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ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE AND ARTS

Romanesque architecture was developed between the late 10th century and the first two decades of the 11th 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 11th 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 12th 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-12th 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 12th century and over the 13th century, many monastic or parishes churches received new buildings that replaced the old churches which had a rather compartmentalized architecture, as usual in 9th and 10th-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 19th century and a significant part of the 20th 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 XIIIe-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, archivolt 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 (12th 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 11th century, although there are indications that they may have appeared around the year 1000. While in the 10th 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 11th and 12th 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 17th 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 10th 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.

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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 Annunciation 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 Túdez 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 it 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 12th-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 13th 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 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

In 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.

24 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-13th 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 11th 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 11th century and reached its climax before the mid-13th 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 16th 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 Quintá (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.

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The memorials, which may be dated back to the first half and the mid-13th 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

When 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 10th 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 (6th 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

The 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 status 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, Tuíás (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 Aguires 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 12th-14th 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 10th 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 12th and 14th 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 18th-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 18th 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 16th 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 15th-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

Although 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 13th and 14th 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 14th 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 it 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 13th 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 18th 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 19th 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 13th 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 ashlar 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 archivolt 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-12th 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 (Cinfães), for having changed the location of the primitive Church, also in a single night.

But we should not be 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 overused 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 ashlar 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 ashlar 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 18th 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 15th century and the end of the 16th century; some of them had been concealed by altarpieces that were removed in the 20th 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 16th 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 18th 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 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 19th and 20th 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 20th 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)).

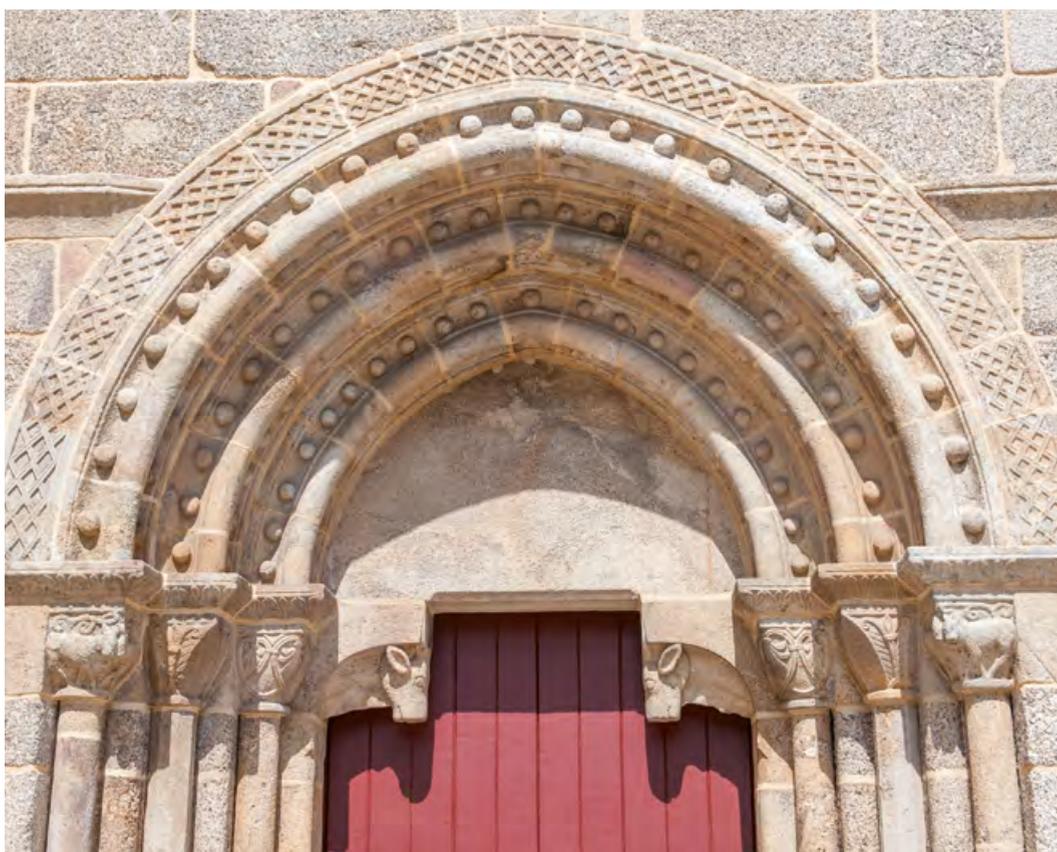
The bell tower of the Church of Vila Boa de Quires was built in 1881, when the Church was expanded to the west. In this case, the value of antiquity prevailed over the need for a renovation, so the design of the original façade was respected, despite the “small differences” that were introduced. The 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 9th 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 archivolt, 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 archivolt, 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 Bra-

ga-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). Triumphant 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.

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 20th 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.



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

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 archivolt's voussoirs, both proving the strength that the influence of the Romanesque style developed around the Braga-Rates axis had.

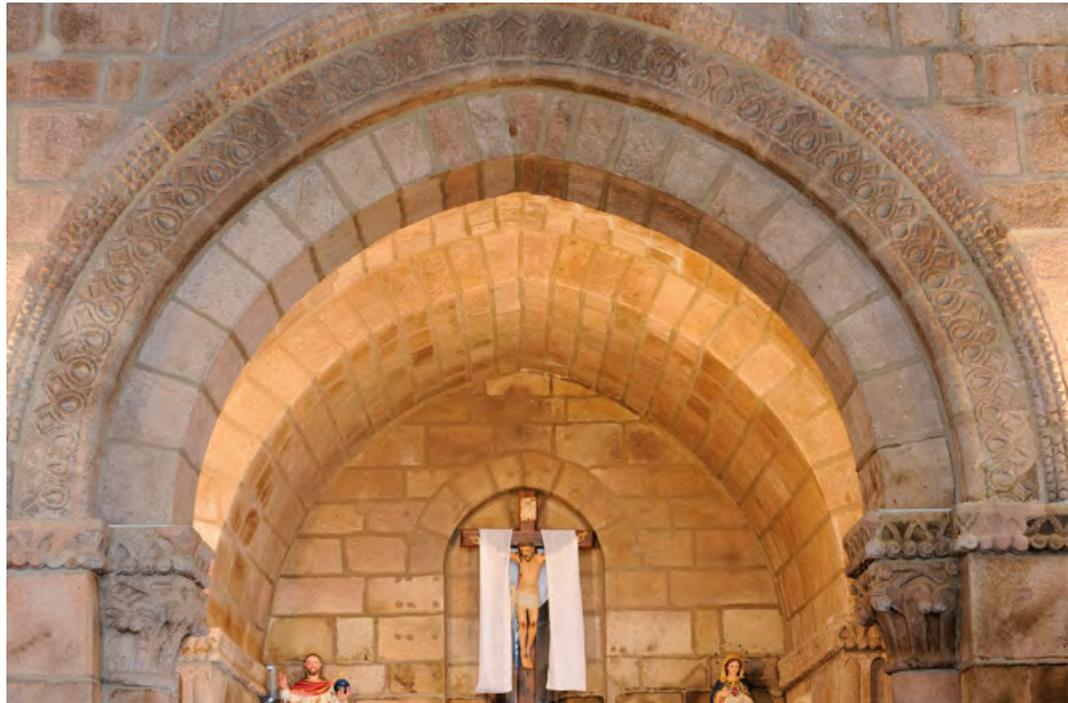
A very typical – and even defining – artistic and compositional language from this regional focus of the Portuguese Romanesque style that spread across an entire peripheral area was developed both in the Braga cathedral and in that which was one of the earliest Benedictine monastic houses in Portugal. 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 archivolt's 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 impostes which are extended as a frieze along the collateral walls), in the Church of Saint Isidore (on the main portal's impostes which are extended as a frieze



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

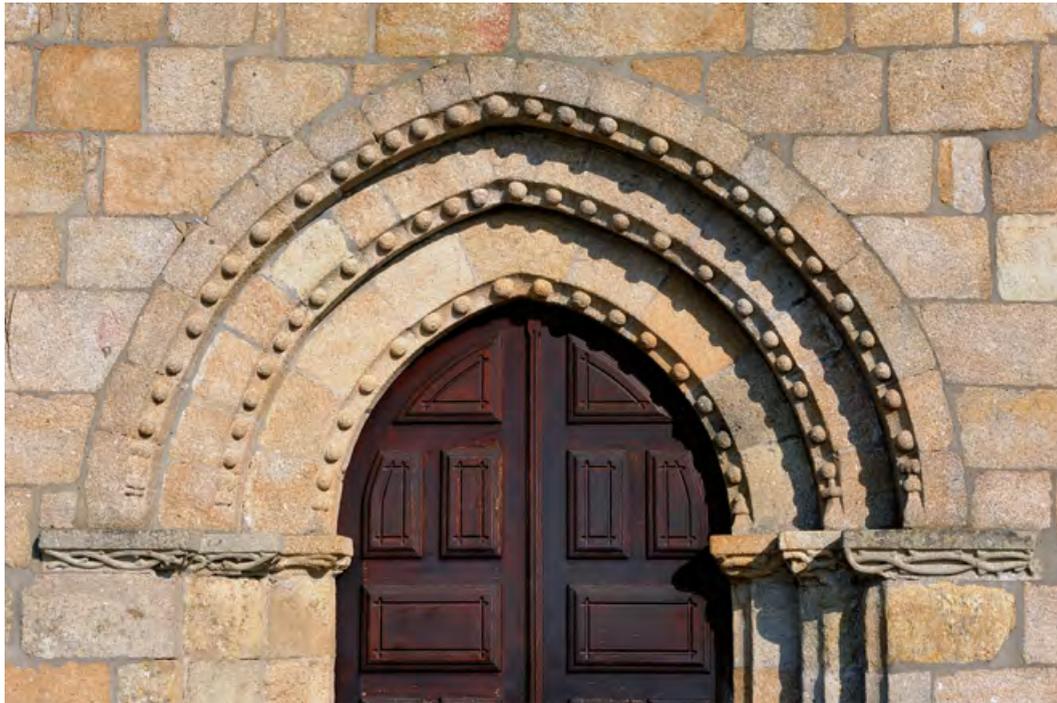


Church of Fervença (Celorico de Basto). Triumphal arch.

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



series of buildings under study. In the Church of Ribas, a chronologically 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 13th 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-12th 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 meet the requirements of its own period.

The permanence of a given *modus aedificandi*, 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 perdurance 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 archivolt. 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 impostes 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 Tãmega: Saint Nicholas and Sobretãmega. 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

However, we should seek the roots of the personalization of the Medieval tomb in the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region in the 11th 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 Martim Afonso; his son Gil Vaz de Resende; and the descendant of both, Vasco Martins de Resende (II).

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 Geraldés), 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 Soalhães 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.



Monastery of Cárquere (Resende).
Pantheon of the Resendes.

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 is 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).

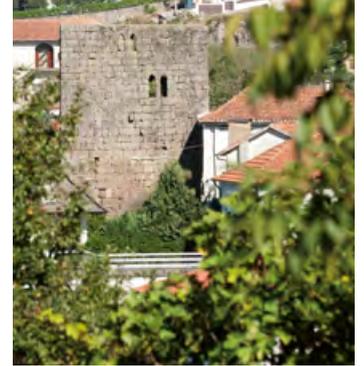
Civil architecture

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 10th and the 12th 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-12th 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 mulioned windows allow placing the construction of this Tower in the first half of the 14th 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.



Castle of Arnoia (Celorico de Basto). West view.

TERRITORY AND LANDSCAPE IN THE TÂMEGA AND DOURO BETWEEN THE 19TH AND THE 21ST CENTURIES

The administrative evolution of the territory

Although, 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], “beetrias” [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 13th 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 16th 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 18th-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 18th 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 Ribatãmega, 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-profano...*, 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 Tãmega and the Douro rivers worked as dividing lines throughout our regional and national history: the Tãmega 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 12th 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 Tãmega 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 18th century were legally subject to the magistrature 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 19th 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 18th 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 19th 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 19th 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 Gestaço 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.

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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 (19th-21st centuries)

Any 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 3rd 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.

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However, we should not get the idea that this alienation of assets did not give rise to the non-preservation of the religious artistic heritage in the 19th 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 19th 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 19th 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 20th 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 9th 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 22nd 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 28th 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 6th 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 18th 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 Soalhães, 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 Quintã, 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 23rd, 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 20th 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-20th 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 adjoined 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 20th 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 21st 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.

Cover: Church of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses). South façade. Nave. Portal. Corbel.

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