

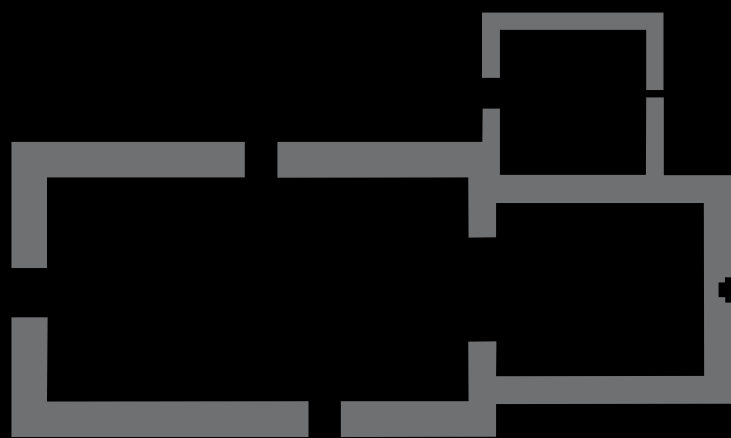
CHURCH
OF SAINT JAMES
OF VALADARES
BAIÃO

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OF SAINT JAMES

OF VALADARES

BAIÃO



Plan.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Bound early on to the Medieval “terra” [a type of Portuguese administrative division] of Baião and its lords, both in ecclesiastical and secular terms, Valadares reveals through its name¹ the importance of geography for the humanization of the territory: a mild valley which allowed the living and vicinity at 500 metres of altitude. In this aspect, the actual deployment of the Church itself reveals the intrinsic connection of the parochialization with the advanced plotting. Built at the centre of the system proposed by Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1978: 49) for the subsistence of rural communities, the micro-agricultural-forest system, the Church dedicated to the apostle Saint James the Great is, above all, a sign of the advances of humanization.

As for the lords, the inquiries of 1258 mention that the Church was controlled by a group of eight individuals who were surely connected by consanguinity or marriage bonds (Herculano, 1867: 1161-1162)². And when asked whether the king had rights over the said Church, the parish priest Pedro Soares, said not knowing. So, far from the monarch’s might, the manorial domain was preserved here until a rather late period. Even though the patron saint was associated with a tradition that considered this to be a passage point, the main roads were far: the passage along the Douro river, to the south, and from the old path across Aboboreira, to the north.

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In 1320, the Church of Valadares contributed with 80 “libras” [former Portuguese currency unit] to the Crusades (Almeida & Peres, 1971: 96). Considering that the Monastery of Ancede (Baião) was taxed in 550 “libras” and the church of Grilo (Baião) in 15 “libras”, we may say that this was an abbey with moderate revenues, according to its size and the number of devotees.



Aerial view.

¹ Referred, at least, since 1242 (Moreira, 1989-1990: 89).

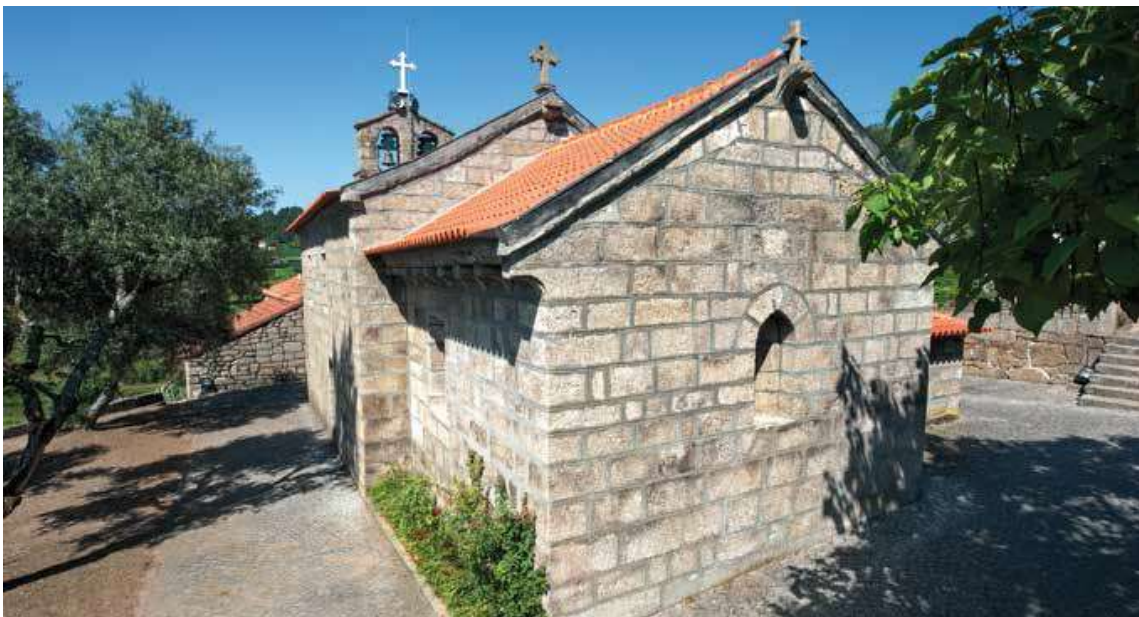
² One of its patrons or relatives was “Gomecio Menendi” who is possibly the same person who founded the monastery of Jazente (Amarante), as stated by the monastery’s abbess in that same inquiry (Herculano, 1867: 1150).

The Modern Period seems to have brought prosperity. The catalogue of the bishops of Porto, from 1623, mentions that the Church had the Blessed Sacrament (its isolation required it) and was a profitable abbey that yielded 300 thousand “réis” [former Portuguese currency unit], despite the fact that the parish counted merely 398 people, including communicants and minors (Cunha, 1623: 430). This profitability was surely related to the inclination of the sons of local nobility to occupy the position of abbot, which was easily granted within a nepotist and clientelistic logic. That was what happened, as we shall see further ahead, to João de Sousa Camelo, the son of Álvaro Gonçalves Camelo, the third lord of Baião.

In 1706 the abbey’s income was of 450 thousand “réis” and its parishioners were distributed by 120 dwellings. The author of this information, Father António da Costa Carvalho, further informs us that Valadares was part of the heritage of the Houses of Baião and Marquises of Aronches – information which, moreover, aligns with the answers of abbot Ricardo Feliz Barroso Pereira, in 1758 (Costa, 1706-1712: 406).

This parish priest categorically indicated the name of the person who, at the time, was the patron and donee of the Church and land: João da Costa Ataíde (Pereira, 1758). Although the abbot makes no reference to it, we know that he was the second son of Gaspar da Costa Ataíde and Catarina Rosa de Lima who, in her turn, was the daughter of Cristóvão de Sousa Coutinho, lord of Baião. So, João de Ataíde obtained the patronage of Valadares through his mother’s side, and this patronage became the local representation of the lords of Baião who had been ruling over the region since the Middle Ages.

Even with the profound changes of the 19th century, Valadares no longer gravitated around Baião, carrying on as a parish of its own³.



East and south façades.

³ In 1853 it belonged to the jurisdiction of Soalhães, it used Penafiel’s post office and the parish priest received the Church fee (Marques, 1853).

THE MONUMENT IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Impressed by the “rustic simplicity” of the Church of Saint James of Valadares, Vergílio Correia begins his report on this small Church by admiring the landscape in which it is integrated: “In Valadares, the houses are scattered along a valley that drops perpendicularly to the valley of the river Douro in windrows, and adjust themselves to a ledge found on the east side; its modest church appears unexpectedly along the sinuous landscape, standing out by its whiteness from behind the light-green line of trees that grow in the adjoining fields” (Correia, 1924: 99).

Writing about this “little Romanesque church”, this author uses a discourse that shows a very common feature within the context of the historiography of Portuguese Romanesque architecture and that is precisely associated with the praise of the landscape and rural values of the immediate surroundings of the monuments in question, while emphasising, first of all, their spiritual impression and charm. It was only with Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida that the geographical and historic aspects of the territory began being appreciated. Through an in-depth anthropological approach that greatly enriched the Contemporary historiography on the Portuguese Romanesque style and largely influenced our understanding of this subject, this author was well aware of the historical and anthropic deepness of the roots of our Romanesque architecture and its relationship with the territory itself⁴.

Until about 1940, we may observe an actual praise of a sort of rurality which is intentionally associated with Romanesque architecture. It is especially through historiography and iconography that we may identify the relevance of these values. Within this context, we should not forget the importance of the exhibition of photographic works by José Marques de Abreu dedicated to *Arte românica em Portugal* [Portuguese Romanesque art], displayed at the Ateneu Comercial do Porto in 1914. Collecting a set of 125 works which were put together by this photoengraver over 15 years, its memory is still accessible today through the great book that was published four years later by Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu (Vasconcelos & Abreu, 1918). Despite focusing on the Romanesque Period, it also included photos of landscapes, traditions and folk costumes. The emphasis placed on the monument’s surroundings, of rural nature, and the insertion of characters from this rural world is quite obvious. And Marques de Abreu is praised for feeling “our fields and our cheerful villages bathed by a golden sun and outskirted by the shadows of the most dazzling woods”⁵.

Besides, we should not forget the rustic ideal that was part of Salazar’s ideology and was expressed in the trilogy “Deus, Pátria e Família” [God, Homeland and Family] in “Lição de Salazar” [Salazar’s Lesson], which “praised a nostalgic ruralism against the contemporary and future industrial world” (Medina, 1993: 23). In fact, the constant references to the Romanesque style

4 On the subject, please read Botelho (2010: 265).

5 [S.a.] – Aos domingos... notas d’arte – «Vida Rústica» – costumes e paisagens – photographias artísticas de Marques Abreu. *O Jornal do Commercio e das Colonias*. (June 12th, 1927).

exalt not only its condition of Portuguese style, but also its rurality as a dominant feature. We are faced with a peculiar concept of rurality, which is exalted by men who came from an urban world asserting itself, so they sought in what they believed to be the “true” Romanesque style a fabricated image of the rural world they deemed poor, simple but “authentic”. So, it is within this context that we should understand the allusion made by Vergílio Correia to the “people of my [his] Douro region”, the primitive parishioners of Valadares who, “living from the land and for the land”, attended the “poor” sanctuary consecrated to Saint James.

There is an issue we should discuss right away. By classifying many of the architectural remains of the Medieval Period – in which Saint James of Valadares is obviously included – as “simple” and “rural”, historiography tended to focus, at best, on their appearance without seeking the reason behind it. Arguing the need for a diachronic analysis of the architecture from the Romanesque Period by considering the long durability that many of these shapes had among us, given that they even took on vernacular features, is an issue that has only been discussed very recently. During the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries and already coexisting with an artistic period that historiography has been considering as Gothic, we may still observe “the persistence of a repertoire that was strongly associated with the Romanesque style”, according to Pedro Dias’s (1994: 151) words. It is mainly in the “comarcas” [a type of Portuguese administrative and judicial division] of the North and Beira regions that most of the remains from this “resistance Romanesque” style are still preserved; in the Sousa basin we may highlight the cases of Escamarão and of the chapel of Saint John the Baptist of the Church of Tarouquela, both in Cinfães. As the author explains, “the North remained very attached to the Romanesque aesthetic language until very late, more due to inertia than to any other reason” (Dias, 1994: 159). With a peripheral position in relation to artistic centres such as Batalha or the capital city, these regions lacked a sort of aesthetic education, both associated with the commissioners and with the local builders. That meant that the old Romanesque churches from nearby towns and villages worked as models, although their formulas could be slightly modified by some sort of secondary innovation that the master had learnt in one of his rare visits to the south (Dias, 1994: 159).

So, marked by the weight of a building tradition, the Church of Saint James of Valadares fits into this group of buildings that, despite standing out for the persistence of Romanesque shapes and formulas, have also already been included in what has been called as the “rural Gothic” style. The limit between these two somewhat peripheral and late artistic phenomena is very subtle and hard to define. The issue of the concept of “style” and of the temporal scheme that includes beginning, progress and decline moments – which allows inferring a linear mechanism that explains the influences and the ways how shapes are conveyed – is one of the issues that are still too rooted in artistic historiography (Botelho, 2012: 132). The truth is that, as Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida wrote, there are always such big differences in terms of patterns between a work with a “good style” from the 13th century and a similar one from the late 15th century, which only tradition and inertia or a very narrow concept of “style” may justify their integration within a single category (Almeida & Barroca, 2002: 12).

Comprising a single nave and a rectangular chancel, which is narrower and lower, the Church of Saint James of Valadares is surely a building from a much later period. Inside the



Chancel. Inscription.

chancel there is an inscription engraved in an ashlar in which, despite its inverted position, we are able to read: E^a M^a CC^a XX^a VI^a.

This inscription refers to 1188 (“Era of 1226”)⁶. The dating method, based on the “Era”, is exclusive of the Hispanic territory, although there are still some doubts regarding the event which may have been at the origin of this chronological counting method (Barroca, 2000: 211). According to Álvaro d’Ors, the “Hispanic Era” used the title of Emperor granted by the Senate to August in 38 B.C. as its starting point (Barroca, 2000: 216). On August 22nd 1422, King João I (1385-1433) decreed that the “Era of the Birth” of Christ should be used from then onwards. So, when we find an inscription whose date is earlier than 1422, we should subtract 38 years in order to ascertain its accurate chronology or *Anno Domini*.

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The fact that this inscription is inverted leads us to consider the possibility that this was a reuse. Besides, 1188 seems like a very early date for a building such as the one of Valadares, whose constructive formulas clearly fit into a *modus aedificandi* featuring a chronology that should be placed, at least, during the following century. We should also add the fact that there is a stonemason’s initial overlapping this epigraph, which shows a sort of crosier drawn horizontally. These initials, whose shape and design suggest a late chronology, are repeated in several ashlar that integrate the chancel. In the late 13th century the stonemasons’ initials were no longer alphabetic and even became ideographic, i.e., by using the drawing of objects to represent a given surname.

Therefore, judging by the type of initials we find here, we believe that, sometime during the late 13th century, the chancel of Saint James of Valadares was rebuilt, resorting to the reuse of ashlar from an earlier building that surely already existed in 1188, as proven by the inscription that mentions the “Era” of 1226. The nave was also built (or rebuilt?) on the same occasion, as proven by its plastic language.

⁶ We thank the invaluable assistance of Professor Mário Barroca, PhD, in the reading of this epigraph and whose suggestion we follow.



North façade. Nave. Corbels.



West façade. Portal.

So, today the Church of Saint James of Valadares shows a majestic appearance made of granite, and is no longer plastered and whitewashed like in Vergílio Correia's description from 1924. Most definitely, its vernacular appearance, considered by some authors as "rustic", is partly due to the shape and arrangement of its ashlars, which feature different sizes and give its walls a somewhat irregular appearance. Besides, the occasional natural of the decorative elements emphasizes this idea. It is in the chancel and in the north façade that we find the primitive modillions of this Church, featuring ornaments composed of rollers, balls and a couple of somewhat rough figures. The late nature of these modillions is witnessed by the difficult adequacy of the sculpted elements to the original shape of this supporting element. On the north side façade, the persistence of protruding corbels halfway up the ornaments indicates the previous existence of a porched structure.

The main façade is surmounted by a two-bell belfry for and its only opening is a portal carved in the wall's thickness⁷. Composed of two archivolts that are directly supported by the walls, this is a remarkable element that allows us to substantiate the late chronology of this building and confirm its classification as a "resistance Romanesque" Church or, if we will, as

⁷ On the façade, there are two representations of animals; one of them is surely depicting a rabbit or a hare (despite being difficult to see due to the fact that they are located close to the gable). On the one hand, the hare and the rabbit are associated with abundance and, on the other hand, with licentiousness (in the *Old Testament* the rabbit is considered an impure animal); these two figures are often present in the capitals and corbels of Medieval churches, which may evoke or invoke, either successful harvests, or a moralization through a fable (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1994). However, we make it clear that these readings are mere conjectures, given the polysemic nature of these representations and the, sometimes complete, lack of knowledge on the bestiary that the master stonemasons and carvers had access to and its use in the ornamentation of monuments.



West façade. Insculpture.



East façade. Crevice.

a “rural Gothic” Church. Slightly broken, the outer archivolt is smooth and with somewhat beveled edges. On the opposite, the inner one is dotted with pearls in the chamfer, motif that repeats itself at the level of the impostes. Also the portal of the south façade confirms this thesis, because it consists of a single smooth archivolt, embedded in the thickness of the wall. Finally, on the back façade there is a crevice of Romanesque flavour, despite the fact that it doesn’t have any ornamental element on its broken archivolt which is walled up from the inside. We should also highlight the figures carved in the façade, one of which clearly depicting a rabbit, as we have discussed earlier.

The primitive construction was transformed sometime during the Modern Period, as proven by the absence of corbels on the nave’s south side. The large rectangular windows that illuminate the Church’s body and chevet, as well as the straight-lintel door that provides access to the nave on the north side are certainly from the same period as this “modernization” intervention carried out in the parish Church of Saint James of Valadares. The terminal cross depicting fleurs-de-lys on its ends, surmounting the nave just above the chancel arch, is likely to belong to the same period; the chancel arch was also transformed, as shown by the Classicist language of the pilasters that support it.



North façade.



South façade.

The interior of this Church consecrated to Saint James the Greater is a good example of how the aesthetic language of a Romanesque church is easily “modernized” according to new tastes and different liturgies. The mural painting on the apse’s back wall, currently hidden by the Baroque altarpiece, is a good example of this ability. These paintings were protected both by this woodwork element and by a thick layer of plaster. Vergílio Correia was probably the first person to discover them, on September 3rd 1922, thus providing the first reports (Correia, 1924: 102). The appreciation we can currently make is different from the one made by this author in the early 1920’s because some of its features are ruined or have lost their legibility⁸, specially its inscriptions (Bessa, 2008: 398).

⁸ Joaquim Inácio Caetano (2012) recently developed a proposal for an intervention on these mural paintings, which is mainly focused on the restoration of the remaining sections.

The paintings are located along the back wall and side walls of the chancel, but only in the area that was protected by the main altarpiece. In addition to the damages caused by the holes drilled on the wall for the installation of the altarpiece whose central part is completely leaning against it, making it impossible to read the remaining ensemble in its whole. The paintings also suffered a more recent attack when the temple's electrical network was installed (Afonso, 2009: 799).

The mural painting composition located on the nave's back wall created a fake altarpiece comprising four different panels (Afonso, 2009: 799). Following the terminology proposed by Luís Urbano Afonso, the "wheel" of the Gospel clearly depicts the representation of *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, accompanied by her attributes: the spiked wheel and the sword she is holding in her left hand. Although we are currently not able to confirm it, in 1924 Vergílio Correia identified the inscription "qterin" together with this saint (Correia, 1924: 103). The tyrant's head that she had at her feet is no longer visible.

Next there was a representation of the *Pietá* or, as suggested by Paula Bessa (2008: 399), a *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*? We are only able to see the lower part of this image, which includes the lifeless body of Christ with a well-marked wound on the hand and the hole opened by the nail that held one of His feet to the cross.



Chancel. Wall on the Gospel side (behind the main altarpiece). *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*.



Chancel. Back wall (behind the main altarpiece). *Virgin of Piety*.



Chancel. Back wall (behind the main altarpiece). *Saint James*.



Chancel. Back wall on the Epistle side (behind the main altarpiece). *Saint Barbara*.

Right after it, on the Epistle side, there is a figure that is almost entirely hidden by the altarpiece, wearing a light-coloured tunic and a red cloak whose draperies were stiffly marked in a way, falling in vertical pleats. Wearing black shoes, it appears over a background of square embossed tiles, just like the *Pietà*. Luís Urbano Afonso finds it possible that this is a representation of *Saint James*, who is depicted here as a pilgrim, since the only visible attribute seems to be a pilgrimage staff with a pointed tip and several knots that divide the cylinder pole in regular intervals (Bessa, 2008: 399; Afonso, 2009: 800). Paula Bessa stresses the fact that this depiction is not located in the middle of the back wall, a requirement that was only defined in 1496 by the synod constitutions of Diogo de Sousa (1496-1505) for the bishopric of Porto, i.e., after its execution, as we shall see.

Next there is an image of *Saint Barbara* that, in 1924, would also include the inscription “barbor” (Correia, 1924: 103). Her depiction shows her standing on a pavement with lozenge-shaped tiles, similar to the one of *Saint Catherine* (Afonso, 2009: 800), holding a book on her left hand and together with a grey tower, which is her traditional attribute. Her face is almost completely erased.

On an upper level, above the figures we have just identified, there is a frieze showing the upper parts of the bodies of angels, which was copied by using the transfer technique (Afonso, 2009: 801): with open wings and resting hands, they wear crossed tunics. There is a small Latin white cross popping out of abundant yellow hairs. There are roll-shaped frames dividing the different panels depicted on the chancel’s back wall which, in turn, are surmounted by faux tapestries with alternating light-coloured and red stripes that Luís Urbano Afonso defines as humble.

Now we should take a closer look at the lateral walls. What we see on the Epistle side is possibly a depiction of the pseudo-apostle *Paul*, who is identified through the only visible attributes: the sword with the circular pommel and curved guards he is wielding with his right hand and the book he is holding in his left hand (Afonso, 2009: 801). In Valadares, the representation of several figures denotes a strong attachment to a late Gothic language: hieratic representations, a very stiff depiction of the draperies, whose pleats are defined by vertical lines, and silhouette outlines painted using an extremely thick line (Afonso, 2009: 800-801). On the other hand, the angels feature interesting curves showing the volume of their clothes (Bessa, 2008: 399).

So, the manufacturing quality of the workshop that executed this painting is quite clear and, despite the use of free hand patterned motifs, especially on the backgrounds, it accomplished the programme defined, while treating all details in a very careful fashion (Bessa, 2008: 399-400). The fact that these paintings have features which are similar to those of other pictorial ensembles – from which we highlight the examples of the painting on the triumphal arch of Saint John the Baptist of Garão (Amarante) or the first layer of Saint Nicholas of Canaveses (Marco de Canaveses) – is rather significant and it is the reason why they have been considered as being executed in the same workshop (Bessa, 2008: 401-402; Afonso, 2009: 804-805; Caetano, 2012: 3). Although his name remains unknown, Joaquim Inácio Caetano and Luís Urbano Afonso have been calling the person in charge of this workshop the “Master from Valadares”, whose intervention area still evidences a significant regional concentration (Afonso, 2009: 204-207; Caetano, 2012: 3). Its period of activity was probably between 1480 and 1500⁹.

On the front wall there is the depiction of a series of fantastic creatures with a markedly popular nature: a cynocephalus devil and a tow-faced figure with two horns, a strange black bird with the head of a rooster and the beak of a goose (Afonso, 2009: 802). Nowadays the general meaning of the scene is hard to find. Here Vergílio Correia saw the depiction of apocalyptic animals (Correia, 1924: 104-105) and Paula Bessa (2008: 399) identified it as a representation of *Hell*. On the other hand, Luís Urbano Afonso (2009: 802) suggested the possibility that this is a depiction of the tortures inflicted on Saint Anthony the Great, considering the fact that there are traces of little figures being tormented by devils. However, considering that this is not a usual theme within the context of 15th-century Portuguese mural paintings, this author finds it more likely that this ensemble is a reference to *Hell* and/or the *Purgatory*, which could be part of a larger depiction of the *Final Judgement* (Afonso, 2009: 803). According to Paula Bessa (2008: 399), this representation creates a clear contrast with the angels and sacred figures of the remaining iconographic programme: Heaven *versus* Hell.

As we can see, this is an extensive programme, which was surely well conceived from a thematic point of view, thus revealing the commissioner’s determination and demanding character. The inscription that identifies the commissioner is currently less visible and more mutilated than when Vergílio Correia (1924: 106) read it and published it: “This work was commissioned by Juan Camelo de (Boro?) this church’s abbot: era of fourteen hundred and... Currently, only



Chancel. Wall on the Epistle side (behind the main altarpiece). *Saint Paul*.

⁹ In addition to the above mentioned cases, we should mention the churches the Saint Saviour of Arnoso (Famalicão), Saint Mary of Covas do Barroso (Boticas), São Nicolau (Mesão Frio) and Saint Margaret of Vila Marim (Vila Real) (Afonso, 2009: 204-207; Caetano, 2012: 3).



this can be read: [...] [man] dou fazer juan camel [...] era de mil e trezentos (...) [commissioned by João Camelo [...] era of thirteen hundred (...)]” (Bessa, 2008: 401). Hopelessly mutilated by the electrical switchboard, the only information we can surely provide is that this is a 15th-century iconographic ensemble, probably even from the last quarter of the century (Bessa, 2008: 401).

The reference to the name of the commissioning abbot, João Camelo, is rather significant. Vergílio Correia (1924: 106) raised the possibility that he was the parish abbot born in the neighbouring village of Borosende, saying also that “it would be rather curious if this man called João Camelo was the one who later became the bishop of Silves and of the neighbouring town of Lamego!”. Both Paula Bessa and Luís Urbano Afonso considered this a valid possibility, with due reservations given the lack of documents and facts regarding the bishop of Lamego.

However, it seems hard to ground a solid connection between the prelate and Valadares. First, because the scarce information available on his family seems to point towards a well-defined lineage circle: the Camelos and the Madureiras from the Porto region. In fact, both Alão de Moraes and Felgueiras Gaio identify him as the brother of the prior of Grijó, João Álvares (or Fernandes) de Madureira, who is included by Pedro Brito in the connections of the 16th-century urban patriciate of Porto (Brito, 1997: 106).

On the other hand, it would be surprising if a cleric, despite belonging to a profitable and important abbey as Valadares seemed to be, managed to reach the episcopal seat so quickly. It is hard to accept this path, as well as this social and geographic mobility, from the mountains of Baião to the cathedral of Silves and Lamego. Only a direct connection to the lords of Baião could possibly explain the fast-track promotion and his relationship with Valadares. When we tried to establish that relationship, we found the answer to the identity of the commissioner of the paintings in Valadares in a coeval namesake from the prelate of Silves. It is João Camelo de Sousa, mentioned by 18th century genealogists as being the son of Álvares Gonçalves Camelo, the third lord of Baião. Felgueiras Gaio (1938-1941) is peremptory: he is called abbot of Valadares and, although there are no specific dates regarding his term in office, he must have surely been the parish priest at the turn of the first to the second half of the 15th century, a period when his brother, Luís Álvares de Sousa, is mentioned in several official administrative documents from Porto by one of his titles, the lord of Baião¹⁰.

So, it is natural that the remaining mural painting is an expression of the taste of the nobleman João Camelo de Sousa, who belonged to the family and social circle of the lords of Baião. They would surely be acquainted with the work of the workshop of the Master from Marão that, over the 15th century, worked in churches that were somehow allocated to the assets or ruling of those lords.

10 He was also an inspector at the Treasury of Porto (Marques, 1980: 73-98).



THE MONUMENT IN THE MODERN PERIOD

Protected from the purifying zeal of the ruralist and nationalist conceptions of “Estado Novo” [authoritarian regime installed in Portugal between 1926 and 1974] theoreticians, the collection of altarpieces, paintings and sculptures of the Church of Saint James of Valadares contrasts with the Medieval ashlars in terms of “movement” and colour. However, this deep transformation of the ecclesiastical space is essentially Mannerist and Baroque. We do not know much about the previous artistic project and what we know is partly due to indirect sources, such as the inspections. This kind of ecclesiastical surveillance that was strongly implemented after the Council of Trent (1545-1563) was usually carried out by an inspector (who could be the bishop himself or one of his representatives), a registrar and a bailiff who travelled around the parishes hearing about and looking into spiritual and temporal issues.

Once they arrived at the parish, the ecclesiastical officials installed a temporary auditorium where witnesses were heard on the behaviour of the parishioners and the clerics, the service of the parish priest, the accounts of the confraternities and brotherhoods and the state of movable and immovable assets. Regarding this particular issue, the inspectors summoned the parish priest and the people’s judge to draw up regular object and furniture inventories. The oldest of these inventories was preserved among the folios of the book of baptismal records of Saint James of Valadares and dates back to 1592.

As in all parish churches, the assistant Gaspar da Veiga, who was responsible for listing the pieces, makes a clear distinction between two different owners or managers of the objects: the abbot and the parishioners. The latter were represented by the people’s judge who, in the case of Valadares in 1592, was probably Pero António, “the church’s caretaker”.

Each of the owners had, besides a series of pieces, a space inside the Church. The chancel was responsibility of the abbot and of the Church’s patron, who had the duty of providing it with vestments and contributing to the maintenance, reconstruction and ornamentation of its space.

The parishioners or the people who lived in the parish were responsible for building and preserving the nave or the Church’s body. Naturally, the local noblemen intervened in this space disputing the “best” burial places, closer to the chancel arch or at the feet of the altars and chapels they had set up. Only patrons and abbots were buried in the chancel, despite the Church’s efforts to forbid these expressions of power.

The inventory, dated November 16th 1592, was written after the visit of the bishop Jerónimo de Menezes who ruled the diocese of Porto between that year and 1600. So, Jerónimo de Menezes was in Valadares at the beginning of his episcopate, preaching and ensuring that the Tridentine rules that had been imposed as a result of the Council of Trent a few years earlier were being followed. The inventory allows us to have an insight on some of these issues, as we shall see.

The assistant Gaspar da Veiga begins by listing the “pieces that belong to the parish”. These included:

“# one silver cross with its box # a wire cross without box # one holy water vessel # four brass candlesticks # one bell # one mattock for the deceased # one iron jewel (?) # one “escano” [coffin-shaped casket or box] for the deceased # three sleeves from the cross: one in red damask, another one in black taffeta and another one in blue taffeta # two pulpit cloths, a green one and a black one # four altar frontals, I mean five, one in white taffeta (...) two in a green fabric and two for Lent # four linen altar cloths # curtains for the same altars # black cloths for Lent # Indian fabric (?) on linen curtains for the altar of Our Lady # two bookcases # two sets of garments for Our Lady, one in white damask and the other one in yellow taffeta # a record book with Our Lady’s rules and other things # another book for accounts and for the brothers # a Blessed Sacrament bull # one lantern # one iron chandelier with nineteen candles # another chandelier, placed in front of the Blessed Sacrament, in brass # another one placed in front of Our Lady # one silver monstrance with a gilded copper foot, together with its box # a few red damask shrines with all the necessary parts # one canopy with its poles # one thurible # one red taffeta lining or drape to cover the sacrarium # one red damask frontal for Our Lady”¹¹.

The objects described here suggest the places they were supposed to be through their function, their materials and colours. The cloths for the altars (frontals, coverlets, towels) and the pulpit, the lamps, the candlesticks and the paraments used to decorate the altars according to specific liturgical periods stand out from the list. At least one of the altars – the one of Our Lady – was associated with a confraternity, because there are references to a record book with the names of the brothers and to an accounting book. Regarding processions, moments that were especially important for the communities, there are references to two processional crosses, the sleeves with which they should be carried, the canopy and the thurible. Although the tabernacle was in the chancel, some of the objects associated with the Eucharist, such as the monstrance, the canopy and a lamp to illuminate the tabernacle were the parishioners’ responsibility.

The abbot’s items speak of his tasks as a celebrant and preacher, the ornamentation of the chancel and the altarpiece according to the different liturgical period of the year. The objects associated with the sacraments provided both inside and outside of the Church are also listed (boxes with holy oils, ciboria, altar stones). The set of paraments and textiles associated with the mass, the celebrant, the co-celebrant and their assistants is quite remarkable. In fact, the list is so extensive and rich in vocabulary that it is worth transcribing¹²:

“# two silver chalices, one of which gilded # four sets of garments, one in red damask and blue velvet, plus another new one in common taffeta # two in red camlet [woollen fabric] # one with a black “skirt” (?) for Lent # three frontals, one in red and blue taffeta <there are four yellow damask frontals and (?)> # another one in red and green camlet # another one for Lent # one linen curtain for the altarpiece # another one in black bocaxim [fab-

¹¹ ADP – Paroquiais, Valadares, livros mistos, fls. 218 ss. 1586-1679.

¹² Because this work does not justify a comprehensive description of each of the objects, we suggest a reference to Aldazábal (2007).



Triumphal arch. Wall. Collateral altarpieces.

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ric] for Lent # five albs # six amices [white garment, in a fine fabric, that the priest uses under the alb] # three cloths for the main Altar, one that look like a towel and two made of linen # five corporal tables with their protections and palls # one box for the Holy oils with their ciboria # another leather-covered box with its ciborium for the Holy Oil of the Ill # one more red damask frontal> // # one tin plate for it [for the ciborium] # one brass basin to carry the Holy oils # another one for the offerings # two new candlesticks with large tubes # three hand cloths # one large cloth to administer the Blessed Sacrament # four linen cloths for the chalices # six purificators [cloths to clean the Chalice] # two Mass Books, a new one and an old one # one new manual # a few constitutions [probably the synod constitutions] # one song book # two Altar stones # one in the Sacarium # the other one in Our Lady of Bruzende # one cloth for the Holy oils <...> <# two more purificators> <#two hand cloths (...)>”¹³.

So, we are able to draw a diagram of the ecclesiastical space based on the distribution of the objects used in liturgical celebrations. Besides the main altarpiece, which was located in the chancel and kept the Blessed Sacrament, there was another altarpiece dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary and, although it is not mentioned, there was a third one whose main invocation is still unknown. We assume this possibility considering the number of altar frontals that were listed: between ten and twelve, which would allow the existence of three to four frontals per altar, which corresponded to the periods of the liturgical year, definitely established by the Missal by Pious V (1566-1572): Advent and Christmas, Lent and Easter.



Chancel. Main altarpiece.

13 ADP – Paroquiais, Valadares, livros mistos, fls. 218 ss. 1586-1679.

In the 18th century, abbot Ricardo Feliz Barroso Pereira confirms the arrangement of three altars: besides the main altar, there was one dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary and another to the Sacred Name of Jesus (Pereira, 1758). They probably correspond to the location of the existing invocations of the Virgin of the Rosary of Fátima and the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which are 20th-century images. The chancel's National Baroque [style which develops during the reign of King João V (k. 1706-1750)] altarpiece, including its Eucharistic throne with five steps, and the external coating of the chancel arch, based on a Mannerist model that was later supplemented with ornaments from the National [1690-1725] and Johannine period [style which develops during the reign of King João V (k. 1706-1750)], were probably carried out before the 1758 memoir¹⁴.



General interior view from the high choir.

The distribution of several niches surmounted by canopies, both in the main altarpiece and in the collateral ones, together with the pelmets placed above the openings inside the nave, provide the space with a homogeneity that, as we have already mentioned, contrasts with the plastered stone. We should add the chancel's coffered ceiling that, in a certain way, extends the National Baroque language that characterizes the ornamentation of the main altarpiece.

Although most of the niches were deprived of their images (they are not mentioned in the inventory from 1911)¹⁵, we should refer, in addition to the invocations that were displayed along the chevet's walls before the altarpiece was built, the three panels displayed above the chancel arch. It is a very original composition focused on the iconography of Saint James and its relationship with the Dominican Order.

¹⁴ As we may conclude from their current arrangement, the images were moved from the places they used to occupy in the 18th century: Our Lady of the Rosary was placed on the main altarpiece's corbel, on the Epistle side, and it is likely that the Sacred Name of Jesus, a name used by the abbot Ricardo Feliz in 1758, corresponds to the crucified Christ stored in the sacristy.

¹⁵ SGMF – Comissão Jurisdicional dos Bens Culturais, Baião. Arrolamento dos Bens Culturais, Valadares, [Cabral, Afonso Vitorino de Barbosa – Arrolamento dos Bens Culturais de Valadares]. In the inventory on the iconography of Saint Anthony of Lisbon drawn up in 1996, there is a reference to the existence of an image of that thaumaturge on the left collateral altar: "polychrome wood, h. 31.5 cm, 19th century" (with photo) (Azevedo, 1996: 105).



Triumphal arch. Panels.

In fact, although the patron saint of Valadares is Saint James, the pilgrim¹⁶, in the nave he is depicted in two paintings as a knight or Moor-slayer, just like in the precious Baroque image that may be worshipped in the main altarpiece's niche, on the Gospel side; this representation was unusual in Portugal, but in the Hispanic world it was quite common. The largest painting is the one that was placed above the vault's planking, which we shall mention further ahead. The smaller painting is part of an ensemble we could consider as being a triptych, which is placed, as we have already mentioned, above the chancel arch. Riding a horse and fighting an infidel that is kneeling at the animal's feet, *Saint James* is wielding his sword. On the background, a group of individuals identified as Muslim warriors by their red flags with crescents, is beating a retreat. The saint is wearing clothes that incorporate his condition of apostle (recognized by the traditional green and red colours) and pilgrim who shows his scallops and a small travel bag.

This scene is flanked by two other representations, one of which is also unusual to find in the parishioners' ecclesiastical space: on the observer's left side, we see *Saint Gonçalo*, identified by the bridge behind him and the staff he is holding. He is wearing the Dominican habit and on his left hand there is an open book. On the right side, we see *Saint Vincent Ferrer*, a well-known Spanish preacher who was born in Valencia in 1350 and died in Brittany in 1419. This iconography is extravagant: the saint is depicted with wings, holding a book in his left hand and pointing towards the sky with his right hand, thus recalling a miracle he performed (Almeida, 2003: 111-118)¹⁷. He is fairly considered as the patron of the souls and, sometimes, associated with the role of psychopomp.

¹⁶ Under the cover of tourist advertising, this representation contributed to foster the idea that there would be a pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (Spain) that included Valadares. This idea of a mass pilgrimage, much to the Contemporary taste, is not consistent with the historical reality; and the fact that there is a devotion to Saint James in a given church or chapel does not mean that it marks a point of a possible route. Furthermore, all roads led to Rome (Italy) or to Santiago de Compostela. It is more usual for the devotion to Saint James to reveal particularities that are less associated with his role as a pilgrim and more as a protector of the fields and communities that embraced him. We believe that this is the case in Valadares.

¹⁷ The author explains the unusual attribute and provides examples of other winged saints that integrate the pictorial collection in the Aveiro region.



How can we explain the presence of two Dominican invocations and of such an eccentric representation of Saint James?

The Dominican Order or Order of the Preachers (*Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum*) was founded in 1215 by Dominic de Guzmán, a Castilian man who was deeply influenced by the fight against the infidels and the heretics. Born during the period of the crusades, Dominic intended to fight those who contradicted or rejected the doctrine of the Church through evangelization and preaching. So, in 1219 he created a confraternity or brotherhood called The Militia of Jesus Christ. But his relationship with the ideal of the religious warrior – an ideal he passed on to the Preachers Order – didn't stop here. As a result of his deep knowledge about the work developed by the military order, such as the Order of Santiago – the one his older brother had joined –, he conceived an order that served outside the walls of the monastic fence and, through the use of the spoken word, converted and placed on the path of faith those who had gone astray. Saint James the Apostle, the patron saint of a Spain that was growing against the Other, the Moor, was turned into the symbol of the celestial warrior at the service of Men, fighting beside them to eradicate heresies and Islamism from the Iberian Peninsula. The iconography of Saint James the knight and Moor-slayer – which Louis Réau considers as a late iconography forged after the battle of Clavijo (844) – emerged within this atmosphere of conflict and confrontations (Réau, 2002: 177).

So, the connection between the Dominican Order and Saint James – especially in his role as a fighter – is clear and the apostle is conveniently associated with the Order's ideal: fighting the infidels, converting them and spreading the faith.

It is within this context that we should frame the triptych of the chancel arch of the Church of Valadares: *Saint Gonçalo*, who opened the paths of evangelization, and *Saint Vincent Ferrer*, who actively travelled them, assist the glorious apostle who brought light to the Peninsula and expelled those who were threatening it with darkness. It is interesting to reflect on who introduced the theme in the Church of Valadares and the circumstances under which it happened. While it is certain that, either *Saint James the Moor-slayer*, or the Dominican saints who assist him, or even the Virgin of the Rosary, are related to the Dominican preaching that had its seedbed of evangelists quite close by (in Ancede, for example), we know nothing about the author of the composition. His origin and education would be useful to understand the context in which this work was commissioned.

The painting located on the nave's ceiling, which is also related to the theme of the fight against heresy and the spreading of the Gospel, repeats the model of *Saint James the knight*. Alone, riding a properly equipped white horse, the apostle is holding a red banner with the cross-shaped sword on one hand and a scimitar on the other. We may say he is observing the audience, vigilant, ready for a fight. He is old and wears a tunic, a cloak and sandals, like a pilgrim who interrupted his journey to fight a battle.

The painting is in the middle of a beautiful frame with volutes intertwined with phytomorphic elements and angels in shades of brown, red and blue. A similar border surrounds the entire perimeter of the ceiling.



Nave. Roof. Painting.
Saint James the knight.

CONTEMPORARY INTERVENTIONS

However, in a report provided by the Royal Palace, on September 20th 1890, it was decided to grant an allowance of two hundred and fifty thousand “réis”, “paid in Lisbon to a representative of the Local Council” of the Parish of Valadares, municipality of Baião, “for the repair of several annexes of its mother church”¹⁸. The information of this previously unknown documentary source is short and adds no further details. However, we believe that it is part of a larger process, of which some documentary sources were lost, that was inaugurated by the inquiry sent to all the priest of the parishes from the bishopric of Porto in 1864¹⁹.

We only manage to find further information about this temple almost a century later. The order that opened the appraisal process regarding the possible classification of the Church of Saint James of Valadares was issued on December 13th 1989, and the corresponding special protection zone was defined at the time (Filipe, 2011).

The classification of a monument is an essential step to establish improvement criteria for immovable heritage, “because it defines that a specific asset has an inestimable cultural value”²⁰: general criteria (historical, cultural, aesthetic, social, technical and scientific) and supplementary criteria (the asset’s integrity, authenticity and uniqueness)²¹ that reflect values that will be established in the classification act, which will, therefore, become a vehicle for its public and legal recognition. Depending on their relative value, and according to Law no. 107/2001, of September 8th 2001 (Art. 15), properties may be classified as having “National Interest”, “Public Interest” or “Municipal Interest”²². The filing of a classification process and its subsequent conclusion determine that the building, ensemble or place that were classified, or submitted to classification, automatically have a protection zone or a special protection zone in their surroundings; *non aedificandi*²³ zones may be included in the latter category. In fact, the classification of a given building, which implies a long administrative process composed of a series of different stages defined by the fundamental law on the policy and regime of protection and valuation of the cultural heritage is the first step for its protection, rehabilitation and enhancement. This protection imposes a set of rules that aim at safeguarding the integrity of the building’s heritage, although we should highlight that the classification is not enough to preserve and improve the building.

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18 [Illegible name] – Missiva, 20 de setembro de 1890. IRHU/ Arquivo ex-DGEMN/DREM N Cx. 3216/2 (Correspondência igrejas do concelho de Baião. 1864 to 1890).

19 Victor Le Cocq, through an order issued by the Minister of Public Works, had been commissioned to draw up a map of the state of repair, corresponding repairs and authorised expenses of all the buildings under that Ministry’s management. These buildings included those that were considered monuments, parish churches and public chapels, among others (Rosas, 1995: 511).

20 Under Article 18 (1) of Law no. 107/2001 of September 8th 2001.

21 On the development of the concepts that are inherent to this criteria, please read Maia (1996: 26-29).

22 Decree-Law no. 309/2009 of October 23rd 2009, which develops the legal regime of Law no. 107/2001 and specifies the administrative steps regarding the process of building classification, clarifies, in Article 3 (1), that immovable assets may be classified as buildings of national interest, public interest or municipal interest.

23 LAW no. 107. O.G. [Official Gazette] *Séries I-A*. 209 (2001-09-08) 5808-5829, art. no. 43.

So, the Ordinance regarding the decision to classify the Church of Saint James of Valadares as a Public Interest Monument and to define the corresponding special protection area was only published on September 14th, 2012²⁴. So, the reason why we were not able to find any information regarding protection interventions carried out in this building by the competent authorities during the 20th century is the fact that it still had not been classified. As we may infer from what has been said above, there were occasional interventions in this Church during the last century like, for example, the installation of an electrical network inside the building. This and other interventions, which were surely aimed at maintaining the building and its integrated assets, were carried out under the responsibility of the parish itself and of its Building Commission.

In 2006 there was an inspection of the Church's roofs leading to the replacement of tiles and to the installation of the *onduline* system (Monte, 2012: 4). Since it became part of the Route of the Romanesque in 2010, the Church of Valadares was the subject of a study on mural painting conservation, which we have already mentioned (Caetano, 2012: 3); it was also the subject of a project whose main goal involves the building's conservation, protection and enhancement, focusing on the roofs of the nave, chancel and sacristy, on the external openings and on a series of works aimed at its external area, namely its immediate surroundings, from which we highlight the replacement of the aerial electrical installations by underground installations (Monte, 2012: 4). The building works shall begin still during 2014. In the meantime, and considering its poor condition, a preservation and restoration project was also developed for the main altarpiece and its statues (Duarte, 2014). [MLB / NR]

CHRONOLOGY

1188: inscription date reused in an ashlar from the chancel;

1258: the Church of Saint James of Valadares is referred to as a private or family church;

Late 13th century: suggested chronology for the construction of the Church of Valadares;

Mid-15th century: João Camelo de Sousa, from the family and social circle of the lords of Baião, commissions a mural painting campaign in the Church of Valadares;

1623: the Church of Valadares had a tabernacle;

18th century: Valadares was part of the properties of the Houses of Baião and Marquises of Arronches;

18th century (1st half): suggested chronology for the manufacture of the National Baroque main altarpiece;

1890, September 20th: 250 thousand "réis" were granted by royal initiative for the repair of various sections of the Church of Valadares;

1989, December 13th: the process for the classification of the Church of Valadares is opened;

2006: inspection of the Church's roofs leading to the replacement of tiles and to the installation of an *onduline* system,

2010: the Church of Valadares becomes part of the Route of the Romanesque;

2012, September, 14th: Ordinance regarding the decision to classify the Church of Saint James of Valadares as Public Interest Monument and to define the corresponding special protection area.

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