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. 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. From the first establishments at Iguarassã and São Vicente down to the last constructions in Minas Gerais, the various buildings of the best preserved colonial sites in Brazil—at São Luiz do Maranhão, in the old Bahia, and the earliest Mineiro towns—are completely Portuguese. Whoever would study them must remember the Lusitanian monuments of the period, treating Brazil

*The findings here published are the result in part of researches conducted in Brazil in 1937 under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies.

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 luxuriant tropical vegetation. The old church of N. S. do Carmo (Pernambuco), the second example, now abandoned and menaced with ruin, was, with its handsome ermita, 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 ermita of N. S. dos Navegantes, built in 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 Portuguesa), circa 1577.

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 Bareaeus' 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, Historia 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 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 innumberable links which have always bound the architecture of the two countries into a single Portuguese-Brazilian style.8

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 Evora 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),9 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.10

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.11 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,12 and Belém,13 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 Angola 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 Joaime 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. 373–370.

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. Gare Ouseley K.C.B., London, 1854, p. 126).

12. These two cities, of which Olinda, founded just after Iguaraçu, was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the more distinguished, are remarkable for their rich monastic architecture. The convents of São Francisco in the two towns, that of N. S. do Carmo at Recife and that of S. Benito 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 Conde [Pedro] einem spanischen Manuscript in der Welfenschildeisen Bibliothek herausgegeben von Heinr. Hofrath Lassing 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 (1722–1775) and the Palladian churches of Sto. 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 Mar-
quez de Pombal and his architects.4 The new Lisbon waterfront with its grandiose quays
and palaces was soon reproduced by the viceroy Dom Luiz de Vasconcelos (1779–1790)
at Rio,5 where the Bay of Guanabara provided even a grander setting than the Tagus at
Lisbon.6 The Lisbon churches of the post-earthquake style, in whose doorways and in-
teriors 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 sculp-
tured medallion set in the pediment above a door, ever a popular device of formal Portu-
geuese architecture since the beginning of the century, is found in the side
portals of the Rua do S6culo, and Rua da Esperanga, all at Lisbon,
guese architecture since the beginning of the century, is found in the side
medallion set in the pediment above a door, ever a popular device of formal Portu-

14. These men were: Carlos Mardel, d. 1763 (rebuilding
of the Palacio dos Estios, nave of S. Domingos, fountains
of the Rua do Sécuio, and Rua da Esperanca, all at Lisbon,
and the palace of the marqueses de Pombal at Oeiras);
Reinaldo Manoel dos Santos (rebuilding of the churches of
S. Nicolau, and S. dos Mártires, 1769–84, laying out of the
Passeio Publico do Rocio, 1755–1764, co-planning of the
Basilica da Estraleza, 1779–1790, all at Lisbon); Mateus
Vicente de Oliveira, 1700–1786 (rebuilding of the church
of Sto. Antônio da S6 and co-planning of the Basilica da
Estraleza, 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, con-
struction of the palace of the duques de Palmela in the
Rua da Escola Politecnica, the wooden palace [pao velho]
of Ajuda, 1753–1794, 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
Palacico or Paço, was a rich fountain erected in honor of
Queen D. Maria I in 1785. The original arrangement, un-
like 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 Publico 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. Bartolomeu Antônio Cordovil, Ambicios jardins de agudo dente . . .
The Promenade was repeatedly damaged
by the elements and in 1830 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 notaveis, nos e curiosi-
dades, Rio, 1877; pp. 447-463; and Anibal Machado: A obra
de Mestre Valentim, in Arte colonial brasileira, Belo Horri-
zonte, 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
au séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil depuis 1825 jusqu'en
1837 inclusivemem, 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 Fredericos
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 pro-
found 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 Theatre 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 Marques de Pombal's
new Lisbon waterfront in 1775. He is the author of several
figures at the Basilica da Estrela, the tomb of D. Mariana
daustria at the church of S. João Nepomuceno (now
destroyed save for the two lions preserved at the Museu do
Carmo in Lisbon), the prespitio of the Igreja Patriarcal
(now at the Museu da Sé de Lisboa), the statues of the
baldacchino of S. Vicente de Fora, Lisbon, the Christ of
the palace of the Condes de Sabugosa at Al-
cantara 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
Vidigal 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, par-
ticularly that of the royal coaches (Museu dos Coches,
Belém), although José may have worked at the Necessi-
dades, 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 capitanias of Minas Gerais. This vast mountainous region, some three hundred miles inland from Rio de Janeiro, was in the eighteenth century a center of gold and diamond mining whose importance in the New World could only be compared to the fabulous regions of Potosí and Mexico. Discovered at the end of the seventeenth century by pioneer adventurers whose bandeiras swept up the river valleys from São Paulo and Bahia, these mines poured out the wealth that was supporting the extravagant court at Lisbon 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, the "precious pearl of all Brazil" described by the Portuguese Simão Ferreira, "the city of the divinissimo sacramento da igreja da Senhora do Rosário" of Vila Rica, arrested and imprisoned at Rio de Janeiro, and in the towns of Olinda, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro but not 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'Amerique méridionale est fcond en mines de diamants, 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. 63). 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 Caldecleugh was in Minas thirteen
countless treasuries are destined to be poured" were all completed in that period and the town of Ribeirão do Carmo, renamed Mariana for the then queen of Portugal, was raised to the episcopal dignity. The prodigious wealth of the region, which at first had seemed inexhaustible, was not long-lived. When in 1815 the great church of the Senhora da Bóa Morte 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. Our study, therefore, will concern itself with the period of the eighteenth century, 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 que se portent d'abord les yeux du voyageur, et les églises font à juste titre l'orgueil des habitants. This edifying opinion of a pious French traveler in nineteen 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...
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 matriz; (2) the churches of the brotherhoods or irmandades; (3) the churches of the negroes and the mulattoes; (4) the pilgrimage churches.

These Mineiro churches present a stylistic problem whose solution is to be sought in a variety of sources.

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 Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, XXXVIII, 1920-21, and Portugal e America em 1780, Rio de Janeiro, vol. I, pp. 150-158), 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. 648); at S. João de Morro Grande, near Caxés, Domingos da Silva Maia and Manoel da Camara Bettencourt financed the new matriz between the years 1764 and 1783 (José Belarmino, S. Joao de Morro Grande, in Rev. arch. pub. min., III, 1898, pp. 390-426); and in 1792 one Jazino 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 patronesses of Portuguese, a cult especially dear to the Braganza dynasty and to the town of S. Paulo, whence so many of the pioneers had come (D. de Vasconcellos: Historia 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 matriz, 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), since these were relatively easy to erect, and even the poor could raise the funds for the building cost. 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 Graça Mora (the matriz 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 seventeenth fifty lost many of its adherents, and its churches, then falling into disrepair, have since disappeared. Besides these there were many other irmandades, Santos Antônio, Trindade, Espírito Santo, S. José, S. Ana.

37. (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 Ethiopian king in Justinian's time. The mulattoes, or pardos (grays), 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 Matosinhos, is discussed in considerable detail in the following pages.

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


(special) Furacão de Menezes, A religião em Ouro Preto, in Noticias historicas, comemorando o segundo centenário de Villa Rica... Belo Horizonte, 1911, pp. 297-328; Diogo de Vasconcellos, A arte em Ouro Preto, Belo Horizonte, 1934 (prepared in 1911); Teofilo Peu de Carvalho, Reminiscencias de Villa Rica—Fontes celebrados in Rev. arch. pub. min., XIX, 1921, pp. 151-162; Reminiscencias de Villa Rica—Casa das audiencias, camara, e cadeia, 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. 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. 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). 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.

These first primitive chapels were, however, soon rebuilt in stronger and slightly more monumental fashion. The walls were given a more lasting rubble construction and then covered with heavy coats of plaster in the Portuguese style. Windows and doors were provided with proper frames of stone or wood, and tiles, at first imported from the Taipora, Xavier da Veiga, Diogo de Vasconcellos, Ouro Preto, a cidade histórica, in Minas Gerais em 1925, Belo Horizonte, 1925; Teófilo Feu de Carvalho, Pontes e chafarizes de Villa Rica de Ouro Preto, Belo Horizonte, n. d.; Céu de Ramos de Miranda, Subsídios para a sua história, S. Paulo, 1928, 3 vols; Padre Julio Engracia, Congonhas do Campo, in Rev. arch. pub. min., VIII, 1931, pp. 15-173.

40. 1612-1680. A minor Dutch master of Haarlem and Amsterdam, who along with five other painters accompanied the Count Maurit of Nassau-Siegen in his governorship of Pernambuco (1637-1644). While in Brazil 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 XVIIe siècle (Frans Post, in L’amour de l’art, XII, 1931, pp. 481-489; Joaquim de Sousa 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. António at S. Roque (S. Paulo) has recently been published by Mário de Andrade (A capela de Santo António, 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, 168-1705 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.)

Still others, like those of N. S. do Parto (Capela do Padre Faria) 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, 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 architecture of Portugal, where a small rose window together with other subsidiary openings was common in the entrance façades of parish churches such as Azurara, 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. Gonzalo de Amarante, 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 Meneses 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 provisional chapel.
44. The bridge before the chapel bears the date of 1731, and one of the bells is dated the year before.
45. See J. Augusto Vieira: O Minho pintoresco, Lisboa, 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 Caneiros, 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 Barreiro, L'art manuelin. Ses éléments et son évolution, in Gazette des beaux-arts, VIe sér., XII, p. 345.
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.48 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 Misericordia (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 Manuoline church portals of the local sixteenth century Portuguese schools, principally those of the Algarve49 and the towns of Estremadura.50

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.51

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,52 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...
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). 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. But this usage was extremely rare in the mother-country and was never developed elsewhere in Brazil in colonial times.

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 (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 two 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. Since the Jesuits as well as the members of the other

53. Epaminondas de Macedo 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 Clerigos, 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, 1737).
religious orders were not allowed to settle in Minas Gerais, 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 chapél 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, 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 António 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.

---

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 Bôa 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 António Dias

1705 A chapel already existed.

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

1733 The new church was inaugurated by the sargão, 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 irmãndade 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 António Ramos da Cruz was working on stairs.

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

1737 The provedor, Dr. Lourenço S. Pás, 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 Lobo 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

1721 July 20. Francisco de Lima contracted for doors and windows and the labavo 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 cemiterium of the capela-mór.

The church of S. Francisco de Assis
1765 July 21. A new church was ordered.
1756 Mestre Domingos Moreira de Oliveira was at work under the direction of Antônio Francisco Lisbôa.
1773 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 of 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 João de Lima Madeira. The high altar was in course of construction.

The chapel of Padre Faria
1703 The arraial was conceded to a group of Paulistas.
1704 The image of N. S. do Passo 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.
1772 The church was being used.

The church of N. S. Bom Jesus de Mattosinhos
1774 After the death of Moreira de Oliveira, the work was given to Custódio de Freitas and José Bernardes de Oliveira.
1810 Francisco Mochado 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 laid.
1794 Mar. 19. José Pereira Arouca handed over the church to the Third Order. He received 47,000 cruzados in fees.
1765 The church of Sta. Efigenia dos Pretos

1749 The pulpit of the new church was being made by João da Silva Madeira. The high altar was in course of construction.
1760 The church was completed.

The church of N. S. da Bôa Morte
1745 The church received this invocation after the rededication of the former matriz of Mariana.
1752 The walls of the new church were already completed.
1753 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.
1760 The church was completed.

The church of the Arquirmandade or Arquiconfraria of S. Francisco de Assis
1759 Oct. The work was so advanced that the vigario Jacome made his official visit to the church.

The church of N. S. da Conceição
1775 Dec. The King D. José I gave permission to build a chapel on royal land.
1778 Jan. 26. The church was completed.

The church of N. S. da Piedade
1774 Mar. 19. José Pereira Arouca handed over the church to the Third Order. He received 41,000 cruzados in fees.

The church of N. S. do Cardo
1745 A new church was ordered of mestre Pedro de Brito and mestre Pedro de Freitas.
1749 The new church was blessed.
1760 The church was completed.

The church of N. S. das Mercês
1752 May 2. A new church was ordered of mestre Antônio Soares de Brito as mestre predreiro.

The church of N. S. do Carmo
1755 Aug. 15. The first stone was laid.
1794 Mar. 19. José Pereira Arouca handed over the church to the Third Order. He received 41,000 cruzados in fees.

The church of N. S. do Rosário dos Pretos
1712 The irmandade was housed in an old chapel of N. S. do Carmo.
1752 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. da Piedade
1748 Nov. 27. The new church was blessed.
1758 Apr. 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. 7,620 were paid to an unknown person for a church plan.
1759 Oct. The work was so advanced that the vigario 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.
1774 Mar. 19. José Pereira Arouca handed over the church to the Third Order. He received 41,000 cruzados in fees.

The church 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. 7,620 were paid to an unknown person for a church plan.
1759 Oct. The work was so advanced that the vigario 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 Fites da Silva contracted for the paintings of the capela-mór.

The church 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. Jacynto Barbosa Lopes was the contractor.
1745 The church was rededicated, this time to the Assumption, and raised to the dignity of Sé (Cathedral).
1746 The new building was not yet completed.

The church of N. S. do Carmo
1758 Nov. 11. The reside administration of the Third Order decided to erect a new church.
1758 June 21. A new church was ordered of mestre Domingos Moreira de Oliveira. Under him worked José Antonio Soares de Britto as mestre predreiro.
may cite also the example of the house of the Portuguese Paschoal da Silva, in 1720.92 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."63 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.64 But by that time the walls of churches in Minas Gerais were already being constructed of the fine steatite stone of Itacolumi with its blue-grey65 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 Anfã 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.66 The Portuguese archi-

1774 J. G. Rosa finished the decoration of the coro and the sacristy.
1778 A belo arco contracted.
1779 The church was practically completed.
1782 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 belfry.
The matriz of Sta. Luzia at Sta. Luzia 1778 The date of the façade.
The matriz of N. S. da Conceição at Curimatá 1760-1770 The founding and erection of the church.
The matriz of N. S. da Conceição at Cacheira do Campo 1725 The church was already built.
1732 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 cruzeta, 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.
1720 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 tower.
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.

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. 692).
65. The same local stone in a warm brown color was also quarried.
tects 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. 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, 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 accentuated on the exterior by architectural
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.69

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 Nazoni70 (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,71 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 1752.72 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”73 in the churches of S. Francisco de Assis at Ouro Preto (1763–


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 Misericórdia, 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 Rebelo da Costa, Descrição topográfica e histórica da cidade de Porto, Oporto, 1788; Francisco José Patricio, D. Nicolau Nazoni, in Commercio portugueza, XCIV, Oporto, 1885; and the article devoted to Nazoni in Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo’s Dicionário histórico e documental dos arquitetos, engenheiros, e constructores portugueses, Lisboa, 1922, vol. II, pp. 189-193.

71. The money is said to have been provided by rich Ministrós. The irmandade resolved to build the new church on August 2, 1732. 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. Gonzalo 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. Helvécio Gomes Oliveira, has arranged in the building, which is a dependency of the archiepiscopal palace, an important museum of colonial art.

73. Antônio Francisco Lisbôa, 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 biográficos relativos ao santo Antonio Francisco Lisbôa, distinto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo apelido de—Aleijadinho, in Rev. arch. pub. min. 1, 1896, pp. 161-174; Djalma Andrade, Congonhas do Campo, O Aleijadinho, in Minas Gerais em 1925, pp. 563-571; Basilio de Magalhães, O Aleijadinho, in Revista do Instituto historicorográfico brasileiro, Boletim, 1930; José Mariano Filho, Mestre Aleijadinho e sua obra, in O cravo, vol. II, Aug. 30, 1930, pp. 15-30; Angel Guido, O Aleijadinho: The Little Cripple of Minas Gerais, in The Pan American Union Fine Arts Series, no. 9, Washington, 1930; Léon Koch-

74. Antônio Francisco Lisbôa, 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 biográficos relativos ao sano Antonio Francisco Lisbôa, distinto escultor mineiro, mais conhecido pelo apelido de—Aleijadinho, in Rev. arch. pub. min. 1, 1896, pp. 161-174; Djalma Andrade, Congonhas do Campo, O Aleijadinho, in Minas Gerais em 1925, pp. 563-571; Basilio de Magalhães, O Aleijadinho, in Revista do Instituto historicorográfico brasileiro, Boletim, 1930; José Mariano Filho, Mestre Aleijadinho e sua obra, in O cravo, vol. II, Aug. 30, 1930, pp. 15-30; Angel Guido, O Aleijadinho: The Little Cripple of Minas Gerais, in The Pan American Union Fine Arts Series, no. 9, Washington, 1930; Léon Koch-
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 Bôa 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 archi-
tecture 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 Portu-
gal and in the Portuguese settlements abroad.74 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
Estrela (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. d’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
documents and impossible for a man so hideously handi-
capped to be able to execute. He further attacks the theory
expressed in the writings of the above group that Aleijad-
dinho 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 evi-
dence.

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 specifi-
cally as architect, we should remember that the supposed
father, Manuel Francisco, was always called carpinteiro in
contemporary documents, although he worked almost en-
tirely in stone. It seems to be true that since there were no
professional architects, save the engineer Alpoim, in colo-
nial 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 Congon-
has do Campo.
examples—the church of N. S. do Carmo at Viseu, already mentioned, that of the Senhor dos Passos and N. S. da Consolação, of 1785, at Guimarães, and the royal matriz of Póvoa de Varzim, begun in 1743,76 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 Misericordia (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 Santissima Trindade do Pão, all in the city of Salvador,76 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) combating 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 capilania 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

76. The tradition is further reflected in such chapels as those of S. José de Ribamar and Sto. António 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.77

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.78 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 in many churches were opened in the clerestory. In Ouro Preto79 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 Bóa 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.

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 skillful 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 accentuated 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, generally giving access to the long lateral corridors of the interior.

We may class these Mineiro portals in four distinct groups. 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, 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 União).

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. Beno in Rio de Janeiro and the seminary of N. S. da Penha, on a mountain beside the sea at VilaVelha, near Vitória (Espírito Santo).
COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE OF MINAS GERAIS

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 Misericordia 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. 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 matris 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. 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 matris of Oliveira de Azeméis, 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 Azeméis, S. Miguel at Guimarães (1710), N. S. de Esperança of Oporto (1724), N. S. dos Rmédios 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 (solar) of the Mournia 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 Perdidos 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, Misericordias 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 caráter 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 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 irmãndade in 1733 in honor of the Senhor Jesus de Bouças, 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 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.

The cult of Mattosinhos is represented in colonial Minas Gerais by the great church of Bom Jesus 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 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. Efigénia 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: António Cerqueira Pinto, «História da prodigiosa imagem de Cristo crucificado, que com o título de Bom Jesus de Bouças se vê na rua do Monte, em Matosinhos», Lisboa, 1737; O santuário do senhor de Mattosinhos, Oporto, 1884.
87. For a minute description of the details of this garden see: Santuário do Bom Jesus do Monte, sua fundação e descrição 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.91

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, 92 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 transept93 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 gilded twisted columns, similar to those of the present Sé of Bahia. In the splendid interior of the church of Pilar and in that of António 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 Libão, 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 fronts 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 seventeenth sixties, when the post-earthquake style was influencing the churches 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 Oca, executed by the Portuguese estalhador, José Coelho de Noronha. They had invented now the dintel, 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; Barbacena, N. S. da Bda 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 Brazilian 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 cavacas 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 Setúbal, in Portugal.

92. The interiors of many of the principal churches of Salvador are resplendent with rich intaglias 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 coast cities, and transferred to the 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 cathedral; 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,44 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 sacristies45 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 Antonil96 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 Sacristie; dont tout le lumiére, est d’Ecaille de Tortue mise en oeuvre d’une maniére fort dilicate (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 tres belles Peintures (Relation d’un voyage fait en 1695, 1696, et 1697 aux Céltes d’Afrique, Détroit de Magellan, Brésil etc., Paris, 1699, pp. 128-129).

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

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 Sabará⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸

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,⁹⁹ 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,¹⁰⁰ the treillage croisé oblique de Saint-Hilaire,¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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 uncommanly severe, stone doorsteps are frequently encountered.

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

⁹⁷. Prodigiosa lagoa descoberta nas Congonhas das minas do Sabará, que tem curado a varias pessoas dos achaques, que nesta relação se expõem, Lisbon, 1749.
⁹⁹. This overhang is called the beiral. Those of Diamantina are illustrated in Aníbal Mattos, Monumentos históricos, e religiosos de Minas Gerais, pp. 465-472.
¹⁰⁰. Occasionally rústulas, or wooden bars, were used, with solid wooden shutters on the inside. At Diamantina there were balconies enclosed in lattices as at Olinda.
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, 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.

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 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, 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. 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.

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, XLVI, March, 1938, p. 141).
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 da 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. 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.” The romantic eighteenth century poet of Villa 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.

### The Public Buildings

Monsieur de Saint-Hilaire has complained that Ouro Preto possessed no public parks or promenade. 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. Such, however, was the...
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.\(^\text{114}\)

The earlier of the two official buildings now extant on the square is the residence of the
colonial governors at the west end.\(^\text{115}\) 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."\(^\text{116}\) For
the work he assigned 20,000 cruzados.\(^\text{117}\) 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 Fundiçao, which had fallen into ruin in 1739, had been constructed of wood and rubble.\(^\text{118}\)
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,\(^\text{119}\) 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.\(^\text{120}\)
The stonework of the new palace was carried out by the distinguished Ouro Preto contractors
and builders, Manoel Francisco Lisbôa and João Domingos Veiga,\(^\text{121}\) with the assistance
of José Pinto de Azevedo. The palace was first occupied in 1748 by the governor José
Antonio Freire de Andrade.\(^\text{122}\)

---

\(^{114}\) Feu de Carvalho, Casa das audiencias, camara, e cadã, p. 293. The square at this time also contained the Casa de Misericordia 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.

\(^{116}\) 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 108-113).

\(^{117}\) Feu de Carvalho states that the contract was signed by Alpoim and Lisbôa as early as 1741 (Documentos históricos. II Construcção do palácio do governo em Ouro Preto, in Rev. arch. min., VI, 1901, pp. 504-512). 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 fachadas 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 paluroinho standing in the square before the palace, which in 1807 was removed to make way for the present monument in honor of Tira-
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. Efegênia
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. 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.

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. 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. A temporary wooden construction, it was twice ordered repaired, but the work for some reason was never done.

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, Câmara, e Cadêia. 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. It survived with many changes until the year 1784, when a third structure was undertaken.

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 António, 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 Colônia 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 bâtiments 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 Palácio, est l’édifice le plus considérable; ce n’est qu’une masse de bâtiments 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 accommodated 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.


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 coloca Da regia prara: quasi os Olus procura Soberba torre, em que demarca o dia Volutel ponto, e o sol ao centro guia. 

... Do ferro pau já 20h, e já se estende Magnífico edifício [the prison], onde pretende A deusa da justica honor o assento; Aqui das penas no fatal tormento A liberdade prende ao delinquente, E arrastando a misérima corrente Em um só ponto de equilibrio alcança Todo o fiel da solida balança. Da sala superior texto dourado Se destina ao público senado Que o governo economico dispensa. 

Lavra artifice deus e sem detenção Os marmores canados; e de poídas E ás paredes já se vem erguidas As mágicas salas, que recolehem Regias ministros, que os tributos colhem, E em respeitos tribunais decentes Dão as providas leis; talvez presentes Tem Isamonte já no claro auspicio De um, e outro magnífico edifício As que espera lavrar liquidadas fontes
This new building, the present edifice, was designed by the then governor D. Luiz da Cunha e Menezes, an architectural amateur of distinction, and largely carried out by Francisco Pinto de Abreu. In 1788, the work was suspended on the departure of the unpopular governor, but two years later it was resumed under his successor, the Visconde de Barbacena. 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).

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, the principal...

...
Fig. 40—S. Amaro da Purificação (Bahia): Casa da Camara

Fig. 41—Mariana (Minas Gerais): The Aljube
Fig. 42—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Penitenciaria

Fig. 43—S. Joao d’El-Rei (Minas Gerais): Upper Bridge

Fig. 44—Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais): Ponte de Ouro Preto
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. 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, was a regular feature of such buildings in Brazil. 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. 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, 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, the *prison* of Mariana shares with the Macedo 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 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* 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. 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.

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.

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., no. I, 1937, pp. 59-77). The motive itself is probably derived in Brazil from the distinctive façade treatment of the monastic orders discussed above (note 83).

A final public building of distinction in Minas Gerais is the Aljube, 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, the *prison* of Mariana shares with the Macedo 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. 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.


138. 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.

139. 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., no. I, 1937, pp. 59-77). The motive itself is probably derived in Brazil from the distinctive façade treatment of the monastic orders discussed above (note 83).

140. The plan for the prison has been attributed to Alpino, who drew up the general plan for the new town of Mariana (D. de Vasconcellos, *Historia media de Minas Gerais*, p. 278).
Through most of the towns of Minas Gerais flow a series of mountain streams: at Mariana, the Ribeirão do Carmo; at Sabarã, the Rio das Velhas; at S. Joao 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, 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. At Ouro Preto, the capital, during the seven 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.

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, constructed between the years 1781 and 1791. A fine example of the Mineiro bridge is the upper span at S. Joao d’El-Rei (Fig. 43). A peculiarity of these bridges are the graceful convex parapets with their side benches of stone surmounted by crosses (Fig. 44).

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.” 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.” At Ouro Preto there are still preserved sixteen such street fountains, while at Mariana there are three, and Sabarã possesses two. Caeté and Tiradentes have one apiece. All, with the exception of the last, 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.

---

144. Francisco Sant’Anna, As pontes do estado de Minas Gerais, 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.
   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.
146. The architect was Francisco Tomas da Motta, of Adâupe, in the Braga district.
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 (repuxo).
Lisbôa and João Domingos Veiga, while a number of lesser personalities were also awarded contracts.153

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.154 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.
   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. 1,760.
   xv. Chafariz de Aguas Ferreias. Built in 1806 by Miguel Moreira Maia. 373\frac{1}{2} gold oitavas.

Cf. Feu de Carvalho, Pontes e chafarizes do 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 Merças at Mariana.
probably derived from such a Portuguese example as that at Viana do Alentejo, 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. 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 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, 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." 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. We should remember the verses of a colonial poet:

"... eu não faço
Do Brasil uma pintura
De sublime architectura
Como a que tem Portugal."

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.
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.