to the Milhaços family). Until the 1980s these graves were kept in the Gothic funerary chapel dedicated to Saint John the Baptist that was established between 1481 and 1495 by Vasco Lourenço and built to the south of the monastic Church's chancel.

The tombs sheltered by arcosolia on the south elevation of the Church of Vila Boa de Quires don't have any identifying element, while in the one of the Monastery of Mancelos, the decorative medallion, the cross and the two riders carved in relief tell us very little about who was buried there. In Lufrei's churchyard we may still find three tombs with their corresponding lids. According to parish memoirs of 1758, these were the final resting places of illustrious individuals from that parish.

Finally, we should also mention the Memorial of Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses), whose sepulchral box has a double cavity. It the utmost example of the idea of a memorial associated with the burial site of a knight (as revealed by the sword engraved on the upper stones of the plinth that supports the arch), who had an accidental death or was killed in a duel. Together with the Memorials of Ermida (Irivo, Penafiel) and Sobrado (Castelo de Paiva), the one of Alpendorada is part of the small remaining series of elements from this funeral typology that we may still find in the Portuguese territory today.



Memorial of Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses).



Memorial of Sobrado (Castelo de Paiva).

### Civil architecture

56

Regarding the Romanesque Period and the geographic area under study, civil architecture is represented by two distinct typologies: the castle and the tower. Working as a watchtower for the area of "terra de Basto", the origin of the Castle of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto) should be framed within the fortification process that occurred across Europe between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are four elements that allow us to frame this Castle within the military architecture of the Romanesque Period: the keep (brought by the order of the Temple to our territory in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century); the square tower (built at the angle created by the north and west wall faces); the existence of a single door (the multiplication of openings made the castle more vulnerable); and, finally, the underground cistern located in the walled courtyard (preserving rainwater was crucial in the event of a siege). The large chemin-de-ronde, which defines a triangular plan, completes the ensemble.

Surely built after 1258, the Tower of the Alcoforados (Lordelo, Paredes) is a good example of how the model of the Romanesque manorial tower derived from the imported model of the castle keeps of the same period – which were introduced to us by the Knights Templar –, overlapping the civil component to the military one. That is why the door to the Tower was opened on the ground floor, a clear reflection of its residential, i.e. manorial, function. So, it is representative of a manorial housing typology that marked the noble society of the Portuguese Middle Ages, at least until it had to deal with the resistance of the royal power. Despite the absence of a few rows of ashlars on the top, we believe that it had merlons once. The Gothic mullioned windows allow placing the construction of this Tower in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Unlike the manorial towers – the *domus fortis* – among which we highlight, as examples, the Tower of Vilar (Lousada) in addition to the Tower of the Alcoforados, the noble palace is associated with the higher classes of the nobility. These buildings with a rectangular plan could be appear next to the tower or, alternatively, built as free-standing structures.







Tower of the Alcoforados (Paredes) before the intervention carried out by the Route of the Romanesque (2014). West façade.

## TERRITORY AND LANDSCAPE IN THE TÂMEGA AND DOURO BETWEEN THE 19<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries

The administrative evolution of the territory

Ithough, as we've been emphasizing, the contemporary administrative network has very little to do with the territorial organization of Romanesque Period, it is certainly its heir. And the rivers themselves were, both in the past and today, a frontier and a communication route along which the communities got settled.

As the epicentre of the religious and social life of the Medieval society, the church was, and is still today, one of the main axes of territorial planning. Despite the fact that they were sometimes founded according to private interests, in properties of lords who were eager to attract tenants and revenues, or in order to meet the needs of hermitic or monastic communities, churches soon became catalysts for human settlements. The formation of the parish with all its landmarks, boundaries and signs of commonality, as described by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, to the sound of the church bell or within a territory defined by a landscape that was clearly limited, was one of the essential elements to ensure the settlement of populations and to establish larger administrative units: "honras" [a type of Portuguese administrative division], "coutos" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] and municipalities. Some lands, like São Salvador (which was later turned into the municipalities of Cinfães and São Cristóvão de Nogueira), were based on an invocation, in the aftermath of the Reconquest.

There are coeval sources, both the royal inquiries from the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the tithes paid to support the crusades in 1320 that tell us of "terras" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] and bishoprics. To the north of the Douro, we find the "terra de Basto", Gestaçô, Penafiel, Sousa, Gouveia, Benviver and Baião. To the south of the river Douro, the source only mentions the diocese of Lamego without specifying its lands, even though we know, by cross referencing it with the inquiries of King Afonso III (k. 1248-1279), that under the limits of the current municipalities of Cinfães and Resende there were the "terras" or "julgados" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Sanfins, Salvador de Nogueira, Cinfães, Tendais, Ferreiros, Castelo de Aregos and São Martinho de Mouros.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, according to the census ordered by King João III in 1527, the administrative organization shows a more fractionated territory, certainly based on the Medieval network of "terras" and "julgados" and consisting of various types of administrative units: municipalities, "beetrias", "honras" and "coutos". In the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region, the municipalities of Celorico de Basto (with its Castle of Arnoia); Santa Cruz de Ribatâmega and Portocarreiro, as well as the "beetria" of Amarante. To the south of the river Douro, in the Beira region, we find the municipalities of Sanfins, Tarouquela, São Cristóvão de Nogueira, Cinfães (and, in its centre, the old "honra" of Cidadelhe), Tendais, Ferreiros, Aregos, Resende (and the "honra" of Beba) and São Martinho de Mouros. Unfortunately, the lack of a census for the Trás-os-Montes region does not allow us to learn about the administrative reality of the left bank of the river Tâmega in 1527. However, we manage to find information in the various works by 18<sup>th</sup>-century memoirists, a period when the administrative framework was already consolidated. One of these memoirists was Francisco Craesbeeck who, in the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, dedicated himself to the compilation of monographic data about the religious history, epigraphy and heraldry of the municipalities and parishes from the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region. Focusing on the district of Guimarães, he visited the towns of Amarante, Basto and Canaveses, the municipalities of Gestaçô, Gouveia, Tuías, Santa Cruz de Ribatâmega, the "coutos" of Mancelos, Tabuado and Travanca and the "honra" of Ovelha do Marão.

The listings provided both by the surveys from 1758 and by the book *Portugal sacro-profa-no*..., from 1767-1768, are more complete and allow us to get a more accurate portrait of the various civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions of this border region.

Indeed, both the Tâmega and the Douro rivers worked as dividing lines throughout our regional and national history: the Tâmega river, leaning against the Marão mountain, was seen as the natural barrier between the Minho region, green and fertile, and the Trás-os-Montes region, rougher and drier. The Douro river always represented an obstacle that was difficult to overcome in the process of the conquest and reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula.

So, this angle that results from the intersection of the two rivers became a natural boundary, for example, between dioceses. The diocese of Porto defined its eastern limits using the foothills of the Marão since the 12<sup>th</sup> century. To the north there was the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Braga and to the south, well highlighted by the banks of the Douro river, the diocese of Lamego went as far as the river Arda, which is currently part of the municipality of Castelo de Paiva. Furthermore, as we've already seen, three other provinces met in this territory: Minho, to the north and west, Trás-os-Montes, to the east, and Beira, to the south of Douro river. This heterogeneity was greatly due to the geomorphological difference that characterized the territory, as we have already mentioned.

In judicial terms, the picture isn't less complex. To the east of Tâmega river were the districts of Penafiel and Guimarães and to the west the ones of Vila Real. To the south of the Douro river, the district of Lamego was virtually delineated over the boundaries of the diocese, except in cases of Ferreiros



Douro valley.

and Tendais, which are currently part of the municipality of Cinfães and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were legally subject to the magistrate ship of Barcelos, because they belonged to the House of Bragança.

But while between these regional divisions, which we may consider as being intermediate divisions, there was some coincidence in terms of boundaries, in the case of municipal limits, "honras", "coutos" and in the extravagant examples of the "beetrias" that existed in this region, the disparities in terms of size and demography were obvious. The complexity of this scenario influenced the conception of a territory that was geometrically planned in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, under the aegis of liberal thinkers and politicians.

Dependent on the existing communication routes, the old Medieval centres, which were placed along the path of trade routes – some of them, but not as many we might think – and had been surviving since the Romanization, were progressively emptied of their population over the Modern Period. The change of itineraries and the new economic needs created new circulation channels like the Douro river that, in the Modern Period, drew to itself the flow of the productions of wine and other products from that region. The only three towns we've already mentioned – Celorico, Amarante and Canaveses – grew on the margins of three major roads that connected the Atlantic coast to the inner areas of the Douro and Trás-os-Montes regions. Only Amarante saw its importance as a unilinear settlement confirmed and expanded. Celorico, in the shadow of the "decadent" Castle of Arnoia, and Canaveses witnessed the old Medieval towns being transferred to new centres of power.

The first case, the one of Celorico, is particularly interesting because it is one of the few examples of a change of the municipality's seat to a more central location, closer to the new communication routes. This occurred still during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when it was urgent to rationalize the territory taking into account its extent and demography. However, the reason behind the change that was requested to the king was based on the creation of a new settlement, which would be more graceful, central and suitable to accommodate the municipal magistrates and the state judges.

Similar justifications were used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the liberal theorists asked for the extinction of hundreds of municipalities whose antiquity was not enough to ensure their maintenance in the light of modern rationalism: very few voters and old nepotistic structures that constrained the democratic sense required by the new advocates of freedom were more than enough reasons to redesign the map of local power. There was much resistance but the liberal commitment won.

There were substantial changes in this territory. A case-by-case analysis is not justified, but we should highlight the changes that occurred along the middle and final sections of the river Tâmega. The small administrative units that had not been extinct or swallowed by nearby terms throughout the Middle Ages and the Modern Period, like certain "honras" and "beetrias" (the case of Ovelha do Marão), merged into larger municipalities. Amarante, which until the 19<sup>th</sup> century was only important for being a place of passage with a bridge and a sanctuary, became the centre of local power at the expense of the old municipalities of Gestaçô and Gouveia, among others.

Canaveses, the remarkable urban town divided into two parishes (Ribatâmega and São Nicolau), witnessed the transference of its decision centre to an insignificant hamlet, a crossroads on a small plateau less than a league away. It was responsible for a substantial section of land taken from the municipalities and "coutos" of Portocarreiro, Vila Boa do Bispo and Santa Cruz, among other smaller units.



Church of Sobretâmega (Marco de Canaveses). Aerial view

Baião, the heiress of the land and Medieval "julgado", absorbed the "couto" of Ancede and the "honra" of Lage, and its centre became the hamlet of Campelo, on the hills, away from the Douro where much of the commercial traffic still circulated. However, the toponym was now expressive – both regionally and for being a land of great lords whose surname sounded important in terms of national history.

On the opposite bank, both Cinfães and Resende resulted from the absorption of a significant group of ancient Medieval terms. In the case of Cinfães, these changes took place in three stages (between 1828 and 1855): in a first stage, Tendais and São Cristóvão were annexed and the seat was located in this old municipality; in a second stage, the hamlet of Cinfães was chosen to be the municipality's seat and was given the area of the Medieval terms of Sanfins and Nespreira and, finally, the third and last stage was the annexation of Ferreiros de Tendais.

Resende, whose seat was located in the hamlet of São Gens, grew through the addition of the old surrounding municipalities and "honras". Like in the case of Cinfães, there was clearly a concern regarding the creation of a new centrality submitting the old clusters to its will. This cannot be dissociated from the road construction policy implemented by the "Fontismo" [period between 1868 and 1889 marked by actions to promote public works and an attempt to modernize the infrastructure. The word "Fontismo" derives from the name Fontes Pereira de Melo, the political leadership of this period], which was based on the districts.

But the Church as an institution and the churches, which have always played an important role as territorial landmarks, cannot be dissociated from these transformations. The truth is that the nationalization of the monastic assets and the extinction and immediate closure of male monasteries created "black holes" in a territory that was deeply dependent on these institutions, but both the old Medieval abbeys or vicarages and the curacies played a role in the territorial reorganization. After all, these buildings signalled communities, circulation spaces and points of affluence that needed to be included in the new map of Portugal. In this context, the parishes maintained their role of smaller demographic units, symbols of a connection to a past that, amidst a traumatic municipal renovation operated by liberal men, allowed the communities to maintain some cohesion and stability.

### Contemporary interventions (19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries)

ny study about our religious artistic heritage during the contemporary period cannot be conducted without assessing the consequences triggered by two different moments: 1834 and 1910. Both were associated with the public alienation of assets from religious and secular corporations, whose liberated ownership was then subject to the market's mobility. After the final victory of liberalism, and following the expulsion of the Jesuits by charter of September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1759, which led to the incorporation of their assets in the National Treasury, all the institutions that belonged to male religious orders - convents, monasteries, schools, hospices or others - were extinguished at once through a decree issued on May 30th 1834. Their assets were nationalized by the State and their future depended on their different categories: there was an order to sell all the common movable assets and livestock; the libraries and art works were later moved to schools and cultural institutions; the utensils and public spaces were handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities when they were required for religious services, and the precious objects were taken to the Mint or to different museums. But the fundamental basis of wealth was associated with immovable assets that were sold at public auction in the meantime. That is the reason why the remaining monastic quarters of the Monasteries of Ancede (Baião), Mancelos (Amarante) or Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses) are currently in private hands.

However, we should not get the idea that this alienation of assets did not give rise to the nonpreservation of the religious artistic heritage in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Quite on the contrary. Despite the weak architectural culture that was still felt among us during that periods, which was bridged by the travel literature that a few foreign authors dedicated to our Medieval heritage, the truth is that, almost until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the first protection initiatives were mainly focused on those buildings that, besides showing a historical value that corresponded to the nostalgic and patriotic feelings which were so fiercely advocated during the Romanticism, also had a monumentality and a series of artistic values that met the aesthetic precepts of the time. We should keep



Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses). Cloister.

in mind the deep intervention that was carried out during this century in the monastery of Saint Mary of Vitória (Batalha), following the attention that had been given to it by the Irish architect James Cavanah Murphy, who also popularized it inside and outside our borders.

Together with the intervention that Luís da Silva Mousinho de Albuquerque (1792-1846) directed in this monastery from 1840 onwards, there was a whole series of interventions that gradually began to be carried out, which were primarily focused on the Gothic churches. In addition to the obvious preference for the heritage from this period, the study of Romanesque architecture started rather late; in fact its chronology only began in 1870 with the publication that Augusto Filipe Simões dedicated to the Romanesque architecture from Coimbra.

So, it is within this context of (demand for the) protection of the religious artistic heritage that we should frame the ordinance issued by the then Minister of Public Works who charged the engineering general, Luís Victor Le Cocq, with drawing a map of the state of repair of all the buildings, their corresponding repairs and the authorized expenses that would be under that Ministry's responsibility. These buildings included, among others, those that were considered monuments, parish churches and public chapels.

Regarding the diocese of Porto, there is still a partly unpublished collection (at the archives of the IHRU – Instituto de Habilitação e Reabilitação Urbana [Institute for Housing and Urban Redevelopment]). Although we were not able to find the survey that was sent to the parish priests and conducted during the course of 1864, we studied the answers and the truth is, despite the fact that some have more gaps and other are more elaborate, we were able to identify a few of its most important ideas. So, it was an attempt to determine to whom a given church or chapel was consecrated, to establish its date of foundation, to identify the style according to which it had been built and to clarify its general state of repair. To these aspects associated with the mother church of each of the parishes that were surveyed, we can add another one associated with the existence of other chapels in the parish and their invocation.

Except for the parish priest of Travanca (Amarante), who wasn't able to answer sooner because he had been receiving "thermal treatments" and, therefore, gave priority to the parish's "affairs", in the other parishes of the municipalities of Amarante, Marco de Canaveses and Paredes, in general, the answers aren't actually very elaborate. In the eyes of the parish priests, the churches were in a good state of repair. However, in the Church of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses), the parish priest made a complaint about the Church's decay, which may have given rise to the intervention that expanded the nave to the west and added a new bell tower in 1881. Is it possible that the bad state of repair identified in the Chapel of Fandinhães (Marco de Canaveses) was associated with the appearance of the finishing of the bases of what had been (or what could have been) the church's nave? While the Church of Telões (Amarante) was showing the necessary decency, the one of Mancelos was in a deplorable condition, something that did not deter its parish priest from paying a special attention to the quality of its main portal.

In stylistic terms, it is rather significant that the Churches under study are ascribed to the period of the Goths (Church of Lufrei, Amarante) or defined as Roman-Gothic (Church of Saint Isidore, Marco de Canaveses) or simply as Gothic (Chapel of Quintã, Paredes, and Church of Gatão, Amarante), despite the emphasis put on their antiquity, which sometimes precedes the very foundation of Portugal (Monastery of Mancelos). This situation isn't unusual if we consider that, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in a very general and simplistic way, the word Gothic was a synonym for Medieval and that the nomenclature varies in an obvious way depending on the authors and their artistic culture. In 1870, in the first published study about Portuguese Romanesque architecture, Augusto Filipe Simões defines it as "Roman-Byzantine".

Despite the available information, we weren't able to ascertain the effects produced by the parish priests' answers. The documentation doesn't provide information related to this particu-



Church of Gatão (Amarante). General view

lar field. However, the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo is a remarkable exception, because the same documentary collection preserves sources related to the disassembling and subsequent reconstruction of the bell tower in the late 1880s.

With the Republic and, specifically, with the Separation Law of April 20<sup>th</sup> 1911, the new regime considered the Catholic Church as a simple and private guild, suppressed the entire expenditure of the State that was associated with worshiping activities and dispossessed that institution of all its movable and immovable assets, as well as tax benefits (charters, censuses, pensions, etc.) – this trick had already been used in 1834 to raise the necessary funds for the pursuit of the political goals and the social reforms headed by the new leaders of the regime.

Article 62 of the Separation Law states that all immovable and movable assets, including benefits and excluding only "(...) the well-defined property of an individual or a corporation with its own legal personality", should be listed and inventoried. And because the action should be made swiftly, the same article states that the inventory should be drawn up "(...) without the need to carry out valuations or to place stamps, temporarily placing all valuable movable assets upon which there were fears of mislay under the custody of parish councils or taking them to public storehouses or museums". A municipal committee should be set up for that purpose; it should be presided by the council manager, who would be assisted by the Treasury's registrar – given that, more than an ideological issue, this was actually a matter of Finances. However, the corporations and clergymen in charge of cathedrals, churches and chapels "(...) that have been serving the public practice of the Catholic worship" were entitled to keep the objects considered as strictly necessary for liturgy.

The first sign that the severity imposed by this legislation might be eased was given in 1917.

In a Decree from December 9<sup>th</sup> that year, Sidónio Pais orders the punishments imposed as a result of disobediences to the Law of 1911 to be annulled, as well as the prohibition to practice worship in State-owned buildings. In 1918, the Central Committee for the Enforcement of the Separation Law was extinct; as a branch of the Portuguese Republic, it had been controlling the process of the nationalization of the ecclesiastical assets, which had started in 1911, without any surveillance, or any external or superior control. On February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1918 there was a new Separation Law that amended some of the markedly anticlerical attacks that Afonso Costa and the republican radical wing had drafted in the first version.

With the movement of May 28<sup>th</sup> supported by a considerable part of the Catholics, the religious issue took on a different path, which was less aggressive and more favorable to the Church. Through Decree no. 11887 of July 6<sup>th</sup> 1926, by Manuel Rodrigues, the Church recovered its legal personality, it was made the regularization of the assets affected by the republican dispossession and the freedom of religious worship, association and teaching. Article 10 of the referred Law mentioned the return of the movable and immovable assets "(...) intended for Catholic worship", but only in terms of use; however, there was an amendment to the Law produced under Sidónio Pais' ruling, which stated that the objects that, in the meantime, had been allocated to museums could be requested in order to be used in liturgy. Those which had not been allocated to public utility services should be kept in the hands of the Portuguese Republic. It was only in 1940, according to article 6 of the Concordat between Portugal and the Holy See, that "(...) the Catholic Church regained the ownership of the assets that it had previously held" and that, at that time, were owned by the State, as long as, as stipulated by the legislator, "(...) the deed of transfer was signed within six months of the rectification exchange defined by that Concordat".

Still following the proclamation of the Republic, the list of national monuments, which included buildings whose chronology ranged between Pre-History and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was published. Of the monuments under study, only the Memorial of Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses) and the Monastery of Cárquere (Resende) were classified during that year. We believe that the former was included due to its rarity and the latter due to its undeniable historical and legendary tradition that is associated with the miracle that allegedly healed King Afonso Henriques from a leg disability he had been born with.

Between 1910 and 1955 only 11 buildings were classified: Monastery of Travanca (1916), Churches of Barrô and Saint Martin of Mouros (both in Resende) (1922), Church of Vila Boa de Quires (1927), Monastery of Mancelos (1934), Monastery of Freixo de Baixo (Amarante) (1935), Church of Gatão (1940), Church of Tabuado (Marco de Canaveses) (1944), Church of Tarouquela (Cinfães) (1945), Castle of Arnoia (1946) and Church of Escamarão (Cinfães) (1950). In a first analysis, we can immediately assert that the criteria that guided their classification were both artistic and historical. However, the fact that these buildings are far from the major centres of decision may justify their exclusion from the list made in 1910. The growing historic sensibility, together with a true artistic culture, is the basis of these classifications, as it is possible to verify in the corresponding processes that we've studied. Besides, we should note that there was a gradual awareness of local people towards the historic, artistic and religious heritage of the territory in which they lived.

We only find new information about classified buildings in the 1970's: the ensemble formed

by the Churches of Sobretâmega and Saint Nicholas (together with the Chapel of Saint Lazarus and the Cross of the Good Passage, Marco de Canaveses), the Churches of Lufrei, Telões, Jazente and Gondar, in Amarante, and the Churches of Vila Boa do Bispo and Soalháes, in Marco de Canaveses. The first example becomes paradigmatic due to the fact that, at the time, the close relationship between these Romanesque Churches was understood, an aspect that, years later, did not deter the demolition, reconstruction and submersion of the bridge of Canaveses, a road element that played a central role in the understanding of the history of this ensemble. The Church of Lufrei was classified in an attempt to stop the parish priest's urge to expand the Church by adding two lateral volumes and the Church of Telões owes its classification to its significant mural painting ensemble, more than to the Romanesque traces themselves. The classification process of the Church of Soalhães in itself is rather curious: initially, only its ensemble of Romanesque elements was classified (1977) and, shortly afterwards, in a short period of time, this classification was rectified to encompass the entire estate of the Church.

In the 1980's, the Bridge of Arco (Marco de Canaveses) was classified and, in the next decade, the Tower of the Alcoforados (Paredes). The Church of Valadares and the Chapel of Fandinhães were classified as Public Interest Monuments in 2012. In 2013, the Bridge of Panchorra (Resende) and the Monastery of Ancede were classified as Public Interest Monuments and the Church of Saint Isidore as National Monument. Currently, there are nine buildings submitted to classification: the Chapel of Quintá, the Churches of Fervença, Ribas and Veade (all in Celorico de Basto), the Church of Real (Amarante) and the Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira (Cinfães), as well as the Bridges of Esmoriz (Baião), Fundo de Rua (Amarante) and Veiga (Lousada). Depending on their relative value, and according to Law no. 107/2001, of September 8th (Art. 107), properties (meaning monuments) may be classified as having a "National Interest", a "Public Interest" or a "Municipal Interest". The instruction of a classification process and its subsequent conclusion determine that the building, ensemble or site that are classified, or submitted to classification, automatically obtain an associated protection zone or special protection zone; the latter may include non aedificandi areas, as provided by Law no. 107/2001, of September 8th (Article 43). Once a classification process begins, according to what has been regulated by Decree-Law no. 309/2009, of October 23<sup>rd</sup>, the monument is immediately protected and its protection zone defined. This is a complex and time-consuming process, comprising a series of administrative steps that must be strictly followed.

For many of the buildings under study, the fact that they are not classified, in addition to the absence of legal protection, poses another problem: the one of the lack of institutional documentation regarding the interventions that they were subject to throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A good example is the Church of Saint Christopher of Nogueira: in 2005, the building works were carried out under the Parish's Building Commission's responsibility.

From 1929 onwards, it was the now extinct DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments] that, under the Ministry of Public Works, became responsible for the interventions in the Portuguese historic and artistic heritage. In general, and approximately until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, its action was characterized by a very peculiar way of understanding the Medieval artistic heritage. Giving special preference to monuments that were regarded as having a specific historical significance, we may highlight the Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), which underwent a deep intervention in the 1930s, as one of the most paradigmatic cases of the criteria that were followed at the time. Target of an intervention that was highly publicized in the periodical press of the time, the monastic Church worked as a stage for the exaltation of rural and picturesque values, and also as a testing lab for restoration ideas and concepts that would be put into practice on a large scale. In this case, just to mention two flagrant examples, the main façade's large window was replaced by an oculus designed according to what was deemed to be its primitive shape, which was very close to that of the proto-Gothic rosette of the Church of Tabuado; the bell tower addorsed to the south side of the main façade was demolished and a new, free-standing tower was built in the churchyard, to the north of the Church.

It is within the context of this major interventionist movement that we should understand the intervention carried out in the 1940s in the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros, which sought to emphasize the tower-shaped nature of the façade by clearing its surrounding area. In the Monastery of Travanca, like in the previous case, the bell tower – that somehow prevailed over the rhetoric military function that the restoration of the 1930s sought to emphasize in this monastic complex from Amarante – was also freed. Within the same line of thought, the crenellated crown of the Castle of Arnoia's keep was replaced in the 1960's.

Although most of the interventions that were carried out in the series of buildings under study may be dated back to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we were nevertheless able to identify – at a time when the preservation of the various elements that explain the evolution of the buildings over the centuries was already being advocated – a strong preference for the removal of the buildings' internal and external plasters: Churches of Saint Martin of Mouros, Cárquere, Vila Boa de Quires, Travanca, Tarouquela, Jazente... By the first millennium, Raoul Glaber mentions the white mantle of churches that populated Europe at the time. Naturally, the removed plasters were not the original ones; however, they provided the buildings under study with a readability that was quite different from the one we have today. However, it is curious that in an intervention, in 2012, in the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo, which was already carried out in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the decision was to restore the external whitewash coating, something that, in a Church that was deeply transformed in the Modern Period, highlights the remaining Romanesque elements. Did this option respond to this same goal?

The general removal of plasters resulted, not only in an emphasis of the stony nature of these buildings – whose current bareness is an antithesis of the image they had in the Romanesque Period, as we've seen above –, but also, in some cases, in the discovery of significant mural painting ensembles: Churches of Saint Isidore, Saint Nicholas or Gatão. But the opposite also happened: in the Church of Escamarão, as the photographs taken before the intervention carried out in the 1960s by the Building Commission show, there were traces of mural paintings that have disappeared in the meantime. As a result of these pictorial findings, or as a simple aesthetic choice, the altarpieces and other woodwork elements were removed in an attempt to emphasize the legibility of the Romanesque architectural elements. In the Monastery of Mancelos, the large woodwork pelmet that surmounted the triumphal arch, whose capitals are now punctured, was disassembled.

The removal of the high choirs was another constant. In the Church of Telões, two high choirs that had been assembled in different periods were demolished because they were considered inappropriate. In the Churches of Cárquere and Tabuado the external access stairs that



Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive.



Monastery of Travanca (Amarante) during the intervention carried out by the Route of the Romanesque. (2013). Aerial view.

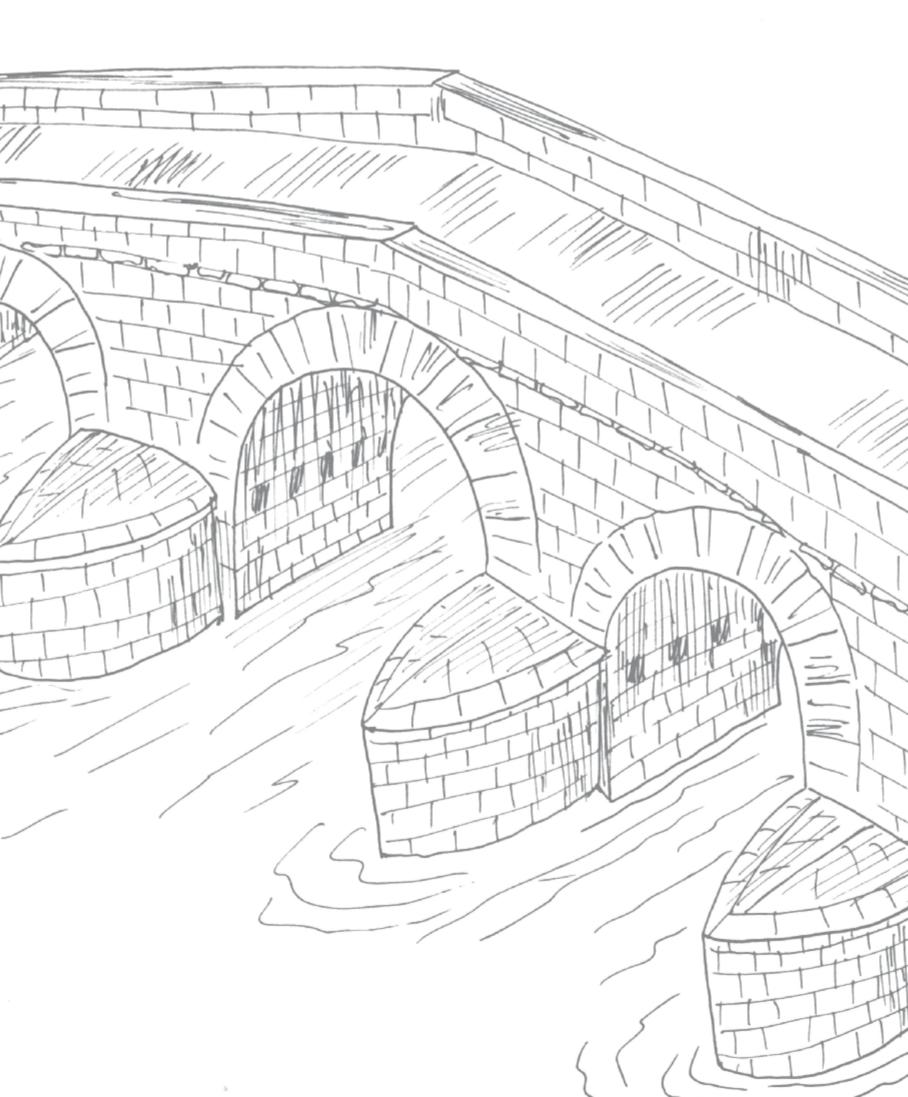
allowed reaching their corresponding choirs from the north elevation were removed. In Travanca, the passageway that connected the upper part of the tower to the upper part of the nave was demolished, thus allowing a direct access to the high choir that, for being too large, was also removed. The demolition of the choirs was usually accompanied by the removal of the pulpits. So, priority was given to what historiography has been trying to define as a "de-Baroquization".

Certainly because it was considered that the interventions carried out were nothing but exemplary, some of the monuments under study were the subject of the DGEMN's Bulletin that, not only discloses the actions that were performed (despite the apologetic tone associated with it), but also helps us to partly understand the buildings before, during and after the interventions. The Monasteries of Travanca (1939) and Freixo de Baixo (1958), and the Churches of Gatão (1961) and Tabuado (1972) were the awarded buildings. In Gatão, a Church deemed hybrid as it is impossible to retrieve an architectural unity, it was decided to recover its structural unity instead. The message conveyed through the Bulletin about Gatão, not only clarifies the choices that were made, but also takes on a great importance within the context of the history of conservation and restoration of built heritage at a national level.

There are also some interventions that reveal preservation intentions, such as the one that was carried out in the Church of Gondar in the 1980's with the purpose of rehabilitating the ruin, thus providing this Church with a new legibility and integrity. However, some of the buildings under study – either because they show some degree of neglect, or because they require specific preservation actions, as is the case of mural paintings – were, are or will soon be subject to conservation and preservation interventions under the Route of the Romanesque, which they have integrated. Whenever necessary, as it has already happened in the Monastery of Travanca, they will be accompanied by archaeological surveys that may contribute to a better understanding of the evolution of the buildings over time.

LÚCIA MARIA CARDOSO ROSAS MARIA LEONOR BOTELHO NUNO RESENDE

2<sup>ND</sup> CHAPTER





# BRIDGE OF FUNDO DE RUA AMARANTE

undo da Rua", a toponym that comes before or after (as the visitor moves from east or west) the crossing over the river Ovelha, in Aboadela<sup>1</sup>, is enough to confirm the unilinear type of this settlement and the importance of its position within the road network of the territory of Amarante. However, if we had no information about the location of the Bridge of Fundo de Rua, we would only need to look at its ancient structure to assume its preponderance. However, since when may we consider this crossing as one of the main bridges built on the transition between the Entre-Douro-e-Minho and the Trás-os-Montes regions?



Aerial view.



Upstream view.

1 The name of the parish replaced the former "honra" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] and municipality of Ovelha do Marão. Also called Bobadela (Costa, 1706-1712).

The available cartography regarding the kingdom of Portugal after Álvaro Seco's map from 1561, especially the one that represents, albeit schematically, the main road structure, shows three crossing points towards the interior of the Trás-os-Montes and the Beira regions on the banks of the Douro, which currently seem obvious and would have been particularly important in the Middle Ages: Canaveses, Amarante and Cavês<sup>2</sup>. The traffic from the coast converges to these three locations where a crossing was built, since it was absolutely necessary to overcome a watercourse as impetuous and mighty as the Tâmega used to be before the dams. From these crossings, whose building complexity increases from the north to the south (i.e., depending on the flow increase and on the width of the river bed), there were routes that headed from the west to the east.

From Canaveses the road headed across the mountain of Aboboreira through Venda da Giesta, Fonte do Mel and Carrasqueira, joining the road to Amarante near Padrões da Teixeira. In Amarante, a village with a unilinear plan<sup>3</sup>, the traveller who came, either from Porto, or from Braga or Guimarães, crossed the bridge of Saint Gonçalo and took the road towards Ovelha, Carneiro, Padrões de Teixeira, Mesão Frio and Moledo.



Bridge of Canaveses (missing) (Marco de Canaveses). Source: IHRU archive.

Upstream, the bridge of Cavês and, later, the one of Mondim ensured the crossing of men, animals and vehicles between the province of Minho – and its capital Braga – and the Trás-os-Montes region, especially the town of Chaves.



Bridge of Saint Gonçalo (Amarante). Downstream view.

2 We did not include the crossing of Chaves, despite its remarkable Roman origin, because we consider that, from a Medieval point of view, the main crossings between the Minho and the Trás-os-Montes regions were those we mentioned, which were located to the south of the old *Aquae Flaviae*, whose importance declined in favour of Vila Real or even Canaveses. Chaves, important for its location between *Bracara Augusta* and *Asturica*, on the path of a well-known route associated with the mining industry, ceased to take on the role it played when, in 104 AD, Trajan ordered the completion of the ancient crossing. Furthermore, a study about the evolution of the communication routes located to the north of the Douro is yet to be made. As referred by Humberto Baquero Moreno (1982: 193): "it is still necessary to ascertain to which extent did this network [of Roman roads] reach the term of the Portuguese Middle Ages in perfect working conditions".

3 The description included in the *Numeramento* from 1527 is particularly expressive: "This village features a long street, with no walls, where São Gonçalo stands, close to a bridge over the river Tâmega, facing Gouveia and Covelo" (Freire, 1905: 241-273).

However, although the Medieval man undertook the construction of several bridges, this kind of works was still quite expensive, laborious to maintain and, above all, a powerful aid to the dissemination of dangers and enemies, among which were the plague and people who weren't part of the community. In this difficult balance between need and prophylaxis, the policy that was already practiced by the Romans prevailed: that it would be better to avoid the stronger flows than to cross them. So, in many places, the paid or "pro deo" crossing boats persisted. The bridges were works left for the great, such as kings, queens or saints.

Once modernity arrived, even before of the first economic theories, bridges became a crucial element for development purposes and was no longer a mere instrument of individual piety to aid those who had to travel along the paths and roads, among the living – such as pilgrims and traders – and the dead – such as the tormented "souls" for whom prayers were said at the crossroads. Although it is not known as well as it should be, it is assumed that the regulatory and building process that characterized certain local and regional (and even private) institutions, such as the Church and the Town Councils, was intensified over the Modern Period, promoting the repair and improvement of several communication channels and their corresponding crossings.

We believe that the construction of the Bridge of Fundo de Rua, over the Ovelha river, falls within this sphere of competences and sensitivities. Although it is classified as Romanesque, this crossing can only be considered as an heir to the Medieval models that might have inspired the builders, for example the one of Canaveses, despite the distance and the difference between the watercourses and their flows. Indeed, the small river Ovelha did not require the technical complexity and monumentality of the vanished crossing over the Tâmega. Nevertheless, the Bridge of Fundo de Rua takes on a meaning that is revealed by its dimensions, as we've already mentioned.

The fact that the date 1630 is associated with the Bridge of Aboadela, or Ovelha do Marão – since it is epigraphed on the foot of the cruise built at the entrance of the Bridge, on the left bank – seems to suggest it was a reconstruction or, at least, a structure built from scratch in the location of an older crossing, probably by ford.

So, we are dealing with a specimen of a stone Bridge supported by four round arches with different sizes, on which there is a platform that is slightly raised above the larger arch. The pillars are protected by sharp cut-waters upstream and by buttresses downstream.

We have some similar examples in the central and northern regions of Portugal, namely the bridge of Meimoa, in the existing municipality of Penamacor, an outcome of the collective efforts of many people from the Beira regions. It was commissioned in 1607 by Filipe II, and, therefore, it is contemporary to the one from Aboadela<sup>4</sup>. In fact, these are similar structures despite having different sizes (the bridge of Meimoa has nine arches): a ramped platform, a pseudo-isodomic masonry work and round arches whose spans have different sizes.



Cruise

<sup>4</sup> José Cornide, a noble Spaniard from the Enlightenment period who travelled the peninsula in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, left us a note about the bridge of Meimoa and the issue of river silting, which caused the destruction and abandonment of certain bridges: "After having a poor meal at a terrible inn, I left Fundão; up the valley, about a league away, I passed a fine stone bridge over a river called Meymoa [Meimoa creek], which springs from the Mountain of Gardunha and that, little further down, joins the Zêzere; another league ahead I passed by another fine stone bridge with 9 arches; but both this and the previous will soon be clogged with the many sands carried by these rivers, which, at that time, one could pretty much walk over" (Manuel Abascal & Cebrián: 2009: 705).





Bridge of the Meimoa creek (Penamacor). Upstream view. Source: IHRU archive.

If the construction of the bridge of Meimoa may be understood in the light of a policy of political centralization of the territory by the dual monarchy, the old crossing of Ovelha could also have benefited from the same political need, within the sphere of its lordship. We should not forget the role of the old "beetria" [a type of Portuguese administrative division], and later "honra" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] and municipality of Ovelha do Marão, which went through so many vicissitudes over the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The details of these vicissitudes were narrated by the author of its corresponding entry in the *Grande enciclo-pédia portuguesa e brasileira*, which are summarized below.

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century Ovelha do Marão was a "beetria" – "a sort of lordship where the vassals elected as lord a person who pleased them" (Correia et al., 1963a: 417-418)<sup>5</sup> – which belonged to Martim Afonso de Sousa; he sold it to Martim Lourenço Corvo, thus outraging the vassals, who had already complained of the maltreatment inflicted by their first lord. Seeking royal protection, and refusing the domain imposed by the sale, the residents invited prince Afonso, the bastard son of King João I and the first duke of Bragança, to be their lord. After the duke accepted the request and granted protection according to terms that led the residents of Ovelha to place themselves under the perpetual protection of the House of Bragança, the lordship seemed to have enough stability, were it not for the beheading of Fernando by King João II. Despite the tragic outcome of the pursuit for the young ducal house, the residents of the zealous "beetria" of Ovelha sought in the executioner's son, Afonso, the protection against, perhaps, cunning aristocratic desires. Again bad luck struck the lord of Ovelha who, having died at an early age in 1491, vacated the lordship located on the slopes of the Marão.

The domain was finally handed over to Jorge, the half-brother of King Afonso who, until a certain point in time, was the only and last hope to take his father's place on the throne. Because Jorge de Lencastre died in 1550 and the lordship of the "beetria" was being disputed by Teodósio, a duke from the House of Bragança, King João III orders its seize, thus uniting it to the Crown (Correia et al., 1963b: 834-835).

5 On this subject, please read the textes about the Churches of Saint Mary of Sobretâmega and Saint Nicholas of Canaveses, Marco de Canaveses.

So, in 1630 the lord of Ovelha do Marão was King Filipe III of Portugal (k. 1621-1640), one of the monarchs who favoured the building of bridges and roads the most, in a period that was particularly troubled and, therefore, eager for communications (Uriol Salcedo, 2001: 189). Given the privileged position of Aboadela within the peninsular road network - connecting the west coast to the interior of the peninsula - it is likely that this work became, not only a local and regional plan, but also a national undertaking.

On the other hand, since Amarante was the epicentre of different routes due to its status as a spiritual centre that was particularly famous in the Modern Period, we cannot ignore the need to provide safe and fast accesses to pilgrims and devotees. Due to the strength of the "mythology" that had recently emerged around the roads to Compostela (Spain), the religious itineraries with a local or regional scope were forgotten, like the ones that headed to Saint Gonçalo of Amarante, Saint Senhorinha of Basto (Cabeceiras de Basto) or, beyond the Douro, to Our Lady of Lapa (Sernancelhe), one of the most important Marian sanctuaries in Portugal.

The description of the sanctuary of Amarante made by Father Luiz Cardoso in his Diccionario geografico... is particularly expressive:

"It is one of the most crowded pilgrimage Sanctuaries in the Kingdom; because it is visited every single day of the year. On January 10th, Saint Gonçalo's Day, a huge crowd attends the celebrations: on the eve of the Holy Spirit, many are those who come from Guimarães: in the first week after the celebrations, the Marquisate of Vila Real - each parish with its specific prayers - and all the men and women bring wax candles to offer as alms and, in the middle of the processions, they bring some wax chestnut trees, which are also offered on the same day: the Municipality of Mondim de Basto comes in a procession: in a similar way, on the first Monday of June come the Municipalities of Santa Cruz, Tuyas, and Canavezes; on the eleventh of the same month the Municipality of Felgueiras, and on the thirteenth the one of Unhão; on the second of July comes the parish of Soalhães: in the same month come the ones of Grillo, Vila-Marim, Teixeirô, Teixeira, Sedielos, and Modroens: in August, come the Municipality of Monte-Longo, and the Parishes of Santa Marinha do Zezere, Tizouras, Pena-Joya, Fontes, Rezende, Viaris, and Gestaço: in September comes the Parish of Barro, São Martinho de Mouros, São Pedro de Paos, and São João de Ouvil; in October comes the parish of Lobrigos: on saturdays during this month, and in November come those from the land of Feira, and the Municipalities of maya which are ten, twelve and fifteen leagues away" (Cardoso, 1747-1751: 423).

A period that was particularly prone to travelling, either for business or spiritual reasons, stimulated the allocation of "sisas" [type of tax], "sobras" [type of tax] and extraordinary "fintas" [type of tax] to the construction and maintenance of roads and, of course, bridges<sup>6</sup>. Unfortunately there are few written accounts of the proceedings related to these works<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> In 1605, the monarch ordered the issue of a provision to put an end to the "major disorders" that occurred while collecting the "sisa" [type of tax] which was intended for the construction of bridges (Silva, 1854: 132-133).

<sup>7</sup> In this regard, please read Serrão (2000: 358-361).

So, only documents that we weren't able to find could clarify the reason or reasons behind such an expensive structure. The fact that it was built along a route that was particularly sensitive in terms of regional circulation could make it the result of a collective work, as the aforementioned bridge of Meimoa and other similar crossings, which demanded considerable manual or monetary efforts from the populations. Taking advantage of "sisas", "sobejos" [type of tax] or extraordinary "fintas", as well as of the community's effort (a process that was quite usual in the Iberian world) allowed the construction of large structures, and that is what might have happened in the case of the Bridge of Fundo de Rua.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the old "honra" of Ovelha was handed over to the majorats of Mateus, certainly to reward the military and political achievements of Luís António de Sousa Botelho Mourão (1722-1798). In spiritual terms, the rectory of Aboadela was subject to the Monastery of Pombeiro (Felgueiras), which presented the priests and collected the tithes. In fact, it is in 1758 that we learn a little bit more about the parish of Aboadela and its economy, which always relied on the Ovelha river and its crossing.

According to the rector Alexandre da Silva, the parish was located "between the Mountain of Marão and another mountain called Ladayro, near a very fertile Brook (...)" that was crossed by the "Ovelha river, with its quiet course that began in "the hamlet of Covelo and ended in the Tâmega". It was a league long and it was used to breed fish, especially trouts. Across the entire tilled plain nourished by the Ovelha river grew up cereals, wine, chestnuts and some olive oil; its margins were edged by vines and chestnut trees. So, the Bridge located on Rua da Ovelha was built over the river showing "a very good masonry work" (Silva, 1758).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the economy of Ovelha do Marão still relied on the land; shepherding was a complementary and also quite relevant occupation within an economy deeply marked by the tripartite micro-agro-forestry system mentioned by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1978). Considering that much of its term was a mountainous territory, it provided the required materials to meet the needs of the intensive use of flat irrigated areas, as pasture for cattle or roots for the production of charcoal. In a demographic study about Aboadela developed over the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, António Barros Cardoso speaks of "a deeply rural society whose life [was] dictated by the pulse of nature" (1986: 75-100). This stability was probably only disturbed by the French troops in 1809. As a place of passage, both Ovelha and Ovelhinha (Gondar) were plundered by Soult's men (1769-1851) who ended up seizing Amarante on May 3<sup>rd</sup> that year. Those are the accounts, for example, of friar Tomás de Santa Teresa (2009) or of the author of the feuilleton "João de Deos: história de um engeitado" [João de Deos: the story of an outcast], published in the magazine *Archivo Rural*<sup>F</sup>. Moreover, Camilo Castelo Branco (2010) poured, both the memories of the events occurred in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the account of his own experience as a traveller along the road to Vila Real into some of his novels.

Once peace and prosperity returned, the old circulation corridor remained as the only route between the coast and the Trás-os-Montes region; in one way or another it has always been used until our days, although engineering (despite being based on experience) dares crossing what once could only be bypassed. [NR]

8 [S.a.] – João de Deos: história de um engeitado. Archivo Rural. N. ° 6 (1863) and following years. The novel, published in instalments, describes the political and social atmosphere of northern Portugal during the first French invasion, mentioning the routes covered by the troops along the Marão, either through Ovelha or Padrões da Teixeira.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1258: the patronage of the church of Saint Mary of Aboadela was property of the Monastery of Pombeiro;

14<sup>th</sup> century: Ovelha do Marão, term which included the parishes of Aboadela and Canadelo, was a Medieval "beetria";

1550: on the death of Jorge de Lencastre, the Medieval "beetria" becomes the property of the Crown, by order of King João III;

1630: construction date of the cruise at the east entrance of the Bridge;

17<sup>th</sup> century: construction period of the Bridge of Fundo de Rua;

18<sup>th</sup> century: the term of Ovelha do Marão is transferred to the jurisdiction of the master grantees and barons of Mateus;

2010: integration of the Bridge of Fundo de Rua in the Route of the Romanesque.

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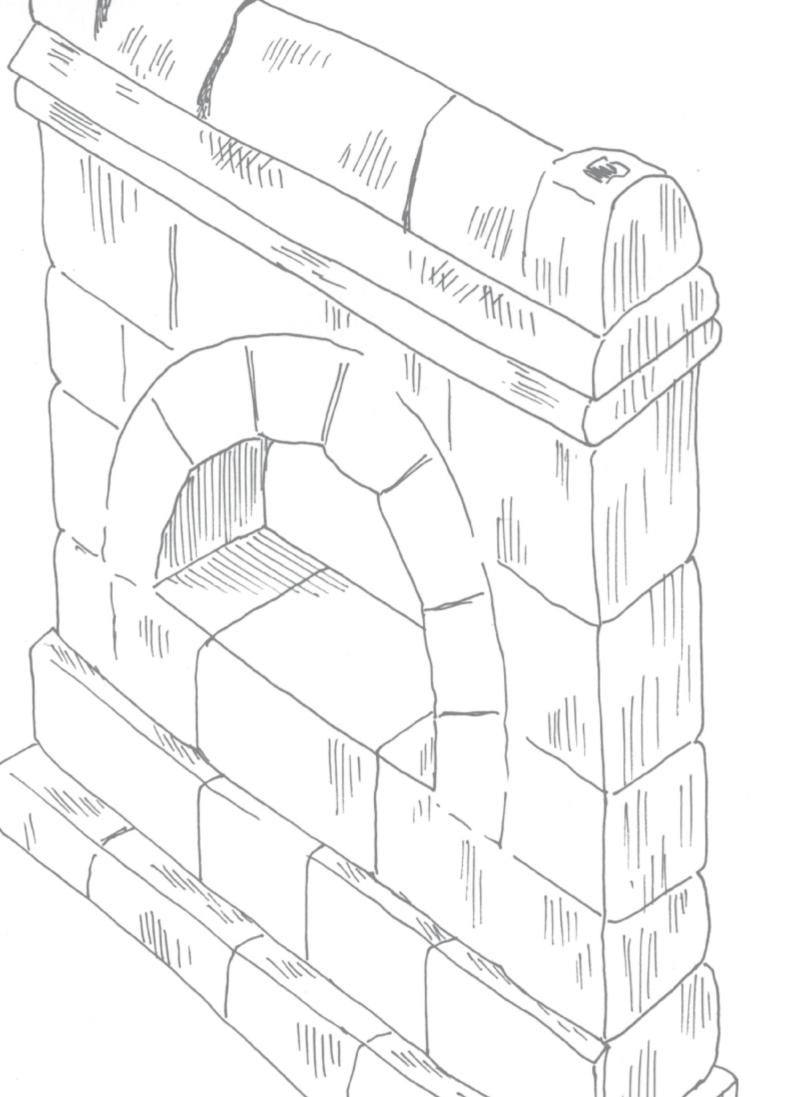
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## MEMORIAL OF ALPENDORADA MARCO DE CANAVESES

## THE "MARMOIRAIS [MEMORIALS]"

n Portugal, especially in the North, there are small isolated monuments along the passageways, whose news, faithful or fanciful, are kept alive by tradition. People call them "marmoirais" (a corruption of the word "memoriais") or just arches, given the shape of almost all of them" (Vitorino, 1942). It is with these words that Pedro Vitorino tries to define this type of funerary monuments that, from what is known, are exclusively Portuguese and popularly called "arches, little arches, memorials and marmoirais" (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 857). Toponymy has preserved the tradition of these burial sites in the northwest area of Portugal, down to the Vouga. The Medieval documents also confirm the great popularity that this type of monuments achieved in this region. Both the word "Memorial" and the word "Marmoiral" have a clear funerary tone and context. The former, with an erudite origin and seldom found in documents, derives from the Latin word *memorale* ("that helps memory"), with the meaning of "monumentum, sepulcrum", while the latter surely corresponds to an evolution of the former through its popular use. Both words combine the ideas of the tomb and memorial monument, thus corresponding to the preserved specimens and to the difficulties in their functional interpretation (Silva, 1998: 21-22).



Aerial view.

Since, generally, these are independent funeral monuments, the "marmoirais" are stone structures that, including a burial cavity in their base, are also dignified by an arch, which is usually decorated (Barroca, 1987). Within this context, the Marmoiral [Memorial] of Sobrado (Castelo de Paiva) is an exception because, from a typological point of view, it is the only known "marmoiral" that doesn't include an arch. Located at the entrance of Quinta da Boavista, this monument is composed by two vertical epitaph stones with discoid tops, featuring Latin crosses engraved on each side, which support two horizontal slabs: the upper one is rectangular and the lower one, corresponding to a burial lid, features a convex-shaped surface.

The Memorials of Ermida (Irivo, Penafiel) (Rosas & Barros, 2008: 223-233) and Saint Anthony (Santa Eulália, Arouca) are those that present a structure closer to that one that exists in the parish of Alpendorada e Matos, although the latter, which we're now analysing, stands out due to the fact that it doesn't have a sepulchral slab in the arch's opening (Silva, 1986: 8). Moreover, they show clear structural (and perhaps functional) similarities with the arcosoliums that were opened on the external walls of Romanesque churches (Silva, 1986: 19), from which we may highlight the geographically close example of the Church of Vila Boa Quires (Marco de Canaveses), which is an evidence of this method of building a memorial monument over the graves, in line with an increasingly evident "personalization of death".

According to Mário Barroca (1987: 387), we should seek the roots of the personalization of the Medieval tomb in the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region in the 11th century. We owe this will perpetuate a "post-mortem" memory to the members of the nobility and the high clergy who, at the time, turned the monasteries into the privileged stage for the first expressions of tomb personalization. Several formulas were used to achieve this goal, including the elevation of the grave to a prominent position, through the insertion of inscriptions and coats of arms, which were direct and effective means of individualization, or even through the display of decorations that contribute to a better identification of the person who was buried in the grave. As specified by the same author, the iconographic subjects tend to have a Christian and apotropaic flavour or, at most, in a more advanced period, they allude to religious (sarcophagus of Dume) or allegorical narratives (Barroca, 1987: 390). So, the sarcophagus of Egas Moniz, which we may appreciate in the Church of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), was designed in the mid-13th century as an attempt to depict the deed of the governor and schoolmaster in its mythical trip to the Court of Toledo (Spain) and is the first evidence of the use of a retrospective subject in funerary sculpture in the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region (Barroca, 1987: 390). Finally, the lying statues are one of the highlights of the whole path towards the personalization of death, an essentially aristocratic and masculine expression, which is a result of the import of a foreign trend (Barroca, 1987: 401). We may refer the examples from the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses).

It is believed that our "marmoirais" find their pristine origin in the Roman tradition – from the first centuries of Christianity – of placing graves – "monimenta" or "memoriae" (Silva, 1998: 23) – along the side of the roads, of which there are many surviving examples in the areas of Marco de Canaveses and Penafiel (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 857). It was not until the period of Pope Gregory, the Great (p. 590-604) that the first cemeteries appeared, usually in churchyards, because burials were forbidden inside the churches (Vitorino, 1942: 5).







Memorial of Ermida (Penafiel).



Memorial of Alpendorada. Arch opening detail.



Church of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses). South façade. Nave. Arcosoliums.



Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). Church. Nave. Sarcophagus of Egas Moniz.



Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses). Church. Nave. North wall. Tomb of Júrio Geraldes.

In Portugal there were cemeteries at least since the Council of Braga, held in 561. The use of stone sarcophagi from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards quite possibly coincides with the time when burials were once again taking place on the sides of the church's portal (Silva, 1998: 16). The tradition of "digging openings on the external walls of the churches, or their outbuildings, which are similar to the *arcosolia* aligned along the corridors of Christian catacombs, is related to the permission to perform burials near the church's walls" (Vitorino, 1942: 5). We may refer, once again, the example of the Church of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses). Other arches also began emerging in churchyards (a generic word that alludes to the surrounding area of a religious building), separated from the temples. The tomb of Count Sesnando Davides (d. 1093) has been one of the most referred examples<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, "in other sites, away from churchyards, as one can tell from the remains one was left with, arches or marmoirais were also erected for burials" (Ribeiro, 1810-1836: 6). We can mention, as an example, the tomb of the bishop of Porto, Sesnando, who suffered his martyrdom in 1074 and was the possible founder of the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo. According to the author of the Agiologio lusitano..., in the geographically nearby Chapel of Saint Saviour, "the place where his memorial stood, and in it the stone that covered it, and, half-way up the hill, a monument was built bearing witness of the existence for many years of the said sepulchre, after his relics were removed to the said monastery" (Cardoso, 1652: 297).

The *Primeyra Partida* by King Afonso X of Castile and Leon (k. 1252-1284) and emperor of the Holy-German-Roman Empire (1257-1273) explains that there were low graves, the "campam", built with volumetric shapes and called "moimento" (Beirante, 1982: 380). However, the Wise king does not fail to criticize those "who build very high graves or paint them so much that they more closely resemble altars than memorials. Moreover, he clarifies that these are built more as a whim and to indulge in the will of the living, than for the good or the sake of the dead" (Ferreira, 1980: 167), thus confirming the idea of memory that underlies these monuments.

Despite the historiographical debates and questions that have arisen regarding the primary function of the "marmoirais", the truth is that we should understand their emergence within this context of personalization of death, as a typology of monuments that has been confirmed as exclusive to the Portuguese territory (Ferreira, 1980: 6; Barroca, 1987: 400). The chronology of the remaining traces should be generally placed in the first half or in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (Barroca, 1987: 401), although it is believed that they were quite between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>2</sup>.

However, as their own name indicates, the remaining monuments<sup>3</sup>, more than having a sepulchral nature, are memorials that were certainly associated with funeral rituals (Vitorino,

<sup>1</sup> João Pedro Ribeiro (1860: 199) clarifies that "Pedr'Alvres Nogueira, in the Manuscript Catalogue of the Bishops of Coimbra states, somewhere, that Count Sesnando was buried in a Memorial, which featured an Arch, whose place was unknown, and, elsewhere, he states that it was said that the grave was in the Churchyard".

<sup>2</sup> While memorials are mentioned in documents from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it seems that around the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries their construction had not been a habit for a long time, something that coincides with the fact that the practice of prestigious burials inside churches had already begun in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (Silva, 1998: 22, 31, note 24).

<sup>3</sup> Besides the ones that were already mentioned in the text, the arch of Paradela (Tarouca), the memorial of Odivelas and the arch of Lordelo (Ancede, Baião) are also noteworthy. Built on the side of the road that connected the Monastery of Ancede to Pala, this memorial was demolished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. About this subject, please read note 9 from the chapter about the Bridge of Esmoriz, Baião.

1942: 6) and were erected outside the blessed area of the temples (Silva, 1986: 17). Popular tradition considers these small monuments as works that were made to remember "pousas", or breaks in the funeral processions of great personalities, being placed in their corresponding locations, much like the seven memories ("Montjoies") that were built in 1270 between Paris and Saint-Denis (France) as milestones of the funeral procession of Saint Louis (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 857).

Within this context, the Memorials of Alpendorada, Ermida, Sobrado and Saint Anthony have been identified as places of "pousa" of the funeral procession of Queen Saint Mafalda (about 1200 and 1256)<sup>4</sup>, the daughter of King Sancho I (k. 1185-1211), as suggested (though not explicitly identified), among other chroniclers, by Friar Fortunato de São Boaventura in his *Memórias para a vida da beata Mafalda...*<sup>5</sup>. According to some authors, while the memorials of Arouca and Ermida may be directly related to her funeral, which left from Rio Tinto (Gondomar) (where she probably died after returning from one of her visits to Our Lady of Silva in the Porto cathedral, of whom she was a devotee) towards the monastery of Arouca, where she was buried, the same cannot be said of the specimens from Lordelo (Baião) and Alpendorada (Silva, 1998: 22). Due to its topographic location, the Memorial under study does not fit into the breaks pattern, since "it stands too far from the Porto-Arouca route" (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 858).

Since they did not fulfil the need to signal the "pousa" places of certain funerals, but provided a proper response to their primary function as tombs instead, these monuments had a real, though perhaps extravagant presence considering their exceptional nature within the religious geography of the time; they provided the territory with rhythm and holiness in combination with a tight network of parish churches and monasteries, brought in a sense of belonging to their place (or places) and were clear landmarks amidst the landscape of our Romanesque Period, so typical of a specific territorial anthropology<sup>6</sup>. The truth is that these graves were apparently isolated constructions, sometimes built in wastelands, but often placed along major roads, thus opposing the trend to locate necropolis in consecrated spaces, in the surrounding areas of churches and chapels (Silva, 1998: 23). It's in this context that we should understand the outrage of João de Barros when he mentions the existence [1549], "in the jurisdiction of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, of a few ancient graves that are not of the Romans and were built on the hill much like a "moimento", with an arch over them; they don't have any engravings and don't provide any information about who they belong to or why they were built there, outside the Churches" (Barros, 1919: 109).

5 As described by Friar Fortunato de São Boa Ventura (2008: 104), in his text from 1814: "when the mule departed from Rio Tinto it headed towards Arouca; after making three stops, whose memory is still kept today by three arches or "moimentos" from that period, it finally arrived to the church of Arouca (...)".

<sup>4</sup> Popular tradition has been confusing this figure with her grandmother, Queen Mafalda of Savoy (1125-1157), the wife of King Afonso Henriques (k. 1143-1185). In fact, they were both personalities who deeply marked the Douro regions and to whom the chronicles and tradition ascribed the creation of inns, the building of bridges, the construction of chapels and other pious acts. From the anthropological point of view, we should note that, through these two Mafaldas, the popular imagination weaved a bond with royalty (Silva, 1986: 22).

<sup>6</sup> About the subject, please read Botelho (2010: 367).



### THE MARMORIAL [MEMORIAL] OF ALPENDORADA

ith no inscription<sup>7</sup>, the Memorial of Alpendorada, built in granite, is composed of a base with two well-cut stone rows, surmounted by a round arch made up of ten plain voussoirs. The ensemble is topped by a protruding horizontal double-framed cornice running along its entire length that, in turn, supports a steep gabled top, framed on both sides by two casings with hexagonal cross-sections. This arch rests on a solid parallelepipedic base with a footing, in which a double mortuary cavity was opened.

Pedro Vitorino was who, in 1942, reported that his friend and researcher from Penafiel, Abílio Miranda, had examined the upper part of the "Arch of Alpendurada" after the stones had been sufficiently moved. So, the "existence of two distinct cavities, with different sizes, carved on the rocks that, due to their reduced size, were most certainly used to collect bones" (Vitorino, 1943: 10) was thus clarified. In this way, the physician from Porto himself refutes the thesis he had previously advocated, which alluded to the existence of a "double grave", one sheltered by the lid and the other placed under the arch (Vitorino, 1943: 8-9)<sup>8</sup>.

There is a detail worth mentioning, both because it gives us a vague clue about the nature of this specific monument, and also because it may be a possible chronological dating element, even if relative. We are talking about the long sword whose hilt ends with a circular pommel and shows a straight guard, which is engraved in the upper stones of the plinth that supports the arch. The design of the blade is in line with the common typology of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, showing parallel edges and a tip which is only slightly pronounced, thus indicating it would be essentially used for cutting. As explained by Mário Barroca (2003: 136-137), this type of blade was intended to be used while mounting a horse, for striking and cutting, if possible using a swift movement pulled from behind, in order to hit the metal mesh protections with enough strength to cut them. During the 11th century, this sword became increasingly long, following the assertion of mounted combats. From the second half of the 12th century onwards, most pommels had a discoidal shape, similar to the one engraved in this stone. This terminal element played an essential role in the structure of the sword by moving its centre of mass back and placing it closer to the hilt due to its weight, thus contributing to balance the sword. Finally, the sword represented in Alpendorada is 120 centimetres long, while real Medieval swords had a total length that ranged between 100 and 115 centimetres.

<sup>7</sup> Pedro Vitorino (1998: 9, note 1) tries to explain the absence of an epitaph in certain monuments with the fact that these "usually belonged to noble people, and according to the eldest it was an unnecessary element".

<sup>8</sup> In fact, in an almost unknown text from 1937, Abílio Miranda (1937, 12-13) himself fits the Memorial of Alpendorada within the typology that he classifies as "double sarcophagus: one under the arcosolium and the another above it – from Lordelo and Alpendorada – most likely, husband and wife". We regret the fact that Pedro Vitorino isn't more accurate in terms of the context of the discovery made by this man from Penafiel, surely between 1937 and 1943.

This attribute associated with the nobility was also present in the monument of Lordelo, which was demolished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as in the one of Sobrado (Costa, 2005: 83). In the so-called "Templars' grave", a Medieval granite grave located in Alpendorada e Matos, near the convent of Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses), there are also reliefs on the lateral ends that, despite being hardly visible, could correspond to one sword on each side (Costa, 2005: 75).



Detail of the base with mortuary cavity.



Memorial of Sobrado (Castelo de Paiva). Lid detail.



"Templars' grave" (Marco de Canaveses).

Therefore, the presence of this icon that characterizes an entire social class allows us to infer that we are standing before a funerary and memorial monument related to a member of the nobility, most likely a knight. This idea is also supported by the specific features of this kind of monuments in terms of location. The fact that they appear outside the so-called consecrated areas is not a mere coincidence. In the Middle Ages, the graves located away from the temples were usually associated with "believers in God" who had been victims of some sort of accidental death; their graves were marked with mounds of stones or with crosses made of wood or stone to indicate the location where they had passed away (Silva, 1986: 17). So, within this context, the "marmoirais" should be understood as funerary expressions related to individuals with a certain social importance. Besides, men who were killed in duels were ecclesiastically forbidden to be buried in consecrated land, an example for the rest of society that is explicitly mentioned in *Primeyra Partida* by Afonso, the Wise (Ferreira, 1980: 525)<sup>9</sup>.

So, we are faced with an operational hypothesis proposed by António Manuel Pinto da Silva (1986: 16-18), which associates these monuments with knights that were killed in duels, or even in military combats. Only the appearance of new documentary evidence may clarify this issue, although we consider as certain the existence of a relationship between these monuments and people connected to warfare, which may explain the large number of "marmoirais" documented in the Portuguese territory during the Middle Ages (Silva, 1998: 23).

Although there are no grounds to substantiate it, the popular attempt to associate the Memorial of Alpendorada with the knight Sousino Alvares – a personality that is also connected to the monument of Irivo – is now easier to understand (Barroca, 1987: 448). According to a document from 1114, quoted by friar Antonio da Soledad in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the latter would be his grave (Rosas & Barros, 2008: 232). However, taking into account the style of this monument, we are standing before a memorial that was raised after his death with the intention of keeping his memory alive. The truth is that, although João de Barros already ignored the primary function of this type of monuments in 1549, he stated that, according to tradition, these graves belonged to "men who died in a defiant way and, because they were noble, their relatives built them those memorials, since they were not entitled to have an Ecclesiastical Grave (...)" (Barros, 1919: 109-110).

#### THE MEMORIAL TODAY

eclared a National Monument in 1910 – shortly before Portugal became a Republic – by a Decree published in the Governmental Gazette no. 136 of June 23<sup>rd</sup>, the Memorial of Alpendorada was almost ignored until 1939, the year in which the owner of a "small countryside property in the parish of Alpendurada" mentions the existence, on one of the property's ends, of "a stone arch, (that, on site, he calls "memoria" ("memory"))". On this occasion, the owner doesn't lose the opportunity to show his indignation about the fact that "those black stones with moss and waste that time has piled up and that I [him, Mário Lobo], much like my ancestors, did not care for at all, were a National Monument"<sup>10</sup>. Curiously enough, in October 1946, Armando de Mattos – ignoring the fact that this legacy was already part of the long list of constructions classified as National Monuments by the First Republic – proposes, as he had already proposed for other Romanesque buildings found in the surrounding region, the classification of this funerary legacy from the Middle Ages that he identifies as a "Marmoiral or Funerary Memorial from the High Middle Ages and labels as Romanesque"<sup>11</sup>.

As far as we could ascertain, the documentation that exists in the archives of the former DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments] reveals that, from then on, the concerns around this "Marmoiral" were focused on its recovery and on increasing its legibility. It is within this context that we should understand the demolition request submitted in 1951 by the land owner, Mário Lobo, in order to obtain permission for the demolition of "a small prop that is holding the end of a trellis (...) as soon as the next grape harvest was finished"<sup>12</sup>; the competent authorities expressed their agreement, since they considered this demolition was "favourable to the Monument, which would consequently benefit from clearer surroundings, thus allowing a better observation of its ensemble"<sup>13</sup>. As we can see, the owner of the land on which the classified building stands was careful enough to contact the competent authorities in order to obtain an approval for the demolition of the prop that stood close to the monument, and the DGEMN expressed its concern in emphasizing the recovery of the Memorial's image, which would benefit from a "clearer" view and, therefore, obtain an increased legibility.

In 1962, the location of this Memorial is considered "terrible" because, despite being "located close to National Road 108, it is almost invisible from the road since it is standing on a much higher plan than that of the road itself, meaning that there are lots of people who simply pass by unaware of its existence"<sup>14</sup>. Considering this situation, the Marco de Canaveses Town Council, in collaboration with the Comissão Regional de Turismo da Serra do Marão

<sup>10</sup> Ofício da Câmara Municipal de Marco de Canaveses, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1939 [SIPA.TXT.01492743]. PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/139-008 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N.º IPA PT011307010004].

<sup>11</sup> Cópia, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1947 [SIPA.TXT.00626540]. DGEMN:DSID-001/013-1832/3 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N.º IPA PT011307010004].

<sup>12</sup> Lobo, Mário – Missiva, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1951 [SIPA.TXT.01492727 and SIPA.TXT.01492728]. DGEMN:DSARH-010/139-007. 13 Ofício n.º 3166, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1951 [SIPA.TXT.01492730].

<sup>14</sup> Ofício da Câmara Municipal do Marco de Canaveses, 30th October 1962 [SIPA.TXT.01492735]

[Regional Tourism Committee of the Mountain of Marão], proposes the "transference of the Monument to a more appropriate place within the surrounding area, placing it in the triangle formed by the junction of National Road 108 and National Road 210"<sup>15</sup>. The DGEMN's technicians considered that, besides the fact that the chosen site did not provide "the necessary guarantees to ensure its protection, its original location" should be taken into account. Recommendation: "removing the stones that were piled up around the Monument, in order to improve the appearance of the site, which is harming its environment, while offering all the technical collaboration required for the development of a recovery study for the site"<sup>16</sup>.

In the early 1970s, the debate about the relocation of the Memorial of Alpendorada is put up for discussion again; this time, the suggestion was to move it "to the Avenue adjoining the Campo dos Mouros, on the side of the path that leads to the Parish Cemetery of Alpendurada"<sup>17</sup> where there was already "another Medieval tomb, more modest and yet to be classified" – the aforementioned "Templars' grave" –, which would also benefit "from the suggestion that was being made". According to a note from the Direção-Geral do Ensino Superior e das Belas-Artes [General Directorate for Higher Education and Fine Arts], the Memorial of Alpendorada was no longer in its original location because it was "moved when the road had been opened (...)"<sup>18</sup> However, we were not able to ascertain the date and the effectiveness of that relocation; we also don't know if this relocation actually happened and, in case it did, if it was accompanied by surveys or archaeological excavations.

After a proposal for "the preparation of a landscaping study"<sup>19</sup>, the truth is that when the works were supposed to begin, in mid-1975, "a great number of people got together and orderly opposed the relocation of the MEMORIAL stating that they did not agree with that violation of their rights, because the MEMORIAL should be kept on the site where it was built and settled, giving rise to the name "Lugar do Memorial" [Memorial Place]<sup>20</sup>. So, in the following year, trying to provide an answer to the "immediate need to protect the Memorial", and after a public tender, there were building works that involved "the consolidation of foundations, cleaning procedures, improvements in the surrounding area and new access steps"; these works amounted to a total of 40.000\$00 (forty thousand "escudos" [former Portuguese currency unit]).

In 2010, the Memorial of Alpendorada becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque and, therefore, an intervention for the conservation, protection and overall enhancement of the construction has already been designed. The proposed works are intended "to ensure the maintenance and enhancement of the construction and to improve the Memorial's possible conditions of visibility" (Costa, 2012: 4). Since it is not possible to ensure its universal access, there should be a concern to strengthen its visibility and promotion. [MLB]

<sup>15</sup> Idem.

<sup>16</sup> Ofício n.º 1558, 18th December 1962. [SIPA.TXT.01492738].

<sup>17</sup> Ofício n.º 956, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1972 [SIPA.TXT.00626558]. DGEMN:DSID-001/013-1832/3. [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N.º IPA PT011307010004].

<sup>18</sup> Ofício da Direção-Geral do Ensino Superior e das Belas-Artes, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1970. [SIPA.TXT.00626556 and SIPA. TXT.00626557].

<sup>19</sup> Ofício da Direção-Geral dos Assuntos Culturais, 23th November 1972 [SIPA.TXT.00626564].

<sup>20</sup> Ofício n.º 585, 27th August 1975 [SIPA.TXT.00626576 and SIPA.TXT.00626577].

#### CHRONOLOGY

12<sup>th</sup> century: possible dating of the Memorial of Alpendorada;

1910: listing of the Memorial of Alpendorada as a National Monument;

1976: consolidation of the foundations, general cleaning, improvements in the surrounding area and new access steps to the Memorial of Alpendorada, all done under the DGEMN's responsibility;

2010: integration of the Memorial of Alpendorada in the Route of the Romanesque.

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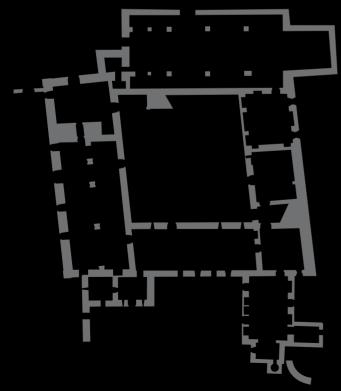
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## MONASTERY OF SAINT ANDREW OF ANCEDE BAIÃO

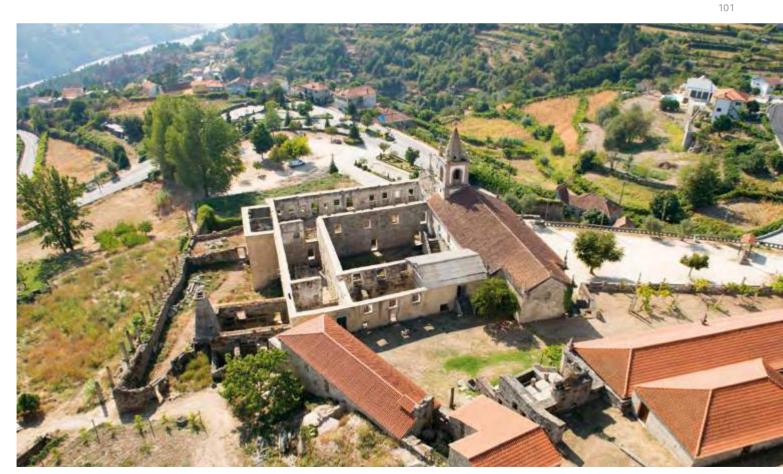
# MONASTERY OF SAINT ANDREW OF ANCEDE BAIÃO



Plan.

#### HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The legend, whose content indicates the transfer of the first settlement of the monks from Ermelo to Ancede, suggests the lack of water and the toxic atmosphere of the Douro as motives for this unusual move. Across Portugal there are countless tales suggesting moves, abrupt changes, the abandonment of communities or reluctant saints who providentially choose the place where they wish to be worshipped. These narrative themes note fanciful explanations for a reality that was not that extraordinary. It is a fact that the depletion of resources or demographic imbalances motivated, e.g., by waves of plague may have been the reasons behind the abandonment of certain places. In the case of the reluctant saints, many examples reveal the existence of tensions between communities and institutions regarding the ownership of a specific place of worship – which obviously presupposed the religious and economic control of the territory. However, in the case of Ermelo and Ancede, it would be naive to believe in the idea of the lack of water resources in a region that has them or, if it hadn't, the canons would surely be able to ensure the necessary supply for their own survival (since they had the knowledge to do so).



Aerial view.

However, the reasons behind the formation of the religious community of Ancede may actually fit into a series of strategies aimed at using the available resources in a vast territorial area located to the north of the Douro. And while the origin of Ermelo, as the toponym indicates, lies in an old hermitage, Ancede, as monastic community, results from a combination of elements and from the effort of the lineages that, during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, fought to defend the territory they had received following the Reconquest<sup>1</sup>.

The land charter of the Monastery of Ancede, drawn up in 1141, provides us with a more or less complete portrait of the dimension and importance of this region irrigated by three water courses: the brook of Roupeira, the river Ovil and the brook of Figueiras. The document, which was translated into Portuguese in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, begins with an introduction which does not allude to the headquarters of the monks or to any special need they had<sup>2</sup>. Afonso Henriques, already calling himself as king, turns to prior Anaúfo, the head of a community established in this region, telling him that, out of mercy, for the memory of him and his parents and also to liquidate 150 "maravedis" [former Portuguese currency unit] that the prior had given him, he would charter the "honra" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Ancede, handing it over to him. The document demonstrates that: a) in 1141, there was already a community of monks in Ancede, established in a location that the land charter does not mention; b) this community was headed by Anaúfo, a prior and creditor of the king; c) the "couto" [a type of Portuguese administrative divisio] of Ancede used to be a "honra".

The chartered land stretched over six kilometres along the north bank of the Douro river, between the mouth of the brook of Roupeira (that the document calls river Galinhas) and the brook of Trancoso (called of Figueiras in the 12<sup>th</sup> century). The description of the boundaries was made counterclockwise, starting at the mouth of the river Galinhas, along the terms between Pala and Cedofeita, until the limits with Balde (and with the "honra" of Laje), Paços and Esmoriz. From this point on, the toponymy isn't always clear. There are references to "Venobria" and "Tueraz", perhaps alluding to the terms of Gôve; then it went down towards the brook of Figueiras or Trancoso, a toponym referred twice to designate a fountain and chestnut forest by which the road to Caldas used to pass.

The Medieval demarcation, consisting mainly of orographic elements, was replaced in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – already under Dominican management – by epigraphed stone landmarks. The recent discovery of a pillar which is profusely decorated with geometric motifs suggested that it could be one of the original landmarks related to the 12<sup>th</sup>-century charter. However, its uniqueness could mean that it is a reused object moved from its original position, which could have had several purposes, namely indicating the boundaries of one of the Medieval "honras", Ancede or Laje, close to which it was discovered.



Chartering landmark of Ancede. Top-end detail. Source: Egídio Santos (archive of the Baião Town Council).

1 In 1706, Father António Carvalho da Costa (1706: 406) suggests the possibility that the Baiões had been the founders of the Monastery, pointing out the signs of their presence, such as a tomb with the coat of arms of the Sousa. And he stresses: "in fact, not only because of this, but for many reasons, it seems to me that these lords must have founded it because this land has been theirs for so many years". And, in 1747, in his *Dicionario geografico*, Father Luiz Cardoso (1747-1751: 492) does not fail to note that the toponym Ansede could be due not to a witty pun ascribed to Afonso Henriques ("Suposto que os Conegos hão sede, mudem o Mosteiro que eu os ajudarey") ["Supposing that the Cannons are thirsty, change the Monastery and I shall aid them"] but to the name of some nobleman.

2 We used the version published in 1943 in the magazine *Douro Litoral* (Coutinho, 1943: 49-52).

Considering what was mentioned above, we see that the data related to the Medieval life of this Monastery of Canons Regular – built in lands of Baião and consecrated to Saint Andrew – are very feeble. The presence of the Crosier monks in the Douro basin is not a unique case. We should recall the case of the Church of Saint Martin of Mouros, located in the municipality of Resende.

We find the idea that the Crosier canons came to the region and established themselves in a pre-existing monastery that followed a different rule as a very likely possibility. The foundation of a monastery *ex nuovo* would have certainly been recorded in the annals of the order, especially because at the time of the inquiries ordered by King Afonso III (k. 1248-1279) little was known about the foundation of the Monastery, as we've mentioned above. So, we have a large gap of almost a century ([1120]/1131-1258) in which to frame the installation of the Crosiers in Ancede, coming from Ermelo.

In 1258, notwithstanding the period of a little over 100 years that separates them from the charter, the inquirers find witnesses who are poorly informed about the origin of the Monastery. The prior himself, Diogo, when questioned "when this monastery had been founded, said he did not know". However, he showed the land charter and said that he gave the king 20 "morabitinos" [former Portuguese currency unit] of the fourth of the harvest, but that the king had no more rights there. All the interviewed people agreed on the chartered land issue; Paio Viegas de Lordelo added that the third of the harvest of Ancede was given to the Monastery of Vila Boa do Bispo (Herculano, 1867: 1186-1187), in Marco de Canaveses.

This portrait is not enough to assess the importance of the Monastery of Ancede in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. However, less than a century later, in 1320, the fact that it paid a tax of 550 "libras" [former Portuguese currency unit] indicates that, within a regional context, that house was already an important religious and economic centre (Almeida & Peres, 1971). The land charter was followed by an irradiation of the influence and power of the priors and the monastic community, namely through the foundation of churches, their acquisition and of the right of patronage: the donation of the church of Gôve in 1144 (and its chartering in 1770) and the ownership of the church of Oliveira in 1294, which would only be completed with the seizure of its patronage in 1391<sup>3</sup>. The monks of Ancede were also responsible to proceed with the settlement and humanization of the territory, which meant the clearing of the land and its management. Regarding this issue, the ecclesiastics were particularly industrious so that, in the middle of the 13th century, they were already prepared to set in motion an ambitious plan of economic growth that would not be limited by the boundaries of the "couto". Taking advantage of the great trade route from the north of the kingdom, the river Douro, the monks of Ancede made the most of the property and crops they had for export and sale. However, at a time when the multiplicity of lords, privileges and duties was an obstacle to free circulation; and, when the city of Porto was the large trading hub where and to which any commercial activity was focused, the closeness to this city was, on the one hand, inevitable (given the position of Ancede in relation to the Douro) and, on the other hand, absolutely necessary for strategic trading reasons.



View of the river Douro close to Porto Manso (Baião) and Porto Antigo (Cinfães). Boundaries of the old "couto" of Ancede.

While royal donations and pontifical protection had enabled Ancede to become a powerful religious, economic and political centre over the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, it was certainly due to some of its priors who had connections with the urban patriciate of Porto that the Monastery was able to become almost an extension of that city. With all the privileges that such a status entailed.

We know the name of, at least, three priors who were from Porto or had connections with this city in the 15th and 16th centuries: Fernando Afonso (documented in 1428 and 1429), João Fernandes (mentioned in 1490) and João Parente (mentioned between 1490 and 1525). While it is hard to establish any family or kinship connection between them (at a time when nepotism determined the allocation of ecclesiastical offices), we know that João Parente was related to the Baiões, a family that marked the senatorial life of Porto in the 15th and 16th centuries. Pedro de Brito considers them one of the major clans of Porto's urban oligarchy, connecting them to the Rebelos, the Magalhães and the Madureiras (1997: 194-195). The author points out the relationship with the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine and adds: "All this genealogical entanglement, which is not very clear indeed, seems nevertheless indicative of how three families used the assets of two [Crosier] monasteries at their own discretion [Ancede and Cárquere, in Resende]". Fernando Alvares Baião, who is said to be the father of prior João Parente, attended several town council meetings as a councillor between 1488 and 1495. But this connection should not be taken lightly. In his work *Pedatura lusitana*, in the introduction he makes to the title of Baiões, the genealogist Aláo de Morais refers that they probably descended from Vasco Martins de Baião, the nephew of the main prior of Santa Cruz, António Pires, but begins a new paragraph with Fernão Álvares Baião stating that "he is considered as a relative of this prior". Indeed, the possibility is suggested as vaguely as in the listing of two of the four sons of Fernão: João Parente, the Prior, and João Baião. How was it possible that the same marriage was at the origin of two baptised namesakes, being that one of them was called Parente, a surname that had nothing to do with the rest of the family? However, both Felgueiras Gaio and Pedro Brito give this kinship as certain.

About the Prior John Fernandes, the predecessor of João Parente, the lineage books are unanimous in saying that Diogo Fernandes, who married Brites Lopes de Madureira, was his brother. They were both lords of the estate of Vale da Cunha, in Ancede, whose charter belonged to the Monastery and whose descendants never missed their bond to the monastic space. As referred by Pedro Brito, "João Dias de Madureira, the son of Diogo Fernandes and Brites Lopes de Madureira, got married to Maria Fernandes Baião, the daughter of Fernão Álvares Baião and the sister of João Parente, who had succeeded João Fernandes as the Prior of Ancede around 1490" (Brito, 1997: 106). Despite the fact that the genealogical chain isn't actually clear, and that we can't find any signs of nepotism, we noticed a clientelistic trend in the allocation of the leasing resources of the Monastery to individuals for the priors' family or personal circle of acquaintances. While both family relationships and social connections between the indicated elements are not enough to prove the existence of clientelism, the closeness to the city of Porto is obvious.

The 15<sup>th</sup> century seems to have determined a shift of the interests of the monastic management from the region to the north of the Douro to the city of Porto. This shift was due, not only to the geographical origin of the priors, but also to the activities and ambitions of their relatives, most of them linked to the urban bourgeoisie. Now, since Ancede was already one of the first trading hubs related to wine production in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, we would expect that, upstream, the greed of the men from Porto would focus on this territory and on the institution that was managing it.

As Amândio Barros refers, the status of neighbour of the city – which was only given to a few – was, at the dawn of modernity, a right that the priors of Ancede had acquired long before, "and it doesn't seem that they had any problems in obtaining this status. But they did have problems in maintaining it" (Barros, 1998: 54)<sup>4</sup>. With this status came privileges, namely privileges associated with wine trade, as demonstrated by the author while analysing the conflict between the Senate of Porto and the priors of Ancede. Neighbours could export wine, the other couldn't; the former paid more taxes than the latter.

Now, the men heading the Monastery of Ancede had been managing the wine and the river businesses at least since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. But that wasn't all: at his disposal, in order to ensure the export of the products manufactured or taxed in the Monastery's properties, the prior had a vessel anchored close to the city of Porto<sup>5</sup>. So, as the political and economic climate increasingly favoured wine production and trade, the conflicts between the city and the Monastery became more intense.

But the revenues that arrived to Ancede weren't exclusively associated with wine or trading businesses. Besides land and leasing management activities, and the tax payments resulting from them, the monks of Ancede managed a credit machine of which we find 18<sup>th</sup>-century records related to a few loans on the capital of the Chapel of Our Lord of Good Delivery<sup>6</sup>. They also had several fisheries and the income of the salt toll, whose collection was leased every two years.

<sup>4</sup> About the condition of neighbour, please read Ventura (2001).

<sup>5 &</sup>quot;We know that this ship was as property of the monastery of Ancede since the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. His master, Pedro Gonçalves, was a member of the confraternity of Saint Peter of Miragaia" (Barros, 1998: note 14).

<sup>6</sup> In the notes of the books of the Cartório Notarial de Baião (1.° ofício) [Notary Office of Baião (1<sup>st</sup> order)], we find references to this type of credit documentation from 1777 onwards (ADP – Notariais. *Baião*, 1.° ofício, livro 9, fls. 160-163 v.°).

Neither the period of the commendatory administration<sup>7</sup> nor the reform of Santa Cruz<sup>8</sup>, nor even its annexation to the monastery of Saint Dominic of Lisbon, in 1559 (within the policy of royal protection to this institution), managed to slow down the economic growth of Ancede. Over the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the organization of new archives and of the old Medieval notary office demonstrated the need maintain the institute's machine in motion. And the remarkable campaign of building works that marked the 18<sup>th</sup> century and introduced the Baroque style in the monastic complex witnesses the strength and intervention of its men, despite being representatives of their mother-house, which was located in Lisbon.

It is only natural that both the loss of prestige as seat of the opulent "couto" and the intervention of people who didn't belong to the local elites – which, as we've seen, had been holding the position of prior since the Middle Ages – caused a rather extravagant resistance to the appointment of parish priest, Manuel Guedes, in the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Leading the conflict were Cristóvão de Madureira, the senior sergeant of the "couto", and Amador de Madureira, a priest from the hamlet of Porta, together with a few individuals whose surnames give away their connection to old local families, such as the Azeredos of Esmoriz. The event, vividly described by the prior of Saint Dominic of Lisbon – friar Veríssimo de Lima – to the Court of the Holy Office, begins with a gruesome description of the impediment of the burial of a child and the transfer of the corpse to Porto, a procession attended by over 300 "men of the people" who the ringleaders had incited to cause a "mutiny". The report speaks of other and more serious occurrences, such as the impediment of liturgical offices, disrespect, insults and the use of physical violence against the celebrants and a few devotees who insisted on receiving the Blessed Sacrament, against the will of the insurgents<sup>9</sup>.

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the investment in the monastic space (fence and churches) and the purchase of works of art and devotion did not cease. In 1623 Gôve was yielding one "conto" [former Portuguese currency unit] and three hundred thousand "réis" [former Portuguese currency unit] (Cunha, 1623: 430)<sup>10</sup> and, in 1707, this institute was described by the priest António Carvalho da Costa as follows: "The new Monastery [as opposed to the old, in Ermelo] stood in a rather higher place in the slope of a hill overlooking the Douro, & is diverted from its continuous, & noxious mists; there are two churches: one of the Friars, other

7 Among the holders of the commendation are the names of Manuel de Noronha, the Bishop of Faro, and Sancho de Noronha, the Bishop of Lamego. The importance of Ancede can also be assessed by the assignment of its revenue to these two important 16<sup>th</sup>-century clergymen (Silva & Aranha, 1862: 197).

8 In 1557 it was handed already united to the Congregation of the Holy Cross of Coimbra and "for this reform & to take possession of the Monastery, named the said Prior General four Canons of the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Religious & Literate Men, whose names were Don salvador, Don Manoel, Don Braz and Don Valerio, who entered the Monastery of Ansede on February 2<sup>nd</sup> of the same year, 1557" (Santa Maria, 1668: 327). In this year, only the main prior, Gonçalo Monteiro and four canons (one of them, Gaspar Fernandes, who served as priest in the parish church) were living in the monastic complex.

9 ANTT – *Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Documentação dispersa*. Processo 14769. The reported events occurred during Lent in 1709, i.e., between March 21<sup>st</sup> and April 14<sup>th</sup>. This extravagant situation fits into the growing number of conflicts between groups and between institutions that marked society in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, a phenomenon that also happened in other European countries. The rebels were sentenced to severe penalties; some of them were condemned to lifelong exile in Africa (ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. *Epitome da Fazenda*, k/17/2/4-37, fls. 41 v.°).

10 In 1706, Father A. Carvalho da Costa (1706: 407) is more precise regarding the description of revenues: "They receive income with the annexes, &, that we know, four thousand five hundred cruzados, including the tithes of the Monastery, & of the Churches of Gôve, Campello, Santo André de Medim, S. Miguel de Oliveira, & S. Ciprião; these both beyond the Douro".

of the parishioners, & both divided by a coast, because there is a communicating door" (Costa, 1706-1712: 406). This is the only description of the churches that were turned into one between the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Still during this year, there is a description of the jurisdictions and governance officers of the "couto": a chamber with a civil and orphans' judge, elected by the people and confirmed by the prior of the monastery of Saint Dominic and an ordinance company headed by the latter. Regarding crime, it was subject to the justice of the term of Baião<sup>11</sup>.

## THE CHURCH OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT ANDREW OF ANCEDE

onsidering the description of the churches of Ancede made by Father António Carvalho da Costa (the only one that we have prior to the existing building), we find that the ecclesial space underwent major changes over the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Indeed, the documentation found in the Monastery itself alludes to 17<sup>th</sup>-century interventions, justifying them with the poor state of repair of both temples. Nevertheless, it is slightly curious that, despite the fact that the works of the common temple were mentioned as being completed in 1689, in 1706 the author of the *Corografia portugueza*... was still mentioning both churches, the monks' and the parishioners'.

However, his brief explanation is not enough to assess the position of both churches within the territory. It seems logical that they would be contiguous, since there was a door connecting them. But were they parallel to each other? Or were they perpendicular instead? To what extent were the structure, and even the position, of the Medieval church modified to create the existing temple, which is very large?



East façade.



East façade. Rosette

11 Father A. Carvalho da Costa (1706: 406) says that, in times of war, the jurisdiction of the ordinances belonged to the prior and, in times of peace, to the lords of Baião.



General interior view from the central nave

The most significant remaining Medieval element is the late Romanesque rosette, which is still preserved today on the back wall of the monastic Church's chancel. The way in which its stonework grille develops itself in circles and its "modénature", which reminds us of an intertwined corded element, has been compared with the rosette that surmounts the chancel arch of the parish church of Águas Santas (Maia) or with the one on the main façade of the church of São Tiago de Antas (Vila Nova de Famalicão) (Almeida, 1978: 182). Besides this element, a section of the Medieval wall on the chevet's north side elevation and on the south side elevation are also preserved, in an area that corresponds to the Church's first bays.

Based on these data and on an analysis of the very limited traces from the Middle Ages that still survive in the Church of Ancede, at least the visible ones, we can only say that they are the result of a campaign that was already carried out in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Therefore, little or nothing is known about the structure of the Romanesque church. The large scale of the existing chevet, surely designed to accommodate the main altarpiece in its monumentality and exuberance during the 17<sup>th</sup>-century campaign, allows us to take very few conclusions about how the Romanesque Church would have looked like. However, taking into account the known examples of monastic churches from this period, we may suggest that the primitive chevet would surely have a smaller size or, at best, it would not be so high. At this point, another question arises. Is the rosette in its primitive location, in other words, embedded in the original wall, despite the changes revealed by the wall's ashlars? Or was this rosette reused during the major transformation of the Canons Regulars' Church during the Modern Period as an element of prestige? Its plastic quality is perfectly clear, leading it to stand out as an element that undoubtedly livens up the architectural walls. Besides, its preservation may also be considered as a memory of an ancestry whose value was intended to be highlighted, especially since the structure of the main altarpiece itself respects and seeks to emphasize it. We believe that the latter possibility seems the most likely one, taking into account the persistence of a

section of the Medieval walls on the north side of the chevet<sup>12</sup>.

Therefore, we are now standing before a Church with three naves, whose structure and prevailing decorative elements are consistent with the period in which it was built. However, there are some doubts regarding the organization of the existing sacred space. Several documentary sources provide information that raises a number of issues, especially about the temple's location and not so much about the appearance that the temple had when it was transformed. The analysis of these documentary sources will only be complete after the conduction of archaeological surveys (especially) inside the Church and when a thorough graphic survey of the existing building is carried out, both in terms of its plan and by accurately analysing each of its elevations by testing what has been called as "architecture archaeology", safeguarding a proper critical analysis.

A sentence from 1696 forced the Dominicans to build "a new church because the two that existed in the convent, which had a common tabernacle for clergymen and parishioners, were damaged; they shall indeed build a beautiful church with three naves and three chapels"<sup>13</sup>. We are also informed that the construction of the new Church was finished in 1689 and "blessed and consecrated with the appropriate solemnity during Christmas celebrations".

The Church with three naves is the one that we currently find in Ancede. It is typically Mannerist – contained and plain – and outside we see ornamental elements with a Classicist nature concentrated around the Church's lateral portal that opens towards the churchyard. Inside, the thin pilasters that support the transverse arches feature a single plain impost with a Classicist outline. In fact, the Romanesque rosette contrasts with this somewhat sober scenario from the architectural point of view. However, this sober appearance was counterbalanced by the large size of the Church that, despite having three naves, is actually excessively long and almost out of proportion.



South façade.

12 Still within the Medieval chronology, we should mention the fire that occurred in 1355. In the "Era" of 1393, "a fire broke out in the said monastery [of Ancede] and that the dormitory and all houses around it, and part of the canteen, and of the chapters (sic) and of the cloister". Apparently, this catastrophe only damaged the convent and not the monastic church (ADP – Inventário do fundo do convento de Ancede. Tombos 1178-1748, livro 1 do n.º 3400, fl. 41 – transcript and archive numbers provided by Carla Stockler, from the Municipal Museum of Baião, to whom we are deeply thankful).

13 ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. Livro n.º 3432, fls. 375-421.

The documentary source quoted above tells us about a very significant detail when it mentions the existence of two churches, a monastic church intended for canons, and a parish church attended by the parishioners. And so, these two churches were, at some point, replaced by the existing one, which has three naves and is extremely long.

As we've seen, Carvalho da Costa is the author who provides us with the main lead. He explains that the two churches were "divided by a back wall" (Costa, 1706-1712: 406). In other words, the chevet of one of the churches, surely the parishioners' one, touched the structure of the other. Therefore, we may exclude the possibility of a parallel construction.

In fact, the position of the existing Church and its dialogue with the monastic space (much more recent), as we may see in aerial photographs, lead us to refute this possibility, unless the dimensions of both buildings were quite contained, and the two churches together did not exceed the width of the three existing naves. We don't know much more about them, but we believe that the rosette that prevails on the apse's back wall surely belonged to the chevet of the monastic church. Its scale and plastic quality tell us about a Medieval building that already had some monumentality.

We shall continue discussing the different possibilities, now looking at the building itself and at what it has to tell us; of course, we will not resort to nonexistent data that should be the result of accurate planimetric and stratigraphic surveys of the walls, as well as of information provided by archaeological excavations inside the building.

We have already mentioned the length of the naves. A closer look at the north wall, facing the churchyard, shows us several scars on the surface, which are emphasized by the use of ashlars with different shades, particularly concentrated around the portal that exists on that wall. Besides, the windows we see on both sides of this access door to the inside are quite different. Is this fact due to the existence of two different campaigns or is it result, for example, of the existence of two buildings that came together at a specific moment? Simultaneously, an analysis of the south wall allows us to identify the persistence of wall sections of Medieval origin that were partly reused. The construction-related inconsistencies are plenty in this area of the existing building.

Still circling the outside, let's focus on the Church's main façade. At least in 1745, this façade – which was partly hidden when the bell tower was attached to it – still didn't present its existing configuration<sup>14</sup>. If the façade of this three-nave Church consecrated in 1689 was that monumental, nobody would have had the idea of attaching such a bulky bell tower to it. May that containment be explained by the fact that it was the parishioners' church? We should also note the minimalist appearance of the portal.

We'll now analyse the information found inside the Church, despite that fact that it is very limited due to the stucco coating of the walls, which does not allow us to assess the reuse of previous stone structures. Only some inconsistencies may give us any clues, or raise even more questions instead. On the west façade's wall, above the chorus, there are two rectangular windows: the one on the south side of the Church is walled up by the tower's volume. Now, we can

<sup>14</sup> It is then described "as a most antique work which is in its most part demolished because it threatened to collapse, the roof is in tile, it features two bells, one larger another smaller in the centre of the Tower resting on beams because their belfries are demolished" (ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. *Auto de medição da igreja e convento e cerqua*, [1745], fls. 33 v.º. – transcript provided by Carla Stockler, from the Municipal Museum of Baião, to whom we are deeply thankful).

already conclude that this main façade was designed as a whole that was distorted after 1745 by the construction of the tower. Now let's examine the portal's position. We believe that this is not placed in its primitive position and was moved during the construction of the tower. Although the coatings on this wall do not allow us to identify any scars, it is hard to believe that the opening of two portals was planned for this location. In this area of the Church, we should note the walled-up opening placed in front of the already mentioned window, which is different from the others found on the same wall.

As we can see, there is a clear mismatch of the Church's architectural elements on the flight where the high choir is installed, a circumstance that matches what we had seen outside the Church. So, this is the reason why we believe that this area of the monastic Church was connected to the rest of the body. Given the structural homogeneity of the remaining flights, particularly in terms of the type and organization of the openings, we cannot ascribe this first flight to the same campaign. Besides, the position of the large-sized high choir surely helped to disguise the architectural inconsistencies mentioned above, especially because inside of a building of this nature, the eyes of the devotees are necessarily focused on the chancel. So, the key issue arises: would this part of the building correspond to that which was once the parishioners' church? None of the documentary references mentions a demolition. The expression "reducing both churches in the best possible way, we were left with a single church with 3 naves" provides a clear evidence of the reuse of a pre-existing structure, a practice that was actually quite common throughout the history of architecture. Did these "reduction" works include the reuse of part of the walls of a previous building (as suggested by the Medieval wall sections found on the outside of the south wall)? Did they merely adapt the church's internal space (i.e., the transverse arches and the coffered ceiling) to the unit that the intended "beauty and greatness" demanded? Could this be the explanation for the excessive length of the existing Church's body?

Although, as we shall see, the changes introduced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century both in the ecclesiastical space – with the construction of the tower – and in the monastic space – with the construction of new dormitories – contributed to disguise the organization that this space had before 1689, we can conclude with some certainty that: a) the Medieval friars' church, of which at least the chevet has remained, corresponded to the axis of the existing temple; b) somewhere along the way, the parishioners' church was added to it, being placed against the façade with its main door opening towards the churchyard, the most convenient solution for a public temple; c) the union of both buildings resulted in the construction of a volume with three naves, whose width corresponded to the length of the parishioners' church.

A close observation of the outer walls of the main façade allows the perfect identification of two types of masonry works; the one found on the lower section, up to a height of approximately twothirds of the portal, seems to be earlier. However, we still need to mention that the issues raised here are merely working possibilities, questions made to the Church of the Monastery of Ancede itself that only the conduction of a thorough and concerted multidisciplinary study might clarify.

In 1746, the new jurisdictional distribution is already suggested in the new ecclesiastical space, which is structurally united and, in terms of jurisdiction, perfectly divided, resorting to a three-nave structure for that purpose. So, the two churches "were together, both shared and



Church. Sacristy.

divided with two naves, one belonging to the canons for their divine offices, without a tabernacle, and the other belonging to the parish for the administration of its sacraments"<sup>15</sup>.

There is yet another extremely unique feature in this Church, or rather, in its sacristy, which has to do with the fact that this shows burial places, as evidenced by the lids on the pavement. The three niches on the eastern wall suggest that, at some point, this area had a different function from the current one. If people wished to be buried there, it would have to be an area of great importance in terms of monastic life. It would surely be an outbuilding connected to a cloister older than the existing one. Could it be the Chapter Room?

Over the 18<sup>th</sup> century and even in the years immediately prior to its extinction, in 1834, the investment continued both in the ecclesiastical space and in the spatial context of the fence and dormitories. The works are distinguished according to the temporal or spiritual interests of the monks but, in some cases, they show the intervention of the parishioners, who sponsored some of the projects<sup>16</sup>.

In 1717 a sacristy is annexed to the chapel that would serve as the calvary of Ancede, called Our Lady of the Foot of the Cross. It stood inside "the upper enclosure or fence" and its construction was under the responsibility of the members of the confraternity of the Lord of the Steps<sup>17</sup>. Between 1722 and 1727 the monks commissioned the building or remodelling of the barns and the wine cellar<sup>18</sup> and, in 1731, the Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery was built on the churchyard. Four years later, in 1735, the north portal is raised. Between 1745 and 1834 there were several changes, including the construction of a new dormitory and also of the existing bell tower, unusually placed against to the discreet main façade of the church. Among all these works, we highlight the exuberant Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery.



Chapel of Our Lady of the Foot of the Cross (Baião).

<sup>15</sup> ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. Livro n.º 3529, fls. 43 v.º.

<sup>16</sup> To the acts of faith and piety we could add a specific way of making a statement against the strength of the monks. Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were several expressions of conflict and tension, namely the one that, in 1692, opposed the interested parties regarding the ownership and use of the hill, which located next to the fence that the monks had covered, by the residents (ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. Livro n.º 3529, fls. 45).

<sup>17</sup> ADP – Notariais, Baião, 1.º ofício, livro 9.

<sup>18</sup> ADP – Notariais, Baião, 1.º ofício, livro 9, fls. 54-54 v.º.

## Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery: a Sacred Theatre



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery.

ositioned roughly in the northwest corner of the vast churchyard towards which the lateral door of the Church opens today – and towards which the axial door of the parish church opened until 1689 –, the Chapel dedicated to the Lord of the Good Delivery is a project that fits perfectly into the Baroque taste and spirituality.

With an octagonal plan, its façade overlooks the Douro valley. The intention of its mentors was to place the building in a prominent place to take advantage of the orography, i.e., of the hillside slope. This kind of sanctuary-chapel, a common typology in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was intended to work as a pilgrimage destination, a point of arrival from a sacrificial path that mimicked the topic of Christ's painful ascension to Mount Golgotha.

Throughout the Modern Period, Christological and Marian devotions, together with vocatives related to crucial moments in human life, such as birth, death, a journey or even businesses, defined the popularity of certain chapels, either refurbished or built from scratch, whose invocations sometimes replaced old and obscured Medieval worships. Invocations such as those of the Good Success or the Good Delivery, the Good Death or the Good Luck, the Good Passage, the Fortune, of the Helpless or the Afflicted, etc., were very popular when it was time to plead for a safe birth, an uneventful trip or professional success. The polysemy of certain titles, such as the Good Delivery, which could allude to the good death, or to the favourable outcome of a sentence or even to the completion of a deal, encouraged devotion, which was aroused by some miracle or extraordinary event.

We do not know if, in the case of Ancede, the choice was due to an individual or a collective vote, like in the case of the residents of the parish of Recarei, Paredes, who chose Our Lady of the Good Delivery as their patron saint after seeing the request for the creation of their parish duly authorised (Reis, 1967: 107). However, we should point out that the construction of the Chapel of Ancede took place a few years after the eccentric events of 1709 that placed the people against a few priests of the Monastery.

The project was clearly designed by the Dominican monks<sup>19</sup>. The octagonal shape of the chapel is not visible from the outside, because there is a two-storey volume (sacristy and ambulatory) adjoining it, thus establishing the connection between the chancel and the wall, located to the east. So, the temple seems to erupt from the long wall that divides the different levels on which the Medieval church's chancel was built.

Showing no ornaments on the outside, the building rests on a base made of poorly carved ashlars; it is surmounted by a cornice on which there are small rectangular monolithic pillars placed quite far apart from each other, which served as balusters for a partition or balcony with a metal railing. This first level or register can be accessed using a staircase with six steps. The

19 The measurement report of 1745, while describing the interior of the Chapel of Our Lord of Good Delivery states that everything had been "made with alms". However, would these be alms given by the parishioners or the remainders of the alms collected by the monks of Ancede? (ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. *Auto de medição da igreja e convento e cerqua*, [1745], fl. 35 v.º).

Chapel's body, as we've already mentioned, is austere and plain. Each face of the Chapel is plastered and separated at the angles by false columns surmounted by a plain frieze and a cornice on top of which there are eight pyramid-shaped pinnacles. There is an opening on each face: two rectangular openings above the lateral doors, which provide access to the sacristy, and four large quadrangular windows in the remaining façades, except for the main one, where there is a circular oculus surrounded by a heptagonal frame. The main door, with a straight cut and deprived of ornaments, has nothing more than a Latin inscription on the lintel: HUC CIRCUM INNUMERO GENTI POPULI QUE VOLABUNT ENAUDIAS DOMINE QUANDO ROGATUS ERIS, which may be translated into the following warning: "Lord, please hear the countless individuals and peoples who pass by, whenever they appeal to you"<sup>20</sup>.

The interior is amazing due to the organization of the space, the ornamental composition and the relationship between the figures and the observer. Immediately after entering the main door we feel part of a stage set of an animation theatre. Nothing was left to chance and every altarpiece, built as if it were a stage, narrates an act from this story that the eyes try to cover in a single glance.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. North wall.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. South wall.

The reading should be done clockwise. Facing the main altarpiece, which is the final scene of this sacred theatre, the devotees should start their visual path on their right side, by the depiction of the Annunciation of the Angel Gabriel to Mary (Lk 1, 26-38). In the scene, which is usually shown as a silent meeting between Gabriel and the Chosen One, we see the participation of Joseph who, kneeling slightly behind his wife, accepts and receives the angel's message.

Then, we see the Visitation, the moment when Mary, again together with Joseph, finds her relative Elizabeth and her husband Zechariah and they greet (Lk 1, 39-45).

In the following altarpiece we see the Nativity scene or the Birth of Jesus (Lk 2, 1-7; 15-20). Like the previous ones, this little scenario that includes three-dimensional or carved wooden sculptures, uses different techniques to create illusion: a scenario depicted in perspective placed behind the figures; lateral recesses to allow the entrance or exit of minor characters or assistants; and elements hanging from the ceiling that imitate celestial figures, such as the angels wrapped

20 A freer version could express the following: "Lord, hear the requests [or prayers] of all those who pass by this place". We thank Monsignor Cândido Azevedo, of Sernancelhe, for both readings.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. Altarpiece: The Annunciation.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. Altarpiece: The Nativity.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. Altarpiece: The Adoration of the Magi.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. Altarpiece: The Visitation.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. Altarpiece: The Circumcision.



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. Altarpiece: The Presentation in the Temple.

in clouds who are watching the first moments of the little Jesus. The Child, wrapped in strips of cloth and lying on what seems to be a small bed lined with a damasked fabric, is carefully watched by Mary and Joseph and, on the background, by three male figures, the shepherds, and a female figure carrying a basket with food. The animals that traditionally make up the nativity scene as we know it also watch the event: a cow and a donkey, lying right behind the Divine Child.

The Circumcision of Jesus (Lk 2, 21) presents Mary and Joseph kneeling. Joseph holds the Child with his hands and Maria is the one who somehow presents Him to the priest who will proceed with the circumcision. The priest draws our attention due to the fact that he is wearing glasses, which are certainly a sign of knowledge that alludes to the monastic world itself where such instruments would be often used. Two male figures, one who reads and one who prays, and a female figure lurking behind Mary, follow the scene.

The Adoration of the Magi (Mt 2, 1-12), marked by the star that indicated the location of the birth of the Saviour, includes Mary holding the Baby Jesus and showing Him to a male figure (probably Joseph) and a kneeling female figure, under the assistance of the three Magi placed on the background, who are recognized by the turbans, the crowns and the exotic robes they wear, which show their oriental or foreign origin.

Finally, we have the Presentation in the Temple (Lk 2, 22-32), with the hieratic old Simeon presiding over the scene and extending his arms to receive the Saviour from Joseph. We also see Mary and the prophetess Anna, who is quietly supporting herself on a cane and watching the action behind Joseph.

Once this circular path has been completed, the observer's eyes are again focused on the altarpiece of the main chapel, which may be accessed by climbing a step. The composition of this space is more complex than that of the nave. It is natural that the visit and the veneration dedicated to each of the scenes of the story of the birth and childhood of Jesus there was followed by a walk along the corridor located behind the main altarpiece. In this itinerary the devotee would probably be faced with small panels in polychrome clay narrating the sacrificial path of Christ to the Golgotha. These panels have disappeared, corrupted by the moisture and by poor preservation conditions, leaving only the last one that depicts the Calvary. Upon completing the circuit which, together with the path along the nave, would take the shape of the number "8", the devotee would stand before the altarpiece watching the profusion of little figures and narrated scenes, much like the scenarios found in the nave.

Built-in linear altarpiece comprising three horizontal registers. On the first register, located at ground level and equivalent to a frontal, there are three boxes: two smaller ones on the sides and a larger one in the middle. This layout is repeated in the second register. The scenes should be *read* starting from the right-hand box on the second register, corresponding to the predella's level, where the Prayer and Agony in the Garden (Mt 26, 36-46; Mk 14, 32-42; Lk 22, 39-46; Jo 18, 1) is depicted; it is followed by the ground register, right-hand box, the Arrest of Jesus (Mt 26, 50-56; Jo 18, 10-11; Mk 14, 46-52; Lk 22, 49-53), and then, by the corresponding box found on the level above it, the Lord Tied to the Column, the first of the humiliations and tortures inflicted upon the Saviour. On the box from the lowest level, on the observer's right, we see the *Ecce Homo*, a designation taken from John, chapter 19, verses 4 to 7. At this point,





Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Nave. Roof.

the narrative continues on the larger box, in the middle of the predella, with the path to the Calvary mimicked in the moment in which Veronica sees the suffering of Christ and cleans his dirty and bloody face. And finally, in the lowest box, in the middle of the first register, there is an interesting sculptural clay composition showing the deposition and the lamentation over the Body of Christ (Jo 19, 38-42). This representation takes on a double significance: from the artistic point of view this is an excellent work produced by a workshop or a clay modeller with an excellent anatomical knowledge, taking into account the size of the piece and, of course, the figures represented in it. On the other hand, the display of the (eight) characters who attend the scene and are positioned before the body of Christ like the apostles during the Last Supper, allows us to make a polysemic reading of the moment in which the Body is simultaneously the sacrificial food and table around which and in which His followers take communion.

On the third register, Christ expires on the cross assisted by two angels and on the chancel's lateral walls, on the third register, two panels complete the narrative: on the left, the Resurrection (Mt 27, 62-66; Mk 16, 1-8) and, on the opposite side, the Ascension into Heaven (Mk 16, 14-20; Lk 24, 50-53; Mt 1, 1-11). Above the first panel there is a shield with the inscription PETIT ET ACCIPIETIS (Ask and you shall receive); above the second one there is a similar cartouche with the sentence QUAERITE ET INVENIETIS (Seek and you shall find).

Surmounting this entire composition we see the Assumption of the Virgin, who is risen to the heavens supported by angels to be crowned by the Son, God the Father and the Holy Spirit. And this is how the Sorrowful and Glorious Mysteries of the Life of Christ come to an end



Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery. Chancel. Roof.

We should highlight that, behind the patron's crucifix (the Lord of Good Delivery, to whom this temple is actually dedicated), there is a painting showing the *Virgin and Saint Dominic of Guzmán*, both delivering rosaries to suffering and penitent souls in purgatory. Between them, and dividing the composition, there is a Cross from which light rays radiate.

The chancel's coffered ceiling features panels with the *arma christi*, the objects used for the torture and martyrdom of Christ, wrapped in shell-shaped cartouches with vegetal ornaments.

In the nave, the roof features larger coffers arranged according to the faces of the octagon, which display a few Marian and Christological symbols: natural elements, such as the palm or the cypress, invoking death and victory over it; the moon and the sun, associated with death and birth of Christ and with the Old and New Testament or the heraldic emblem of the Order of Preachers, among others.

The flagged floor of the nave shows the reuse of graves, perhaps from the expansion works of the new church that arose from the fusion between the existing temples, the monastic one and the parishioners' one.

As we have seen, the association with the number "8" is quite common, not only in the octagonal shape of the plan, but also in the ambulatory path and in the display of the elements and programmes related to the Sorrowful and Glorious Mysteries of Christ found in the main altarpiece. The "8" is a number associated with the Resurrection because Christ resuscitated on the eight day after entering Jerusalem. The octangular design is also very close to the idea of the circle and, therefore, to the image of perfection associated with the divine. We should remember that, not far from the Chapel of Our Lord of Good Delivery, the Preachers had also built a chapel with a circular plan dedicated to Saint Dominic.



Chapel of Saint Dominic (Baião).

## THE MONUMENT DURING THE MODERN PERIOD

s we've mentioned before, until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the parish of Ancede was based on a church adjoining the monastic temple. It will be a difficult, if not impossible, task to reconstruct the collection divided between the two buildings. While it is certain that both the imagery and remaining pictorial collection point out predominantly to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries as their manufacturing period, the following century was a particularly remarkable period in terms of the renovation of movable and integrated heritage. This renovation, or rather, these reform expresses new tastes and spiritual and devotional sensibilities but, most of all, the implementation of the guidelines emanated from Trent which were incisively targeted at the instruments of popular catechism: sculptures and paintings that should be purged from theological or idiosyncratic subversions of local religiosity. Maybe that is why so few specimens from the period prior to the council of Trent (1545-1563) have survived; from this small collection, we highlight the processional cross of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a 16<sup>th</sup>-century Saint Lucia and the triptych of *Saint Bartholomew* which is traditionally associated with Ancede, also from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The processional cross, made of embossed and punctured chiselled silver, is perfectly dated by the engraved inscription that alludes to its donor: DOM VASCO MARTIN DE BAIOM PRIOL DANSEDE. The activity of prior Vasco Martins is documented in Ancede in 1374 when, on August 26<sup>th</sup> that year, he and the main prior, Afonso Martins, both corroborated the

Church. Sacristy. Processional cross. Front view.

Church. Sacristy. Processional cross. Obverse view.





Church. Sacristy. Pedestal. Sculpture. Saint Lucia.

lease of a few houses in Gaia intended to be used by the Monastery. By signing "from Baião", the 14<sup>th</sup>-century prior seems to have a will of associating himself with the old local lineages, but we are not able to place him in a specific family, neither in the Baiões who descended from Afonso Hermiges (Sottomayor-Pizarro, 1997), nor in the Baiões from the urban patriciate of Porto (Gaio, 1938-1941: §4). The heraldic emblem at the base of the cross – two overlapping goats – marks that connection. Moreover, the social and lineage position of Vasco Martins would not be of minor importance since, in 1375, he had already assisted his uncle Afonso Pires, the prior of Santa Cruz of Coimbra, to whom he succeed in office.

The cross, which may have reached Ancede through Coimbra, and, therefore, within the sphere of the Augustinian mother-house, is an interesting piece of sacred jewellery. Showing a Latin shape, it fits into the category of Gothic crosses, evidenced by features that are common to similar pieces from the same period, such as the extremities shaped as fleurs-de-lis and pears; it is well preserved and richly decorated with phytomorphic motifs, a type of decoration that is repeated along the arms. On the obverse, it preserves the figure of Christ crucified with a realistic nature, already announcing the Renaissance humanism that freed the hieratic and tense Romanesque representation. The crucifixion scene is completed by the presence - on the lateral ends of the cross' arm - of the Virgin (on the left) and of John the Evangelist (on the right). On the reverse, the risen Christ presides over the centre of a universe where the four corners are, at the same time, a reference to the cardinal points from where Hope and Salvation are delivered in the words of their heralds: the tetramorph. At the ends of the cross we find the evangelists, in their usual iconography: Saint Mark's winged lion (on the right), Saint Matthew's angel (on the left), Saint John's eagle (at the top) and Saint Luke's winged bull (at the bottom). At the intersection of the arms of the cross, a cartouche with an engraved figure presents the Saviour, seated in majesty, wearing a tunic and displaying the five stigmata, thus marking the centre of this Christian geography.

The triptych dedicated to the apostle Bartholomew and the sculpture of Saint Lucia are almost from the same period and come from close locations. They are imported pieces, which certainly entered through the Douro and document the closeness of the priors of Ancede with the urban families of Porto, as well as their position within the context of trading relations with northern Europe.

The sculpture of Saint Lucia is included in the series of pieces imported from Flanders and may be associated with a Flemish workshop<sup>21</sup>. The triptych of *Saint Bartholomew* is from the same region and roughly from the same period; it was associated with Ancede for a certain period of time since it was kept here. The fact that there is no knowledge about any altar or chapel dedicated to that apostle in this Church suggests that the painting was commissioned for a chapel or church affiliated with this Monastery. Quite close to this one, the church of Campelo (Baião), whose patron is Saint Bartholomew, seems to clarify this puzzle.

Saint Bartholomew of Campelo was the centre of major disputes among local lords. The church had been donated in the 12<sup>th</sup> century by King Afonso Henriques to a nobleman of his trust called Egas Ramires. The patronage probably followed the genealogical line of his

descendants until the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, when they donated it to the Monastery which soon took over the church's privileges, namely the one of presenting the parish priest. Going against the ownership of Ancede, Afonso V gave the patronage of the churches of Gôve (Baião) and Campelo to Luís Alvares de Sousa, the lord of Baião. The dispute broke out. The monks were against the donation and continued to present parish priests opposing the ones presented by the lords of Baião. In 1497, the priest was Rui Pires and, in 1522, Gonçalo de Madureira, certainly a relative of the Madureiras who kept family ties with some of priors of Ancede or leasing connections with the Monastery. So, it is natural that these Madureiras – one of the urban patrician families of Porto in the 16<sup>th</sup> century – were responsible for commissioning the triptych for the church of Campelo.

It is an oil painting on oak wood, with no designated authorship, produced in the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and possibly imported from Flanders. On the reverse of the panels we see the depiction of the *Annunciation* and, when they are open, we find a triad of saints: on the first panel, *Saint Andrew* is depicted with the instrument of his martyrdom (the saltire cross); on the central panel, *Saint Bartholomew* is depicted holding a book in his left hand; in his right hand he is holding a knife (used in his scalping) and the chain with which we leashes the demon (a grotesque figure that looks like a sort of bird and is looming behind the thaumaturge); and, on the



Church. Sacristy. Painting. Triptych of Saint Bartholomew

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third panel, we see *Saint Anthony* in his usual iconography: in his left hand he holds a cross; in his right hand he holds a closed book on which the Infant Jesus rests (Azevedo, 1996: 95). Today, the thaumaturgy from Lisbon is still remembered in the altarpiece of the church of Campelo and the fact that Saint Andrew accompanies the patronal figure of Saint Bartholomew recalls, of course, the connection between the Monastery and the church of Campelo – a connection that needed to be strengthened at a time when the dispute with the lords of Baião was still going on.



Church. Sacristy. Painting. Triptych of *Saint Bartholomew* (reverse of the panels).





Church. Nave. North wall. Painting. Ecce Homo. Detail.



Church. Nave. North wall. Painting. *Deposition in the Tomb.* Detail.

From the series of movable pieces that are still used for worshipping purposes, we highlight the pictorial collection distributed along the Church's body, whose manufacturing period ranges from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. These are small framed boards that depict some of the Steps and the Passion of Christ: the *Flagellation or humiliation of Christ*, the *Ecce Homo*; the *Descent from the Cross* and the *Deposition in the Tomb*<sup>22</sup>. Being a work by an unknown author of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it may be a reuse of an altarpiece from one of the demolished churches.

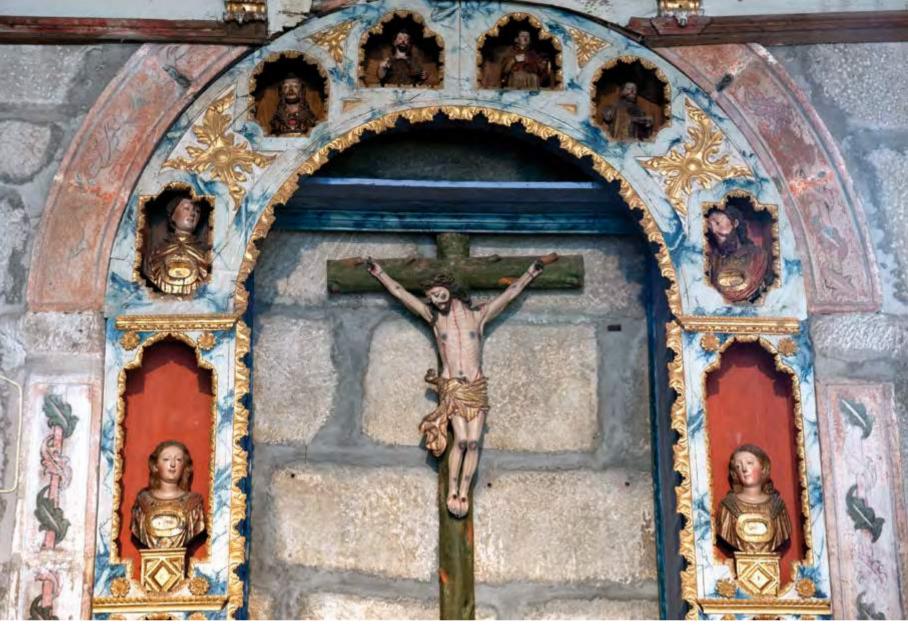
We should also mention the presence of two other oil paintings on wood; one is on the nave, on the Epistle side and is a 16<sup>th</sup>-century depiction of *Saint James the Greater* as a pilgrim; the other, displayed in the sacristy, is a 17<sup>th</sup>-century depiction of the *Virgin and Child*.

Regarding the imagery collection, we highlight the three-dimensional sculptures scattered across the main and collateral altarpieces and a few corbels on the nave, namely the image of the patron saint, Saint Andrew, Saint Dominic of Guzmán (main altarpiece), the Virgin of the Rosary (nave) and the Holy Mothers (nave); all the images are Baroque and most of them are mentioned in the inventory of 1722, together with the images of Saint Lucia, Saint Sebastian, Saint John the Baptist (manufactured in 1738) and Saint Gonçalo (commissioned in 1716).

The new Church built in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, as we've mentioned, is wide but sober in terms of decoration. Along the three naves divided by slender columns, we didn't find any altarpieces – not even in the collateral arches where currently there are some sculptures resting on corbels –, despite the existence of 17<sup>th</sup>-century descriptions that mention the main altarpiece, the altarpiece of the Blessed Sacrament (on the Gospel side) and the altarpiece of the Virgin of the Rosary (on the Epistle side)<sup>23</sup>. Only the chancel arch and main chapel have gilded woodwork ornaments; these blend structural elements of the National Baroque style [style which develops

<sup>22</sup> Logged in the inventory of the diocese of Porto under no.s PS00.0069, PS00.0070, PS00.0071 and PS00.0072 (Costa, 2006). 23 A particularly thorough inventory from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century refers the three altarpieces, the two sacrariums and the two confraternities (of the Lord and the Virgin of the Rosary) (ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. *Epitome da Fazenda*, k/17/2/4-37, fls. 34).





Church. Sacristy. Reliquary-altarpiece

during the reign of King João V (k. 1706-1750)] with the extensive refurbishment that was probably carried out in the late  $18^{th}$  century, with a Neoclassical taste, of which we should highlight the Eucharistic throne with six steps whose top matches with the opening of the Medieval oculus. In the ceiling we see coffered works with embossed decorations: floral motifs painted and gilded, similar to the elements found in the altarpiece.

In the sacristy there are other specimens from 18<sup>th</sup>-century campaigns, namely the cabinet designed to accommodate part of a series of nine reliquary-busts of the martyrs and saints Bernard, Vicenza, Paderno, Pius V, John the Baptist, Paterno, Valerie, Charles Borromeo and Andrew<sup>24</sup>. But the most precious relic of the Monastery, which in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century was displayed in the collateral altar of the Virgin of the Rosary, is the *Cabeça Santa* [Holy Head], currently kept in the sacristy. It is a "silver oval-shaped box with a domed lid, on whose top there is hole, also shaped as an oval, where three fronto-parietal sutures (...) of the underlying skull appear". This is the description made in 1944 by the physician Armando Leão, who added some notes about the venerable skull, or part of it, because "the bones (...) are sawed with a sharp and well-guided saw, separating the lower jaw by the temporo-mandibular joint" (Leão, 1944: 114-115). The reason





24 Logged in the inventory of the diocese of Porto under no.s PS00.0036, PS00.0037, PS00.0038, PS00.0039, PS00.0040, PS00.0041, PS00.0042 and PS00.0043 (Costa, 2006).

Church. Sacristy. Reliquary. Holy Head.

for such an operation, which the doctor considers as a "sacrilegious procedure", is unknown, but it seems clear that this relic was often handled throughout its history.

The skull's obscure origin is narrated in the *Agiologio lusitano*..., on May 1<sup>st</sup>, the date that was supposedly dedicated to the veneration of a man called Giraldo, a canon regular who had lived in the monastery of Ermelo, "where he had bloomed with religious virtues". Although there is no biographical information about this venerable friar, the author of the *Agiologio lusitano*..., contradicting other hagiographers who named him Mammes, indicates the location of his grave in the old church of Ermelo:

"built in the chancel, on the outside, raise more than a feet above the ground, with its Gothic Epitaph, so worn and lost in ancient times that it cannot be read more than the second line, which has been kept despite the passage of time, so his name could be known" (Cardoso, 1666: 19).

A fig tree that had sprouted from his grave had miraculous properties, serving as an aid to difficult childbirths. Furthermore, back pains would disappear in contact with the gravestone, but it was the head itself that, presumably exhumed from Ermelo and taken to Ancede, provided protection against hydrophobia or rabies. There was a legend saying that both in life and after death, Gerardo, Giraldo or Geraldo or even Mammes would "perform miracles on hydrophobic people, healing them" (Leão, 1944: 115). For this reason, on May 1<sup>st</sup>, men and women and especially shepherds and stock farmers, flocked to the Church of Ancede to deliver the healing of their body and animals in the hands of the obscure monk.

It is, of course, a local worship, cherished and manipulated by the monks, which incorporates topics of well-known saints. Indeed, the confusion with Mammes reveals the need to create a common ground with a well-known martyr, particularly famed for ensuring milk for women who were not able to breastfeed their children (please note the similarity between the name of the saint and [mama], the Portuguese word for breast) and also because he is one of the main protectors of cattle, with remarkable sanctuaries in different parts of Europe (Réau, 2001: 313). Being an eminently therapeutic and pastoral worship, even if it was a marginal and unknown devotion to Catholic Sanctorals, the fact is that the day of its celebration was May 1<sup>st</sup>, a particularly sensitive day in the rural calendar. Many "people from the neighbouring lands came here with cattle and other beasts bitten by dogs with rabies, filled with faith, with the experience of all who see it and eat the blessed bread touched by the holy relic, they shall not be damned"<sup>25</sup>.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when he was already called Berardo, it is said that his head was worshipped in the left collateral altar, "tucked into a silver urn covered with a fringed red veil and curtains with golden branches and other animals"<sup>26</sup>.

In the sacristy there are also three Baroque sculptures, of unknown origin, representing a humiliated Christ or *Ecce Homo*; these pieces from the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century show

25 ADP – Monásticos. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. *Epitome da Fazenda*, k/17/2/4-37, fls. 35. 26 Idem.

the fervent Christological devotion, as well as the importance of the processions and of all the scenography they entailed<sup>27</sup>.

Within the jewellery category we should highlight the 17<sup>th</sup>-century monstrance made of cut, embossed and engraved chiselled silver with small bells<sup>28</sup>.

Returning to the Church's body, in the place where the parishioners' church used to stand there is currently a wide choir with a Neoclassical balustrade and, underneath it, on the right side of the entrance, the baptistery. From here it is possible to have a more wide-ranging view over the three naves, from which we highlight the pulpit made of carved and gilded wood located in the central nave; the pulpit has a canopy made of the same material on which there is an allegorical figure. The three surfaces facing the auditorium are decorated with floral, shell-shaped and religious motifs, such as the winged and flaming heart. This work dates back to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and, in a certain way, symbolizes the importance of the sermon and the word among the Preachers.



Church. Central nave. Pulpit.

27 There is a scientific work about the materials and techniques used in their manufacture (Barata, 2010: 19-26). 28 Logged in the inventory of the diocese of Porto under no. PS00.0057 (Costa, 2006).



## CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

and presses, an alembic and a threshing house<sup>29</sup>.

he document that recorded the abandonment of the Monastery, following the extinction of the religious orders and the immediate cessation of male monastic life, was signed on April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1834. On this date there were eight monks in Ancede. Inventories were conducted to record its outstanding debts, its movable and immovable assets and its incomes. Regarding the built heritage we are left with the idea of the existence of a large building that included: a few housing "addresses", dormitories with a living room, a chamber and an antechamber, a hall of cells, a registry office, a balcony, a house of beards (a barbershop), a refectory, a kitchen, a pantry and two cellars. Inside the fence there was also room for a guest house with three alcoves and a room, a stable, a barn, a granary, a wine cellar

This corresponds approximately to the same built area we can still find today. Between the 18<sup>th</sup>-century descriptions we mentioned in the previous topic, the monastic space underwent major changes. The belfry that around 1746 was threatening to collapse was demolished and a new one built in its place, in the narrow space between the new church and the entrance to the new Monastery, whose façade still persists.

The monastic outbuildings were purchased at a public auction in 1835 by José Henriques Soares, a liberal businessman from Porto where he provided great services to the party of King Pedro (k. 1828-1834) during the Siege of Porto<sup>30</sup>. In Ancede – where he annulled the title given by Queen Maria II (k. 1826-1853) during the "cabralismo" [the period when Costa Cabral played a predominant political role (1842-1851)] (letter from December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1842) – he set up a school and resumed the wine production left by the monks.

Regarding the inquiry that was carried out in the Diocese of Porto in 1864, there is not much we can say about this church. We know that, like the "Chapel of the Lord of Good Delivery, located in the churchyard, it was well preserved, requiring only some cleaning"<sup>31</sup>. However, Father José Alves Pinto regrets the fact that, "despite all the research, I [him, the priest] was not able to discover the dates of the foundation of the Church and Chapels".

The 20<sup>th</sup> century is institutionally neglectful regarding this monastic ensemble (Basto, 2007), classified as Public Interest Monument in 2013<sup>32</sup>. [MLB / NR]

From 2001 to 2003, works were carried out at the expense of the City Council of Baião, for the conservation and restoration of the barn, cellar and wine presses and the creation of sanitary infrastructure. The recovery of the eaves, the threshing floor and the house of the lads,

<sup>29</sup> ANTT – Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Finanças. Convento de Santo André de Ancede. Cx. 2195, n.º 25. 30 ADP – Fundo do Governo Civil. N.º 126 – Registo de alvarás de posse conferidos a diversos arrematantes de bens nacionais,

<sup>1836-1844,</sup> n.º 72. On the same date, José Henriques Soares also acquired the convent of São Gonçalo, in Amarante. 31 Missiva, 13 de outubro de 1864. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN Cx. 3216/2 (Correspondência igrejas do concelho

de Baião. 1864 a 1890).

<sup>32</sup> ORDINANCE no. 225. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series II. 72 (2013-04-12) 12097.

by then called the caretaker's house, was carried out between 2004 and 2005. In 2007 the Interpretive Centre of the Vine and Wine opened to the public.

Between 2010 and 2011, the local authority proceeded to the consolidation and maintenance of the main wings of the Monastery, as well as to the preservation and restoration of the Chapel of the Lord of the Good Delivery, including part of its artistic heritage. These interventions were preceded by a diagnosis study of diseases, conducted in 2003 by the Department of Civil Engineering of the University of Minho, and a study of consolidation and conservation of the main wings of the Monastery, conducted in 2008 by the same Department. All these interventions were accompanied by archaeological works carried out in 2002 and 2005 within a construction work context.

Despite being part of the Route of the Romanesque since 2013, the Monastery of Ancede was again subject to a new archaeological intervention, this time in the old buildings of the guest house and the house of the lads (servants), thus providing new elements for the development of the architectural project, designed by Álvaro Siza Vieira, and planned for the remaining monastic space, today under the form of ruin.

However, the implementation of new archaeological works is already scheduled, which should begin in late 2014, within the religious space, in the surrounding area of the main wings of the Monastery as well as in the area of the farm. [RR]

#### CHRONOLOGY

1141: awarding of the land charter to the "honra" of Ancede by King Afonso Henriques;

1144: the church of Gôve (Baião) is annexed to the Monastery's assets;

1258: the Monastery's prior was a Diogo, who was unaware of its origin;

1294: the church of Saint Michael of Oliveira do Douro (Cinfães) was annexed to the Monastery's assets;

1320: the Church of Ancede paid a tax of 550 Portuguese "libras" to support the Crusades;

1366: there was a fire in the Church of Saint Andrew;

1391: the patronage of the church of Saint Michael of Oliveira do Douro was added to the previous donation;

1559: the Monastery of Ancede and all its assets, privileges and incomes are integrated into the assets of the convent of Saint Dominic of Lisbon;

17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries: major investments in the monastic space (fence and churches);

1689: the new Church is blessed and consecrated in this year's Christmas celebrations;

1745: the existing bell tower had not been built yet;

1864: the Church of Ancede was well preserved, being just in need of a coat of paint;

2001-2003: conservation and restoration of the barn, cellar and wine presses and creation of sanitary infrastructure;

2002: archaeological surveys within the scope of the sanitary infrastructure works;

2004-2005: recovery of the eaves, the threshing floor and of the house of the lads, then called the caretaker's house;

2005: archaeological surveys in the scope of the project designed for the remodelling and reconstruction or the caretaker's house and the eaves;

2007: opening of the Interpretive Centre of the Vine and Wine;

2010: the Monastery of Ancede integrates the Route of the Romanesque;

2010-2011: consolidation and maintenance of the main wings of the Monastery and conservation and restoration of the Chapel of the Lord of Good Delivery, including part of its artistic heritage;

2013: archaeological surveys in the old buildings of the guest house and the house of the lads (servants);

2013: the Monastery of Ancede is classified as Public Interest Monument;

2014-2015: archaeological surveys within the religious space, the surrounding area of the main wings of the Monastery and the area of the farm.

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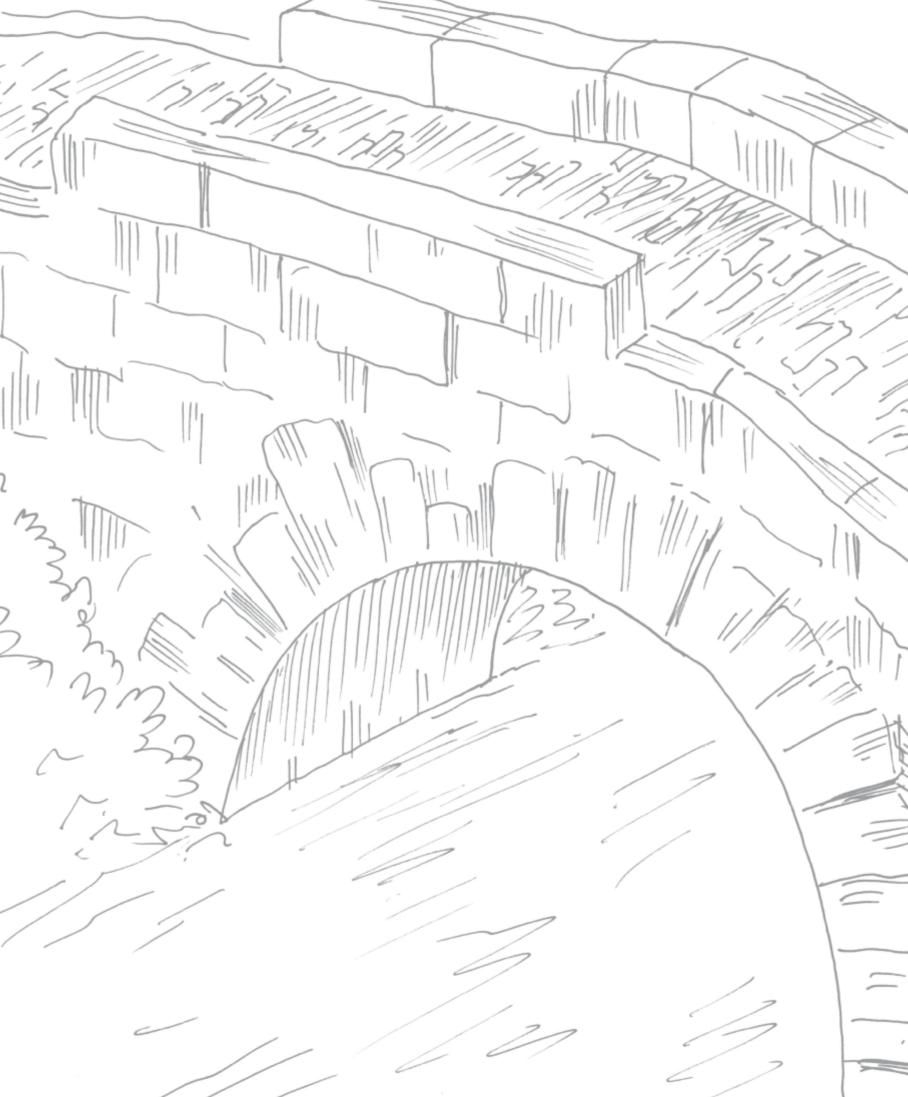
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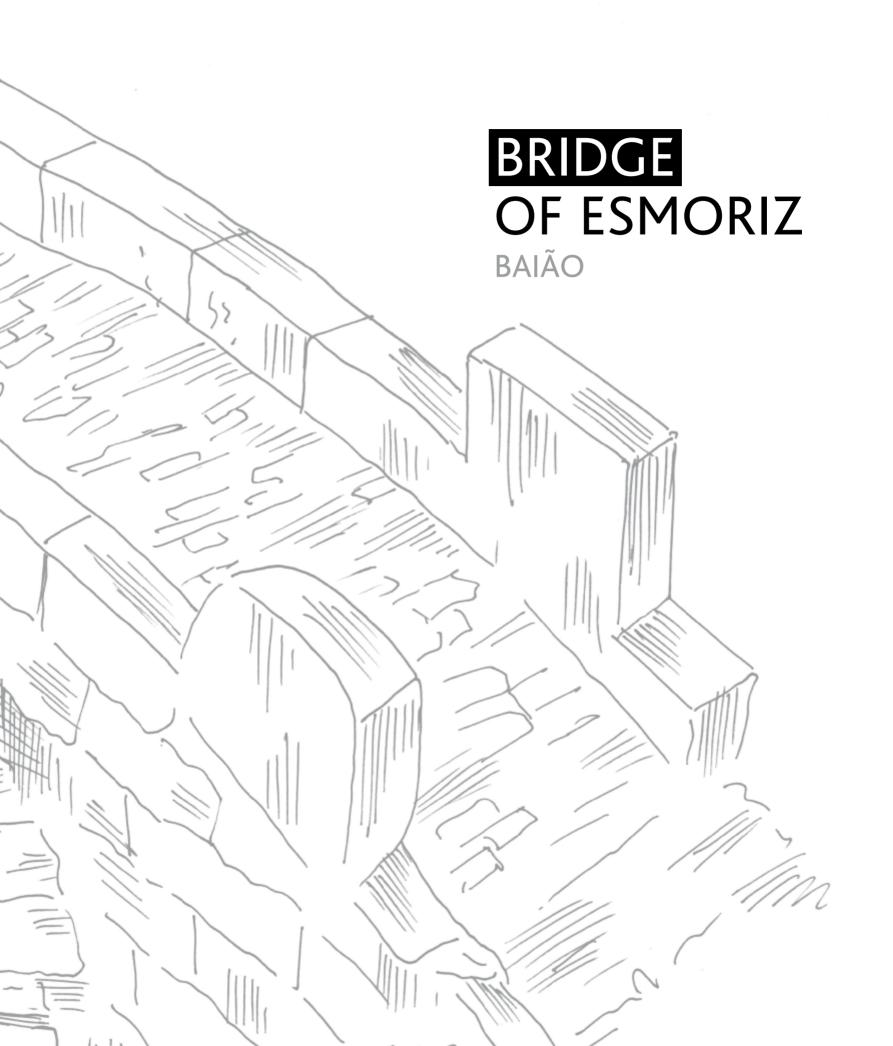
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n 1758, in the memoir of Ancede (Baião), the priest João Pinto de Almeida, or someone on his behalf (since he merely signs a short laconic text attesting the veracity of the information contained in it) (Almeida, 1758), lists six bridges in his parish. Three wooden bridges and three stone ones. Regarding the stone bridges, he states the existence of one between the places of Esmoriz and Penalva, another on the road from the Monastery of Ancede to Pala (Ribadouro, Baião) and a third one close to a series of mills called "of Machoças".

This reference and the factuality of the Bridge of Esmoriz, featuring a single round arch, show signs of the existence of a crossing that was probably important; otherwise, it wouldn't have inspired the investment that was made, since it could have been perfectly achieved by a



Aerial view.



Downstream view.

simple wooden walkway, as in the other three cases referred by the priest of Ancede. However, while it's a fact that there was a stone bridge in 1758, we cannot guarantee, without any documents or archaeological elements to prove it, that the bridge mentioned in that year is the passage we see today. This circumstance may be related, as in the case of the Bridge of Panchorra (Resende), to the late use of chronologically remote construction models.

So, we should relativise the importance of crossings when it is based on "stone bridge" typologies. In this case, the priest João de Almeida Pinto does not distinguish (like many of his peers) between "stone" and "masonry", which could suggest, in the second case, the hiring of skilled workers, and hence a more expensive project. A project like this could require a construction deed and would leave a valuable record of its execution, repair or reconstruction.

In order to study these crossings, as well as the paving of paths and roads, focusing on their material nature is not enough. The lack of knowledge about building techniques and materials outside the Roman period raises countless doubts. Furthermore, the confusion related to the names given to communication links according to their ability to endure the movement of vehicles (roads) or to be mere passage tracks (routes, footpaths, etc.) for people or animals make it impossible for us to look at this issue with the attention it deserves. This situation gives rises to the frequency with which 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> century and even later bridges are considered as being Roman or Romanesque, due the timeless reproduction of old models, as we believe is the case of the Bridge of Esmoriz<sup>1</sup>.

Indeed, returning to the issue of the importance of this crossing, it cannot be analysed from a contemporary point of view. We should always find out the usefulness of the passage within the historic path of communities that use it, since all Medieval and Modern communication links (unlike the Roman ones) always had a local and regional character, which was only surpassed in the contemporary period. So, the bridge should be framed within in a broader scope of humanization and circulation. In this specific case, we should take a close look at the valley of the Ovil river or brook, which springs close to Loivos do Monte (Baião) and flows into the river Douro, near Pala. Its northeast-southeast direction forced the construction of several crossings linking the coast to the interior. Knowing that on the south side of the Douro there was a path (or, at least, an overlay of several paths) along the river bank, we may assume – given the connection between Ancede and Porto, the episcopal seat and an economic centre – that there could also exist a route on the opposite bank, built by combining multiple branches, and which might lead to that city through Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses) and Entre-os-Rios (Penafiel). However, the old maps do not indicate any significant route that followed this path.



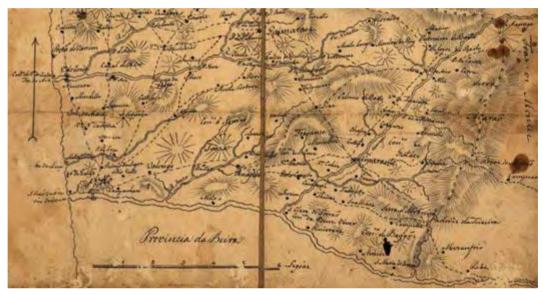
Stone path leading to the Bridge.



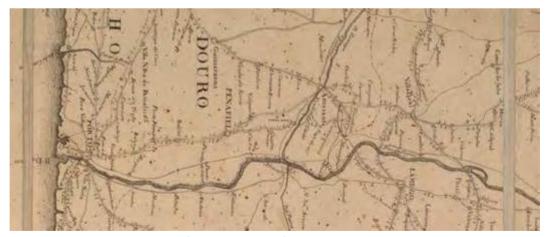
Upstream view.

1 Or the case of the bridge of Covelas, in the neighbouring municipality of Cinfães, between the parishes of Ferreiros and Tendais, considered for several years as both Roman and Romanesque. It did not even exist in 1758, as there was a single wooden crossing over the Bestança in that same place. The Baroque medallion that surmounts the parapet, halfway across the bridge, stands as a homage to the work's mentor, a noble priest from a close village, who paid for it; it was completed in 1762.

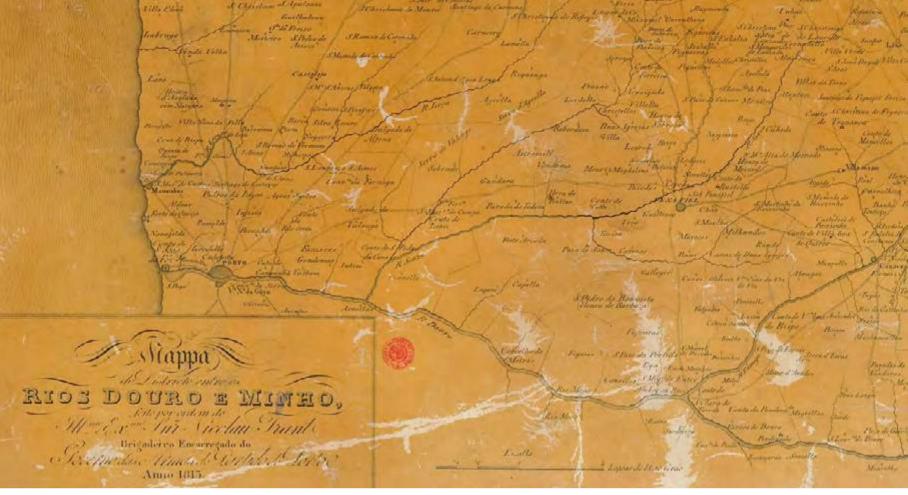
The circulation route that, since the Middle Ages, was the main axis between the coastal and inner Douro regions connected Porto to Baltar (Paredes), Penafiel, Canaveses (Marco de Canaveses), Padrão da Teixeira (Baião) and Mesão Frio. This road, used since the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the present day as the shortest path between Régua and Porto, was the starting point for several other routes.



Provincial map of Minho (adapted from Norton, 1807). Source: National Digital Library.



Military map showing Portugal's main roads (adapted from Eça, 1808). Source: National Digital Library.



Map showing the main roads to and from Porto (adapted from Depósito dos Trabalhos Geodésicos, 1861). Source: National Digital Library.

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One of them started in Canaveses, just after the grand old Medieval bridge, following an almost straight line towards the Mourilhe pier (located in Cinfães, which disappeared during the construction of the Carrapatelo dam). It passed through the villages of Rio de Galinhas, Paredes de Viadores and Paços de Gaiolo, all from Marco de Canaveses. From a set of old maps of the Portuguese territory, only two – one from 1720<sup>2</sup> and another from 1797<sup>3</sup> – mark a road that ran parallel to the Douro river (on the north bank) connecting Mesão Frio to Entre-os-Rios. Probably, it would go through Ancede, across the "couto" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] or close to it, but given the map's scale it is impossible to be sure that the road actually crossed the Ovil river, in Esmoriz. Besides, the tributaries of the Douro were circulation channels that were already used during the Romanization period. This makes it easier to accept the existence of structuring roads in the Baião region with a north-south direction, instead of roads that ran along Douro's banks, an idea already shared by Mário Barroca<sup>4</sup>, in 1985, and

<sup>2 [</sup>Regnorum Hispaniae et Portugalliae] [Material cartográfico/Cartographic collection]. [Escala/Scale 1:2470000]. [ca.1720]. Nürnberg.

<sup>3</sup> FADEN, William – [Chorographical map of the kingdom of Portugal divided into its grand provinces] [Material cartográfico/ Cartographic collection]. [Escala/Scale 1:900000]. 1797. London.

<sup>4</sup> The author reports the discovery of a milestone between Mesquinhata and Gove (Baião), related to the "passage of the Roman road that connected Braga to Viseu, and that Antoninus ignores in his itinerary" (Barroca, 1985: 3). This route would follow along the extensive geological fracture that crosses the Douro between Porto Manso (Baião) and Porto Antigo (Cinfães), following through the slopes of Montemuro. We are not admitting that a Roman road crossed the Douro in this area, in order to ease the mountain's substantial altitudinal differences, but we accept the possibility of it being a connection to the path that ran parallel to the Douro or to the river itself, which is actually in line with the Antonian itinerary. Besides, in his analysis of the Medieval road system in Baião, Mário Barroca (1985: 10-11) is peremptory in tracing routes that do not include the crossing of the Bridge of Esmoriz. We transcribe the words of Luis Miguel Duarte and Amândio Barros (1997: 77-118), when they describe the Douro as a catalyst for regional economy: "countless paths and roads, ending or starting in different riverside points, were used by merchants, muleteers or carters, who were the main suppliers of the inland areas".

by Arlindo de Magalhães and Maria Manuela Alves, in 1991, who tried to trace the Jacobean pilgrimage paths within the municipality of Baião (Magalhães & Alves, 1991: 53-61).

We should now focus us on the main interested party in the existence and maintenance of short and long distance roads, given their simultaneously religious<sup>5</sup> and economic nature (they were used in processions, inspections, etc.): the Monastery of Saint Andrew of Ancede. In 1758, priest João Pinto de Almeida mentions it while referring one of the stone bridges, which he located specifically on the path of the road that connected the Monastery to Pala; this was surely an ancient and important route, because on the side of the road stood one of the six memorials ever known in Portugal: the one of Lordelo (Baião)<sup>6</sup>.

The hamlet of Pala, located on the right bank of the Douro and currently almost entirely submerged as a result of the filling of the Carrapatelo dam, built downstream, was one of the most active berths along the Douro in the period before the construction of the dam. It was so important that it often appears indicated in maps from the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries: "A Pala" or "A Pelo"<sup>7</sup>. So, what would be most convenient to the monks of Ancede: walking along miles of slopes, through ruined and unsafe paths to get to Porto? Or using the fastest means of transport along the shortest route, which was the Douro river? Despite the risk of the river journey, we believe that the Douro would seem the best choice. Hence the reference to the "road to Pala", through which a significant part of the Monastery businesses surely circulated – both spiritual and economic businesses, obviously. This interest in navigation is not merely a conjecture, since the Monastery had special rights related to the Douro, of which it took advantage in order to distribute its wine (Barros, 1998:49-87).

In fact, it is in an important document produced in the Monastery of Ancede that we get the first clue for dating the Bridge of Esmoriz. It is an inventory that began being drawn up in 1400 and was intended to record and manage a "set of properties that was built over the 14th century, as a result of donations, purchases and barters" (Barros, 2003: 217-308). In this document there are very few references to the local road structure, but none of them suggests that the Bridge of Esmoriz had already been built at the time. There is information about a farmhouse close to the Bridge, across the parish of São Tomé de Covelas and to the bridge of Teixeira. On the left bank of the Douro, opposite to the "couto", where the monks of Ancede had several assets, there are constant references to paths, roads and routes heading to Anreade, Miomáes (Resende) or Cinfães. However, when the source describes or mentions the properties within the sphere of Esmoriz and Penalva, it doesn't refer any crossing. However, we should highlight an interesting note: when it comes to the limits and boundaries of the windrow with vineyards and trellis from Fernão Gomes's house, it is said that they began, on one side, "with the cattle route that starts in Esmoriz" (Barros, 2003: 293). This is a relevant information that seems to indicate the existence of a circulation channel for cattle, which headed from the stables to the pasturelands. We have no idea if this "cattle route" determined the construction of a



Reproduction of an engraving of the Memorial of Lordelo (Baião) (adapted from Sotto Mayor, 1857). Source: *Archivo pittoresco*.

<sup>5</sup> About the relationship between the inquiries and the roads, please read Osswald (1999: 157-173).

<sup>6</sup> The Memorials of Alpendorada (Marco de Canaveses), Sobrado (Castelo de Paiva), Santo António (Arouca), Ermida (Penafiel), Mondim da Beira (Tarouca) and Odivelas are fully or partially intact. The one of Lordelo, despite its classification (DECREE no. 163. O.G. [Official Gazette] 136 (1910-06-23)), was destroyed and its status was recently annulled (STATEMENT no. 100. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series II. 105 (2012-05-30) 19436).

<sup>7</sup> Designation given in a map by Albernaz (1662).



View of the river Douro close to Pala and Porto Manso (Baião), which belonged to the old "couto" of Ancede.

bridge after 1400. However, we speculate that on the threshold of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Bridge of Esmoriz still hadn't been built.

On the other hand, we may consider the possibility that this crossing, set up between two manor houses (Esmoriz and Penalva) was built within the vicinity and influence sphere of the local nobility. Given its location, we may even admit the intervention of one of their lords in the construction and maintenance of the Bridge and its access path, for a convenient and quick access to his possessions.

In fact, the first documentary reference we found dates back to 1666 and establishes a connection between the crossing and the Penalva domains. On September 15<sup>th</sup> of that year, the Monastery of Ancede reported to António de Azeredo on the site, which includes the "properties under the orchard, beginning on the eastern side of the same orchard and with the olive grove of Manuel

Vouga M rrade to Besteines Taconbalinh MO

Hamlet of "A Pelo" in a 17th-century map (adapted from Teixeira, 1662). Source: Digital Library of the Real Academia de la Historia, Spain.



Fernandes and Gonçalo Rodrigues, from the same place, and along the back with the road that goes from Minhozo and stone bridge to the monastery (...)", which we believe is the Bridge of Esmoriz<sup>8</sup>. So, for now, we have the definition of a chronological arc that allows us to delimit a construction period for the Bridge of Esmoriz: around 1400 – around 1666.

There are several known examples in the neighbouring region of Montemuro, to the south of the Douro, of the construction or reconstruction of bridges funded by individuals from the local nobility, sometimes connected to municipal governances or religious institutions. After the Romanization and the Middle Ages, combining its pious nature with personal and family conveniences, the Bridge regained the political and economic significance it once had, but on a smaller scale, working as a parish or municipal space. [NR]

Being now part of the Route of the Romanesque, an intervention for the conservation, protection and enhancement of the Bridge of Esmoriz began in September 2014. The works include the structural reinforcement, improvements in the vestments, floors and guards, and the enhancement of the accesses to the Bridge and the cleaning of the banks of the river Ovil (Monte, 2012). [RR]



House of Penalva (Baião).



House of Esmoriz (Baião).

8 ADP, Notariais, Baião, 1.º Ofício, Livro 1, fl. 129, 129 v.º.

# CHRONOLOGY

1258: reference to Lourenço Ermiges of Esmoriz who is a witness in the inquiry involving the "couto" of Ancede;

Around 1400: in the inventory of the Monastery of Ancede there is no reference to the Bridge of Esmoriz;

1666: there is a reference to the stone bridge over the Ovil river on the road to Minhoso and to the Monastery;

1758: three stone bridges are located in Ancede, among them the one of Esmoriz;

2010: integration of the Bridge of Esmoriz in the Route of the Romanesque;

2014-2015: intervention for the conservation and protection of the Bridge of Esmoriz, under the scope of the Route of the Romanesque.

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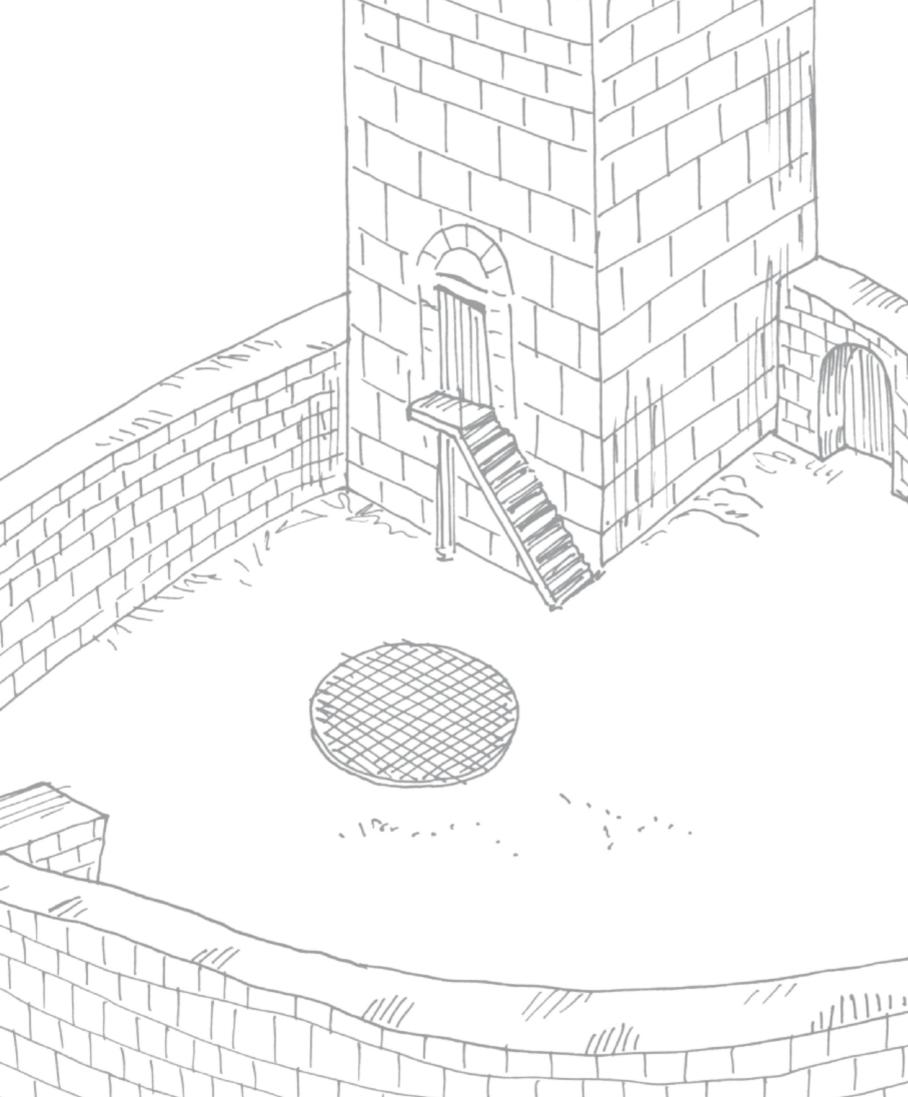
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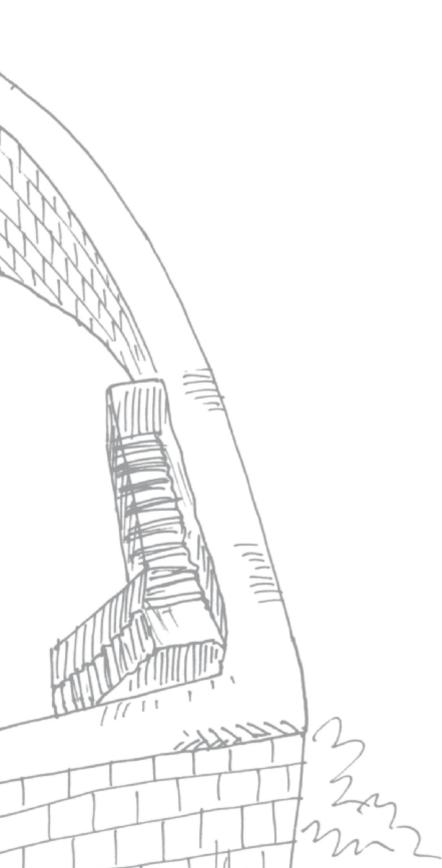
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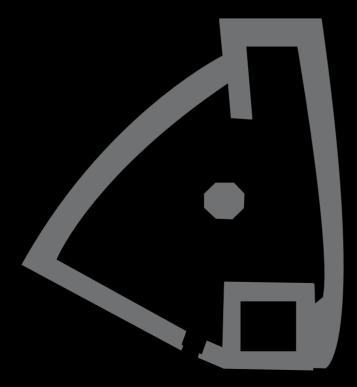
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# THE CASTLE OF ARNOIA AND THE TERRITORY

he emergence of the Romanesque castle is closely related to the process of administrative and military reorganization of the territory, which was divided in "terras" [a type of Portuguese administrative division], together with the evolution of war tactics and weaponry at different levels<sup>1</sup>. It is within this context that we should understand the construction of the Castle of Arnoia, perched on a hilltop that dominates the so-called "terra de Basto". In 1726, Francisco Craesbeeck explains that "in the old days all this terra de Basto was united, while today [therefore, in 1726] it is divided into two municipalities", the one of Cabeceiras de Basto and the one of Celorico (Craesbeeck, 1992: 324). Nowadays we would add the ones of Mondim de Basto and Ribeira de Pena, all dominated by the noble and unique Senhora da Graça mountain<sup>2</sup>, trademark of this territory that is part of a transition zone between the northwest Atlantic coast and the northwest area of Trás-os-Montes, which was still guarded in a not too distant past by the watchful Castle built in the parish of Arnoia that gave it its name.



Aerial view.

2 It is regionally called "Monte Farinha" and has the chapel of Our Lady of Grace on the summit, at 1000 meters above sea level. Located in the municipality of Mondim de Basto, the conical "Monte Farinha" is nothing more than the prow of an interesting granitic mountain range (mountain range of Alvão) that, from east to west, stretches along a straight line from its neighbour Campo de Seixo (Mondim de Basto) (with an approximate length of 5 km) (Casal Pelayo, 1988).

<sup>1</sup> About the evolution of Portuguese Medieval weaponry, please read Barroca (2000: 37-110).

As explained in the *Carta do património arquitectónico do concelho de Celorico de Basto* [Charter of the architectural heritage of the Municipality of Celorico de Basto], this "terra de Basto" is located over the middle valley of the river Tâmega (CMCB, 2011), fitted between the Marão and the Alvão mountains (to the east) and the Cabreira and the Lameira mountains (to the north and west); it shows features of a mountainous area with thick forests and numerous valleys that frame an extensive network of waterways that is very favourable to the practice of traditional subsistence agriculture.

Speaking about "terras" is talking about the administrative restructuring of the pre-County of Portugal Reconquest period and of the organization of occupied territories, by structuring their defence in restricted areas, whose government was more personalized, since it was handed over to a count. Ferdinand the Great (king of Castile, 1035-1065, and king of Leon, 1037-1065) was responsible for important advances in the process of the Christian Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula<sup>3</sup>, which forced significant changes to be introduced in terms of administrative and local structures (Barroca, 1990-1991: 115), which were characterized by an increasingly shared power and a more feudalistic organization of the occupied territory, leading to the development of the so-called "castelanias" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] in the western part of the Peninsula. The most powerful noble families in the countryside, supported by castles and monasteries, begin their social rise and become "milites" (Almeida, 1987: 47-48). Linked to the tenancies of certain castles, the "terras" are defined by territorial boundaries that are considerably smaller than the "territoria" of the "civitates" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] that previously existed (Almeida & Lopes, 1981-1982: 133)<sup>4</sup>. The county organization (regional) is replaced by the manorial organization (local).

The "terras" were most certainly structured throughout the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Barroca, 1990-1991: 115), when Medieval documentation begins to mention their existence specifying the geographic location of properties and settlements. With a lieutenant at the head of these "terras", which were identified in the landscape by a castle (that also adopts the name of the "terras" it controls), these territorial units correspond to the growth and consolidation of a nobility with local roots, the "infanções", asserting itself as an essentially manorial model.

So, this movement related to the constitution of "terras" is closely associated with the "encastelamento" [entrenchment] process of the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, which lead all of Western Europe to be covered with a dense network of castles. Feeling that their territory was being threatened by the enemy (most of the times, the Muslim enemy), people began organizing themselves in order to provide protection for themselves and their families and their property, building castles and defensive enclosures for that purpose (Almeida, 1992: 375). The Castle of Arnoia, together with the one of Guimarães and, perhaps, the one of Vila Real, possibly made up one of the defensive lines of Porto, since the city is located at a straight-line distance of about 56 kilometres away from this line (North, 2002: 37). Therefore, it worked as an active element within a comprehensive strategic regional defence plan.

<sup>3</sup> As it is known, this monarch is responsible for great advances in terms of the Reconquest and territorial occupation process, of which the definitive conquest of Coimbra in 1064, after six months of siege, is a crucial example – 1064 is a key date in the Portuguese Medieval chronology at both the political and the artistic level.

<sup>4</sup> The "civitates" were created for civil and military administration purposes within the territorial management strategy of the period of King Afonso III of Asturias (866-909).



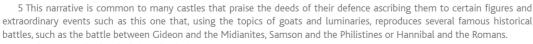
It is in this context that we should understand the emergence of the legend of the conquest of the Castle of Arnoia that narrates the achievement of a few Christians who were tired of the Muslim domination which forced them to carry stones to the Castle. One day, they gathered the available cattle in the surrounding area and led goats and oxen with chimes on their necks and torches on their horns to the Castle during the night. The Moors, being deceived by the belief that they were in the presence of a great army, fled from the Castle to avoid the confrontation. Pedro Vitorino tells us that in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the legend of the "Moorish" castle was still very present among local people because, "in his free time, the peasant goes up the hill towards the solitary ruins, thinking about some rich treasure that was hidden many years ago (...)" (Vitorino, 1909: 314-317). According to legend, before escaping, the "Moors" had left many buried treasures<sup>5</sup>.

Some of these castle structures managed to survive while others underwent an evident process of decay. Some castles preserved and expanded their importance by ascending to keyterritories of the "terras", thus creating, over this period, an important network that supported the military structure of the Country during the Reconquest process. So, it was during the reign of King Afonso Henriques (1143-1185) that there was a multiplication of the number of "terras", covering new geographical areas (Barroca, 1990-1991: 120). And, during this period, the castles that ascended to key-territories began shaping the Romanesque castle model.

The oldest known documentary references to the Castle of Arnoia date back to the year of the final conquest of Coimbra, alluding to "Castellum Celorici et oppido ibi"<sup>6</sup> (Coutinho, 1942: 40)<sup>7</sup>. This reference is extremely important, not only because it alludes to Celorico as a central place, likely to be mentioned in an itinerary, but also because it refers the existence of a settlement protected by a castle which overlooked it (Perennia Monumenta, 2002: 3). A document from a slightly later period, dated 1092, mentions the properties "sub urbis Cellorico et território Basto"<sup>8</sup> (ACL, 1868: 450).

Located above the ancient village of "Villa [a type of Portuguese administrative division] de Basto" – being the seat of this territory and, subsequently, jurisdiction and municipality for a long time – the Castle of Arnoia was built on a hilltop, thus assuming a peculiar presence within the landscape and the territory it once controlled and defended. As we can see by the existence of visible rocky outcrops, its location fits perfectly into a category of castles that has been defined as "roqueira" [rocky].

In fact, in the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the following one, the network of castles in the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region, which was quite dense by the way, was mostly a result of the efforts of local populations in response to Muslim raids and Norman incursions (Barroca, 1990-1991: 91). Although most of the castles resulting from this first "escastelamento" stage are currently reduced to faint traces, providing little information about their original physical structure, we know that, among many other issues, there was a concern of building these castles in high places, emphasising the field of view and taking advantage, whenever possible, of the



<sup>6</sup> Reference to the fortified city of Celorico.



Wall, Granitic batholiths.

<sup>7</sup> According to the author, this is an transcript or partial apograph of an unknown or missing chronicle about Portugal's administrative boundaries in 1604.

<sup>8</sup> Territorial reference to the Castle of Celorico de Basto.



Monastery of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto) Sacristy. Plaque. Saint Michael.

favourable features provided by the morphology of the terrain. Besides, the presence of granitic batholiths to support the walls and, of course, to supply raw materials became essential. Its space had to be small in order to make the defence of the stronghold easier.

Actually, tradition has been associating the chronology of the construction of the Castle of Arnoia with the period of Arnaldo Baião<sup>9</sup> (*c.* 960-985) or Moninho Viegas (972-1002) who, according to certain chronicles, had connections with the monastery of Saint John of Ermo (Celorico de Basto)<sup>10</sup>. In fact, according to Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, the location and importance of the Castle of Arnoia should be understood considering its relationship with a very close Benedictine monastery, currently known as Saint John of Arnoia, of which there are very few Romanesque traces left. Although its church was built between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it shows a plan that is still deeply attached to the old Romanesque building. There are still several elements from the original Romanesque structure: powerful buttresses and sections of chequered friezes still punctuate the outer walls, being particularly visible on the north side. We should also mention the carved Romanesque tympanum from the school of São Pedro de Rates (Póvoa de Varzim) that shows an *Agnus Dei* [Lamb of God] and a plaque with the figure of Saint Michael armed with a shield, attacking snake, trampling it and nailing it with a spear. Besides these elements, this monastery keeps the epigraphed lid of the sarcophagus where Moninho Moniz was laid to rest. Placed in the monastery's cloister, this lid rests on a grave of which it was not an original part<sup>11</sup>.

Perhaps Moninho or Múnio Muniz, who died in the "Era of 1290" (i.e., in 1252) and was surely an element linked to the patron family of the monastery of Arnoia, is the same Moninho "Dolo" [De Olo, that means from Olo]<sup>12</sup>, to whose descendants the "alcaidaria" [mayor's residence] of the Castle of Celorico was transferred.



Monastery of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto)

Monastery of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto). Church. Nave Tympanum. *Agnus Dei*.

9 Arnaldo de Baião, named after the land where he was established, or Arnaldo Eris, is, according to A. de Almeida Fernandes (1946: 30), the founder of the lineage of the Baiões, of whom Egas Moniz, the governor and schoolmaster of King Afonso Henriques descends. The connection between Arnaldo and the land arose by the similarity between "Arnaldo" and "Arnoia", although it is possible that there was a connection related to the monastery of Saint John of Ermo (Celorico de Basto). According to the reference made by Felgueiras Gaio (1938-1941: 32), who states that he was a contemporary of Sancho, the Fat, and Ramiro - both kings of Leon -, we are guessing that he was alive in the period between 960 and 985, a chronology that the quoted A. de Almeida Fernandes extends it until the late 10<sup>th</sup> century.

10 We do not agree with C. Coutinho da Cunha's opinion (1942: 44) when he said, in 1940, that the remaining ruins of the Castle of Arnoia corresponded to the castle marked in the document from 1064.

11 In its epigraph, Mário Barroca (2000: 862-867) read: D(omnus) MUNIUS MUNIS H(ic) · IN S(uo) · ASSISTER(io) ·/ FINI : IN : Era : M<sup>a</sup> : CC<sup>a</sup> : 2<sup>a</sup> XXXX<sup>a</sup>.

12 According to A. de Almeida Fernandes, Teresa, the daughter of Múnio Dolo, called herself Moniz and, as we shall see, it is due to her descendants that, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, we find the Castle turned into an "alcaidaria" [mayor's residence] (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 405).

#### THE MONUMENT DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

onsidering the remaining elements of this Medieval military architecture legacy in "terras de Basto", we are surely standing before a more recent construction than the one that Arnaldo Baião or Moninho Viegas may have hypothetically built in the transition from the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the 11<sup>th</sup> century; nevertheless, the foundations of that rocky castle were reused, as proven by the ashlars found at the base of the tower and wall, which have a more irregular cut. Archaeological surveys<sup>13</sup> have identified that the oldest occupation period of the walled precinct of Arnoia corresponds to a moment of transition between the early and the high Middle Ages before the keep was built, i.e., in a period earlier than the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Perennia Monumenta, 2002: 23, 27). The opening of survey areas inside the Castle allowed detecting structures which were not visible on the surface, especially wall foundations that document the existence of two different wall construction stages<sup>14</sup> and the occupation of the interior space, as well as its floor levels. The existence of a few stratigraphic disturbances following the abandonment of the Castle was also discovered<sup>15</sup>.

In fact, as explained by Mário Barroca, "rocky castles did not know what a Keep was; this innovation would only be introduced in the Romanesque castle from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century onwards; probably, they also ignore the "cubelos" [turrets]<sup>16</sup>, the result of a more developed and specialized military engineering knowledge" (Barroca, 1990-1991: 91).



Ashlars from the tower's base and the adjacent wall. Detail.

13 Conducted by the IGESPAR – Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitetónico e Arqueológico [Portuguese Institute for Management of Architectural and Archaeological Heritage] in the winter of 2002. The team was led by Francisco Manuel Veleda Reimão Queiroga.

14 Based on a stratigraphic analysis, two major constructive moments have been identified; the first one corresponds to the east-west wall and the second one is related to the north turret (Perennia Monumenta, 2002: 16-17).

15 PORTUGAL. Secretaria de Estado da Cultura – IGESPAR – Castelo de Arnoia/Castelo dos Mouros/Castelo de Moreira [Online]. *Portal do Arqueólogo*. Lisboa: IGESPAR, [s.d.]. [Visited on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 2012]. Available at www: <URL: http://arqueologia.igespar.pt>. 16 A "cubelo" is a cube-shaped turret or a Medieval tower placed in the first ring of defensive walls (Silva & Calado, 2005: 119).





North view

According to the data collected during the archaeological excavation conducted in 2002, the second occupation moment of the Castle of Arnoia dated back to the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, there is a chronological match between the data collected in these archaeological excavations and remaining architectural elements.

At first glance, this military structure immediately shows us the existence of two elements – to which a few others may be added – that characterise it: the wall and the keep. Built at the top of the mountainous hill, the wall draws a plan shaped like a triangular shield. Its polygonal appearance, described by many authors, is associated with the construction of the turret at the angle created by the north and east wall faces. We should note the significant width of the chemin de ronde. We should not forget that the Romanesque castle is associated with the concept of passive defence and with a specific philosophy: to prevent the enemy from getting to the base of its walls. Not relying on that ability, it is supported both in its thickness and height, since the structure did not have many solutions that would allow an efficient attack in case of siege. Arnoia is a remarkable example of the importance that was consequently given to the defence conditions of the site, which should preferably present steep slopes that were often emphasized by artificial excavations made to prevent the enemy from placing devices in the Castle's surroundings. In 1758, the location of this Castle "on the summit of Hill which is as small as it is steep, was much appreciated. Everywhere, this building's foundations are in stone" (Ribeiro, 1758 *apud* Lopes, 2005).

Therefore, it is in the key-territory castles that the main efforts of the military architecture of the region will be concentrated. The presence of a keep and a turret in Arnoia are also a



clarifying example of that circumstance. As explained by Mário Barroca (2003: 109), the turrets allowed practising the flanked shot technique – i.e., a shot that ran parallel to the wall line and was essential for an effective defence of the wall base. Adjoining the walls on the outside, the turrets had the advantage of serving as buttresses in areas where wall sections were too extensive, thus contributing to its stability and, simultaneously, to break the continuous wall sections and allowing a better and easier surveillance. If the tendency was to increase the number of turrets over the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, initially they appear in small numbers and, like in the case of Arnoia, could be limited to one.

The access to the inside is made through a door with a lintel built with voussoirs and opened on the south wall, close to the keep. Multiplying openings made the Romanesque castle more vulnerable. Francisco Craesbeeck refers it, despite adding that in 1726 it was also possible to enter the walled precinct by the north side, "using an already low and ruined barbican" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 324). We believe that there is a terminological confusion in the speech of this 18<sup>th</sup>-century who, instead of referring himself to a true barbican<sup>17</sup>, was surely mentioning the square turret disregarding the fact that this element was usually built up to the chemin de ronde's height.

Opposite this turret, on the south side, we find the keep adjoining the wall face. As a last defence stronghold, it is more commonly found in the middle of the Castle's yard, but there are other examples like Arnoia where the keep was built close to the wall faces: Lindoso (Ponte da Barca), Montalegre, Lanhoso (Póvoa de Lanhoso), Vilar Maior (Sabugal), Sabugal or Amieira (Nisa) are some of them (Barroca, 2003: 119).



Keep. Aerial view.

17 Please note the definition of "barbican" proposed by Jorge Henrique Pais da Silva and Margarida Calado (2005: 54): "1. An advanced defence core, established outside fortifications, on a lower plan, to protect an important point (e.g.: to cover a city gate, the head of a bridge). 2. A wall that was built outside the walls, on a lower plan". We owe the introduction of this defining element of the Romanesque castle in our territory to the Order of the Temple; the oldest example found in Portugal belongs to the castle of Tomar (edified in 1160). It is the great innovation that the Romanesque castle will introduce among us. Despite the existence of documents from the first quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it was actually during the second half of this century and throughout the following one that this military order, as well as the orders of the Hospitallers, Avis or Saint James of the Sword, were awarded large royal donations; this is an indirect proof that, at the time, these organizations had the most advanced military knowledge both in the art of war and in the art of building fortifications (Barroca, 1996-1997: 171). So, the most important and intense building period of the Knights Templar occurred during the 1260's and the 1270's.

Knowing that the oldest keeps are associated with the Templars and were built during the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>, the construction of keeps in other fortifications that were simultaneously being refurbished would have only been possible, perhaps, at the end of that century. The assimilation of their *modus aedeficandi* and the circulation of master stonemasons with skills for their construction took the construction technique of this military architecture element to places that were located far from the Templars' sphere of action that, as we know, had one of their main bulwarks in the Mondego line.

So, currently, we see a towering and crenelated keep in Arnoia<sup>19</sup>, an appearance that resulted from the interventions carried out in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as we'll see. Closed on itself, the keep is punctuated by narrow crevices that resemble embrasures. The entrance opens towards the north, in an elevated position, and its doorsill matches the height of the chemin de ronde. Keeps were always accessed through a wooden mobile ladder that, in the event of imminent danger, could be removed from inside the building leaving it isolated. Its presence tells us that, more than having as a main function to defend the local population, this Castle was designed to accommodate a small garrison. There were several mayors related to the Castle.

As far as we could ascertain, the Castle of Arnoia, as a key-territory, played a crucial role in the territory's life, as evidenced by the different inquiries. In 1220, there is reference to the charges of certain farmhouses in Caçarilhe and Carvalho (Celorico de Basto) that should contribute to the construction of the Castle with carpentry works and firewood supplies (Lopes, 2008). In 1258, there was an extra obligation imputed to two farmhouses held by the Church of Fervença (Celorico de Basto) in Agilde (Celorico de Basto): supplying the Castle of Arnoia with lime (Lopes, 2008: 126). Most of these obligations were still being fulfilled in the reign of King Afonso IV.

However, the direct references to the fortified structure and the village nestled at its foot are very scarce and related to taxes and obligations of farmhouses under the rule of Arnoia. The

<sup>18</sup> Besides Tomar (1160), we should note the examples of Pombal (1171), Almourol (Vila Nova da Barquinha, 1171), Penas Roias (Mogadouro, 1172) or Longroiva (Meda, 1174), works that are documented by epigraphs.

<sup>19</sup> As the archaeological report delivered in 2002 states, this tower is built by carved ashlars with a longitudinal crosssection, predominantly rectangular. The ashlars were assembled without the use of mortar and the north wall stands on a foundation made of large-sized and irregular granitic stones shaped as parallelepipeds. This foundation has two projections, each of them corresponding to a different row. The free spaces between the foundation stones are filled with earth, not showing any traces of binding mortars (Perennia Monumenta, 2002: 19).

inquiries of 1251 refer the existence of four royal properties in the Castle's village; the residents of some of the properties located in the hamlets of Carcavelos and Ferreirós went to the Castle (certainly to participate in its maintenance)<sup>20</sup>; three properties in Cerqueda and one in Felorca, Pedro Chelo and Sequeiros had to guard inmates; the properties of Mendo Mendes and Mendo Nunes were forced to go to the Castle to pay the "introviscada" [a fish-related tax] and supply lime (Lopes, 2008: 116).

King Pedro's *Livro velho de linhagens* [Old book of lineages] tells us about the legendary accomplishment of Martim Vasques da Cunha, which is associated with the Castle of Arnoia (Herculano, 1861: 358). As far as we know, this mayor took sides with Brites (b. 1242-1303), who wanted to help her father, King Afonso X of Leon and Castile (k. 1252-1284), to whom her husband, King Afonso III (k. 1248-1279) had given, among other wedding tokens, the "terras de Basto" (Azeredo, 1978). In order to free himself of the "vassalage and homage he owed to the king", he was advised to provide the Castle with all that was necessary for its defence: weapons, stones, supplies, animals, etc. Having sent out the entire garrison, he had been left alone inside the Castle using a rope and rode on his horse across the neighbouring parishes pleading for help because otherwise the Castle would be lost. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were still people who believed that this fire was the reason behind the state of abandonment and decay of the Castle of Arnoia (Brito, 1931).

And once the Castle had been released, King Dinis would have leased it for 210 "morabitinos" [former Portuguese currency unit] to "Matino Iohanis" the lands of "Celorico de Basto and its Castle (...)" on September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1282 (Brito, 1931). Two years later, the same king awarded the royal benefits associated with the Castle to the inhabitants of Celorico.

While not intending to draw up an accurate list of the mayors, there are several names documented between the reigns of King Afonso III and King Manuel I (k. 1495-1521). We have already mentioned Martim Vasques da Cunha (13<sup>th</sup> century) known as "the one of the good deed"; Gonçalo Gomes da Mota and Vasco Mendes da Mota (14<sup>th</sup> century), Gil Vasques da Cunha (Coutinho, 1942: 48) and Pedro de Andrade Caminha (b. 1520) (Vitorino, 1909: 317). During the Middle Ages, the "alcaidaria" was in the hands of the Baiões and the Motas de Gundar, thus giving rise to the tradition that claims that the already mentioned Arnaldo Eris was the founder or the "first" mayor<sup>21</sup>.

We should also highlight the existence of a cistern in the walled courtyard, a fundamental element in siege warfare, since it was intended to preserve rainwater at an underground level. Within our territory, one of the oldest known examples is the castle of Saint Martin of Mouros (Resende), a structure that was reconquered in 1058.



Cistern.

<sup>20</sup> Other farmhouses of neighbouring parishes were required to perform this work and others according to their "last name" or "surname" (Lopes, 2008: 42).

<sup>21</sup> Martim Vasques da Cunha descended, on his mother side, from the Portocarreiros, whose ancestor was Arnaldo de Baião.

#### THE MONUMENT DURING THE MODERN PERIOD

he third occupation stage of the Castle of Arnoia occurred during the Modern Period, despite the fact that its gradual abandonment began early on. We believed that the archaeological data which can be dated from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and point to the existence of a residential building and a workshop within the walled precinct belong to this period<sup>22</sup>.

As far as we know, and even though in 1726 Francisco Craesbeeck alludes to the ruined state of the turret, the fact is that the author informs us that this Castle features "a high tower, crowned with merlons" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 324). Thirty two years later, the scene already seems to be somewhat different. When asked about the damage caused by the 1755 earthquake in the parish of Arnoia, the vicar João Alves Ribeiro paid a special attention to the Castle of Arnoia, thus proving its importance to the parish (Ribeiro, 1758 apud Lopes, 2005: 84-85). Considering it prior to "the foundation of Hispania", the vicar gives us a detailed description of the Castle, telling us that "on the occasion of the 1755 Earthquake the tower could be moved as if it were a mimosa field stalk". Not finding any "ruinous" effect caused by the "impertinent Earthquake" in the tower, João Alves Ribeiro points out a few signs of ruin: in addition to the lack of a few merlons, there is a "very subtle" opening above the door, which was caused "by a lightning bolt". The cistern was filled up with stones and the wall, which only survived on the north and west sides, featured different levels of conservation at the time: in some sections, it was ruined down to the foundations, in others it was threatening to collapse and in others it was already showing a poor state of repair. From what we could infer, what the vicar found in Arnoia in 1758 is more the result of a gradual abandonment that took place over the Modern Period than an actual consequence of the Great Earthquake.

22 A significant amount of iron smelting slag was found here, something that may confirm the presence of the aforementioned smelting workshop. Furthermore, a series of coins dated from periods ranging between 1433 and 1557 was found in the same area, thus providing evidence of an intense human activity (Perennia Monumenta, 2002: 24).

## The village of Castelo

he common municipal monographs, often written by local researchers, are partly the heirs of the ethnocentric and laudatory thinking that left its mark in memoirs by writers from the Humanist Period and the Age of Enlightenment. The former, as exemplified by João de Barros, sought industriously in Roman remains for a glorious Classical past, suggesting that small, and sometimes negligible, settlements were of Roman origin based on their toponyms. Despite the fact that they didn't always ascribe the origin of most toponyms and ruins to the Roman period, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century memoirists did not fail to provide examples of folk narratives as evidence of a past marked by waves of "superior" peoples: the Moors, the Goths or, less frequently, the Greeks themselves, to whom the foundation of several towns was ascribed.

The monographer or memoirist often established direct connections and continuity links with the Romanization period, stepping over millennia of breakthroughs and setbacks in human development and, especially, over deep transformations carried out in the landscape as a result of changes in the needs and intervention abilities of its inhabitants. He often created a settlement *ex-nihilo* based on scarce archaeological remains or through spelling/phonetic hints that could suggest a Roman origin, as we have already mentioned, shaping the current territory in order to fit the administration model of the civilization from the Lazio region. What is more: he often associated pre- and proto-historic or Roman traces to spaces that are currently occupied by Christian temples, formulating theories on cult-related syncretism and forgetting that, in most cases, the permanence of sacred spaces has nothing to do with a potential survival and transmutation of the gods that were worshipped there, but rather with the need of ensuring proper protection to the communities that worship a given entity (regardless of the entity itself). On the other hand, if populations remained or returned to the proximity of sacralised spaces, it is only natural that these continued being used, regardless of the interceding ability of the deities that were worshipped before<sup>23</sup>.



Castle and village. Aerial view.

23 Even the issue of reused materials, a situation that the theorists of continuity have considered a sign of syncretism, was actually an expression of the need to resort to that scattered archaeological collection, which often included ashlars, columns or altar stones that were perfectly reusable in the new construction. About these aspects, please read Resende (2011).

Regarding the origins of Celorico, its relationship with the Castle of Arnoia, the "terra de Basto" and the "classicization" of its origins, we should mention the discussion about the location of "Celiobriga" and the representation of Basto itself, which is similar to other catalytic mythological figures<sup>24</sup>. On the one hand, we should emphasize that History has created axes of permanence and unity around fortifications and heroes (soldiers or saints) that, as in these cases, are extremely powerful symbols; on the other hand, we should note that this need of finding a glorious and ideal past has often distorted – through anachronisms and other fallacies – the true evolution of the space. This image or ideal past didn't always correspond to reality.

At the foot of the Castle of Arnoia, a village whose origins lie in a connection branch to the roads between Lixa (Felgueiras) and Amarante to Arco de Baúlhe (Cabeceiras de Basto) began to emerge<sup>25</sup>. This position, away from the main flow channels located either along the line of the Tâmega or skirting the Cabreira mountain, can confirm the purely strategic meaning of the fortification of Arnoia, overlooking an imaginary and ephemeral border. Once the territory was pacified, the Castle took on the role of landmark within a reorganizing geography.

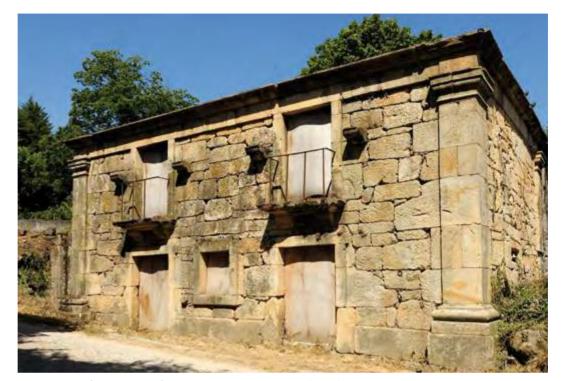
So, at the foot of the fortified hill, a small town began to emerge along the path's line. The urban fabric that complemented the humanization of the area between the fortified hill and crossing/settlement valley was built on both sides of this artery over the Middle Ages. However, it was a small town, as evidenced by the description in the inventory of 1527:



"This land of Celoryquo de Basto is quite rough and mountainous; the lord of the land is Pero da Cunha Coutinho and the hill features a castle that is called Çeloryquo which houses a minor mayor and two residents (...)" (Freire, 1905).

The two houses or housing units corresponded to about 10 residents divided between the hamlets of Corredoura and Feira. The municipality's seat was based here until the transition from 1716 to 1717, as specified by Friar Manuel da Conceição, the vicar of Arnoia, who adds: "still today [1758] we are able to see the unique traces of an old prison, in severe decay and on the imminence of having its walls and woodwork in ruins". The greatest symbol of municipal autonomy, the pillory, was virtually destroyed, "and its stones left broken on the ground". However, it had been erected in the middle of the street, as befitted an instrument of punishment and mockery of its kind. Despite the fact that the place had been abandoned by the local powers, a tax-free fair was still held here on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of each month (Ribeiro, 1758 *apud* Lopes, 2005: 85).

Village of Castelo (Celorico de Basto) Pillory.



Village of Castelo (Celorico de Basto). Ancient pharmacy house known as "Botica" house.

Going back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we know that between 1571 and 1576 there were audiences here, held in a house that faced the Direita Street (the town's main axis). By analysing the records commissioned by the Crown<sup>26</sup>, we learn about the size and features of some of the houses that existed along this road; most of them consisting of a residential building with agriculturerelated annexes. Among these properties there were communal lands, farmyards and vegetable gardens that complemented the residents' livelihood. Let's use the property located at the foot of the Castle – which had belonged to Álvaro Anes – as an example. It was comprised of:

"a house that serves as a kitchen, half roofed and half covered with thatched at ground level, is seven "varas" [former Portuguese measurement] long and four wide, with a farmyard at the door. Above these houses, another with eight "varas" long and five wide and a farmyard and cattle house along the road and a threshing floor with a vegetable garden".

Further ahead there is reference to:

"A house on Street Direita, opposite to the courthouse, consisting of a kitchen covered with thatch to ground level, being nine "varas" long and four wide, and three serving as a cattle house and a hovel nearby, serving as a cattle house with its farmyard and a vegetable garden next to these houses and respective barn". Reading this type of source allows us to collect relevant pieces of information about individuals and activities, although they are sparse and brief. These references suggest the existence of a small settlement whose inhabitants engaged in the mechanical trade-related occupations: Cristovão Macedo, "salesman"; Francisco Gonçalves, "stallholder"; Pero Gonçalves, "shoe maker"; and, further ahead, the field of the "tanner" – which indicates a place related to the processing and, perhaps, to the sale of hides and leather. The reference to stables and stalls completes the description of the activities of the inhabitants of the village of Castelo that, being a place of passage, was favourable for travel breaks and sales. Besides that, the documents mention a public street that was probably Direita Street, which was certainly an extension of the roads that came from Amarante and Cabreira. This was a central and crossing point for human and commercial flows between the Minho and the Tâmega, especially when the fair was held<sup>27</sup>.

However, the most elaborate description we have of the village of Castelo is the one written by Francisco Craesbeeck about 10 years after the transfer of local governances to the uncharacteristic hamlet of Freixieiro. In fact, this change was based on the same reasons that led to the growth of the Medieval village located at the foot of the Castle. The importance of the road, parallel to the river Tâmega (coming from Amarante), and the fact that Freixieiro stood almost at its junction with the road to Mondim sealed the fate of the old village and opened the way for a new village: the latter grew and is currently the seat of the municipality.

Francisco Craesbeeck, like any other 18<sup>th</sup>-century memoirist, was seeking the wealth and honours of the land: ancient ruins and illustrious men. He found them in the Castle's hamlet, but with little glory: "this village doesn't seem to have many inhabitants, because its residents are highly dispersed across the district" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 323). However, he emphasized the preservation of the pillory, the town hall and the prison "which had been built in 1586, when the district's magistrate was João Gil de Abreu Castelo-Branco"<sup>28</sup>. Then, the memoirist discourses on the origin and lordship of the land, returning to the political and administrative issues that had been centered on the village of Castelo until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

According to the author, King Manuel I granted a foral charter to the village on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1520. And at the time when Francisco Craesbeck visited the municipality it had two judges, "one in the upper part of the castle and another in its lower part". The figure of the foreign judge was only created later on (1713), perhaps to solve inconsistencies between the powers of the Castle and the ones of the municipality, as in other cases. The chamber consisted of three councillors and an attorney, all elected, and also a chamber clerk, a judge of the orphans with two clerks, a clerk for the "sizas" [type of tax], seven public and judicial notaries and clerks, an inquirer, counter and distributor and, finally, the mayor who served as warden. All trades belonged to the lord of the land, except the one of the "sizas" that was exercised by the Crown. Francisco Craesbeck also provides another curious note about another unilinear village: "in the place of Lixa, which is the most populated, which has this villa; half belongs to it and the other half to the county of Felgueiras, for it is erected in a very long road, with 400 residents (...)" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 326-327).

27 Idem, ibid.

<sup>28</sup> If we are to believe in the description made by the memoirist, the demolition of the pillory occurred between 1726 and 1758 (Craesbeeck, 1992: 323).

The chronicler (this time stripping the role of the historian since he witnessed this event) describes and analyses the reasons for the change of in the municipality seat. It says the chamber home entered in decay and that the foreign judges (figure that came to existence in 1713) were not offered a house with the necessary amenities to reside in the borough of Castelo. He adds: "and after several diligences and daily activities, which took place among the inhabitants of the upper part and the lower part of the castle, it was decided to settle, in the middle of the county, the place of Freixieiro, in the parish of São Pedro de Britello, for its also a mild and amiable location" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 328). Francisco Craesbeeck also describes the pace of the urbanization process, referring the construction of a new town hall and houses for foreign judges<sup>29</sup>. This transfer is a chronologically extemporaneous case since it is prior to the deep administrative changes carried out by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century liberal governments who tried, by square and theodolite, to create municipalities, by gathering old county seats and creating new decision-making locations where once there were virtually no significant clusters<sup>30</sup>.

Despite this change, which led to the slow death of the village of Castelo, the place has always remained as a symbol of ancient and important autonomic freedoms and local prerogatives, of which the fortress was a remarkable outline.



Partial view of the town of Celorico de Basto, from the hamlet of Freixieiro, Britelo.

29 The list of judges until 1725 is made by Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 329). 30 In the case of the "vila do Castelo" [Castle's village], the fact that it did not include the parish church within its limits - as it was located on a remote site called Ermo – contributed to its extinction as an axial place.

#### CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

n 1909, the Castle of Arnoia showed obvious signs of a "recent demolition", which were pointed out by Pedro Vitorino: the cistern was clogged and the roof's voussoirs were scattered inside it. It was possible to see holes and multiple displacements in the ashlars. The keep was reduced to its walls. Of its merlons, "with a rounded and pierced outline", there were only a couple left (Vitorino, 1909: 316).

As far as we know, in the following year, upon suggestion of the then civil governor of Braga, who had visited the Castle of Arnoia, the building was provided with a new door (Brito, 1931). Until the 1930s, this "was the only improvement it received".

Precisely in the year when he died, Humberto Beça denounced the state of virtual abandonment in which the Castle of Arnoia was then found: the keep had a crack resulting from an electric discharge, the northern wall had a hole in which "a man would fit, [and if] one of the stones that is holding the upper ashlars falls down, the entire wall will collapse" (Beça, 1923: 21). In a speech that was still imbued with the romantic values of nationalism, he regrets the fact that there wasn't any "gesture of determined goodwill, of authentic patriotism, of holy love for its land, its history, of pride in its past, that throws it the merciful anchor that will make it endure a little longer on top of its towering hill" (Beça, 1923: 21).

So, it was in the 1930s, "for the sake of the Nation's artistic heritage", that appropriate measures were taken in order to achieve the classification of this Portuguese Medieval military architecture monument<sup>31</sup>.

However, it was only in the decade when the Double Centennial (Portuguese Nationality and Restoration of Independence) were celebrated that this classification came true. In 1940, the Castle was a collection of ruins and its keep, besides the aforementioned scar caused by a lightning, presented a towering look and "featured only three merlons!" (Coutinho, 1942: 43).

Regarding its preservation, the information about the destruction of several boulders for producing gravel close to the Castle of Arnoia accelerated the process since<sup>32</sup> it was deemed that it would "change the rough appearance of the hill and, consequently, the entire ensemble and atmosphere of the Castle". Confirming that the classification of this monument was not yet enacted, it was found that its protection zone would only be protected after the process was completed, according to the provisions of Decree no. 20.985, of March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1932.

In 1944 we noticed that there was an actual concern in ascertaining the preservation conditions of the Castle and its surroundings, claiming that its classification as a National Monument was based on the same considerations that had led to the classification of the castles of Lindoso, Montalegre or Póvoa de Lanhoso. It is in this sense that we should understand why, somewhere along the line, it was questioned if the Castle should be classified autonomously, but as a Public Interest



Partial view of the wall before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive.



Consolidation and restoration works of the tower (1963). Source: IHRU archive.

<sup>31</sup> Ofício n.º 1942 de 4 de maio de 1933 [SIPA.TXT.01026974] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/075-0004. Idem.

<sup>32</sup> Please see the documents related to the classification process of the Castle of Arnoia in PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/075-0002. Idem. In this case, with the purpose of saving space, we decided to reference the process and not every single document as we have been doing, given the extent of the process in question.

Patio before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive.

Building, or if it would make more sense to consider that it was covered "by the order issued by His Excellency the Under-Secretary of State for Education on December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1943, stating that all unclassified Castles, Towers, Walls, Gates, Fortresses and corresponding Sections – the most impressive network of historical and heroic life Memorials along the borders and inland of the Country and the Islands – should be classified in a single process". By valuing its masonry wall, its partly crenellated tower and its domain over extensive horizons, the inclusion of the Castle of Arnoia was considered in the order of 1943. As a reply to this decision, its classification was finally published in 1946<sup>33</sup>.

Then, a new odyssey begins: the request for improvement works filed by local authorities and, in particular, by the Comissão Regional de Turismo da Serra do Marão [Regional Committee for Tourism of the Marão Mountain]<sup>34</sup>. Its state of disrepair and neglect, the fact that the Castle (or what remained of it) was already serving as a quarry for private constructions, plus the eminent danger of collapse were extremely emphasised. Although in 1947 the relevant services had already deemed urgent the development of reintegration works according to the Castle's primitive nature – for example, the intervention in the tower would include the "restoration of the chemin de ronde with its parapet and corresponding battlement" –, the truth is that their implementation only became possible in the early 1960's, partly because it was only then that the necessary funds were obtained, despite successive inclusions in the annual Building Plans of the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments]. In the first half of this decade, the progress of the works in Arnoia only turned out to be possible because part of the money allocated to the monastery of Jerónimos (Lisbon) was diverted to the item "Castles and National Monuments". In 1963 the works of consolidation and restoration of the tower continued.

Thus, following the aforementioned philosophy, focused on the retrieval of the Castle's primitive state, we see that the upper floor of the keep of Arnoia was completely rebuilt, including the already mentioned battlement still partially existed at the time. However, the wall was not subject to a similar reintegration process. We should not forget that, by this time, the DGEMN's services were implementing a new intervention philosophy, which was more associated with conservation than with actual restoration<sup>35</sup>. Furthermore, the strong criticism initiated against this institution in the late 1940's, which compared the placement of battlements in castle walls with "dentures" (Mendes, 1949)<sup>36</sup>, was surely still very present. The vegetation that existed inside the Castle was removed, the cistern was unblocked and a wooden door was placed at its entrance<sup>37</sup>.

33 DECREE no. 35532. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I. 55 (46-03-15) 160.

36 This comparison, made by a member of the central committee of the opposition candidacy's services during a rally organized in Porto to support General Norton de Matos, was intended to be a reply to the propagandist intents of the regime that were embodied in the exhibitions of the *15 Years of Public Works*, which were held in Lisbon, in 1948, and in Porto, in the following year. The opposition replied to the criticism of the Minister of Public Works with an extensive article in the *República*, in which it accused the State of spending large sums of money on a project that was "improvised and, therefore, debatable". About this issue of the "criticism to the precepts that were practised and to the situation of the national artistic heritage", please see Neto (2001: 258-270).

37 A photograph from 1973 shows that a masonry stairway which allowed accessing the door of the keep had been built next to its wall, as well as a parapet around the cistern, which was also made of stone. We couldn't ascertain when this intervention was made, nor when it was demolished. The descriptive specifications are not clear in this regard.

<sup>34</sup> Please see note 30

<sup>35</sup> About the subject, please read Botelho (2006: 183).

So, in the following decade, we see that this conservation philosophy was still being followed. By this time, it was deemed necessary to provide the keep with a lightning rod<sup>38</sup>. In 1974, due to an electrical discharge, "a few elements, such as a merlon and the iron fittings of the door and of the access trapdoor to the upper floor of the keep" were actually displaced. However, the necessary work of consolidation of the tower (as well as the replacement of damaged parts) was only contracted three years later<sup>39</sup>. It is also about this time that the Castle's surroundings began receiving some attention. The accurate identification of the monument's protection zone was deemed crucial by the Celorico de Basto Town Council<sup>40</sup> since there the intention of building a pedestrian access to the Castle<sup>41</sup>. Providing a proper technical support, the DGEMN suggested the reuse of "the access that had already been defined by the people who used the castle, despite the fact that it still lacked suitable repairs according with the local rustic features"<sup>42</sup>.



Village of Castelo (Celorico de Basto). Interpretive Centre of the Castle of Arnoia – Tourist Information Centre of the Route of the Romanesque.

Besides the fact that the monument was allocated to the newly-created IPPC – Instituto Português do Património Cultural [Portuguese Institute of the Cultural Patrimony] that, after 1985<sup>43</sup>, became responsible for its protection and valorisation<sup>44</sup>, there is little more we can add. The monument was transferred to the jurisdiction of the IPPAR – Instituto Português do Património Arquitetónico [Portuguese Institute of the Architectonic Patrimony] in 1992, to the IGESPAR – Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitetónico e Arqueológico [Portuguese Institute for Management of Architectural and Archaeological Heritage] in 2005 and, more recently, it was integrated in the Route of the Romanesque (2010).

So, we see that from the turn of the millennium onwards, the interventions carried out in the Castle of Arnoia are a result of partnerships between the governmental entities named above and the Celorico de Basto Town Council. Besides conducting several conservation works – which included the implementation of the aforementioned archaeological surveys (2002) and the improvement of the pedestrian accesses –, the works for the creation of an information office and a cultural centre dedicated to local heritage began still during 2004<sup>45</sup>. While initially it was intended to be installed in "casa da botica" [apothecary], it was decided to recover an old elementary school instead, which ended up accommodating the Interpretative Centre of the Castle of Arnoia. In order to better integrate the Castle in the Route of the Romanesque, a project which, in a first phase, in 2014, was aimed at the urban regeneration of the Castle's surroundings (CMCB, 2010), was implemented so as to bring new life to that which had already been the "Villa de Basto". [MLB / NR]

A project for the conservation, safeguarding and general enhancement of the property is also scheduled for a second phase. The works will focus primarily on the inside of the Castle, the walls and the tower, as well as on the treatment and paving of the access routes to the monument (Costa, 2014). [RR]

44 The IPPC – Instituto Português do Património Cultural [Portuguese Institute of the Cultural Patrimony] was established by Decree-Law no. 59/80, of April 3<sup>rd</sup>, as "a service aimed at promoting the preservation and valorization of what, for its historical value, artistic, archaeological, bibliographical, documentary, ethnographic or landscape, integrates the cultural heritage of the Country". 45 Documentation available in DGEMN:DREMN 2315. Castelo de Arnoia/dos Mouros/de Moreira. IRHU/Arquivo ex-

<sup>38</sup> Ofício da Direção-Geral dos Assuntos Culturais, 21 de março de 1974 [SIPA.TXT.01026743]. PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/075-0003 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N.º IPA PT010305020003].

<sup>39</sup> Memória, 9 de maio de 1977 [SIPA.TXT.01027020]. DGEMN:DSARH-010/075-0006. Idem.

<sup>40</sup> Ofício n.º 359 da C.M.C.B., 5 de marco de 1975 [SIPA.TXT.01026986]. Idem.

<sup>41</sup> Ofício n.º 556 da DGEMN de 25 de agosto de 1975 [SIPA.TXT.01026992]. Idem.

<sup>42</sup> Idem.

<sup>43</sup> Ofício do Instituto Português do Património Cultural de 2 de setembro de 1986 [SIPA.TXT.01027036]. Idem.

<sup>45</sup> Documentation available in DGEMN:DREMN 2315. Castelo de Arnoia/dos Mouros/de Moreira. IRHU/Arquivo DGEMN/DREMN.

### CHRONOLOGY

10<sup>th</sup> century (2<sup>nd</sup> half): construction of the Castle of Arnoia, according to tradition;

1064: first documented reference regarding the fortification;

1092: a document mentions the properties of Celorico and "terra de Basto";

12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries: second occupation period of the Castle and edification of the Castle of Arnoia's Romanesque structure;

1717: the parish seat is transferred from "Villa de Basto" to the parish of Britelo;

1726: "terra de Basto" was then divided into two municipalities, Celorico and Cabeceiras de Basto; the keep of the Castle of Arnoia was still crowned with battlements;

1758: the Castle of Arnoia was already presenting some traces of ruin;

1946: it is classified as a National Monument by Decree no. 35.532 (Governmental Gazette no. 55, from March 15th);

1960-1963: period of restoration works in the Castle of Arnoia, under the DGEMN's responsibility;

1985: the Castle of Arnoia is allocated to the IPPC;

1992: the Castle of Arnoia's jurisdiction is transferred to the IPPAR;

2002: conduction of archaeological surveys inside the fortification;

2004: installation of the Interpretative Centre of the Castle of Arnoia in an old elementary school;

2005: the Castle of Arnoia is reallocated to the IGESPAR;

2010: integration in the Route of the Romanesque;

2014: improvements to the surroundings of the Castle of Arnoia, under the Route of the Romanesque.

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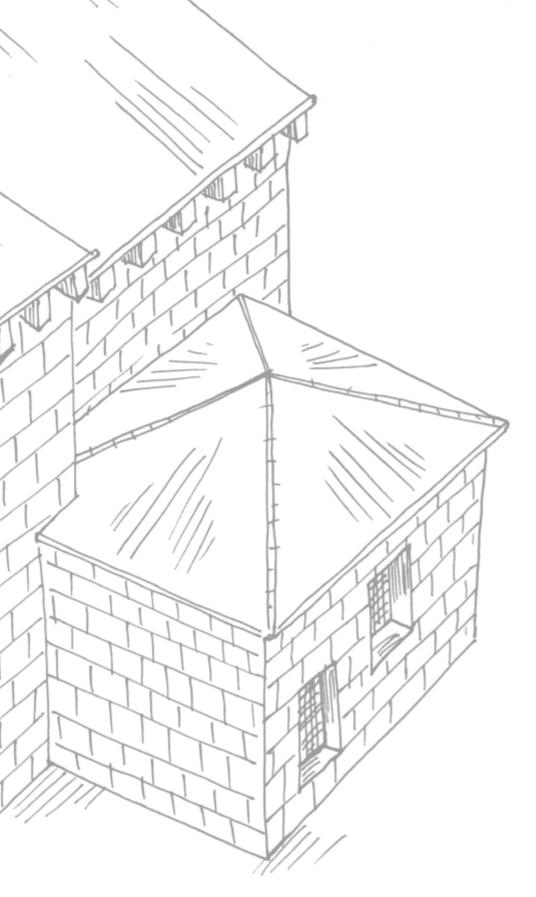
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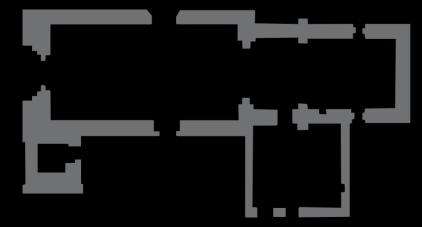
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# CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF BARRÔ RESENDE

# CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF BARRÔ RESENDE



Plan.

Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). Church. Nave. Sarcophagus of Egas Moniz.



Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). West façade.

### THE MONUMENT DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

enerally speaking, historical information regarding Romanesque architecture in Portugal is very scarce. On the sidelines of major international Romanesque buildings of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, one of the major problems faced by the researcher upon beginning its study of a Romanesque church within a rural area is the lack of documentation about its construction (Huerta Huerta, 2004: 29). Regarding the Portuguese case, with the exception of the much quoted report of the so-called *Livro Preto* [Black Book] of the old Coimbra cathedral, related to the works undertaken in this cathedral in the period of Miguel Salomão (1162-1176), there are little or no documents that may provide information about the construction of any Portuguese Romanesque building.

Although we know that the foundation of the Church of Barrô dates back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century as a private church of Egas Moniz, the governor and schoolmaster of the first king of Portugal (*c*. 1080-1146), that came to his hands by royal donation, we still do not know when it was built/changed or if it was a result of a continuous worship practised in an pre-existing temple. As it is commonly known, Egas Moniz was the "lieutenant" of São Martinho de Mouros (Resende), at least, between 1106 and 1111, and the governor of the Lamego region between 1113-1117 and maybe even until a later date (Serrão, 1984: 334-335). Having managed to assert himself politically in a kingdom under construction, Egas Moniz from Ribadouro offered plentiful donations to religious institutions, from which we highlight the Monastery of Paço de Sousa, in Penafiel, where he had himself buried.

Therefore, it is within this context that we should understand the donation of the patronage of the Church of Barrô made by Sancha Vermudes – Egas Moniz's daughter-in-law – to the Order of Hospitallers in 1208, according to the general inquiries of king Afonso III (k. 1248-1279), which were carried out in the municipality and "julgado" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of São Martinho de Mouros in 1258: when he was questioned, Egas Moniz explained to the inquirers that the Church of Saint Mary of Barriolo belonged to the Hospitaller Friars who were using the Church. And when he was asked about the origin of such patronage, he answered that it had been a donation from Sancha Vermudes. And many other people said similar things (Herculano, 1936: 1000).

On the other hand, according to a different testimony by Pedro Gonçalves, the "villa of Barriolo" belonged entirely to the Monastery of Paço de Sousa. Therefore, in other words, there were many conflicting interests within this area (Church and territorial), although they all had a common link to the heritage of the Gascos lineage, to which Egas Moniz – also known as the schoolmaster and governor – belonged.

The inquiries (from the Latin *inquisitiones*) were large-scale surveys about the status of royal property rights, which were ordered by the central government and carried out in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Being part of a series of actions aimed at strengthening royal power and promoting an administrative centralization that characterized the last few centuries of the Middle Ages, they also ended up being a registry – though a very rough one – of the Kingdom's demo-

graphic data and general revenues. While the inquiries of 1220, commissioned by king Afonso III (1211-1223), focused on the diocese of Braga, the ones commissioned by king Afonso III encompassed a broader territory (Entre-Douro-e-Minho, Trás-os-Montes and Beira Alta), and were followed throughout the entire Kingdom by several private inquiries to royal properties, terms, municipalities and "julgados" (Herculano, 1936: 329). Therefore, given the lack of documentation regarding the Portuguese Middle Ages and, more specifically, related to the history of the buildings that remained from that period, these inquiries are one of the most significant sources that allow us to study them and obtain knowledge about their condition. Thus, based on this source – the oldest one we are found concerning the Church of Barrô –, we know that, in the first place, the Church was a patronage of the lineage of Egas Moniz and, therefore, linked to Paço de Sousa. It was then passed on to the Hospitaller Order, which represented it and turned it into one of its richest commendations (Costa, 1979: 339)<sup>1</sup>.

The Hospitaller Order of Saint John, founded in Jerusalem (Israel), in 1048, by Italian merchants as a hospital to shelter pilgrims, added military functions to its charitable actions in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fonseca, 2000: 334-338). Established in the Portuguese territory between 1122 and 1128, the Hospitaller Order had its first headquarters in the castle of Belver (Gavião). Owning a vast heritage located to the north of the Douro, in areas close to river Tagus and along the banks of the Guadiana, the Hospitallers, like any other military order, were divided into small units – "the commendations" –, ahead of which there were commanders appointed by the master, the dignitary who heads the hierarchy of these *miles Christi*.

Parishes, as well as simple chapels and monasteries, could be founded and equipped by private patrons. These patrons or protectors – from the Latin *patronarīu*, from *patronu* – were then entitled to a series of privileges, which were associated with certain obligations, granted by the Church. One of their rights was to present the clergymen who would be in charge of the religious services to the bishop (although there was a tendency to turn this right of presentation into a right of appointment, hence the natural occurrence of abuses of power). They also enjoyed certain honorary privileges, besides keeping part of the benefit's rents for their own use. Patronages were passed on by inheritance as any other property, from one individual to another, both ecclesiastical and lay, but also among other entities.

From the Medieval Period, apart from its change in status from a private Church to a patronage of the commendation of the Hospitaller Order (that after 1530 became known as Order "of Malta"), we weren't able to find much documentary information, since the Hospitallers' general archive, which was located in the convent of Flor da Rosa (Crato), was totally destroyed by the Spanish in 1662 (Serrão, 1984: 225-226). In the district archive of Viseu, although under the name of convent of Barrô, there is a significant collection of documents containing details on lease payments, which only allow us to look into the economic context of this commendation during a relatively late period<sup>2</sup>.



West façade

<sup>1</sup> It still persists in the local memory of the institution that once oversaw this place: the toponym "Quinta da Comenda", a place where commanders, officers responsible for receiving the tithes of the parish and the income of the commendation rested; they also acted as inspectors on behalf of the Hospitallers.

<sup>2</sup> ADV – Monásticos. Convento [sic] de Barrô. The limiting dates of the documentation are 1555 and 1825.



Aerial view.

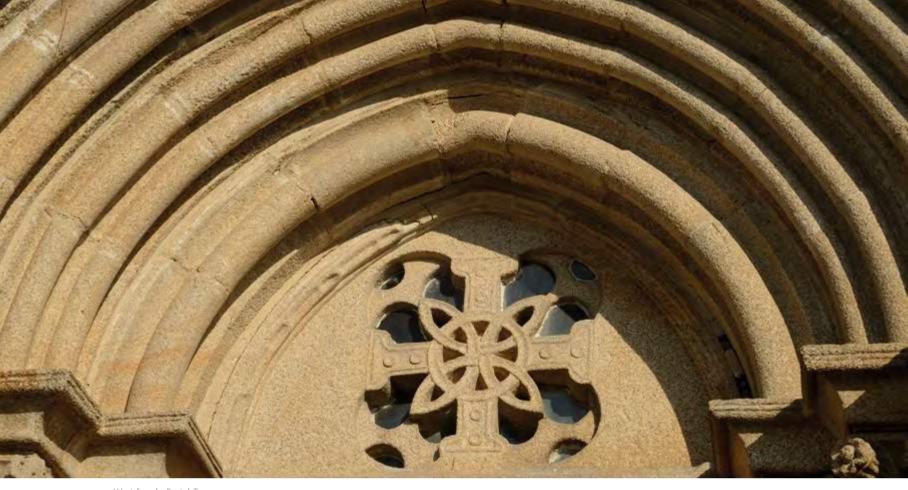


West façade. Large window. Rosette

Although these sparse historical data inform us about the existence of a church in Barrô still during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the fact is that the remaining Medieval traces suggest a much later chronology, which we may probably place in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This fact leads us to assume the existence of an earlier temple. We should not forget the long chronology that is associated with the Portuguese Romanesque. Although the first traces date back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the truth is that this style, or *modus aedificandi*, lasted for a long time within our territory, particularly in the North and in Beira Alta regions.

The Church, comprising a single nave and a rectangular chancel, is located on a plot of land facing the Douro river, on a steep slope; therefore, the main façade is located at a lower ground level than the one of the chancel; this issue is internally compensated by the two steps that allow accessing the apse through the nave. It is on the outside that we are able to identify, in a more assertive way, the elements that allow us to state that this Church was built during a late Portuguese Romanesque Period; it already features some components that would later characterise what has come to be called as the "first rural Gothic style". Thus, we believe that we are standing before an eloquent example of the "transition" between a high Romanesque style and an erudite Gothic style, despite the problems that this merely operative designation may entail. We should not forget that this Church was, first of all, associated with the lineage of the governor and schoolmaster of the first king of Portugal and then with the Hospitallers, which fully justifies the construction of a somewhat pompous building featuring significant influences both in terms of proportions and in terms of the composition of its decorative elements.

The main façade stands out immediately; it is organised according to four registers delimited by three frames placed in the continuity of the imposts found on the main portal, on the large



West façade. Portal. Tympanum.

upper window, and one that is part of the window's base. Adopting a very uncommon structure in the region, the façade is composed also by two overlapping openings – the portal and the already proto-Gothic rosette, formed by circles – in a composition that immediately refers us to a formal proximity with the old Coimbra cathedral. Several authors have drawn attention to this familiarity that, so far, we can only explain considering the fact that there were artists circulating across Portugal during the Romanesque Period, of whom master Soeiro (Anes) is a great example<sup>3</sup>. However, we believe that the explanation behind such proximity is related to Porto, considering the formal connection that existed between the Romanesque façade of its cathedral and its counterpart from Coimbra. We should not forget the rather geographically close example of Cabeça Santa (Penafiel), which has come to be regarded by history as a reproduction of the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita, located in Porto<sup>4</sup>.

In fact, the similarities between Coimbra and Porto are related to the type of carving works and vegetal decorations of the capitals of the Porto cathedral's nave and to the general composition of the façade, since both show two large openings framed by a protruding volume. However, while in the old Coimbra cathedral the main portal is surmounted by a very large window whose structure is very similar to a portal, in the Porto cathedral this same large window frames a rosette that is already proto-Gothic, reflecting the lengthiness of its construction<sup>5</sup>. In Barrô, rather than the existence of a protruding volume in the middle of the façade, we have a gable that, by being placed at the centre, not only emphasizes the verticality created by the portal and by the rosette framed by a large window, but it also creates the false impression that we are standing before a Church with three naves. While the archivolts in the upper level are perfectly

3 Mentioned in the *Livro Preto* [Black Book] of the Coimbra cathedral as one of the architects who had worked in its construction at the time of Bishop Miguel Salomão, we see his name reappearing years later, for having received a reward through the will of the Bishop of Porto, Fernando Martems (1174-1185), in 1184. Please read what we wrote about the subject in Botelho (2010: 405-431). 4 About the subject, please read Botelho (2010: 457).

5 On the issues surrounding the arrangement of the primitive façade of the Porto cathedral, please read Botelho (2006: 90-95).

round, in the lower level they are already broken. Both in the large window and in the portal, the archivolts are composed of a modénature with alternating tori and scotias.

The sculpture on the portal's capitals, with vegetal and floral themes, already announces a new aesthetics – the Gothic one – because its motifs, being already quite naturalistic, are closely bound to the basket. The slender columns that support them also bring us closer to this new moment in the history of art in the Middle Ages. Although the layout of the façade tells us about the persistence of the Romanesque formulas, some of its compositional elements are clear testimonies of the introduction of new aesthetic models.

The main portal's tympanum, considered by Vergílio Correia as "the best specimen of its kind among coeval northern churches" (Correia, 1924: 68), shows an elaborate multi-shaped hollow cross, richly decorated and remarkably carved. We should also notice the three curious corbels that frame the portal, in which there are carved human faces that are rather hard to date.

The north and south lateral portals confirm the presence of the first rural Gothic style aesthetics. Both portals are carved into the thickness of the walls in which they were opened and feature a flat tympanum resting on corbels. The north portal, which is more elaborate, comprises two archivolts surrounded by an external chequered arch, which also justifies the fact that it was sheltered by a porch-like structure, as suggested by the corbels that still currently exist in the middle of the façade. On both elevations there are narrow crevices that, for being wider on their internal side, are characteristic of this type of constructions.

The corbels we find in the Church of Barrô show a great variety. On the north side, quoting Vergílio Correia, "we may find a human head and a rough boar snout among the chancel's corbels: among the corbels from the Church's body, we may find birds, a squatting gnome chewing



North façade. Nave. Portal.



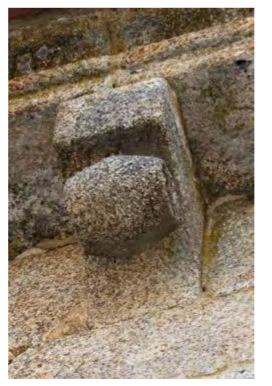
South façade. Nave. Portal.



North façade. Chancel. Corbels.



South façade. Nave. Corbel.



North façade. Nave. Corbel.

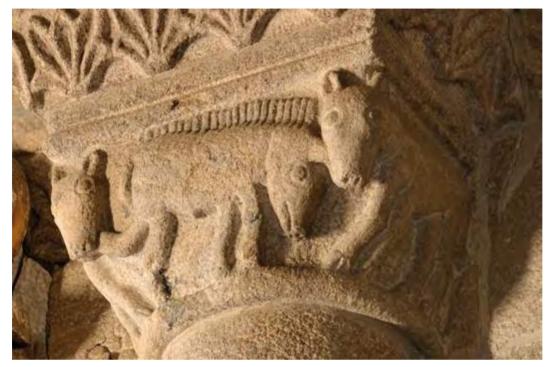


General interior view from the nave

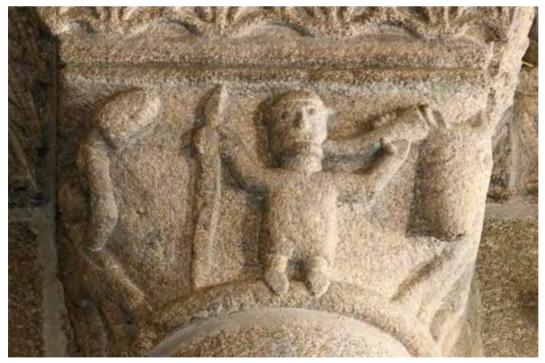
on a shapeless thing, and several drawings" (Correia, 1924: 70). On the opposite side, besides corbels that are essentially plain or ornamented with simple geometric frames, we see an owl. In Lúcia Rosas's opinion (2008: 361), the way in which the sculptures are placed in the corbels and their geometric shape are important elements to date Romanesque churches. According to this author, the oldest specimens are usually rectangular, showing sculptures that are very well adapted to this shape. However, as the Romanesque construction evolves over time, the constant repetition of models shows a tendency to move away from this initial scheme, which is more erudite and more compliant with the original and widespread Romanesque style. Therefore, in later Romanesque churches and in the specimens from the Gothic period where solutions from the Romanesque Period are still used, the corbels are usually square showing a much more limited variety of themes and a sculptural adaptation that is not so well done.

Granite prevails inside the Church and the dimensions of the nave and chancel, particularly in terms of height, already announce the Gothic style. That fact is confirmed by the wide opening of the triumphal arch that, despite the aesthetic of its capitals, which is still very Romanesque, is already telling us about a different kind of liturgy. The intimate Romanesque chevets – lower and narrower that the nave, creating suitable spaces for retreat – are succeeded by the large and bright Gothic chevets – open to the devotees.

Being slightly broken, the triumphal arch comprises two archivolts and is externally surrounded by an arch which combines three motifs carved in relief. Outside there is a torus, the intertwined motifs identified by Joaquim de Vasconcelos in his catalogue of the most common decorative motifs in the Portuguese Romanesque style<sup>6</sup> with the no. 5 – placed in the middle – and, finally, on the inner register, a scotia punctuated by pearls.



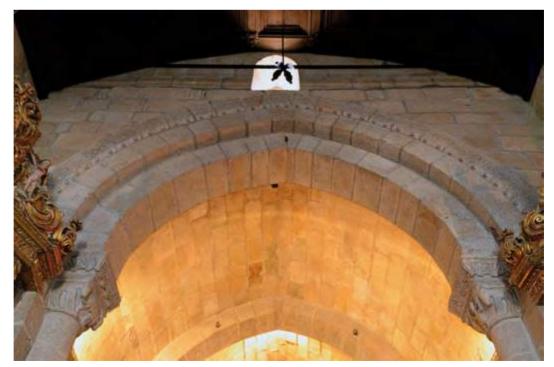
Triumphal arch. Capital of the Gospel side.



Triumphal arch. Capital of the Epistle side.

With a narrative nature, the capital found on the Epistle side shows us a hunting scene; its central figure is a man who, in addition to playing a hunting horn, is holding a spear in his right hand. The hunting horn was commonly used to communicate messages in times of danger (Sousa, 2005). On the right side there is a quadruped (perhaps bovine) and on the opposite side there is a character who seems to be armed with a sort of shield in the right hand and a club in the left hand. The topic of hunting, as an allegory of the struggle against evil, is also depicted on the opposite capital, where a boar is being grabbed by its paw and ear by two quadrupeds, perhaps two dogs.

The chancel is composed of three vaulted bays, defined by two transversal arches resting on columns addorsed to the wall. However, only the capitals on the central arch are ornamented, while the ones on the last arch are plain, something which may certainly be explained due to the fact that this final bay is the result of an expansion of the apse to accommodate the ostentatious and spacious Baroque main altarpiece in a more balanced way. We should notice the different size and colour of the ashlars from this final bay. So, it is in these two capitals from the chevet – decorated with bevelled vegetal motifs – that we find a great closeness to the Romanesque sculptural aesthetics of the ensemble that began developing itself in the Monastery of Paço de Sousa. Quoting Reinaldo dos Santos, the capitals of Barrô "seem to be gouge-carved, much to the style of Paço de Sousa, as if its decorative spirit, overcoming the Douro's current, managed to reached the opposite bank..." (1970: 70). Being also linked to Coimbra, this is a traditional sculpting technique, typical of decorative wood works, which creates refined and flattish bas-reliefs. We should recall the connections between this Monastery and Church of Barrô that we've already mentioned above.



Triumphal arch.

Finally, we should not forget to mention the presence of numerous initials along the ashlars that embody the Church of Barrô. A watchful eye will find a good number and variety of initials inside the chancel's vault. In a Romanesque building, the stonemason's initials or marks, as they are more commonly known, are crucial elements to the archaeological study of its architecture. These are small and usually geometric carved signs that appear on the ashlar's outer face and have been interpreted as marks related to temporary workers, that is, as a key to distinguish a job by a specific mason or group of masons (Nuño González, 2005: 95). Here we are able to identify simple crosses, as well as more complex crosses and initials. Besides indicating the progress of the building works, they may also be useful elements to identify, for example, the (quite imprecise) number of stonemasons that may have worked in a given building. Since they were paid on a daily basis, the stonemasons identified the ashlars they had carved and assembled with marks that could range from graphic signs to letters of the alphabet. Despite the fact, that are a few more elaborate signs, which adopt figurative forms, usually we find carved signs that are easy to make (Huerta Huerta, 2004: 121-149). However, in most cases, these marks are facing the wall's intrados, although occasionally we have the chance of finding them on the outside.



Chancel. Capital.



Chancel. Initials.

# THE MONUMENT DURING THE MODERN PERIOD

e may say that, after the Romanesque construction, it was during the Baroque Period that the Church of Barrô underwent the most significant transformations. After its mainly stony decoration, there was a long period in which the *horror vacui* turned the whitewashed or plain walls into scenarios made of gilded and painted wood, according to the taste of a period when men sought to choreograph divinity.

The altarpiece of Barrô's largest chapel, which fits into the Johannine Baroque [style which develops during the reign of King João V (k. 1706-1750)] taste, occupied the entire wall of the chevet and modelled its scenic grammar according to the chevet's broken arch in order to combine two styles that were four centuries apart. It is an interesting symbiosis that is not always understood, as we know.

The Medieval Saint Mary was succeeded – already during the Modern Period – by the Virgin of the Assumption, which takes central stage on the main altarpiece and exudes the same style as the woodwork's language (Azevedo, 1758). The same applies to the representation of the Virgin and Child placed on secondary corbel, on the side of the Epistle. Both the dimensions and the plastic and ornamental features of the two images lead us to consider that they were



Chancel. Wall on the Gospel side. Plinths. Sculptural ensemble. Calvary.



manufactured during the construction of this altarpiece and were specifically designed for the places where they are still currently worshipped.

Also in the largest chapel, the eccentrically large sculptural ensemble of the Calvary stands out, comprising a crucified Christ, the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist<sup>7</sup>. Although it was transferred here from an unknown location, this ensemble is in line with the Baroque spirit and with the decorative language shown by the main altarpiece, meaning that it was probably commissioned in the same period.

In the nave, despite its considerable size, there are only two lateral altarpieces: one is dedicated to the Virgin of Piety, while the opposite one is currently dedicated to the Virgin and Child; in 1758, the Infant Jesus and the Martyr Saint Sebastian were worshipped in this altarpiece<sup>8</sup>. From the memoir written by the vicar José Azevedo Mendes (1758) we are only able to collect schematic information about the Church's interior: three altars and a single nave, a heritage that hasn't suffered any damages caused by the Great Earthquake, except for the cross of the Church belfry that was "somewhat tilted to the West". By then, the patron was Fernando Luís de Azevedo, surely the commander from the Order of Malta who was responsible for presenting the vicar.



Nave. Collateral altarpiece on the Gospel side.

Nave. Collateral altarpiece on the Epistle side.

7 Part of this ensemble (images of the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist) integrated the *Exhibition of sacred art of the archpriestship of Resende*, held in 1976 following the Centenary Celebrations of the Diocese of Lamego. The images of the Virgin of Mercy and a gilded silver monstrance dated back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century were taken from Barrô to the same exhibition (*Exposição de arte sacra do arciprestado de Resende*. Lamego: [Gráfica de Lamego], 1976. Pieces no. 9, 28, 29 e 47).

8 In the photograph published in the monograph of Resende, in 1982, the altar on the Gospel side still seems to include the image of Saint Anne and the one, on the Epistle side, seems to include other minor sculptures and the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Pinto, 1982: 341).

Although nothing remains from the commendation's parish registry, it was through its central archives, in Malta, that we were able to find out more about the Church's interior during the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In November 1771, Friar Manuel Guedes de Magalhães, a "visitador" [inspector], went to Barrô together with a few other officers, in order to assess the spiritual and temporal conditions of the commendation of Barrô. He began with the usual survey to the residents, who soon reported several cases of promiscuity, solicitation and concubinage. Once the involved had been admonished, the inspector moved on to some more earthly matters, including the Church, which the clerk described extensively.

Heading from east to west, the Church of Barrô, "which is completely made of stone", had a volume with a length of thirteen "varas" [old unit for measuring length. 1 "vara" is equivalent to 1.1 meters] and a width of six. According to the descriptor, the main door was "Gothic" and, above it, there was an oculus showing the same style. The frontispiece was surmounted by a belfry with two bells. Inside this dim temple, "due to the thickness of the walls", there was at the entrance, and on the left side, the font and, on the right side, the wooden bowl of holy water, with its lathed bars. It was "lined with chestnut wood and poorly tiled", mistakes which the visitors pointed out in their warnings to the parish priest and other officers of the people.

Along the nave there were three altars with their corresponding altarpieces: the first altar, located on the south wall, sheltered the monumental crucifix which is currently placed in the chancel. It had been commissioned by the confraternity of the Souls. The second and third altars were leaning against the chancel arch, with "their gilded wood and painted altarpieces". The one on the Gospel side, dedicated to Saint Anne, featured two images of this matron, an iconic one and a dressed one; on the opposite side, the Epistle side, the altar was dedicated to Saint Sebastian and, besides this image, it also featured a God Child; both images were iconic. Each of the altars was looked after by its corresponding confraternity, which would maintain the brass lamps always supplied. The role of the confraternities was essential for maintaining the Church's space. In 1771 there are references to five confraternities; in addition to the aforementioned ones, there were also the confraternities of the Lord, of Our Lady of the Rosary and of the God Child.

The extension of the "vaulted" chancel, for which the Commendation had also contributed, had been commissioned by the People. It was poorly paved with stone and featured only two glazed crevices. However, regarding the altarpiece, its size did not go unnoticed nor, as we've already mentioned, its use of the back wall: "its altarpiece fills the entire back wall of the Chapel with a tribune, throne and tabernacle, all gilded and painted with its wooden front also in gold". Two images of the Virgin were worshipped in the altarpiece: an iconic image of the patron saint and a dressed one.

The sacristy, adjoining the chancel's south wall, was large and featured a sink, an access door to the churchyard and a house that the brotherhood of Souls commissioned and could be used, according to the visitor, as a Building Commission house.

The list of ornaments is extensive and divided into objects that were commonly in the Church and objects used in the altars, which were under the responsibility of the corresponding confraternities.

The inspection could not end without a careful analysis of other aspects of the current management of the commendation's assets, such as the prelate's house, the residence and commendation's houses, barns and cellars, precepts or rights relating to water, income, and, finally, chapels or



Panoramic view of the Douro valley in Barrô.

hermitages scattered across the parish<sup>9</sup>. The inspector put special emphasis on the state of registry about which he wrote a few pages describing books from previous inspections, as well as property, rights and demands record archives. Indeed, much like any other institution from the Ancien Régime, the commendation of Barrô managed several claims associated with the many assets it owned. In general, the books found in the archive were in a poor state of repair, so the parish priest was admonished to renovate the space where this collection of documents was stored and to do everything in his power to preserve such delicate and valuable heritage.

Joaquim de Azevedo, in his work *Historia eclesiastica da cidade e bispado de Lamego*, written in the first years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and enlarged in 1877, refers that in this Church there was the worshipping of "relics, to which miracles are ascribed, without knowledge of the saint(s) they may belong to; these would mainly protect against mad dog bites" (Azevedo, 1877: 330). He adds that there were six brotherhoods based in this Church: the brotherhoods of the Holy Rosary, of the God Child, of Saint Sebastian, of Saint Anne, of the Souls and of the Poor Clerics, although there are many associations that do not have a specific altar or chapel dedicated to the worship of the invocations that named them.

Being a parish with a smaller area – if compared with the neighbouring parish of São Martinho de Mouros (where the seat of the municipality to which it belonged was located) –, it had a population of 1327 inhabitants in 1758, distributed by 429 dwellings scattered among places and farms, in a mountainous area with brooks. Here, on the banks of the Douro river, people believed that there were traces of a bridge commissioned by one of the royal Mafaldas. This tradition (duly grounded, as we know) is echoed by the vicar José Mendes de Azevedo, when he refers traces of pillars on both banks, namely on the opposite parish of Barqueiros (Mesão Frio)<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE MALTA – Arquivos da ordem de São João, secção XVI, parte 18, Priorado de Portugal, vizita geral da comenda de Sernacelhe e comenda de Barro, 1771, fls. 230 v.º – 232. The descriptions of other assets and rights of commendation extend to folio 269 v.º.

<sup>10</sup> And, even before him, at the turn of 1512 to 1513, the chronicler Rui Fernandes from Lamego had provided extensive information about the planned bridge (Fernandes, 1926: 546-613). On this crossing, please refer to what we have written in Bridge of Veiga, Lousada.

The parish Church was not the only religious centre in Barrô because, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (in 1693) a group of nuns who took the Franciscan habit settled in the area; after this group had been extinct (in 1780) and the resisting nuns had been incorporated in the convent of Wounds, in Lamego, this became an important teaching centre during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was the convent of Jesus Mary Joseph, referred to as "Claras urbanas" in 1758<sup>11</sup>.

# CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

n the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely in 1890, the bell tower adjoining the main façade's south side was rebuilt at the expense of a person connected to the family of the "Casa do Torgal" [House of Torgal] who had been born in the parish and then emigrated to Brazil, thus replacing an older belfry whose top cross, as mentioned in 1758, had been shaken due to the Great Earthquake (Duarte, 1994: 113-114). With a square plan, it is divided into three registers. It is surmounted by pinnacles on the angles and by a spherical spire that supports the vane placed in the middle of the roof; the upper register shows round-arched windows that shelter bronze bells on all its sides.

In 1922, the Church of Barrô was classified as a National Monument<sup>12</sup>. Although there is information stating that part of the belfry was rebuilt due to its state of disrepair (Antunes, 2006) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the most significant conservation interventions occurred from mid-20<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In fact, the appeal of Father António Pinto Cardoso Júnior to have repair works in Barrô dates back to the end of 1949<sup>13</sup>. The roof was in a "ruinous" state, and it rained "heavily" inside the Church, "causing serious damages to its richly carved altars, to the conservation of several implements and even to the celebration of religious acts". A sum was then spent on the completion of the most urgent repairs<sup>14</sup>.

From the 1960s onwards, we notice a greater awareness amongst the competent authorities towards this building. In a memoir from March 16<sup>th</sup> 1965<sup>15</sup>, regarding the "Reconstruction of the roofs and the consolidation of the nave's coffered ceiling" it is explained that "for being far from the urban centres, the Church of Barrô has not been feeling the beneficial whiff of any repair works".

In one of the memoirs associated with these interventions it is explained that this building is quite exposed to the weather "given the fact that it is located on the left bank of the river Douro, leading the Church's roof to suffer its consequences, which cause the shifting of roof tiles"<sup>16</sup>.

Thus, besides the regular repairs of ceilings and roofs, repeatedly identified throughout the



South facade. Bell tower.

<sup>11</sup> Here died, with a reputation for holiness, Mariana da Madre de Deus. In this regard, please see Nossa Senhora (1930). 12 DECREE no. 8175. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I. 110 (22-06-02).

<sup>13</sup> PAZ, Henrique – Cópia da missiva do pároco de Barrô [dirigida ao Governo Civil do Distrito de Viseu], 26 de novembro de 1949. SIPA.TXT.01667358. PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/220-0001 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos. pt> [N° IPA PT011813020003].

<sup>14</sup> Ofício n.º 5178 de 14 de dezembro de 1949 [SIPA.TXT.01667360]. Idem.

<sup>15</sup> Memória de 16 de março de 1965 [SIPA.TXT.01667408 e SIPA.TXT.01667407]. Idem.

<sup>16</sup> Memória de 1 de maio de 1959 [SIPA.TXT.01667376]. Idem.

second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and various repair works associated with the woodworks and eaves, it is worth highlighting - due to the impact it had on the building's legibility - the demolition of the Church's body, consisting of two floors, which was addorsed to the south façade, on the angle created between it and the sacristy. The documentation identifies it as the "Sala das Almas" [Hall of Souls]<sup>17</sup>. Its demolition was already deemed urgent in 1955: "the rain enters from there into the whole Church in such abundance that it becomes completely flooded, causing huge damages to the altars, the vestments and even to a few images", as explained by Father António Cardoso Pinto Júnior. Since this was a construction from a "relatively recent period" that "was damaging" the ensemble and was partly obstructing the façade's lateral door it was decided to proceed with its demolition<sup>18</sup>. However, as far as we could ascertain, this intervention was only carried out in 1966, surely with the deliberate intention of freeing the Medieval Church's volume from an element that was obstructing its legibility.

Within the context of the preservation of the image of Saint Mary of Barrô we should also highlight the intervention carried out in 1993 in the building's immediate surroundings, which allowed connecting the Church to the cemetery in a more coherent and unified way. At that time, and at the parish priest's own initiative, the bandstand was built. In 2010 the Church of Barrô became part of the Route of the Romanesque. [MLB / NR]



South façade. "Sala das Almas" [Hall of Souls] in 1955. Source: IHRU archive.



South façade. "Sala das Almas" [Hall of Souls] in 1955. Source: IHRU archive.

17 CARDOSO JÚNIOR, António Pinto – Missiva de 2 de janeiro de 1955 [SIPA.TXT.01667371]. Idem. 18 Ofício n.º 3690 de 28 de junho de 1954 [SIPA.TXT.01667793 e SIPA.TXT.01667794]. In PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/220-0004 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [Nº IPA PT011813020003].

#### CHRONOLOGY

1208: Sancha Vermudes donates the patronage of the Church of Barrô to the Hospitallers;

1258: Pedro Gonçalves mentions that the "villa" of Barrô had been donated by Egas Moniz to the Monastery of Paço de Sousa;

13<sup>th</sup> century (1<sup>st</sup> half): construction of the Church of Barrô;

1771, November: inspection to the Commendation of Barrô carried out by inspector Friar Manuel Guedes de Magalhães;

1890: construction of Barrô's bell tower;

1922: listing of the Church of Barrô as a National Monument;

20<sup>th</sup> century (2<sup>nd</sup> half): main restoration interventions in the Church and its surroundings;

2010: integration of the Church of Barrô in the Route of the Romanesque.

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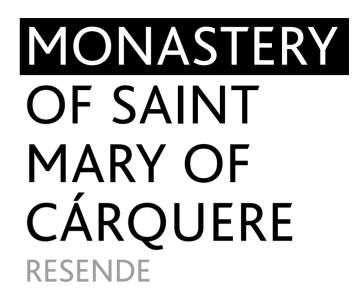
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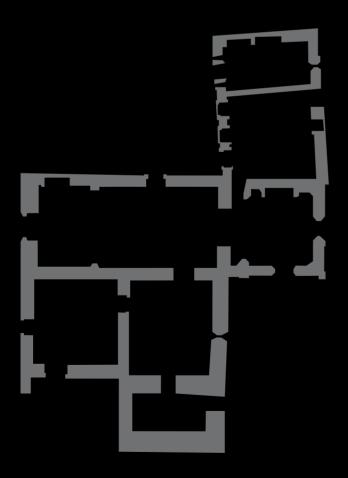
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# MONASTERY OF SAINT MARY OF CÁRQUERE RESENDE



Plan.

#### THE MONUMENT DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

ocated on the left bank of the river Douro, halfway up the hillside, the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere leaves a significant mark in the territory in which it is integrated. In 1919, when Vergílio Correia visited this monastic ensemble he was impressed with the surrounding landscape, alluding to the "steep slopes", to "the canopy of trellis, to the the blackened hills that climb up to the heights covered with trees" (Correia, 1919: 47-58). In the historiography of Portuguese Romanesque architecture, the deep relationship between this moment in the history of architecture and territory – which was sometimes understood just as landscape – was highlighted for a long time, emphasizing its spiritual impression and charm<sup>1</sup>.

This relationship was not, and is not, a coincidence at all. The study of the locations of religious buildings allows us to have a better understanding of the reasons that were behind their foundation. As we know, eremitism left deep marks in the Medieval landscape, giving rise to many places of worship that were later turned into monastic institutions or parish churches. Religious orders, as the Benedictines or the Cistercians, followed strict criteria in choice of the ideal place to build their monasteries: "Benedictus montes, Bernardus valles amabat, Franciscus vicos, magnas Ignatius urbes" – Saint Bernard (Cistercian Order) loved the valleys, Saint Benedict loved the mountains, Saint Francis loved the villages and Saint Ignatius loved big cities. But before the arrival of the great monastic reforms, hermitages (paradoxically to what the word itself suggests) were visible from the villages; they weren't always in inaccessible thickets, but close to paths instead (Mattoso, 1997: 103-145).



Aerial view.

1 About the subject, please read Botelho (2010: 367).



General view.

The location of Cárquere, placed on a spur overlooking the Corvo valley, though not particularly exposed, may be a sign of the existence of an earliest eremitical settlement that was turned into a hermitage and later into a sanctuary; this condition was often inherent to these places that, by the telluric proximity and the sacrificial example of their inhabitants, left their devotional marks on the territory. The melting pot of legends connected to Cárquere, namely related to the discovery of relics and images next to a tree or thickets, suggests the existence of that earlier consecration which often had nothing to do with worship synchronisms or religious continuities, being nothing more than a sign of that eremitical movement<sup>2</sup>.

Those buildings, of evident Medieval origin, drew the attention of the subject's historiography due to the charm of the traditions that are (supposedly) associated with them, which try to justify a legendary origin. Among these is, naturally, the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere.

# The legend and the miracle of Cárquere

he legend that associates the origin of this Monastery with the story of a miracle that supposedly healed the future King Afonso Henriques (b. 1108/9?-1185) from a disability that he had in his lower limbs is quite well known. There is an older tradition associated with the image of Our Lady of Cárquere that surely contributed for the construction of that narrative.

The invocation of Saint Mary of Cárquere is quite old and, as we are told by Father Luís Cardoso in 1751, in his *Diccionario geográfico*..., "tradition says that at the time of King Rodrigo, upon the loss of Hespanias, a vault with precious relics, a few fine items, and a Cross", together with the image of Saint Mary (Cardoso, 1751: 451-452) had been buried under a hill that is contiguous to the same parish. Another traditional version, perhaps alluding to the same image of Our Lady, states that the image was found inside a very old chestnut tree, together with a bell, a box of relics and a silver cross (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 994-995).

Although there is a tendency to ascribe a rather early chronology to the small image of Our Lady of Cárquere (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 57-58), dating it back to the time of the last and legendary Visigoth king (710-711), the truth is that we stand before a specimen whose chronology is more recent than the "miracle" it has been associated with, as we shall see.

So, according to the chronicle of King Afonso Henriques by Duarte Galvão, published in Lisbon in 1726 (Galvão, 1954), the Monastery of Cárquere, dedicated to Saint Mary, was built by order of Count Henrique after Egas Moniz (1080-1146), the governor and schoolmaster of the first king of Portugal, had a dream in which he was receiving instructions from the Virgin to rebuild a ruined and darkened temple from the Douro region in her honour. Obeying this calling, Egas Moniz rescued from the ruins the image of Saint Mary, laying before them the sick Prince who was immediately healed. According to the tale, Afonso Henriques would have been born "with his legs so crippled that in the mind of Masters and everyone, he would always be disabled and, as it says later, everyone thought he would never grow up to become a man".

"And lying D. Egas asleep one night, and the Boy being five years old now, Our Lady appeared to him and said (...):

- "I am the Virgin Mary and I command you to go to a specific place", giving him the directions, "and dig. You shall find a Church that has been started in my name in another time, and an image of Me; complete the Church and correct the Image built in my honour and, once this is done, thou shall keep vigil, placing the Child you are raising on the altar; and rest assure that he will be protected and healthy (...). Seeing D. Egas this pleasure and miracle, he gave praises to God and the Lady His Mother, thus creating and saving from that moment on with much greater care the Boy, whose tutor [governor and schoolmaster] he was always (...). And because of this miracle, the Monastery of Cárquere was then built with much devotion in this Church (...)"(Galvão, 1954: 21-25). The narrative reproduces, in the subjects of clairvoyance and discovery, a model of inventions of relics and images that characterized the religious and political atmosphere of the Middle Ages. Cases of economic and spiritual rehabilitations of monasteries or churches – justifications against the theft or trade of relics – resulted in the dissemination of narratives with similar plots and characters (Christian Jr., 1990). Cárquere brought together many interests that nurtured and magnified this legend. The Canons Regular – guardians of royal memory and, therefore, of the idea of nationality – were succeeded by the Jesuits – zealous administrators of a physical and spiritual heritage whose promotion was convenient. The power of lineages pervaded across all congregations: first the regal authority, interested in anointing itself with divine aid, and later Egas Moniz's descendants, committed to keeping their association with the kingdom's construction.

As it is known, the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, particularly the ones installed in Santa Cruz of Coimbra, played an important role in terms of secular power, because they were associated with the royal curia, as well as with the high nobility and aristocracy of Coimbra (Gomes, 2000: 429). We should not forget that the church, their mother-house, houses the pantheon of the earliest Portuguese kings. It is in this sense that we should not forget the important role they played in terms of culture, by structuring a Portuguese political identity, enforcing the historiographical memory of the kingdom in chronicles, annals, "narratives..." (Gomes, 2000: 430). And considering that Saint Mary of Cárquere is one of the Crosiers' foundations that were directly sponsored or fostered by their mother-house, Santa Cruz of Coimbra, we can easily understand the "creation" of this legend associated with the figure of King Afonso Henriques.



Sculpture. Our Lady of Cárquere. Source: José Vicente's private collection.

# The image of Our Lady of Cárquere

egardless of the chronologies ascribed to the tiny image of Our Lady of Cárquere, the words written by Vergílio Correia in 1919 regarding his observation of this ivory sculpture with a height of only 2.9 centimetres are nonetheless deeply sentimental (and nationalist)<sup>3</sup>.

Naturally, by observing this image, we are forced to place its chronology in a much later period within the Portuguese Middle Ages. It already belongs to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, or even to 13<sup>th</sup> century, taking into account the type of pleats on the Virgin's clothes; with a crown and a short veil on her head, the Virgin is enthroned and holds the Child, also crowned, on her left knee. Because of its gesture, this image reminded Vergílio Correia "of the Christs found in evangelistaries and enamels" (Correia, 1919: 56). In this period, the figure of Christ as Majesty appears both in paintings and in sculptures. In this specific case, represented still as a Child, He is sitting on His Mother's lap - as usual in the iconographic scheme of the time - holding a book in his left hand and blessing with his right hand. However, His clothes are less naturalistic than those of His Mother.

These representations of the *Maiestas Domini* (here still a Child) and of the *Maiestas Mariae* were very common in the Romanesque Period. In churches dedicated to Mary, the vision of the apocalyptic Christ was replaced by that of the Virgin as the throne of the Saviour and the mediator between God and men. The representation of Mary as the throne of the Infant Jesus was widely accepted during the Romanesque and – later – the Gothic Periods. So, iconographically speaking, this sculpture belongs to the *hodegetria* type in which the *Theotokos*, the Virgin Mother, shows Her Son, the Saviour, to the world.

The devotion to the Virgin Mary and to Her image gained a new importance especially from the Romanesque Period onwards, achieving a greater expressiveness during the Gothic Period; this fact should be understood in the context of the major changes that were felt at the time in terms of the evolution of the religious feeling (Almeida, 1983: 5).

The Virgin of Cárquere is one of the rare examples of Portuguese ivory works that managed to survive to this day, especially since it still features a few remaining traces of golden and red paint (SEC, 1992: 133). However, its greatest originality has to do with its small size.

3 "How we feel impressed under the arches of a primitive church, before an image seen and adored by kings, "ricomens" [noble men] and people from remote centuries, which was perhaps carried as a talisman in its minuscule silver reliquary, to the middle of the battles against the Moors which certainly ran the seven corners of the world, a world that we do not know, nor ever will we know!" (Correia, 1919: 58).



# On the construction of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere

n Resende, on the left bank of the river Douro, the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere forms an extremely interesting monumental complex with great regional significance, despite the very limited scope of its surviving Romanesque traces. Surrounded by cypress trees, it stands on a high place from we are able to enjoy a magnificent landscape. On the Church's south side, the remains of what may have been a small monastery of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine – which historiography tends to call the "conventinho" [little convent] – and the crenellated tower mark the space in an unusual way. On the north side, a cloister would have occupied the area of the existing cemetery.

So, the foundation of the Monastery of Cárquere probably dates back to the second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, after the installation of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine in the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra on June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1131, directly sponsored by King Afonso Henriques (k. 1143-1185). Following the international Gregorian guidelines – compliant with a severe apostolic life focused on a liturgical and intellectual education –, the Canons were fit to preach and provide assistance, especially in terms of healthcare (Sousa, 2005: 171).

As far as we know, in 1146 Egas Moniz left several legacies to this Monastery in his will. However, the lack of chronological elements associated with the limited scope of the remaining Romanesque sections do not allow us to state with any real confidence when the Romanesque Monastery of Cárquere was actually built. But, knowing that it was initially occupied by the Crosiers, everything suggests that its effective chronology only began probably around 1131. This possibility comes close to 1125, a date that was read by Friar Teodoro de Melo, a religious man from the Order of Christ who, in 1732, wrote a historical treaty on Resende, his birthplace<sup>4</sup>.

In fact, we stand before a monastic complex that witnessed the passage of several construction periods, which explains the scarcity of visible Romanesque traces. Despite the fact that it underwent many transformations according to the aesthetics and tastes of different periods, we still believe that there is a prevailing topography with a Romanesque flavour, mostly in the spatial organization of the monastic ensemble. So, taking as a central element, the longitudinal Church, comprising a single nave and quadrangular chancel that is narrower and lower than the former, curiously enough, we see that the primitive cloister was positioned on the left, i.e., to the north and that it corresponds, to a certain extent, to the existing cemetery. This also justifies the position of the pantheon of the Resendes, the lords of the land, as an independent chapel. We shall come back to this subject in further detail later on. On the opposite side, i.e., on the south side, we find the structures of what has been called as the "conventinho", which contributes to emphasize the multiple meanings of the rich spatial articulation of this

4 "(...) we found that, in this year of 1732, despite the many and various changes, which they have gone through, was discovered, or better yet, noted, a stone which is preserved in that Monastery, tucked in the walls of the his Residential Manor, which goes from Our Lady's cruise till the courtyard, called a porch close to its first arch, which states in an ancient sign, very hard to read, that it is the Monastery founded in the year 1125, which is the year of Christ 1087, counting according to the year of Caesar, as it seems to count" (Duarte, 2004).



View of the tower in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Source: Nuno Resende's private collection.



"Conventinho" [little convent]

built ensemble. Comprising two floors, which can be accessed through a straight-lintel door found on the ground floor, this structure is difficult to date, given the vernacular nature of its somewhat irregular masonry work. The existence of multiple scars shows that it was subject to several transformations. However, the quadrangular and rectangular corbels place its chronology sometime within the Middle Ages, though they do not allow us to establish a specific chronology; therefore, we believe that this structure was built after the construction of the Romanesque Church.

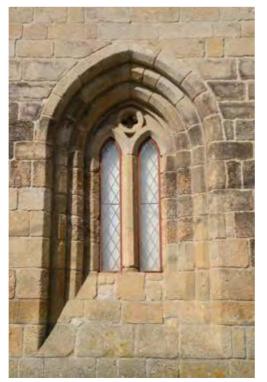
We should not forget that, in the Portuguese Middle Ages, and particularly during the Romanesque Period, most conventual annexes were built using perishable materials and, therefore, didn't manage to survive to the present day. We only can only gather some knowledge about these constructions through documentary references or by comparison with foreign specimens or with legacies from the Gothic period that include, in Portugal, the example of Saint Mary of Alcobaça. The fact that in Cárquere there is still a series of buildings adjoining the Church, which might have fulfilled conventual functions during the Romanesque Period, makes this specimen even more illustrative of what may have been the spatial organization of a small rural monastery at that time.

This volume is connected by an arch to that which has come to be known as the "custodian's house". However, we should notice the persistence of scars in its upper register, suggesting an extension of what used to be the "conventinho" to the south or, alternatively, the existence of a passageway that allowed a connection between the monastic structure and the "custodian's house" (Duarte, 1994b: 162).

The entire ensemble is topped, on its southeast corner, by the robust crenellated tower that was built on a granite outcrop, with a clear Romanesque layout. This structure, with a defensive and manorial nature, may have been built in the same period as the monastic ensemble, which some authors date back to the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Graf, 1986: 86) or already to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Pinto, 1982: 327). However, we should not forget that, according to Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, these isolated towers located close to religious buildings were usually built after the churches are associated with. Besides, more than being used for hoisting bells, those structures – such as the ones in Manhente (Barcelos), Travanca or Freixo de Baixo (Amarante) – took on a clear defensive, in other words, manorial motivation (Almeida, 1971: 69).

Being separated from the Church's body, like in the Monastery of Travanca, this parallelepiped tower underwent a deep intervention in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, so we will go back to that subject later on.

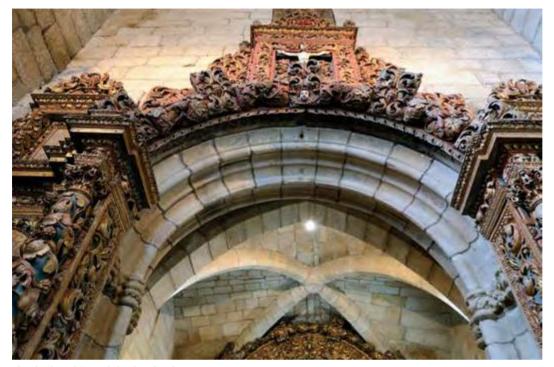
The Church's chevet may have been built in the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, still within the Gothic style, as evidenced by the mullioned window with a small three-lobed oculus on the front wall, which is only visible from the outside since it is hidden by the main altarpiece on the inside. The structure chosen for the vault also refers us to the Gothic aesthetics, with ribs resting on columns, placed on the corners and closed by a finial. We should also notice the wide opening that, composed of a broken arch dotted by pearls, allows the access between the chancel and the existing sacristy. We shall come back to this subject later on. On the outside, the corbels suggest the same chronology: with a rectangular shape and predominant geometrical ornaments, some are dotted with pearls. However, interestingly enough, on the north side we identify a corbel in which there is a carved human figure resembling a bearded man sitting



Church. East façade. Mullioned window



Church. Chancel.



Church. Chancel. Triumphal arch and vault.

with his legs crossed. Due to the fact that it has a more quadrangular shape than the others, we wonder if this corbel might be a reuse of a piece from the Romanesque construction.

The most likely situation is that this chevet replaced a previous Romanesque one. Only a section remains from this period; it is found on the existing nave, in the wall face on the Epistle side, as suggested by the three walled-up crevices that are clearly visible from the inside. Therefore, what we may conclude is that there was a clear reuse of the Romanesque construction during the Manueline [style also known as Portuguese late Gothic, which develops during the reign of King Manuel I (k. 1495-1521)] transformation of the nave's volume. In fact, we should note that the reuse of external walls, wall sections or just ashlars, as well as the reuse of the building's foundations, was quite common. The mason's initials found on the Church's south wall corroborate its chronology as a Romanesque building, besides confirming the good quality of its construction, which would have justified the fact that the Manueline builders kept this structure when they rebuilt or simply adapted the nave.

However, in the Church, and besides the wall on the Epistle side, there are still some prevailing traces, or reminiscences, from the Romanesque Period. We refer ourselves to the oculus that, on the main façade, surmounts the Manueline portal. Moreover, confirming a usual feature of most Romanesque buildings, we find a Romanesque crevice over the triumphal arch, whose imposts show a chequered motif. The archivolt is embedded in the thickness of the wall itself. Aesthetically, the triumphal arch is clearly Gothic, not only due to the large diameter of its span, but also due to the fact that its three archivolts – which are still round – show carved capitals with a refined language, in which floral and phytomorphic motifs prevail.

However, it is on the tomb chapel of the Resendes that we find this ensemble's most significant Romanesque sections.



Church. South façade. Nave.



# The pantheon of the Resendes

eaturing a rectangular plan and opening to the space where once stood the cloister, the funeral chapel of the Resendes keeps four granite chests inside, whose monolithic lids are shaped as gabled roofs. Being about two meters long each, the ones placed on the left side of the chapel are framed by an arcosolium. The lids show the coat of arms of the Resendes<sup>5</sup> and three inscriptions that identify the people who were buried in them: Vasco Martins de Resende (I), the grandson of Martim Afonso; his son, Gil Vaz de Resende; and the descendant of both, Vasco Martins de Resende (II).



Pantheon of the Resendes.

The first Vasco, documented in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, was a well-known troubadour, as well as a friend and supporter of Afonso Sanches, the illegitimate son of King D. Dinis. His later namesake, probably the troubadour's grandson, held the position of head of the parish council in the province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho during the reign of King Afonso V (1438-1481). He was the last member of the lineage of the Resendes that, since Egas Moniz (*c*. 1080-1146), had been ruling the "honra" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] or "beetria" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] whose spiritual seat was in Saint Saviour<sup>6</sup>. The wife of Vasco Martins de Resende (II), Maria Castro, took with her (after the death of her husband) the control over that "honra", which she passed on, through her second marriage, to the Castros. From the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Castros held their position as lords of Resende, gaining that title as memory of the jurisdiction that they had indirectly received.

<sup>5</sup> There are two black goats passing one above the other, which are made of gold and covered with gold drops.

<sup>6</sup> In the Modern Period, the church of the Saviour of Resende (the name Saviour is still used), whose Romanesque construction was deeply changed, was the Pantheon of the Castros, the successors of the Resendes.

During the period of greatest influence of the Resendes, over the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, this lineage exercised its powers in a wide region between Lamego and the river Paiva, where its members had material and religious interests, especially in Cárquere and Tarouquela (Cinfães) where Aldonça Martins de Resende, the daughter of Martim Afonso de Resende and Constança Rodrigues de Meira, ruled the spiritual and temporal domains for about sixty years (Sottomayor-Pizarro, 1997: 303-304)<sup>7</sup>. The remoteness of the court and the dilution of the surname along the female side weakened the prestige of a lineage whose memory eventually survived only in secondary lines.

Eça de Queiroz makes reference to Cárquere and, more specifically, to the family pantheon in his novel *A ilustre casa de Ramires* [The illustrious house of Ramires]. While describing the monastic space – albeit in broad and distorted strokes –, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century writer spared some words about the scenario that he may well have found while travelling across the Douro, or that he collected in the documents of his wife's family, a legitimate descendant and the manager of the heritage inherited by Maria Castro:

"And then he was also taken by curiosity to visit this cloister, where he had not entered since childhood – when the Tower still kept its carriages mounted and the romantic miss Rhodes always chose Craquede for her thoughtful autumn afternoons. She pulled the mare, crossed the gate, went through the open space that was once the nave – filled with rubble, shards and loose stones from the vault that were drowning in the weeds. And through the crack on a wall that still held a piece of the altar – she penetrated the silent Afonsine cloister. Only two angled arcades are now left, sitting on rough pillars, paved with worn powerful slabs that the sexton had carefully swept that morning. And against the wall, where solid ribs drew other arches, stand the seven huge tombs of the ancient Ramires, blackened, plain, without decorations, like rough granite chests; some are heavily embedded in the flagstones, others are landing on balls splintered over centuries" (Queiroz, 1900: 229-230).

Apparently, the chapel's structure is quite simple. However, it is here that we find the most significant architectural legacy bequeathed by the Romanesque Period in Cárquere: the crevice on the front wall. Composed of two round archivolts, this crevice is ornamented, both on the inside and the outside.

On the inside, a geometric language prevails, with carvings in relief on both archivolts; the inner archivolt has a zigzag motif, while on the outer one we identify a chained rope-shaped motif. However, if we look at it carefully, we can see that the voussoirs in this archivolt are not fully connected in terms of the motifs they depict, which leads us to believe that, for some reason, this crevice may have been reused, belonging to a different area of the building. That episode may make sense if we take into account the chronology assigned to the tomb chests kept in the pantheon and the fact that it is believed that the chapel may have already been built in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Vasco Martins de Resende, according to the information contained in his will from 1433 (Duarte, 1994a: 178).



Pantheon of the Resendes. East façade. Interior view of the crevice.



Pantheon of the Resendes. East façade External view of the crevice.

On the outside, the geometric-flavoured motifs of the crevice's outer archivolt stand out, while on each of the inner archivolt's voussoirs the highlight is put on the animals that are all facing forward and curving along the arch, which are not too modelled and show plenty of graphic elements. We stand before the so-called *beak-heads*, a motif imported from the Anglo-Saxon culture that, according to Manuel Real, was very well accepted among us as an outcome of the Benedictine action disseminated through São Pedro de Rates (Póvoa de Varzim) (Real, 1982: 59-60). Featuring a clear familiarity with the figures represented in the triumphal arch of Tarouquela, in the portal of the tower of Travanca and in a spare stave in the cloister of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), Gerhard N. Graf says, regarding Cárquere, that we stand before "types of cats endowed, just below their heads, with a nondescript protuberance, similar to a beard" (Graf, 1986: 86).

These archivolts rest on sculpted capitals where, on one side, we find birds with their necks contorted and, on the other side, a bird with open wings whose head meets the capital's corner. Under this crevice there is a section of a frieze in which intertwined motifs stand out. If we take into account the quality of this ensemble, we may imagine the magnitude and artistic quality that the Romanesque Church of this Monastery would have had. This opinion is also shared by the aforementioned author, when he states that this crevice is a good proof of how it was possible to create artworks that went beyond the usual standards in stylistic and technical terms in Portugal, despite the atmosphere of instability created by the Reconquest and the reorganization of the territory (Graf, 1986: 86).



# "The White" Virgin

ithin the Gothic period, which marks the end of the presence of the Canons Regular in Cárquere, we find a Virgin with the Child which was called "the White". This is one of the best specimens of the works produced by Master Pêro de Coimbra's workshop or by a skilled craftsman who was close to him. This beautiful sculptural work stands out by the pronounced verticality of its shapes, shown in the Virgin's white robe (which gave it its popular name) and, especially, in the treatment of the hands that feature long slender fingers.

The Virgin is standing, holding a knot of her robe in her right hand and supporting a sitting Infant Jesus with her left hand. Her almost straight gaze provides her posture with a formalism that is still a legacy from the Medieval Period, which contrasts with the naturalist features found in her face and her son's face. He wears an open crown and a headdress. Over her robe, she wears a cloak tied around her chest with a brooch, whose design is similar to the ornaments found in other virgins made in master Pêro's workshop<sup>8</sup>.



Nave. Collateral altar on the Gospel side Sculpture. "The White" Virgin.

Supported by the arm and hand of his Mother, the Child plays with the ribbon that buckles the robe just below the Virgin's bust. He seems to be looking at the sky and is also represented wearing a white robe from which the draped and buttoned sleeves stand out – a remarkable detail work.

Although the sculpture shows some polychrome and golden tones, as well as a good fleshtone treatment, it is the whiteness of the robes of both the Virgin and her son that draw the attention of the observer and the devotees. The latter, especially women, quickly started calling it the White Virgin, invoking her in favour of good breastfeeding, which they sought by using powder obtained by scraping the image<sup>9</sup>. The therapeutic use of materials removed from sculptures was quite common and is related to the sacred qualities that communities ascribed to certain images, seen as having beneficial powers that were similar or greater to those of the relics.

The Church of Cárquere is, par excellence, a Marian sanctuary that received Augustinian and Jesuitic spiritual influences, both deeply attached to the Virgin and both proselytists when it came to the conveying their worships before and after the Counter-Reformation. It is within the sphere of influence of the former, whose mother-house was located in Coimbra, that we should understand the presence of the Gothic sculpture of the White Virgin in Cárquere.

<sup>8</sup> Please see MUSEU NACIONAL DE ARTE ANTIGA – *Virgem com o Menino*. Inventário 1087, ascribed to Master Pêro, 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>9</sup> This tradition is reported in 1758 by the parish priest of Cárquere (BORGES, Georges Botelho – [Memória paroquial de] Cárquere [Manuscript]. 1758. Available at the ANTT, Lisboa. PT/TT/MPRQ/9/142.). Other traditions related to birth and creation (which are intertwined with the more important tradition of the Prince's healing) lead us to the idea of a hagio and hierotherapeutic sanctuary.

#### MANUELINE TRANSFORMATIONS

he Church of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere underwent deep transformations within the contrext of the Manueline style that, from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, was very well accepted in Portugal. Since the Manueline was a decorative style, whose origin lies in the evolution of the flamboyant Gothic and in the specific economic, social and cultural conditions Portugal was experiencing at that time, it is easy to understand the acceptance and dissemination it achieved. The adoption of the so-called Manueline language in any building also appears as dignifying element.

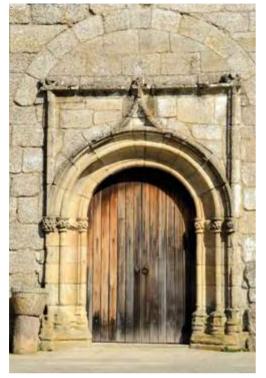
It is in this sense that we should understand the stylistic update made in the Crosier Church of Saint Mary of Cárquere, especially because we know that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century this Monastery was the only house of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine in the bishopric of Lamego. This does not come as surprise to us if we bear in mind the deep transformation that the Crosiers' mother-house underwent between 1507 and 1515 in Coimbra. Therefore, it is natural that a monastic house, and those that were directly dependent on it, also followed the same principle of aesthetic update of its building by adopting a new taste and a new trend. Of course, when considering the introduction of the Manueline aesthetics in Cárquere, we should bear in mind its eremitical and peripheral nature, meaning that the solutions adopted here already show far more regional features.

So, in the path of art produced during the reign of King Manuel I (1495-1521) in the most important artistic centres – close to the assertion of royal power –, we see the creation of a number of artists who will spread all across the country taking a new language and a new *modus fazendi* with them, in a period of great architectural frenzy.

In Cárquere, the new main portal fits perfectly into the new aesthetic, as confirmed by the alfiz with flat transoms that surrounds the ogee arch, surmounted by a cross. Within it, three elegant round archivolts show the capitals whose fine carving work displays rope-shaped motifs, a very common theme in Manueline art. However, we should consider the scar that still remains over this Manueline portal, which shows us what might have been the size of the primitive Romanesque portal.

The portal on the north side façade was also modified in this period, most precisely in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Here, a multilobed and bent arch livens up the ensemble. Corbels with elegant foliages carved in relief indicate the prior existence of a porch-like structure on this façade, halfway up the wide crevices that illuminate the nave's interior, in addition to a small structure that probably sheltered only the portal. We should note that the central crevice is surmounted by an armillary sphere. The cornice is decorated with vegetal motifs carved in relief.

Although the transformation of the Church's portals is quite an obvious fact, the same cannot be said regarding the nave. As the lighting spans on the north side can attest, what is certain is that until any documentary evidence to this effect, we cannot say for sure if it was simply rebuilt or just transformed in this 16<sup>th</sup> century, taking advantage of a large part of the Romanesque building, as mentioned. The fact that the Romanesque crevices were preserved on



Church. West façade. Portal.



Church. North façade. Nave. Portal.



Church. North façade.



Church. Walls of the triumphal arch and the nave (behind the collateral altars). Mural painting. *Saint Anthony* and *Saint Lucia*.

the south side of the Church's structure, despite being walled up because this wall adjoins the "conventinho", may partly justify our thesis.

The mural painting campaign also dates back to this period; the sections that remained on the nave's front wall both on the Gospel and on the Epistle side, which are currently hidden by the collateral altars, were studied by Luís Urbano Afonso (2009: 180-184), whose interpretation we'll follow.

On the Epistle side, a sliding altarpiece hides a depiction of *Saint Anthony* (identified by a longshaft wooden cross and the closed book on which there is a miniature Child) and of *Saint Lucia*, depicted as a courtesan (together with the palm of her martyrdom and the plate with a pair of eyes). Sharing a single space, these figures have a poorly sketched landscape as their background.

Despite being fragmented, Luís Urbano Afonso identified a set of four (?) *angels* fluttering around a black or dark-blue tapestry on the Gospel side. According to this author, and taking into account the display of the remaining elements, it is possible that the ensemble included the presence of an image of the altar's patron saint, which may have existed here under the shape of a statue or an easel painting, thus creating, through the mural painting composition, an active scene for the image, especially since the author is of the opinion that the angels seem to be holding (or depositing) a golden baldachin. Although there is no information about the figure of the patron saint, it did not belong to the Holy Family because the angels are holding palms of martyrdom in their hands.

There are also a few traces of decorative painting on the nave's north wall, close to the triumphal arch's wall, where we may identify several vegetal ornaments painted in white and the depiction of a wild man, a theme that Luís Urbano Afonso considers as being unusual in Portuguese painting.

According to the same author, knowing that, in 1541, the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere was given by King João III (1521-1557) to the Society of Jesus, it is quite possible that this mural painting campaign was already carried out under the patronage of the new order, meaning that its chronology would be positioned sometime between 1545 and 1560.



Church. Triumphal arch. Mural painting and collateral altars.

#### THE MONUMENT DURING THE MODERN PERIOD

n the late Middle Ages, Cárquere was an important cultural and economic centre within the Montemuro region. The leasing activities of this Monastery over the 15<sup>th</sup> century is quite remarkable, including acquisitions and term renewals, tax collections and demands that recall the strategic importance of certain movable properties or rights that had been acquired during the Middle Ages. Although the heritage of Cárquere was concentrated close to the house, split between hamlets, farmhouses, farms, settlements, vineyards, fisheries and small valleys in the neighbouring parishes of Resende and Cinfães, São Martinho de Mouros, São Romão, Freigil, Felgueiras, Feirão, Panchorra, Ramires, Ferreiros de Tendais, Oliveira do Douro and Cinfães, its priors managed properties and other rights (such as the patronage right), in a vast region between the Douro and the Beiras. They had interests in Alvarenga, Mões, Caria, Quintela da Lapa, Vila da Rua, Beselga, Penela da Beira, among others. Therefore, it is natural that such a wealthy estate, to which we should add the role of a sanctuary that was closely linked to the Crown, attracted the greed of men and institutions, as we may inferred by the dispute it was involved in during the early decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The independence of Cárquere, obtained through a bull of Nicholas III (p. 1277-1280) issued in 1279 (which subjected its clergymen to Rome, Italy), was lost in 1511 due to the death of the prior Diogo Coelho, which led the Monastery to be handed over to the Commander Francisco Suzarte. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the status of Cárquere was already standing out from the series of churches that paid taxes to support the Crusade of King Dinis, paying the considerable amount of 900 "libras" [former Portuguese currency unit] (Almeida & Peres, 1971).

However, it is from 1541 onwards that a new submission period begins, leading to the consequent death of the monastic space. In this year, King João III handed over the management of Cárquere to the introducer of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, Father and Master Simão Rodrigues (1510-1579). The new order, markedly urban, was not interested in the lonely and remote hamlet of Cárquere, so master Simão exchanged it for the monastery of Saint Anthony the Elder, near the castle of Saint George, in Lisbon, whose Commander was the bishop of Ressiona, Ambrósio Pereira. It seems that the house of Saint Anthony "brought little benefits" to Ambrósio Pereira, while to the Jesuits it was "rather convenient for it had a Church and plenty of houses", as narrated in the chronicle of the Society of Jesus in Portugal (Teles, 1645: 80). The bishop moved to the Monastery of Cárquere, renovating it in spiritual and temporal terms, together with António Nogueira, a canon from Santa Cruz of Coimbra. However, upon the latter's death, the Jesuits, who were not interested in the bucolic location but wanted to keep the revenues of Cárquere, resorted to the Cardinal Henrique making all possible efforts in order to take possession of its administration. In 1554, a severe and timely inquest fell upon the Monastery and its tenants, hastening the decline of the space as a spiritual refuge.

In that year, the Franciscan Francisco Quaresma arrives in Cárquere. Acting in his capacity as inspector, he starts a real persecution to the priors and canons of the Monastery. The allegations did not come only from external, popular and official witnesses from the region, but also from the

clergymen themselves, which shows the existence of strong dissensions and, perhaps, signs of greed and covetousness. So, the inquest revealed a distressing scenario for a Church that was being fully reformed: concubinage, nepotism, abuse of power and mismanagement. The main target was Melchior Sequeira, who was the main prior, but virtually all clerics were involved in the prosecution. One of the testimonies, provided by the parishioner João Gonçalves, is particularly significant:

"(...) It is appalling that all canons of this monastery, from the youngest to the eldest, have mistresses And have sons and daughters And go out at night And are very lazy and dishonest in their conduct, And seem more boys than friars And are very powerful and because of it being relatives of each other, they are very bold and deceitful and offensive in acts and disputes And they shall dishonour many women daughters of honourable men and leave them with no honour or marriage And, nevertheless, they are forced to keep silent and suffer their dishonour, afraid of being done much worse, because the said canons are all Brothers, uncles and nephews of each other And all the land is like that spiritually and temporally due to Melchior de Sequeira, prior of the hill fort who, after a mistress that he had been keeping for many years died eight or nine month before, dishonoured two lasses of very good families, parishioners of this monastery, daughters of poor men, and even had a baby girl with one of them, without no one holding him accountable (...)<sup>\*10</sup>.

This inspection was inconclusive. However, it determined the retirement of Ambrósio Pereira, who joined the monastery of Grijó (Vila Nova de Gaia) and was replaced by the Crosier António Nogueira who, shortly before his death in 1560, started a new investigation and its corresponding inquiry. The accused, Melchior de Sequeira, António de Almeida and Francisco Marques refused to appear before the court, fleeing ecclesiastical justice. Nevertheless, they did not manage to escape to the convictions that were imposed in absentia: the suspension of their orders and canonries (Assumpção, 1983: 200-2001).

In 1562 Cárquere was definitely handed over to the Society of Jesus and was no longer a monastic space – a fact confirmed by a bull of Gregory XIII (1572-1585) issued in 1578, which mentions the dissolution of the cloistered obligations and the confirmation of the transfer of the rents from the prior and conventual boards to the Jesuit College of Coimbra (Dias, 1976). The college created a vicarage and provided it with a secular man, Baltasar Botelho, who, having died in 1600, gave rise to a dispute<sup>11</sup>.

There are few documented descriptions or testimonies of works carried out in the ecclesiastical and monastic structure during this tumultuous period. While it is possible that the pictorial campaigns in the nave are contemporary to the hectic times of change in the domain, it is certain that the Manueline building is still related to the Crosier administration and even to the period of Ambrósio Pereira (1554-1559)<sup>12</sup>. It is between 1561 and 1576 that the slow agony

<sup>10</sup> AUC – Secção Universitária, Renda de Cárquere. Estante 17, tabela 4, n.º 27, fl. 8. Even with the prejudices of the author and his time, this inspection was described by Assumpção (1893).

<sup>11</sup> This is included in a description from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. AUC – Estante 17, tabela 2, n.º 36, fólios avulsos.

<sup>12</sup> Despite ascribing "major restoration works" to the priory of Ambrósio Pereira, the fact is that Dias (1976: 63) does not describe them.

of the complex begins; from then on it was handed over to two clergymen who were mere administrators and representatives of the College of Coimbra. Adapted to serve as a hospice, the "conventinho" became a housing unit for the canons who came from Coimbra to manage the Church and its domains; the cloister falls into ruin and with it the pantheon of the Resendes, which the Castros probably neglected, privileging the memory their own lineage.

The Jesuits, aware of the economic importance of the old Monastery, not only rehabilitated the devotional nature of the space, which was adapted to new functions at the time, but also promoted the management of the estate that was associated with it by adding capital gains, including the tithes of the churches of Alvarenga (Arouca) and Lumiares (Armamar). From Cárquere, the Jesuits built the economic and spiritual project of Lapa (Sernancelhe), which was considered as one of the most important Marian sanctuaries in Portugal until the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>13</sup>.

The 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries are more expressive in terms of works, especially in terms of altarpieces. Their manufacture last throughout the entire 18<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by the associated documents and styles, showing a predominance of the National Style [1690-1725]<sup>14</sup>. According to a report written after the expulsion of the Jesuits (1759), they had an available amount of 14.000 "réis" [former Portuguese currency unit] per annum for the construction of the Church's chancel and body<sup>15</sup>, wax for the tomb of the Holy Week, sermons, priests' fees, remunerations of the deputy priest and the sexton, among other offerings intended for masses, the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament and the altar of Our Lady<sup>16</sup>. Although the Marian cult remains and prevails among all devotions, being represented by the invocations of Cárquere and the White Virgin, the



Sanctuary of Our Lady of Lapa (Sernancelhe). Source: IHRU archive.



General interior view from the nave.

13 About this issue, please read Costa (2000).

14 The main altars - the one on the Epistle side and the one of Saint Sebastian, currently displayed in the sacristy - are National Style [1690-1725]. In 1705, master Luís Vieira da Cruz commissioned the work of the collateral altars of the Church of Cárquere to the attorney-general of the Society of Jesus (Queirós, 2006: 144, 305).

15 Excluded from the contract was the "left side altar inside the Chancel [...] because it belonged to Jacinto de Magalhaens from the City of Braga [...]". About the issue of the construction there was a deed signed between the College and the bishop of Lamego, dated September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1675 (AUC – Estante 17, tabela 2, n.° 36, fólios avulsos).

16 The document is not dated but is placed among other separate items from around 1800 (AUC, idem, ibid.).

Society of Jesus quickly replaced the Crosiers' devotions with images of the great men of their order: Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier, displayed on corbels in the main altarpiece.

But the greatest work of the Society of Jesus was the rehabilitation of Cárquere as an important sanctuary. The promotion of Marian and Christological worships was probably a mark of their intervention that was materialized in missionary activities which were certainly based in that house, the most important Jesuit centre in the Douro region. In the first case, we can only assume that they were somehow taking advantage of the miracle of King Afonso Henriques, which was linked to the foundational myths, in a period after 1640. On the other hand, they might have also been responsible for the rehabilitation of the grand festivities held in May and associated with the Holy Week – celebrations that still stood out at a regional level in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. There was a considerable number of processions that came to Cárquere from different parishes of Montemuro and from other parishes located outside that region. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the devotees still commended their body and soul to the Virgin of Cárquere, as proven by a few votive paintings that are kept in a museum in Lisbon (Chaves, 1970: 73-98)<sup>17</sup>.

With the asset confiscation (January 19<sup>th</sup>) and the extinction of the Society of Jesus in Portugal (September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1759) through a political decree signed by the Marquis of Pombal, the Church and the heritage that was left from the monastic complex were transferred to the University of Coimbra, which became responsible for their administration. It performed its duties rigorously, as described in the extensive surviving documentation. Within the sphere of University bureaucracy, we highlight the concern with the management of movable and immovable heritage, as may be inferred from the request that the Royal Council of the University made to the parish priest of Cárquere in 1798. In his reply, he listed a detailed inventory of furnishings, implements and vestments, as well as of its income, expenses and a few statistical elements associated with the parish, which the rector Manuel Botelho Guedes described as a land of "self-sufficient, poor and miserable people"<sup>18</sup>. From this inventory we can collect a few notes about the artistic value of the Church's contents in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially about the state of repair of the heritage, which was mostly worn and in need of palliative treatments.

In this context, the series of white, purple, red and black vestments kept in the sacristy's cases stood out. They had been used since the period of the Jesuits and, in 1798, they were old and ragged. The pulpit cloths "unfit to be shown in public", the curtains for decorating altars on Holy Saturday<sup>19</sup>, a few trays, amices and bags with corporals and towels were also in a similar condition. Within the textile category, there was also a "sodairo" (a representation of the Shroud) bought for 12.000 "réis" at the building's expense.

In terms of furniture, the rector lists the already mentioned case for the vestments, a cabinet for candlesticks and cruets, stools, six torch holders, twelve benches (eight from the Church's body and three broken ones from the choir), two shelving units, twelve canopy poles and two chairs.

Apart from a "very old" chalice, the implements seemed to be recent pieces, some of them bought or already repaired at the Royal Treasury of the University's expense. The rector also listed



Church. Chancel. Main altarpiece.

<sup>17</sup> Three paintings alluding to the miracles of the Virgin of Cárquere are still preserved. 18 At the time, the parish had 248 housing units, 755 persons of age and 79 children (AUC, idem, ibid.) 19 AUC, idem, ibid.

two silver ciboria, a silver monstrance, a thurible, four chalices, a tin situla (with its aspergillum), a wash basin and two pairs of flagons (old and made of tin). This collection also included a silver processional cross, "called the People's Cross". The Virgin of Cárquere had an "ancient silver crown with its stones and a scent of gold" and the Infant Jesus featured another one, also made of silver but smaller. Above the sculptures of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier glittered two aureoles, probably made of the same material (the rector does not mention it).

The treasure included a set of relics with a piece of "the authentic Holy Cross inside a case covered with velvet and with silver plates on its four corners". This work has been renewed and offered by judge João Ferreira<sup>20</sup>.

In terms of imagery, besides the aforementioned sculptures of Saint Francis Xavier and Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the two Holy Christs – a much venerated one on the collateral altar and an "indecent" one in the sacristy – stand out. The state of the latter was partly a result of the place where it was displayed: the sacristy that, "for being under a room belonging to Joana Teodora from where all sort of filth was continuously falling on the priests and vestments", suffered the hardships of negligence. This situation was a consequence of the state in which the Church and the attached houses had fallen after the confiscation of the Jesuitic assets<sup>21</sup>.

Indeed, after the expulsion of 1759, the Church of Cárquere kept on being used as a parish church, but the structures of the old convent, the priests' house and other annexes were sold to an individual, the abbot of Lazarim, who, according to the inspectors' report, took possession of the monument, handling the Church as if it were his own (he even claimed its patronage) and performing undignifying acts in a holy place. The inspections carried out during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century inveighed against the abbot who proceeded with his abuses and, after him, against his daughter, Joana Teodora da Costa, mentioned in the inventory from 1798. Some of the walling-up works probably date back to this period, such as the closing of the door that provided a direct access from the old priests' residence to the Church's body<sup>22</sup>.

Moreover, and as we have already noted, even before the complex was emptied by the Crosier friars, the residential areas and cloister were already threatening to collapse, a condition that kept getting worse over the following centuries. Between 1775 and 1797, there were several complaints and admonitions from the inspectors, including the bishops of Lamego, Manuel

20 Although the rector doesn't clarify it, he was probably the judge João Ferreira Ribeiro de Lemos, the brother of the bishop of Lamego, Manuel de Vasconcelos Pereira. He was married to Joaquina Doroteia de Melo Malheiro, the representative of the majorat of Velude and the owner of the house of the Enxertado, which was visible from Cárquere. Velude is a small village in the parish of Cinfães where, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the settlor of the majorat (Vasco Esteves de Matos) had his manor house. 21 This inventory appears as a consequence of the request filed by José Monteiro da Rocha, the vice-rector and chairman

of the Treasury Board of the University of Coimbra, on January 31st, 1798 (AUC, idem, ibid.).

22 In 1783 there was already some information: "and the said parish church was then subject to the plight of being considered a chapel of a private home, and in addition to these and other nuisance and demands, was the one that caught the aforementioned Abbot [of Lazarim] with His Excellency the Bishop of Lamego on the trap door lock that ran from those same houses down to the choir of the church, surrounding from almost all sides, with its houses, the Church and its Tower, with nothing in the path but farms, thereby oppressing the Residence of the Parish Priests and wishing, alas, to claim the right of Patronage, intending, as it actually intended to exclude, by demand, the same University, especially deploying the Church from the Factory House, called Lamoza, of which the purchaser took possession, and the sacristy due to the situation of the houses below, a room exposed to too much indecency by excessive noises made therein, thus pouring water, carrying other furniture, singing when purchasers, or their heirs, attended, sometimes even converting the sacristy's upper room into a kitchen (...)", request dated 10-5-1786 (AUC, idem, ibid.).



Church. West façade before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN (1949). Source: IHRU archive.

de Vasconcelos Pereira and João Binet Pincio, who personally visited Cárquere. We believe that not all recommendations were followed, however we should point out some repairs.

In 1775, through his clerk, Manuel de Vasconcelos Pereira highlights the need to repair the chancel's vault and the pavements of the Church, the choir and the cloisters. There were glass panes missing and the sacristy – subject to the lack of civility of the owners of the chamber located above that space – had to be moved. It was also necessary to find three albs, mend the vestments, buy flagons and a bell<sup>23</sup>.

The list of the money spent on the repair of the Church's floor, which included the installation of 34 graves for adults and 12 for children, was made in 1782. The steps to the chancel were put in place, the chancel was paved with slabs and there was a certain amount spent on the steps of the collateral altars. Bars were placed on the three crevices of the chancel and Church's body (together with the corresponding glass panes). The doors of the cloister were repaired, the Church tower was provided with new locks and the roofs were built using wood and roof tiles. The bell's iron fitting was also part of this work. Four years later, in 1786, there was a request for the renovation of the ciborium, a silk veil and the repair of the thurible, the incense boat and the people's cross. Black vestments for the celebrations of the Holy Week, two albs and a parish chair were missing<sup>24</sup>.

On April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1788, the people's judge, António Loureiro Dias, ordered the purchase of "a new predella with tin candlesticks for the main altar" and, only two years later, during a visitation, the bishop of Lamego ordered the replacement of a ciborium (was it still the one from 1786?) whose condition was "more indecent than words could say"<sup>25</sup>.

In 1794, João Binet Pincio asked for a new monstrance and ordered the increase of the parish priest's fee in 20 bushels of wheat, 40 of corn and 20 "almudes" [a Portuguese unit of measurement of volume used in Portugal, Brazil and other parts of the Portuguese Empire. The exact value of the "almude" was different from region to region. Portugal (modern standard): 16.7 liters] of wine.

However, the development of far-reaching works on the ecclesial building structure and its annexes only occurred in 1797. In that year, on September 4<sup>th</sup>, there was a commission of works worth 200.000 "réis" to fix the Church's transverse door; to tile, set up, lay the beams, pave and rebuild the tower's ladder; to whitewash the Church's interior and to plaster the cloister; to set up the galillee and give it a line; to pave the residence's houses and to build two new rooms by opening a door in the "loge" [storage room] of one of them. All of this was commissioned to the artists Joaquim José, from Enxertado, and José Pinto de Figueiredo, from Paços<sup>26</sup>.

Around 1805 "part of the cloisters called Chapter House, which had belonged to the Cannons Regular, and where the prelates of this Bishopric have chaptered collapsed". The sacristy was finally moved to this location after the removal of the mobile assets at risk from the space threatened by the family of the abbot of Lazarim, as indicated in a request submitted by the rector Manuel Botelho Guedes, who also asked for the necessary financial support to ensure the works and the repair of the bell, or the purchase of a new one to replace the one that was broken.

<sup>23</sup> AUC, idem, ibid. 24 AUC, idem, ibid. 25 AUC, idem, ibid. 26 AUC, idem, ibid.

## INTERVENTIONS IN THE MONUMENT (19<sup>TH</sup> AND 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

he 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Romantic century par excellence, was characterized by the gradual assertion of an entire culture around monuments, which exalted their historical value, a value whose safeguard became urgent in order to justify the origin of the Nation to future generations. As a mirror of the international atmosphere that was emerging, and despite the delay, we can also see that in Portugal, during the 18<sup>th</sup>-century, there was not only an increasing interest in the "documents" of the Nation, but also a growing sense of responsibility for their protection, considering the appeals we find both in literature and in the press<sup>27</sup>.

Using the specific stage of the formation of nationalities as a starting point and by identifying the monuments of that period as the human creation that they are, the 19<sup>th</sup> century will simultaneously assign them a memory-related value as "documents" that witnessed that very past. Here we should recall the etymological origin of the word monument, deriving from the Latin *monumentum* that, in turn, derives from *monere* (to warn, to remember), which questions the memory (Choay, 2000: 16).

Quoting Lúcia Rosas (1995: 90), "the prestige of "old" architecture is a timeless phenomenon". So, it is in this sense that we should understand the few interventions that were carried out between 1806 and 1832 in this Church, which historiography has come to voluntarily associate with the childhood of King Afonso Henriques. Therefore, according to the same author, it is quite natural that at a time when historical values prevailed, reflecting a constant yearning for a specific period of the past, there were attempts to "remake" the parts of the monument that were ruined.

Choosing the solution of "demolishing to rebuild", these interventions shouldn't yet be understood as restoration works; in this specific case, the works indicate that these interventions weren't always modifications characterized by the taste of the period in which they were carried out (Rosas, 1995: 90). So, providing a response to the damages reported in 1805, right in the following year "a piece of the cloister which is collapsing will be demolished and rebuilt using only chestnut wood and new tiles, in order to have the same height as the sacristy" (Rosas, 1995: 90). Despite the fact that, in this first intervention, the new roof was built at a higher level in order to match the sacristy's height, the same did not happen during the intervention that was carried out probably between 1829 and 1832, which restored the building to its previous shape. At that time, the Board of the Royal Treasury of the University of Coimbra made payments to stonemasons for repairs carried out in the Church, the sacristy and the residence of Cárquere (Rosas, 1995: 90). It is likely that this residence was the space which historiography has commonly been calling the "conventinho".

We only have further information about interventions carried out in the Church and Monastery under study more that a century later. As far as we could ascertain, it was only in 1949 that the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directo-

27 About the evolution of facts, concepts, means and personalities who presided over the raising of awareness towards heritage and the safeguard of built heritage in Portugal in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, please read Rosas (1995).



View of the Monastery before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: Nuno Resende's private collection.

Church. Interior before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive.

rate for Buildings and National Monuments] conducted a thorough photographic survey of Saint Mary of Cárquere in order to assess its needs. This survey (Carvalho & Costa, 2001), by Alberto da Silva Bessa, the chief architect of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Section of the DGEMN, clearly shows the relative state of neglect in which the built ensemble could be found.

Once the needs were assessed, there were several improvement works carried out in the 1950s. As far as we could ascertain, the building works were not only aimed at the general preservation of the existing building, but they also tried to emphasize an actual Medieval nature, though rhe-torically highlighted through the reconstruction of the tower. The south façade, "which was tilted and threatening to collapse" (Pinto, 1982: 327), was first anchored, and then entirely rebuilt. So, the works related to the tower were already taking place in 1951 and went on during most of this decade, given that they were only working on the upper openings of the south wall in 1957.

The small galilee built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century existed, at least, until 1952. Five years later it had already been demolished, as well as the wall that separated the churchyard from the cemetery, but the whitewashed background remained; however, it was removed in the meantime, in a praise to granite. In fact, we should mention that in the restoration works carried out by DGEMN it was usual to emphasize the granite's purity both externally – by removing the whitewash that covered so many of our churches – and internally, through the elimination of the stucco coating in some spaces (like in the naves of the Porto cathedral, for example) or the removal of the whitewash layer. Cárquere also fits into this last option because its interior was completely whitewashed. Today, in this Church, we see an assertion of granite, perhaps understood here as a sign of antiquity.





Walkway over the arch connecting the "Custodian's House" to the "Conventinho" before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN (1955). Source: IHRU archive.

Walkway over the arch connecting the "Custodian's House" to the "Conventinho", as it is today.

Besides, a careful examination of the photographs that document the moment immediately priors to this intervention allows us to verify that the joints of the ashlars on the nave's north façade and on the chancel's back wall were also whitewashed, thus contrasting with the granite and creating a chiaroscuro effect. We believe that it was during the cleaning process of the latter that the Gothic mullioned window, which had been walled up until then, was revealed.

It was also during this large-scale intervention that the two-flight stair that allowed accessing the high choir from the outside and from the north elevation was demolished, as proved by a clear scar visible on the Gospel side. Currently, the existence of this access stair is still revealed externally by a scar on the wall, approximately under the large window located closest to the western façade, which was opened only in 1994 as an attempt to provide the first third of this elevation with some aesthetic and formal coherence.

In the following decade, there were improvement works carried out in the so-called "custodian's house" (1962-1964); these included the demolition of the passageway over the arch that connects this house to the "conventinho", which had been turned into a barn in the meantime. This upper volume, now turned into a "ruin", remains as the memory of a built space that was intended to be greater.

In the 1970's, besides repairing the Church's roof, they also opened the arch that connects the chancel with the existing sacristy, on the Gospel side. This intervention led the tomb chest of Ambrósio Pereira to be moved to the sacristy and the altar of the Souls, or of Saint John, to be transferred to the so-called Lamosa room, which was then turned into a "secluded and pious sanctuary with a beautiful image of Our Lady of Cárquere, connected to the church's nave" (Pinto, 1982: 329). The fact that this tomb was the base for the aforementioned altar explains the reason why it is mutilated, since it is possible that it once sheltered a corpse. Indeed, we



Church. North façade before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive.



Church. Chancel. Arch connecting the chancel to the sacristy before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive.

Church. Chancel. Arch connecting the chancel to the sacristy, as it is today.

should note that the plan published by Vergílio Correia in 1924 shows the lower floor of the "conventinho" as a unified space, while currently it is divided into two spaces, housing also the parish hall (Correia, 1924: 57). That intervention is due to Father Abel de Sousa and was inaugurated on May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1965 (Pinto, 1982: 329). It was also in this period that the top floor of this volume was turned into a performance hall, with its corresponding stage (Correia, 1924).

In addition to the conduction of an archaeological excavation in the building's surroundings (1997), the subsequent years were marked by the implementation of several building preservation works, particularly focused on the roofs (2004) (Carvalho & Costa, 2001). The Monastery of Cárquere became part of the Route of the Romanesque in 2010. [MLB / NR]



Church. Sacristy. Tomb of Ambrósio Pereira.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1125: Friar Teodoro de Melo read (in 1732) an inscription found on the walls of the Residential Manor, which he deemed as being a reference to the foundation of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere;

2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century: foundation of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere;

1146: in his will, Egas Moniz is likely to have left several legacies to the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere;

12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century: construction of the monastic ensemble of Saint Mary of Cárquere, including the tower;

1279: the Bull of Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) confirms the autonomy and prerogatives of the Monastery of Cárquere;

13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century: construction of the Church's Gothic chancel;

1320: the Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere was the only monastery held by the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine within the diocese of Lamego;

1<sup>st</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century: possible construction of the pantheon of the Resendes;

16<sup>th</sup> century: Manueline transformation of the Church of Saint Mary of Cárquere;

1511: the Monastery of Cárquere was handed over to the commendatory Francisco Suzarte;

1541: by order of King João III (1521-1557), Cárquere becomes part of the assets of the Society of Jesus;

1545-1560: mural painting campaign on the Church's volume;

1554: official inquiry to the Monastery and its canons;

1562: Cárquere is definitely handed over to the Society of Jesus;

1578: a Bull of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) dissolves Cárquere's cloistered obligations and confirms the transfer of its rents from the prior and convent boards to the Jesuit college of Coimbra;

1600: with the death of the vicar Baltasar Botelho, a dispute between the Jesuits and the bishop of Lamego breaks out over the ownership and presentation of the Church of Cárquere;

17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries: design of Cárquere's altarpieces;

1759: with the expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their assets, the monastic complex of Cárquere falls under the administration of the University of Coimbra;

1775-1797: the inspectors make several complaints and admonitions concerning the state of disrepair of the complex of Cárquere and its liturgical furnishings;

1797: Joaquim José, from Enxertado, and José Pinto de Figueiredo, from Paços, were hired to carry out thorough works in the ecclesiastical building's structure and annexes;

1798: upon a request by the Royal Council of the University of Coimbra, the parish priest of Cárquere prepared a comprehensive inventory of the furniture, implements and vestments, as well as of the incomes, expenses and a few statistical elements regarding the parish;

 $2^{nd}$  half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: the door that connected the priests' house to the Church's body was walled up;

1806: repair works in the cloister, where a wall had collapsed in the previous year;

1829-1832: several masonry works were carried out in Cárquere's Church, sacristy and residence;

From the 1950s to the present day: the remaining ensemble of the Monastery of Cárquere has been subject to several conservation interventions;

2010: the Monastery of Cárquere became part of the Route of the Romanesque.

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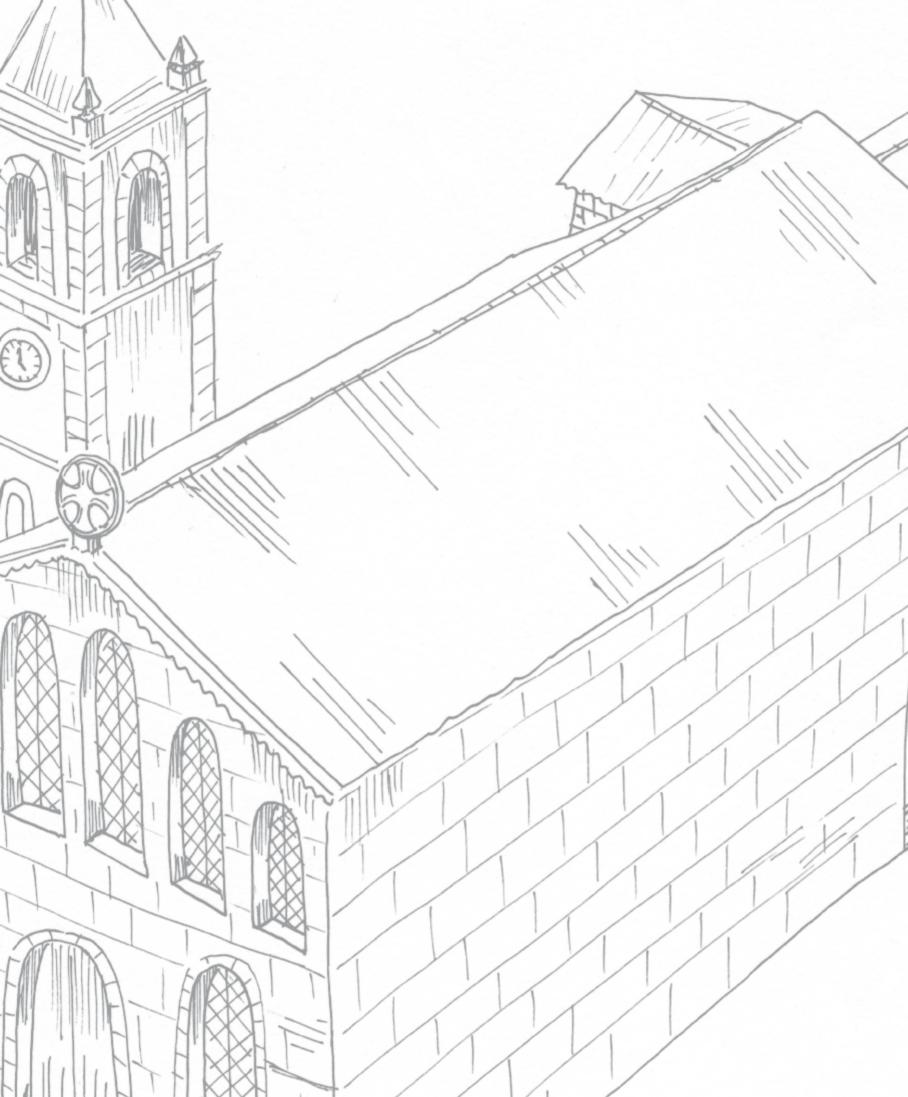
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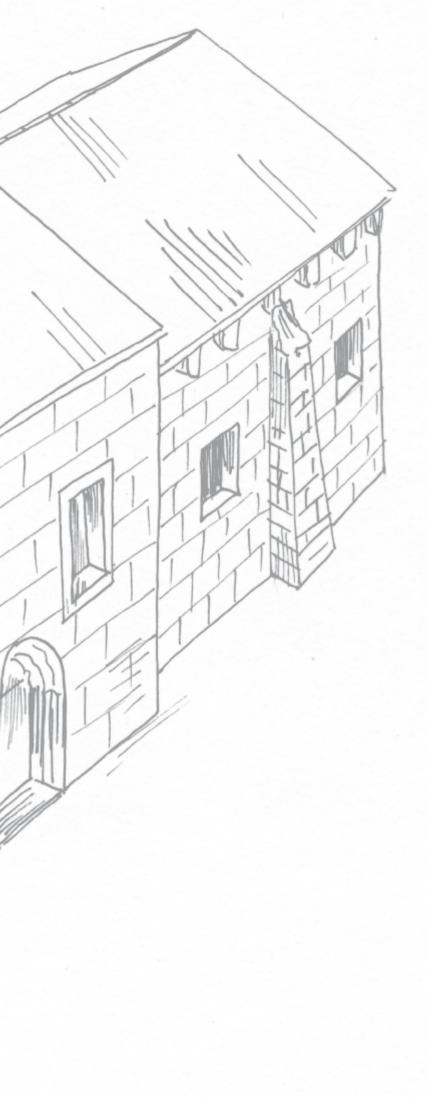
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# CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR OF FERVENÇA CELORICO DE BASTO

# CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR OF FERVENÇA CELORICO DE BASTO



Plan.

#### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

ocated along the valley of the Esporão brook, the parish of Fervença was, during the reigns of Kings Afonso II (k. 1211-1223) and Afonso III (k. 1248-1279), a territory marked by instability and conflict. This conflict was either triggered by intra and inter lineage matters or by disputes between individuals and institutions; partly because of the political, demographic and economic circumstances that favoured such strifes – regardless of the reason to order or exercise violence – this period was almost always marked by issues related to the possession of assets or to the pursuit of power and prestige. In the centre of a 13-<sup>th</sup> century dispute between a certain clergyman and Gil Vasques, a "rico-homem" [nobleman] from Fervença, was the possession of the Church demanded by the former, perhaps because he considered himself related to it. Once the latter refused to give up the domain without the payment of certain fees, "the clergyman claimed the church and destroyed it"<sup>1</sup>. The priest's strategy, which we might consider as inappropriate regarding his occupation and status, was part of a policy of asset maintenance and acquisition that was only possible in a nation "under construction", for which the first inquiries were one of the most important tools. Using this tool, the royal power could take severe measures against, sometimes chaotic, situations that, sheltered by isolation or strong family ties, raged in the new kingdom.

The inquiries of King Afonso II (1220) mention a Church whose patronage, though uncertain, did not belong to the king. Except for a few "reguengos" [royal properties], farmhouses, windrows and "foros" [chartered lands], everything belonged to local or regional lords (Lopes,



Aerial view.

1 The translation is by Eduardo Teixeira Lopes (2008: 173), whose edition we used in subsequent quotes.

2008: 173). In 1258, besides the aforementioned situation, which had opposed an heir to a local knight over the ownership of the Church's patronage and associated rights (with a favourable outcome to the former), the farmhouses identified in Fervença were subject to many landlords, including the monasteries of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto) and Refojos (Cabeceiras de Basto) and the monastery of Telões (Amarante), a "certain knight from Maravilhas" and the church of Borba de Godim (Felgueiras). The inquisitors also collected the name of several local owners, as well as the set of assets allocated to the Church of Fervença, a patrimony with a significant extension that could very well justify the strifes, despite the fact that this institution paid the modest sum of 80 Portuguese "libras" [former Portuguese currency unit] to aid the Crusades in 1320 (Lopes, 2008: 173). It is already mentioned as being annexed to the monastery of Saint Claire of Vila do Conde that same year (Almeida & Peres, 1971: 107).

The donation of Fervença's patronage and respective benefits to the Poor Clares of Vila do Conde may be explained by the need to assist the works of the monastery, which was under construction at the time, as the priest António Carvalho da Costa refers in 1706: "[the Church of Fervença] was of Royal Patronage, and was given by King Diniz to his bastard son Afonso Sanches, Lord of Albuquerque, on May 30<sup>th</sup>, who, in 1318, donated it to the Monastery of Nuns of Vila de Conde, which was being built at the time" (Costa, 1706-1712: 147)<sup>2</sup>. The fact is that the Church remained under the domain of the nuns until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, while the religious women presented the rector and gathered the fruits and income that amounted to 200 thousand "réis" [former Portuguese currency unit] (Niza, 1767: 238).



East and north façades.

2 A few years after the publication of this work, Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 358) adds very few information to *Corografia portugueza...* He only inventoried the four tombstones divided between the larger chapel and Church's body.

#### THE MONUMENT BETWEEN PERIODS



South façade. Nave. Portal.

he chevet is the only existing remain from the Romanesque Period in the parish Church of Fervença, which is consecrated to the Saviour. Judging by the remaining Medieval traits, we may assert that the primitive Romanesque construction showed an unusual plastic quality within the region it integrates. From the data provided by Francisco Craesbeeck, which are particularly focused on the epigraphic reading of the graves, we can infer that the nave had at least one "trasverse door" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 358). Would it be in the same place of the one that is currently open on the nave's south wall (which is round, as a matter of fact), raising the possibility of a reuse of the Romanesque construction when the nave was remodelled in 1970's (Sampaio, 2005: 117)? Both the stucco coating found on the nave's interior, and the emphasis of the joints between the external ashlars, made with cement, do not allow us to go beyond this supposition. We should also note that the external wall faces of the Romanesque chevet were subjected to the same joint emphasis, surely in order to grant a supposed unity to the outside of the building, since it shows none on the inside. The narrowing of the nave in the area closest to the triumphal arch and the presence of granite on the intrados of the rectangular openings may indicate that, at least in this part of the temple, a previous structure was reused. An analysis of the external wall face of the nave's north side shows us the presence of ashlars with different types of carvings, whose transition seems to be denounced by a scar found close to the large rectangular window (perhaps a result of the Church remodelling carried out in the 18th century (Gonçalves, 2007) and whose structure is identical to the one of the two large windows that were opened on the chancel's wall, on the Epistle side).



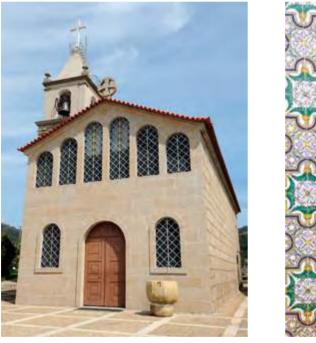
General interior view from the nave

And regarding the data collected in 1758, in addition to confirming that this Church had only one nave, they are mainly related to the four "altars" that existed at the time: "three altars in which to celebrate mass and the altar of the Souls that is not used for mass. The first belongs to the patron saint, the second to Our Lady of the Rosary and the third to Saint Anthony" (Pereira, 1758 apud Lopes, 2005: 166). So, we don't have much information about the Romanesque nave of Fervença and the subsequent adjustments it received throughout its history.

The existing nave shows a prevalence of a contemporary language that, on the main façade, although resorting to granite, gives a special emphasis to the lighting openings. Inside, we highlight the use of tile panels as a decorative element: on the nave's walls we see a high polychrome skirting composed of geometric motifs that follow, in their contemporary nature, the scheme of the 17th century "carpet-type" compositions. Above the triumphal arch there is a large cobaltblue figurative composition allusive to the patron saint, which is depicted here at the time of his Ascension to heaven, and finally, close to the font, there is a polychrome panel that depicts the scene in which the Lord is baptised by His cousin John on the banks of the Jordan river.



South façade. Corbel.





Nave. Lateral walls. Skirting tiles.

The Romanesque chevet, which is rectangular and has two bays, shows a significant contrast with the nave. As the external buttresses - one on each side of the chancel - denounce, the chancel had an already broken barrel vault. As in the Church of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira), after the first bay there is a fluted ledge that corresponds to a significant difference between floor levels. The triumphal arch's capitals, featuring vegetal and phytomorphic motifs, also resemble their counterparts from Ferreira. Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1978: 218) saw in them a Romanesque influence that was developed on the left bank of the Minho river, which finds its



Triumphal arch. Top of the wall. Tile panel. *Transfiguration of Christ*.

origin in the building site of the Tui cathedral (Spain)<sup>3</sup>. This is suggested by the turgid nature of its bulky sculpture.

Confirming the confluence of the several inflows that characterized the Romanesque architecture built along the Tâmega basin, here we may also identify clear elements whose origin lies in Romanesque constructions built in the region that we have been calling as the "Braga-Rates axis" (Botelho, 2010: 432). One is the motif of the so-called palmettes from Braga that, placed at the level of the triumphal arch's imposts, extends along the nave's front wall and also as a frieze along the inside of the apse. The motifs carved in relief that decorate the broken archivolt which surrounds the triumphal arch are also from Braga: inside there are lanceolate motifs, and outside there is a set of three tori ponctuated by incised ovuli.

Besides the buttresses we've already mentioned, and the contemporary treatment given to the joints of the ashlars that, despite their different sizes, make up fairly regular rows, the apse's back wall only shows one narrow crevice on the outside, much to the Romanesque taste. On the lateral elevations, the cornices are supported by sculpted corbels, whose decorations feature a strong geometric emphasis, and among which we highlight a barrel, the roll motif or a composition made with volutes.

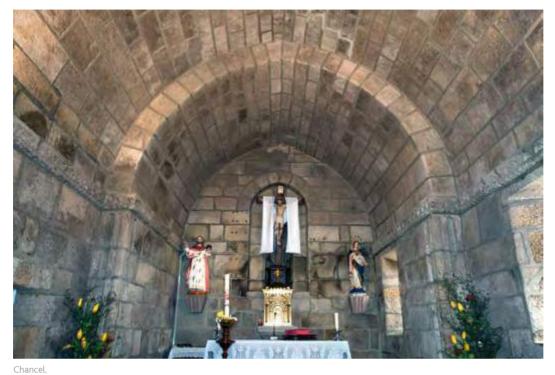
Given the ornamental motifs found in the chevet and the sharp point of its vault, its chronology has been placed in the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Almeida, 1986: 102).

From the Romanesque Period we should also mention the terminal crosses found on the back wall gables of the apse and main façade. The latter, simpler than the other one, is "pattée". The one in the apse is more elaborate. It is a hollowed cross that combines a cross "pattée" with circular motifs. Outside, close to the Church's entrance, there is a Romanesque font whose bowl has a polygonal design.



Churchyard. Font.

3 For further development on this matter, please read Rosas (1987).



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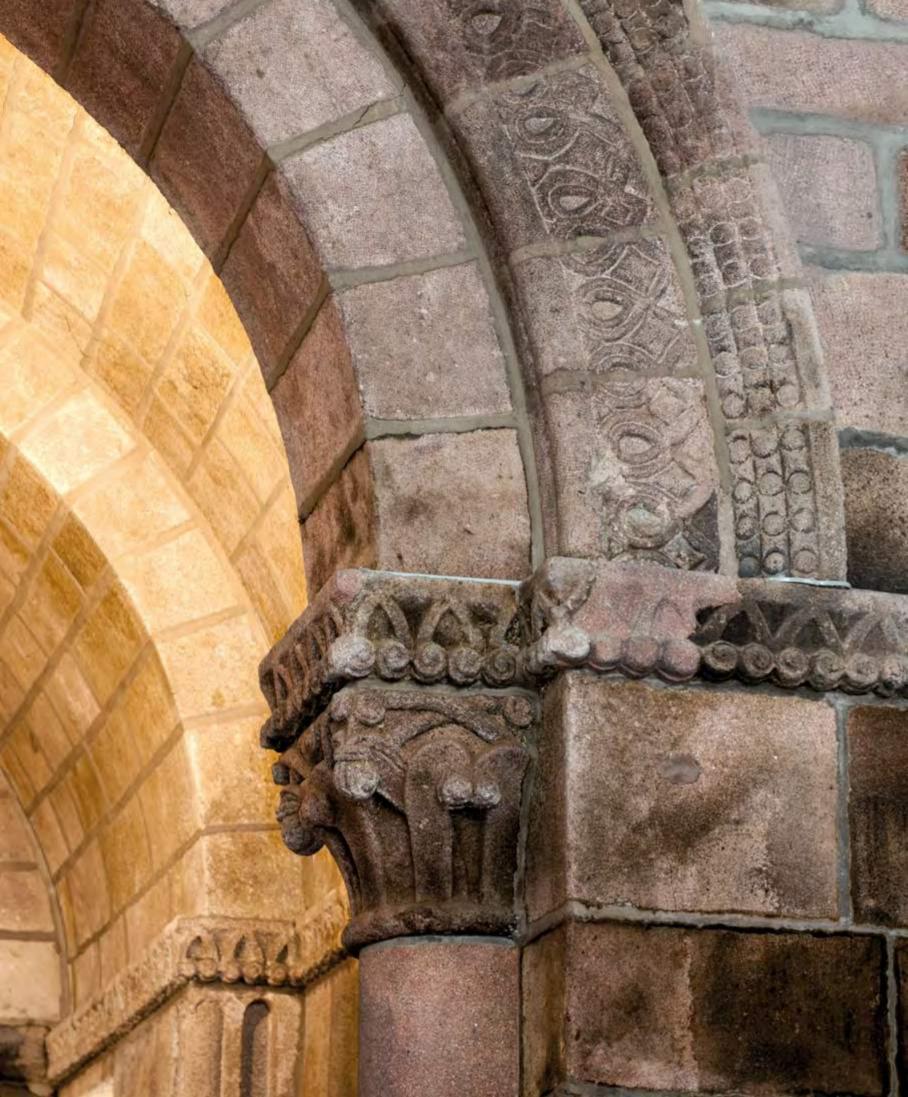
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On the north side, adjoining the main façade, we have the bell tower; its last register is certainly a result of the 20<sup>th</sup> century intervention, taking into account its reinforced concrete crown. In turn, the two lower registers, formed by irregular granite ashlars, may belong to the same period of the campaign that opened the large windows on the nave, which took place sometime during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, taking into account the Classicist frames that finish the pillars' corners.

In 2010, this parish Church of Fervença became part of the Route of the Romanesque.  $[{\tt MLB}\,/\,{\tt NR}]$ 



South façade. Chancel. Corbels.



### CHRONOLOGY

1220: the abbot Mendo Dias and other witnesses stated before the inquisitors that the Church of Fervença was not of royal patronage;

1258: Fernando Pais testified before the royal inquisitors that he was aware of certain irregularities regarding the Church's ownership;

1320: the catalogue of churches taxed to aid the Crusades refers Fervença as being patronaged by Saint Claire of Vila do Conde, paying a contribution of 80 Portuguese "libras";

16<sup>th</sup> century: it is referred to as "Saint Saviour of the Abbess of Fervença", with 70 residents;

1706: referred to as a vicarage, which yielded 120 000 "réis";

1758: the parish of Fervença counted 338 dwellings and 995 inhabitants;

1970: reconstruction of the Church's nave;

2010: integration of the Church of Fervença in the Route of the Romanesque.

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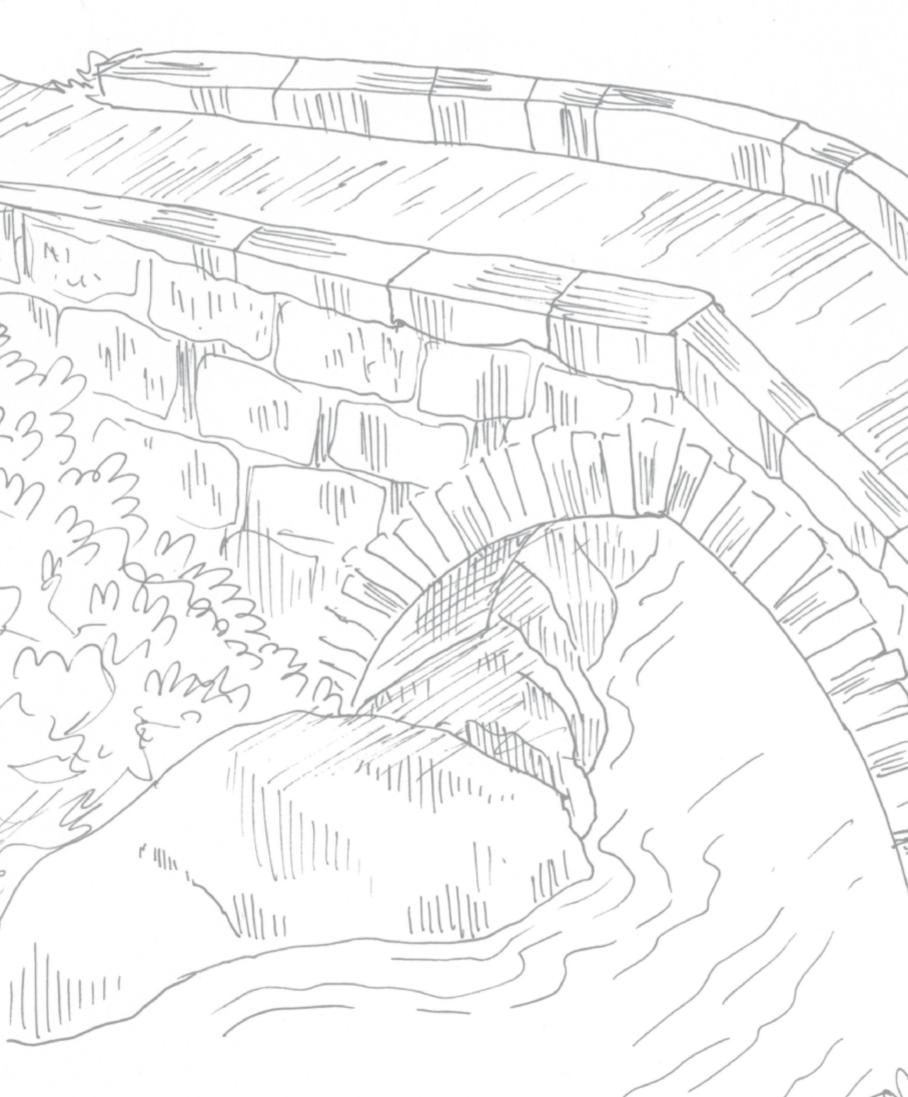
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"I leave you with the intensive works on the paths, the overspending, the inclemency of the air, and the dangers of life that come along with these pilgrimages..." In FARIA, Manuel Severim – *Notícias de Portugal*.

## **ON JOURNEY AND TRANSIENCE**

oday, we have a perception of mobility that the Medieval or modern man, especially the peasant man, didn't have. Thanks to the technological advances and to the improvement in living conditions that preceded the Industrial Revolution, the notion of leisure journey became increasingly common over the 19th and 20th centuries, prompted by technological advances in terms of transportation and routes. The idea of the "Grand Tour", which first arose among the aristocracy to be later conquered by the bourgeoisie and is, nowadays, virtually democratized, is far from reflecting the mindset that guided communities 500 or 800 years ago. Travelling was dangerous and expensive. Even the idea spread by recent tourist promotion, which suggests that the Middle Ages were filled with pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela (Spain), Rome (Italy) and Jerusalem (Israel) is deeply misleading. The Medieval man would not set out on journeys that would imply a rupture with his family ties or with the safety of his home and community. Departing implied writing a will, thus assuming that it could be a one-way trip: "So, most of his mobility didn't go beyond the parish or the sound field of the church bell - the heart of the village - that could be heard - if it was a good bell - about two miles away, which would already imply the crossing of the boundaries of the local community, but very few times crossing the boundaries of the municipality" (Oliveira, 1995: 263).



Within this mindset and symbolic framework, the peasant was interested, first of all, in a smaller network of roads that connected the village to the properties within its boundaries, and then in the medium-distance paths that could lead him to the church, other villages of his parish and to the seat of the municipality. The regional routes that went beyond the municipal boundaries, which were generally associated with tolls, royal laws or the circulation of institutional agents (namely tax collectors) would already be regarded as dangerous, ill-fated spaces that conveyed bad news. Those who used them were, usually, people who had been excluded from society or were at its margins: lepers, beggars, anathematized, bandits and thieves<sup>1</sup>.

Therefore, it is natural that, out of the small network of paths that were part of the village, the Medieval or Modern man mistrusted anything that arrived from afar with the help of those paths. As António de Oliveira refers, "indeed, beyond the frontier of his home parish, stood the land of the other, of the stranger, of the one who did not belong to the community, the one who was not a neighbour, who was not a resident" (Oliveira, 1995: 262). The idea that roads brought people and ideas closer, which is so widely spread by contemporary advertising, might seem heretical in the eyes and ears of a man from the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. And, nevertheless, the Middle Ages were a time of great mobility, a period in which "the paving of muddy paths, and many others, the construction of bridges and the creation of free crossing ferries were considered welfare services" (Almeida, 1973: 47)<sup>3</sup>. However, it was a service for the elites, either for the love of God, or for less pious and more political reasons. The fact is that, in a kingdom under construction, true power was increasingly associated with the ability to quickly reach the domains or to execute orders with the promptness expected from a good fiscal and judicial system.

Maybe that's the reason why bridges, which are elements to unite banks that are often separated by collective hatreds and rivalries and by different jurisdictions, emerge in local imagination as structures marked by individual and collective setbacks, curses and imprecations. The bridge isn't always a community project, but rather a work "imposed" by an external authority, such as a queen or a saint – so, in the eyes of the community that received it, why wouldn't it be considered a disadvantage instead of a benefit?

1 Quoting Luís de Valdellano, the author of *História de las instituiciones españolas*, Humberto Baquero Moreno (1979: 9) notes that "the domestic trade of Leon and Castile in the Late Middle Ages was not too intense due to the poor state of the roads, the slowness of the means of transport and the acts of banditry suffered by mule riders and oxcart drivers".

2 In this regard we should meditate on the words of Manuel Severim de Faria, who, in his eighth speech – on pilgrimage – warns against those who make pilgrimages, pointing out the evils that result from the act of travelling: "Of all that is said, one should also consider one's own homeland, where with little work one may achieve a reputation of greatness, and be consummated in any property or art, which he may profess. And, on the other hand, with how much work, spending, and perils can one can be exposed to during pilgrimages" (Faria & Vaz, 2003: 227).

3 Without contradicting it, we would not emphasise the itinerant fervour with which the author describes the Middle Ages, "a time of invasions and pilgrimages, of trading travels and fairs, of moving courts, of officers and judges who, due to their legal and management duties, travelled around; humanity still hadn't forgotten the tribal nomadism that was part of its own origins, as highlighted by Bloch and others" (Almeida, 1973: 47). The examples provided by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida are, at all levels, extravagant: the rich and powerful travelled, as well as those who earned their livelihoods from journeys, such as merchants, hawkers or pedlars. Most of them, stuck to bonds that allowed them to support a family, have a roof over their heads and make ends meet, remained their entire life without crossing the limits of their parish.

### ROADS AND BRIDGES: RECORDS AND MEMORY

n contrast to the common idea that the use of stone in the construction of bridges was unusual in national history – thus highlighting the importance of Roman and Romanesque crossings as respectable symbols of permanence and durability - the geographer Orlando Ribeiro says: "the use of stone as a building material in support walls or road protections, in the paving of rural roads, in bridges, in the lining of wells, in livestock corrals and shelters, in buildings designed to store the products of harvests or in human dwellings, is a common trait within the Portuguese territory" (Ribeiro, 2011: 128). In fact, we just need to travel around Portugal to assess the abundance of structures that use stone as a building material<sup>4</sup>. It is a very common material that can be used and reused in different types of constructions, from walls to walkways. However, since the techniques and typologies of rural roads paving works remain rather unknown, they raise doubts to the researcher who intends to seriously study the chronology and evolution of roads. And because many of them crossover waterways, the origin of the bridges that supplement them remain obscure. With a tendency to focus on the Romanization period, archaeology - that could provide information about the building of these structures through its methods - limits itself to circumstantial analyses of hypothetical routes, comparing the sober written testimonies that are available with toponymy and with the few traces that were exhumed or accidentally found (such as milestones) – some of them later displaced or reused.

One of the first Portuguese researchers who approached the matter of paths and roads in a serious and methodical way, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, warned against the existence of frivolous analyses and the fact that historians and archaeologists were mainly focused on the Classical Period:

"Considering all old roads as being Roman, as if these were eternal, and as if after the Romans no other roads were ever built, is a terrible obsession. Considering all old bridges as being Roman, as if the Middle Ages had ignored their construction, or were economically unable to build them, is an even more common obsession" (Almeida, 1968: 16-17).

Indeed, "if roads become grounds for social changes" (Almeida, 1968: 5), they should be studied as part of society, since they are the veins and arteries of this body, the channels through which the social dynamics examined by history unfold. Through its route, its utility and its users, a path, a walkway or a shepherds' trail is a trace of an expression of collective needs. These paths conveyed good and evil, the plague and the famine, but also the goods, the sons who had

<sup>4</sup> On the uses of stone and how this material is *seen* and used by the communities, please see Horácio Marçal (1958: 697-755). It is interesting to read what the author of the *Elucidário* says about the bridges in the section "Ponte pedrinha". "There is among us a large number of places that preserve this name, which resulted from the existence in some point in time of a stone bridge, which may still be preserved; thus being very common and often wooden bridges are, especially in lesser-flowing rivers. Here we see how João Duraens was sharp enough to include in his will the following article: «And I also command three "libras" [former Portuguese currency unit] to the Bridges of Covellas and Balsamom, when their wood is cut». Doc. of Lamego, 1316" (Viterbo, 1865: 153).

left for war, trade and processions. At crossroads, men thought they saw fantastic creatures and feared the presence of thieves and robbers, but this whole universe was sacralised by processions, shrines or chapels.

Roads are eminently public spaces, perhaps the only ones that common people may consider as free of taxes, penalties or bans. But it is also an open place, where danger lurks and crimes are often committed. Maybe that's why it brings together so many fears and desires, which are translated into disputes and recalled in an extraordinary series of narratives.

Bridges, as extensions of paths, are some of the most sanctioned buildings by memory. The existence of a bridge almost always justifies the birth of a legend, either about its construction or its ruin. One of the cases that are most significantly remembered by local and national mythologies is that of the bridge of Amarante. The bridge is inseparable from the figure of Saint Gonçalo, the exorcist thaumaturgy that was turned into a saint by the common man and served as one of the most famous evangelists of the Dominican Order<sup>5</sup>. His effigy, often accompanied by a bridge, is the example of the sacred builder. Other figures, such as queens, princesses or Moors, fill people's imagination and allude to external and distant powers. And rather frequently, as in neighbouring bridge of Aliviada (Marco de Canaveses), it is the devil who takes on the role of bridge builder<sup>6</sup>.





North bank. Shrines.

Church of Valadares (Baião). Triumphal arch. Painting. Saint Goncalo.

5 Gonçalo who, according to tradition was born in Arriconha, Tagilde, located in the current municipality of Vizela, was one of the most famous thaumaturges in Portugal during the Middle Ages. A marginal cult of the Catholic Church, which never considered him a saint, was adopted by the Dominicans in their "plan of pastoral renewal", as Arlindo da Cunha (2003: 81-94) called it. In fact, this article attempts to build a hagio-toponymic inventory about the figure of Gonçalo of Amarante in the Douro Litoral region. On the legend associated with the construction of the bridge of Amarante, please see Jorge Cardoso (1666: 93). The construction of the bridge of Cavês (Cabeceiras de Basto) is ascribed to another religious man from the order of Preachers, Friar Lourenço Mendes. 6 On the bridge of Aliviada and its similarities with other stories about the "Devil's bridges", please read Silva (1992: 81-86).

#### THE BRIDGE OF ARCO

he Bridge of Arco, over the river Ovelha, connects the banks of two parishes, Folhada and Várzea de Ovelha e Aliviada, and lies at the heart of the former municipality of Gouveia. With a single and slightly pointed arch, its structure is simple: with a trestle-shaped elevation, it takes advantage of the rocky outcrops that exist on both banks, which grant it the sturdiness and verticality it still currently shows. A breakwater was added to the structure, placed against its east face, so it could withstand the impact of debris carried by strong currents. There is also an almost rectangular opening located close to the breakwater, next to the support foundation, allowing water to flow through in times of higher flows<sup>7</sup>. In terms of construction, we should highlight the mismatch between the ashlars placed at the base of the arch, in the pillar located on the right bank, whose position was interrupted by the installation of the centring. That caused a misalignment and disrupted the design of an arch that is more slender and graceful when viewed from the right bank.

The parish priest of Folhada makes a reference to it, in 1758, using the following words:

"And features another great bridge at the end of this parish, called the Bridge of Arco, by presenting a very large and hideous arch and very small guards. And because the bridge is not flat [with a shallow or flat tray], since it is of stone, safe and old" (Bravo, 1758).

The Abbot José Franco Bravo is very thorough in his description of the bridges over the river Ovelha<sup>8</sup>, listing eight crossings, four wooden bridges and four stone or masonry bridges. The "wood" ones were located (from upstream to downstream) in Ovelhinha, Ruimendes, Locaia and Santo André da Várzea, and the latter "served the same parish on both sides". The stone bridges were located in Ovelha (today Aboadela, Amarante), Larim (Gondar, Amarante) (a "mansonry" bridge), Arco and Aliviada.

When he mentions the passage of Locaia, the abbot writes down: "it serves this county and both its sides" (Bravo, 1758). We should, therefore, consider the Bridge of Arco as part of a series of infrastructures that complemented the network of roads designed to serve the municipal term, and only from this point of view may we consider it as a Medieval crossing, even though it is hard for us to fit it into the regional Romanesque style as easily as some authors have done it, without presenting any facts to prove that.

Due to the persistence of this trestle-shaped model and to the frequent use of round or broken arches as supporting elements, it becomes really difficult to prove that this is a Romanesque construction merely by making a simple reading of its structure. The absence of initials, though not decisive, would help dating and fitting the Bridge into a chronology marked by the regional displacement of masonry workshops that took part in the construction of various structures, from

<sup>7</sup> As stated by the abbot of Folhada when he refers the bridge of Aliviada: "it was quite necessary because of the waters that, during winter floods, always submerge the rocks, making it impossible to cross over without a bridge" (Bravo, 1758). 8 On this river, please read what we wrote in Bridge of Fundo de Rua (Amarante).

churches to noble houses and bridges. We weren't able to identify any such signs on the walls of the Bridge of Arco, despite the fact that it complies with the usual construction rules that were applied in Romanesque crossings. However, we say it again: the use of models, ensured by time-served stonemasons who passed them on to the following generations, does not allow us to reach any conclusions about the construction conclusive dates of this type of crossings<sup>9</sup>.

Furthermore, there are no references to its construction in any documents. In a neighbouring region – the massif of Montemuro – we were able to discover only two inscriptions related to the construction of bridges, both associated with a late chronological period – the 18<sup>th</sup> century – and both linked to local lords<sup>10</sup>. Again, it is important to rule out the idea of community bridges as minor crossings resulting from a lack of resources and made of wood or reused staffs, apart from the single or multiple-arch models.

It is likely that the Bridge of Arco is a late construction built during the late Middle Ages, or even during the Modern Period, when commuting and occasional medium-distance journeys related, for instance, to processions, or to the consecration of churches with a tabernacle, required better roads and, consequently, suitable crossings that would make those events possible.

We should highlight the fact that the Bridge is located in the junction of multiple road branches. One of them derived from a major Medieval road – the same that was still channelling traffic from the "couto" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Tabuado, Soalhães, and the hamlet of Giesta to Padrões da Teixeira in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This road connected the bridge of Canaveses (Marco de Canaveses) to the road between Amarante and Mesão Frio. In a hamlet with the suggestive name of "Estalagem" [Inn], this road had a branch that connected Várzea de Ovelha to the Bridge of Arco. Nearby, this road was joined by a second branch that came from the church of Folhada (Marco de Canaveses). Once the crossing was made, the road continued towards the church of the Saviour of Monte (Amarante), where it joined another road that came from Canaveses and headed towards Amarante<sup>11</sup>.



Detail of the constructive mismatch.

9 On the process of creating and building a bridge during the Medieval Period, please see Bridge of Veiga (Lousada). 10 Please read what we wrote in this regard in Bridges of Panchorra (Resende) and Esmoriz (Baião).

11 PORTUGAL. Depósito dos Trabalhos Geodésicos. *Mappa do distrito entre os rios Douro e Minho* [Material cartográfico/ Cartographic collection]. [Escala/Scale ca 1:193000]. Lisboa: Depósito dos Trabalhos Geodésicos, 1861. Available at www: <URL: http://purl.pt/22844/2/>.



## The Bridge as a token of collective memory

ithin the sphere of interest and concern about heritage protection, triggered by the legislation enacted on the early days of the Third Republic, the classification of the Bridge of Arco as a Public Interest Building was required in 1977. The reasons that justified this request, according to the memory attached to the petition, highlighted the strategic location of the structure, its possible connection to neighbouring archaeological sites (even if placed outside the chronological arch)<sup>12</sup>, traditions and legends and the "architectural perspective, which defined it as "a good specimen from the Romanesque Period""– however, this was an unjustified assertion<sup>13</sup>.

The process was filed, instructed and deferred between March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1977, and February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1982, the date in which, by Decree no. 28 published in the Governmental Official Gazette no. 47, the Bridge of Arco was considered a Public Interest Building. However, this legal protection was not enough to prevent the crossing from suffering, in just a few years, a number of attacks to its structure, especially because it ensures the circulation of motor vehicles between villages located on both banks.



Upstream view (1977). Source: IHRU archive.



Upstream view (1977). Source: IHRU archive.

12 We often want to associate archaeological sites and heritage with different chronologies as if one part depended on the other or as if both were part of a heritage ensemble that is usually analyzed according to clearly anachronistic concepts and administrative divisions.

13 Processo SIPA.TXT.01493297 a SIPA.TXT.01493262. According to the author of the memoir, the architect Fernando de Azevedo, "this was the bridge that ensured the road connection from Soalhães and Tabuado to Amarante in the Medieval Period, using the roads that passed through the hamlets of Burgo, Aldegão and Castelo, on the left bank of the Ovelha river, and Arco, Pedra da Légua, São Salvador do Monte, on its right bank".

In an official letter from February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1986, we learn that a few stones had been knocked down from the parapet and that part of the pavement had collapsed due to the circulation of motor vehicles. The Municipality of Marco de Canaveses – though without prior consultation with the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directo-rate for Buildings and National Monuments] – was responsible for the project related to a motor vehicle crossing; the city council paved the Bridge with concrete, which would be covered by another layer of pavement "made of granite slabs taken from the demolition of a few old houses located on a nearby site"<sup>14</sup>. The city council justified this illegal act alleging that the work had been a preventive measure and claiming some sort of misunderstanding between municipal divisions. There was a promise to comply with the suggestions provided by architect Fernando de Azeredo, the instructor and supervisor of the classification process of the Bridge of Arco.

Despite the legal and officious zeal, the Bridge whose architectural and historical value at the local and regional levels seems indisputable, is still a passageway for motor vehicles. Because it is located far away from the villages, in addition to being subject to the voracious deterioration caused by the natural elements, its structure has already suffered damages caused by human actions. [NR]



Downstream view



14 Letter of February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1986, and signed by Fernando de Azeredo. The changes seem to have been conveyed through a complaint from a local political party.

### CHRONOLOGY

1758: the abbot of Folhada mentions and describes the Bridge of Arco;

1982: by Decree no. 28 from February 4th, the Bridge of Arco was considered as a Public Interest Building;

1986: because it was a car passageway, the Bridge suffers a few setbacks, related to its parapet and paving;

2010: the Bridge of Arco becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque.

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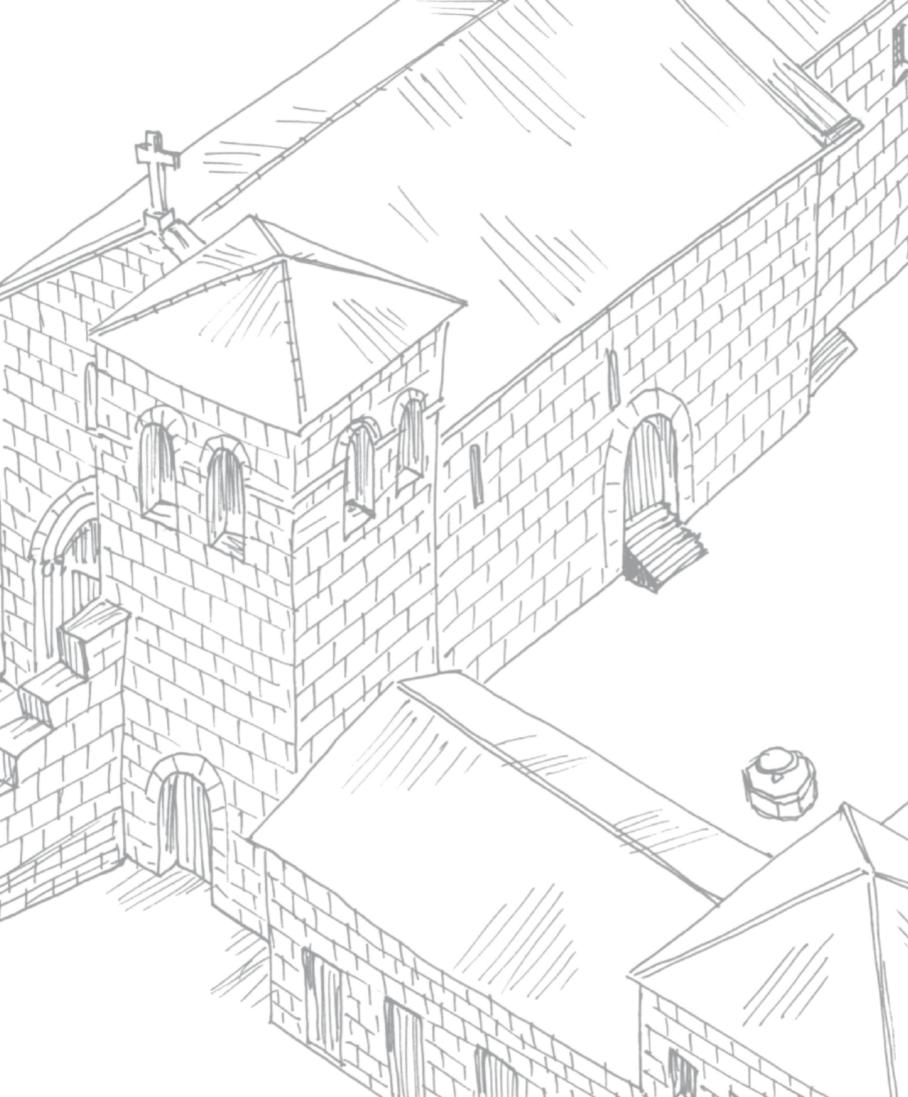
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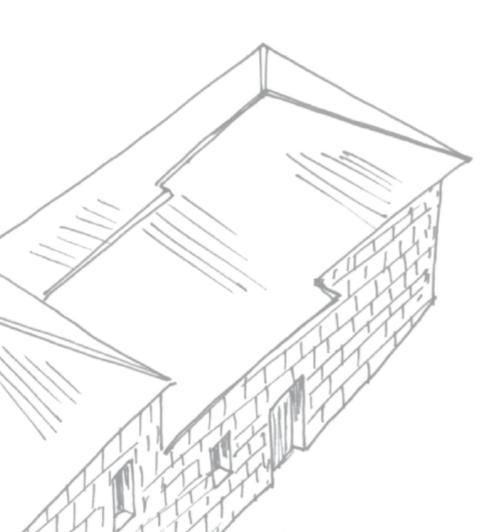
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# MONASTERY OF THE SAVIOUR OF FREIXO DE BAIXO AMARANTE



Plan.

#### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

By a landscape populated by braided vines, marked by patches of cultivation and curtains of trees, which includes old farmhouses with dirty granite walls (Dionísio, 1994: 597). Despite the fact that it was deeply changed during the Modern Period and subject to a significant restoration intervention around the 1940s, the remaining monastic ensemble is still extremely significant within the framework of the Romanesque buildings of the Tâmega valley. This is due to the persistence of the foundations of the primitive galilee and also of traces of the original cloister, together with a sturdy bell tower, which give this ensemble a monumentality and a legibility that are rather unusual within the panorama of the Portuguese Romanesque architecture.

The historical path of this monastic complex is partly similar to that of its neighbour from Mancelos (Amarante). Its foundation, prior to 1120, got entangled in the usual family patronages, as the author of the *Corografia portuguesa*... points out in 1706: "founded in 1110 by Gotinha Godins, the wife of Egas Hermigis, the "Brave", the in-laws of Egas Gozendes who lived in the period of King Afonso, the Sixth" (Costa, 1706-1712: 148). Less certain are the chroniclers of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, namely Father Nicolau de Santa Maria (? -1675) who, in order to explain the origin of the Monasteries of Mancelos and Freixo de Baixo, quotes only the Bull of Calixtus II (p. 1119-1124) and adds that "we do not have any further information" (Santa Maria, 1668: 326).

Located in a valley, on the border between the municipalities of Santa Cruz de Ribatâmega and Basto, in an area where most of the traffic between the Minho and Trás-os-Montes<sup>1</sup> still circulated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Freixo de Baixo collapsed before the commendatory regime and the 16<sup>th</sup>-century reformations, thus being annexed (together with the curacy of São Miguel de Freixo) to the Dominican convent of Amarante in 1540<sup>2</sup>.



General view.

1 In 1758 the parish priest Manuel Teixeira Barbosa refers that near the parish, "to the east and through the hill there is a road that people have been continuously using to get to different parts of the Kingdom" (Barbosa, 1758). It was the road that connected Amarante to Lixa (Felgueiras).

2 João de Barros (1919: 77), in 1549, says that the "Monastery of Freixo" had "Canons Regular, but few of them", yielding 200 thousand "réis" [former Portuguese currency unit] to the prior. This statement must have been collected shortly before the transfer of the Monastery to the Order of Preachers, as this occurred between 1540 and 1542, according to a royal donation and a confirmation from Pope Paul III.

#### THE MONUMENT BETWEEN PERIODS

his Church with a quadrangular chancel – which is lower and narrower than the single nave – is defined by graded volumes, a feature that was very commonly found in buildings from the Romanesque Period despite the repetition, more or less everywhere, of the same planimetric module (composed, precisely, of a single nave and quadrangular chevet). Because it was deeply transformed during the Modern Period, due to interventions that changed the nave and rebuilt the chancel, little more is left from the primitive temple than the western façade and the foundations of the front galilee which defines a quadrangular atrium. On the south side there are still traces of what used to be the cloister and area where a quadrangular bell tower was built. Let's now examine each of these elements in further detail.

The bell tower, considered by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida as having an archaic appearance (Almeida, 1978: 223), has three doors on the ground level. Above the simple and round portal, which is facing the atrium of the primitive galilee, we see corbels, an eave and quadrangular scars that prove the prior existence of a porch-like structure. The same happens on the portal that is facing the Church's south side, i.e., the space where the cloister once stood. Next to it, on the observer's right, we see two carved ashlars which suggest a reuse: there is a horizontal ashlar with a denticulate structure ending its lower section and, above it, we see a reused corbel (?) decorated with a stylized floral motif. This is a massive tower with grand proportions, formed by rows of granite ashlars, all at the same height. At the upper level, on all sides of the tower, a pair of round arches emerge, animating the façades, sheltering the bells, and also taking on functions related to the lighting and ventilation of the internal space. A frieze surrounds the entire tower as an extension of the arches' imposts.



Aerial view.



Church. West façade and bell tower.



Bell tower. East façade. Carved ashlar.



Bell tower. East façade. Carved ashlar.

From the primitive galilee only the foundations of the south side remain, although their memory is still preserved in the design of the small wall that delimits the existing churchyard. Therefore, the western façade is the best preserved element from the primitive Romanesque temple. Finishing in an angular gable crowned by small and simple terminal granite cross, this façade, besides being reinforced by two corners, is animated by a powerful Romanesque portal surmounted by a narrow crevice. The portal has three archivolts, which are virtually round (there is very soft, almost unnoticeable, break), with slightly bevelled edges and animated by dihedral tori. Manuel Monteiro was the first author to draw our attention to the specificity of the dihedral tori, whose "arrangement is common in Limousin, a School to the South and East of the Loire" (Monteiro, 1908: 50). According to this author, on this side of the Pyrenees, the best example of this expressive shape which is typically Romanesque belongs to the Porto cathedral (Monteiro, 1954: 16). This motif was rather well received by the Romanesque builders from the Sousa and Tâmega valleys: Travanca (Amarante), Fandinhães (Paços de Gaiolo, Marco de Canaveses) or Cabeça Santa (Penafiel) may be used as examples. There is a frieze formed by chained circles that repeats the same motif carved on the imposts, much like a surrounding arch. This is motif no. 3 that Joaquim de Vasconcelos describes as "secant circles with a double, centred movement; ribbon", in the inventory of Romanesque motifs he proposed in 1918 (Vasconcelos & Abreu, 1918: 68-72). The same motif is repeated on the imposts, on both sides of the portal, matching other themes like no. 15 ("stylized ivy; wavy movement with loops"); no. 16 ("stylized ivy, wavy movement, two by two, on a rope"); and no. 23 ("four-leaved myo-



Church. West facade. Portal.

sotis, high relief, resting on stone") (Vasconcelos & Abreu, 1918: 68-72). Despite showing the wear caused by exposure to the atmospheric conditions, the capitals are finely carved, showing affronted animals that emerge from the relief, phytomorphic and vegetal motifs attached to the frustum which remind us of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira) and Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) (Santos & Novais, 1955: 92).

The side elevations are dominated by simplicity. On the north side there is a single buttress that only about goes halfway up the elevation, thus creating a vertical cut in the middle of the façade. Without any eaves or corbels, there are only two narrow crevices to illuminate the interior. On this side, the chancel also presents an elevation that is completely devoid of any element that might animate it; there are signs of a few scars on the walls, which result from the intervention it was subject to during the 20<sup>th</sup>-century restorations, as we'll see. On the back façade, in addition to the graded volumes we have already mentioned, the terminal crosses on the gables of the nave and chancel, as well as a square window that illuminates the sacristy's interior – which is accessed by the portal facing south – stand out. On the same side, in the nave, we find traces of what was once an eave that supported a porch-like structure, placed along the corner of the western façade at the same height as the tower's eave. A simple portal formed by a round arch allows entering the nave by climbing a set of four steps. There are two narrow crevices, similar to the ones that exist on the north side, that illuminate the nave, while in the chancel there is a large rectangular window.



Monastery of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira). Church. West façade. Portal. Capitals. Braided motifs. Detail.



Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). Church. West façade. Portal. Capitals. Braided motifs. Detail.





Church. South façade.

On the south elevation, on an ashlar embedded in the nave's wall, in the third row above the footing to the right of the portal we find the following inscription (Barroca, 2000: 1869-1870):

AQ(u)I | IAZ | O PRIOR |[HERE LIES THE PRIOR] | DOM | AFONSO | [DOM AFONSO] Q(u)E | SE [passou?] NA [WHO PASSED AWAY] Era | M | CCCC | X | V | II [IN THE YEAR 1417]



Church. South façade. Nave. Funerary inscription of the prior Afonso.



Church. North façade. Chancel Scars detail.

It is the funerary inscription of the prior Afonso, which dates back to 1379 ("Era 1417") and, despite its poor state of repair, can still be read. This ashlar is located in the area where the Monastery's cloister existed during the Middle Ages, so the prior was likely buried there, as recommended. According to Mário Barroca this is a modest inscription, which was engraved with ashlar in the current position.

In 1726 the Church's cloister was still preserved and, according to what Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 359) tells us, it had "on the south side, a pavement with one hundred spans in length and fourteen spans in width; and on the east side, it had five ancient arches; to the south there were houses; and close to the church, there was a tower with 50 spans in height and 24 spans in length; and just nearby, there was an arch with a tomb underneath". Regarding the latter we currently have no information.

Inside, we find a building where sobriety prevails. From the smooth and plain walls, the granite stands out in all its might. The font stands at the entrance of the Church, on the Gospel side: it is made of plain granite and has a Romanesque nature. It has a wooden railing. The triumphal round arch shows a Classicist language on the imposts, revealing an intervention that was carried out after the Romanesque Period. Both the nave and the chancel feature wooden ceilings and floors. The fresco located on the Epistle side wall, next to the nave's pulpit, which was detached from the opposite wall to a mobile support during the restoration carried out in 1950's by the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments], is particularly interesting<sup>3</sup>.



General interior view from the nave

3 This fragment is described in the inventory of the diocese of Porto as a devotional panel of the *Adoração dos Reis Magos* [Adoration of the Magi] (Costa, 2008), with record no. PM60.0072.



Both Luís Urbano Afonso (2009: 346-350) and Paula Bessa (2008: 180-183) analyzed this scene of the *Epiphany*, so we will follow their proposals. In a rectangular composition we see, to the observer's left, a seating Virgin with the Child on her lap, behind whom stands Saint Joseph followed by a cow and a donkey. On the opposite side, Melchior, the older Magi, is kneeling in adoration to the Child, while his two companions, Caspar and Balthazar, are standing, waiting their turn to pay their homage to the King of Kings. As we can see, the Magi are represented according to their age group (the three stages of life: youth, middle age and old age) and the three continents that were known in the Middle Ages (Europe, Asia and Africa) (Bessa, 2008: 181). Above this scene there is a celestial firmament, where the presence of the star that guided the Magi to Bethlehem stands out (Afonso, 2009: 347), and we can imagine the depiction of a rainbow, the symbol of the alliance between God, Men and all living creatures on Earth (Gn 9, 13-17) (Bessa, 2008: 181). The composition is surrounded by a frame formed by red and black lines, of which only a fragment remains (Afonso, 2009: 347). On the background there is only a difference between the reddish shade of the soil and the off-white shade of the sky. Regarding the design and modelling of the faces, particularly the Virgin's and the standing king's, they were more carefully made than the bodies or any other motifs (Bessa, 2008: 182).

We should note that the detachment process resulted in the destruction of some areas of this painting, forcing the restorers to do some repaintings that were more or less crude, as occurs more severely on the faces of Saint Joseph and Melchior, or also on the case of the bovine head (Afonso, 2009: 347).

Moreover, the photos taken before the detachment show that the painting stretched from the lower left corner; there, it is possible to identify a decorative motif that was not considered important enough to be detached together with the rest of the fresco (Afonso, 2009: 348). This decorative motif, which is a freehand drawing, is the repetition of a double-contour quatrefoil, followed by a random dotted pattern that fills the gaps between the various quatrefoils. It is based on this motif that this painting has been ascribed to the workshop led by the Master of 1510, which was also responsible for the lower layer found on the nave of the Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde (Felgueiras) or the upper layer that exists on the nave of the Church of Saint Nicholas (Marco de Canaveses) (Afonso, 2009: 348), on the right side. Besides this decorative element, this association is strengthened by the existence of other similar formal elements, among which we highlight, due to its importance, the way how the human faces are drawn and modelled.

The denominative "Master of 1510" was adopted by Luís Urbano Afonso (2009: 231) for convenience reasons acknowledged through a series of specimens dated from 1510<sup>4</sup>, considering the decorative patterns that were used and their formal characteristics, which include, in addition to the above mentioned examples, Saint Saviour of Braváes (Ponte da Barca), Saint Christopher of Lordelo (Felgueiras) – of which only photographic records remain –, Saint Martin of Penacova (Felgueiras) and Saint Margaret of Vila Marim (Vila Real) (Rosas, 2008: 364).

<sup>4</sup> Its identification was based on the first mural painting campaigns carried out in the chancel and nave/triumphal arch of the church of Bravães (Ponte da Barca); according to Joaquim Inácio Caetano's proposal (2001: 26-35), the only dated works are those from Bravães (1501 or 1510) and the ones of the Benedictine saints of Pombeiro (Felgueiras).



Church. Nave. North wall. Mural painting. *Epiphany*. Source: IHRU archive.

Paula Bessa's interpretation is quite different. According to this author, we are dealing with two overlapped painting layers: the one of the *Epiphany* that was painted over another one at the skirting's level (Bessa, 2008: 180). The latter, with a quatrefoil pattern similar to the one of Bravães, was certainly made in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century (Bessa, 2008: 181), so the author believes that the *Epiphany* dates back around 1630 (Bessa, 2008: 182).

Besides the above mentioned triumphal arch, which was surely transformed during the Modern Period, there are only a few elements left in this Church of the original liturgical furniture, characteristic of the post-Tridentine preaching and aesthetics: the pulpit and the altarpiece.

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and according to the chapters of the inspections filed under the inspections and inquiries collection of the district archive of Braga, there were several interventions carried out in Freixo de Baixo at the request of the clergymen from Braga. Since the clergymen of the convent of Saint Gonçalo, of Amarante, were responsible for the Church, they were the ones who received the larger number of warnings and recommendations regarding the status and conservation of the ecclesiastical assets. But the parishioners were also responsible for commissioning some works, as we'll see.

In 1798, the inquirer reminded the obligation of building a new altarpiece, mentioned in previous chapters, because the chancel had a "very old altarpiece that did not match its grandeur"<sup>5</sup>. This altarpiece could be the same one that was mentioned by priest Manuel Teixeira Barbosa in his memoir of 1758 while stating that the Church of Freixo de Baixo had three altars (the word is used in the document), "one in the chancel with the image of the Saviour, the patron saint, and a collateral one, on the Gospel side of the church's body, with the image of Our Lady of the Rosary, and on the Epistle side there is another altar with the image of Saint Anthony and the God Child" (Barbosa, 1758).

In the following year, the patrons were admonished again "for having little regard for the Chapters of the previous Inspection, since they only commissioned the application of flesh tones on the image of the Blessed Patron of this Church, and managed to get some torches, forgetting about all the rest". The parishioners, who were responsible for the preservation of the body of the Church, were not forgotten in this chapter: they were summoned by the Church's judge to commission the levelling and repair the nave's pavement, whose stones were "uneven and out of place"<sup>6</sup>.

Over the 20<sup>th</sup> century most of the Church's movable and integrated assets were removed, and only part of the National Baroque [style which develops during the reign of King João V (k. 1706 - 1750)] woodwork main altarpiece (whose throne, predella and frontal were recently replaced) and a few sculptures remain.

In 1758, the images displayed for worship were the one of the patron saint, the Saviour, the Virgin of the Rosary, Saint Anthony and the "God Child". In 1924, following the inventory of the worshiping assets determined by the Portuguese Republic, there were already six sculptures listed as part of the collection of the Church of Freixo de Baixo, one of the Saviour, another of

<sup>5</sup> ADB – Visitas e Devassas. Sousa & Ferreira (1.ª parte). Livro 117, fl. 21 v.º. Despite the qualification of grandeur, the Church had no tabernacle in 1726, as reported by Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 359).

<sup>6</sup> ADB – Visitas e Devassas. Sousa & Ferreira (1.ª parte). Livro 118, fl. 14 v.º.

Saint Sebastian, another of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and three images representing the Our Lady with her corresponding titles: of Sorrows, of Relief and of the Rosary<sup>7</sup>. This inventory does not mention the images of Saint Anthony and the Infant Jesus, though it is possible that the former may have been recently replaced by a small-sized sculpture (h. 43 cm) that is displayed on one of the corbels of the nave's north wall<sup>8</sup>.



Church. Chancel. Main altarpiece.

7 PORTUGAL. Ministério das Finanças – Secretaria-geral – Arquivo. Comissão Jurisdicional dos Bens Cultuais. Distrito do Porto. Concelho de Amarante. *Arrolamentos dos bens cultuais*. Igreja de Freixo de Baixo. Livro 67, fl. 67 (ACMF/Arquivo/CJBC/PTO/AMA/ARROL/016).

8 It was deemed as belonging to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and it is a piece with a vernacular expression (Azevedo, 1996: 75). Logged in the inventory of the diocese of Porto under record no. PM60.0004 (Costa, 2008).

#### CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

his parish church is in a good state of repair". This parish priest of "Saint Saviour of Freixo de Baixo", addresses the Director of Public Works of Porto on October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1864, with the following words<sup>9</sup>. The fact that in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century it was deemed that the Church was not in need of major works, unlike other buildings that were subject to the inquiry sent at the time to the parishes of the diocese of Porto, may explain why we only find further institutional information about the Church of the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo – which had already been considered by Francisco Craesbeeck as an "ancient (...) temple – in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 359).

We have already mentioned the plain nature of the Church, especially of its interior. But, on the contrary, we have also seen how the Church's interior was filled with objects in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As we'll see in a moment, this was a result of the intervention carried out in this building between 1941 and 1958 under the responsibility of the already extinct DGEMN, according to the integrationist model that was commonly practiced, as proven by the documentation published in DGEMN's bulletin no. 92 (1958).

We should note that Freixo de Baixo was first classified as National Monument in 1935<sup>10</sup>. In May 1933, the required procedures for its classification were already under way, "for the sake of this nation's artistic heritage"<sup>11</sup>.

In the following year, the monument's state of repair was considered "bad" by the specialized services, so it was deemed that "the religious services would have to be suspended"<sup>12</sup> in the short-term. It was already raining on the main altar and on the tabernacle<sup>13</sup>. So, the Church was in need of urgent repairs<sup>14</sup>. However, as far as we could ascertain, it was only in the 1940's that a particularly noticeable in-depth intervention was carried out.

Even the author of the information published in the bulletin regarding the description of the main works that were carried out admits that "they had to be major restoration works"<sup>15</sup>. In addition to the preparation of the terrain where the temple was standing – which included ground-levelling and drainage works – "the main focus was actually on the building's repair". Among the works that were carried out, we highlight the following ones:

9 Missiva de 14 de outubro de 1864. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3. Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante. 1864-1867.

10 DECREE no. 25513. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I. 138 (35-06-18) 884.

11 [Cópia de missiva enviada pelo Diretor Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais ao Sr. Secretário do Conselho Superior de Belas Artes], 4 de maio de 1933. [SIPA.TXT.00898958] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/026-0068 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT011301130007].

12 Ordem de Serviço n.º 1376 de 9 de março de 1936 [SIPA.TXT.00623776] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-1821 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT011301130007].

13 Missiva do Governo Civil do Porto, Ordem de Serviço n.º 155-A de 6 de março de 1936 [SIPA.TXT.00898964] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/026-0068. Idem. A petition that was filed by the parishioners of Freixo de Baixo still in 1940, addressed to Duarte Pacheco, mentions the fact that "it rains as hard inside the temple as out on the street, the timber of the altars, floors and roofs are rotting and God, in the tabernacle, is exposed to the adversities of the weather". [SIPA.TXT.00899011 e SIPA.TXT.00899012]. Idem.

14 Ordem de Serviço n.º 227 de 10 de março de 1936 [SIPA.TXT.00623777] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-1821. Idem.

15 [S.a] – Igreja de Freixo de Baixo. Boletim da Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais. N.º 92 (June 1958) 32-33.



Demolition and reconstruction works of the triumphal arch's gable and part of the north wall. Source: IHRU archive.

"III – The demolition and reconstruction of the triumphal arch's gable and of part of the north façade [which justifies the different colour of the granite, thus creating a scar].

IV – The raising of the bell tower's walls, according to the remains founds on the south wall and the restoration of the bell openings.

VI - The demolition of the old sacristy and its reconstruction.

VII – The break-out of plasters (...).

VIII – The demolition of the choir.

IX - The demolition of the sheds that were leaning against the Tower.

X – The reconstruction of the roof frames of the church and tower, which were covered with national double tile.

XI – The paving of the church, the churchyard and the tower's ground floor using granite masonry flagging.

XVII – The repair of the pulpit and the main altar, including the replacement of ruined elements.

XVIII – The installation of stained glass panels framed with lead on brass rings. XIX – The repair of several iron bars".

As it can be inferred from what was mentioned above, the intervention performed during the 1940's and 1950's in Freixo de Baixo was quite significant and transformed the building's legibility, especially through the removal of the interior plaster or the demolition of the choir. The options that were taken at the time not only changed the very image of the Church but also had obvious consequences in terms of the way we can experience it<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, the practice inherent to this intervention meets what was already being practiced since 1929 in the Romanesque churches that, at the time, were restored under the aegis of the "Estado Novo" [authoritarian regime installed in Portugal between 1926 and 1974] which, generally speaking, sought to restore, or rather, emphasize their primitive state, i.e., their nature as monuments of Medieval origin.



Church. Removal works of the interior plaster. Source: IHRU archive.

16 On the matter, please read Botelho (2012: 10-14).



Church. Demolition works of the high choir. Source: IHRU archive.

However, we believe that the choices that were made regarding the Church are more consistent with an installed restoration practice than with an actual reintegration's feeling. A memoir from June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1936, seeks to assess the conservation and restoration works required in the Church and tower of Freixo de Baixo<sup>17</sup>. At the time, it was deemed that the Church didn't have "any element that would recommend it to be admired by those who are interested in the artistic value of Monuments". Alleging the "authentic wailing" that it was subject to over time, it is further stated that in this Church "it is really not possible to proceed with a pure reintegration when most elements are missing and what exists is in a dreadful state".

Regarding the tower, which was being used as a "cattle shed"<sup>18</sup> in the early 1930s, there was a proposal for the urgent repair of its crown, as mentioned in paragraphs IX and X of inventory included in the DGEMN's Bulletin quoted above, with a view to "its reintegration into its primitive features as required"<sup>19</sup>.

Four years later, considering that the works had not yet begun, several signatories asked the then Minister of Public Works, Duarte Pacheco, to include in the budget for 1941 the necessary funds to carry out the required restoration works in the Medieval monastic complex of the parish of Freixo de Baixo<sup>20</sup>. Within this context, the praise given in 1940 by the population of the parish to the initiatives that were then being implemented for the sake of national monuments is nonetheless noteworthy<sup>21</sup>:



Church. Demolition works of the high choir. Source: IHRU archive.

"The work of the Government that, thanks to God's mercy, has been ruling this country since May 28<sup>th</sup>, has been at all great, and quite remarkable in what particularly regards the conservation and restoration of Portugal's magnificent artistic, architectural and historical heritage.

Hundreds of monuments have already been carefully restored and protected by the patriotic action of the Ministry whose office is very honourably held by Your Excellency. In this very municipality, the grand monastery of Travanca is a striking example of the beneficial and judicious governmental action".

As we can see, it was in 1941 that the works published seventeen years later in the DGEMN's Bulletin no. 92 actually began.

18 As far as we could ascertain, this situation persisted in 1942. An official letter sent by the Heritage Division of the Directorate-General for the Public Treasury includes a copy of a letter from the then parish priest which denounces the "vile sorrow" caused by the fact that the cowshed located on the tower's south side was still active. The one on the west side had already disappeared. The parish priest adds: "I was told that Mr. Engineer (I haven't been able to meet him yet) says that it will look great that way. I respect your opinion, but he certainly is not convinced that such will serve the National heritage. It is convenient to the master of the court, but art and heritage do cry: the former due to the undeserved contempt, the latter because of the misapplied money" [emphasis in source] (Cópia, Repartição do Património da Direção Geral da Fazenda Pública, 8 de julho de 1942 [SIPA.TXT.00899049 e SIPA.TXT.00899050] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/026-0068 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT011301130007]).

20 [Abaixo assinado], [outubro de 1940] [SIPA.TXT.00899009 a SIPA.TXT.00899012] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/026-0068. Idem. 21 Idem.

<sup>17</sup> Memória de 22 de junho de 1936 [SIPA.TXT.00898984 e SIPA.TXT.00898985] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/026-0068 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT011301130007].

<sup>19</sup> Memória de 22 de junho de 1936, Idem.

A special protection zone was created in 1971 through the Government Gazette no. 65 (2<sup>nd</sup> Series), on March 18<sup>th</sup> 1971, in order to extend the one that already existed since 1935. Still within the scope of the intervention that took place during the 1950's, the path that allowed accessing the Church by the north was lowered. That option was due to the fact that this "path [which] ran close to the Church was at a much higher level than the one of the internal pavement, which naturally caused large rainwater infiltrations, with all their inherent inconveniences"<sup>22</sup>.

Finally, we should note that it was within the scope of this intervention that the fresco painting depicting the scene of the *Epiphany* was detached; it was placed "approximately in the same location from where it had been pulled out"<sup>23</sup>. However, there are reports from 1965 informing us that "part of the chromatic layer is loose and a small fragment has even fallen out already"<sup>24</sup>. Five years later, there was a decision to transfer it temporarily to the José de Figueiredo Institute to be subject to a conservation intervention<sup>25</sup>.

In 2010, Freixo de Baixo became part of the Route of the Romanesque. So, it is within this context that several works have been recently planned, aimed at "improving the building and its surrounding area, as well as the churchyard" (Costa, 2012). [MLB / NR]

A conservation and restoration project of the mural painting *The Adoration of the Magi* (DRCN, 2014a) has also been planned, which also includes the built heritage – gilded wood and altarpiece accessories, figure sculptures and ecclesiastical furniture (DRCN, 2014b) – of this Church. [RR]

22 Memória, 30 junho 1950. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN/DM – DGEMN:DREMN-2491. 23 Ofício n.º 907 de 27 de agosto de 1965. Idem. 24 Idem.

25 Ofício n.º 1007 de 15 de setembro de 1970. Idem.

#### CHRONOLOGY

Before 1120: foundation of the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo;

1379: date inscribed in the funeral epigraph of prior Afonso;

1540: the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo is annexed to the convent of Saint Gonçalo of Amarante;

1758: there were three altars in the Church of Freixo de Baixo, the main altar and two collateral ones;

1864: the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo was in a good state of repair;

1935: the Church of Freixo de Baixo is classified as a National Monument;

1941: beginning of the restoration works;

1958: DGEMN's Bulletin no. 92 on the intervention in Freixo de Baixo is published;

1971: a special protection zone of the Church of Freixo de Baixo is defined;

2010: the Monastery of Freixo de Baixo becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque.

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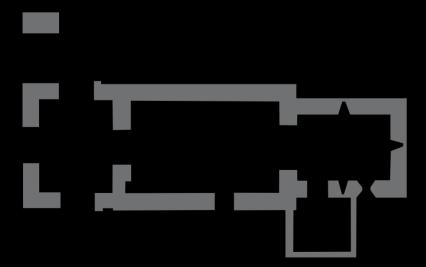
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# CHURCH OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST OF GATÃO AMARANTE



#### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

n the Middle Ages, the Church of Gatão seems to have been part of the vast "terra de Sousa", in which the Catalogue of Churches of 1320 includes it, taxing it in 80 Portuguese "libras" [former Portuguese currency unit] – an amount that is rather small when compared with the taxes paid by the neighbouring Churches of Telões (1500 "libras") or Feixo de Baixo (400 "libras") (Almeida & Peres, 1971), both in Amarante. In the subsequent reorganization that affected this borderline region (between bishoprics), it became part of the also vast territory of the municipality of Celorico de Basto.

Despite the reduced economic importance of the Church of Gatão (certainly a reflex of its small limits), it became an abbey and, throughout the Modern Period, there is some information that suggests an increase in its capital: in 1706 it yielded 200 thousand "réis" [former Portuguese currency unit], and in 1758 (Craesbeeck, 1992: 342) it yielded 500 thousand "réis", according to the parish priest João de Magalhães (Niza, 1767: 267). In early 18<sup>th</sup> century it didn't have a tabernacle, perhaps due to the fact that it served a relatively small number of major taxpayers (150 housing units in 1706 and 70 in 1767) (Costa, 1706-1712: 149; Niza, 1767: 267).

In 1758 it was still ecclesiastically and spiritually subject to the archbishopric of Braga<sup>1</sup>, while civilly and judicially it was subject to the district of Guimarães and the town of Celorico de Basto, of whose term the Marquis of Valença was the done. The patronage of the Church belonged to the Ordinary, i.e., to the bishop of Porto who presented the parish priest and collected the income, which amounted to the aforementioned 500 thousand "réis" (Magalhães, 1758).

Due to the diocesan reorganization of 1882, it was transferred from the archdiocese of Braga to the diocese of Porto (Igreja Católica, 1881).



General view.

1 At the time of the Inquiries of 1258 he was presented by the archbishop of Braga.

#### THE MONUMENT DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD: ROMANESQUE TRACES

solated from the town it served, the Church of Saint John the Baptist of Gatão is, in the words of Luís Urbano Afonso, a good example of the stylistic hybridity expressed by many of the rural Portuguese buildings from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (Afonso, 2009). The clearly Romanesque ornamental elements are juxtaposed with others that belong to later artistic periods, which eventually left a deep mark in the physiognomy and legibility of this specimen of religious architecture from Amarante.

This is a Church with a longitudinal plan composed of a galilee, a single nave and a quadrangular chancel. Regarding the volumes, in terms of the façades, although the galilee and nave have the same height, as if they were a single element, the chancel is lower than the latter.



East and north façades.

Therefore, the chevet is the only Romanesque element preserved with greater integrity. The back wall has a Romanesque flared crevice whose round arch is surrounded by a torus on the inside. On the Epistle side there are two clearly Modern large rectangular windows, which allow illuminating this internal space. It is also on this side that we find the access door to the sacristy. On the north façade there is a narrow crevice identical to the ones on the nave and on the apse's back wall. It is worth highlighting the cornice that, on both elevations of the chevet, is supported by a Lombard frieze. The south elevation is addorsed to the sacristy, which was built in a later period and is lit by two small rectangular windows; however, still reveals this typically Romanesque motif which appears in several monuments that were built in this period along the Sousa, Tâmega and Douro valleys: Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), Ferreira (Paços de Fer-



North façade. Chancel. Cornice.



Triumphal arch.

reira), Sousa and Airáes (Felgueiras) or Saint Martin of Mouros (Resende) are some examples. It was from the main façade of the old Coimbra cathedral that this motif was propagated across most Portuguese Romanesque buildings, taking on a peculiar position within what Manuel Monteiro called the "nationalized Romanesque" style (Monteiro, 1943): resting on flat corbels, the cornice above little arches stands out from this family of the Portuguese Romanesque style being associated with the upper end of side elevations.

The apse of Gatão stands out as an intimate and sheltered space and it is the result of the size and span of the triumphal arch that separates it from the nave. And it is precisely on this round arch that we find the most typical Romanesque elements in this building. According to Aarão de Lacerda (1937: 251) it is also "the most striking note of antiquity" of this Church from Amarante. Composed of two archivolts which are broken but faceted and smooth, it is surrounded by a chequered frieze. The inner archivolt rests on two columns, whose short and thick frustum shows two impressive carved capitals, in a composition formed by vegetal and winding motifs, although, because they're different, the ones on Epistle side reveal more careful stonework. These capitals are original, but rather late, although comparable to the ones from the cloister of the collegiate of Guimarães (Almeida, 1978: 226). The torus-shaped imposts extend as a frieze along the nave's back wall. The bulb-shaped bases of the columns have a plinths decorated with geometrical motifs.

Despite the fact that it was visibly transformed during the Modern Period, the nave still reveals its Medieval origin. In addition to the narrow crevices - two on each side - that allow



illuminating the interior, on the south side there is a simple portal with a slightly broken arch but devoid of any decorative element. Its structure may well be an indication of a late chronology for the design of the Medieval construction of Gatão. Halfway up this façade, an eave and a few protruding ashlars, much like modillions, suggest the existence of a porch-like structure which, at some point, disappeared. On this side, we should also note the differences in terms of the way how the ashlars that embody the wall were cut, which provide evidence, either of the existence of multiple building campaigns, or of the marks left by the deep transformations underwent by Gatão over the centuries.

Both of the nave's elevations have an arch at the end, whose Classical matrix is evidenced by the lines of the impost. Providing a lateral access to the galilee, its keystone shows a mascaron which also has a Classic origin and is identical to the one that completes the main façade's keystone.



Galilee

### In the transition from the Middle Ages to Modernity

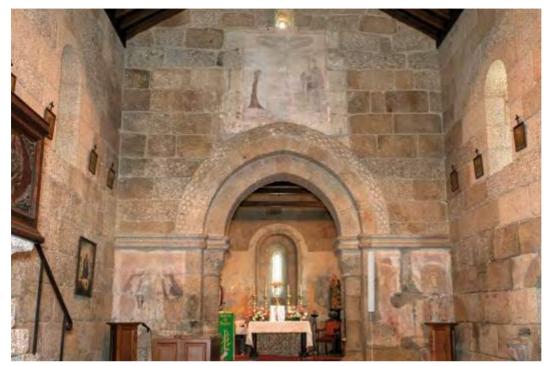
uoting João de Castro<sup>2</sup>, "one of the most important signs of nobility of the Church of Gatão is, as we know, the collection of frescoes that adorn some of its interior walls" (Castro, 1951: 9). A campaign which dates back to the late 15<sup>th</sup> century left us six mural painting panels, whose discovery in the 1930's has been ascribed to the parish priest Manuel Couto (Correia et al., 1936-1960: 226). Aarão de Lacerda was the first one to publish them in 1937. The existing paintings are distributed along the nave's front wall and the chancel's back wall. Considering their plastic characteristics, they are the result of the same campaign, suggesting a relatively early chronology given their pronounced archaism (Afonso, 2009: 351).

In the nave, the murals are painted above the probable level of the "outside altars" and were most certainly associated with them (Bessa, 2008: 192). On the Gospel side there is a representation allusive to the *Coronation of the Virgin*, accompanied by angels, with the Child. Luís Urbano Afonso highlights the empirical way in which the ornaments are created and the notion of volume shown in the Virgin's draperies (Afonso, 2009: 352). On the Epistle side we see a representation of a series of saints, formed by *Saint Lucia* (very damaged and almost halved), *Saint Sebastian* (attached to a column and spiked by arrows) and *Saint Catherine* (together with her attributes, the wheel of martyrdom and a 15<sup>th</sup> century sword with a bulbous pommel) (Bessa, 2008: 192); they are all facing forward, each within an architectural structure, defining an arcade with rather slender small columns sheltered by dome covered with scale-shaped shingles (Afonso, 2009: 352). Every saint corresponds to a type of pavement: the female saints are standing on a pavement formed by lozenge-shaped off-white tiles and their background is a yellowish wall, while *Saint Sebastian* is standing on a space paved with yellow square tiles.

In general, these hagiographic representations don't create any sense of spatial depth, presenting the figures against the background without any kind of transition (Afonso, 2009: 352) The figures are schematic in terms of design and modelling, and the existence of a model to draw their facial elements (eyes/nose/mouth) is particularly noticeable (Afonso, 2009: 352), especially in the case of faces depicted in three-quarter views. Both Paula Bessa and Luís Urbano Afonso agree in identifying important similarities between these paintings and the ones that have been ascribed to the workshop based in Valadares (Baião) or Saint Nicholas (Marco de Canaveses): they show the same type of design, the same way of treating the angel's clothes, diamond-shaped pavements and the quatrefoil motif (Bessa, 2008: 193; Afonso, 2009: 353-356).

On the axis of the triumphal arch there is a painting that may be dated back to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century which represents a *Calvary*, although it was extremely repainted (Afonso, 2009: 352). Christ appears together with the Virgin and Saint John. As highlighted

<sup>2</sup> The several "Historical News" published in DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments]'s Bulletins until 1955 were certainly written by this playwright, a fact that is also proven by the Directorate-General's administrative processes (Grilo, 1999: 4).



Triumphal arch. Wall. Mural painting.



Wall on the Gospel side. Coronation of the Virgin.



Wall on the Epistle side. Saint Lucia, Saint Sebastian and Saint Catherine of Alexandria.

by Paula Bessa, this painting is one of the few surviving cases that results from a persistent determination to paint images depicting a *Calvary* with Our Lady and Saint John above the triumphal arch, as decided in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century inspections that are kept in the archbishopric of Braga (Bessa, 2008: 194).

There are still mural paintings from an earlier campaign on the chancel's back wall. The central position was occupied by the depiction of *Saint John the Baptist*, which was detached during the restoration intervention carried out by the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments] in the Church of Gatão, as a result of the option of exposing the Romanesque axial crevice; in fact, this criterion was usually followed in this type of interventions. We may recall the example of the Church of Saint Isidore of Canaveses (Marco de Canaveses), which is located nearby. Because the central panel of this composition depicts the Church's patron saint, it was taller and wider than the other images; it was painted on a niche defined by the middle of the arch and opened on the chancel's back wall, where the axial crevice had once been (Afonso, 2009: 353).

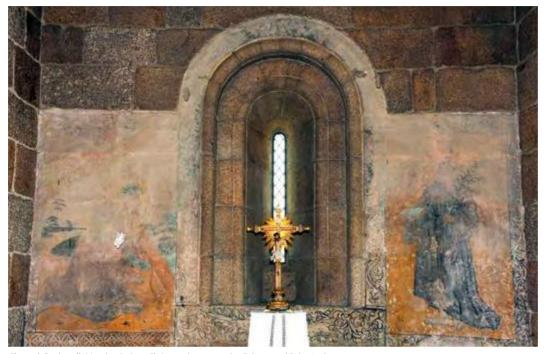
The photos taken before the detachment of the panel of *Saint John the Baptist* show that the original composition was conceived as a fake triptych, framed by a decorative stripe formed by acanthus foliages painted in grey (Afonso, 2009: 353). These formed a sort of altarpiece in the Romanesque chevet. Luís Urbano Afonso mentions the fact that there is still part of an inscription that belonged to this composition, which merely identified the depicted theme; it is placed just below the lower limit of the figures but, unfortunately, it cannot be fully read, both due to the wear of the painting and to the dirt that covers it. The composition was described by



Triumphal arch and chancel. Mural painting before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. *Calvary* and *Saint John the Baptist*. Source: IHRU archive.



Triumphal arch. Top of the wall. Mural painting. Calvary.



Chancel. Back wall. Mural painting. Christ on the way to the Calvary and Saint Anthony.

Aarão de Lacerda, who examined it *in loco* in 1937, with the following words: "it is the Saint in the desert, wearing furs from which there are bones hanging to keep them straight – he is holding the little lamb over a book on his left hand and his right hand is pointing as a symbol that should be worshiped... Around him, above the torus-shaped frame and the base, there is a decoration with Renaissance motifs" (Lacerda, 1937: 254-255).

On the side of the Epistle, *Saint Anthony* is wearing his Franciscan habit and holding a fleurde-lis and the Child on a book. At the bottom of this fresco there is the following inscription, which is already incomplete: "ORA...NOBIS...B...ANTONI (...)" (Lacerda, 1937: 257). At the other end there is a scene depicting *Christ on the way to the Calvary*; here He is represented as one who seeks to raise the cross, with a severely wounded face where, under the crown of thorns, we can barely distinguish His painful eyes (Lacerda, 1937: 252). At the bottom, under the edging of fake Hispano-Arabic tiles, we may read the following inscription: "HVMILIA-VIT SEMETPM VSQUE AD MORTEM" (Bessa, 2008: 190)<sup>3</sup>. In this panel there is a stripe with a chain of metal rings (Bessa, 2008: 191).

The western façade is, plastically speaking, an element that results from a campaign conducted in the Modern Period, despite its clear artistic moderation. Quoting Aaráo de Lacerda, "we could consider it a small 17<sup>th</sup>-century temple, quite discrete, if we look at it like this, just from the front..." (Lacerda, 1937: 250). The whitewash on the walls that surround the voussoirs of the round arch, which allows accessing the inside of the galilee, stands out from the ensemble. Here we also see the same mascaron that closes the arches of the lateral accesses, which we've

<sup>3</sup> This incomplete expression alludes to the verse of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Philippians (Ph 2, 8): "Humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis" (He humiliated himself, and was obedient until his death, a death on the cross).



West façade.

already mentioned. Above this arch there is an oculus. The façade is surmounted by a broken pediment, topped by Baroque pinnacles on the angles and displaying simple granite cross at the centre. There is a double belfry addorsed to north section of this façade, which also has a cross and is topped by pinnacles on the angles. On the lower section of the bell tower there is a round arch that allows accessing the Church's lateral façade through the churchyard.

Inside the galilee there is a wooden roof that shelters a simple portal formed by two slightly broken archivolts supported directly on the wall. On the observer's right we see a simple holy water font hanging from the wall.

Returning to the Church's interior, we should highlight a sculpture of the Virgin of the Rosary, one of the last remains of the integrated assets that used to fill the ecclesiastical space. Following the rehabilitation of the frescoes and the DGEMN's purist interventions from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, all the altarpieces were demolished. Thus, from the description of 1758, only the images remain: "the Church has three altars: the Main Altar and two Collateral [sic], in the middle of the Main Altar there is the sacrarium of the Holy Sacrament, and one the side of the Gospel there is the full-body image of Saint John, in the collateral [sic] Altar on the Gospel side is Our Lady of the Rosary, also in full-body, and in the other Collateral on the Epistle side is the Child JESUS". The full-body sculpture mentioned by priest João de Magalhães while describing the collateral altar on the Gospel side may be the one that is still displayed to worship on a plinth in the chancel. This is an upholstered and flesh-tinted sculpture in polychrome wood that represents a standing Virgin carrying the Infant Jesus in her arms; leaning on His Mother's left hand, he seems to be blessing the devotees who address them.



North façade. Galilee and bell tower.



West façade. Galilee and portal

Traditionally, the Virgin of the Rosary is recognized by having this prayer-supporting element, which is so appreciated by the Dominicans, hanging from her hand (usually the right one). However, this is a model of the Virgin with Child that moves away from the common iconography of the rosary and depicts a typology of invocations marked by attributes such as the rose or the pomegranate, symbols of purity and fertility that accompanied the dissemination of Marian worships throughout the Middle Ages and the early Modern Period. So, considering the iconography, and despite the good ornamental work that is already announcing the Baroque lavishness of damask draperies in full-body upholstered images, this is still a 17<sup>th</sup>century work of art<sup>4</sup>.

When the 1924 inventory was drawn up, following the Republican decrees that defined the Church-State relations in the First Republic, the number of mobile assets reflected a reduced and poor collection: an image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; an image of Saint Anthony; an image of Saint John the Baptist; a large-sized image of Our Lady of the Rosary, as well as a small-sized one; a missal; two cabinets to store vestments; three metal crosses; six flower vases; a yellow metal vase; a yellow metal thurible; four chasubles with the corresponding maniples and stoles<sup>5</sup>.

To Gatão, to its Church and the cemetery opposite the temple will always be associated with the figure of Teixeira de Pascoaes, who is buried here. He was born in São Gonçalo, Amarante, on November 2<sup>nd</sup> 1877 and died at home in Outeiro, on December 12<sup>th</sup> 1952.

Called Joaquim Pereira Teixeira de Vasconcelos, he was excelled in the areas of literature and philosophical discussion within the turbulent atmosphere experienced in Portugal during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was one of the most prominent essayists, poets and mystic writers within the cultural scene in Portugal during the first contemporary period, whose end is associated by a few authors with his death. Feliciano Ramos described him as a poetic visionary (Ramos, 1958: 853), whose work had similarities with the metaphysical and spiritual density of António Nobre and Guerra Junqueiro, despite the fact that he only shared the ideal of homeland with the latter because, as far as political regimens were concerned, they were on opposite sides. The son of a fervent monarchist, a peer of the Kingdom, Teixeira de Pascoaes kept his love to the Crown, combining it with the struggle he always waged against rationalism and atheism and singing the world where he lived and died, under the shade of the Marão mountain.

<sup>4</sup> Therefore, we cannot agree with the date provided by the entry found in the inventory of the diocese of Porto (Inventory no. PM80.0003) that suggests the chronology 1701-1750 (Costa, 2008). By way of example, we believe that the Virgin of the Rosary of Gatão presents similar techniques, materials and iconography to the ones of the image of the Virgin and Child from the parish of Resende (Paredes de Coura), which dates back precisely to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Tedim, 2002: 10).

<sup>5</sup> PORTUGAL. Ministério das Finanças – Secretaria-geral – Arquivo. Comissão Jurisdicional dos Bens Cultuais. Distrito do Porto. Concelho de Amarante. *Arrolamentos dos bens cultuais*. Igreja de Gatão. *1924-08-4*. Liv. 67, fl. 78-80. ACMF/Arquivo/CJBC/PTO/AMA/ARROL/019.



#### CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

n 1864, the parish priest of Gatão, Domingos Alves da Silva, in response to the inquiry conducted by the diocese of Porto, mentions the antiquity of the "Church of Saint John the Baptist of Gatão or Hagatão"<sup>6</sup>. The information provided by the parish priest is scarse: besides mentioning the Church's "Gothic taste" and good state of repair he adds nothing about its foundation.

One of the crucial years for the valorisation of the heritage of the Church of Gatão was 1937 when, as we've already mentioned, following the discovery of the frescoes by Father Manuel Couto, Aarão de Lacerda published a report about them in the Prisma magazine<sup>7</sup>. It was precisely the discovery of these frescoes that triggered the intention to classify this Church of Amarante as a National Monument. The official letter addressed by the architect Baltazar de Castro to the engineer Henrique Gomes da Silva, the Director-General for National Buildings and Monuments, the former makes a plea in favour of the classification of the Church of Gatão and its frescoes, which are described as "precious"<sup>8</sup>. In the following year, the proposal for the classification of the Church of Gatão, "including the fresco paintings that decorate the walls", had already obtained a favourable report from the National Board for Education<sup>9</sup>. Despite its "*naïve* simplicity, and the fact that its construction is so disrupted", it was considered that the "worth" of Gatão "is the result of a few "affresco" paintings that decorated the Church during the 16<sup>th</sup> century and that it still keeps, despite the misfortunes it went through, thanks to the noble and loving interest of the parish abbot"<sup>10</sup>. So, through Decree no. 30762, published in the Government Gazette no. 225, of September 26th, 1940, the Church of Gatão, together with its frescoes, was classified as a National Monument. This classification created the necessary conditions for its preservation, which included, precisely, an in-depth restoration intervention.

"The ruinous state of the Church of Gatão, despite being serious and covering almost the entire building, was not externally revealed by any major, or even clearly visible, damages when the DGEMN began the preliminary studies that always precede the complex works required by the restoration of the oldest historical buildings" (Castro, 1951: 15). However this was not the opinion of the parish priest Manuel da Silva Couto who, alluding to "worshiping difficul-

6 Silva, Domingos Alves da – Missiva (sem data) [1864]. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3. Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante. 1864-1867.

7 In fact, we should note that when the author visited the Church in the previous year, "the paintings were still hidden by the altars, both in the nave, and in the chancel, and only the one above the triumphal arch was visible" (Lacerda, 1937: 252).

8 Ofício n.º 1264 de 11 de julho de 1939 [SIPA.TXT.00898617] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0061 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [Nº IPA PT011301160008]. Here we should note the praise made by Aarão de Lacerda to the interest that these two men – one acting as Director-General and the other acting as Director of National Monuments – had been showing in the fresco within the scope of "an already long series of restorations which is well worth highlighting within the context of Portuguese contemporary Archaeology, so practical in its protective action" (Lacerda, 1937: 259). It is within this context that the frescoes have been actively protected, due to actions that are unavoidably associated with José de Figueiredo, who also drew the Country's attention to them.

9 Ofício n.º 107, livro A-2 da Junta Nacional de Educação de 6 de abril de 1940 [SIPA.TXT.00898619]. Idem. 10 Parecer da Junta Nacional de Educação, 1.ª subseção – 6.ª Secção de 12 de abril de 1940 [SIPA.TXT.00898621].



Nave before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive

ties" and to the visible danger faced by the frescoes, calls for the urgent need to carry out the "already promised" internal and external repairs<sup>11</sup>. This was March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1941. In the following month, Baltazar de Castro draws the responsible departments' attention to the need of carrying out "major works", given the monument's poor state of repair<sup>12</sup>. And, although these may be expensive, "an expenditure that is not proportional to the temple's artistic and historical value, the value of its frescoes requires the conduction of works (...) for their preservation"<sup>13</sup>.

The memoir regarding the intervention of reconstruction, cleaning, restoration and treatment of the frescoes of the Church of Gatão [Obras de reconstrução, limpeza, restauro e tratamento dos frêscos da Igreja de Gatão - Amarante]14 dates back to July 26th, 1941. Based on the building's poor state of repair, the required works were then itemized; these included the reconstruction of the external sacristy, which had a slightly offset position when compared to the existing one (although there was a decision to lower its walls instead, "to free the Lombard arches found on the chancel's cornice" (Castro, 1951: 22)); improving the access to the high choir building a new staircase on the inside and using the service staircase that already existed on the outside, "embedded on the front end of the nave's lateral wall"; this wall was supposed to be repaired (but there was a decision to demolish an old staircase instead, "which allowed accessing the choir, through the galilee's (south) lateral wall" (Castro, 1951: 22)). Besides a general improvement of the Church's liturgical equipment, which included the pulpit (that was provided with a new wooden parapet) or the design of a new wooden cabinet for the choir, it was simultaneously decided to remove the "simple wooden altars that flanked the triumphal arch" to the outside of the Church, due to the lack of appropriate conditions; the same happened to the chancel's altar, "which was also made of wood and belonged to the same type, in order to free the primitive granite altar whose table still remains intact"15.

As we may infer, the restoration carried out in the Church of Gatão was quite purist. As explained by João de Castro – the author of the text published in the DGEMN's Bulletin regarding this intervention –, the restoration allowed retrieving "a constructive unity that was necessary for the (...) conservation and aesthetic dignity of this building", which had irretrievably lost its "architectural unity" long ago. We believe that the fact that this speech appears in 1951 in a work with clear informative purposes is extremely important. As it is known, the strong political criticism made by Manuel Mendes to the "work of pure scenography" that the DGEMN had been carrying out in the castles, which he considered a heresy, comparing the placement of merlons on the castle's walls with "dentures" (Mendes, 1949)<sup>16</sup> dates back to

12 Ofício n.º 1135, de 23 de abril de 1941 [SIPA.TXT.00898626 e SIPA.TXT.00898627]. Idem.

13 Idem.

14 Memória de 26 de julho de 1941 [SIPA.TXT.00898659 a SIPA.TXT.00898655]. PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0061 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301160008].

15 Idem.

16 This comparison, made by a member of the central committee of the Opposition Candidacy's services during a rally organized in Porto to support General Norton de Matos, was intended as a reply to the propagandist intents of the regime that were embodied in the Exhibitions of the 15 years of Public Works, which were held in Lisbon, in 1948, and in Porto, in the following year. The opposition replied to the criticism of the Minister for Public Works with an extensive article published in *República*, in which the State is accused of spending large sums of money on a project that was "improvised and, therefore,

<sup>11</sup> Couto, Manuel da Silva – Missiva de 13 de março de 1941 [SIPA.TXT.00898625] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0061 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301160008].

1949. We believe that, although in a different context, it is not a coincidence that, in this Bulletin from 1951, the "constructive unity" is opposed to the architectural unity, claiming also that the DGEMN did not intend to rebuild the Church of Gatão as "it would have been originally, because that would be the same as deceiving, with the law of fantasy itself (erudite or not), the law of historical truth – that is, masking the true monument with a fake one" (Castro, 1951: 20). Further confirming this change of attitude in the official discourse of the DGEMN<sup>17</sup>, we now see the monument being accepted "just like it was left by countless Portuguese generations who, in different periods, rebuilding it well or not, have commendably contributed to its conservation". We believe that, for this reason, the intervention in Gatão deserves to be in the annals of the history of the restoration and conservation of built heritage in Portugal.

Here we should note that, during the execution of these works, the same parish priest of Gatão, Manuel da Silva Couto, addressed the responsible services with a rather original proposal for his time<sup>18</sup>. Taking advantage of the building work atmosphere that the Church of Gatão was experiencing by then, the parish priest requests an expansion of the Church, asking if "the main portal could be moved forward and form a façade according to the church's style. The church's body would become too long in proportion to its width and to the chancel. But couldn't there be, for example, an inscription justifying this anomaly for worshiping needs?". The parish priest claimed the need to have space for the devotees and that priority should be given "first of all, to worship, which is the purpose of the church". Understandably, this request was not fulfilled.

Let's return to the intervention itself. The frescoes in Gatão were an element of paramount importance for the implementation of the process to protect the building. In fact, in 1941, the removal of the frescoes to a museum was even considered in order to avoid any intervention in the Church (Tomé, 1998: 167). That didn't happen. Despite the fact that most of the discovered paintings were been preserved in situ, it was nevertheless decided "to detach and relocate the fresco found the altarpiece of Saint John the Baptist, with no further damages, to another wall of the temple and, in addition, to restore, by reopening the unused crevice-window, the chancel's primitive features" (Castro, 1951: 11). First of all, we should note that this decision was surely made after the memoir of 1941, which states that "the front crevice on the chancel's wall shall remain walled-up on the inside because of the fresco that covers it, in order to allow the installation of a stained glass panel on the outside"19. We weren't able to ascertain when the decision to detach the central image of the triptych painted on the chevet's back wall was made. The truth is that, according to information from 1951, after the appropriate "improvement works, the image of the Precursor reappeared, without any deformity in its original frame, and was placed in the nave, close to the baptistery" (Castro, 1951: 11). But currently we no longer find it there. In 1953 its condition was already deteriorated: "a large part of its surface was damaged by spots that look like mould to such an extent that, at the time, it was no longer possible

arguable". About this issue of the "criticism to the precepts that were practiced and to the situation of the national artistic heritage" please read Neto (2001: 258-270).

<sup>17</sup> For further development on this matter, please read Botelho (2010: 338).

<sup>18</sup> Couto, Manuel da Silva – Missiva de 27 outubro 1942. IRHU/ Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN/DM – DGEMN: DREMN-2492. 19 Memória de 26 de julho de 1941 [SIPA.TXT.00898659 a SIPA.TXT.00898655]. PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0061 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301160008].

to clearly observe part of the painting<sup>"20</sup>. The inconvenience of its placement close to the water from the font was even accepted. Another document, dated from early 1969, mentions its poor state of repair once again, which no longer allowed the identification of any chromatic layer since the entire panel had the appearance of a dark spot by then<sup>21</sup>. At that time, the possibility of recovering this fresco was discussed, although it was decided that the mobile brigade of the Institute of José de Figueiredo should look at it on site<sup>22</sup>.

Thus, the "Technical Information" of the Report written by the brigade that visited Gatão, dated February 21st, 1969, confirms this diagnosis: the Church's frescoes were "in a very bad condition" at the time, and the same was happening with the fresco "that had already been displaced and attached to a new fibre-cement support"23. The documents attached to the report are more explicit when they mention its degree of decay: "the entire lower section of the image has almost completely disappeared, although, on the upper section, both the face and body still preserve a bit of their drawing and even several expression details"<sup>24</sup>. After the conduction of the necessary laboratory tests, the Institute's technicians considered that the frescoes of Gatáo needed to be cleaned and fixed. After the consolidation of four mural paintings, it was informed that, on September 15th, 1970, the restored fresco, i.e., the one that depicts the image of Saint John the Baptist and was located on the nave, close to the font, had returned to the Institute<sup>25</sup>. On September 20th, 1970, the Directorate-General for Higher Education and Fine Arts authorized the transfer of the fresco to the Institute of José de Figueiredo, as well as its restoration<sup>26</sup>. The frescoes that remained *in loco* were then fixed – the ones on the chancel with water and lime injections, and the ones on the nave's front wall were also fixed with water and lime injections plus lime water and small amounts of plaster<sup>27</sup>. In 1977, another Institute of José de Figueiredo brigade returned to Gatão and confirmed that the frescoes required further restoration works (Almeida & Pessoa, 1977).

Finally, in 1985, an explanation was provided: the Institute of José de Figueiredo concluded that the fresco of *Saint John the Baptist* was impossible to recover, given the irreversible nature of the materials used during the restoration works carried out in the 1940's and taking into account that the remaining areas of true original work were already too small<sup>28</sup>. So, recommending that it shouldn't be displayed to the public, neither in the Church, nor in a Museum,

<sup>20</sup> Ofício [ilegível], 3 de abril de 1953. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN/DM – DGEMN:DREMN-2492.

<sup>21</sup> Ofício n.º 251, Proc.º P. 21 de 3 de fevereiro de 1969 [SIPA.TXT.00900718] PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/026-0104 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [Nº IPA PT011301160008]. In fact, we should note that in 1937 Aarão de Lacerda (1937: 255) had already mentioned its "extremely deteriorated state, from the landscape, which was mistreated, to the image of the Precursor, whose face is almost vanished, but reveals signs of a careful painting work".

<sup>22</sup> Ofício da Direção-Geral do Ensino Superior e das Belas-Artes de 26 de março de 1969 [SIPA.TXT.00900720]. Idem.

<sup>23</sup> PORTUGAL. Instituto de Museus e Conservação – Biblioteca Central – Cabral, Teresa – Relatório, 21-2-1969. Processo de Brigada Móvel de Pintura Mural – Gatão. Pasta 340. 1969.

<sup>24</sup> PORTUGAL. Instituto de Museus e Conservação – Biblioteca Central – [Brigada Móvel do Instituto José de Figueiredo, 2-Junho70].

<sup>25</sup> PORTUGAL. Instituto de Museus e Conservação – Biblioteca Central – Cabral, Teresa – Relatório, 21-2-1969. Processo de Brigada Móvel de Pintura Mural – Gatão. Pasta 340. 1969.

<sup>26</sup> Ofício da Direção-Geral do Ensino Superior e das Belas-Artes de 20 de julho de 1970 [SIPA.TXT.00900723]. Idem.

<sup>27 [</sup>Brigada Móvel do Instituto José de Figueiredo, 2-Junho70, manuscrito, sem assinatura]. Idem.

<sup>28</sup> Ofício PMO-5 do Instituto José de Figueiredo de 19 de maio de 1985. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN/DM – DGEMN:DREMN-2492. Idem.

as usual in these cases, it was suggested that the parish priest should keep it in a "moist-free place"<sup>29</sup>. However, the then parish priest didn't show any "interest in receiving the fresco in that condition"<sup>30</sup>. In 2004, the fresco was still in the facilities of the Instituto Português de Conservação e Restauro [Portuguese Institute for Conservation and Restoration]<sup>31</sup>.

Let's return to the 1940s. One of the most extensive interventions that were necessary to carry out was the full replacement of the Church's roofing system. The memoir of 1941 mentions the complete reconstruction of the roofs, including new wooden planking as part of the intervention. However, during this work stage, it was felt that there was the need to demolish and rebuild the Church "halfway up the nave's (south) lateral wall", taking that opportunity to replace the large window that had been opened in the Modern Period "with two properly located crevices" (Castro, 1951: 22). Besides the consequent change in terms of the elevation's legibility, this intervention becomes even more significant due to the fact that it gave rise to a protest by the parish priest of Gatão. On December 14th, 1942, Father Manuel da Silva Couto mentions the fact that the work had been suspended<sup>32</sup>. Considering that only the foundations for the new wall had been made, the Church "was going through the winter in this state", without roof tiles and with a demolished chapel, since October. According to an explanation given by the architect Baltazar de Castro, that interruption was due to the fact that the funds required for the roof repair works had been channelled to the demolition of the nave's south wall, which was threatening to collapse<sup>33</sup>. Besides, the purchase of wood for the roof frame drained the initial allocation. The granting of a new financial allocation allowed the works to be quickly resumed (Tomé, 1998: 167). The Bulletin that recorded these works was published in 1951 (Castro, 1951).

The Church's electrical wiring is installed in 1966<sup>34</sup>. The initiative behind that intervention was taken by the new parish priest of Gatão, José Augusto de Sousa Marques, who mentioned "the advantages for the devotees, during the acts of worship, and the fact that, in this way, certain parts of its interior, which not even the sunlight can illuminate, would draw the visitors' attention"<sup>35</sup>. However, the comment made by the parish priest regarding the dimness that had filled the interior of the Church of Gatão until then, giving it a "heavier, nobler atmosphere, more consonant with its centuries-old age" is nonetheless interesting.

In the second half of the 1970s, several conservation works were carried out, including the construction of new doors, the cleaning of the roofs and the reconstruction of mortars on the main façade<sup>36</sup>. Several works were also carried out in the monument's protection zone, namely

29 Idem.



Nave after the intervention carried out by the DGEMN. Source: IHRU archive.

<sup>30</sup> Ofício PMO-57 do Instituto José de Figueiredo de 16 de janeiro de 1986. Idem.

<sup>31</sup> Ofício PMO057 de 4 de outubro de 2004. Idem.

<sup>32</sup> Couto, Manuel da Silva – Missiva de 14 de dezembro de 1942 [SIPA.TXT.00898709] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0061 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301160008].

<sup>33</sup> Ofício n.º 13, 2 de janeiro de 1943 [SIPA.TXT.00624459] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-1823/3. Idem.

<sup>34</sup> Memória descritiva de 30 de junho de 1966 [SIPA.TXT.00900692 e SIPA.TXT.00900691] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0104 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301160008].

<sup>35</sup> Marques, José Augusto de Sousa – Missiva de 25 de janeiro de 1966 [SIPA.TXT.00900694 e SIPA.TXT.00900695]. Idem. 36 Memória de março de 1976 [SIPA.TXT.00900745]. Idem.

in the parish residence and in the cemetery, which was expanded<sup>37</sup>. In the 1990s the Church of Gatão was already in need of a new plaster coating<sup>38</sup>.

Within the scope of the integration of the Church of Gatão in the Route of the Romanesque, in 2010, we now witness the development of a new intervention project for this Church of Amarante (Costa, 2012). [MLB / NR]

A conservation and restoration project of the mural painting in the chancel and triumphal arch (DRCN, 2014a) has also been planned, which also includes the built heritage – figure sculptures and ecclesiastical furniture (DRCN, 2014b) – of this Church. [RR]

13th-14th centuries: proposed chronology for the construction of the parish Church of Gatão;

1320: the Church of Gatão paid a tax of 80 Portuguese "libras";

Late 15th century: mural painting campaign in the Church of Gatão;

1758: there were three woodwork altarpieces in Gatão;

1864: the state of repair of the Church of Gatão is considered "good";

1882: due to the diocesan reorganization, Gatão was transferred from the archdiocese of Braga to the diocese of Porto;

1937: Father Manuel da Silva Couto warns about the existence of mural paintings in the Church;

1940: classification of the Church of Gatão as a National Monument;

1941-1951: major restoration campaign;

2010: integration of the Church of Gatão in the Route of the Romanesque.

<sup>37</sup> PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0104 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301160008].

<sup>38</sup> Marques, José Augusto de Sousa – Missiva, 18 de janeiro de 1996 [SIPA.TXT.00900784]. Idem.

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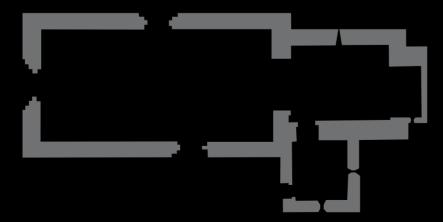
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# CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF GONDAR AMARANTE

# CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF GONDAR AMARANTE



### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

ocated halfway up the slope, overlooking the river Ovelha, the small Church of Gondar<sup>1</sup>, which is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is the symbol of the long and complex historical background of most of the parish churches that have marked the Portuguese landscape and territory. Its foundation results both from piety and political reasons, together with the intervention of specific individuals and families regarding the organization of their territorial power. If the Church, as an institution, managed to gradually take over these structures and the entire economic and social apparatus arising from them, then it is certain that, at the very beginning, these were the centre of a series of private properties. Although this private church status is inherent to the foundation of most mother churches in the region, very few contain the importance and the significance of the lineage and the name associated with the Christianization process and the control of a social and geographic perimeter like Gondar. As narrated by Francisco Craesbeeck (1992), the surname Gondar or "Gundar" echoed for centuries as a sign of power and dominance, and this family was deemed responsible for the foundation of the Church and its corresponding monastery that, initially, like many of its type, was probably a simple retreat. This was, firstly, the retreat of the daughters from the founder's family<sup>2</sup>, whose rights prevailed for centuries over some subsidiaries and affiliates such as Lufrei and Santa Madalena, both in Amarante, which the 18th century chronicler calls "mosteirinhos" [little monasteries] (Craesbeeck, 1992: 97)<sup>3</sup>.

Between the 13<sup>th</sup> century – when the inquiries refer the "milites" [knights] of Gundar as patrons of the Benedictine monastery – and the 17<sup>th</sup> century – when the abbey presented the miter and commendation of the Order of Christ – its changes reflect the not always easy balance between the spiritual and the temporal powers. Some abbesses are mentioned: Teresa Lourenço, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Craesbeeck, 1992: 97), Ouroana, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and Inês Borges, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, who was probably the last nun<sup>4</sup>. In 1455, the bishop Fernando da Guerra (episc. 1417-1467), intending to give expression to a rehabilitation of the spaces and to the moralization of decaying churches and monasteries, extinguished it and handed it over to the secular power<sup>5</sup>. Its first parish priest, Pedro Afonso, perhaps wishing to provide the Church with a new devotional expression, offered the seated breastfeeding Virgin, in 1470, a sculpture that became a totemic element for the community.

The income associated with the new Church led its benefit to be used in a commendation at the service of the King and the Order of Christ. One of the first records, written in 1548 during the gov-

<sup>1</sup> Gondar or Gundar? Although the contemporary spelling is Gondar, Father Domingos Moreira records Gundar as toponym that was used between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Moreira, 1985-1986; 61-158).

<sup>2</sup> As Mário Barroca (1998: 99) refers: "therefore, we are faced with another case of a monastic foundation headed by a family from the small or medium nobility that became closely associated with the new monastery, because it owned the patronage rights, because one of the daughters was sent to profess there, and because it was chosen to become the family pantheon, where its dead relatives would be buried".

<sup>3</sup> Friar Leão de São Tomás (1651) calls them priories and Father Carvalho da Costa (1708: 124) as subject monasteries.

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;A professed nun of the monastery of Rio Tinto, diocese of Porto, and the sister of Friar Gonçalo Borges, the commendatory abbot of São Miguel de Refojos de Basto; she was invested in this position [as an Abbess] on June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1452" (Marques, 1981: 37). 5 Together with Lufrei and Fonte Arcada, both in Amarante (Marques, 1981: 37).

ernment of Jaime (the son of Jaime, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Bragança) allows knowing the contents and the extent of the assets from the commendation of Gundar, which were already analyzed in a dissertation from 2003 (Duarte, 2003). According to the author, Paula Cristina Duarte, the agrarian properties that contributed to feed the commendatory machine were spread across a concentric area in the Tâmega valley, but had also some expression along the Douro, like in the estate of Paredes, located close to the church of Ermida do Douro which currently integrates the municipality of Cinfães<sup>6</sup>.

One of the marks that were probably left by the commander Jaime in the Church was the depiction of the *Calvary*, a painting that Francisco Craesbeeck calls a "cross", which stood under the chancel's arch, with its corresponding inscription: ESTE CRUZEIRO MANDOU PIN-TAR O FILHO DO DUQUE DE BRAGANÇA [THIS CROSS WAS COMMISSIONED BY THE SON OF THE DUKE OF BRAGANÇA]. This is the only remaining reference of this reminder and of the other mural paintings, which were collected before the building was ruined over the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Mattos, 1953: 24-32).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although the size of the Church was certainly already too small to allow the presence of 630 people who attended its sacraments (Pedrosa, 1758), it was a profitable rectory with a tabernacle. It had an affiliated chapel, or hermitage, in Ovelhinha, which was dedicated to Saint Maurus (Craesbeeck, 1992: 56).

In 1882, due to the reorganization of the boundaries of the dioceses of Braga and Porto, Gondar was transferred from the former to the latter, being currently part of the vicarage of Amarante.



General view.

6 It had been donated to the Church in the Middle Ages by "Tarajia Ermigiz" (Duarte, 2003: 64)

### THE MONUMENT DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

he old Church of Saint Mary of Gondar is a Romanesque temple whose construction – taking into account its elements together with the documentary sources listed above – surely took place over the 13<sup>th</sup> century, or even in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Originally monastic, as we've seen, the Church still reveals in its building the presence of structures that were attached to its external walls, as evidenced by the corbels that punctuate the nave halfway up the wall on both sides. Most likely, the structures supported by them were simple porches designed to shelter nuns or devotees, although we should put aside the possibility that they also served to support other types of structures, such as monastic quarters.

Anyway, given the scale of the Church that we know today, we are quite sure that the monastic complex of Gondar had a small size. Therefore, we stand before a Church composed of a single nave and a rectangular chancel. Its Romanesque nature was almost entirely preserved, despite the transformations it underwent throughout the Modern Period, which we'll mention further ahead.



South façade.

The main façade, facing west, is extremely simple. The portal is carved in the thickness of the wall. It is composed of three broken archivolts without any columns, i.e., directly supported on the wall. The portal's tympanum is plain and its only decorative element is precisely the outer archivolt where we may appreciate the chequered motif that was so well-loved by the Portuguese Romanesque style<sup>7</sup>. The portal is surmounted by a small oculus with a grid

<sup>7</sup> We believe that Xosé Lois Garcia (1997: 91) did not understand the chronology of this portal when he mentions the "absence of bases, shafts and capitals" in the main portal. Alluding to its bareness, he considered that this portal still featured "the sobriety of a rural and autochthonous artistic model".

composed of five circles placed according to the arms of a cross. So, both elements tell us about a late chronology, which was already closer to the upcoming Gothic period, than to the Romanesque style in all its fullness; therefore, we should understand this Church of Gondar as part of a group of buildings that have been identified with the peripheral designations of "resistance Romanesque" style, "rural Gothic" style, or even "proto-Gothic" style. As we already know, this somewhat late chronology, which is reflected so evidently in the design of the Romanesque architecture from the Sousa, Tâmega and Douro basins, is a typical feature that actually defines it.

There are portals in both lateral façades of the "Old" Church of Gondar, which confirm what we've just said. With identical structures both on the north and on south sides, its broken archivolts are carved in the thickness of the wall. They don't have any columns or sculptural elements. Their edges are sharp and the plain tympana are supported by corbels without any decorative elements. Therefore, as we've already said, they were sheltered by porch-like structures.

North façade.

In both façades, in addition to the two narrow crevices that pierce the walls, thus allowing the interior lighting of the holy space, we can still see a series of corbels that is still rather well preserved and supports a two-volume cornice. The corbels are plain or, alternatively, show simple decorations, especially rolls and multiple spheres<sup>8</sup>. With predominantly square profiles, these are also good examples of the late nature of the Romanesque construction of Gondar. The corbels of the Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde (Felgueiras) show an identical profile.



South façade. Nave. Corbels and bell tower.

8 António Cardoso (1979: 13-14), in the monography we wrote about this building, makes a short inventory of the motifs carved in the 28 modillions of Gondar, starting on the north side and going from east to west.



Nave. Font.



Nave. Holy water font.

In Lúcia Rosas's opinion, the way in which the sculptures are placed on the corbels and their geometric shape are important elements to date Romanesque churches (Rosas, 2008: 361). According to this author, the oldest specimens are usually rectangular, showing sculptures that are very well adapted to this shape. However, as the Romanesque construction evolves over time, the constant repetition of models shows a tendency to move away from this initial scheme, which is more erudite and more compliant with the original and widespread Romanesque style. Therefore, in later Romanesque churches and in the specimens from the Gothic period where the solutions from the previous period are still used, the corbels are usually square showing a much more limited variety of themes and a sculptural adaptation that is not so well done.

Finally, the belfry. Built above the end of the south elevation, close to the western façade, it follows the model of the Romanesque bell towers. It has two round arches to accommodate the bells and its only decorative elements are the imposts composed of a single torus, which extend around the entire structure. There are terminal pinnacles shaped like pyramids surmounting the building's angles.

Inside granite reigns, both on the walls and the floor. We can sense its simplicity. This has to do with the fact that this Church was no longer used for religious services since the construction of the new parish church, early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. Inside, to the left of the nave's main entrance, we have the font whose polygonal granite bowl is supported by an also polygonal base. Several granite pieces are deposited here: fragments of tombstones, a holy water font with a budded bowl that, perhaps, already belongs to the Baroque Period. On the Epistle side, next to the portal, there is a round arch niche on the wall. It probably accommodated an altarpiece (Basto, 2003).



General interior view from the nave

9 The new parish church was built in 1904 (Costa, 2003).

## The Gothic sculpture of Saint Mary

he sculpture that visually defined Saint Mary's Medieval patron saint after the Church's secularization, in 1455, marks the transition between the monastic space and the transformation into a secular church. Fifteen years after the extinction of the monastery by archbishop Fernando da Guerra, its first parish priest offered an image of the Virgin Mary sitting while breastfeeding her Child. Mário Barroca has already developed an in-depth work about this image, which he integrated within the "small group of 15<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese images that show inscriptions which identify their benefactors" (Barroca, 1998). Indeed, on the right side of the chair where the Virgin is sitting, there is an inscription that states that "Pero Afonso commissioned it [in the Era of M] CCCC LXX". The inscription has a double importance: on the one hand, it allows identifying the benefactor and, on the other, it associates the piece with a manufacturing date<sup>10</sup>.

The iconographic topic of the breastfeeding Virgin is quite common in Gothic painting and will remain as a humanistic model for a type of spirituality that combines profane and divine affections. Mário Barroca argues that it came from a workshop that was influenced by the work of master João Afonso, as revealed by the design, technique and material that were used. As he appropriately emphasizes, Saint Mary of Gondar, the sitting Virgin of the Milk, combines several aesthetic meanings, feelings and sensitivities: from the Romanesque sitting and hieratic Virgins (in majestic poses) to the standing Mother who is breastfeeding her Son, a naturalistic expression from the Gothic period (Barroca, 1998: 107-108). Although unique, considering the artistic expression of its author (though anonymous), while identifying its commissioner or mere benefactor, it is possible to compare it with the sculpture of Our Lady of the Milk from the Alberto Sampaio Museum's collection (Guimarães), as noted by Mário Barroca. Furthermore, we would add – although they belong to later periods and have different origins – the Virgin of the Children, or of the Little Chair, venerated in a hermitage of Bairro da Ponte, Lamego; the one of Restelo (Lisbon) and the one of Saint Mary Major, in Tarouque-la (Cinfães), whose chronologies range between the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and the late 16<sup>th</sup> century.



New church of Gondar. Chancel. Altarpiece on the Gospel side. Sculpture. Saint Mary (side view).



New church of Gondar. Chancel. Altarpiece on the Gospel side. Sculpture. Saint Mary (front view)



New church of Gondar. Chancel. Altarpiece on the Gospel side. Sculpture. Saint Mary (side view).

10 Currently, due to its devotional importance and because it depicts the patron saint, this image is in the new church of Gondar.



Chancel. Back wall. Niche. Intrados of the arch. Mural painting.

# THE MONUMENT DURING THE MODERN PERIOD

n 1979, António Cardoso mentioned the frescoes that were still visible in the chancel, on the Gospel side. It was an image of *Saint John the Evangelist*, "with firm lines and dark shades. In a phylactery we see the inscription John the Evangelist. Frames and tiled areas, with colours worn by time, were still visible" (Cardoso, 1979).

Armando de Mattos (1953: 25) was the first person who provided information about the paintings of Gondar<sup>11</sup>, despite the advanced state of disrepair in which the building already was. In 1953 this author published a series of photographs taken a few years before (Afonso, 2009: 363). Since they were exposed to bad weather for a long time, nothing remained except for the painting on the intrados of the niche located on the apse's back wall. Two distinct campaigns were identified here, both of them quite late (Pestana, 2010: 10). The second one, an "a secco" painting, was made directly over the first one, without any layer of plaster between them. According to the technicians from the Mural da História company, the first layer corresponds to a Baroque campaign as evidenced by the windings and the vegetal motifs with

11 The author actually mentions the moss that "was growing freely in this area" (Mattos, 1953).

large flowers. The second layer, with simpler language, shows pads surrounded by a triple line, a technique that was used to create volume (Pestana, 2010: 10).

However, in 1953, Armando de Mattos was still able to identify four paintings. On the chancel's back wall, next to the altar, on the Gospel side, there was *Saint Luke*<sup>12</sup>; on the nave's back wall the author identified *Saint Christopher*, "a gigantic figure", as it should be, with a high artistic quality<sup>13</sup>, located on the Epistle side; a *holy bishop*, surrounded by a frame "surmounted by an impressive pediment that is clearly from the Renaissance, in whose tympanum we may see an also painted image of an unknown Madonna"<sup>14</sup>; and, finally, *Saint Anthony the Great* together with an inscription that identifies him and whose epigraphical significance allowed Armando de Mattos to date this painting from the late 15<sup>th</sup> or early 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, this author still managed to recognize some traces of paint in other places along the nave, in overlapped layers, so he considers that the paintings probably occupied its walls completely (Mattos, 1953: 26). These paintings were probably designed over the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup>.

It was in the chancel that the transformations performed during the Modern Period were felt the most. First of all, we should mention the volume that was added to the back wall to accommodate a large niche where the altarpiece was placed; later it was moved to the new parish church. On the intrados of the niche's arch we may still appreciate traces of paintings with



South façade. Chancel. Detail of the extension

12 According to the author, this composition dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Due to the fact this is a profile depiction with a halo, Armando de Mattos (1953: 25) associates this work with the workshop of Outeiro Seco (Chaves).

13 The absence of the Child may be explained by the disappearance of part of the painting (Mattos, 1953: 25).

14 The figure represents a *holy bishop* from an unknown order wearing a mitre and holding a crosier and a book in his hands. It may be a representation of *Saint Benedict* or *Saint Gonçalo*, or even *Saint Augustine* (Mattos, 1953: 25).

15 Besides the naive nature of the drawing, the author values the "ethnographic relevance of this representation" of *Saint Anthony the Great* because here he bears the symbol of his attitude as the "advocate of the living". As people say, it was a collar with its rattle hanging from his left arm" (Mattos, 1953: 26).

16 Considering the poor quality of the photographs published by Armando de Mattos and the fact that, to make matters worse, they suggest the possibility that there were overlapped layers, Luís Urbano Afonso (2009: 365-366) believes it is quite complicated to fit the destroyed paintings into the production of one of the workshops that worked in the region and, therefore, faced with the impossibility of displaying them ourselves, we also chose to make just a brief reference without any further development.





New church of Gondar. Chancel. Main altarpiece.

grotesque figures surrounding cartouches, which have already been mentioned above.

There are other elements that show the marks of the Modern Period in this Romanesque Church of Gondar. Using António Cardoso's words, the "triumphal arch has undergone remarkable changes, together with the elevation it is part of" (Cardoso, 1979: 11). The imposts and bases, composed of frames with a Classicist flavour, which outline Tuscan pilasters, show this rather well. We should note the differences between the cut of the ashlars that compose this round arch and the cut of the ashlars from the wall that surrounds it. We should also add the opening of a large rectangular window with an iron grid on the chevet's south elevation.

However, we believe that Francisco Craesbeeck was referring to the primitive triumphal arch, which is also commonly called as chancel arch, when he speaks of the "arch from the chancel, which used to be very low and had images of the Crucified Lord, Saint John and Our Lady on the sides" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 56), as we've already mentioned in the historical introduction. The existing arch shows a chancel that is already more open to the devotees.

The fact that this author was still able to see this primitive arch with its painting in 1726 allows us to surely place its transformation into its current state on a later date. The series of



North wall. Nave. Pulpit. Sculpture. Saint Francis of Assisi.



South wall. Nave. Niche. Sculpture. Saint Mary (granite reproduction).

steps that lead to the pulpit dates back to this campaign, which sought to update the aesthetic and liturgical practice of the Church of Gondar during the Modern Period, certainly already in the second quarter or the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The cantilever that supports its base confirms it with its Classicist language. The structure was surely completed with a wooden parapet regarding which there aren't any descriptive notes today.

As explained by António Coelho Pedroza, in 1758 the Church of Gondar had "three altars; the main altar where the tabernacle with the Blessed Sacrament was kept and two collateral altars; the one on the Right [was dedicated] to the Holy Name of Jesus and one to the Left of Our Lady [was dedicated] to Saint Sebastian" (Pedrosa, 1758). However, given the state of neglect that this Church was subject to during almost the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century, as we'll see, there aren't any images left of them today. But, we should remember that two of the most significant liturgical elements of the old parish Church were transferred to the new church of Saint Mary of Gondar: the main altarpiece and a sitting image of Our Lady of the Milk.

So, as we may see in the new parish church, the woodwork altarpiece fits into the language of the so-called National Style [1690-1725]. This type of Portuguese woodwork began to take the first steps in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and reached its full development in the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In general, the artistic historiography has been associating this new language with the structure of north-western Romanesque portals and with the naturalism of Manueline [style also known as Portuguese late Gothic, which develops during the reign of King Manuel I (k. 1495-1521)] decorations. There are four key elements that define this new language associated with altarpieces: the pseudo-Solomonic columns (since the lower third is not striated and different), the semicircular archivolts, the stepped plinth and the throne. The central area, designed to accommodate the stepped plinth and the throne and to display the monstrance of the Blessed Sacrament or merely a devotional image, is particularly emphasized. The dominant decorative motifs are vine leaves, bunches of grapes (Eucharistic symbols), children and birds (the Phoenix, a symbol of Eternity).

Finally, we could not fail to mention the reference made by António Coelho Pedroza to the bells of Gondar in 1758. According to his reports, in this "ancient parish", there is "a belfry whose bells have a smooth and pleasant voice when they invite the parishioners to the word of God and to hear mass, but sad and mournful when the grave calls them. The smallest one still preserves its [treble], because it is always pure and [...], the larger one was a beautiful contralto but now, because it is broken, it stands as a tuneless tenor; however, in festive periods, whoever rings them always echoes their glories" (Pedrosa, 1758). Today there is nothing to hear, but only to imagine.

#### CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

hen, in 1979, António Cardoso dedicated himself to the study of the Romanesque Church of Gondar, he did not fail to hold the construction of the church of "new Gondar" responsible for the fact that the old Church was "ruined and was no longer part of the parish heritage because it was transferred to private hands, thus providing stone and timber for many different purposes. Currently [in 1979] it is an excellent henhouse for local people!" (Cardoso, 1979: 10). This situation was the complete opposite of what Father Luiz António Teixeira had written almost one hundred years before in response to the survey from 1864, in which he stated that, despite the fact that the "wall" of this Church "dates back to the period of the Goths – it was publicly, and constantly, said that it was the oldest one in the entire municipality", and that Gondar complied with "all the safety requirements"<sup>17</sup>.

However, the state of abandonment reported in the late 1970's did not invalidate the classification of the Romanesque Church of Gondar as a Public Interest Building four years before<sup>18</sup>. So, in 1978 this monument was classified<sup>19</sup>. Still in 1979, an article in the newspaper *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, while mentioning the monastery of Gondar (Amarante), wrote in bold letters: "the curse of neglect intends to destroy art"<sup>20</sup>. The technicians of the Direção Regional dos Monumentos do Norte [Northern Regional Directorate for Monuments] were immediately contacted in order to ascertain the veracity of the information reported in that article<sup>21</sup>. So it was confirmed, *in loco*, that the Church, as well as being in a state of neglect for many years, "was being used as a henhouse and was full of rubble and thickets"<sup>22</sup>. The Church was sold still during the period of Afonso Costa and became a private property. It is also reported that, following a request for repair works filed by students of the school of Vila Seca, in the parish of Gondar, the Amarante Town Council had already "cleaned the church's interior, getting rid of all the rubbish that was soiling it, with the help of a few neighbours".

Architect Francisco Azeredo's visit to the site allowed further confirmation that "it is [was] a small church from the last phase of the Romanesque Period, of which the walls still remain and show small fragments of frescoes; it is composed of a nave, a chancel and two sacristies". We will mention them further ahead.

So, on June 25th 1980, the memoir regarding an intervention that included "Miscellaneous



General view before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN (1986). Source: IHRU archive.

<sup>17</sup> Teixeira, Luiz António – Missiva de 26 de outubro de 1864. IRHU/ Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3. Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante. 1864-1867.

<sup>18</sup> Offcio da Direção-Geral dos Assuntos Culturais, [julho 1975] [SIPA.TXT.00899448] PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/026-0075 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301170017].

<sup>19</sup> DECREE no. 95. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I. 210 (78-09-12) 1896-1901.

<sup>20</sup> Mosteiro de Gondar, Amarante: a maldição do desprezo quer destruir a arte. *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, (15 de dezembro de 1979). [SIPA.TXT.00899453] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0075 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos. pt>. [N° IPA PT011301170017].

<sup>21</sup> Ofício n.º 134 da DREMN, 27 de dezembro de 1979 [SIPA.TXT.00899454 e SIPA.TXT.00899455]. Idem. 22 Idem.

Conservation Works was presented"<sup>23</sup>. As explained, "among the many necessary repairs, it was decided to implement those associated with the consolidation of the walls and their corresponding crowns", and so the works began with a clean-up of the external and internal walls, "by opening and closing the joints".

Six years later, the restoration of Gondar began<sup>24</sup>. In general, the intervention focused on the restoration of the vacant building: repair works in pavements and walls, construction of a new roof, installation of new electrical wires. Essentially, a new legibility. The extent of the works was such that, in June 1987, an amount that had previously allocated to the implementation of several repairs in the Church of Boelhe (Penafiel) was requested and transferred to the works of Gondar, whose urgency required it in view of the imminent danger associated with the gradual deterioration of its roofs and pavements<sup>25</sup>. In July of that same year, the volume attached to the sacristy – which was addorsed to its west wall and, therefore, concealed part of the nave's south side – was already being demolished<sup>26</sup>. In April 1988<sup>27</sup> and in June of the following year<sup>28</sup>, the "completion of the recovery works was already commissioned", and was now focused on the flooring of the nave and the sacristy, on the completion of the plastering of the sacristy's internal walls and on improving the roof. Overall, this intervention carried out in the second half of the 1980s sought to restore the architectural integrity of the Romanesque Church of Gondar, as well as its legibility as a monument and a sacred space.

While integrated in the Route of the Romanesque in 2010, the Church of Gondar was subject to a protection, conservation and enhancement intervention. The project implementation was aimed at the maintenance and general conservation of the monument at the level of its roofs and outer vestments, including a structural reinforcement (Costa, 2010). [MLB / NR]

In 2013, the conservation works related to the visible pictorial set were carried out in the intrados of the niche on the back wall of the chancel. With this intervention, one intended to "ensure the good material preservation of wall paintings, improve their overall reading and aesthetic presentation" (Pestana, 2010: 3).

Once the first phase of interventions is completed, the Route of the Romanesque shall resume, still in 2014, the conservation and protection works in the Church of Gondar. The second phase of the project will focus on the "interior vestments and flooring, and their openings and ceilings, including access doors and interior door as well as the window and other openings for lighting and ventilation, and also the remodelling of the electrotechnical infrastructure" (Costa, 2012: 7). [RR]

<sup>23</sup> Memória de 25 de junho de 1980 [SIPA.TXT.00899468]. Idem.

<sup>24</sup> Memória de 10 de setembro de 1986 [SIPA.TXT.00899507 e SIPA.TXT.00899508]. Idem.

<sup>25</sup> Proposta n.º 325 da DREMN, 87/06/22 [SIPA.TXT.00899592]. Idem.

<sup>26</sup> Memória de 31 de julho de 1987 [SIPA.TXT.00899598 e SIPA.TXT.00899599]. Idem.

<sup>27</sup> Memória de 27 de abril de 1988 [SIPA.TXT.00901304 e SIPA.TXT.00901305] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0110 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT011301170017].

<sup>28</sup> Memória de 16 de junho de 1989 [SIPA.TXT.00901370]. Idem.

### CHRONOLOGY

1202, July: King Sancho donates the tenths of Carvalho de Rei, Pedrinha, Pena Redonda and Santa Maria de Gestaçô to the monastery of Gondar and the abbess Ouroana;

1202: King Sancho donates the patronage of the church of Saint Peter of Lomba and the church of Saint Mary of Castelo to the monastery of Gondar;

1258: in the inquiries of King Afonso III, the knights of Gondar are mentioned as lords of the monastery;

1452, July 29th: Inês Borges is invested as the last abbess of Gondar;

1455, April 13<sup>th</sup>: by command of archbishop Fernando Guerra, the Church of Gondar becomes secular;

1470: the clergyman Pedro Afonso offers a sculpture of the Virgin to the Church of Gondar;

1548: the chart of the commendation of Gondar is written;

1726: Francisco Craesbeeck says that the Church of Gondar is a rectory of the commendation of Christ, with a tabernacle; at the time, the rector was Father Domingos Ferreira da Silva;

1758: the Church of Gondar had three altars, the main one and the collateral ones; the latter were dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus and to Saint Sebastian;

1948: according to Mário Barroca, the image of the seating Virgin, also known as Saint Mary of Gondar, was revealed to the public for the first time in this year, due to Alfredo Guimarães;

1953: in an article published in the magazine *Douro Litoral*, Armando de Mattos draws attention to the condition of the Church of Gondar and its mural paintings;

1978: the Church of Gondar is classified as Public Interest Building;

1979: António Cardoso publishes a monograph about the Church of Gondar;

1980-1988: several works are carried out in the structure allowing to restore the building's integrity; however, the worship was transferred to the new church of Gondar;

2010: integration of the Church of Saint Mary of Gondar in the Route of the Romanesque;

2013-2014: general conservation of the Church at the level of roofing and outer vestments; and conservation and restoration of the mural painting of the intrados of the niche on back wall of the chancel;

2014-2015: general conservation of the Church at the level of interior vestments, woodwork ceilings and doors, and lighting and ventilation openings.

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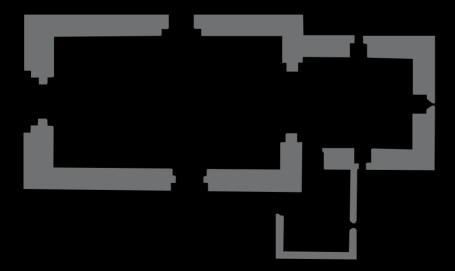
SANTO TOMÁS, Leão, frei – Benedictina lusitana... Coimbra: na Officina de Manuel Carvalho, 1651.





# CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF JAZENTE AMARANTE

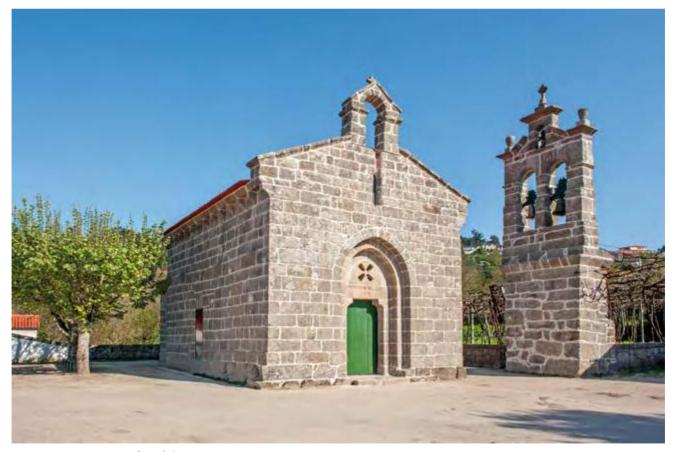
# CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF JAZENTE AMARANTE



### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

he document written in 1726 by the memoirist Francisco Craesbeeck about Jazente is rather short<sup>1</sup>. He refers that the abbey had belonged to the bishopric of Porto, that it had affiliate chapels, but didn't have a tabernacle or epigraphed graves that could provide the chronicler with the material he needed to decorate his paragraphs. However, he alludes to the memory that guaranteed this would have been an institute for religious women (Craesbeeck, 1992: 57).

Historically located within the limits of the diocese of Porto, Jazente integrated the term of the municipality of Gestaçô, which included, among others, the parishes of Saint Isidore of Sanche, Saint Andrew of Padronelo, Saviour of Lufrei and Saint Mary of Gondar. It was a small parish (perhaps that is why it still didn't have a tabernacle in 1623); however, its incomes were quite significant in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: 300 thousand "réis" [former Portuguese currency unit] to support the abbot and patron (Niza, 1767: 292).



General view.

As most of Medieval churches in the region, the origin of Jazente may be found in a monastic institution<sup>2</sup>. Saint Mary, the patron saint, highlights its Medieval nature; this hagiotoponym remained as a sign of an invocation associated with certain orders that defended the Marian invocation – which, in some cases, was replaced in the Modern Period by vocatives that were more in line with the status of Mother of God as man. However, like in the Churches of Telões or Gondar (Amarante), the status of small and poor monastery resulted in its secularization, notwithstanding the reference to religious women who were still associated with it in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>.

This Church stands out mainly for its connection to Paulino Cabral, known by the pen name of Abade de Jazente [Abbot of Jazente]. Despite being somewhat distant in body and mind, he belonged to the Arcádia Lusitana movement [Academy of poetry that occupied the centre of the literary life of Lisbon between 1756 and 1770], which criticized and satirized the crucial elements of poetry, based on Classical precepts. Paulino was born in the parish of São Pedro de Lomba, near Amarante, on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1719; he was the son of the graduate João Cabral and his wife, Ana Cerqueira, who lived in the hamlet of Reguengo<sup>4</sup>. He received a Canon degree from the University of Coimbra, a city he left in 1742 (Machado, 1759)<sup>5</sup>. The ecclesiastical career followed, first as an assistant, and then as the abbot of Jazente, positions he held between 1752 and 1784<sup>6</sup>. During his time in office, he wrote and lived mundanely. He often traveled to Porto to attend soirées and social gatherings, as mentioned by Arnaldo Gama in his novel *Um motim ha cem anos...*, while making a very particular description of this Arcadian clergyman:

"Our priest was, therefore, a foppish priest, a dapper, a real dandy, as we currently say. Here I am, watching my readers while they press their lips in a scornful smile... Do not laugh, however, because before you stands no less than the celebrated poet Paulino Cabral, one of the most distinct poets of his time, the cream, la créme de la créme of Porto's bards – remarkable for the elegance of his concepts, for the bright colors that lined his verses, for his satirical wit, either fine and delicate, or rough and poignant, and also remarkable for the purity of his language and for the Classical precision of his style, which led Bocage to give him the honor of joining him in that famous sonnet, in which, to flagellate the poor doctor Quintanilha, they put in his mouth a savage criticism saying that the verse: *Trascala aos seiscentistas* belongs to our poet Paulino (...)" (Gama, 1861: 135-136)<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In 1258, the abbess Margarida testified before the inquirers and mentioned the private foundation of the monastery by Gomécio Mendes; other people added that, at the time, the founders' descendants were Martinho Rodrigo Lopes "de Borona" and Vasco Mendes (Herculano, 1867: 1150).

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Constança Martins", considered as a concubine of Martim Gonçalves Leitão, a master of the order of Christ (Costa, 1706-1712: 142; Craesbeeck, 1992: 57).

<sup>4</sup> The godparents were: António Cerqueira Marinho, a clergyman *in minoribus* and Guiomar Cerqueira, a single woman, both children of António Álvares do Reguengo (ADP – Paroquiais. *Baptismos* (1588-11-06/1746-05-08), fl. 93).

<sup>5</sup> Diogo Barbosa says he was born in 1720 and adds that, before attending University, "he learned Latin, French and Italian" (Machado, 1759). His father was a physician.

<sup>6</sup> The first record of baptism written and signed by priest Paulino dates back to October 1752 (ADP – Paroquiais. *Baptismos* (1731-05-03/1780-07-26), fl. 32 v.°-33).

<sup>7</sup> The following pages provide further information about the Abbot of Jazente and his personality.

In his time the abbey of Jazente had an income of about 300 thousand "réis", an amount he divided between his spiritual and bohemian life and an assistant that replaced him in his duties during his literary and spiritual journeys with the bards and abbots from Porto. In fact, in 1758, when the priests were asked to write a few words on the memoirs of their parishes, it was Father Manuel Pereira and not Paulino Cabral who wrote it, making a simple description (almost a report) about the geography of Jazente: a parish with 159 people, 52 dwellings spread across seven hamlets. Without any beneficiaries, chapels, pilgrimages or fairs, in short, without "anything worthy of a memoir", Jazente must have seemed as devoid of interest to Father Manuel Pereira as it certainly was to abbot Paulino, or even more (Pereira, 1758)<sup>8</sup>. But his absences were temporary and the fondness for the quietness of his rural abbey was often shown in his poetry<sup>9</sup>. In 1760 and 1786-1787 he published his only two books: *Romance hendecassylabo sobre o terramoto fatal da cidade de Lisboa sucedido no primeiro de novembro de 1755* and *Poesias de Paulino Cabral de Vasconcellos, abbade de Jazente*.

Forced to retire to Amarante, where he died in 1789, he wrote the following words alluding to his abbey of Jazente:

"I, who near the Caban where I lived, Had a rich Chapel: and lucky me So many sheep, that the pasture Turned joyfully white because of them:

I, who had the pleasure, had the joy, I had a name among the highest; I, the wretched, Of what I had I am now deprived, I have nothing more than the night and the day:

I myself left it all: and only, The longing in the vaults of memory Have I kept with care, but imprudently;

For by reading in it my sad story, Make this present harm seem ever harder Sweet memories of a past glory" (Cabral, 1786).



Reproduction of the frontispiece of the work *Poesias*, by Paulino Cabral de Vasconcellos.

8 The vicar Manuel Pereira claims to have written the memoir "because the Abbot was not able to do it" (Pereira, 1758). We don't know the reason why.

9 "Brutos penhascos, rústicas montanhas, / Medonhos bosques, hórrida maleza, / Que me vedes, coberto de tristeza, / Saudoso habitador destas campanhas" (Cabral, 1786)

#### THE MONUMENT BETWEEN PERIODS

sually classified as a Romanesque structure, perhaps we should fit it into our rural Gothic style, taking into account its late construction" (Almeida, 2001: 124). It is with these words that Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida places the Church of Saint Mary of Jazente within the stylistic variants offered by the Middle Ages. In fact, the architectural elements we may observe in this small Church from Amarante refer to a chronology that should be positioned at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, if not already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. That aspect is not surprising. We should not forget that many Romanesque monuments located along the Sousa, Tâmega and Douro basins are part of the movement that the latest historiography has chosen to call "resistance Romanesque" style, or even "popular Romanesque" style<sup>10</sup>.

Consisting of a single nave and rectangular chevet which is lower and narrower than the nave, thus creating a clear contrast between different volumes, the Church of Jazente stands out for the homogeneity of its construction, which was not subject to many transformations over time. Its masonry work includes ashlars with different sizes. However, as noted in 1864 by the priest of this parish, its ashlars do create "rows with similar dimensions at least in terms of height"<sup>11</sup>.



East and south façades.

11 Oliveira, João André de – Missiva de 18 de outubro [?] de 1864. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3. Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante, 1864-1867.

<sup>10</sup> About this issue, please read Botelho (2010: 395).



West façade.

The Church's main façade is dominated by the portal, one of the elements that better suggest its late nature. Composed of two slightly broken archivolts that rest directly on the wall in which they are embedded, its tympanum was worthy of a reference in an article by Pedro Vitorino, which was specifically focused on the study of *Timpanos românicos ornamentados* (Vitorino, 1941: 5-17). According to this physician who studied the Portuguese Romanesque style, this tympanum is perforated by "a large cross with a central disc, together with another cross on the lintel, which has a similar shape and is simply engraved". It is supported by flat corbels that rest on the wall and are decorated with vertical grooves carved on their inner side. Here lies the greatest originality of this portal. Still on this façade – creating a somewhat restrained verticality in the middle – there is a narrow crevice surmounted by the belfry that accommodates one bell and visibly splits the gable. The bell is no longer there, but its presence will endure over time due to the scar of its strokes, which is still visible on the wall. On top of the bell tower there is a small cross.

In Jazente, the composition of the tympana is a sign that this small Church was built already during the final Romanesque Period, a time when there was a tendency to pierce the tympanum, not only with hollow crosses, but also with other orifices (Almeida, 1971: 114). Therefore, in the south portal, we find five circular openings placed in the form of a cross surrounded by a double circle carved in the granite. We should not forget that this late Romanesque style is already coeval of the first architectural examples of the Gothic style that seeks its very essence in the worship of light. This portal is also carved in the thickness of the wall itself and, therefore, it doesn't have any columns. The two slightly broken archivolts that shape it rest directly on the walls.



West façade. Portal



South façade. Nave. Portal.







South façade. Chancel. Corbels.

Still on the south façade, above the portal, there is a surviving eave that, associated with the protruding corbels placed at a slightly lower level, confirms the existence of a porch-like structure that, because it was built with perishable materials, did not manage to reach our days. Immediately above the eave there are two narrow crevices, much to the Romanesque taste. Finally, there is a cornice supported by modillions, which are mostly plain or decorated with very simple geometric shapes and have a square profile. This is another sign of the late nature of this Church within the chronology of the Portuguese Romanesque style.

In the chevet we also find the same type of corbels on both sides, and the same type of crevices, both on the side elevations and on the back wall. Together with the corbels we are still able to see small orifices which we believe may have been used to support other constructions (Basto, 2006). In fact, on the nave's front wall there is also a narrow crevice and, above its gable, a terminal cross pattée, much to the Romanesque taste. The sacristy is addorsed to the south side of the chancel, which is accessed through an opening shaped as a three-centered arch.

In general, the north elevation is identical to the south one. However, note the absence of an eave. But since there are corbels that might have supported a porch-like structure, we believe that this elevation would be simpler than the opposite one. Here, the straight-lintel portal is carved in the thickness of the wall and, inside, it corresponds to the niche where the image of Our Lady of Fátima is displayed. The corbels are plain.

Inside Jazente simplicity reigns. The granite of the walls is only interrupted by narrow crevices that, much to the Romanesque taste, illuminate it in a subtle way. The difference between the volumes of the chancel and the nave is emphasized here by the opening of the triumphal arch. Despite being broken, it looks more like a three-centered arch. However, we should note the existence of two pilasters with Tuscan capitals, one on each side of arch's intrados, which lead us to believe that, at some point during the Modern Period, sometime between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, there was an intention to transform this arch, ennobling it and increasing the size of its opening. However, the work was interrupted. The upper part of the freestanding double bell tower located on the south side of the churchyard was surely built during the same campaign. Above the cornice, a triangular pediment is interrupted by an opening in the middle that, judging by its size, may have even sheltered an image. It is surmounted by a cross. Two urns finish the pediment's upper ends.



East and north façades. Chancel.



Nave. North wall. Niche. Sculpture. Our Lady of Fátima.



General interior view from the nave.

Inside, the existing altarpieces do not correspond to the common 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century interventions, which introduced very deep changes in the Medieval churches. These are contemporary experiments that attempted to restore part of the heritage destroyed by the interventions occurred in the 1930s and 60s, because the inventory drawn up in 1912 by the Worshiping Commission still mentions the existence of three altars<sup>12</sup>. It is likely that, in this inventory, the list makers were referring themselves to the original Baroque altarpieces. At the time it included the images of Saint Mary, Saint Anne, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady of the Rosary and Saint Alphonsus<sup>13</sup>. Currently, the worshiped images are the ones of Saint Mary, Saint Anne, the Infant Jesus Saviour of the World and the Sacred Heart of Jesus. We've already mentioned that, in 1726, Francisco Craesbeeck's description of the movable and integrated assets was short and depreciating. However, the image of the Virgin and Child made of polychrome limestone which dates back to the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is noteworthy.

It is a sculpture produced according to the Gothic models and still attached to a lack of expression of which the faces of Mother and Son are good examples; the artist (certainly close to or influenced by a reputable workshop with foreign craftsmen) intended to liberate it from the Medieval formalisms by treating the pleats of the clothes more freely and emphasizing the movement of the body by using a *contrapponto*. Moreover, humanism and, in some ways, the sentimental realism are expressed to the devotee not through the richness of the ornamentation

12 PORTUGAL. Ministério das Finanças – Secretaria-geral – Arquivo. Comissão Jurisdicional dos Bens Cultuais, Porto, Amarante, *Arrolamentos dos bens cultuais*. Igreja de Jazente. Liv. 67, fl. 87-91v. ACMF/Arquivo/CJBC/PTO/AMA/ARROL/022. 13 Idem.



Triumphal arch.

16 Idem.

and the weak naturalism in the treatment of the faces and limbs, but through the loving act of the Child touching His Mother's face, thus demonstrating affection and filial love. With her right hand, Mary is holding a rose, a symbol of purity and virginity that the Marian devotion – which had been growing since the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Europe – intended to emphasize.

It is worth highlighting the fact that, in 1864, Father João André d'Oliveira alludes to the existence of "figures painted on the wall, discovered by him when, in 1825, he commissioned the repair of one of the collateral altars"<sup>14</sup>. In 1932 we find new information regarding this painting, this time provided by Father Virgínio Monteiro Alves e Guimarães<sup>15</sup>. During the "restoration intervention", which was taking place at that time and to which we will return further ahead, it was found that "the altarpiece located in the chancel arch didn't have another painting underneath the visible one, so it probably should have little or no value. Once it was disassembled, a painting of which the altarpiece was a copy was found behind the rubble; that water-colored painting, which is very imperfect and almost completely erased, was probably made together with the ones that were found behind the main altarpiece, which Mr. Bragança said are worthless"<sup>16</sup>. We weren't able to find any further information about those paintings. They probably date back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, judging by the remaining specimens found in the Amarante region.

The tiles located in the chancel's altar table are probably from the same period. Although the compositional scheme is nowhere close to the one of the examples found in the Church of Our Lady of the Nativity of Escamarão (Cinfães), the same cannot be said of the chosen technique

<sup>15</sup> Guimarães, Virgínio Monteiro Alves e – Missiva, 13 de dezembro de 1932. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN/DM – DGEMN:DREMN-2494, Cx.21/3.



Bell tower.

<sup>14</sup> Oliveira, João André de – Missiva de 18 de outubro [?] de 1864. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3. Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante, 1864-1867.



Chancel. Back wall on the Gospel side. Pedestal. Sculpture. Virgin and Child.

and polychromy. Ocher, blue and green shades compose a stylized floral motif that is repeated as a pattern made up of four tiles (2x2). The flowers are surrounded by frames adorned with arabesques.

In this case, the font probably dates back to the late Romanesque Period. The base and the bowl are both polygonal. It stands in the nave, close to the main entrance, on the Gospel side.



Chancel. Altar table.

### CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

n response to the inquiry conducted by the Director of Public Works of Porto in 1864, which sought to assess the condition of the churches from the diocese of Porto, the parish priest of Jazente reported immediately that "the building of the parish church of Saint Mary of Jazente was in a good condition, well kept and repaired"<sup>17</sup>.

We only find further information about this small Church of Jazente in the 1930's. As far as we know, between 1932 and 1933 there were several conservation works carried out in this Church, certainly at the parish's expense. These works included removing the plaster from the internal and external walls and cleaning the walls "of the Church's façade, inside and outside the chancel and of part of the church's body"<sup>18</sup>. This intervention was carried out under the responsibility of the then parish priest of Jazente, Virgínio Monteiro Alves e Guimarães, directed by architect Baltazar de Castro (whom he calls the "Engineer"), and revealed a "few holes on the chancel's outside, next to each corbel or support<sup>19</sup>. Besides, the parish priest informs that the two lateral crevices were similar [to the one on the apse's back], and that, despite being ruined, their repair was rather easy"<sup>20</sup>.

In the book *A arte românica em Portugal...*, printed in 1918, José de Marques Abreu publishes a photo of the outside of the Church of Jazente viewed from the north, where we can see that the joints were whitewashed, as well as the outside of the chancel and the main portal (Vasconcelos & Abreu, 1918: 149). At the time, the legibility of this building was very different from what it is today. It is also said that, during this intervention carried out in the 1930's, the tympanum of the main door was also restored and a stone path with a one-span width, which was covering a row of tiles, was lifted (Basto, 2006).

A few years later, Father Manuel Pinto Coelho addresses the Director of the National Monuments asking if this monument was already registered in the list "of National Monuments"<sup>21</sup>. The parish priest of Jazente needed that information because the Church was in need of "a few repairs"<sup>22</sup>. Since he got no answer, in January 1949, the parish priest of Jazente tries again<sup>23</sup>. According to his explanation, "a parish priest ought to ensure the cleanliness and preservation of his parish church and, in the case of a national monument, the obligation of preserving and repairing the church is the State's responsibility". Furthermore, he clarifies that the Church of Jazente must have "been built in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, but its style and craftsmanship are indeed very poor. It was, then, still in the same month that the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments]

<sup>17</sup> Oliveira, João André de – Missiva de 18 de outubro [?] de 1864. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3 Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante, 1864-1867.

<sup>18</sup> Guimarães, Virgínio Monteiro Alves e – Missiva, 13 de dezembro de 1932. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN/DM – DGEMN:DREMN-2494, Cx.21/3.

<sup>19</sup> Idem.

<sup>20</sup> Idem.

<sup>21</sup> Coelho, Manuel Pinto – Missiva de 24 de setembro de 1948 [SIPA.TXT.00900001] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0091 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301180014].

<sup>22</sup> Idem.

<sup>23</sup> Coelho, Manuel Pinto – Missiva, 6 de janeiro de 1949 [SIPA.TXT.00900003 e SIPA.TXT.00900004]. Idem.

concluded that this Church was not classified, considering also that it did not meet the criteria so as to be worthy of such classification"<sup>24</sup>.

For a few years this issue was forgotten; then, in 1962, we find a new contact made by Father João Ferreira in order to ascertain if the Church of Jazente was classified or not<sup>25</sup>. However, despite the fact that it wasn't<sup>26</sup>, we believe that it was that insistent attitude of the parish that triggered the opening of the classification process for this small Church built in such late Romanesque Period. So, by order of the then Secretary of State for Culture and Continuing Education<sup>27</sup>, the Church of Jazente was classified as a Public Interest Building on September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1977<sup>28</sup>.

From then on the available sources are silent. In 2010, the small Church of Jazente becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque. [MLB / NR]

Within this context, it was subject to a protection, conservation and enhancement intervention. The project implementation was aimed at the maintenance and general conservation of the monument at the level of its roofs and outer vestments (Costa, 2010).

Inside, the front lining of the altar table, consisting of a panel of Moorish-Hispanic style tiles, was subject to a conservation campaign. The polychrome surface of the tile structure presented signs of significant deterioration; the glazed surfaces were cracked and fractured, while an excessive use of Portland-type mortar was also visible (Duarte, 2010: 4-5).

The sculpture of Saint Mary, which had dirt, volumetric gaps and detachments in its polychrome layer, where traces of earlier polychrome and repainting were also visible, was also treated and preserved.

Once the first phase of interventions is completed, the Route of the Romanesque shall resume, still in 2014, the conservation and protection works in the Church of Jazente, now dignifying its inner spaces, namely at the level of vestments, woodwork doors and ceilings, and also the remodelling of the religious celebration area (Costa, 2012). [RR]



General view (adapted from Abreu, 1918). Source: National Digital Library.

24 Ofício n.º 634 da Direção dos Serviços dos Monumentos Nacionais, 28 de fevereiro de 1949 [SIPA.TXT.00900005]. Idem. 25 Ferreira, João – Missiva de 5 de dezembro de 1962 [SIPA.TXT.00899804] PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0083. Idem. 26 Silva, José Pena Pereira da – Missiva, 28 de dezembro de 1962 [SIPA.TXT.00899806]. Idem.

27 Ofício da Direção-Geral dos Assuntos Culturais de 20 de julho de 1975 [SIPA.TXT.00671412] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-004-1979/3. Idem.

28 DECREE no. 129. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I. 226 (77-09-29) 2390-2396.

# CHRONOLOGY

950: according to Domingos Moreira, the toponym "Jacenti de Tamecha" is already mentioned;

1258: Abbess Margarida is a witness in the royal inquiries of King Afonso III;

1623: the Church doesn't have a tabernacle;

1719, May 6th: Paulino Cabral, the future abbot of Jazente and an Arcadian writer is born in São Pedro de Lomba;

1726: Francisco Craesbeeck mentions that the Church doesn't have a tabernacle and, at the time, it is an abbey of the ordinary of Porto, whose abbot was Bernardo Vieira de Macedo;

1752: Paulino Cabral enters into service at the parish of Jazente;

1789: Paulino Cabral, the writer and abbot of Jazente, dies in Amarante;

1930-1960: works are carried out on the Church's interior and structure;

2010: the Church of Jazente becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque;

2013-2014: general conservation, protection and enhancement of the Church, under the scope of the Route of the Romanesque;

2014-2015: general conservation of the Church at the level of vestments, woodwork ceilings and doors, and remodelling of the religious celebration area.

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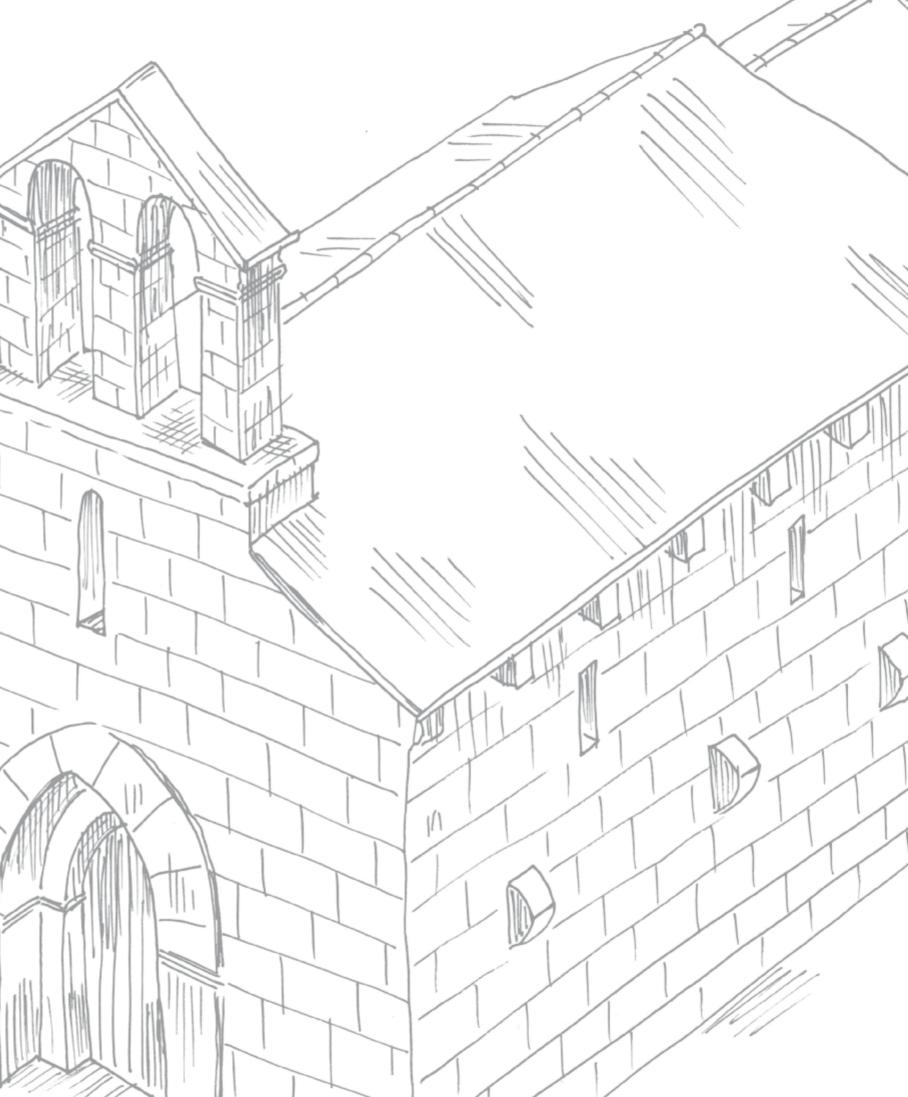
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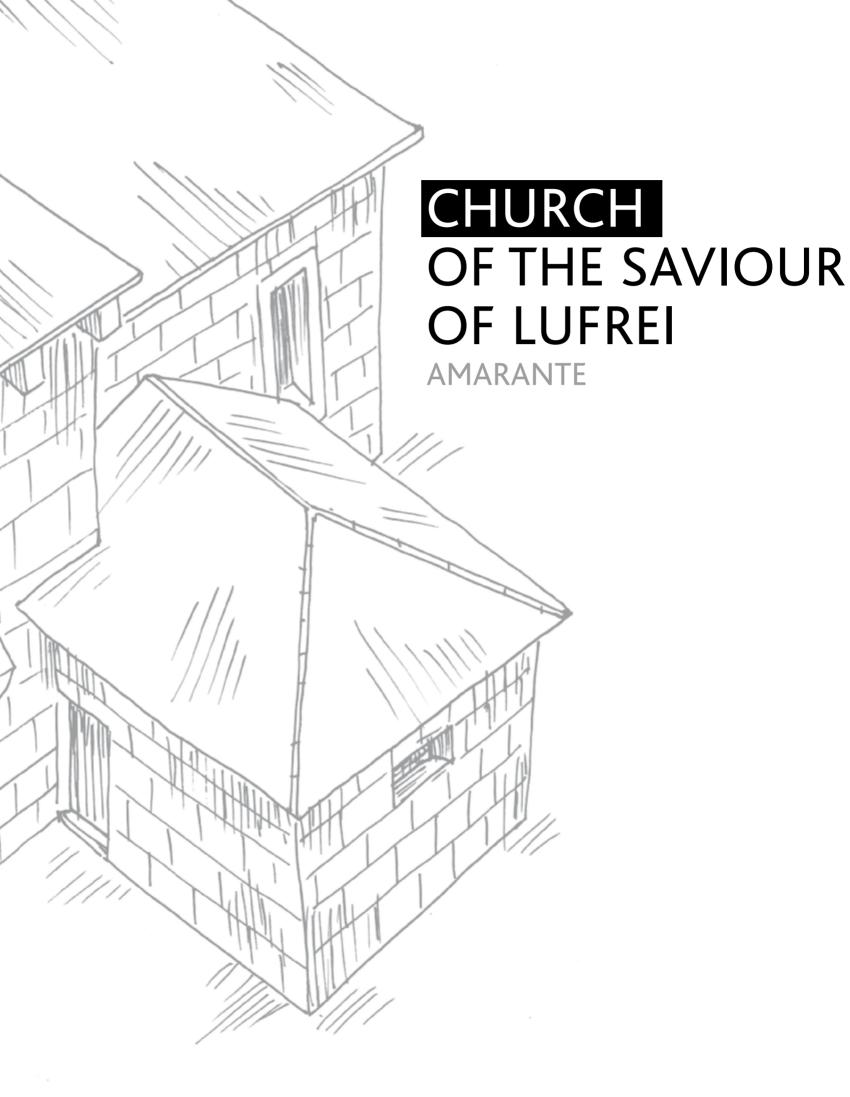
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# CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR OF LUFREI AMARANTE





General view

## HISTORICAL SUMMARY

he old Church of the Saviour of Lufrei is located in a fertile valley, near the confluence of two small streams, thus contradicting the placement of a large number of parish churches which are located on higher or lower hills or summits. Its monastic origin may explain this location, deemed as ideal by the Cluniacs and the Benedictines and definitely adopted by the Cistercians as the model-location for the placement of their homes. In fact Lufrei is granted the status of monastery for Benedictine nuns which, like in many other cases in the region (namely Gondar, Amarante), resulted in its abandonment and subsequent secularization.

In the royal inquiries of 1258, one of the witnesses ascribes the foundation of the monastery of Lufrei to the family of Gonçalo João da Pedreira. At the time, the institute was responsible for three suffragan or affiliate chapels or churches: Saint Mary Magdalene, in Covelo, Saint Faustus and Saint James (Herculano, 1867: 1152).

However, the extinction of this monastery was not an early one, as in the case of Telóes (Amarante), since it already occurred in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. That is stated in the *Benedicta lusitana*..., which indicates 1455 as the year of its downgrading to parish church<sup>1</sup>.

Tradition says that Mem de Gundar was the founder of the three Benedictine convents in the region: Gondar, Lufrei and Gestaçô. Despite the lack of documentary grounds, the memory of their connection to Gondar – since they both witnessed the movement that created female Benedictine communities from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards – remained in the submissive position of Lufrei towards that Church due to their patronage. The rector of Gondar was responsible for presenting the vicar of Lufrei, as noted, in 1768, by the author of *Portugal sacro-profano...* (Niza, 1767: 333)<sup>2</sup>.

Then, in the Modern Period, this modestly sized Church began serving the parish of Lufrei, which perhaps had been separated from Gondar.

Ecclesiastically, the parish of Lufrei was initially part of the term of the archdiocese of Braga, and was transferred to Porto in 1882<sup>3</sup>. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the changes introduced in terms of diocesan geography included it the ecclesiastical district of Sobretâmega (3<sup>rd</sup> district) and in the second vicarage of Amarante, to which it still belongs.

2 Although, in 1692, Father Torcato Peixoto said it was a vicarage attached to Saint Gonçalo of Amarante (Azevedo, 1845: 434). 3 As a result of the Bull *Gravissimum Christi ecclesiaum regendi et gubernandi munus* (IGREJA CATÓLICA. Papa, Leão XIII – *Gravissimum Christi ecclesiaum regendi et gubernandi munus* [Bull from September 30<sup>th</sup> 1881]).

<sup>1</sup> In 1344-1345, Inês Martins Moreira, a lady from the Moreiras lineage or family (whose sphere of action and domain were Celorico and Tarouquela (Cinfães)), was a nun here (Sottomayor-Pizarro, 1997: 1043). And, in 1431, there are still references to the abbess Beatriz Vasques and the chaplain Friar Gonçalo Anes, a monk of Fonte Arcada (Amarante) (Santo Tomás, 1651: 388). This secularization of Lufrei should be understood within the reformist process of the archbishopric led by Fernando da Guerra (Marques, 1988).

### THE MONUMENT IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

ts building shows a later chronology, framed within the movement that has been called as "resistance Romanesque" style, or even, "rural Gothic" style. This is a very common Romanesque architecture style in the Sousa, Tâmega and Douro valleys. The Churches of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios (Penafiel), of Our Lady of Nativity of Escamarão (Cinfães) or of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde (Felgueiras) are some examples, just to name a few. We believe that, in the case of Lufrei, the simple nature of its structure, which doesn't have any ornamental carved details, may be explained by its late chronology; so, this Church may be considered as a good example of the vernacular and popular nature of the Portuguese Romanesque *modus aedeficandi*<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, Portuguese Romanesque architecture should be understood in its diachrony.

The case of Lufrei is a good example of how the Romanesque shapes persisted over time, even beyond their own chronology, taking on vernacular profiles. We should note the irregularity of the masonry that shapes it because, although there is some homogeneity in terms of the height of the rows of ashlars, the same can not be said about their size. Consisting of a single nave and a rectangular chevet, which narrower and lower than the former, the interior of the Church of Lufrei is only lit through extremely narrow crevices with a clear Romanesque taste, positioned in key locations of the building: above the main portal and the chancel arch and only one on each of the nave's walls. The corbels have a more square than rectangular profile and are plain, thus showing their late nature. As it is known, it is in the earliest specimens of the Portuguese Romanesque style that we find the most varied sculptured shapes which are best suited to the context of these elements that are so typical of this period's architecture.



West façade.



East façade.

4 About this matter, please read Botelho (2010a: 395; 2010b: 59).





South façade

On both sides of the nave there are still corbels located halfway up the walls which reveal the existence of porch-like structures attached to the Church. Besides, in 1726, Francisco Craesbeeck mentions the existence of a galilee that sheltered the main portal and had two "transverse entrances: the one on the Epistle side was covered with stone and lime, and only the one on the Gospel side remains" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 59). We are not certain whether the author was mentioning the existence of an actual galilee of Medieval origin, performing similar functions to those that still exist in the Churches of Gatão and Telões, both in the neighboring municipality of Amarante, or if he intended to mention the porches attached to Lufrei's lateral walls. In fact, on the main façade there isn't any evidence that might give us a hint of their prior existence, or any corbels to support the roof structure, or any visible scars on the wall. On the contrary, the lateral façades still show the corbels that probably supported a porch-like structure. And while the north portal, which internally corresponds to the Gospel side, still serves its purpose today, on the other hand, the one on the south side, i.e., on the Epistle side is currently walled up. Internally there is still a niche that, because it has an ensemble composed of two steps, has lead to believe that it was prepared to accommodate the pulpit (Basto, 2006).

It is precisely the Lufrei's portals that confirm the late nature of the Church's construction. The main portal, in addition to being carved in the thickness of the wall itself, is composed of two broken archivolts that rest directly on the walls and are ennobled by an impost. It doesn't have a tympanum. The north portal is even simpler, because it is formed only by a slightly broken arch which is carved in the thickness of the wall without any ennobling element. The main façade's gable is interrupted by a double Romanesque belfry.

In the south surrounding, there are three surviving tombs with their corresponding lids. These are monolithic sarcophagi with trapezoidal, and perhaps anthropomorphic, shapes; their lids are also monolithic, with pentagonal sections and gabled volumes (Barroca, 1987: 372). These three chests were mentioned in the parish memories of 1758: "(...) three one-piece stone tombs, which are kept in the churchyard, raised from the ground, covered also with one-piece stones that are sharply carved along their entire length. These are like no others found in the neighboring areas. In two of these tombs we may see some traces of a beveled name, however, time has corrupted the letters and we can no longer find out to whom they may have belonged, and men don't have any memories about the people who were buried in them" (Capela, 2009: 170). What is certain is that these Medieval graves are mentioned on this occasion as an indi-



West façade. Portal.



South side surroundings. Tombs

South side surroundings. Tomb.

cation of the existence of "distinguished men" in the parish of Lufrei. Close to these tombs we find the plain bowl of the Romanesque font<sup>5</sup>.

Inside, the visible Romanesque traces are scarce. We only feel the Romanesque atmosphere of this Church in the crevices that tenuously illuminate it or in the size of the triumphal arch that intimately closes the chancel. It is slightly broken and composed of large voussoirs. It doesn't have any decorative motif. Its edges are sharp.

Inside the white washed vestments prevail. However, today we may find "windows" that were mechanically opened during the conduction of surveys and expanded during the first phase of the restoration works, already carried out by the Route of the Romanesque in 2013. Under the existing whitewash, it is possible to identify the presence of strong chromatic layers, particularly on the chancel's elevations (Pestana, 2010: 9).



Chancel. Back wall (behind the main altarpiece). Mural painting

5 In the context of the conservation and protection interventions of the Church of Lufrei, promoted by the Route of the Romanesque in 2013, the basin was moved to the interior of the nave as a preventive measure. The decision on its final location has not yet been taken.



Triumphal arch. Top of the wall. Mural painting. *Calvary*.

Such interventions confirmed the presence of mural paintings in the chancel and in the nave. In the former, the most significant fragments are located behind the main altarpiece: "the ensemble probably had a central figurative panel – which was partially destroyed by the installation of the altarpiece – surrounded by winding red vegetal ornaments over a homogeneous yellow background" (Pestana, 2010: 6).

In the nave, the surveys and the first phase of the restoration works revealed the existence of mural frescoes on the front wall and on the areas located right next to it. They correspond to two different campaigns: the first one, on the wall of the triumphal arch, uses stamped bars to surround a representation of a *Calvary*, while the second campaign "occupies the same area with the same representation and continues along the contiguous walls, at least on the wall to the left, with what might be a fake altarpiece flanked by marbled columns surmounted by windings and pinnacles" (Pestana, 2010: 9-10). As we may immediately perceive, the treatment of Lufrei's mural painting seems quite relevant. The removal of the whitewash layers (Pestana, 2010: 14) will allow revealing a series of previously unseen pictures that seems to have a high artistic quality, judging by the surveys that have already been conducted, of which we highlight the fake altarpiece. Furthermore, since the surveys conducted on the nave's side walls also revealed the existence of paintings, we are actually facing an ensemble with a significant size.



Nave. North wall before the intervention carried out by the Route of the Romanesque (2013). Mural painting. *Fake altarpiece*.

### THE MONUMENT IN THE MODERN PERIOD

urned into parish church in 1455, it drew the attention of patrons and parishioners who, from then onwards, shaped the ecclesiastical space according to their conveniences and spirituality. The remaining heritage still stands as a witness of the first centuries of collective and individual intervention. Its structure – which was particularly touched by the Mannerist spirit and taste, as proven by three altarpieces – underwent substantial transformations until it was definitely abandoned in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



Chancel. Main altarpiece before the intervention carried out by the Route of the Romanesque (2013).

The main altarpiece, despite the fact that is was changed in subsequent periods<sup>6</sup>, reveals the topics of the pre-Baroque altarpiece: it is a parietal composition based on sober lines, whose volume and three-dimensionality are only provided by its four columns. Francisco Craesbeeck calls it the "old-fashion golden altarpiece" and describes it virtually as we know it today: two full-body paintings draw the devotee's attention; the one, on the Gospel side, represents Saint Peter, while the other, on the Epistle side, represents Saint Paul – both are depicted with the usual iconography, turned to each other in a composition that complements the altarpiece's symmetry<sup>7</sup>. The paintings, showing poorly retouched features, can be understood in the light of the Tridentine desire for sobriety and catechization through art. Despite a later attempt to

<sup>6</sup> In 1707, as Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 59) states, it didn't have a tabernacle; it was probably placed there at a much later date, as proven by the additions made to the altarpiece: tabernacle and throne from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century or the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. 7 The chronicler also mentions that, surmounting the altarpiece, there was a painted image of the "Eternal Father" which no longer exists (Craesbeeck, 1992: 59).



Chancel. Main altarpiece on the Gospel side. Painting. *Saint Peter* 







Sacristy. Sculpture. The Saviour.

conceal the two-dimensional images of *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* with full-body sculptures, the commissioners of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century altarpiece most certainly had the intention of educating through images, enhancing the role of the Church's two major figures and, somehow, hiding the image of the *Saviour*, which was commonly known as Saint<sup>8</sup>.

The image that is currently displayed in front of the painting of the apostle *Peter* is a 17<sup>th</sup>-century work and it is not part of the primitive altar, but it may be the one that, in 1726, "was on a rock [sic] in the middle of the altarpiece" (Calado, 2008). Moreover, although the Tridentine guidelines sought to ward off names and representations that defied theology, the Baroque wasted no time when it came to humanizing the Saviour, bringing Him closer to the devotees together with the other entities – mostly male and female saints displayed for worship in the Church, thus replacing mural and altarpiece paintings.

As soon as we pass through the chancel arch, the difference between the volumes of the chancel and the nave is quite remarkable, but that was not enough to make the investment in integrated assets match the vertical nature of the space. The two collateral altarpieces lean discreetly against the angles of the north, east and south walls. They are both from the Mannerist period.

The altarpiece on the north wall, currently dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, invoked the Virgin of the Rosary in 1726 and 1758<sup>9</sup>. In the attic there is a bas-relief panel showing the scene of the *Annunciation*: the angel Gabriel, kneeling on a cloud, is giving Mary the good news (symbolized by a lily), who receives it while praying, with gestures of wonder and delight. Above the Virgin there is a winged figure that seems to be shaping a canopy to protect the Chosen one using its wings. The scene is surmounted by the Holy Spirit that emanates a few light beams over Mary and the Angel.

A central painting depicting *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint John the Evangelist* dominates the entire structure of the opposite altarpiece. Between them there is an empty space and under

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the name Saint Saviour, Saviour or Divine Saviour, please read what we wrote in the Church of Tabuado (Marco de Canaveses).

<sup>9</sup> In 1726, this image was clothed with a dress, in other words, a dress with stripes on its sleeves (Craesbeeck, 1992: 59)

it there is a corbel indicating the former presence of a full-body sculpture that completed the composition. This sculpture was removed, but it could have been the image of Saint Sebastian to whom this altarpiece was dedicated in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This conjecture is corroborated by the painting on the attic: an open crown whose interior is pierced by three crossed arrows, the symbols of the martyrdom and the power of the Prince of Martyrs. The fact that we find the two namesakes together, the Baptist and the Evangelist, may suggest that one of the work's patrons have wished to remember them along with Saint Sebastian. Moreover, both the presence of the Marian patron saint and of the holy martyr are common within the repertoire of parish churches, as elements of a devotion that is influenced both by preaching and by the collective desire of protection against natural elements and pathologies (Resende, 2011).



Nave. Collateral altarpiece on the Gospel side before the intervention carried out by the Route of the Romanesque. (2013).



Nave. Collateral altarpiece on the Epistle side before the intervention carried out by the Route of the Romanesque. (2013).

# CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

n 1864, the parish priest of Lufrei, Francisco Feliciano Roiz, informed the Director of Public Works of Porto that "the Church of the Saint Saviour of Lufrei, in the municipality of Amarante, is extremely old; its foundation dates back to the period of the Goths, as evidenced by the building's wall. It was once a Monastery of Benedictine Nuns"<sup>10</sup>. At the time, the parish priest considered that this Church was "in a perfect state of repair [sic] and, in addition to other improvements, it has a fine masonry cemetery around it with the necessary capacity for its purposes".

However, almost a century later, another parish priest of Lufrei expressed a different opinion. On October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1967, Father António da Silva Ribeiro Peixoto addressed the Head of the DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments] in order to request that institution's support to "gain some internal space that would be occupied by the devotees" in the then parish Church of Lufrei, "a very old and small church with unique and markedly Romanesque features"<sup>11</sup>. So, the parish priest suggested liberating the Church from "additions that are very different from its style". That fact was then justified by a significant population growth.

In the following year the DGEMN's technicians visited Lufrei and learned that the parish priest intended to carry out some "expansion works in the Church", by building "two lateral volumes connected to the existing chancel and planning to move it back beyond its front wall"<sup>12</sup>. In order to protect this legacy "of great archaeological interest", it was deemed appropriate to propose its classification as a Public Interest Building, "which would prevent its destruction by the implementation of any potential construction plans that, like this one, would not only destroy the proportions of its original layout, but also its architectural features"<sup>13</sup>. In November 1971 the Church of the Saviour of Lufrei was classified as a Public Interest Building<sup>14</sup>.

Considering the parish Church's new status of classified monument, in 1972, the parish priest of Lufrei asked for DGEMN's technical support to carry out a study and provide its assistance in the works he then intended to carry out<sup>15</sup>. The monuments' services considered it was opportune to accept the request<sup>16</sup>. We were not able to confirm if the works were actually carried out but, if they were, their goal was certainly the Church's preservation. What we know is that the construction of the new parish church of Lufrei between 1991 and 2001 (Figueiredo, 2012) condemned the old and small Romanesque Church to oblivion. [MLB / NR]

10 Roiz, Francisco Feliciano – Missiva de 26 de outubro de 1864. IRHU/Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3 – Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante. 1864-1867.

11 Peixoto, António da Silva Ribeiro – Missiva de 27 de outubro de 1967 [SIPA.TXT.00671387] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-004-1979/1 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT0011301210010].

12 Ofício n.º 222 de 9 de março de 1968 [SIPA.TXT.00671388]. In Idem

13 Idem.

14 DECREE no. 516. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I. 274 (71-11-22) 1798-1799.

15 Peixoto, António da Silva Ribeiro – Missiva de 25 de agosto de 1972 [SIPA.TXT.00901112] PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/026-0108 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT0011301210010].

16 Ofício n.º 878 de 3 de setembro de 1972 [SIPA.TXT.00671398] PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-004-1979/1 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [Nº IPA PT0011301210010].



New church of Lufrei.

Already as part of the Route of the Romanesque, in 2010, the Church of Lufrei was subject to a protection, conservation and enhancement intervention. The project execution aimed at the general preservation of the Church's roofs, at the level of ceramic tiles, woodwork, water-proofing systems, zinc protections and gutters (Costa, 2010).

In 2013, the conservation and restoration works of the panels of the chancel and nave of the Church began, including the built-in statuary, namely the images of Saint James, which is currently in the sacristy, and the Saviour, stored in new parish church of Lufrei.

After the removal of the panels it became possible to proceed with the conservation of the wall paintings of the Church, having been discovered, behind the altarpiece of the north wall of the nave, an image of *Saint Andrew*, as the legend identifies him. This intervention intended to "ensure the proper conservation of the visible mural paintings and those that shall be placed uncovered after removing the existing overlapping layers, to improve their overall reading and aesthetic presentation" (Pestana, 2010: 3).

Once the first phase of interventions is completed, the Route of the Romanesque shall resume, even in 2014, the conservation and protection interventions in the Church of Lufrei. The second phase of the project will focus on "the building's "envelope" – outer vestments, access doors and lighting and ventilation openings – including the strengthening of its protection



Nave. North wall. Mural painting. Saint Andrew.



Nave and chancel, during the intervention carried out by the Route of the Romanesque (2013).

against moisture through a perimeter drainage ditch, and still (taking advantage of the current possibility of access to the inside of the roofing, the early work stage, and the fact that one proposes to excavate its perimeter) the pre-installation of basic infrastructure" (Costa, 2012: 9). Meanwhile, a conservation and restoration project of the chancel's ceiling has also been developed (Duarte, 2012). [RR]

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# CHRONOLOGY

1258: the witnesses of the royal inquiry mention the family of Gonçalo João da Pedreira as founders (and patrons) of the monastery of Lufrei;

1455: the monastic Church is reduced to a secular Church by archbishop Fernando da Guerra;

1726: Francisco Craesbeeck describes the Church with its "ancient-style altarpiece", just like we know it today;

1882: the parish of Lufrei is transferred from the archdiocese of Braga to the diocese of Porto;

1971: classification of the Church of Lufrei as Public Interest Building;

2001: abandonment of the Church of Lufrei, whose worship was transferred to a new temple;

2010: the Church of Lufrei becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque;

2013: general conservation of the roofing and conservation and restoration of altarpieces and mural paintings;

2014-2015: general conservation of the Church of Lufrei at the level of the outer vestments, access doors and lighting and ventilation openings.

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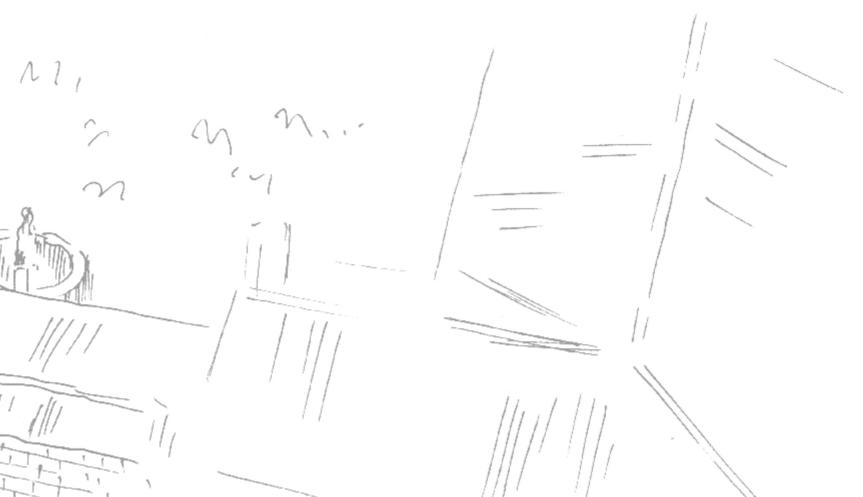
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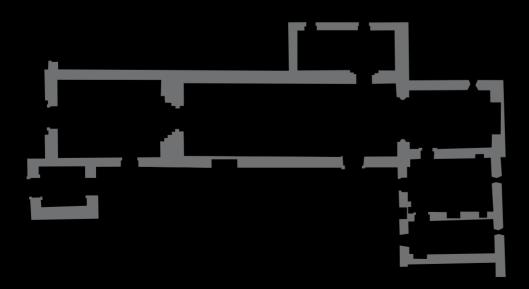




# MONASTERY OF SAINT MARTIN OF MANCELOS AMARANTE



# MONASTERY OF SAINT MARTIN OF MANCELOS AMARANTE



## HISTORICAL SUMMARY

he toponym Mancelos appears in the "Carta da Província de Entre-Douro-e-Minho", from 1729, made to integrate the work *Mapa de Portugal antigo e moderno*, by João Baptista de Castro (1762). Located close to Amarante, pointed out and highlighted in the map with a circular defensive structure that in fact never existed, Mancelos is graphically depicted as the memory of a Monastery and a "couto" [a type of Portuguese administrative division], whose importance and autonomy endured in regional and national memory, despite its extinction and incorporation in other monastic institutions. The memory, provided by tradition, stones and documents was, thus, translated into a first cartography abiding by this logic of importance, not always geographically understood, but that an analysis of the Humanistic and Illuminist memoirs would help to explain.

The fact that Mancelos, like so many other monastic institutes from the period of the nation's foundation, is associated with the name of King Afonso Henriques reveals the interest in bequeathing the importance of its creation for posterity despite sometimes lacking the necessary documentation. However, the building's location and the extension of the remaining traces are real legacies of its importance and the need for its foundation: ensuring social and economic control over a region where, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century – the chronology associated with its foundation –, there was already a convergence of several political interests.



Entre-Douro-e-Minho province (adapted from Castro, 1762)



Aerial view.

Built on the edge of the tilled plain of the brook of Cruz, Mancelos is, therefore, a legacy of the interest that manorial and ecclesiastic powers had in taking the proper advantage of a region where different boundaries and jurisdictions met. While, in the Middle Ages, Mancelos was part of the "terra de Sousa" [a type of Portuguese administrative division], in the Modern Period, it appears as a "couto" under the influence of the municipality of Santa Cruz de Ribatâ-mega. Close to Amarante and to the limits of the diocese of Braga, to which it belonged until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was eventually disturbed by the interference of patrons' relatives and fell into a commendatory management; it was donated in 1540 by King João III (k. 15231-1557) to the Dominicans from Amarante.

Although the foundation of the Monastery of Mancelos is ascribed to the couple Mem Gonçalves da Fonseca (from the Ribadouro family) and Maria Pais Tavares<sup>1</sup>, who lived during the reign of King Sancho II (k. 1223-1245), it is likely for the Monastery to have been under the sphere of influence of the Portocarreiro family. The genealogical narratives mention Raimundo Garcia (the second known element from that lineage, documented between 1129 and 1152),

1 One of the elegies about this couple's connection to Mancelos is the one written by Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 231). According to this memoirist, the toponym "Mancelos" came from the name and surname of the founder "Mem Gonçellos" (Mem Gonçalves), from the "honra" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Fonseca, who would have built his manor house here (despite stating to be from Fonseca, São Martinho de Mouros (Resende), which immediately strikes us as quite odd). as "the one who provided something great to Mancelos" (Sottomayor-Pizarro,1997: 912). The cenoby already existed, at least, in 1120, as specified in the Bull of Pope Callixtus II (p. 1119-1124) regarding the terms of the diocese of Porto (Ribeiro, 1810-1836: 6). So, it is possible for its foundation to have taken place in the first quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, during the life of Garcia Afonso and Elvira Mendes, the first members of the Portocarreiro lineage<sup>2</sup>. Mancelos was passed on as a patronage and family ecclesiastical space to their descendants, particularly the Fonseca family, and is, therefore, considered a true paradigm of private churches<sup>3</sup>. In fact, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the number of familiars who claimed rights and revenues associated with this Monastery was truly impressive<sup>4</sup>. The series of assets included subsidiary chaplaincies, among which was the one of Ermida do Douro (Cinfaes), located on the south bank of the Douro<sup>5</sup>.

Although the authority of the Canons Regulars of Saint Augustine is associated with the initial ownership of the Monastery, the order itself, in its chronicles, reveals an almost complete lack of knowledge on the origin of the monastic space, a fact that reveals the strategies of private foundation, more concerned with territorial domain than with the creation of evangelising centres.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the archbishop of Braga, Francisco da Guerra (?-1467) and his entourage were accommodated in the Monastery for several times. The archbishop, who was simultaneously the commander of the monastic institute, dealt with the issue of the regency following the death of King Duarte (k. 1433-1438) from Mancelos. There are records of his presence in this Monastery between the 1430's and the 1460's, so this was a privileged spot in the itineraries and inspections of the active prelate and, perhaps, of the following ones (Marques, 1978: 89-182).

In 1540, King João III (k. 1521-1557) donated Mancelos to the monks of Saint Gonçalo of Amarante, a deed confirmed by Pope Paul III (p. 1534-1549) two years later. The rights associated with the "couto", where there was a judge, a prosecutor and a magistrate that worked in the civil area – given that the criminal area was handled by Santa Cruz de Ribatâmega – were transferred to this convent in Amarante.

Francisco Craesbeeck summarises the transfer of Mancelos and justifies it very clearly: "under the obligation to oblige (...) the canons [of Saint Gonçalo] and provide (...) friars to India, Brazil and other conquests of the Kingdom, and to preach and indoctrinated residents and neighbours of the said "couto" and parish" (Craesbeeck, 1992: 232), i.e., the transference of the revenues and rights from the old institute to the Dominican sphere favoured the order's catechetical service and, specially, the flourishing of their house in Amarante.

After the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Mancelos became a centre of administrative and evangelising activity associated with the Preachers of Saint Gonçalo of Amarante, which was one of the most important monastic complexes of that order in Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> Little is known about this couple except that they had two sons, the already mentioned Raimundo and Monio Garcia (Sottomayor-Pizarro, 1997: 912).

<sup>3</sup> On private churches, please read Oliveira (1950: 126).

<sup>4</sup> On this subject, please read the work by Sottomayor-Pizarro (1997), which mentions several descendants from the Portocarreiros and Ribadouro lineages, as well as relatives from Mancelos. They were compiled by São Paio (1987: 45-71).

<sup>5</sup> José Marques (1988: 809) places it in the land of Panoias, but it is actually the chapel of D. Pinho, after the church of Saint Peter, a parish on the south bank of the Douro and in the term of Ferreiros de Tendais.



West façade.

# THE MONUMENT IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

he Church of Mancelos features a longitudinal plan and is defined by a considerable difference between volumes from which the rectangular nave stands out; it is higher than the chancel and the galilee, both with square plans. Showing a clear contrast with this longitudinal volume, the bell tower addorsed to the south side of the galilee emerges as a vertical element that stands out from the surrounding landscape. First of all, this monumental ensemble stands out for integrating this massive tower, but also and mainly because it still preserves the galilee in front of the main façade, which is sheltering the portal.

The Monastery of Mancelos was built in a place still currently dominated by agricultural activities, as proven by its surrounding landscape, which is characterised by a rotational use of small plots of land that, together with herding, are a sign of an intensive use of the lands. The monasteries were always very attracted by fertile agricultural lands – which provided their main livelihood –, particularly during the Middle Ages. And these were considered even better if they allowed herding activities and if, close by, there were forests to supply wood, which was such an essential element back then... As explained by João de Barros around 1549, in the valley where the Monastery of Mancelos was built, a monastery of "Canons Regular of Saint Au-

gustine, there was plenty of "Vinho Verde" [slightly sparkling white or red wine from Northern Portugal] and many trees, thus producing each eight and ten almudes [former Portuguese unit of measurement] of Wine" (Barros, 1919: 77).

Although it has undergone several transformations over the centuries, this Church maintained significant portions of the Romanesque Period. The existence of an inscription engraved on a loose ashlar, which may still be found today in a space located next to the Church, where once stood the cloister, near the sacristy, takes us back to 1166 (Barroca, 2000: 314-315). We should not forget that this cenoby dates back, at least, to 1120. In this inscription we can read: IN Era M<sup>a</sup> CC<sup>a</sup> IIII<sup>a</sup>.



Cloister. Inscription.

However, as it only mentions one date, "Era of 1204", this epigraph tells us nothing of the nature of the event being commemorated, especially since it is currently out of context. Nonetheless, according to Mário Barroca, there is an aspect we should take into account, which is precisely that of its epigraphical quality, certainly achieved due to an *ordinatio*, i.e., following specific pagination and shape guidelines that had been previously defined (Barroca, 2000: 107). The characters were outlined on the support using a paintbrush and ink, charcoal, the dry point technique or even a chisel, following the desired layout. In this inscription there are several features that lead us to conjecture the existence of an *ordinatio*: the regularity of the characters that define a balanced and elegant calligraphy and are centred on the space limited by the two lines, defining the height of the rule. And, so, this is the reason why it is believed that this inscription may commemorate a particularly important moment in the monument's history, perhaps the "Consecration" or the "Dedication" of the Romanesque building (Barroca, 2000: 315).

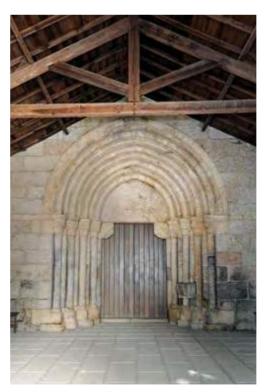
Thus, by comparing this chronology with the remaining Romanesque traces of Mancelos, which tell us of a later period, we believe it is safer to say that we stand before a building that, at some point during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, was subject to deep rebuilding works. Or, alternatively, and as a mere conjecture, considering the fact that this building was subject to deep transfor-

mations during the Modern Period, is it possible that this epigraph actually belonged to the chancel, thus meaning that it commemorates an act of consecration or dedication? Bearing in mind the slowness of the Romanesque construction process, we cannot fail to suggest the possibility that this building began being built in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century and that its chancel was opened to worship after its dedication and consecration, possibly in 1166. An interruption in the construction process or a slower evolution of the nave's construction may fully justify the late nature of the portal that, unsurprisingly, was only finished more than a century later. We may suggest several hypotheses that shall only be clarified, one day, through documentary sources. But, when these are absent, there is nothing better than the monument itself – a material legacy of the utmost importance – to provide us with a lot of information.

The galilee is an extremely simple volume. Opened by a slightly broken arch that allows accessing the interior, its gable is interrupted by a niche that once may have sheltered an image. Would it belong to Saint Martin, the patron saint? Probably. Given the difference in height between the galilee and the Church's façade, it is possible to see the façade's gable rather well. Here we find a series of merlons similar to the one that decorated the galilee (which recall the outline of the Gothic front corbels), as well as a narrow crevice that allows illuminating the nave's interior. On the top of the gable's angle there is a terminal cross with a Baroque outline.



Church. West façade. Galilee. External view.



Church. West façade. Galilee. Interior view.

The main portal of the Church of Mancelos is sheltered inside the wooden-covered galilee; this is one of the elements that allows us to better define a chronology for the construction of this building. Its four slightly broken archivolts rest on elegant capitals whose exquisitely designed sculpture is already very attached to the frustum, a revealing feature of the upcoming Gothic style. There are bas-relief botanic motifs based on the model of the Corinthian volutes that provide the ensemble with a certain homogeneity, despite the compositional differences between the various capitals. Here, we identify several types of stylised and open leaves, similar to fleurs-de-lys<sup>6</sup>; they are combined with phytomorphic motifs that form twistings and remind Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida of a few specimens from the collegiate of Guimarães<sup>7</sup>. The elaborate imposts composed of overlapping round elements confirm the late nature of the ensemble whose monumentality is emphasised by the dihedral tori found on the archivolts; the origin of this element is clearly associated with Porto and we find it in other monuments like Travanca and Freixo de Baixo, both in Amarante. The surrounding arch shows us a decorated modénature with chained geometric motifs. The plain tympanum is supported by two corbels where two Atlas-shaped figures, a female one and a male one, were carved.



Church. West façade. Portal. Capitals and corbel.

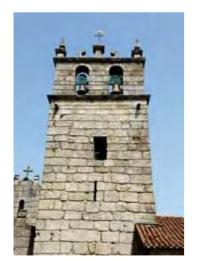
6 We find the iconographic interpretation suggested by Lois García (1997: 18-27) for this portal's capitals somewhat exaggerated. On the observer's right, from the outside to the inside, the author identifies a lily, almond trees, a twisted vine and a lemon tree. On the opposite side and in the same sense, he identifies an olive tree, reinterpretations of the almond tree and the vine and, finally, a palm tree.

7 In general, the capitals of the cloister of the collegiate of Our Lady of the Olive Tree of Guimarães are already considered Gothic: part of their foliage is very naturalistic and others are the origin of the late Gothic capitals featuring protruding panels (Almeida, 1978: 228, 233).





Church. South façade. Nave. Portal.



Bell tower.

So, it is based on the elements that shape this portal that one may suggest a late chronology for this Church (or rather, of part of this Church?), sometime during the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Almeida, 1978: 233).

Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 234) mentions an inscription whose current location is un-known: MCCC / OBI[it] M / ARTINUS.

According to the author, this ashlar was placed on the jamb of the access door to the cloister, i.e., on the south side. Although currently we have no idea about the whereabouts of this funerary inscription, it is likely that Martin was the abbot of the Monastery of Mancelos. When, in 1258, the inspectors sent by King Afonso III (1248-1279) arrive in Mancelos, the most important witness they hear is a man called "Martinus Martini" who, despite not being explicitly treated as an abbot, probably held such position (Barroca, 2000: 889). So, by alluding to the decease of Martinus in 1262, the existence of this inscription makes us wonder about the importance that the abbot had at the time in order to be celebrated in this way. Nearly a century later, the Monastery of Mancelos contributed with 600 "libras" [former Portuguese currency unit] to the crusades, a significant amount when compared to the one that was charged to other monasteries from the same region in 1320 (Sousa, 2005: 190). Therefore, we immediately infer the regional, or even national, importance that the monastic ensemble of Mancelos achieved, and so its reconstruction or improvement intervention in such an early period is not at all surprising. At the same time, its peripheral nature in relation to major artistic centres may easily justify the containment that characterises the built ensemble as a whole.

The tower, addorsed to the galilee, proudly shows its Medieval masonry work composed of ashlars with different sizes. It is surmounted by a double belfry on the main façade, which is placed on a cornice and reveals a Classicist language which is the result of an intervention carried out in the Modern Period, in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century, as proven by the pinnacles and small fins that crown it. On the side and rear elevations we also see a series of merlons with a pyramidal profile which recall the rhetorical military nature that was intentionally associated with this type of buildings. We enter the Church through a round-arched portal interrupted by a lintel and, along its axis, from the bottom to the top, we see a narrow crevice and a rectangular window.

The Church's masonry work is irregular and it's both square and rectangular ashlars appear in different sizes. On some of them it is possible to identify a few initials, which are another evidence of the late nature of the building of Mancelos. In addition to the sections of Romanesque walls still visible on the side elevations, a series of plain modillions, whose shape is similar to those of the closed corbels that support wooden beams, immediately stands out. On both façades, two rectangular glass panes, characteristically Modern, were torn in the Romanesque vestments, for better lighting of the nave's interior. On the south side, halfway up the nave, a series of corbels suggests the existence of a porch-like structure. Here there is also a straightlintel door that allows accessing the nave's interior.

We should not forget that this side of the Church is facing the space where once there was once a cloister. This must contribute to the understanding of the location of the arcosolium, which shelter a sepulchral chest and is opened at ground floor level. In 1944, Armando de Mattos mentioned this tomb with a "zoomorphic representation" (Barroca, 1987: 373) for the first



Church. North wall. Nave. Initial.

Church. South façade.

time. Mário Barroca integrated this sarcophagus in the family of those that have "simple motifs" (Barroca, 1987: 373). The author of the article in *Guia de Portugal…* mentions the three curious symbols that appear next to a figurative medallion: a cross and two jennets (Dionísio, 1985: 446).



Church. South facade. Nave. Arcosolium.

In order to allow the access to the cloister, an essential element in the organization of any monastery, the tower was cut by a round communication arch. An analysis of the sacristy's façade shows us the presence of three broken arches, which are currently walled up and allow us to assume that there was an adjustment of an older space to new functions. That it also corroborated by the existence of a cornice supported by a series of modillions, identical to that of the nave. A series of corbels placed on the wall, on the level immediately above the arches, allows us to confirm this possibility. What kind of space would it be? A former sacristy, or even, a chapter room? Considering the fact that it was built with stone, it was certainly one of the noblest spaces associated with the monastic life. We cannot say which one. Another conjecture. The adjustment of this space to work as a sacristy occurred sometime during the Modern Period, as indicated by the quadrilobed shape of the porthole and by the shape of the niche, both opened on the central arch. A few straight-lintel doors surmounted by circular oculi were opened on the limiting arches. We believe this intervention to be coeval of the one which designed the bell which finishes the tower.

On the north side of the nave, we highlight several scars on the outer walls, reflecting the different transformations to which the building was submitted.



Church. Sacristy. West façade.



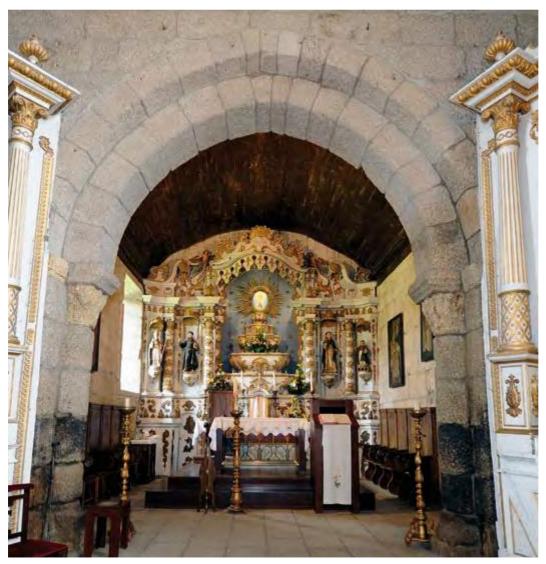
Church. North façade.



Church. General interior view from the nave.

Closed by a wooden barrel vault, the nave of the Church of Mancelos is extremely sober; its granite walls are completely exposed and combine crevices of a clear Romanesque flavour with large windows, typical of the Modern Period. Surmounted by a flared crevice, the triumphal arch stands as a remaining element of the Romanesque Period. Although it is composed of two slightly broken archivolts without any ornamental elements, its capitals are pierced. Over the capitals, we find an impost identical to the one in the main portal. Close to the portal, we find the granite font placed on our left when entering the nave. It does not bear any decorative element besides the ring that surmounts the upper part of the base that supports the bowl, protected by a wooden railing.

As we may infer from what has been said above, the Romanesque Church of the Monastery of Mancelos was subject to a striking intervention in the Modern Period that not only updated its architectural language, through the opening of several spans and windows but also modernised its liturgical furnishings, thus, answering the new liturgical and catechetical needs.



Church. Triumphal arch and chancel.

#### THE MONUMENT IN THE MODERN PERIOD

he rest of the intervention the Church of Saint Martin of Mancelos was subject to is mostly a result of the Baroque spirit and taste introduced under the Dominican management. From the Augustinian period, only a few architectural changes remained; these include the opening of spans and windows and the construction or refurbishment of new areas, namely the transformation of the old chapter house into a sacristy, as we have mentioned above.

On the other hand, the major contemporary changes had crucial impact on the organization of the ecclesiastical space, leading to the elimination of decorative elements and even of movable and integrated heritage. This fact leads us to redouble our attention when it comes to analysing, and considering as part of the historical path of any monument, objects or even items of furniture we may currently observe. There were two particularly important moments that determined the striking changes in the organization of the ecclesiastical assets: the Decree issued on May 30th, 1834, and the Separation Law of April 20th, 1911. Following these two moments, there were periods that determined the migration and destruction of movable and integrated assets, as well as other actions, not always documented. Following the liberal Decree of 1834, some implements were removed from the monastic churches and distributed amongst the neediest parishes while, over the 20th century, the interventions designed by the DGEMN - Direcão-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments] resulted in the destruction of altarpieces or in their transfer to other religious buildings. The images themselves, as movable assets, were subject to constant changes as a result of collective preferences and transfers of devotional affections. Faced with the absence of inventories or, should these exist, with the lack of detail on the objects, the researcher may feel tempted to integrate in the historic path of the building elements that do not fit into the chronological continuum of the structure (or fit into later periods of its existence). So, we should be particularly careful while considering the heritage which is currently part of the monument, placing the factual explanation behind its presence in the corresponding collection above its formal description.

Inside Mancelos, the changes imposed over the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries determined the sober appearance of its ornamentation. From the Baroque campaign only the Johannine [style which develops during the reign of King João V (k. 1706-1750)] main altarpiece that takes up the entire back wall of the chancel remains. Here, a modest four-stepped plinth with a throne, which is surmounted by a pelmet and flanked by four twisted columns, marks the central point of the structure to which the devotee's attention is drawn, both when the priest removes the holy host from inside the tabernacle and during the display of the Blessed Sacrament on the throne.

Between the columns there are four corbels with images of the patron saint – Saint Martin of Tours –, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Dominic of Guzman and Saint Gonçalo of Amarante. These are sculptures whose chronological arc spans between the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Their iconography does not go beyond the usual canons: the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Saint Martin is represented as a bishop with a crosier and a mitre and Saint Francis is shown in one of his most common Post-Tridentine figurations: that of a meditative ascetic whose gaze is lost between the crucifix and the skull, symbols of eternity and human frailty.

On the Epistle side, Saint Dominic of Guzmán and Saint Gonçalo highlight the Dominican presence. The former, according to his usual representation, is wearing the white habit of the Order of the Preachers while holding a cross in his right hand and a book with a red cover in his left hand; at his feet there is a small dog with brown fur. The blessed man from Amarante who is commonly known as Saint Gonçalo rests on a two-arched bridge, showing a similar outfit, pose and attribute to those of his order's patriarch.

Along the nave there are three altars – two collateral altars and a lateral one – that shelter contemporary devotions represented by the Modern images of the Virgin of the Rosary of Fátima, the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Virgin of Sorrows. This Marian altarpiece also shelters a lying Christ; this is an 18<sup>th</sup>-century processional sculpture. However, it is natural that the Modern nature of the invocations to indicate not only spiritual transformations but also of changes in terms of heritage, as suggested by the sculpture and painting collection scattered across the Church. The images of the Virgin of the Rosary (18<sup>th</sup> century), the Virgin of Lapa (18<sup>th</sup> century) and Saint Anthony may have been objects of devotion that were, in the meantime, removed from their altars. Although there is no memoir for this parish in 1758 (perhaps due to its status as a branch of the branch of the convent Saint Gonçalo), a few years earlier, in 1726, chronicler Francisco Craesbeck described it as an "ancient temple" with "a tabernacle and a fine chancel". He also mentioned the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary and its corresponding confraternity, to which he added another one, dedicated to the Lord (Craesbeeck, 1992: 233).



Church. Chancel. Main altarpiece.



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Church. Nave. South wall. Painting. Saint Dominic being served by angels.
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Regarding the paintings of the Church of Saint Martin, which, in addition to monastic, was the Church of the parish and "couto" of Mancelos, we should highlight the existence of an interesting collection, currently scattered across the ecclesiastical space. Despite unaware of the original positions of the paintings, which the existing documents do not mention or overlook, we should assume that these are a result of Modern or Contemporary changes of which the nave's altarpieces stand as evidence.

Along the Church's body and chancel we find six oil paintings, five on chestnut wood and one on a linen canvas<sup>8</sup>. The latter, which is the largest of them all (93 centimetres high by 168 centimetres wide), shows a collective meal shared by 12 clergymen who are having bread and wine served by two angels and watched by two dogs that seem to be waiting for their turn to be fed. The scene is as unusual as the presence of the canvas on the Church's south wall. It was clearly not commissioned for this ecclesiastical space, and we may conjecture whether it was intended for the refectory or other welfare-related area from the monastic complex.

It is an 18<sup>th</sup> century work and it seems to depict the miracle commonly known as *Saint Dominic being served by angels*<sup>9</sup>. This depiction is a partial corruption of the narrative included in the hagiographies of Saint Dominic, according to which, one day, there were about 40 brothers gathered in the convent of Saint Sixtus, in Rome (Italy), who had nothing to eat except a piece of bread that the prayerful Saint Dominic divided into small pieces that were then distributed. The comfort provided by the master urged his brothers to sit down and listen to the holy reading in silence, while they prepared themselves to eat the meagre nourishment. Suddenly, after Saint Dominic's blessing and prayer, "two extremely beautiful young men carrying bright

8 These paintings are not included in the series of items described in the inventory of worshipping-related assets of 1937 (PORTUGAL. Ministério das Finanças – Secretaria-geral – Arquivo. Comissão Jurisdicional dos Bens Cultuais, distrito do Porto, concelho de Amarante, arrolamento dos bens cultuais de Mancelos (Arquivo/CJBC/PTO/AMA/ARROL/027), fls. 1-5).

9 The entry in the online inventory of the diocese of Porto incorrectly names it as *Ceia no Santo Sepulcro em Roma* [Lord's Supper at the Holy Sepulchre in Rome] and mentions 11 clergymen instead of 12 (Costa, 2008).

white cloths filled with bread appeared in the refectory" (Vieira, 1987: 68)<sup>10</sup>. In the painting from Mancelos there are 12 figures, perhaps in the painter's attempt to associate or combine this scene with the Last Supper, thus emphasising the role of imitator of Christ that Dominic seemed to play during his life. The presence of certain mundane elements, like the dogs, or the visible dissimilarity between the friars, may indicate the transposition of elements and individuals from everyday life to the scene, thus meeting the time and the commissioners' taste.

On the same south wall there is an oil painting on wood with the traditional representation of the martyr *Saint Sebastian* – naked and pierced with arrows – which might have been part of an altarpiece, destroyed in the meantime. The painting, which may be dated back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was damaged by later repainting's and interventions and shows an effeminate young man whose defective anatomic treatment reveals the work of a poorly skilled artisan. On the opposite wall, an interesting depiction of the *Virgin of the Rosary* recalls a devotion that was very often found in parish churches, but was particularly relevant for the Dominicans who welcomed Her in their preaching and evangelising actions in a specially warm and spiritual way.

Although the popularisation of the devotion to the Rosary is often ascribed to Saint Dominic, it was another preacher, the French Alain de la Roche (1498), who stimulated it by writing the work *De dignitate et utilitate psalterii*..., where he celebrates as asks for prayers to the mysteries of Christ and His Mother.

In this painting, and unlike the usual inclusion of the rosary as an accessory which is generally hanging from her hand, the Virgin is surrounded by an almond-shaped border made of roses. The Infant Jesus is squirming on Her lap and, leaning over His Mother's right arm, is dropping a few flowers on a male figure, whose half body is emerging from the lower left corner as if he was expressing his gratitude and posing in veneration. It is surely the commissioner or patron of this work, a nobleman from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as denounced by the colours and shapes of his clothes.

In the chancel there are three paintings: on the Epistle side, we find a representation of *Saint Anthony* and a painting that the inventory of the diocese of Porto calls "São Tomás de Aquino" [Saint Thomas Aquinas]. On the Gospel side, we find *Saint Martin seating on a cathedra*.

It is likely for this depiction of *Saint Martin* as a seating bishop equipped with the corresponding prelate insignias to be a remain from an altarpiece made before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., still coeval of the Augustinian presence in Mancelos. It is one of the best examples of paintings from the Renaissance, whose models lasted for a long time in the works produced by local or regional workshops and artists.

As for the supposed *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, we cannot fail to highlight the strangeness of his depiction: seating at a table presided by a crucifix and where there are an ink bottle, a quill and three books, we find a friar from the Order of the Preachers who is leafing through one of the books and writing down a few excerpts on the other. The most commonly found depictions of Saint Thomas, also known as *doctor angelicus*, usually show him as a more robust and older man accompanied by the dove of the Holy Spirit; sometimes he is wearing a chastity belt decorated

<sup>10</sup> The miracle is narrated by Sister Cecilia Romana, from the Order of the Preachers, in the series of miracles that occurred in Rome (Italy). Friar Constantino Orvieto (1988) integrates this fantastic event in the legend he wrote about the life of Saint Dominic, as well as *Legenda Aurea* [Golden Legend], de Jacobus de Voragine (1480), although none of the narratives makes specific references to angels.









Church. Chancel. North wall. Painting. Saint Martin.

with a star or a sun and, less frequently, he is carrying a model of a temple, a sign of his status as a Doctor of the Church (Réau, 2002: 282). The representation of Mancelos shows him with a relatively young appearance and without any sign of holiness, namely the nimbus. So, it could be a portrait of any individual connected to the Dominican Order who was especially important for the Church of Mancelos. Someone who was fairly recognised by his culture or intellect. But what remains even more unclear regarding the identification of the depicted figure is the mitre placed close to the reading table. The position of this accessory reveals his resignation or refusal to receive the cathedra. Although both the Dominican Saint Albertus Magnus (another potential name for the identification) and Thomas Aquinas are associated with self-resignation, the two feature obvious signs of holiness that, in this case, are totally absent. Moreover, Saint Albertus is invariably wearing the episcopal insignias and there are no known allusions to the episcopal position that Saint Thomas Aquinas never actually held.



Church. Nave. South wall. Painting. *Friar Bartholomew of the* Church. Chancel. South wall. Painting. *Saint Anthony. Martyrs* (?).

So, we believe this may be a depiction of *Friar Bartholomew of the Martyrs* (1514-1590); his biography tells us that he was closely connected to the construction of the convent of Saint Gonçalo to which the revenues of Mancelos contributed. As it is known, Friar Bartholomew resigned the mitre of Braga in 1582, following the Courts of Tomar. He was an erudite man whose participation in the Council of Trento left recognised marks in the Christian culture of the time. And the fact that he was only deemed venerable in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and canonised very recently (in 2001) might explain the absence of identifying venerability signs.

This is a late representation made by an artisan unknowledgeable of the episcopal figure in a period that saw an increasing interest in Friar Bartholomew (17<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>11</sup>, whose virtues crowned him with sanctity even before its official acknowledgement, thus justifying the presence of this painting in Mancelos.

#### CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

e see that, in 1864, the parish priest of Mancelos answered the survey sent to all the parishes from the bishopric of Porto, under the request made by the Ministry of Public Works to Victor Le Cocq, regarding the production of a map depicting the state of repair of all the buildings under that Ministry's responsibility, together with the corresponding repairs and authorised expenditure (Rosas, 1995: 511). These buildings included those considered monuments, parish churches and public chapels, among others.

At the time, the parish priest of Mancelos, Joaquim Lopes de Carvalho, considered the condition of the parish Church as "deplorable"<sup>12</sup>. The rapporteur states that in the parish archive there was "an ancient manuscript stating that the Church of Mancelos was founded before the acclamation of the Holy King Afonso Henriques". Besides, he considers that the tower was a "work of the Moors", an aspect that emphasises the symbology and rhetoric that was always associated with this type of elements whenever they were built together with a religious building. This enhancement of the somewhat legendary antiquity of the monument meets the Romantic atmosphere of the time. Father Joaquim also revealed the main portal, supported by "eight columns and before this door, it also features a church foyer or Galilee"<sup>13</sup>.

To date, we do not whether, following this inquiry, there were any conservation works implemented in the Church of Mancelos. We only find institutional reports regarding this monument again in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. First of all, because it was only classified as a Public Interest Building in the 1930's<sup>14</sup>. The importance of the remaining monastic ensemble, whose conventual structure is currently in private hands and adapted to residential functions, justified, years later, the definition of a special protection zone by governmental order (Passos, 1989: 181). As specified by the Basic Law of Heritage, "the protection zones are administrative easements in which, neither the council, nor other entities, may grant construction permits or permits for any building works that change the topography, the alignments and heights and, in general, the arrangement of the volumes and roofs or the external coating of any buildings without the prior favourable assent of the competent cultural heritage management body"<sup>15</sup>. The special protection zones may include *non aedificandi* areas<sup>16</sup>.

In 1945, the then parish priest of Mancelos, Joaquim Teixeira Soares Moreira, addressed the Direção de Monumentos Nacionais do Norte [Northern Directorate for National Monuments] in order to raise this institution's awareness about the advanced state of degradation of the Church of Mancelos, which was in need of "urgent repairs"<sup>17</sup>. The main cause for such

13 Idem.

15 Article 43, point 4, LAW no. 107. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I-A. 209 (2001-09-08) 5808-5829.

<sup>12</sup> Carvalho, Joaquim Lopes de – Missiva de 19 de outubro de 1864. IRHU/ Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3. Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante. 1864-1867.

<sup>14</sup> DECREE no. 24347. O.G. [Official Gazette] Series I. 188 (34-08-11) 1513.

<sup>16</sup> Article 43, point 3, Idem.

<sup>17</sup> Moreira, JoaquimTeixeira Soares–Missiva de 13 de janeiro de 1945. SIPA.TXT.00899774. PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/026-0080 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt> [N° IPA PT011301230006].

degradation was precisely the rain. In order to expedite the process, the parish priest mentions the willingness of the parishioners in providing wood and taking care, for free, of the "transportation of the materials about to be applied".

In the following year there was a selection of the main works that should be carried out<sup>18</sup>:

"- Complete demolition and reconstruction of the roofs over the Church and its annexes, including a proper framework.

- Complete demolition of the choir, which is considered as inappropriate.

- Consolidation of the masonry work, including the replacement of a few stones.

- Reconstruction of pavements, window and door frames, miscellaneous painting works, etc.".

However, due to a lack of allocation<sup>19</sup>, these works were not immediately begun so, in 1949, the parish priest of Mancelos appeals to the Director of the Direção de Monumentos Nacionais do Norte [Northern Directorate for National Monuments] once again aiming to actually begin the works<sup>20</sup>. But it was only in the transition from the 1960's to the following decade that the restoration works actually began in Mancelos (Noé, 1997).

We notice that there was a special concern in the understanding the sacristy's façade, facing the old cloister. Its arches were even subject to several surveys, which led to the conclusion that "it was impossible to find a solution for the restoration of this façade"<sup>21</sup>. The possibility of opening the broken arches, which are still walled up today and "merely sheltering the inner chamber with a porch supported by the modillions found on the façade and their pillars", was also considered<sup>22</sup>.

Besides the works listed in 1946, most of which were only carried out between 1979 and 1985, we highlight the elimination of the large woodwork pelmet that surmounted the triumphal arch. It is worth mentioning that, on the wall that surrounds this arch, there are still visible marks that prove the fact that this ornamental woodwork element was fixed there. We have already mentioned the triumphal arch's pierced capitals. Although the photos taken before this intervention do not allow us to be absolutely sure, it does seem that these same capitals had an attached gilded woodwork element that created a capital itself. We notice the special attention paid by the Building Commission of Mancelos to the restoration of the internal space, where they removed the "whitewash from the walls, immediately" leaving them "with a rustic look"<sup>23</sup>. The choir was demolished. Until then, the galilee's interior was whitewashed.

The work, funded by the parish itself, was carried out under direct administration by the aforementioned Building Commission, duly monitored by DGEMN's technical services<sup>24</sup>. In addition to the aforementioned works, this intervention also included the restoration of the tower, improvement works on the roofs, the interior renovation of the sacristy, the beginning

19 Ofício n.º 84 de 6 de janeiro de 1950. SIPA.TXT.00899788. Idem.

22 Idem.

<sup>18</sup> Ofício n.º 3088 de 20 de setembro de 1946. SIPA.TXT.00899777. Idem.

<sup>20</sup> Moreira, Joaquim Teixeira Soares – Missiva de 25 de dezembro de 1949. SIPA.TXT.00899787. Idem.

<sup>21</sup> Memória de 17 de março de 1964. SIPA.TXT.00623687 e SIPA.TXT.00623688. PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-1820/3 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT011301230006].

<sup>23</sup> Moreira, António M. C. – Missiva, 9-11-83. IRHU/ Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN/DM – DGEMN:DREMN-2415. 24 Relatório, 18 de março de 1985. Idem.

of the electrical installation and improvement works on the Church's pavements<sup>25</sup>. These works were only completed in 1988, this time with governmental funding.

A special attention was also given to the bell tower that had "a belfry with two windows at the level of the chemin-de-ronde (...), a shed to shelter the bell ringer that, besides being anaesthetic", was an imminent danger at the time taking into account the degree of decay of the woodwork that made up its structure<sup>26</sup>. It was also decided to build a staircase inside the tower based on the levels of the primitive floors, thus taking advantage of "the slits on the walls where the primitive beams had probably been inserted"<sup>27</sup>.

In 2010, the Monastery of Saint Martin of Mancelos became part of the Route of the Romanesque. As a consequence of this new institutional framework, a proposal for the conservation, protection and enhancement of the building has been drawn up (Costa, 2012). [MLB / NR]



Church. Nave before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN (1968). Source: IHRU archive.



Church. West façade. Galilee and portal before the intervention carried out by the DGEMN (1954). Source: IHRU archive.

25 Ofício n.º 614 de 28 de junho de 1988. Idem.

26 Memória de 17 de março de 1964. SIPA.TXT.00623687 e SIPA.TXT.00623688. PT DGEMN:DSID-001/013-1820/3 [Online]. Available at www: <URL: http://www.monumentos.pt>. [N° IPA PT011301230006].

### CHRONOLOGY

1120: the Monastery of Mancelos already existed as a house of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine;

1129-1152: between these dates, Raimundo Garcia, from the Portocarreiros lineage, probably made a donation to Mancelos;

13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries: possible chronology of the remaining Romanesque traces;

14<sup>th</sup> century: Mancelos was a commendation of the archbishop of Braga;

1320: the Church of Mancelos paid a tax of 600 Portuguese "libras" to support the Crusades;

1540: donation of the Church of Mancelos to the convent of Amarante, which belonged to the Order of Preachers, by King João III;

1542: Pope Paul III confirms the donation made by King João III;

17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries: records of interventions focused on the integrated and movable heritage of the Church of Mancelos, namely the design of the main altarpiece and its corresponding imagery;

1864: the parish priest of Mancelos, Joaquim Lopes de Carvalho, considered the state of the building as "deplorable";

1934: the Church of Mancelos is classified as Public Interest Building;

1960's: beginning of the restoration works;

1979: definition of a special protection zone around the monastic ensemble;

1979-1985: conservation works carried out under the Mancelos Building Commission's responsibility;

2010: the Monastery of Mancelos becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque.

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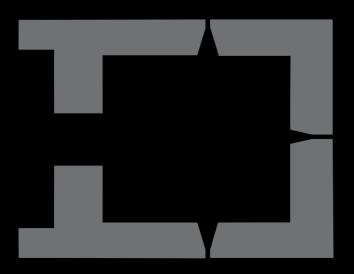
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# CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF DELIVERANCE OF FANDINHÃES MARCO DE CANAVESES

## CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF DELIVERANCE OF FANDINHÃES MARCO DE CANAVESES



#### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The church of Saint Martin of Fandinhães, of which only the memory of the patron saint remains, is a prime example of the difficulties that determined the formation and evolution of Iberian parishes, despite the mould ascribed to them by certain historiographical movements. From the movement supporting the idea that continuity, religious syncretism and the inflexibility of the parish network should adjust to previous circumstances (or result from them), as Alberto Sampaio and his followers (Sampaio, 1979)<sup>1</sup>, to the discussion on the permanence or change of patron saints that revealed layers of occupation before and after the Reconquest (David, 1947; Costa, 1959), there were several attempts to associate the origin of the parish with a common model. The geographical differences, the intersection of various factors (demographic, economic) and the intervention of the lay and ecclesiastical nobility constrained this generalisation. The phenomenon of the formation of parishes is complex and requires a careful, case-by-case analysis<sup>2</sup>. The one of Fandinhães/Paços de Gaiolo is particularly expressive and is not limited to the Medieval Period<sup>3</sup>.



General view.

1 We find a good summary and review of the book and the subject of the formation of parishes from the point of view of Alberto Sampaio's coevals in Martins (1992: 389-409).

2 The parish was only recently studied as a whole, as a space where different interests met. In this regard, please read the text (which may be a good introduction to this issue) by Almeida (1981).

3 On the excessive influence of the Medieval Period on the subject of the formation of the parish network, please read Resende (2001).

Built approximately at 500 meters above sea level and away from the circulation channels that ran parallel to the water courses, the small temple of Fandinhães began by being a private church of the ancestors of the archdeacon of Viseu, whose progeny held the patronage in 1258<sup>4</sup>. This is explained by prelate Mendo Egas, who added that only some of the church's properties located between "Fontanum Covum" and Canaveses paid taxes to the king<sup>5</sup>. The toponym "Fontão Covo" probably corresponds to Fonte da Cova, one of the hilltops of the Montedeiras mountain and a local geo-referencing point, in the horizon of the ancient church of Saint Martin. The limits of the small parish ended nearby; most of its hamlets are mentioned in the inquiries of King Afonso: Fandinhães or "Fandiaes", Ambrões ("Amaroes"), Mourilhermo, Paços de Gaiolo ("Palaciis de Goyal" or "Goyol"). The parish seat was eventually transferred to this village (where, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, several witnesses were already residing and where there were references to several royal properties).

The change occurred in two stages: the first stage was the foundation of a chapel dedicated to Saint Clement in Paços de Gaiolo which became a curacy, already mentioned in 1690; in a second stage, demography clearly favoured Saint Clement to the detriment of Saint Martin, which was replaced in the meantime by Saint Blaise (and, later, by the Marian worship associated with the Virgin of Deliverance). There are still references to the curacy of São Martinho in 1706, however, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century São Martinho and São Clemente are already a single parish (Moreira, 1984: 7-86)<sup>6</sup>.

Either associated with Saint Martin of Dume or with the bishop of Tours, this invocation reveals the precocious Christianisation of the local *paggi*, which may well have spread from Tongobriga, the *civitate*. But only archaeology could complete this hypothesis. However, the fact that the building was located in a suggestive plateau at the end of a small promontory overlooking the Roupeira valley does not go unnoticed. Nonetheless, the mentors of the church were not interested in turning the church to the human and agricultural space that Saint Martin was supposed to protect. Above all, the canonical orientation shows the concern in respecting ecclesiastical rules and the tradition that saw in Jerusalem and in sunrise the centre of a world, despite a distant one.

As we have already mentioned, the transfer to the hamlet of "paço de Gayol" or "Goyol"<sup>7</sup>, which, in 1258, was already much more tempting to nobility and the monks' covet, is explained by demographic movements. Above 400 meters, there are very few human settlements.

4 From the census of the chapter of the Porto cathedral, we learn about some of those patrons. There is a list with 21 names to which we should add Pedrayras's grandchildren, Martim Ayras and Afonso Dias. This extraordinary offspring that, until 1302, devoured the revenues of the church of Fandinhães, agreed to give and assign the patronage to the bishop of Porto, Giraldo (BIBLIOTECA PÚBLICA MUNICIPAL DO PORTO – *Censual do cabido da sé do Porto*. Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1924, p. 175-176).

5 «Incipid parrochia Sancti Martini de Fandiaes Menendus Egee, prelatus ipsius ecclesie, juratus et interrogatus de jure patronatus, dixit quod nihil ibi habet Dominus Rex. Et dixit quod est de archidiacono de Viseo et de sua progenie. Interrogatus undc habuerunt ipsam ecclesiam, dixit quod de sua avoenga. Et dixit quod ipsa ecclesia tenet hereditatem regalengam Domini Regis, quam ei dederunt ad forum illi maiordomi qui debent dare panem de regalengo quod jacent inter Fontanum et Canaveses" (Herculano, 1936: 1140).

6 In the entry 153 – "Fandinhães" (Moreira, 1984: 69-70), the author mentions the sources related to the dates mentioned. 7 The author of *Corografia portugueza…* narrated the toponym's legendary origin. Giving voice to local traditions that praised the importance of the land (which memorialism has always made the most of until today), Paços de Gaiolo would be a surname "that remained from a Palace, owned by a Moorish Prince, father, or brother of Gaya, who also lived near the City

of Porto, hence its name; and not only the name, but the intent to become a "beetria" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] shows that something has been more than common" (Costa, 1706: 397). About the "beetria" of Canavases, please see Church of Saint Nicholas, Marco de Canaveses.



Chancel. Main altarpiece on the Epistle side. Sculpture. Saint Blaise.



Chancel. Main altarpiece on the Gospel side. Sculpture. Saint Martin.

Except for Fandinhães, all the hamlets from Paços de Gaiolo are located on the south and west slopes of the stretch of the Montedeiras mountain, across which most of the parish's population is still currently distributed. In 1758, the abbot who wrote the parish memoir clearly explains the reasons behind the transfer:

"The patron of this parish is Saint Martin of Fandinháes and such by seniority, and so invested as stated in ancient traditions; As, though, it stood on a desert site and a very rough Mountain and considering that, for centuries, the Chapel of Saint Clement stood in a milder place in the middle of the Parish, now called Saint Clement of Passos de Gayollo, where's a Relic of that Saint, the Church was built in a modern fashion" (Carvalho, 1758).

The evolution of the patron saints may also clarify the death of the old worship of Saint Martin. In fact, he probably did not correspond to the communal yearnings like Saint Blaise, who superseded him, or the Virgin of Deliverance who is still currently worshipped in the existing chapel. Although the portion of the Romanesque church is a demographic consequence both of the Middle Ages and of the Modern Period, the worship survived in the chancel, certainly because there were still therapeutic devotions whose origin had been triggered by a place quite exposed to the elements. So it was called chapel, a popular name that means hermitage or small space open to public devotion and use.

Regarding the patronage, we should highlight what is mentioned by Rodrigo da Cunha in 1302: "the noblemen and people of São Martinho de Fandinhães gave the rights of patronage of the said Church to Bishop Giraldo and his successors" (Cunha, 1623: 114). The patronage was transferred to the majorat of Medelo, created by the bishop and managed by the Marquises of Marialva in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1758 and according to the abbot of Fandinhães, Manuel de Carvalho, it was in the hands of the Kingdom's admirals.

In secular terms, both Fandinhães and Paços de Gaiolo were part of the municipality of Benviver and were limited, to the east, by the "couto" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Ancede, the "honra" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Lage and the term of Baião; to the south, they bordered the municipalities of Cinfães and São Cristóvão de Nogueira (split in the middle by the river Douro). To the north and west, they were limited by Paredes de Viadores and Penha Longa, both parishes from the municipality of Benviver.

In 1912<sup>8</sup> the Chapel of Saint Blaise/Virgin of the Deliverance was handed over to the Republic together with all the ecclesiastical assets of Paços de Gaiolo and, in 1924, it was requested by the corporation responsible for the Catholic worship. At the time, it is said that the Chapel located in the hamlet of Fandinhães, "where it had already been the parish church", consisted of "a churchyard and surrounding ridges that communicate with the Chapel and are this parish's reserve, which also constitutes the Parish Priest's Property"<sup>9</sup>.

9 SGMF – Comissão Jurisdicional dos Bens Cultuais, Porto, Marco de Canaveses, Arrolamento dos Bens Cultuais, Paços de Gaiolo. Entrega à corporação encarregada do culto, da igreja paroquial, várias capelas, suas dependências e vários terrenos, nos termos do Decreto n.º 11887, freguesia de Paços de Gaiolo [1924]. ACMF/Arquivo/CJBC/PTO/MDC/ARROL/024 (Processo).



Chancel. Central section of the main altarpiece. Sculpture. Virgin of Deliverance

<sup>8</sup> Date included in the process filed in 1924 (please see the following note).

#### THE MONUMENT BETWEEN PERIODS

Ithough some authors mention 1873 as the year of the hypothetical demolition of the body of the church of Saint Martin of Fandinhães, the truth is that, in 1864, it is already said as being truncated and that the remaining structure (chancel) was in a deplorable state, as stated by the parish priest of the time: "as to public chapels, there is only one, the so-called Saint Blaise that was, like today is, the major Chapel of an early church whose patron saint was Saint Martin of Fandinhães, whose condition is simply deplorable" (Geraldez, 1864).

According to tradition, when the body of the nave – which has been deemed as ruined – was demolished, its stone would be reused to extend the current parish church. If that were the case, then the church of Fandinhães would have been reduced, first to a curacy, and later to a chapel (although the most appropriate word is hermitage) and it would have been demolished still during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, because, in 1758, it is said that the church of Saint Clement of Paços de Gaiolo was already "built to modern fashion with good perspective" (Carvalho, 1758), i.e., it surely presented its current configuration.



Parish church of Paços de Gaiolo (Marco de Canaveses).

However, while alluding the hermitages and chapels in the parish, the same source explains: "One considers it more the chancel of the old main church" (Carvalho, 1758). So, we can now exclude 1873 as the year of the demolition of the nave of Fandinhães, because in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century only the chancel of the old mother church remained. Based on the information were able to collect until now, we consider two possibilities: either the disassembling occurred before 1758 and the stone was reused to build the church of Saint Clement, which was built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, or the nave was never built.

The thesis proposed by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida meets this last possibility: the church of Fandinhães was never finished (Almeida, 1986). According to this author, among the reasons that led to the non-completion of the initial project is the fact that the villages located at higher altitudes began losing their interest from the Romanesque Period onwards and tended to become residual. We should recall that, in 1258, the increasingly populated hamlet of Paços de Gaiolo was already asserting itself, and that, in 1758, the parish priest compares Fandinhães ("a desert place and a very rough mountain") with São Clemente de Paços de Gaiolo ("more pleasant, at the heart of the parish"). Besides, there are two other aspects we would like to highlight. Surely, the "very rough mountain" was not exactly favourable to the transportation of the ashlars from a would-be nave of a church, which had been demolished in the meantime. Besides, the type of walls found in the church of Saint Clement has little or nothing to do with the type of walls found in Fandinhães.

Both in Portugal and across Europe, the architecture from this period always established a deep relationship with the territory that accommodated it and with which it was involved. We may almost say that there is a reciprocal relationship between the Romanesque building and the environment or territory where it is deployed: the latter justifies its location, whose choice takes various factors into account; simultaneously, the building also conditions the experience

of the space that accommodates it, because it works as a catalyst for the lives of the people who use it, thus amplifying its centripetal force. According to Jaime Nuño González, the location of the Romanesque church may also tell us where the original population centre was located and to where it was later moved (Nuño González, 2002: 135).

While there are factors that explain the location of a Romanesque building in a given place (such as the closeness to a river, the territory's orography, the access to communication routes, the density and dynamism of the population, the preponderance of a given lineage, the territory's agricultural potential, etc.), they may also justify breakthroughs and setbacks in the construction process itself, resulting in interruptions and, consequently, in artistic and/or structural updates (that, like in Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim), are identified through a series of building inconsistencies<sup>10</sup>), in the downsizing of the original plan (as in the case of the church of Saint Eulalia of Arnoso (Famalicão) where the nave, whose interior is decorated with high blind arcades, was initially planned to be the chancel) or, alternatively, in extensions designed over the plan that had been originally imagined (as it has been suggested in the case of the Braga cathedral<sup>11</sup>). In the specific case of Fandinhães, the migration of the population to places with lower altitudes may justify the fact that the Romanesque building was left unfinished<sup>12</sup>. To this, we may add another one fact, no less meaningful. Until 1302, the patronage of the church of Fandinhães was in the hands of 21 heirs and, in that year, it was transferred to a single person; could that explain the lack of resources that inhibited the completion of the building of Fandinhães?

In this case, due to the lack of real documentary information, only the conduction of archaeological surveys would allow us to reach an accurate conclusion<sup>13</sup>. If the nave's foundations are identified, the hypothesis of the demolition is proved; otherwise, the thesis of the unfinished building prevails. The mystery remains. We are awaiting the results. So, from the primitive or planned church only the chancel remains, which was adapted to work as a chapel. Judging by the remaining traces, we stand before what would have/could have been a fine late Romanesque temple.

So, when the construction of this church, which was the parish seat of Fandinhães, was interrupted or when its (single) nave was demolished, the apse (rectangular, narrower and lower) was adapted to serve as a chapel by closing the chancel arch with a door, thus turning it into the church's main portal. This building holds a very peculiar position within the panorama of Portuguese Romanesque architecture if we consider its originality, which is associated with the fact that the foundations of the nave's lateral walls are still preserved and were arranged to appear as ruins.

Let us take a look at the existing main portal, previously the chancel arch. Composed of a single slightly broken archivolt supported by bulky columns, it features carved motifs on the impost that, in turn, extends as a frieze along the existing façade of the Chapel. However,

<sup>10</sup> On the subject, please read Botelho (2010b: 213-228).

<sup>11</sup> On the subject, please read Botelho (2010d: 41-50).

<sup>12</sup> Here, we may establish a parallel with what happened to the Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde (Felgueiras) that, while being replaced in terms of parish functions by a new church built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, not only witnessed the migration of its parishioners to a place located at a lower altitude, but also faced a gradual state of decay that could only be curbed in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. For further developments on this subject, please read Botelho (2010c).

<sup>13</sup> In 2015, archaeological surveys have been planned, under the scope of the Route of the Romanesque, in order to confirm (or not) the existence of the foundations of the old nave.



West façade. Portal. North side. Imposts and capital.

West façade. Portal and sepulchral lid.

a closer look will easily reveal a variety of motifs: intertwined motifs, linked spirals and tied circles. Surely the reuse of frieze sections. Perhaps intentional. Chronology? Is this composition coeval to the primitive church building or was it already made after the demolition of the church's nave? We should notice that in the existing churchyard there are two ashlars that, judging by their shapes, were probably part of a typical cornice supported by little arches. This model imported from the main façade of the old Coimbra cathedral spread across extended sections of Portuguese Romanesque architecture. Judging by the remaining traces, the Chapel of Fandinhães was surely a rather elaborate building.

On the observer's left – which corresponded to the Gospel side of the triumphal arch – we see a capital that represents the topic of serpents, whose single head appears in the capital's corner. On the other hand, on the Epistle side, following a similar model to that of one of the capitals of the chancel arch of the Church of Abragão (Penafiel) (Rosas & Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2009: 81-116) and of one of the capitals of the main portal of the Monastery of Travanca (Amarante), we find the representation of two atlas-shaped figures on the edge supported by protruding leaves, which are easily identifiable despite the corrosion they were subject to due to their exposure to the elements. So, we are standing before fine examples of how the depicted themes adapted themselves to the support offered by the Romanesque Period, by adjusting to it and, if necessary, by distorting their pristine shape. This is why Romanesque sculpture offers us a wide variety of fanciful hybrid beings which are hard to identify. Either sculpted in a more voluptuous way, or more attached to the frustum, the truth is that these elements that make up the history of sculpture are essential for understanding the Romanesque spirit and flavour, by revealing tastes, regionalisms, schools and workshops, but also by attesting the faith and spirituality of those who built and lived in the buildings we are studying. So, the study of



Churchyard. Ashlars. Cornice supported by little arches.



West façade. Portal. South side. Imposts and capital.

Romanesque architecture cannot be separated from the study of the culture associated with it.

This architectural legacy from the Romanesque Period is one more evidence of the itinerancy of shapes and artists so characteristic of this Medieval stage. Such fact is proven by the existence of dihedral tori on the crevices of the Chapel's old apse. This element of French origin spread across Portugal from the Porto cathedral and became a key feature of the Romanesque style developed around this city. Manuel Monteiro was the first author to draw our attention to the specificity of the dihedral tori of the monuments in Porto, whose "arrangement is common in Limousin, a School to the South and East of the Loire" (Monteiro, 1908: 150). This influence is easily understandable if we keep in mind that, in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, the commercial and maritime relations between Porto and La Rochelle were intensified (Almeida, 1987: 32).

So, based on this assumption, as knowing that the dihedral tori appear in Fandinhães after being included in buildings like Águas Santas (Maia), Cedofeita (Porto), Travanca or Cabeça Santa (Penafiel), which are already from a rather late period, we should surely pinpoint the construction of this Romanesque temple in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps even in the second half or towards the end of the century, as suggested by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1986: 98) and indicated by the above mentioned historical data.

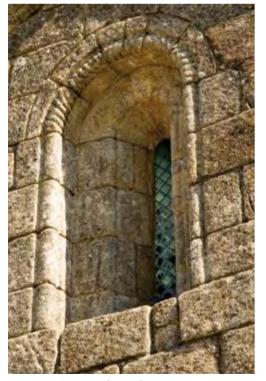
We also find richly ornamented capitals on the crevices, either showing human figures whose hands are joined on the capital's angle, or just showing botanic themes. While we have already mentioned the influences from Porto, the fact is that Fandinhães is also a good example of the presence of elements from Braga in the area of Marco de Canaveses. We are talking of the south crevice where the theme of the so-called *beak-heads* creates a truly original composition on the surrounding arch. This animalist theme imported from the Anglo-Saxon culture was already common in the Tâmega and Douro region and we can find it on the crevice of the pantheon of the Resende family in Cárquere (Resende), on the triumphal arch of Tarouquela (Cinfães) or on the portal of the tower of Travanca. The model of the animals facing forward,



East façade. Crevice.



South façade. Crevice.



Church of Cabeça Santa (Penafiel). West façade. Crevice.



Monastery of Cárquere (Resende). Pantheon of the Resendes. East façade. Crevice.



South façade. Corbel

not too modelled and with plenty of graphic elements spread from São Pedro de Rates, was highly popular in Portugal. Besides, the presence of this theme in Fandinhães is a sign of the late chronology of this church which was surely not built before the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. On the crevice's internal arch, under the dihedral torus, there are voussoirs decorated with inverted "ee" and with a motif that, were it not for its worn-out look, we could say it to be a denticulate or zigzag ornament.

Among the modillions, there are a few that show sculptural motifs. They are mostly flat and have predominantly square shapes, suggesting a late chronology. On the north side, some of them show a geometric ornamentation - a half-sphere, rolls, simple geometric figures. Two modillions represent human figures that are somewhat stylised. On the south side elevation, we should highlight two narrative modillions. Both feature human representations and one of them is placed at the end of the elevation, on the angle with the back wall. The other one, closer to the foundation of what used to be the nave, recalls - in terms of position and theme - a similar example found in the chancel of Tarouquela and currently sheltered by the Gothic chapel of Saint John the Baptist. Although the modillion of Fandinhães is much more corroded by erosion, it also represents the exhibitionist who, shaped like an atlas, is supporting the corbel's upper part. This is a naked squatting man with his right hand on his genitals and his left hand on his face, repeating the same scheme, but in an inverted way. Provocative and obscene iconography was a common feature of the European Romanesque style, although less explicit themes also related with the sin of lust were often used; these could be mermaids (Nuño González, 2006: 203), women together with serpents or just serpents, which we believe to be depicted on a capital from the existing main portal, on the south side.





North façade. Corbels and crevice.

South façade. Corbels and crevice

The nave also had a series of modillions, judging by the two specimens that survive on each side, aligned with the triumphal arch. While, on the north side, we see the representation of a bird (a pelican?), on the other side we see a new approach to the theme of the *exhibitionist*. It is a stylised representation of a man who is holding his beard with both hands, which reminds us of the design of the typology identified by Jaime Nuño González in the Spanish church of San Martín de Elines (Valderredible) (Nuño González, 2006: 206) or the figure on the corbel that supports the right side of the tympanum on the main portal of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel).





South façade. Corbel.

Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). West façade. Portal. Corbel.

In the space that once belonged or would have belonged to the nave, two slabs identify two graves. The larger one has a carving that shows a rather stereotyped sword: a blade, a straight guard and a pommel. The other slab, smaller, has a simple cross.

Above the existing main portal we are still able to see the west-facing crevice that would illuminate the nave's body, although it has been recently covered by a polychrome tile panel with an image of the *Virgin and Child*.

Inside the Chapel, the back wall is taken up by the main altarpiece, which is divided into three panels defined by twisted columns that support an entablature of a Classicist flavour. The polychrome ornamental motifs that interrupt this gilded woodwork structure over a white background are vine leaves and angel heads. On each panel there is an imagery piece: Our Lady of Deliverance, in the middle, is flanked by Saint Blaise, on the Epistle side, and Saint Martin, on the Gospel side.

We should highlight the altar frontal with Mudéjar arista or cuenca tiles that form a geometric carpet-like composition based on a star-shaped floral motif surrounded by a circle. The cuenca or arista technique was developed around 1500 onwards and its tiles were the most common ones in Portugal. After defining a hole, the recessed moulds will print the motif on a raw clay plate, thus defining small edges between the different colours and creating a sort of protruding profile that prevents glazed surfaces from mixing during the firing process (Meco, 1989: 38-39). We may recall the geographically close examples of the frontals from the collateral altarpieces of the Church of Escamarão (Cinfães).



North façade. Corbel

This enigmatic building of Fandinhães became part of the Route of the Romanesque in 2010 and the decision project regarding its classification as a Public Interest Monument and the definition of its protection zone was approved in March 2012<sup>14</sup>. [MLB / NR]



West façade. Niche. Tile panel. Virgin and Child.



Chancel. Main altarpiece and altar frontal.

#### CHRONOLOGY

1258: Fandinhães was a church whose patronage belonged to the descendants of an archdeacon from Viseu;

13th century (2nd half): construction of church of Fandinhães, considering its remaining Romanesque traces;

1302: relatives and patrons of the church of Saint Martin of Fandinhães donate the right of patronage to the bishop of Porto, Geraldo Domingues (1300-1308);

Early 16<sup>th</sup> century: manufacture of the Mudéjar tiles found in the main altarpiece's frontal;

1690: first record of the chapel of Saint Clement in Paços de Gaiolo;

1758: most of the inhabitants of the parish of Paços de Gaiolo were already and mostly concentrated on the southern and western slopes of the Montedeiras mountain;

- the patronage of Fandinhães was in the hands of the admirals of the Kingdom;

- the church of Fandinhães is still referred to as Saint Martin's

Late 18th century: São Clemente and São Martinho are already a single parish;

1864: the church's nave had already been dismantled;

1912: the collection and Chapel of Fandinhães were handed to the Portuguese Republic;

1924: the corporation in charge of the Catholic worship requested the Chapel from the State;

2010: integration of the Chapel of Fandinhães in the Route of the Romanesque;

2012: the Chapel of Fandinhães is classified as Public Interest Monument.

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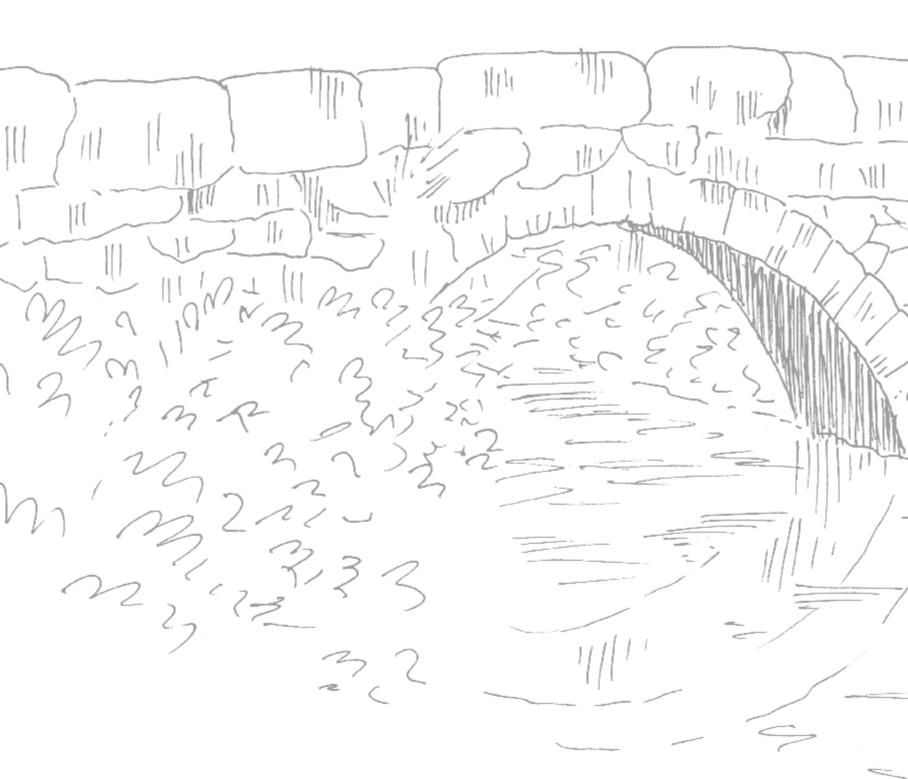
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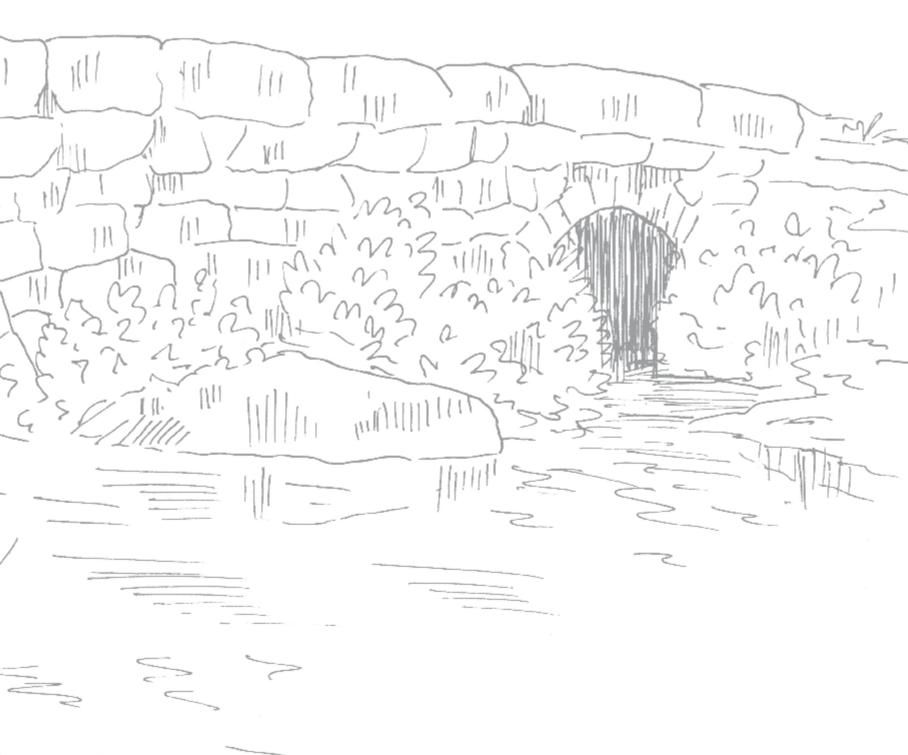
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### BRIDGE OF PANCHORRA RESENDE





n Portugal, there aren't a sufficient number of studies about the issues associated with our road heritage, specifically paths and roads. Despite being related to archaeology, the theme of Roman and Medieval roads drew historiography's attention over the 20<sup>th</sup> century; we are able to say this based on the existing works that are supported by the scarce available sources and, more frequently, by a tradition that has always associated antiquity with local road infrastructures without ever relying on factual information. The lack of investment in a systematic archaeological study of circulations structures is combined with the scarce research regarding the vocabulary used in Medieval and Modern documents. And outside the chronological limits of Romanization and the Middle Ages, the construction of roads seems to have ceased or never existed. As we know, that is not true<sup>1</sup>.

Bridges are associated with roads and circulation. The reputation of being ancient constructions also fell on the bridges, which were popularly ascribed to the "Moors" and the "Romans". In fact, within the context of local imagination, bridges (especially masonry bridges) created the idea of being structures whose existence was only possible thanks to the intervention of a superior culture from the past, formed by heroes or saints. Translated into paper by the monographers, the ascription of a Roman date to bridges became a common procedure. In order to do that, the existence of a crossing structure made of stone with one or more round arches would be enough, regardless of its location within the local and regional road context, or even its presence (or absence) in the available documentation.



Aerial view.

1 That was pointed out by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1968), the author of the only substantive work about circulation in the Middle Ages, which is often quoted.



Upstream view.

However, in this persistence of models lie both the fallacy and the explanation for the very common mistake of considering the Romans as authors of most of the Portuguese stone bridges. Later, this generalization passed on to the Romanesque style by the hand of scholars and academics, since it reproduces the structural model of the curved vault as support system, which was abundantly used by the civilization of the Lazio. The proliferation of Roman bridges was immediately followed by Romanesque bridges, again with a chronology that is decontextualized from the actual needs of the communities that would have supposedly commissioned them.

Indeed, one of the most common mistakes that are made while dating a bridge is to consider it as an isolated object, not associating its construction to the needs of the community or region it would serve at the time when it was built. A structure as complex as a bridge, which is as expensive today as it was in the past, would most certainly entail a properly though-out project which could only be carried out by resorting to a budget that wasn't always available.

On a first stage, which includes the Romanization period, a bridge was a powerful aid in the conquest and development of the territory, standing as a work with an eminently public and political nature. Subsequently, the Middle Ages did not fail to assign the same purpose to the bridge, despite the fact that it was not framed within a national plan. With few exceptions (such as the Douro bridge, for whose construction King Afonso Henriques left an important legacy), the Medieval crossing is the result of institutional or individual conveniences at the local or regional levels. Only in the Modern Period did the nation-state launch a construction plan to build bridges for political purposes<sup>2</sup>.

But, in both cases and until a very late period, the arched bridge model characterized the building theme of river passages in Portugal and in Europe.

One example of misinterpretation and poor historical reading of the space and the territory which resulted an incorrect dating is the case of the Bridge of Panchorra. We believe that the question of its classification as a Romanesque Bridge has only recently been raised, although it was locally regarded as a Roman Bridge<sup>3</sup>. Here we should note that, although the possibility of the existence of a Roman road that crossed the top of the mountain has been suggested, the available documentary and archaeological data refute that idea (Correia, Alves & Vaz, 1995). The main Roman roads avoided slopes and marshes: precisely what they would find to cross the massif of Montemuro in the north-south or northwest-southeast directions. We believe that, if there were any Roman roads, these would bypass the mountain instead of crossing it, thus giving expression to the theories that suggest three traffic areas that were possibly used during the Romanization period: along the banks of the Douro, of the Paiva and the natural corridor between the valleys of the Balsemão and the Teixeira brook<sup>4</sup>.



Downstream view

2 The aforementioned author refers that, "(...) in the Roman period, a road is an essentially strategic and administrative imperial route. In the Middle Ages, it was called public road and connected nearby villages, thus reflecting a closed and manorial economy. In the following period, it takes the name of royal road and expressed the political centralization" (Almeida, 1968: 4). 3 In the monograph of Resende, dated 1982, there is still no reference to this chronology. The author conscientiously says: "(...) there is a rustic bridge over the Cabrum which did not exist in 1758, as the Abbot of this year's Inquiries expressly states when responding to the questionnaire on bridges, "This parish has no bridge whatsoever"" (Pinto, 1982: 522).

4 We do not mean to say that there were three roads, but only circulation channels, spaces that allowed their existence. The routes intended for the circulation of cars sought to benefit from the contour lines, thus avoiding abrupt fluctuations in altitude and difficult crossings of the deepest river beds. About this matter, please read Resende (2011).

In the case of the Bridge of Panchorra, nothing indicates that it is in actually a Roman construction, or even a Medieval one. This was due to several reasons, as we'll see, but above all because its existence did not meet the needs of the communities that existed during those periods. Therefore, we are interested in learning about the origin and evolution of this parish and its boundaries.

The first reference to Panchorra dates back to 1258, when the inspectors visited Ovadas, to whose parish it belonged at the time. They heard the prelate João Garcia stating that the "villa" of Panchorra had been, together with Ovadas, a "honra" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] from Mendo Gonçalves that owed no lease to the king (Herculano, 1936: 989). Thirty years later, another witness assured that there were three residential properties; one belonged to the church of São Paio (and, therefore, to the parish church); another to São João de Tarouca, and a third one to the Monastery of Cárquere (Resende) (Duarte, 2001: 367). No royal major-domo entered Panchorra because, according to its residents, it was a "honra". Being sure about the royal condition of the land, the royal enquirers correct this irregularity in 1290, enforcing King Dinis' sentence which determined "that those [residential properties] must be inspected by the King's major-domo in all its rights"<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, in 1513, when the land charter was granted to the land of Aregos, it already mentioned all the taxes paid to the Crown.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Panchorra became ecclesiastically independent from Ovadas, but was still a small village. In 1527, it had 17 residents, i.e., between 71 and 77 inhabitants (Collaço, 1931: 145). Its status as a chaplaincy or curacy confirms the connection to Ovadas which remained connected to Panchorra due to the patronage right. It is only natural that, in addition to the creation of the new parish, the main acts of the Christian life continued to take place in the valley, in the church of Saint Pelagius, the area's primary core of humanization and Christianization<sup>6</sup>.



General view of the village of Panchorra (Resende) from the village of Gralheira (Cinfães).

5 Statements concerning the inquiries of King Dinis in the "julgado" [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Aregos (Duarte, 2001: 397).

6 In 1563 the existence of a tabernacle required a minimum of 30 residents, a number that Panchorra did not have (Diocese of Lamego, 1563: 43).



Partial view of the village of Ovadas (Resende).



Stone path leading to the Bridge

It is within this context that we may consider the need to build the Bridge of Panchorra, already at an advanced stage of the village's human and urban development. But, even in this case, the crossing did not provide a direct connection to the old parish seat. In order to reach Ovadas, an inhabitant of Panchorra should go north, directly down towards the course of the Cabrum river, which could be seen from the hilltop of Coelhoso (1141 meters). At a specific point of the river bed, perhaps on ford or on a filly, the traveller would begin climbing up towards the chapel of Saint Peter skirting the summit with the same name, a place from where he would already see the church of Ovadas. Now the Bridge is located to the west of Panchorra and was part of a route that went to Vale de Papas (Ramires, Cinfães), which was already part of the former municipality of Ferreiros de Tendais. This path, which is still visible on the landscape, is typologically characterized by the variability of its layout: an uneven pavement that alternates between the use of cobble stones, rocky massifs or outcrops and sections of dirt road. Could this road be part of the "old path" mentioned in the description of the boundaries of Gralheira (Cinfães) in 1258, which some authors consider as being Roman (Correia, Alves & Vaz, 1995: 113)?

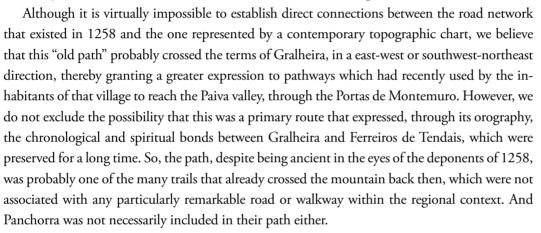
Gralheira's current limits, which are heirs, if not a copy, of the division that took place in 1258, may shed light on the approximate location of that ancient path<sup>7</sup>. The fact that its importance and antiquity (no matter how vague and subjective this qualification is) would be enough to trigger the idea of that this was a georeferencing structure in the minds of the mountain inhabitants of the time, seems rather clear. However, the expression "path" is not necessarily associated with a road with an especially heavy traffic. Most likely, it was one of the first regional crossings that were later replaced by the more or less complex network that accompanied the clearing of land and the humanization of the mountain.



General view of the village of Gralheira (Cinfães) from the village of Panchorra (Resende).

7 "Martinus Menendi juratus et interrogatus dixit, quod villa e Graleyra cum totis suis terminis sicut dividit per rivulum de Cabruu per aquam, et vadi ad fontem de Teyxeura ad penedo de Cambo, et de inde venit per cume de Varzena Benefacta ad fontem de Episcopo de Ameygoadas, et vadit ad castellum de Aquilar, et ferit in cruce et per carreirum antiqum, et ferit in termino de Ovadas et in Cabrum, est tota regalenga" (Herculano, 1936: 984) [Description of the boundaries of the village of Gralheira, which opposed, across the Cabrum, the fountain of Teixeira, the Cambo rock, the summit of Campo Benfeito, the fountain of the Bishop, Ameijoadas, Castelo de Aguiar and an old path, in the land of Ovadas, thus being a property of the King].

Based on the current demarcation and following the description of the witness from 1258, we believe that this path was located to the west of Gralheira, given that the list of georeferencing points is done in two directions; one is clockwise: along the current of the Cabrum river until the source of the Teixeira, across the Cambo outcrop; the other is anticlockwise, mentioning the bridges of the "well-arranged"<sup>8</sup> tilled plain, Fonte do Bispo, Ameijoadas and finally the castle of Aguiar – which may well be the Alrete castle, on the boundary between Bustelo, Ramires and Tendais (Cinfães)<sup>9</sup>. Close to this location, the boundary line crossed that ancient path until the limits of Ovadas, already above the Cabrum. Naturally, it does not mention its boundary with Panchorra due to the fact that the latter was still part of the terms of Ovadas.



On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that there are already references to a toll tax – a sign of trade and traffic – in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Aligned with Vale de Papas and Talhada, Panchorra probably stood at the intersection of the penetration channels of the Cabrum and the Balsemão. So, it is natural that, in an attempt to control the diverted (and, therefore, untaxed) traffic of the valley routes, the royal power set up a customs barrier in that village. However, this is still not enough to place the origin of its Bridge in the Middle Ages.

Indeed, the most important communication routes were located to the north of Panchorra, along the south bank of the Douro river, thus more important villages and serving a more significant area in terms of population. In that region, the number of stone crossings increases in the proportion of the obstacles it is necessary to overcome. In the current municipality of Cinfães and along the municipality of Resende there are several masonry bridges, the heiresses of old Medieval passageways that need forced to maintain, expand or rebuild. The bridge of Pias (over the Bestança river)<sup>10</sup>, the bridge over the Cabrum or the ones of Fontoura, over the São Martinho brook are some examples – virtually all of Medieval origin or rebuilt during a later period.



Downstream view. Detail.

<sup>8</sup> Currently Campo Benfeito, in the municipality of Castro Daire.

<sup>9</sup> António Manuel Lima points out the Castles Velho and Novo [Old and New] in the parish of Ramires (Cinfães), near Vale de Papas (Pinho & Lima, 2000: 64).

<sup>10</sup> The bridge of Pias is a crossing that underwent several interventions: around 1693 its reconstruction was commissioned by the majorat of Velude, who divided the administration of his vast heritage between both banks of the Bestança. According to Friar Teodoro de Melo, in 1733: "between this one [the municipality of Cinfães] and the municipality of Ferreiros we find the river Bestouça [sic, it is Bestança], and its flow is tamed by a beautiful masonry bridge which was recently rebuilt, because there was a flood that destroyed a bridge located in Pias, built about forty years earlier, urging its public utility the Majorat of Veludo, Manuel Carneiro de Melo, and being the ombudsman of Lamego Gaspar Leite Cabral, his wife's uncle. Upstream there is an interesting example of a Medieval pastiche: the bridge of Covelas" (Duarte, 2004: 309). Although we don't have any written documents about its foundation or construction, a Baroque medallion attached to the center of the bridge – between the parapets and facing the path – recalls the work's patron and date of completion: 1762. For years it was considered by the local memoirists as Roman or Romanesque.





Given that the communal terms of Panchorra spread way beyond the Bridge, ending to the west with Ramires and Vale de Papas (the former municipality of Ferreiros de Tendais, today Cinfães), the collection site could not have associated with the crossing, so it was probably located in the village itself. However, perhaps this demarcation will help us understand the need of investing in this crossing: to provide a safe access to the village's agricultural properties that extended beyond the rough course of the Cabrum river.

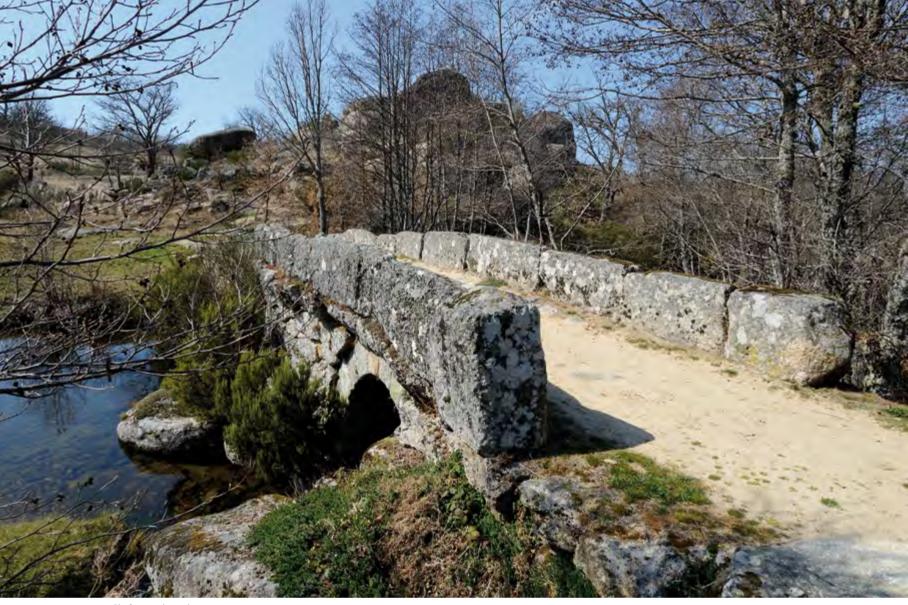
The heiress of ancient models applied to a modernity that did not go beyond the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Bridge of Panchorra, with a double round arch (a larger one, standing high over the river flow, and a smaller one, still over the flood plain) contradicts the usual trestle shape that characterizes some Medieval bridges built in places where the valley is tighter. Moreover, the choice of location shows that the greatest concern was having an immediate access to the communal term rather than building a monumental structure, despite its size, which results from the use of the granite outcrop found on the riverbed – that allowed extending the structure with the addition of a smaller arch supported by the right bank. This asymmetry, together with the poor quality of the stone that was used reveals, on the one hand, the vernacular language of its authors and, on the other hand, the pragmatism of its mentors; it was certainly a communal or municipal work unlike, for example, the bridge of Lagariça – also over the Cabrum, but downstream – which was a private investment. What stands out in the Bridge of Panchorra is the extension of the walkway, consisting of large granite slabs laid on the Bridge, which is flanked by robust and roughly carved parapets designed to resist the strong wheels and the load of the oxcarts.







Stone path leading to the Bridge.



Platform and guards.

The source of the Cabrum river or brook, as it is often called, is located in Casa das Neves, near Gralheira and flows into the Douro river at the hamlet of Lampreeira, which is currently submerged due to the reservoir created by the Carrapatelo dam. The parish priests from 1758 give us some information about its flow, fish fauna, and fisheries and, of course, about its crossings.

The priests who pointed out the Cabrum as the river of the land were the ones from the parishes of São Cipriano (Sequeira, 1758), Ovadas (Bernardes, 1758), Panchorra and Gralheira (Rodrigues, 1758). The memoirists of Ermida do Douro (Lima, 1758), Oliveira, Ferreiros de Tendais and Ramires left us only a few elements because it was just one of many water courses worth describing. However, they all seem to agree that the Cabrum river had between 1.5 and 2 leagues in length, ran from the south to the north, was an impetuous, extremely impetuous or large-flowing course whose current was the driving force of many mill wheels. The parish priest of São Cipriano lists 25 mills within the circuit of his parish<sup>11</sup>, the one of Ovadas lists six and the parish priests of Gralheira and Oliveira do Douro (Teixeira, 1758) merely mention "many mills".

As for its fish fauna, there were trouts, orfes or ides and river eels; there were summer fisheries without any barriers like weirs or dams. Regarding the bridges, the indication of the crossings is more or less complete according to their interest or to the knowledge about the valley's geography: some mentioned only those who were encompassed in their parish, others indicated all the crossings that existed over the Cabrum. In this regards, we could only find a contradiction, or rather, a strange reference, in the case of the Bridge of Panchorra.

Overall, we counted six crossings mentioned in the memoirs of 1758: five masonry or stone bridges and one wooden bridge. The masonry/stone bridges were located (from upstream to downstream) in Gralheira, Panchorra, Ovadas (Covelinhas), Lagariça and Ponte Nova; the wooden bridge served the parish of Ovadas<sup>12</sup>. What is surprising is the unanimity of all the parish priests regarding the three masonry bridges (Ponte Nova, Lagariça and Covelinhas) and that only the parish priest of Gralheira makes reference to the one of Panchorra, considering it as a masonry work. No other memoirist, not even the priest of Panchorra, mentions this crossing. Was it under construction?

It is interesting to analyze the terminology which provides us with some of the information about the importance of the crossings and the investment that was made according to their need: stone and masonry. Next to the Douro we find the "Ponte Nova [New Bridge]", an old Medieval passage between the lands of Ferreiros de Tendais and Aregos, whose path is still partly followed by national road 222. Upstream, of the bridge of Lagariça, which could well be based on a Medieval pre-existence, marks the intervention of regional power in terms of territorial definition: it was commissioned in 1728 by the ombudsman of the district of Lamego<sup>13</sup>. A little further up, the bridge of Covelinhas provides, perhaps since the dawn of the Modern Period, a connection to the parish of Ovadas. These are all masonry bridges and reveal several, but considerable, investments given that they important crossing elements.

The crossings of Panchorra and Gralheira were located in the first section of the river. Although the priest of Gralheira considers the former as a stone bridge, we can hardly include it in the group mentioned above, which was built by more experienced craftsmen. To the north (downstream), the Cabrum required single-arched passages with a trestle-shaped platform to overcome the gaps between its steep banks.

Despite the fact that its chronology eccentric to the Medieval Period, the Bridge of Panchorra is an extraordinary, and fortunately, preserved example of vernacular engineering which, together with the types of paths and roads, are an endangered heritage, given their increasingly often destruction or replacement with Modern routes. [NR]

<sup>12</sup> Possibly connecting it to Ramires on the section located between the bridges of Lagariça and Covelinhas.

<sup>13</sup> The contract for its construction was signed on June 14<sup>th</sup> 1728, in Lamego, between the ombudsman of Lamego and the master stonemasons Francisco Cardoso, from Nazes (Lamego), and Timóteo Calheiros, from São Pantaleão de Cornes (Vila Nova de Cerveira) (Alves, 2001: 150).

### CHRONOLOGY

1258: first reference to Panchorra;

1288: reference to the existence of three farmhouses in Panchorra;

1513: the land charter of Aregos already refers all the taxes paid to the Crown;

1527: Panchorra had only 17 residents, that is, between 71 and 77 inhabitants;

1758: of all the clerics from the parishes of the Cabrum valley, only the one of Gralheira mentions the (masonry) Bridge of Panchorra;

2010: integration of the Bridge of Panchorra in the Route of the Romanesque;

2013: the Bridge of Panchorra is classified as a Public Interest Building.

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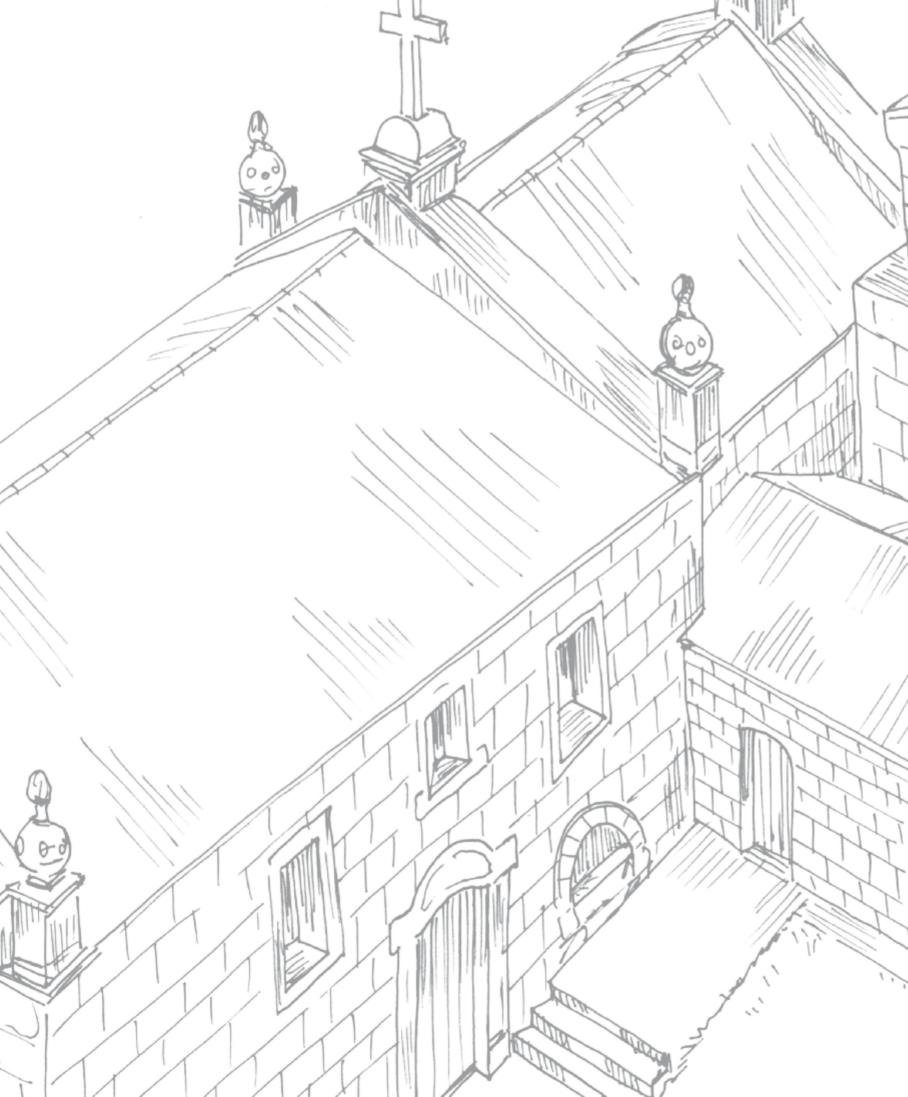
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### CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR OF REAL AMARANTE

## CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR OF REAL AMARANTE



Plan.

Built on a hillside area overlooking the fields that flank the water course, the Church of the Saviour of Real is currently isolated and stands at a slightly higher level than the path that lead us to it. The construction of the new parish church, in 1938<sup>1</sup>, led to the abandonment of the former, whose building still shows significant Romanesque sections, especially on the main façade and on the south elevation, despite the major transformation it underwent between 1750 and 1760.



Aerial view.

At first sight, what stands out on the main façade is the coexistence of two different ashlar typologies. On the lower half, roughly, we notice the presence of rectangular and well-cut rightangled ashlars that, despite their different sizes, form rows of stones with approximately the same height. This type of ashlars also stretches along the lateral façades, thus confirming the fact that it was preserved here in order to operate as a counterfort for the Church's southeast and southwest corners. While the upper half of the main façade seem to be made up of filling ashlars (irregular, with small and different shapes, joined with mortar), on the lateral walls we already feel improvements in terms of their quality; however, this does not mean that they are more regular. Note that we are not excluding the possibility of a reuse of the Romanesque ashlars in this area during the transformation undertaken in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. On the contrary. Knowing that the reuse of ashlars from previous periods was very common (and practical), it is quite possible that something similar has occurred in this old Church of Real.



West façade.

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But it is on the portal that we find the most significant surviving Romanesque elements of this Church; its taste suggests a late chronology, already closer to the Gothic period. Composed of two broken archivolts with tori – an adaptation of the influence the city of Porto had on the region of Amarante, surely through Travanca (Amarante)<sup>2</sup> – it no longer shows a tympanum, which confirms its late appearance. The columns are thin and slender; the outer ones feature cylindrical shafts and the inner ones have prismatic shafts. The capitals are decorated with low-volume sculptures, attached to the delicate echini: intertwined phytomorphic motifs, botanic motifs and a mask on the corner of one of the capitals. The impost also suggests that this portal was built in a late period: composed of overlapping rounded elements, it presents a compositive scheme that is identical to the one in its counterpart of Mancelos (Amarante). So, it is based on the remaining elements that we consider the design of the portal from Real as belonging to the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century; therefore, taking into account the historic data on this parish, this late Romanesque construction probably replaced a previous building.

Still, within its Romanesque traits, we should notice an arcosolium with a sarcophagus cut on the external south wall, at the level of the nave. Its lid features an engraved sword, suggesting the social status of the person buried in it. Taking into account their positioning, as well as the scar of an arch that subsists above the existing lateral portal, with a clear Classicist connotation, we are led to consider that the portal has kept its original position, being spared as a proof of antiquity and also as a sign of respect for the person who was buried in it<sup>3</sup>. On the opposite



North façade.



South façade.

<sup>2</sup> In 1706, the Church of Real was an abbey belonging to the patronage of Travanca (Amarante); later, it became an alternative to that Monastery and the bishopric of Braga (Costa, 1706-1712: 131; Niza, 1767: 159).

<sup>3</sup> It might have been a relative of the founder of the Church. We find it odd that Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 163) did not include this tomb in his note on Real, where he says that the Church didn't have any tabernacle, or labels, or tombs.



West façade. Portal.

façade, we find a few subsisting voussoirs from an arch on the wall that, taking into account its positioning, should have corresponded to a portal, which was closed perhaps due to the silting of the contiguous plot of land; inside, the portal is identifiable by the persistence of a niche, despite its flat lintel.

Otherwise, what we can admire in this Church of Real is a result of the 18<sup>th</sup> century transformation mentioned above. The new large-sized openings for lighting that were opened on the walls are in line with the transformation intervention carried out in the upper part of the Church.

DGEMN – Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais [General Directorate for Buildings and National Monuments]'s technicians went over the books related to the inspections conducted on this Church and transcribed a few significant passages for a better understanding of this building and, more specifically, to date the transformations carried out between 1750 and 1760<sup>4</sup>. Besides deeming necessary the opening of "a crevice on the church's frontispiece, as the choir did not receive enough light, they ordered the repair of the cut-stone cornice with pyramids on the sides and a cross at the centre and of a similar cornice found on the church's wall, located above the chancel's arch, with similar pyramids on the sides and a cross at the centre"<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Idem. In this document there aren't any references to the documentary sources that were used, besides the inspection books.



South façade. Nave. Arcosolium. Sarcophagus.

Therefore, we find an oculus surmounting the remaining Romanesque portal on the main façade while, on the lateral façades, two wide rectangular large windows, slightly sloped, with an iron grid were opened, despite the fact that the "modernised" memory of a Medieval crevice located on the south façade, above the portal, was kept. This portal, opened over the scar of a previous one, as we have already mentioned, is composed of a framed lintel that defines an arch with a slight three-centred shape. There are tassels adjacent to the walls hanging from the portal's ends. It was also considered that it would be necessary to open "a larger crevice than the one on the Gospel side, with its iron grid and glass pane", in addition to the corresponding "pyramids and cross at the centre above the stone cornice" surmounting the wall<sup>6</sup>.

On the outside, we should also highlight the cross adjacent to the south façade, which was certainly an element from a *Via Crucis* [Way to the Cross]. Besides this cross, the bell tower which stands perpendicularly adjacent to the southeast corner of the chancel is also note-worthy. It is composed by a massive rectangular stone volume with a Romanesque flavour, surmounted by a double belfry ending with a gable and topped with a simple cross. We do not believe that this element is related to the decision made in 1757 to install "the bells on the left side of its (the church's) frontispiece, since it was the wider area", a work that was considered simple if there was a reuse of "the same belfry stones"<sup>7</sup>.

The bare nature of the Church's interior is surely emphasised by the stucco coating that covers it almost entirely. The inspector that visited the building in 1760 praised the most "Rev. Abbot" of Real "for the fervent zeal with which he strived for the care of his church"8. The work was already considered as finished and was only missing the plaster. Inside, we are only able to see granite on the triumphal arch, which features a high opening. The arch is composed of two broken archivolts free of any decorative motifs that rest directly on the walls, thus confirming, once more, the late nature of the Romanesque construction of Real. Only its joints were painted in white, thus connecting it with the ensemble it is part of.



We should highlight the pattée consecration crosses that, inscribed in circles, permeate the

General interior view from the nave

18<sup>th</sup> century or perhaps to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

walls of the nave and chancel. The plaster applied on the inside respected these elements, highlighting them as a sort of restoration windows in which granite contrasts with the white coating. The font also seems to belong to the Romanesque Period; its circular granite bowl, much in line with the Romanesque taste, rests on a cylindrical pedestal supported by a cubic plinth. The font is protected by a wrought-iron railing painted in green. Armando de Mattos (1953: 24-32) tells us that there was a visible "painting with a naïve style", which served as background for the baptistery, located close to the Church's entrance, on the left. The painting, which depicted Christ being baptised by his cousin Saint John in the moment when he was coming out of the Jordan's purifying waters, was an "unrefined composition with vibrant and mannered colours". This author dated the painting as belonging to the

> This almost bare look that the Church of the Saviour of Real's interior shows us today is, substantially, the result of the construction of a new parish church in the 1930's. The main



New church of Real. Chancel Main altarpiece.

altarpiece that belonged to the Church under study was transferred to that new church<sup>9</sup>. Its monumentality clearly contrasts with the simple altarpiece that is currently worshipped in the chancel of the old Church. The one that used to stand there and can now be admired in the new church of Real, besides being organised around a bulky Eucharistic throne surmounted by a representation related to the Blessed Sacrament, shows a pelmet with full-body cherubs leaning against it. Here, its polychromy, which defines marbled contrasts, is matching clearly *rocaille* motifs. The ambon and the pulpit parapet that surrounds it, located on the Gospel side of the old Church's chancel, match the altarpiece we have just described, meaning they were surely manufactured by the same workshop. The main altarpiece that replaces the one that had been transferred contrasts with these two richly elaborate elements. With no large volumes, giving great emphasis to the architectural structure, and it only establishes a connection with the other elements of the chancel by resorting to a similar polychromy.



Chancel. Main altarpiece.

However, taking into account the rather late nature of these woodwork specimens, we believe that they cannot be the ones mentioned in 1758: "the main altarpiece of the patron saint and collateral altarpieces; the one on the Epistle side is dedicated to the God Child, the one of the Gospel side is dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary and is also known as the altarpiece of Saint Catherine" (Garcia, Cunha & Pinto, 1758 *apud* Capela, Matos & Borralheiro, 2009: 174). Years before, Francisco Craesbeeck told us nothing about this, referring only the Church's side chapels (Craesbeeck, 1992: 163).



Nave. High choir.

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Chancel. Back wall on the Gospel side. Pedestal. Sculpture. Saint Anthony.

In the Modern Period there was also the integration of the pulpit and a choir in the Church's body, giving voice to the need to stimulate spoken or sung word as essential elements of the liturgy, which had been reviewed by Pope Pius V (p. 1566-1572). However, the existing structures are more recent than the original ones; the choir's balustrade and lower frieze are decorated with motifs very common in the Romantic period (floral braids and bows); therefore, this is a minor 19<sup>th</sup> century work, of vernacular taste by local artisans.

From its collection of images, non-expressive, we highlight the image of Saint Anthony already mentioned in the Anthonian route. This is a 19<sup>th</sup> century sculpture that represents the thaumaturge from Lisbon wearing the Franciscan habit and carrying the Infant Jesus, Who is gracefully sitting on the book. This piece probably integrates the series of objects which were inventoried in 1924, following the regulations resulting from the Separation Law. At the time, the inventory included the images of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Virgin of the Rosary, the Virgin of Piety, Saint Sebastian, Saint Anthony and the Holy Saviour (names provided by the document)<sup>10</sup>.

From the 19<sup>th</sup> century inspections, we only got the information that in 1831 it was not usual for the deceased to be accompanied to their grave and that "many times nobody showed up even to carry them". The inspectors also warned that the proper signal should be given for the people to hear mass on weekdays, "when such was missing". José Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes was the parish priest at the time<sup>11</sup>.

Considering the recent nature of the great transformation that the Romanesque Church of Real had underwent, Father Jozé de Mesquita Costa e Mello informs the Director of Public Works of Porto that, in 1864, the "Parish church", which "seems to be very old", is in "a good state of preservation and well repaired"<sup>12</sup>. The same informant adds that this Church "doesn't have any artistic objects worth mentioning".

Nearly six decades later, as a result of the construction of the new parish church, the old Church was "practically abandoned on a corner of the parish and, so to speak, caged within a farm that was the magnificent property of the prelate"<sup>13</sup>. And because, in the opinion of the parish priest António Marinho Novais, it was "consigned to ruin due to the parishioners' complete lack of interest, the suffocation instigated by the utilitarian interests of the Farm's owners and the continuous decay caused by the inexorable passage of time", he appeals to the DGEMN to take the necessary action in order to preserve it and, therefore, avoid the beginning of its collapse<sup>14</sup>. Since its state of preservation was indeed considered "precarious", due to the "abandonment it was consigned to", the technical services thought that this building was not valuable enough "to be ascribed with any kind of classification"<sup>15</sup>. However, they do not exclude the possibility of carrying out general repair works in order to preserve it as an element of local interest, despite proven to be rather expensive.

<sup>10</sup> SGMF – Comissão Jurisdicional dos Bens Cultuais, Porto, Amarante, Arrolamentos dos bens cultuais, freguesia de Real, Liv. 67, fl. 126-129v. ACMF/Arquivo/CJBC/PTO/AMA/ARROL/032.

<sup>11</sup> ADB – Devassas, Sousa & Ferreira, 2.ª parte, n.º 123, fl. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Mello, Jozé de Mesquita Costa e – Missiva de [ilegível] de outubro de 1864. IRHU/ Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN, Cx. 3216/3. Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Amarante. 1864-1867.

<sup>13</sup> Novais, António Marinho – Cópia de Missiva, 12 de agosto de 1963. IRHU/ Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREMN 2494/10. 14 Idem.

<sup>15</sup> Informação n.º 1234 de 18 de setembro de 1963. Idem.



General view.

As far as we could assess, the conduction of preservation works in this old Church of Real were only carried out in the late 1980's, on the initiative of the local Building Commission<sup>16</sup>. At the time, the eaves of the nave and the roof of the chancel and vestry were rebuilt. However, the DGEMN's technicians recognised the importance of this kind of restoration works to be carried out "in a correct way, thus contributing to the improvement of the building that, despite with modest value, should be preserved"<sup>17</sup>.

This Church became part of the Route of the Romanesque in 2010 and now there are plans for its preservation, safeguarding and promotion, following up the maintenance works that the parish has already been carrying out<sup>18</sup> and, thus, extend its fruition to visitors (Malheiro, 2012: 3). After diagnosing the main pathologies, there was a definition of the intervention priorities: roofs, external walls, external openings and ceilings, among others (Malheiro, 2012: 17). [MLB / NR]

<sup>16</sup> Ofício n.º 66443 de 29 de maio de 1987. Idem.

<sup>17</sup> It was considered that the roof tiles used in this intervention weren't the most appropriate; "they used "Marseille" tiles, in "National double" eaves and "ridged" roof tops". Idem.

<sup>18</sup> These include, among others, the painting of the internal wall faces and of the doors (Malheiro, 2012: 10).

#### CHRONOLOGY

14<sup>th</sup> century: construction of the Church of Real;

1726: there was no sacrarium and its abbot was Tomás Pereira do Lago;

Mid-18<sup>th</sup> century: large-scale building campaigns change the Medieval construction;

1768: period of an alternating patronage between the bishopric of Braga and the Monastery of Travanca (Amarante);

1864: the Church was in a good state of preservation;

1938: construction of a new parish church of Real;

2010: integration of the Church of Real in the Route of the Romanesque.

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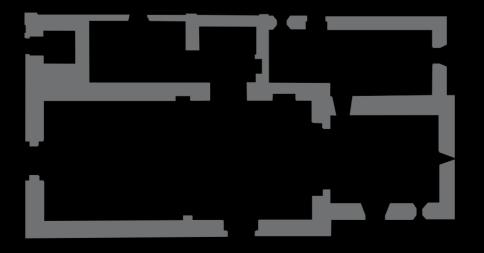
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### CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR OF RIBAS CELORICO DE BASTO

# CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR OF RIBAS CELORICO DE BASTO



#### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

n his work *Corografia portugueza...*, Father António Carvalho da Costa developed the history related to the foundation of the Church of the Saviour of Ribas rather thoroughly. However, the narrative collected its information from the chronicle of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine by Brother Nicolau de Santa Maria (1668), whose laudatory content was transferred between both its editions, in other words, from the one from 1668 to the one from 1706. Let's distinguish what Father António Carvalho da Costa wrote:

"This monastery that was first founded in a Chapel of the Saviour of the World, home of a Hermit; and while the Archbishop of Braga João Peculiar was visiting that "comarca" [a type of Portuguese administrative and judicial division], and receiving information on the many miracles that this holy image was performing around those places, he built a Church and Monastery of Saint Augustine in that Chapel around 1160, and ordered the Venerable Father Mendo to come from the Convent of Santa Cruz of Coimbra to become his canons' first Prior; this was a religious man of great virtue, who died in 1170 and was buried in the Monastery's cloister (...)" (Costa, 1706-1712: 145-146).

Despite the fact that this narrative includes topics common to other foundations (the bishop that seeks the miraculous place, the hermit chosen to show the signs, etc.), it does present a few interesting data on the foundation of a church. First of all, the hermitage as the origin of the chapel according to its sanctuary typology – spaces that were later turned into a cenoby for the Canons Regular. It is, therefore, in the context of this hermitic movement associated with "the progress of the repopulation in the Northern area of the Country" (Mattoso, 1997: 103-145) that we should understand the foundation of the Church dedicated to the Saviour, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

In a first stage, this would have been a minor building exclusively intended to protect the "holy image", whose category we weren't able to assess, i.e., if it was a totemic sculpture or a painting with an apotropaic nature. In any case, it was famous enough to attract common people and even the archbishop said to be visiting its domains. It would be interesting to know the iconography of such a representation: if it was the Judge and Justicer *Pantocrator*, or the Good Shepherd *salvator mundi*. The image could help us understand who was actually worshipped in this chapel, if Christ or even a holy figure that the Church tried (and is still trying) to model, thus avoiding the Son of God to be called "Holy", given that He takes part in his Father's divinity. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages and even long after that period, that name remained, being humanised in the representation and veneration that, together with all the male and female saints, is still worshipped in altar and altarpieces of churches and chapels<sup>1</sup>.

1 Pierre David (1947: 208) drew our attention to November 25<sup>th</sup>, the date mentioned by certain Hispanic calendars as the day of the celebration of the festivity of *sancti salvatoris*, which had no association with the life of Christ. Could, in some cases, the Holy Saviour be an obscure saint or martyr incorporated by the Iberian books of sermons? The dedication to the Saviour was mainly used in larger cathedrals and churches after the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the Clunian movement was the major responsible for the dissemination of this invocation (David, 1947: 226).

Although 1160 is a year that should be considered with the caution that sources from the memorialist kind deserve, it is likely that around the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century there was already a structure suitable to accommodate the prior Mendo, a venerable man who came to take possession of the old hermitage (or, at least, to reform it). However, we find it odd that both the inquiries conducted in the following century (1220 and 1258) do not mention the monastic nature of the space, or refer any interferences by the Canons Regular. In 1220 it is only mentioned that the Church was not under the Royal Patronage, and one of the witnesses from 1258, João Pires de Ribas, asserts that "it belonged to knights and governors" (Lopes, 2008: 212). Would these governors be the ones from Santa Cruz of Coimbra<sup>2</sup>?

Whoever its patrons were, the fact is that the incomes of Ribas were tempting, to an extent that, in 1320, the Church contributed with 350 Portuguese "libras" [former Portuguese currency unit] to aid the Crusades (Almeida & Peres, 1971: 107). At the time it was part of the assets of the Order of Christ, to which it belonged during the following centuries.

In fact, although the chronicler Friar Nicolau de Santa Maria ascribes the foundation of the monastery and Church to Canons from his order, the truth is that, in 1565, they were under the ruling of a commandery. This date marks the exhumation of the body of Mendo (as a result of a building campaign?), a fact that was apparently seen by commander Rui de Melo with great controversy and commotion<sup>3</sup>. What he saw and ordered to be written down (apparently by the hand of an apostolic notary) deserves the transcription:

"When the monument was opened, a very gentle odour came out of it, and the body of the Blessed Mendo appeared; it was all organized, but it was worn out down to the knees having nothing but bones, and from the knees down his legs were intact and with flesh, inside scarlet socks and wearing shoes on his feet; everything was looking as new as if it had just been put on. How pleasant was it, that feet which never made a move other than to serve God were incorruptible" (Santa Maria, 1668: 331)<sup>4</sup>.

The chronicle adds that the fame of such great wonder spread across the region and soon there were people coming "to see and worship those holy feet" (Santa Maria, 1668: 331). This discovery, which we may include in a series of inventions or *inventia* of holy bodies, was an opportunity for the old mother-house of Santa Cruz to arrogate to itself the right of claiming or reclaiming the Church that was under the ruling of a commandery. With the help of Rui de

<sup>2</sup> The author of the article on "Ribas" in the *Grande enciclopédia portuguesa e brasileira* had already found it strange that there weren't any references to the monastery and asserted that it could be an Augustine collegiate church, mainly due to the number of properties that were under the direct control of the Church, which represented enough assets to support the community (Correia et al., 1965: 514-515).

<sup>3</sup> Rui de Melo or Rui de Melo Pereira was the son of Francisco de Melo, a commander of the Order of Christ and his wife Beatriz de Barredo. On his father's side he was related to the commanders of Pombeiro (Gaio, 1938-1941).

<sup>4</sup> Close to the year when this work was published, but slightly earlier, we have the Jorge Cardoso's work (1666: 841, 846), *Agiologio lusitano*, which contains information on the "blessed" Mendo, "a man of recognised virtue". However, the oldest reference we find to the exhumation and to the miracle of incorruptibility dates back to 1624, by the Canon Regular Gabriel Penotto (1624). The chronicler narrates the invention according to the terms already described, with reference to the undated sepulchral inscription: "Hic jacet D. Menendus huis monasterij Prior, qui nunquam dum vixit, pedem moiut, nisi ad obsequiam Dei" (Penotto, 1624: 505).

Melo, perhaps moved to piety by the discovery, the Prior General of Santa Cruz approached Pope Pius V (p. 1566-1572), striving to return Ribas to the House of Coimbra. He was faced with the opposition of Cardinal Prince Henrique who warned him: "not to talk about that subject anymore, because that Monastery was forever united with the Commands of Christ" (Santa Maria, 1668: 332). It seems that this categorical denial caused such a strong impact on the prior's personality that led him to die "of grief" in 1566. Despite the importance of the discovery, the worship almost disappeared. Francisco Craesbeeck, who only refers the existence of a tooth from the presumable blessed man (which would grant protection against the bites of mad dogs) (Craesbeeck, 1992: 360), says that he wasn't able to locate the grave and points out a few inaccuracies in the chronicles on the content of the vanished inscription. That being said, the epigrapher Mário Barroca got to the point of questioning the existence of the tombstone that, supposedly, marked prior Mendo's date of death and place of burial (Barroca, 2000: 345).

In 1617, the rents of the commandery of Ribas de Basto amounted to 215 thousand "réis" [former Portuguese currency unit] (Ordem de Cristo, 1671: 258).

Around 1727, when the author of *Memórias ressuscitadas*... went through Ribas, he still saw the ruined monastery, a few paintings and the inscription that is supposedly associated with its foundation, which we shall mention further ahead. Diogo de Sá Correia e Benevides was the commander at the time<sup>5</sup>. The memorialists from 1758 do not mention the history of the Blessed Mendo and not even the monastery's ruins<sup>6</sup>, just a few illustrious men who honoured the name of Ribas through their trades (associated with literature, religion and weaponry) (Lopes, 2005).



Aerial view.

5 He was the third Viscount of Asseca, the grandson of the famous Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides (1602-1688), one of the heroes of the Restoration who helped to reconquest a few fortresses and territories for the Kingdom of Portugal, namely Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe.

6 Pinho Leal (1878: 177) who, in some cases, visited the places he described in his notes (most of them full of inaccuracies) tells us that, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, part of the monastery still existed, working as the parish priest's residence; "the rest had been demolished".



General view.

#### THE MONUMENT IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

he Medieval architectural construction of the Church of the Saviour of Ribas is still rather well-preserved, in other words, it is perfectly legible from its outside. We use the word Medieval taking into account the chronology suggested by its decorative and structural elements, but also by an inscription that confirms such chronology.

Once again, we stand before an architectural specimen that, using a definitely Romanesque taste and "know-how" as a starting point, shows us how shapes endure over the centuries. Hence, although in historiographical terms it has been mentioned that this Church, prior to being Romanesque, belongs to the family of the so-called "rural Gothic" style (Almeida, 2001: 124), we are sooner led to assert that we stand before a material proof of the "resistance" of shapes that still manages to be receptive to new ideas. Let us see.

We will start with the inscription that was studied in depth by Mário Barroca (2000: 1954-1956): "[... era:] M<sup>a</sup> : C<sup>a</sup> : C<sup>a</sup> : C<sup>a</sup> : [VII<sup>a</sup>:] / [...] T : ISTE : FECIT : / [...m<sup>a</sup> : clitis : mlvii :]".

This is a commemorative inscription associated with the completion of the Church of Ribas or of some of its building stages, which is engraved in an ashlar reused on the Church's bell tower (being adjusted to work as a weight in the clock system, although it's currently a loose piece) (Barroca, 2000: 954). Just like the expressions "fundavit", "Fundata", "Fundatus", "Fundare" or its variations "Cepit Edificare", "Incepit Edificare", "Iecit Fundamenta", the expression "fecit" is generally used in association with the foundation of temples (Barroca, 2000: 310-311).



Bell tower. Loose stone. Inscription.

However, since this epigraph is nowadays seriously mutilated, having been reduced to a cylindrical shape, the reconstitution of the original text has been based on the reading presented by Francisco Craesbeeck (1992: 361) in 1726<sup>7</sup>; at the time, the inscription was embedded on the south wall of the nave, between the lateral door and the chevet, as the memorialist tells us (Barroca, 2000: 954). According to Mário Barroca, the removal of Romanesque ashlars might have only been justified by the installation of the lateral altarpieces of the nave, close to the wall of the triumphal arch, since it became necessary to build in their backsides into the wall itself. So, it was around this time that the inscription was left as a loose piece and probably placed in the churchyard because its ashlar "featured a few letters" (Barroca, 2000: 955). This ashlar ended up being one of the chosen blocks when it became necessary to carve the weights for the clock.

Therefore, we know that, in Ribas, there was surely an intention to document, either the completion of the Church or of some of its building stages in the "Era of 1307", i.e., in 1269. So, we stand before a proof that was dated in a later period, already within the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the Church of the Saviour of Ribas, the receptiveness to the new ideas brought by the Gothic period is shown in this inscription, not just through its palaeography, which is characteristic of this period, but also by the fact that it mentions the construction as "iste fecit" (Almeida, 1978: 258).

Besides, as we have seen before, although Ribas is considered as the seat of a monastery of Canons Regular, the truth is that the first document referring the existence of this Church - simply as "ecclesiam of Ripis" - dated back to 1240 (Barroca, 2000: 956). In other words, and since we know that the construction of a Romanesque church usually began by the chevet and that, once this was consecrated, it would be possible to celebrate mass and other offices while the building works continued in the nave, and taking into account the epigraph's location suggested by Francisco Craesbeeck, we could suggest that, in 1240, the chevet of Ribas was already built in order to be considered a House of God. Or, alternatively, at that time there was still some other earlier temple that was later replaced by the current one. However, the uniformity of the construction of Ribas, which is extremely homogeneous in terms of its wall faces (composed of well-cut squareangled ashlars that form rows with very regular dimensions) and its decorative elements - among which prevails the use of the pearl motif, as we shall see ahead - leads us instead to suggest that this epigraph records the completion of the construction of the existing Church and replaced the one that was mentioned in the document from 1240. It seems to us that twenty nine years is too much time to build such a homogeneous construction, which looks more like it was built in one go, without significant interruptions which could leave scars on the building's walls or showed through variations in its decorative elements - the existence of several campaigns or the intervention of different "ateliers". Then, in 1269, this epigraph was carved in one of the Church's internal ashlars, which was removed in the Modern Period.

The south elevation is the one that provides us with more information to support the theory related to the good pacing of the construction works in Ribas, given that several structures

<sup>7</sup> Currently we are only able to read the second line and the lower third of the first line's central part: " [Era] 130[7][...]T Iste Fecit" (Barroca, 2000: 954).

- among which we highlight the sacristy or a chapel - were placed against the opposite elevation in the Modern Period. These outbuildings create a continuous line with the tower itself, preventing us from examining the Romanesque wall in its entirety or knowing how its portal would have looked like. So, on the south side, halfway up the wall, there is a continuous drip-course that, together with the corbels placed beneath, confirms that the lateral portal was once sheltered by a porch-like structure which, for being built using ephemeral materials, naturally disappeared. Hence, this portal, which is inscribed in the thickness of the wall, tells us about the acceptance of new formulae in Ribas: the corbels rest on the walls and support a flat tympanum - an element of resistance -, surrounded by a rather pointy broken archivolt that shows a series of pearls - another element from the resistance period - on the chamfer. The "loose spheres [and] high relief" are one of the motifs identified with the "no. 12", in the inventory drawn up by Joaquim de Vasconcelos (Vasconcelos & Abreu, 1918: 70), which proves their popularity among those who worked in Romanesque constructions built within the Portuguese territory. And in Ribas, a rare case in our Romanesque architecture - either from the main period or from the resistance period -, we see a constant use of this motif, which also appears on the two archivolts of the main portal and decorating the wide crevice that surmounts it; on the cornices of the main façade's gable, of the triumphal arch and of the chevet's back wall, as well as along the lateral cornices of the nave and apse. The fact that most of the Church's corbels are flat confirms the late nature of the construction of Ribas. While we find the very few ornamented corbels of this Church in the chancel, it is significant that the motif that succeeded the most was precisely the one of the isolated pearl.



South façade. Nave. Portal. Archivolt. Pearls.



South façade



East façade.



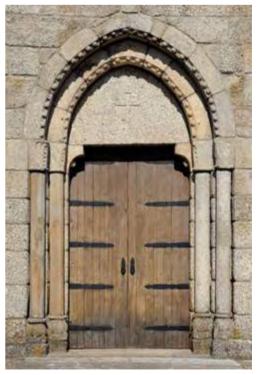
South façade. Chancel. Corbels

This decorative motif, with a clear Romanesque flavour, which is so repeated in Ribas, asserts itself here as an element of the resistance period and should be understood within the scope of the inspirational impulses of a local workshop that was surely located away from the main artistic centres of the time. The use of the broken arch should not be interpreted here as proof of a late construction because, as it is known, this was also used during the main Romanesque Period. The narrow crevices that illuminate the nave's interior, opened on the side elevations above the cornice, and the apse's back wall are surely other elements from the resistance period. But it is precisely in the flat corbels and layout given to the portals that we find that idea of acceptance of new ideas we have mentioned before.

The main portal, as we have already said, is composed of two broken archivolts decorated with pearls. By being inscribed within the thickness of the wall, it is diametrically opposed to the model that was most disseminated throughout its coeval specimens from the Sousa basin, which also reached as far as the Tâmega basin; that model sought to create monumental portals by opening them in protruding volumes, which gave them an increased depth. We may remember the examples of Travanca (Amarante), Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) or Airães (Felgueiras), just to mention a few. The columns, featuring a cylindrical shaft, are narrow and elegant, as well as the echini of their capitals, which have attached foliage in relief; this foliage is not very bulky and its composition includes pearls that, in this case, considering they are aligned with the ones from the archivolts, create a clear sense of continuity. The tympanum, resting on corbels decorated by a rosette with an emphasised relief, shows an incised cross, already of the fleury type. Speaking of crosses, the terminal crosses of the nave, the ones on the main façade and on the gable of the triumphal arch are quite original due to the raised nature of their stipes that end in a circle with a pattée carved cross.

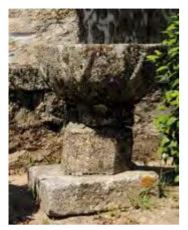


South facade. Nave. Portal.



West facade. Portal.

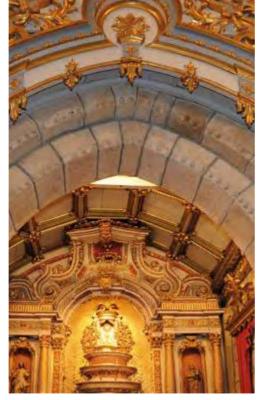




Churchyard. Font.

Still outside, the font, on a corner of the landscaped churchyard, also seems to be of the Romanesque Period. The circular bowl and pedestal are plain.

The internal space of the Church of Ribas does not convey a Romanesque atmosphere any more. Although we find exposed granite on the walls, the space is dominated by woodwork, which is already polychrome and has a recent chronology, as we shall see further ahead. The only element that refers us to the Romanesque Period is precisely the triumphal arch, which gains a monumental character due to the large carved pelmet which followed its design. As we have mentioned before, its two broken archivolts are decorated with the spherical motif on the chamfer. However, here we are faced with a noteworthy and extremely original feature: there is an approximate repetition of the portal's layout, in terms of its capitals, despite the fact that the motif of the pearls does not extend itself over them. While the triumphal arch has no imposts, on the Gospel side of the chancel arch we can see an impost composed of a round shape sided by spheres, a motif that extends itself as a frieze along the surrounding wall, on the side facing the chancel. On the Epistle side, the presence of Classical mouldings leads us to assume that there might have occurred here some kind of change in the Modern Period, maybe during the campaign that opened a rectangular window on the same side of the chancel's wall. The motif sculpted on the keystone of the arch's inner archivolt, on the side facing the nave, which we think is an eagle with its wings open, is also quite original.



Triumphal arch.



Triumphal arch. Voussoirs, imposts and capitals.



General interior view from the nave

## THE MONUMENT IN THE MODERN PERIOD

n 1726, the organization of the inner space of the Church of Ribas was slightly different. According to Francisco Craesbeeck's (1992: 361) words, we know that, besides the consecration crosses and the inscription he published, there was a "grave painting of the visitation of Our Lady, by the famous Arnaut"<sup>8</sup>. This author did not leave us any more information on the Church. The information written down in 1758 gives us more clues on the organization of the interior space of the Church during a previous period to the one when the existing altarpieces were designed. According to the parish memoir there were, in the parish Church – whose "patron saint is the Holy Saviour of Ribas" –, four altars: the largest one, dedicated to the patron saint, was where the Blessed Sacrament was placed; "the second was the one of Our Lady of the Rosary, located on the North side; the third was the one of Our Lady of the Valley, located on the East side; the fourth was the one of Our Lord of the Passion, which is facing the East" (Capela, 2003: 251).

Currently, the layout of the four altarpieces remains the same, despite the fact that the invocations they worship have been changed and that there is reference to one more altarpiece in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, in 1911, following an inventory of the Church's immovable assets and furnishings, as a result of the Separation Law, the titles were already different from those in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. Besides the major altar where the images of the Saviour and of Our

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Lady of Grace were displayed, there was the one of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (whose invocation replaced that of Our Lady of the Rosary)<sup>10</sup>, the one of the Sacred Heart of Mary (built to replace the one that had been dedicated to Our Lord of the Passion)<sup>11</sup>, the so-called altar of Our Lady of the Rosary and the so-called altar of Sorrows; the latter probably refers to the chapel adjacent to the north wall of the Church's body<sup>12</sup>. From the series of imagery pieces that are also worthy of highlight, we point out the sculptures of the Blessed Saviour (a work from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, made of upholstered wood with puncture and graffiti), Our Lady of the Valley (from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, made of polychrome, gilded and punctured wood) and Our Lady of the Rosary (from the 18<sup>th</sup> century and particularly significant in terms of its Baroque grammar, which was only affected by the repaintings it was subject to).



Chancel. Main altarpiece on the Gospel side. Sculpture. The Saviour



Chancel. Main altarpiece on the Epistle side. Sculpture. Our Lady of the Valley.



Nave. North wall. Altarpiece. Sculpture. Our Lady of the Rosary.

In terms of woodwork, we should emphasise the good quality of the artisans who built the large altarpiece, on clear Mannerist grounds and spirit, despite the fact that it was deeply marked by later additions intended to be of revivalist nature and sought their inspiration or model in the Baroque style. In fact, all the remaining ornamentation in terms of the altarpiece, the pelmets and the coating of the chancel arch shows a permanence of styles that marked, both the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that were kept by the hands of local or regional

de Basto, Arrolamento dos bens cultuais, Ribas, Liv. 14, fl. 155-157, ACMF/Arquivo/CJBC/BRA/CEL/ARROL/020.

10 The image was still worshipped in this altar together with the one of Saint Sebastian, which are both made of wood (Idem, ibid). 11 In this altar, besides the main image, the invocations of Saint Anthony and Saint Lucia were also worshipped. Currently,

this is the only surviving image in this location, together with Saint Barbara (Idem, ibid). 12 A construction that was built after 1758, since it is not mentioned in this year.



Nave. High choir and roof.

artisans who intended to imitate or recreate already-known patterns. In that sense, we cannot consider the altarpieces that were built along the body as "revivalist elements", because they are works that contain a certain idiosyncrasy: the reuse of earlier structures, the use of pastiches and the standardisation of the ensemble through the use of polychromy and gilding. The chronology of these structures allows us to assess the major change that the integrated assets of the Church of Ribas underwent at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> to the following century, despite the absence of documentation.

The work of the nave's coffered ceiling also deserves to be mentioned, as well as the choir's balustrade, composed of balusters with a circular plan, arranged in three sets of eight balusters each, alternating with four balusters with a square plan and botanic ornaments.

On the outside, we should mention the construction of the bell tower that, despite being inconsistent with the Church's dimensions and volume, is a structure with its own value, "with good" proportions, developed in three different levels: a ground floor, with an access door and a large window; two intermediate levels (with the clock on the smaller one and the bells on the larger one); and, finally, the upper level, marked by the pear-shaped spire. This is a work from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.



North façade. Bell tower.

## CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

ue to the fact that it has not been classified yet, the Church of Ribas has not been subject to interventions by the relevant state bodies. The preservation works carried out in 1970 and in 2000/2001 were conducted under the parish's own responsibility. In the former, the Church's wooden floor was replaced and, in the latter, quite elaborate, the Church was subject to several general preservation works<sup>13</sup>.

In 2012, when we visited this Church in the company of the researcher Paula Bessa, we managed to identify a series of reasonably well-preserved mural paintings in the chevet, behind the larger altarpiece. It was possible to recognise, at the centre, a large-sized image of a *Saviour* (from the Resurrected Christ/Saviour type), with a depiction of *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* on his right, and what could be part of an *Annunciation* scene on his left.

Considering it became part of the Route of the Romanesque in 2010, the Church of the Saviour of Ribas will surely be protected by different mechanisms that, according to our belief, may lead to its classification. [MLB / NR]





Chancel. Back wall on the Gospel side (behind the main altarpiece). Mural painting. *Annunciation*.

Chancel. Back wall on the Epistle side (behind the main altarpiece). Mural painting. Saint Catherine of Alexandria.

13 These works included the replacement of the roofs and the renovation of the north wing, that is, of the adjacent outbuildings. New stained glass panels were installed and the outside was cleaned (the Church walls, we believe, judging from the patina's soft tone); the churchyard was also improved (Dinis, 2001).



# CHRONOLOGY

12<sup>th</sup> century: probable existence of a hermitage where the Saviour was worshipped;

1220: the inquiries of King Afonso II mention that the Church of "Saint Saviour of Ribas" was not part of the royal patronage;

1258: the witnesses of the inquiries of King Afonso III mention that the patronage of the Church of Ribas belonged to a few knights and governors;

1269: probable date of construction of the existing Church;

1320: the Church of Ribas pays a tax of 350 Portuguese "libras" to support the Crusades;

1565: the date suggested by tradition for the exhumation of the body of the blessed Mendo, who would have been buried here in 1170;

1726: the only trace of the worship of blessed Mendo is the tooth that was used against the bite of mad dogs;

1758: the Church had four altars and there is no mention to traces of a cloister and/or monastic outbuildings;

1878: Pinho Leal states that part of the monastery still existed and worked as the parish priest's residence;

1970 and 2000/2001: building works in the Church, made at the parish's expense, are documented;

2010: the Church of Ribas becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque.

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## GLOSSARY

**ALTAR**: table for religious sacrifices, which is built outdoors or inside houses and temples. In Christianity, is the consecrated table where the mass is celebrated, and includes a sealed cavity – the sepulchre – with a stone lid, inside which the relics are placed. The base of the altar evolved in different ways: the early Christians celebrated mass over the tombs of martyrs. From the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards we find artistic ornaments covering the frontal or the entire base. Until the Romanesque Period, the altar was only intended for the Book of the Gospels and the chalice, but, from that period onwards, a large number of crosses and candlesticks were also placed on it. The main altar is the most significant altar of a temple, placed on the axis of the main nave, usually at the end of the chancel. The others are called collateral or lateral altars.

**ALTARPIECE**: a structure placed on the altar or addorsed to the back wall above it. They can be made of various materials (stone, carved wood, etc.) and are composed of a variable number of paintings or sculptures, usually framed by architectural or sculptural decorations, according to the style of each period. While, initially, it consisted of a simple step located behind the altar table to place liturgical objects (such as the cross and the candlesticks), it should remain low so as to not conceal the priest during the celebration of mass. However, it grew quickly when, according to a change in the ritual of the liturgy, the priest began to officiate with his back to the devotees. Since then, the height of the altar's upper limit was no longer subject to constraints. The main altarpiece is the most important one in a church, and is usually located in the chancel.

**ARCOSOLIUM**: arc-shaped niche carved on an internal or external wall of a church, containing a tomb. It is from the Romanesque Period onwards that this becomes a usual element in Western art.

**BAS-RELIEF**: a sculpture that is generally used in architectural decoration, in which the figures merge with the surface on which they are applied, only protruding part of their volume.

**CANTILEVER**: synonym for corbel.

CHEMIN DE RONDE: in a castle, keep or fortress, the narrow path inside the wall vestment.

**CREVICE:** narrow opening on a wall or roof for ventilation and lighting. Slender, narrow and high window.

**DIHEDRAL TORUS:** frame with a convex semicircular section that usually appears applied at the lower part of a column. It becomes dihedral when embedded in a sharp edge.

**EAVE**: the protruding part of the cornice or a small protruding frame on a wall that is intended to prevent water from running down the building's façade.

**ECHINUS:** cushion of a capital, decorated with foliage. The term is especially associated with the Corinthian capital, which resembles a basket of acanthus leaves. However, by extension, it is also associated with the Romanesque style, since the capitals from this artistic period are the result, in formal terms, of the adaptation of the echinus of the Corinthian capital, thus adjusting its rules to the new aesthetics.

**ELEVATION:** wall, vertical plane of a building. It may also refer to the architectural drawing that represents that vertical plane, or part of it, to the scale of its horizontal and vertical dimensions.

**HIGH CHOIR:** on a mezzanine built above the main door into the church's nave. The place where clergymen meet to sing the divine offices.

**KEEP**: a stone building, taller than wide, built primarily for defense purposes. The main tower of a castle, the last stronghold of the military garrison. The known specimens have variable plans and different locations in relation to the fortified ensemble.

**MOLDING:** an ornament found in carpentry or architectural works which consists of a composition of protrusions and indentations, whose continuity along straight or winding lines ensures an accurate transition between architectural shapes through the effect of lights and shadows.

**OCULUS:** a small circular or oval window opened on a gable, a pediment, etc., for lighting and ventilation of the interior space.

**PATRON SAINT**: the protective entity that presides over the church, hermitage or chapel, which the community takes as its protector, thus paying it religious homage.

**PATRONAGE**: a right acquired by the founders of a specific church and its legacy to their descendants which consisted in appointing or providing the benefit to the same individual under his trust. The holder of this right, who was called patron, was responsible for raising some of the church's revenues and oversee the construction of the chancel.

PEARLS: ornament consisting of small beads or spherical grains applied on a frame or molding.

**PELMET:** a structure used in Johannine [style which develops during the reign of King João V (k. 1706-1750)] carved woodworks, which imitated fabrics. Board or short curtain that supports curtains on the upper section.

**PSEUDO-SOLOMONIC COLUMN:** column with a spiral-shaped frustum, featuring a helix on the lower third that is different from the one on top it; they are separated by rings. The name comes from Saint Peter's canopy in the Vatican, by Bernini, who used this type of column inspired by the model of the twisted columns preserved in Saint Peter's basilica, in Rome, Italy (first chapel on the right), which, according to tradition, had come from the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, Israel.

**PULPIT:** in ecclesiastical furniture, it refers to the preacher's tribune or to the lecturer's chair found in the monastery's refectory. Addorsed to a wall or pillar, usually in the church's central nave, which provides access to a stairway, it is closed as a balcony and often crowned with a pulpit cover. It is a tribune made of marble, stone or wood. It is associated with a concept of broad preaching, directly aimed at influencing the devotees.

**SCOTIA**: a frame with a concave profile.

**TABERNACLE**: a small piece shaped like a cabinet, church, tower, etc., with a door to store hosts and relics on the altars.

**UPHOLSTERY**: the lining of a sculptural image, usually made of wood, with painted and gilded robes. Bleaching (e.g., with sulphate or calcium carbonate) a carved or engraved figure carved in order to gild it and apply golden leaves on it. It also refers to the ornaments on the images' clothes which are made to look like fabrics.

Cover: Church of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses). South façade. Nave. Portal. Corbel.

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#### Texts

Lúcia Rosas [LR] | Department of Heritage Studies of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto Maria Leonor Botelho [MLB] | Department of Heritage Studies of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto Nuno Resende [NR] | Department of Heritage Studies of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto Rota do Românico [RR]

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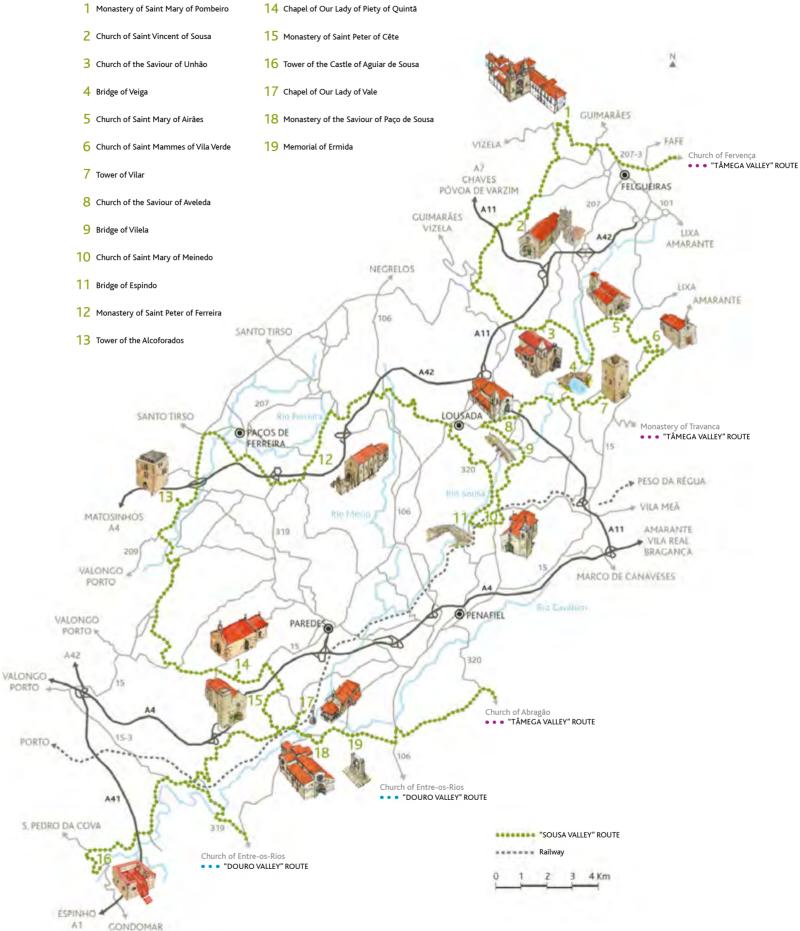
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29 Monastery of Saint Mary of Cárquere

28 Bridge of Panchorra

36 Memorial of Alpendorada

**33** Bridge of Esmoriz

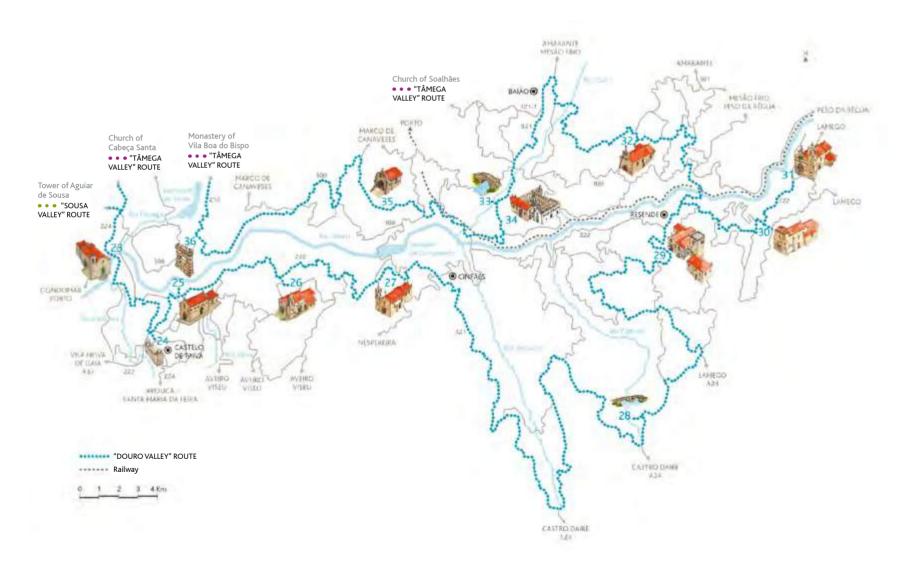
30 Church of Saint Martin of Mouros

32 Church of Saint James of Valadares

34 Monastery of Saint Andrew of Ancede

35 Chapel of Our Lady of Deliverance of Fandinhães

31 Church of Saint Mary of Barrô



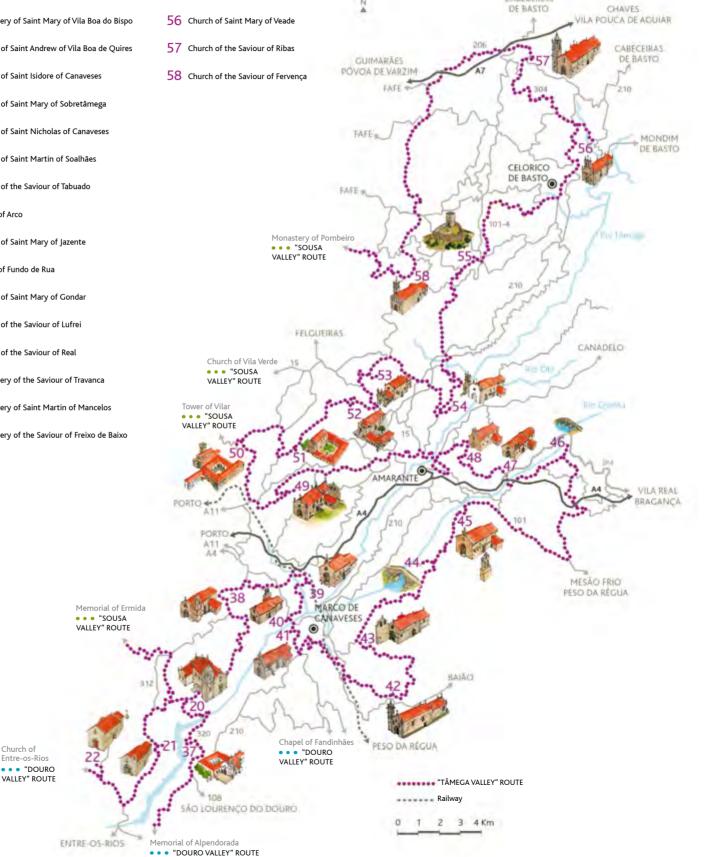
## TÂMEGA VALLEY

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- 44 Bridge of Arco
- 45 Church of Saint Mary of Jazente
- 46 Bridge of Fundo de Rua
- 47 Church of Saint Mary of Gondar
- 48 Church of the Saviour of Lufrei
- 49 Church of the Saviour of Real
- 50 Monastery of the Saviour of Travanca
- 51 Monastery of Saint Martin of Mancelos

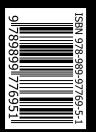
Church of Entre-os-Rios

52 Monastery of the Saviour of Freixo de Baixo

- 53 Church of Saint Andrew of Telões
- 54 Church of Saint John the Baptist of Gatão
- 55 Castle of Arnoia



CABECEIRAS













TRANSROMANICA

