

# THE COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE OF MINAS GERAIS IN BRAZIL\*

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OF ALL the former European colonies in the New World it was Brazil that most faithfully and consistently reflected and preserved the architecture of the mother-country. In Brazil were never felt those strange indigenous influences which in Mexico and Peru produced buildings richer and more complicated in design than the very models of the peninsular Baroque.<sup>1</sup> Brazil never knew the exigencies of a new and severe climate necessitating modifications of the old national architectural forms, as in the French and English colonies of North America, where also the early mingling of nationalities produced a greater variety of types of construction. And the proof of this lies in the constant imitation in Brazil of the successive styles of architecture in vogue at Lisbon and throughout Portugal during the colonial period.<sup>2</sup> From the first establishments at Iguarassú<sup>3</sup> and São Vicente<sup>4</sup> down to the last constructions in Minas Gerais, the various buildings of the best preserved colonial sites in Brazil—at São Luiz do Maranhão,<sup>5</sup> in the old Bahia,<sup>6</sup> and the earliest Mineiro<sup>7</sup> towns—are completely Portuguese. Whoever would study them must remember the Lusitanian monuments of the period, treating Brazil

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1. In Brazil I know of only two religious monuments which can be clearly related to the contemporary Spanish colonial style. They are without doubt the work of some monastic architect of Hispanic origin. The first is the magnificent façade of the church of the Venerável Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco in the city of Salvador, constructed in 1703. The large statues of St. Francis and other saints of his order are there located in niches of the most extravagant Churrigueresque form, with twisted columns in a veritable forest of exuberant tropical vegetation. The old church of N. S. do Carmo (Pernambuco), the second example, now abandoned and menaced with ruin, was, with its handsome *cruzeiro*, built in 1720. It shows the Spanish system of construction to perfection. The two lateral towers are more robust than those used in Portuguese architecture and are encumbered by weighty cornices placed to interrupt their verticality. The portal of the principal façade is designed in the form of a retable of classic taste in the pure tradition of Juan de Herrera. Less certainly of Spanish inspiration is the door of the small *ermida* of N. S. dos Navegantes, 1710, on the Itapagipe shore of Salvador, which is of an unusual plaster rustication and is crowned with complicated reliefs of rich vegetable forms.

Another monument which might be included in the same category of Spanish colonial influence is the grandiose portal of the former Solar Saldanha in Salvador (Rua Guedes de Brito, no. 14). The great nude gigantes of richly sculptured stone which support the heavy cornice of this former private palace are conceived according to the weighty taste of the seventeenth century Italian Baroque, much imitated in Spain and her colonies. But the iconography of the doorway appears to be Portuguese. Gigantes similar to these appear on the fine Manueline portal of the small church of Arruda dos Vinhos (Estremadura Portu-

guesa), circa 1527.

2. The Brazilian colonial period extends from the year of the discovery, 1500, until the establishment of the first Brazilian empire in 1822.

3. Founded in 1535 by the Portuguese Duarte Coelho, this town in Pernambuco possesses a remarkable parish church, traditionally considered the oldest in Brazil, which, in spite of tremendous subsequent reconstructions, still shows its original Manueline proportions. For a seventeenth century view of this church see the painting by Frans Post in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (cat. no. 1908) or the closely related etching in Gaspar Barlaeus' *Rerum per octenium in Brasilia. . .* (Amsterdam, 1647), pl. no. 9.

4. Another early establishment, founded in 1532 on the coast south of Rio de Janeiro, near the present city of Santos, which has absorbed it. It is now a part of the modern state of S. Paulo.

5. S. Luiz, the capital of the state of Maranhão, is the first great city on the coast below Pará. Founded by the French in the seventeenth century (Antonio Batista Barbosa de Godois, *História do Maranhão*, 2 vols., S. Luiz, 1904), the city enjoyed a period of great wealth in the eighteenth and nineteenth, before the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888. For a brief attempt to evoke its picturesque past see my article *São Luiz do Maranhão* in the first issue of *The Pan American Traveler*.

6. "Bahia" is used throughout this paper only in reference to the state and former *capitania* of that name rather than, as is often done, to its capital, the city of Salvador, founded by Tomé de Sousa in 1549. The same distinction will be made here between the state of Pernambuco and its capital Recife, and the state of Pará and its capital Belém.

7. The inhabitants of Minas Gerais (The General Mines) are referred to as miners (*mineiros*) in Portuguese. I have applied the masculine form of this adjective arbitrarily throughout this paper.

as a larger architectural province of Portugal, examining with care the innumerable links which have always bound the architecture of the two countries into a single Portuguese-Brazilian style.<sup>8</sup>

The architecture of Portugal during the eighteenth century followed two main currents. On the one hand was the tradition of the court at Lisbon and Évora in the south, a foreign tradition built up by generations of imported Italian architects which was to culminate in the reign of Dom João V (1689-1749),<sup>9</sup> and on the other hand the native Portuguese tradition, which at this period had evolved a specific rural interpretation of the contemporary Baroque style. This essentially national tradition is particularly associated with the north of Portugal, where the cities of Oporto, Braga, Viseu, Guimarães, Lamego, and Viana do Castelo maintained local schools of architecture in varying degrees of regional independence.<sup>10</sup>

It was the court tradition which made itself felt in the coast towns of colonial Brazil. Salvador, until the year 1763 the viceregal capital of the colony, was naturally the center of artistic intercourse with the metropolis of the mother-country; its architecture throughout the first half of the eighteenth century follows most closely the contemporary style of Lisbon. Indeed, the Bahians often imported their architecture directly from the capital, as in 1735, when the Portuguese merchants of the town commissioned their new church of the Conceição da Praia not only to be designed but practically to be built in Lisbon.<sup>11</sup> The *pedra de lioz*, a stone resembling Istrian marble, characteristic of the region about the Portuguese capital, was cut directly at Lisbon. The marbles of the interior were assembled there as well as the rich fittings of the chapels and sacristries. The arrangement of the façade reflects in minor scale the vast royal convent of Mafra, which was then abuilding near Lisbon, while the details of the structure are full of the Austro-Italian mannerisms of the court architect Ludovice and his circle. To a lesser extent the cities of Pernambuco, Recife, and Olinda to the north,<sup>12</sup> and Belém,<sup>13</sup> the metropolis of the Amazon, embody this same tenacious borrowing from monuments at the Portuguese court. In fact the tradition was to become so strong along the coast as to discourage the development of creole architects and artisans.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century Rio de Janeiro, the new viceregal capital, took over the Bahian hegemony and rapidly became the center in Brazil for the Italianate court style. In 1755 a disastrous earthquake had all but destroyed the city of Lisbon, and

8. And in a wider sense Brazilian colonial architecture is but one link in an immense Lusitanian chain that includes the mid-Atlantic Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde and other African islands, the continental African colonies of Angóla and Mozambique, Gôa in India, and Macao in southern China. The important plea that future studies of any part of this body of architecture should tend to emphasize the unity of style within the corpus has recently been made by the distinguished Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre (*Sugestões para o estudo da arte brasileira em relação com a de Portugal e das colônias*, in *Revista do serviço do patrimônio histórico e artístico nacional*, I, no. 1, 1937, pp. 41-45).

9. The history of this court tradition in the so-called Joanine period of the first half of the eighteenth century was discussed by me in *João Frederico Ludovice an Eighteenth Century Architect in Portugal*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 273-370.

10. This tradition has not yet been thoroughly studied.

11. William Hadfield relates that the masonry came in numbered parts from Lisbon (*Brazil, the River Plate, and the Falkland Islands, with Sketches by Sir W. Gore Ouseley*

*K.C.B.*, London, 1854, p. 126).

12. These two cities, of which Olinda, founded just after Iguarassú, was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the more distinguished, are remarkable for their rich monastic architecture. The convents of S. Francisco in the two towns, that of N. S. do Carmo at Recife and that of S. Bento at Olinda (1763), as well as the Recife churches of Sto. Antônio, Cruz dos Militares, and S. José are all reminiscent of the Portuguese court architecture.

13. The architecture of this delightful city, constructed almost entirely in the eighteenth century, was at this period compared favorably with that of Europe (*Beschreibung des Portugiesischen Amerika vom Cudena [Pedro] ein spanisches Manuscript in der Wolfenbüttelschen Bibliothek herausgegeben vom Herrn Hofrath Lessing mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen begleitet von Christian Leiste . . . Brunswick, 1780, p. 82*), but it still awaits scholarly study. I have briefly described its Italianate cathedral (1720-1775) and the Palladian churches of Sta. Ana, S. João Batista, and N. S. das Mercês in my article *The Colonial Churches of Brazil* in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, vol. LXXII, no. 1, Jan., 1938, pp. 1-8.

in the years immediately succeeding the town had been rebuilt by the royal minister Marquês de Pombal and his architects.<sup>14</sup> The new Lisbon waterfront with its grandiose quays and palaces was soon reproduced by the viceroy Dom Luiz de Vasconcelos (1779-1790) at Rio,<sup>15</sup> where the Bay of Guanabara provided even a grander setting than the Tagus at Lisbon.<sup>16</sup> The Lisbon churches of the post-earthquake style, in whose doorways and interiors an attempt is made to subordinate rococo details to a scheme of elongated angular sobriety, find their counterparts in the new constructions at Rio. The motives of a sculptured medallion set in the pediment above a door, ever a popular device of formal Portuguese architecture since the beginning of the century, is found in the side portal<sup>17</sup> of the Carmelite church at Rio de Janeiro. An Italianate Madonna, it is reminiscent of Giusti<sup>18</sup> and was probably executed by his pupils at Mafra. In short, the new capital of Brazil was as Pombalian in its architectural preferences as the old had been Joanine in its tastes.

The essentially native Portuguese tradition, on the other hand, neglected but never

14. These men were: Carlos Mardel, d. 1763 (rebuilding of the Palácio dos Estáos, nave of S. Domingos, fountains of the Rua do Século, and Rua da Esperança, all at Lisbon, and the palace of the marquezes de Pombal at Oeiras); Reinaldo Manoel dos Santos (rebuilding of the churches of S. Nicolau, and N. S. dos Mártires, 1769-84, laying out of the Passeio Público do Rocio, 1755-1764, co-planning of the Basilica da Estrêla, 1779-1790, all at Lisbon); Mateus Vicente de Oliveira, 1700-1786 (rebuilding of the church of Sto. Antônio da Sé and co-planning of the Basilica da Estrêla, both at Lisbon, and construction of a part of the royal palace at Queluz, 1758-1786); Manoel Caetano de Sousa, 1742-1802 (rebuilding of the church of S. José, construction of the palace of the duques de Palmela in the Rua da Escola Politécnica, the wooden palace [paço velho] of Ajuda, 1755-1794, and the tower of Ajuda, all at Lisbon). These men were really the pupils of Ludovice and his school of architecture and engineering at the palace of Mafra.

15. The main feature of the new square, the Largo do Palácio or Paço, was a rich fountain erected in honor of Queen D. Maria I in 1785. The original arrangement, unlike that at Lisbon, has been much impaired by the modern rebuilding of the harbor. Another of the viceroy's civic accomplishments in imitation of those of Lisbon was the creation of the Passeio Público between the years 1779 and 1783. In it he was assisted by his right hand man, the distinguished sculptor Mestre Valentim da Fonseca e Silva. The Promenade, which included two pavilions and two pyramids, culminated in a grand cascade with cast-iron birds, alligators, and a palm tree, all in natural colors. So unusual was the result that it inspired the poem of Dr. Bartolomeo Antônio Cordovil, *Amfibios jacarés de agudo dente* . . . The Promenade was repeatedly damaged by the elements and in 1850 was entirely rebuilt in the present romantic style. The viceroy also directed the building of the dismantled fountain of Marrécas in the Rua das Belas-Noites. See Moreira de Azevedo: *O Rio de Janeiro, sua historia, monumentos, homens notáveis, usos e curiosidades*, Rio, 1877, pp. 447-463; and Anibal Mattos: *A obra de Mestre Valentim*, in *Arte colonial brasileira*, Belo Horizonte, 1936, pp. 122-147.

16. See lithograph by J.-B. Debret, entitled *Vue de la place du palais* is from his *Voyage pittoresque et historique ou séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement*, Paris, 1834, III, pl. 1. Debret was for a time *peintre particulier* to the Emperor D. Pedro I.

17. Perhaps the work of Luiz da Fonseca Rosa, who in 1768 contracted for the side door of the new church, begun in 1755 and formally blessed Jan. 14, 1761 (Moreira de Azevedo, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218). Nothing is known of Rosa's career.

18. Alessandro Giusti, born at Rome in 1715, died at Lisbon in 1799. The pupil of Sebastiano Conca and Giovanni Battista Maini, from whom he inherited the Bernini manner, he was the dominant figure in Portuguese official sculpture at the middle of the eighteenth century. First working at Rome upon the reliquary altar of that chapel of S. João Batista, designed by Luigi Vanvitelli, which was transported *in toto* to Lisbon (see *João Frederico Ludovice an Eighteenth Century Architect in Portugal*, pp. 352-362), he himself was called to the Portuguese capital in 1747. Shortly afterwards he was placed in charge of the atelier of sculpture at the new royal convent of Mafra. Working ostensibly to produce statues for the building, he produced a whole generation of Portuguese sculptors. Giusti's influence upon his scholars at Mafra was as profound and as beneficial as had been that of Ludovice and his designs at Mafra upon the generation of Pombalian architects. Aside from the statues for the royal convent, Giusti also worked at the great Theatine establishment in Lisbon, N. S. das Necessidades (four statues of the church façade, portrait bust of D. João V). In 1773 his career was cut short by blindness.

Outstanding among his pupils in Portugal was Joaquim Machado de Castro (1732-1822), a native of Coimbra, who is chiefly remembered for his great equestrian statue of D. José I, erected in the center of Marquês de Pombal's new Lisbon waterfront in 1775. He is the author of several figures at the Basilica da Estrêla, the tomb of D. Mariana de Austria at the church of S. João Nepomuceno (now destroyed save for the two lions preserved at the Museu do Carmo in Lisbon), the *presépio* of the Igreja Patriarcal (now at the Museu da Sé de Lisboa), the statues of the *baldachino* of S. Vicente de fóra, Lisbon, the Christ of the chapel of the palace of the Condes de Sabugosa at Alcântara in Lisbon, three allegorical figures in the vestibule of the palace of Ajuda, numerous statues in the palace and grounds of the Pombal family at Oeiras, the tombs of D. Afonso IV and his queen at the Sé, that of D. Mariana Vitória in the church of S. Francisco de Paula, and the standing figure of D. Maria I at the Biblioteca Nacional.

Minor pupils of the Roman master were: José Antônio de Pádua, who executed the sculptures of the bridge of S. João Nepomuceno in 1743 (the statue of that saint is now at the Museu do Carmo), and the statues of the rebuilt *capela-mór* of the cathedral of Evora; José and Vicente Felix de Almeida, chiefly identified with woodcarving, particularly that of the royal coaches (Museu dos Coches, Belém), although José may have worked at the Necessidades, on the church façade and at the great fountain of the obelisk before the convent. To this group of Giusti's Mafra pupils may have belonged Luiz da Fonseca Rosa.

forgotten in the coastal cities, flourished in the interior *capitania* of Minas Gerais.<sup>19</sup> This vast mountainous region, some three hundred miles inland from Rio de Janeiro, was in the eighteenth century a center of gold and diamond<sup>20</sup> mining whose importance in the New World could only be compared to the fabulous regions of Potosí and Mexico.<sup>21</sup> Discovered at the end of the seventeenth century by pioneer adventurers whose *bandeiras*<sup>22</sup> swept up the river valleys from São Paulo and Bahia, these mines poured out the wealth that was supporting the extravagant court at Lisbon<sup>23</sup> while financing at home a campaign of building that constitutes the major architectural development of colonial Brazil.

The civilization of Minas Gerais was a purely eighteenth century accomplishment. The "fabulous city" of the local poet Tomaz Antonio Gonzaga,<sup>24</sup> the "precious pearl of all Brazil" described by the Portuguese Simão Ferreira Machado,<sup>25</sup> the richest city in the world,<sup>26</sup> was the Vila Rica<sup>27</sup> of the mid-eighteenth century. "The sanctuaries into which

19. Established in 1710. The best history of colonial Minas Gerais is still the two volume work by Diogo de Vasconcellos, *Historia antiga das Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 1904, and his *Historia média de Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 1918. A recent book by the distinguished Mariana author, Salomão de Vasconcellos, describes the last days of the *capitania* (*O Fico*, Rio, 1938).

20. The mining of diamonds was confined to the distant region of Tijuco and the Serro Frio, now Diamantina. For a history of this district see: J. Felício dos Santos, *Memórias do districto diamantino da comarca do Serro Frio*, Rio, 1869.

21. For early scientific accounts of this mining see: José António da Rosa, *Compendio das minas*, Lisboa, 1791; Virgil von Helmreichen zu Brunfeld, *Über das geognostische Vorkommen der Diamanten und ihre Gewinnungsmethoden auf der Serra do Grão-Mogor in Brasilien*, Wien, 1846.

22. The term "bandeira" is used in the Portuguese of Brazil to refer to the bands of pioneers who grouped themselves under one leader's flag to penetrate the interior. The members of these parties are called *bandeirantes*, and will be so denominated in this paper. The standard history of these expeditions is still Afonso de E. Taunay, *Historia geral das bandeiras paulistas*, S. Paulo, 1925-1929, 5 vols.

23. In 1755 the town of Mariana was assessed for payment of a large part of the cost of rebuilding the Lisbon churches destroyed by that year's earthquake.

24. *Marília de Dirceu*, Lyra XIX, ed. of Rio 1862, II, pp. 306-308. The unhappy poet of Vila Rica, the Portuguese-born Tomaz António Gonzaga (1744—circa 1808), is remembered for his remarkably fine love poems addressed to his Brazilian *innamorata*, D. Maria Dorotéa Joaquina de Seixas, entitled *Marília de Dirceu*, and first published at Lisbon in 1792, and for his imprudent part in the patriotic conspiracy of Mineiro poets, the *Inconfidência* of 1789. He was removed from his judicial position at Vila Rica, arrested and imprisoned at Rio de Janeiro, and in 1792 exiled to the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, where he died. His ashes are said to have been returned to Vila Rica in 1937. For a short recent study of his life and work see: Augusto de Lima, Jr., *O amor infeliz de Marília e Dirceu*, Rio, 1936.

25. *Triumpho eucharístico exemplar da christandade luzitana em publica exaltação da Fé na solemne trasladação do divinissimo sacramento da igreja da Senhora do Rosario para um novo templo da Senhora do Pilar em Villa Rica cõrte da capitania das Minas aos 24 de maio de 1733* (Lisboa occidental, 1734), republication in *Revista do arquivo publico mineiro*, VI, 1901, p. 996.

26. The real opulence of this region was not generally known to the world at large in the eighteenth century. Since the exploitation and trade of Brazil were practically monopolies of the Portuguese Crown, and that Crown

during this period was a weak one, the court at Lisbon tried its best to keep the whole rich *capitania* its own carefully guarded secret. Thus the remarkably frank *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil por suas drogas e minas*, published at Lisbon in 1711 by the Bahian Jesuit João António Andreoni (André João Antonil), was promptly suppressed by the Portuguese authorities and was not again available until the edition of Rio de Janeiro, 1838. Nothing more was published on Minas during the rest of the century either in Brazil (where no presses were tolerated) or in Portugal with the exception of the above mentioned religious tract. As a result the great French dictionaries, those universal repositories of the knowledge of the eighteenth century, reveal an almost total ignorance concerning the *capitania*, in particular, and Brazil in general. Thus the *Grand dictionnaire historique ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* etc. of Louis Moréri (edition of Paris, 1743) has only this to say under Brazil: *On y trouve quelques mines d'or* (IV, p. 708). The great *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences des arts et des métiers*, published at Geneva in 1778, says of Brazil: *Cette partie du nouveau monde est fort riche* (V, p. 478). There are discussions of the towns of Olinda, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro but none of Vila Rica or the other centers of Minas Gerais, which province is nowhere mentioned by name. In its discussion of mines this dictionary says of those of Brazil only the following: *On sait assez combien ce vaste pays de l'Amérique méridionale est fécond en mines de diamans, de rubis & de topazes* (XXI, pp. 880-882). There then follow full descriptions of the principal mines of Peru and New Spain.

As a result of this policy there were no foreign travelers in Minas during the eighteenth century, and none of those voyager's accounts of the country which were prepared at this time in relation to the seaports of Brazil. Indeed, John White, who visited Rio de Janeiro in 1787, wrote that it was impossible to get near the region of the mines. No passes were given out to foreigners for traveling in Minas, and the penalty for one caught doing so was slavery. "These circumstances," he continues, "made a trial to see them [the mines] without permission (and that permission I understand has never been granted the most favored foreigners) too dangerous to be attempted" (*Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, London, 1790, p. 65). When on the 17th of August, 1809, John Mawe and his companion Mr. Goodall set off for Vila Rica, the author of the *Mineralogy of Derbyshire* relates that "we set out on a journey which no Englishman had ever before undertaken, nor had any ever yet been permitted to pass the barrier of alpine mountains that stretch along the coast" (*Travels in the Interior of Brazil particularly in the Gold and Diamond Districts of that Country*, London, 1812, p. 141). When Alexander Caldcleugh was in Minas thirteen

countless treasures are destined to be poured"<sup>28</sup> were all completed in that period and the town of Ribeirão do Carmo, renamed Mariana<sup>29</sup> for the then queen of Portugal, was raised to the episcopal dignity.<sup>30</sup> But the prodigious wealth of the region, which at first had seemed inexhaustible,<sup>31</sup> was not long-lived. When in 1815 the great church of the Senhora da Bôa Morte<sup>32</sup> was completed at Barbacena, the Mineiros were no longer planning the vast constructions of the century before. Minas Gerais was already sinking into that artistic and economic decline which the Englishman John Mawe in 1807 was the first to describe.<sup>33</sup> Our study, therefore, will concern itself with the period of the eighteenth century,<sup>34</sup> when throughout the Portuguese world the Baroque style was defining its last and most expressive forms.

#### THE CHURCHES

*Les monuments religieux sont effectivement un trait caractéristique de toutes les provinces du Brésil: c'est toujours sur eux qui se portent d'abord les yeux du voyageur, et les églises font à juste titre l'orgueil des habitants.*<sup>35</sup> This edifying opinion of a pious French traveller in nineteenth century Brazil is most fittingly applied to the mountainous region of Minas Gerais, where the churches and chapels perched on the summits of the hills are visible for

years later he found that there was still a great mystery about the diamond mines of the region (*Travels in South America during the Years 1819-20-21; containing an Account of the Present State of Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Chile*, London, 1825, I, p. 57).

27. The town is now called Ouro Preto (Black Gold) from the name of one of the original mining regions. Established by Antônio Dias in 1698, it was raised to the dignity of town in 1711 (Rodolfo Garcia, *Actas da camara municipal de Villa Rica 1711-1715*, Rio, 1936), and, located at a convenient point between several river valleys, Ouro Preto remained the capital of Minas Gerais through the colonial and imperial periods, only to be demoted at the end of the nineteenth century in favor of the new city of Belo Horizonte.

28. Claudio Manoel da Costa, *Vila Rica*, canto 11, verses 69-70.

29. The archduchess Marianna of Habsburg (1683-1759), married to D. João V at Vienna in 1708. In Portugal called D. Mariana de Austria.

30. The first settlement was made in 1698, the establishment of the diocese in 1745. On February 27, 1748, the first bishop, D. Manoel da Cruz, was installed (see Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, *Aureo trono episcopal* etc., Lisbon, 1749). See also the *Chronologia da cidade Mariana*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, VI, 1901, pp. 1153-1157; and the modern novel inspired by the old town, *Mariana*, by Augusto de Lima, Jr., Rio, 1932.

31. From 1694 until 1754 Brazil exported annually eight and one-half million dollars worth of gold (Barclay Mountenay, *Selections from the various authors who have written concerning Brazil; more particularly respecting the Captaincy of Minas Geraes, and the Gold Mines of that Province*, London, 1825, p. 158).

32. Padre José Joaquim Corrêa de Almeida: *Noticia da cidade de Barbacena e seu municipio*, Rio, 1883, p. 24.

33. "Villa Rica at the present day scarcely retains a shadow of its former splendour. Its inhabitants, with the exception of the shopkeepers, are void of employment," *op. cit.*, p. 176. Mawe's visit took place in 1809. Seven years later, in 1816, the great French traveler, Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, noticed the same state of affairs: *dans quelques rues les maisons sont presque abandonnées* (vol. I, p. 138) and, in regard to the town of Catas Altas and Inficionado: *ils ne présentent plus, comme tout le pays qui*

*les environne, que l'image de l'abandon et de la décadence* (vol. I, p. 189), *Voyage dans les provinces de Rio de Janeiro et de Minas Geraes*, Paris, 1830. Alexander Caldcleugh wrote thus in 1820: "Poverty has now her full sway at Villa Rica" *op. cit.*, II, p. 250. Nine years later the Reverend R. Walsh of London, after lamenting the miserable state of the then town of S. José d'El-Rei, says of Vila Rica "in fact everything that strikes the eye forcibly reminds a stranger that it was once a place of great wealth and consequence" (*Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, London, 1830, p. 196). Ferdinand Denis a few years later found that Vila Rica *n'offre plus que l'aspect de la décadence* (*Brésil*, Paris, 1838, p. 351). For Monsieur Alcide d'Orbigny, in 1841, Vila Rica was *cette cité déchue, comme tout le reste de la province* (*Voyage dans les deux Amériques*, Paris, 1881, p. 169). Nor were Dr. Hermann Burmeister's impressions of another town in 1851 more favorable: *Marianna . . . auch einen leblosen Eindruck macht* (p. 329), and on Queluz he wrote: *Bervall und Armuth sind an die Stelle des Reichthums getreten, und kaum würde man seine Spur erkennen, wenn nicht die grosse stattliche Kirche des St. Amaro und einige ältere, solid gebaute Häuser davon Zeugnis gaben* (*Reise nach Brasilien durch die Provinz von Rio de Janeiro und Minas Geraes*, Berlin, 1853, p. 486). An anonymous French traveler who wrote five years later provides a final epitaph: *En somme, tout ce qui s'offre aux regards de l'étranger lui rappelle forcément qu'il considère les débris d'une cité jadis très-opulente* (*L'empire du Brésil. Souvenirs de voyage par N. X. recueillis et publiés par J.-J.-E. Roy*, Tours, 1858, p. 162).

34. The phenomenon of a school of colonial architecture confined to the eighteenth century alone is repeated in Salvador, Central America (Alberto Guerra Trigueros: *The Colonial Churches of El Salvador*, in *Bull. Pan Amer. Union*, LXXII, no. 5, May, 1938, pp. 271-279).

35. *L'empire du Brésil*, etc., p. 162. Also the North American evangelist, the Reverend Daniel P. Kidder: "All the Brazilian towns have two peculiarities which add to their external appearance—first, the buildings have a uniform color, white; second, every eminence or prominent point within them is adorned with a temple of antique structure" (*Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil embracing Historical and Geographic Notices of the Empire and its Several Provinces*, Philadelphia, 1845, II, p. 300).

miles in all directions and where the religious monuments by their number and richness clearly predominate over all other forms of building.

Indeed there is scarcely a town in the region which does not possess a half dozen colonial churches and chapels. These temples may be divided into the following categories: (1) the parish churches, or *matrizes*; (2) the churches of the brotherhoods or *irmandades*; (3) the churches of the negroes and the mulattoes; (4) the pilgrimage churches.<sup>36</sup>

These Mineiro churches present a stylistic problem whose solution is to be sought in a variety of sources.<sup>37</sup> We could almost resolve the question, however, by establishing the

36. (1) Each town when raised to the dignity of *paróquia* had the right to designate a church as the *matriz*, or mother-church, generally the principal one of the settlers, the center of ecclesiastical authority. Since in colonial times there was but one cathedral in the *capitania*, that at Mariana, these *igrejas matrizes* possessed considerable dignity. The Portuguese king was bound to provide the funds for the erection of the chancels (*capela-mór*) and their maintenance (*Informação geral de capitania de Pernambuco*, 1749, in *Annais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXVIII, 1906, p. 254 and Pereira da Silva: *História da fundação do império brasileiro*, Rio 1864, vol. I, pp. 156-158), while the rest of the building cost was raised by popular subscription. At times, as in colonial Mexico, a wealthy miner would provide the funds for some part of the *matriz* or for the whole church. Thus at N. S. da Conceição de Curimatahy between 1760 and 1770 the *matriz* was erected by the wealthy landowner *capitão-mór* Manoel Pereira de Cunha and the *tenente-coronel* João Carneiro da Silva (*Rev. arch. pub. min.*, IV, 1899, p. 638); at S. João de Morro Grande, near Caeté, Domingos da Silva Maia and Manoel da Camara Bettencourt financed the new *matriz* between the years 1764 and 1785 (José Belarmino, *S. João de Morro Grande*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, III, 1898, pp. 399-406); and in 1792 one Jacinto Coelho paid for the towers of the new *matriz* of the town of Cachoeira do Campo, near Ouro Preto (Padre Afonso Henriques de Figueiredo Lemos, *Monographia da freguesia da Cachoeira do Campo*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, XIII, 1908, pp. 77-111). In Minas Gerais the *matriz* was generally dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (N. S. da Conceição), since the seventeenth century special patroness of Portugal, a cult especially dear to the Bragança dynasty and to the town of S. Paulo, whence so many of the pioneers had come (D. de Vasconcellos: *História antiga* etc.).

(2) Since the religious orders were not allowed to settle in Minas during the colonial period, the rôle both of the Third Orders, comprised of laymen enrolled in brotherhoods under the invocations of St. Francis and Our Lady of Carmel, and of the other *irmandades* was unusually important there. Although they generally maintained altars and even chapels of their own in the local *matrizes*, depending upon the size of the structure, it was the custom for each *irmandade* to erect also a church of its own. Thus not only the important towns but even villages possessed their churches dedicated to St. Francis (Venerável Ordem Terceira de São Francisco de Assis) and Our Lady of Carmel (Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo). At times they were the simplest chapels, but often the *irmandades* were so wealthy as to be able to erect really magnificent churches.

Mariana was in a sense the center of this building of Third Order churches. There a subsidiary *irmandade* of St. Francis, called the Arquirmandade de S. Francisco, had come into existence, and that older branch of the same order in the town, the Venerável Ordem Terceira da Penitencia Mariana, had in 1753 commissioned its diplomas from the celebrated Guillaume Debrie, the foremost French engraver, then resident at the court in Lisbon (José Zephyrino de Menezes Brum, *Estampas gravadas por Guil-*

*herme Francisco Lourenço Debrie. Catalogo*, in *Annais da Bib. Nac.*, XXVIII, 1906, pp. 1-177. no. 198).

Of only slightly less importance were the *irmandades* of N. S. das Mercês (two churches in Ouro Preto), Santa Casa de Misericórdia, though less popular here than in Portugal and the north of Brazil, and the funerary fraternities of N. S. da Bôa Morte and the Senhor Jesus do Bomfim. The *irmandade* of S. Gonçalo, a local thirteenth century saint of Amarante in the north of Portugal, popular in Brazil during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, had by the seventeen fifties lost many of its adherents, and its churches, then falling into disrepair, have since disappeared. Besides these there were many other *irmandades*, Santissima Trindade, Espirito Santo, S. José, S. Ana.

(3) The negro slaves brought in great numbers to work the mines of the *capitania* were banded in an *irmandade* of their own dedicated to N. S. do Rosário, probably because the beads of the rosary corresponded vaguely to their own African seed-bead cults. At Ouro Preto they had also a church honoring the negro saint Iphigenia of Abyssinia, and their churches possessed altars of a galaxy of negro saints: the Magus Balthasar, Antonio de Catalagirona, Benedict of San Philadelphio, or the Moor of Palermo, and Elesbaas, an Ethipioan king in Justian's time. The mulattoes, or *pardos* (greys), preferred the cult of N. S. do Amparo, although it was never so widespread in Minas Gerais as it became elsewhere, especially in the great cities of the coast.

(4) The last category includes the pilgrimage churches, whose annual *romarias* attracted pilgrims and their families from all over the region. The principal church of this type, honoring the imported Portuguese cult of Bom Jesus de Mattosinhos, is discussed in considerable detail in the following pages.

37. An essential bibliography of the study of colonial art in Minas Gerais should include the following works:

- (general) José de Sousa Azevedo Pizarro de Araujo, *Memórias históricas do Rio de Janeiro e das provincias annexas à jurisdicção do vice-rei do estado do Brasil*, Rio, 1822, 10 vols.; Eduardo Frieiro, *As artes em Minas*, in *Minas Geraes em 1925*, Belo Horizonte, 1926; Anibal Mattos, *Monumentos historicos, artisticos e religiosos de Minas Geraes*, Belo Horizonte, 1935; *As artes nas igrejas de Minas Geraes*, Belo Horizonte, 1936; *Arte colonial brasileira*, Belo Horizonte, 1936, pp. 179-305; Robert C. Smith, Jr., *Minas Gerais no desenvolvimento da arquitetura religiosa colonial*, in *Boletim do Centro de Estudos Historicos*, II, no. 3, July-September, 1937, pp. 3-18.
- (special) Furtado de Menezes, *A religião em Ouro Preto*, in *Noticia historica, comemoraçã do segundo centenário de Vila Rica...*, Belo Horizonte, 1911, pp. 209-308; Diogo de Vasconcellos, *A arte em Ouro Preto*, Belo Horizonte, 1934 (prepared in 1911); Teofilo Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica—Pontes celebres* in *Rev. arch. pub. min.* XIX, 1921, pp. 151-162; *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica—Casa das audiencias, camara, e cadea*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, XIX, 1921, pp. 269-344; Eurico

predominance over them of the eighteenth century style of the north of Portugal, whence the majority of the Mineiros had come.<sup>38</sup> A second influence on the colonial churches of Minas Gerais is that of the architecture of Bahia, the viceregal region, which was most marked in the first half of the century when the great migrations took place from the city of Salvador into the new district of the mines. But no complete estimate of the architectural character of these monuments would fail to recognize a third and indigenous element, an architectural characteristic of Minas Gerais itself manifest in a number of important aspects. These three ingredients produced the great series of eighteenth century churches at Ouro Preto, Mariana, Sabará, and S. João d'El-Rei.

The first constructions in the region, however, possessed little or no architectural distinction. The earliest primitive chapels which the *bandeirantes* erected beside a wooden cross set on a mountain peak or on the banks of a swift-moving mountain stream were mere provisory structures with wooden walls and roofs of heavy thatch. This was the method of construction used by the first settlers in Brazil, a style of building which still flourishes throughout the country and especially along the tropical seaboard.<sup>39</sup> We can reconstruct the probable appearance of one of these first chapels of Minas Gerais from a painting by the Dutch topographical artist Frans Post now in the Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum at Amsterdam (Fig. 1).<sup>40</sup> The picture represents a seventeenth century village of negro slaves in the state of Pernambuco in the north of Brazil. The church or chapel which stands in the midst of the modest thatch houses or *mucambos* may well have been erected by Jesuits for their Indian converts in the late sixteenth century. The building is a very crude construction of wattle, palm and other branches laid in heavy mortar compounded from seashells of the nearby beaches. The roof itself is composed of rows of palm branches probably of the variety known as Pindoba laid in heavy thatch formation. The windows of this obscure chapel seem to have been one of the rare manifestations in Brazil of European medieval influence.

Dozens of these humble constructions were erected in the first decade of the eighteenth century in the new *capitania* of Minas Gerais, chapels which were the only places in the whole vast region where the mass might be heard. They continued to be built for some time on the private *fazendas* of Minas Gerais and S. Paulo.<sup>41</sup>

These first primitive chapels were, however, soon rebuilt in stronger and slightly more monumental fashion.<sup>42</sup> The walls were given a more lasting rubble construction and then covered with heavy coats of plaster in the Portuguese style (Fig. 5). Windows and doors were provided with proper frames of stone or wood, and tiles, at first imported from the

Távora, Xavier da Veiga, Diogo de Vasconcellos, *Ouro Preto, a cidade histórica, in Minas Geraes em 1925*, Belo Horizonte, 1925; Teófilo Feu de Carvalho, *Pontes e chafarizes de Villa Rica de Ouro Preto*, Belo Horizonte, n. d.; Cónego Raymundo Trindade, *Archidiocese de Marianna. Subsídios para a sua história*, S. Paulo, 1928, 3 vols; Padre Julio Engracia, *Congonhas do Campo*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, VIII, 1903, pp. 15-173.

38. *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, Oporto, 1921-1924, 3 vols.

39. See Gilberto Freyre: *Mucambos do nordeste. Algumas notas sobre o tipo de casa popular mais primitivo do nordeste do Brasil*, Rio, 1937.

40. 1612-1680. A minor Dutch master of Haarlem and Amsterdam, who along with five other painters accompanied the Count Maurits of Nassau-Siegen in his governorship of Pernambuco (1637-1644). While in Brasil and after his return to Holland, Post devoted himself to the

reproduction of Brazilian landscapes. He is now the principal source for our knowledge of the appearance of pre-eighteenth century Brazilian colonial architecture. See Jacques Combe, *Un douanier Rousseau au XVII siècle Frans Post (1612-1680)*, in *L'amour de l'art*, XII, 1931, pp. 481-489; Joaquim de Souza Leão, *Frans Post seus quadros brasileiros*, Rio de Janeiro, 1937; and my own article, *The Brazilian Landscapes of Frans Post*, in *The Art Quarterly*, I, 1938.

41. A study of such a wooden chapel erected already in 1681 by the *capitão* Fernão Pais de Barros at his *fazenda* of Sto. Antônio at S. Roque (S. Paulo) has recently been published by Mário de Andrade (*A capela de Santo Antônio*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, 1937, pp. 119-125).

42. In my article cited above (*Minas Gerais no desenvolvimento* etc.) I have divided the eighteenth century religious architecture into three periods: (1) the provisory structures, 1698-1705 circa; (2) the primitive chapels, 1705-1730; (3) the great constructions, 1730-1820.



FIG. 1—*Amsterdam, Scheepvaart Museum: Pernambucan Village, by Frans Post*



FIG. 2—*Viseu (Portugal, Beira Baixa) Chapelo S. Miguel de Orgens*



FIG. 3—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Chapel of S. João de Ouro Fino*



FIG. 4—*Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais)*  
*Chapel of N. S. do Rosário*



FIG. 5—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): Chapel of*  
*N. S. de S. Ana; Detail of Construction*

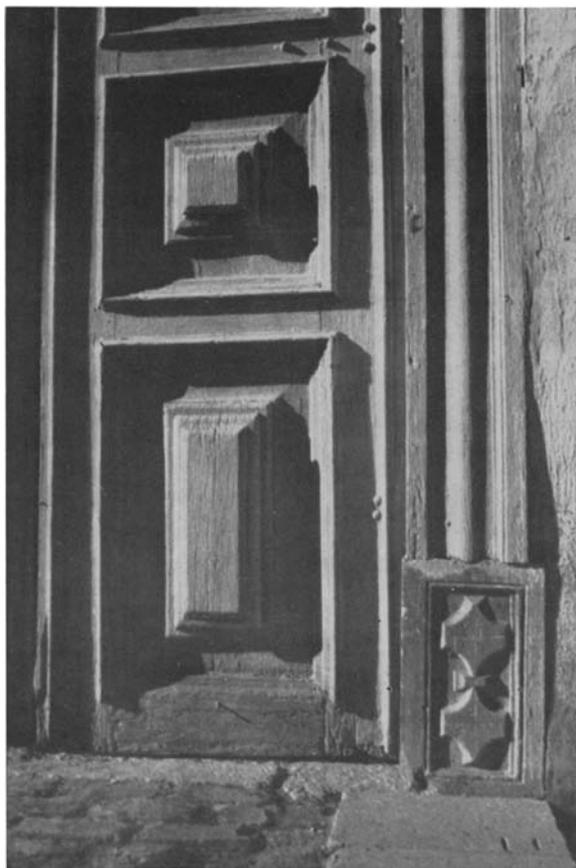


FIG. 6—*Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais)*  
*Chapel of N. S. do Rosário; Detail of*  
*Door Jamb*



FIG. 7—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Fountain*  
*of the Ladeira da Rua das Cabeças*

coast but soon manufactured in Minas, were supplied for the roofs. This is the form in which many of the primitive chapels of Minas Gerais still survive (Ouro Preto: S. João de Ouro Fino, Sta. Ana, S. Sebastião, N. S. da Piedade; Mariana: Sta. Ana, Sto. Antônio; Sabará: N. S. do O', N. S. do Monte; Caeté: capela de Pompeu; Congonhas do Campo: N. S. do Rosário; Sta. Luzia: N. S. Jesus do Bomfim; S. João d'El-Rei: N. S. Jesus do Bomfim; Tiradentes: S. João Evangelista, Sto. Antônio etc.)<sup>43</sup>

Still others, like those of N. S. do Parto (Capela do Padre Faria)<sup>44</sup> and of the Senhora das Dôres, both in Ouro Preto, underwent new modifications in the middle of the century at the time of the great constructions, when doors, windows, and cornices, as well as the woodcarving of the interior, were replaced in a more ambitious form.

In their first monumental version these primitive chapels of Minas Gerais are derived from those of the north of Portugal,<sup>45</sup> as, to cite only one example, that of S. Miguel de Orgens, near Viseu, reconstructed in 1713 (Fig. 2). Almost all the Brazilian chapels reveal the same square plan of a single nave with rectangular chancel (Fig. 45 no. 1). The oval interior of the chapel of S. João de Ouro Fino, near Ouro Preto, is a great rarity, the true precursor of the celebrated churches of complicated interior plan which were later to be erected in the same region. The sacristy of the primitive Mineiro chapel takes its place beside the chancel, projecting from the main block of the building either at the right or at the left and usually possessing a door of its own (Figs. 3 and 4).

The principal façade of these chapels is generally composed in an identical system: a single narrow entrance door with three small windows above. Two of these are square or rectangular in form while a third, placed either above or between the rectilinear openings, is round or oval in shape (Fig. 3).

This was a system derived from the late Manueline<sup>46</sup> architecture of Portugal, where a small rose window together with other subsidiary openings was common in the entrance façades of parish churches such as Azurára, Caminha, Viana do Alentejo, Vila do Conde and Golegã. But the actual arrangement found in the Mineiro churches had been evolved and used extensively in Brazil itself, in the seventeenth century architecture of the northern *capitanias* of the colony. We find it in the façade of the vanished chapel of S. Gonçalo de Amarante,<sup>47</sup> one of the oldest foundations of Salvador, which had been rebuilt during the

43. There is no satisfactory way of dating precisely the present buildings of the primitive chapels. There are no archives preserved for the majority of the chapels, as Furtado de Menezes points out (*op. cit.*, p. 249), and such traditional datings as 1698 (S. João de Ouro Fino, Padre Faria) certainly refer to the building of the first provisory chapel.

44. The bridge before the chapel bears the date of 1751, and one of the bells is dated the year before.

45. See J. Augusto Vieira: *O Minho pittoresco*, Lisbon, 1886, 2 vols., for illustrations of the chapels of northern Portugal. For illustrations and a discussion of those of the school of Braga, very similar to some of the Mineiro buildings, consult Azevedo Coutinho, *Guia do viajante em Braga*, Braga, 1894.

46. The style, which had been evolved in the last decade of the fifteenth century, notably at the convent of Jesus at Setúbal, is essentially a combination of the Spanish Plateresque Late Gothic and Renaissance architecture with certain naturalistic motives of exotic vegetation and nautical elements symbolic of the contemporary Portuguese discoveries in Africa, India, and Brazil. The poet Almeida Garrett, seems first to have connected the style with the name of King Manuel in his poem *Cameões*, published at Paris in 1825. Although the style continued in favor long

after King Manuel's death in 1521, modern critics have universally adopted the term derived from that monarch's name as an effectively descriptive nomenclature for the style. For recent discussions of some aspects of the Manueline style see: Vergilio Correia, *A arquitetura em Portugal no século XVI*, Lisbon, 1909; *As obras de Santa Maria de Belém de 1514 a 1519*, Lisbon, 1922 (by the same author); João Barreira, *L'art manuelin. Ses éléments et son évolution*, in *Gazette des beaux-arts, Vle pér.*, XII, p. 245.

Another Manueline survival in Minas was the *pelourinho*, or column of justice, that stood in the public squares or before public buildings in all the villages of Portugal. One such *pelourinho*, which formerly was to be seen in front of the church of S. Francisco at Ouro Preto, is illustrated in Hermann Burmeister's *Landschaftliche Bilder Brasiliens und Portraits einiger Urvölker*, Berlin, 1853, pl. 10. A similar monument stood in the space before the civic building of this town, and others were located at Mariana and Sabará. They have all since disappeared. For a consideration of the *pelourinho* in Portugal, see Luiz Chaves, *Os pelourinhos portugueses*, Gaia, 1930.

47. There is a sketch of the chapel, then already in ruins, by Sir W. Gore Ousley, which serves as illustration for the book by William Hadfield already cited in note 11 (opposite page 124 in the text).

seventeenth century, and in the delightful church of Olinda (Pernambuco), which must date before 1630, in one of Frans Post's paintings at the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.<sup>48</sup> In the eighteenth century, with the characteristic expansion of the façades of the churches of Recife, Salvador, and other north Brazilian centers of building, the older arrangement tended gradually to disappear, but not before it had been taken by Bahian emigrants to Minas Gerais, whose local builders were to preserve it throughout the whole colonial period.

The moldings of doors and windows in these primitive chapels of Minas Gerais have extremely simple lines and were constructed either of stone or of wood. Particularly interesting is the entrance door of the chapel of N. S. do Rosario at Congonhas do Campo, where a curious combination of materials was used. The door frame itself was of wood but the bases are of stone. Crudely carved in the local *pedra de sabão* they take the form of extravagant tropical flowers (Fig. 6). Identical sculptured bases occur in the north of Brazil in the town of Goyana (Pernambuco), where the church of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia (1726) has a door frame, entirely of stone, ornamented at its bases with exotic flowers and plants. A similar treatment was given the rich door of the small *matriz* of S. Pedro at Olinda, which dates from the early eighteenth century. But these instances in the architecture of the northeast are too rare to suppose direct influence. More probable is the ultimate influence on both areas of the curious floral designs of the sculptors of Manueline church portals of the local sixteenth century Portuguese schools, principally those of the Algarve<sup>49</sup> and the towns of Estremadura.<sup>50</sup>

Lateral towers are extremely rare among the primitive Mineiro chapels. With a few exceptions they were reserved for the royally and papally sanctioned *igrejas matrizes*, the official parish churches which, after 1724, began to appear in Minas Gerais in large numbers.<sup>51</sup>

This absence of lateral towers gave rise to the problem of the location of the bells in the Mineiro chapels. The solutions to the problem were quite various. Sometimes, and this is a most important instance of Mineiro individuality, the bells were hung in a separate structure, a kind of small tower (*sineiro*), located on a terrace near the chapel, but quite independent of it. There is no other instance of this usage elsewhere in colonial Brazil nor in Portugal itself,<sup>52</sup> and from the few preserved examples in Minas the custom must have been rare even there (Ouro Preto being the center). Well preserved examples are still to be found at the chapel of Padre Faria, just outside Ouro Preto, and the neighboring shrine of Sta. Ana, at the now *matriz* of the town of Passagem, between Ouro Preto and Mariana (Fig. 8), and at the church of Sto. Antônio of Pituba, in the mountains between Barbacena and S. João d'El-Rei.

At times the bells were placed in small belfries provided in lieu of windows in the very walls of the chapel, according to the common Mediterranean usage. The church of N. S. do Carmo at Sta. Luzia, although apparently somewhat later in construction than the prim-

48. Cat. no. 1906; illustrated J. de Souza-Leão, *op. cit.* pl. 4.

49. See: Francisco Xavier d'Athaide Oliveira, *A monografia de Alvôr*, Oporto, 1907; *A monografia de Estombar*, Oporto, 1911.

50. In particular the region of Torres Vedras. See: Manuel Agostinho Madeira Tôres, *Descrição histórica e económica da villa e termo de Torres-Vedras*, 2nd ed., Coimbra, 1861; Julio Vieira, *Torres Vedras antiga e moderna*, Torres Vedras, 1926; Frei Manoel de Maria Santissima, *História da fundação do real convento e seminário de varalôjo*, Oporto, 1799.

51. The *carta regia* of February 16, 1724, began a movement of establishing *matrizes* in Minas Gerais comparable in its proportions to the rebuilding and building of new parish churches in London after the Great Fire (Conégo Raymundo Trindade, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 34-36).

52. We are vaguely reminded of the old Portuguese *pavillions de jardin*, those little square buildings with exaggerated pagoda roofs which the nobility delighted to erect in the eighteenth century (Viano do Castelo, house near the church of Sto. Domingos; Coimbra, *quinta* de Sta. Cruz, formerly of the Cónegos Regrantes de Sto. Agostinho; Caxias, palace of the Infante D. Francisco).

itive chapels under discussion, is so akin to them in its general extreme simplicity as to afford an excellent example of this usage.

The third arrangement, of unknown origin, seems also typical of this region. The bells are located in a small tower or turret placed atop the principal cornice in the center of the main façade, as in the delightful chapel of Sta. Ana at Mariana (Fig. 9).<sup>53</sup> This disposition survived at Mariana alone in the era of great construction, when such churches as N. S. das Mercês and that of the Arquirmandade de S. Francisco de Assis, which date from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, were given these strange *sineiros* astride their principal façades (Fig. 18).

But in the important chapel of the Senhora de O', outside Sabará, a different step was taken. There the towerlet of Sta. Ana de Mariana was allowed to influence the whole façade (Fig. 14), causing an actual projection from the main plan (Fig. 45/3a). This may be considered an intermediate step between the peculiar Mariana arrangement and the one finally adopted at Ouro Preto, where, in the churches of N. S. das Mercês *de cima*, of 1773, and S. José, which dates from about 1800, a monumental central tower was introduced (Fig. 45/3).

The whole question of the derivations of this usage in Minas Gerais is shrouded in mystery. It is hardly possible that the series of chapels and churches could represent a definite revival in the *capitania* of the old Portuguese medieval central tower façade like that of the cathedral of Faro in the province of Algarve.<sup>54</sup> But this usage was extremely rare in the mother-country and was never developed elsewhere in Brazil in colonial times.<sup>55</sup> It is true that a great church of Oporto was built in the mid-eighteenth century with a single tower in the center of its main façade<sup>56</sup> (but not projecting from the fabric of the building as the Ouro Preto towers do). This may account for the presence of the towers of S. José and the Mercês of the former Vila Rica in a general way, since the influence of the north of Portugal was always particularly strong at the old capital of Minas Gerais. But it cannot explain the origins of the towers of Mariana and that of the Senhora de O' at Sabará which antedate the church of the Santissima Trindade at Oporto by almost a half century. The most plausible explanation, but one which is by no means more than a mere hypothesis, is that the early turrets were employed to show the category of the chapels and churches on which they occur. After 1725 the *matrizes* quite generally were given twin lateral towers, as will become evident later in this study. On the other hand, the single lateral church tower in Brazil is often associated with the severe Jesuit constructions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>57</sup> Since the Jesuits as well as the members of the other

53. Epaminondas de Macêdo in a recent article asserts that the spire of Sta. Ana is not original, but his reasons for this claim are not clear (*A capela do N. S. de Sant' Ana*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, no. 1, pp. 151-154).

54. The building, of no great archeological interest, is dwarfed by its monster square façade tower which dates from the time of D. Afonso III (1248-1279), who conquered the Algarve from the Moors in 1249.

55. There is a seventeenth century map of S. Vicente containing a church which seems to have a single façade tower projecting in the fashion of the Ouro Preto towers. But the drawing is too sketchy to permit of acceptance as evidence, and the building itself has long since perished. See the plate in P. F. Giovanni Giuseppe di Santa Teresa, *Istoria delle guerre del regno del Brasile*, 2 vols., Rome, 1689.

56. The church of the Santissima Trindade, constructed about 1750. Another church of Oporto, that of S. Pedro dos Clérigos, 1732, has a single lofty tower at the apse.

57. The sixteenth century foundations of Sta. Cruz

(Bahia) and Conceição de Itanhaen (S. Paulo) are good examples of the single Jesuit façade tower. For reproductions see: *Onde nasceu o Brasil*, in *Revista da semana*, XXXIX, no. 23 (May 14, 1938), p. 33; *Revista do arquivo municipal de São Paulo*, XLI (Nov., 1937), opp. p. 204. But in the eighteenth century this convention seems to have weakened, for such magnificent examples of Jesuit building as the great seminary of Belém in the Recôncavo of Bahia present the two lateral towers used so frequently at that time (Godofredo Filho: *Seminário de Belém da Cachoeira*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, no. 1, pp. 101-111).

At Santos the important Carmelite foundation of the sixteenth century, the earliest of that order in Brazil, was constructed with a single lateral façade tower for its church, and the heavy stalwart proportions recall the Jesuit churches. The tendency toward a single tower of this type lingered in the region of Santos (church of N. S. do Monte, S. Estevão at S. Vicente, 1757).

religious orders were not allowed to settle in Minas Gerais,<sup>58</sup> a distaste for this type of building may have arisen as well. Certainly the examples of churches with single lateral towers in Minas are few indeed. With single and lateral double towers ruled out by prejudice of one sort or another, the only other façade tower is the central type, and that would be the only other solution of the problem, since central crossing lanterns or towers are impractical in small chapels or in churches without chapels. The towerlets of Mariana would then be the result of unskilful attempts to work in the direction of this prescribed central façade tower which for some reason were perpetuated in the architecture of the episcopal city.

The original decoration of the primitive chapels of Minas Gerais was very simple. Outside it is principally to be seen in the great double doors of *jacarandá* mahogany. These are sculptured in the severe lines of the seventeenth century, with a firm division into rectilinear compartments whose main lines and masses are quite definitely *en ressaut* (Fig. 6). It is another instance in Minas Gerais of the early influence of the north of Brazil where such doors remained popular until 1750.

At the corners of the small buildings were frequently placed diminutive rude pilasters carried out either in stone facing or in plaster with simple stone balls or pyramids and a small cross on the elementary pediment to continue the vertical accents. The style is essentially the continuation in Brazil of the old Portuguese system—that perpetual blending of sombre stone with gayly colored plaster to produce a humble, clean, pastoral architecture.

The formula of these tiny constructions was never lost in the eighteenth century. They remained an essential type of the regional colonial architecture. When, in 1750, the great seminary of Mariana was begun, its chapel<sup>59</sup> was designed in the primitive form. That of the *recolhimento* (female asylum) of Macaúbas, of 1727, also preserves it, and the little *capelas dos passos*,<sup>60</sup> used in the Holy Week processions, are likewise derived from these primitive chapels of Minas Gerais.

It was not until 1730 that the period of the great constructions was definitely inaugurated with the rebuilding of the churches of N. S. do Pilar in Ouro Preto, begun in 1730–1731, and of N. S. da Conceição (now dedicated to the Assumption and raised to the dignity of a cathedral) of Mariana in 1734–1740. The final rebuildings of the *matriz* of Antônio Dias at Ouro Preto and of that of Sabará seem to date from this same period. We know from documents the names of a few of the men employed upon them; they were mostly journeymen builders, whose personalities have naturally remained extremely vague.<sup>61</sup>

58. Ostensibly to guard against the temptations of too easily acquired wealth and a subsequent demoralization of the monastic clergy, but actually to insure for the Crown as much of the spoils as possible. As a result Minas Gerais never knew the distinctive type of monastic architecture prevalent in the rest of colonial Brazil.

59. Dedicated to the cult of N. S. da Boa Morte. For a detailed history of this seminary see Trindade: *op. cit.*, II, pp. 754–918.

60. Those of S. João d'El-Rei, like those of the towns of Borba and Vila Viçosa in the Portuguese Alentejo, were given a more monumental decoration.

61. There follows a partial chronology of the principal churches erected in Minas Gerais during the period of the great constructions with the names of their known builders.

#### OURO PRETO

The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição de Antônio Dias

1705 A chapel already existed.

1731 Nov. 18. The church was already being rebuilt. Antônio Francisco Pombal was employed on its *capela-mór*.

1733 The new church was inaugurated by the *vigário*, Dr. Francisco da Silva e Almeida.

1760 Mar. 26. Felipe Viera received the contract for woodwork in the *capela-mór*.

The *matriz* of N. S. do Pilar

1712 The *irmandade* had been formed.

1730 Aug. 13. The *termo da reunião* mentions that João Francisco Oliveira had been commissioned to build a new church.

1733 The Blessed Sacrament was moved in, but the church was not yet completed.

1736 Antônio Ramos da Cruz was working on stairs.

1737 Antônio Francisco Pombal was preparing the flooring, cornices, and ceilings.

1737 The *provedor*, Dr. Lourenço S. Pais, ordered the stairs and one pulpit.

1741 The *capela-mór* was ordered enlarged.

The church of N. S. do Carmo

1755 Stonework by José Pereira dos Santos.

1766 Manuel Francisco Lisboa presented plan for a new church (called *capela*), which was accepted.



FIG. 8—*Passagem (Minas Gerais): The "Matriz"*



FIG. 9—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): Chapel of N. S. de S. Ana*



FIG. 10—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. do Carmo



FIG. 11—Sabará (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. do Carmo

In the walls of these churches we find the first real masonry construction in Minas Gerais. For previous to these buildings there had been no such constructions in all of the former *capitania*. We have seen how the walls of the primitive chapels were built. We

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- 1771 July 20. Francisco de Lima contracted for doors and windows and the lavabo of the sacristy.
- 1776 João Alves Viana took over the work, which was to be finished in 6 years.
- 1827 Vicente Alves da Silva completed the *camerim* of the *capela-mór*.
- The church of S. Francisco de Assis
- 1765 July 21. A new church was ordered.
- 1766 Mestre Domingos Moreira de Oliveira was at work under the direction of Antônio Francisco Lisbôa.
- 1772 The church was being used.
- 1794 A. F. Lisbôa contracted for the decoration of the *capela-mór*
- 1801 Manuel da Costa Athayde paid for gilding.
- 1806 Front and side doors were being executed by Lucas Evangelista de Jesus, probably under the direction of A. F. Lisbôa.
- The church of N. S. do Rosário dos Pretos
- 1715 The *irmandade* already existed.
- 1785 A new church was completed by José Pereira Arouca.
- The church of Sta. Efigênia dos Pretos
- 1723 The *irmandade* was already established and had requested of the *juízo eclesiástico* of Rio de Janeiro the right to accompany the annual procession of Corpus Christi at Vila Rica.
- 1749 The pulpits of the new church were being made by João da Silva Madeiro. The high altar was in course of construction.
- The chapel of Padre Faria
- 1701 The *arraial* was conceded to a group of Paulistas.
- 1704 The image of N. S. do Parto was removed from the chapel of Bom Sucesso to the new chapel.
- 1750 Date of the principal bell in the *sineiro*.
- 1756 The papal cross before the chapel was erected.
- The church of N. S. das Mercês
- 1771-1773 The church was constructed. It was rebuilt during the next sixty years.
- The church of N. S. Bom Jesus dos Perdões.
- 1771 The church was rebuilt by the Ordem Terceira de N. S. das Mercês.
- The church of S. Francisco de Paula
- 1804 Oct. 4. The first stone was laid.
- 1878 The exterior was completed.
- MARIANA
- The cathedral of N. S. da Assunção
- 1709 The straw chapel of N. S. da Conceição was being replaced.
1714. May 14. A letter of D. Braz Balthasar da Silva says that the citizens banded together to raise the funds. Jacyntho Barbosa Lopes was the contractor.
- 1745 The church was rededicated, this time to the Assumption, and raised to the dignity of *Sé* (Cathedral).
- 1748 The new building was not yet completed.
- The church of N. S. do Carmo
- 1758 Nov. 9. The *mesa administrativa* of the Third Order decided to erect a new church.
- 1784 June 21. A new church was ordered of *mestre* Domingos Moreira de Oliveira. Under him worked José Antonio Soares de Brito as *mestre pedreiro*.
- 1794 After the death of Moreira de Oliveira, the work was given to Custodio de Freitas and José Bernardes de Oliveira.
- 1810 Francisco Moebado da Luz took over the work.
- 1819 The high altar by Manuel Dias was gilded by Francisco Xavier Carneiro.
- The church of S. Francisco de Assis
- 1763 Aug. 15. The first stone was blessed.
- 1794 Mar. 19. José Pereira Arouca handed over the church to the Third Order. He received 41,000 *cruzaos* in fees. Manuel da Silva Beneventes was paid MR. 500 for part of the carpentry and MR. 135 for alterations to the sacristy.
- The church of N. S. do Rosário dos Pretos
- 1712 The *irmandade* was housed in an old chapel of N. S. do Carmo.
- 1755 May 2. A letter of D. Manuel da Cruz, first bishop of Mariana, states that the new church was nearing completion.
- The church of N. S. das Mercês
- 1769 Jan. 28. The church was ordered blessed by episcopal *provisão*.
- The church of the Arquirmandade or Arquiconfraria of S. Francisco de Assis
- 1760 The church was completed.
- The church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos
- 1731 Jan. 16. The *irmandade* was erected in the *matriz* by a *provisão* of D. Antônio de Guadalupe, Bishop of Rio de Janeiro.
- 1752 The walls of the new church were already completed.
- BARBACENA
- The *matriz* of N. S. da Piedade
- 1748 Nov. 27. The new church was blessed.
- The church of N. S. da Boa Môrte
- 1815 The church was completed.
- CONGONHAS DO CAMPO
- The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição
- 1745 The church received this invocation after the rededication of the former *matriz* of Mariana.
- The church of N. S. Bom Jesus de Mattosinhos
- 1757 Dec. The King D. José I gave permission to build a chapel on royal land.
- 1758 Feb. Work had already begun.
- 1758 April 8. The image of N. S. Bom Jesus was set in place.
- 1758 Contracts made with the *mestres das obras* of Vila Rica, Antônio Roiz Falcato *pedreiro* and Antônio Gonçalves Rosa *carpinteiro*. R. 3600 were paid to an unknown person for a church plan.
- 1759 Oct. The work was so advanced that the *vigário* Jacome made his official visit to the church.
- 1760 Alms boxes were distributed throughout Minas.
- 1765-1777 The raising of the towers and completion of the nave. The *talha* of the nave altars by Manuel Roiz Coelho. The brothers João Gonçalves Rosa and Antônio Gonçalves Rosa contracted to finish the carpentry and Francisco de Lima to terminate the *capela-mór*.
- 1773 Aug. The *capela-mór* was completed.
- 1774 Bernardo Pires da Silva contracted for the paintings of the *capela-mór*.

may cite also the example of the house of the Portuguese Paschoal da Silva, in 1720.<sup>62</sup> He was the richest man in Vila Rica, but his house was built only of *grossas madeiras*. Or we can mention the letter of the seventeenth of September of 1722, in which the governor of Minas Gerais, D. Lourenço de Almeida, intimated to the King that the very coffers of the crown gold were kept in "a log lodging of no security at all."<sup>63</sup> And the governor adds: "Although I should like to transfer these coffers to other houses, they would always be running the same risk, since they are all [the houses] of the same quality."

Even as late as the year 1742 the governor Gomes Freire de Andrade was still complaining of this unseemly absence of stone buildings at Ouro Preto.<sup>64</sup> But by that time the walls of churches in Minas Gerais were already being constructed of the fine steatite stone of Itacolumí with its blue-grey<sup>65</sup> cast so reminiscent of the granite of northern Portugal. Meanwhile in the mica-schist soapstone of the quarries of Sta. Rita and elsewhere near Ouro Preto, the familiar *pedra de sabão*, the Mineiro builders found a material comparable to the Portuguese *pedra de Ançã* of the Coimbra district for the cutting of the relief sculptures of the church façades. Thus the technical means were at hand for the continuation in this part of Brazil of the architectural traditions of the north of Portugal.

Likewise in the plans of their churches the builders of Minas Gerais followed Portuguese usage. Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, one of the most observant of the nineteenth century visitors to Brazil, not remembering the single example of the *matriz* of Sabará, wrote of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais: *aucune église n'a de bas-côtés*.<sup>66</sup> The Portuguese archi-

1774 J. G. Rosa finished the decoration of the *coro* and the sacristy.

1778 *A belo atrio* contracted.

1779 The church was practically completed.

1789 Two great pillars were contracted for the main entrance.

#### CHURCHES AT OTHER SITES

The church of S. Francisco de Assis at S. João d'El-Rei

1774 The date on the façade.

The church of N. S. do Carmo at Sabará

1772 The date of the bells.

The *matriz* of Sta. Luzia at Sta. Luzia

1778 The date of the façade.

The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição at Curimatahy

1760-1770 The founding and erection of the church.

The *matriz* of N. S. da Conceição at Cachoeira do Campo

1725 The church was already built.

1752 The *talha* was contracted for by Americo Machado and Manuel Rodrigues.

1775 The roof was painted by Antônio Rodrigues.

1792 The façade towers erected.

1799 The cross, or *cruzeiro*, raised before the church.

The *matriz* at S. João de Morro Grande

1713 The inhabitants of the town began a new chapel larger than the first.

1764 Jan. 8. The first stone was laid of the present church on a plan of an unknown Portuguese author. The stonework was carried out by Manuel Gonçalves de Oliveira.

1767 The work had progressed up to the windows of the towers.

1768 The work had to be modified. They lacked money, so that several unnecessary details were eliminated, and the sacristy was built of rubble instead of stone, as originally planned.

1778 Theodoró Martins de Sousa contracted for the carpentry.

1785 The work was completed.

The *matriz* of N. S. do Bom Sucesso at Caeté

1757 The date on the façade. The stone-work was carried out by Antônio da Silva Bracarena and the *talha* was ordered from the Portuguese José Coelho de Noronha.

62. Feu de Carvalho, *Ementario da historia de Minas. Felipe dos Santos na sedição de Villa Rica*, Belo Horizonte, n. d., p. 189.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

64. In a well-known letter of the 29th of August, 1742, involving the delays in the construction of the new palace of the governors at Ouro Preto (*Minas Gerais em 1925*, p. 690).

65. The same local stone in a warm brown color was also quarried.

66. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 120-121. The rest of the distinguished traveler's description of Mineiro churches should also be quoted.

... Construídas à peu près sur le modèle de celles de Portugal, elles sont beaucoup plus petites que les nôtres. Le clocher ne s'élève point du milieu du toit; il est remplacé par deux tours carrées qui, faisant partie de la façade de l'église, prolongent ses deux côtés, et l'intervalle que les tours laissent entre elles, est rempli par un fronton qui domine de largeur de la base au sommet, à peu près comme un triangle, et se termine par une croix. Quelques églises de campagne n'offrent qu'un fronton sans ornement; d'autres n'ont qu'une tour ou même elles n'en ont pas du tout, et alors la cloche est ordinairement placée à côté de l'église sous un petit toit soutenu par deux poteaux. Aucune église n'a de bas côtés. Le sanctuaire n'est point, comme chez nous, contenu avec le reste du vaisseau; c'est ainsi que l'indique la dénomination portugaise "capella mor" (chapelle majeure), une véritable chapelle distincte de la nef, moins élevée et surtout moins large qu'elle. Pour masquer les angles qui, de chaque côté, résultent naturellement de la différence de largeur de la nef et de la chapelle majeure, on construit à droite et à gauche un autel oblique. Audessus du maître-autel, qui occupe le fond de la chapelle majeure, s'élève dans une niche pyramide de gradins chargée de chandeliers et de bouquets de fleurs; le sommet de la pyra-

fects of the seventeenth century, thoroughly impregnated with the Jesuit traditions which had emanated from Rome to the whole of Europe in the century before, had suppressed in their churches the old Manueline system of three nave aisles. There resulted in Portugal the custom of building lateral corridors in the place of the abolished nave aisles. On the exterior these corridors appear an outgrowth of the plan itself. They lead toward the sacristy, which now is generally located behind the chancel (*capela-mór*) instead of beside it, as in the earlier chapels, and to the other service apartments of the church. They possess doors leading into the nave (Fig. 45/5), thus providing an excellent reserve space for times when the nave is crowded. They are generally equipped with exterior doors which serve as lateral or subsidiary portals of the church.

A fine example of the use of these lateral passages in Portugal is the church of the Third Order of St. Francis at Elvas (Alentejo), which was begun in 1701 but was not completed until eighteen years later. In Minas Gerais and in all Brazil the corridors were so frequently imitated that they have come to be associated with the plan of any typical colonial church and still survive as an important element in modern Brazilian religious architecture. But as a matter of fact they were never employed at Ouro Preto.<sup>67</sup> Occasionally they appear in two stories, as at the Senhora da Boa Morte in Barbacena, with elegantly sculptured windows and doors (Fig. 16). At times they were even given a special disposition in the integration of the exterior of the church. At the magnificent *matriz* of Caeté, the plan of which was sent from Portugal, they completely surround the church, breaking, behind the sacristy, to form rear salients in repetition of the lateral towers of the façade (Fig. 45/6).

The position of the sacristy was shifted to the rear of the *capela-mór*, as we have said, in many of the Mineiro churches (Fig. 45/2 and 45/4), thus forming a unit of chancel and sacristy repeating the mass of the nave before it. This was but another imitation of the contemporary style in vogue in the north of Portugal. The splendid church of N. S. do Carmo at Viseu, built by the canon Henrique de Lemos between the years 1733 and 1738, reveals the same arrangement,<sup>68</sup> which was not only typical of the north of Portugal but common throughout the kingdom (Fig. 12). A direct inheritance from the Manueline parish churches, the square chancel was retained in the eighteenth century country churches of northern Portugal and Minas (in counter-distinction to the semicircular apses of the Italianate court architecture). In several Mineiro churches the new unit of chancel and sacristy reached proportions equal to the nave itself (Fig. 45/4 and Fig. 11) and the arch dividing the *capela-mór* from the nave was accented on the exterior by architectural

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*mide porte la statue du patron, et les côtés de la niche sont assez généralement accompagnés de colonnes, ce qui forme un ensemble d'un effet agréable et d'un goût assez pur.*

*Il ne faut pas s'attendre à trouver dans les églises de l'intérieur du Brésil des chefs-d'oeuvre de peinture ou de sculpture; on n'y voit aucun tableau, mais les statues des saints, les peintures des plafonds et des murailles, ne sont pas beaucoup plus mauvaises que celles de la plupart de nos églises de province. On a senti chez nous que les édifices religieux empruntaient d'une lumière affaiblie quelque chose de plus imposant; mais souvent on a exagéré ces effets, et plusieurs de nos temples sont devenus tristes et lugubres: il n'en est pas ainsi des églises brésiliennes; elles sont mieux éclairées que les nôtres; les fenêtres ne sont pas très grandes, mais elles sont plus multipliées et n'ont point de carreaux à petits plombs. La majesté de nos temples ne se retrouve point, il est vrai, dans les églises du Brésil, mais on a beaucoup plus de soin d'y maintenir la propreté. Toutes sont planchées, et, des deux côtés de la nef, dans une largeur de cinq à six pieds, le plancher est plus élevé d'environ neuf pouces que*

*dans le reste de l'église. Cet espace ainsi exhaussé, est séparé du milieu de la nef par une balustrade de jacaranda noir comme l'ébène, et la même balustrade, prolongée parallèlement au maître-autel, sépare encore le sanctuaire de la nef.*

67. The nearest approach is to be seen in the second-story exterior loggie of the church of S. Francisco. Similar galleries are to be found at the chapel of N. S. dos Navegantes at Salvador and at the church of the Bahian seminary of Belém da Cachoeira.

68. Maximiliano Aragão, *Viseu, provincia da Beira. Subsídios para a sua história desde fins do século XV*, Oporto, 1928, vol. III, pp. 502-503. The exterior of the *capela-mór* is curiously described by Padre Leonardo de Sousa (*Epitome carmelitano*, Lisbon, 1739, p. 75): *Nos quatro angulos que faz a capela pela parte de fóra, se veem levantadas outras tantas pyramides, assentadas em suas bases e coroadas com seus globos, terminando o cume do seu telhado uma famosa esphera, e sôbre ela um Anjo sustentando na mão esquerda o Estendarte da Cruz, e com a direita mostrando o quadro do templo, a que os ventos o impelem.*

moldings and sculpture, as in the church of N. S. do Carmo of Ouro Preto (Fig. 10).

In general the plan of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais follows the rectangular form without transepts developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the north of Portugal (Fig. 45/4). There is no instance in Minas of the Greek cross plan, which is found in colonial Brazil only at the church at Sta. Ana of Belém do Pará. The ten-sided interior of N. S. do Pilar at Ouro Preto (Fig. 45/4b) in many aspects reflects the Lisbon church of Menino Deus (1711) and its Portuguese counterpart, the pilgrimage church of S. João Batista in Campo Maior (Alentejo) of 1734. But this is a rarity not to be encountered again in Minas, and indeed only once again in the colonial architecture of Brazil.<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand the oval plan applied to both interior and exterior enjoyed a certain vogue in the new *capitania*. Appearing in the Oporto church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos, a building designed by the greatest architect of the north of Portugal during the eighteenth century, Nicolau Nazoni<sup>70</sup> (Fig. 13) and begun on the twenty-third of April of 1732, this plan was repeated a year later in the Rio church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos. Since they were both under the same invocation, and the rebuilding of the Rio church is known to have been a pretentious undertaking,<sup>71</sup> it is natural to suppose that the plan of the latter was derived directly from the former church, probably brought over in the baggage of some Oporto architect newly arrived in Brazil.

From Rio de Janeiro the motive journeyed to Minas, where it appeared in the now disused church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos (again the same invocation suggests direct influence) of Mariana, which was completed about 1752.<sup>72</sup> But this time the plan is more ambitious than that used in either the Oporto or Rio de Janeiro churches, for it includes now two convergent ovals (Fig. 45/7). Later the plan was further developed by José Pereira Arouca in his great church of N. S. do Rosário built for the negroes of Ouro Preto about 1785 (Fig. 21), and by "Aleijadinho"<sup>73</sup> in the churches of S. Francisco de Assis at Ouro Preto (1763—

69. The church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos at Recife, begun in 1728 by the architect Manuel Ferreira Jacome (Sebastião de Vasconcellos Galvão, *Diccionario chorographico historico e estatistico de Pernambuco*, Rio, 1922, vol. II-B, p. 364). See also D. Domingos do Loreto Couto, *Desaggravos do Brasil e glorias de Pernambuco* (1757), in *Anais da Bibl. Nac.*, XXIV, 1904, p. 157.

70. An Italian architect who came to Oporto in the middle of the eighteenth century and was active there until his death on August 30, 1773. He is remembered principally for the churches of the Clérigos and the Misericordia, and for the Quinta da Prelada, a country estate of the Noronha family, the tower of whose arms was erected in the gardens to produce a curious Neo-Gothic effect. For the biography of the architect and a description of his buildings see: Agostinho Rebello da Costa, *Descrição topografica e historica da cidade da Porto*, Oporto, 1788; Francisco José Patricio, *D. Nicolau Nazoni*, in *Commercio portuguez*, XCIV, Oporto, 1885; and the article devoted to Nazoni in Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo's *Diccionario historico e documental dos architectos, engenheiros, e constructores portuguezes*, Lisbon, 1922, vol. II, pp. 189-193.

71. The money is said to have been provided by rich Mineiros. The *irmandade* resolved to build the new church on August 2, 1733. The first stone was blessed by the bishop of Rio de Janeiro, D. Frei Antônio de Guadalupe. The church was probably completed before 1741, for on the seventh of October of that year the image of S. Gonçalo de Amarante was formally placed in the building. The sanctuary of the church is of imported marble. See Azevedo Moreira, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

72. The present archbishop of Mariana, His Excellency

D. Helvesio Gomes Oliveira, has arranged in the building, which is a dependency of the archiepiscopal palace, an important museum of colonial art.

73. Antônio Francisco Lisboa, 1730-1814, a mulatto of Ouro Preto called Aleijadinho (little cripple) because of the loss of both fingers and toes from syphilis. About him has grown up a mass of legendary biography which would set him up as the greatest and most prolific sculptor and architect of colonial Minas Gerais (R. J. Ferreira Brêtas, *Traços biograficos relativos ao finado Antonio Francisco Lisboa, distincto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo apelido de—Aleijadinho*, in *Rev. arch. pub. min.* I, 1896, pp. 161-174; Djalma Andrade, *Congonhas do Campo. O Aleijadinho*, in *Minas Geraes em 1925*, pp. 563-571; Basilio de Magalhães, *O Aleijadinho*, in *Revista do instituto historicoe e ographico brasileiro. Boletim*, 1930; José Mariano Filho, *Mestre Aleijadinho e sua obra*, in *O cruzeiro* vol. II, Aug. 30, 1930, pp. 15-30; Angel Guido, *O Aleijadinho The Little Cripple of Minas Geraes*, in *The Pan American Union Fine Arts Series*, no. 9, Washington, 1930; Léon Kochnitzky, *Un Bernin des tropiques*, in *Formes-L'amour de l'art*, March, 1934, pp. 5-6; Angel Guido, *El Aleijadinho. El gran escultor leproso del siglo XVIII en el Brasil*, Santa Fe, 1938).

On the other hand, Dr. Feu de Carvalho has published a convincing attack upon these theories (*O Aleijadinho*, Belo Horizonte, 1934), but one which probably goes too far in the opposite direction. He assigns to the maimed sculptor only the cedar wood groups from the life of Christ in the chapels at Congonhas do Campo and the stone figures of 12 prophets before the church, which he executed between the years 1796 and 1805 for the sum of MR. 1639. All the other attributions he discards as unsupported by



FIG. 12—*Viseu (Portugal, Beira Baixa)*  
*Church of N. S. do Carmo; Detail of*  
*Capela Mór*



FIG. 13—*Oporto (Portugal, Douro): Church of*  
*S. Pedro dos Clérigos*



FIG. 14—*Sabará (Minas Gerais): Chapel of*  
*N. S. de O'*



FIG. 15—*S. João d'El-Rei (Minas Gerais)*  
*Church of S. Francisco de Assis; Doorway*

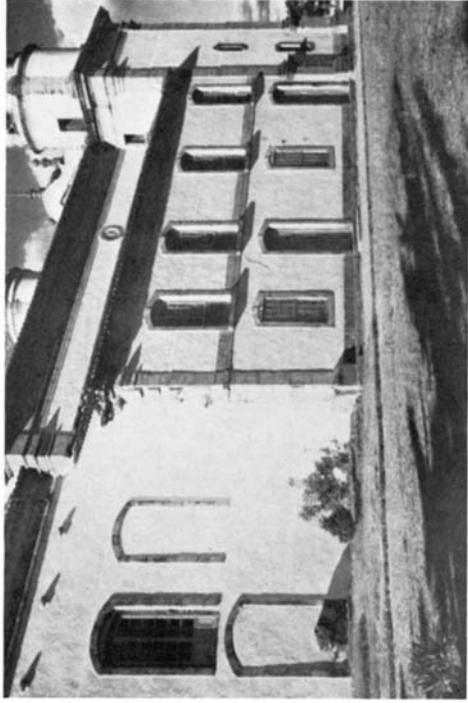


FIG. 16—*Barbacena (Minas Gerais): Church of  
N. S. da Boa Morte*

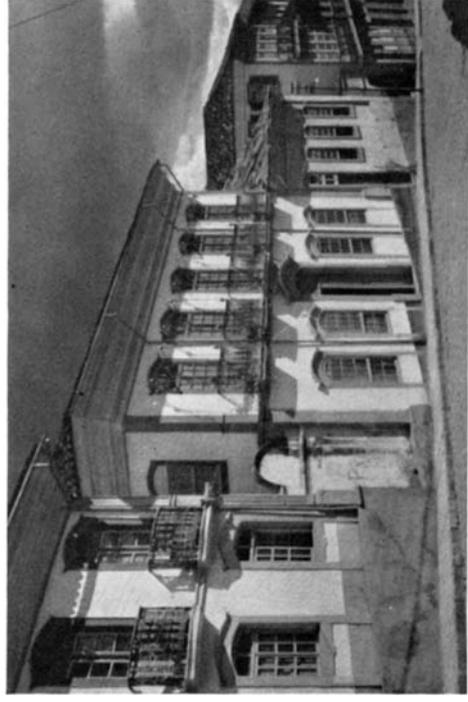


FIG. 17—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Houses  
in Rua Direita*



FIG. 18—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): Church of the  
Arquiconfraria de S. Francisco*



FIG. 19—*Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais): Church  
of N. S. Bom Jesus; Garden Chapel*

1794) (Fig. 23) and S. João d'El-Rei of 1774. The oval plan is an arrangement which in the colonial period is to be encountered only in this part of Brazil. It would seem to point once again to a very definite influence from the north of the mother-country, this time the school of Oporto being the instrument of inspiration. But the regional developments, the elaboration of the oval façade, as well as the introduction of a second ellipse in the nave plan, speak for the ingenuity of local builders.

The North Portuguese influence continues in the matter of the covering of these churches. The cupola, which was always such an important element in the Baroque architecture of Spain and one developed with such prodigality in the churches of every category in Mexico and in Peru, indeed in all the former Hispanic colonies, was always rare in Portugal and in the Portuguese settlements abroad.<sup>74</sup> When employed at all it is to be found in the religious monuments of the court—the royal convent of Mafra, the church of the Memoria at Lisbon, begun in 1760 by Giovanni Carlo Bibbiena, and the vast basilica da Estrêla (1779–90), also at the capital. All of these buildings are examples of the most direct Italian influence. The rustic dome of the provincial church of N. S. de Ares at Viana do Alentejo, built by the architect Padre João Patista in 1743, is almost unique in Portugal. In the north of the kingdom the motive appears to have been totally forgotten during the period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Our thesis is thus further strengthened by the impossibility of locating a single cupola in the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais. Nor is there any reason to believe that domes were ever even planned for these Mineiro churches. In the north of Portugal there had also been a tendency to avoid vaulting in any form ever since the Romanesque period. Instead wooden roofs were constructed to simulate cloister vaults or even shallow interior oval domes. These ceilings were freely imitated in Minas.

In their treatment of the church façade the Mineiro architects straightway chose the type with twin lateral towers. All the great churches of Minas Gerais, *matrizes*, churches of the *irmandades*, and even certain later chapels, were provided with these paired towers (Fig. 45/4a), in place of the single lateral tower so common in the regions of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Santos. It is a further instance of the continued influence of North Portuguese architecture in Minas, for, whereas in Lisbon and in the south of the country the single tower type is frequently encountered, in the north the great eighteenth century sanctuaries all possess the twin lateral façade towers. We may illustrate the point with three typical

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documents and impossible for a man so hideously handicapped to be able to execute. He further attacks the theory expressed in the writings of the above group that Aleijadinho was the son by the negress Isabel of that *carpinteiro* and contractor Manuel Francisco Lisboa of Ouro Preto whom we now know to have prepared the plan for the church of N. S. do Carmo at Ouro Preto in 1766, and to have built the Ouro Preto governor's palace (1741–1748), as well as the bridge of Antônio Dias (1755–1756) and the fountain of that name (1758) in the same town. This denial is made on the grounds of insufficient documentary evidence.

It should be remembered, however, that tradition has always strongly linked Aleijadinho with the churches of S. Francisco at Ouro Preto and S. João d'El-Rei, of which a virtual replica, the church of N. S. do Carmo, exists in the same town. The sculptures of these three churches are so closely related in subject, design, and workmanship as to predicate a single authorship. To these should be added the doorways of N. S. do Carmo at Ouro Preto and the unfinished portal of the Bom Jesus of Congonhas, and the

sculptures over the doors of N. S. das Mercês e Perdões and the Bom Jesus of Ouro Preto, all very closely related in style. We cannot deny, on internal evidence, that these monuments constitute a very especial school within the wider school of Minas Gerais. Since there is no other known sculptor of this period in Minas, we are forced for the sake of clarity to refer to this group of monuments as the work of the *school of Aleijadinho*. As to the possibility that A. F. Lisboa was an architect as well, which Feu de Carvalho denies because no documents refer to him specifically as architect, we should remember that the supposed father, Manuel Francisco, was always called *carpinteiro* in contemporary documents, although he worked almost entirely in stone. It seems to be true that since there were no professional architects, save the engineer Alpoim, in colonial Minas, other artisans took over their work.

74. Domes are to be found in the Italianate architecture of Belém (church of Sta. Ana) and Rio de Janeiro (church of N. S. da Candelaria) and in the later chapels at Congonhas do Campo.

examples—the church of N. S. do Carmo at Viseu, already mentioned, that of the Senhor dos Passos e N. S. da Consolação, of 1785, at Guimarães, and the royal *matriz* of Póvoa de Varzim, begun in 1743,<sup>75</sup> on the coast above Oporto.

Aside from this general similarity in regard to the disposition of their towers, the façades of the Mineiro churches show a marked uniformity in the matter of decoration. We can, however, speak broadly of two types, of two tendencies widely divergent, the one Bahian and the other traditionally Mineiro.

The Bahian architecture of the great period, that is of the last years of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth, has its own special character derived from the sixteenth century Jesuit style of the Counter-Reformation. It is the sober classicism of that period, with its severity of rectilinear surfaces in the mathematically marked windows, doors, and cornices, and the frequent tendency to design the lower portion of the main façade in the form of a triumphal arch. The best preserved examples of this Bahian style of the *Blütezeit* are the churches of the Misericórdia (1695), the Jesuit College (about 1697), the convent of N. S. do Carmo (Fig. 27) and that of S. Francisco (1710), the church of the Santíssima Trindade do Paço, all in the city of Salvador,<sup>76</sup> and the *matriz* of Sto. Amaro da Purificação of 1704, in the nearby Recôncavo of Bahia.

It is this influence of the then viceregal capital that is to be seen in many of the earlier large churches of Minas Gerais. Principally it is found in the cold façade of the present cathedral of Mariana, whose doors and windows reveal a complete lack of ornamentation (Fig. 20). The church possesses two principal cornices cutting the verticality of the structure exactly as in the Bahian churches. The triangular frontispiece and the high roofs of the church in Mariana are almost the equals of those of the former Jesuit church, now the cathedral of Salvador, whose broad transept was also imitated in the first Mineiro cathedral. This architectural tradition remained in Mariana (churches of N. S. das Mercês and do Rosário) combatting the growing influence of the new churches of the Third Orders of St. Francis and N. S. do Carmo. It traveled with the *bandeirantes* up the Rio das Velhas to Raposos and the not distant Sabará, in whose early *matriz* it is reflected, as well as in the subsidiary churches of S. Francisco and Sta. Rita; to Barbacena where it is seen in the façade of the great *matriz* of the Senhora da Piedade (1748). It is in Minas Gerais a tradition doubly *retardataire*, which had arrived in Brazil a century late and which was already losing its vogue at Salvador when the miner pioneers transplanted it to Minas Gerais. By the middle of the century it had been abandoned in the *capitania* in favor of another type of façade arrangement.

This is the system which we may now call almost indigenous and which was to establish a kind of unity among the majority of the great Mineiro churches. The arrangement was derived from the primitive chapels of the region, or rather was the continuation of their façade plan. It consists of a single entrance door and two square or rectangular windows arranged in a vaguely triangular form (the two windows being disposed diagonally in relation to the portal below). Between them the primitive chapel had had a small circular window which in some façades was placed directly between the two square openings (S. João de Ouro Fino), while in others (N. S. da Piedade at Ouro Preto) it is slightly above them.

This then was the general arrangement favored by the subsequent builders in Minas Gerais. The *oeil-de-boeuf* is placed above the other two windows in the main façade and the

75. José Joaquim Martins Gesteira: *Memórias históricas da villa da Póvoa de Varzim*, Oporto, 1851, p. 33.

76. The tradition is further reflected in such chapels

as those of S. José de Ribamar and Sto. Antônio da Mouraria, built by the viceroy Vasco Fernandes de Menezes in 1724, both in the city of Salvador.



FIG. 20—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): Cathedral*



FIG. 21—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. do Rosário*



FIG. 22—*S. João d'El-Rei (Minas Gerais)  
Church of N. S. do Carmo*



FIG. 23—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of S. Francisco de Assis*

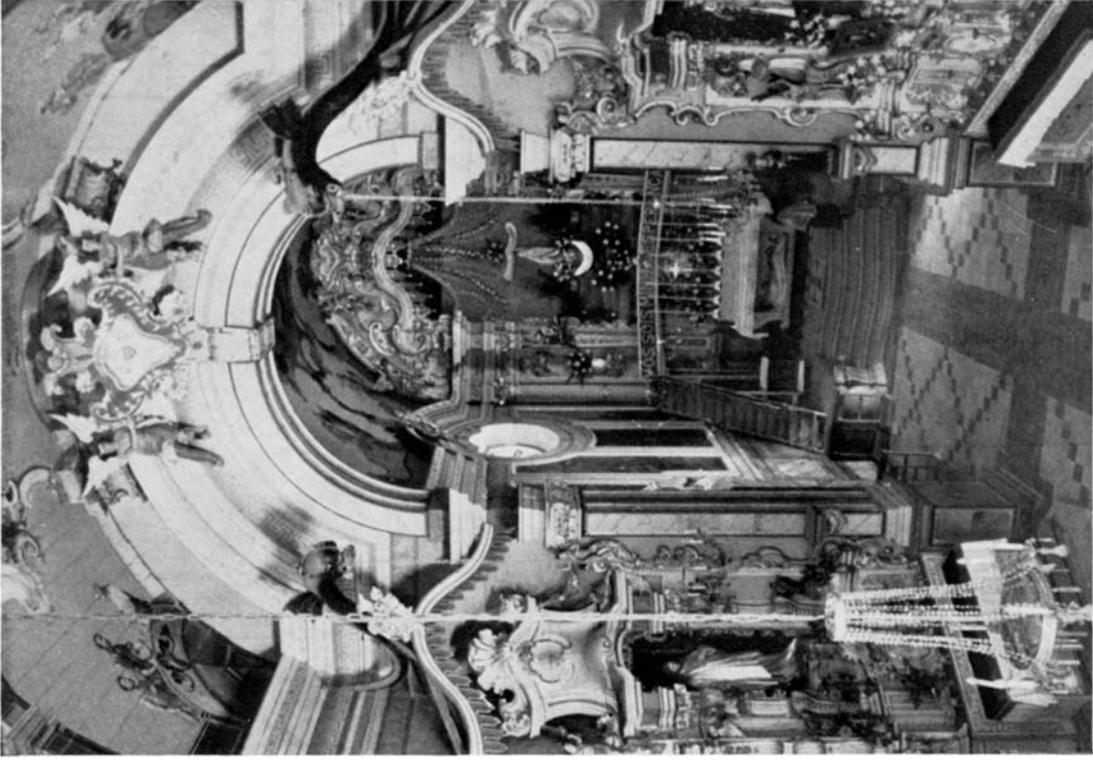


FIG. 24—Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais)  
Church of N. S. Bom Jesus de Mattosinhos

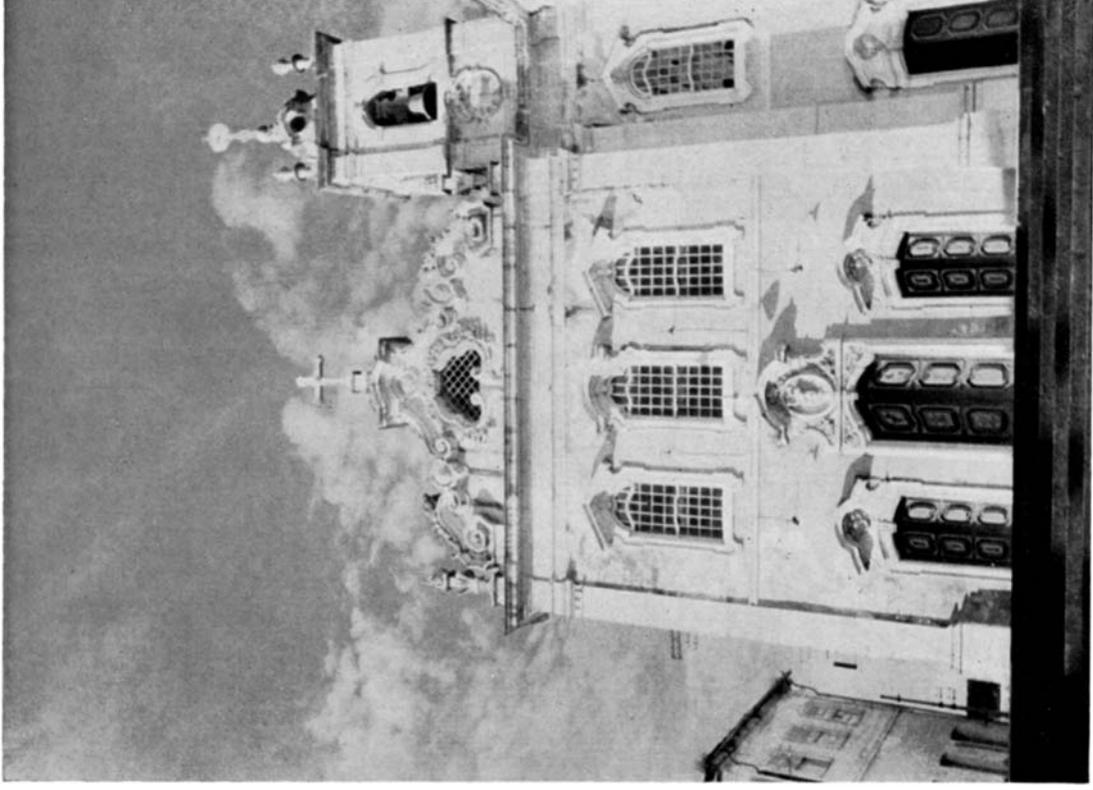


FIG. 25—Salvador (Bahia): Church of  
N. S. do Pilar

cornice is allowed to break around it. Thus is produced a strange effect, bizarre and typically Baroque, which serves to vivify the whole façade. This time we need not seek the origin in Portugal; we know that the new plan descends from the original local chapels of the region (although they in turn were evolved from those of the mother-country). Among the churches of the eighteenth century in Portugal we cannot name a single example of this exact type of façade arrangement, though certain contemporary churches of the Minho possess pediments of oval form.<sup>77</sup>

At times in Minas Gerais the small central window preserves its original form (S. Francisco and N. S. do Carmo in S. João d'El-Rei; Fig. 22). Occasionally it is replaced by a round medallion of low relief sculpture (S. Francisco of Ouro Preto). Many times, however, an extravagant form of irregular rococo lines was produced, similar to the extravagant windows and cartouches employed in such contemporary North Portuguese buildings as the church of S. Francisco in Viseu, of 1768, the chapel of the Malheiros family at Viana do Castelo, and the convent of Sta. Clara of Guimarães, which was begun in 1770. In one Mineiro example (the church of S. Francisco at Mariana) the irregular form of the window dictates the shape of the cornice itself. Windows of exotic form were used as well in the clerestories of these buildings.

This then was the habitual disposition of the central corps of the façade in the large Mineiro churches. There are never more than two rectangular windows except in the *matriz* of Caeté, that building whose plan had come from Portugal in 1757. This church has three such windows in its main façade (Fig. 28) like the churches of Bahia and the north of Brazil. But even here the architect has eliminated the other two which in the north were generally opened in the towers, thus producing a file of five, four, or three windows corresponding to the number of doors of the ground floor (Fig. 25). In this respect the façade of Caeté conforms to the *Mineiro* system, which reduced the windows of the lateral towers to the merest slits.

The pediment above the principal cornice of the façade received the most diverse treatments in the colonial churches of Minas Gerais. In general, the builders abandoned the simple triangular type used in the older churches and the chapels, nor did they seek to imitate the extremely exaggerated ultra-Baroque forms of the colonial schools of northeastern Brazil, especially that of Pernambuco, where the influence of the Italian *stuccatore* is uniformly evident.<sup>78</sup> In place of the rich stone candelabra and the flaming torches, Berninian elements that characterize the churches of the north of Brazil, fine sculptured moldings were used with at times a special accent on the round volutes at the angles of the pediment or the introduction of fragments of grandiose arches.

Generally within the pediment there is another window of exotic form, the companion of the one below the cornice or of those which in many churches were opened in the clerestory. In Ouro Preto<sup>79</sup> the pediment frequently assumed a special appearance with the introduction of a new element, a square section separated from the volutes by thin pilasters, which became a peculiarity of the architecture of the former Vila Rica.

The form of the lateral towers is in general rectangular, as in the rest of the colony. But in Minas was also developed the round or oval type (Congonhas: S. José; Mariana: S. Pedro dos Clerigos and N. S. do Carmo; Ouro Preto: N. S. do Rosário and S. Francisco; S. João d'El-Rei: N. S. do Carmo and S. Francisco; Barbacena: N. S. da Bôa Morte).

77. For example that of the Congregados at Braga.

78. The church of N. S. do Carmo at Recife was completed in 1767.

79. It is to be found in the churches of N. S. de Pilar, S. Francisco de Paula, N. S. do Carmo, and N. S. da Conceição de Antônio Dias.

This form of tower had already been used in the important church of S. Pedro dos Clérigos at Rio de Janeiro, already discussed in connection with the celebrated oval plan imported from Oporto. But at S. Pedro the towers are excessively heavy in proportion. They resemble the strong towers of some medieval castle more than the delicately integrated towers of round or oval form which were finally evolved in Minas Gerais. It is the adaptation of these towers, their refinement and ultimate proportioning in relation to the rest of the building of which they form a part, that constitutes the principal architectural glory of the colonial school of Minas Gerais.<sup>80</sup>

The Mineiros, except in the churches of S. Pedro at Mariana, N. S. do Rosário in Ouro Preto, and S. José of Congonhas, did not accept the concave façade which went with the round towers of S. Pedro at Rio. For their peculiar towers they developed an arrangement of their own which retained the square façade plan of the old Mineiro type but one which was delicately linked with the towers and the oval nave plan by sections of curving façade. This skilful method of transition is a special characteristic of the churches ascribed to Aleijadinho—S. Francisco of Ouro Preto, and S. Francisco and N. S. do Carmo at S. João d'El-Rei (Figs. 22 and 23).

The termination of the lateral towers presented a further problem which the Mineiro builders solved in a variety of ways. The first square towers had high pitched roofs of tile. They were similar to both the roofs of the belfries and the free-standing bell towers of the primitive Mineiro chapels and those of the great Counter-Reformation churches of Salvador (Fig. 20). But later there was developed in Minas Gerais as elsewhere, a more monumental treatment—that of a small cupola atop the tower. This is a disposition characteristic of all the great churches built after the middle of the century. The towers of circular form have cupola-vaults adapted to their special shapes and accented by rings of heavy moldings.

The single entrance door is one of the most important elements of this Mineiro type of façade. Even the plan of the *matriz* of Caeté, which had been drawn up in Portugal, does not deviate from this established rule of a single entrance portal in the façade. It constitutes one of the principal differences between colonial architecture in Minas Gerais and that elsewhere in the country, where churches were built with three or five doors in the principal façade,<sup>81</sup> generally giving access to the long lateral corridors of the interior.

We may class these Mineiro portals in four distinct groups.<sup>82</sup> To the first, which is the simplest, belong the doors with flat arches and slightly projecting pediments. Encountered in almost all the churches, they are used as entrance portals only in the less important temples. More frequently they are employed as subsidiary doorways, often as lateral entrances to the church, in sacristies, or elsewhere within the building. This is also the most common form of window frame used during this period. It was a popular type in Portugal all through the century, where it appears in all types of construction, from the

80. In Minas there is no instance of the roofs of colored tiles, reminiscent of Mediterranean architecture, of the Salvador churches of Rosário dos Pretos, S. Pedro, Sta. Luzia etc., nor of the ornamental fretwork balustrades of the viceregal city (Sta. Ana, Conceição da Praia, capela de Unhão).

81. Occasionally, where there is only one lateral tower, the church façade is arranged with four doors, as at Sta. Luzia in Salvador.

82. The Mineiro architects avoided the recessed portico or *loggia* type of entrance common to the Portuguese court architecture and introduced to the coast cities by means of the Franciscan monastic architecture of Pernambuco,

Bahia, Sergipe. An excellent example of this influence is the convent of S. Bernardino of 1763 at Angra dos Reis, another minor center of the Lisbon style on a peninsula just below Rio de Janeiro.

Another curious omission in colonial Mineiro façades is the *alpendre* or projecting porch, an ancient Portuguese device which was used so freely in the sixteenth and seventeenth century architecture in Pernambuco. Two well preserved examples of the Portuguese *alpendre* in Brazil are to be found at the seventeenth century monastery of S. Bento in Rio de Janeiro and the seminary of N. S. da Penha, on a mountain beside the sea at Vila Velha, near Vitória (Espírito Santo).

royal buildings at Lisbon, Mafra, Evora, Estremoz and Vendas Novas to the simplest chapels of the northern provinces. It was also a favorite with domestic builders both in Portugal and Brazil.

The second type contains the same arch with the addition of sculpture above, either in the form of a low relief medallion or of figures in the round resting upon the pedimental moldings of the doorframe, as in the churches of N. S. do Carmo at Sabará, N. S. da Conceição at Congonhas do Campo, N. S. do Carmo of Mariana or the church of S. Francisco in the same town.

The third type is quite different from the two preceding, and is a direct importation from the north of Portugal, where the single entrance portal was likewise the rule. Good Lusitanian examples are furnished by the Casa do Mexicano at Braga (1732), the chapel of the Malheiros at Viana do Castelo, the churches of Misericórdia and S. Francisco in Viseu, and the temple of N. S. da Lapa in Vila Viçosa (1756). Here the arch has disappeared and in its place we see a mass of undulant moldings recalling the portals of the sixteenth century Manueline style, with pilasters or consoles of the same waving form at the sides. Above is set either a sculptured medallion or a small window, around which hover ribbons and allegorical figures perched on fragments of architectural moldings, the usual Baroque repertory of *amorini*, shells and pious instruments. In the hands of the Mineiro craftsmen, especially in the *atelier* of the celebrated Aleijadinho of Ouro Preto, the sculpture took on more delicate forms, the doorways more graceful outlines than in the Portuguese models themselves (Fig. 15). In fact they represent the principal achievement of Brazilian sculpture.

The churches of Sta. Efigênia at Ouro Preto, built for the negroes in 1785, N. S. da Piedade, of Barbacena, and the Senhor Bom Jesus in Ouro Preto of 1771 (Fig. 29) possess portals of the fourth category—supporting a niche with the image of a saint.<sup>83</sup> It is of course a type encountered all over the Latin world in this period, the outgrowth of a popular form of medieval doorway, and is to be found in many of the most important rural churches of northern Portugal, as, to cite only one example, the royal *matriz* of Póvoa de Varzim. Thus the last type of Mineiro church door can be traced back to Portugal as well as the more elaborate forms already mentioned.

The broken pediment of the door of Sta. Efigênia is rare in Minas, for the motive was employed rather in the northern schools of Bahia and Pernambuco and in the Italianate Pará.<sup>84</sup> The doorway at Barbacena is one more example of Bahian influence in Minas, being a virtual copy of the portals of the present cathedral of Salvador. That of the Bom Jesus is closely related to a doorway in central Portugal, at the *matriz* of Oliveira de Azemeis, just below Oporto, where the same delightful St. Michael with a feathered helmet appears. These three doorways are a distinct rarity in Minas Gerais. Along with the similar portal

83. See also the churches of S. Miguel at Oliveira de Azemeis, S. Miguel at Guimarães (1710), N. S. de Esperança of Oporto (1724), N. S. dos Rimédios at Lamego, and S. João Batista at Campo Maior.

84. This architectural motive, typical of the more classic and conservative element within the Italian Baroque, enjoyed a certain influence in Lisbon at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Appearing first in the portals of the private palaces (*solares*) of the Mouraria and the Bairro Alto, it passed into religious architecture. The solemn door of the church of Menino Deus (1711) displays two splendid examples. The city of Salvador preserves still two buildings whose doors were designed in the form of a broken

arch, the conventual church of N. S. dos Perdões and the chapel of S. Miguel (1731-1732). The purity of the architectural forms is continued in the moldings of the doorway. Other examples of the motive are to be seen in the portals and windows of Sta. Luzia of Sto. Amaro da Purificação, the Conceição dos Militares, Rosario dos Pretos, and other churches of Recife, Misericórdias of Olinda and Goyana (1726), and, in a very debased form, the door of the church of Carmelite Third Order at S. Cristovão de Sergipe (1752). For a further discussion of this subject see my article *O carácter da arquitetura colonial do nordeste*, shortly to be published in *Estudos Brasileiros*.

of S. José at Congonhas do Campo they constitute an exception to the local tradition of the *capitania*.

Before leaving the question of the exteriors of these Mineiro churches we should point out one last important instance of influence from the north of Portugal. This is to be found in the monumental stairways which lead to several of the principal churches.

Already in the seventeenth century Portuguese churchmen<sup>85</sup> had advocated the construction of outdoor stations of the cross. Those at Bussaco, built in the mountains near Viseu at the end of the seventeenth century, and at the church of the Senhor do Bomfim in Setubal (1710) rapidly became celebrated places of pilgrimage. But it was in the eighteenth century that this custom received its final development. At Mattosinhos near Oporto a new church was built by the *irmandade* in 1733 in honor of the Senhor Jesus de Bouças,<sup>86</sup> where a miraculous image of the Saviour connected by tradition with the Volto Santo of Lucca is preserved. Before the church a magnificent garden was laid out in which small chapels were introduced to house the Via Dolorosa. Already in 1722, under the leadership of the great archbishop primate, D. Rodrigo de Moura Telles, at a site near Braga dedicated to the same cult of the Bom Jesus, a whole mountainside<sup>87</sup> was being transformed into an immense Way of the Cross with endless stairways leading through gardens and past fountains to the chapels (Fig. 26). The work at Braga, which culminated in a new church of the Bom Jesus, begun in 1781 by the architect Carlos da Cruz Amarante, is the finest example of the north Portuguese religious garden, although that of the sanctuary of N. S. dos Remédios (1750), outside Lamego, is almost equally distinguished. Before the end of the century the north of Portugal was full of such pilgrimage churches with their elaborate staircases and chapels arranged in spectacular gardens.<sup>88</sup>

The cult of Mattosinhos is represented in colonial Minas Gerais by the great church of Bom Jesus<sup>89</sup> in the village of Congonhas do Campo, situated along the road which leads from the towns of Queluz and Barbacena to the region of Ouro Preto and Mariana. Here in 1796 the sculptor Aleijadinho began the figures of cedar for the six chapels of the Way of the Cross and the twelve stone prophets<sup>90</sup> that ornament the monumental stairway before the church (Fig. 19).

The arrangement is in every way reminiscent of the great sites at Braga and Lamego, a provincial imitation of the religious gardens of the Minho unparalleled elsewhere in the Brazilian colony. Similar stairways, without the chapels and gardens, were built at the churches of Sta. Efigênia of the negroes and S. Francisco de Paula at Ouro Preto, and N. S. do Rosário at Sabará.

The interiors of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais lack the distinction of their exteriors. There is no way of discussing with absolute certainty the original appearance of the interior of one of the early chapels of the region, for they have in every case undergone great modification either in the eighteenth century itself or at some later period. Certainly they must have shared the severe simplicity of the exteriors of these primitive

85. Especially D. João de Melo, Bishop of Viseu 1673-1704.

86. An establishment of the sixteenth century, originally under the care of the University of Coimbra. See: Antonio Cerqueira Pinto, *Historia da prodigiosa imagem de Cristo crucificado, que com o titulo de Bom Jesus de Bouças se venera no lugar de Matozinhas*, Lisbon, 1737; *O santuario do senhor de Mattosinhos*, Oporto, 1884.

87. For a minute description of the details of this garden see: *Santuario do Bom Jesus do Monte, sua fundação antigam instituição da confraria, e descripção das suas*

*obras*, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, ms. 682, fl. 6, pp. 47-57; Alberto Feio, *Bom Jesus do Monte*, Braga, 1930.

88. Especially interesting among these minor sanctuaries are those of Abbadia (Braga) and Trofa. See J. Augusto Vieira, *op. cit.*

89. The church itself was abuilding between 1757 and 1779.

90. At the Bom Jesus de Braga in Portugal and at the church of S. Francisco de Paula in Ouro Preto the statues represent the four evangelists.

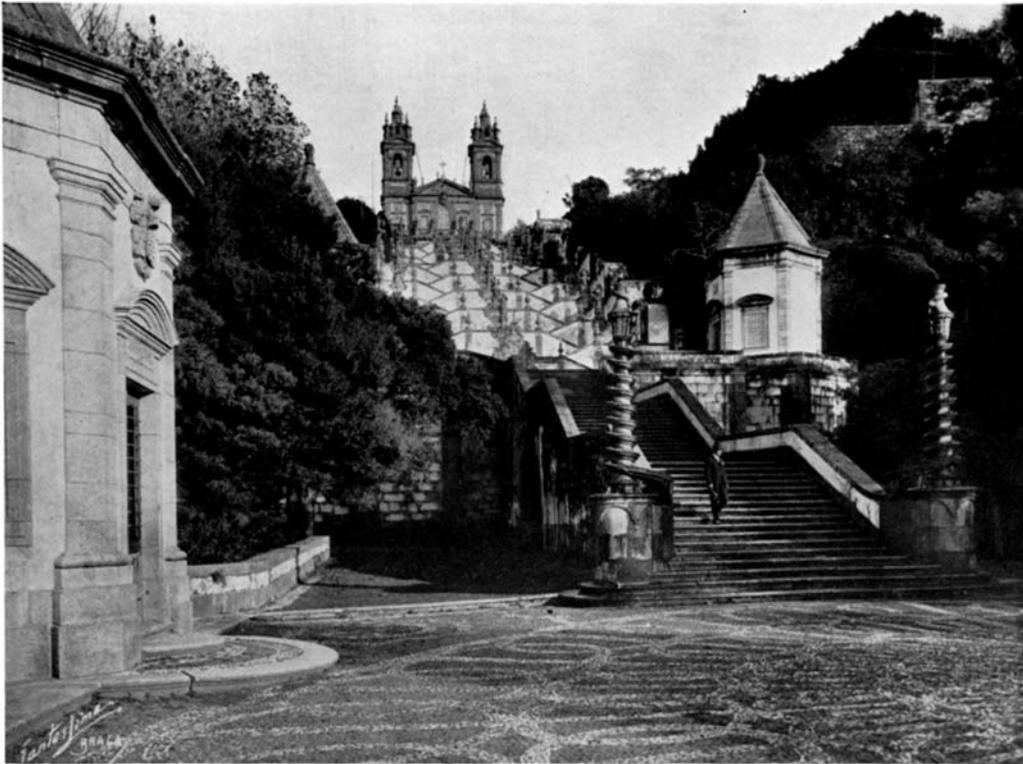


FIG. 26—*Braga (Portugal, Minho): Church of Bom Jesus do Monte*



FIG. 27—*Salvador (Bahia): Convent Church of N. S. do Carmo*



FIG. 28—Caeté (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. do Bom Sucesso; Detail of Façade



FIG. 29—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Church of N. S. Bom Jesus; Detail of Façade

buildings. In the period of great constructions, however, a definite type of church interior was evolved which was to appear practically without modification down to the end of the colonial period when the Neo-Classic style became firmly entrenched in Minas Gerais. It is rather in the woodcarving alone, the splendid *talha* of the Portuguese inheritance, that the gradual changes in taste may be noticed decade by decade.<sup>91</sup>

In Minas one cannot find those interiors of multicolored marbles which distinguish the churches of southern Portugal, where fine marbles abound, or those of the coast cities, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador,<sup>92</sup> Recife, Belém, whither the marbles of the realm or of Italy were brought in the holds of the Portuguese fleets. The Mineiro craftsmen had no local marbles with which to work, and importations from the seaboard were next to impossible in the colonial period. So, like the artists of the north of Portugal, where the same conditions prevailed, they had to content themselves with sculpture in wood for the decoration of their churches.

The architectural design of these interiors is of extreme simplicity. The unvaulted nave without transepts is treated like a huge box made to house the richly carved altars and pulpits. This was the system in practice in the north of Portugal at this period (Fig. 30), a style of decoration that is met with in all the principal Mineiro churches (Fig. 24). Only at Mariana, where the local *matriz* had been raised to episcopal dignity was an attempt made to emulate the church interiors of the littoral. A transept<sup>93</sup> was added when the building was reconstructed and a stone veneer was applied to the piers. Occasionally, as

91. In the first churches of the great period we find the old seventeenth century type of altar, low and broad, with many concentric arches and gross twisted columns, similar to those of the present Sé of Bahia. In the splendid interior of the church of Pilar and in that of Antônio Dias of the same period in Ouro Preto are found altars with the curious motive of children, birds, and bunches of grapes. It is an old Portuguese element developed in the Manueline style buildings of the region of Torres Vedras and Alenquer and projected into the Beira sculpture of the eighteenth century. At Aveiro, in Ilhavo, and in the library of the University of Coimbra it flourished and was finally brought to the old capital of Brazil, where the church of S. Francisco still preserves innumerable altars of this *genre*. It was the period in which the Chinese taste had taken possession of Europe. There came even to Minas lacquer panels and sculptures painted with oriental scenes and figures, like those of the library at Coimbra, for the Sé at Mariana, and the chapel of O' at Sabará. Likewise local artists wrought for the altar frontals of the Pilar at Ouro Preto curious Chinese figures in exotic costumes of silk and velvet. This was the period in which the walls of the *capela-mór* were covered with woodcarvings of huge gilded leaves and the swollen heads of cherubim, when the low, square pulpits were supplied with stairs mounted on human busts, and when it was common to build galleries in the churches with rich balustrades of carved *jacarandá*.

Later, about the seventeen sixties, when the post-earthquake style was influencing the art of Lisbon and the coast cities, Mineiro taste changed, and the gilded altars became higher and more elegant in form, taking the place of the now suppressed galleries. Designs became more complicated and the taste of the *rocaille* was everywhere apparent, particularly in the magnificently carved doors of churches and sacristies (Mariana, S. Francisco). Much of this new *talha* was imported from Portugal, like that of the church of Caeté, executed by the Portuguese *entalhador*, José Coelho de Noronha. They had invented now the *docel*, the elaborated canopy of shells and tassels that surmounted the altar. In the *capela-mór* great oil paintings in richly

carved Rococo frames were installed (church of Tiradentes, and those of S. João d' El-Rei). In these latter two buildings, Carmo and S. Francisco, there appeared an important innovation—altars painted white with images of human proportions arranged in a Bernini-like stage. Finally the Neo-Classic taste reached Minas. All the *talha* was painted a monotonous gold and white, there was a return to the classic orders, arches were strictly interpreted, statues grew silent (Ouro Preto, Carmo; Barbaena, N. S. da Boa Morte). This was of course the end of the artistic tradition in the churches of Minas Gerais.

What especial characteristics distinguish these Mineiro interiors? First of all the absence of those brilliantly painted tiles which occur in all the Portuguese and Bahian churches. Only at the Carmo of Ouro Preto are they to be found, though they are simulated in the church of the same invocation at Sabará. The custom of placing in the roof of the chancel the carved wooden figures of the four evangelists and veritable heads of *caciques* on the interior lavabos. Finally the painted ceilings with their series of small compositions allusive to the virtues of the Holy Virgin (*matriz* of Sabará, Rosário of Tiradentes), unique in Brazil, which recall the similar ceilings of the chapel of the Senhor Jesus do Bomfim at Setubal, in Portugal.

92. The interiors of many of the principal churches of Salvador are resplendent with rich *intaglios* of precious marbles introduced into the pavements, pulpits, and walls of the chapels in imitation of a series of magnificent interiors created in the Lisbon churches at the beginning of the century (the sacristy called "of D. Pedro II" at S. Vicente, the church of the Menino Deus, etc.). The best examples at Salvador are: Misericórdia (loggia and stair, details of the sacristy); present cathedral of Bahia (pulpits and altars of the sacristy, pavements, and chapels of the nave); S. Francisco (pavement of the *capela-mór*); the conventual church of N. S. do Carmo (details of the nave).

93. The following churches of Salvador have transepts: Sé catedral; N. S. do Carmo, S. Francisco; Sto. Amaro, N. S. do Pilar.

in the elaborate decagonal interior of the church of N. S. do Pilar at Ouro Preto, some use was made of the architectural orders. Were it not for their magnificent painted and gilded woodcarving, in altarpieces, railings, pulpits, statues and even whole walls and ceilings (Fig. 31) these interiors would be devoid of true artistic interest. Here, as perhaps nowhere else, the real character of the colonial Mineiro civilization is apparent in its architecture. In the impermanence of these church interiors, in their gaudiness which had so interested Saint-Hilaire, one feels the expression of that civilization, its hasty formation, the constant changes, the lack of enduring values brought about by the over-night scramble for phenomenal wealth.

The same is true of the sacristies of these churches of Minas Gerais. Instead of the elegant apartments of both the metropolitan churches and the country convents of the northern *capitanias* of Pernambuco and Bahia,<sup>94</sup> with their elaborate tiled floors and walls, their painstaking imitations of the copies of contemporary English and French furniture in use at the Portuguese court, their richly painted ceilings (Fig. 33), the sacristies<sup>95</sup> of the colonial churches of Minas Gerais (Fig. 32) contain the simple stone floors, bare walls and cupboards of the rural churches of Portugal. As with the nave interiors, the richness of the brilliantly colored woodcarving alone gives distinction to these provincial apartments.

#### THE HOUSES

"Each year there come with the fleets quantities of Portuguese and foreigners bound for the mines. From the cities, towns, coasts, and interior of Brazil go whites, mulattoes, and negroes and many Indians, whom the men of S. Paulo employ. There is a mixture of all: men and women; young and old; poor and rich; nobles and peasants, laymen, priests, and many religious of various institutions, many of whom have neither convent nor house in all Brazil." Thus wrote the so-called André João Antonil<sup>96</sup> at Lisbon in 1711. He states that there were thirty thousand men in Minas Gerais barely fifteen years after the first

94. In 1729, de la Barbinais had already praised that of the Jesuits of Salvador: *on y admire surtout la Sacrestie; dont tout le lambris, est d'Ecaille de Tortue mise en oeuvre d'une manière fort délicate* (L.-G. de la Barbinais, *Nouveau voyage autour du monde*, Paris, 1729, p. 182). In the year 1699 it had been visited and described by the Sieur Froger: *La sacristie en est des plus magnifiques du monde*. He noted its three altars, the great marble tables, the large windows overlooking the sea, and the fine *Plafond couvert de très belles Peintures* (*Relation d'un voyage fait en 1695, 1696, et 1697 aux Côtes d'Afrique, Détroit de Magellan, Brésil etc.*, Paris, 1699, pp. 138-139).

Probably from the last quarter of the seventeenth century date most of these magnificent ecclesiastical apartments of Salvador, the sacristy of the Jesuits, that of the Misericórdia, and that of the demolished cathedral, which was as splendid as any of the others. At the same time the sacristy of the cathedral of Olinda was decorated. During the whole eighteenth century the tradition endured, passing into the monastic establishments and those of the Third Orders (Salvador: N. S. do Carmo, S. Francisco, Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco, 1703; Olinda: S. Bento, 1763, and S. Francisco, 1755; Recife: S. Pedro dos Clérigos, 1728). Finally rich sacristies were installed in the isolated convents of the countryside, lost in the cane fields of Pernambuco (Iguarassú, Goyana, Serinhaem, Ipojuca, etc.).

Little by little the room was losing its purely religious character, was taking on the appearance of an elegant

Rococo *appartamento di ricevimento*, like those of the Benedictine monasteries of Germany and the former Austria. See especially those of N. S. do Carmo at Salvador, S. Bento of Olinda, and S. Francisco in João Pessoa (Parahyba).

In the midst of this extravagant atmosphere there appeared certain minor tendencies quite characteristic of the region, e.g., the development in Pernambuco and Bahia of the type of chest with an infinity of drawers let into the wall of the room, which faithfully follows the lines of the Chippendale designers of England and North America (Salvador: sacristy of the Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco) and at other times those of the *armoira* of the Louis XV style (Recife: N. S. do Carmo, S. Francisco, S. Pedro; Iguarassú: Sto. Antônio). They are always executed in the greatest splendor of the Brazilian *jacarandá*. The special use of a niche for the fine lavabo of marble designed according to the drawings of the decorators of Mafra and the rich chapels of Lisbon is another characteristic. The humble imitations at the convent of Serinhaem (Pernambuco), where a simple sculptor of untaught genius created angels, birds and shells for marvelously designed pulpits and a balustrade incorporating Jonah and the whale, alone recall the Mineiro manner.

95. The finest are those of the Pilar, Antônio Dias, Carmo, and S. Francisco at Ouro Preto; Sé, S. Francisco, and Carmo of Mariana; Sabará's *matriz* and Carmo; Caeté.

96. *Op. cit.*, p. 149.



FIG. 30—Viseu (Portugal, Beira Baixa): Church of the Venerável  
Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco



FIG. 31—Sabará (Minas Gerais): Chapel of N. S. de O'



FIG. 32—*Sabará (Minas Gerais): The “Matriz”; Sacristy*



FIG. 33—*Salvador (Bahia): Church of the Venerável Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco*

discoveries, and that living costs were so high during the mining boom that a barrel of wine exceeded in price the cost of a slave.

This was largely a floating population that had invaded Minas in the first decade of the eighteenth century, making its way from one site to another in the constant search for gold. But these men, transients though they were, built the first dwellings of the region.

The cabins of the original prospectors were, like the first Mineiro chapels, crude constructions of mud and straw, the ancestors of the present Brazilian *mucambos* and *casas de sapé* (Fig. 35). A curious engraving dated 1749 of a lake near Sabará<sup>97</sup> shows in geometric perspective a number of these crude habitations. Still others appear in a nineteenth century lithograph of the town of Mariana in the midst of better built structures of rubble and stone, affording the singular contrast of palaces and huts that the Reverend Mr. Kidder observed about the same time in all the cities of Brazil.<sup>98</sup>

As the mines were gradually developing there came into existence the Mineiro *arraial*. This was a small community centering about the mine, composed of the primitive chapel, the general store (*venda*), and a group of dwellings. At Ouro Preto in particular the chapel was generally located at the summit of the hill with the small houses of the miners sprawling down the slopes.

The second stage of Mineiro house building was by far the most important; in it the majority of the population participated. It consisted of the transformation of the original cabins into plaster-covered rubble constructions and the substitution of the earlier thatch roofs by tile. Thus it corresponds essentially to the second stage in church building in the region, when the provisory chapels of the first settlers were rebuilt in the more lasting form of the primitive chapels.

The resulting one-story house is little larger than its predecessor. The door is invariably at one end, with two windows occupying the rest of the brief façade (Fig. 36). The door and window frames are generally of wood, though occasionally stone was used. To support the widely overhanging roof,<sup>99</sup> a necessary feature in the rainy Mineiro mountain climate, a primitive cornice with brackets was built of wood. In the distant Diamantina these overhanging roofs and their brackets attained fantastic proportions and came to be lavishly decorated with carving. There is little or no attempt at the ornamentation of the façade. Alone the blinds of wicker or carved wood,<sup>100</sup> the *treillage croisé obliquement* of Saint-Hilaire,<sup>101</sup> provided some relief from the absolute blankness of plastered walls and plank doors. But in general the impression is and was monotonous and melancholy. *Le plus grand nombre, bâties en terre et mal entretenues. . . La couleur des toits dont les bords s'avancent bien au-delà des murailles grisâtres des maisons, et les jalousies d'un rouge foncé, ajoutent à ce que le paysage a de mélancolique; et quelques bâtiments, fraîchement reblanchis, font ressortir encore les couleurs sombres des maisons environnantes.*<sup>102</sup> Within, the door gives access to a short hall running the width of the house, from which open one or two rooms. At Ouro Preto where the streets are unusually abrupt and the inclines uncommonly severe, stone doorsteps are frequently encountered.

One house of this type at Ouro Preto has a definitely archaeological interest. In this

97. *Prodigiosa lagoa descuberta nas Congonhas das minas do Sabará, que tem curado a varias pessoas dos achaques, que nesta relação se expõem*, Lisbon, 1749.

98. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 239. He excepts, however, S. Luiz.

99. This overhang is called the *beiral*. Those of Diamantina are illustrated in Anibal Mattos, *Monumentos históricos, e religiosos de Minas Geraes*, pp. 465-472.

100. Occasionally *rótulas*, or wooden bars, were used, with solid wooden shutters on the inside. At Diamantina there were balconies enclosed in lattices as at Olinda.

101. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 119.

102. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 138-140. Saint-Hilaire counted some two thousand of these houses at Ouro Preto.

dwelling (Rua de Sta. Efigênia, no. 56) there are traces of Manueline decoration in the curious late Gothic arches of the doors and windows (Fig. 37). The stone of the original is, however, replaced by wood in this humble Mineiro dwelling. One is tempted to ascribe this house, the only surviving instance in Minas Gerais of direct Manueline borrowing,<sup>103</sup> to a nostalgia on the part of some colonial Mineiro for his family home in the north of Portugal.

Be that as it may, there is throughout Minas a general influence of sixteenth century Portuguese domestic building upon the early houses of the *capitania*. There are many examples, particularly in the Ouro Preto region, of lateral outdoor stairs leading to living apartments built over an only partly subterranean cellar, a type of construction common in the sixteenth century in the Portuguese Minho. Another instance of this influence in Minas Gerais is the tendency to build long, low houses in contrast to the high, square houses of the northern coastal cities.<sup>104</sup>

As the century progressed a third stage of house building occurred, which also finds its counterpart in the history of local church construction. It is represented by the gradual introduction of stone masonry in the houses built around the middle of the century. We find now a new tendency to place the doorway in the center of the *façade* instead of at the end as well as to give the new door and window frames of Italcolumi stone a more architectural treatment. In an example from the town of Sta. Luzia<sup>105</sup> the moldings employed are similar to those of the first and simplest category of church portals (Fig. 34). Regular cornices now appeared, generally of plaster, in accordance with the old Portuguese rural convention. Sometimes, however, the new cornices, as in the great house of Bernardo Guimarães on the Alto das Cabeças at Ouro Preto, were confined to the street *façades*. In this general movement toward the enrichment of the house exterior, angle pilasters began to be used. There is even an instance at Sabará in a house of this category of an elaborate Baroque treatment of a doorway, with volutes at the sides and rich carving over the pediment (Rua Dom Pedro II). This, in general, is also the type of construction found at the colonial countryhouses of Minas Gerais, such as the Fazenda do Borda do Campo near Barbacena. But since Minas was not in the eighteenth century an agricultural country,<sup>106</sup> such houses are extremely rare in the territory.

A further step in the evolution of the Mineiro dwelling was the introduction of the second story (Fig. 17). At Mariana these buildings took the form very frequently of long blocks of attached houses, patterned no doubt after the similar wings of the palaces of the governors and bishops, and the seminary of the town.<sup>107</sup> Wood balconies, like those of the northern Brazilian towns such as S. Cristovão do Sergipe, were favored for the upper story at Sabará; there is a fine instance of pierced stone work at Mariana. But, outside of a few examples at Ouro Preto, wrought-iron balconies were avoided in Minas.<sup>108</sup>

103. The *pelourinhos* were of course designed in the current eighteenth century style.

104. These being derived from both Dutch and Lisbon influences. For a detailed discussion of these houses, see my article, *O caracter da arquitetura colonial do nordeste*. Small houses of the general Portuguese-Mineiro type, are, however, to be found all over Brazil.

105. Located immediately in front of the *matriz*.

106. Minas Gerais and Ouro Preto had not learned the lesson of S. Paulo, where, the mines failing earlier, the inhabitants had by the mid-eighteenth century turned to the soil (Mario Neme, *Piracicaba no século XVIII*, in *Rev. do arq. mun. S. Paulo*, XLV, March, 1938, p. 141).

Nor did colonial Ouro Preto possess any additional in-

dustries of value. Saint-Hilaire mentions the powder factory (not established until 1816. *Rev. arch. pub. min.*, III, 1898, pp. 779-781) and the pottery kilns. But neither according to him was a success (*op. cit.*, I, p. 150).

107. That of the governors was rebuilt in 1749 (Trindade, *op. cit.*, I, p. 150). That of the bishops, formerly the Chácara da Olaria, was occupied from 1753 to 1927. It is now the Gymnasio Arquidiocesano.

108. Delicate balconies of the French and Italian type are to be found in Belém, in the squares around the cathedral, and at S. Luiz de Maranhão, where many of the houses in the Rua Candido Mendes are derived from the Italianate type of palace which Ludovice brought to the Portuguese court.

In the year 1784 the *fermier-général* João Roiz Macêdo completed his great house at the bridge of S. José in Ouro Preto.<sup>109</sup> It was the most splendid private residence in Minas at the time, a building which could rank with the great *sobrados* of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. Yet in its construction it differs little from the humbler houses of the town (Fig. 38). It is a low rectangular structure built of the local stone. Only the street façade, of nine bays, is given a monumental treatment. At the angles there are pilasters in two stories. The frames of the doors and windows are sculptured in the customary way, yet with richer detail than in any other house we have studied in Minas. The upper story was originally equipped with delicate iron balustrades, in imitation, probably, of the town houses of the coast.

The side and rear façades, however, preserve the old Portuguese rural type of decoration, which even in Lisbon itself has always held its own in competition with houses of a more formal design. The windows have the simplest stone enframements; there are no balconies. The heavy stone cornices which appear in fragmental form only at the angles of the building are elsewhere translated into plaster. Another Portuguese rural touch is the delightful third-story *mirador* above the sloping tile roof. Here again the traditional plaster cornice is applied. A detail of the vast rear chimney, which appears almost as a survival from the Moorish architecture of the mother-country, brings out the unpretentious character of this construction. Within, the palace contains a great stairway of stone with once again the ubiquitous plaster combinations in the old Portuguese style.

On the whole, the interiors of the Mineiro houses of this type were far from uncomfortable. John Mawe, the English traveler, relates: "The houses of the higher classes in Villa Rica are much more convenient and better furnished than any I saw in Rio de Janeiro and St. Paulo's [*sic*], and are for the most part kept in the exactest order. Their beds seemed to me so elegant as to deserve a particular description."<sup>110</sup> The romantic eighteenth century poet of Vila Rica, Tomaz Antonio Gonzaga, mentions in a poem the elaborate interiors of Mineiro palaces, their walls hung in satin, brocades, and rich curtains, and with crystal chandeliers in paneled ceilings.<sup>111</sup>

#### THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Monsieur de Saint-Hilaire has complained that Ouro Preto possessed no public parks or promenade.<sup>112</sup> Yet this was the only town in Minas Gerais in which there is evidence of definite Baroque town planning. The laying out of squares and broad avenues in such a mountainous region, where towns grew up wherever there was gold, regardless of the site's relation to other factors, was naturally a difficult undertaking.<sup>113</sup> Such, however, was the

109. Called the Casa dos Contos, or Accounting House, because in 1802 it was purchased by the Junta de Fazenda and used for such a purpose. It now houses the post and telegraph offices of Ouro Preto.

110. *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

111. *Op. cit.*, Lyra XXII.

112. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 150.

113. Two similar *praças* on either side of the new cathedral, and connected by handsome streets, were laid out by the Portuguese architect José Pinto Alpoim in the flatter Mariana during the years immediately following 1746. In that year D. João V had authorized the return to the senate of that town of the lands upon which the new squares were arranged, lands which had formerly been the grazing grounds of the royal dragoons' horses (*Provisão do 2 de maio, 1746*, "Avizos, proviões, e cartas regias dirigidas aos governadores das capitanias de São Paulo, Minas, e Rio de Janeiro, 1704 a 1772," Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, M 1634, L 100, ff 89-90). The

order reads: *que fação logo planta da nova Povoação e legendo sitio para praça espaçosa, e demarcando as Ruas, que fiquem direitas e com bastante largura sem atenção a conveniências particulares, ou edificios que contra esta Ordem se achem feitos no referido Sitio dos pastos; porque se deve antes por a formuzura das Ruas e cordeadas estas se demarquem Sítios em que se edifiquem os edificios públicos; a depois se aforem as braças de terra, que os moradores pedirem, preferindo sempre os q̃u já tiverem o forado no caso em que seja necessario de demolirsêlhe parte de algum edificio para observar a boa Ordem, que fica estabelecida na cirtuação da Cidade, e sendo justo satisfazersêlhe o prejuizo será pelos rendimentos da Camara e primeiro que se entre na demarcação da Praça, Ruas, e edificios públicos so vos fará a planta prezente . . . que todos os edificios se hão de fazer a face das ruas, cordeadas as parêdesem linha recta, e havendo comodidade para quintais das cazas devem estes ficar pela parte detrás dellas e não para a parte das ruas em que as Cazas tiverem as suas entradas etc.* For the opinion of the bishop D.

accomplishment of the citizens of Ouro Preto, who before the close of the eighteenth century had built on a ridge between the two parishes of the town a great square with government buildings at either end and radiating roads leading to the various centers of mining in the region.

There is no record of when the town's chief *praça* was actually laid out. Probably it was evolved from a primitive market place of the days of the town's foundation. In 1737 it was already lined with houses and was being used for the festivities of the carnival and the celebration of events in Portugal.<sup>114</sup>

The earlier of the two official buildings now extant on the square is the residence of the colonial governors at the west end.<sup>115</sup> On the twentieth of August, 1738, a *carta regia* of D. João V at Lisbon ordered the construction of a suitable building for the "governor, commissary, gold intendency, magazine, and secretariate within a single edifice."<sup>116</sup> For the work he assigned 20,000 *cruzados*.<sup>117</sup> A letter of the governor Gomes Freire de Andrade from Vila Rica the twenty-ninth of August, 1742, reveals that the work had not been commenced and that the former palace of the governors of Minas in Ouro Preto, the Casa da Fundação, which had fallen into ruin in 1739, had been constructed of wood and rubble.<sup>118</sup> In the same communication he urges the king to appoint a Portuguese military engineer whom he had discovered in Rio de Janeiro, the *sargento-mór* José Pinto Alpoim,<sup>119</sup> as architect of the new building, which he undertook to construct for the sum of 46,000 *cruzados*. In a royal letter of March 16, 1743 the new arrangement was authorized.<sup>120</sup> The stonework of the new palace was carried out by the distinguished Ouro Preto contractors and builders, Manoel Francisco Lisbôa and João Domingos Veiga,<sup>121</sup> with the assistance of José Pinto de Azevedo. The palace was first occupied in 1748 by the governor José Antonio Freire de Andrade.<sup>122</sup>

Manoel da Cruz, see Trindade, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 151-152. The town prison was also constructed in relation to these new *praças*.

114. Feu de Carvalho, *Casa das audiências, camara, e cadêa*, p. 293. The square at this time also contained the Casa de Misericórdia and a now suppressed chapel of St. Anne.

115. The royal governors already possessed a country palace in the nearby town of Cachoeira do Campo. The original building erected under the Conde de Assumar in 1731 was an extremely simple structure with a patio and fountain, but provided with sumptuous gardens and a Portuguese cascade. In 1779 the governor D. Antonio de Noronha added the military barracks for the royal dragoons, the regiment whose horses grazed at Cachoeira after the conversion of the former grazing lands at Mariana into the two squares mentioned above. The country palace at Cachoeira became more and more popular with the governors of Minas as the century progressed and the Portuguese rule became steadily more resented in the cities of the *capitania*.

The former royal property now belongs to the Salesian fathers who have completely remodeled the buildings for the fashionable boy's school of Dom Bosco which they conduct (Padre Afonso Henriques de Figueiredo Lemos, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-104).

116. Eurico Tavora and others, *op. cit.*, p. 690.

117. Since in 1695 the Portuguese *cruzado* was valued at 3 shillings, 6 d., the sum assigned would equal approximately \$16,800.

118. Eurico Tavora and others, *op. cit.*, p. 690.

119. The architect is sometimes called *brigadeiro*, in reference to his calling of military engineer. Each colonial center in Brazil had its quota of these specialists in connection with their fortification (Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*). Fur-

ther mention of the architect's real profession is to be found in the epic poem of José Basilio da Gama, *O Uruguay* (first published at Rio de Janeiro, 1811), canto I, lines 100-108:

*Vêa o grande Alpoim. Este o primeiro  
Ensinou entre nos, por que caminho  
Se eleva aos Ceos a curva, e grave bomba  
Prenhe de fogo: e com que força do alto  
Abate os tectos da Cidade, e lança  
Do roto seio envolta em fumo a mórte  
Dignos do grande Pai ambos os filhos.  
Justos Ceos!*

The poet then commemorates the architect's son, Vasco Fernandes Pinto Alpoim, shipwrecked on a fatal voyage from the Banda Oriental de la Plata to Rio de Janeiro (lines 108-115).

120. Eurico Tavora and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 690-691.

121. Feu de Carvalho states that the contract was signed by Alpoim and Lisbôa as early as 1741 (*Documentos históricos. II Construção do palácio do governo em Ouro Preto*, in *Rev. arch. min.*, VI, 1901, pp. 569-591). He adds that Manuel Francisco Lisbôa, as *mestre das obras*, had also the assistance of the stone masons Luiz Fernandes Calheiros and Antônio Ferreira de Carvalho; that Caetano da Silva o Ruivo was in 1741 awarded the contract for the portico of the palace. In 1741 a letter was received from Lisbon giving full instructions for the decoration of the building. The doors were to be painted grey and green, with *fechaduras inglesas*, or English hardware. The woods, canela preta, upiana, licorama, and guapeva were to be used. The last document involving the palace of the governors is of 1747. On the eighth of May, however, one Manuel Gonçalves was contracted to paint the *pelourinho* standing in the square before the palace, which in 1867 was removed to make way for the present monument in honor of Tiradentes.

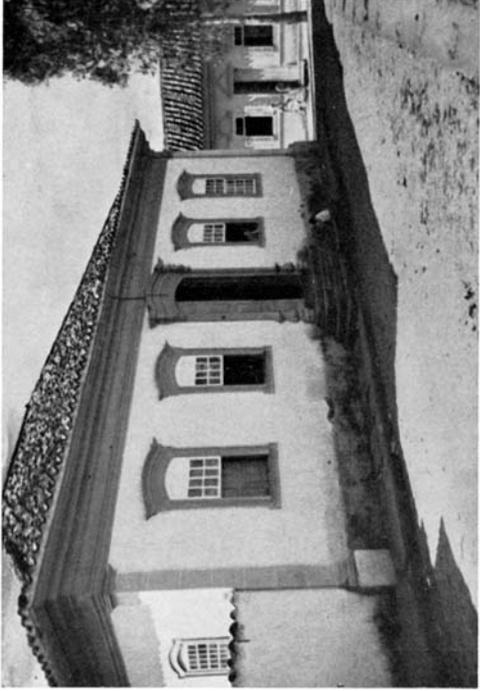


FIG. 34—*S. Luzia (Minas Gerais): Private House*

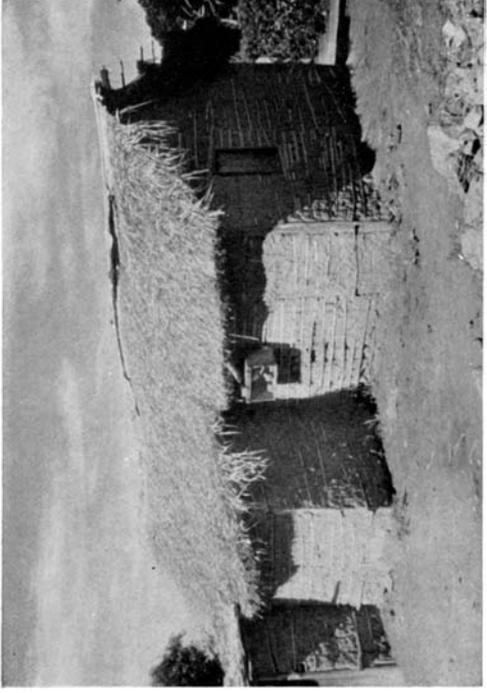


FIG. 35—*Santa Cruz (Rio de Janeiro): Casa de Sape*

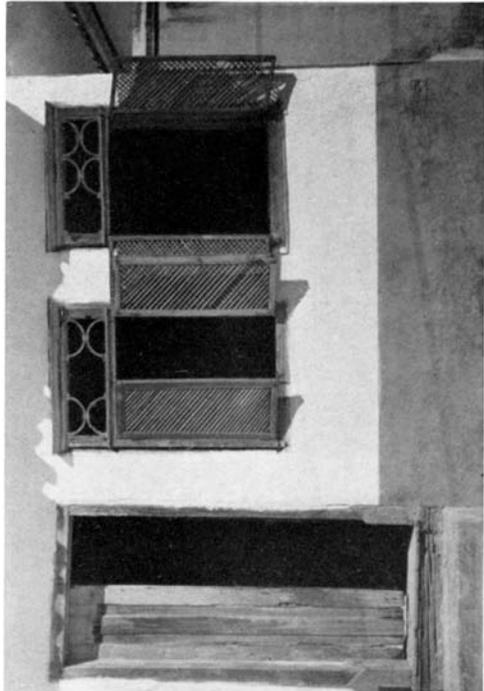


FIG. 36—*S. Luzia (Minas Gerais): Private House*

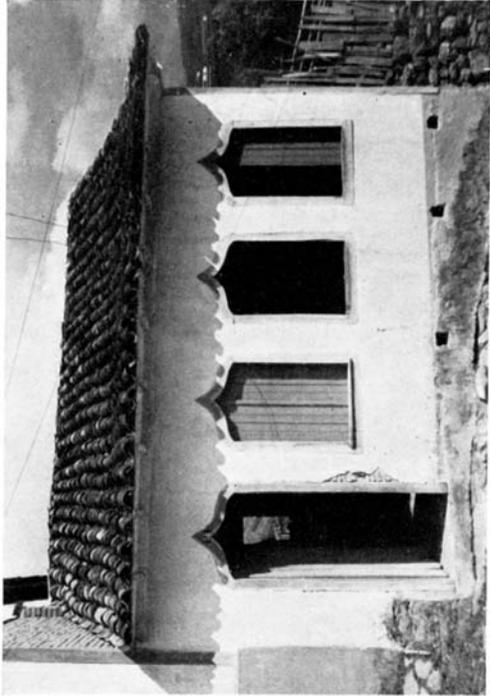


FIG. 37—*Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): House  
in Rua S. Efigênia*



FIG. 38—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): *Casa dos Contos*



FIG. 39—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): *Governor's Palace*

The building is what might be expected of a successful military architect. Foreign travelers have always condemned its architectural pretences and ridiculed its toy fort appearance.<sup>123</sup> Built on irregular, sloping ground, its plan is composed of four rectangular bastions set above a lofty fortified substructure. It is approached by a broad angle ramp. Screen walls connect the corner bastions, forming a narrow central court with a stair leading to a gallery along the classic lines of the Alcázar of Toledo.<sup>124</sup>

Appended to the south façade there is a delightful small chapel preceded by a vaulted stairway (Fig. 39). In its elongated façade, its elegantly sculptured doors and windows, and in its pedimental arrangement, the chapel represents a distinct break with local Mineiro traditions of religious church building. It reflects rather the style of the Portuguese court in its provincial application, as at the great castle of Estremoz (Alentejo), a royal construction of the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Distinctly more successful, however, was the final building at the other end of the square—the present Penitentiary of Ouro Preto. This site, contiguous to that of the Carmelite church, had always been occupied by a kind of senate building.<sup>125</sup> As early as 1711, the year of the town's establishment, there was a provisional hall hastily adapted to legislative purposes by the governor D. Antonio de Albuquerque.<sup>126</sup> A temporary wooden construction, it was twice ordered repaired, but the work for some reason was never done.<sup>127</sup>

In 1721 a *carta regia* from Lisbon instructed that throughout Minas buildings should be constructed in each important town which should combine the functions of a town hall and prison—*Casa das Audiencias, Camara, e Cadêa*. Two years later a new wooden structure was erected on the principal square with a fine wooden clock tower with an outside stair, the work being in the hands of a local builder, Antonio Moreira Duarte. The eighteenth century Mineiro poet Claudio Manoel da Costa has left an elaborate description of this, the second building.<sup>128</sup> It survived with many changes until the year 1784, when a third structure was undertaken.<sup>129</sup>

122. He was the brother of the great Gomes Freire de Andrade, conde Bobadela, who in 1735 became governor of Minas Gerais, after having already served as governor of the *capitania geral* of Rio de Janeiro. In 1752 Gomes Freire named his brother, José Antônio, provisional governor of Minas during his own absence in the Banda Oriental as arbiter of boundaries. In 1763 the great governor, Gomes Freire, was killed at the taking of the Colonia do Sacramento (Diogo de Vasconcellos, *Historia média de Minas Geraes*, pp. 276–281).

123. Saint-Hilaire, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 144–145: *ce prétendu palais présente une masse de bâtimens fort lourds et d'un mauvais goût, dont la forme est celle d'un carré long, et à laquelle on a voulu donner quelque ressemblance avec un château-fort*. The author of *L'empire du Brésil*, of 1858, wrote: *L'Hôtel du gouverneur, connu sous le nom de Palacio, est l'édifice le plus considérable; ce n'est qu'une masse de batiments lourds et de mauvais goût* (p. 162). Finally, Captain Richard F. Burton (*Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil*, London, 1869, 2 vols.): "The Government House formerly accomodated the Gold Intendency in the lower part; the front looks like a 'chateau-fort,' a dwarf curtain connects two trifling bastions of the Vauban age, and its popguns used to overawe the exceedingly populous town" (I, p. 361).

124. The building now houses the great Ouro Preto Escola de Minas, the primary source of mining instruction in Brazil.

125. Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica. Casa das audiencias, camara, e cadêa*, p. 272.

126. The first governor, 1710–1713.

127. The following history of the building is all extracted from the above mentioned publication of Dr. Feu de Carvalho, the great Mineiro archivist.

128. *Villa Rica* (Ouro Preto, 1897), canto II, lines 41–73: . . . *Este padrão [the pelourinho] no meio se colloca Da regia praça: quasi os Céus provoca Soberba torre, em que demarca o dia Voluvel ponto, e o sol ao centro guia.*

*Do ferro pau já sobe, e já se estende Magnifico edificio [the prison] onde pretende A deusa da justica honrar o assento; Aqui das penas no fatal tormento A liberdade prende ao delinquente, E arrastando a miserrima corrente Em um só ponto de equilibrio alcança Todo o fiel da solida balança. Da sala superior tecto dourado Se destina ao publico senado Que o governo economico dispensa.*

*Lavra artifice destro sem detença Os marmores cavados; e de polidas E altas paredes já se veem erguidas As magestosas salas, que recolhem Regios ministros, que os tributos colhem, E em respectivos tribunaes decentes Dão as providas leis; talvez presentes Tem Itamonte já no claro auspicio De um, e outro magnifico edificio As que espera lavrar liquidas fontes*

This new building, the present edifice, was designed by the then governor D. Luiz da Cunha e Menezes,<sup>130</sup> an architectural amateur of distinction, and largely carried out by Francisco Pinto de Abreu.<sup>131</sup> In 1788, the work was suspended on the departure of the unpopular governor,<sup>132</sup> but two years later it was resumed under his successor, the Visconde de Barbacena.<sup>133</sup> The structure was not entirely completed until 1869.

The building as it exists today does not conform exactly to the original design of D. Luiz de Menezes, for in 1846 the stair and terrace before the double portico were altered and a fountain was added. There is, however, an early lithograph, which, despite certain inaccuracies of proportion, shows the original appearance of the civic building (Fig. 42).<sup>134</sup>

It is the only edifice in Minas Gerais constructed entirely of masonry without a plaster covering. The building is rectangular in plan with a central courtyard,<sup>135</sup> the principal

*Que vomitam delfins, e regias pontes  
Que se hão de sustentar sobre a firmeza  
De grossos arcos: da maior riqueza  
Presentes tem talvez os santuarios  
Em que se hão de exgottar tantos erarios;  
Onde Roma ha de ver em gloria rara,  
Que debalde aos seus templos dispertára  
A grandexa, o valor e a preeminencia.*

129. In 1745 a contract for a new building was awarded by the governor Gomes Freire to the two men in charge of the work at the palace, Alpoim and Manuel Francisco Lisboa. The building, however, was never carried out.

130. There have been many attributions of the present building to the architect Alpoim, probably because he did prepare a drawing for the structure, which, however, was not accepted. The then governor, D. Luiz da Cunha e Menezes, who served from 1783 to 1788, mentions this in a letter, claiming for himself the authorship, to Martinho de Mello e Castro, dated September 6, 1786: *conforme a sua planta e prospecto incluso que eu fiz pella minha propria mão, e lho dei que por este modo e em tudo hé muito diferente do que fez e lhe vendeu o sobredito Alpoim* (Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica . . .*, p. 311).

131. He built in particular the tower and a part of the great audience chamber (*ibid.*, p. 316).

132. The governor, violent and conservative to a degree unusual even in Portuguese officials of the colonial period, had aroused the animosity of Minas Gerais. It is significant that the great conspiracy of the Inconfidentes, which broke out just after his administration (1789), was led by men driven beyond endurance by the relentless attitude of Dom Luiz. His actions in the course of erecting the civic building had called forth universal condemnation. Not content with convict labor, he had pressed into enforced service all the renegade negroes, wastrels, and vagrants of the *capitania*. He had sequestered the oxen and carts of the citizenry, even those of the pilgrimage shrine of Matto-sinhos, which to the devout Mineiros had appeared an unforgivable sacrilege. These acts were detailed and protested in the bitter anonymous mock-epic often attributed to Claudio Manuel da Costa (*Cartas chilenas, treze, em que o poeta Critello conta a Dorotheo os factos de Fanfarrão Minezio, governador do Chile*). The poem was not published until 1863, when an edition appeared in Rio de Janeiro. It was probably composed in 1786.

In the Third Letter, entitled *Em que se conta as injusticas e violencias que Fanfarrão executou por causa de uma cadêa, a que deu principio*, there occurs a curious satirical description of the governor's intentions and of the building itself which deserves to be presented along with the description by Claudio Manuel of the second building:

*Pretende, Dorotheo, o nosso Chefe  
Erguer uma Cadêa magestosa,  
Que possa escurecer a velha fama  
Da torre de Babel, e mais dos grandes*

*Custosos edificios que fizeram  
Para sepulchros seus os reis do Egypto.  
Talvez, presado Amigo, que imagine,  
Que neste monumento se conserve  
Eterna a sua gloria; bem que os povos  
Ingratos não consagrem ricos bustos,  
Nem montadas estatuas ao seu nome.  
Desiste, louco Chefe, dessa empreza;  
Um soberbo edificio levantado  
Sobre ossos de innocentos, construido  
Com lagrimas dos pobres, nunca serve  
De gloria ao seu autor, mas sim de opprobrio.  
Desenha o nosso Chefe, sobre a banca,  
Desta forte cadêa o grande risco,  
A proporção de genio, e não das forcas  
Da terra decadente, aonde habita.  
Ora pois, doce Amigo vou pintar-te  
Ao menos o formoso frontispicio:  
Verás, se pede machina tamanha  
Humilde povoado, aonde os grandes  
Morão em casas de madeira a pique.*

*Em cima de espaçosa escadaria,  
Se forma do edificio a nobre entrada,  
Por dous soberbos arcos dividida,  
Por fóra destes se levantão  
Trez jonicas columnas, que se fermão  
Sobre quadradas bases, aonde assenta  
Uma formosa regular varanda;  
Seus baluartes são das albas pedras,  
Que brandos ferros cortão sem trabalho.  
Debaixo da cornija, ou projectura,  
Estão as armas deste Reino abertas  
No liso centro de vistosa tarja.  
Do meio desta fronte para os lados  
Vistosas galerias de janellas,  
A quem enfeitão as douradas grades.*

*E sabes, Dorotheo, quem edifica  
Esta grande cadêa? Não, não sabes;  
Pois ouve, que t'ó digo: um pobre Chefe,  
Que na Côte habitou em umas casas  
Em que já mem se abrião as janellas.  
E sabes para quem? Tambem não sabes:  
Pois eu tambem t'ó digo: para uns negros  
Que vivem (quando muito) em vis cabanas,  
Fugidos dos senhores, lá nos matos . . . (lines 66-114)*

133. D. Luiz Antonio Furtado de Mendonça, visconde de Barbacena, tenth governor of Minas Gerais, 1788-1797.

134. H. Burmeister, *Landschaftliche Bilder Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1853, pl. 9.

135. The very nature of the building and the attitude of the present administration render it impossible for any but an official personage to conduct a thorough study of its interior.



FIG. 40—*S. Amaro da Purificação (Bahia): Casa da Câmara*



FIG. 41—*Mariana (Minas Gerais): The Aljube*

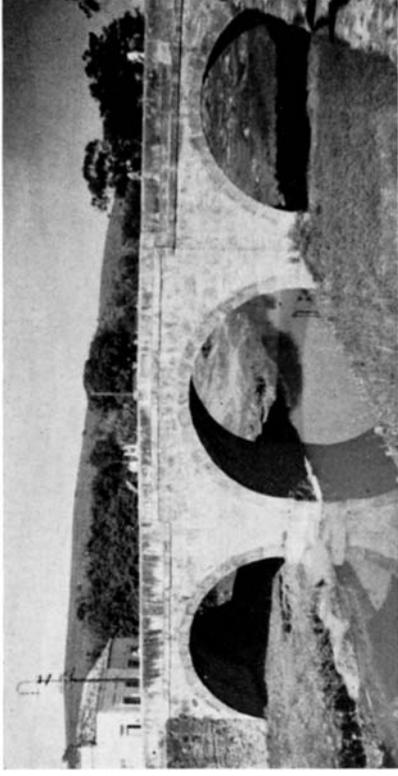


FIG. 43—S. João d'El-Rei (Minas Gerais): Upper Bridge



FIG. 44—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Ponte de Ouro Preto

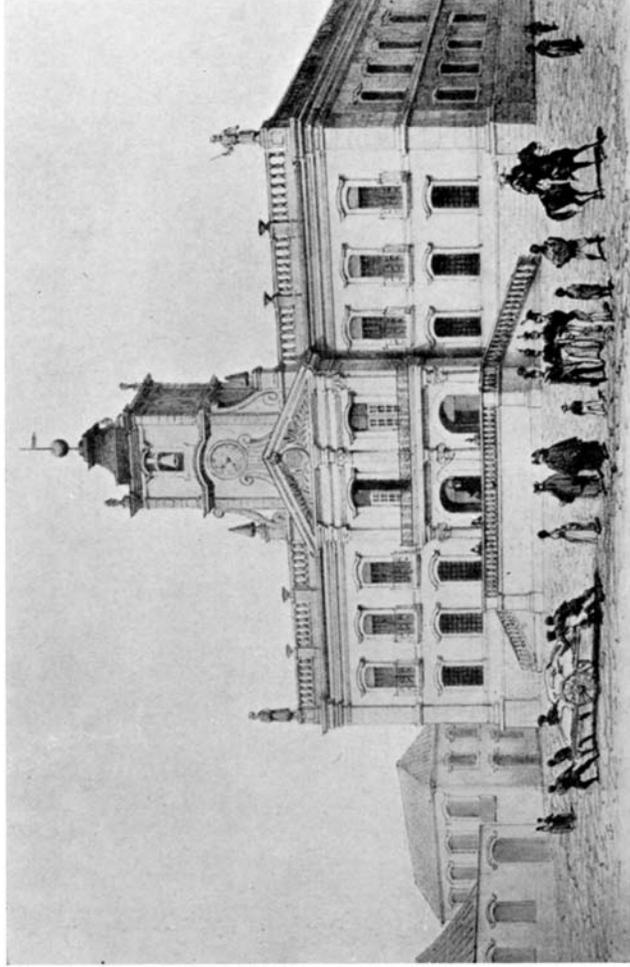


FIG. 42—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Penitenciária

façade, of ten bays, slightly projecting. Cornices, stringcourses, and balustrades are throughout well carved. The building has an air of formal distinction which sets it apart from most of the architecture of the former *capitania*.

A recent writer has pointed out the marked resemblance between the civic building at Ouro Preto and the central building of the Campidoglio group in Rome.<sup>136</sup> The very fact that the Brazilian structure was designed by an amateur of the Italophile Lisbon court temporarily absent from Portugal would point in that direction. Yet we must remember that the central tower, which is perhaps the most striking point of comparison,<sup>137</sup> was a regular feature of such buildings in Brazil. The *casa da camara* of Sto. Amaro da Purificação in the Bahian Recôncavo, built at the very beginning of the century (1710), displays such a tower containing a clock (Fig. 40). The general lines of these two buildings erected for the same purpose are essentially the same. The motive of the ground story *loggia*<sup>138</sup> at Sto. Amaro is repeated in the simple arched doorways at Ouro Preto. The low pitched roofs of both buildings are masked by balustrades. The *casa da camara* of Mariana, which dates from 1756, reveals a simpler statement of the problem, a veritable reversion to the old lines and decorative system of the north of Portugal, but the central bell tower is still the feature of the principal façade.<sup>139</sup> This civic building of Ouro Preto, then, though related to Michelangelo's capitol at Rome, still reflects in its façade the native traditions of Brazil.

A final public building of distinction in Minas Gerais is the Aljube,<sup>140</sup> or ecclesiastical prison of the town of Mariana, begun in 1752. Once again we are impressed by the informality of the structure (Fig. 41). The virtual replica of a private palace in the northern Portuguese town of Guimarães,<sup>141</sup> the prison of Mariana shares with the Macêdo house at Ouro Preto the rich angle pilasters and door and window frames carved of local stone. The shell cartouches of the pediments of the upper windows recall the delicate sculpture of the third category of Mineiro church doors. But the prison is in its design essentially a private house put to public purposes.<sup>142</sup> In this respect it is characteristic of the simple rural tradition of northern Portugal, which, brought to Brazil, became inseparably associated with the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais.

136. Léon Kochnitzky, *Ouro-Preto: or noir*, in *La renaissance*, XIX (Oct.-Dec., 1936), pp. 39-46.

137. But the resemblance between the two buildings is a very superficial one, involving merely the general mass and the tower. The building at Ouro Preto lacks the projecting end pavilions, the single portal, the colossal order of pilasters of the Roman building. On the other hand, Michelangelo's palace is without the projecting central member and the pediment of D. Luiz's structure. The design of the two towers is strikingly different.

In view of these facts it is difficult indeed to follow Kochnitzky's reasoning that *l'imitation du Capitole de Rome est flagrante* (*ibid.*, p. 42). I have already discussed this point in my section of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, 1937 (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), item 408.

138. Another very interesting example of the ground story *loggia* occurs at the colonial *fazenda* of Jurujuba near Rio de Janeiro discussed by Paulo T. Barreto (*Uma casa de fazenda em Jurujuba*, in *Rev. serv. patr. hist. art. nac.*, I, no. 1, 1937, pp. 69-77). The motive itself is probably derived in Brazil from the distinctive façade treatment of the monastic orders discussed above (note 82).

139. The exterior decorative staircase which this building in company with the civic building of Ouro Preto possesses may also show the influence of the north of Brazil (though the motive is common enough in the town halls of northern Portugal, for example that of Vila do

Conde). At Recife the very important palace of Vrijburg, built by Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1637-1644) and largely destroyed in the Dutch defence of that city in 1645, possessed such a stairway in its central corps. This part of the building survived through the eighteenth century to be lithographed for plate 28 of James Henderson's *A History of the Brazil; comprising its geography, commerce, colonization, aboriginal inhabitants, &c., &c., &c.*, London, 1821. An engraving by Alès (F. Denis, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 292) representing the town of Belém clearly shows a similar stair on what appears to be a public building near the fort. The same arrangement was an important part of the Governor's Palace at Salvador, constructed in 1663 and torn down in 1890, which is recorded in an old photograph at the Pinacoteca e Museu do Estado da Bahia, at Salvador. A curious exterior stair is placed at the side of the *matriz* of Bom Jesus in the Bahia de Todos os Santos.

140. The plan for the prison has been attributed to Alpoim, who drew up the general plan for the new town of Mariana (D. de Vasconcellos, *Historia media de Minas Geraes*, p. 278).

141. The palace of the families Lobo-Machado. It is illustrated in *A arte em Portugal*, no. 11, Guimarães, Oporto, 1930, pl. 43.

142. As also were the gold intendencies of Sabará and S. João d El-Rei.

## THE BRIDGES AND FOUNTAINS

Through most of the towns of Minas Gerais flow a series of mountain streams: at Mariana, the Ribeirão do Carmo; at Sabará, the Rio das Velhas; at S. João d'El-Rei, the Rio das Mortes; at Ouro Preto, a whole series of tiny *córregos*, whose banks are sharp declines. These rivulets were at first crossed by crude wooden spans,<sup>143</sup> which have since disappeared but which are mentioned in the contracts for new bridges. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries some fifty stone bridges were erected to replace the older ones of wood.<sup>144</sup> At Ouro Preto, the capital, during the seventeenth forties and fifties, five bridges were constructed of such excellent masonry that they have scarcely ever been repaired and in no case have they been replaced.<sup>145</sup>

Simple spans of two and three arches, they reflect the sober eighteenth century bridges of northern Portugal. In general they are all smaller editions of the celebrated bridge of the town of Amarante near Oporto on the river Tâmega,<sup>146</sup> constructed between the years 1781 and 1791. A fine example of the Mineiro bridge is the upper span at S. João d'El-Rei (Fig. 43).<sup>147</sup> A peculiarity of these bridges are the graceful convex parapets with their side benches of stone surmounted by crosses (Fig. 44).<sup>148</sup>

A final characteristic of the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais, and one of the most delightful, is the large number of wall fountains scattered throughout the Mineiro towns. An English traveler who visited Ouro Preto in 1828 was amazed at the number and variety of "the public fountains ornamented with sculpture, from which brazen dolphins and other figures are continually spouting streams of pure water."<sup>149</sup> And at Tiradentes he admired "a large fountain, of antique structure, and excellent pure water, which the inhabitants prize very highly, and call it by way of eminence, Chafariz."<sup>150</sup> At Ouro Preto there are still preserved sixteen such street fountains, while at Mariana there are three, and Sabará possesses two. Caeté<sup>151</sup> and Tiradentes have one apiece. All, with the exception of the last,<sup>152</sup> are of the wall fountain type.

These *chafarizes* were ordered constructed by the Mineiro senates between 1724 and 1820. At Ouro Preto bids were entered by such distinguished builders as Manoel Francisco

143. Alexander Caldcleugh describes a wooden bridge at Congonhas (*op. cit.*, II, p. 225).

144. Francisco Sant'Anna, *As pontes do estado de Minas Geraes*, Rio de Janeiro, 1929, p. 8.

145. These bridges are:

- i. Ponte de S. José or dos Contos. Bridge of a single arch constructed in 1744 by Antonio Leite Esquerdo. 4,000 *cruz.* MR. 150.
- ii. Ponte do Padre Faria. Bridge of a single span built by Antônio Fernandes Barros in 1750.
- iii. Ponte do Caquende or Rosário. Bridge of one arch erected by Antonio da Silva Herdeyro in 1753 on the plans of an unknown architect. 11,000 *cruz.* MR. 300.
- iv. Ponte de Antônio Dias. Bridge of two arches built in 1755-1756 by Manuel Francisco Lisboa. 11,000 *cruz.* MR. 60.
- v. Ponte de Ouro Preto or da Pedra. Tiny bridge of one arch constructed in 1756 by Francisco Esteves. MR. 580.

Of later date is:

- vi. Ponte da Barra. Bridge of two arches built by *capitão* José Ferreira Santiago in 1806. MR. 3,000. Cf. Feu de Carvalho, *Reminiscencias de Villa Rica. Pontes célebres*, and *Pontes e chafarizes de Villa Rica de Ouro Preto*.

146. The architect was Francisco Tomas da Motta, of Adáupe, in the Braga district.

147. Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich Phil. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien auf Befehl Seiner Majestät Maximilian Joseph I König von Baiern in den Jahren 1817 bis 1821 gemacht und beschrieben*, München, 1823, p. 317: *Eine Menge am Abhange zerstreuter Landhäuser führen zu der soliden steinernen Brücke . . .*; J. C. R. Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, *Diccionario geographico historico e descriptivo do imperio do Brazil*, Paris, 1863, vol. II, p. 561: *dividida em duas partes quasi eguaes pelos ribeiros Tijuco e Barreiro, que reunidos num alveo espaçoso correm por entre dous soberbos caes de pedra, com duas pontes da mesma materia que não serião indignas d'um grande rio*.

148. The cross in Minas took the place of S. João Nepomuceno, so popular in the Portuguese cities as a protection against disasters on bridges.

149. R. Walsh, *op. cit.*, II, p. 196.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 90. *Chafariz*, however, is not a term of especial distinction. It is the regular Portuguese word for a fountain in which the water descends as contrasted with one in which the water ascends (*repúxo*).

151. The fountain is dated 1800.

152. This fountain, dated 1749 and dedicated to St. Joseph, is of the rare free-standing type with a trough of water behind it for washing.

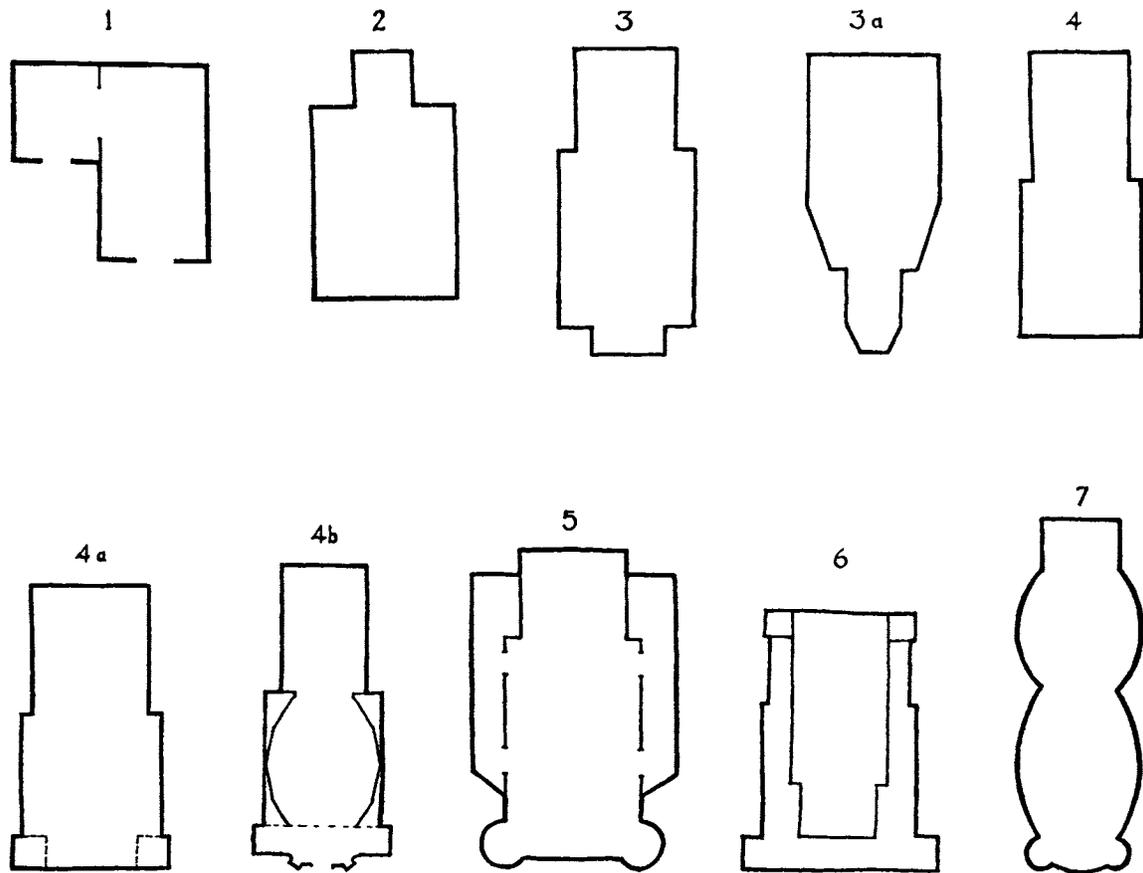


FIG. 45—Colonial Church and Chapel Plans in Minas Gerais  
Diagrammatic Drawings, Not to Scale

Lisbôa and João Domingos Veiga, while a number of lesser personalities were also awarded contracts.<sup>153</sup>

The method of construction of these fountains follows that of the primitive chapels, the public buildings and houses of the region. At first the wall fountains were simple constructions of rubble covered with plaster. The undated *chafariz* in the Rua das Cabeças at Ouro Preto (Fig. 7), now dismantled, represents the early style of fountain decoration in Minas.<sup>154</sup> The simple enframement of pilasters, arched cornice, and diminutive obelisks is typical of the façade decoration of the first chapels of the region. The fountain itself is

153. A list of the datable *chafarizes* of Ouro Preto:

- i. Chafariz da Casa da Camara. Built in 1724 by Antônio Silva. 1500 gold *oitavas*. It is now demolished.
- ii. Chafariz de Henrique Lopes. Begun in 1739 by Luiz Fernandes Calheiros; completed in 1747 by Teodósio Ferreira Lopes. 127 gold *oitavas*.
- iii. Chafariz do alto do Padre Faria. Built in 1742 by João Domingos Veiga. MR. 400.
- iv. Chafariz do fundo do Padre Faria. Built in 1744 by João Domingos Veiga. 2,000 *cruz*. MR. 80.
- v. Chafariz da praça de Vila Rica. Constructed in 1744 by João Domingos Veiga. MR. 1,595.
- vi. Chafariz da ponte de S. José or dos Contos. Built in 1745 by João Domingos Veiga. MR. 940.
- vii. Chafariz do Ouro Preto. Built in 1752 by Antônio Fernandes Barros and Antônio da Silva Herdeiro. MR. 700.

viii. Chafariz do Passo. 1752.

- ix. Chafariz do alto da cruz do Padre Faria. Erected in 1757 by Henrique Gomes de Brito. MR. 800.
- x. Chafariz de Antônio Dias. Built in 1758 by Manuel Francisco Lisbôa. MR. 1,160.
- xi. Chafariz da ponte do Ouro Preto. Erected in 1758 by Antônio Alves. MR. 299.
- xii. Chafariz da rua Barão de Ouro Preto. Built in 1761.
- xiii. Chafariz do alto das Cabeças. Built in 1763 by Francisco de Lima. MR. 400.
- xiv. Chafariz da rua Alvarenga (Cabeças). 1770.
- xv. Chafariz de Aguas Ferreas. Built in 1806 by Miguel Moreira Maia. 373½ gold *oitavas*.

Cf. Feu de Carvalho, *Pontes e chafarizes de Villa Rica de Ouro Preto*.

154. There are similar fountains at the entrance to the Rua das Lages and in the Rua Alvarenga at Ouro Preto, and near the church of N. S. das Mercês at Mariana.

probably derived from such a Portuguese example as that at Viana do Alentejo,<sup>155</sup> which bears the date of 1740.

The *chafariz* of the Rua Barão de Ouro Preto in that town, dated 1761, represents the second stage of fountain production in Minas.<sup>156</sup> Here the pilasters, cornice, and finials are all of cut stone. There is some attempt at decoration of the surface. The bronze pipes of the spouts are hidden by the masks of Indian *caciques*, a popular feature in many of the fountains as well as in the lavabos of the churches. A large shell is introduced as a final decorative accent. But the workmanship throughout is crude, the design is awkward. Most of the *chafarizes* in Minas belong to this category, the work of inferior men during the period of great constructions.

But at Ouro Preto there is a third group of fountains distinctly superior in their design and execution. Two belong to João Domingos Veiga (Alto do Padre Faria, 1742, and Contos, 1745); two others are anonymous (Bomfim and Passo, 1752). Of these four the last is probably the most distinguished. Although the general shape of the monument is again clearly derived from the primitive type, it is given a more architectural treatment than the fountain of 1761. The stone pilasters are retained, but there is a fine cornice, surmounted by a broken pediment (as in the graceful *chafariz* do Padre Faria) and an architectural tablet containing a Latin inscription. The spouts are better related to the shell ornament above. In the fountain of Antônio Dias<sup>157</sup> at Ouro Preto, Baroque volutes are introduced beside the pilasters, while in that of the Contos they form the principal decoration about the shell.

In general, it may be said that the *chafarizes* of Minas Gerais lack the distinction of the best eighteenth century fountains of the north of Portugal (those of Viana do Castelo, Bom Jesus de Braga, N. S. dos Remédios at Lamego, 1738, and that at the cathedral of Oporto, 1721); nor do they possess the inventiveness of the charming lead fountains of the Passeio Publico of Rio de Janeiro,<sup>158</sup> or the monumentality of the fonte do Ribeirão, constructed in 1797 at S. Luiz do Maranhão.

In conclusion, we should admit that the architecture of Minas Gerais during the colonial period was not always of the first quality. There are many churches and public buildings in America and even in Brazil built in this period which possess greater architectural merit. The Mineiro style is not a monumental one, nor were its buildings always successful. We should say with Richard Burton that "nothing like the Pantheon or the Cathedral of Rome has yet been attempted here."<sup>159</sup> We should agree with Maurice Rugendas that the monuments of Minas are inferior to those of the court of Portugal constructed in imitation of the contemporary Roman style.<sup>160</sup> We should remember the verses of a colonial poet:

". . . eu não faço  
Do Brazil uma pintura  
De sublime architectura  
Como a que tem Portugal."<sup>161</sup>

We have shown in these pages the general dependence in many details of colonial Mineiro architecture upon that of the north of Portugal and the viceregal city of Salvador.

155. Of the practical free-standing type represented in Minas by the fountain at Tiradentes.

156. Other examples of this type in Ouro Preto are the fountains of Caquende and Alto das Cabeças.

157. The fountain of the Rua das Lages has this same rectangular shape, but with a much simpler system of decoration.

158. See note 15.

159. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 121.

160. *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil* (Paris, 1835), p. 33.

161. "I paint no picture of Brazil with the sublime architecture which Portugal possesses." Joaquim José Lisboa, *Descrição curiosa . . .* (cited by Djalma Andrade, *op. cit.*, pp. 563-564).

But the fact that we have found traces of indigenous development, innovations of real distinction, proves that the builders of Minas Gerais were no mere imitators of their Portuguese colleagues in the mother-country and along the Brazilian coast. The achievement of these men, isolated in a distant territory, of little education and few advantages, in understanding the contemporary Portuguese style and adapting it to the needs of the *capitania*, makes the colonial architecture of Minas Gerais a distinguished accomplishment in the history of American building during the eighteenth century.