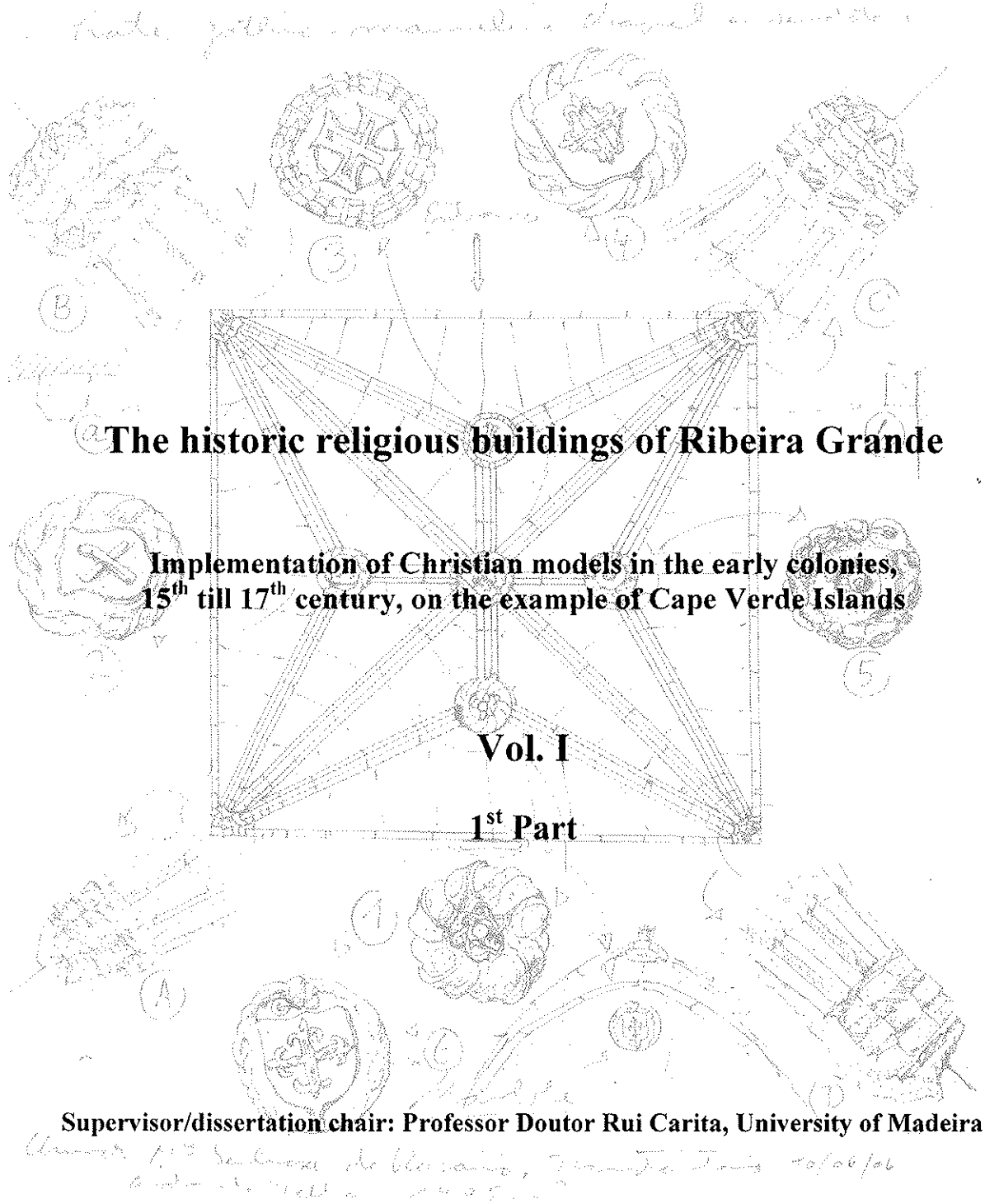
Konstantin Alexander Richter



The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands

Vol. I

1st Part

Supervisor/dissertation chair: Professor Doutor Rui Carita, University of Madeira

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Konstantin Alexander Richter

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UNIVERSIDADE DA MADEIRA
SECTOR DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO
E ARQUIVO

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Konstantin Alexander Richter, author of the theses entitled *The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande - Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands*, Vol. I & II, declares that, beside sources clearly identified, the present document is result of his personal, individual and original work.

City of Praia, Santiago Cape Verde,
31st of October of 2008

Konstantin Alexander Richter

Ph.D. thesis in 'Science of Arts', presented to University of Madeira

Summary

An extended analysis of the historic religious buildings of the city of Ribeira Grande on the Island of Santiago, Cape Verde, built between the second half of the 15th century till the end of the 17th century/beginning 18th century, is done, focusing on their localization in the urban fabric, their historic importance and specific rules occupied, such as their reason and way of construction. They are put in comparison with models of religious buildings during the same era of Portuguese expansion, such in the Kingdom as in other colonies, by studying their remains, analyzing their applied constructive and decorative elements, identifying typologies, arquitechtonic styles and specific local derivations.

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Dedication

To Isabel Vicente

To Klaus and Ursula Richter

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Abbreviations

AHU – *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (Historic Overseas Archives, Lisbon)

AHN – *Arquivo Histórico Nacional* (Historic National Archives, Praia, Cape Verde)

ANTT – *Arquivos do Torre de Tombo* (Archives of *Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon)

BNL – *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* (National Library of Lisbon)

GEAEM – *Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos da Engenharia Militar* (Office of Military Engineering for Archaeological Studies)

MMA – *Monumenta Missionária Africana*

D. – *Dom* (honorific title that precedes the proper name of kings, princes, noble personalities and prelates)

Fr. – *Frei* (friar, monk. As a title: brother)

N.ª S.ª - *Nossa Senhora* (Holy Mother)

S. /St.ª/St.° – *São/Santa/Santo* (Saint)

s.a./n.a. – no author

s.d./n.d. – no date

s.Ed. – no Publisher

s.p./n.p. – no page

s.l./n.pl. – no place

Introduction

> 'In the old city of Ribeira Grande, there existed no less than twenty-four churches and chapels. However their vestiges are practically inexistent, except for the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, the Convent and Church of *S. Francisco*, the ruins of the Cathedral and the Church of *S. Roque*' (Pereira, 2004, 41).

> '(...) Only a few documents are of specific character and exclusive missionary, importing more the history of discovery than the expansion of Christianity. Even though, the considerate reader will notice that during the epoch to which they refer, the fever which burned the men of the sea in passion of looking for new lands, new heavens and new stars, was nearly inseparable from the burning desire to bring to the enclosure of Holy Mother Church the people newly found. We will not discuss here reasons of prevalence or of precedence, between the material and the Spirit, the Christianity and the commerce, especially because it covers an issue of so imprecise contours and of so indecisive facts. Sure is that in all the documentation the 'Spirit' of doing Christianity is absolutely manifested, and for us it is the 'Spirit' that really matters, as a manifestation of a superior directive of command' (Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. I, 17).

The object of study

The city of Ribeira Grande on Santiago Island, Cape Verde Islands, today known as Cidade Velha, has been the first implemented urbanization of Europeans in the tropics during the beginning era of Portuguese exploring and expansion under Infant D. Henrique during the 15th century. Starting in 1462, one of the main concerns from the beginning was to construct chapels and churches, so that the Christian religion could be disseminated. During the first expansion period in the 15th century, the early Portuguese urbanizations followed the late medieval Portuguese model, and so did seemingly the constructed religious buildings in overseas, following Christian models of that time and their origin. Even though the local conditions restricted the access to specific materials and specialized handicrafts, the buildings erected show most of their constructive and decorative characteristics to be the same as at the buildings on the mainland (i.e. Portugal). This could be realized only by importing materials and craftsmen, even though most of the work was done by slaves brought from the West African coast, as was from then on for the next centuries.

Ribeira Grande affirmed itself for the next century as the commercial and habitation centre in the trade routes in between Europe, Africa, America and the Orient, due to its geo-strategic position in the Atlantic. The Catholic Church, as one of the main institutions and social powers of that time, had a central role in forming the local society and to Christianize the main trade good, the slaves. Its influence went so far that the importance of a place was measured by the number of places of worship which existed there.

Due to this geo-strategic position in the Atlantic, the importance of Ribeira Grande grew fast, reaching the status of city and seat of the first Portuguese West African Diocese in 1533, having been built a high number of religious buildings in its quite small urban and immediate involving area till the end of the 17th century, finishing with the Cathedral only a few years before the final stroke given through the attack of the French corsair Jacques Cassard in 1712, a time where the city was already for long time in decline due to the loss of its importance in slave trade after ending the monopoly of the slave trade with the West African coast in 1640. Even so the city itself probably never had more than 500 *fogos* (fires), as family residencies were called, while its religious buildings, beside chapels and churches, included a Jesuit

College, a Church of *Misericórdia* (Mercy) and Hospital, a Franciscan Convent, and finally the Cathedral with the adjacent Episcopal Palace.

Review of the material on which this study is based, and Methods of the Study

Some of the chapels, of whom the site is doubtful or only can be speculated, have disappeared completely, from others just remain remnants of walls or basement stones not clearly identifiable, including of the Episcopal Palace, of whom the site is at least clearly documented and still partly identifiable through some existing basement stones. This disappearance of the site or difficulty of localizing is due to a lack of continuous documentation, partly missing because the building construction plans had been thrown away or weren't stored properly, partly because the necessary copies weren't sent to the kingdom, partly because they were destroyed through pirate attacks throughout the centuries.

In this study, the analysis of the written documentation about the financing, construction, use, ornamentation, conservation and abandonment/destruction of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande is complemented by the interpretation of the little visual material still existent or accessible *in situ*. The remaining historical iconographic documentation is rare. There exist three drawn maps of Ribeira Grande by a Portuguese engineer of the 18th century, some inexact and more than all allusive engravings from the 16th century showing Sir Francis Drake's attacks on the city, two aquarelles, one from a French sails man (who complementary draw an inexact and simplifying town map) and another of Dutch origin, both from the 17th century, showing the city from offshore, one simplified French engraving of the town from the 18th century such as a quite detailed engraving from the 19th century showing one part of town,. To complete, beside a sketch from the 17th century which never came to be realized, there are two plans, some elevation and section drawings, a horizontal section drawing in perspective, such as plan, façade and section drawings of some of the religious buildings in their conservation state in 1960 These are the main documents which can clarify us the localization of the religious buildings, as well as help us to get a more approximate idea of how they had been planned, constructed and might have looked like. One engraving and photos of other existed religious buildings on Cape Verde's Islands might help us to understand.

The photographical historic registration is poor, giving us only partial, but nevertheless very useful, information about construction details and the conservation state of these buildings before the several interventions done to conserve or restore some of them during the last decades. For some of them, these interventions were till a certain degree even prejudicial, for others they came to late or the effort to do so wasn't even done, letting them collapse or having been taken most part of their building material away. Five archaeological interventions during the last decades, as well as two removal and area cleaning interventions, help us to add some complementary information to the missing one. The archaeological excavations brought up some useful information about the ways of construction of the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, the Jesuit College, the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* and the Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia*.

To complete the documentation of the existing sources, we went out to detect and to document as many of the buildings as possible by direct observation *in situ*, be it by photographing, be it by measuring and then drawing their basement plans, sections and elevations (if still identifiable), including more detailed studies of constructive and decorative

elements, such as exisiting parts of columns, arches, vaults, doors, windows, pavements and tiles among others. The most visible remains today are from the recently conserved and partially reconstructed Cathedral, the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, the Chapel of *S. Roque* and from the Convent of *S. Francisco*, so that we could focus our most detailed studies mainly on these four buildings.

For these documentations see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.

The next step was to analyze and to define the material found and to compare it, relating it to the equivalent elements from other religious buildings of that period.

The access to written documentation, specially about the buildings in question, has been quite restricted, with the aggravating circumstance that, to obtain information in Cape Verde, it is only possible mostly through very difficult and, lots of times, very unpredictable ways and circumstances, if at all existent. On the other hand, some of the documentation work has already been done, mostly by architects of the Portuguese and Spanish Cooperation (i.e. the intervention works at the Cathedral by Portuguese Cooperation/IPPAR in 2003/2004, as well as the restoration and conservation works at Convent of *S. Francisco* (2001) and at Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (2002/2003), done by International Agency of Spanish Cooperation/INYPSA) but it is only partially accessible to the public. Therefore we would like to stress the valuable contribution some of our architecture students did in the practical part of research, helping to measure and to draw maps as well as building plans, a process which is technically nearly impossible to do by our own.

The Hypothesis

This research aims to confirm the main hypothesis, that the religious buildings, constructed in Ribeira Grande mainly between the 15th and the 17th century (with one exception), show some particular characteristics answering to the specific local conditions, even though they followed constructive pre-existent models from the kingdom of Portugal and other of its colonies.

To be able to do so, our attempt is to identify the architectural styles and typologies as well as constructive, structural and material characteristics of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, comparing them with described styles and typologies of our period of study, as well as with a further selected sample of religious buildings in Portugal and other former colonies, trying to find out their specific resemblances as well as deviations.

For the exception, the Seminary, as well as for some further re-construction phases, we will have to extend our research partially into the 18th century, when required.

By documenting and interpreting the historical religious buildings of Ribeira Grande we like to contribute to the understanding of the religious architecture in Cape Verde during the Portuguese expansion era through the Atlantic and to define its position among the architectonic forms spread around the globe by the first globalization ever done by mankind.

Chapter 1: The Portuguese expansion along the west coast of Africa during the 15th and 16th century and the geo-strategic importance of Cape Verde in the routes of navigation (1462-1712)

1 Commercial and religious motivations and strategies during Portuguese expansion

1.1 Exploring and opening of new routes along the African coast towards India and America

We can divide the Portuguese expansion into two main periods, of which the first one reaches till the end of the 15th century, with the opening of the maritime route to India in 1498 as well as the discovery of Brazil in 1500. The second period starts at the beginning of the 16th century with the arrival of the first ships carrying Oriental spices in Lisbon and ends with the loss of the national independence of Portugal in 1580 (Saraiva, 1979, 45). For our study, although concentrating on ths period, it is important to go beyond it in our analyses and to extend the research to at least the end of the 17th century, during which the Portuguese empire definitively entered its decline.

The proper concept of the Portuguese expansion includes different realities occurring in different epochs and in different geographic regions as a result of different impulses (deliberate ones as well as purely accidental ones): geographic explorations, odysseys of lost vessels, odisseys of military companies, State interventions in the sequence of diplomatic acts, opening of new trade routes as well as missionary acts. The 15th century mainly confines the Atlantic and Africa, the 16th century includes India and the Pacific, during the 17th and 18th century is accentuated Brazil. Every step is the consequence and continuation of a former situation: *Ceuta* is connected to the discovery of the Islands, the construction of a solid base in *Mina* led to the continuation of the exploration of the African coast, which revealed the

passage to India. The real colonization of Brazil started when the gains of Asia went into decline (Saraiva, 1988, 134).

The year of 1415 is known as the official date of the beginning of the expansion period of the Portuguese empire, with the battle of the Portuguese against the Moorish and the conquest of the city of *Ceuta* in North Africa. This was mainly an act of the King João I to give his sons, the three Infants Duarte, Pedro and Henrique *o Navegador* (Henry the Navigator), the possibility to prove their ability with weapons and to gain knighthood, a fight following the signing of the 10 year treaty of peace of Portugal with the kingdom of *Castile* in 1411 and the refusal of the regent of *Castile* of the proposal of D.João I to expulse the Arabs from Granada together (Armando, 1966, 129).

As reasons for the decision of heading towards the conquering of *Ceuta*, from which was expected a relatively easy and rewarding success, are also named the strategic and economic trade position of *Ceuta*, which promised richness and easy access to the legendary gold regions of Africa, such as the domain of the pirate activity in the straight of Gibraltar. But first of all it was a crusade against the infidels in the name of Christianity, which had the approval of the Pope, who legitimized every war in the name of God. This is confirmed by the chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara in his 'Chronicle of the conquest of Ceuta' (*ibid*, 130).

The Infant Henry used the time of his stay in *Ceuta* to inform himself about the legendary Priest John, from which was known that he, as a Monarch, was supposed to be surrounded by incalculable richness in a Kingdom in Africa or India. He asked Arabic salesmen, caravan leaders and other experts of Africa which would be the best way to reach him, and where do the Caravans lead when they cross the enormous desert. This way he heard about the city of Timbuktu, where the Caravans would get enormous loads of gold, which they would exchange later against salt (*ibid*, 132).

At the beginning of the expansion south along the Africa coast, when there still existed the belief that beyond the Cape *Bojador* existed the *Mar Tenebroso* (horrible sea), where the world would end, Henry the Navigator himself had the firm aim to win with science over the superstition, to destroy in this way the old legends. But he was also motivated by the legendary gold existing in Africa. (*ibid*, 132). With the full agreement of the King, Henry the Navigator, at the south-west point of Portugal, in *Sagres*, assembled around him people specialized in Cosmography, Geography, maps drawing and ship construction, such as captains, and collected all available sea maps, books, reports and instruments for navigation, on whose improvement he worked. He already had in mind to find the way to India and to get in possession of the gold Africa's (*ibid*, 132, 133).

The first results known from the Portuguese expansion across the Atlantic was the occupation of the island of Porto Santo in 1419 and of the Island of Madeira in 1420, on which, after installing some Portuguese families on these till then uninhabited islands, the first plantations were of wheat, quickly substituted by sugar cane, by order of the Infant. In consequence, the first settlements progressed with the coming in of Genovese and Jewish merchandisers, attracted by the business, transforming the islands, mainly Madeira, to one of the main sugar production centres (Saraiva, 1979, 51, 52).

The next step was the discovery of the Azores Islands, equally found uninhabited, in 1431. In 1437, the Infant got the authorization to colonize the seven till then known Islands, and the

main crop there became the wheat, necessary to supply the kingdom in constant deficit of cereals, such as the already conquered and installed *praças* (forted settlements) in north of Africa (*ibid*, 52).

At the expansion route along the west coast of Africa, the first achievement to be aimed was the surrounding of the Cape *Bojador*, behind which, as we have seen, laid the legendary *Mar Tenebroso* and where the world would end. Twelve years of attempts and numerous ships send out every year would be necessary till Gil Eanes surrounded the Cape in 1434 and could report that the world didn't end at Cape *Bojador*. Even though the Portuguese claimed that they had also discovered the Canary Islands, it was to the Spanish that the Pope granted finally its custody, after several attempts of Henry the Navigator to occupy one or the other of the Islands (Armando, *op. cit.*, 133).

The next aim was the Guinea Coast, as which was still named the whole west African coast unknown till then, where it was expected to have access to the gold, as it had been told to Henry the Navigator. His ship constructors had already developed, with help of information collected by his brother Infant Pedro mainly during trips to Venice in between 1420 and 1428, a ship type called *Caravela*, the first one to be able to sail against the wind thanks to its so called 'Latin sails' of triangular shape (Saraiva, 1979, 54). But due to the high costs of the expeditions and the slow advances of the captains towards south, which preferred to make business meanwhile in between, the progress towards the unknown coast advanced slowly (Armando, *op. cit.*, 133).

As a consequence of the depression after the failed attempt to conquer the city of *Tanger* in 1437, in which Henry the Navigator had to leave his brother Fernando as a hostage in the hands of the Moorish, the expeditions along the west coast Africa's were interrupted between 1437 till 1440. The school of *Sagres* only started again when Infant Pedro took over the reign from the still underage King Afons V. With new and better equipped ships, the Cape *Branco* (white cape) was reached in 1441, and in the year 1443, the first ship brought a load of 100 slaves to Portugal, where was installed the first slave trade marked in Lagos. The success was so big that during the next year was established a similar marked in Lisbon (*ibid*, 138).

Three Popes had granted the King of Portugal the right to 'assault and conquer pagan lands and to hold their inhabitants in eternal slavery'. The trade was mainly done with blue and red poor-quality cloth and cheep knick-knacks, exchanged against slaves, gold and tropical products such as pepper (*ibid*, 138, 139).

In 1454, the Pope Nicolão V gave Henry the Navigator the monopole rights to exploit all countries from him discovered, such as the right to precede with the expansion till India. And in 1456, in a *Bula papal* (pontific solemn document), the Pope handled over the spiritual power over all discovered lands, from Cape *Bojador* till India, to the *Ordem de Christo* (Order of Christ), of which Henry the Navigator was the Grand Master (*ibid*,139).

Meanwhile, in North Africa, under the reign of D. Afonso V, the little coast village of *Alcácer Cequer*, lying between *Ceuta* and *Tânger*, was conquered. Afterwards, two other big warrior journeys led to the failed attempt, from 1463 till 1464, in front of the city walls, to occupy *Tânger*, and in 1471 to the conquest of *Arzila* and final occupation of *Tânger*, which the Moorish simply abandoned after the successful conquest of *Arzila*. These captures were consequence of the military preparations Portugal's to crusade against the Turkish, which had

conquered Constantinople and besieged Belgrade, but the crusade didn't advance due to the death of the appealing Pope and the end of the siege (Saraiva, 1988, 128, 129).

During the (official) year of Cape Verde's discovery, in 1460, Henry the Navigator died, in total financial ruin due to the high expenses of the discovery expeditions along Africa's west coast (Armando, *op. cit.*, 139). He was succeeded by Infant D. Fernando, brother of the king D. Afonso V. At the time of Henry the Navigators death, the Portuguese had already drawn with all fidelity the West African coast till Sierra Leona, which means recognition of 4000 km along the coast line (Saraiva, 1979, 54).

Under the reign of D. João II (1481-1495), who already took over the direction of the discoveries and explorations of new lands from 1474 on, was constructed the *Praça* of *S. Jorge da Mina* in 1481, one of his very first acts of reign, which served as a base for the Portuguese commercial exploration of the West African coast. Constructing a huge fortress, this attempt to implant a large area of Portuguese influence in Africa succeeded for a long time, serving as centre of ransom of gold, assuring the Portuguese domination in an extensive area that included Senegal, Sierra Leona, Ivory Coast, Liberia, the Gold Coast and reached till the Delta of the Niger (*id*). The main gain, obtained by trading mostly gold, ivory, condiments and slaves, belonged to the crown, which therefore financed with it the defence against Spanish, Arabic and Flemish Corsairs (Armando, *op. cit.*, 147).

During that time, the plan to reach the Indian Ocean by way of surrounding the south of Africa was affirmed clearly (Saraiva, 1988, 131). Thanks to the renunciation to the rights over the Canaries, the King got already in 1479 the official recognition from *Castile* that the African sea is exclusively a Portuguese sea. He gave order to his ships to destroy any vessel of other nations that would adventure themselves in the regions which the Portuguese had discovered (Saraiva, 1979, 54). Also by spreading the information that the ship type *Caravelle*, whose construction method was only known by the Portuguese, was the only one which could be able to sail on southern seas, he could still maintain the trade monopole in West Africa for some time. Only at the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese couldn't hold back the foreign concurrence any more (Armando, *op. cit.*, 147).

King D. João II hold on to the idea of Henry the Navigator to reach India by sea way, and already in 1483, by reaching the Congo, it was thought that the passage had been found. But only in 1487, the Captain Bartolomeu Dias, by deviating from the coast due to a storm, could surround the Cape which he called Cape of the Storms, renamed by the King afterwards in Cape of Good Hope (*ibid*,149). This achievement was hold in secret for reasons of concurrence with the Castilian reign (*ibid*, 149, 150).

In 1481, Christopher Colombo's idea of reaching new territories sailing towards West was rejected by the King of Portugal but accepted by the Spanish crown, so that in 1492 he reached the great Antilles, but only 6 years later he reached the mainland, today's Venezuela. In the same year, 1498, finally Vasco da Gama reached India by the sea way (*ibid*, 151, 152).

The discovery of Christopher Colombo was immediately claimed by the Portuguese King as to belong to Portugal. The Pope Alexander XI awarded the Spanish crown all new territories discovered towards West, such as all new rights over new territories discovered in south direction. Beside this, the Pope annulled all former to Portugal given territorial privileges (*ibid*, 152). D. João II protested energetic and threatened with war, so that King Ferdinand of

Spain gave way and it came to new negotiations which lead to the treaty of *Tordesilhas*. This treaty divided the whole world between Portugal and Spain, through a line drawn from the north to south 350 miles west of the Islands of Cape Verde, of which all territories west of this line would belong to Spain. This course made the in 1500 discovered Brazil by Pedro Alvares Cabral still belong to Portugal (*ibid*, 151, 152). It is speculated that Portugal already had information about the existence of new territories in that area.

1.2 Commerce, Christianization and domain of the conquered territories

Even though the discoveries of new territories of the Portuguese continued into the 16th century (they reached China and even Japan), we can consider the 16th century as the second period of Portuguese expansion, due to the commerce of products coming now to the Kingdom from the till 1500 discovered territories. This commerce, including mainly slaves, ivory, condiments, porcellin and Oriental cloth, had a deep financial and social impact mainly on the Portuguese motherland, changing its structure and influencing it for centuries.

The first slaves came to Portugal already in 1441, native from the Guinea coast, disembarking at the port of Lagos. Since then the slave became one of the most appreciated goods, even comparing to gold and condiments, He was the most responsible influence factor for a profound social and ethnical transformation of the daily life, special in the capital Lisbon. They came mainly from the Ivory and Guinea Coasts, afterwards also from Congo, Mozambique and the mouth of Zaire. But also from India, Ethiopia, China and Japan were brought slaves to the Kingdom, including great variety of races such as native Africans, Indians and Moorish (Moita et al, 1983, 16).

Soon it became clear that the native Africans were the most adaptable and useful ones for the heavy physical labour, so the importation of slaves from other origins slowed down (*ibid*, 16, 17). They were treated as the other merchandises and designated as *peças* (pieces), counted by the head, becoming a good even more valuable than the proper gold. They were sold, exchanged, left in heritage and serving a lot of times as exchange currency. All poor and rich people pretended to have slaves, serving for the most heavy and vulgar jobs till domestic services, often being sociable with their patrons in closest familiarity. They sometimes even served as prestige figures for the attendance of the important personalities (*ibid*, 17).

The Church tried, in a certain way, to meliorate the inhuman conditions the slaved lived in. In Lisbon, it supported the founding of Confraternities in some churches, such as in the Church of *S. Domingos* and *S. Francisco* the Confraternity of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* (Holy Mother of Rosary of the Black Men). The so created possibility of their incorporation into processions like the one of *Corpo de Deus* (Corpus Christi) in Lisbon made them an element of major attraction, due to their exotic music, dances and costumes (*id*). Even though, when baptized or liberated by religious imposition, their situation continued difficult due to the continuation of dependency from their former patrons. By time of their death they had no right to be buried in the Church yards, but were simply thrown into specially opened mass graves or on farms outside the city where they decomposed or were eaten by dogs (*ibid*, 18).

It is stipulated that, during the 16th century, the percentage of the living slaves in Lisbon was round about ten per cent of the total population, which would mean in numbers nearly ten thousand people As they were brought in in new and new remittances, used for all imaginary kind of forced labour, the impact on the Lisbon society was enormous, creating a climate of

facilities with negative consequences for the future. When the richness and the commerce possibilities brought from the overseas colonies declined during the second half of the 15th century and it got harder and harder for ordinary people to maintain slaves, the common Lisbon inhabitant didn't know how to recover the old labour habits and preferred to put hand on occasional devices to maintain the appearance of a fictive richness with all the possible resulting consequences this could bring: bohemian lifestyle with disdain of manual and mechanical work, vagabondage, not seldom ending in vagrancy or prison (*id*).

The richness, mainly coming from India (as which was designated at that time the whole Oriental area, including China and Japan), seemed to open economic possibilities and to bring solutions, from the beginning of the 16th century on, for nearly everyone (*id*): for the noblemen and bureaucrats which hoped to become rich through the posts for which they were nominated, for the common people which had difficulties in finding jobs in Portugal, where the internal productive activities were nearly paralyzed (Saraiva, 1979, 65).

India itself was the land that had to bring in the most part of the richness which Portugal needed desperately (Armando, 1966, 175). With the coming from the spices from the Orient by sea way, it was opened a route from quay to quay, and as such it entered in concurrence to the former transportation route, which had to run the Red Sea and the Persian Golf till Alexandria, being the Venetians and Genovese responsible for its commercialization in Europe (Saraiva, *op. cit.*, 64). So were exterminated the lots of necessary caravans and intermediaries, which made the prices of the spices much more accessible and consequently the gains higher.

The economic value of spices was enormous, so that the King made it to become quickly the main income of the crown. Spices were used in a lot of different ways: as condiments and preservatives, as raw material for the preparation of medicaments, for perfumes, glues and lacquers, paints, dyes and varnishes (*id*).

Even though, the Explorations themselves have had extreme high costs, which were accentuated through a lot of ship lost due to storms, pirates or even bad ship construction itself. This reached the point that in 1560, shortly after the Kings João III, son of D. Manuel I, had died, Portugal had to declare national bankruptcy (Armando, *op. cit.*, 175). 'The commerce of the Orient impoverished more and more the nation. To be added had to be the human losses' (Saraive, 1988, 192).

The giant enterprise of discovery and exploration did spend all the possibilities of the small Nation of Portugal, and the followers of the first Discoverers and founders of the vast empire weren't morally aware of their task, becoming more and more unrestrained looters. (Armando, *op. cit.*, 174). The thirty years after Vasco da Gama's reaching of India did also bring changes in so far as the Portuguese did take over the sumptuous costumes of the Arabs. Simple soldiers did wear now luxurious cloth, decorated with precious stones. All civil servants did only think how they could fill the quickest possible their pockets. Corruption was everywhere, and the Portuguese did piracy in the eastern seas without running the risk to be punished (*ibid*, 173).

Every year went a large Armada to India, carried with soldiers, adventurers, Missionaries such as goods designated to pay off the spices at its coasts (Saraiva, 1979, 65). The Orient did demand the deployment of more and more people, because continuous fights with the

indigenous, pirate attacks and ship catastrophes did cost a lot of lives. The population of Portugal had sink from two to one million inhabitants. Every year, round about eightthousand men in their best years did go to India, in between them, as it is reported and lamented by chroniclers, a lot of inferior subjects, which didn't honor Portugal. In substitution, serving as labour forces, Portugal had to bring thousands of slaves from Africa, sold in Lagos and Lisbon on the weekly slave markets, as already mentioned (Armando, *op. cit.*, 174).

Due to the also found difficulties in the Orient by trying to control the spice trade, which had been in the hands of Arabic markets, the trade found a lot of resistance, starting with the Turkish, and leading till the substitution of Portugal as the dominant nation of the Oriental trade by the Dutch and English round about mid 17th century (Saraiva, 1979, 65 66).

The centre of colonial Portugal in Asia was Goa, were the Portuguese pretended to construct a European city, with Renaissance churches. Goa had been also the seat of the evangelization activity of the Orient, headed by the Society of Jesus. They constructed numerous Colleges which were frequented such by Portuguese as by Asians of other nationalities. The classes were given in sixteen different languages to be comprehensible for all. Besides the spreading of the Catholic religion, this helped the Orient to have access to a lot of values and techniques of the European culture (*ibid*, 67, 68).

Japan and China had been of more difficult access, being the commerce done for a long time by Portuguese clandestine merchandisers. In Japan, the first city funded by Portuguese was Nagasaki. In China, the donation of Macau to the Portuguese in 1557 made possible the way out of trade goods and the way in into China of the Catholic religion, which the Jesuits tried to take land inwards (*ibid*, 69-71).

As the concurrence of the former spice routes of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were reestablished by the Venetians and Turkish from the first third of the 16th century on, the prices of selling fell such as the prices of buying rose in the production areas, and its commerce started to give prejudice (*ibid*, 75).

At the same time, the costs of the fights against the Turkish rose from year to year due to the increasing needs of ships, soldiers and cannons. Beside this, the military power of the Moorish in North Africa rose against the Portuguese presence, and in the Kingdom the costs increased by the luxurious adopted costumes of the *fidalgos* (noblemen) at the court, which by all costs tried to maintain them (*ibid*, 75, 76).

This picture lead the young King D. Sebastião (1568-1578), self dominated as the 'Captain of God' in the war of Christianity, to advance towards the disastrous crusade against the *xerife* (title used by Moorish princes) Muley Abdelmalik, allied of the Turkish from *Argel* (*ibid*, 76). The complete annihilation of the Portuguese army, including the death of the King himself, left Portugal in 1578 without a direct heir for the thrown.

From the second half of the 16th century on, the attention of the Kings of Portugal turned more and more towards Brazil, to find a compensation for the starting decline of the trade with the Orient. With the installation of an own government for Brazil by the King João III in 1548 started its real seizure and colonization. At the same year, the first Jesuits came to Brazil, founding the College of *S. Paulo*, which gave the city its name (Saraiva, 1988, 162).

Other cities and Fortresses were founded and raised, and after the first exported product, the *pau brasil* (Brazil wood), the sugar cane, originally imported from Madeira, became one of the main export goods. Beside this, cotton and tobacco were the main cultivable products. This building up of farming demanded the import of slaves from Africa, as the native Indians weren't adaptable for the agricultural slave work (Armando, *op. cit.*, 175). The owners of the sugar cane farms established direct contacts with the Guinea coast to acquire there a large number of slaves (Saraiva, 1988, 163).

1.3 Loss of independence, restoration and starting loss of the Empire at the end of 16th and during the 17th century

With the swear in of Philip II of Spain (I of Portugal) as new King in 1581, after the defeat of the Army under King D. Sebastião in Alcácer-Quibir, Portugal came under the Spanish domain, which would last, with his successors Philip III and Philip IV, till 1640. Even though, the conditions stipulated to be respected were very favorable for Portugal and, at least at the beginning of this period, kept to, so as there was to read in between others that: all of the rights, liberties, privileges and costumes of the Portuguese would be maintained; the commerce with Africa and India would stay entirely in Portuguese hands; only someone coming from the Kingdom could occupy political, juridical, ecclesiastic or other positions, this including the Military orders such as the one from *Crato*; only to Portuguese could be given the right of ownership of cities, villages and other places, such as of juridical power or tax laws (Armando, 1966, 188, 189).

This brought a period of relative political calm and economic wealth. The weakened commerce with India, mainly through great ship losses and increasing numbers of enemies, mainly the English and Dutch ones, was compensated through the one with Brazil.

Brazil turned out to become the first world producer of sugar and one of the first ones of tobacco. Some of the major buildings of Portugal were constructed at that time: the new Cathedral of Coimbra, the Church of *S. Vicente de Fora* in Lisbon such as the largest noble Palaces (Saraiva, 1979, 80). Even though, a lot of noblemen lost reason to live in Lisbon, settling down on their lands and turning into businessmen of their own properties, mostly supported by slaves in their work.

With the increasing difficulties which Spain suffered from 1620 on, due to long involvements in the European wars and the draining of the Peruvian mines, such as the increasing number of enemy sea powers, such as England, France and Holland, Spain was dragging Portugal behind. The attacks to Portuguese *feitorias* (commercial markets) were now more frequent, with evident consequences in special for the merchants and the people which paid the taxes. Mostly in the Orient, but even in Africa, such as in Brazil, the Portuguese were put pressure on and started to loose part by part their occupied territories. 'It was during the first quarter of the 17th century that the Portuguese Empire declined' (Oliveira Martins apud Armando, *op. cit.*, 192).

This would have obviously also repercussive effects on the economical and social situation of Cape Verde, as we will see later. Joining the crisis was the facilitation under the Phillips' reign to make slave trade directly with the Coast of Guinea, without having to pass necessarily by Santiago Island any more.

Under these circumstances, the loss of fulfillment of the former stipulated conditions under Phillip III and progressively Phillip IV, together with the increasing of the tributes, had as consequence resistance and rebellion from side of the Portuguese nobility and people, which lead to a Revolution in the whole country, in which the Duke of *Bragança* finally was crowned as João IV, new King of Portugal, in 1640 (*ibid*, 197).

Portugals expected alliance to the rest of Europe, now that it was adversary of Spain, did become an illusion. Portugal, as small as it was as country, was not important enough for other nations to have it as ally, but its vast empire was worth to have it as enemy. Consequently, the expected supplies missed and the constant attacks continued, and the few alliances they'd got had to be paid with concessions of vantages or even with the hand over of overseas domains. It was in special the alliance with England which weakened the Portuguese, by them being obliged to give to England the same rights which they had in relation to the commerce with the overseas possessions.

During the next two decades, Portugal did open the commerce of Africa, Brazil and India to the English, and handled over to them the cities of Tânger, in Africa, such as Bombain in India. Beside, it allowed them to establish *feitorias* in Goa, Cochim, Diu, S. Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. And all this just for the promise that England wouldn't help in the war against Portugal. But also with France and Holland, the negotiations showed up to be complicated (*ibid*, 84, 85).

After the failed attempt of Spain in 1660, trying to regain Portugal under its domain again, its economic situation was in extremely severe situation, additionally weakened through the expenses the still ongoing independence war against Spain had cost. An attempt to establish in Portugal own manufactories (mainly wool cloth, but also glass and silk spinning factories) for the inner consumption did fail to the sudden and unexpected appearance at the end of the 17th century of innumerable and important gold deposits in Brazil, a product which would be, together with the about 1730 discovered diamonds, the principal income of the Portuguese crown during the first half of the 18th century, and which would be responsible for the upcoming of the rich baroque religious architecture in Brazil (Saraiva, *op. cit.*, 86, 88).

It is in front of this political and economical background that we have to understand the urban development of Ribeira Grande on Santiago Island of Cape Verde, such as the construction, maintenance and abandonment of its religious buildings during the 15th, 16th and 17th century.

2 The religious powers during these periods

With the extinction of the *Ordem dos Templários* (Templar order) in 1312, the spirit of the crusades went extinguished in Europe. In Portugal, with the founding of the *Ordem de Cristo* in 1319, this idea did have its continuation. To this order were handled over all the goods of the *Ordem dos Templários*, with which the Infant D. Henrique (Henry the Navigator), Governor and Administrator of this order during the first half of the 16th century, equipped his ships for the exploration travels along the coast of Africa, continuing as such the idea of the 'war of liberty and religion' against the Moorish (De Almeida, 1996, 85).

The *Bula Romanus Pontifex* from the Pope Nicolau V in 1455 called Henry the Navigator his 'preferred and very appreciated son' and 'firm soldier of Christ', recognizing to the Kings of Portugal the ownership of the seas and lands discovered and to discover. The Pope Calisto III

recognized in 1456 the *Bula* of his ancestor, as such conceding to the *Ordem de Cristo* the spiritual jurisdiction of the referred territories. This led to the recognized *Padroado* (Lat. *patronatu*, concession done by the Roman Church/the Vatican to evangelize territories outside of the political jurisdiction of the mainland), received from Rome in 1514, over all Missionary sees and Dioceses of new foundation (*ibid*, 84, 85).

During the same year, with the *Bula Pro Excellenti*, from 12th of June of 1514, and in request of the King D. Manuel I, the Pope Leão X created the Diocese of *Funchal* (Madeira) and incorporated in it all land and Islands of the Discoveries. This Diocese would remain till 1533 the most extensive one of the world, till at 31st of January the Pope Clemente VII, answering the request of King D. João III, would proceed to its division into the one of the Azores, with its siege in *Angra do Heroismo*, the one of Cape Verde, with its seat in Ribeira Grande such as the one of S. Tomé, where already in 1500 had reached the first Franciscan *Capuchins* Missionaries. During the same year (1533) still was created the Diocese of Goa, which territory of influence extended through India and reached till China, with all the territories of the Portuguese discoveries (*ibid*, 86). Soon it would be necessary to divide such large Diocese, which would be split up into 7 divisions till 1612 (*ibid*, 87). The Diocese of Brazil would be crated in 1551 in S. Salvador da Bahía, only be subdivided into three new Dioceses in 1676 (*ibid*, 86).

Meanwhile, at the West African coast, the Islands of Cape Verde and Guinea formed a unit for administrative and religious effects with the creation of the Diocese in Ribeira Grande in 1533. Already in 1460, in the year of his death, Henry the Navigator left these territories to the *Ordem de Cristo*. But certainly with the discovery of the Congo in 1482 through Diogo Cão it happened that the evangelization penetrated into the African Continent, the King D. João II sending Missionaries in 1491 which baptized its black King with the name D. João and constructed a church (*ibid*, 87, 88).

Later on, the missionary action continued with the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the *Carmelitas Descalços*. During the second half of the 16th century, the Jesuits penetrated into the Region of *Cuanza* (in today's Angola) to convert and to baptize. During the 17th century, the Franciscan *Capuchins* did play the most important role in evangelization of Congo and Angola, whose Diocese had been created in 1592 (*ibid*, 88).

At the Oriental coast of Africa, Chaplains of the ships started with the evangelization in Mozambique, followed by the Dominicans from 1546 on. In 1560, the Jesuits Missionaries reach the region. Meanwhile, the Dominicans had traveled over the region of *Zambésia*, and till the end of the 17th century, more than twenty thousand indigenous of these territories had become Christians. Hierarchically, these territories stayed dependent of Goa till 1781 (*ibid*, 91, 92).

During mid 16th century, the Jesuits entered in Ethiopia or Abyssinia, where to the Vatican sent several Patriarchs, but which ended with the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1640 due to the intransigency of the Missionaries towards usual practices of the natives (*ibid*, 93).

In the Orient, the city of Goa, conquered by *Afonso de Albuquerque* in 1510, would become the centre of all Portuguese action in these regions, and it were the Franciscans which, during the next fourty two years, would irradiate their apostolate from Goa and Ceylon to *Malaca* and the Islands of *Molucas*. By the year of the reaching of the Jesuits in India, in 1542, the

Franciscans had already established fourteen Convents, sixteen Colleges, three Hospices and two hundred thirty seven parochial residencies. Between the Jesuit priests is to detach S. Francisco Xavier, who traveled till Japan, dying on the way to China in 1552, after ten years of exhausting activity in the service of God and Portugal (*id*).

The College of S. Paulo, founded in Macau in 1541 and later handled over to the Jesuits, would have an extraordinary development, serving as a species of Portuguese University of the Orient, having at its service one hundred Jesuits, providing free teaching to two thousand students (*id*).

Beside the Franciscans and Jesuits, also the Dominicans (from 1503 on) did missionary work in the Orient, such as the Augustinians, which distinguished themselves in evangelization mostly in Missions in Persia (*id*).

In Brazil, the first Missionary to reach was a Franciscan from the city of Coimbra, who accompanied Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500 on board. But only in 1549, the Jesuits started with the evangelization work, being only six at the beginning. Their head was Father Manuel da Nóbrega, who celebrated the mass in front of a improvised cross in *Baía de Todos os Santos*. It was mainly the Society of Jesus which helped to built up the civilization of Brazil, helping to construct the city of *Salvador da Baía de Todos os Santos*, the Colleges of Rio de Janeiro and S. Paulo (*ibid*, 93, 94).

The Society of Jesus founded numerous villages which became cities later, created primary schools and Colleges of Latin and humanities such as the College of Baía with University character in Philosophy. The first grammar of Indian language (Tupi-Guarani), printed in 1595, is of their authority (*ibid*, 96).

Besides fighting against the anthropophagic and polygamist costumes of the Indians, such as giving them moral and medical assistance, the Jesuits defended the liberty of the Indians against all temptations of abuses and slavery of the colons. By creating, with discipline and authority, the system of *aldeamento* (Indian village under the direction of a Missionary), by trying to settle the semi-nomads around the principal settlements, these villages went protected against selvage Indians and pirate attacks (*id*).

Other religious orders participated in the evangelization of Brazil: the Benedicts, which founded the first Monastery in Baía; the Carmelites in *Santos* and *Olinda*; and the Franciscans from 1585 on, by founding a Convent in *Olinda* (*id*).

2.1 The intervention of the Church, the religiosity and the overseas evangelization during the 15th and 16th century

The main contribution of Portugal, initiated by Henry the Navigator, beside advancing with the scientific development in Geography, Cartography, Nautical and ship construction techniques in the Renaissance spirit into the Modern Epoch, such as the opening of the international commerce and politics of outer European contacts, has been, without doubt, the act of missionary evangelization in the till then Christian virgin territories of the European overseas (Brásio apud De Almeida, 1996, 86, 87).

There is no document coming from the *Cúria Romana* which haven't been provoked by the mentors of the Portuguese overseas politics, would they call themselves Infant D. Henrique, Infant D. Pedro, D. João I, D. Duarte, D. Afonso V or D. João II (Brásio apud De Almeida, *ibid*, 86). 'Of the analysis of the precedent documents results clearly the undeniable spirituality of the *henriquine* discoveries and the undeniable missionary aim of the overseas company Portugal's since the 15th century' (*id*). Beginning with the conquest of *Ceuta*, it was, beside the mercantile interests, a question of founding there the first missionary post at the African Continent, which would be confined shortly after (1420) to the Franciscans (*id*).

The regime of the *Padroado* of the Portuguese act of evangelization has served an enormous contribute to the Christianization of the African, Asiatic and New World territories. The Dioceses of Madeira (1514), Cape Verde (1533), Azores (1534), S. Tomé (1534), Goa (1534), Baía (1550), Ethiopia (1555), Cochim and Malaca (1557), Macau (1575), Japan (1588), Angola and Congo (1596), Angamale or Cranganor (1600), Meliapor (1606) and Mozambique (1612) turned out to be centres of irradiation and flourishing of churches and of Christianity (Brásio apud De Almeida, 1996, 86). In Africa, it was such the traders as the Missionaries which explored the discovered territories, before the deep penetrations by journeys of explorers done into the interior of the Continent during the 19th century (L. Fernandes apud De Almeida, *ibid*, 87).

The Royal nobiliary-ecclesiastic centralism at that time had created a mental resistance towards the effects which the abrupt economic transformation and consequent social fluctuations would bring. It continued to consist out of the dichotomy of good/bad and of its numerous variations at that time: service/disservice of God and the King, glory of the King and of God versus service to the enemies of the Faith and the Kingdom (Moita et al, 1983, 24).

In between the behavior models which acted with most impact over the population were the sacred models of behavior, which were organized around the three following fundamental issues: the life's of the Saints, the life of the Virgin and childhood of Jesus, and the Passion of Christ. These were transmitted to the population, mostly illiterate, by the religious art in form of paintings (including tiles), stained-glass windows and holy relics, such as through demonstrative processions (*ibid*, 24, 25).

The first one was related to the profoundly settled cults into the vital necessities of the population, such as the fights against the plague (cults of *S. Roque* and *S. Sebastião*), which affected the city of Lisbon from 1504/5 on, with its culmination in 1569, and the necessity of protection and favourable intervention (cults of *St. º António* and *S. Vicente*) (*ibid*, 25).

The second one was related to the model-image of the woman and the mother as the model of relation of possible affectivity between mother and child. The cult of the Virgin was transformed into the cult of *Imaculada Conceição* (Immaculate Conception), whose transformation was finally established during the 16th century (*id*).

The third one, the Passion of Christ, as model of the maximum of martyrdom, had its social impact by the possible exteriorization of the feelings (horror, mercy, compassion, remorse) mainly during processions, which the Church tried to control and reduce step by step, normalizing and standardizing the religious feeling in a manifestation of popular culture. The maximum of its expression was the victory over the death, another object of behavioural

obsessions during the 16th century. The worry with the 'good death' and the salvation of the soul was the desperately pointed out aim. Any lay person would clearly indicate the spiritual and temporal dispositions through the writing of a testament (*ibid*, 26). Another clear sign of the individualization of the experience of the death was the election of the place of burial, the individualization of the proper tombstone by name, date and sometimes epitaph and coat of arms (*ibid*, 27).

With the beginning of the coming of the spices from the Orient and the attachment to the sudden upcoming of richness and earthy goods, the consequence was a relaxing of costumes and distancing of the ideal Christian praxis. As a reaction, the impulse to improve the issues of the spirit and the relation to God would be felt, coming from the more cultured and cult classes and extending to the population in general (*ibid*, 31).

The changing of the old ways of living and traditions in Portugal, in special in Lisbon, linked to the first times of easy acquired richness through the spices from the Orient, had by the beginning of decline of the first euphoria a transforming effect on the religiosity of the population. This started to refuge itself into a superstitious and fearful religiosity, influenced by the ethic-religious renovations coming from North of Europe (such as the movement *devotio moderna*, for example), which the Catholic contra-reform made all effort to discipline from the third quarter of the 16th century on (*ibid*, 24). But influences of the movement of *devotio moderna*, such as the *Erasmism*, left to a new internalization of the religion and individual conscience in front of God and the others. The interest now was focused on the action of the mankind in the world, but with a strong component of interiorized and individual religiosity. In synthesis, an accentuation of aspects of apostolic and evangelization interventions, not neglecting the traces of affective and ethic order, such as the exemplar and austere life and the intimate seclusion, outside the Convent, or of moderate meditative nature, such as the cult of the Saints and the rites (*ibid*, 32, 33).

With the King D. Manuel (1469-1521) we can find the first major reforming attempt of the religious communities, which still didn't show immediate and touchable results, but opened up the way for reformers of the future times. The direction went to contemplate the contemplative aspect of the religious life, in the sense of a more and sincere devotional internalization, slowly distancing from the still rooted habits of formalist and ritualistic religion, only an exterior face to the ecclesiastic ostentation and heritage of the medieval living (*ibid*, 32). It was after the blooming period of D. Manuel, during which the glory was thought to be near, that the economic crisis and the social tensions set in during the reign of D. João III. This fact might explain the sudden change of a population full of self-confidence turning into a fearing mass easily manipulative by the catechising effort of the premature Catholic reform in Portugal (*ibid*, 28).

The new pietism, which was forming itself as a consequence, led so to the institutions of the *Misericórdias* (Mercy institutions), as such characterizing the pious and merciful life to which the real Christian should come by the active exercising of the disinterested assistance to the disfavoured, an ethic complement of the religious internalization (*ibid*, 32).

2.2 The impact of the Council of Trent on the formation of the regular and secular clergy during the 16th and 17th century

The *Concílio de Trento* (Council of Trent) , extending itself between 1545 till 1563 in twenty five public sessions, had three distinct periods, in which all did participate elected Portuguese Ecclesiastics. Its main aim was the attempt to reform and to discipline the Catholic Church as an answer to the reformist movement of the Protestantism, in consequence called the 'contra-reform'. During it were elaborated a catechism, a breviary and a *missal* (Lat. *ecl. missale*), serving as basis for the Catholic formation, such as further efficient instruments to strengthen the Catholicism and to face the reformist movement (De Almeida, 1996, 103).

The formation of the clergy till the 15th and mid 16th century had been done in monastic and Episcopal Schools, not in any way uniform and less regular. From the second half of the 16th century on were created Seminaries nearly in all Dioceses, in correspondence to the determinations of the *Concílio de Trento*, in session 23, chap. 18, *Cum Adolescentium Aetas*, 15th of July of 1563 (*ibid*, 100). These Seminaries, started to be founded in Lisbon (Seminary of *St.ª Catarina*, 1566) and later in Braga (Seminary of *S. Pedro*, 1572), such as in Portalegre, Viseu , Miranda, Guarda, Funchal and Goa, had a determinate role in the further formation of the clergy, preparing the future Ecclesiastics spiritually and culturally, most of them being managed by the Jesuits.

The reformation of the Catholic Church had as consequence the emerging of a more independent and self conscious ecclesiastic order, less participant of the social and economic elements of the other classes. The recruitment of the Bishops turned out to become more democratic, with an increasing participation of monks and friars, even though the tendency continued to be the former identification or parallel between nobility and 'high clergy' such as inferior classes and 'low clergy' (*ibid*, 101).

Other decisions of the Council, all determined in 1564, obliged the prelates to live in their Dioceses and Parishes, limiting the age for Priests and Bishops, forbidding the accumulation of dignities and ecclesiastic benefits such as trying to reduce all kind of abuses (*id*).

Meanwhile, with the publication of the edicts of the Council of Trent, turning into laws in the Kingdom, the religious normalization was intensified. This could be observed by the effort to frame or suppress the manifestations of all former cultural tradition. In Lisbon, this lead to a restrictive normalization of all attendances, processions such as other festivities, where the city, in its stratification of hierarchy, was simultaneous the spectator and the actor (Moita et al, 1983, 29).

For our further analysis is important to sub line the fact that, till the Council of Trent all constructed religious buildings had to have the main altar localized towards east, a doctrine which was liberated in the Council, so that we can find most religious buildings from the second half of the 16th century on having a deliberated orientation towards the four points of the compass.

2.3 The Jesuits and the Monastic Orders during the Catholic Reformation

The most important order during the second half of the 16th century and during the 17th century, such in Portugal as in the overseas territories, was indubitable the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits. The Society of Jesus was founded in 1540 by St. Ignatius Loyola and got the approval of Pope Paul III in the same year. It was also in 1540 that they entered, only three in number, in Portugal (De Almeida, 1996, 101). Here, in Lisbon, they were received with great enthusiasm by the local population, having to change from their first house, the old monastery of *St.º Antão*, in 1554 to the new Church of *S. Roque*, due to the enormous affluence of the audience. Part of their popularity is to explain by the new and programmed way of assistance and speech to the anonymous mass, where the pulpit became as important as the altar (Moita et al, 1983, 33).

Their number grew fast, having been entrusted to them in 1555 the College of Arts in Coimbra, becoming the first Jesuit House of studies (for Jesuit scholastics), and in 1559 the University of Évora, being round about 1600 already in their possession twenty *Casas* (Residencies) in Portugal, including Colleges and Seminaries, Hospitals and *asilos* (refugee homes). Their influence grew between the superior classes due to the confessors, chaplains and counselors, their abundance defying the one of any other Order, exposing them to attacks of envy from their part. They embraced the Independency cause of Portugal, becoming the best supporters of the Duke of *Bragança*, proclaimed King in 1640 with the title of D. João IV (De Almeida, *op. cit.*, 101).

In the overseas colonies, they became to be the most important Christian influence in South America (by founding innumerous missions, such as in the by Portuguese occupied Brazil as in the Spanish colonies) from the 16th till the 18th century (*ibid*, 95), such as in the Orient, where they used Goa as the seat of the Christianity, but failed finally due to the resistance of the more developed Asiatic civilizations (Saraiva, 1988, 155, 156). In Africa, and in Cape Verde in special, they had less influence and more troubled missions, staying in Ribeira Grande only for 38 years, from 1604 till 1642.

Besides the University teaching, they dominated in general the minor or preparatory studies. Their teaching, reasonable actual and efficient at the beginning, decayed gradually till the 18th century, by the treaties converting into simple manuals as time went on. Nearly unchangeable till the 19th century kept the *Ratio Studiorum*, the pedagogic regulation, having in mind the stimulation of oral and written expression in Latin, such as to encourage the capacity of dispute and of literary exposure in public, giving initiative to doctrinarian or critical originality (De Almeida, *op. cit.*, 95).

The Catholic Reformation also included the Monastic Orders. Even though the reformist movement started long before 1550, affecting in Portugal between others the Carmelites, Dominicans and Augustinians, it only went completed and systematized after the Council of Trent These reformations included several points: the prohibition for friars and monks to acquire and possess private property, the change of the way of recruitment of new members and the way of election of the abbot, the suppression of the *comendas* (honorific benefit conceded to ecclesiastics or knights of military orders), an accentuation in obedience and discipline. To guarantee a minimum income and a viable organization, some of the Monasteries had to be extinguished, others had to be unified into only one. At the beginning of the 17th century it is calculated that existed in the Reign and colonies round about four

hundred fifty Convents with more less seven thousand four hundred people, belonging to the Franciscans, Dominicans, Benedicts, Cistercians and Augustinians (Marques apud De Almeida, *ibid*, 101).

This high number of Convents, such as the increasing number of members of the Orders, is partly to understand as a consequence of the impoverishment mainly of the rural middle class. The Church was a way to avoid and flee from misery. Sons and daughters from countrymen, daughters without gift and marriage, even second children of noblemen, searched for the religious orders. It was one of the three possible ways out: the service at the court or with someone connected to it, the emigration towards the colonies or the religion (Saraiva, *op. cit.*, 194, 195).

2.4 The Inquisition in Portugal and the expulsion of Jews and conversion to 'New Christians'

Already in the 7th century, the number of Jews in Portugal was high, the Kings taking them for important governmental functions, mostly connected to the control of the finances, such as being often their main treasurers. This situation changed with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain by the Catholic Kings in 1492, but D. João II authorized the temporary installation of them in Portugal by paying high amounts of money. It is calculated that about that time were one hundred thousand Jews in Portugal, being of one million the whole Portuguese population. With the increasing pressure of the Catholic Kings of Spain, the succeeder of D. João III, D. Manuel, ordered officially the expulsion of all Jews, but did everything that this wouldn't happen: he didn't give them ships to leave (the land way was obviously impossible to take), baptized by force all their children and, to all which would convert to Christianity, he would allow their stay in the country. He promised not to control the sincerity of their conversion for the next twenty years (Saraiva, 1979, 74).

These converted Jews, the so called *Cristãos-novos* (New Christians), distinguished as such now from the *Cristãos-velhos* (old Christians), were continued to be persecuted merciless due to them maintaining clandestinely the Jewish cults. This was in certain way an aggravation, because formerly the distinction between Christians and Jews permitted the two communities to live separately and as such in peace (*ibid*, 75).

The order of persecution of the Jews or New Christians was made official at the time the overseas commerce started to present deficits, and the action of the Inquisition was specially exercised against them. Their condemnation implicated the confiscation of their fortunes. On the other hand, their persecution provoked the flight of businessmen and of capital (Saraiva, 1979, 75, 76). So did a lot of Jews, trying to escape from these persecutions they were aim of in Portugal, install themselves in Brazil (Saraiva, 1988, 162).

Through insistent request of D. João III, the Inquisition (also denominated *Tribunal do Santo Ofício* - Trial of the Holy Service) was introduced in Portugal, legalized by the *Bula Cum ad Nihil Magis* of the Pope Paul III at 23rd of May of 1536. Because of this *Bula* seeming to be to modest in the King's opinion, he insisted in a more severe one, getting it by the *Bula Meditatio Cordis* of 16th of July of 1547, again from the Pope Paul III (De Almeida, 1996, 107). By the same *Bula*, the Infant D. Henrique, meanwhile elected Cardinal, was nominated Inquisitor (Saraiva, 1964, 42). Even though the King invoked the necessity of avoiding the

propagation of the Lutheran heresies, the real reasons for establishing of the Inquisition were the economic difficulties of the crown such as the Judaic question (Saraiva, 1979, 74).

From this *Bula* on, it was also invoked the control over the disseminated books, elaborating an index of forbidden ones (De Almeida, 1996, 109). The books considered heretic ones were burned and their owners subjected to very severe penalties. This had as consequence the restriction of free intellectual activity till into the 19th century (*ibid*, 75).

Beside the persecution of the Jews, the Inquisition did suppress all those whose attitudes didn't integrate fully into the norms of Catholicism, independent of their state or condition. By Permit of 20th of May of 1769, the *Pombaline* Reformation did put the *Santo Ofício* on the same footing with any other Royal trial, it being finally abolished by a law of the court of 4th of April of 1821 (De Almeida, *op. cit.*, 109).

It is estimated that the number of accused and condemned people burned by bonfire (called *auto-da-fé*) during this period in Portugal is of one thousand fivehundred, the number of arrested ones reaching tenth of thousands (Saraiva, 1979, 75).

3 Geographic characteristic of Cape Verde and the Island of Santiago

3.1 Specific characteristics of Island territories

Island, in latin *insula*, in old english *isle*, comes from the same lexical field as the word *isolated*.

Islands, real or imaginary, always have inspired the imagination and phantasy of people like artists, navigators, writers or common people. The myth of magic islands is one of the most productive ones in universal culture. Even today, we can see a great flux of people, normally tourists, coming to visit islands all over the world.

The fact of being an Island brings a lot of conditionals for human existance in this particular conditions. Leslie Allen (Allen, 1997, 8) proposes some classification of insular cultures.

For her, the insular society usually is more conservative, more resistent to exterior influences, and at the same time, more inactive and letargic. This brings with itself a greater conservation of historical and cultural values, that means that the passed keeps longer his influence.

Usually, islands, just because of their isolation, are also lesser developed and poorer than countries on *terra firma*, showing much more expensive cost of living due to lower production and higher import taxes.

Leslie Allen (*ibid*, 13) observes that islands are more exposed to ecological dangers because of higher fragillity of enviornmental system. And in this case sometimes comunication with outside can be destructive and unpredictable. One good example of enviormental unity and fragility are the Easter Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

In passed centuries, islands have also been lands of banishment and prisions, like for example Madeira and Cape Verde in Portuguese empire, St. Helen in French and Sachalin in Russian history. They have also been a refugee for pirates, rebels and outlaws or other heterodox people.

On the other hand, islands often are related to paradise. All this gives a particular characteristic of insular imaginary, often seemed to be paradoxical for the continental people.

Islands, as we will see, are especial in their development.

3.2 Description of geographic, geomorphologic, climatic and agricultural characteristics of the Cape Verde Islands

(see Vol. II, Annex 2.5)

Cape Verde, together with the Islands of Canaries, Madeira and Azores, make part of a group of Islands denominated as 'Macaronesia', lying in the northern hemisphere of the Atlantic Ocean.

The Islands of Cape Verde are situated in between 460 and 830 km to the west in front of the coast of Senegal and its cape with the name of Cape Verde, and about 1.400 km SSW to the Canaries Islands, drawing a nearly elliptic circle.

The geographical position on the map is in between 14° 23´ and 17° 12´N, and 22° 40´ and 25° 22´W.

It is made out of 10 Islands and 5 Islets (which are not inhabited, such as the Island of Santa Luzia), all of volcanic origin, and has a territorial extension of 4.033,37 km^2, of which 46 km^2 are not inhabited.

In respect of their position to the main winds coming from northeast, they are divided into two groups, the so called group of *Barlavento* (windward Islands), with the Islands of Santo Antão, S. Vicente, Santa Luzia, S. Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista, and with 2.230 km^2 of total extension, and the group of *Sotavento* (leeward Islands), with the Islands of Maio, Santiago, Fogo and Brava, and with 1.803,37 km^2 of total extension. The biggest Island is called Santiago with an extension of 991 km^2, and the smallest one is Santa Luzia, with an extension of 35 km^2.

As situated on the extremity of the Sahel zone, they are characterized by arid and semi-arid climatic conditions, depending of the annual and secular phenomena of inter tropical convergences. Moving to north, this precipitation line not always reaches the Islands. This conditionings lead to repeated dry seasons and constant crisis, which during the centuries built the biggest threats for the population that, even today, mostly lives of agriculture or some activities related to it. The average temperature is of in between 20°C and 27°C. Even though, in desert of North Maio, temperatures can reach easily 40°C, while, in the mountains of Santo Antão, they can low down till 10°C.

Being of volcanic origin, Cape Verde shows a great diversity of topography, being the Peak of Fogo the highest point with 2829m, the Islands of Santo Antão, Santiago and S. Nicolau

with high mountains (till 2000m) and deep valleys, and the Oriental Islands of Maio, Boavista and Sal the flattest ones, due to geomorphologic history and long and direct exposure to erosion winds.

This topography, with high variations of altitude, influences the different climates in the different areas of the Islands: while high altitudes get more humidity, lowland planes are the most arid ones, especially the ones exposed to southeast.

The topology divides the Islands in two distinctive groups: the plane Islands with relatively low elevations, to which belong the Islands of Sal, Boa Vista and Maio, which are the most arid ones and with much less pronounced volcanic activity. They are surrounded by long and wide beaches of clear sand.

The other ones have a more accident topographical relief, being Santo Antão, S. Nicolau, Santiago and Fogo the ones with the highest mountains (till 2829m of the Volcano of Fogo). This formation brought a progressive erosion and transportation and deposition of sediments at the river beds and coasts. Flat lands with inclination less then 10% are very rare and almost used for irrigation agriculture. The coasts of this second group are often harsh and rough, building narrow beaches of dark sand and rocks.

The soils of Cape Verde are from origin of volcano stones (principally basalts, some calcareous and sedimentary rocks) and less profound, being especially the ones of basalt origin, found on slopes, very stony. These, due to their inclination, are less developed and show a surface of 0.10m strongly eroded. The soil in the valleys and by the river banks has alluvial deposits.

The high density of stones of these soils, and, due to exposure and pressure, resulting in erosion, such as the abnormally high water infiltration and drain, is origin of difficult practice of agriculture. Having less organic material, even though, due to mineral richness and pH neutrality, the soils are still generally fertile.

They can be classified in the following divisions:

1. saline soils: in direct contact to sea, on Sal, Boavista and Maio;

2. wind soils (dunes): without and with vegetation, on Sal, Boavista, Maio, S. Vicente and Santa Luzia;

3. arid soils with calcareous cover: with fossils, at low zones of Sal, Maio and Boavista;

4. desert soils: stony and lava origin soils, remaining after erosion, on low zones of Islands;

5. brown soils: on plan areas (*chãs*), brown or black, rich of humus, like on Fogo's *chã da caldeira*, which is used for grape plantation;

6. mountain soils: especially on mountain slopes, brown and even more rich in humus;

7. red soils: exist on most Islands, approximately on sea level. They have nearly no calcareous.

Cape Verde is influenced by three main air currents:

1. winds from northeast – relatively fresh, with some humidity, influence the soil and vegetation of the Islands of Santo Antão, São Nicolau, Santiago, Fogo and Brava between 600 and 1500 m of altitude. Can blow through all the year;

2. winds from east – so called *bruma seca* (Harmattan wind), dry and hot, during arid season (November till July), make increase aridity, especially on the Oriental Islands of Sal, Boavista and Maio. Normally in January and February, they bring with them sand from the desert of Sahara;

3. winds from south and southwest – humid, responsible for eventual rain between July and September, of origin from the so called Inter Tropical Front.

When the Inter Tropical Front doesn't reach the Islands, which happens cyclic, Cape Verde passes a drought. Observations made during 265 years, from 1718 till 1983, show us that the Islands were exposed to ninety seven years of more or less severe drought's, which means one drought year of every three years. In this period happened fourteen droughts with more than three years of duration (PAN, 1998).

This climate of almost low and irregular precipitations and the resulting dependency and insufficiency of hydro resources has had the most influence and dominance in human, animal and vegetal survival and existence.

The medium precipitation is not more than 300mm for 65% of territory below 400m of altitude, reminding that it can easily low down to 150mm. Meanwhile, territory above 500m of altitude can get about 700mm of precipitation.

More arid zones have in between fifteen till twenty five days of rain per year, sub-humid and humid ones can have till fifty days. That means that rain season in most agriculture areas lasts less than one month per year. Often, the precipitation of one year comes all down in a few torrential rainfalls.

Torrential and maritime erosion can be observed on all Islands, resulting in peaks in form of ruins and big valleys till the sea, so that due to all natural phenomenon's, slopes resulted with inclinations between 40 and 70% , also in agricultural areas.

Because of poor early records, it is unknown how the endemic vegetation might have been at time when first people arrived at the Islands. It is probable that there was some kind of grassy and treeless vegetation (prairie), with low vegetation, or it might have been with low vegetation and some trees (savannah) on higher slopes (Ministério do Ambiente, Agricultura e Pescas/Direcção Geral do Ambiente, *Livros Brancos de Cabo Verde*, 2004).

4 Discovery of the Cape Verde islands and colonization of Santiago Island

4.1 The foundation of the village of Ribeira Grande

When the islands of Cape Verde were discovered in between 1456 and 1460 by explorers under Henry the Navigator (Pereira, 1988, 43, 44), Santiago Island seemed to be the less disadvantaged one for starting the settlement process. It was divided into two Captaincies: the one of the north, given to Diogo Gomes, and the one of the south, governed by Antonio da Noli, one of the discoverers of the island of Santiago, with who started the colonization (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. 1, 133).

Ribeira Grande, situated in the south of Santiago Island, was founded in 1462, only two years after the official discovery of Santiago Island, and became the first urban settlement of Cape Verde and the first one to be built by Europeans in the tropics, enjoying the privilege of being the first official capital for centuries.

Diogo Gomes founded *Alcatraz* (at the east coast of Santiago Island, near today's *Praia Baixo*), which never really emerged to the status of town, even though it had a Municipal Camera and appears in the documentation, beside Ribeira Grande, as *vila* (small town) during the last period of the 15th century (*ibid*, 140). Due to its exposition on a hill plateau, exposed to constant North-east winds and with no area for compensatory agricultural and cattle raising activity, its only reason of existence would be the commerce, which it lost fast to the supremacy of Ribeira Grande. Already during the second decade of the 16th century, its decline is clearly visible, Praia passing to be the new seat of captaincy of the north (*id*). For us, only the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, still standing in ruins south to the total erased area of former urban agglomeration of Alcatraz, will have further on a relative comparative value for studying the implemented religious buildings.

Till 1466, even under initiative of *donatário* (recipient) D. Fernando, brother of Infant D. Henrique 'the Navigator', died in 1460, the colonization brought only very few settlers to Ribeira Grande, one of them being António da Noli himself, together with part of his family (Pereira, 1988, 44). During the same year, due to the recognized difficulty of populating the Island, whose geo-strategic position in the Atlantic along the expansion routes had been immediately recognized, is consented a *Carta Regia* (Royal letter), granting its inhabitants 'extreme liberties and frankness's', in between them the authorization of traffic at the Guinea coast, excepted *Arguim* (comprehends the area between today's Senegal and the north of Sierra Leona), opening in such manner the possibility of ransom and commerce slaves from the occidental African coast. This had the effect of accelerated prosperity of Ribeira Grande, achieving a high number of new colons (*ibid*, 44, 45). The Royal letter had been revoked only seven years later, in 1472, due to commercial indiscipline of the inhabitants of Ribeira Grande. Further attempts of restrictions during the next decades would continue to threaten seriously the existing reason of the inhabitants of Ribeira Grande, which try to resist to all of them, arguing that the Island has 'no other merchandises then slaves' (ANTT, *Leis*, maço 2, documento 27 apud Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 134, 135).

Allied to its tremendous geo-strategic importance as a custom centre of ships, which transported slaves from African coast to the rest of the world and as the first urban European centre in the tropics, Ribeira Grande was always envied for its richness. It enjoyed the

usufruct of great importance and wealth, specially during its first one hundred years of existence, yet its development was short, not only because the whole governing came from abroad, but also because it only served for the interests of the Crown and dominant classes.

Several complementary reasons of natural origin would be determinant for its short prosperity period, as there were: the unhealthy climate, due to its geographical conditions being a source of diverse lethal diseases, such as the small and insecure harbour, whose riffs made difficult the anchorage of sailing vessels.

The declination processed itself in a kind of accelerated rhythm, starting already during the end of the 16th century, having been Ribeira Grande received a particularly solemn stroke in the year 1647, when it lost definitively its position as monopole centre of commerce of slaves.

4.2 The decline of Ribeira Grande and the attacks and pillages by foreign powers

Despite the increasing of village of Ribeira Grande and of the importance that it represented for a while, it turned out to have a very short life span. The decay of the village was directly connected to its development. Its decline process began already during the second half of the 16th century and gained a severe aggravation when in 1647 it had finally lost its position as commercial slave centre. Beside, because of swamps that would form next to the beach at the river delta during the rainy season, and which transformed Ribeira Grande every year into a place of sickness and illness, and as well as due to the fact that its harbour was too unsafe, the navigators coming from oversees started to opt for the harbour of the city of Praia Santa Maria further down the coast instead.

Ribeira Grande's initial economical growth had been due to the riches brought in by the trade, particularly the trade of spices, gold and ivory as well as slaves, brought by ships from different parts of the world, and which made a stop-over in Ribeira Grande. This way the town started to be an obligatory passing-by and supply point in the triangular slave trade route (Europe, Africa, and America).

But soon it became apparent that the harbour was lacking both in the necessary safety for the ships anchored along the shore as well as in the natural resources necessary to support it's growth and the health and well–being of its inhabitants. The harbour consisted of a small bay, which was too shallow, having dangerous reefs placed in it, and didn't protect enough against the winds.

But Ribeira Grande's decline was due not only to the lack of natural resources, but also due to the lack of actions from the governors and diligences. Beside, the increasing upcoming of other sea powers, as there were English, Castellan, Dutch and French, led to several incursions and pillages by corsairs and pirates, starting already during the second half of the 16th century, who would not only cause demolitions with their canons, through pillaging and robbery, but would also put fire to the village at each assault.

These got the administrator of that period, Diego Flores Valdez, to appeal to the Crown in 1582 to create platforms for Town guardians, in order to allow for the refuge of the population, the safeguard of the habitations and monuments, as well as their goods (Pereira,

op. cit., 53). The Kingdom, at that time under the government of Filipe II of Spain, I. of Portugal, until then had never shown attention to requirements of such nature.

For example, we can read in John Cummings' report (Cummings, 1995, 141, 146) that in November of 1585, Sir Francis Drake, the English Corsair, anchored on Santiago Island with his fleet of about a thousand men, pillaging Ribeira Grande for twelve days. There was nearly no resistance from the locals, since all inhabitants had fled to the interior of the island. The result of this plundering however was slight, even though his tactic was as always the systematic burning of houses and pillaging of churches. The bells of the churches were taken, as well as fifty to sixty brass canons from the fortresses, but no real treasure was found. They refreshed themselves among gardens and orchards with lots of fruits, herbs and trees, coconuts, lemons and oranges, sugar cane and other things. Seven fully loaded caravels were taken (*ibid*, 141). A few days after leaving on the 29th of November towards the West Indies, Drake's people begun to die at an extremely high speed, leaving several hundred of them dead or weakened, some even becoming affected mentally. The described clinical symptoms were the ones of the plague (*ibid*, 146).

As a consequence to the aforementioned pillaging it was ordered to build the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, whose construction initiated about 1587, and which was directed by the Portuguese engineer João Nunes, in collaboration with the engineer Filipe Tércio, of Italian nationality. The fortress is located on one of the highest points of the town, the *Achada Forte*, in order to gain a better observation of the sea and early detection of incoming enemies. Inside, the fortress contained a residence for the governor, the small Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, a powder-magazine, a cistern, some military caserns, observation posts and a prison. Other constructions of smaller fortifications, strategically spread along the coast, were executed, in the end numbering seven in all.

These attacks, despite others, as the case of conspiracy token by followers of Prior do Crato in 1583, during the war of possession at the throne of Portugal, made so, that the city had always been a target of constant pillages and destructions, having suffered a final blow, which marked its irreversible decline, through the attack of French Corsairs under General Jaques Cassard in 1712. Churches and other public and private buildings were pillaged and bared from all ornamentations, even being partially burned. The plundering was estimated to cost three million sterling pounds. 'This date seems to mark the irreversible decline of the city, which was gradually and slowly abandoned' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 73).

It's inside this panorama that the capital Ribeira Grande had lost step by step the hegemony for the settlement of Praia de Santa Maria, to where the seat of the Government was transferred in 1769. When finally, by decrete of 29th of April of 1858, the village of Praia was elevated to the category of city, '(...) the ruin of Ribeira Grande was consumed definitively' (*ibid*, 80).

Detailed descriptions of the damages and consequences of the several pillages, in special in relationship to the religious buildings, will be mentioned and analyzed further down.

4.3 Formation of specific social structure as melting pot of races, cultures and plants

The social structure arose from very complex, but well defined, categories of different social elements, as the mixture of cultures proceeded: the Europeans (mostly the Portuguese)

providing the largest influence in diet, clothing, language, agriculture, craftsmanship, social administration, urban constructions and religion, and the main African contributions (mostly prohibited) were in diet such as in language During centuries, the two races, facing a new habitat, in permanent and direct cohabitation, did suffer modifications of their original cultural archetypes, and, with time, did compose a proper culture, consequence of plurality of invention, reproduction, learning and adaptation. It had been in Cape Verde that, in first time in modern epoch, a society based on slavery was established, where the continuous exploitation of slave work formed the supporting base of its economic and social structure (Cabral et al, 1999, 21).

The first group of Europeans reaching Cape Verde and settling in Ribeira Grande, in numeric minority, was constituted by Portuguese of the Kingdom, Castellans and Genovese originating from diverse social layers, which saw in the colonization an opportunity of a quite comfortable and lucrative activity, the slave trade, without having to face daily the 'hostile' populations, inhabiting the African coast (*ibid*, 22).

It was the European group of settlers which imposed the model of the insular society, the slaves being forced to integrate into it. The social structure of the Europeans was transferred, only with the necessary adaptations, to the recently created colony (noblemen, Clergies, Royal officials, traders), organizing in the new society a similar social stratification comparable to the one of the Kingdom (*ibid*, 22, 23). Beside these, we can find another social layer of technicians and craftsmen, such as vessel pilots and seamen, bakers, stonemasons, shoemakers, pharmacists, surgeons, hunters, barbers and butchers. These men, as specialized service givers, gave to the quotidian life an urban character, opened to all fluctuant population which entered and left the harbour with remote origins or destinies (*ibid*, 24).

From the side of the Africans, we can say that there existed three different social types: the slaves, the *Forros* ('slaves to whom were given liberty and the ones born in liberty, because of their parents, who had already been in this condition' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 161)), as well as free Africans.

The slaves had no rights at all, and, as we have seen, there were those who were exclusively designated for exportation. '(...) a large part of the slaves brought from Guinea to Santiago had been exported afterwards (...). On the Island itself stayed only a relatively insignificant number. These had the intuition to secure the execution of domestic, farming and breeding works' (*ibid*, 296, 297).

The *Forros*, as with most of the *Mulattoes*, were both restricted of certain rights, due to their antecedents or racial evidence (*ibid*, 161). But in relationship to the *Forro*, in some cases the *Mulatto*, 'having as progenitor an element of the dominating group, can be more easily absorbed by the organised society (...)' (*ibid*, 162). Both were often sent to work as slave supervisors or *Lançados* to African territories.

The free Africans, also known as *escravos fujões* ore *badius* (escaped slaves, coming from the Portuguese word *vadio*, which means tramp), lived on the border of society because, as they were still seen as slaves, they could not free themselves from this situation through recourse to the law. To escape was the most efficient way that most of the slaves used to obtain their 'liberty'. In Santiago this was a quite common practise, usually they escaped into the mountain regions in the interior of the Island, which gave them some security, living under

hostile conditions. They, often because of lack of alimentation and urgent necessities, sometimes because of vengeance, 'put themselves in groups, got to the town and did harm to the ones who could less (...), steeled a lot and committed other crimes.' (*ibid*, 164, 165).

The Black, in cohabitation with European, and speaking each of them their own language, had put together words and European terms (mainly from medieval Portuguese origin from Algarve) together with African languages what gave origin to a new language, the capeverdean Creole. Despite of unlikeness of particular pronunciation from each island, and of the greatest or less influence of vocabulary from Portuguese spring, it is a common language for all the islands.

In 1620 there was an attempt by the Portuguese crown to affect the extinction of the *mulatto* race by sending a high number of Portuguese women, called *degredados*, to Cape Verde (Pereira, 1988, 62).But nothing changed in reality, white men continued to prefer black women.

Even though, because of the isolation of the Island, a more harmonious relationship between blacks and whites on Santiago was built up then in other colonies, *mulattoes* often becoming slave supervisors for the white owners, the patrons.

Only with the official loss of the monopoly of the slave trade in Ribeira Grande, in 1647, the number of new slaves, which had probably never been much more than around five thousand on the whole Island, decreased (Carreira, 2000, 343). Concerning records about the exported slaves from the Island, it is impossible to establish an annual medium relating to the different periods, or to trace a numerically confirmed evolution. 'On the Islands there remained a relatively less significant number, with the simple objective of securing the execution of domestic, farming and breeding work' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 297).

The loss of the monopoly and the consequent increase in trade and subsistence difficulties allied with innumerate droughts led to an exponential increase in the number of slaves to be given their freedom. These mostly settled down in the interior of the Islands, often in the mountain ranges. Finally, in 1854 with abolition of slavery, this mass enforced migration came to an official end. The Creole society was built up.

.Thus historically, the social structure was formed by:

- *Fidalgo* (noblemen) and *Royal officials*, occupying an *ofício régio* (Royal service), such as Royal treasurers, customs officers and Municipal officials;
- *Feitors* (powerful private business men, mostly white);
- *Ecclesiastics* of secular and regular Clergy, as well as missionaries from religious orders;
- *Craftsmen* from diverse working areas;
- *Mulattoes* (mostly descendents of white patrons and black slave women, often becoming slaves with better social conditions, working as slave supervisors);
- *Rendeiros* (working on their own land and on other peoples land for wages);

- *Lançados* (middlemen on Africa's coast for trade goods and slaves, often political or religious criminals, whites or *mulattoes*);

- *Tangamãus* (functioned as translators in trade between tribes and the Portuguese, mostly being *mulattoes*);

- *Chalonas* or *Línguas* (interpreters, such as *Tangamãus*)

- *Degredados* (political or criminal banished, partly working as galley slaves in rowing boats, often becoming *Lançados*, and like them turning into an important white ingredient in founding the Creole population);

- *Boçais* (slaves imported recently, speaking only their native languages);

- *Negros gentios* (still not catechised and baptized slaves);

- *Ladinos* (baptised slaves with Latin name);

- *Naturais* (born on Santiago or Fogo Islands as children of slave parents);

- *Pretos* (free native Africans);

- *Escravos fujões* or *Badius* (free or escaped slaves, who clung onto the African culture, despised the Portuguese and mostly came to live in remote regions in the interior of the island);

- *Contratados* (contracted labourers overseas, later in history).

These influences are still visible: the people from Santiago Island, the most African one, are still called *Badius*, whilst those from the other Islands are called *Sampadjudus*.

As before mentioned, the Island of Santiago (and shortly afterwards Fogo) had been the first one to be inhabited because of the best agricultural potential. Since the colonization and slave trade, activities were related to soil exploration, for alimentation, and for cotton and fabrication of textiles, which were used for slave trade again. One of the determinant factors of colonization had been the ground and soil conditions. These agro ecologic conditions made the first class of 'agro-merchandisers' exercising pressure over the soils to obtain products for commercialisation.

Coming on with new settlers did animals for farming and breed farming, which had been normal domestic ones, like goats, cattle, donkeys and horses. They were released on the Islands, destroying slowly the million years old vegetation over the next centuries and causing increasingly famine.

Plants came over from the continents, as it was the coconut tree, which came from India and passed from Cape Verde to Brazil, such as African and Mediterranean fruits and vegetables, as it were bananas, grapes, oranges, sugar cane (mainly used for making *Grog*, 'sailors rum'), beans, manioc, sweet potatoes and cassava.

But it was especially maize and cotton from Latin America which became of great importance. The corn Maize or thick corn, which was installed in the archipelago, probably brought from Brazil, had turned to become the fundamental alimentation basis allowing the increase of the settlement of Santiago Island. It was from Ribeira Grande that the corn Maize was introduced to the African continent and to Europe.

Cloth made of cotton by slaves (*pano di terra*) was traded in West Africa and Brazil, becoming an important income for Santiago Island. Ribeira Grande became 'a centre that centralized and diffused plants, animals and people, like no other of the immeasurable territories in the tropical world' (Orlando Ribeiro apud Pereira, 2004, 40).

It was already in 1550, that an unknown Portuguese Captain described Ribeira Grande by saying that there is a torrential river of sweet water, on which banks were

> 'infinite gardens of oranges, citrons, lemon trees, (...) and figs of all qualities, and that from some years on they produce coconuts, vulgarly called Indian nuts. Here also grow and are created perfectly all the lineages of vegetables (...). They sow also lots of rice and cotton, which produces very well, and, after being gathered, construct with them several lineages of striped cloth of several colours, which are afterwards despatched to all coast of Africa (...) and is given in exchange for slaves' (Pereira, 1988, 50, 51).

With the declination of the slave trade, freed or fugitive slaves occupied lands and the number of landowners decreased, and even with abolishment of the slavery in the 19th century, social structures of land owning remained till Cape Verde's independence in 1975.

4.4 The slave trade monopoly of Ribeira Grande through the centuries

As we have seen, the Islands of Cape Verde were found uninhabited at time of their discovery, and Santiago Island was the first one to be inhabited due to its promise for cultivation. The economic policies and processes undertaken in the territorial occupation and development of the Island were essentially based on:

- Populating the island with slaves to meet the settlers needs, especially during the first period, for cultivating the land and breed-farming, followed by the introduction of sugar-cane and the creation of factories for *Grogue*-production;

- Intensification of the slave population process due to the reduced number of white inhabitants, there being only some noblemen and ecclesiastics, but also plebeians and delinquents, Christians and converted Jews ('New Christians');

- Creation of a holding centre where slaves were concentrated for exportation;

- Formation of a society based on the strong mixture of the white men with the black slaves, with the primary group having a powerful influence in conducting and orientating the community (Carreira, 2000, 25).

However, difficult climatic and soil conditions were a large obstacle for colonisers, and special trade concessions were given to the first settlers to attract them to come. A 'Chart of

privileges', given to the inhabitants of Santiago Island in 1466 by the Portuguese King D. Afonso V, authorized them to

> '(...) deal and trade in all parts of Guinea, with exception of *Arguim*, taking with them for this all the merchant goods they have and want to take, except weapons, tools, ships and there belonging parts, all for paying the *quarto* [fourth part]; once paid the *quarto* belonging to the King, the inhabitants could sell the rest, slaves and goods, to people which they could choose, inside the kingdom or outside of it' (Pereira, 1988, 44, 45).

The coast of Guinea, the so called *rios da Guiné* (rivers of Guinea) denominated, on the west coast of Africa, a large area, including Guinea, Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leona and, later on, Angola. The origin of the slaves came from the most diverse tribes, such as: Assolum, Bambarã, Banhuns, Balantas, Beafadas, Bijagó, Felupe, Fula, Jalofo, Mandinga, Soningué, Manjaco, Nalú, Quissi, Suruá, Tilibonca and others (Carreira, *op. cit.*, 402). Most of them came from the ancient empire of Ghana.

The growing mixture of white (mostly Portuguese men) and black women from West Africa (mostly from tribes of today's Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone) created the *Mulatto*, called in Cape Verde the *Creole*, by mixing skin colours, languages and customs.

A new 'Chart of declaration of limitation of the privileges' for the inhabitants of Santiago Island, edited shortly after in 1472, drastically restricted the settler's privileges, as before mentioned This was not in the area of intervention, but rather in limiting them to take only their belongings and the fruits of their labour, exclusively from the Island, and to use the slaves only for their services, to better living conditions and to populate the Island (*ibid*, 41). This caused an increasing number and more transgressions from the *lançados* and *tangamãus*.

During the 16th century, several restrictions, ordered by new charts from the Kingdom, integrated in the so called *Ordenações Manuelinas* (Manueline Ordinations), only resulted in increasing ways to circumvent them, found by the population. But without this reaction, the Island of Santiago would not have been populated in such a fast manner (*ibid*, 41, 42). The restrictions went so far, that it was prohibited for the residents of Santiago to import iron, from which it would have been possible for slaves to construct weapons (*ibid*, 44).

A complex trade system was developed, on one hand *panos de terra* (textiles), made out of cotton, were sold or exchanged for slaves, much appreciated on the west coast of Africa; on the other hand, merchant goods, brought from the Mediterranean area, the North of Africa and later from the Orient, were exchanged for '(...) African goods, for precious metals (gold) and for slaves. These all gave high profits' (*ibid*, 43).

Another treaty from the beginning of the 16th century tried to oblige the transportation of slaves to go directly to Lisbon, rather than passing through Ribeira Grande, from where on the slaves could be taken wherever it was found necessary. The answer of the inhabitants of Santiago showed the indignation and the problems which would result from such a decision. There would be not only the probable death at sea, French, English and other pirate attacks, but also the increasing problems for the people living on Santiago, because it was in Ribeira Grande that the ships were supplied and the exchanges of slaves and merchant goods were performed. Most probably, these implementations were not followed, as the slave trade

continued in the same way as before, and in no other treaty or chart these ideas were mentioned again (*ibid*, 48, 49).

Initially, the slaves from the west coast of Africa were captured by force by operations organised by the crews of the ships and the traders. Normally, it was Spanish and Portuguese, capturing men and women, selling them afterwards in Portugal, Seville and Cadiz, as slaves, after passing through Ribeira Grande. Shortly after it was recognised that these assaults heightened aggression and mistrust between the natives, putting at risk the 'good relations with the African population and the exit of commerce, such as navigation on the coast to the south' (*ibid*, 79). This lead to a change of strategy, slaves were bought or exchanged from the local merchants through products of their preference.

The market extended to Central America (mainly the Antilles), South America and also the Indies. It is not by chance that the Creole spoken on the Island of Curacao is still very similar to that one of Cape Verde. A report, given by the former General Sub-secretary of Culture for UNESCO, mentions the first slave registered in Ecuador as being a slave called Francisco Arobe, who escaped and built up an independent community along the Ecuadorian coastline at the end of the 16th century. He came from Ribeira Grande (research of 2007, not yet published, of Hernán Crespo-Toral, for installation of National Museum of Quito, Ecuador).

Passing through Ribeira Grande was of major importance: the ships would be supplied; slaves would be held and kept for sale or for local work in agricultural, domestic or construction work. They had passed through the first experience of being shipped, slowly realising their destiny and loosing hope of ever returning.

As a matter of fact, transported like cattle under sub-human conditions, the slaves on the ships, which were often overloaded with up to four hundred 'pieces', travelled under extremely hostile conditions. They could drink only once a day, degenerating and dying fast, or reaching their destination in a state of 'total physic debility which would make impossible any type of learning' (*ibid*, 213).

During the two first centuries of colonisation, the slave had represented, certainly, the most valuable artefact of capeverdean exportations. At first times, the slaves were captured and bought in all African coasts. But, with the beginning of action of other colonial empires (France, Netherlands, Great-Britain), the reserve of slaves of the Crown ended circumscribed till the limits of Guinea Bissau which enclosed, until 1886, *Casamansa* (Senegal).

It were not only slaves present in the settlement of the Islands. There were also free blacks, namely *banhuns*, *brames* and *cassangas*, which would follow voluntarily the merchants, mercenaries and commanders of slaver ships.

Because of a weak number of white women on the islands at first time, the white owners started to get in touch with one or more slave women, giving this way a beginning of processing of mixing that, presently, hits almost the totality of population.

With the arrival of private trade companies (Company of *Grão Pará e Maranhão*, Company of *Cacheu*) during the first half of the 17th century, increasing attacks by corsairs, both on and off shore, the increasing competition at sea by mainly French, Spanish and Dutch Armadas, a

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growing number of slave trade ships started to pass directly to and back from the African West coast. This '(...) defined a moment of decisive change in the destiny of trade, parallel to the loss of geo-strategic importance of the harbour of Cidade Velha [Ribeira Grande] (...)' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 140). The socio-economic structure of Ribeira Grande could not combat this situation. The economic-financial collapse did not come immediately, but from then on, Ribeira Grande started to enter a process of decline.

4.5 Indigenous religions of the slaves and their conversion to Christianity

When the first Portuguese came to Santiago Island, they brought with themselves their religion, the Catholicism. The first Catholic Missionaries in Cape Verde, reaching already in 1466 together with the first colons, seemed to be two Franciscan monks, friar Jaime and friar Rogério, natural from Catalonia (Anuário de 1990 da Diocese de Cabo Verde apud Varela da Silva et al, 1998, 153). They came to defend and spread the religion, which was proclaimed by Portuguese authority, trying to defeat any other that would come and try to introduce itself into the Islands (Varela da Silva et al, *op. cit.*, 153).

Concerned to any eventual religions brought by the slaves, they would be suffocated from the beginning on, as a result of premeditated intention to annihilate the proper cultural references of the enslaved races (*ibid*, 154).

It seems to be impossible to inventory the first faiths which came with the initial slaves to Ribeira Grande, by not existing enough secure and credible documents in regard (*ibid*, 155). The religions, or may be better to say, the religious faiths of the so diverse tribes from West African coast, had probably mostly their origin based on superstition, having as reference always more or less diffused cultures (*ibid*, 154).

Due to this, it would be have been harder to combat them by religious way, taking more time, and slowly the one of the patrons and of the slaves would start to mix up, '(...) in this way making the possibility more difficult to establish delimitations between the initial faiths of one and the others' (*id*).

One of the main reasons which justified to bring the captured or bought slaves to Ribeira Grande was that they could be 'latinised' (baptized and given a Latin name). There would be no better way to 'explore determent human substrata than to integrate him into the cultural patterns of the dominator' (Pereira, 2005, 205). Consequently, they would give 'better answer to the exigencies of the patron and more passively would have accepted the fact of having been dominated. This meant that, the more they integrated the concepts and the dominating cultural patterns, the more they produced and would have been treated more rational (*id*). The baptised slaves, with Latin names given, were called *Ladinos*. The 'latinization' was exclusively the work destined to Missionaries (Carreira, 2000, 267). The priests, besides trying to catechize the *negros gentios*, to baptize them and even to give them a Christian burial, had, in most cases, to face themselves with the incomprehension of the patrons (*ibid*, 262).

Thus it was on the Island of Santiago, that 'slaves brought from the coast were deposited, with a view to their 'preparation' and, later on, 'exportation'' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 207). But the baptism was the first in a row of measures to increase profits, and not so much aimed for saving their souls. 'The time that could be lost by teaching religion to the slaves was the time

of immobilisation of invested capital' (*id*). This resulted, from 1516 on, in the collective baptism of the slaves which was done on the *Caravelas* themselves, during the trip, or in the houses or shops where they were lead to (*id*).

> 'But would they have been able to accept and understand what them was imposed, and would there have been a chance for them to accept and learn Portuguese? Their only worry would have been to 'break the chains (...) and return to their lands. It was in this respect that Santiago succeeded, because, due to losing the hope of reaching their homeland, they became so Stoic that they passed many months and many years without speaking a Creole word (...). And as the ships of the Companies couldn't detain themselves, it is without doubt that from here on, most of the slaves put on board will go without baptism (...)' (*ibid*, 211).

This baptism on the *Caravelas* was done, with the papal approval, by the 'Vicar of Conception' (Carreira, 2000, 260), passing to receive one *Cruzado* per *Caravela* of native Africans he would baptize. Later on, this *Cruzado* would be received for every single baptized slave (*ibid*, 261). It was obviously in the interest of the merchandisers to accelerate this process, having a higher profit the more their ships would go and bring slaves from the African coast, and the less time they would have to stay in Ribeira Grande. 'The power of money supplanted the power of spirit. That's the way it was and will always be' (*ibid*, 268).

This form of collective baptism included the risk that some slaves could be 'forgotten' to be baptized, or even the hurry of the ship-owners in leaving to overseas lead to a missing time for instructing in faith, catechism or baptism. It would be described by the proper slaves, being asked, if it would have been done so, '(...) between lot of others, at the ships or the beaches' (Sandoval apud Carreira, *ibid*, 264). And in fact, Priests effectuated baptisms in mass with the slaves enclosed in the holds of the ships or, in the best way, put in line on the beaches to be re embarked directly after the ceremony (Carreira, *ibid*, 268).

To prevent that slaves would stay without baptism, Francisco de Moura, former governor of Cape Verde, wrote in a letter from 1620 (or 1622), that he recommended

> '(...) to save the souls (...) that all the native Africans which would be taken of the before named rivers, should be baptized on shore at the harbour of *Cacheu*, and not on the *Naus* as they do it, by the inconvenience that they could come without being baptized, without the ceremonies in due' (Brásio, 2.ª série, Vol. IV, 702, 703).

The ones which where designated to stay in Ribeira Grande, where taught in reading and writing, having in vision their catechism, to occasion them in learning the language and some professions. The process of conversion to Christianity and the learning of, at least, the rudimental language (some Portuguese words, which were mixed with tribal languages, forming the Creole language), went always hand in hand. Beside this, it would also valorise them on the marked, reaching double price compared to an analphabetic slave (Brito Semedo, 2006, 106). This instruction was private, nearly exclusively clerical (*ibid*, 105).

Beside the question of baptizing, there came up the issue of *alforria* (exemption) of the slaves, regulated first time in the Chart of 15th of July of 1580 by the King D. Alfonso V to the governors of the Kingdom (Carreira, *op. cit.*, 261), but with regards only to the captivated *mouros* or *gentios* (Moors or 'the ones who follow the pagan religion') (Costa, Sampaio e Melo, n.d., 708): the ones who wanted to become Christians, 'can be free and exempt of their captivity' (Brásio, 2.ª série, 1952, Vol. III, 84). They had to be teached and indoctrinated, so

that they could, after having demonstrated the acceptance of the Christian principals, be evaluated by order of the authorities. Further more, their patrons had to justify the legitimacy of the possession of the slaves, and, after this, was obliged to sell them to a Christian within 3 months, if not, the slaves could consider themselves exempted. And if the proper slaves could bring up the money to pay the price they were evaluated at, they would become free (Carreira, *op. cit.*, 262).

At the beginning of the 17th century, Priest Manuel de Almeida, who did mission in Cape Verde for several years, described their preoccupation in baptizing all the *negros gentios*, especially the ones who became ill, '(...) sending so a lot of souls to heaven which had to perish if there will not be used this medicine' (De Almeida apud Carreira, *id*). Therefore, the priests asked the patrons from all over the Island to send them the slaves to catechise and baptize them.

The Jesuit Priest Baltazar Barreira, who served in Cape Verde and *Costa da Guiné* during the first decades of the 17th century, wrote in a letter from 15th of March of 1607 about the multiple relationships between the Missionaries and the captivated. He sub lined the necessity of '(...) being impossible to live without slaves' (Barreira apud Carreira, *ibid*, 263), but proposes a delimitation of the time they would serve the Priests, and, if they did well so, would be *alforriados* (given exemption). In contrary case, they would be sold. This was to have '(...) reason of scruple and for us to be better served' (*id*).

During the second half of the 17th century, increasing concerns about the transportation conditions of the slaves, lead to a law from 4th of March of 1684, in which it was stipulated to calculate the number of slaves in relation to tons of ship weight, to give them three times food a day plus water in abundance, calculating the provisions conform pre established calculation of days necessary for the journey, such till Cape Verde as till Middle and South America. And, under article 11, it started to be obligatory to '(...) take a Priest who serves as Chaplain to tell them the mass, at least at holy days, and to assist the moribund' (Carreira, *ibid*, 270).

The preoccupation about the baptism of slaves went so far, that at 15th of April of 1698, the King gave instructions to the Governor of Cape Verde at that time, D. António Salgado, to construct a 'seclusion' where the slaves could be 'educated and instructed', before leaving to Brazil, Antilles or other harbours in America (*ibid*, 272). The Officials of the Municipality wrote, as a reaction concerning about the regular functioning of the machinery of traffic, back, arguing that, in between other arguments, it would be of no utility to construct such a building, having in vision the most diverse languages of the natives, and that it would not be easy to find catechists and parishioners who would speak their different languages. As counter-party, they proposed that the new arrived *boçais* would be distributed by their patrons in smaller groups of each race, by such way learning Creole much more easier and having more time to teach and baptize them (*ibid*, 276, 277). This argumentation wasn't completely accepted by the King, interdicting strictly the exportation of anabaptized slaves to Brazil by letter form 15th of August of 1699.

As this measurement lowered the costumes income substantially down, a new letter from 4th of February of 1701 ordered the patrons of the slaves to instruct them in six months, under accusation of penalty of loss if they wouldn't do so, and, relating to the place that was foreseen to be constructed,

> 'that the Catechists in praxis of the language of the same native Africans will catechize them at home of their patrons and at the *senzalas*, as it is practised in Angola. (...) The catechists will be elected or approved by the Bishop, and in his absence by the Prelates which are from the Convents of the land where the election will take place (...)' (*ibid*, 278, 279).

But at this time, Ribeira Grande had already turned its main activity for commercial income into ship supply, due to having already passed its peak of slave trade commerce for over half a century.

Chapter 2: The urban development of Ribeira Grande

1 Introduction of Portuguese urbanism, its influences and expansion in to the early colonies

1.1 The model of late medieval Portuguese town in transition to the Modern Epoch

> 'The Portuguese overseas expansion and exploration of new lands expected decisions and appropriate measurements, between them it is necessarily to include the ones of the foundation of forms of the agglomerated settlement, as central places of areas of influence: villages, towns and cities, institutions which in Portugal ascended to a remote past. It can be said that the Portuguese from end of the fourteen hundreds and of fifteen hundreds transported with themselves genetic and evolutionary patterns of agglomerations which did have origin in colonies, founded with the purpose to fix population and of calling this remote West to the living together of civilized life (...)' (Ilídio do Amaral apud Fernandes , 1992, 147).

During the initial period of our studies, starting with the implementation of the urban fabric of Ribeira Grande in 1462, developing and enlarging till the 17th century, the Portuguese urbanism models were in plain stage of transition. Coming out of a large period of Islamic occupation (8th till 13th century), Portugal, and specially Lisbon as its main model of reference in urban settlement, had mostly Islamic characteristics.

M. C. Teixeira and Margarida Valla (M. C. Teixeira, M. Valla, 1999, 18) go much further back in their connotation, relating the Portuguese urban model to the early influences of Mediterranean cultures of Greece and Rome, in which the urban model of the first one has the tendency of being less regular. Being structured by architectonic objects, specific buildings, civic or religious ones, localized in prominent areas of the urban fabric, it is agglutinative and giving sense to the space around. The roman influence is the most regular, planned and constructed one, according to a geometric order, where pre-defined structure the different types of buildings and functions are inserted, having as the fundamental element the urban space itself, moulded and formed by the constructed masses. This two influences overlap in the Portuguese urbanism, such in the kingdom as in its colonies (*id*).

The third main influence, the Islamic urban model, the less regular one, alternating more or less profound the urban fabric of occupied cities (*ibid*,19), consists out of an economic centre, mainly the marketplace, called *souk*, which lies geographically central, surrounded by different parts of town. These have no direct access ways in between them, but, functioning as independent closed units, the only way to there interior is one main road. The transition between two parts of town, normally, obliges to a passage through a centre or knot. This gives the inhabitants a sensation of protected intimacy (H. Carita, 1999, 29). In several cases, marketplaces could in addition also be located outside the medieval surrounding city wall.

In Portugal, the main squares, mostly marketplaces, had along the 12th, 13th and 14th century the designation of *açougues* (butcher's), which is a direct derivation from the Arabic designation of «as-sõq» (*souk*), being covered market places. Opened ones, for itinerant commerce, had the designation of *rossio* and *praça* (large square and square) (*ibid*, 23). In comparison with French language, the *place*, coming also from Latin word *platea*, the

meaning of it has been a more sensorial experienced one by the visitor, which can be shown by the expressions *être en place* or *se metre en place* (*ibid*, 24).

During the whole medieval age, we can't find an even approximate word in Portuguese or in any other European language that gives us a connotation of the modern notion of space (*ibid*, 25). The termination of *spacium* is a strictly literary one, designating a sense of chronological or topographical interval between two points.

The rest of the urban fabric was built up by a tangle of streets, till than designed by *via pública* (public roads), without making any typological variation of *travessa*, *beco* or *azinhaga* (*ibid*, 24). It is only from the 14th century on, that the name *rua* (street) appears in documentation, such as *ruas públicas* (public streets), *vias* (roads), *azinhagoa* (lane) and *beco* (dead end) (*ibid*, 20), mostly without a specific designation or name.

> 'The meaning of the permanent elements in the study of the city can be compared with the one which they occupy in language; it is particularly evident that the study of the city shows analogies with the linguistic one, all over the more in what concerns the complexity of the processes of modification and of permanencies' (A. Rossi, 2001, 34).

With the development of the designation of streets, namely the appearance of the *rua nova* (new street) and the *rua direita* (main street), as a new structuring axe, result of a necessary restructure of the urban fabric during the 14th century, came up a more and more abstract understanding of the urban space, in the same mental process we undertake when we specify linguistically objects, actions or places. (As a curiosity it can be notified that till nowadays in post-colonial Praia, the actual capital of Cape Verde, such as in most of the other urban agglomerations, main part of the streets have no name, and the only possibility of orientation is the connection of places to reference buildings or squares, such in space as, in consequence, in a vague stance of time).

The concept of the model *rua-travessa* (street-lane/alley) and *Rua Direita-travessa* (main street-lane/alley), coming up in Lisbon during the second half of the 14th century with the construction of new urban areas (*Bairro da Pedreira*, area of *Cerca Fernandina*), indicating main streets with perpendicular crossing secondary ones, shows a beginning of a more clear conceptualization in the urban sense of 'street', disappearing the designation of *azinhaga* and *beco,* indicating clearly a moving away from the Islamic urban patterns (H. Carita, op. cit., 37). Even though there is still no urban plan for the designated areas, we can identify a structured urban trace from a new conceptualization of urban space on (*ibid*, 36). The designation of *Rua Direita* as the principal one doesn't mean 'straight' but 'in direction towards' (*ibid*, 37).

With the designation of *Rua Direita*, afterwards almost re-designated with a complementary name (ex: *Rua Direita*, afterwards *Rua Direita para Santa Catarina*, and later on *Rua Direita das Portas de Santa Catarina*), this street indicates a generative and structuring element for the entire urban conjoint (*id*).

With continuous inclusion of new areas for construction inside the perimeter of the city walls, its proper relining and the demolition of old building complexes, in several parts of town emerge various *Rua Direitas*, as a conceptual model of urban characteristics, such as its typological diffusion through the urban fabric (*ibid*, 38).

> '(...) these *ruas direitas* express, in an evident way, an abstract model of ortogonal tendency. By adapting itself to the natural circumstances of geography and topography, the model of *rua direita-travessa* is suffering modifications which reveal organic quality and capacity of adaptation' (*ibid*, 41).

With the appearance of *Rua Nova* and *Rua Direita*, which we can observe to emerge systematically in the medieval Portuguese towns, this more complex model shows the *Rua Nova* as central and nuclear axe of all town, while *Rua Direita* and its respective *travessas* indicates areas of urban development (*ibid*, 43).

At the end of the 15th and beginning of 16th century, with the upcoming of the new Renaissance models of cities, it can be observed a broad movement of urban renovation in Portugal. H. Carita (H. Carita, *op.cit.*, 184) analyzes the transition into the modern epoch by defining models in a new way of thinking the cities, where the alignment of the front façades, their rhythm and repetition, such as from the spans, become regulative and valorised elements. In some cases, these modernizations of the urban spaces lead to the construction of new parts of town or of new expansion zones of the cities. In other cases, this interventions focused on the construction or re-construction of squares, generally associated to the construction of new institutional buildings, civil or religious ones, namely the house of the Municipal Camera, the house of *Misericórdia* (mercy) such as main churches. In both cases were adapted principals of regularity and of ordination, where can be observed a rupture with the medieval models and the adoption of new urban space concepts and of new types of trace (Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, *op. cit.*, 123).

De Oliveira Marques (de Oliveira Marques, 1988, 37) goes further back in references by distancing clearly the city of the modern epoch from the Islamic influenced Portuguese medieval cities, by mentioning that a study of the cities of Christian foundation or restoration find certain principals of regularity which can't be found in the Islamic ones. And even them adapting into accidental terrains, they show well defined urbanization forms. Some of them were centred in the main church or Monastery which gave them origin. Others presented checkered streets in the classical way. And other ones were a combination of a 'chess-plan' with the irradiation from a centre on. And in nearly all of these models was localized a central square for market or gathering.

By analyzing the urban development of Ribeira Grande, we will find typical characteristics, such as from the late medieval city as from the one of the modern epoch, as we will see further on.

1.2 Characteristics and development of insular urbanizations during the Portuguese expansion of 15th and 16th century

The first urban nucleus built up during the first period of the era of the discoveries (15th century), first on Madeira and Azores, later on Cape Verde, had all as the main reason the expansion of commerce, of Christian faith and the defence of the discovered territories. They all where localized at the coast at strategic points of the Islands, most south, fulfilling certain objectives: basements for the protection of the maritime routs, harbours of shelter for the ship supply, commercial trading depots and nucleus for the territorial colonization (C. Teixeira et al, 1999, 47).

The places chosen for their implementation had mostly the same characteristics: bays turned to south (protected from the main wind direction), with good natural harbour conditions, protected at their extremes through hillocks or mountains (*ibid*, 48). These places were of advantage and necessary for one of its main purposes: the installation of a defence system. Water supply in form of a river was another important characteristic. The cities themselves developed gradually, mostly starting with a road or way along the coast line, showing at the very beginning a form of linear settlement (*ibid*, 49), from which on an urban grid gradually developed. During the 15th century, they still followed the Portuguese medieval models of the 13th and 14th century.

> '(...) immediately after a first stage of development, being simple structures of territorial occupation adapted to the existent geographical conditions, we can observe, and with supposed help of row technicians, the adoption of the models of the medieval cities in Portugal (...)' (*ibid*, 48).

These models consisted in a geometric pattern, having as the main structural element a central street crossing the city in longitudinal way, following the bay line. The rest of the mesh was built up by one or two other longitudinal streets, parallel to the main one, and other secondary streets that crossed more less perpendicular, creating so a regular urban structure (*id*). They were known empirically, and freely adapted in all places to the existing conditions, as its constructors (the colons themselves, already with the support of technicians of street alignments) had not taken with them drawn plans or specific instructions for their foundations. Even though, the urban tradition was strong enough to assure a formal coherency and identity between them (*id*). They still didn't follow the new concepts of towns and urbanism which would result out of the theory of renaissant research (Alberti, considered the first of the theorists of the ideal renaissant town, had his treatise *De Re Aedificatoria* only printed in 1485) (*id*).

In Funchal (Madeira), Horta or Ponta Delgada (Azores), this road along the coast line, parallel to the sea, was the primordial structure of space occupation, connecting nucleus of primitive occupation, houses of *donatários* or chapels, implanted at the extreme of this way.

In Funchal, this way connected the Churches of *St.ª Catarina* and of *N.ª S.ª do Calhau*, at which side the small urban block of houses corresponds to the first urban nucleus. In Horta, this first structural way connected the population nucleus of *Porto-Pim*, the *Ermida* (Hermitage) of *Santa Cruz* and the house of the donatives Captain, at west, with the Hermitage *da Conceição*, at east. In Ponta Delgada, the conjunction of blocks of houses along its way is constructed in between the public square of Hermitage *de N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and the *praça Velha* (Old Square). Posterior stages of urban development probably already had the support of specialists, which helped to align the streets in order, having as reference the planned medieval towns of the 13th and 14th century (*ibid*, 49).

These morphologic characteristics included: a well defined hierarchy of the streets, in which alternate front and back streets, cut by transversal ones; the blocks of houses lengthened and built up by an identical number of parcels; the urban parcels parallel to each other, going from one side of the blocks of houses to the other, having one front to the principal street and another to the secondary one; the implementation of a space with square function, more or less structured, continuous to the principal street or peripheral to the primitive constructed nucleus, being later incorporated in the urban fabric (*ibid*, 49, 50). In a following stage of development, parallel streets to the main one where constructed. Due to their increasing

distance, these blocks of houses, built up by longitudinal and transversal streets, became more and more lengthened, starting to be built up perpendicular to the main reference street and coast line, taking more and more importance in the Orientation of the developing direction of the urban fabric.

The innovation of the urban traces of the cities came in the 16th century, during the first decades. They consisted in the expansion towards new urban areas, such as in restructuring parts of the urban fabric, mostly in the immediate circumferences of matrix Churches, as happened in Funchal and Ponta Delgada. Even here, the reference was still the urban development on the continent, such in new ordination of urban spaces near important institutional buildings (churches, Hospitals of *Misericórdia*, Town Halls), such as in new parts of town.

Exception is Angra do Heroísmo (Azores), which already from the first half of the 16th century on represented an innovative regulative trace, initiating the innovation and the experimentation which would develop during the 16th, 17th and 18th century outside of continental Portugal. It showed a clear rupture of the medieval tissue, exploring conceptions and traces of urban fabric of Renaissance influence (*id*).

1.3 The problem of space occupation and ordination in Cape Verde throughout its history

Factors like the exposition to the constant winds of northeast and the different agricultural potentialities, in connection to the external and internal access to the interior of the Islands itself, had formed during the times the main specific conditions which determined the population process and the dynamics of its growth.

During nearly 200 years, having Cape Verde the main importance as obligatory stop in the trade in between Europe, the Americas and Africa, the settlement processes, beside strategic position for trade, were conditioned by access to water and possibilities of extraction of the rural areas, such as plantation and wood for production of domicile energy.

With the decreasing of the importance of the maritime navigation and the following worsening of the economy, also by 'over-working' the slaves, all agricultural production was reorganized to self-subsistence. Maize turned out to be the most important practiced culture on the Island, after initial domination of cultures of cotton and sugar cane.

Thus, at the beginning of the human occupation till around about 1830, the economy and the distribution of the population in consequence developed mostly on the Islands of Santiago and Fogo, due to the agricultural potentialities, Boavista and Maio due the cattle and Sal due the salt exploration, mainly in the 18th and 19th century. With the installation of the English coal companies in São Vicente in the 30s of the 19th century, for supplying ships for international navigation, the first modern urban centre was created and has been for a long time the principal attraction point for the population of the other Islands.

1.3.1 Urban and rural space on Santiago Island

First urban centres were founded by the coast and mostly by a river bed, depending on a harbour for maritime trade, such as Ribeira Grande and Alcatraz on Santiago Island, S. Filipe on Fogo Island, shortly afterwards Praia, and later on Ribeira da Barca (at northwest of Santiago), Tarrafal (at north) and Pedra Badejo (at east side), all these on Santiago Island. During the 19th century, Mindelo on S. Vicente Island would develop with prosperity due to the maritime traffic of ships with coal engines.

The only real important relationship from that centres to agricultural areas (mostly more inside the Island) were the cotton plantations, from which were made textiles and clothes, having a special importance for trade at that time, and later on the sugar cane plantations for Grog such as maize, as before mentioned.

The way of the construction of first urban settlements was first influenced by Portuguese medieval urban architecture, developing during the transition into the modern epoch, and only later, when urban centres became more and more dependent of agriculture as exclusive economic activity, by involving much more necessity for capacity of work, the African influence could become stronger and stronger, letting the slave finally find conditions for cultural and artistic manifestations.

The inland occupation started much more lately, beginning with slaves which had escaped or were let free, due to bossping maritime importance of Cape Verde in 17th century, and consequently the decreasing of trade and following impoverishment of landowners, which had no more ways to supply their slaves over lots of months, till the next precipitation season.

These escaped slaves built up their temporary houses of wood and stones (called *Funcos*), palm leaves and undergrowth, mostly high up in the mountains, to be more secure from probable persecution.

They changed their place from time to time, partly due to persecution, partly forced by finding cultivable land, and after some time, when they felt secure, they settled down and began to work the land. Still today, a lot of dispersed houses and villages can be found on most inclined slopes high up in the mountains inside Santiago Island.

Old traditional habitations still can be found at the so called 'Rabelados'[1] (rebels), a well preserved dissident community of religious sect, which are still today a community that lives in houses made of palm leaves inside Santiago Island, having to outsiders a very reserved relationship, and a strong unit and religious sense of community inside.

[1] Community born in the 40th by the dissidents from Catholic Church in reaction to several norms imposed by a severe establishment and interpreted as prolongation of colonial dictatorship. In consequence, they fled into the mountains and rejected any kind of contacts with the Catholic Church and state administration, such as education, civil registration or vaccinations, transforming this attitude during the time into a taboo. Some of them persist in the same attitude till today.

1.3.1.1 Different forms of space occupation

There can be found two types of space organization on Santiago Island: the dispersed occupation form, mostly agrarian village's or areas inside the Island, and the concentrated occupation form, mostly urban centres.

1.3.1.1.1 Dispersed occupation form

The dispersed occupation form in rural areas inside the Island has primordially two reasons: the escaped slaves, as before mentioned, and the difficulty of finding cultivable soil. This is important to explain the most secluded localizations of houses on hill slopes, with very difficult accesses.

These houses have mostly a popular character: thatched roof in form of gable roof, front of the house type of window-door-window, built of stones often without mortar and without stucco or plaster, the outside space in front is reduced to a small forecourt for children's play and for domestic activities. The inside is made out of one room without complete division, or just one half wall or a divisional curtain which divides optically living room from bed room. At the backside can be a little annex functioning as kitchen and a small yard for pigs, poultry or a corral.

They are normally far away from water wells and way back from roads, inaccessible to not welcomed people (the Creole expression *badio*, how people from Santiago Island are called in Cape Verde, comes from the Portuguese word *vadio*, which means the one who strays or who roams about).

There they cultivate lands, from which they are owners or which they rented, a tradition that had survived, also by heir, till today.

1.3.1.1.2 Concentrated occupation form

These are cities, villages or agglomerations which have some kind of ordination space structures, like certain environmental or architectonic elements or axles, related to importance or time at history of there formation, and having gradual sedimentation.

We can define 3 basic types (Vieira, 1991, 19, 20):

1. with nuclear character ('nuclear agglomeration', developed around a central structural element, without necessarily having appropriated this element for structural Orientation). Example: Pedra Badejo;

2. with grid character ('chessboard agglomeration', with orthogonal axle organization in geometric discipline). Example: Praia's centre Plateau.

3. with linear structure ('axle agglomeration', along a road or a river bed), with very similar characteristics of Portuguese medieval cities. Example: Ribeira Grande.

All three types have in common that urban and rural areas are not well distinguished and clearly separated from each other, because most habitants come from rural areas, including the agrarian tradition of Cape Verde into there new living space. That leaves to a lot of pet-owning and plantations on any free square meter of a yard inside urban spaces. But also during the settlement process of the first urban agglomerations, the Portuguese settlers brought the agrarian tradition into the urban area, as we will see later on.

The urban 'nuclear agglomeration' is a relatively chaotic space organization, even though there are some rules recognizable: lying around a central place or harbour, these agglomerations have grown relatively uncontrolled, but normally trade zones (like marketplace, shops and work shops), residential zones and governmental and religious buildings are clearly distinguished.

The urban 'chessboard agglomeration' is characteristic for the most important centres of Municipalities, which importance of space demands to make plans, occupying an important role in socio-administrative structure of the Island.

The urban 'axle agglomeration' functions to the logic of proximity to the principal circulation axle, mostly a street (or a river), where trade is going on, where street traders pass by and shopkeepers can make their business, on which the whole agglomeration is depending on economically. Most of this urban form can be found in the interior of the Island, lying at the roads that cross the Island, connecting one major urban centre to another. Others can be found at the coast, where river beds flow in valleys into the sea, showing clearly the dominant dependence of the element water. But even there is the strategically logic of the main street (*Rua Direita*), to which most other places and buildings have an advantage to be. This example we have in Ribeira Grande, as we will see further on.

1.3.1.2 Urban colonial architecture

One type of building appears, in some differentiations, in all main cities of Cape Verde (Praia, Mindelo on São Vicente, São Felipe on Fogo), having existed also in Ribeira Grande during its apogee period: it is the colonial habitation and functional building, which is called *Sobrado*.

This type of building consists in two different shapes and two versions of storey forms: its shape is around an inner yard, and it can circle the yard totally in the middle, the building forming an 'O' around it, or the building can have the from of an 'U', leaving one side of the backyard opened and is only closed by a simply wall behind. Normally it has two storeys, while the ground floor can be half in the ground, making of it half a basement, so that the upper storey ends up in an elevated first storey. Normally, the upper storey was reserved for the living area of the Patron, only slaves of confidence could enter it, while the ground storey was reserved for storage, shops and office, such as sleeping area for the slaves, when necessary. They have in common that mostly the kitchen and the sanitary installations are outside the main living area.

It was this architectonic colonial building typology which dominated the main important residencial areas of Ribeira Grande, as it is the case of the part of town of *S. Pedro*, as we will see further on.

1.4 Ribeira Grande, the first European urban settlement in the tropics

Since the Cape Verde archipelago consisted of uninhabited islands at the time of their discovery, they only became interesting for Portugal because of their geo-strategic position, starting to depend on maritime trade of slaves and other goods, taking on a political, military, trade and religious importance for colonial expansion purposes. The first settlements, as their main reason was connected in any way to Atlantic expansion, necessarily had to be on the coast, with their harbours as the centre of importance.

To start the colonization of what would become Ribeira Grande in 1462 it was chosen a small bay in the south of Santiago Island (initially called *S. Jacob*), which had a river bed with running water (*Ribeira Grande* means 'big river bed'). This gave it its denomination, meanwhile we can also find it called in several documents as being simply 'Santiago'.

By first appreciation, the place chosen seemed to combine ideal conditions:

- being located in the south of Santiago Island, it was protected by the mountains from the main winds blowing constantly from a north-east direction;

- it had water from a river to supply the population and for agriculture, and, also very important, to supply the ships on their way to cross the Atlantic ocean;

- it was situated between a valley, formed by the river bed, and mountains around, where a military defence system could be built up easily;

- it had a small bay with usually calm waters where the river flowed into the ocean, forming a natural harbour;

- it had enough space along the river bed and upstream for agriculture.

Some conditions would later be discovered that were not so favourable, especially the dangerousness of the riffs in the harbour, the topographic limitation for an expansion, the vulnerable exposition of the urban body to attacks and pillages from the sea side, and, very important, the insalubrious climate due to swamp formation and a bad ventilation of the valley. But by then, the town had been established.

After a difficult initial period of colonization, the *Carta Régia* from 1466, conceding the inhabitants extreme liberties in trading with West African coast, brought finally a high number of new colons to Ribeira Grande (Pereira, 1988, 44, 45).

The initial organization of life on Santiago Island continued to concentrate itself at the port of Ribeira Grande, 'where there was built an agglomeration of houses more or less well constructed' (*ibid*, 45), extending afterwards in to the interior zone through the valley, and developing later at both sides of the coast platform. This different development of the diverse parts of town, its constructed morphology, depended not only of the implanted urban models at their specific time of growing, but also of its geographic and topographic conditions. For

this it was also primordial to define the structural and generative axles, related to which the urban fabric was growing and developing (de Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, 1999, 103).

The main natural axle in Ribeira Grande was the river bed, whose similar localization and function it has in common with most of the other urban agglomerations on the Macaronesia Islands: *Funchal*, *Santa Cruz* and *Machico* (in Madeira), *Vila do Porto* (in Santa Maria), *Ponta Delgada* and *Vila Franca* (in S. Miguel, Azores) and *Angra* and *Praia* (in Terceira, Azores). They all have water courses in the interior of the urban fabric or at the proximities of the agglomerations (Fernandes, 1992, 84). Concerning to the topography, we can divide the urban area into two main levels: the 'low' part of town, in between 0m till maximum 10m of height, which includes the Pillory place, the parts of town of *Figueira de Portugal*, *S. Pedro* and *S. Brás*, and the 'high' parts of town, consisting over 10m till the highest points of round about 100m on the *Achadas* (Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* and central watch point with northern city wall on central *Achada*), built up by the part of town of *S. Sebastião*, between round about 20 till 30 meters above the sea level

In 1495, the Chapel of the (later?) extended Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* was started to be built (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 45). Undoubted one of the first religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, this fact will be discussed later, relating it to other early mentioned religious buildings (Chapel/Church of *Espírito Santo*, Chapel/Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, and Chapel of *S. Sebastião*). At this time, the urban area, building formerly the part of town of *S. Pedro*, started to extend beyond the harbour zone towards the left (north) side of the river bed (de Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, *op. cit.*, 127).

In 1533, it was taken in the same year to the category of town and the seat of the Bishopric, by the *Bula Papal* (papal pontifical document) *Pro Excelenti*, with spiritual jurisdiction over the archipelago Islands, such as over *terra firme* of the African Continent, from *cabo Verde* (Cape Verde of nowadays Senegal) till *cabo das Palmas* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 137, 138).

At this time, the south west part of part of town of *S.Pedro*, the zone near to the river delta (left of river bed), built up out of the mash of longitudinal and more less parallel streets of *Rua Carreira*, *Rua da Banana* and *Rua Direita*, connected by transversal streets, would have already be built up, extending through the 16th century up the river bed (De Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, *op. cit.*, 137). This would include the formation of the part of town of *Figueira de Portugal* on the right side (north-east) of the river bed, starting behind the prison river upwards.

Mid 16th century Ribeira Grande would have had already around about 500 'fires' (Pereira, 2004, 40), reaching its highest number of inhabitants seemingly 'during the transition from the 15th to the 16th century, with round about 1500 to 2000 inhabitants' (Fernandes, *op. cit.*, 141). An unknown Portuguese pilot describes in 1550 Ribeira Grande as 'having good houses of stone and calc, inhabited by Portuguese and Castellans, being there more than 500 fires'. This seems to be the golden period of development of the city of Ribeira Grande (Pereira, 1988, 51).

In between 1556 and 1558, the Bishop D. Frei Francisco da Cruz, third Bishop of Cape Verde, initiates the construction of the Cathedral and of the Church of *Misericórdia*, such as of the Episcopal Palace, finished before the year of 1574, which served for almost over 200

years as private residency for the Prelates which stayed in Ribeira Grande (Pereira, 1988, 52). With the start of the construction of the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace beside at south, the part of town of *S. Sebastião*, seemingly the last one to grow, would start its development at the same time. The part of town of *S. Brás* would have been started to be built up shortly before (De Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, *op. cit.*, 138), using for implantation, such as the part of town of *S. Sebastião*, the slightly sloppy *Achadas* on left and right side (north-west and south-east) of the river bed at the shore, due to the restrictive expansion possibility of extending of the urban fabric river upwards, where the urban zones 'flowed' into the agricultural areas.

Francisco de Andrade (de Andrade apud Pereira, 1988, 54) writes at 26th of January of 1582 about Ribeira Grande, relating that it has

> '(...) 508 *vizinhos* [neighbours], which have in confession 5700 slaves, beside the underage ones, which slaves they have at their farms, and with the ones of their service they are divided in 3 *bandeiras* [protections] with their Captains, which assist to the alarms and 3 watch bulwarks, which are the watch bulwark and the bulwark of Ribeira and the one of *S. Brás*, which are the 3 parts where the city can be perpetrated'.

These only can be the watch point at top of the middle part of the left (north) to the river bed lying *Achada Salineiro*, the so called *Prezídio* (bulwark of the prison) at beginning of *Rua do Porto* (right of river bed, south-east side by the shore) and the bulwark *S. Brás* (by the shore left/north west of the river bed, by its delta).

After several attacks at Ribeira Grande, of which we sub line the one of the partisans of D. António Prior do Crato at 13th of January of 1583, pillaging the town and 'the ornaments of churches and crosses', and the second and successful attack of Sir Francis Drake in 1585, it is asked to re enforce the defence of the city and the Island, meanwhile a change towards the city of Praia is dissuaded (Pereira, 1988, 55, 56). This last attack caused 'a lot of damages, so that the re-edification of the churches would become necessary, burning *retábulos* (ornamented part behind the altar) and altars, beside the houses of the inhabitants which were destructed in three parts of them' (*ibid*, 56). As a result, the Royal Fortress of *S. Felipe* was initiated to be constructed by the Portuguese engineer João Nunes, with intervention of the Italian *engenheiro-mor* (main engineer) Filipe Tercio, finished round about 1593 (*ibid*, 58). Beside this, the number of fortresses and bulwarks along the shore line were increased to a total of six ones (all together, with the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, seven in number), planned to function in a defence strategy off crossfire, as before mentioned.

By reaching Ribeira Grande in 1604, the Jesuits choose the part of town of *S. Brás* as the area for their residence houses, having better ventilation and health conditions. So wrote the Jesuit Priest Baltasar Barreira (Barreira apud Pereira, 1988, 60) at the 1st of August of 1606, that:

> 'the city has five hundred, or six hundred inhabitants, is localized by the sea in between mountains and cliffs so high that it has no other view than the one of the sea, by which cause and being covered by the north, it was always very unhealthy, even though now, they say, it is some how better. It is very common that the ones who come here from other parts get ill, especially when the weather is of water (...). And because of during that weather not even the inhabitants feel themselves secure in the city, the major part of them abandon and go stay to the farms they have over the Island and healthy and pleasant places'. Further on, he continues: 'The harbour of the city is very narrow and because of a riff it has inside the ships who come to it run a lot of risk; in less then one year after our reaching, six have been lost and others were very close to do so'.

> The same Priest made a proposal about the planned localization to found the College of the Jesuits, at 12th of February of 1609 (Pereira, *ibid*, 61).

During the 17th century started the slow and gradual abandon of the city, due to its climate, the unfavourable localization, the repeated attacks by corsairs and enemy armadas, such as the abandon which the Island suffered during the *Fllipine* (Spanish) governing between 1580 and 1640. At 14th of August of 1612, a Royal chart seemed to give the final stroke: the governor and the Bishop should reside in Praia, and the ships should label in its port. In 1647, the city lost finally its monopoly of slave trade (Fernandes, *op. cit.*, 142).

At 14th of August of 1652 was decreed the transition of the capital to the Village of Praia, fact only happening in 1769 (*ibid*, 86). The Priest Fernão Guerreiro (Guerreiro apud Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. IV, 208, 209) wrote already in his annual report from 1605:

> 'A lot of times it was to change the city to this place, which, if it would have been done, would have been of great well, because neither the ships that had been lost continuously in its harbour would have been lost, neither would have become ill or died so many people'

In 1699, Challe (Challe apud Françoise et J. M. Massa, 2004, 11), a companion who followed the French Engineer Duplessis on a four years trip to the sea of South America, described Santiago (how Ribeira Grande was also called at that days) in the following way: (the Episcopal Palace) '(...) is the most beautiful in town'. Referring to the agglomeration of Santiago, he added: 'it looks new, the streets are well aligned, the houses with windows and bright, nearly all of them with two floors, covered with tiles' (*ibid*, 29). Dublessis (*id*) himself:

> 'the houses which are covered with tiles are reasonable constructed. The city has two principal Churches, Santiago, the Cathedral still not finished in construction; the Franciscans, recently constructed, which raises at a hillock above the city, with lots of gardens around; which makes the view pleasant'.

He added the existence of several chapels and hermitages, which manifest the interest Portugal had in this Island. Beside, he mentioned a hospital with twenty five to thirty beds (*id*) (which is supposed to be the *Misericórdia* Church and Hospital).

Challe (*id*), on his side, reaching the port, mentioned rocks which could cut the ropes and 'blasts of wind which can break loose the ships'. He described that only small barques could tie up close to the shore, the bay having no capacity to lodge big vessels (*id*).

At 4th of May of 1712, Ribeira Grande was attacked and pillaged by the French Corsair Jacques Cassard, and even the bells of the Cathedral would have been stolen, only about seven years after its conclusion, probably only in 1705. The damage was calculated in three million pound sterling. 'This date seems to mark the irreversible submersion of the city, which is abandoned slowly and definitively' (Pereira, 1988, 73).

The city, already partly abandoned and in advanced ruin state, would never recover from its profound wounds, even though there were attempts still during the first half of the 18th century to rebuilt the Cathedral, the Episcopal Palace, beside that the Seminary was started to be constructed, but seemingly never finished. The civil and religious buildings, abandoned one after the other, would be exposed to the intervention of time, to pillage and to destruction

by taking away its construction material such as the ornamentation. This would be used in the construction of new smaller habitation houses during the 18th and 19th century, such as partly, as it is known from the marble stones and limestones, to help to build up the new capital of Praia of St.ª Maria.

1.5 Identification of relevant historic cartographic and iconographic documents

(see Vol. II, Annex 2.1)

To identify and to analyze the urban fabric of Ribeira Grande, we have, beside descriptions given in the transcriptions and analyzes of historic written documentation, a few historic graphic documents, namely three town plans, three illustrations and four engravings, as before mentioned. Three of the latter ones show us Ribeira Grande in a perspective angle, transmitting the idea of how illustrators idealized the urban area, not relying on very exact land surveying. To complete the understanding of the urban fabric such as its typology of buildings, some photos made at the beginning of the 20th century show us the city and its buildings in their original state, before major conservation and reconstructing interventions were done partially.

The first three town plans, all made by Portuguese military engineer António Carlos Andrea in the 18th century, show to be the most exact ones, starting with a land surveying *in situ*, street by street, building by building, in 1769, drawn in the graphic scale of 1000 *palmos* (palms, one *palmo* corresponds to 0.22m.). Being an infantry Captain, exercising as Engineer, he stayed for 12 years on the Cape Verde Islands, where he elaborated the first plan. The two other ones, dating both from 1778, probably don't correspond to an original survey but have been outlined, focusing on the property of the buildings and the number of inhabitants. They are seemingly elaborated based on the first one, clarifying the urban reading by simplifying the street alignments and the building shapes.

We will focus on these three plans for our urban analysis, all found in *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (AHU) in Lisbon, while the illustrations, engravings and photos will give us further on complementary information about the implantation and localizations as well as of the typology and architectonic construction details of the buildings.

1.6 Development of the urban fabric and description of parts of town of Ribeira Grande

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.1)

Although Ribeira Grande has been always a relatively small urban agglomeration from round about 500 fires (Pereira, 2004, 40) (which would correspond to an estimated number of maximum 2500 inhabitants), it is made out of five differentiated historic parts of town, which are here aligned in sequence of historical appearance, as far as it is clearly possible to define. A sixth part of town started to grew up only recently during the last decades.

Even though, it should have had twenty four religious buildings (*ibid*, 41), from which made part several churches (including the Cathedral) and chapels/hermitages, a Church/Hospital, a Jesuit College, a Convent and an Episcopal Palace. It is not clear how Pereira comes to affirm

exactly this amount of religious buildings, having for him practically visibly remained only four of them (*id*). We will see that we can still clearly identify through remains *in situ* at least twelve of them, having knowledge of at least six more through cartographic and written documentation, which gives us a total amount of at minimum eighteen religious buildings which did seemingly exist. Some other still existing ruins and building remains are not clearly identifiable, and we can't obviously exclude categorically the possibility that in between them one or another belongs to a former religious building.

Due to its restricted expansion possibilities because of its extreme topographic implantation between three main mountain plateaus, Ribeira Grande rapidly developed inwards the Island, in this case along the canyon on both sides of the river bed. Only at the end stage of its urban expansion, the area of the extensive coast line on both sides of the river bed would be used for construction. It had as such two orientation axles for the development of the urban fabric: the main river upwards and, perpendicular to it, starting at the pillory place up the plateaus along the coast line (de Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, 1999, 122).

The harbour, due to its small bay and riffs which made a protected anchoring impossible, is opened, and that is exactly why it was difficult to defend, so that it was necessary to create a real complex of defence system, which culminated with the construction of Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* (or '*Cidadela*').

From the set raised in 15th and 16th centuries made part of six small bulwarks, over more, logically of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*. From these, six were: *St.º António* one, *S. João dos Cavaleiros* and *S. Veríssimo* one, all of them at the right (south-east) edge of Ribeira Grande, the ones from *Presídio* (central) with maritime wall, linking *S. Veríssimo* together with *S. Brás*, this one already at the left (north-west) edge, such as the ones from *S. Lourenço*, with its big toothed fort wall, closing the access to the western part of the Town. The barrier of crossed fire for two forts at each time, would try to shove off any attack coming from the see side, along the whole width of the harbour.

Even though the city defence walls could have been constructed much earlier, which would correspond to the model of medieval towns, and which unfortunately is not clearly documented (the engravings of Teodoro de Bry from c. 1600 (see Annex 2.1), showing Drake's attack at Ribeira Grande in 1585 are more allegoric illustrations than realistic reproductions of the scenery), latest at this time there should have already existed the western and northern (on top of *Achada Salineiro*) defence wall, such as the recognizable harbour defence wall and the small extension wall from the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* for protection and control of the eastern side of access to the city.

Ribeira Grande practically didn't grow in terms of new districts during all these past centuries, nevertheless, there has been a growth/expansion of old districts with remodelling of old buildings, as well as construction of new ones. Exception is the new part of town of *St.º António,* also designated locally as *Sucupira,* at the eastern actual entrance side, coming to be built up only during the last decades.

1.6.1 The part of town around the pillory square ('centre')

The first settlement along the harbour, including the first roads built, seemed to be built up by *Rua do Porto* and *Rua do Calhau* towards the main square at the centre (de Jesus Monteiro

dos Reis Pires, 1999, 140), on which at the beginning of the 16th century was built up the pillory. This *largo do Pelourinho* (pillory Square, which also means in Creole 'market place'), at right side (east) and at the very beginning of the river delta, directly at the harbour, concentrated some official buildings such as the Hospital and the Church of *Misericórdia* and the prison. In the centre is, still today, the pillory, symbol of municipal sovereignty, dated back to 1512, made out of calacerous stone imported from Portugal, with the capital sculptured in Manuelin style. It was the symbol of Municipal and juridical power, but also for the '(...) privileges and civil liberties of the city and its citizens' (Pereira, 2004, 38). Here, the justice was executed, slaves were whipped and hanged, and at the place around it, rows of slaves were exposed for trade.

The pillory square is limited at its left (north-west) side by the main river bed and delta. The Church and Hospital of *Misericórdia* lie at the *Rua da Misericórdia*, which is the northern extension of the *Rua de Calhau* (stone/pebble street), which forms a corner with the *Rua da Praça* (square street, north end of the square, which adjoins the prison). Clockwise, between *Rua da Misericórdia* and *Rua do Calhau* branches off in right angle the *Beco da Misericórdia*, and between the *Rua do Calhau* and *Rua do Porto* (Harbour Street) the *Beco da Confeitaria* (alley of confectioner's shop). At the end (beginning, south-east) of the *Rua do Calhau* is localized the Fort of *Presídio* (prison fort), which is aligned with the harbour protection wall, whose extension prolongs along the harbour sea side till the left (western) part of the river delta, ending at the Fort of *S. Brás*.

Note: it has to be pointed out here that Engineer Andrea in his 1778 colour maps' index described the number of houses, of 'free' inhabitants and slaves, such as the total amount of inhabitants per street/alley. As there are for the area of the pillory square ('centre'):

- *Beco da Confeitaria*: 1 building, 4 'free', 3 slaves, total: 7;
- *Rua do Porto*: 1 building, 2 'free', 0 slaves, total: 2;
- *Beco da Misericórdia*: 3 buildings, 5 'free', 0 slaves, total: 5;
- *Rua do Calhau*: 3 buildings, 14 'free', 6 slaves, total: 20;
- *Rua da Praça*: 1 building, 7 'free', 2 slaves, total: 9;
- *Rua da Misericórdia*: 4 buildings, 8 'free', o slaves, total: 8.

On Andrea's black and white map from 1778, we can identify the *Misericórdia* (Z) and beside it (north-west) the prison, which comes described as 'renovated prison' (X).

Above (east) the *Misericórdia* 'thrones' the Chapel of *S. Roque* (4), and behind (east) of the *Rua do Porto/Rua do Calhau*, in second row, a building complex (5) which is designated as to be the *Cazas do Mestre Escola Nicolão da Fonseca Araújo* (houses of the school master).

At the very beginning of the *Rua do Porto* is designated the 'prison' (2, *Prezídio*), showing the same double shape which, comparing with the coloured map, indicates us the existence of a fort and of a prison at this place, beside the prison at the north of the pillory square

1.6.2 The parts of town of *S. Pedro* and *Figueira de Portugal*

Shortly afterwards these first roads and the square of the 'centre', the city expanded through the parts of town of *Figueira de Portugal* (south-east to the main river bed) and *S. Pedro* (north-west to the main river bed), in which the Chapel/Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* is started to be built at 1495 (Pereira, 1988, 45). Beginning shortly behind of the river delta on the its left side (west), it is built of the main streets of *Rua Direita*, typical for medieval Portuguese cities, beside and parallel to the river bed, than (and connected to it through two unnamed transversal streets) the *Rua de Banana*, parallel to west, and *Rua de Carreira*, also parallel to west (and connected to *Rua de Banana* also through two unnamed transversal streets), at whose end lies the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, left side (north) to it.

In this area of the part of town of *S. Pedro* have been the houses of the noblemen, the important Merchandisers and trade companies, such as some official representative buildings. It had been mainly a residential area for important kingly functionaries (De Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, 1999, 137). 'In this part of town were the most opulent houses and the richest *Sobrados*' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 227). On Andrea's first map, by observing several major building ground plan shapes in 'U' form, we can localize the described *Sobrados* in this area, which is an indication of the before affirmed.

Note: nowadays, most of the houses which built up the urban fabric of this part of town, as of the other ones, are much more recent, the eldest dating from the last two centuries. Some of them are covered with palm or grass leaves, showing a variation of the typical window – door – window construction with gable roof. From all *Sobrados* of Ribeira Grande did only survive one exemplar, this one localized at the *Rua do Porto*, serving as Post office.

The part of town of *S. Pedro* extended beyond the tributary affluence (designated as *Beco da Mafafa*), with the *Rua Direita* turning into the *Rua de S. Pedro*, ending at the Church of *S. Pedro*. Behind (north-west) and parallel to the *Rua Direita* and its extension of *Rua de S. Pedro* runs the *Rua da Horta Velha* (street of the old vegetable garden), which is at its beginning after the tributary connected through the transversal *Rua do Convento*, whose extension leads to the steps of the Convent.

In the area of the *Rua do Convento* and the beginning of the *Rua da Horta Velha*, such as of the secondary river tributary of *Beco da Mafafa*, up towards north, we can find a concentration of four religious buildings: the Jesuit College (Q, and on the black and white map from 1778 designated as *Hospício que foi dos Jesuitas*, which means 'Mental Hospital which was of the Jesuits') , the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (N, *arruinado* –'ruined'), the Church of *Monte Alverne* (O) and, nearby towards north-east, the Convent of *S. Francisco* (P).

Meanwhile the map of the Engineer Andrea from 1769 shows most buildings already in ruin state, we can by designation on his three maps and through their index, identify some other important buildings and inhabitants of *S. Pedro* (see Annex 2.1, fig. 6, 7 and 8):

Nearly at the beginning of the *Rua Direita* lies the house of the Municipal Camera (V), while up the river bed, after the secondary affluent river, the House of the Company (R) is located (Company *Grão Pará e Maranhão*), behind which the house of João Freire is indicated (S). At the end of the *Rua Banana*, right side, lies the governor's house (T). And at the beginning

of *Rua Carreira*, right side, we find the house of D. Violante Freire de Andrade (see Annex 2.4, archaeological excavation report 2007).

On his only coloured map, we find at the beginning of *Rua Banana* the barracks of the troops, while at the end, same place of governor's house, the house of Domenico Espíndola is denominated (about him nothing could be found out in the documentation). Behind the house of the company, in *Rua Direita*, lies the house of Colonel João Freire de Andrade.

The index of the same map gives us information about the number of houses and inhabitants of the streets of *S. Pedro* at round about 1778:

- *Rua Direita*: 11 buildings, 56 'free', 50 slaves, total: 106;
- *Rua Banana*: 9 buildings, 35 'free', 21 slaves, total: 56;
- *Rua Carreira*: 9 buildings, 33 'free', 31 slaves, total: 64;
- *Rua de S. Pedro*: 18 buildings, 63 'free', 8 slaves, total: 71;
- *Rua da Horta Velha*: 20 buildings, 67 'free', 20 slaves, total: 87;
- *Rua da Mafafa*: 1 buildings, 3 'free', 0 slaves, total: 3.
- And of part of town of *Figueira de Portugal*: 3 buildings, 10 'free', 0 slaves, total: 10.

> 'In the street of *São Pedro* (*Rua Direita*) lived several kingly officials. For example, it was in it that lived Gaspar Rodrigues, who was clerk of Court of Law in 1558; in 1563, treasure holder of the deceased; in 1569, treasure holder of the kingdom [*almoxarife*] and, in 1577, (...) butler of the brotherhood of *São Pedro* and *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*. Neighbour of that street was also the juridical notary public [*tabelião público e judicial*] Domingos de Fonseca, and André Dornelha, ship captain and 'practical' of things of Guinea. The *Rua de Carreira* was also inhabited by honoured men of the city of Ribeira Grande. So, in 1613, Valentim Fernandes Lucas sold to Captain Diogo Ximenes Vargas, one of the richest neighbours, certain houses in Rua Carreira for 280 000 reais, houses, where probably the Captain lived. The same Diogo Ximenes Vargas let as heritage some houses placed in *Rua de Banana* to a coloured boy named António (his not legitimate son?) , who later on becomes known as Priest António Fernandes Vargas. It was also in this part of town that the neighbour Manuel Vaz do Pico had a house placed in the 'principal street of the city' which led to to the Church *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*. In my vision, this would be the street of Banana' (*ibid*, 227, 228.).

Note: it exists between the historians a certain disagreement about the delimitation of the part of town of *S. Pedro* and the one of *Figueira de Portugal*, some localizing both of them at the north side of the main river bed. We would like to think that, and in relation to the designation on the Andrea's map, the part of town of *S. Pedro* had been the whole one extending north of the main river bed upwards (having in mind the designation of the sub-sequent street to the *Rua Direita*, the one of *S. Pedro* which leads to the Church of *S. Pedro* main river upwards, while the part of town of *Figueira de Portugal* lied south to the main river bed, beginning behind (north-east) of the prison and Church of *Misericórdia* in direction main river upwards.

Figueira de Portugal, in the valley that runs nailed between *Achada Salineiro* and *Achada Forte*, right (north-east side) of the main riverbed, seemed to have been built up, after initial agglomeration, of well aligned buildings with mostly kitchen-yards, which ended up to lead what seems to be an agricultural area. Its width extension possibility was extremely

conditioned and limited through the steep slope of the *Achada Forte* at its right (east) side and the main river bed at its left side. No indication of street names or of building inhabitants could be found.

Note: looking at the small amount of named buildings (index of coloured map 1778), being in contradiction with the ones drawn on the map of 1769, Figueira de Portugal suggests here not to be the designation of a part of town but simply of a street with that name, at right (south) side of and along the main river bed.

'Both parts of town where probably consolidated during the beginning of 16th till beginning of 17th century' (*ibid*, 227). We think that round about 1550, their general layout and building consolidation process should already have been in an advanced stage or even finished. Little would change or be added afterwards.

Visiting Ribeira Grande in 1832 during the voyage of the 'Beagle', Charles Darwin (Darwin apud Brandt, 2004, 2, 3) describes moments of the visit (referring seemingly to part of town of *São Pedro*, with Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* and the area - banana plantation - of *Rua da Banana*) as follows:

> '(...) we visited a collection of buildings, of which an ancient church formed the principal part. It is here the governors and captain-generals of the islands have been buried. Some of the tombstones recorded dates of the sixteenth century. The heraldic ornaments were the only things in this retired place that reminded us Europe. The church or chapel formed one side of a quadrangle, in the middle of which a large clump of bananas were growing. On another side was a Hospital, containing about a dozen miserable looking inmates'.

The hospital is the one of *Misericórdia*, on the other side of the river bed.

1.6.3 The part of town of *S. Brás*

The part of town of *São Brás* is localized on the left side (west) of the river delta, at the very beginning of *Achada Salineiro*, of at which beginning lies the Fort of *S. Brás*, and at its very western end the Fort of *S. Lourenço*. Adjoined (west) to the Fort of *S. Brás* lies the Chapel of *S. Brás*, on a hillock above the sea.

This part of town would have been started to be build up at the end of limited expansion possibility of the urban fabric main river upwards, so probably during the first half of the 16th century. It lies over a platform of the hillside of *Achada Salineiro* and the sea, where dispersed buildings follow more or less the structuring axle of the street which leads from the beginning of it at the river delta towards the western city protection wall. Beyond this, the street comes denominated as *Caminho para S. João* (road to *S. João*)

It has been a shelter as residence, and the Chapel serving their services, during most time of Jesuits stay in Ribeira Grande. Its climate was, together with the one of the part of town of *S. Sebastião* and the area of the main Fortress on *Achada Forte*, the healthiest one in Ribeira Grande

The index of the colour map from Engineer Andrea gives us information about the number of houses and inhabitants of the part of town of *S. Brás* at round about 1778, such as of its conservation state (see below, end of next chapter):

- *São Braz*: 16 buildings, 55 'free', 7 slaves, total: 62;

1.6.4 The part of town of *S. Sebastião*

The part of town of *S. Sebastião* emerged as the last one from Ribeira Grande 'in between the 30th and 60th of the 16th entury', (Correia e Silva apud Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 21, 22), overlapping with the beginning of the end of the commercial prosperity. Its localization is on the right side (east) of river delta, ups on a elevation at coast, at the foot of the *Achada Forte*, on which lies the Royal Fortress of *S. Felipe*. Its population nucleus developed since the back (north-east) side of the Cathedral, extending at the hillside in a slope towards the Fortress of *S. Felipe*. It is as such the only urbanized area of Ribeira Grande extending over an inclined ground level.

Note: we think that the mentioned date of its emerging could be to early, having in mind the construction of the Cathedral and Episcopal Palace only from the second half of the 16th century on. These buildings certainly would have influenced the creation of its urban structure and settlement process.

It has clear modern, Renaissance elements in its conception of the space. Sign of this is the fact of the regularity of the urban fabric. Two larger parallel streets are outlined up hill, connected in between them with two narrow perpendicular traverses. Beside this, the buildings seem to be of a more regular size and typology than the existing ones in the *cidade baixa* ('low city' or down town). It hosts also the most bulky ones, referring in special to the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral. Lying at the left side (west) of them is the Fort of *S. Veríssimo* and at the right (east) end the Fort of *S. João dos Cavaleiros*.

The index of the colour map from Engineer Andrea gives us information about the number of houses and inhabitants of the part of town of *S. Sebastião* at round about 1778:

- *São Sebastião*: 25 buildings, 133 'free', 144 slaves, total: 277

General note: the common assumption that we can count for one (1) building in average five (5) inhabitants wasn't seemingly the reality in Ribeira Grande, even excluding in the account the religious and administrative ones, so that we came to a relation of c. 1 building for 6.3 inhabitants. This rises the before mentioned amount of inhabitants (including slaves), having in mind the mentioned number of c. 500 buildings, to 3150, of which 1980 would have been 'free' *vizinhos* and 1168 slaves. The relation between slaves and 'free' was of 10 slaves per 17 *vizinhos*.

This number contradicts a bit the general believe that for every 'free' inhabitant would have been several slaves, so that this number surprises at the first look. But it is possible that the number of escaped slaves and of the ones which had already received *alforria* was at that time (second half of 18th century) extremely high due to the difficult commercial situation and subsequent abandonment of the city, the consecutive draughts and famines such as the loss,

more then one century before, of the city's monopole of slave trade. Beside this, we have to imagine most part of the 'free' inhabitants as already for long time being Creole.

Still readable at the bottom of the index is the following text: 'N.B. All the main part of the city was subjected to floods which did ruin it a lot; not so the part of town of *S, Braz* and *S. Sebastião* which are totally free of them, and due to this reason they can be good re-edified' (António Carlos Andreia, 1778).

1.6.5 The part of town of *St.º António* ('*Sucupira*')

The recently grown part of town of *St. º António*, extending from the east part of part of town of *S. Sebastião* till the Fort and Chapel/Hermitage of *St. º António*, lies turned to the ocean and extends hillside upwards till the actual traffic way to Praia. This, exception the mentioned Chapel and Fort, is for no further interest in our studies.

1.6.6 The involving rural areas and its influences on the city of Ribeira Grande

If Ribeira Grande had as its main existence reason its geo-strategic position at the coast of Santiago Island, turned towards the sea to serve as commercial warehouse along the maritime Atlantic routes in between the continents, another important factor, which lead at the beginning of colonization to the choice of Santiago Island to be the first one to be settled, is the agricultural potential of the surrounding rural areas. These were determined by its topography and fertile grounds due to existence of the river bed, but as such were dependent of the cyclic climatic conditions, which during the centuries would be sequenced by more or less longer draught periods. These periods, which could come up to be of several consequent years, would be interrupted by so called normal years (or years of *boa água*, which means good water), where the inter-tropical zone reached the Island with rain periods, in which in a few hours the whole amount of water of one year would come down in torrential rainfalls.

As it is the rural area, the city is also subjected to the climate conditions and the agricultural calendar. In times of rain, large part the inhabitants fled to their farms in the interior of the island. But the rain also imposed itself in variations of product prices, of maritime transports and in exchange values (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 289, 290). Strong rainfall would also cause partial inundations by raising the water level of the river dramatically, making the water infiltrate into the lower parts of town of *S.Pedro*, *Figueira de Portugal* and the Pillory place. These flooding, such as the formation of the 'lake' at the river delta right at the shore, would be the main source of tropical diseases and the 'unhealthy climate', for which the city was known and feared.

The river bed upwards towards the interior of the Island was used as agricultural area, for horticulture, sugar cane and cotton plantation such as cattle-raising, as we have seen. But the climate didn't allow the cultivation of Mediterranean products such as corn, barley, vineyard and olive which were essential for the alimentation of the European settlers (De Jesus Monteiro doe Reis Pires, 1999, 25).

Divided into several farmlands, its owners had even though mostly their residences inside the urban area of Ribeira Grande. It is also probably the existence of this river bed and the direct access to this resource which made the city resist for a long time towards the exigency of

translocation of the capital to the plateau of Praia de Santa Maria, where the lack of access to sources of water was a major problem (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 289, 290).

These so called *vizinhos* or *morgados* differed themselves from the social stratus of the high Royal and ecclesiastic civil servants, such as from merchandisers and administrators. These ones were turned towards the sea and with the back to the interior, came and left periodically to serve for a certain purpose and period of time, such as to establish contracts or transactions, using the city as a launching ramp towards the coast of Guinea (*ibid*, 289).

The city of the *vizinhos*, this means the ones which possessed in its terms original goods, is the one of which 'live in *Rua de Banana*, sustain the Confraternities, distribute sumptuously their richness and leave their bodies buried in the churches, most frequently in the one of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, for memory of the future ones' (*id*).

As the agricultural rural areas penetrated the urban fabric in form of kitchen-gardens and vegetable gardens, the city was also a place were the rural rationality interfered in a way that the space was not of mobility but of extended fixation and where its inhabitants founded social conditions through several family generations, and where they died (*id*).

José Manuel Fernandes (Fernandes, 1992, 100) describes this fact as follows: by referring to the basic characteristics of the cities that define themselves during the initial period of expansion, he mentions that

> 'another dimension which the city doesn't loose, but most of all includes discrete in its tissue, is a sense of landscape that accepts rural as 'vestige': inside the systematic kitchen-gardens of the most humble habitations, such as in the large vegetable gardens of the *Solares*; in utilization of architectonic typologies which facilitate and even integrate this taste for the functions which evoke a lost agrarian condition (...)'.

The cultivated products were used such as for basic self-sustainability of the local population, such as for ship supply, or, in case of cotton, its manufactured products (*pano di terra*) designated for commerce. Even though, the inhospitable ecologic system of the Island of Santiago didn't allow a rural and manorial occupation settled on alimentation farming and on self-subsistence (De Jesus Monteiro doe Reis Pires, *op. cit.*, 25).

Due to the multiple interconnection factors between the rural and urban space, and due to the constant circulation in between these two areas, Madeira Santos (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 290) proposes the farms in the interior as the real limitations of the city of Ribeira Grande, saying that 'here is our limit and our frontier'. This is certainly true from a sociologic point of view, to which we could oppose the limit of the more or less dense constructed urban fabric, which had its limitations defined at the city walls and along the craig between *Achada Salineiro* and *Achada Forte*, where predominantly the agricultural farm lands started river upwards.

1.7 Implantation of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande

1.7.1 Lexical definition of religious buildings

Before we will start to mention the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, of which made part, in between several churches, the Cathedral, an Episcopal Palace, a Seminary, a College, a

Convent and several chapels and hermitages (a possibility of having existed oratories is given), we found it necessary to define their specific designations for better understanding of their roles and even physical appearances.

During approach through the historic documentation we will find several times the same building named with several of these designations, which could be a sign of an inaccuracy of authors or an adaptation or enlargement of the building, a development of the involving urban area or a change of the function of the same building, while the original designation was kept

We will often find same buildings denominated as chapel/church/hermitage, or in the combination of Seminary/College. These different designations appear so many times in the documentation that we also didn't find it necessary to repeat every time all variations same buildings are denominated with, but use simply one of them, supposing that the reader will include automatically the other ones, this not giving reasons for misunderstandings or wrong interpretations. But of course, the different designations will be taken in consideration when of special relevancy for analysis.

1.7.1.1 Cathedral

> 'A Cathedral is normally, but not always, the largest church in the Diocese (...). They also have numerous chapels to allow for daily celebration by all the monks or Cathedral clergy, so the design problems presented to the Architects are different from those of a parish church' (Murray, Peter, L. Murray, 2004, 102).

The Cathedral is and has been the main church of the see of a Diocese, where the Bishop has and had his Bishop's throne (*cathedra*, from which derives the designation 'Cathedral'). Stephen Friar (Friar, 2003, 81) defines Cathedrals in the following way:

> 'A symbol of spiritual and temporal power, Bishops' thrones were immense structures (...): Originally, a Cathedral was served by a Bishop and his household but responsibility was later devolved to a separate body of clergy, an ecclesiastical corporation known as the Chapter. Some Chapters were secular, other monastic (...)'.

Peter and Linda Murray (Murray, Peter, L. Murray, *op. cit.*, 102) mention that 'it was the custom for Bishops to preach from the *cathedra* (...). In the Middle Ages, Cathedrals were true community centres, often serving for secular purposes such as meetings, or even as covered markets in bad weather (...)'.

1.7.1.2 Church

From Lat. *ecclesia*, derivation from gr. *ekklesia*, churches are defined by Peter and Linda Murray (*ibid*, 114) by them mentioning that 'any building can be a church, since the term 'church' originally meant the body or association of faithful, and only later came to mean a particular kind of building'. As such, it is the main (matrix) religious building of the parish.

1.7.1.3 Chapel

From Lat. *cappella*, a chapel is the place where the Royal relic was kept or preserved. Peter and Linda Murray (*ibid*, 106) mention that, 'because the relic was finally kept in a church, a

chapel became a subsidiary part of a church (...). Chapels were also dedicated to the Patron Saints of institutions guilds, and served as focal points for their corporate identity'.

The Early Christian rule that a church should only contain one altar was went around by churches containing chapels whose altar had separate dedications, as there are: Chantry Chapel (also endowed as family Chapel), Lady Chapels (dedicated to the Virgin Mary), baptismal Chapels and funeral Chapels (*Cappella Ardente*), which died out with the Reformation.

As a separate religious building, it responds juridical and belongs canonical to the matrix of the parish, but has independent funds, due to the payment of private persons. They are mostly nearby to Palaces, Fortresses, noble residencies or inside churches or the Cathedral.

1.7.1.4 Hermitage

From Cp. *eremita,* a hermitage is the designation for a small temple in a lonely place (Costa, J. Almeida e A. Sampaio e Melo, n.d., 558), normally isolated from the main urban fabric, having the same functional roles as a chapel, being paid by the persons of their neighbourhood (pilgrims a.s.o.).

1.7.1.5 College

From Lat. *collegiu*, it designates a public or particular establishment for teaching (*ibid*, 335).

1.7.1.6 Seminary

From Lat. *seminariu*, it designates an establishment were young people which are destined for the ecclesiastic careers receive instructions (*ibid*, 1296).

1.7.1.7 Casa professa

From Lat. *professu*, as *Casa professa* is designated a house of the ones which did votes in a religious order (*ibid*, 1152).

1.7.1.8 Convent

Peter and Linda Murray (Murray, Peter, L. Murray, *op. cit.*, 128) define a Convent as being 'either a body of people-monks, friars or nuns-living in a religious house, or the house itself, in which case it usually means a nunnery'. Convents were not paid through the Royal treasury, but through charity.

1.7.1.9 Episcopal Palace

Being a sumptuous habitation, a large building of noble appearance of a sovereign or important person (Costa, J. Almeida e A. Sampaio e Melo, *op. cit.*, 1044), the Episcopal Palaces were official residencies of Bishops, often lying in immediate neighbourhood or sometimes even did adjoin the Cathedral.

1.7.1.10 Aljube

From Ar. *Al-jubb*, an *Aljube* designates an ancient ecclesiastic prison, such as a temporary one (Costa, J. Almeida e A. Sampaio e Melo, *op. cit.*, 68).

1.7.1.11 Oratory

Peter and Linda Murray (Murray, Peter, L. Murray, *op. cit.*, 391) define an oratory as 'a small chapel, not normally part of a church, and often simply a room set apart in a house or public building, such as a College or Hospital, as a place for private prayer'.

1.7.2 Implantation of the religious buildings in the urban fabric

Fernando de Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires (de Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, 1999, 219) observes that

> '(...) the architectonic elements which most affirm themselves inside the urban landscape are the buildings linked to the both large structures of power: the military and the religious one. Both structures were connected to the conjunction of the Royal power, which, in last analysis, conditioned the own existence of the city'.

Describing the Implantation of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande, we will focus on three main points:

1. their orientation correlated to the four points of the compass, putting them in relation to their probable construction datas;

2. their topographic localization, correlating towards the different urban height levels;

3. their implantation in the urban fabric, correlating with the surrounding streets and other orientating axles, squares/places if existent as well as other stand out buildings.

The first point is so far of importance as, from the Council of Trent during the mid 16th century on, religious buildings didn't have to be constructed with their main altar oriented towards east any more. This directive surely took some decades to reach the distant colonies, but it could be an important indicative in helping to date the building.

The second and third points help us to understand their integration in the found geographic conditions, correlating with the Implantation of the surrounding urban fabric and sub lining their importance in outstanding position.

In general we can observe that all of the religious buildings, with exception of the *Misericórdia*, are implanted on an elevated height, ranging between c. 3.00m-05.00m (*N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, Jesuit College, *Monte Alverne*, *S. Pedro*, *S. Brás*, *St.ª Marta* and *St.º António*) till c. 90.00m-100.00m of height (*S. Gonçalo*), even if, as it is the case of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, the surrounding urban fabric lies approximately at. Sea level. In a medium height, between 20.00m and 40.00m, lie the Cathedral, Episcopal Palace, *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel* and the Convent of *S. Francisco*.

This fact, connected to their 'isolation' towards other outstanding civil and military buildings, certainly helped to sub line their importance in imposing themselves as symbols of ecclesiastic power. Exception are the three chapels/hermitages along the shore (*St.ª Marta*, *S. Brás* and *St.º António*), which seem to be directly correlated to the defence system, such as it is obviously the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* inside the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*. The Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia* seems to be the only one which is through its functional reason directly integrated and connected to the surrounding urban area, having the prison lying beside.

To notify is that, differing from most urban settlements of other Portuguese colonies such as from the mainland, the correlation between urban squares and religious buildings didn't occur in Ribeira Grande, having the pillory place at its only 'defined' square. This could be interpreted, beside the implantation of the urban settlement in a 'drastic' topographic site with great height differences and steep slopes, through the fact of its main existence reason, the slave trade, making the pillory square to become the only important and really necessary square. Only exception here again is the Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia*, which lies at the end (north) of it.

Follow will the description of localization one by one of each religious building, while the sequence we chose was a compromise between their historic importance and correlation in between them, as we will see further on, such as their identifiable place of imlantation. The by us indicated orientation to the four points of the compass is taken out of the town map from 1769, due to the original but probably more 'inexact' understanding which would lead to their implanted orientation at time of their construction.

1.7.2.1 The Cathedral (Sé)

Begin of construction: 1555/1556.

The Cathedral is localized on the hillside plateau (*Achada*) right (south-east) of the river bed and the pillory place, south-west-south to the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, at the foot of its hill slope c. 40.00m close to the shore. The plateau is of average height of c. 20.00m, forming its continuation hill upwards in direction to the Fortress the part of town of *S. Sebastião*. Its Orientation to the points of the compass is having its main altar directed towards east-south-east. Two outstanding buildings lie in its immediate neighbourhood: west-south-west to it: the Episcopal Palace and its *aljube*, and directly behind the Palace, also westwards, the Fort *S. VerÍssimo*. Southwards, in distance of c. 80.00m, lies the Fort of *S. João dos Cavaleiros*. As the plateau of *S. Sebastião* extends towards the sea designing its shore in form of a horseshoe, the Cathedral occupies the most outstanding localization above the 'centre 'of Ribeira Grande such as above the sea, reason why its construction, in conjunction with its measurements, was criticized. This localization represented well the ecclesiastic power and supremacy of the symbol of Cape Verde's Diocese, but was at the same time a dangerous eye-catcher for enemy armadas. 'Cathedrals emphasized their importance by taking up ever more space within the town. On the skyline, high civic and ecclesiastic towers became a city's emblems' (Erlande-Brandenburg, 1995, 31).

1.7.2.2 The Church/Hospital/*Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy)

Begin of construction: between 1556 and 1558.

The Church and Hospital of *Misericórdia* lies behind the pillory place, at its northern end and end of the street with the same name, right (east) to the former prison. The direction of the main altar of its church is towards east, and the Hospital is implanted southwards adjoining it. Its height level implantation is c. 1.00-2.00m, starting directly behind its eastern façade the steep slope towards the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*. Its localization is thus the one of most centrality.

1.7.2.3 The Episcopal Palace and *aljube*

Construction: second half of the 16th century (before 1574).

The Episcopal Palace was situated just beside the Cathedral, c. 25.00m west-south-west to it and c. 10.00m from the sea side, having been adjoin to it the Fort of *S. Veríssimo* to west. Its *aljube* did lie west-south-west to it, in a distance of c. 10.00m, and south to the Cathedral. Its Implantation height is sensibly the same as the one of the Cathedral, which means c. 20.00m above the sea level. It had, together with the Cathedral, the same outstanding localization above the 'centre' of the city and the sea, and as such the same advantages and disadvantages as seen from the Cathedral.

1.7.2.4 The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Holy Mother of Rosary)

Begin of construction: 1495.

Lying at the end of the street of *Carreira* on left hand (north-west), at the corner of the traverse towards the *Banana* street, in the part of town of *S. Pedro*, its height level is of c. 3.00m above the street level, implanted on a small platform. Behind its north-west façade begins directly the steep slope upwards to the water channel and *Achada Salineiro*. Its main altar is oriented towards north-east, while it's left side chapel had, concluding from its entry arch, the altar probably oriented towards north-west. Even the part of town of *S. Pedro* being the one which had the most number of outstanding civil and administrative buildings, none of these has been in its immediate neighbourhood.

1.7.2.5 The Convent of *S. Francisco*

Begin of construction: 1657.

Its localization is on the north side c. 200.00m up the main river bed, lying on a small hill c. 20.00m upside and isolated beside one of the small water tributaries, just below the *Achada Salineiro's* watch point. Its church and Convent are embedded on the hill slope in an accidental and rocky terrain, surrounded by green areas. The main altar from its church is oriented towards north-east. The Convent lies north-west to the church and adjoins it. The nearest buildings were south-westwards and downhill the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and Church of *Monte Alverne*, such as the Jesuit College.

1.7.2.6 The Church/Chapel *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (Holy Mother of Conception)

Construction: 1466 till 1470, possibly till 1500.

The Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* is lying about 150.00m up the main river bed, left (north) side of it, c. 50.00m upwards and directly with its main façade adjoining the secondary water tributary, at its right (east) side, at the foot of the steps to Convent of *S. Francisco*. Its height level above the sea level is of c. 5.00m. Through the historic maps and the archaeological excavations we can identify having its main altar oriented towards east. It is embedded between the Church of *Monte Alverne* at north and the Jesuit College at south. The surroundings are of green areas.

1.7.2.7 The Jesuit College/*Casa*/Seminary

Construction: c. 1600 (?)

Lying southwards to the Church of *N, ª S.ª da Conçeição* in a distance of c. 10.00m, its building shape is west-east oriented. Its localization height level is c. 3.00m-4.00m lower than the churches' one. East and west to it were lying seemingly some civil buildings (habitations?), southwards, beyond what seems to be a kitchen-garden or yard, in a distance of c. 30.00m, lied the House of the trade company *Grão Pará e Maranhão*.

António Brásio (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 235) describes it by saying that the Jesuits '(...) had given good service, creating a Seminary near the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* in the city'.

1.7.2.8 The Seminary

Begin of construction: c. 1702.

The localization of the Seminary, which seemingly would have been never finished, as we will see later, comes described as follows: 'It had been the habitation zone of the Episcopal Palace that had been adapted by the Bishop for the construction of this building' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 367). This localizes the Seminary at the same height level and place of the Episcopal Palace, and by observation of the drawn plan (see Appendix 1.2.8, fig. 5-9) it would have been the east-south-east area of it, towards the *aljube*.

1.7.2.9 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*

Begin of construction: c. 1542.

The Chapel of *S. Brás* lied west of the river delta, at the western end of what seems to be the harbour protection wall, between the fortress and the part of town with the same name, directly on the coast side c. 10.00 from the sea. .

Its height level is of c. 5.00m above a hillock, and constructed on rocks, as described by da Silva Çonçalves (da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 170): '(...) the hermitage was constructed and placed on rocks'.

Its main altar was towards east, and in front of its eastern façade adjoined the Fort of *S. Brás*, on the opposite side lying dispersed habitation buildings along the shore of the part of town of

S. Brás. On its north side was the street leaving to the western entry door of the protection wall of the city.

1.7.2.10 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Gonçalo*

Begin of construction: c. 1587.

Its localization is inside the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, which lies on *Achada Forte*, between 90.00-100.00m of height above the urban fabric on its right (west) side. It lies adjoined to the Governors house (direction inwards the Fortress), which is the last one of the south-west located row of garrison and supply houses to the right (south-east). Its main altar is oriented towards south-east.

Pereira (Pereira, 2004, n.p.) describes its localization as: '(...) next to the south watch box were the quarters of the Governor and, in front, the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*'.

1.7.2.11 The Church of *S. Pedro*

Begin of construction: c. 1600 (?)

The Church of *S. Pedro* was laying main river bed upwards, c. 100.00m after the secondary tributary affluence, on the left (north) side, c. 20.00m near by the river. Its main altar was oriented towards north-east-north, and its height level is of c. 3.00m above the sea level. Adjoined to its north façade are two other buildings, to its right (east) side is a continuation of the northern and southern wall, which could also be a by walls fenced kitchen garden. Nearby on its left (west) side are some buildings (habitations?) recognizable.

The French Corsair Jacques Cassard, denominated 'Monsieur Casar' (Casar apud Pereira, 1988, 131), described the localization of the Church by mentioning that the Governor, fearing that he and his men which came on shore from Praia would come '(...) the way near by the Church of *S. Pedro* (...)' and he had sent men '(...) to cut the pass of *Calabaseira* and *Jongoto bravo*, which lies very close to the named Church (...)'. *Calabaceira* is the name of the today's villa localized river bed upwards on the right (west) side, on the same *Achada Forte* as the Royal Fortress of *S. Felipe*.

1.7.2.12 The Chapel of *S. Roque*

Begin of construction: c. 1600 (?)

The Church of *S. Roque*, lying on the steep slope beneath the Royal Fortress of *S. Felipe* and above the 'centre' of the city, is localized at a height level of c. 30.00m on a proper constructed horizontal small platform . Its main altar is oriented towards north, the chapel being accessible through one way coming from the most upper part of the part of town of *S. Sebastião*, which is at the same time a continuation of the eastern access way to the city coming downhill from the Royal Fortress of *S. Felipe*.

1.7.2.13 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º Antônio*

Begin of construction: c. 1520/1530 (?) or later (after 1550?)

The Chapel of *St. º António* was constructed directly behind (north) of the most eastern bulwark of the city, the Fort of *St.º António*. One plan of the 18th century (see Appendix 1.2.13, fig. 5) shows it even inside what is supposed to be the Fort, which is here seemingly represented larger in its dimension. Its localization height level is of c. 10.00m, and its main altar is oriented approximately towards north-east.

One access way connects it and the Fort to the part of town of *S. Sebastião*.

1.7.2.14 The Church of *Monte Alverne*

Construction: c. 1670/1680 (?)

The Church of *Monte Alverne* is lying behind (north) and c. 20.00m away from the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, on the opposite side of the river tributary, which runs at this place in a strong 'S'-curve. It is localized on a small plateau at a height level of c. 5.00m, above the river tributary, having its main altar the orientation towards west. Its west façade, such as the whole small plateau, is adjoined to a steep rocky cliff. In its immediate surroundings, southwards, lies the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, at its north façade begins what seems to be an opened green area. Its east façade lies c. 10.00m away from the water tributary.

1.7.2.15 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*

Construction: between 1550 and 1600 (?)

The Chapel of *Santa Luzia* comes drawn on the first map (1769) from Engineer Andrea on the left (north-est) side of the river delta, up on the steep hill slope at its corner, directly above and inside the curve of the water channel, above the part of town of *S. Brás*. Its main altar is oriented towards north-east.

Meanwhile, on the coloured one from 1778, the chapel lies at the same place, but is turned across its axle in 90° to the right, and is now designated as Chapel of *S. Miguel*.

Both are localized at the same height level of c. 25.00-30.00m, and their surroundings is, beside the water channel, just the houses of the part of town of *S. Brás* c. 20.00m below them, at the north side elevating the steep hill slope towards *Achada Salineiro*.

The use of both names, such as the turned around ground plan shape, could be an indication for two different buildings at the same place in different period of time. It also could indicate a new denomination for the same building, but what in this case is contradictory to its plan orientation. Meanwhile, we suppose that, as the second map seems to be not measured nor done *in situ*, and due to the short period of interval between the elaborations of the two maps, that in this case it is a simple mistake from the Engineer. As curiosity is to notify that on the third map, the black and white one, meanwhile localizing the chapel/hermitage at the same

place and with main altar oriented towards south-east as on the coloured one, it comes designated as being the Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia* (L).

The water channel itself was constructed c. in 1698 or 1699, while

> '(...) the Governor of Ribeira Grande was authorized to canalize the water from a water spring by the Convent till the gateway of the city, substituting the water used in the middle of the city, which was already impure, sending him for this purpose lime, tiles and bricks from the Kingdom' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 334).

Jaques Cassard himself (Casar apud Pereira, 1988, 141, 142) described the attempts and plans of the Bishop to defend Ribeira Grande by saying that '(...) by the height of the crag of *St.ª Luzia* should be the same garrison of people'.

1.7.2.16 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*

Construction: between 1587 and 1600 (?)

The Chapel of *St.ª Marta*, if existed, lied at the opposite site of the Chapel of *St.º António* in Ribeira Grande, at its western end nearby the western city defence wall and c. 10.00m beside the sea side, on a cliff of a height level of c. 10.00m. As no iconographic document is accessible that shows us the referred chapel/hermitage, the orientation of its main altar is not (still) definable.

In de Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 259) we can read that '(...) the bulwark of *S. Lourenço*,(...) was at the door of *Santa Martha* (...)'.Its immediate surroundings were only the named and adjoined bulwark, the defence wall northwards and the sea southwards.

No more further written documentation could be found about this Chapel/Hermitage. Meanwhile, João Fagundes (Fagundes, 1989, n. p.) defines on his thematic urban map indicating the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta* as lying by or adjoin to the Fortress of *S. Lourenço.*

1.7.2.17 The Chapel of *S. Sebastião*

Construction: between 1462 and 1500 (?)

It comes mentioned by Madeira Santos (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 21), describing the first part of town and 'centre' of Ribeira Grande, and referring seemingly to the plateau of *S. Sebastião* or the slope beneath the Royal Fortress of *S. Felipe*, that 'at the hill, at the west side, dominating the settlement [or court], was lying the Chapel of *São Sebastião* (...) '.

Its surrounding area would have been as such the beneath lying first streets of Ribeira Grande (*Porto* and *Calhau*) such as the pillory place. Its localization height level would have been at least of 0.300m till c. 10.00m, and, if the estimated construction dates are right, it should have had the Orientation of its main altar at least near to the direction towards east.

1.7.2.18 . The Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit)

Construction: 1466 till 1470 (?), possibly till 1500 or shortly afterwards.

This Church/Chapel is supposed to have been or the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, or the Church of *Misericórdia*. For its localization description see both buildings.

Chapter 3: The Diocese in Cape Verde and its importance in West Africa

1 The Church in Cape Verde, its structure and ways of financing

Since the beginning of the contacts between Europeans and Africans, it was noticed their qualitative difference in spiritual and material matters. The Europeans came to dominate the discovered lands and to implant there their own models of social organization. In their attempt to subordinate the indigenous population, the acculturation had been forced, which means consequently the breaking of former cultural values and imposition of new living and working conditions. The Missionary action, together with the one of the colons such as administrative and military authorities, worked fundamentally in this direction (Pereira, 2005, 345).

In Cape Verde, as there had been no indigenous population at the time of its discoveries, the forcing of acculturation in spiritual matters was done to the brought slaves from the Coast of Guinea. These integrating African groups of the new created society, at the beginning mainly at Santiago and Fogo Island, were deprived of the sacred links they had to their tribal Gods and to their ancestors, which had made them till then a relatively harmonious aggregation. This had as consequence their loss in spiritual matters, due to the imposed transformations in relatively short time, compared with the thousands of years of existence of their societies, nearly all smashed by slavery (*ibid*, 346).

The Catholic Church, in Cape Verde since the very beginning of the founding of Ribeira Grande in 1462, answered to the appellation of nearly all religions: the salvation of the souls, through evangelization and the consequent religious practices. As such, and being the religion of the colonial authority, it wouldn't have been difficult to suffocate and extinguish the eventual initial presence or existence of other religious believes (Varela da Silva et al, 1998, 165).

Not a much of information about the thematic of believes and religious rites, its organics, way of functioning and acting of the Church, the teaching and the Clergy is to obtain from letters from the local ecclesiastic institutions (Bishop, General Vicar, Chapter or Missionaries) to their main correspondence partners, the administrative and juridical organs of the central civil power with jurisdiction above/upon the overseas Churches, namely the *Conselho Ultramarino*, *Mesa da Consciência* and *Ordens* or *Junta* of the Missions. They are affected by the political and administrative perspective, its containing tracing the bureaucratic and formal content of the documents of the civil official posts. An exception are some of the letters written from and during the Jesuit stay in Ribeira Grande, from 1604 till 1632 (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 331).

The first ships that reached the Islands of Cape Verde, and in special the Island of Santiago, the first one to be settled from 1462 on, brought with them colons and Missionaries. This had happened the same way before on the other Islands of the Atlantic Archipelagos, Madeira and Azores. This '(...) would be the characteristic of the Portuguese expansion in the Atlantic and Indian ocean-the two swords of the civil and ecclesiastic power always walked so close (...) that rarely we can find one to be used without the other' (Frei Paulo da Trindade apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 119, 120).

In fact, already in 1462, we can affirm the presence of two Franciscan Friars reaching Santiago Island, the *Frei Rogério* and the *Frei Jaime*, naturals from Catalonia, originally residents of the Convent of *S. Bernardo de Atouguia* (Varela da Silva et al, 1998, 153). Both came to give religious assistance to the captaincy of António de Noli (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 119, 120), 'taken by the religious fever (...) to occupy themselves of their higher mission, converting to Christianity the populating native Africans (...) and confessing to all' (Barcelos apud Pereira, 2005, 39).

But the progression of the Catholic spirituality at the Islands was not only in charge of the ecclesiastic corpus, but also the lays took to a such distant territory their believes and traditional religious practices, reproducing and practicing them (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 378).

Around about after 50 years of human occupation of the territory of Cape Verde Islands, even with the ecclesiastical institution still in need of a more specific scene, we can observe a clearly implemented ecclesiastic structure. The inhabitants got already assured the spiritual assistance, knowing clearly the immunities and privileges the ecclesiastic corpus enjoyed (*ibid*, 379).

So does a census done of the population of Ribeira Grande during the second decade of the 16th century inform us that in between 58 white *vizinhos* were present thirteen clergies, which included the Vicar and three monks, two of them being preachers. This shows that the clergy occupied already a large part of the local population, such as there was already a certain functional specialization at the administrative level of the spiritual matters (*ibid*, 378).

In the twentieth of the 16th century, it seems that the ecclesiastic structure suffered an advance, the King and at the same time Master of the *Ordem de Cristo* being the principal impulsion force of its promotion. As such he ordered in 1526 to initiate the construction of the main Chapel of the Church *Nossa Senhora da Graça* in village of Praia, and in 1528 he sent a Vicar to Cape Verde to assure that the Vicars and Chaplains of the Archipelago fulfil the regiments related to the masses discussed weakly on Saturdays (Lat. *sabatino*) dedicated to the Infant D. Henrique in their Churches and Chapels (*ibid*, 380).

After 70 years of starting of the colonization of the Islands, we had installed in Cape Verde still an uncertain corpus of ecclesiastics made out of secular and regular clergy, but which already assured the spiritual services (*id*).

1.1 The Installation of the Diocese and its main Bishops during the 16th and 17th century

The integration of Cape Verde in the jurisdiction of Tomar ended with the creation of the Bishopric of Funchal, Madeira. Created in 1514, this Diocese included the Atlantic Islands and the lands subordinated to the *Ordem de Cristo* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 121).

Considering Ribeira Grande sufficiently important, the King of Portugal, D. Joao III (1521-1557) had required in 1527 the Pope Clementius VII that the village would be disconnected from the Diocese of Funchal (Madeira), to the one till that time it was joined to constitute an independent Diocese.

It was only in 1533 that the Diocese in Cape Verde was officially installed, separated from the one of Funchal, with its seat in Ribeira Grande, The limits of Bishopric in Cape Verde hold inside in the same way the jurisdiction of Guinea, specifically to south, circumscribing Sierra Leona and still other regions in Guinea Golf, an area already completely out of neighbourhood of Cape Verde archipelago. Its area of influence extended over all the capeverdean islands such as the space of 350 leagues of firm land, which meant the West African coast, from the river *Gâmbia* till the Cape of the *Palmas* and the river of *Santo André* (Brásio, 1952, Vol. II, 235, 236).

Its creation was determined by the Pope Clemente VII, through the *Bula Pio Excellenti* from the 31st of January, by separation of determined territories which till then had belonged to the Diocese of Funchal, Madeira Island (Pereira, 1988, 47). At the same date, the village of Ribeira Grande was elevated, *de jure*, to the category of city (*id*), so that it would convert into an ecclesiastic, civil and military capital.

The area of Diocese of Cape Verde was so ample that it would awake constant accusations that the jurisdiction of Bishopric is not covering it plainly. The Diocese owed several churches, one *almoxarifado* (area of administration of the *almoxarife,* responsible for the Royal finances), one *feitoria* (land administration), numerous European residencies, commercial centres and merchant installations.

The nomination of the Bishops was done by the coronate Kings, which afterwards sent a nomination plaintiff to Rome to be submitted to further ecclesiastical approval. The Bishops were in direct dependency of their monarchs. In matters of relevance to the Diocese, the Bishops were obliged to take counsel with the King.

Such as in Christian Europe, the Ministry of the seat of the Dioceses of Cape Verde was the one of the Bishops seat. The competences of the ultramarine Bishops were similar to the ones of the Metropolitan Bishops. There were applied the restricted Eucharistic regencies and functionalities, as there were the ordination, confirmation, consecration of churches or altars, consecration of certain objects of adoration, the universal spiritual jurisdiction of the faithful and ecclesiastic things of its Bishops seat, application of censorship and other punishments, the norm of discipline of visits and the respective fiscal of the communities, apology of discipline and orthodoxy.

In that way, the Bishop had in his hand regulatory and disciplinary instruments which gave him the power of making a general inquiry about the life of the community of faithful which was under his rule. Beside this, the Bishop was the point of departure of all sacred activities.

Furthermore, the Bishop was the head of the whole sacred activity. As being the minister of the second order proceeds of his functional fullness, it was also his duty both to enliven the homily of all religious services of the Diocese, and to administrate the assets of the episcopacy. Concerning influence, the Bishops were also the main magistrates of the court instance, eventually supported by a magistrate board run by high officers of the Diocese.

After the Bishopric was raised in Ribeira Grande, the Pope Clemente VII provided in her Dr. Brás Neto. Even being a secular priest, he became to be the first Bishop of the Islands of Cape Verde but never reached to live in the Bishopric, dying in Lisbon, probably in 1538 (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 104, 488).

The second one, D. João Parvi, of French origin, was confirmed by Paul III at 23rd of September of 1538, dying at 21st or 29th of November of 1546 in Ribeira Grande. During the time he stayed in Santiago, he seemed to have had some control over the New Christians, characterized as rich and powerful. A lot of them occupied places in the juridical and financial-fiscal administration on the Island and were accused of committing illegalities in the trade with Guinea (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 122).

We can only trace the first Capeverdean Bishop, who really took over his office, to the third Bishop, D. Francisco da Cruz. He was the first to organize the government and the institutions of the Diocese. He ruled over the Bishopric from 1547 to 1574. He had been the main assistant of the Portuguese Bishop of Coimbra in 1545, after having taken vows to the priests of the St Augustine Order, and he had also been a member of the King's council. He would take permanent residence in Cape Verde between the years of 1551 and 1555 (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384). Probably he worked on gatting more money and materials, such as better organizing the Chapter during the time interval between his nomination and out coming to Cape Verde (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 120), an issue that will be treated more detailed during the next chapter.

The pastoral action of D. Francisco da Cruz had also a decisive incidence in the specific organizational structure of the capeverdean Diocese. One of its results was the privilege, conquered by the Bishop and the local clergy and resulting in a Royal order, dated of 4th of January of 1570, that the vacancies of the clergy could be enlarged by local naturals through candidatures. This acquisition of D. Francisco da Cruz didn't oppose itself to the general politics of *padroado* of the overseas Church, having as such great future implications at the emerging of an autochthonous local clergy. This had as logic immediate consequence: the determination of King D. Sebastião, ordering to found a Seminary in Ribeira Grande, giving instructions to the Bishop to initiate its construction (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 387).

Another Royal concession got by the Bishop D. Francisco da Cruz, from 12th of February of 1569, was the amount of 100.000 *réis* designated for the canonical visit to the Diocese in Cape Verde. The pastoral visits of vigilance which should be done annually, according to the itinerancy prescribed, such as the model of Episcopal vigilance, by the Council of Trent, should turn the local ecclesiastic administration less sedentary. After a previous analysis of the *Mesa de Consciência*, and having in account the large and discontinuous areas, the King reinforced the financial means. He added that the Prelate should be resident in its Bishopric, a fact that didn't happen always in the diverse overseas Bishoprics, including Cape Verde. And another 30.000 *réis* were designated for a personal visit of the Bishop to the churches of his Bishopric (*ibid*, 388).

In his nearly 20 years of ministry of the Bishopric, D. Francisco da Cruz achieved also the increase in some dignities and services and as consequence the enlargement of the ecclesiastic structure of the Island: an assistant to the Vicar of the Cathedral; a door-keeper of its mace; a treasurer and sexton; four Chaplains for the Choir; one Master of Chapel; one organist; one master of grammar. Beside this, he nominated a 'physician' (doctor) for Ribeira Grande (*ibid*, 389).

The source of payment of the civil and ecclesiastic servants in Cape Verde was the same, which led obviously to difficulties at the moment when everyone wanted to receive what belonged to him. The Bishop D. Francisco da Cruz pressured the Crown to add the *ordinárias*

(periodical or daily expenses or income) of the ecclesiastic *dignitas* of his Diocese. A special attention was conceded to all of the Vicars of the parish councils of the Diocese, with opinion of the *Mesa de Consciência*, by increasing their incomes to 30.000 till 35.000 *réis*, depending if their parish councils would have less or more than two hundred 'fires' (*ibid*, 389, 390).

D. Francisco da Cruz consolidated and affirmed as such the ecclesiastic structure, making it more active and intervenient, coinciding with an exuberant economic-financial stage of the archipelago, leaving to '(...) an increasing and strengthening cycle of material and personal structures of the Diocese' (*ibid*, 390). It is due to him that we could see constructed in Ribeira Grande the Church and Hospital of *Misericórdia*, the Episcopal Palace and the, meanwhile initiated, Cathedral.

After D. Bartolomeu Leitão (1576-1587), who succeeded D. Francisco da Cruz, came to the Diocese, in 1588, D. Frei Pedro Brandão, a Carmelite, but, facing disagreements with the main authorities of the island, did withdraw to Lisbon in 1594, where he resigned twelve years later (Gomes Catão in *Studia*, N. º 19, 1966, 96). During his stay, one of the reasons for his tormented relationship towards the local administration had been his attempt to make them obey the norms of the Council of Trent, which made him turn into a *persona non grata*. But the absence of this Prelate led the Diocese in a situation of deadlock, and it would stay without Bishop empty for the next more then twenty years (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 394).

During the vacancies or the periods of not residency of Bishops in Cape Verde, the administration of ecclesiastic issues proceeded in charge of priests or other dignitaries of churches. In this case, the Chapter or the King himself nominated as internal spiritual governor of the Diocese a provider and general Vicar (*ibid*, 383). In the absence of this Prelate, the Governor of Cape Verde, Francisco Lobo da Gama, nominated as such in 1596 and for the refusal of his collocation in the chair place of the mentioned Bishop in the Cathedral, he felt into a misunderstanding with the Chapter. In consequence, the Chapter withdrawed himself, therefore to the Church of *S. Nicolau de Tolentino*, at a distance of round about 3 leagues of the city of Ribeira Grande, where it exercised its coral functions (Gomes Catão, *op. cit.*, *id*).

But with the domination of the Phillips, between 1580 and 1640, when Portugal had lost its independence and came under Spanish administration, also came the decadency of the archipelago. This did reflect itself on the Clergy of Cape Verde, whose state Gomes Catão (*id*) describes as: 'There was no Clergy'. This is definitively not the real picture, because, even in absence of a Bishop, the rest of the diocesan dignities, such as it were the Chapter and general provider of the Bishopric, continued to assure the quotidian expedient of the Diocese, avoiding as such the total emptiness of the ecclesiastic power (Madeira Santos, Vol. II, 2001, 399).

But on the other hand, the beginning of loss of attraction of the Archipelago for ecclesiastic dignities, even if it would be the case of them achieving a Bishop official, was shown by the following nominated Bishop, Dr. Sebastião Gomes de Figueiredo, who rejected shortly afterwards the invitation, even with the promises that he would have a suitable sustentation.

Meanwhile in Cape Verde the Chapter continued to inform the central organisms about the ecclesiastic issues, the vacancy of the Bishops lead also to the interference of the local

society, through the channel of the Municipal Camera, into ecclesiastic matters. It is this interference, leading to a Royal mercy at 4th of August of 1608, that in the future gave preference to the naturals and inhabitants of the Island of Santiago in providing the ecclesiastic benefits which weren't occupied (*ibid*, 400).

The next nominated Bishop, reaching Cape Verde in 1609, was D. Luís Pereira de Miranda, who died only one month after his arrival. His successor was D. Frei Sebastião de Ascenção, who, by taking his post in the Bishopric in Cape Verde in 1612 found himself exposed to a problem that would be continuously and increasingly happen from then on: the delay and even missing of the ordinaries and payments of the Clergy, due to the worsening commercial and financial situation of the Archipelago. These amounts in depth would progressively accumulate, reaching easily between one and a half till two years of delay (*ibid*, 401).

At that time, the Jesuits had reached Cape Verde already to start their initially promising mission, staying from 1604 till 1642 in Ribeira Grande. They would be substituted by the Franciscan Capuchins, whose begin of mission is dated 1652.

After the death of D. Frei Sebastião de Ascenção in 1614, the Bishopric stayed again vacant, this time for eight years, a delay caused by the already repeatedly occurring missing of the Clergies payment, situation which would have caused diverse preliminary attempts of its regularization from side of the new Bishop D. Manuel Afonso da Guerra (*id*). Meanwhile, in Ribeira Grande, difficulties of payments would lead to severe accusations between the Governor and the Chapter, this one threatening to close the churches and even withdraw itself into the interior of the Island, 'to sustain itself with the maintenance of the black people' (*ibid*, 406).

D. Manuel Afonso da Guerra, by death of the Governor D. Francisco Rolim in 1622, is nominated to substitute him, accumulating as such for the first time in Cape Verde's Diocese the leadership of the civil and ecclesiastic structures, which obliged him to intervene in issues of the civil, military and administrative areas (*ibid*, 407), a fact that would still repeat itself several times during the next decades.

With the new Bishop D. Fr. Lourenço Garro (1627-1646) would come one of the longest periods of the Bishopric headed by one Bishop. Also his permanency in Cape Verde is marked by the difficult financial situation, which reached such severe point in the mid 17th century that even the idea of dismembering it locally to be administrated and visited from Madeira on, as it had been before the creation of Cape Verde's Diocese, came up. In fact, the Church orientated itself more towards the interior of the Island for the agrarian economy, which lead the Bishop to complain that ' I reached the point of sustaining myself with *milho zamburro* (ordinary corn) which is the maintenance of which live the creoles of this land' (Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. V, 372, 373).

After the Restoration of Portugal in 1640 and the following hostilities with Castile, such as the rupture of the *Santa Sé* with the new reining Portuguese dynasty, the missions of the Diocese would decline more and more. This had as consequence that, after the death of D. Fr. Lourenço Garro in 1646, the Cathedral would stay vacant till the year of 1472 (Gomes Catão, *op. cit.*, 97).

After the Bishops D. Fr. Fabião dos Reis (1673-1674) and D. Fr. António de S. Dionísio (1676-1684), the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense (1688-1705) did see as one main part of his mission the initiation of the construction of the Seminary such as the conclusion of the Cathedral in Ribeira Grande. Due to the ongoing financial problems and the controversy its construction had raised during the preceding decades, he decided to pay its final construction works out of his own expenses, with help of money and objects sold from the *mitra* (mitre) such as from other churches of Ribeira Grande. This lead to a sever controversy and accusations from side of the Chapter towards their own Bishop, as it never had happened before.

The final weaken and decadency of the ecclesiastic structure in Ribeira Grande, beside the destructive effects of the pillages and burnings caused by Corsairs such as the already mentioned ongoing economic problems, which lead to a gradual abandonment of the churches and their fall into ruin, would have been the precedent which the Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente (1754-1774) opened to his followers. By abandoning Santiago in 1754 in pastoral visits to the other Islands, he fixed his residency in 1755 on the Island of St. ° Antão, from where on he would conduct the government of the Diocese for over twenty years. Most following Bishops would alternate their residency to other Islands of Cape Verde from that date on.

At 13th of December of 1769, the seat of the government is transferred to Praia, even though the *ouvidor* (special judge), the Municipal Camera and the Chapter of the Cathedral still stayed in Ribeira Grande. In 1858, by decree of 29th of April, the villa of Praia is elevated to category of city of Praia, being as such the new capital of Cape Verde and new seat of its Bishopric.

But it was not until the independence of Cape Verde in 1975, that the Christian Church finally ordained a capeverdean man as Bishop of Cape Verde.

1.2 The arm of the inquisition

With the introduction of the Inquisition and the Order of the Jesuits in Portugal, starts a large persecution of Jews and New Christians. In 1538, some well born citizens of Cape Verde pledged the King to establish the Inquisition in Cape Verde, but in vain. They alleged that about two hundred New Christians were cohabiting with Africans along the coast, in profanation of the Royal edicts.

At the Guinea Coast, the *lançados*, often designated as New Christians, them being it or not, became temporarily aims of persecution from side of the Capeverdean Diocese. So it is in 1563 that the Bishop D. Francisco da Cruz reports towards the *tribunal de* Santo *Ofício* (Inquisition court) in Lisbon about suspicion of heretic behaviour of *lançados* related to celebration of Jesus Christ's birth during the day of *consoada* (small meal taken during fasting days or at Christmas eve) of the year 1562 at the river of S. Domingos in Guinea. This lead to the imprisonment of the accused, result also of the extension of the juridical arm of the *Corregedor* (Lat. *corrector*, judge president of juridical circles) till the Guinea Coast, with whom the Bishop acted in consonance. The highest titular of the civil and ecclesiastic sphere (*Corregedor* or Governor and Bishop) would function often together in governing the islands. This occurred in special during the Bishopric of D. Francisco da Cruz, which coincided with the most florescent epoch of the 'maritime warehouse' of Ribeira Grande, in which the

common interests favoured a collaboration of the ecclesiastic structure with the civil and juridical spheres (Madeira Santos, Vol. II, 2001, 385, 386).

For the normally annually occurring visit of the Coast of Guinea, the Bishops of Cape Verde or the King would choose one of the five dignities of the Chapter as *visitador* (visitor), to whom it was to denunciate the New Christians and Jews which tried to protect themselves from the inquisitional action radius at the Coast of Guinea (*ibid*, 417, 418).

1.3 Specific characteristics of the ecclesiastic structure of the Diocese on the Cape Verde Islands

To install the Diocese in Cape Verde, it had to be transplanted to the Islands an ecclesiastic structure similar to the juridical, dogmatic, moral and religious *corpus* of the contemporary stuff of the Christian Europe of the 15th century. It would naturally suffer a local adaptation to a space and society with own defined and developing Characteristics, being naturally moulded by the valorisation of the more visible and institutional aspects of the epoch of the reform (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 413).

Till its installation data, the archipelago had been assisted by a restrict number of clergymen and parish priests, send to the Islands by the *Ordem de Cristo*. They limited themselves to cure the souls, to administrated sacraments and to receive and to safeguard the liturgical ornaments in the scanty churches till then existent on the Islands of Santiago and Fogo. At this time, the delimitation between the civil and the ecclesiastic sphere wasn't still well defined, so that the King himself directed himself towards officials of the civil administration in matters which belonged clearly to the ecclesiastic sphere (*ibid*, 413, 414).

From 1514 on, the central organisms or the Bishop from the Diocese of Funchal nominated ecclesiastics from this Diocese to come periodically to the Capeverdean Islands to inspect them (*ibid*, 414).

With the installation of the Diocese, the ecclesiastic structure was added by a significant number of dignities and services proper of a Diocese and similar to other Diocese of the Atlantic Archipelagos. At its beginning, the ecclesiastic structure transported to the Capeverdean Diocese didn't reveal in any way an adaptation to the local necessities, but did respond to a general politics, of which Cape Verde was just one more fragment (*id*).

The Chapter of the Diocese was formed out of seventeen dignities: Dean and preacher, Cantor, Archdeacon, main treasurer, school master and twelve Canons (Pereira, 2005, 39).

Maria Emília Madeira Santos and Maria João Soares (Santos, M. E. M. and Soares, M. J., apud Correia et al, 2001, 416) complete these dignities with one Vicar and assistant, one Sexton, four Chaplains, four Choir boys, one sub-treasurer, one organist, one Master of Chapel, one writer, one receiver of the *fábrica* (administration of incomes of a church) and one mace keeper.

In addiction were a *Provisor* (ecclesiastic put in charge by the Bishop of contentious jurisdiction, lat. *provisor*) and general Vicar (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 414).

Its *côngrua* (Lat. *congruentia*, what sustains the clergy or conjunction of incomes of a parish) was fixed at 12.000 *réis per annum*, the dignities receiving 4.000 *réis* more as supplement (Gomes Catão apud Carreira, 1983, 95).

This was an ecclesiastic corpus traced as the ones of the Cathedrals of the Kingdom, 'according to a Diocese which desired itself specially opulent´ (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 417).

The Chapter had the function to support the Bishop in the liturgical and administrative tasks of the Diocese, such as to substitute the Bishop in his Episcopal ministry when the Cathedral was vacant. In this case, a dignity was chosen and voted for the job. This would be necessary mainly from the beginning of the 17th century on, when the vacancies of the Cathedral turned out to become more frequently and for longer periods of time (*ibid*, 414).

Beside this, the members of the Chapter could perform other functions, which they would exercise in accumulation. Particularly important was the post as *visitador* (visitor, lat. *visitatore*), normally one of the five dignities of the Chapter chosen by the Bishops or the King for the annually occurring visit of the Coast of Guinea, who was in charge of enquiring the regime, state and discipline of the several religious communities of the Archipelago, normally of the peripheral Islands, such as of the adjacent coast (*ibid*, 417).

The accumulation of services and dignities was one of the structural characteristics of the functioning of the local ecclesiastic corpus. This could be even the accumulation in different Dioceses, which led in some cases of members of the capeverdean Church to temporarily or definitive reside in the Kingdom. This accumulation of services also occurred in the interior of the Diocese, as it is the case of the Dean accumulating the service of preacher of the Cathedral, being a strategy of rationalization of financial means and restriction of the ecclesiastic structure by the financing entity, the Crown (*ibid*, 421).

To complete the ecclesiastic structure of Cape Verde, we have to include services and institutions whose action would interfere in the society at informational such as lay and religious educational level. These were the services directly associated to education and preaching, formed by the master of moral, the grammar lector, the lector of cases of conscience, the master of chant such as the official or informal preachers (*ibid*, 416). They were instituted by Royal permit of 12th of March of 1555 (De Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 136) and should exercise their offices or in the parish churches or in the projected Seminary, which, as some of these services, just ended up to stay at the plan of the founding initiative (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, *id*).

Beside the implementation of the specific ecclesiastic corpus at the archipelago, we can find also a conjunction of institutions which are directly connected to the Church, such it is the *Misericórdia*, with its Confraternity and the Hospital, such as several other Confraternities based in Ribeira Grande (*ibid*, 415).

Another important component of the Diocese was its juridical specification. Being assessors of the *Mesa de Justiça* (table of justice), the conjunction of the officials-clerk (scribe), *meirinho* (former juridical employee, comparative to the today's diligence office/service, lat. *maiorinus*) and ecclesiastic notary, they were normally of Episcopal designation and assisted the Bishop in the ordinary jurisdiction which he exercised. This way, the Archipelago stayed,

beside the civil justices, with another source of jurisdiction and conjunction of necessary juridical organism (*id*).

Beside the individual posts and services, there existed on the Archipelago a copy of the Royal institutions denominated as *fábricas*, existent for each one of the churches, being administrative institutions of collective or individual character. To these belonged all of the goods designated to reparation, conservation and ornamentation of the referred churches, such as for the celebration of cults in them. Each one of the *fábricas* had a fixed financial lifelong revenue (dowry) paid by the Royal treasury. This one had to be paid to the respective receiver, beside the habitual revenues which the parishioners handled to the Church of their parish (*ibid*, 416).

Even though the capeverdean ecclesiastic corpus had formal characteristics of internal functioning in common with the similar ones from the Kingdom, it became strongly conditioned by the structural characteristics of the space it was implanted. This happened due to the economic curves of attraction and repulsion such as to what we can call the 'malignity' of the climate of the Santiago Island. Beside this, the process of providing ecclesiastic officials would take more time then the one of the Kingdom, result of the distance and communicative conditions, of the bureaucratic delays and of the material vicissitudes of the maritime journeys (*id*).

1.3.1 The ways of provision and internal functioning of the local Clergy

The provision of the posts in Cape Verde Islands fitted into the global functional scheme of all overseas fractions, derived from what is designed by Royal *padroado*. The King, in his function as eternal governor and administrator of the *Ordem de Cristo*, did in this way in general assure the presentation of the local clergy, of various dignities and of local ecclesiastic services, such it is the case of all Canons and members of the Chapter. The other posts in the hierarchy were normally of Episcopal or Capitulary designation (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 416).

This didn't mean an exclusive intervention from side of the Crown, but the general rules of provision, successively regulated for the various overseas Dioceses, did guaranty two well differentiated spheres of participation in the case of Cape Verde:

- the first one, *de jure*, guaranteed always to the King the formal right of presentation of the dignities and ecclesiastic services. This assured the conformity and submission of the overseas clergy;

- the second one, related to the daily praxis of the internal mechanisms of the provision, did guaranty to the Bishop, or, in his absence to the Chapter, the right of nomination, occupying the vacant services and posts by local candidatures through fixing of public decrees at the door of the Cathedral and other most important churches of the Diocese. It was the King himself who determined this procedure by Royal permit, dated of 4th of January of 1570. Later on, from 7th of September of 1618 on, this competence would be of exclusive right of the Bishop (*ibid*, 416, 417).

The candidates would be examined of 'life and costumes' by examiners chosen by the diocesan *sínodo* (assembly of ecclesiastics convoked by its superior, lat. *synodu*). The King reserved himself the right of presentation of the first dignity, the Dean, and that New Christians should be excluded from the ecclesiastic career. This way, the Kings power of intervention became to be more formal than effective, limiting himself to confirm and to sanction the done choice. From 23rd of January of 1612 on, the King delegates to the governor of Cape Verde the parallel capacity to pass in his name, as the one who had usufruct of the right of *padroado*, confirmation letters, This made possible the shortening of the process (*ibid*, 419).

As the Royal *padroado* guaranteed to the King and central organs (the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens,* 'Table of Conscience and Orders') several attributions in the ecclesiastic sphere, comparable to the civil administration in terms of protection, it became up to be a process of interference and political control which went much further than the simple presentation of services. The ecclesiastic structure of Cape Verde became conditioned in its action, which was originated by strong intromission and directivity of the central organisms in the sphere of the overseas churches, even more as they depended in terms of financing of the Royal treasury. This led to a strong preoccupation of Bishops and Priests concerning about their services, and to a direct correspondence, nearly exclusively, with the King himself and the central bureaucratic machinery. Meanwhile the issues were connected directly to the *padroado*, such as the construction and allocation of the churches, the wages of the officials and dignities, the material state of the church and of liturgical ornaments, sending of Missionaries and conflicts with the civil powers, the pastoral aspects, such it are the daily difficulties of the local clergy in their task of spiritual assistance, are nearly absent in the communication (*ibid*, 420).

The provision and residency of the ecclesiastic officials became more and more difficult since the first decades of the 17th century, as Santiago Island started to loose its privileged commercial position and consequently its former attraction which is surpassed by the Coast of Guinea. The number of absent or vacant officials and dignities enlarged, namely clergies specialized in preaching and in reading of cases of conscience, which led to a diminution of providers from the Kingdom in favour of local fillings. The money of the revenue of the vacant providers was affected to the *fábricas* of the churches of the Islands of Santiago and Fogo. But the vacancies affected also the basic posts of the ecclesiastic structure, which means the parish clergy, which was substituted by the Canons of the Cathedral in its function of curing the souls (*ibid*, 421).

1.3.2 The financing of the Church in Cape Verde

The participation of the Church in the richness of discoveries was only marginal. It was fundamentally of the income of the land that it lived. Instead of exploring directly the soils, it collected the *dízimo* (tenth part, Lat. *decima pars*) of all production (already practiced from the 8th century on) and received the income of the small lace marker businessmen, which formed the rural middle class (Saraiva, 1988, 195).

As main rule for the financing of the local ecclesiastic structure in Cape Verde, which in this point is comparable to the civil and military structures, we can affirm that its payment is done by the Royal treasury. The source of these expenses would be a local source, which means the revenues which the Portuguese Crown collected would be through the administration

(*feitoria*) and Royal treasurer (*almoxarife*) of the island of Santiago. This meant the *dízimas* and other tributes charged, namely the *vintena* (twentieth part, lat. *vicesima pars*) of all products leaving (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 423, 424).

The revenue that filled the public funds of the Island of Santiago was the tributes coming out of the mercantile sphere, namely the ones from the commercial circuits of the slaves. These ones had as one of their main poles the competed Coast of Guinea, having as port of call, fiscalization and control point the Island of Santiago. This means that the Church of Cape Verde became dependant in its main way of subsistence, such as all of the local economy, from the fluctuations of the external commercial circuits. If till the end of the 16th century this didn't present any major problem, Santiago Island still serving as main platform of commerce of the frontier coast, from the beginning of the 17th century on, when the Island started to loose its intermediary position of fiscal control point, the Church of Cape Verde found itself more and more in a compromised and restricted position (*ibid*, 424).

The process of payment of the ecclesiastics was done through certificates which the superior authorities of the Diocese sent to the *almoxarife*, testifying the good servicing of the ecclesiastics. Their amounts of salary were registered on a *folha de pagamento* (payment paper), in charge of the *almoxarife*. Beside these, some salaries were paid by 'use and costume' (*id*).

Another intervenient in the payment of the Church was the *contratador* (the one who contracts), one of the principal economic agents in the Archipelago. Always, in case that the *trato* (commerce or business) was *arrendado* (leased, lat. *reiterare*), the payment of the salary of the clergy passed by the hands of the *contratador*, which should handle over the amount to the *almoxarife* of Santiago Island, who by his way should proceed with the payment. In any case that the *contratadores* wouldn't fulfil the clauses of the contracts, referring to the payment of civil and ecclesiastic officials, the Church would be prejudiced in their official sources of financing (*ibid*, 424, 425).

In fact, the receiving of the respective payments became a major problem for the Church during the 16th and 17th century. The payments were fixed in annual amounts, paid divided up into periods of four months. While these still suffered substantial increases during the 15th century, when the financial situation of the Archipelago was sufficiently stable, from the second decade of the 16th century on the payments decreased and entered in constant delays which could reach till one to two years (*ibid*, 425, 426).

It came to continuous complains by part of the governors and ecclesiastics, denouncing the missing of payments, the accumulation of depths such as the irregularities of all participants in the mercantile and fiscal sphere. In last instance, it was to the King himself that the complains were sent, remembering him that, according to the pontifical dispositions, he was obliged to look after the regular payment of the ecclesiastics (*ibid*, 426).

The material situation of the Church deteriorated in such manner, that clergies started to be missing, and the ones living there wanted, as a way of pressure, to abandon the Islands and to close the churches. It was also on the material and physical state of the proper churches, acclaimed by the Municipal Camera to find themselves in state of ruin and in lack of liturgical ornaments in good state of preservation, that the financial situation had its repercussions (*id*). In fact, several times the churches closed their doors, even the *Misericórdia* which served as

Cathedral, due to lack of liturgical ornaments to fulfil the ceremonials or to the denying of the ecclesiastics to proceed with their obligations without being paid (*ibid*, 428).

Mostly accused where the Governors and the *Contratadores*, or by being in suspicion of them appropriating themselves of the already thrifty incomes in the *feitoria* or by these not fulfilling the clauses of the contracts referring to the income of the civil and ecclesiastics. Systematically, the ecclesiastics would try to guarantee their payments using censure and even threats of ex-communion (*ibid*, 426).

The *dízimas*, a more traditional and stabile source of alternative in financing during this mercantile crisis, was one way of trying to resolve the problem, solution that becomes mentioned to be established in the year of 1614, such as it was allowed to the clergy to receive the rights over certain vessels which docked in Santiago (Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. IV, 554, 555). Another attempt, by Royal provision of 9th of November of 1613, was established by estipulate half of the handlings raised in Cacheu would be assigned for the payment of the clergy, a measure that didn't have practical results due to the continuing of the structural problem which provoked the imbalance of the local finances (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 427).

Due to the staring decrease of the resources coming out of the former monopole maritime circuits, which meant loss of the gains of the slave trade, the ecclesiastics did now start to follow the dominant tendencies of the insular economy: from the first decades of the 17th century on, they started to turn towards property and agrarian economy, which provides their owners with the revenues of the *foros* and the selling of products from horticulture, of cotton such as of products coming from cattle-raising activities. This way they became to make part of the group of medium and large property owners, being in possession of a large amount of slaves which they used for the cultivating of the land (*ibid*, 428).

For the ecclesiastic finances were stipulated receiver officials for determined incomes, such as a *preboste* (former magistrate of military justice which superintended in the committed crimes by the *praças* of land and sea, lat. *praepositu*), to whom were confined the charging of the revenues. Meanwhile, when it came to revenues precedent from the Royal treasury to be affected to the expenses of the Church, as it is the example of the construction of the Cathedral, the receivers didn't have always an ecclesiastic statute. We often could find civil persons occupying the office of 'receiver and payer of the finances of the construction of the Cathedral', which is 'a synonym of one more form of compromise between the civil and the ecclesiastics' (*ibid*, 416).

1.3.3 Parishes, parish churches, the cover of space and the institution of the Confraternities

'Internally, the Christian city divided itself into parishes (...). It was frequent that each parish was constituted as if it would be an isolated village, with its church and cemetery around, detaching itself clearly from the parish of the neighbourhood' (de Oliveira Marques, 1988, 38).

Such as it was in the Kingdom, the parish net, structured by having as base a parish church, was implanted early in the archipelago of Cape Verde. This guaranteed, especially in the more populated areas such as the Islands of Santiago and Fogo, a permanent embracement from side of the Church of the urban and rural spaces, 'in which we can find disseminated

churches, hermitages and other places of cult' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 431). In the urban areas, normally each one of the important farms had private places of cult such as small chapels or hermitages, where the Chaplains, which officiated there periodically, guaranteed spiritual assistance to the members of the *casa e fazenda* (house and farm) (*id*).

In 1462 already existed Christians in Ribeira Grande, in between them a Vicar and a helper in ecclesiastic issues, being as such the first parish of Cape Verde (Gomes Catão in *Studia*, N.º 19, 1966, 94). Even though, till the creation of the Diocese in 1533, none of the circumscriptions appears designated as parish (but till the end of the 15th century as *vigairarias* (jurisdiction area of the Vicar), having been coincident with the limits of the captaincies of Santiago Island), having been only made references to the churches individually. The parishes themselves would only have gained their more definitive forms from the second half of the 16th century on, when the Diocesan structure and *corpus* stabilized (Madeira Santos, *op. cit*, 431, 432).

We can find, at the base of the insular ecclesiastic structure, the parish priest of each one of the parishes the Islands of Santiago and Fogo were divided into, such as other parish services (*ibid*, 416). The local parish priest, who in a lot of the parishes of the Islands of Santiago and Fogo was accompanied by a sexton, was normally a respected reference of the population, being highly integrated in the life of the community, accompanying it in all its stages of life, most of all during the most important and formal moments as there are the birth and baptism, marriage, death and extreme unction, such as the administration of other sacraments (*ibid*, 429). To notify here is that the principal rites of the Catholic life, such there are the baptisms, marriages and funeral rites, should be registered by the parish Priests of the parishes, conform the norms of the Council of Trent, a fact which couldn't be found due to the lack of any documents of parish registration in Cape Verde (*ibid*, 431).

The community itself, on the other hand, was highly participative in the issues of the Church, such as it was the construction and maintenance of the churches (*ibid*, 429).

The parish clergy, in its relation with the local elites, was of certain empathy, especially with the slavery nucleus. The priests often assumed themselves as owners of slaves, theses one called 'slaves of the Saints', which normally had higher instruction levels than the other ones. In relation to the community of slaves, the priest only could intervene with consent and complicity of the owner (*ibid*, 430). Such the members of the Chapter as the Jesuits denunciated that a lot of slaves stayed without indoctrination and catechism (Brásio, 1952, Vol. II, 542).

Between the parishes, the Cathedral, in its function as first and main Church of the Diocese, functioned for the period till it's finishing in the Church of *Misericórdia* in Ribeira Grande. It possessed a much more complex functioning than the rest of the parishes, due to its diverse ecclesiastic *corpus* of services and dignities, beside the Chapter (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 416).

The other parishes, designated as 'outside parishes', were: S. Nicolau de Tolentino de Ribeira de S. Domingos, Santiago da Ribeira Seca, Nossa Senhora da Graça da vila da Praia, Santo Amarão do Tarrafal, S. João da Ribeira de Santo António, Santa Catarina do Mato, S. Miguel da Ribeira dos Flamengos, S. Jorge dos Órgãos, Nossa Senhora da Luz de Alcatrazes (this one created by the King at 14th of July of 1572), all of them on Santiago Island, such as S.

Filipe and S. Lourenço on Fogo Island. Some of the churches of these parishes, namely in case of the 'urban' parish of village of Praia and of the parishes from Fogo Island, had in accumulation other services like treasurers and simple benefits (*ibid* , 417).

Due to the fact that they still didn't have a permanent resident parish priest, the peripheral Islands of Santo Antão, Boavista, Maio and Brava weren't dimensioned at that time as parishes. But for certain important moments of the Christian religiosity, like it is the Lent, they received seasonally and temporarily a Chaplain, send by the Bishop (*id*).

The islands of S. Nicolau and Santa Luzia didn't still have a church at round about sixteen hundred, as such being in nearly constant lack of a priest to give masses and to administrate the sacraments. Sal and S. Vicente Islands didn't have any official religious assistance till seventeen hundred (*id*).

The first registered alternation in the parish structure of the Island of Santiago is the Royal creation of the parish of *N.ª S.ª da Luz dos Alcatrazes* at 14th of July of 1572 by request of the Bishop of Cape Verde (Brásio, 1952, Vol. III, 57, 58). At this time, the parish division is already established, in all of them existing Vicars or Chaplains (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 432).

In 1598, the Diocese of Cape Verde would be increased by an extra-insular parish, based in *Cacheu* (Brásio, *op. cit.*, 407). During the same year, at 20th of February, the first parish priest is presented to its Church *N.ª S.ª do Vencimento*. The territory of the Rivers of Guinea, which population agglomeration was partly built up by inhabitants coming from the Archipelago, still had small and instable nucleus of Christianity like Geba, Farim and Zeguinchor, which, in special through the Jesuit presence, try to consolidate themselves during the 17th century. In these small areas, the spiritual assistance was given through sporadic and episodic presence of regular Clergy or of visitors, send by the Bishop of Cape Verde, normally once a year (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 433). This spiritual assistance and pastoral action of the visitors was very superficial, limiting itself mostly to administrate the sacraments *ad hoc*. They seemed to be more preoccupied with their commercial interests, which mean in this case the slave trade. This way, the fragile Portuguese settlements at the Rivers of Guinea were subjected to a not cohesive and consistent spiritual cover, ensuring only a fragile assistance to the 'Luso-Africans' and to the their established *lançados*, '(...) allowing them a way of life which had as 'Christian' resting practically only the name' (*ibid*, 434).

Starting at the beginning of the 17th century, the constancy of the assistance of the parish Clergy at the Archipelago and the coastline would start to experiencing assistance breaks due to the worsening of the commercial and financial situation of Cape Verde, leaving to lack of payments of the Clergy and consequently to unoccupied posts (*id*).

1.3.4 Confraternities and their specific importance in local society

Beside the specific ecclesiastical *corpus* implanted in the insular territory, there have been a conjunction of institutions which normally gravitated around the Church, as it is the case of the *Misericórdia* with its Confraternity and Hospital (with the corresponding physical building and the Pharmacy), such as other Confraternities based in Ribeira Grande (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 415).

The Confraternities were the institutionalization of lay hierarchy by the Church, a hierarchy of faithful lay followers with exterior representation and ostentation in the acts of cult, followed by statutes of profane richness and power, such as by the praxis of charity and exercise of devotion (*ibid*, 472).

Set together by a butler and several brothers, these Confraternities had own installations, distinctive, flags with the patron saint, an own dress for public ceremonies, such as some financial funds originating from charities. Other funds, necessary for maintenance of the *apparatus*, came from inheritance and Royal favours such as the tax exemption on the wax imported from the Guinea Coast (Brásio, 1952, Vol. III, 126, 127). It was their obligation to participate at the processions and to accompany the funerals and respective services for a charity that could reach the 500 *réis* in case of illustrious personalities.

The overseas Confraternities followed, with more or less adaptations, the model of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon. It was especially attractive to participate in the Confraternity of *Misericórdia* due to the privileges and liberties conferred, by King D. Manuel at 15th of November of 1516, to its *provedor* (provider) and officials or *irmãos* (brothers), latter ones being distinguished personalities, due to the post they occupied and to their personal fortune. The post of the provider (provider) was in general given to public figures of representation, such as the Bishop, the Governor, one Canon or a *corregedor*. The Confraternities conferred them priorities in daily life, such as: not to be obliged to do public services; exemption of fines; requisition and imposing of taking sick people into the Hospital; free access to prisons; interventions in justice procedures to make them function. The *provedor* is the first one to be listened in all audiences, and it is only the *Misericórdia* which can make *petitorius* (act of requesting several people for beneficent or religious aims) in favor of arrested or poor people. The requirements of the *Misericórdia* should be attended officials of justice and others with efficiency and rapidity (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 469).

In 1589, the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of Santiago became one of the most privileged Confraternities of the conquest. It was through the *Breve* (pontifical writing which is not of general interest to the Church) of the Pope Sixto V, given in Rome in the Church of *S. Jeronymo*, which begins with *singularis caritati, et misericordiae opera*, connected to the *archiconfraria* of Rome. It was conceded to it all the privileges of which benefits and which uses the Confraternity of *Santa Casa de Lisboa* by Royal provisions, as registered in the permit of 19th of October of 1594 which existed in the archive of the *Santa Casa* (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 158).

The Confraternity of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* was one of the richest ones of Ribeira Grande (*ibid*, 285). In Lisbon of the fifteen hundreds, there existed a Confraternity of *Rosário* of the black, but a law from King D. Manuel prohibited the realization of African *batuques* (dances) in this city and roundabouts. Ten per cent of the population of Lisbon at that time was black. In Cape Verde, this Confraternity, looking at the date of the construction of it seat, the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* in Ribeira Grande, which seems to be 1495, must have been the oldest one of which we have knowledge in Cape Verde' (Pereira, 2005, 353). But the one of *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* had been the most prestigious, rich and actuating one (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 472).

At the beginning of the 17th century, there existed at least eleven functioning Confraternities in Ribeira Grande, showing in between them a hierarchy (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 285).

As there were:

Confraternity of *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*

Confraternity of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*

Confraternity of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*

Confraternity of *Santíssima Trindade*

Confraternity of *Almas do Purgatório*

Confraternity of *Nome de Jesus*

Confraternity of *Santíssimo Jácome*

Confraternity of *Bem-aventurado S. Jacinto*

Confraternity of *Cruz*

Confraternity of *Santo Sacramento*

Confraternity of *Nome de Jesus da Trindade*

(Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 344, 472, 473).

1.3.5 *Capelas e Morgados* (chapels and entailed estates)

To understand the land division, the familiar inheritance process, the spiritual and mundane importance of the burials such as the physical existence of certain chapels and hermitages on Santiago Island, we have to take in consideration the ties of the so called *Capelas e Morgadios* (chapels and entailed estates).

The Jesuit priest Sebastião Gomes wrote in 1622, that 'in this land [Santiago], most of the farms and houses are of chapels and entailed estates' (Gomes apud ANTT, *Cartório dos Jesuítas*, maço n.º 69, n.º 95, in Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 337). In fact, it is already during the second half of the 16th century that a weighty part of the arable land of Santiago Island was under the regime of chapels and entailed estates. The basic rule of the tied land consisted in the principal of indivisible patrimony, which means that the once created property had to be maintained all together in the state in which it had been originally instituted, not dividable through heritage or donation, by sale, by paying of debts or through exchange. This would guarantee the preservation of patrimonial integrity through successive generations, as such the succession constituting one of the most detailed regulative of this regime, imposing the clause of the one and only heir. In each generation, the first born son would succeed in administrating the patrimony in the same manner as it was originally tied. Even though, several examples of testaments show us exceptions of this exclusivity by proposing even illegitimate sons or daughters in case of impossibility or even inexistence of the first born legitimate son (Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 337, 338).

The heirs in any case hadn't the same rights and possibility to take charge of the property as its original institutor, who led them in state of being mere owners or administrators of it. Even the current management of the patrimony was completely and till into detail imposed by the institutor, as for example the number of slaves and cattle which the property should possess. All this was stipulated in the founding document and the heir would find himself under the imperative obligation of fulfilment (*ibid*, 340).

In this sense, the tie represented the domination of its institutor over his lineage, of death over the living. To assure this, the society had the regular control of the provider of the *Capelas e Morgadios*, in last instance being the King himself the one who assured the observance of the administrators towards the instituted conditions (*ibid*, 340, 341). Having in mind that the institutors left their successors with a large number of obligations of charitable character, with several acts of celebrations to fulfil in homage of themselves or of their Saints, it is to understand that these amounts of financial expenses made the administrators feel as hostages of the will of the institutors (*id*). This made of the tied institute an expedient through which the land, the heirs and the slaves were converted into instruments of 'terrain and extra terrain' glorification of the institutors, in a time and culture which denied obsessively the idea of death as the social end of an individual. The death itself became as such a central moment of the life of the agrarian society (*id*).

Therefore, the institutors programmed till the most detail, including the path, the people which should accompany, the shroud and the religious ceremony, how should be their own burials. A considerable part of the institutor's testament and acts of institution were generally dedicated to considerations regarding their funeral. The burial inside of one of the principal churches of the city, or in its forecourt or churchyard, was the aim of the illustrious, to be constantly remembered and invoked, in a conception of death where there didn't exist a segregation between space for the living and for the dead. By being buried in an urban church, the social space by excellence, the dead inscribed himself in this way in the public life (*ibid*, 342).

The pomp of the funeral itself, which success was measured by the number of beggars, clergies and members of Confraternities enabled to be mobilized, was formed out of these obligatory elements. As they were considered to have a special link to God, their presence was an ritual investment in the control of the destiny after death. They could intercede, through masses and orations, in behalf of the luck of the dead, helping him favourable in his final destiny of divine judgement between the tree possible ways, the paradise, the purgatory or the hell. This interaction naturally had to be paid through charity and donations, and the financial amount of it wasn't small, even for the big farmland owners (*ibid*, 342, 343).

Through the imposition of the institutors towards their heirs to pray annual masses in their homage, such as to pay ritual charities to charity institutions, poor people and to the churches, the founders of the chapels and entailed estates turned themselves into immortalized beings in the collective memory, to which the descendents had to serve cyclic spiritual servitude. The death was, in this context, only a biological one (*ibid*, 346, 347).

The testamentary institution of a chapel by an institutor meanwhile didn't necessarily mean, meanwhile on the other hand it could, that it would be constructed a physical building, but mostly the will of a chapel remained as preaching place inside an already existing church, where the heirs were obliged to pray the masses in their homage, as we have seen.

1.4 The Jesuit mission in Cape Verde

The missionary covering of overseas colonies was at the end of the 16th century quite wide spread, the missions of several orders extending from Brazil till the extreme Orient, including India. But Africa itself still remained a comparatively poorly explored and peripheral area, with very limited and precarious missions at the coast o Guinea, Angola, Congo and Ethiopia.

As the situation of the Church at the Archipelago of Cape Verde and Rivers of Guinea wasn't limited to the presence of secular clergy but, as in most overseas colonies, frequently initiated, reinforced and complemented by Missionary action, the sending of Jesuits seemed to come in a logic consequence inside the process of colonization and Christianization. But in comparison to the West African coast, where the colonization hadn't have a similar advance, where the heathen Negro should be still converted and the advance of the Muslim front coming from the north was a constant threat, the colonization of the Cape Verde Islands seemed to be entirely realized till the end of the 16th century, having been seen, in similarity to the other north Atlantic Islands, as an integrating part of Christianity. The Christianization of its inhabitants seemed to be perfectly assured by the insular society and the secular priests, and the Cape Verde Islands were thought to be more an operational basis to support missions with the Guinea coast as destiny. This fact is underlined by the main missionary activity at the Rivers of Guinea and in Sierra Leona of two of the first Jesuit Missionaries send to Cape Verde, the priests Baltasar Barreira and Manuel Álvares (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 434, 435).

The first negotiations inside the Society of Jesus, such as of the Jesuits with the Governors of Portugal and the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, Royal organisms in charge of this issue, were started, sub lined by requests of proper local individuals denominated *homens da Guiné* (men of Guinea), in 1585, but continued till the end of the 16th century without any definitive dispatch. But already negotiations in the decade of the ninetieth, under the reign of Filipe II, showed the clear finality to send an exploratory mission to the Archipelago with the intention to assist the Portuguese settled at the coast of Guinea, which was completely in need of a systematic missionary intervention. It is in 1596 that for a first time a Royal determination negotiates with the Jesuits an establishment of a College in Cape Verde, with the financial donation of the funds applied to the Seminary (*ibid*, 436).

No further documentation is known till the year of 1603, date in which the provincial congregation of Portugal exposed to the general of the Society in Rome the necessity to accept the mission which the King had proposed them, to which the general acceded favourable after a certain time. At the beginning of 1604, an intensive correspondence started between the King, the Jesuit superiors and the competent central organisms, defining the material and financial conditions of the planned mission such as the specific obligations of the Missionaries themselves. Finally, in June of 1604, a ship with the priests Baltasar Barreira, Manuel de Barros and Manuel Fernandes, such as with the brother Pedro Fernandes, starts its trip from Lisbon towards Cape Verde. In between them, the priest Baltasar Barreira was the head and the most experienced one, having already acquired solid African experience during missions in Angola (*ibid*, 436, 437).

The mission, beside its mobility and itinerancy at the rivers of Guinea, had as aim to found a permanent support in Cape Verde, which, following the disciplinary norms of the Society, would contribute for the intellectual formation of future local clergymen, so called *moços da terra* (land servants) which in the future could receive sacred orders and cure in the churches of the Islands and the frontier coast (*ibid*, 439).

The first period of the mission of the Jesuits in Cape Verde, which prolonged itself till round about 1625, was mostly of peaceful and friendly nature within the local society. About the mid of the twenties, this relationship changed, leaving to a rupture with the local society, such as to decline of the missionary activity of the Jesuits themselves. 'It is understandable by the

way the tone in the send letters changes, reaching the point of being of pessimistic countenance' (*ibid*, 448).

The Missionaries, arriving Cape Verde and having been received with great enthusiasm by the local society (Governor, Chapter and Municipal Camera) from Ribeira Grande, installed themselves temporarily in the Church of *Misericórdia*, where they started to preach, having moved later to the Fortress of *S. Filipe* (*ibid*, 439). They reached provided with the financial donation of the Seminary and with the obligation to read grammar and cases of moral Theology (*ibid*, 448).

The priest Baltasar Barreira, immediately after the arrival having been dislocated to the coast of Guinea, launched the possibility that Sierra Leona, and not Cape Verde, would be the best supply place for a mission, due to the fact that it was suspected a more profound fixation of Portuguese in that area (*ibid*, 439).

One year later, the priest Manuel de Barros, being the only one remaining in Ribeira Grande (due to the fact that Baltasar Barreira and brother Pedro Fernandes had departured to the coast of Guinea, while priest Manuel Fernandes still died in 1604), saw as his main actuation the public preaching to the ones he would consider as 'social excluded' ones: convicted, poor and ill ones, such as the slaves. Further on he would teach the catechism and the first letters to the young men and young native Africans, substituting the secular Clergy in teaching the Catechism also to the adult ones. Meanwhile, the baptism of the slaves was left to be done by the secular Clergy (*ibid*, 449). He sporadically visited the interior of the Island of Santiago, where he tried to catechise and indoctrinate the native Africans which he describes as '(...) living as savage ones and having as Christians only the name' (De Barros apud Madeira Santos, *id*).

After his death in 1605, the Mission is renewed during 1607 and the following year with new Missionaries: the priests João Célio, Sebastião Gomes, João Delgado, António Dias, Manuel de Almeida and Manuel Álvares, such as the brothers Pedro Neto and João Fernandes. With Baltasar Barreira returning from the coast of Guinea in 1608, most of them were send by him to the coast of Guinea, only letting stay in Ribeira Grande the priests Pedro Neto and Manuel e Almeida, whose principal activity continued to be the teaching, namely of lessons of Latin and singing, such as of the first letters in Theology, Moral and Casuistic, preparing the future Clergies, reaching to have 20 permanent students (Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 449, 450). Beside this, they baptized and converted pagan slaves and dedicated themselves to mercy works, to auditions of confessions and to the practice of *artes de bem morrer* (arts of well dying) of the ill and moribund people (*ibid*, 450).

Meanwhile the discussion about the question of installing a Seminary or a College or, later on, a residency or *casa professa* (house of the ones which did votes in a religious order) went on, the Jesuits bought houses to accommodate themselves in the part of town of *S. Brás*, considered to be the healthiest part of Ribeira Grande, using the Hermitage of *S. Brás* in their neighbourhood to pray and confess, such as to teach the doctrine (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 159).

After the first project of constructing a Seminary had been abandoned, the decision to install a College in Ribeira Grande was made by the crown in 1606, which should have twelve religious for confessing and converting the pagans such as to sacrament the Portuguese which

lived at the coast. This College would have an annual dowry of *um conto de réis* (one million *réis*), without that the Missionaries should be allowed to acquire on the Islands any *bens de raiz* (goods). During the same year, the crown decided to give definitive form to the Mission, changing the idea of a College into a house of residency, which should have the same amount by charity. Stipulated were ten or twelve priests, of which eight (four in Cacheu, four in Sierra Leona) should reside at the coast of Guinea, with the obligations of conversion, teaching and sermon (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 439). Beside this, they would be allowed to by a farm with the exclusive finality of convalescence, but they shouldn't posses or acquire, by any way, *bens de raíz* (*ibid*, 439, 440).

As we have seen, it is from the decade of 1610 on that the payment of the official revenues did start to be irregular and with delays or even missing, reaching delays of several years, which led the Missionaries to invest more in agrarian resources and commerce, mainly of slaves, as a form of financial self-subsistence and maintenance of the Mission. The sources of possible revenues, such as slaves, exchange letters, leathers, ivory, amber, sugar and other exotic products, were send to Portugal, where the accountability of the Mission was centralized (*ibid*, 451). In consequence, the Jesuits started to be criticised by members of the secular ecclesiastic corpus, also due to the reason that they had developed their functions with more efficiency and did gain more social prestige, which led the Missionaries receive a major percentage of inheritances, '(...) goods which in their absence, probably, went into the hands of the secular Church' (*ibid*, 450). Meanwhile the ordinations prohibiting the Jesuits to acquire *bens de raíz* weren't taken in consideration by the Jesuits themselves, they served as a reason for the increasing hostility mainly from part of the Municipal Camera against them, which feared their concurrence as land owners (*ibid*, 451).

With the starting of critics and hostilities, accentuated by the death of the one who had been the generating motor of the mission so far, priest Baltasar Barreira, in 1612, the mission started getting into decline. During the decade of the twentieth, with the death of a lot of Missionaries in terrain, the return of others and the absence of new ones, the Mission became reduced to only three elements. These ones realized a very reduced apostolic mission and abandoned definitively the purpose to be realized on the Island the pretended Jesuit establishment, even though they continued asking for new elements, due to the insufficiency and bad preparation of the left ones (*ibid*, 451, 452).

The question of not being allowed to acquire *bens de raíz* was constantly got around by the Jesuits during their mission in Cape Verde, them becoming the main owners of properties and goods, by donation, testamentary inheritance or by simple acquisition, of the Islands of Cape Verde, one of the reasons which brought them a lot of envy and enemies among the local society, in special during the later years of their stay in Ribeira Grande. So is to know that under the acquired goods list the following ones:

- houses bought in the part of town of *S. Brás*, in 1611, for a total amount of 600.000 *réis*;

- some *pardieiros* (old or ruined houses or buildings), bought nearby in 1623, which they adapted for classes for students, for a total amount of 40.000 *réis*;

- the farm and kitchen-garden nearby the river-bed of *S. Domingos*, bought till the year of 1624, for an estimated amount of 160.000 *réis*;

- by inheritance of the principal *armador* (ship owner) of the Islands, Diogo Ximenes Vargas, in 1625, a kitchen-garden of 57.000 *réis* and an enclosure for cattle, estimated in 30.000 *réis*. In the inventory are listed other properties of inheritance of Ximenes Vargas, but with the indication that they would have been given back, namely houses in the *Rua da Carreira à Misericórdia*, for payment of the legates, plots of land of *Sole aos libertos*, such as houses in *Rua da Banana* for the priest António Ximenes;

- during the same year, houses and plots of land for a total amount of 852.000 *réis* (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 219);

- other inheritances and donations, by part of the niece of the Bishop D. Sebastião da Ascenção, of one of the Deans of the Cathedral, such as of the Bishop D. Luís Pereira de Miranda (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 452).

The estimated value of properties of the Jesuits, all together, reached a total amount of 1.886.200 *réis* (Da Silva Gonçalves, *op. cit.*, 219).

This fact, mainly the inheritance of the goods of Diogo Ximenes Vargas, which left the Jesuits in possession of a considerable amount of money and from which they bought the houses and plots of land in 1625, would become the definitive turning point which initiated the rupture between the Jesuits and a large part of the local society, namely the Municipal Camera, the *Misericórdia*, the Chapter, the Bishop and some Governors. This would leave to juridical actions against the Jesuits, accused by the Bishop and Municipal Camera of not fulfilling the multiple dispositions and responsibilities of the Testament. The Jesuits, already waiting and asking for any possibility to leave the Islands, seemed to assume themselves more and more as land owners, with all the privileges, proceeds and products which came out of it, than as real Missionaries. Even though they had been compelled to sale the referred properties, 'they did never reach to do so in its entirety' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 452).

Round about 1630, the Mission founded itself completely paralysed, such in the Reign as on the Islands. In the Reign, the idea to establish an institute of the order in Cape Verde had been completely abandoned, while the possibility of acting of the Jesuit priests inside the local society of the island of Santiago was nearly completely used up. This led them nearly no space for their apostolate work, of which they were accused to not fulfil it. This led to the end of them teaching, preaching, confessing and accompanying spiritually the community which had been so close and positive to them at the beginning (*ibid*, 452, 453).

To attract Franciscans from the *Terceira Ordem* to the Cape Verde Islands at the end of the first half of the 17th century, they got promised a building to found a Convent, such as local pious donation for their maintenance. In fact, already in 1636, three Franciscan priests come to Ribeira Grande, with the purpose to build up a Convent in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, which was conceded them locally to initiate their mission. As the Royal policy wasn't in agreement with the multiplication of religious orders on the Archipelago, the King, in his function as Governor of the *Ordem de Christo*, refused this initiative in 1637, arguing that the Jesuits mission should have continuity. After three years of permanency, the Franciscan priests, realizing that nothing what had been promised to them became realized, returned to the Kingdom in the end of 1639 (*ibid*, 412).

The Jesuits, during the final period of their mission in Cape Verde, sawtheir margin of evolution more and more reduced, the Municipal Camera, the Bishop and the Governor showing themselves contradicted to their presence and influence on the Archipelago. To restrain their hegemonic position, they did diligences in the Kingdom, to the superior of the Franciscan of the *Terceira Ordem* (third order), for him to authorize the coming of friars of this *ordem mendicante* (religious orders who's affiliated made vote of poverty, living from public charity) (*ibid*, 411).

De Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 219) sees the reason for the out coming of the Franciscan friars in the following way by telling us that, at 19th of July of 1640, the Bishop had realized that on the Island of Santiago were only two Priests of the Society of Jesus left, and that there would be necessary more friars of the *ordem terceira*. The prelate had ordered them before to withdraw because there was no Convent in Ribeira Grande, but there was a rich widow that offered charity to construct a Convent. In consequence, it was ordered to the provincial of the company to send religious of the *ordem terceira* and it was asked the King to give them protection and help in the construction of the Convent.

The Jesuit Mission was finally abandoned in the year of 1642 (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 452, 453), even though the formal decision of the end of the Mission only was decided in the year of 1653 (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 339).

1.5 Franciscan Capuchins

To substitute the Jesuits in Ribeira Grande were send the Franciscans in 1657. The installation of a new Mission in Cape Verde and Coast of Guinea was an attempt of the Crown to repair the lack of spiritual assistance felt on the islands for a long time, such as to try to help to expulse the French Capuchins and the Spaniards which had already installed themselves at the Rivers of Guinea (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 339).

Already in 1636, three Franciscan priests came to Santiago Island, in request of the Jesuits themselves, which, due to the fact that their presence was more and more contradicted by the Municipal Camera, the Bishop and the Governor, did diligences in the Kingdom to the superior of the Franciscans of the Third Order to attract to the Island friars of this mendicant order. It had been promised to them local pious donations for their maintenance such as the Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, which had been ceded to them to found and construct there a Convent (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 411, 412), which finally didn't realize, as seen before.

The Bishop D. Fr. António de S. Dionísio (1675-1684), reaching Santiago in the year of 1676, was a Franciscan and Master of Theology, a nomination done partially in conformity to the request of the Municipal Camera of Ribeira Grande, which asked for a Franciscan from the province of *Piedade* (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 360, 342). His intention was to guarantee the spiritual assistance to the largest possible number of believers of his Diocese, which included the ones living in the remote zones of the Rivers of Guinea. Its spiritual cover the Bishop confined to the Franciscan Missionaries (*ibid*, 360, 344).

The Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano defined a special tactic to choose the parish Clergy, in contrary of his predecessor. As he was member of the Confraternity of the religious of the Convent of *S. Francisco* of Ribeira Grande of the province of Soledade, he came to an agreement of a

strategic partnership with the Missionaries which would last till his death. In contrary to what had happened during the period of the Jesuits, were it was common to separate the secular and regular Clergy in the Portuguese overseas regions, the Bishop and the Franciscan Missionaries helped themselves mutually in the pastoral activities. In stead of nominating the local Clergy to parish, or the members of the *Chapter* as visitors or Vicars, he always chose Franciscan friars with the argument that this would be the only way for him to feel calm. More than fifteen of these nominations are documented, and the rule was for two friars to serve during two or three years in a parish of one Island, changing afterwards to a new turn on another Island (*ibid*, 360, 361). This had as consequence that the Chapter, in disagreement with the Bishop in a lot of issues, did publish in the Cathedral a pastoral at the beginning of 1706, which removed the former Episcopal licences which allowed the Franciscans to exercise the cure of the souls in the parishes, namely to say masses, to confess and to preach during the most solemn festivities. These activities did belong to the Chapter before, having been removed by the Bishop, such as it was the profitable post of the Visitor (*ibid*, 365).

Chapter 4: The roles of the religious buildings and their importance for the development of the city

1 The Church and its assistance in Cape Verde

It is since the beginning, and for a long period of time, that the *Ordem de Cristo* dominated all of the religious and missionary administration on the Islands of Cape Verde. The *Santa Sé* (Vatican) conceded to the Portuguese crown powers such as obligations and duties, rights and privileges concerning the missions and ecclesiastic institutions in the discovered and colonized territories. This included the right of *Padroado*, which was conceded to the *Ordem de Cristo* officially by the *Bula Romanus Ponifex* of 8th of January of 1458. The administrator of the *Ordem de Cristo* had as mission to provide the religious assistance to the population such as the construction and financial support of the places of cult (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 120).

One of the immediate and main aims of these places of cult would have been the holding of masses for the soul of the Infant D. Hentique himself. The Infant, who had been the administrator of the *Ordem de Cristo* and who died in 1460, had recommended in special to the Infant D. Fernando that he should 'carry out and let carry out, to pay and to guard all the *quitações* (remissions) ordered by him, and to sing and to hold the referred masses, and this by the *vintenas* of his Islands and of Guinea, and revenues of the lands, churches and *commendas*' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 74, 75).

The obligation of the masses was recommended by the Infant D. Henrique in his testament to

> 'the Vicar, parish Priest or Captain paid by the Order of Christ in each church of the lands of Guinea, who praises him each week, at Saturdays, by always in my life and after my death to hold a mass to *Santa Maria*, and the commemoration should be to the *Santo Spiritu* with his *responso* (religious verse to be sung during the Catholic services) and oration should be *fidelium Deos*' (*ibid*, 74).

These masses would have been hold still at the end of the 18th century, at least in some churches. In case in Ribeira Grande, where they were hold in the Cathedral and, before, in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, due to the order from the Kingdom, still during the second half of the 18th century, to 'never (...) let to pray the referred masses because this clause had to be obeyed' (*id*).

It was till 1495 that the *house of Dukes of Beja* had the compulsory nature to send the ecclesiastics to Cape Verde, its representative being the master of the *Ordem de Cristo* (Madeira Santos, 2001, 120). From this date on, the construction of the Churches and Chapels, the maintenance of the ecclesiastics such as the sending of Missionaries to provide religious assistance to the Catholics and to convert the native Africans, were duties confined to the members of the House of *Avis*, in their quality of Kings of Portugal such as of Governors and everlasting administrators of the *Ordem de Cristo* (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 121).

The main revenues for the construction, maintenance and economic assistance of the places of cults and of the *obras pias* (pious works) consisted in the *dízima* of the production of the

Islands and of the customs movement, of the legates of particular persons, done still during lifetime or through testamentary donations, and of the goods left by persons which died without testament or known heirs (*id*). The collection of the ecclesiastic *dízimas* was done in parallel to the one of the other taxes which reverted to the Crown. As such, it depended on the financial and fiscal structure built up in Cape Verde (*id*). It is to notify that, beside the *dízima* for the state, since the King D. Manuel, from the ecclesiastic *dizima*, which reverted to the Crown, 1% was destined for the construction of the religious buildings.

It was the *almoxarife* who received the financial part such as the ecclesiastic *dízima* owed to the Church, which had given it to the *Ordem de Cristo*, such as it was also him, alternating with the *rendeiros* (bidder or collector of incomes/revenues), who was in charge of the payment of the 'ecclesiastic officials' and of the supporting of the expenses related to the churches.. This *dízima*, received by the crown, was probably completed by subsidies, allowances and other forms of payments done by the *almoxarife* (*id*).

For the Church and pious works, also donations of particular persons such as the goods of the deceased without heirs became a resource of income by being converted into chapels. This could be ecclesiastic ties explored by an administrator which received a fixed income such as autonomous constructions or integrated ones into churches (*id*).

Related to the buildings themselves, it was generally of use that the main chapel and the Sakristy of the to be constructed church would be financed by the Royal treasury, while the rest of the chapels, ornaments, decoration and liturgical utensils (*alfaias*) would be supported by the local society.

In Ribeira Grande, we will see that in several cases it is the Bishop himself who supported the expenses of construction and ornamentation by his own means. This could be done through his own salary, through finances collected by selling materials and products, which often included ecclesiastical ones, simply by stopping another construction or by proceeding with the transfer of materials and ornaments from another building. It would be taken with determination the decision to proceed with the construction process, even if the Kingdom had no more disposable funds available for this purpose.

In absence of the construction material, normally necessary to be send from Lisbon, local material (limestones, wood) would have to substitute it. Later on in the construction process of Ribeira Grande, local factories would facilitate to provide certain construction materials, as it is the case of lime for mortar production or of roof and floor tiles made of clay.

In some cases, as it is the example of the fund put away and set aside for the Fortress in *Cacheu*, it would be done any petition and request necessary to have access to these financial amounts for embezzlement. On the other hand, finances saved for construction purposes of a religious building could run risk to be used for further constructions through embezzlement.

As it had been costume in the overseas colonies, and in special on the Atlantic Islands, the ecclesiastic *corpus* himself would receive its payments only partly in money, the other part would be delivered in alimentation products. These were mainly wine, wheat and olive oil.

As well as related to the financing of constructions as to the payments of the ecclesiastic salaries, with proceeding of time during the settlement process of Ribeira Grande, several increasing and severe delays, omissions, deviations or embezzlements could be registered, which lead often to mutual accusations and severe tensions between the ecclesiastic and civil powers, such as with the kingdom itself. But also in between the Prelates, as we will see in the case of the Chapter accusing the Bishop himself, these tensions caused by abuse of power, of misunderstandings and omissions, such as by financial and material deviations, would difficult and delay the 'normal' unroll of the actuation and development processes.

It was use of the Church to have for various registrations different books, in which all the expenses and occurred processes would be noted down. The *grandes livros de fábrica* (big factory books) existed for all expenses done related to the maintenance of the churches, such as it is the construction itself, the conservation and the applied ornaments. The *pequenos livros de fábrica* (small factory books) were related to the accessories such as the *alfaias*, but also to processions and festivals such as to the normal cult. A third kind of book, the *livros de receita e despesa* (books of income and expense) would exist in each parish church for noting down and annotating the occurred masses, baptisms, marriages and deaths/funerals, such as further certificates.

Unfortunately, none of these books related to the time span we are referring to could be found during our research. This includes the inventories of the churches and chapels, normally done by the *provedor* (provider), who, from 1587 on, should traverse the settlements of the several islands, registering the name of its churches and chapels, its institutor, the actual administrator and which were the conditions in which he received it and administrated it. This was aimed to control all the provisions of all of the chapels. These proceedings, which the proper *provedor* took with him from the Kingdom, should be, before all, presented to the Municipal Camera of Ribeira Grande. There it would be transcribed to the book of the Municipal Camera of the city (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 469).

One of the reasons could be, again, the several pillages and consequent destructions of documents occurred in Ribeira Grande. Another one could be the local difficulties faced in getting access to some of the requested information material.

We will see that during the approach to the religious buildings and their functional and symbolic roles and their importance along the history of Ribeira Grande on one hand, such as to their constructive development on the other hand, these specific focus angles are often so much imterconnected that it is not always possible to treat them separately from each other.

2 Invocation of the Saints and Holy Mother as reflecting the relative role, chronologic and geographic peculiarities of the religious buildings

To understand the functional and symbolic role of the religious buildings, it is necessary to take in consideration the meaning of their Patron Saints such as their invocations. This is in special even more important in cases where we have to try to find out from them, being in lack of more concrete data, when and under which circumstances these buildings emerged, crossing these information with the rest of them, if accessible.

At the beginning of the erection of a church or chapel, it is under an invocation that is given its denomination. But the initial evocation could, with the passing of time and according to the evolution of faith, leave to alternation of designation of the same church or chapel. This could be origin of different reasons, in between them the transportation into it of another religious image.

For seven of the Chapels and Churches (*S. Sebastião, Espírito Santo, St.ª Marta, St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel, Monte Alverne, S. Roque* and *S. Pedro*) we have no information about construction dates and, for most of these, with exception of the Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo*, no further indications about use or importance of performed role along the history of Ribeira Grande seem to be available.

In these cases, only the sites of localization in the urban fabric (see chapter 2) such as their invoked designations can give us at least some information to help us to understand more about them. But even these localizations are not always clear defined, as we have seen with the former doubts about the 'correct' localization of the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, the Chapel/Church of *Espírito Santo* and the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S, Miguel.*

2.1 The Cathedral (Sé)

The Portuguese Cathedrals were mostly dedicated to the Holy Mother, which means that, in case of the *Sé* of Ribeira Grande, at least the main altar should have had an invocation in cause, with a canvas or image of this evocation. It is also possible that the lateral chapels, one or more, could have been dedicated to the various evocations of the Holy Mother.

Beside this, at least we know that one of these supposed six lateral chapels, the one on the right side (south), second transept towards the main altar, was devoted to *S. José*, who was the husband of the Virgin Mary. European Cathedrals did mostly have inside, on the left hand towards the altar, a so called 'Lady Chapel', dedicated to the Virgin Mary If this was the case in Ribeira Grande we don't know but would suppose so.

2.2 Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia*

From the *Misericórdias* is known that their devotion was the visitation of the Virgin to Saint Isabel. The Hospitals of *Misericórdia*, instituted in Portugal from 1508 on, came as such mostly out of former existing Hospitals, whose invocation was often the one of *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit).

We know of the existence of the altar of *S. Francisco* (St. Francis of Assisi) inside the Church of *Misericórdia.*

2.3 The Episcopal Palace and Aljube

The Episcopal Palace necessarily had to have a Chapel, which has been also the case in Ribeira Grande. Unfortunately, we couldn't find any reference to its devotion.

2.4 The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*

'*N.ª S.ª do Rosário* was the Patron Saint of the Confraternity of the black men of the city (...)' (Pereira, 2004, n.p.). This it was in Cape Verde, in Brazil and, '(...) being its Confraternity constituted mostly by black men, in similarity to what could be verified in Lisbon' (*id*), also in the Kingdom of Portugal itself.

2.5 The Convent of *S. Francisco*

S. Francisco de Assis gave initiation to three religious orders: the first one, the Fraternity of the Minor brothers, the second one, the one of the poor ladies, and the third one, the third secular order, for men and women, married or not, which continued in their social activities, living the Evangelism. All these were characterized by disdain of money and mundane things, with the principal directivess of poverty and humbleness.

2.6 The Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*

N.ª S.ª da Conceição is a Patron Saint who can stay for everything necessary.

But it comes mentioned that 'The first Chapel, the one of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, of the city of Ribeira Grande, would have been ordered to be constructed (...), raised under invokation of the Holy Spirit' (Pereira, 2005, 39).

If it is true that the Chapel/Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* was constructed under invocation of *Espírito Santo*, it is possible that it initially had been the Chapel/Church of *Espírito Santo*. As it is Virgin Mary who conceived from the Holy Spirit, and conceiving means *Conceição* (Conception), the Chapel/Church of *Espírito Santo* well could have passed to be denominated of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* later.

2.7 The Jesuit College

It was usual that all Colleges had at least one, some times more than one, chapels (the Jesuit College of Funchal, Madeira had ten in numbers). The Jesuits, wherever they reached, founded a chapel for their spiritual exercises.

2.8 The Seminary

Every Seminary, such as the Colleges, was supposed to have at least one chapel. No furthet information about this supposed chapel could be obtained.

2.9 The Chapel of *S. Brás*

In 1542, a letter from Jorge Vaz, writer from the *feitoria*, relates about a sickness of the throat appearing in Ribeira Grande in the same year, so that the inhabitants constructed '(...) *casa* and *vocação* (church or chapel under the invocation) of the well adventured *S. Braz*, which didn't exist on this Island' (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 116).

S. Brás is the Patron Saint of the doctors, protecting against illnesses of the throat (de Voragine, c. 1255, chapt. XXXVI).

2.10 The Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*

S. Gonçalo (*de Amarante*) is a Patron Saint from north of Portugal (region of *Minho*), protecting the navigators.

Its invocation (see above) indicates us that originally it must have served to somebody who was related to the north of Portugal, possibly having been the Governor at the time of construction of the Fortress of origin from this region. The other possibility is that the invocation of the chapel, as long as being inside the Fortress, which main aim was to protect Ribeira Grande from attacks from the sea side and which was also its main existence reason, would be directly connected to the navigators, protecting them from enemy attacks.

2.11 The Church of *S. Pedro*

S. Pedro is the main Apostle and has been first Pope of the Christian Church (de Voragine, c. 1255, chapt. XLIV).

2.12 The Chapel of *S. Roque*

S. Roque is the Patron Saint for protection against the plague, and as such there existed in nearly all of the settlements chapels dedicated to him, or, at least altars or chapels inside of churches under his invocation.

As we have no further references to this Chapel itself than its invocation, the only possible direct link that might be established, having in mind its localization at the western slope under the Fortress of *S. Filipe* and above the centre of town, is that it would have been built in any way connected to the Fortress and the part of town of *S. Sebastião* (probably erected from the end of the first half of the 16th century on), from whose upper part it has its main access way.

In Ribeira Grande, such as in other harbour cities, existed the office of *guarda-mor* (main guard), which had as his functions, beside controlling the entrance and exit movements of the port, to 'close the harbour in case of plague' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 244). Several times are mentioned epidemic outbreaks, also generally denominated as *contágios* (infections) on the Island (*ibid*, 499), but they are not specified in any way.

John Cummings, in his book 'Francis Drake-life of a hero' (Cummings, 1995, 146), describes that Drake, after leaving Ribeira Grande after his second attack at the city in 1585, lost in the next weeks a considerable part of the crew of his ships due to an illness which doesn't come described in any further detail, but which could have only been a contagious one.

There might be a connection between these three different approaching angles, so that there exists a small interpretation possibility to conclude, till further information and with all reservation, that the Chapel of *S. Roque* would have been erected anytime around the date of the attack of Drake (1585) or the beginning of the construction of the Fortress (stipulated to have been started in 1587).

But, as plague occurred in Europe from the 14th century on, it is also possible that we have to look at the date of the Chapel from the European side. Two major plague outbreaks had tormented Lisbon in the 16th century, in 1506 and 1569. Other smaller ones followed in 1579 and 1582. Any one of these outbreaks could have given the initiative to build a Chapel with invocation for protection against it.

2.13 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St. º Antônio*

The *corregedor* of Cape Verde, Pêro de Guimaraes (Pêro de Guimarães apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 378), with special devotion to the Saint *Santo António*, writes in a letter to the King the following: coming to Santiago in 1515, being informed by a lay person of the presence of a demoniac spirit 'a false name (...) which they call Antonio Feuéro, with whom they did put to me great fear'. To put to flight these bad spirits, he ordered to bring an image of *St. º António* that on the Island should be constructed an Hermitage of devotion to the Saint, 'that with the help of God and his invocation the bad airs of the referred land, appropriate to the referred false name, should leave, so that your people would be guarded from them'. The image, after having been disembarked, was received by a procession of clergymen and inhabitants of the city of Ribeira Grande, being deposited in the Church of *Espírito Santo*. There it stayed till the named *Hermitage* had been constructed, where were celebrated masses of devotion to the Saint, according to a previous licence letter of the Vicar of Tomar, Portugal. It was the believe of the population that, after the arrival of the image, 'the islands are very healthy and without sick persons'.

St. º António is the Saint of Portuguese, who can stay for everything necessary. But as he always resisted to several temptations of the Devil which he suffered, he personifies also the resistence (de Voragine, c. 1255, chapt. XXI).

2.14 The Church of *Monte Alverne*

The Church or, sometimes designated as Chapel, of *Monte Alverne* is probably dedicated to *S. Francisco*, due to the devotion of *Monte Alverne* being Franciscan.

In August of 1224, *S. Francisco* climbed with some brothers the Mount *Alverne* in Italy, one of the hermitages of the friars. There he received, at 17th of Serptember, the wounds of Christ on his own body. This is the only posssible connection we could find out about it. Therefore we suspect that the Church of *Monte Alverne* is connected to the Franciscans.

2.15 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*

Appearing once designated as being of S. *Miguel*, the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia* has at its Patron Saint the one which protects the eyes (de Voragine, c. 1255, chapt. IV). Meanwhile, *S. Miguel* is the Patron Angel of Portugal, being *S. Miguel das almas* (of the souls) the one connected to the cemeteries.

2.16 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*

Santa Marta received Jesus in her house (de Voragine, c. 1255, chapt. XXXV).

2.17 The Chapel of *S. Sebastião*

S. Sebastião is, such as it is *S. Roque*, the Patron Saint for protection against the plague, but also illnesses in general (de Voragine, c. 1255, chapt. XXIII).

Having no more information about this Chapel, its localization comes described as follows:

> 'The first roads let us understand by the *toponímia* [meaning of the roots of the words] the economic orientation of the settlement. They were the street of *Porto* [harbour] and the one of *Calhau* [stone, also called *Calhau da Praia*=stone of the beach]. At the hill, at the west side, dominating the settlement [or court], was lying the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Saint of protection from the illnesses, which darkened the collective existence' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 21).

Describing its localization, 'at the hill, at the west side, dominating the settlement', could be, the whole area between the Fort of *S. Veríssimo* and the slope under the Fortress of *S. Filipe*. By Madeira Santos describing the first roads of the settlement to be built up, it doesn't automatically mean that she includes the chapel chronologically in the part of town, but just refers to it in localization/orientation.

There does exist as such a slight possibility that the Chapel of *S. Sebastião* and the one of *S. Roque* might have been the same one (as it could be in the case of the Chapel of *Stª Luzia/S. Miguel*, or in case of having been the same one, the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and the Church of *Espírito Santo*), or that one former building reconstructed led to the following one (as it seems possible in the case of *Espírito Santo* and *Misericórdia*).

A reason against this possibility is that *S. Roque* is a Pilgrim and *S. Sebastião* is a military Saint, and, as not being the same one, they rarely appeared inside the same chapel

Another possibility follows the thought already discussed in case of the Chapel *S. Roque*. This means, the general fear of plague, coming from Europe, could have led, maybe quite early during the settlement process, to construct the Chapel, invoked under *S. Sebastião*.

2.18 The Church/Chapel/Hermitage of *Espírito Santo*

The construction of the Church of *Espírito Santo* in Ribeira Grande, without doubt as an answer to the importance which this cult had in Santiago and which was '(...) common to all Islands assisted by the *Ordem de Cristo*. In this church was also, from very early on, rendered cult to *St. º António*, whose image had been taken to Santiago (...)' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol.I, 121).

3 The functional and symbolic roles of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande

3.1 The Cathedral (Sé)

In the case of the Diocese of Cape Verde and West Africa, Ribeira Grande had to become denominated as city (*Civitae*) first, before the Pope could create a Bishopric in Cape Verde, in request of D. João III. In 1533, the villa of Ribeira Grande had this privileges (Lat. *oppidu*,

fortificated place, village or city), because it was the residency of the first authorities on the Island. Passing consequently to be a city politically, capital of the ecclesiastic, civil and military government, it was there that it was erected '(...) the parish Church in Cathedral and constituted the Episcopal dignity for a Bishop, this one erecting and instituting dignities, (...) churches and other ecclesiastic benefits (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 104).

The third Bishop of Cape Verde, D. Francisco da Cruz, came to reside in the Diocese in 1551 or 1555 (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384). Very important missions were given to him concerning the secular structures of the Church in the archipelago (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 123). He was responsible for the beginning of edification of the Cathedral, 'the symbol of ecclesiastic power and sovereignty of the Diocese' (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384).

It is to believe that between the time of his nomination and the coming to Cape Verde he was working in the Kingdom, beside trying to get money and materials, endeavoring all the efforts to better organize the Chapter, increasing its number and regulating the *côngrua* in a more equitable form (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 120).

So it is to read in the manuscript B-8-60 (BNL), mentioned by de Senna Barcelos (*ibid*, 119):

- The Bishop himself was made by D. João III mercy of more than 200$000 *réis*, to make him the *côngrua* of 400$000 *réis*;

Beside him, there were:

- one treasurer or sacristan created for the Cathedral with the *côngrua* of 10$000 *réis*;
- four chaplains raised for the Choir with the *côngrua* of 10$000 *réis* each;
- four Choir boys with the *côngrua* of 6$000 *réis*;
- one master of Chapel with the *côngrua* of 16$000 *réis*;
- one organist with the same *côngrua* of 16$000 *réis*;
- one master of grammar with the *côngrua* of 20$000 *réis*.

All of these where nominated by the Bishop in conformity to the permit of 12th of March of 1555, such as there were more 16$000 *réis* for flour and wine (*ibid*, 120).

In the same year of 1555 were added the *côngruas* of the dignities such as of the canons:

- the first ones with 20$000 *réis*, having had till then 16$000 *réis*;
- the second ones with 16$000 *réis*, having had till then 12$000 *réis*.

Beside, to the *meirinho* of the Bishop was conceded by a permit to use the white stick (*id*).

Through the permit of 24th of January of 1560, there were added more 10$000 *réis* to each of the dignities and canons:

- staying the first ones with 26$000 *réis*;
- the second ones with 30$000 *réis*.

In the same year of 1560 was stipulated:

- one preacher for the Cathedral with the *côngrua* of 20$000 *réis*.

And by the permit of 20th of May were consigned at 6th of April of 1561:

- the parish priests with the *côngruas* of 12$000 *réis* each;

It was rectified at 8th of March of 1562 by a provision -'jus-accrescendi'- that in the *prebendas* (prebendaries) of the absent are the ones which exist in the Choir, '(...) as it was practiced at the beginning of the creation and erection of the Cathedral' (*id*).

In addition did come a complementary dispatch:

- for the Priest of the Cathedral the *côngrua* of 30$000 *réis*;
- for his accomplice the same *côngrua* of 30$000 *réis*.

And for the masses of the Infant *D. Henrique* were dispatched six pieces of slaves, who at that time where evaluated in 60$000 *réis* (*id*). These, as far as we know, were hold in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* of Ribeira Grande.

Beside this, by permit of 10th of January of 1570 (BNL, L. ° 2, sheet 6), the Bishop D. Fr. Francisco Cruz got:

- for his provisional 100$000 *réis* for provisions;
- for his general Vicar the same amount of 100$000 *réis* for provisions.

But this would only be in case of taking residency in the Bishopric. If not, this money should be applied for the Seminary (*ibid*, 121).

A permit dated from the 2nd of May of 1573 added:

- for the general Vicar 200$000 *réis* more, beside the 260$000 *réis* he already had as payment.

(L. 2, sheet 205 of the ancient Chancellery of the *Ordem de Christo*, apud de Senna Barcelos, *id*).

The Chapter of the Cathedral was formed out of 17 dignities:

- one Dean with the *côngrua* of 16$000 *réis*;
- one cantor with the *côngrua* of 16$000 *réis*;
- one archdeacon with the *côngrua* of 16$000 *réis*;
- one main treasurer with the *côngrua* of 16$000 *réis*;
- one school Master with the *côngrua* of 16$000 *réis*;
- twelve canons with the *côngrua* of 12$000 *réis*.

(de Senna Barcelos, *ibid*, 105).

The Chapter in general had as its duty to proceed to the exam of life, the conduction and virtues of the people which were in opposition to the ecclesiastic benefits of the Church, such as to pass a certificate about the way the Governor was exercising the act of governing the district. It was in its hand also the right and obligation to defend *donzelas* (unmarried or virgin women), robbed people, sailors, prisoners and inherited, such as slaves, which was a work preferentially ordered to the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 492).

As the creation of this Chapter occurred before the Council of Trent, it remained always conserved the privilege of the *Cabidor izempto* (absent Chapter), which means that the *capitulares* (someone who presides over a divine service) maintained in their possession the right to nominate every year two deputies out of the same corpus, for them, together with the Vicar, to process its criminal cases (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 105).

This ecclesiastic *corpus* of the seat of the Diocese, such as the Cathedral of Ribeira Grande itself to which it belonged, been installed and functionalized by the Bishop D. Francisco da Cruz, had been a copy of the ones in the Dioceses of the Kingdom and the other overseas colonies, having been as such of no inferior initial quantity and quality.

But shortly after the succeeding of installing of the Chapter and internal household of the Cathedral, with the construction of the Cathedral delaying and affecting its functionality, the economic and commercial cycle of Ribeira Grande itself started to enter in severe decline, as wee have seen before. To add is that the representative value of the Cathedral had been suffered interference, its construction having been stopped in 1590, functioning most of its time in substitution in the Church of *Misericórdia*. All this would have had a deep psychological impact also on the clergy, even though it is possible that the construction would have been 'hindered by the Chapter itself' (*ibid*, 120).

So is to read that, at 7th of July of 1624, the Canon Francisco Calado wrote in a letter about the ecclesiastical and economical situation of Santiago, confirming that in the Cathedral stayed

> '(...) so little *capitulares*, some of them so crazy (...), that if during this year doesn't come a Governor of so much Christianity and example, that obliges us to have shame and respect, being in between us a

> very big confusion, and the doors of the Cathedral will be shut, so by having for many years no Prelate that reprimands us, as there pass more than two and a half years that in the work they don't pay us (...)' (Calado apud Brásio, 1952, Vol. V, 49, 50, apud Pereira, 1988, 65).

Due to the increasing delays caused by the financial complications in the Kingdom inherent to the departure of the new Prelates, the Diocese came to stay more and more time without the head of the Bishopric. The Chapter had to substitute him in his absence. So is it that the vacant government of the Cathedral between the decease of the Bishop D. Manuel Afonso da Guerra in 1624 and the reaching of the new Bishop D. Fr. Lourenço Garro in 1625 was handled over to the Dean of the Cathedral, Jácome de Morais. (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 408). And after D. Fr. Lourenço Garro's death at 1st of November of 1646, the Cathedral stayed vacant for 26 years. This happened due to the cut relationship in between Portugal and the *Curia Romana* through an acclamation of King D. João IV, which didn't please the Pope (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 234).

Another report comes from the Jesuit priest, João Pereira Corte Real (Pereira Corte Real apud Brásio, 1952, Vol.V, 235, 236), who described Ribeira Grande, the formerly cosmopolitan city, in 1630, as really desolating: 'a city that doesn't even reach to be a village, where the ones from the kingdom are only fifteen or sixteen, the creoles circa of thirty five and what most abounds are Canons, clericals and priests'.

The discrepancy between the ecclesiastic structure and the local reality only could come out of wrong information that at that time would be distributed to the central government. 'Only by this could be explained that on an Island and district with so less capacity and income would be founded 'a Cathedral with so much clergy and Chaplain and Bishop'. (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 462). The imbalance reached such point that there couldn't been done preaching to *homilia* (Lat. *homilia*, sermon about the Evangelism pronounced during the mass) of the mass at the same day in two churches (in the Cathedral and in the Chapel of the Jesuits), by not existing enough listeners to two priests (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 463).

From the former 'external manifestation by excellence of the Diocese' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 120), and 'the most powerful symbol of the Church in the local society, such as of the autonomy of the Episcopal authority and of its supremacy above the civil power and the powerful of the land' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 349), the Cathedral became designated as 'the 'misery' of the Island of Santiago' (*id*).

The payments of the ecclesiastics reaching delays of years left in 1644 the Bishop of Cape Verde, D. Frei Lourenço Garro (D. Frei Lourenço Garro apud Pereira, 1988, 70) to write about his necessities due to the missing payment of his salary, sustaining himself with maize *zamburro*, which was the maintenance of which the Creole lived. The difficulties he passed through were so many, that 'he sold all the silver that existed in this house as everybody knows (...)'.

As the Church of Cape Verde went during mid 17th century into a state of acute deprivation of its material and financial means, it came put up the possibility to dismember it locally, to be administrated and visited from the archipelago of Madeira on, as it has been succeeded before the creation of the Diocese (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 409, 410).

Even though, looking at the difficult ecclesiastic situation, when the Jesuit priest Antonio Vieira (Antonio Vieira apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 71, 72), the great Portuguese orator, passed through Ribeira Grande in 1652 to preach on a trip to Brazil, he praised the wisdom of the local priests, who's composure and knowledge '(...) make envy to the best ones of the kingdom (...). There are here clergymen and Canons dark as jet black; but with so much composure, so authorized, so doctorate, so great musicians, so discrete and well upright, that they can do envy to the ones that we see there in our Cathedrals'. This benevolent appraisal might have been more a diplomatic note of Antonio Vieira than the realistic critical interpretation of the found situation. But it tells us that most of the former European clergies had been changed already in favor of a 'creolization' of the ecclesiastic corpus.

The ongoing lack of economic richness and monetary liquidity such as reluctances from side of the Kingdom towards the diocesan structure of Cape Verde, together with the commercial restrictions of Ribeira Grande led to an increasing loss of pride, self-confidence and morality, such from side of the religious as from side of the civil powers, leading to more and more disputes and mutual accusations between both powers. Often, the Bishops and the Governors came to accuse themselves mutually of abuse of power, negligence or willful carelessness. So do mention Madeira Santos and M. J. Soares (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 383) that 'it is verified (...) an denouncing attitude which will repeat itself often through the pen of the ecclesiastics, relating to the king the bad fulfillment of certain judicial and civil administrative professions, requesting him measurements to avoid it'. On the other hand, the re-construction and finalizing of the Cathedral hadn't been able till then mainly due to the opposition of the local society. To this one it had been of interest to keep the Cathedral in the Church of *Misericórdia*. 'There, they could more easily exert pressure over the Bishop and the Chapter' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 349).

With the coming of the Bishop Fr. Victoriano Portuense to Ribeira Grande in 1688, the initiative of continuing the construction of the Cathedral restarted, already having been requested by his ancestor in 1681, the Bishop D. Fr. António de S. Dionísio, and its finalization was achieved by supplying it partly through own expenses. But the taking and selling of several pieces of silver and gold from the mitre and taking of money and ornaments from the *fábricas* of the churches and Confraternities of Santiago generated a huge discomfort even inside the Chapter itself such as of other members of the local clergies (Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 350). One canon accused the Bishop in his procedure of pillaging such a poor Bishopric, including the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace themselves, not escaping even the lamps. In consequence, the canon stopped to be attorney, and the Chapter asked the King not to pay the salary to the Bishop as long as he didn't enter with the silver he had subtracted from the mitre and with the money from the churches and Confraternities (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 306, 307).

This had as consequence an explanation request from part of the Overseas Council towards the Bishop (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 350) and led to the fact that in 1690, the municipality initially didn't let him to take the office due to the big guilt which felt upon him (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 309).

But nevertheless, with the Cathedral finishing, the Bishop and the Chapter installed themselves, being finally able to celebrated the divine services and pontifical acts in it and for which it was designated (ibid, 301). Therefore, all of the rich utensils and liturgical ornaments had to be transferred from the *Misericórdia*.

D. Fr. Vitoriano could conclude the greatest emblem of the power of the Church, which rose majestically in the city, being as such the largest edified conjunction which could be seen immediately from far away off shore (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 350).

The Cathedral, in special its Churchyard, had been a place where delinquents enjoyed the right of asylum and where they couldn't be arrested, but what even though could happen by the Bishops will (*ibid*, 359).

The finished Cathedral wouldn't last for long. In 1712, Corsairs under General Jaques Cassard attacked Ribeira Grande and pillaged such as partly burned houses and religious buildings, including the Cathedral itself, which seemingly stayed devastated. The re-construction attempts of 1729 and 1745/46 couldn't finish rebuilding the Cathedral, '(...) forcing the Church to stay closed' (ibid, 391).

The Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente, by trying to transfer the Diocese to St. ° Antão Island, opened up to most of his successors the habit to reside outside of the seat of the Cathedral (*ibid*, 398). But by the year of 1774, the date of his death, the entire huge legate he left, such as in money, goods, ornaments and liturgical utensils, was applied by *Pombaline* decree to the reconstruction of the Episcopal Palace, such as would return to the Cathedral. 'This Bishop left precedence for lots of his successors which would decide to take residency out of the seat of the Cathedral of Santiago' (*id*).

This seemingly didn't avoid that, still in 1778, 'the cult of praying the masses hold for the soul of the Infant D. Henrique was celebrated by the canons in the Cathedral, all due to the ruined state of the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, '(...) where these masses originally had been hold' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 74). (As we know, the Infant D. Henrique led in his testament to the *Ordem de Cristo* the responsibility that it should be prayed for him, at all Saturdays of the year and in all churches of the spiritual jurisdiction of the *Ordem* existent at the date of his testament (13th of October of 1460), or subsequently founded, a mass for his soul (Brásio in *Separata de Studia*, nr. 10, 1962, 95)).This must have been one of the last acts which took place in the Cathedral of Ribeira Grande, former symbol of ecclesiastic power and sovereignty of the first West African Diocese

The Cathedral served also as place for burials of some of the Bishops, sometimes their tomb having been transferred to it later on:

- the second Bishop of Cape Verde, D. João Parvi, died in the Bishopric in 1546. Documents indicate two dates: the 29th of November, according to an author of the manuscript (BNL, B-8-60), and the 21st de December, according to Nicolão Clenardo. He was buried in the Church *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* in Ribeira Grande, but his tombstone is found today in the Cathedral, '(...) near by the stand of the Choir, covering the tomb of Bishop D. Fr. Victoriano Portuense' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 119);

- the Bishop D. Luís Pereira de Miranda, who only stayed in the Bishopric from mid 1609 till end of 1609, date when he died, was buried in the Cathedral (Madeira Santos, Vol. II, 2001, 401);

- '(...) the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense, (...) was buried in 1705 in the main chapel of the Cathedral, in a tomb he had made there for the Bishops, but where no other Prelate, in way of homage, wanted to be buried (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 363);

- the Bishop D. Fr. João de Moreira died at 13th of August of 1746, on his way to Ribeira Grande. He was buried in the Cathedral beside the tomb of D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense (ibid, 393).

3.2 The Church/Hospital/*Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (of Mercy)

The Hospital of Ribeira Grande, of Royal institution, comes up mentioned for the first time, in terms of initiative, at the end of the 15th century (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 390). As a construction with pious and merciful character, D. Manuel had made construct in Ribeira Grande a Hospital where should be given assistance to the sick people which lived on the island or which docked (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 121). The King D. Manuel, in a Royal Charta from the 30th of June of 1497, stipulated that all the goods of the people which would die in Santiago without leaving a testament, would reconvert after one year to the Hospital which was ordered to be constructed in Ribeira Grande, in case of not being acclaimed by legitimate heirs (Pereira, 1988, 46).

It was to the administrator of the Hospital to collect the goods of people who died without leaving a testament, such as rents and goods which would be affected to the construction and maintenance of the Hospital, in the case of not coming up legitimate heirs. In this way, the King got from the Hospital an autonomous source of financing (Brásio, 1952, Vol. I, 584-586).

The first Hospital mentioned in the documentation is called Hospital *de todos os Santos* (of all Saints). It comes up twice mentioned in 1515 and 1516, in both cases connected to contracts of inhabitants paying the *dízimas*, suffering in case of not fulfilling the contract a penalty of having to pay 100 *cruzados* in gold to the referred Hospital (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 82, 83).

At 27th of October of 1549, the Dean of the diocese, Frei Gaspar da Silva, writes to the King D. João III, describing the religious situation in Ribeira Grande:

> '(...) here exists one Hospital which has people which bring to it *sonegados* (objects subtracted of the rights) (without mentioning or describing, even if demanded by law) a lot of money, and 'for sure it is something to have pity on, because there are some poor which have nobody to offer them a jug of water' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 50).

Due to the third Bishop of Cape Verde, D. Francisco da Cruz, being head of the Bishopric between 1551 till 1574, we can find to be constructed, beside the Episcopal Palace and the initiation of the Cathedral, the Church and *Casa* (Hospital) of *Misericórdia* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384). The begin of construction of the *Misericórdia* is dated between 1556 and 1558 (*ibid*, 51, 52).

Probably it was finalized round about 1570, and after the finishing of its construction, it started immediately in the practice to function as Cathedral, with Dean and Chapter, due to

the delay in the construction of the Cathedral itself (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 119, 120). The Church of *Misericórdia* always maintained its hybrid nature of Cathedral and Church of the Confraternity with the same name. There, the principals of the land had the seat as providers, *mesários* (Lat. *mensariu*, table member of a Confraternity) and other brothers, this last statute being more of the juridical sphere, which made the fiscalization rights of the Bishop only possible with expressed authorization of the King (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 351, 352). The King D. Sebastião, during his reign, took the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* under his protection '(...) and helped it powerfully' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 169).

The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* was the see of the most prestigious, rich and actuating Confraternity (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 472). Its church was a church of Confraternity, for which it was designated till its construction. As such, the brothers could expulse from it the Chapter, as it did happened several times till the second half of the 17th century (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 345, 346). But in general, the local society wanted to maintain the Cathedral inside the *Misericórdia*, having been this way better able to exercise pressure over the Bishop and Chapter (*ibid*, 349, 350).

Its status was of the most influencing one in Ribeira Grande, due to the several privileges which were conceded to it, as we have seen already (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 469).

A lot of its members were of the Municipal Camera, what, by them having accumulated the post of councilor with the dignity of brother of *Misericórdia*, did create a special and intimate relation between the civil institution and the *Misericórdia* as institution of Christian charity (*ibid*, 470).

Beside the brothers, the *Misericórdia* was provided with functionaries, which included the *escrivão* (writer), the nurse, doctor and pharmacist. Some of them, namely the doctor, were paid by the Municipal Camera. Its expenses were high, also because of the passing of a lot of ships through Ribeira Grande, carrying with them sick crews, to which was given assistance for free (*id*). But it was also a big receiver or heir, contemplated in the testaments of the rich people of the land. It received legates, charities and heritages, designated for services of charity *a posteriori*. In 1605, it received through only one request an amount of 50$000 *réis* from faithful seculars (*ibid*, 471).

The *Misericórdia* was as such the principal beneficence institution in which functioned the collaboration between the hierarchy of the Church and the most representative faithful seculars of the society, in the sense of putting in practice the mercy works (*ibid*, 468). To defend *donzelas*, robbed people, sailors, prisoners and inherited, such as slaves, was a right and obligation ordered preferentially from the Chapter to the *Santa Casa* of *Misericórdia* (*ibid*, 492).

And it had been the largest receptor of wills of Cape Verde. Its function in a certain way was facilitated because mostly what happened was a kind of self financing, which means a simple transfer of accountancy. The celebrated masses in its Church where paid by the treasurer of the *Misericórdia* himself, transferring funds. The charity for the poor, the protection of the *donzelas*, the assistance of the orphans, the humbles, the robbed ones, of the ones which suffered injustice and all the other act of beneficence where included in the services of mercy, whose exercise constituted the finality of the *Santa Casa*. When the priest encouraged the sick person to reserve one part of his goods, to pay the suffrage of his soul after death, he was

reserving a part which wouldn't pass to the heirs but would be redistributed by the proper Church and secular pious services (*ibid*, 499).

The whole population of the most various social conditions had opportunity to participate in the preaching and solemn ceremonies of the Church of *Misericórdia* (*ibid*, 474). But the *Misericórdia* was also the first one where the inhabitants could ask for asylum. As example can be given Maria Rodrigues, who, after being condemned on Fogo Island to three years of prison for having been guilty of the death of one of her slaves, escaped and took refuge in the *Misericórdia* under protection of the immunity (*ibid*, 379). And it gave shelter, as to the Jesuit priests, reaching Cape Verde in 1604, who accommodated themselves at the beginning temporarily in the *Casa* of *Misericórdia* (*ibid*, 439), even though it came during the twenties of the 17th century to a rupture between the *Misericórdia* and the Jesuits, due to the amount of donations and heritages these had been beneficiated from (*ibid*, 452).

Due to its importance and special position inside the city of Ribeira Grande, it was conceded the authorization to the Misericórdia in 1575, during three years, to import from the coast of guinea fifteen *quintais* (weight of four *arrobas* each, each *arroba*, an old measurement of weight, corresponding to round about fifteen kg) of wax annually, without having to pay *quarto* and *vintena* (*ibid*, 469).

In 1587, there were elaborated specific proceedings for the *Misericórdia* of Santiago, supplying constructions, orphans, Chapels, Hospitals, Confraternities, *gafarias* (leprosy Hospitals), *albergarias* (lodgings) and residencies. Its Provider should, by traversing the settlements of the islands, register the names of the churches and chapels such as their instituting and administrating peculiarities (*id*).

By Royal mercy and by request of the Provider, the *Misericórdia* gained in 1594 the same privileges as the one of Lisbon (*id*). It was conceded to it all the privileges of which benefited and which used the Confraternity of *Santa Casa de Lisboa* by Royal provisions (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 158).

The clergy which circulated around the Bishop, the Cathedral and the *Misericórdia* was especially provided with richness, due to actualizations of the payments to ecclesiastics under King D. Sebastião (from 1572 on) and D. Filipe II, till the first decades of the 17th century, rising to more than 50% (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 460).

But the economic crisis and the disappearance of the rich men of Ribeira Grande conducted also the *Misericórdia* into a difficult financial situation. The judges and councilors of Santiago directed a petition to the King in 1620, in which they made him understand that the Confraternity of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* was very poor and exhausted of resources due to a lot of famines and illnesses which existed. They asked for the new contract of income to include an *ordinaria* of 100 *cruzados*, being the contractor obliged to deliver this amount every year (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 192).

Still in 1641, it is the Municipal Camera which occupied itself with the issue. The fifteen councilors and the inhabitants of the island supported the petition of the provider and the officials of the *Misericórdia* by confirming that the *Santa Casa* is very poor by its expenses done with the sick people in such an unhealthy land and with the wards ruined. The revenue is not sufficient any more, with the increasing expenses each year on the other hand. The help

from the *Misericórdia* did, from the illness till the poorness, extend to the victims of robbery, the sick crews and the assistance given to the repair of the ships and the troubles of the sailors. In response, the King D. João IV conceded to the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* the permit of revenue of 100 *cruzados*, paid by the Royal treasury. This alleviated thus the dependency of this institution relatively to the *dízimo* and private charity (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 472).

But it is mostly due to having taken possession of properties of the most part of the Island of Santiago that the income of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* even though rose quite a lot till the year of 1679 These properties were instituted in chapels, with the nature of *morgados*, and reverted as such to the *Misericórdia* due to lack of successors (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 283). Nevertheless, in 1683, the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, which possessed the best farms on the Island, was put into dept, despite of its rich incomes. It couldn't pay any more the most usual expenses, and to respond to this lacks, the Provider proposed to sell some of the properties, to which the Confraternity finally agreed (*ibid*, 287).

The Bishop obtained in 1693 from the Confraternity of the *Santa Casa* all the ornaments and chalices for the Cathedral, its Confraternity staying unable to celebrate the cult. He asked at 8th of August of the same year the King, by charity, to confirm the resolution of the *Santa Casa*. It was ordered him in 1694 to guard and respect their privileges (*ibid*, 315).

Finally, in 1694, the Chapter left the Church of Misericórdia, beginning to celebrate the divine survives in the Cathedral (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 349, 350). Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 345) refers to that transition: 'This Church [*Misericórdia*] stayed serving as *Sé* [Cathedral] (...) and in her the canons prayed till 1693, in which all was transferred to the *nova Sé*' [new Cathedral].

At 3 of August of 1696, the provider and the brothers of the *Misericórdia* wrote a letter to the King complaining about the Bishop, saying that he wanted to take possession of the chapels and the jurisdiction conceded to this *Casa*. This was rejected by the King in the most severe way, but on the other hand, the Bishop was warned that the Governor had been received determinant orders to make guard to the *Misericórdia* its privileges, which are of immediate Royal protection, such as to conserve the Confraternity in all its rights and possession. And for prevention he had ordered to install a court and judgment of the crown, to which should be turned to in 'all acts of violence of the ecclesiastics' (*ibid*, 334).

By Royal Charta of 4th of February of 1702, it was conceded to the Bishop the visiting of the Church and the Hospital of *Misericórdia* only in what would be related to the *sacrário* (place where are guarded things worth of veneration), holy oils, form and uses of the altars and sacerdotal ornaments, without interfering in any other issue. This was the answer which the *Santa Casa* received, asking for religious as Chaplains, due to the Bishops negation of making nomination of seculars. There were protests of the provider and brothers of the *Misericórdia*, but the King ordered to fulfill the resolution. 'In this way, D. Frei Victoriano achieved to have some jurisdiction there, which never should have been taken away from him' (*ibid*, 360).

During the attack of the French Corsairs in 1712, the pillage of the churches included the one of the Church of *Misericórdia* (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 102).

In 1737, the general *ouvidor* got ordered by the King to look after the problems of the income of the *Misericórdia*, by it finding itself in a miserable state, having its debtors bankrupted till the point that they did not only miss the cult of the Church, the curative and sustain of the poor, but also missed the fulfilling of the legates of the benefactors (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 453).

It reached the point that in the mid 18th century, the administration of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* was so chaotic that nobody wanted to accept the post of provider and treasurer, which were re-given each year. The elected provider and the people from the Confraternity directed a petition towards Lisbon in 1752, asking for an official document that, without compromise, the provider and treasurer could be elected for three years, to be able to handle better their post. They asked also to be annulated the leasing of some properties made with severe losses for the *Santa Casa* by some providers. The King, by his resolution of 17th of July of 1752, approved the election for three years, but didn't accede to the leasing, whose recovering of the properties should be treated by usual means. After the three years, the provider and treasurer should render to the general *ouvidor* (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 10).

But the economic and administrative problems continued, so that in 1771 the Governor related about the irregularities and losses of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, due to the not honest administration of the provider Jeronymo Martins Freire. His report mentions that this provider lived 5 leagues distant and was only good to send by exorbitant prices products from his farm to the Hospital. These were administrated by a major-domo who had bad reputation, but had the post as effective thanks to his uncle and canon Gregorio Freire. 'The Governor, attributing these irregularities to the canon, brought together the *mesa* [conjunction of people which direct an institution] and censured him' (*ibid*, 50, 51).

Meanwhile, in the year of 1779, the *Santa Casa of Misericórdia* had come to such a deplorable and sensible point that it wasn't able any more to assist the patients and to fulfill the vote to which it was obliged to by its benefactors. Since the shortage of 1774, stayed in delay a lot of *fôros* (determined pension) of the houses of the city to pay, these ones staying abandoned by their state of ruin, such as the yields of the houses which the Misericórdia owned. Since the creation of the *Santa Casa* till 5th of December of 1704, it lent money to interest of 8%, which guaranteed it a regular income. At this date it was permitted to reduce its interest, due to a Royal Charta, which reached the 4%. In 1779, a new law raised the percentage to 5% (*ibid*, 77).

The Hospital was in such bad conditions that a lot of patients had to sustain themselves, preferring mostly to run away before the cure was completed and ask for charity than to die from the bad treatment. The income of the *Santa Casa* had been bulky, but the embezzlement of the former Governors has had no limits, only making use of it the ones who administrated it. To stop this abuse, the new Governor, in 1786, proposed to nominate for the new post of provider an honorable man (*ibid*, 89). His proposal was to elect as provider a canon, because this one would give proofs of devotion, honour and efficiency in the service of the *Santa Casa*, beside of electing the other members. The Governor didn't succeed with his ordinations, being elected as provider someone else who was in the hands of the ones which were responsible for the distribution of the income of the Santa Casa (*ibid*, 91).

D. António de Lencastre was, in 1805, the first Governor who executed at the same time the post of provider of the *Santa Casa*. He could organize a doctor, exclusively for the service of the Hospital, with an income of 60$000 *réis*. He also provided that the *Santa Casa* sold all its farms it possessed by the benefactors, except the ones of first institution, and that the product would be put on interest. The income calculated for 1805 was of 32.711$849 *réis*, and the expenses of 16.560$556 *réis* (*ibid*, 152, 153).

Having in 1802 sustained a nursery in Praia, which it abandoned after a short period of time, being one of the reasons the storage of war equipment in it (*ibid*, 147), the *Santa Casa* of Ribeira Grande, even after several proposals to be moved to Praia, never reached the point to do so.

So did at 12th of March of 1819 the Governor, provider of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, and the brothers have a meeting in Praia, agreeing initially to transfer the Hospital of Ribeira Grande to the city of Praia. The main reasons were the abandonment of Ribeira Grande, having its harbour empty, not existing one doctor, nor surgeon or pharmacist, the building being completely demolished. The Governor proposed to unify this Hospital to the Royal and military one of Praia, not only for treatment of the poor, but also for the militaries, making the *Santa Casa* all the necessary expenses of alimentation and curatives, receiving the entire income of the soldiers, as it had been costume before. Concerning the masses to which it was obliged, it had been a monk, chosen by the guardian, nominated as Chaplain to celebrate the masses to the ill people of the Hospital at Sundays and holy days (*ibid*, 206).

The brothers of the *Santa Casa* had agreed with the move to Praia because of the small number of patients in Ribeira Grande (*ibid*, 214, 215). The transference was agreed, but by no way the rent belonging to the Confraternity of *Misericórdia* could be allowed to enter into the Royal funds. As it seemingly was the aim to make the money go into the Royal funds, the proposal of transference was finally turned down (*ibid*, 215).

In 1823, with the new Governor Chapuzet, the old question of transferring the Hospital of *Misericórdia* of Ribeira Grande to Praia came up again. Now it was the inhabitants of Praia who did ask so, arguing the missing of Pharmacy in Praia and the uncomfortable conduction of the patients, done with horses or with launch. It was informed by the general *ouvidor* that the Hospital of *Misericórdia* of Ribeira Grande had a rent of 1.000$000 *réis*, which consisted in pious legates and donations of various testaments for the cure of the poor people, but from these ones were taken 400$000 *réis* for sung and prayed masses.. The Governor was against the transference because the income was good enough when well administrated, because Ribeira Grande being the residence of the Bishop and because the church and Hospital were decent (*ibid*, 278). Instead, he ordered to reconstruct the church of the Hospital paying money out of his pocket in advance for this purpose, besides agreeing to build next to the military ward in Praia another one for civil people, which would be sustained by the *Misericórdia* (*id*).

To do so, and to assist the *Santa Casa* was opened a subscription, the Bishop giving 50$000 *réis* and the inhabitants 61$000 *réis* (*id*).

From this date on, no more information about its roles appeares in the researched documentation

In the Church of *Misericórdia* were buried the following people:

- the Bishop D, Francisco da Cruz, who died at the 19th of March of 1574 (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 390). He was buried near by the altar of *S. Francisco*, and in the manuscript B-8-60 (BNL) is also mentioned that they '(...) opened his tomb and found him intact, emitting sweet aromas, the tomb having being closed afterwards' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 119, 120);

- the Jesuit Priest Manuel de Barros He died on the island of Fogo in 1604, at 29th of October, at the very beginning of the mission of the Jesuits in Cape Verde. He was buried in front of the altar, beside the Gospel (*ibid*, 177).

3.3 The Episcopal Palace

The Episcopal Palace was constructed by D. Fr. Francisco da Cruz, third Bishop of Cape Verde, reaching the Bishopric in 1551 (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 120).

According to Pereira (Pereira, 1988, 52), its initiation and finalization date had been before 1574. Following the line he says that the Episcopal Palace was '(...) a building that served during c. two hundred years as private residency for the Prelates which stayed in Ribeira Grande'.

For the period of the c. eighty following years we have no further information about it, till the 31st of July of 1658. Seemingly it wasn't the only residence place foreseen when the new Governor Francisco de Figueirôa took office, '(...) continuing to live, as his predecessor, in the Episcopal Palace 'due to a missing of an appropriate residence house' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 255).

It could have been due to the fact which is mentioned by Madeira Santos (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 367):

> 'the Episcopal Palace of Ribeira Grande rarely served as a fix domicile for the Bishops, due to the known phenomena as the 'unhealthy climate', the 'decadency' and climate of disturbance of Ribeira Grande. It only occasionally served as temporary residency, mostly when they came to it for the season of the most important liturgical festivals of the year'.

The other residence of the Bishops had been a farm in *Trindade*, outside of Ribeira Grande.

But that the Episcopal Palace only served temporarily as residency was also connected to its temporarily ruined conservation state or even being destructed. So it is for example that the Bishop D. Fr. Francisco de Santo Agostinho, by reaching Ribeira Grande in 1709, realizes that he didn't have a capable residency in the city. He seemingly, such as mentioned by the Chapter, had not much left for his Episcopal dignity (*ibid*, 366).

This symbolic value as representing, together with the Cathedral, the Episcopal dignity might have been the reason of which the French Corsairs in 1712 assaulted with tremendous insolence the Episcopal Palace with the help of ladders, '(...) for a lot which were in the city to discourage (...)' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 136). Consumed by the flames, the whole Library of the Bishops was destroyed (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 332).

Beside the Episcopal Palace as residency, in 1700, the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano did addition to its residence function the one of jurisdiction by having constructed the ecclesiastic *aljube* (temporarily prison) beside the Episcopal Palace (*ibid*, 362).

And further on, as far as we know, the Episcopal Palace served at the end of the days of the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano for spiritual exercises, fasting and other abstinences (*ibid*, 363). By planning to adopt the habitation area of the Episcopal Palace for the construction of the Seminary (*ibid*, 367), he tried to join to it the lecturer function, as he already had done by giving catechesis lessons in the Episcopal Palace

The doors of the Episcopal Palace and the ecclesiastic *aljube* were also places where officially delinquents couldn't be arrested because of enjoying the right of asylum. Even though, the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano did so in 1700 by arresting servants connected to the Governor, having them passing at night ostentatiously by these places (*ibid*, 359).

The D. Fr. Vitoriano died at 21st of January of 1705 in the Episcopal Palace, provoking instantaneously a large agglomeration of people coming to the Palace, having been necessary to barricade the rooms to avoid damages (*ibid*, 363).

For several years, it was attempted to rebuild this symbol of dignity, probably driven by the main force of residence necessity for the head of the Bishopric, which was only partly fulfilled through the farm in *Trindade*.

The Episcopal Palace, seemingly rebuilt or at least functional again ten years after its destruction, was in 1722, under the Bishop D. Fr. José de Santa Maria de Jesus, the arena for the assignment of an agreement called 'friendship and composition' between the Governor António Vieira and the *ouvidor*, who was back upped by the Municipal Camera, Manuel Carneiro Ramos. The Bishop related the occurred to the *Conselho Ultramarino* (*ibid*, 377).

From 1755 on, under the Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente, the Episcopal Palace lost its main residence function by the Bishop leaving in 1755 to St.° Antão Island where he remained till his death in January 1774. He emptied it partly by taking with him a lot of ornaments and valorous books from the mitre. From that date, most Bishops never would come to reside in the Episcopal Palace and prefer to live outside the Island of Santiago. The consequence was its complete ruin. As it was led, by the date of Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente's departure, literally '(...) with the windows and doors wide open' (*ibid*, 333). This act of abandonment of the seat of the Bishopric even unpleased the the Marquês de Pombal (*ibid*, 398). We can only assume that locals, assaulting, robbing and ripping of the construction material, would have simply disrespect its already vanishing ecclesiastic symbolism.

Still in 1779, it was made an attempt to restore the Episcopal Palace (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 77). Another attempt was done in 1826, under the Bishop D. Fr. Jerónimo do Barco (*ibid*, 330).It never went to he inhabited by any Bishop again (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 333).

The Episcopal Palace of Ribeira Grande rarely served as a fix domicile for the Bishops, only serving occasionally as temporary residency, mostly when they came to it for the season of the most important liturgical festivals of the year (*ibid*, 367).

3.4 The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Holy Mother of Rosary)

'Round about 1495 is dated the beginning of construction of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do* Rosário' (Pereira, 1988, 45).

By *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* being the patron Saint of the Confraternity of the black men of the city, this would have given to this Church the main symbolist importance, so that it were mostly native Africans which helped to built it up. Its Confraternity was constituted mostly by black men, in similarity to what could be verified in Lisbon. It was also the seat of the Confraternity of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* which must have been '(...) the oldest one of which we have knowledge in Cape Verde' (Pereira, 2005, 353). As such it had a major-domo, from whom we know that during the second decade of the 17th century he was called Diogo Jorge (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol.II, 473).

The importance of position of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* between the churches of Ribeira Grande would have been of distinction, so that the Portuguese Jesuit priest António Vieira, on his way to Brazil, choose it to give mass in it in 1652 (Pereira, 2004, n.p.). And in 1778, the image of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* had been transferred to the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, due to the ruined state of the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, where these masses originally had been hold (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol.I, 74).

It had been also a place for testamentary laying-downs, connected to *aforramentos*. So did Catarina Fernandes, wife of Diogo Ximenes, declare in her testament that she would let become *forra* her slave Theadósia, *ladina*, of *bijagó* lineage, such as Maria, her daughter. She added further on, that

> 'they are obliged in mind to live (...) and to sweep and to water the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* of this city (...), give every Monday of the year one *vintém* of olive oil to light the lamp of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*' and 'all the years by month of the dead to order to say by the soul of her (...) six praised masses' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 349).

The tombstones, with exception of some of them which are not of its origin, which we can find today in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, indicate us that it had been burial place for several Prelates. But it was also known as the preferred burial place to be indicated by rich farm owners in their testaments, such as it was for some noblemen. As such, the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* came up to be called also the 'Church of the notables' (*ibid*, 382).

- D. João Parvi, second Bishop of Cape Verde and first one to take residence there, died in the Bishopric at 29th of November of 1546 (according to one author of a manuscript, BNL, B-8-60). Nicoláo Clenardo dates his death at the 21st of December. He was buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, from were he was transferred to the Cathedral, where his tomb lies today, next to the stand of the Choir, covering the tomb of the Bishop D. Fr. Victoriano Portuense (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 119);

- the Jesuit priest Manuel Fernandes, dying at 16th of August of 1604 at the very beginning of the mission of the Jesuits in Cape Verde, was buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, right in front of the pulpit (*ibid*, 176);

- the Jesuit Priest Baltasar Barreira, who died at 4th of June of 1612, had requested still in life to be buried in the Hermitage of *S. Brás*. This wasn't possible due to the fact that the Hermitage was constructed and placed on rocks So he accepted the offer of the main treasurer Nicolau Borges to be buried in the Chapel this one possessed in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 170);

- the Bishop D. Fr. Sebastião de Ascensão dies at 18th of March of 1614, having been buried in the 'Church of most prestige in Ribeira Grande', the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 404);

- the Bishop D. Fr. António de Dionísio died at 13th of September of 1685, having been buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 345, 346).

Its symbolic value for the black and Creole inhabitants of Ribeira Grande, due to its Patron Saint of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, must have been one of the main reasons which made the Church did survive till our days.

3.5 The Convent of *S. Francisco*

The Church and Convent of *S. Francisco*, constructed from c. 1657 on and initially seemingly denominated as Convent of *Senhora da Piedade*, was determined to serve for the stay of the Franciscan *Capuchins* friars, which came from the year of 1646 on to Ribeira Grande, substituting the Jesuit priest which had abandoned their mission in 1642.

It was given to them in 1640 an initial sustain through a donation of a rich widow of the Island of Santiago (Pereira, 1988, 69), them having been sent under protection of the King D. João IV who also helped to install the Convent and who worked hard for the conservation of the faith (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 219). Regularly through their mission, ordinaries and eventual gains had been given every year from the national treasury for their sustain such as they have been given for the conservation of the Convent (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 277, 278).

Franciscans, nominated by the provincial of Lagos, were sent to Ribeira Grande in 1656, such as eight *Capuchins* Religious, of the province of *Piedade,* in 1657. These served in the education of the people (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 249). What is not clearly identifiable is if the 'ten *Capuchins* Religious, of the provinces of *Piedade*, of *Beira* and *Minho*, (...) sent to the mission of Cape Verde (...)' (*ibid*, 271) are the before mentioned ones. It comes mentioned that. each one of them had 25$000 *réis* of salary per annum, being disposable 8$000 *réis* more of Charity for all, coming out of the *dizimo* of fishing (*id*).

They had to pay 12$000 *réis* of annual rent to the *morgado* of *Casa dos Mosquitos* for the houses and kitchen-yard which were given to them (*ibid*, 255).

Their position and influence in Ribeira Grande became enforced by the Bishop Fr. António de S. Dionísio, by this being Franciscan religious such as Master of sacred theology (*ibid*, 271). He came to the Bishopric in 1676.

Also the next Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense, reaching Santiago at 17th of April of 1688, was Franciscan, and as such proceeded, as one of the first symbolic acts, to visit the Convent of *S. Francisco*, There he asked for *cell* (lodging of a Religious in a Convent) to the Guardian. This seems to have been a symbolic act. But it is also very probable that he already knew some of the Friars from the times of studies and profession in the Convents of the province of Soledade, in Portugal. 'This so created strategic alliance will be a constant during his episcopate' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 347).

He delineated a peculiar tactic for choosing the parochial Clergy, nominating always Franciscan Friars for these offices, as he also had been friar of the Province of *Soledade*. This was the only way that he, by his own words, would feel peaceful. More then fifteen of such nominations are documented, having been the rule the service of two friars for two or three years in a parish council of one island, changing afterwards to a new turn on another island (*ibid*, 360, 361). This way, he achieved the filling of the parish net of the Island of Santiago, the *Barlavento* (windward) Islands and the Rivers of Guinea with the Capuchins friars of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (*ibid*, 365). This benevolent situation did probably extend till the stay of the next Bishop D. Francisco de Santo Agostinho (1709-1719), he himself being a Franciscan, of the *ordem terceira* (third order).

But this favorable situation didn't last for long time, having in mind the reaching of the Bishop D. Fr. José de Santa Maria to Santiago in 1722, finding only four friars in the Convent of *S. Francisco*, having a lot of the temples on the other Islands no parish priests for long periods of time (*ibid*, 376). This Bishop, in 1732, by crossing information occasionally with sailors of a ship of the kingdom towards Guinea, had been informed that the King had given the charge of the Grammatik and Latin lessons to the priests of the Convent, due to insistent request of the ouvidor José da Costa Ribeiro. He subsequently manifested twice his disagreement with this decision, the last one in 1734, towards Lisbon (*ibid*, 387).

Returning in time to the episcopate of the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano again, the Convent of *S. Francisco* became stage of a conflict between ecclesiastic and civil power. Due to the constant conflict between the Bishop and the Governor, this one avoiding going to official masses to the Cathedral, fearing that the Prelate would censure him publicly. So he went to the Convent to listen to the masses, where again and again came up the 'war of the chairs' due to the Capuchins being the most faithful allied to the Bishop (*ibid*, 358). This one himself used the Convent of *S. Francisco*, beside the Episcopal Palace as mentioned before, for spiritual exercises, fasting and other abstinences between 1702 and 1705 (*ibid*, 362, 363).

The Convent and its Franciscan friars come mentioned in the report about the attack of the French Corsairs to Ribeira Grande in 1712. The Religious of the Convent were taken by the enemies on board of their ships,

> '(...) where they were treated with all disrespect, passing a lot of hunger, and thirst, and not little insults, exercising this night in the most armed robberies, such as of profane things, as there were artillery, and war equipments, such as in the sacred things, ornaments, bells, without mercy of nothing, and with most

> excess in the Convent, which stayed without anything and devastated in all' (Casar apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 142, 143).

As the friars of the Convent had always stayed in the city, two of them were kidnapped to the board of the French ships, assisting the burnings in the city (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 371).

Another quarrelsome incident, happened in February of 1728, involved the Convent of *S. Francisco*: during a conflict between the Governor and the *ouvidor*, this one, together with his brother, had seek refuge in the Convent, both being killed on its steps, at sight of the friars (*ibid*, 381).

Seemingly, the influence of the friars of the Convent of *S. Francisco* rose again trough António de Barros Bezerra de Oliveira, knight of the *Ordem de Cristo*, nicknamed 'King of the island', who came from one of the most powerful families in Cape Verde during the 18th century and had been soldier to the King, Captain and later on Colonel of Infantry, oldest Judge of the Municipal Camera of Ribeira Grande. He was elected in 1757 *síndico* (individual elected between the members of an association or of a class to defend their interests) of the Religious of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (*ibid*, 362, 363). Having had at this time all the civil and military power of the Islands, he enjoyed as such the usufruct of the confidence of the Religious of the Convent, having as relatives several canons of the Island (*ibid*, 311). The friars would have benefited from this relationship.

In the decades of the fiftieth and sixtieth of the 18th century, according to the Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente, the Island of Santiago was the one which was finding itself in the best situation of spiritual assistance, being present the friars of the Convent of *S. Francisco*, beside the Chapter and twelve parish Priests (*ibid*, 398).

Another incident, during the second half of the 18th century, made out of the Convent a again stage of conflict: in 1785, the Provincial Commissary and friar Fr. Manuel de Lordello wanted to make a revolution inside the Convent, complaining to the Governor about the guardian which he accused of alternating the divine offices, asking for him to be arrested and hand over to the Prelate or to his Majesty. As answer, the Governor gave orders at the 19th of July to some officials and soldiers to enclose the Convent, to arrest him and to bring him on board of the Galley *Nossa Senhora da Nazareth*. The rest of the friars put themselves on watch, while the Provincial fled to Praia and the Guardian, after cracking the religious strongbox and stealing 180$000 *réis*, fled with some others on horses, armed with rifles. Before, the Guardian had ordered to put fire to the oven, trying to put the Convent on fire, such as cutting down the sugar cane from the kitchen yard, destroying and taking a lot of things from the Convent (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 96).

It was exactly during the second half of the 18th century, under the reign of D. João V, that the Religious of the Convent and the Chapter lived in great disharmony. The Religious found themselves in the right to be provided through the Bishop in the two disciplines of Moral and Latin Grammar, which had been created already by permit of D. João III, dated from 12th of March of 1555 and which led to the conflict already in 1732, as seen before. This permit also gave the Bishops the right to nominate the ones they would understand to be the right ones, and mostly was elected regular and not secular clergy. D. João V didn't contradict the Chapter, which could fundament so well its opinion not to put the Religious of the Convent in charge (*ibid*, 75).

It seems that the Franciscans never came up to teach. Having in mind the general plan of the regular reformation by extinction of the Religious of *S. Francisco*, the Governor insisted in 1825 with the Government that there should be given the Convent for the purpose to serve as Seminary, reason for which it had been originally conceded to the Religious send to the missions at the coast of Africa (*ibid*, 291). The Franciscans must have left Ribeira Grande already before, as the Bishop D. Fr. Jeronymo, being in Ribeira Grande at 30th of June of 1823, already asked the sovereign Congress to handle over to him the Convent for a Seminary (*ibid*, 277, 278).

3.6 The Church/Chapel *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (Holy Mother of Conception)

Seemingly, the Church/Chapel *N.ª S:ª da Conceição* would have been constructed in between 1466 and 1470, ordered by the Infant D. Fernando and 'raised under evocation of the Holy Spirit' (Pereira, 2005, 39). Gomes Catão (Gomes Catão in *Studia*, N.º 19, 1966, 94) mentions that the chapel/church '(...) was dedicated to *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and was, for a long time, the most important *povoação* of the archipelago'. (Note: *povoação*, which normally means settlement, in this case is used in the sense of *lugarejo*, which means 'small place').

It is quite possible that, if it really had been raised under evocation of the Holy Spirit (*Espírito Santo*), it has been the several times indicated Church of *Espírito Santo*, from whose existence is given us an account till the year of 1533 (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 382). This would justify the observation of de Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos apud Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 376) that 'the Church of *Espírito Santo* would have been ordered to be constructed by initiative of the Infant D. Fernando, between 1466 and 1470, and would have been concluded (...) round about 1500 (...)'.

As it is possible for chapels or churches to have been changed their denomination during the passing of time, through local occurrences and new invocations, initiated by the transportation into them of new images of Patron Saints, in this case it would have been during the first half of the 16th century that the Chapel/Church of *Espírito Santo* would have become the Chapel/Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*.

Three supporting arguments can be given:

If the Chapel/Church had really been raised under invocation of *Espírito Santo* (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 39), then it would have been denominated with the same name; Without doubt, the cult of *Espírito Santo* had a major importance in Santiago and was common to all Islands assisted by the *Ordem de Cristo* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 122).

It is the Virgin that conceived from the Holy Spirit ('conception' means *Conceição*), so that there is a very direct link.

It was the ' (...) Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, the oldest and most historical one of the Island, erected under the protection of the House of the Infant (...)' in which, as 'in each church of the lands of Guinea (...)', the obligation of the masses had been recommended by the Infant D. Henrique in his testament '(...) and the commemoration should be [done] to the *Santo Spiritu* (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 74).

In her should be celebrated sixty masses for the soul of the Infant D. Henrique, paid by the Royal treasury (*id*). These masses would have been hold still at the beginning of the 16th century, and 'while there was the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, they were hold there by the Dean, and by his missing by the *capitulares*, changing in between them every week' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 120).

Three Franciscan *terceiros* reached in Santiago in the year 1636, with the purpose to erect a Convent in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, which had been ceded to them locally to start their missionary activities (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 412).

The Chapel/Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* must have been as such an important ecclesiastic building in Ribeira Grande till the 18th century. So it is to read that, in the year of 1778, at 24th of April, 'it didn't seem right to the Governor of Ribeira Grande that this 'small temple' would be extinguished from the memory and devotion of the inhabitants of the Island, which had been very rich through the offers and donations of the devote people (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 74). The Church had been in a advanced ruined state, and the cult was celebrated in the Cathedral, having gone the image of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* to the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (*id*).

Its inventory was missing (*id*), which also in this case would have been sequence of the disastrous attack of the French Corsairs in 1712, so that there didn't exist any script or any other document referred to it '(...) because of the two invasions of the French, which burned the old registry offices of Ribeira Grande' (*id*).

But seemingly, during the 18th century, its importance must have decreased, and its maintenance must have been sort of negligent, because its richness had been already spread around in the hands of a lot and variety of people, also due to a caretaker who wouldn't have looked after (*id*). Even its caretaker or owner was already unknown, because it was ordered to the Governor that he 'should inform to whom the chapel belongs' (*id*).

If the attempts to re-construct the Church during the second half of the 18th century had been successful, or if the orders to do so had been fulfilled, is unknown (see next chapter) (*ibid*, 77, 79). But certainly, the 'small temple' in fact would have been extinguished from the memory and devotion of the inhabitants of the Island not much afterwards.

Madeira Santos (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 289) mentions that, by referring to the city of Ribeira Grande as having been in large part the one '(...) of the *vizinhos*, this means the ones which possessed in its terms original goods, is the one of which live in *Rua de Banana*, sustain the Confraternities, distribute sumptuously their richness and leave their bodies buried in the churches, most frequently in the one of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, for memory of the future ones'.

So did several rural land owners of Santiago ask in their testament to be buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, a whish that seemed to be normal in between them:

- Duarte Rodrigues, institutor of the Chapel *da Nora* in *S. Domingos*, did plan in detail his future burial in his testament. He said, after he had declared himself being a good and faithful Christian, the following: 'I want my body to be buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da*

Conceição of this city (Ribeira Grande), in the Chapel where lies buried my wife Catharina d'Andrade and my daughter Polônia, tomb I've paid to the Bishop (...)' (AHN, Livro de Registo dos Vínculos da Ilha de Santiago apud Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 342);

- Rui Barraca, owner of the lands of *Garçottes* and *Montanha*, declares in his testament the will to be buried in the referred church. Such did Gomes Nova (senior) and his wife Catarina Fernandes, institutor of the Chapel of *Chuva-Chove*, that 'if God makes service to take them away from this present life, want and order that their bodies will be buried in the Church of *Nossa Senhora* of this city (...)' (*ibid*, 342);

- another one buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* was the Colonel Manuel Franco da Silva from the 2nd Regiment of the city. In 1728, he was involved in the death of the *ouvidor* Sebastião Bravo Botelho. He was married to D. Margarida Pedrosa de Andrade, natural from the Island of Santiago, and had 6 children with her. He was administrator of the goods inherited by his wife from her father, the Captain of horses João Barbosa Barros, in between them three chapels (one in *Picos da Casa*, one in *Flamengos* and one in *Furna*). He died in 1732 and was buried at the 15th of August. (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 297).

Note: the date could be wrong, because further in the text we can find the following text about him: At 15th of October of 1732, the Colonel of the Militia of Santiago, Manuel Franco da Silva, is buried by the Chapter in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, having been the main Captain of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* in Ribeira Grande during the attack of the French General Jaques Cassard in 1712 (*ibid*, 310).

3.7 The Jesuit College/*Casa*/Seminary

The complicated and sometimes even contradictory information which reached our days about the constructing or not of a Seminary, College, *Casa professa* or residency for the Jesuits will be discussed in the next chapter.

Sure is for what it was aimed for, how we can read in a letter dated from the 6th of May of 1596, where the King D. Filipe II ordered to governors of the Kingdom to obtain religious which would wanted to found a College in Santiago, with the 200$000 *réis* which already have been given for the Seminary, '(...) to help the Christians and to serve for conversion of the people which were very disposable to receive the Holy Gospels' (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 176).

For this, at 18th of June of 1600, the King asked the provincial to send a mission to Cape Verde. Meanwhile, the *Mesa de Consciência* refereed for it's sustain the 200$000 *réis* which had been designated for the Seminary, including to obtain books in between other materials (de Senna Barcelos, *id*).

Indecisive between the former decision of installing a College or, shortly later, a residency for the Jesuits, the crown decides in 1604 that it should have ten or twelve priests with the function of confessing and converting the people of the islands and the Guinea Coast, and that it should have an amount of 1000 *réis*, from which eight should reside at the Guinea Coast, and that the governor and the Jesuits in Cape Verde were in charge of it (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 439).

From circa 1610 on, the finances, aimed to pay the Jesuit priests and the rest of the clergy, are not paid with regularity any more, which also influences the initially insistent position of wanting to found a Jesuitical Institute (*ibid*, 440).

The undefined situation continued during the next years of the mission, this one being more and more abandoned and disappointed of the results and increasing difficulties facing (*ibid*, 441). Round about 1630, the Kingdom abandoned completely the idea of implementing an institute of the order in Cape Verde It was at that time, Ribeira Grande being inhabited only by less than 35 people, impossible to preach '(...) the mass at the same day in two churches (in the Cathedral and in the Chapel of the Jesuits), by not existing enough listeners for two preachers' (*ibid*, 463). Till the abandonment of the mission in 1642, silence reigned about the question of the construction of an institute for the Jesuits (*ibid*, 441, 442).

Nevertheless, the discussion of founding a residency house let in 1607 priest Baltasar Barreira, in his preliminary descriptions about it, include a chapel (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 158).

To maintain the residency, he thought that there would be necessary the coming of eighteen or twenty Jesuits, of which six would work at the Guinea Coast and the rest would lecture and do pastoral activities on the Islands (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 158).

But already in 1611, Baltasar Barreira affirms tremendous difficulties and delays in receiving the stipulated money of the annual applicable amount for its maintenance (*ibid*, 158, 159).

Meanwhile, they used the Hermitage of *S. Brás*, localized in the part of town of *S. Brás* in the neighbourhood of their new residency, to pray and confess, such as to teach the doctrine (*ibid*, 159). Baltasar Barreira manifested himself satisfied related to the frequency of the people who came to the small Church which the Jesuits had now disposable (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 164).

The Crown assumed the main responsibility to sustain the Missionaries, which meant *um conto de réis* (one million *réis*) of which one part should be applied for the Jesuits themselves (Da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 167).

The goods asked by the Jesuits to be send from Lisbon include, beside construction materials, food, products for tailors and books (*ibid*, 169).

In the summarized list about the state of Christianity in the Diocese of Cape Verde can be read in 1621 that '(...) the Priests of the Company (...) occupy themselves in the city in the priesthood, and sometimes they go in mission to the other Islands' (Brásio, 1552, 2.ª série, Vol. IV, 663).

Seemingly for self-sustain, the Missionaries had a garden inside the city, as he mentions 'our vegetable garden which we have inside the city', referring to grapes, other fruits and even flowers. And at 6th of February of 1625, the Jesuit priest Sebastião Gomes, resident in Ribeira Grande, writes about the fact that his mission had given lodge to some noblemen on their way to Brazil (Brásio, 1552, 2.ª série, Vol. V, 72).

The King, at 23rd of September of 1625, expressed his preoccupation about the spiritual assistance in the Diocese of Cape Verde, for what he ordered, by letter, to proceed with the execution of the College, which the religious of the Company of Jesus should have at the Islands and Cacheu, without delay, '(...) to avoid damages to the spiritual service of the souls' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 211).

In a report from the Jesuit Priest Sebastião Gomes, dated from 1629, he mentions the arrogance of the Governors such as of the Bishops (Brásio apud Pereira, 1988, 67). In 1637, he continuous to describe a negative picture of the situation in Ribeira Grande, complaining, in between other points, about the absence of people (Pereira, *ibid*, 68, 69).

But at the end, the Mission with its first aims of teaching, praying and giving spiritual assistance to the souls seemed to have been, even with tremendous difficulties mainly due financial problems and not because of problems in spiritual assistance, in certain way well succeeded. So is mentioned that still in 1647, by the decree of 48th of June, six religious of the Company were send to Cape Verde to preserve the Christianity, being disposed for their sustain 1000 *cruzados per annum*, to be paid in advance. It was recommended that this payment should not be missing them, reason why the Religious of the Company had left Cape Verde, '(...) where they had given good service, creating a Seminary near the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* in the city' (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 235).

3.8 The Seminary

The question of founding a Seminary in Cape Verde came up already from the 16th century on, and '(...) even it reached the point to found an establishment for the training of the clergy but, by one motive or another, this one was going downhill and even extinguished' (Gomes Catão in *Studia*. N.º 9, 1966, 111). The Bishop D. Fr. Francisco Cruz, through a permit from the 10th of January of 1570, obtains an amount of 100$000 *réis* for provisions for his *Provisor* and general Vicar, but only in case of them having residence in the Bishopric, if not it should be applied to the Seminary. Another letter, dated from the 12th of January of the same year, contains the order to erect a Seminary with the donation of 200$000 *réis per annum*, coming from the Royal treasury (de Senna Bracelos, 2003, Vol. I, 120, 121). De Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 139) confirms: 'By a Royal letter of 12th of January of 1570 was created a Seminary in Cape Verde, which never had been realized'. Only at the end of the 19th century would be erected finally a Seminary on the island of S. Nicolau.

In 1570, the achievement of the Bishop D. Francisco da Cruz of opening the possibility for local naturals to apply to vacancies of the clergy in Ribeira Grande, lead to the order of King D. Sebastião to initiate the construction of the local Seminary. The aim of this institution was to provide locals with the convenient religious education and solid teaching in Latin, Grammar and Moral Theology or Cases of Conscience. Young boys, chosen by the Bishop himself, who hold the governing and administration of the referred institution, should be instructed immediately. A financial donation of 200.000 *réis* is consignated at costs of the income which the *Ordem de Cristo* detained at the Island of Santiago. The Bishop was in charge to watch over this amount, which was determined for the convenient sustain of the Masters and Collegial people of the Seminary. These determinations wouldn't be realized during nearly four centuries, till the end of the 19th century, and as such didn't pass as a mere creation on paper. Meanwhile, other diverse solutions for the education of the local clergy were found (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 387, 388).

This dignified Prelate, also called the *homem santo* (saint man), created also '(...) a school, a matter at which nobody had thought till the discovery' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 121). To confirm this observation, we could not obtain any further information about this issue.

In 1604, the Kingdom abandoned the idea of a construction of a Seminary in Cape Verde, so that the Missionaries of Cape Verde see themselves disobliged of the former incumbency (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 439). The initial idea of Seminary was transformed into the idea of a College, which was reduced then to a residency of the Jesuit priests or even, as mentioned, a *Casa Professa*. Even though, the idea of creating a proper Seminary survived the stay of the Jesuits, which abandoned the Mission in Cape Verde finally in 1642.

During the year of 1702, the Bishop D. Frei Vitoriano insisted with the King to put in execution the construction of the Seminary of Santiago, by finding it very convenient for the service of god (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 360). He considered that the only hope of the Prelates of Cape Verde would be the creation of a Seminary, where at least could be formed ten priests able to assist spiritually in the matrix churches. By doing so, he took again the old but always delayed question of the construction of a Seminary in Cape Verde, which already had been ordered in 1570 by the King D. Sebastião, in sequence of the directives of the Council of Trento. Already from 1696 on, he had represented several times to the King the indispensability of the creation of this School for priests. He proposed to apply the income of the Windward Islands for over ten years in one part for the payment of the Masters in teaching Moral theology and Latin. Even though the *Conselho Ultramarino* rejected this proposal, the King decided in 1698 to do the construction through the Council of the treasury.

D. Frei Vitoriano initiated the construction of this pedagogic institution by own expenses (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 361, 362), giving it an even higher and more central importance by adapting the habitation zone of the Episcopal Palace for its construction (*ibid*, 367). But it couldn't be concluded before the Bishops' death (*ibid*, 362).

The Bishop D. Fr Jeronymo do Barco (1821-1827) asked in 1823 the supreme congress, to handle over to him the Convent to be used as Seminary, beside the *ordinaries* and other salaries which the national treasury had been given every year for the conservation of the Convent and sustain of its religious (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 277).

In 1825, the Governor insisted with the Government that there should be given the Convent for the purpose to serve as Seminary, reason for which he had been originally conceded to the Religious send to the missions at the coast of Africa (*ibid*, 291).

At 9th of March, such as at 28th of May of the year of 1824, the Bishop proposed to create a Seminary in the city of Ribeira Grande, on his own expense and costs (*ibid*, 291). At 4th of November, the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* informed that his offer should be accepted, so that the Bishop started with the Seminary at 8th of March of 1825 (*id*). By the provision of 20th of October of 1721, there already existed two classes: one of Moral and one of Latin, earning the master of the first one 80$000 *réis per annum*, and the one of the second one 60$000 *réis per annum* (*ibid*, 326). But the governor insisted on the Government to give the Convent of the Franciscan friars for this porpoise, '(...) reason for which the Convent had been originally conceded to the Religious send to the missions at the coast of Africa' (*ibid*, 291).

In 1826 and 1827, the Bishop D. Fr. Jeronymo made the Seminary. This one didn't reach the stage to be opened, due to never having been provided and the fact that the Bishop had to remove himself as deputy to the general court. One reason for the collapse of the Seminary was that there never had been inaugurated the classes. Only in 1866, with the transfer of the Diocese to the Island of S. Nicolau, the Bishop D. José Luiís Alves Feijó would found the Seminary-High school *S. José*, in the town of Ribeira Brava on the Island of S. Nicolau. Till the republican period, this institution functioned as the most important source of the insular education and of the irradiation of the Church (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 333).

3.9 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*

In 1542, a letter from Jorge Vaz, writer from the *feitoria*, relates about a sickness of the throat having been in Ribeira Grande in the same year, so that the inhabitants constructed '(...) *casa* and *vocação* [church or chapel under the invocation] of the well adventured *S. Braz*, which didn't exist on this Island' (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 116).

Beside having been originally constructed under invocation of *S. Brás*, due to a throat sickness, it served for the Jesuits as their main chapel, due to the fact of lying in the neighbourhood of their houses in the part of town with the same name, it having been '(...) an Hermitage in which they accommodate themselves largely (...)' (Pereira, 1988, 66, 67) to pray and confess, such as to teach the doctrine (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 159).

It must have been well frequented, because the Jesuit priest Baltasar Barreira wrote: '(...) this is enough to attract a lot of people to our church' (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 164).

3.10 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Gonçalo*

The directly to the Governors house connected localization of the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* (Pereira, 2004, n.p.) indicates us that it must have had as main function to serve as private Chapel for the changing Governors inside the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* during its functioning period of time.

As such it also assured the at least minimal spiritual assistance and protection for the in the Fortress installed garrisons and inhabitants, latter ones aimed to come inside the Fortress in case of Ribeira Grande being attacked by Corsairs.

Seemingly it also served the Jesuits at the very beginning of their Mission in Cape Verde, as it is mentioned that, after installing themselves for a short period of time inside the Fortress, they '(...) prepared instantly a chapel to held the mass, and to administrate the Sacraments (...)' (Pereira, 1988, 105, 106).

3.11 The Church of *S. Pedro*

No information about the functional and symbolic role of the Church of *S. Pedro* could be found out through the accessible documentation.

The only reference we have is that it served as one of the urban reference points of the planned defence of Ribeira Grande against the expected attack of the French Corsairs in 1712 (Casar apud Pereira, 1988, 131).

3.12 The Chapel of *S. Roque*

No written information about this building, its functional use or symbolic value could be found in the accessible documentation. The only indication we have is its invocation under *S. Roque*, as seen before.

3.13 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St. º Antônio*

The Chapel/Hermitage of *St. º António* served originally as a place of cult for the brought image of *St. º António*, and its invocation for protection against a demoniac spirit.

Seemingly it fulfilled its functional and symbolic role, because it was the believe of the population that, after the arrival of the image, 'the islands are very healthy and without sick persons' (Pêro de Guimarães apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 378). Inside the Chapel/Hermitage were celebrated masses of devotion to the Saint (Pêro de Guimarães apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 378).

It is to suppose that it, during the centuries, also served for the garrison of the Fort of *St.º António*, being its localization in its immediate roundabouts, as seen before.

3.14 The Church of *Monte Alverne*

No written information about this building, its functional use or symbolic value could be found in the accessible documentation. The only helpful indication about this church is its denomination, as seen before.

3.15 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*

No other information about this chapel/hermitage, beside its invocation(s), is available through the accessible information, concerning its functional and symbolic roles.

3.16 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*

We can only suppose by the localization of the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*, '(...) the bulwark of *S. Lourenço*, which was at the door of *Santa Martha* (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 259), that it served, such as did also the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º António* on the eastern side of Ribeira Grande, as the place of cult for the fort of *S. Lourenço* and its garrison.

3.17 The Chapel of *S. Sebastião*

There is the slight possibility that this chapel, if considered as one of the very first ones of Ribeira Grande, looking at its possible implementation area , 'at the hill, at the west side,

dominating the settlement [or court], was lying the Chapel of *São Sebastião* (...)' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 21), and its invocation, '(...) Saint of protection from the illnesses, which darkened the collective existence' (*id*), could have been a precarious 'chapel-hut' with thatched roof, raised immediately after the settlement process started to protect the population.

If not, it could have been raised, under the same Patron Saint, any time later, due to the unhealthy climate known in Ribeira Grande which affected the population severely during the centuries.

3.18 The Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit)

'In 1503 is mentioned in Ribeira Grande the Church of *Espírito Santo*' (Gomes Catão in *Studia*, N.º 19, 1966, 94).

If it is the case that the Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* is further on the same as of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, it would have been '(...) raised under evocation of the Holy Spirit' (Pereira, 2005, 39). Its Patron Saint was the *Espírito Santo*, which cult had, as already mentioned, a major importance in Santiago and was common to all Islands assisted by the *Ordem de Cristo* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 122). It is to suppose that the invocation of the Holy Spirit, such as its importance, was directly connected to the masses ordered by Infant D. Henrique to be hold for his soul and which '(...) should be [done] to the *Santo Spiritu* (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 74).

As such, it would have had a major functional and symbolic importance in between the first chapels/churches raised.

In this church, from the very beginning on, was also paid tribute to the cult of *St.º António*, whose image had been brought to the Island of Santiago by the *corregedor* Pêro de Guimarães. Rodrigo de Vilharem, a rich Castellan and inhabitant in Santiago, ordered to construct '(...) a chapel in the Church of *Espírito Santo* in this town, where should be sung to him all days a prayed mass and should be made him certain expenses and charities and gifts' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 121, 122). And the image was deposited in the Church of *Espírito Santo* till the Hermitage of *St.º António* had been constructed.

He left as his executer of the dispositions of his testament, and also as administrator of the referred chapel, Inhego Ortiz. The testament says that, as he has no heir to whom he could inherit his farm, he determined to edify a chapel in the Church of *Sancti Spiritu* of Ribeira Grande, to which he would leave his farm, and that his executor should construct it immediately and ornament it, making sing a mass continuously and forever. This executor, such as his follower Estevam Rodrigues, didn't fulfil the will of the author of the testament. The king D. Manuel finally ordered to make the Chapel in 1515 and that there should be sung the mass for the soul of Rodrigo de Villaraam (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 83-85).

In 1533 is still mentioned the church by saying that '(...) Afonso Martins is beneficiary of the active Church of *Espírito Santo* in Ribeira Grande' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 382).

Chapter 5: The construction, restoration and maintenance of the Religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

1 Influence factors for construction phases, maintenance and abandonment

1.1 The first religious buildings

The first Missionaries which entered in Cape Verde, from 1462 or 1466 on, were two Franciscans, which '(...) immediately constructed a house out of branches and earth, beside of it constructing an oratory out of the same materials, where they celebrated' (Pereira, 2005, 39). We think that this describes exactly the way the religious buildings must have been like at the very beginning, sometimes not even a finished building but a wall or just a cross in a detached place, or being quite primitive constructions not differing much as such from the habitation 'huts' built up quickly. They were, due to still missing construction officials and specialized workmanship, appropriate materials and construction plans, probably precarious constructions made out of local material as loose accumulated basalt stones, partly filled in with earth, wooden ship planks or branches for doors and brushwood and straw for covering. As constructive reference for them was probably nothing else existing as the collective Christian memory of the Catholic places of cult.

We have no further record of these first constructions in Ribeira Grande, but, as settlement happened in a similar way but later in time on other Islands, for these we can find confirmed our observations. On the Islands of *Barlavento* (windward Islands), with the Islands of Santo Antão, S. Vicente, Santa Luzia, S. Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista, we can find described that there did exist, since the first waves of settlement, '(...) small temples of inferior quality, a lot of times in form of church-thatched hut (...)' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 403). Lots of them were ornamented and given liturgical utensils by visiting or passing priests in between 1680-1750 (*id*).

The Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente, who established himself on the Island of St.º Antão during the beginning of the second half of the 18th century, was responsible for erecting and re-constructing lots of churches and chapels on the Islands of St.º Antão, S. Nicolau and Boa Vista. This shows us that how, still at that time, about three hundred years after the beginning of settlement on the Cape Verde Islands, a lot of places of cult had been little more than huts. As example can be given the re-erecting of the matrix Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, in the Villa of Ribeira Brava, which he ordered to floor with wood and to cover with roof tiles, it having been before 'a small temple covered with straw' (*ibid*, 402). As curiosity, he had been accused by the local Governor of buying the most part of the woods from a shipwrecked French vessel in S. Vicente, aimed to be used for the constructions in St.º Antão Island (*ibid*, 404).

These former precarious temples would have been re-constructed with '(...) firm materials and more widened ground plans' (*ibid*, 402). This is the case how it would have happened in Ribeira Grande with the first religious buildings. But to happen so, it took several years till the local society with its ecclesiastic structure was established and the traffic with shiploads of specific construction material and classified workmen came to circulate. Another important

determent factor which influenced the time a construction would take was, obviously, the access to the financial resources. We have, already in the 17th century, as example the *Casa* that should be built up by the Jesuits, '(...) for whose construction was calculated a time of twenty or thirty years, due to the disposable funds' (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 158, 159). Financial restrictions would demand alternative solutions, as it is in the case of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, erected on the Island of St.º Antão by the Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente, substituting the '(...) chiselled stones from the Kingdom, limiting it to stone, clay and tile' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 401).

In case of partial or total re-construction of already built up churches, we will see later that this happened mostly as a consequence of former degradation or ruin of its structure, seemingly caused by lack of maintenance or, in special, after the occurred pillages and destructions suffered though attacks of Corsairs during centuries, from the beginning of the 16th century on. On the other hand, the enlargement or, as it was the case of the Cathedral, the reduction or alteration of its ground plan would be influenced by the change of importance of the church or of the disposable funds and of the sustain of the locals or the Kingdom itself.

Referring to the degradation of the religious buildings, such as to the extreme carency or bad state of the liturgical utensils, this is in special notable from the first decade of the 17th century on, due to increasing stagnation of the commercial and financial situation of Cape Verde and connected to the repeating occurring delays of payments of the ecclesiastic structure itself (Madeira Santos, Vol. II, 2001, 405).

Meanwhile, the ornamentation, re-ornamentation and equipping with liturgical utensils such as furnishing seemed also to follow the rhythm of cyclic requests of the ecclesiastics, mostly to the Kingdom, as it did include local transfers from one religious building to another. But also in this case, occurred pillages obliged to several and drastic intervenient measures.

Chapels themselves were, beside the obvious Royal implantation of places of cult inside a predominant Catholic overseas society, consequence of private donations, of necessity of protection from illnesses or even against superstitious threats, as it is the case we have seen before with several chapels.

The construction of churches and chapels, the sending of missionaries to give religious assistance to the Catholics and to convert the native Africans, such as the maintenance of the ecclesiastic structure was depending of the administrator of the *Ordem de Cristo*, who's everlasting governors and administrators were the members of the *casa de Avis* in their quality as Kings of Portugal (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 120, 121).

The construction of the parish churches and the other places of cult was an officially adjusted issue, the *empreitada* (contract job/enterprise/venture) having been handled over to the proposal which would fulfil best the pre-established requirements. But also the local community was strongly involved by collaborating in the construction and maintenance of the churches of Santiago Island. To notify frequently are also pious legates, as it is the case of Fernão Fiel de Lugo, designated to bear the costs of the construction and ornamentation of churches (Brásio apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 120, 429).

But also private lays contributed to the construction, maintenance and restoration of religious buildings. Believing that the Church would give him the mercy of god for his temporary sins,

and , through the favorable intervention of Saints, to obtain indulgencies for the dead persons, which are carrying out their purification, Diogo Ximenes Vargas wrote in his testament from 1624: asking to god for his soul to be taken to the purgatory, afterwards making huge legates for celebrating thousands of masses in several Monasteries and churches in Lisbon, the Islands of Madeira and Santiago, beside the daily mass in the *Misericórdia* of Santiago. He made donations to the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon and of Ribeira Grande with obligations of pious and liturgical acts. He offered utensils and liturgical ornamentation such as restoration constructions in churches and chapels of the Island of Santiago. And gave an especial legate to the Church of *Misericórdia* of Santiago reaching the amount of 100$000 *réis* (*ibid*, 499).

The attempt to construct the Seminary in Ribeira Grande, already having been ordered by the King D. Sebastião in 1570, can be taken as one example of the destiny of some religious buildings to be constructed in Ribeira Grande. Over 130 years, the building wasn't started to be built due to lack of financial means and teachers, till the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano finally initiated its construction in 1702 by own expenses. By his death, in 1705, the building wasn't finished and became forgotten, ruining quickly. 'This construction would have had the same destiny of a lot of other constructed or initiated religious buildings in Cape Verde: the erection of the fundaments, the stopping of the construction, the consequently ruin and the use of the construction materials for other purposes' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 362). 'He was the last Prelate to construct temples and ecclesiastic buildings in Santiago (...)' (*ibid*, 363).

1.2 The effect and consequences of pillages on the physical and documental ecclesiastic structures of Ribeira Grande

It is important to sub line at this point that, when we talk about the way of construction, maintenance, re-construction and final abandonment of the religious buildings along the history of the city of Ribeira Grande, we cannot forget to mention the impact of the several pillages this city had been subjected during its existence. Beside that the proper buildings had been the first aims of pillaging, suffering severe losses of their content and even partial or total destruction, these procedures made disappear most of the written documentation relative to the presence of the Church in Cape Verde.

To highlight are the attack of Emanuel Sarradas, follower of one of the candidates to the Portuguese thrown, D. António, Prior do Crato, in 1583, and the one of the English corsair Francis Drake in 1585, from which one resulted the destruction of the primitive documental collection of the Chapter of Cape Verde, the so called *tombo velho* (old archive) (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 331, 332). Further on, also the registry office of the municipal camera had been destroyed during the same attack (*ibid*, 331).

Similar devastations were committed by the French Corsairs, headed by the General Jaques Cassard, in May of 1712. They rummaged through the houses of the principals and the administrative buildings, during their one week stay in abandoned Ribeira Grande, susceptive to contain richness, such as the custom houses, the warehouses, house of the *almoxarife* and the residence of the Governor. But the churches and other ecclesiastic buildings had been principal aims of the pillaging, afterwards some of them being put on fire. The Episcopal Palace burned completely, making tumble his walls down, destroying the whole library of the Bishops, not even surviving one breviary to pray a mass (*ibid*, 331, 332).

Of these pillages resulted the disappearing of a significant part of the principal civic and ecclesiastical archives of Ribeira Grande. After the last disastrous attack in 1712, the practice to guard systematically the documentation in these archivist units was interrupted, mostly because a lot of the officials started to execute their working day in rented houses in the city. During the 18th century, when most Bishops of Cape Verde started to residence outside the city or even went to other Islands, lots of the documentation simply disappeared, was lost or spread around through several private houses or churches.

> 'The constant itinerancy and trepidation of the Church in Cape Verde had naturally repercussions in the dispersion and fragmentation of the ecclesiastic archives through the diverse churches, where the Bishops made their Cathedral, where they had prolonged stay or realized pastoral visits' (*ibid*, 334).

Further pillages would have had similar devastating consequences, as the local Governor in 1779 informed the Portuguese Crown that '(...) because the island had suffered two French invasions, the old archives were also burn twice' (De Senna Barcelos, 2003, vol.I, 41).

To synthesize these facts, we give as example the Dean Francisco Ferreira da Silva, who affirms in 1889, that there is memory of 'huge copies of documents' in the archives of the Chapter. Meanwhile, at the date he is put in charge of the direction of the Seminary/high school on the Island of S. Nicolau, he already affirms that just a little or nothing is existed any more. Therefore he enumerates several factors, such as sloppiness, the change of the residency of the Bishops, the inexistence of an appropriate house for the archive and the pure disappearing of a lot of goods and papers of the mitre '(...) which loose themselves like things that had no owner' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 332). Further on, it is even probable that in Cape Verde, in comparison to the Diocese of other Atlantic archipelagos, such as from Madeira and Azores, or of the diverse Bishoprics of Brazil and Angola, 'this type of documentation, which should consist of the archive of the Chapter, didn't subsist or did not even reach the point to be elaborated' (*ibid*, 334).

Concerning the houses and, in special, the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, beside natural process of construction, enlargement, redecoration and conservation during the centuries, several pillages damaged them in such a way that they were abandoned or had to be, at least partly, rebuilt. As example can be given the Episcopal Palace, which, after burning down during the 1712th attack, was ordered to be rebuilt by the Bishop D. Fr. Gerônimo do Barco (1821-1827), but got to ruin quickly 'because no Bishop would inhabit it ever more' (*id*). Even if the physical structure of the religious buildings wasn't severely affected by the violent attacks, at least it would be ripped off the furniture, ornamentation and all ecclesiastic utensils, not even surviving the bells, as happened in case of the Cathedral and the Convent of *S. Francisco*.

The subsequent abandonment of Ribeira Grande, starting already during the 17th century and accelerating in the 18th century, was the other major reason for the process of ruin of its houses and religious buildings. Even the remaining ones, still in use, were in deplorable state also due to the enormous financial difficulties Ribeira Grande was passing through. In 1778, the Bishop D. António describes in a letter the '(...) pitiful state of the churches (...), which were bare of all decoration and only with some *frontal* [hangings which cover the front of the altar] and torn *casublas* [sacerdotal vestment to put over the stole], and with some rough and patched towels to cover the altar (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 183). In 1724,

> 'Ribeira Grande is practically abandoned and most part of the houses are in ruin state, including the municipal camera and the prison. The fortresses are without garrison and the city without capacity to defend itself. The decadency is more and more, the process of abandonment of the city is more intense and the misery of the population is real and dramatic' (Pereira, 1988, 74).

Already in 1676, Ribeira Grande had been '(...) reduced to little more than twenty white men. The ruin state of the city is accentuated' (*ibid*, 72). And in 1637, when the decline of Ribeira Grande had already started for decades after its peak of development, probably already reached round about the middle of the 16th century, the Jesuit priest Sebastião Gomes (Sebastião Gomes apud Pereira, *ibid*, 68) describes the situation in Ribeira Grande as follows:

> 'The land from some years back on in this part has fallen notably and every day goes in such diminution in it, that of nearly everything it is exhausted; and from outside it's missing the commerce since a lot of years, which was only from this kingdom, and at most the Castellan one. So it is to fear that soon it will be depopulated (...)'.

This for sure affected also the religious buildings. During the long and slowly process of abandonment, and finally consequently after the passing of the capital to Praia at the 13th of December of 1769, abandoned buildings would be ripped apart by the own local inhabitants of Ribeira Grande, partly to use the material, namely marble and limestones, for their own habitation buildings. And during the mid 19th century, an order was given to take part of these stones to Praia to build the houses and public buildings there. De Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 283), referring to the request of 1679 of the friars from the Convent to get the wall stones from the Cathedral in construction, says that this didn't happen at that time, but 'this act of vandalism, unfortunately, has been realized later, the Cathedral providing its rich stones for the water deposit in Praia and even for private constructions'.

Referring to some of these 'fragments of prepared stones which we find in pile in the Cathedral and spread around over several places', Daniel Pereira (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 25) mentions: '(...) part of it was given back from Praia, by not having been used as it was foreseen in the mid 19th century, or by having been recovered of reshaped constructions (...)'.

Still today, partly carved and chiselled marble and limestones, having belonged formerly to other buildings, which could have been *Sobrados*, public buildings or religious ones, can bee seen all over Ribeira Grande, mostly reused as quoin stones or step stones in habitation buildings. Such were used a large amount of not carved basaltic stones from the remaining walls in ruins, ideal to be reused in the construction of walls in *opus incertum* way of construction of masonry all over the city. Another aspect we have to sub line is that, already in the former centuries, seemingly stones from other locations or buildings were reused in the construction and enlargements, including from religious buildings, as we can still see today on the example from the entry steps to the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* court yard, where parts of ancient tombstones of marble and limestone were used as steps. In the Cathedral, one tombstone has been reused to serve as the central entry step of its main frontal doorway.

A probably unique case of demolition, in this case of one or even several building in favour of a religious building to be constructed or in construction, occurred in Ribeira Grande, would have been the one of the Bishop D. Fr. Francisco, who, in 1709, had, '(...) with the excuse to construct the Seminary, ordered to demolish part of the accommodation houses of the Prelate, finding themselves in ruined state (...)' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 366).

Nevertheless, during the 18th century we still can observe the attempt to restore some of the religious buildings, including the Cathedral, as even to reconstruct them entirely, as it is the case of the Episcopal Palace, or even to start with the attempt of the erecting the Seminary.

> 'The Cathedral and the rest of the religious buildings stayed as an anchor, postponing the agony of the decline of the city (...). The Church and the ecclesiastics would be the last ones to leave in the 19th century, when they had only as view ruins or as neighbours the poor inhabitants of the part of town of *S. Sebastião*' (*ibid*, 371).

1.3 The elaborators, planners and executioners: *mestres de obras* and military engineers

Such as we can see it in the architectonic and urban development during the second half of the 15th century into the 16th century, the transition epoch from the late medieval models, influenced by gothic style, towards the modern epoch, Renaissance style, also the function and position of the planners and executioners of buildings passed through an important development. The *mestres de obras* (construction masters), considered as craftsmen without any personal and social identity become to be social ascending personalities, worthy to be recognized socially through their creativity, highlighting themselves from the rest of the executing manual workers.

As during the Middle age the creativity and artistic work wasn't considered as a result of personal talent and effort, but as the product of an illumination by God, who 'spoke' through these people, 'using' them as their instrument, the *mestres de obras* had practically the same position and distinction as the other workmen, such as masonries, carpenters, sculptures and painters (Hauskeller, 2002, 22). As such, they where entirely bound to the *estaleiros e oficinas* (workshops/construction sites), such as were the rest of the workmen, and only from the 15th till mid 16th century, these elaborators of projects and executioners of architectonic constructions, the ones who conceived churches or Palaces, could reach a new social status, passing from *mestres* to architects, such as the executioners of digging the ground, a trench, moat or a bastion would pass to be engineers (Dias, 1995, 15, 16).

The master, competent in tracing on the ground an arch or circle with nail and rope, or sculpturing in the stone a capital or profile, transformed himself into

> '(...) a *cavaleiro fidalgo* (nobleman), in a reader of Vitrúvio and Alberti, (...), entertained with the Neo-Platonist philosophy, with the romantic or *novilatin* poetry, with the old costumes and objects, but, as still before, preoccupied with the salvation of the soul and with the increase of his earthy goods' (Dias, 1995,16).

The formation of the *mestres de obras*, also denominated as *pedreiros* (masons) was, mainly at the beginning, a practical one: the large public constructions, such as the Monastery of *Batalha* and *Belém* in Portugal, would be the sites where the learning took place, where *mestres* and apprentices would take a degree. The teaching of Architecture and Fine Arts didn't still make differentiation between architecture, painting and sculpture (Teixeira, M. Valla, 1999, 124, 125).

Another part of the formation consisted in stays abroad, mainly Italy, to which some *mestres* even were send by the King from the beginning of the 16th century on. Since the reign of King

D. João III, from the beginning of the second decade of the 16th century on, these formation travels, such as the translation of the masterpieces of authors like Vitrúvio and Palladio, brought the ideas of the Renaissance to Portugal. A special branch would be the art of fortification, which would be of immense use and largely applied during the next centuries in the overseas colonies. But also the concept of the 'ideal city' reached Portugal by this way, having been applied such in the Kingdom as also been experimented outside of its boundaries (*ibid*, 125).

Part of the professional course of the *mestres* was also their frequent dislocation to the urban settlements of other continents, first to the North of Africa, afterwards to India and than Brazil, travelling through several cities, sometimes for long years (*id*).

It was at this time, the 16th century, when the necessity of a more and more formalized education was found to be eminent. These would leave to a better knowledge of the theories applied in Europe, and through a relevant praxis, to the development and application of its own theories. One of the examples of these new found teaching centres, mostly for young *fidalgos* and so called *Escola dos Moços Fidalgos* (school of the noble boys), was the *Aula do Paço* in Lisbon, reorganized by D. Catarina in 1562 and serving also for the education of the young King D. Sebastião. The areas lectured were geometry, cosmography and architecture, including military architecture. This model would have served as reference for the school of Herrera, the mathematic and architecture academy of Madrid (*id*).

Other *Aulas* were created, following the example, so the *Aula da Esfera* in 1590, mainly for specialization in fortification methods, localized in the College of *St.º Antão* and generated by Jesuit priests, and the *Aula de Risco* in 1594, with three places attributed for the area of architecture, and who's first teaching master was the Italian Filipe Terzio, which would have a decisive participation in the planning of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* in Ribeira Grande (*ibid*,125, 126). In these schools, the apprentices were remunerated and, when a place became vacant, they became masters themselves. The lection areas would be connected to cartography, such as mathematics and geometry, which would be the basis of the military engineer science (*ibid*, 126).

From the restoration on, it is founded the *Aula de Fortificação e Arquitectura Militar*, in 1647, which would finally turn official the title of *Engenheiro Militar* (military engineer). The increasing necessity of construction of fortresses for defence in an extensive territory as it were the Portuguese overseas colonies led to an risen number of schools, founded also outside of Lisbon, such as in Brazil, namely in Rio de Janeiro, Baía, Maranhão and Recife (*id*).

The formation of these technicians lead them to actions in fortifications, but also in civil architecture and definition of urban trace, from its drawing till to its execution *in situ*, the elaboration of cartographies of cities and geographic regions (*ibid*,127).

We could only find out about three of these technicians through our research:

- one was the Portuguese engineer João Nunes, responsible for the construction of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* in Ribeira Grande, under collaboration with the Italian Filipe Terzio, who worked and practiced in Portugal for a long period of time;

- the second one had been the military engineer António Carlos Andrea, from which we have the only remaining three detailed town plans from Ribeira Grande, of the second half of the 18th century. He stayed on Cape Verde Island and Guinea for a period of over twelve years, elaborating beside these detailed plan drawings of the city of Ribeira Grande plans of the remains of its forts (de Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, 1999, 73) (see Vol. II, Annex 2.1);

- and the third one, the Captain-engineer José Soares da Rocha, would have round about 1700 elaborated the plan of the Seminary, which would have been never finished (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 361, 362) (see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.8, fig. 8, 9). From him might be the dreawn plan of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, including the plan of the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* (Appendix 1.2.10, fig. 8), as well as the plan for the 'new' Fortress of *St.º António*, including the plan of the Chapel of *St.º António* (Appendix 1.2.13, fig. 9).

From the re-construction plan of the Episcopal Palace from the second half of the 18th century, the author is unfortunately unknown (see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.3, fig. 10, 11).

As a special case we could consider the between 1629 and 1630 elaborated plans for the residency of the Jesuits, who'se author was the proper Jesuit Priest Sebastião de Araújo, not an engineer at all, but seemingly trained and with some skills in the area (see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.7, fig. 8, 9).

1.4 *Estaleiros* as generating construction services

Even though there are no iconographic documents about the construction sites (*estaleiros*) for Portugal and, in special, for Cape Verde, such there are about other parts of Europe, we can have a clear idea of them, for example, through the book of Villard de Honnencourt, the most known and divulgated one of the conserved ones (Dias, 1995, 23). It gives us several testimonies about the used technologies and working instruments at that time, which didn't change basically through the centuries of our research aim. Another valuable source of information are the illustrations represented in the book *The Cathedral builders of the middle ages* (Erlande-Brandenburg, 1995), collecting a vast testimony of the way of construction and its sites of religious buildings, the way of use of the materials and instruments, such as of the diverse occupations and professionals on such sites, all well documented and represented.

Referring to ways of construction, the involved professionals and craftsmanship, Pedro Dias (Dias, *op. cit.*, 24) shows us on examples found on paintings of Jan van Eyck (the evocative painting of *Santa Bárbara*) such as on two parchment pages illuminated by Jean Fouquet (one of the *Grands Chroniques de France*, the other one of the construction of the temple of Jerusalem of the *Antiquitées Judaïques*, from Flávio José), that the illustrated work and the workmanship itself didn't differ to much from the one during the 15th and 16th century, the end of the Middle age and the beginning of the Modern Epoch (*ibid*, 23, 24). What we can see are the different professionals while executing their activity: masons and carriers erecting walls, the *canteiro* (artist who works in *cantaria,* chiselled stones) and sculptors at carving, *caleiros* (the ones producing and applying lime, chalk, mortar and whitewash), *carreiros* (conductors of ox cars), such as the representing of cranes and pulleys, of stretchers and wheelbarrows as construction equipment.

The organization and hierarchy of a gothic Portuguese *Estaleiro* (workshop) was very clear defined: at the top was the manager, the judge of the construction, due to its nature of being

Royal, and therefore it obliged to the creation of juridical privileges and *foros* conceded to the workers. This one had to respond to the King through a petitioner or promoter. The financial administration was connected with the judicial function, restricted to officials of the construction (*ibid*, 25). Beside this, on religious constructions of a bigger scale, there was mostly present a promoter or petitioner of the construction, a religious of the *Ordem de S. Domingos*, responsible for the supervising of the aspects connected to the thematic contents of the decoration and ornamentation, the conformity of the spaces towards the ecclesiastic life, such as for the maintenance of the orthodoxy in the *estaleiros* (*ibid*, 26).

The construction itself was headed by the *mestre de obras*, who was in constant connection with the court or its representatives, being the technician who elaborated and defined the working schedules and connecting all the workers to the program to fulfill (*ibid*, 26, 27). Other *mestres* were present, partially autonomous through their specialization, such as the glassmakers, sculptors, painters or tilers. Lowest in the hierarchy were the *cabouqueiros* (the ones which opened the trenches for putting the foundation of a building), stone masons, *aparelhadores* ('the one who prepares', for example who putted the first painting), *carreiros*, the *obreiros* (workers which delivered material directly to the construction site), the blacksmiths and carpenters (*ibid*, 27).

A special and higher rank would have had the masons, which had a especially important role by being the essential link between the architect or *mestre de obras*, transmitting the architect's instructions, and the actual construction process (Erlande-Brandenburg, *op. cit.*, 97).

1.5 The different origins and local applications of the construction materials, as well as ornamentation and equipping of the churches

In Europe, for the construction of larger buildings, such as the Cathedrals in the middle age, it was often very difficult to have access to the certain amount of needed stones, such as of wood. And if found and available, in the case of wood even often necessary to be planted and wait for years till it the stage to be able to be used, there still remained the transportation problem (Erlande-Brandenburg, 1995, 103).

In case of Ribeira Grande, the stone for the constructing of the walls of the buildings would have been no problem, being the islands in abundance of this main construction material of basaltic origin. Nevertheless, all of the rest of the construction material (with partial exception of lime, tiles, some wood and limestones, as we will see) would have been necessary to import, mainly from Portugal. So is to read, referring to the last years of construction of the Cathedral, that the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense achieved in 1689 that through the Royal treasury would be paid the cargo transportation to the ships carrying the respective material (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 302).

After many years, the issue of or not to construct a *Casa* not yet resolved, the Jesuit priest Sebastião de Araújo, who visited the Mission on Santiago Island between 1629 and 1630, elaborated a construction plan such as a list of material, which had to be send from Lisbon. Still a lot of construction material would have been missing, especially wood and decorated tiles. The elaborated list of construction material described the absolute necessary: roof tiles, jambs for doors and windows, timberwork, lavatories, fountain, retable and rails (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 236, 237).

The Jesuit Priest Sebastião Gomes, referring still in 1637 to the seemingly not yet resolved issue: 'In case that we want to built a *Casa* in Cape Verde, it is to warn that there don't exist officials nor materials to do so, and that all has to be brought from the kingdom; and not existing ships (as it can be seen now) nor money in abundance, hardly it could be done' (Gomes apud Pereira, 1988, 68, 69). The construction materials for the *casa professa* to be built in part of town of S. Brás should come from Portugal (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, *op. cit.*, 158). Of particular interest are the goods asked by the Jesuits to be send from Lisbon, which, beside food, products for tailors and books include tools and construction materials, such as hammers, axes, scythes, pick axes, hollow-chisels, files, chisels, wire, nails, hinges, chains and planks of Flanders pine wood (Da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 169).

As the construction method of the religious buildings doesn't defer basically from the civil ones ('Ribeira Grande (...) is built out of good houses of stone and mortar' (Brásio apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 61)), such as from military buildings, having been used medium sized local basalt stones in *opus incertum*, filled with smaller ones and tile pieces in between, connected with calc or calc-sand mortar, the main difference lies, beside the proper scale and shape, in details and decorations, such as partly in the use of marble and limestones for quoin stones, doors, windows, profiles, arches and vaults, clay floor tiles and roof tiles and decorated glazed wall tiles. But even these constructive and decorative elements we can find in larger habitation buildings (*solares*) or Palaces in Portugal, from where we conclude that they would also have made part of the civil architecture in Ribeira Grande (*sobrados* and administrative buildings), such as marble and limestones in military buildings, as it is the case of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*.

Even though lime for making mortar was asked to come from the Kingdom, such as tiles and marble and limestones, it is very probable, as we have seen before, that there started to exist local manufactures. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg (Erlande-Brandenburg, *op. cit.*, 109) mentions that 'mortar was certainly mixed near the site (...) and at once transported on a man's back before it had a chance to set. The quality of construction was judged by the mortar as much as by the stone'. Wall tiles, as we will confirm later on through the archaeological excavation results, were imported or from Seville (*hispano-moresque* types, round about 1500) or from workshops from Lisbon, as it is the case of the carpet-style tyles (*tapete*) dating from the second half of the 17th century, found as such during the excavations (see Annex 2.4) as partially in 'storage' originating from other religious buildings (e.g. Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*).

This is shown us by a letter of the Governor D. Francisco de Moura to the King Filipe II from 11th of July of 1619, in which he describes the ruined state of the Fortress, saying that it is made of '(...) stone and clay; with the lime I brought I reconstructed a part of the wall (...)', and for its restoration he '(...) ordered to make on the Island furnaces of lime and to bring together a lots of stones to continue the construction (...)' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 61). At 17th of September of 1718, a Royal order is emitted to remodel the prison building, for which purpose are send the ordered materials, except the lime, for not being easy its transport and effective in quantity on the small vessels, beside the danger this could cause and that lime is already produced in Santiago (*ibid*, 74). The humidity could spoil and harden the lime, making it heavy and useless.

The initial imported materials are namely still the lime for making mortar and plaster such as their organic ligament, roof, wall and floor tiles, wood timber and ferrous material (nails,

window bars, door and window hinges). Even the door and window moulds (cill, jamb and head stones, such as frieze stones, cornice stones and tympanum/fronton stones), such as the stones for arches, vaults, ribs, bosses, corbels, pendants, ancons, columns, pedestals, profiles, steps and tombstones, made out mostly of limestone (rarely marble), went imported from the Kingdom, only later, from the second half of the 17th century on, having been used partly limestone found on the island of Maio, of less quality. The limestone would have been extracted and imported from the round about areas of the Portuguese city of Coimbra, with its extraction centres in special in Ançã, Portunhos and Otil, while the marble would have come from the region south of Lisbon, from Alentejo, already used for several other religious buildings, such as it is the case of Phillip II's Escorial, and probably already used in ornamentations of buildings in Rome whilst their domination of the Iberic Peninsula (D'Oliveira Machado e Costa, 1950, 393).

Mentioning the chiselled stones, Madeira Santos (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 138) refers that the '(...) Cathedral, the Episcopal Palace and the Church of *Misericórdia*, all today in advanced state of ruin, (...) even though suggest, through their chiselled stones, marbles and glazed wall tiles imported from the kingdom, a splendorous past'.

On the other hand, Madeira Santos (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 350) refers that the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano, at the end of the 17th century, to finalize the construction of the Cathedral, already in lack of finances, did include the utilization of local materials such as coconut wood from Santiago Island and *pedras de cantaria* (chiselled stones) made out of limestone of Maio Island. On the other hand, to proceed with the construction of the Seminary in Ribeira Grande, he asked for financial help and for construction material to be sent from the Kingdom. This didn't happen till 1700, so that he decided to go on by his own expenses. At that time, some of this material could already be produced in own fabrics on the Islands, as it is the case of tiles and mortar, or extracted from other Islands, taking in consideration that Cape Verde started to be in lack of construction material as it '(...) didn't have the liquidity any more to import directly materials and ornaments from Lisbon (...)' (*ibid*, 349, 350).

As another example we can see Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente, self excluded from Santiago, who had as a principal part of his activities, such as D. Fr. Vitoriano did on Santiago Island before, the construction of new churches on the Islands of S. Nicolau, Santo Antão e Boavista. He also substituted precarious inauguration temples by new buildings or ordered their reparation. So did he on Santo Antão Island, his main actuation field, where he wanted to transfer the Cathedral to, for this purpose erecting the spacious Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*. This Church was by its plan inspired from the Cathedral of Ribeira Grande, even though in much smaller scale, substituting the rich *pedras de cantaria* from the Kingdom, using for its construction local stones, clay and tiles (*ibid*, 401). As the Kingdom at mid 18th century had no availability of money or material to subsidise these constructions in Cape Verde any more, the Bishop orders the inhabitants of Santo Antão and S. Nicolau Islands to work on construction and to cut woods. In another case, he bought most of the wood from a French vessel shipwrecked at S. Vicente island for the constructions in St.ª Antão, for which he went accused by the Governor (*ibid*, 404).

Even though, still in 1698, the Governor of Ribeira Grande, who was authorized to canalize the water from a water spring by the Convent till the gateway of the city, substituting the water used in the middle of the city, which was already impure, asked for this purpose to be sent to him still lime, tiles and bricks from the Kingdom (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 334).

Note: we have no further information about the vegetable or animal grease which was used to bind, together with sand, shell powder or sand-gravel mixture, the lime to obtain mortar. What we know is that in general it has been used normally olive oil, milk or even honey for this purpose. We know from the other colonies that on the Azores Islands during the 18th century till beginning of 19th century were used wale oil. On Madeira, during the 17th century were used three different types of oils: the general ligament of oil or olive oil, for finalizing constructions fine olive oil from Lisbon and for special occasions (as also for special plasters), olive oil that would even come from London.

In 1761, four years after the installing of the private trade Company of *Grão Pará e Maranhão* in Ribeira Grande, the provider and general *ouvidor* of the treasury, Carlos José Souto Maior, who defended the local interests in front of the Kingdom, complained about the increase of the prices of imported products. Being the commerce exclusively of the Company, the Governor himself protested in 1773 about the daily increasing of the prices. In the shops, the only ones to offer European manufactures, such as cloth, footwear, books, materials of construction e.g., the prices rose constantly (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 58, 59). The following products and prices are an extract from a list the Governor provided to the Kingdom, showing on one hand the Companies speculative praxis, but also the construction materials (in between alimentation products and cloths) which still were imported from Europe (see list in Vol. II, Annex 2.5).

This was an increasing of the prices of circa 128, 7% during this period of time. These goods were paid by the locals with money, *panos de terra* and *urzela* (lichen of heather of which is extracted a violet colour ink) (*ibid*, 58).

It was through the influence of the priest D. Antonio Macario de Miranda, reaching the Island of S. Nicolau in 1818, that the employee of the arsenal of the marine, José de Carvalho, got the license to establish fabrics of roof tiles, bricks and lime on the Islands of Cape Verde (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 193, 194).

Related to the ornamentation and equipping of the churches, the King D. João II let in his testamentary dispositions clear instructions to provide all the churches he was the patron of with liturgical instruments. This included the ones of Cape Verde (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 378, 379).The local secular clergy, before even the first Bishop came to reside in Cape Verde, already takes decisions in the spiritual and temporal Government of the Bishopric. So does a delegation in 1533 under Afonso Martins, beneficial of the Church of *Espírito Santo* of Ribrira Grande, noticing the bad estate of the liturgical utensils, such as of the wood work, of the Church of *S. Filipe* on the Island of Fogo. Its conservation state made it impossible to hold masses on rainy days. In consequence, a list is elaborated about the new objects necessary for liturgy, certifying also that the Church is in process of reconstruction, with affluence of the local people (*ibid*, 382).

But it wasn't only the ecclesiastic corpus to help locally in the progress of the catholic spirituality. The lay Pêro de Guimarães, *corregedor*, after visiting the Church of *Espírito Santo* in Ribeira Grande, informed the King D. João II in 1515 about the necessary liturgical ornaments for its functioning, which had the subvention of the local society, with the exception of the Chapel and Sacristy, financed by the Royal treasury. 'This special care to inform the King directly about the liturgical ornaments necessary for the functioning of the

churches had its roots in obligations and devotions coming already out of the 15th century' (*ibid*, 378).

And already in 1493, the King D. Manuel, as administrator of the *Ordem de Christo*, sends to its master *contador* (official of the accountancy, verifying the accounts) a list of liturgical objects designated to the churches already existing on the Islands of Santiago and Fogo. This included in between others: vestments, *galhetas* (vases which contain water and wine for the service of the mass), an altar stone, candlesticks, chalices and a retable of S. Filipe. In 1503, Rodrigo Vilharan dispatched several goods for the ornamentation of the early churches in Ribeira Grande (*ibid*, 376).

1.6 The elaboration and dissemination of the construction plans and detail drawings

Alain Erlande-Brandenburg (Erlande-Brandenburg, 1995, 75) mentions that

> ‚the drawings submitted to the patron were not detailed enough for the execution of the building. The architect had to produce other detailed drawings to make his ideas clear for the workshop. These generally disappeared during the course of the works (...)'.

Even though it was obviously necessary to elaborate original construction plans and detail drawings for the construction of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande, the same as it is necessary today to do for all constructions of major size and importance, none of these plans or drawings have survived till today. Exceptions are the provisional plan for the *Casa* of the Jesuits, planned but never fulfilled, as well as the plan and axonometric-volumetric drawings done for the planned Seminary and the plan, façade and section drawings of the Episcopal Palace.

This is namely due to two reasons: on one hand, most plans and drawings weren't archived but simply destroyed after the building had been finished. The use to maintain the original paperwork and send two copies of them to the kingdom on separate ships for security reasons, such as it was costume for all important documents at that time, was mostly not fulfilled due to simple negligence. On the other hand, the ones which were still available would have been destroyed during the several pillages the city was submitted during the centuries.

Even though, when the Cathedral was finished under the Bishop D. Fr. Victoriano Portuense during the end of the 17th century, it is referred that the building had been reduced in its dimension 'in relation to the initial elaboration plans' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 121), but nevertheless he 'built it above the same foundations' (*ibid*, 120). That means that the original plans, or at least their transcriptions, where still existing more than one century after its construction initiation. Their disappearance, such as of the following ones for its finalization, is very probably connected to the disastrous attack of the French corsairs in 1712, during which important public and religious buildings were pillaged and partly burned, in between them the Episcopal Palace with the Bishop's Library (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 331, 332).

It is known that, since the Antiquity, books with architectonic plan models and detailed construction descriptions circulated in Europe, hand copied and exposed to suffer alternations during the passing of time. From the medieval age, the best known examples might be the

ones from Villard de Honnecourt from the 13th century. At the latest from Gutenberg on, these books could have been largely disseminated.

Quoting Alain Erlande-Brandenburg (Erlande-Brandenburg, *op. cit.*, 94) again, he mentions that

> 'in the lands of the Holy Roman empire, the late 15th century saw the appearance of works on building techniques, which became the construction manuals of the Renaissance (...). Many of these works were limited in their aim, illustrating 'recipes' for details which could only be understood by other professionals. In any case, it is impossible to know whether they circulated beyond a very restricted circle'.

If such books with plan models and detail drawings did reach Ribeira Grande is still to find out, we would suppose that it only happened in limited cases as the one of Cathedral and of the Episcopal Palace. The other religious buildings would have been, at least partly, a result of local adaptation of pre-conceived models following such the interiorized construction symbolism of religious architectural language, adapted to the local conditions, such as pre-elaborated construction plans, filled and complemented with detail copies of constructive elements of the used styles, ordered and imported from the Kingdom. Regarding to the ornamentation, this would have come in the same way, from Portuguese or Spanish factories.

2 The construction phases and its ways of financing of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande

2.1 The Cathedral (*Sé*)

Already at round about 1549, it seems that there existed a strong determination between the inhabitants of the Island of Santiago to construct the Cathedral. 'Designated for its *fábrica*, they had together more than 500 *cruzados*, which where badly in the hand of two traders of the treaty of Guinea' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 383). At 9th of December of 1549, Fr. Gaspar da Silveira refers again the issue of the amount united for the construction of the Cathedral, requesting the Monarch the designation of one person in charge to keep watch over the deposit and not to allow its embezzlement for other purposes (*id*).

It is to believe that during the time till the arrival of the third Bishop of Cape Verde, D. Fr. Francisco Cruz in the Bishopric, he was working in the kingdom to get money and materials for the buildings in Ribeira Grande, '(...) which was the Bishopric and nothing still had been done' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 120).

Very important missions were given to him concerning the secular structures of the Church in the archipelago, such as the building of the Church of *Misericórdia*, the building of the Bishop's residence (Episcopal Palace) and next to this, the beginning of the building of the Cathedral (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 123). It was by his leadership that most of the religious buildings were constructed, which would significantly alter the urban network of the city. The Cathedral (*Sé*) might have been initiated around 1555/1556, even though its large measurement and localization, on a stripped headland and slightly remote of the centre of the city, had risen since the very beginning the opposition from the corporation of Chapter '(...) who would have stopped the construction in the fifteen nineties' (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384).

D. Francisco da Cruz, using his right of direct access to the King, insisted in his correspondence to apply the most amounts possible of the fiscal revenue at the construction of the Cathedral, which shows his effort he put in to it. Immediately, in 1558, he obtained from the King, entitled as charity, a donation of 100$000 *réis*, for the duration of three years, to apply into the construction of the Cathedral and to pay the collector of the *fábrica*, at the expense of the revenue of the Royal treasury (Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. II, 464, 465).

In the same sense came up a Royal permit dated from 22nd of November of 1564, in which the King, probably by instance of the Bishop, determined that all the financial punishments, remission in money of the penalties of exile and the sentences of appellation of the condemned of the Islands of Santiago and Fogo would be applied for a period of three years at the construction of the Cathedral. The receiver of the money would be the contractor (*contratador*) of the revenue of the Island of Santiago, '(...) which showed the collaboration of the mercantile sphere in capitation of revenues for ecclesiastic issues' (*ibid*, 516, 517), even though there existed a specialized service for reception and payment of the money related to the construction of the Cathedral (*id*).

In 1568, a similar donation was repeated by the king renovating the concession, entitled as charity, of other 100$000 annual *réis* for the Cathedral, whose construction was at that time probably proceeding in accelerated rhythm. But the construction of the Cathedral has been in an inappropriate scale and with magnificence, which only major financial donations or a wide collaboration of the local society could have taken towards a good term. This didn't seem to be the case. In this sense, nor the local financial means nor the Royal ones, not even the local social initiative could at that time take to the end what pretended to be the external manifestation by excellence of the Diocese (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384).

D. Fr. Francisco Cruz died at 19th March of 1574 (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, *op. cit.*, 119, 120). After the death of the Bishop, D. Sebastião, King of Portugal, gave major impulse to the construction of the Cathedral, by ordering the application on it of the verified quantities of the financial punishment (*ibid*, 169).

It is possible that the lack of financial means resulted out of the lack of interest of the wealthier inhabitants and some inertia of the local ecclesiastic structure, such as from a certain ambiguity of the Royal dispositions, which or stopped the construction or made it advance. 'The economic crisis and the political vague stance were reflected in the dragging of the construction of the Cathedral, which more and more less didn't correspond to the dimension of the richness and the power provided by the city of Ribeira Grande' (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 385). The construction would have been

> '(...) hindered by the canons with the protest of staying outside of the body of the city, motive why it wasn't concluded, prophesizing the prelate, that it would be done at the same place by Bishop, religious of *S. Francisco*, as it would be verified in D. Fr. Victoriano Portuense, who built it above the same foundations' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 120).

De Senna Barcelos (*ibid*, 121) gives us controversial information about the reasons why the construction would have stopped a few decades after its beginning: 'After constructing the Church of *Misericórdia*, D. Fr. Francisco Cruz started with the construction of the Cathedral, very sumptuous'. Further on he says that 'it wasn't concluded because of the death of the Bishop and not because it was hindered, as it is cited in the manuscript B-8-60 (BNL)', and comes to the conclusion that 'the proof that it is truth what we advanced is in the big

development to which had reached the construction when he died, letting the Chapel with the walls half done (...)'. For us it is probable that both factors would have influenced the construction rhythm, the death of D. Fr. Francisco Cruz surely opening a gap in the driving force and determination behind it.

At the time of the hindering round about 1590, de Senna Barcelos (*id*) describes the measurements of the Cathedral. He says that

> 'the walls of the chapel had a height of 22 palms [4.84m] and the wall of the corpus of the church had 15 palms [3.30m] of height. The main chapel had of span 75 palms [16.50m] of length by 35,5 [7.81m] of width and 5,5 [1.21m} of thickness. The crossing measured 128 palms [28.16m] of length by 28 [6.16m] of width, and still there where started to built 3 arches in each part of the crossing for 3 altars. This Cathedral finished, conforming the plans, would be formed out of 3 naves with a length of 133 palms [29.26m[from the crossing downwards, and with 76 (16.72m] of width'. 'Certainly, if there would have been a hindering, immediately the foundations would have been knocked down and not after the construction had achieved so big proportions'. (Note: the measurements of palms converted into meters are from our authority. One *palmo* corresponds to 0.22m).

According to Senna Barcelos (*ibid*, 125),

> 'the original plan of the *Sé Velha* (old Cathedral) was reduced and re dimensioned. The main chapel and the Sacristy were concluded according to the original plan, the *corpus* of the church was to only one nave without crossing and with 3 chapels each side. The main chapel would have had of span 35,5 palms [7.81m] and the side walls 5,5 palms [1.21m] of width and 61 palms [13.42m] of length. It stayed with a total length of 110 palms [24.20m] and 50 palms [11.00m] of width'. (Note: the measurements of palms converted into meters are from our authority).

Meanwhile, in 1583, before the stopping of the construction, an assault to Ribeira Grande of the followers of D. António Prior do Crato (which didn't accept the fact that the Spanish crown had taken over the Portuguese one), and in 1585, the second assault of Corsair Sir Francis Drake to the city, let a lot of churches pillaged, 'taking off the ornaments and crosses (...), causing a lot of damages, so that it turned necessary to rebuilt the churches, retables and altars which had been burned, beside of houses from inhabitants which stayed destroyed in three parts of them' (Pereira, 1988, 56). How much this also affected the Cathedral, still in construction at that time, is not known to us. Also more specific information concerning the Cathedral construction during the time of the follower of D. Fr. Francisco Cruz, Bishop D. Bartolomeu Leitão, who was in the Bishopric between 1577 and 1587, date of his death, couldn't be searched out. At least, the construction seemed to continue during this time span.

In the year 1603, a Royal letter designated that the construction of the Church has to go on, according to what was combined, and that for this purpose was sent the necessary order to the *Mesa da Consciência* (Brásio apud Pereira, *ibid*, 59). A continuation is not registered and it is not sure if the follower of D. Bartolomeu Leitão, Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Brandão (1589-1608), such as his followers, the Bishops D. Luís Pereira de Miranda (1609-1609), D. Frei Sebastião de Ascensão (1611-1614) and D. Manuel Afonso da Guerra (1622-1624) would have even tried to restart the construction.

D. Fr. Lourenço Garro, conventual of the Order of Christ was elected as new Bishop in 1624, but only confirmed and coming to the Bishopric in 1625, due to the habitual bureaucracy in between the central organisms in Rome and to the habitual financial complications inherent to the departure of the new prelates. The Bishop, still in Lisbon, takes his chance ones again, in

an attitude of exigency, to remind the King, as someone who has usufruct of the *dízimas* of the overseas, that he should provide above the bad material and financial situation of the capeverdean Church. Towards this request, the King, as always interested to see the conditions of the overseas Church normalized, agrees that it should be conceded him ornament for the churches of his Bishopric, such as supply money and the run out payments. The Bishop is also nominated as superintendent of the construction of the Cathedral. He should as such look after the financial deposit related to it, having in mind the so much desired but not really advancing of the construction, '(...) during an epoch in which the insecurity of the seas next to the archipelago would advise against it, due to the continuous presence of colonial concurrence' (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 408).

At 17th of January of 1630, in a letter from the Jesuit priest João Pereira Corte Real to the King Filipe III, it is affirmed that the King had

> '(...) not been well informed at the beginning of the little capacity of this Island [of Santiago] and district and of the little income that here existed to be made here a *Sé* [Cathedral] with so much Clerics and Chaplains and one Bishop, in a city that doesn't reach to be a village, where there are fifteen or sixteen men of Portugal the citizens and with the creoles from this land they don't reach thirty five, being the Canons, Clerics and Priests the everything of which this land is populated (...)' (Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. V, 235, 236).

In fact, between 1533, the foundation of the Diocese in Cape Verde, and the third decade of the 17th century, the cosmopolitan city with intense mercantile activity, animated urban life, lay richness in the daily life and in the acts of religious cults, vanished, seeming to be inappropriate to erect such an enormous Cathedral. Who reached Ribeira Grande in round about 1630 couldn't understand the disproportion of the Cathedral, majestic with its numerous clergies, still unfinished, emerging between degraded *Sobrados* and vernacular houses, at a hillside above the harbour where rarely anchored a ship anymore (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 462

The Bishop D. Fr. Lourenço Garro died in 1646, at 1st of November, and the Cathedral, not yet finished till this date, stayed vacant for twenty six years (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 234).

In the mid 17th century, the Church of Cape Verde was in a state of acute deprivation of its material and financial means, so that the own structures of the local Church stopped to be a Royal priority from the moment on that it was determined that the amount in deposit, destined for the construction of the Cathedral, could be applied, in title of a loan, to a post that turned more pressing to built up: the Fortress of *Cacheu*. 'In this way, the Islands are displaced in favour of the coast and the religious in favour of the military' (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 409, 410).

D. Frei Fabião dos Reis, new Bishop of the capeverdean Diocese after its twenty six years of vacancy, expressed clearly in 1672 that in the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* were deposited 4.000 *cruzados* of the *Fazenda* aimed to be applied at the construction of the Cathedral, which continuation was ordered again. Its construction work had been stopped for many years, and, confirming to the observations of the Bishop, only the foundations stayed visible, and these already ruined, due to the lack of construction material. The amount of money necessary for its construction had been estimated in 80.000 *cruzados*. The 4.000 *cruzados* of the Fortress were the rest of the 10.000 initially deposited, from which c. 6.000 where taken for the

fortifications in *Cacheu*. He asked for more 3.000 *cruzados* from the deposit in *Cacheu,* also because this deposit had been consumed by the subsidiary money of the governors, the *ouvidores,* the Bishops themselves, such as had been used also for some construction works at the fortifications of the villa of Praia (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 285).

As the continuation of the construction works at the Cathedral were seemingly impossible due to insufficiency of money, he asked to order that from this deposit would be warranted him what he needed, so that he wouldn't have to beg (*ibid*, 270, 271). Finally, and during his Episcopate, the King D. Pedro II gave order to retake the construction of the Cathedral and that it should be concluded the most well-known possible. 'This obviously had implications in the controversy about the complex question of the localization of the political capital of Cape Verde' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 341).

As the construction of the Cathedral hadn't been finished till 1646, afterwards staying vacant for twenty six years, it found itself at that time in an advanced ruined state. So it was in 1679 that the religious Franciscan *Capuchins* of the Convent of *S. Francisco* asked for them to be given the stones of the walls of the Cathedral, in construction again. They justified their request by the fact that the walls of the Cathedral were not much elevated and in ruined state, so that these stones would serve better to finalize and improve the Convent.

> 'The Cathedral, which had cost so many thousands of *cruzados*, and the religious wanting to demolish it to enlarge their house of habitation! This act of vandalism, unfortunately, has been realized later, the Cathedral providing its rich stones for the water deposit in Praia and even for private constructions' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 283).

In 1681, the new Bishop D. Fr. António de S. Dionísio declared that on the Island of S. Thiago there was still no finished and functional Cathedral, it still functioning in the *Misericórdia*. He proposed that it would be more reasonable for the Cathedral to have only one nave. For this, he referred, there is some charity. In consequence, it was ordered to the Governor Duarte Teixeira Chaves of Ribeira Grande that he should inform the King and the Bishop about the probable cost of the construction and the necessary material to continue the construction (*ibid*, 284, 285).

The Bishop asked for the necessary material to be sent to him, such as chief masonries and carpenters. This seemed to be a reaction to the request of the religious asking for stones, which raised the will of the Bishop to think in finalizing the Cathedral at once. Meanwhile, the Governor informed that there would be necessary 80.000 *cruzados*, and that a finalizing of the Cathedral wouldn't be possible concerning the state of poverty of the Islands. At the same time, a meeting was held, being present the Bishop, the Chapter, the Municipal Camera, the Confraternity of *Rosário* and the inhabitants, and it was finally decided that, instead of enlarging the Church of *Misericórdia*, it would be more reasonable to finish the Cathedral, putting this way also the possibility apart of conceding the stones of the Cathedral to the *Capuchins* religious to conclude their Convent (*ibid*, 285).

De Senna Barcelos (*id*), referring to the measuerements again:

> '(...) therefore, its dimensions had to be reduced. Beside of finishing the main altar and the Sacristy according to the initial plans they had been started, the body of the church should be reduced and from only one nave, without crossing and with 3 chapels on both sides. Its finalization should be realized with the same stones its construction had been started, being of 110 palms [24.20m] of .length and 50

> [11.00m] of width, which would be enough for the inhabitants of the Island. The materials, asked through charity, consisted out of bricks, board planks for lining, nails, 4 lines of iron, each 48 palms [10.56m] of length because the chapel having 35 and half palms [7.81m] of span, the walls measuring each side 5 palms and half [1.21m] of width, such as lines of iron of 61 palms [13.42m] for the church'. (Note: the measurements of palms converted into meters are from our authority).

In 1683 it was ordered from the Kingdom to the Governor to see if it was possible to finalize the Cathedral or to accommodate it in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* or in the *Misericórdia*, The Governor replied that it wouldn't be convenient to conclude the Cathedral, which would only be able to finish with 5.000 *cruzados*. In this, the new Governor was of contrary opinion to his antecessor and to the Bishop (*ibid*, 287).

Already in 1688, the new Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano, reaching in the Bishopric during the same year, had as his first preoccupation to re-build the Cathedral, the so called *Sé Nova*, which no Bishop before could realize due to the opposition of the local society and the occurred financial problems. To D. Fr. Vitoriano, the effective presence of the Church in Cape Verde was not to disconnect from the construction of the Cathedral (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 349).

Due to the persistence of the Bishops D. Fr. António de S. Dionísio and Fr. Victoriano, the King resolved to help the construction of the Cathedral with the old deposit of 9.000 and something *cruzados*, but just under the condition that the Island wouldn't be in lack of castellan ships. In request of the Bishop D. Fr. António, his antecessor, the Bishop D. Victoriano already had started the work with aid of his pocket and with help of some other particular people which compromised themselves to help him (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 309).

As it seems, the deposit in the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* hadn't been the only one destined for the construction of the Cathedral. De Senna Barcelos refers that 'from the unceasing deposit in villa of Praia, destined for the construction of the Cathedral, it was ordered in the same year to give 1.000 *cruzados* in advance to the Bishop for the *frete* [fright/nuisance] of his vessel' (*ibid*, 301).

In 1689, the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense asked that it would be ordered to continue with the construction of the Cathedral, '(...) similar to the one of *Santa Engracia* in Lisbon' (*id*). Therefore there was a deposit of more than 9.000 *cruzados*, and even already haven been taken several amounts from it to pay to certain people, three liquid deposits of the treasury would still remain (*id*). To this comparative observation we will take statement later while comparing the religious buildings with ones from Portugal and the colonies (chapter 7).

During the same year, he had send already 5 petitions to Lisbon about diligences of the construction, specially connected to financial, material and labour issues. Although during the second half of the 17th century the land didn't have any more the economic richness and monetary liquidity to dispense financing for a construction of such big dimensions (calculated in 80.000 *cruzados*), designated as the 'misery' of the Island of Santiago, D. Fr. Vitoriano didn't give up. He wanted to built the magnificent temple in the way of the Kingdom, even though the dimensions of the original plan of D. Francisco da Cruz had already been reduced (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 349). As Cape Verde didn't have the liquidity any more to import directly materials and ornaments from Lisbon, the considerable richness in form of

rich ornaments and liturgical utensils, jewellery, furniture and other domestic objects, slaves etc., treasured by society and Church during the 16th century, would serve to pay the new necessities and construction of the church (*ibid*, 349, 350).

Progressively, a significant part of the ecclesiastic patrimony is sold in Lisbon or locally to pay the current expenses of the functioning, to let come from the Kingdom the necessary materials and mechanic officials, such as to pay the local labour. In between other 'products' as wax and slaves, he sent to his proxy in Lisbon several pieces of silver and gold, belonging to the mitre, namely the magnificent silver set which belonged to the Cathedral since 1635 to stock the Episcopal table. As he also took money and ornaments from the *fábricas* of the churches and Confraternities of Santiago to send to the capital, this generated a huge discomfort in the Chapter and other members of the local clergies, such as an explanation request from part of the Overseas Council (*ibid*, 350).

At 29th of December of 1689, it was ordered to the provider of the treasury to pay the officials which the Bishop brought to the construction of the Cathedral. The Prelate, at the same time, achieved that through the Royal treasury would be paid the cargo transportation (*frete*) of the ships carrying the respective material (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 302).

In 1690, with the nomination of the new Governor and general Captain Diogo Ramires Esquivel, the Bishop was censured in a letter from the municipality of Ribeira Grande from the 8th of January, related to the issue that he had applied in 1689 the money of the *fábricas* of other churches in the construction of the 'new Cathedral', such as 3 or 4 thousand *cruzados* which a canon had left for the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Penha de França,* taking it from the power of several people (*ibid*, 306).

Nevertheless, in 1690, under the direction of the Bishop, the construction of the Cathedral would have been restarted, and it was worked with lots of activity at the construction site. As the destined 9.000 *cruzados* for its construction were not in deposit, the Bishop applied for its purpose 1.000 *cruzados* of his *côngrua*, and he asked the King to give him from the leftovers from Madeira 2.000 *cruzados*, such as 1.000 from the sale of slaves to the *Castellans* when they went to this Island. A canon accused the Bishop in his procedure of pillaging such a poor Bishopric, even not escaping the lamps. He took the money from the *fábricas* and Confraternities of the churches and the great silver set, which the Cathedral had from 1635 on, to arrange the Episcopal table. In consequence, the canon stopped to be attorney, and the Chapter asked the King not to pay the salary to the Bishop as long as he didn't enter with the silver he had subtracted from the mitre and with the money from the churches and Confraternities. The pillage to the churches, even to the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace themselves, to the *fábricas* (mostly money) and to the Confraternities (objects of silver, gold and other ones) is considered by de Senna Barcelos (*id*) as '(...) the biggest pillage occurred in Cape Verde of which we have news'.

Beside the already before mentioned, this pillage consisted mainly in the following: one bill of exchange of 20$000 *réis* and 350 *patacas* for his mother, D. Polonia de Oliveira; two packing cases containing 408$000 *réis* in cash, half *dobrão* and 730 silver *patacas*; one *boceta*, one big pontifical ring, one portion of melted metal, one *tampada* with bullet, one salt mill, three jugs, one tray, twenty four spoons, twenty forks, ten big plates, three saucers, two small plates, five glasses, one bell, two small and two bigger kitchen plates made out of stain, two golden plates and one golden tray, one paper with 25 accounts (*contas*), three rings, one

plate with three inkwells, two painted cloths and one well worked cotton mattress with fringes, table towels and handkerchiefs. Beside this, the Bishop requested for 30 barrels of lime and 50 dozens of wood planks to finish the Cathedral which would be paid with the remittance he made, and what would be left over would be handled over to his mother (*ibid*, 306, 307).

De Senna Barcelos is not very clear about the year of conclusion of the main chapel such as of the Cathedral itself. First he mentions that 'in 1691, the main chapel was already concluded and the crossing was covered with roof tiles' (*ibid*, 309).

Later on we can read that 'in 1693, the main chapel such as the Cathedral itself would have been concluded, and the Chapter moved to it, letting to celebrate the divine services in the Church of *Misericórdia*' (*ibid*, 310).

After a meeting from the Confraternity of the *Santa Casa* (Holy House) of *Misericórdia*, at 14th of February of 1693, its provider, Father Manuel Borges da Costa, said that, as the Bishop had concluded the Cathedral, all the ornaments and the things belonging to the cult should be moved to the Cathedral, proposing that the charity of the visitors should be eliminated and that the expense with the holy week should be let, such as they should sell some things which wouldn't be of utility for the *Santa Casa*, and that with the gained money they would let come everything necessary for the Cathedral. The Confraternity agreed, '(...) except in the point of the elimination of the charity' (*id*).

Madeira Santos and M. J. Soares (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 350) stipulate the finalization of the Cathedral several years later by saying that

> 'the construction went on well till 1696/97, slowing down from than on due to lack of money, missing to be concluded the towers, the main façade, the Choir and the roof of the corpus of the temple. Finally, with diverse smaller amounts obtained from the most diverse proveniences, such as with the inclusion of local materials as *pedra de cantaria* from the Island of *Maio* and wood of the palm trees of Santiago, D. Fr. Vitoriano could conclude the greatest emblem of the power of the Church, which rose majestically in the city, being as such the largest edified conjunction which could be seen immediately from far away off shore'.

And later on they continue:

> 'the typology of the building, which we can call Mannerist, follows close the style of the so called salon-churches [*igrejas salão*] of the Jesuit architecture, which façade is composed out of three bodies, with the rose-window [*Rosácea*] in the centre' (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 384).

To this observation we will take statement later during interpretation of the architectonic typologies and styles (chapter 7).

That the Cathedral still wouldn't have been finished till 1697 comes up in the report given by the French Engineer Duplessis, on a four years trip to the sea of South America. By describing Ribeira Grande in 1699, he mentions that '(...) the Cathedral [is] still not finished to be constructed (...)' (Duplessis apud Françoise et J. M. Massa, 2004, 27).

So does Pereira (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 72, 73) determine that the Cathedral, which construction had begun circa 130 earlier, '(...) should have been nearly concluded only in the year 1700/1701. It had been done by expenses of the Bishop D. Frei Vitoriano Portuense. The final conclusion must have been before 1705'.

During the attack of the French Corsairs under General Jaques Cassard in 1712 to Ribeira Grande, the Churches and other ecclesiastic buildings were the main aims of the pillage, afterwards having been some of them put on fire. The churches, in between them the Cathedral, were '(...) bared of the ornaments and from the richest liturgical utensils, especially images, silver from the altars, vestments, bells, etc.' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 332).

Augusto Barros (Augusto Barros apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 73) mentions that the pillage went '(...) till the point that even the bells of the Cathedral kept mute, taken on the low loots, stolen by sacrilege hands'.

The damage of the Cathedral must have been notably, so that in 1729 it was ordered to the Bachelor Costa Ribeiro that he should pay to the Bishop Fr. José de Santa Maria Jesus (1721-1736) the expenses this one had with the re-edification of the Cathedral (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 439).

Further construction and re-construction works went on. In 1745/46, under the Bishopric of D. Fr. João de Moreira (1744-1747), beside the Episcopal Palace and the farm of *Trindade*, where the Bishop would inhabited during the rain period, the Cathedral suffered constructions which already had been delineated by the former Bishop, D. Frei João de Faro (1741-1741). The covering roof and the *forro* (space between the ceiling and the roof) of the Cathedral were repaired under the direction of chantre João Gomes de Oliveira, who had finished off the construction. He has had the help from the services of a secular friar which the Bishop had brought in his company, as there seemingly '(...) weren't habilitated officials of carpentry existing in Santiago for such a construction' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. III, 391).

Meanwhile, the re-construction works didn't finish again, as the planks send from the Kingdom weren't sufficient to cover the roof of the main chapel, so that the friar returned to the Kingdom due to the death of the Bishop. The pavement of the corpus of the Cathedral stayed without floor since its construction by D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense. Even the responsible confirming that the local wood would serve for the case, he confessed equally there were no qualified labourers available, so that 'the dust of the floor continued to cover the ornaments and liturgical robes, as well as the images, forcing the church to stay closed' (*id*).

The following Bishop, D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente (1754-1774), by trying to transfer the Diocese to St.° Antão Island, opened up to most of his successors the habit to reside outside of the siege of the Cathedral (*ibid*, 398). There he ordered to erect the large Church of Nossa *Senhora do Rosário* in St.° Antão, with several chapels, which plan was copied of the one of the Cathedral of Ribeira Grande, in reduced scale, but being absent of the rich *cantarias* of the kingdom, limiting itself to stone, clay and tiles (*ibid*, 401). During the period of our research, unfortunately we had no possibility to visit the Island of St. ° Antão to make a more detailed survey.

In 1838 came a proposal from the Governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho to demolish the Cathedral, that with its material could be built up a new one in Mindelo, where was pretended to erect the new city and capital of Cape Verde (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 80). This proposal fortunately wasn't followed.

But still in 1844, according to navy officer José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, the Cathedral needed only a few reparation works and, by his words, was still 'a beautiful Church' (Lopes de Lima apud Augusto Barros apud Pereira, *ibid*, 81).

After c. 200 years of initiation of construction of the Cathedral, and with only some decades having been functioned as the main Church of the Diocese of Cape Verde, the governing of the Bishopric from other Islands on, done by most Bishops from the second half of the 18th century on, led finally to the beginning of abandonment, irreversible degradation and ruin of the Cathedral's structure. Seemingly still standing in reasonable state of conservation till the midst 19th century, the pillages of its constructing material from outsiders such as locals, to be used for the construction of new buildings, such as the further use of the area of the Cathedral for cattle raising and holding, only helped to accelerate this process.

2.2 The Church/Hospital/*Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy)

'After constructing the Church of *Misericórdia*, D. Fr. Francisco Cruz started with the construction of the Cathedral' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 121).

The begin of construction of the *Misericórdia* is dated between 1556 and 1558 (Pereira, 1988, 51, 52). The third Bishop of Cape Verde, D. Francisco da Cruz, started several very important actions in terms of material structures of the Church on the archipelago, in between them the construction of the church and *Casa* (Hospital) of *Misericórdia* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384).

Seen as a physical structure, the *Misericórdia* counted with obligatory installations that, beside the church, included a Hospital with its wards and the pharmacy (*ibid*, 470). The Church of *Misericórdia* itself measured 76.5 palms (16.83m) of length and 37 palms (8.14m) of width. 'Quite small to accommodate the people, even though it served as Cathedral for long years' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 121).

Madeira Santos and M. J. Soares (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 474) describe part of it and its surroundings in the following way: 'it had a square surrounded by buildings with lots of windows, which were occupied by the important people. The solemn ceremonies and the preaching could be done from a verandah, which was in top of the staircase. The prison was lying next to it'.

The *Misericórdia*, seemingly partly demolished after the pillages in 1583 of the followers of D. António Prior do Crato under command of Emanuel Serradas, received in 1584, by Royal mercy, the amount of 200 *cruzados* for restoration of the building and for the stolen gears by the Corsairs (Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 469).

The judges and councilors of Santiago, in a petition to the King in 1620, described the ruined state of the houses and nurseries, asking for the new contract of income to include an *ordinaria* of 100 *cruzados*, being the contractor obliged to deliver this amount every year (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 192).

So did come in 1621, from the Crown of Portugal, a donation designated for the *Misericórdia* '(...) to put in it 100 *cruzados*, by ordination, for the time of six years, for repairs and remedy of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (...)' (*ibid*, 226). This was repeated in 1629 and 1641 (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 427).

But the advancing economic crisis and the disappearance of the rich men of Ribeira Grande during the first half of the 17th century conducted the *Misericórdia* into a difficult financial situation. So it found itself in 1641 '(...) with the wards ruined' (*id*).

In 1679, under the Bishop D. Fr. António de Dionísio, in consequence of the discussion of the endless question of finalizing the construction of the Cathedral or not, the brothers of the Confraternity of *Misericórdia*, were was represented in large scale the oligarchy of Santiago, defended that the Church of *Misericórdia* should be added, so that it could continue to serve as Cathedral, in a more appropriate way. But others defended that, with the same purpose, there should be done constructions of beneficence and enlargement in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*. Finally, as we have seen, the proposal of finalizing the construction of the Cathedral, even in smaller scale, won (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 345, 346).

One of the arguments had been the argument that the *Misericórdia* was not large and representative enough (*id*). But still in 1681, the inhabitants of the *Santa Casa* thought in enlarging the small Church, which served temporarily as Cathedral but had been too small for the large affluence of the people. For that purpose they asked for charities from the people, and, surprisingly, even the Bishop himself contributed with 900 *cruzados*, beside of each major-domo contributing with 600 *cruzados*, such as them receiving more then 200 *cruzados* from a pious legate. They wanted also to get 1.000 *cruzados* from the very rich Confraternity of *Rosário* (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 285).

With reaching of the finalizing constructions of the Cathedral near to an end and the decision to move into it, the Bishop obtained in 1693 from the Confraternity of the *Santa Casa* all the ornaments and chalices for the Cathedral, its Confraternity staying from then on even unable to celebrate the cult (*ibid*, 315). Senna Barcelos refers to the transition: 'This church [*Misericórdia*] stayed serving as *Sé* [Cathedral], and as such it had *sacrário* and font, and in her the canons prayed till 1693, in which all was transferred to the *nova Sé*' (*ibid*, 345).

During the attack of the French Corsairs in 1712, the pillage of the churches included the one of the Church of *Misericórdia*, taking away all the silver that was in it, evaluated in more than 8000 *cruzados* (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 102). They also took the richest liturgical utensils and ornaments, specially images, the silver from the altar, vestments, bells etc. (*ibid*, 332).

From then on, its state deplored dramatically during the next decades. Even though that the *Misericórdia* was the only existing Hospital in Ribeira Grande, it found itself in 1786 in such bad conditions that a lot of patients had to sustain themselves, preferring mostly '(...) to run away before the cure was completed and ask for charity than to die from the bad treatment'

(de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 89). Fifteen years later, in 1801, the *provincial* (Lat. *provinciale*, superior religious of a province) of the religious directed himself towards the regent Prince, exposing to him the deplorable state in which was the Hospital of Ribeira Grande, such as it were the ones of Cacheu and Bissau (*ibid*, 141, 142).

This left finally, at 12th of March of 1819, to a meeting in Praia between the Governor, provider of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, and the Confraternity brothers, where they achieved the agreement to transfer the Hospital of Ribeira Grande to the city of Praia. The main reason for the decision had been the abandonment of Ribeira Grande, having its harbour empty, not existing one doctor, nor surgeon or pharmacist. Beside this, 'the building was already completely demolished' (*ibid*, 206).

The brothers of the *Santa Casa* agreed with the move to Praia, because in the one in Ribeira Grande rested only a small number of patients and it stayed provided with only little of the necessary things. De Senna Barcelos (*ibid*, 215) lists that it had only 6 patients; the pharmacy had only 5 glasses, a scale and one boiler to cook parsley; as utensil for the kitchen there was one big boiler; the ward had 14 beds of old wood, 11 new sheets of linen, 4 inutile big pillows filled with stem to put the mattresses over, 4 pillowcases made of cotton, 4 jars for water; 16 wooden planks, beside the 70 borrowed ones from the main surgeon, such as other 52 borrowed ones from the Tenant (*ibid*, 214, 215). At 29th of March of 1819, the brothers made a visit to this Hospital agreeing that it would be necessary to construct another one. In case of reconstructing this would cost 5.200$000 *réis*. The visit had as result that 'the proposal of transference was finally turned down'.

But seemingly, nor one or the other option was turned into praxis because in 1823, when the new Governor Chapuzet visited the Hospital, he found the patients lying on the floor, having as pillow a stone; there were no utensils for the kitchen and only one big boiler for all the ill people. There was nor even one bowl, nor plate or even spoon. And there was nothing for the application of the medicaments, nor a basin for taking bath or utensils for surgery (*ibid*, 278).

This made come up the old question of transferring the Hospital of *Misericórdia* of Ribeira Grande to Praia again as before. But the Governor himself was against transference of the Hospital to Praia, arguing that Ribeira Grande is the residence of the Bishop and that the Church and Hospital are being decent. He asked the government to take steps for the *Santa Casa*, showing that an income of 1.000$000 *réis* was not enough, even though he supplied it every month with 50$000 *réis* out of his own pocket. More, he asked to concert the building by the public military constructions of the province, and that the expense wouldn't be more than 600$000 *réis*. But he agreed to build next to the military ward in Praia another one for civil people, which would be sustained by the *Misericórdia*. To assist the *Santa Casa* was opened a subscription, the Bishop giving 50$000 *réis* and the inhabitants 61$000 *réis* (*id*).

'This Governor (Chapuzet) reconstructed the church of the Hospital, which was a mount of ruins, giving in advance money out of his pocket for this purpose' (*id*). He got beds for the ill people, with sheets and blankets, diverse utensils and a well provided pharmacy.

But the decadency of the church and Hospital even though seemed to advance quickly, according to an ocular testimony who referred in 1841 that 'only rests of the church and Hospital of *Misericórdia* were still standing' (Augusto Barros apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 81).

At which period the *Misericórdia* was finally abandoned and felt into ruin is not clearly identifiable. It could have been around the third decade of the 19th century.

2.3 The Episcopal Palace

As we have seen before, D. Fr. Francisco da Cruz, third Bishop of Cape Verde, reaching the Bishopric in 1551, beside constructing the church and *Casa* (Hospital) da *Misericórdia* and giving initiation to the construction of the Cathedral, also started to construct the Episcopal Palace (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 120).

Its exact initiation and finalization date is unknown, but, concerning to Pereira, it was 'during the second half of the 16th century (before 1574)' (Pereira, 1988, 52). But already in 1689 it is to suppose that the Episcopal Palace was in deplorable state of conservation, because the Bishop '(...) only treated of the re-edification of the houses in which he lived in' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 302), stopping the constructions of the fortresses initiated by the Governor Veríssimo de Carvalho and letting them falling in ruin. This by supposition means the one of the Episcopal Palace, beside the farm in *Trindade*, the reconstruction of the first one seemingly finished shortly after 1700.

Till 1700, the Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano had spent a large part of his *côngruas* and wasted largely the patrimony of the mitre beside, for constructing the Cathedral, to construct the ecclesiastic *aljube* and to re-construct the Episcopal Palace (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 362).

In the same process, the habitation area of the Episcopal Palace had been adopted by D. Fr. Vitoriano for the construction of the Seminary, which we will see later, but which '(...) was never concluded and quickly ruined' (*ibid*, 367).

Before reaching his Bishopric in Ribeira Grande in 1709, the new Bishop D. Fr. Francisco de Santo Agostinho, to prepare his trip to Cape Verde, asked the Chapter to inform him about the local situation. This, offended by the attitude of the former Bishop, of selling goods of the mitre of gold and silver to sustain his construction activity, replies with the information that the Bishop had, with the excuse to construct a Seminary, ordered to demolish part of the accommodation houses of the Prelate, finding themselves in ruined state and disabled to host the new Bishop (*ibid*, 366). It is not clear for us if with the accommodation houses or residence houses is meant to be included the Episcopal Palace itself.

Meanwhile, the new Bishop D. Fr. Francisco de Santo Agostinho, by reaching Ribeira Grande in the same year of 1709, realized that the goods of the mitre were drained and that he didn't have a capable residency (which means probably the Episcopal Palace) in the city or ways to construct it. The Chapter had informed him that, due to high expenses done to sustain the construction fever of the former Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano, 'he only had a plain wooden chair, so that he [the new Bishop] should take from the court all what would be convenient for his Episcopal dignity' (*id*). This probably was an exaggeration generated by the anger the Chapter had against the procedures of the former Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano.

The building, in which conditions it might have been in 1712, came provisionally to an end: two days after the attack of the French corsairs under General Jaques Cassard at Ribeira

Grande in 1712, there could be listened to '(...) a lot of explosions such of mines as of fire which the enemy had put at a lot of buildings, as the Royal warehouse, the house of the Governor and the one of the Bishop and at a lot of others (...)' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 143). The flames consumed the Episcopal Palace, its walls tumbled down, destroying also the whole library of the Bishops (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 332).

The Bishop D. Fr. Francisco started immediately to re-erect the Episcopal Palace by building up the walls that had tumbled down, by beaming, putting wooden lining and covering, such as putting wooden floor and tiles on the roof. Then he entered there again with his family (*ibid*, 372). But the following observation, mentioned in sequence, seems to contradict the former one: 'Meanwhile, there was nobody who concluded the construction by lack of money or of stonemason or carpenter masters which could take in their responsibility the construction' (*id*). Any how, shortly afterwards, the Episcopal Palace became to stay vacant for several years again, because, as the Chapter did give the Bishop D. Fr. Francisco no respite, he went back to the residency in *Trindade* (*ibid*, 332, 333).

Already round about the year 1745, the Episcopal Palace, such as the Cathedral and the farm in *Trindade,* where the Bishops lived during the rain seasons, had construction works again '(...) which already had been delineated by the former Bishop [Fr. José de Santa Maria Jesus]' (*ibid*, 391).

The Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente, as we have seen, left one year after his reaching in Ribeira Grande, in 1755, to St.º Antão Island, where he fixed his residency and governed the Bishopric for more than 20 years, remaining there till his death. The Marquês de Pombal was very unpleased that he had abandoned the seat of the Bishopric of Ribeira Grande without former Royal approval, letting to degrade the ecclesiastic *aljube* and the Episcopal Palace (*ibid*, 398). D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto had been accused by the *ouvidor* Silveira Sampaio that he had ordered to his major-domo to sell all the contents of the Episcopal Palace, advising also that '(...) no further expenses should be done in the Episcopal complex without his authorization' (de Senna Barcelos apud Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 404).

He had taken a lot of ornaments and precious books of the mitre to the Island of St.º Antão, which he found in the Episcopal Palace, letting the building ruin completely, letting it stay literally '(...) with the windows and doors wide opened' (Madeira Santos, *ibid*, 333).

In consequence of the abandonment and ruin of the Episcopal Palace, four years after the Bishops death, in 1779, it was ordered to the *corregedores* of crime to send the *degredados* (exiled) which had worked as stonemasons and carpenters, to the Island of Santiago to occupy themselves, beside in the construction of the Hermitage *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, in the one of the Episcopal Palace itself (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 77).

By the year of 1774, the date of the death of the Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto, all the huge legate he left, such as in money, goods, ornaments and liturgical utensils, were applied by *Pombaline* decree to the reconstruction of the Episcopal Palace, such as they would return to the Cathedral (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 398).

Physical description of the Episcopal Palace in 1774 (apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 62):

> 'The Palace, if not distinguishing itself through a good architecture, still was a magnificent building which measured 193,5 palms [42.57m] of length, 55 [12.10m] of width and 41 [9.02m] of height, having hip roof with a height of 17 palms [3.74m] above its base of top of the wall. The principal front of this building was turned towards south, receiving light through 8 windows of *sacada* [salient windows, or windows with balcony] with balconies in front, in the first floor. To this floor gave access two stairs, one localized at the extreme east of the building, constructed above a masonry solid, with 20 palms [4.40m] of height and 24 [5.28m] of length. The width of the stair and of the *patim* [level or landing] measured 15 palms [3.30m], having this one the length of 12 palms [2.64m]. Above this solid were elevated two columns of stones, of 12 palms [2.64m], and on them was based the covering of the *patim*. From here on was the entering into the vestibule through a door in ogee form, and below this one, at the surface of the solo, another opening in the referred solid gave communication to the ground pavement [lower storey]. The other door, put inferior to the second salient window, counting from the extreme opposite on, or west, established the communication with two spacey rooms of the first floor and with the other dependencies. Seven windows opened towards the lower storey, which had 13 compartments. In the noble floor, beside the two rooms and the vestibule, existed more seven rooms for the Bishop and family, one *camara* [room destined for a person/repartition for ecclesiastic dispaches] and two spacey *ante-camaras*. Immediately by trespassing the vestibule, above the left, was localized the second *ante-camara*, where the Chapel was. Leaned to the west part of the building was the kitchen, which measured 37 palms [8.14m] of front by 19 [4.18m] in height and 55 [12.10m] in width, communicating interiorly with two storeys of the Palace. Lateral the building had three salient windows in the noble floor and two in the ground storey. At 65 palms [14.30m] more towards west of the kitchen followed the rision on ground floor level of the *aljube*, which were composed of two houses of 34 palms [7.48m] each one in length and 32 [7.04m] in width, and three rooms for the jailor. Above the four faces of the building heightened themselves, beginning from the ground on, big stone columns, on which were based the principal beams of the noble floor and the roof'. (Note: the measurements of palms converted into meters are from our authority).

Probably mostly uninhabited since the abandonment of the Bishop D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto on, it is mentioned that in 1826 'the Bishop D. Fr. Jerónimo do Barco tried the re-edification of the Episcopal Palace in Ribeira Grande (...)' (*ibid*, 330). This Bishop, whose stay at Santiago Island was in between 1821 and 1827, and who had to abort this mission prematurely returning to Portugal, couldn't seemingly save the (still unfinished?) building from a new quick ruin, because it never went to he inhabited by any Bishop again (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 333).

Pereira mentions that in 1884, 'the Episcopal didn't exist any more, even though there had been the dispatch of the Marquês de Pombal from November of 1774, which determined its re-edification' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 81).

2.4 The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Holy Mother of Rosary)

'1495-round about this date is constructed the Church of of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, one of the oldest ones of the Island of Santiago. Initially it was only the Chapel of Manuelin style, enlarged afterwards, being all recovered with tiles' (Pereira, 1988, 45). As we will see later, some observations made and information found will let us have to doubt this constructive sequence.

Meanwhile it seems to be clear that the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* would have been helped to be built up by native Africans (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 473). Pereira (Pereira, 2004, n.p.) confirms this observation by saying that *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* was the Patron Saint of

the Confraternity of the black men of the city, '(...) which would have instructed the construction of the Church'.

He goes further in adding that, 'it is common tradition that for its edification contributed the Black of the country with the Christians of Guinea, which had at the beginning a large and quite opulent Confraternity'. But after nearly three hundred years, in 1784, '(...) it finds itself in the same decadency which experiences the entire Island' (Pereira, 2005, 353). This seems to give a more reasonable picture of who did construct the church, it being doubtful that 'the native Africans contributed' without clear instruction of the Christian institution.

Still referring to, it is '(...) all due to the ruined state of the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 74). We know already in which ruined state had been Ribeira Grande during the second half of the 18th century, but the information given doesn't let us make a clear picture of how degraded the Church *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* really was. We suppose that it was some how in better conservation state than most of the other religious buildings, taking in consideration the fact that the native Africans might have had a special affection to the Church of their protection. That is was in use is clear by knowing that in 1778 'the image of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* had been transferred to the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*' (*id*).

But before, in the 17th century, in 1679, under the Bishop D. Fr. António de Dionísio, in consequence of the discussion of the question of finalizing the construction of the Cathedral or instead of this adding the Church of *Misericórdia*, others defended that, with the same purpose that it could serve as Cathedral, there should be done constructions of beneficence and enlargement in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*. As we have seen, the proposal of finalizing the construction of the Cathedral won, even proceeding by (seemingly) reducing its scale (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 345, 346), a fact that we still will try to find out later.

According to Daniel Pereira (Pereira, 1988, 25), the first intervention of restorations done in Ribeira Grande in 1960, in memorial of the 500th birthday of Cape Verde's discovery, referring to the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, could not be considered of restoration nor of consolidation, but of great reparations. So it is to wonder '(...) why the glazed wall tiles from the 16th entury, covering the inside walls from the floor till the roof, were substituted by new tiles, of different motives and colors'. The original wall tiles were put in boxes inside the first storey of the bell tower, where they still remain today, but whose access is unfortunately denied. He continuous by saying that in comparison to this, the lateral chapel, in gothic style, resisted well against the action of time, even though it counts with round about 500 years of existence. The same can't be said about the spiral staircase of the bell tower, '(...) whose steps, taken to pieces, run the risk to disappear, being used in particular constructions, not being of small number the little houses of the localization which show *cunhaleiras* of marble' (*id*). What he means with *cunhaleiras* can only be the chiselled stones which we can find all over Ribeira Grande, coming from former buildings, but, and not as he confirms, being ones of calacreous stones and not of marble.

Pereira (Pereira, 2004, n.p.) makes a short description of the Church *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* as follows: he says that the key of the arched roof of the late gothic chapel in Manuelin style has a boss that represents the Royal Portuguese cross. 'The church was enlarged after 1495, covered again with glazed tiles, proudly displaying beautiful and precious tombstones from the nobles in the Island from the Spanish Fillip's era'.

In the end, *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* became the only church of Ribeira Grande which, seemingly, had always continued to stay in use, and so could survive as a whole structure quite intact, nevertheless degraded, till our days.

2.5 The Convent of *S. Francisco*

During the year 1637, before the reaching of the two Franciscans in 1462 or 1466 in Ribeira Grande, *Frei Rogério* and the *Frei Jaime*, a first mission of Franciscan priests, three in number, reached Cape Verde with the promise that they could built up a Convent in the Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, which didn't happen due to the disagreement of the King. After three years, in 1639, they returned to the Kingdom without having been able to realize nothing of what had been promised to them (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 412). The first attempt to build up a Convent in Ribeira Grande failed so due to the controversy of this mission with the Kingdom.

But at 2nd of January of 1640, Joana Coelha, a Nobel and respectable woman, natural from the Island of Santiago, made a donation for the foundation and sustain of a Convent, which would be denominated later as Convent of *S. Francisco* (Pereira, 1988, 69).

The Bishop D. Fr. Lourenço Garro had realized in 1640 that on the Island of Santiago there were only two Priests of the Company of Jesus, and that there would be necessary friars of the *ordem terceira*. Before, the prelate had ordered them to withdraw because there was no Convent in Ribeira Grande, but due to the offering of charity from the rich widow to construct a Convent, it was ordered to the provincial of the company to send religious of the *ordem terceira* and it was asked the King to give them protection such as to help in the construction of the Convent (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 219).

To fill the lack of clergies after the death of the Bishop in 1646, after which the Bishopric stayed empty for the next 26 years, finally the King D. João IV sent *Capuchins* Religious to Ribeira Grande (*ibid*, 234). He ordered the construction of the Convent in Ribeira Grande, giving for this purpose 4000 *Cruzados*. After his death in 1656, the widow Queen send more religious, nominated by the provincial of *Lagos*, which served also in the construction of the Convent (*ibid*, 249).

The Convent was finally started to be constructed in 1657, on a land of *morgado dos Mosquitos*, by exchange with another one from the Royal treasury, called *Horta do Colégio* (kitchen-yard of the College) (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 291). There is a possibility to believe that this *Horta do Colégio*, the kitchen-yard, lies where the Jesuit College is localized, beside the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, near by the foot of the stairs, south-west wards, which lead to the Convent area uphill. This seems to be confirmed by de Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 255) affirming that 'in 1657, eight *Capuchins* Religious, of the province of *Piedade*, went to Ribeira Grande. It was given to them the houses and kitchen-yard which belonged to the Jesuits'. While the Convent was in construction, the Franciscan priests seemingly lived in the part of town of *S. Brás*, where the Jesuits have had their houses.

But it seems to follow a mess in transmission of information when de Senna Barcelos confirms that 'the religious of the Convent went to the province of *Soledade*, and the Convent of *Senhora da Piedade* started to be denominated of *S. Francisco*' (*ibid*, 271). It seems that the Franciscan priests, or at least some of them, left Cape Verde in 1674, the stipulated year

that can be read out of the context. Strange in this sequence, but probable is that the Convent would have had the designation of *Senhora da Piedade* before it was renamed of *S. Francisco*, because, such as the Franciscan priests coming in 1657 such as the ones coming in 1674, came, in between from other provinces, from the province of *Piedade* in Portugal.

The construction of the Convent possibly went on till the beginning of the 80th of the 17th century, round about 25 years, by de Senna Barcelos saying that 'at 21st of February of 1674, ten *Capuchins* Religious, of the provinces of *Piedade*, of *Beira* and *Minho*, were send to the mission of Cape Verde. The governor of Ribeira Grande was asked to give them shelter and good treatment' (*id*). But the 'shelter' also might have been used here in the wider sense of hospitality.

Nevertheless further on, we can read that in 1679, to conclude the Convent of *S. Francisco*, the *Capuchins* religious ask for the stones of the walls of the Cathedral in construction. As we have seen before, it was decided only two years later, in 1681 (but seemingly the request of still actual need) that it would be better to conclude the Cathedral so that the possibility of conceding the stones to the *Capuchins* religious was put apart (*ibid*, 285).

The finishing of the Convent and its church could have even been later. Duplessis (Duplessis apud Françoise et J. M. Massa, 2004, 29), the French Engineer who visited Ribeira Grande on his four years trip to South America in 1699, mentions in his report that the city has two principal churches, the first one being the Cathedral, and the second one the one of '(...) the Franciscans, recently constructed, which raises at a hillock above the city, with lots of gardens around which makes the view pleasant'.

Also the Church and Convent of *S. Francisco*, such as most of the other religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, didn't escape to the pillages of the French Corsairs under General Jaques Cassard in 1712. The pillaging of the churches and chapels, in between them the Convent, was done in such manner that 'they stayed without anything' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 371).

The Convent comes mentioned in the report, seemingly done by 'Monsieur Casar' (Casar apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 142, 143) himself, about the attack of the French Corsairs to Ribeira Grande in 1712, related in the book of Daniel Pereira of 1988. There we can read that the forest near by the Convent was one of the areas where 50 men should go down and contra attack the Corsairs. These stole ornaments, bells, without mercy of nothing, and '(...) with most excess in the Convent, which stayed without anything and devastated in all'. The devastation of the Convent seemed to be such as ripping of the interior of it as damaging the structure of the building, which means Convent and church, itself. We could not find any information about a probable necessary re-construction.

But at least some reparation works must have been done, putting the Convent and church functional again, because it is reported that in the year of 1754, a great tempest affected the Convent, destroying mainly the part of the dormitories (De Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, 1999, 237). It was in '(...) such a manner that canvas and wood felt of it, sustaining itself above the wood of the *taipas* [mud walls], which, if it wouldn't have been like this, all of the religious would have perished flooded' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, 77). Again, reparations had to be done.

In 1785, a complaining of a friar to the Governor about the guardian which was accused of alternating the divine offices, was accompanied with robberies and fire put to the building of the Convent. The guardian fled, but before, he had ordered to put fire to the oven, trying to put the Convent on fire, such as cutting down the sugar cane from the kitchen yard, destroying and taking a lot of things (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 277, 278).

The Franciscans must have left Ribeira Grande already and the Convent was probably empty when the Bishop D. Fr. Jeronymo, being in Ribeira Grande at 30th of June of 1823, asked the sovereign Congress to handle over to him the Convent for a Seminary, as we have seen. This would include the kitchen yard, ordinaries and eventual gains which the national treasury had given every year for the conservation of the Convent, such as for sustain of the Religious themselves (*id*). In 1825, the Bishop insisted with the Government again to do so (*ibid*, 291).

From that date on, we don't know what happened to the Convent and Church of *S. Francisco*, but all indicates that it had been abandoned and exposed to continuous degradation.

2.6 The Church/Chapel *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (Holy Mother of Conception)

The Church/Chapel *N.ª S: ª da Conceição* is one of the very first churches/chapels built in Ribeira Grande, if not the first one, and as such one of the first ones or the first one to be built in the tropic latitudes ever. It competes this position with two other religious buildings, the Chapel/Church of *Espírito Santo* and the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*. We found some clear indications mentioning it as the first one, but some other reasons, as we will see, could be an argument against it. Its beginning of construction seemingly goes back till the very first years after the urbanization start of Ribeira Grande in 1462. The chronological comparisons done with the Chapel of *S. Brás* and the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* seem to us without fundament, probably still to lack of some information at its earlier date of affirmation done by António Brásio (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 116). Some quotations and arguments already done in the chapter before will be repeated, but now focused mere under the constructive aspect.

So does mention Daniel Pereira (Pereira, 2005, 39): 'The first Chapel, the one of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, of the city of Ribeira Grande, would have been ordered to be constructed by the Infant D. Fernando, in between 1466 and 1470, raised under invocation of the Holy Spirit'.

Francisco Xavier Gomes Catão (Gomes Catão in *Studia*, N.º 19, 1966, 94) says: 'The matrix Church of Ribeira Grande was dedicated to *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and was, for a long time, the main *povoação* [small place] of the Archipelago. In 1503 is mentioned in Ribeira Grande the Church of *Espírito Santo*'.

'In the year 1778, the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, the oldest and most historical one of the Island, erected under the protection of the House of the Infant, was in complete ruined state of conservation' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 74).

As already mentioned, António Brásio (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 116), in 1952, says that 'the Chapel of *S. Brás* was, without doubt, the first one in Ribeira Grande, beside the Churches of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and *N.ª S.ª do Rozario*, from which the construction dates are ignored'.

Because of its degraded state of conservation, related in 1778, the image of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* went to the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, and the masses for the Infant D. Henrique were hold in the Cathedral. The Governor of Ribeira Grande, at 24th of April of 1778, asked for the appliance of the money of these masses, paid by the Royal treasury, to the re-construction of that Chapel. It didn't seem right to him that this 'small temple' would be extinguished from the memory and devotion of the inhabitants of the Island, which had been very rich through the offers and donations of the devote people, specially in pieces of gold, a richness that was already spread around, even ignored, in the hands of a lot and variety of people, due to a missing known inventory and caretaker who would look after (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 74).

In the same sense, it was ordered to the Governor that he should inform to whom the Chapel belongs and who would be in charge of its reparation. He should also sell the furniture which wasn't necessary, applying it to the re-edification, and bring together some more money from the treasury to conserve it in state of cleanliness. The funds should be reimbursed of this amount if there would be no necessity of its re-edification, but that he '(...) never would let to pray the referred masses because this clause had to be obeyed' (*id*).

The answer of the Governor is probably the strongest argument to determine the Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* as to be the oldest one from Ribeira Grande. He answered that it was only oral tradition that this chapel would have been erected by the Infant D. Henrique, to pray for his soul one mass each Saturday, with the amount of 60$000 *réis*, from the own income of the customs. He mentioned also that this Hermitage had been the first building that existed in the city, but that there didn't exist any script or any other document referred to it because of the two invasions of the French, which burned the old registry offices of Ribeira Grande. The pieces belonging to the referred hermitage, he said, would stay in collection, and that he was treating to receive the money from the *fôros* and revenues. More he added that the devotes contributed to the improvements with charities. 'The tradition, that the hermitage would have been ordered to construct by the Infant, as we already saw (...), has no fundament' (*id*). Who certainly ordered to erect this hermitage would have been the Infant D. Fernando, by recommendation of the Infant D. Henrique (*ibid*, 74, 75). The masses would have been hold still at the beginning of the 16th century, '(...) while there was the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (...)' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 120).

If the Infant D. Henrique, who died already in 1460, would have constructed the chapel, he would have mentioned it in his testament, '(...) as he mentioned all the churches he ordered to construct in Africa' (*ibid*, 41). This 'tradition' is without fundament because the start of the urbanization of Ribeira Grande dates from 1462. It couldn't have been him if the Charta of privileges given to the inhabitants at 22nd of June of 1466 is read with attention, which says: 'to how many this letter will see, we make know that the Infant D. Fernando my *prosado* [boastful] and beloved brother sent us to say that *it will be four years that he started to settle his Island of Santiago* (...)'. Starting with the settlement in 1462, certainly the Infant D. Henrique, who died in 1460, '(...) couldn't have been the promoter of this settlement, and much less, of the construction of any building, which also required habilitated personal and material, what certainly took some years to get them there' (*ibid*, 42).

The Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* seemingly was already in ruined state of conservation or even abandoned during the first half of the 17th century, because in the year of 1636, three Franciscan priests came to Ribeira Grande, with the purpose to built up a Convent in the

Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 412). We saw already that this didn't happen.

To refer again, the attack of the French Corsairs under General Jaques Cassard in 1712 to Ribeira Grande had as the main aim the pillages of churches and other ecclesiastic buildings, afterwards being some of them put on fire. 'They pillaged the Chapels of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, of *S. Pedro*, such as the Convent of *S. Francisco*, which stayed without anything (...) In between others, the Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* was plundered during this attack' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 371).

Probably the damages after the attack had been repaired and the church continued to be used, looking at the burial dates from the first half of 18th century, as seen in the chapter before. But seemingly it would have been in deplorable state of conservation (again?) during the second half of the 18th century. So was in 1779, at 25th of September, recommended with interest to the Governor that he should proceed in charging the *fôros*, to collect the charities of the faithful people and apply these amounts in the restoration of the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*. Beside, as already mentioned in correlation to the Episcopal Palace, it was ordered to the *corregedores* of the crime that they should send the *degredados*, which had a profession of masonry and carpenter, to the Island, with the purpose of them '(...) to be occupied in the construction of the Hermitage *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, such as of the Episcopal Palace' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 77). Certainly what is meant here is 're-construction'.

And, further on: 'the Queen sent, at 20th of July of 1780, 200$000 *réis* for the construction of the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*' (*ibid*, 79). If this re-construction did take place or not is unclear.

- Duarte Rodrigues, rural land owner of Santiago during the second half of the 16th century, planned in detail his future burial in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* in his testament. He said the following: 'I want my body to be buried in of this city (Ribeira Grande), in the chapel where lies buried my wife Catharina d'Andrade and my daughter Polônia, tomb I've paid to the Bishop (...)' (AHN, Livro de Registo dos Vínculos da Ilha de Santiago apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 342).

If here is meant a side chapel or not is not clear. We can confirm, through the map from António Carlos Andrea, but in special through the archaeological excavations done in 2007 (see next chapter and Annex 2.4), that the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* did have a side chapel.

2.7 The Jesuit College/*Casa*/Seminary

After the official end of the mission of the Jesuits in Cape Verde in 1642, still in 1647, in the decree of 48th of June, comes mentioned that the Religious of the Company had created '(...) a Seminary near the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* in the city' (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 235). This Seminary can only be meant to be the College of the Jesuits, identified on the maps of António Carlos Andrea from the second half of the 18th century, and confirmed so far by the archaeological excavations done in 2007 (see Vol. II, Annex 2.4).

The information accessible about the, at least, attempt of constructing a Jesuit College, a *Casa* (or *Casa professa*) or even a Seminary of the Jesuits in Ribeira Grande is full of surprises and even contradictions. What we can say with certain sureness is that, connected to the Jesuit mission between 1604 and 1642, none of these originally planned or at least whished buildings would have been erected. The proper College of Jesuits, which nevertheless seemed to have been constructed, would have been a re-adaptation or restoring of a former building for this purpose. And the project of building a Seminary, already in discussion and planned since 1570 on, would have been initiated in Ribeira Grande only during the first half of the 18th century, but having stayed unfinished and never having entered in use. The construction of this Seminary we will try to interpret in the next point. It is only during the second half of the 19th century that a functioning Seminary could be installed, not on the Island of Santiago but on the Island of S. Nicolau.

The order of King D. Sebastião to initiate the construction of the local Seminary in Ribeira Grande comes from 1570, but 'it wouldn't be realized during nearly four centuries (...) and as such didn't pass as a mere creation on paper (...)'(Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 387, 388). One of these solutions would have been the Jesuit College itself.

In a letter dated from the 6th of May of 1596, the King D. Filipe II ordered to governors of the Kingdom to obtain Jesuits which would wanted to found a College in Santiago (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 176). At 18th of June of 1600, the King asked the provincial to send a mission to Cape Verde, which he prepared, waiting for the King to ask in Rome to the general of the Society to give his order to do so. The *Mesa de Consciência* refereed for it's sustaining the 200$000 *réis* which had been designated for the Seminary, more specifically for ornaments, in between other materials (*id*).

In 1604, the Kingdom abandoned the idea of a construction of a Seminary in Cape Verde, so that the Missionaries of Cape Verde see themselves disobliged of the former incumbency. It is determined now that there should be a College, But the crown decided still during the same year that the definitive form of the mission in Cape Verde should not include a founding of a College but of a residency of the Jesuit priests with the amount of 1000 *réis*, hosting ten or twelve priests, from which eight should reside at the Guinea Coast. The governor and the Jesuits in Cape Verde were in charge of choosing the localization and go forward with the construction of the residency, for which had been elaborated a detailed plan (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 439). This plan seemingly didn't reach our days.

Note: the information here is contradictory, and the confusion about which institute to found or not to found went on. So does write Daniel Pereira (Pereira, 1988, 61): 'at 14th of October of 1604, a Royal permit is emitted, which says that in the city of Ribeira Grande should be founded a confirmed *Casa* for religious of the Company of Jesus'. And for the same year is mentioned: 'the Jesuit Priest Baltasar Barreira, in a letter written to the *provincial* of the Jesuits, informed about the localizations which he understood would be the best for the founding of a *Casa* or College of the Jesuits on Santiago Island' (Brásio apud Pereira, *id*).

In 1607, it becomes mentioned in a letter by the Jesuit priest Manuel de Almeida, written at the 11th of June to the priest António de Mascarenhas, that the Jesuit missionaries left their houses which the priests of the first Jesuit expedition had rented for habitation, and that they constructed a residency at the place of the Seminary, beside the church (probably ment the Chapel of *S. Brás*) in which they confessed. It comes described as having a good *portaria*

(entrance hall), covered with straw, fresh enough so that local people would be there, reading the spiritual books which the Jesuits possessed (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 151).

During the same year 1607, the Council of Portugal and the King underlined the fact that the foundation of a house or College would be a *casa professa*, and that the annual income would be still depending on the will of the King to confirm it. To find the ideal place for its localization was now of major concern due to the unhealthy climate (*ibid*, 156). Priest Baltasar Barreira (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, *id*) proposed several possible localizations, one of them '(...) two leagues [10km] in direction into the interior of the Island, which is called *S. Dominguos*, and is very populated for being healthy, as they say, and very mild and fertile'. The other proposed ones were the villa of Praia, due to the same health reasons, and in the round about of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* (Da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 157). Till 1611, he refused completely the hypothesis of the Company to establish itself inside the city of Ribeira Grande, because this would only serve to '(...) waist and consume subjects of the Company' (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, *id*). Beside this, he was concerned about its construction plan, with the beginning of the construction works and with the materials which should come from Portugal. He himself gave the first architectonical description of how the building should be like, thinking of a place called *Ribeirão Correia*:

> 'I think that the building should be done in square shape, with courtyard and balconies around it, in such way that the *lanço* [could mean 'wall section', 'extension of a façade' or 'part of a staircase in between two landings or levels'] which 'falls' over the sea has five or six cubicles, or the ones which seem to be, of good size and in front of their doors stones which divide the interior corridor of the balcony of the courtyard (...). And the main façade of the Church should be done towards the side of the city, which stays at west or at west-northwest' (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 158).

Also of interest are the goods asked to be send from Lisbon, which included tools and construction materials, such as hammers, axes, scythes, pick axes, hollow-chisels, files, chisels, wire, nails, hinges, chains and planks of Flanders pine wood (Da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 169). Concerning the pine wood of Flandres, see Vol. II, Annex 2.5.

It was thought to be for eighteen or twenty Jesuits (*ibid*, 158).

Still in his first letters, at the beginning of the mission, was visible his optimism, even proposing the simultaneous founding of a College and a house of residency. 'He was decisively against a confirmed house in substitution of the initially planned College' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 440).

The Crown had assumed the main responsibility to sustain the Missionaries from the beginning on, which meant *um conto de réis* (one million *réis*) to be divided between the construction works of the *casa* or College and the Jesuits themselves (Da Silva Gonçalves, *op cit.*, 167). But from c. 1610 on, the finances aimed to pay the Jesuit priests and the rest of the clergy were not paid with regularity any more, '(...) what also influenced the initially insistent position of wanting to found a Jesuitical Institute' (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, *id*).

Baltasar Barreira died in 1610. His substitute, the priest Sebastião Gomes, asked immediately the attorney of the order in the court to begin with the construction or, in contrary, to abandon this purpose. The undefined situation continued during the next years of the mission, the Jesuits being more and more abandoned and disappointed of the results and increasing difficulties facing (*ibid*, 441).

Here must be a mistake about his date of death. Nevertheless, Baltasar Barreira proceeds 'in 1611' in buying a residency in the part of town of S. Brás, where the Jesuits should stay till the conclusion of the new building, for whose construction was calculated a time of twenty or thirty years, due to the disposable funds. Even though the Crown had clearly determined the annual applicable amount for the construction and the maintenance of the Missionaries, Baltasar Barreira affirmed tremendous difficulties and delays in receiving the stipulated money (Da Silva Gonçalves, *op. cit.*, 158, 159).

From then on (1611, after B. Barreira buying a residency in *S. Brás*), they used the Hermitage *de S. Brás*, localized in the part of town of *S. Brás* in the neighbourhood of their new residency, to pray and confess, such as to teach the doctrine (*ibid*, 159). Baltasar Barreira manifested himself satisfied related to the frequency of the small church which the Jesuits had now disposable, so that he wrote: 'even though we are poor in ornaments, (...) this is enough to attract a lot of people to our church' (*ibid*, 164).

In the year 1621 can be read, in the summarized list about the state of Christianity in the Diocese of Cape Verde, the following: 'there is a residency of the Priests of the Company, even though they are now not more than three, (...)' (Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. IV, 663).

In 1624, at the 1st of June, in a report of the Royal council of the *Fazenda* about the Casa of the Jesuits in Cape Verde, it is noticed that the permit from 1608 ordered a founding of a confirmed Casa, but that the permission of the general priest was missing, who haven't simply given it. 'And that it should be a College it is to declare that there will be no doubt what was assented by the named permit, and ordered' (Brásio, 1952, 2.ª série, Vol. V, 30). Still in 1624, the King D. Filipe referred to the Jesuits in Ribeira Grande in a letter: '(...) it is to understand that the ones designated for the Island of Santiago should share out themselves between the *Casa* that will be done there and the Residency of *Cacheu* (...)' (Pinto Rema, 1967, in *Boletim cultural da Guiné Portuguesa*, 264). And in 1629, a visitor of the mission send from Portugal, the priest Sebastião de Araújo, who visited the Mission on Santiago Island between 1629 and 1630 for a period of round about nine months, elaborated a detailed plan for the institute to establish, coming to the conclusion that, in the conditions prescribed by the Royal letters, it was possible to proceed with its construction (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 441, 442).

Beside the construction plan, a list of necessary construction material, necessarily to be sent from Lisbon, was elaborated by him (Jesuit priest Sebastião de Araújo). The building to be constructed still was the same *casa* or College already in discussion about twenty five years before. These plans are still conserved today (see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.7, fig. 8 and 9) and design a building to be localized in the part of town of *S. Brás*, in square shape and with a central courtyard of 80 palms (17.60m) of side, a church of 73 palms (16.06m) of length and 42 (9.24m) of width, such as the necessary divisions for habitations, workshops, storage rooms and classrooms for the courses of Latin and cases of conscience. The elaborated list of construction material described the absolute necessary: roof tiles, jambs for doors and windows, timberwork, lavatories, fountain, retables and rails (Da Silva Gonçalves, *op. cit.*, 236, 237). According to these decriptions, it would have been a major building as well as a medium sized church.

At 6th of February of 1625, the Jesuit priest Sebastião Gomes, still resident in Ribeira Grande, writes about the fact that his mission had given lodge to some noblemen on their way to

Brazil, referring to their place offered as lodge as being a 'hut'. Further on he mentions '(...) our vegetable garden which we have inside the city (...)', referring to grapes, other fruits and even flowers (Brásio, 2.ª série, Vol. V, 72). This possibly could be the before mentioned *Horta do Colégio* (kitchen-yard of the College), als also supposed by de Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 291).

At 23rd of September of 1625, the King ordered, by letter, to proceed with the execution of the College, which the religious of the Company of Jesus should have at the Islands and *Cacheu*, without delay, '(...) to avoid damages to the spiritual service of the souls' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 211).

About one year later, at 15th of April of 1626, in a letter from the officials of the Municipal Camera of Ribeira Grande to the King Filipe III, it is described that 'the two priests of the Company [Society of Jesus], which assist in the city for a lot of years, have in the part of town of *S. Brás* houses, where they live, and where is also an hermitage [of *S. Brás*]' (Brásio, 2.ª série, Vol. V, 154, 155).

In a report from the Jesuit Priest Sebastião Gomes, dated from 1629, he names the pros and contras for the founding of the *Casa*, such as for the staying of the priests of the Company. Between other arguments, he mentions the lack of commerce and the arrogance of the Governors such as of the Bishops (Brásio apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 67). The same Jesuit Priests gives, in 1637, a negative report related to the founding of the *Casa* of the Jesuits in Ribeira Grande. He describes the situation in Ribeira Grande, indicating that the city is in constant decline and with lack of commerce. He complains about the absence of people and the missing efficiency of the defense system, the city having been pillaged two times during the past years. Another difficult factor mentioned are the diseases which are abundant between the people. 'In case that we want to built a *Casa* in Cape Verde, it is to warn that there don't exist officials nor materials to do so, and that all has to be brought from the kingdom; and not existing ships (as it can be seen now) nor money in abundance, hardly it could be done' (*ibid*, 68, 69).

Finally, round about 1630, the Kingdom abandoned completely the idea of implementing an institute of the Jesuits in Cape Verde, probably due to the desolate situation in Ribeira Grande (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 452). As it was inhabited by less then thirty five people, being fifteen or sixteen of them from Portugal, 'it was impossible to preach the mass at the same day in two churches (in the Cathedral and in the Chapel of the Jesuits), by not existing enough listeners for two preachers' (*ibid*, 463). The Chapel of the Jesuits mentioned must be the one of *S. Brás*, in the neighborhood of their residence houses. 'Till the abandonment of the mission in 1642, silence reigned about the question of the construction of an institute for the Jesuits' (*ibid*, 441, 442). This indicates the on the town maps from the 18th century indicated College as a not by the Jesuits edificated building, but probably a re-used one, if bought or rented, partially or fulltime in use, re-constructed meanwhile or re-ornamented, as well as its former use, is not to confirm yet.

2.8 The Seminary

The question of founding a Seminary in Cape Verde came up already from the 16th century on '(...) this one was going downhill and even extinguished' (Gomes Catão in *Studia*. N.º 9, 1966, 111). By a Royal letter of 12th of January of 1570 was created by King D. Sebastião a

Seminary in Cape Verde, with the donation of 200$000 *réis per annum*, coming from the Royal treasury, '(...) which never had been realized' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 121/139).

King D. Sebastião, in sequence of the directives of the Council of Trent, ordered in 1570 to initiate the construction of the local Seminary. This determination wouldn't be realized during nearly four centuries, till the end of the 19th century, and as such didn't pass as a mere creation on paper (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 387, 388).

Due to the third Bishop of Cape Verde, D. Fr. Francisco Cruz, the city had enlarged, giving it some buildings of first category, such as '(...) creating a school, a matter at which nobody had thought till the discovery' (de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 121).

D. Fr. Francisco Cruz got 100$000 *réis* for provisions for his *provisor* and general Vicar, by permit of 10th of January of 1570, but only in case of residency in the Bishopric. If not, this money should be applied for the Seminary. There is another letter, from 12th of January of 1570, which refers to a donation of 200$000 annual *réis*, destined to erect a Seminary. A permit dated from the 2nd of May of 1573, made deserve this official 200$000 *réis* more, beside the 260$000 *réis* he already had as payment (L. 2, sheet 6, 9, 10, 205 of the ancient Chancellery of the *Ordem de Christo* apud de Senna Barcelos, *id*).

Already in 1604, the Kingdom abandoned the idea of a construction of a Seminary in Cape Verde (Madeira Santos, *op. cit.*, 439). The initial idea of Seminary was transformed into the idea of a College, which was reduced then to a residency of the Jesuit priests or even, as mentioned, a *Casa Professa*, as we have seen. But the idea of creating a proper Seminary survived the stay of the Jesuits.

Note: it might be probable that the initial idea of a Seminary had been taken to a certain level of preparation for its installation, at least the localization where it should be installed initially could have been circumscribed. But we have to be careful by having in mind the often used exchange of denominations in between 'Seminary', 'College' and '*Casa*', which leave to a partial confusion and often to an impossibility of exact interpretation Nevertheless, it is possible that this place would have planned to be in the part of town of *S,. Brás*, mentioned in a letter from 1607 by the Jesuit priest Manuel de Almeida, where the Jesuits planned to construct '(...) a residency at the place of the Seminary, beside the church in which they confessed' (Da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 151). But it also might be simply the use of the words 'at the place of' for 'instead', which would cancel our further observation.

António Brásio seems to make also an 'incorrect' use of denomination by affirming that the Religious of the Society had created '(...) a Seminary near the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* in the city' (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, *op. cit.*, 235). This supposition is underlined by the fact of calling the Chapel/Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* as hermitage, a fact which we could observe, related to the church as also to other religious buildings, along our research. It just confirms once more the College beside the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição.*

It is the Bishop D. Frei Vitoriano who, during the year of 1702, brings up again the always delayed question of construction a Seminary in Cape Verde by insisting with the King to put in execution the construction of the Seminary of Santiago (de Senna Barcelos, *ibid*, 360). But

already from 1696 on, he had represented several times to the King the indispensability of this creation. By considering that the only hope of the Prelates of Cape Verde would be the creation of a Seminary, he proposed to apply the income of the *Barlavento* for over ten years in one part to its construction (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 361, 362).

Even though the *Conselho Ultramarino* rejected this proposal, the King decided in 1698 to do the construction through the Council of the treasury. Till 1700, no material had been send jet, and the Bishop had already spend a large part of his *côngruas* and spend largely the patrimony of the mitre to construct the Cathedral, the ecclesiastic *aljube* such as to re-construct the Episcopal palace, as we have seen already (*id*).

It was probably a letter from the Propaganda Fide of Rome that made the Bishop proceed with the construction of the Seminary, by asking him insistently to conclude this pedagogic institution. The building was started to be construct by his own expenses, having the plan done by the Captain-engineer José Soares da Rocha (*ibid*, 361, 362). The Bishop adapted the habitation zone of the Episcopal Palace for the construction of the Seminary (*ibid*, 367) (see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.8, fig. 8 and 9). By the Bishops death in 1705, the building wasn't concluded yet, so that the Chapter asked to Lisbon if it should be concluded, having in consideration that no money was disposable to do so. But no answer came from the Kingdom (*ibid*, 362).

Before reaching his Bishopric in Ribeira Grande in 1709, the new Bishop D. Fr. Francisco de Santo Agostinho, to prepare his trip to Cape Verde, asked the Chapter to inform him about the local situation. This, offended by the attitude of the former Bishop D. Fr. Vitoriano, selling goods of the mitre of gold and silver to sustain his construction activity, replies with the information that the Bishop had, with the excuse to construct a Seminary, ordered to demolish part of the accommodation houses of the Prelate, finding themselves in ruined state and disabled to host the new Bishop (*ibid*, 366). It is very likely that the Seminary, if it really did achieve an advanced construction state, was never in use and ruined completely. Even the re-construction attempt in 1774 of the Episcopal Palace, in which habitation zone it was seemingly included or annexed, wouldn't have changed its destiny.

So it is at 30th of June of 1823 that the Bishop D. Fr Jeronymo do Barco (1821-1827), being in Ribeira Grande, asked the supreme congress, having in mind the general plan of the regular reformation by extinction of the Religious of S. Francisco, that it should be handled over to him the Convent to be used as Seminary, including the kitchen-garden, *ordinaries* and other salaries which the national treasury had been given every year for the conservation of the Convent and sustain of its religious (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 277). At 9th of March, such as at 28th of May of the year of 1824, the Bishop proposed to create the Seminary in the city of Ribeira Grande, now on his own expense and costs (*ibid*, 291), with exception of some materials which he asked to be send from the kingdom (*ibid*, 326). At 4th of November, the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* informed that his offer should be accepted, so that the Bishop started with the Seminary at 8th of March of 1825 (*ibid*, 291). The Governor, visiting the city and being present during the beginning of the construction of the Seminary, insisted on the Government, by recognizing that the Bishop was receiving a small salary and his *côngrua* was being modest, to give the Convent of the Franciscan friars for this purpose (*id*).

So it happened that in 1826 and 1827, the Bishop D. Fr. Jeronymo, besides re-constructing the Episcopal Palace, made the Seminary. But this one didn't reach the stage to be opened.

Slowly but surely, pillages occurred till the point of been taken away woods and *cantarias* (*ibid*, 331). 'So had been lost the last attempt to resuscitate the old city' (*id*). We can't confirm if the Seminary would really have been constructed or not.

It was only in 1866 that would be found the Seminary-High school *S. José*, in the town of Ribeira Brava.

2.9 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*

The Chapel of *S. Brás* was constructed c. 1542, after a sickness of the throat having been in Ribeira Grande This Chapel was, according to António Brásio (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 116), '(...) without doubt the first one in Ribeira Grande, beside the Churches of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and *N.ª S.ª do Rozario*, from which the construction dates are ignored'. The date of its construction shows that at that time must have been already constructed at least the Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, the Chapel and probably Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* such as the Church of *Espírito Santo*, which becomes mentioned first in 1503.

At 15th of April of 1626, in a letter from the officials of the Municipal Camera of Ribeira Grande to the King Filipe III, relating to the Society of Jesus, the chapel becomes designated as hermitage, being situated in the part of town of *S. Brás* (Brásio apud Pereira, 1988, 67). This could be only justifiable by the fact that at that time, the part of town of *S. Brás* was probably still at the beginning of its construction, so that from the urban centre the more 'isolated' localization would make it still designated as such.

We didn't get much information about its physical and constructive characteristics. Only so much that Jesuit priest Baltasar Barreira referred to it in 1611 as being a 'small church' and described it as 'being poor in ornamentation' (Barreira apud da Silva Gonçalves, 1996, 164). It wasn't possible for him to be buried inside of the Hermitage/Chapel of *S. Brás* because it had been constructed and placed on rocks (Da Silva Gonçalves, *ibid*, 170). And that it was in the part of town of *S. Brás* where this hermitage was '(...) in which they accommodated themselves largely, place above the sea (...)' (Brásio apud Pereira, *op. cit.*, 66, 67).

2.10 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Gonçalo*

The date of construction of the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* must have been c. during the last decade of the 16th century, at the same time the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* had been built up (1585-1593?). Its localization inside the garrison comes described in the following way: 'two doors give access to the Fortress (...). Inside, next to the south watch box, were the quarters of the Governor and, in front, the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*' (Pereira, 2004, n.p.). Nothing about its physical-constructive characteristics, such as of its ornamentation, could be found out.

After the attack from the French Corsairs in 1712 at Ribeira Grande, the Governor Serafim Teixeira Sarmento de Sá mentions at 20th of January of 1718 '(...) that the houses of the Fortress of *S. Filipe* where all on the ground' (SAHNCV, Livro n.º 42, fls. 56v. e 57, apud Pereira, 1988, 73). This includes the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, also ruined (Cabral et al, 1999, 96), and leaned against the Governors residence to north-east inside the Fortress, where the

Governor proposes the realization of construction to '(...) rebuild the house that served as retirement for the Governors' (Pereira, *op. cit.*, *id*).

In general, it is important to mention that, as the Fortress is being of military architecture and had been in use till the 20th century, it probably suffered multiple transformations due to the immediate character of the military necessities, '(...) so variable along the history and to the big autonomy of the military headship' (Cabral et al, *op. cit.*, 195). Probably alternations were made in this sense, concerning what was thought to be more opportune. How much this affected the chapel is unknown.

What is sure is that the Fortress itself came several times since its construction date, as the whole city itself, into deplorable state of conservation, which lead to some attempts and partly done re-constructions. All this must have included the chapel, alternating so probably its original structure and ornamentation along the centuries due to several repairs.

2.11 The Church of *S. Pedro*

Nor about the construction date of the Church of *S. Pedro*, nor about its specific constructive qualities, such as of its ornamentation and eventual degradation and possible reconstruction we could find any documented information.

What we know is, during the attack of the French Corsairs under General Jaques Cassard in 1712, also the Church of *S. Pedro*, in between others, was pillaged, '(...) bared of the ornaments and from the richest liturgical utensils, specially images, silver from the altars, vestments, bells, etc.' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 332). 'They pillaged the Chapels of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, of *S. Pedro*, such as the Convent of *S. Francisco*, which stayed without anything' (*ibid*, 371).

In the report from Monsieur Casar (Casar apud Pereira, 1988, 131) we can read:

> 'To try to avoid the entry of the French Corsairs, the Governor wanted to cut the way near by the Church of *S. Pedro* with all disposable men, supposing that they would come along this way to enter the city, knowing that they already had anchored in Praia and came on shore to attack. The Bishop had drawn attention to the Governor of this possibility, who had send three hours before the sunset the Captain Francisco Freire with ten or fifteen people to cut the pass of *Calabaseira* and *Jongoto bravo*, which lies very close to the named church (...)'

No more information about it could be found.

2.12 The Chapel of *S. Roque*

No written historic information about this building, nor about construction and ornamentation in general, could be found in the accessible documentation.

2.13 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St. º Antônio*

The reason of the construction of the Chapel/Hermitage of *St. º António* comes described as a consequence of a casualty and even of some superstitious nature. The *corregedor* of Cape

Verde, Pêro de Guimaraes, with special devotion to the Saint *Santo António*, writes in a letter to the King, dated from the 22 of May of 1513 (this date is doubtable), the following: coming to Santiago in 1515, being informed by a lay person of the presence of a demoniac spirit, '(...) a false name (...) which they call Antonio Feuéro, with whom they did put to me great fear' (Pêro de Guimarães apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 378). To put to flight these bad spirits, he ordered to bring an image of *St.º António*, that on the Island should be constructed an hermitage of devotion to the Saint, '(...) that with the help of God and his invocation the bad airs of the referred land, appropriate to the referred false name, should leave, so that your people would be guarded from them' (*id*). The image, after having been disembarked, was received by a procession of clergymen and inhabitants of the city of Ribeira Grande, being deposited in the Church of *Espírito Santo*. There it stayed till the named hermitage had been constructed, where were celebrated masses of devotion to the Saint, according to a previous licence letter of the Vicar of Tomar, Portugal. 'It was the believe of the population that, after the arrival of the image, the islands are very healthy and without sick persons' (*id*).

This would date the construction of the Church/Hermitage of *St.º António* realistically between 1520 and 1530, having in consideration the time of delivering the image and of construction, but could, naturally, have taken more time.

No further information about ornamentation, maintenance, eventual reconstruction or enlargement such as abandonment could be found.

2.14 The Church of *Monte Alverne*

No written information about this building, nor about construction and ornamentation in general, functional use or symbolic value, could be found in the accessible documentation.

2.15 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*

At 15th of November of 1698, the Governor of Ribeira Grande was authorized to canalize the water from a water spring by the Convent till the gateway of the city, substituting the water used in the middle of the city, which was already impure, sending him for this purpose lime, tiles and bricks from the Kingdom (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 334). This information is so far important, because the implementation of the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel* is clearly identifiable through the town maps of Andrea lying inside the left (north-west) corner of this water canalization.

The only information about the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia* or of *S. Miguel* is, again, from the report written by 'Monsieur Casar' (Casar apud Pereira, 1988,142), relating the attack at Ribeira Grande in 1712. The Bishop, by positioning several groups of inhabitants from the city strategically at several dispersed locations, tried to contra-attack the enemy. By describing the groups and their supposed position is mentioned that '(...) traced, by the height of the crag of *St.ª Luzia* should be the same garrison of people'.

No further information about construction, ornamentation, maintenance, eventual reconstruction or enlargement such as abandonment could be found.

2.16 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*

The only passage we could find about the Chapel/Hermitage of *Santa Marta* is in a report from 1662, send by the governor to the Municipal Camera, describing the conservation state of the forts in Ribeira Grande. It mentions, according to de Senna Barcelos, that, by describing the localization and the found arms, all of this '(...) in the bulwark of *S. Lourenço*, which was at the door of *Santa Martha*' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 259). *Santa Marta* is supposed to be the chapel/hermitage, lying beneath the north-western bulwark, at the beginning of the city defence wall at this side.

No further information about construction, ornamentation, maintenance, eventual reconstruction or enlargement such as abandonment could be found.

2.17 The Chapel of *S. Sebastião*

Describing the initial period of urbanization of Ribeira Grande, it is mentioned that at the beginning (15th century), the town of António de Noli was constituted by a small nucleus of houses distributed at the oriental side of the bay of Ribeira Grande.

> 'The first roads let us understand by the *toponímia* the economic orientation of the settlement. They were the street of *Porto* and the one of *Calhau*. At the hill, at the west side, dominating the settlement [or court], was lying the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Saint of protection from the illnesses, which darkened the collective existence' (Madeira Santos, 2002, 21).

This could possibly suggest, as seen in the chapter before, a very early construction date.

No further information about construction, ornamentation, maintenance, eventual reconstruction or enlargement such as abandonment could be found.

2.18 The Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit)

Francisco Xavier Gomes Catão (Gomes Catão in *Studia*, N.º 19, 1966, 94) says: 'in 1503 is mentioned in Ribeira Grande the Church of *Espírito Santo*'.

According to de Senna Barcelos (Senna Barcelos apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 376),

> 'the Church of *Espírito Santo* would have been ordered to be constructed by initiative of the Infant D. Fernando, between 1466 and 1470, and would have been concluded, as the Church of *S. Filipe* on the Island of Fogo, round about 1500, when Rodrigo Vilharan leaves in 1503 dispatched several goods for the ornamentation of several churches. At this time, the settlement would have already justified the construction of these buildings, whose responsibility of construction and endowment would have probably belonged to the *Ordem de Cristo*, with the collaboration of the charitable donations of the local society'.

Rodrigo de Vilharem ordered to construct '(...) a chapel in the Church of *Espírito Santo* in this town (...)' (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. I, 121, 122). This *corregedor*, reaching Santiago Island in 1515, visited the Church of *Espírito Santo* together with the 'principals' of the island and with the Vicars, as it had been prescript to him by a Royal permit. He stayed with a very favourable impression about the state of the church, which he affirmed to have subvention

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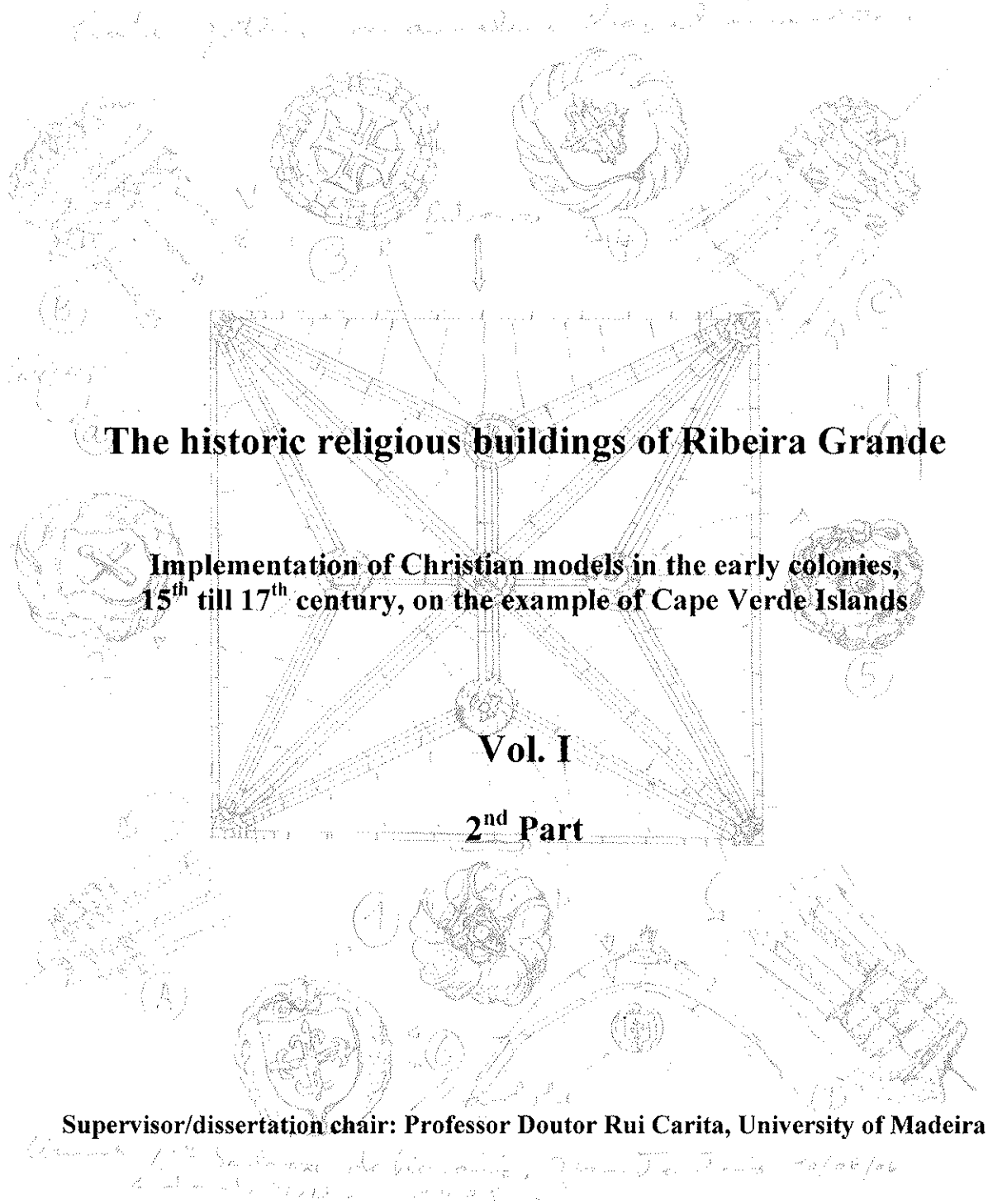
from the local society, with exception of the chapel and Sacristy, which are financed by the Royal treasury. He informed the King D. João II that he would further on bring to his notice about the liturgical ornaments necessary for its functioning (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 378).

De Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 83) gives another information about the time when the *corregedor* could have visited the church/chapel. He mentions that Rodrigo de Villaraam '(...) died in 1504'. He left as an executer of the dispositions of his testament and who also would be the administrator of the referred chapel. This executor should construct immediately the referred chapel and ornament it, but, as the executor, such as his follower didn't do so, 'the King D. Manuel finally ordered to make the chapel in 1515 (...)' (*ibid*, 85).

In 1533 is still mentioned the Church of *Espírito Santo* in Ribeira Grande (Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 382).

If the Church of *Espírito Santo* is the same one as *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, we know about its localization. So far we have the indication that the Church of *Espírito Santo* had a Sacristy and a chapel (*ibid*, 378). At least a (side) chapel could be confirmed to have existed in the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* through the archaeological excavations (see next chapter or Vol. II, Annex 2.4) in 2007, and, according to the shape represented on the 1769 map of Andrea (Vol. II, Annex 2.1, fig. 6, or Appendix 1.2.6, fig. 5), a Sacristy adjoined is most probable on its left (north) side.

Konstantin Alexander Richter



The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands

Vol. I

2nd Part

Supervisor/dissertation chair: Professor Doutor Rui Carita, University of Madeira

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Chapter 6: Density and structure of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande such as their interventions suffered

1 Description of construction remains, structural elements and state of conservation of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

At this point we proceed with a detailed architectonic description of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande in their actual state of conservation, going into constructive structural details as much as necessary.

We will include in our descriptions the information obtained through additional accessible sources, as it is the case of the before mentioned historic iconographic material, such as the short descriptions of two of the buildings done by the Portuguese Architect Luis Benavente in 1967, finding them in quite ruined but nevertheless nearly original 'untouched' state of conservation, with exception of some smaller interventions done before in 1960 for Cape Verde's commemoration of five hundred years after discovery. Additionally will be taken in consideration the few photos left from the beginning of the 20th century (Frank and Ilídio do Amaral), which show us valorous architectonic details, partially disappeared meanwhile (see Vol. II, Appendixes 1.2.1, 1.2.2, 1.2.3, 1.2.4, 1.2.5, 1.2.12, 1.2.13). These information materials will be of further use in chapter 7, while analyzing, interpreting and comparing them with other religious buildings of the mainland and former colonies.

Note: To simplify the construction description and the orientation along the treated sections or elements, we will mention mostly the usual designations of 'right', 'left', 'in front' and 'behind', staring from the supposed direction the visitor takes coming through the main entrance, looking into the direction of the main altar. To confirm and complete further description details please see Vol. II, all Appendixes 2.

1.1 The Cathedral (Sé)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.1)

The ground plan given through the historic maps and its standing wall remains show us a plan in Latin cross shape, with a greater length of north-west to south-east direction, with total length of 63.00m (59.12m of nave, crossing and Chancel plus 3.86m of *Camarin*). Recognizable is a former double transept, with total width of 33.15m (20.60m of width of the body of three naves, plus 6.25m of width of northern transept's salience and 6.35m of width of southern transept's salience). It's demarked by pedestals and by wall remains of two cells at each exterior side. Over the back (second) division of the double transept lied the crossing

The Cathedral possessed three naves, clearly identifiable through the illustrations and still identifiable *in situ*. One in the centre, the principal and highest one, and two laterals, left and right, respectively lower. The crossing of the principal nave with the transept was crowned by a round arch of limestone. Each nave was separated by a corridor of stone pillars, concluded by round arches. Still base parts of the mentioned pillars remain aligned right (two) and left (three) inside along the building remains, ending with a pedestal each side

In the central part, in the division of the transept (based on the former mentioned pedestals), the nave had a huge round arch, turned to the entrance, and other two ones that lead to the exterior lateral cells (on photographies of 1913 and 1929, done by Frank and Ilídio do Amaral, see fig. 52, 54-56, one of the right cells is pointed as being the Chapel of *S. José*, inside which was visible a smaller 'blind' round arch). The remaining pedestal stones at right have as curiosity one step in it at their top, which could have been one of the steps leading to a pulpit, as the visible opening in the column let us suppose on a photo from 1929 (fig. 54).

The entrance from the crossing to the altar zone (the Chancel, with standing wall remains of height of c. 12.00m) was also crowned by a round arch (of which still the right part up to the beginning of the arch curve (*impost*) is standing, on the opposite side only the lower part of it). The second right lateral transept cell has on its right side a wall niche, at its left beginning still two parts of rounded calcareous doorjambs standing.

At the main entrance, two bell towers (or belfries) are clearly identifiable through their quadrangular standing wall remains, such as through the illustrations and engravings left, both turned to the centre of the town, flanking on right and left the main façade, having been crowned on the top with pavilion roof (pyramidal hip roof) each. In front of the main façade, slightly dislocated to the right, stands a pedestal of what has been by supposition a former cross. On the historical maps and the 19th century engraving are recognizable some steps in front of it downwards the city, of which no remains are left.

The right bell tower has inside four step stones from a former staircase left. The left one contains inside a wall niche in the front wall, while a quadrangular stone frame with one step stone left lies beneath it (on a photo from 1913 is still a door with door head in round arch visible, crowned by a key stone, fig. 47). This has been the baptistery, whose baptismal sink, quoting the local population, is supposed to be the one which stands nowadays in the side chapel of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*.

The building ends towards southeast narrowed in the main altar zone (the Chancel). In the middle of the Chancel, in front of the altar and right and left flanked by an elevated to the walls adjoined stone row of the former Choir is the tombstone of Bishop D. João Parvi. Behind the altar, whose basement is still visible, is localized a rectangular cell, half opened at its left side. This would have been the *Camarim*, expected after the Council of Trent to appear in the churches, behind the altar to heighten the image. Between latter one and the altar is a (its boundaries partially reconstructed) opening in 'U' shape, formerly framed on top by a round arch (fig. 34). Above it was placed a circular ocular.

All wall remains are made of mortar bonded medium sized basalt stones, in filled with smaller ones such as broken tile pieces (*opus incertum*). The external walls are in average c. 1.00m thick. Quoin stones are set in the standing altar and *Camarim* corners, them being, such as window and door frames and the outside wall surrounding profiles, of limestone. Marble could only be found at the tombstones (one central one in front of altar, three ones right in front of first right transept, one used as step at main entrance door) and in a few exceptions under the broken stones (from cornerstones, pedestals, profiles and arches) spread around outside its right lateral façade.

The main façade, according to the engraving from 1864 (fig. 19) and the reproduction done by Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra (fig. 12), possesses an interesting

composition to be studied (fig. 160-164) The whole, except the cover of the belfries, is a square. From this square, it was divided in three horizontal and sensitively also in three vertical sections, being the belfries situated in the extremes, slightly inferior than the central fraction where the principal entrance lied. Of these three horizontal divisions, the first one, starting from the ground, was marked by a parapet (cill) of the central belfry window, the second starts from this one ending in the base of the covering of the central division, and the last one from this place on till the base of the belfry covering. In this last division were the bells. The bell windows in the belfries were framed in stone, their window heads in the shape of a round arch with the central part in shape of a perfect square. The covering of the central division occupies the totality of the height of the last central division. This one also seems to mark the internal central nave. By marking the cross of the transept on the principal façade, two lateral cells appear; as if they would be two laterals counter forts. The covering of the mentioned cells is limited precisely in the middle of the second horizontal division of the refereed principal façade. Similar in interest is the geometric design of the lateral façade, where the crossing of the diagonals, taking as base left and right the initial front façade square, marks the beginning of the transept.

Beside the already mentioned openings, in the front façade, above the main entrance door, the building possessed two narrow and with round arch topped windows, each at each extreme of the central fraction, aligned with the end of the entrance. They were situated right in the beginning of the second horizontal division, being between them an ocular, topped by its turn by what seemed to be a square rose-window. At covering level, and right at its base, was another opening, of square shape, for a bell to be placed. Two windows were in each of the belfries. These ones, quadrangular, were marking the begin of the second division, as before mentioned. Above them, marking the beginning of the third division, were the openings, square in shape and with round arch, which supported the bells. The windows of the belfry were central and vertically situated. At the laterals, the belfries had only openings at high, similar to the frontal ones (showing the bells). Two narrow high windows at bottom of the belfries, displaced vertically towards right and left, at height of the main entrance door, complete the collection.

The central nave possessed three windows aligned horizontal in row, making a median separation between the end of the lateral naves covering and the beginning of the crossing. They were at a high close to the covering. The crossing possessed two windows on the horizontal alignment of the central nave, above which was, as it seems, a centred semicircular one. On the transepts exterior cells, were two or three windows, first ones showing perpendicular to the nave orientation and the second/third one parallel to it.

On the posterior part of the lateral façades (at Chancel level) are placed three vertical windows in the middle of the height, respectively at each side of the façade, being the middle one of bigger height, this one being approximately aligned vertically at the right lateral façade with the lateral right door at its bottom. A wall niche lies below the first upper one in row, aligned at its bottom with the upper part of the lateral right door, its right part being aligned vertically with the left window jamb of the first upper window. The posterior cell (the *Camarin*, behind the altar) possesses a quadrangular window with iron bars aligned in height with the before mentioned ones.

Beside the already mentioned openings, the building possessed at least three external side doors, one in the left lateral façade and two in the right lateral façade (fig. 67-74, as well as see description below).

The building itself was covered with tiles, probably of mission (or barrel) type, as still visible remains on the top of the Chancel walls let us conclude. The part of the central main nave (only of three slopes), the belfries (pyramidal ones), the part posterior the altar, the central crossing and the two cells in the threading of this one, all of them had hip roofs. The division posterior the high altar was also covered with hip roof, shaped only of three slopes, the lateral naves with shed ('lean-to') roofs, and the first cells of the exterior transept were with gable roofs. Wood remains of the ceiling structure are still visible above the Chancel zone. A settling of a small gable roof is still visible at the posterior outside wall of the right transept. One Possibility is that the ceiling, at least in the crossing and main Chapel area, was formed of barrel vaults, forming groin vaults in the intersection area of the transept and crossing. But also possible is that it would have been of simple wood timber construction.

The floor level, seen in section, arose three times (at beginning of crossing, at beginning of Chancel and at beginning of altar). No indicator of pavement has been found. All indicates that the building walls were internally and externally faced with plaster, of which some remains are still visible and conserved today. It is still possible to see parts of tile marks (right side wall, exterior next to the door and inside wall of the first right transept, fig. 107. 108, where former tiles had been fixed.

To sub line are visible wall foundations outside the right lateral façade behind the right transept, starting from this one and its return wall ending surprisingly right in the middle (marked also by the profile stone) of the in diagonal shape formed passage of the secondary side door near the altar zone. This must have been the Sacristy, with a former southern external access door (its cill still visible). Another rectangular formed ground shape delined by basement stone remains succeeds the Sacristy towards east, possible to have been the *casa de prata.*

It is possible that the principal door was ornamented with and out of limestone, probably crowned with tympanum/fronton (fig. 12. 13. 19). Because of lack of reliable report and visible remains of the main entrance door, we could only study the lateral doors. One is implanted at the left lateral façade, two of them on the right lateral façade of the building. The first one of latter ones is the one in the first third (external southern nave wall) of the building and the second one lies close in front of the altar (southern Chancel wall). The third one, left lateral façade and opposite to the first one, is similar to this one, deferring only in presenting design at its ancon and in partially outstanding lateral parts of profile of its cornice.

1.1.1 Door 1

(fig. 67, 68)

All structure of the door is sculpted in limestone It possesses round about 3.50m high in total, including the top cornice, and round 2.80m largeness.

From the top to the bottom the structure divides into following parts: the top cornice; the ancon, where the cornice is placed on; the crossbar (door head); the pilasters (doorjambs), in a

total of four; the base cornice, where the columns are based on; the square tore of the base; the base, where the tore is fixed and; the pedestal.

The top cornice is formed by two stones and possesses 4 small horizontal divisions.

The ancons are of flattened 'S' shape and about 0.30m of height and 0.20m of thickness. They serve as support of the above seated cornice. They crown the superior part of the external pilasters.

The lateral pilasters, left and right ones, posses about 0.20m of thickness and are divided into two parts, having approximately 1.00m each of them. The interior pilasters are practically of the same dimension as the lateral ones. They support the weight of the crossbar, which demarks the span of the entrance. The columns are divided into three different parts.

The crossbar is around 0.35m thick and cut in two stones.

The pilastres (lateral ones) are settled over the tore. Each tore by its turn is fixed over a rectangular pyramidal base, the pedestal, with round 0.50m at the sides and 0.15m of height.

The plinth is the base of sustain of the whole structure. It is constituted by two stones, forming the access step to the interior of the Cathedral.

The internal pilasters are fixed over a base of stone. Each stone is 0.12m high and 0.45m at the sides (square).

1.1.2 Door 2

(fig. 71-74)

The door is located in the altar part (Chancel). The span shows the thickness of the external wall of the building of c. 1.48m. The largeness measured by the superior cornice is of c. 2.00 m and the total high is of c. 2.50m. The free span of the passage is 0.825m large and 1.94m high.

The structure is of limestone and divides itself into five parts: the top cornice; the ancon in half scroll shape, the crossbar (door head) in half curve; the pilasters (doorjambs) in half curve and; the base stones (plinth, forming a step).

The plinth is formed by three stones. Two laterals with c. 0.20m largeness and one central one with 1.23m.

The pilaster parts are divided vertically and horizontally. Vertically, the pilasters of 0.40m divide themselves into two parts of 0.20m. The exterior part is straight and has an edge of 0.02m. The internal part is curved to outside. Horizontally, the pilasters also divide themselves in two: 1.06m and c. 0.88m at top and bottom, respectively for the pilaster at the right side and 0.98m and 0.94m at base and top for the pilaster at the left side.

The ancon is of c. 0.35m height and chiselled in half scroll form.

The cornice part divides into five small parts. The superior part, the greater one, is formed by two stones, being the first one at left c. 0.86m large and the second one c. 1.13m.

Above the internal (curved) pilasters, the crossbars are fixed and subdivided into two horizontally superposed parts. The one at the top is c. 0.17m high and the bottom one is of 0.23m. This one is also curved to outside, together with the curvature of the pilaster that supports it.

1.1.3 Door 3

(fig. 69, 70)

The third door differentiates from the first one in its middle part of cornice, devided in to three sub salient and ornamented divisions, of which the ornamentation is unfortunately not recognizable any more.

Additionally, the ancons show ornamentation in relief, formed by a thin outstanding relief that shapes a longed, beyond the top and bottom corners convexly rounded rectangle, which is connected at each side and at top and bottom with a horizontal or respectively vertical relief to the moulding frame relief.

1.1.4 Windows

(fig. 76, 78-80)

The shape of the windows is, with the exception of the square one of the *Camarin* such as the ones of the former upper central nave wall, narrow and high, in rectangular form. Some of them are of bi-quadrangular shape.

They are framed by limestone mouldings, the doorjambs based on the cills and holding the on them placed door heads. Where door heads are missing, their order is visible.

The doors above the Chancel are skewed in direction to the inside of the building.

1.1.5 Pedestals and profiles

(fig. 83-91, 95)

Two pedestals of limestone are standing at the side access to the second right (south) transept cell. They are divided into cornice (top), dado (centre) and the base (bottom). The face of the slightly rectangular dado is framed inside by a narrow rectangular depression (notch) line.

Their cornice and base profiles, such as the one from the rest of column base placed on the right one, show classic elements as it is the *Fillet*, the *Torus*, the *Scotia*, the *Bead* and the *Plinth* itself. These elements we can find, at least some of them, in all resting profiles of bases of former columns and surrounding profile stones of the Cathedral.

Note: by comparing obtained results of our measuring *in situ* with the historical description of measurements done in Chapter 5 by de Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 121), at the time of the hindering, round about 1590, we came to the following results:

1. (main) chapel wall heights, before: 4.84m, now: c. 12.00m (difference: c. 7.16m more today);

2. corpus of church wall height, before: 3.30m, now (only measurable the wall height of the lower external nave): c. 6.89m (difference: c. 3.59m more today);

3. main chapel span, before: 16.50m of length, 7.81m of width, 1.21m of wall thickness, now: 17.71m of length, 8.95m of width, c. 1.47m of wall thickness (difference: 1.21m, 1.14m and 0.26m more today);

4. crossing, before: 28.16m of length, 26.16m of width, now: 17.85m of length, 33.31 of width (difference: 10.31m less and 7.15m more today).

2nd note: by comparing the historic measurements mentioned by de Senna Barcelos (*ibid*, 125) at time of conclusion of the Cathedral (chapter 5), we came to the following results:

1. naves, from crossing downwards, before: 29.26m of length, 16.72m of width, now: 28.75m, 16.25 of width (difference: 0.51m and 0.47m less today);

2. main chapel, before: 7.81m of span, 13.42m of length, side walls 1.21m of width. Total length of 24.20m and 11.00m of width, now: 8.95m of span, 17.71m of length, total length of 20.25m (probably meant to include the *Camarin*, which gives total length of 24.38m) and 11.67m of width (difference: 1.14m, 4.29m and 0.26m more today, in total 0.13m and 0.67m more today).

These differences can leave us only to the conclusion that the Cathedral hadn't been reduced at all (only possible exception might have been the re-dimensioning of the crossing) comparing the initial measurements at time of hindering (1590) with the final measuring, and as described how it was planned to happen at its time of finalization end of 17th century, but, in contrary, had been seemingly enlarged by time of its finishing, including the continuing of the existence of the original planned three naves of the church, which haven't been reduced to one.

1.2 The Church/Hospital/*Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.2)

The complex of the church and Hospital is built by: standing wall remains (of three remnant façades) of the church's belfry; some smaller, partially in right angle, standing wall remains such as a greater/larger wall remain in 'T' shape, all of the Hospital.

Through the historic maps we can identify that the plan of the church was of 'battery- shape', with left adjoined belfry and Sacristy, having its greater length oriented from west towards east. The to the churches right lateral façade adjoined Hospital complex was shaped in inverted 'U' form, its opening between the two building wings turned southwards. It possessed an inner yard.

From the belfry of quadrangular plan (3.10m by 3.10m, the back façade through ruined state reduced to 2.32m width) and c. of 8.00m height are only the front façade, left lateral façade and back façade standing. The right lateral façade, which adjoined the proper church nave, disappeared. The walls measure 0.80m of thickness.

On photos from the beginning of the 20th century (fig. 15, 18, 24) we recognize its former pyramidal covering, having at the four top wall corners, at the base of the covering, small pyramidal elevations. In the upper third of the tower, which is demarked by a horizontal frieze/cornice, are vertical openings at each side crowned by round arch, place were the bells set in. A second thinner frieze/cornice runs around the tower at height of the beginning of the round arch. At back façade is a vertically centred small quadrangular opening in c. 2.50m height visible.

The corners of the belfry are of quoin stones, its masonry made of mortar bonded basalt stones with smaller ones and broken tile pieces set in (*opus incertum*). Irregularly distributed in it lie some horizontal blocks of limestones. Large parts of the external surface of the walls, such as some of the internal ones, are still covered with salmon coloured plaster. Parts of a quadrangular mark, having at middle of each side a semicircular (concave) entrance, is visible at the bottom of the front façade opening (fig. 34).

The before mentioned photos show, at the top in triangular shape, still parts of the front façade with rests of a vertical window jamb at top over the former entrance. The triangle of the roof starts sensitively at height of the first frieze and reaches at top the height of the second one. Its shape suggests us a former gable roof for the nave of the Church. To sub line is that this top is not vertically centred with the window jamb and the place were the former main entrance is supposed to have been. By comparing the 1769 map with the shape of the measured wall remains we can conclude that the church itself would have measured at least 15.00m of length and its nave of at least 9.00m width.

The spread smaller wall remains in the area which had been of the Hospital are of quite loose bonded basaltic stones. In the eastern zone, in one in 'L' shape, had been found a corner stone bench on cobbled grey stone floor. Exception is the southern standing wall in 'T' form with the main wall of c. 1.90m thickness. The rest of the wall remains of the former Hospital measure in average 0.60m of thickness. The identifiable and measured wall remains of the former Hospital coincide with the shape drawn at the map from 1769.

For further information please consult the Annex 2.4.

Note: the measurements related to the Church of *Misericórdia* described in chapter 5, mentioned by de Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 121) couldn't be compared because of missing information about seize of the whole plan of it. Possible archaeological excavations in the future could bring up further comparable information.

1.3 The Episcopal Palace and *aljube*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.3)

By observing the historic maps we identify a rectangular long and narrow building with its larger side oriented from north-west to south-east, behind which, and separated from the main building, is placed the quadrangular *aljube*.

The ground plan, elevation and section drawings from the 18th century (fig. 10, 11) show us a two storey building with hip roof, its covering made of wood timber (in 'A' shape) and covered with roof tiles (barrel/mission type?). Its front façade (towards north-east) shows at

the right end a staircase reaching the first floor, at its left end adjoined a smaller only one storey building with hip roof.

The upper storey has eight aligned vertical rectangular window-doors crowned by a stone door head, seemingly fronted with iron railing, the door at the upper stair case crowned by a tympanum/triangular fronton.

The lower storey shows seven small quadrangular windows, of which second from left is a door instead, such at is at the base of the stair base. The adjoined smaller building has one centred placed window.

The longitudinal section, indicating the notable higher span of the upper storey, shows the same amount of door-windows at it, the end door being of round arch, the lower storey possessing three door windows along the south-west façade such as a small window at its right end. The cross section indicates three windows at upper storey and two ones lower storey

On the lower storey plan are indicated (from right to left, front to back): over the first steps an entrance to a large hall, from which cut to left four connected and in sequence smaller getting rooms, reaching an inner staircase to which is at the left adjoined a smaller inner department behind which lies the kitchen, occupying the whole width of the building (this indicates the former identified adjoined one storey building as being the kitchen). At the back side are placed seven in size different rooms. To left of the building, connected by an interrupted wall, is the *aljube*, built up of two departments, to which are adjoined, forming together with the *aljube* a 'L' shape, three departments of the jailor.

On the upper storey plan are indicated, after the entrance to a hall from the top of the staircase, and to which is no direct connection, a first *ante-camara* and a second *ante-camara* (where, related to the description in chapter 5 (apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 62) lied the chapel), after which lies a huge hall only interrupted by the in the middle upcoming stairs. Behind, aligned along the South-west façade, lie nine in size different rooms whose use is indicated as being for the familiars. To its right end is a room designated as *camara*. The *aljube* has additional two rooms at the upper storey.

Note: the measuring scale indicates a building of c. 220 palms (48.40m) of length by c. 60 palms (13.20m) of width and c. 57 palms (12.54m) of height. The description of its main measurements in chapter 5 (*id*) mentions 193,5 palms (42.57m) of length (5.83m less), 55 palms (12.10m) of width (1.10m less) and 41 palms (9.02m) of height (3.52m less), having the hip roof a height of 17 palms (3.74m) above its *cimalha* (which, together with the former mentioned height of 9.02m gives the total height of 12.76m, 0.22m more than our measuring). These differences are probably more a result of inexactness of our measuring on the disposable plan than as a wrong indication as such. .

At the place where must have been, by observation of the historic maps, the north-west façade of the Episcopal Palace, was encountered a grey, of medium till large seized boulders, stone wall bonded with mortar and tile pieces sit in (*opus incertum*), running north-east to South-west c. 5.00m, having its return wall 15.45m, in an average height of 1.85m and 1.00m width, forming a sort of base. This return wall was interrupted after c. 4.00m by a leak of c. 0.80m. Supposing it to be part of the foundation wall, on it was placed, c. 5.00m down the return

wall, and reused as corner for a recent habitation building, one mortar bonded basaltic stone wall corner with tile pieces sit in (*opus incertum*) of 2.30 m length north-east to south-west., reaching a total height of c.2.10 together with the foundation corner. This corner had one medium sized limestone sit in (fig. 18, former quoin stone?).

Beside were found loose (not *in situ*) two additional medium sized chiselled limestone blocks, from which we can't confirm nor their uses nor belongings.

1.4 The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Holy Mother of Rosary)

Portuguese Architect Luis Benavente (Benavente, 1967, cx. n.º 1819, 1/4) describes the state of conservation in which he found the Church *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* in 1967. He mentions that the ogee arch (referring to the side chapel) and the interior of it would probably have been constructed in a short sequenced period of time (Benavente, 1967, cx. n.º 1819, 1). Also the bell tower would have been constructed during the same period, being in partially ruined state of conservation, its access being through an exterior spiral staircase, '(...) at the architectonic taste of that epoch' (*id*).

Further on he mentions that 'the passing of time took to considerate these little places of cult too small and integrated them sidewise in a nave, of which (...) we can't deduct if its dimension would have been the one in which it is found, or if it would have been smaller' (*ibid*, 2).

He thinks that the principal entrance door, such as the lateral one's, the front façade windows such as the small window in the staircase tower, should be of origin of a third period (of construction) (*id*). And that there has been for sure a Choir, proved by the still visible marks at the wall.

The main entrance door is '(...) delicate and of correct Renaissance' (*id*), lying under the actually from its primitive position displaced small *rosácea* [rose window]. And that 'the altar steps of broken pre-dated tombstones don't correlate with the before mentioned door'.

He mentions, by referring to the altar zone, the former existence of a pulpit, '(...) which guards the noble tradition in it having spoken the Priest António Vieira' (*id*). Speaking about the proposed restoration works, he mentions that the partially missing tiles should be substituted with new hand painted ones, and that the still original ones, due to their weakened position on the walls, should be taken off and re-put (*ibid*, 3).

No more details about the found architectonic elements are mentioned.

1.4.1 The church description

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.4)

The church has a rectangular plan, having its greater length oriented from south -west towards north-east. The complex is composed by: principal rectangular building of one nave (26.48.m of length, 10.96m of width and c. 10.10m of maximum height), with its main altar in the

north-eastern end; one lateral left side chapel at the beginning, incorporated in a quadrangular bell tower (c. 6.00m by 6.00m, with total height of c. 13.40m) To both adjoins a stair case tower (c. 2.50m of diameter, with total salience from the main façade wall of c. 3.15m); a Sacristy of rectangular shape (12.03m of length and 4.70m of width), adjoined at posterior left façade at the naves end. The walls are in average 0.80m thick. The building has horizontal orientation.

In total the building possesses six external doors: one, the main one, in the front façade, (with round arch and fronton crowned by a cornice), two at the lateral right façade (with horizontal door head, short fromton and cornice) and one at its posterior façade, belonging to the Sacristy.

The to the bell tower and main façade adjoined semicircular stair case tower cone has one low access door with chanfrado (canted) doorframe beside the main façade, and the bell tower one low and seemingly in the upper part shortened access door to the first inner intermediate floor. From inside of the stair case cone branch off three inner doorways, the first one to the first level of the nave (supposingly the former Choir access), the second one to the first floor level of the tower (above the chapel), and the third one giving access to the top level of the tower itself, its door being sculptured with ogee arch door head and small flattened sphere-like decorations at each bottom side of its doorjambs The first two of these doors are obstructed. All doors are made of limestone. The main entrance door and the lateral right doors have inside adjoined at their left hand a basin for consecration water each. The stair case tower possesses additionally outside a small spout, placed in diagonal in height between tower and façade. The stair case tower itself ends in a round pyramidal flattened *cupola*, having at its front-right side a buttress. A small narrow vertical opening at half height, slightly on left side, allows the interior to be illuminated. The calcareous steps in the interior, in propeller shape each and joined in form of screw stair, end after nearly one complete round upwards.

From the external frontal access door to the nave, its inner part is skewed and its upper part prolonging the wall inside the building is of flattened round arch shape.

Inside are two internal pointed arches (obtuse arches), both on left side, of which ones the first is the entrance to the side chapel and the second one, slightly smaller, a 'blind arch'; additional are two internal doors, the first one lying at presbytery height but c. 3.00m before it, with no access from the nave, and a second one leading from the altar zone to the Sacristy. The first one has only access coming from the Sacristy. Iron rests at its doorjambs indicate a former railing of a pulpit. The wall prolonging of latter one is also in skew shape towards the interior of the Sacristy, its upper door part in flattened round arch shape.

Two vertically rectangular shaped windows flank both sides of the main entrance door, while a third one, with small round ocular above it, crowns the door in the middle. On the lateral right façade, two high placed rectangular windows, one right at the beginning and one at the end, not aligned in height, are placed. Latter one is in skew form on its external side. At the posterior façade, belonging to the Sacristy, is a sixth one, in quadrangular shape. Inside the Sacristy, opposite to its inner door, is a window frame (obstructed) which seemingly always had the function as niche, shaped in slight rectangular shape, its both jambs showing several vertical parallel canneluras (notches) each, the jambs sitting between a horizontal head (top-

cornice) and cill (bottom-cornice). All external windows, such as all external doors as we have seen, are shaped in skew form towards the interior of the building.

The Bell tower has at its top, beside the access door, four leaks/arches in round arch shape, two oriented to right side and two to front, of which the front left one is slightly higher than the other ones and has as base stone (cill) a part of tombstone. The holes to place the bell beam are localized each side of the arch jambs c. on half height All windows, such as the tower leaks/arches, are made of limestone. The tower itself is at the top of flat shape and opened (without roof).

The right lateral façade possesses two compact different sized and shaped buttresses, both corresponding in their size and positioning to the opposite lying interior pointed (obtuse) arches with which they are in alignment. Horizontally along the façade, at the bottom, runs a projection.

All corners of the church, including the bell tower and Sacristy, are made of quoin stones.

At the left lateral façade, after the bell tower, is visible a in general non plastered section corresponding in position with the second interior pointed arch, showing horizontal marks inside the wall structure (including the adjoin Sacristy outside wall) plus one chiselled outstanding head of limestone. Only two parts (one horizontal and one vertical) are still covered with original plaster.

The whole church is plastered and white washed such inside as outside, with exception of the posterior façade and the before referred left façade section.

The nave is running till the first altar steps in two different levels, divided approximately in the middle of this section by one step of canted limestone. Right and left along the wall, adjoined to the frontal altar section wall, are rectangular depressions, showing original brown ceramic floor tiles (*burro* type) in an inferior quote of 0.30m and above sitting rests of original tapete type tiles with rodapés. The same floor tiles we find under the second pointed arch, but on the common floor level. The floor of the nave itself is made of cement, painted in ochre-red.

The interior part of the nave is covered till approximately one fourth of height with recent manual painted, the original pattern copying, wall tiles of tapete type, with *frisos* and *rodapé*.

Along the nave, in the centre such as left and right at the beginning, are placed tombstones aligned parallel to the lateral walls, fourteen in number. One tombstone is functioning at the bottom of the main entrance door as step stone, one further tombstone and two graves are placed outside the church in the church yard, to whose access are leading steep steps from the *Rua de Carreira*, of which some are made of broken tombstones.

To the altar section (Chancel) lead five steps, partially made of tombstone pieces, irregular in height. The steps are flanked at right and left by one stone block each, a sort of standing ancon shaped in scroll form (a vertical ancon or console upon dado), heading with the respective cornice of the elevated Chancel. The Chancel floor is made partially of brown ceramic floor tiles (*burro* type), partially of stones. In the centre are 2 (two) steps (and not 3

(three), as indicated on the plan and section drawing by mistake) leading to the proper altar in rectangular shape, which has one tombstone and one part of another one (both not clearly to decode) *in situ*.

The reconstructed ceiling is of wood timber. The covering of the main building, including Sacristy, is of Marseille tiles and has the shape of gable roof. The former tiles must have been of barrel/mission type, according to rests of tiles found nearby (fig. 147).

Photos from before restoration (fig. 21, 22) show the wall construction in *opus incertum*, which is now only visible at posterior façade and left lateral façade section. Vertically aligned were wholes across the walls, still visible at posterior façade.

1.4.2 The Chapel

(fig. 70-87)

The left sided chapel has a quadrangular plan of 4.40m each side. It is settled on a floor (of what seems to be granite, but could be also very 'used' and darkened limestone) with two visible (but not to decode) tomb stones, slightly above the present floor of the principal nave of the church (c. 0.10m). In the centre is a placed font of marble which, according to the poplars, belonged to the Cathedral. The entrance is framed by a pointed (obtuse) arch made of calacreous stones in trapeze form, each one of c. 0.35-0.40m. The arch has in total 3.755m of height and 3.475m of widths, with basis and frieze at each side.

The chapel walls are plastered and painted in ochre-red colour.

The chapel is covered by a rib vault in flattened pointed shape, with transverse-, wall-, diagonal-and ridge-ribs such as tiercerons, forming a star form (stellar vault). At each knot is placed a sculptured boss, five in number, plus a sixth one at top of the wall opposite to entrance.

The ribs and tiercerons join together at each corner of the chapel in pendants with corbels, ornamented with sculptures of curved ropes and small pyramids, each pendant placed 1.40m above the floor. Each rib is constituted by segments of 0.40m in average. The ceiling of the chapel is formed by plates in shape of rhombs, made of limestone. On some parts of the ceiling are rests of geometric painted ornaments in dark red recognizable (fig. 83, 84). A few rusty pins are spread over some of the ribs, whose function could not be understood.

The arch friezes are constituted by alternated horizontal aligned flowers, interrupted by mouldings in shape of ropes.

1.4.2.1 The bosses

(fig. 77-82)

The boss (1) at the entrance shows the cross of the Order of Christ, (5) in the centre and (6) at the ending wall, the cross of *S. Bento de Avis*.

All bosses are of limestone. The proper one's are in light yellow and red-violet tons.

Boss nr. 1 has 0.45m of diameter and 0.10m of thickness. The cross (of Greek type) is inserted inside of a circle of 0.25m of diameter. The boss is framed at the borders with leaves in direction from the centre to the border.

Boss nr. 2 has 0.43m of diameter and 0.09m of thickness. The border is framed with flowers of the same type as the ones of the arch frieze. The flowers are disposed in circular direction and are fixed by pairs having the moulding in a shape of twisted rope in the separation of each pair of flowers. The boss has also three central concentric circles starting from the border on. The first one, with 0.30m of diameter, forms together with the second one, of 0.16m diameter, a red massive body. The third one with 0.08m diameter constitutes the central shield.

Boss nr. 3 has 0.46m of diameter and 0.10m of thickness. The border moulding is formed in shape of a large twisted rope (bow type) of yellowed colour. Between the ropes, the moulding is done in style of tree branches. In the central part it is framed with two ropes forming two triangles of flattened ends. The triangles bow themselves forming one body, inscribed in a circle of 0.28m of diameter.

Boss nr. 4 is of 0.43m of diameter and 0.10m of thickness. The border moulding is of the same style as of boss nr. 3, large ropes and tree branches. This set occupies 0.06m of the ceiling border. In the centre, a shield of 0.23m length and of 0.16m width has been sculpted. In the centre of the shield is a cross in diagonal (cross of Santo André), which high lights itself, having 0.16m in one of the arms and 0.17m in the other.

Boss nr. 5, the central one, is the one of the greater dimension. It has 0.51m of diameter and 0.11m of thickness. The border has 0.055m of moulding in the shape of twisted ropes. These ropes are different from the other ones. Instead of being large they have ribs. Each rope is a rib with three vertices. In the central part it has a sculpted shield of 0.39m length and 0.30m large. The shield is slightly concave and is of a yellowed colour. Above it, the cross of *S. Bento de Avis* was mouldered. The cross is 0.32m length and 0.18m large. The haste's are of 0.035m and the 'anchors' at the endings are 0.11m large and 0.095m high. The cross was put in a way that the four endings coincide with the corners of the chapel.

Boss nr. 6, the one on top of the wall at the end of the chapel, is mouldered by flowers/plants from the two sides which join in the top in a head of an angel. This boss is not circular. It has an elliptic format, being 0.51m high and 0.48m large, showing the same shield and cross as boss nr. 5. The shield is 0.37m by 0.26m. The head of the angel, sculpted at the top part of the boss over the shield, is 0.09m high and 0.07m large, sided by a flowers/plant frame.

1.4.2.2 The internal corners (pendants, corbels, ribs and tiercerons)

(fig. 75, 83- 89)

On the four internal corners of the chapel, at approximate altitude of 1.40m, the ribs end in sculptured bases of pendants and corbels. These bases are trunks of 0.30m high and c. 0.45m large, all of them in format of a quarter of a cylinder. The cylinders are divided in to four sensitively equal and mouldered parts. On the front faces and on the bottoms they are sculpted with motives. There are twisted ropes in the superior part and pyramids or leaves on the bottom part. From the half to beneath they are divided into three parts with cinctures. All the cylinders are of limestone.

Over each pendant, five rib-arches come into light that form the arcade of the chapel. The ribs of the corners (wall-ribs, fixed to the lateral walls) are of a half trapeze format and the rest ones (transverse-, diagonal-, ridge-ribs and tiercerons) are of square format, chamfered on the two inferior edges. The rib-arches are made of pieces of blocks of an average size of 0.45m. All of them are of limestones.

1.4.2.3 The external part of the Chapel

(fig. 70-74, 90-94)

The chapel is acceded by a pointed arch (obtuse arch) done of calcareous blocks. The arch is 3.755m high measuring from the stones of the chapel floor until the inferior point of the span of the entrance. The free span of the entrance is 3.475m large. The proper arch begins from 1.71m high, where the frieze of the vertical part of the arch ends and where it fixes (impost). The vertical part of arch (pilaster) is formed by four limestones, with an average high of 0.42m each.

The pilaster is ornamented with a frieze mouldered with roses at the top and with profile without decoration at the base. The left side arch is formed by eight stones being each of the stone in average of 0.40m, and the right one by 7 stones with round 0.42m each. Hand painted copies of tiles of *tapete* type are put adjoined to the arch (as before mentioned), in blue and yellow pattern from the second half of 17th century, including *friso* tiles and *rodapé* tiles from the foot panel. On the top of the arch, at left and right side, are two ancones (or consoles), in 'L' shape, of limestone and with ornamentation. They probably served as base for the wooden Choir, shown also by the obstructed and covered access door from the stair case tower, as seen before. It would have fixed directly over the ancones and reached from the floor of the nave almost 3.55m high.

The ancon from the left side, next to the main door, is 0.213m large and 0.323m high. It has a carving above with a tooth of 0.045m thickness and 0.055m depth, which served probably as the support zone for the wooden Choir structure it supported. The ancon is ornamented at the bottom by a pendant, which is mouldered on the top by a sculpture of twisted ropes and a conic trunk, turned down sides and laboured with geometrical leaves. The ropes measure round 0.15m in horizontal and 0.16m high. The cone is round 0.11m high and the straightest part, the base, is of 0.07m. The ancon is of limestone and comes 0.24m out of the wall.

The ancon at the right side, also of limestone, comes equally 0.24m out of the wall. It is in totality 0.285m high and 0.24m large. It divides in two parts: the part of the body, fixed to the wall, and the part in rose-shape which emerges in the central part 0.11m from the wall and 0.15m from de supposing support base of Choir. The support tooth is 0.05m from border and 0.06m high. The rose is 0.17m of diameter and round 0.07m depth (from the point until the body that holds it).

1.4.3 The 2nd internal arch of the church

(fig. 72)

The second arch, blind, is sensitively in the middle of the naves path, left hand. All indicates (position, outside marks at left lateral façade) that it could have been an entrance to a second former existing chapel.

The arch is of limestones and is 2.85m high (including the pilaster) and 2.30m large (the rope). Starting from the base until the beginning of the proper arch (till impost), the pilaster is round 1.53m high (the pilaster at right foot). This part is divided in four horizontal ones, being each of them c. 0.40m. The pointed arch itself is round 1.28m until the centre (the set). It is divided into five stones at each side, being each one of them round 0.35m at the bottom (*intradorso*) and 0.40m in the middle (*extradorso*).

1.4.4 The doors

1.4.4.1 The principal entrance door, main façade (south-west)

(fig. 41-43).

The principal entrance to the church is given by the main façade door. The structural part is mouldered of limestones. The central horizontal span of the entrance is 2.09m large and, from the cill until the arch, it is 3.21m high. The total high is of 3.735m and the largeness measured at the top cornice is 3.00m. The arch is of round arch shape.

The structure itself divides into six parts: the cornice of the top; the body of the area (fronton) around the arch; the cornice of the columns, which serve as the fixing base of the arch; the pilasters (doorjambs), which sub-divide themselves into two parts, one above the other; the cornice of the pilaster base and; the pedestal where the whole structure is set on.

The cornice of the top is formed horizontally by three stones (of different sizes), 0.23m high. The central rectangular contains the arch and fronton, it measures 1.35m high and 2.695m large. The arch is composed by five stones (masonry arch) and mouldered in a band of 0.195m from the first rock, fixed over the column cornice. The band gives straight continuity to the rectangular body. The key stone of the arch is 0.645m on the base and 0.835m on the top.

The pilaster cornice is 0.20m high and it divides into eight small parts. The pilaster is 0.295m large and has a border of 0.05m. It is divided into two parts, 0.71m and 1.065m, top and base, correspondently, from the left side of the door and 0.756m by 1.102m top and base, from the right side of the door. The base cornice is c. 0.17m high and it is fixed on the pedestal of 0.32m, left side, and 0.50m, right side. The top cornice in profile is 0.17m out of the wall. The pilaster cornices come out from the wall c. 0.08m, and the one of the base c. 0.10m.

1.4.4.2 2nd door of right lateral (south-eastern) façade

(fig. 44, 45)

Being both lateral right external doors of similar shape, the second one was chosen for description, once it's the most composed and of greater dimension one.

The structure is mouldered of limestone and is in total 3.10m high with an average large of the top cornice of c. 2.40m. The span of the entrance is 2.875m high and 1.57 large.

The structural part divides into three parts: the top cornice, composed by seven small fractions and divided by two stones; the central bar (door head and fronton), divided into two overlaid parts, being the superior one of 0,07m and the inferior of 0.24m; the pilasters (doorjambs),

which are divided into three parts: 0.407m, 1.065m and 1.353m on top, half and base, respectively, from the right side, and: 0.405m, 1.085m and 1.332m, from the top till the base, from the left side.

The pilasters are c. 0.25m large and have a border of c. 0.05m. The bar over the pilasters is 0.24m large and displays an edge that follows the one of the pilaster, which is of c. 0.05m. It is divided vertically into three parts. The cornice in profile is out of the wall c. 0.20m on the major part and 0.02m on the minor part.

The whole structure is fixed over a plinth that forms the step (in a total of three), which give the access to the interior of the church. The first step is 0.21m high, the second 0.325m high and the third (superior) one, where the pilasters of the door are fixed, is 0.33m high.

All the external doors have in their cornices and base profiles the classic elements of Roman modification of Greek molding, as it is the *Fillet*, the *Torus*, the *Scotia*, the *Head* and the *Plinth* itself.

1.5 The Convent of *S. Francisco*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.5)

The complex of the Convent is built by: the church; the cloister, with font and involving wall remains; the wall remains of the *cells* (dormitories).

The access to the Convent is done by steps starting down from the localization area of Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*. The principal entrance to the church is effectuated over the south western façade on top of the steps. The entrance to the cloister/cells is on its left hand on a higher level, accessed by steps.

The church building has a rectangular plan in 'battery-shape' (10.35m width (Chancel of 7.10m width) by 25.35.m length (18.10m nave plus 7.25m Chancel), by c. 12.40m height, in total c. 13.30m of height including the belfry), with its length directed in the sense south-west to north-east. Its body is vertical oriented.

It contains three doors and seven windows: the main entrance door, one access door to the altar area on top of left lateral façade, and one door from the back façade, also leading to the altar. The windows are: the one at main façade, centred on top of the entrance door, one window at beginning of left lateral façade, one window at back façade, four windows along the right lateral façade.

The main entrance door has only parts of doorjambs, in limestone, its door head missing, being visible its order in flattened arch. It is topped by a plaster/wall re-entry in angular trefoil arch, flanked by a small pyramidal salience each side. The left lateral façade door has doorjambs and door head missing, with visible order in round arch. It is crowned by a slightly to left displaced ocular. The lower back façade door, whose access is coming downstairs from back side, is of round arch, its doorjambs and door head missing, with visible order.

The window at the main façade, of quadrangular shape, is in skew form to interior and exterior, barred with iron bars. The left lateral façade window, of rectangular shape, with

window jambs and head missing, has visible order in flattened arch, barred with iron bars. The back façade window, centred in plaster surface with top of triangular shape, is of round arch. The first window of the right lateral façade, displaced higher and being smaller than the other three ones, is of skew shape, barred with iron bars. The rest three windows, of rectangular shape and also skewed, are all barred with iron bars.

The church, such as the rest of the Convent, is built of masonry of basalt stones bonded in white/grey mortar, filled with smaller stones and tile pieces (opus incertum) (walls in average c. 0.90m thick). Visible outside plaster remains are at its left lateral façade (altar section) and at its back façade (restored). The church is topped by two in size different gable roofs (one topping the nave, c. 11.60m above ground level), one the narrower altar zone (c. 10.50m above ground level), its actual tiles being of Marseille type, having been probably former barrel/mission type. Its six corners are made of quoin stones.

At the left height of the main façade, based at beginning of the triangular top (base of gable roof) is a flat belfry of round arch with visible order, topped by a flattened triangular tympanum framed with cornice.

At the back part of lateral left façade, at height of its door and including the ocular, is a from the base of the roof up standing wall remain, seemingly belonging to the one behind the cloister on left hand.

Adjoined to the back façade is a rectangular depression framed by low upstanding wall remains, on its right hand containing the back façade doors access steps.

The interior of the church is built up by two main departments: the first area of nave, ending shortly behind the three steps upwards to the presbytery, separated from the narrower altar area by a round arch with visible order, after which three steps lead to the main altar. The floor is of brown ceramic tiles (burro type), arranged in the first level of the nave in visible rectangular sections, only interrupted partially by disordered tile arrangements. At its first level, right in front of the round arch, is an inlaid tombstone of marble. On the left corner of the first area is a bed rock remain standing out inside the nave, such as it is at the left corner of altar area.

The walls of the nave are partially covered with rests of beige plaster (restored), the ones of the altar zone being partially covered with grey mortar showing tile marks. A panel of copied hand-painted wall tiles of *tapete* type is inlaid on its right side. A small wall niche of round arch is set in at the right end of the nave. The ceiling is of wood timber in 'A'-form.

The cloister area is faced on right side by a visible narrow passage way adjoined to the left lateral church wall, and on its left side by upstanding bed rocks, out of which rises a water spring, channelled in diagonal through the cloister floor level. Behind the cloister is adjoined a sensitively quadrangular space headed at top by an upstanding wall in which sits centred a round arch window with visible order. Right of this wall, steps lead to the back side of the church. At their right side, topping the external wall of the altar section, is placed a wall remain.

In front of the cloister, left hand to its access steps and to the church, are four sensitively quadrangular areas divided by upstanding wall remains, two to left aligned with their front walls with the main façade of the church, the other two ones being aligned with their right wall with the left lateral wall to front. Inside the first one is inlayed a tombstone of marble. Between the cloister and the first two quadrangular areas mentioned leads a narrow pass way over four steps and through a depression towards the area of the cells, of which is still their main façade wall (front, heading towards south-west), aligned with the main façade of the church, partially standing (its first window at c. 30.00m left hand to the left corner of the church's main façade, with the beginning of the cells at c. 27.00m distance). Three windows of round arch shape of different size are placed in it, with their order visible. The wall shows plaster remains and horizontal aligned holes below the window level, indicating seemingly a former wooden floor level.

The *cells* area (5.25m wide) is flanked on the walls opposite side by a parallel running lower wall, behind which lies a narrower higher level area. This wall contains at its top end visible return wall remains such as a rest of a chiselled calcareous water pipe.

All rests of door- and window-jambs, door and window heads, all steps and quoin stones are of limestone, the tomb stones being of marble.

Outside the church, in the area of the cloister and *cells*, we can find three different floor types: brown ceramic tiles in rectangular shape (*burro* type); flat flagstones; and grey small and round cobbled stones, partially crossed by symmetric lines of broken brown ceramic tile pieces.

By observing the historic illustrations (fig. 16, 17), we can identify a former gable roof covering the *cells* area such as a tower at their left (north-west) ending.

1.6 The Church/Chapel *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (Holy Mother of Conception)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.6)

Two visible wall remains of the building are left: one on west side, with left side c. 8.00m of length and in average 0.80m till 1.00m high, containing grey mortar surface with tile marks; one on east side, of c. 1.40m length and c. 0.60m high. Both belong to the lateral left (north) church wall, made of basalt stones bonded in mortar, filled with smaller stones and ceramic tile pieces (*opus incertum*). They lie separated by a heap of rubble, north of which is recognizable at ground level a top part of a wall, running c. 1.00m in length parallel to the before mentioned wall remains.

By observing the historic maps, a rectangular plan in 'battery-shape' is recognizable, lying with its greater length directed in sense of west to east. Adjoined to its left (north) is recognizable what seems to have been a side chapel and a Sacristy. The shape of the building, such as the adjoined chapel, has been confirmed by the archaeological excavations. Found were three tombstones, two in situ (of which one in the area of the nave, one in the side chapel).

For further description see below in chapter 6 or the archaeological excavation reports of 2006 and 2007 in Annex 2.4.

1.7 The Jesuit College/*Casa*/Seminary

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.7)

The building is indicated on the map of 1769 to have a narrow longed shape, its north-eastern corner canted. Its greater length is oriented from west to east. This shape has basically been confirmed by the archaeological excavation results of 2007 (see Vol. II, Annex 2.4).

Inside the right huge wall, limiting on right side the passage between the river tributary and the beginning of the access stairs towards the Convent of *S. Francisco*, are along the bottom of it (c. 20.00 m of length) wall remains in mortar bonded basalt stone (of in average between c. 0.30m till c. 2.20.m of height, in irregular shape) with tile pieces sit in (*opus incertum*), partially covered with also in very irregular shape running brown-grey plaster with partially visible tile marks. In the west corner are quoin stones from the return wall visible.

For further details please see further in chapter 6 or see the preliminary archaeological excavation report from 2007 in Vol. II, Annex 2.4.

1.8 The Seminary

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.8)

On the black and white map from 1778 (fig. 6) is recognizable what seems to be the basic shape of the Seminary prolonging in alignment from the lateral left façade (kitchen) of the Episcopal Palace towards south-east, incorporating the building of the *aljube* at its left end.

The plan and axonometric horizontal section drawings from the 18th century (fig. 8 and 9) confirm this observation. Aligned with the Episcopal Palaces front façade, we can see seven quadrangular departments, adjoined at the beginning (at back side) by a rectangular one, and at its left end (at back side) by another quadrangular one, both giving, together with the ones in first row, the width of the Palace. The left ones seem to be the ones of the *aljube* and jailor. The third, fourth and fifth quadrangular front row departments have a second storey above them.

Visible are three front doors (one left department and two right departments, one each), such as four rectangular windows (fourth till seventh department). The upper storey departments have one window each. The third till seventh department are interconnected by doors, the seventh having also a back door.

Visible on the perspective drawing are the floor constructions with parallel running wood beams. No internal or external stairs can be identified, no decoration at all is identifiable.

Measuring by the indicated scale, the building would measure or have measured c. 235 palms (51.70m) of length by c. 45 palms (9.90m) of width.

In situ, no remains belonging to the building could be identified.

1.9 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.9)

A few low wall remains of mortar bonded basalt stones could be identified in the surroundings of the area, including some red-brown tile pieces, but from which it is most probable that they didn't belong to the Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*, but or to the Fortress of *S. Brás* or to habitation buildings. As it seems to be recognizable on the first map from Engineer Andrea (1769) (fig. 1 and 4), the Fortress was localized straight below the rock elevation, on which 'nose' stood the chapel/hermitage. This would identify the opened space on the 'nose' in front of the recent habitation building (fig. 12) as the original localization, on which no building remains are recognizable, but only a few dispersed 'powder' like rests of grey mortar.

On the map from 1769, a slight rectangular shape is recognizable oriented with its greater length from north-west to south-east. On both maps from 1778, it becomes adjoined by a lateral left salience, forming together an inverted 'L' shape. Its seize seems of c. 7.00m length by c. 4.00m width (or, together with the salience, c. 5.00m to 6.00m of width respectively at its eastern side).

1.10 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Gonçalo*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.10)

Lying adjoined north-east to the Governors house inside the south-east corner of the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, the Fortress plan and the historic city maps show a slight rectangular building oriented with is greater length from north-west to south-east.

On the Fortress plan (fig. 8), only a frontal and meanwhile existing access door is recognizable. It possessed, recognizable through survey *in situ*, a lateral right door way giving opening to direct connection between the house of Governor and the chapel, such as having a narrow leaf on the right side of its back wall. The supposed frontal door is not clearly identifiable.

The chapels measurements are of 6.50.m of length and 5.05m of width, its rectangular plan made of low visible mortar bonded basalt stone wall remains with tile pieces set in (*opus incertum*) of 0.85m thickness at the Governors house and 0.65m while freestanding walls, between c. 0.05m till 0.20m of height. Outside of its left façade, c. half way along it runs a second wall of c. 0.80m thickness parallel in c. 0.25m of distance, its frontal return wall joining with the chapel's main façade. The left corner of the back chapel wall is made of larger boulders, placed as quoin stones.

Sit in the upper left part inside the chapel, starting from the left inner side wall and running parallel to its main and back façade, is a chiselled limestone with drilled wholes what seems to have been a re-used former door head. It is localized where the altar is supposed to have been, dividing, together with continuing wall remains (of 0.85m thickness), which leave a leak on their right end, the main nave from the back part of the chapel, which could have functioned as Sacristy (1.10m by 2.55m). In the corner, which the chiselled stone forms with the inner left side wall, are three quadrangular flagstones (two grey ones, one salmon one) *in situ* of c. the size of wall tiles, the left part of the chapel covered in ascending diagonal from

the front wall on by mortared floor with floor tile marks of mostly rectangular (and irregular one from each other) shape and size.

Sensitively centred in the chapel is one quadrangular slightly out jutted flat stone (0.30m by 0.30m), of salmon colour and a bit larger than the flagstones, which could have served as base for a stone column or for a wooden ceiling support.

Red-brown tiles are localized aligned in the place of the cill/skirting board of the right door way to the Governors house, such as framing the place of the doorjambs to right and left. On some parts of the wall, small grey-brown plaster remains of mortar could be found.

No more constructive elements could be identified.

1.11 The Church of *S. Pedro*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.11)

The shape of the plan of the church on the map from 1769 (fig. 3) indicates us a rectangular building with its larger side oriented from south-west towards north-east. Adjoined to its north-east façade seem two other aligned buildings of similar shape each, to their right (including right to the church) other buildings or yards in similar plan shape.

A free standing mortar bonded basaltic stone wall with tile pieces set in (*opus incertum*), of irregular shape of 4.90m length, maximum c. 2.88 height and 0.65m thickness, is what is left of the church. Marked by its left upper inner part through a horizontal notch till one third along the length of the wall, this area left side still being mostly covered by beige plaster, at the end of the notch a vertical demarcation (which is at the same time the end of the left plaster surface) shows us that at this place could have been a return wall or any similar division. Rests from the ground plan shape *in situ* are not absolute surely identifiable, but show us the wall remain probably being part of a larger wall, which had right and left return walls such as left further indication of a perpendicular ongoing wall (towards north-east).

By comparing with the map of 1769, the wall confirms to have been at its left side part of the north-east façade of the church, its right side not clearly identifiable if belonging to a former adjoined house/department or to a demarked yard. Some plaster remains at right could indicate that it possibly had been a building.

1.12 The Chapel of *S. Roque*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.12)

Architect Luis Benavente (Benavente, 1967-(1969), cx. n.° 1819, 1, 2), mentions referring to the chapel it being '(...) a small temple of the 16th century of real Renaissance manner in its eminent Portuguese expression. Of ground plan in rectangular shape, it has incorporated at its back side a dependency, destined as Sacristy' (*ibid*, 1).

Further on, he says that the Chapel is in nearly completely destructed state of conservation, and that *cantarias* have been stolen during the pass of time (*id*).

Through the rests of the doorjambs and door heads, the shape and size of the entrance door would have been still identifiable. The interior is entirely of flattened vault extending itself till the Sacristy, in tunnel form '(...) at the style of the epoch' (*ibid*, 2).

1.12.1 The chapel description

The chapel has a rectangular plan of 15.02m length (the span length of the nave measuring 11.00m, of the Sacristy 2.00m) by 5.91m width, its height measuring 5.17m till highest top of the nave roof. It has its greater length oriented approximately from south towards north. It is formed by two adjoined departments, the nave and the behind lying smaller perpendicular Sacristy. The nave is covered with gable roof, the Sacristy with flat pyramidal roof of three slopes, lower than the roof of the nave (3.41m till top of the Sacristy roof, at its very end). Both are of concrete due to the occurred restoration works.

The walls are made of mortar bonded basaltic stone, with only a few occasional tile pieces set in (*opus incertum*), and white washed at the front, left and back façade, such as in the interior of the nave. The wall has regular appearing small leaks. The thickness of the walls is of c. 0.65m till 0.70m.

The whole building is set on an artificial bolder plateau, slightly rising from front to back.

It has three rectangular external doors (front façade, left lateral façade and right lateral façade, at its end and giving outside access to the Sacristy). Its reconstructed front door is crowned by a triangular tympanum framed with cornice. Two small unframed rectangular windows illuminate the Sacristy, one placed at the end of right lateral façade, the other one centred at its back façade.

Inside the nave, a step, sensitively at two third of it, divides it into two floor levels. The ceiling is of flattened barrel vault, such as it is the one of the Sacristy, perpendicular to the first one. Perpendicular across the vault of the nave passes an iron rod. The floor is of cemented cobble stone pavement.

At the back face wall of the altar are placed two doors: the left one being blind, and as such only a depression, the right one giving access to the Sacristy, its cill in step form descending directly to the floor level of the first nave floor. Between them is placed in middle of the wall a small ancon for an image.

Inside the Sacristy, both windows are set in a vertical rectangular wall niche, which, by not reaching till the floor, leaving at their bottom a step.

On one photo from 1929 (fig. 21), the ruins of the chapel show us a small flat belfry set at the beginning of the left lateral wall, at height of the base of the roof. It has a triangular shaped head and a round arch opening. A rest of what seemed to be a small ocular is visible above the entrance leak, and on bottom of the tympanum a small, in two steps shaped, pyramidal top made of stones is recognizable.

Note: the chapel comes oriented with its main altar twice towards north (map from 1769 and black and white map from 1778), and once with the orientation towards south (coloured map from 1778).

1.13 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º Antônio*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.13)

By surveying the localization area could be identified several very low and broken wall remains, consisting mostly of semi-loose or loose basaltic stones, mixed with mortar rests and loose broken red-brown tile pieces (*opus incertum*).

Its ground plan shape was hardly identifiable, but, comparing with the drawn historic maps and plan, it's indicated south-west to north-east direction could be clearly identified. Its (most exterior) remains found give measured a plan of c. 20.00m by c.12.00 m, which seems sort of exaggerated, but we suppose that this might include external walls of other function (i.e. belonging to Fortress or yard).

On the plan of Fortress *St.º António* (fig. 5 and 9), the chapel/hermitage appears in 'battery-shape', having adjoined at the right side two compartments which seem to be the Sacristy and an eventual side chapel.

No more construction details could be observed.

1.14 The Church of *Monte Alverne*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.14)

On the map from 1769 (fig. 1 and 5) is recognizable a longed rectangular plan, having its greater length oriented from east towards west. Adjoined lies at its upper third left (south) side a secondary perpendicular oriented longed rectangular building, the Sacristy or possibly a side chapel. The other two maps show the building(s) in lying 'L' shape.

Through survey *in situ* could be identified its part of end of nave (altar zone) and a behind lying, through an opening in 'U' form separated, small room, probably the *Camarin*. Together they form an 'A' shape.

The length of the right (north) wall remains are of 10.97m and of the left side of 7.67m, its width measuring 6.64m. The supposed *Camarin* measures 3.70m by 5.12m. All walls are made of mortar bonded basalt stones with tile pieces set in (*opus incertum*).

Its wall remains stand till a height of maximum 4.00m (back façade of *Camarim*), the walls measuring of c. 0.65m of thickness in average.

The leak between the altar zone and the *Camarin* starts centred at a height of 1.60m above floor level, and has a span of 2.10m. The *Camarin* itself, adjoined to the behind lying bed rocks, has irregular floor level in height, with some visible bed rock parts appearing and no floor material remains. Inside, at its upper right wall, is a small wall niche visible. At its left wall, upside near the return wall corner, is an oval shaped rest of beige plaster.

Before the altar zone, at right, a lower wall remain shows a small stone-headed and with two round boulders framed sensitively quadrangular opening. No floor material can be found in all area.

To left, wall remains are visible adjoined to the large bedrock face. A rebuilt low wall runs parallel in fromt, perpendicular to the churches side walls.

No more information could be obtained.

1.15 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.15)

Beside irregular bed rocks, standing slightly over the ground level, and one broken red-brown ceramic tile piece (fig. 21), no further indications of localization or construction remains could be identified in the supposed localization area of the building.

The historic maps show a rectangular plan, being its larger length oriented from north-west to south-east (in case of being designated as Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Miguel* on the coloured map from 1778 (fig. 7), such as on the black and white maps of 1778 (fig. 6), designated as Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia*), and from south-west to north-east (on the black and white map from 1769 (fig. 5), here also designated as being the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia*). Its seize might have been of c. 6.00 by 12.00m.

Fig. 15 could possibly be a photo which still shows remains of the chapel/hermitage at the beginning of the 20th century.

1.16 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.16)

The only extremely vague information we have about this building is through a survey done in the area of the parts of standing wall remains of the Fortress of *S. Lourenço*, its southern part having been disappeared due to the recent constructed road along the shore. Identifiable *in situ* are, adjoined at right side to the supposed Fortress wall remains in straight prolonging of the defence wall towards south-west and lying at the inner side of the city area near (south-east) to the door way (fig. 10 and 12), two return wall remains outlining corners with the before mentioned wall remains. They are sensitively of 2.00m width and between 0.40m and .060m high, being distant one of each other in c. 7.00m. Both are mortar bonded basalt stone walls. Placed on the middle upper part of the (Fortress) wall is a plastered area with broken tile pieces set in (fig. 13).

Comparing with the historic maps such as with the existing Fortress plans, these wall remains seem to make part of the outlined building in lying 'L' shape, painted in red in the coloured map from 1778.

No further construction remains could be identified.

1.17 The Chapel of *S. Sebastião*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.12)

Surveying the possible localization area of the building, indicated by the before mentioned documental description, the only identified construction remains are small wall remains of mortar bonded basaltic stone (fig. 10), lying slightly elevated on the slope right at the beginning of the *Rua do Porto*. Meanwhile, its belonging to the Chapel of *S. Sebastião* is doubtful.

1.18 The Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit)

By supposing that the Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* has been at its beginning or the Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª de Conceição* or the Church of *Misericórdia*, construction details should be (at least partially) includable in the information obtained about these two buildings. No further indications could be found.

2 The archaeological interventions done in Ribeira Grande and the analysis and interpretations of the obtained results

2.1 The excavation in the Cathedral, 1989

Unfortunately, no written documents were accessible referring to the archaeological excavations in the Cathedral in 1989. The only information we have is, and still visible today, that during this intervention several constructive elements (i.e. in between them stone pieces from arches, columns, steps, profiles as well as pieces of window and door frames) were recovered from the interior of the ruined building. Most of them are lying nowadays outside of the building, southwards of the south façade, or are gathered near by the technical cabinet of the IIPC/Ministry of Culture, which at the same time serves as a small museum. These chiselled stones of limestone and marble include one cross and one naked male figure.

2.2 The excavations, including some reconstruction/conservation works, in the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, 1999 and 2000

2.2.1 First excavation in 1999

During the spring of 1999, the Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA, in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture of Cape Verde, executed an excavation inside the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*, the first serious intervention in this area after the previous small and precarious reconstruction of some wall parts, inner access ways and the watch towers in occasion of the commemoration of the 500 years centenary of Cape Verde's discovery in 1960. The team was built out of Spanish and capeverdean archaeologists, technicians and historians. The graphic documentation accessible and used was of the 18th century, which had, regarding to the report, height description exactness with what was found in its original state *in situ*.

The excavation report sub lines the multiple transformations suffered by the Fortress during the centuries, due to the constant attempt of adaptation of its military purpose to the different periods of use (Garcia Peña, 1999, 195). As consequence, a lot of construction and

ornamentation elements became 'unrecognizable' (*id*), which means not clearly definable and datable in its original state due to the transformations or reapplications suffered.

Regarding to the construction materials, it is reported that the door heads and doorposts/jambs of the three existing doors of the Fortress are made out of chiselled limestone, in the same way the spans of the Cathedral are, 'datable between the 17th and the 18th century' (*ibid*, 197).

The outside door, the one that frames the ancient eastern access way to the city, has its door head formed out of a semicircular base consisting of tiles, filled in between them with calc mortar [order]. This kind of constructive solution with tiles was from '(...) an epoch where its reproduction was possible from the Iberian Peninsula (...)' (*ibid*, 198, 199).

The description of the masonry is repeatedly mentioned as predominatingly been made out of red/brown coloured basalt stones, filled in with broken ceramic pieces and calc mortar, or mortar made out of calc and sand, sometimes this one having been substituted by simple earth clay [*opus incertum*]. Regarding to the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* (in connection with the House of the Governor and the barracks), its façade and transverse walls have been found conserved only till a height just a little above the floor level (*ibid*, 203). These ones were consolidated at their upper part with calc mortar, without changing the height level.

Regarding to the pavement of the Chapel *S. Gonçalo*, such as the ones of the House of Governor and barracks, is mentioned that, after cleaning, out pointing and detailed archaeological evidence, '(...) stays visible an infinite number of former pavements (...), being its result notable' (*ibid*, 208). This, obviously, is an exaggeration.

2.2.2 Second excavation in 2000

In continuation of the first stage of excavation in 1999, the report of the excavation in 2000 is unfortunately not clearly understandable in its structure concerning the numbers and indications of the excavated areas. That means that we can only refer to the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* when properly mentioned in the text of the document.

These excavation works were done in continuation of the ones from 1999, due to the interesting scientific results obtained and '(...) the possibility of *mupendantization* [turning into a museum] and use for cultural activities' (De Juan Ares Silva, Jorge y Y. E. Cáceres Gutierrez, 2000, 1).

Regarding the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, it is mentioned that around it was localized a water channel for drainage, which would leave the water to the 'back side' of the chapel (*ibid*, 47).

The whole excavation brought up only one c. 05m piece of wall tile, found out of its original context. This one, according to the report, belonged probably to the ones which decorated the chapel. It has geometric pattern, representing a part of rope of circular motive in light blue framed in yellow on white ground. 'The colours, blue and yellow, are characteristically of the Seville productions (...), datable of the 16th century' (*ibid*, 'preliminary study of material classification', 15). On the artefact draft (*ibid*, fig. 19, 343) no relief is recognizable, which,

together with the colours is more an indicator for a glazed yellow-blue-white carpet tile, second half of the 17th century.

It is to notify that the report always takes in consideration the possibility of found structures and other remains having been affected or added by the reparation works done in the Fortress during the second half of the 18th century (*ibid*, 47).

Most of the found objects belong to ceramics and metal. None of these could be connected to the chapel, such as there could be no other further information found.

2.3 The excavation/removing/cleaning inside the Church and Convent of *S. Francisco*, 1993 and 2001

The first intervention in the Convent of *S. Francisco* in 1993 aimed to fence the area, protecting it against further disturbance by cattle, to clean the interior of the principal body such as the removal of trees and their roots, and the reparation of some walls.

The conservation state of the church/Convent was described as being the best one among all existent ruins in Cidade Velha (Dos Reis Freire, 1993, 2). This was probably due to its 'strategic position ups the valley above a hill', which led it escape from the assaults of the inhabitants, which, at a certain time, took advantage of the stones of the monuments to construct their own houses (*id*).

Most part of its walls was still standing, so that 'the referred monument isn't in need of an urgent intervention' (*id*).

The second intervention from 2001, ground work for the architectonic re-construction and consolidation (see below), consisted mainly of the removing of the covering earth inside the building such as cleaning works, including the cutting of the tree trunks inside the church remains. Exception were, and seemingly not under archaeological supervision, excavations done for recognition of the ground/floor level(s), which lead to the discovery of several human bone remains in a burial area inside the cloister (see below).

2.4 The trial excavations of the archaeological project 'The Jesuit College and the first Church in the tropics', 2006 and 2007

(see Vol. II, Annex 2.4)

In the context of the international project of 'Forum UNESCO-University and Heritage', *The Itinerary of the Jesuits through the Atlantic Islands*, collaboration project between Universities of Portugal, Madeira, Azores, Brazil and Cape Verde, we researched in Ribeira Grande of what would have been the physical evidence of the passage of the Jesuits through Ribeira Grande during the first half of the 17th century. No written documentation would clearly identify the space and localization of a supposed College, or even Seminary. The area of the supposed house of residence (and residencies) was already completely built over by recent habitation buildings.

The only written short passage of reference to the surched College/Seminary (dating from 1952) comes from the Historian and Priest António Brásio, as mentioned before, who localized it '(...) near the Hermitage of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*' (Brásio apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 235). But this reference was discovered by us only afterwards, already having identified the localization of the College.

The references we had disposable at that time were the three maps of the Engineer António Carlos Andrea from the second half of the 18th century. Following the maps, after surveying and field walking *in situ*, supported by an overlay of a topographic survey of the area over the first of the historic maps, in scale, the localization of the indicated College became clearly identifiable. A few meters of wall remains, covered partly with mortar showing wall tile marks were the only visible remains so far.

Two visible wall remains in an agricultural area a few meters north indicated the existence of another former major building. Map comparisons and documental research confirmed it to be the before mentioned Hermitage/Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, one of the very first, may be even the first entirely constructed Church building in Ribeira Grande and consequently in the tropic latitude worldwide. As former evidences, continuous field walking brought up several construction and ornamentation elements as pieces of floor and wall tiles, dating back till the beginning of the 16th century, such as mortar pieces in abundance. This combination of buildings indicated a religious area of major historical importance, and it became clear that only a large excavation would be able to bring up all evidences.

We outlined an archaeological project, contacting major archaeological Departments of Universities around the world to propose the project. Cambridge University (UK), namely its Archaeological Unit, in person of its Executive Director Christopher John Evans, and the Department of Archaeology, in person of the Senior Lecturer Marie Louise Stig Sorensen, stayed interested and came to Ribeira Grande for research on site.

The result was the new outlined archaeological project, in collaboration between the Cambridge Archaeological Unit (CAU) and Department of Archaeology of University of Cambridge (UK), the British Museum of London, the IIPC (Institute of Investigation and Cultural Patrimony)/Ministry of Culture of Cape Verde, such as the University of Jean Piaget of Cape Verde, where we were settled.

The project outlined several years of excavation, starting with trial excavations on both sites to define the building shapes, settlement levels and remains to be expected. Two major excavation seasons would conclude the excavation of the whole area, the building remains aimed to be conserved and exposed as an archaeological park inside Ribeira Grande. Historical research, further extensive finds analysis and its interpretation would complete the information to be published in several volumes.

Two excavation seasons of two weeks each (2006 and 2007), completed with one week excavation on the site of the trade Company building of *Grão Pará e Maranhão* of the 18th century (2007), lying beside the secondary river bed affluence downwards, inside the 'Y' of the junction with the main river bed, and finishing the intervention area southwards, were realized till the date. This gave a complete idea of the construction levels of the buildings down the former terrace walls.

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Another site, the one of the Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia* in the centre of the city (2006), such as a habitation building in the *Rua Carreira*, part of town of *S. Pedro* (2007), were objects of excavation interventions through trial excavations to complete information about building structures and settlement levels inside the town. One trench inside the secondary affluent river bed area, to define the outside wall of the supposed main façade of the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and to take soil samples of the river itself (2006), such as field walking and survey for historic archaeological evidences at the northern defence wall on the *Achada Salineiro* and river bed upwards (2007) were executed to complete the picture.

The team was made out of the archaeologists of Cambridge and the archaeological Curator D. J. Hill from British Museum, as well as from technicians from IIPC, as well as us and architect students from University Jean Piaget, supported by local workers. Continuous teaching on site was an important complementary aim.

Two preliminary reports were written till now (see Annex 2.4), completed with results of finds analysis, partly obtained through analysis in the laboratories of Cambridge, supported by specialists. From these two reports we will extract our information and results obtained so far.

2.4.1 Cidade Velha, Cape Verde, Archaeological Excavations-The 2006 Season

The first trial excavation took place in Ribeira Grande in April of 2006. Three trenches were put in the site of the Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (I.A, I.B and I.C), two trenches in the site of the Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia* (II.A and II.C). A reconnaissance survey at a triangular fort (site VI) on *Achada Salineiro* above site I was undertaken.

2.4.1.1 Site I of Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*

The localization of the trenches in Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* was done in an attempt to define most of the building shape. Their size was partly conditioned by the possible disturbing of the crop area (I.B and I.C inside of mainly sugar cane plantation).

Trench I.A, inside the former secondary river, nowadays alleyway, west and directly outside the actual western wall limiting the agricultural area towards the alleyway, was put down the visible remains of what was supposed to be the western (main façade) wall of the building. Digging down the trench to a total depth of c. 1.90m, it became exposed, after 0.70m, the main building foundation, of 0.95m+ width, with still some of the masonry blocks *in situ*. The upper part had been later field-wall bedding upon it. This confirmed so to be the western wall of the church (Evans, C. and M. L. Stig Sorensen, 2006, 5). '(...) the arrangement of the masonry within its northwestern corner would suggest that it was buttressed' (*ibid*, 12)

Due to the fluvial downcutting, which showed a horizontal layer clearly beneath the early foundation, recovered finds from the very bottom still dated from the 17th and 18th century, surely out of context due 'to the very 'active' seasonal velocity (and depth) of the areas early watercourse' (*ibid*, 5).

Trench I.B was cut down along the southern, partly mortar bounded and tile marks showing, face of the upstanding terrace wall, supposed to of the northern façade. It reached a total

depth of c. 1.60m. The upper surface of in between c. 0.50-0.70m was of mid-brown humid loam horticultural soil, below which was found a collapse/demolition layer of c. 0.30m with mixture of medium-large stones and fragments of off-white mortar. At the same level (?), on the western side became visible a layer of off-white sandy mortar, embedded with fragments of red roof/floor tiles, such as one blue-yellow-white glazed carpet tile in it. This seemed to be the remnants of the building's floor (*id*).

Under this building floor appeared a layer of c. 0.75m filled with fragments of human bones and teeth, proving to be a burial area predating the northern wall with a total height of 1.15-1.20m. The wall is made out of roughly dressed but well coursed large boulders in off-white mortar, faced with light grey mortar with the tile marks in it, having at its basal of c. 0.12m a red/brown plaster cover The wall itself is based on a 0.80m deep foundation made of medium/large boulders in off-white mortar (*ibid*, 9)

Trench I.C, cut southwards of a rubble pile in attempt to find the southern wall did succeed at exposing it at a depth of 0.75m, dividing the trench in half. The northern part would expose at this depth a sandy mortar floor surface. On this were found jumbled yellow-blue-white carpet tiles and, in flat/horizontal position, a light brown tombstone with gothic letter inscription, dating from 1528, was embedded in the middle.

Under this floor level were found, as in trench I.B, graveyards deposit. The southern part came out to be an exterior area of informal surface, having its ground level at a total depth of c. 1.90m, 1.00m lower than the interior ground level/wall top, lying below the wall's offset foundations, having been found a comparable cemetery horizon at 1.80m depth. The wall itself was, top till down, between 1.10 till 1.30m wide (*ibid*, 9, 12).

The total size of the building would have been of c. 9.00m width and 18.00m+ of length, and probably would have stood one-and-a-half or two storey high (*ibid*, 12)

Concluding remarks

Evans, C. and M. L. Stig Sorensen come to the concluding observation that, due to the different levels (graveyards lying under floor level), such as to the dating of the glazed carpet tiles, there is the possibility of having been 'an earlier church within the vicinity, (...) given by the recovery of a few 'earlier style', 15-16th century glazed tiles (...)' and, consequently, the early tombstone (1528), mixed with the late 17th century tiles, 'cannot be in its primary context', having been 'the slab (...) originally outside' (*id*).

First, it is to remark that the tombstones of (at least important) inhabitants never where outside the proper building of a church till the 19th century, due to the Christian believe that the necessity and final aim for the soul to reach heaven would only be assured by being buried inside the building itself. This, obviously, doesn't proof yet that it couldn't have been removed and reset in another place, but could have been also at the same horizontal floor level. Further opening and analyzing of the tombstone itself and its content, if there, could bring more detailed information about this question.

Second, the existence of a certain type of tiles (in this case yellow-blue-white glazed carpet tiles, dated round about 1670) within the same layer (in this case floor ground) of the earlier

tombstone (1528) doesn't necessarily have to be a temporary contradiction, due to the ongoing reconstruction and re-ornamentation of religious buildings throughout the centuries. This could mean that the building itself could be earlier than the tiles indicate, and that the graveyards could predate just the construction of the main nave of the church (sometimes, churches started to be built first as a chapel, which was later included (sometimes as side chapel) in the church construction itself). But it could also indicate spread burials, may be in anonymous mass graves, of less important inhabitants, nevertheless inside the proper building. The only contra-indicator would be the depth difference, supposing that all burials would have been done inside a certain range of equal depth.

Finds analyses and interpretation

Even though it is, for a complete and profound analyses, in general not possible to exclude certain finds analyses from the whole context of an archaeological excavation site, there will be only mentioned in our research, with occasional exceptions, the finds directly connected to the construction of the buildings. Other finds will only be taken in consideration if helping to clarify the construction (or direct use of it) in any way.

Wall tiles, roof tiles, floor tiles, stones and mortar were clearly important for understanding the structure of the building. While roof and floor tiles (of red/brown or beige burned clay), such as masonry stones (red/brown/grey basalt of different sizes, undressed) and mortar (off-white, or as brown plaster) were more of interest connected to the layers where they were found, being of similar shape and structure and appearing in numerous amount, the glazed tiles seemed to be additionally important for eventual dating, having been collected all of them. Metal objects, such as nails, could possibly belong also to the proper building structure material, such as it could parts of glass (i.e. window glass). Bones/human remains would only be mentioned so far as to indicate a burial area. Tombstones are, by showing us the material, lettering and normally a name and date, of course of high interest. Other stone material from the construction itself, such as limestone or marble fragments (arches, vaults, columns etc.), if found, are equally a valuable indicator.

Wall tiles: Most tiles were found in Trench I.B, at the level of the robbed-out floor [15] above the 'bone layer' [16], while they and other building materials, more unevenly distributed in trench C, seemed to be, '(...) after general decay or demolition of the building (...) stacked inside the remains of the wall' (Evans, C. and M. L. Stig Sorensen, 2006, 20). The yellow-blue-white decorated and glazed wall tiles of carpet 17th century (c. 1670), were found only in a small number (one whole and two fragments) *in situ* in trench I.B (*ibid*, 20, 21).

The seven pieces of green monochrome tiles found in I.B [14] are dated in the report as being from the 17-18th century (*ibid*, 21). They are probably from much earlier, dating from the beginning of the 16th century (see Vol. II, Appendix 1.4).

Hispano-moresque tiles, nine in number, were found in II.A [31], while only one was inside I.C [43].

Metal objects: Iron nails, large in size and presumingly from substantial or rough timber constructions, appear most in I.B and I.C. In I.B, they appear at the layer above the dismantled floor [13] and [14], connected to the demolition phase. These could partly be of

the timber roof construction, some of them may be from other wooden constructions, such as Choir or even furniture. But their number increases downwards to the 'bone layers', so that 'it may be the case that the nails are remains from decayed wooden coffins' (*ibid*, 26).

Stones: Stones identified include limestone (calcareous) and marble, it seeming 'unlikely that large pieces suitable for substantial masonry work would have been available locally' (*ibid*, 28).

2.4.1.2 Site II of Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia*

In the Hospital area of the Church/Hospital of Misericórdia were cut down two trenches. It was more than all a '(...) supervised rubble clearance (the Ministry-hired workmen) with the aim of establishing its potential for reconstruction' (Evans, C. and M. L. Stig Sorensen, 2006, 5).

Trench II.A was put on down the northern inside of a major standing southern wall of over 1.50m of width. The most remarkable finds would be some 'early style', 15-16th century tile pieces in lower layer. These so called *hispano-moresque* tiles date from round about fifteen hundred till c. fifteen hundred and fifty origin from Seville. Other tiles, namely the yellow-blue-white glazed carpet tiles were found in larger amount.

Trench II.C, cut down in a wall corner of north-east side of the Hospital, mentioned to bring up a corner bench made of marble stone, set on a floor made of small and round grey basalt stones (probably from the shore side).

Concluding remarks

The exposed finds would suppose a major, probably two-storey high building (*ibid*, 14). The earlier tiles or suggest an earlier construction inside the surveyed area, or indicate that, in fact, the building (Hospital) would have had the age the tiles indicate, conform the first information about a Hospital of *Espírito Santo* in Ribeira Grande (which could have preceded or be reused or renamed as *Misericórdia*, a probability, knowing that the Churches/Hospitals of *Espírito Santo* were the predecessors of the *Misericórdias*. .This could be an indicator that the in the research before mentioned Church of *Espírito Santo* would have been localized in the same area.

2.4.2 Cidade Velha, Cape Verde, Archaeological Excavations-The 2007 Season

Trial excavations took place in Ribeira Grande to continue and enlarge the survey, being one season of two weeks and the second one of one week. This on one hand completed the understanding of the areas already started, on the other hand it showed a wider picture the archaeological potentials of different areas of the town itself such as of the involving areas.

2.4.3 The first season-April 2007

Beside putting more four trenches in site I (Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*), I.D, I.E, I.F and I.G, completing as such the trial excavations, access was for the first time possible to the site of the presumed Jesuit College nearby southwards, becoming site III with two trenches, III.A

and III.B. Further excavation was done inside a former habitation building in ruined state in *Rua Carreira* (site IV), of approximately one hundred and sixty years of age, which lies attached to the church garden of Church *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*. Stream course observations such as survey reconnaissance done on the *Achada Salineiro* completed the season, placed directly above the site I and the nearby lying Convent of *S. Francisco*, nearby an 'old' lynchet/paddock system (site V), which lies west to the triangular Fort surveyed the year before (site VI).

2.4.3.1 Site I of Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*

The trenches were laid out in attempt to complete the understanding of the building shape itself, but also in one case (continuation of trench I.C trough I.F, in alignment with III.A of the Jesuit College) to dig a direct line for better understanding of the obvious down slope terracing with consequent construction and settlement unlevelling.

I.D (to the east, and not, as mentioned, 'to the west' (Evans, C. and M. L. Stig Sorensen, 2007, 5)) was to investigate the ending of the building in this direction, while I.E was placed upon visible mortar/wall remains what, related to the historic map, would have been the side chapel and, possibly, the very first construction of the whole building itself. I.G was done to investigate the northern church wall width and to find out if the western return wall from the side chapel (I.E) would join there.

Trench I.D exposed three wall remains, the first one running north-south, at the eastern end, the second one west-east and, presuming to join the first one in a corner (what he didn't, being between them a seemingly small water channel, 0.10 wide, mortared and of curved shape), and the third one in semicircular shape forming an ascendant curve from west to east, joining the second and first wall at its end (*id*)

The first wall remain (north-south), lying only 0.30m under top soil surface, with its foundations 0.90m wide and c. 0.50m deep, bonded in a hard white mortar with medium/large sized boulders. On top of its foundation, only 0.12m high and 0.55m wide, led the proper wall, without any evidence of tile pieces in it (*id*).

The second wall (west-east), 0.30m high and c. 0.45m wide, had the same structural characteristics as the first one (*id*).

The third wall (curved), overlapping and as such seemingly post-dating the second one, was 0.50-0.60m wide and 0.25-0.35m high, '(...) and would indicate a semi-circular apsidal end-wall' (*ibid*, 10).

To 'complicate' the interpretation, at the very south corner of the trench, extending below the second wall, appeared another wall/foundation remain, made out of hard brown sandy mortar plus stones. It laid at 0.75m depth, with 0.30m+ width, not extending beyond the second and third wall. This, in connection with bones from a presuming graveyard found at the north-west corner, could be '(...) related to an earlier/primary version of the church' (id). Two intact *hispano-moresque* tiles found would be of interest in this context.

Trench I.E, supposed to be placed upon a/the side chapel, became to confirm it surprisingly. In its northern half came up, running west-east, a major mortar bounded wall of medium/large sized boulders, 0.80m of height upon inner floor level (which laid at 0.90-1.15m depth) and with 0.60-0.70m of width. In front of it, southwards, two steps of together 0.65m width (top 0.35m, lower 0.30m) and 0.41m high. Even though the north flank continued straight in west-east direction, the southern part of the inner (south) wall beside the steps returned on both sides towards the northern wall remains of the church itself in an angle of 45 degrees. The so delineated chapel room '(...) would have been of quasi polygonal/apsidal plan' (*id*). On both inner sides of these 'return walls' were still yellow-blue-white glazed carpet tiles *in situ* visible. On top of the northern wall, in the centre and seemingly outlining the middle axis of the Chapel was placed a major boulder, 0.90m wide and 1.85m long. This indicates that 'there can be little doubt that this was a large altar' (*id*), possibly of a total extension of 2.20m.

South, and towering above the floor level in c. 0.10m, was lying *in situ* a major marble tombstone of 1.08m width and 2.12m length, north-south ('altar') orientated. Its inscription letters (Renaissance style) were decoded and its 'inhabitant' recognized, coming out to be another inhabitant of major social importance of Ribeira Grande (see report in Annex 2.4). The tombstone itself probably dates from 1557.

Another two major parts of marble tombstones stuck, horizontally but head-down, in the rubble pile above the floor level (south), and its positions indicate that 'these have presumed to be set as a pair of steps (...)' (*ibid*, 11). Other broken parts were recovered from the rubble, one with inscriptions, such as it had one of the 'step' ones (see report in Annexes 2.4).

Other architectonical remains, namely ribbed-vault fragments, possibly belonging to ribs of the cupola, were found in its upper soil sequence.

Trench I.F, cut as a narrow sondage trench to define the terrace leveling of the terrain southwards, proved the '(...) extreme (if consistent) southward ground-level slope' (*ibid*, 13) in the area south of the southern church wall, towards the presumed Jesuit College.

Trench I.G, dug only as a small exposure on the upper northern wall part of I.B from 2006, showed that this northern church wall had probably only a width of 0.70m. Meanwhile, the junction to it of the western 45 degree return wall of I.E could still not be defined.

Concluding remarks

The excavations of 2007 completed mostly the understanding of the ground plan shape of the Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* with its side chapel. It also defined the down-sloping of the terrace walls in the terrain, which means the different levels on which the construction(s) were set in. The side chapel itself lies 0.40-0.50m higher than the ground level exposed in I.B in 2006. This indicates a probable set of steps that must have led from the main church nave towards a portal and into the chapel (*ibid*, 15).

Meanwhile, two observations must be done: the number of steps towards an altar were normally three in number (the holy trinity), sometimes five, but, as known so far, never two. This could put the proper as altar defined function of the northern chapel wall in question, which seems unlikely, or it could indicate that under the found ground level could be a former

ground level, which means that the presumed date of the tombstone *in situ* is not the original one of the chapel, but that the chapel itself could date earlier. This connects to the often mentioned question of trying to date a building by its wall tiles. The oldest tile found indicates that the building is of at least that age. But this doesn't mean necessarily that it couldn't be older, due to the already mentioned often practiced re-ornamentation and even (partly) reconstructing of the religious buildings throughout the centuries.

Another question, if we look also at the side chapel of Church *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, comes up: the often exposed opinion that the construction of the churches might have begun as/with a chapel, later included in the whole church by connecting the main nave to it, is so far doubtful as that the orientation of both side chapels (*Conceição* and *Rosário*) is not, as it was a rule before the Council of Trent, east orientated with its altar, but, the main altar of the church naves is east orientated. As in this case both side chapels lie at the left side, entering the churches through the main façade portal, this could simply mean that they were already planned together with the whole church as Baptisteries, which by rule had to be on the left side. Now, the orientation to east of the main altar of the church itself still doesn't proof that the building was constructed before c. 1550/60. But by putting together the late gothic Manuelin style side chapel (with its north orientation) and the nave of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (with its east Orientation), this could be al least a strong indicator that the chapel and church would have been constructed at the same time.

Looking at the *hispano-moresque* tiles (from c. 1500 till 1550) found in the eastern trench (I.D) of Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, seeing at the plan and confirmed through the excavations the east orientation of the nave of the church, such as the north orientation of the side chapel, and having in mind the much higher level of it in relation to the nave, that could indicate also, in this case, that the construction of the church nave had been indeed before the one of the side chapel, possibly added *ad posteriori*. On the other hand, a contra-indication to this possibility would be the simple observation that a level difference of 'only' 0.40m wouldn't be understandable, in such a small area as it is the side chapel, as being result of circumstances (it easily could have been leveled down during construction), but that, together with the finding of only two altar-steps, there exists a deeper and former ground floor (as mentioned before), covering the first step. This could be possible to the amounts of burials made in this space (an indicator are the few human bones found in I.E, beside the green coloured layer indicating human burials (*ibid*, 11). The date of the construction of the side chapel, and in this case of the whole church, would consequently predate the year of 1550.

2.4.3.2 Site III of the Jesuit College

Lying southwards nearby the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, the site of the Jesuit College was identifiable throughout the, at least partly, plastered (including tile marks) southern side of its uptstanding northern wall of 18.50m length, Additionally, on the western end was recognizable the corner of the building, at the eastern end the shape of the (actual) wall indicated a curved form, so that the whole visible structure remains and its localization suited to the plan of 1769.

Two trenches were put in (III.A and III.B), both in north-south direction. The eastern one (III.A), in alignment with the trench I.F of site I, with the complementary and already mentioned intention of defining the terrace slope levels of the terrain, The western trench

(III.B) was put into the corner to define it such as to find the southern return wall of the building.

Trench III.A brought up a 0.80m+ north-south wall, its footing lying beneath the northern wall and so presumingly pre-dating it. Its way of construction, mainly the missing mortar, would indicate this rather as a former terrace wall than connected to the building itself. A west-east wall footing was encountered in the southern third of the trench, 1.00-1.30m wide and 0.20-0.35m high (*ibid*, 18). It seemed to be built on top of the north-south wall, meanwhile not reaching the western end of the trench. '(...) this would seem to have been built as a freestanding foundation, and must either represent the western end of a wall-line or a pier base' (Evans, C. and M. L. Stig Sorensen, 2007, 18). A tile fragment horizon was found in the depth of a cobble spread, which lied west of the second wall and run under its footing, at the western-south part of the trench. At south, a wall bonded in hard white mortar, including large boulders and with 0.40m of height, appeared in west-east direction (*id*). This possibly could be the southern wall of the College building. Beneath it was found a 0.15 m thick occupation deposit, including tile and glass fragments (*ibid*, 19).

Trench III.B run north-south at the end of the visible western corner of the north wall with the return wall. This, 1.20m high, ended abruptly 0.70m southwards, where it was destructed probably by later terrace wall construction. Continuing after 2.95m of interruption, it went on for another 2.30m till the southern end of the trench, joining the west-east return wall, bonded in hard white mortar, and which aligns with the southern west-east wall of III.A. In the northern third of the trench, a 0.20-0.25m deep lying cobbled small/medium stone surface appeared, seemingly having been destroyed in the other areas by horticulture use of the former topsoil (*id*).

Concluding remarks

The exposed west and south wall (remains), such as the interpretation of the not yet dig eastern section which, by way of its inclination shape suggests the correspondence with the former wall of the building (see 1769 map, Annex 2.1 or Appendix 1.2.7, fig. 1 and 5), outlined a building with 6.00m width and c. 21.00m of length (*id*). This corresponds undoubtedly to the Jesuit College we were looking for, shown and designated as such in all of the three maps of Engineer António Carlos Andrea from the second half of the 18th century.

Meanwhile, the visible and the exposed wall remains are of quite irregular and only medium construction quality. The building itself doesn't lie aligned with the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (such in vertical as horizontal manner), obviously by necessity of implementation of the buildings in the local topographic area conditions and not due to any kind of previous town planning (*id*).

2.4.3.3 Site IV of habitation building '*D. Rosalinda's* house'

Lying inside of the end of 15th beginning 16th century settled lower part of town of *S. Pedro*, the excavation inside the c. one hundred and sixty year old ruined house revealed surprisingly that '(...) the town's occupation sequence or 'urban process' was not intense-at least in this immediate area-(...)' (*ibid*, 36). No evidence of earlier building/occupation was found under the houses' floor level.

2.4.3.4 Site VIII of Company of *Grão Pará e Maranhã's* house

For our research, this excavation (presumingly 18th century building) helped to understand again the difference of the ground floor levels of the implemented buildings along the downhill slope north-south towards the main river bed, lying 1.20m lower than site III and, this being c. 4.00m lower than site I, the total unevenness showed up tot be approximately of in between 5.00-5,50m in 50m of distance. Beside this, with the seeming correlation of the excavated wall/foundation to the c. 12.00m in north-west direction lying square 16th century building beside the secondary river bed alleyway, its overlaying (Company house floor level on top of wall/foundation) showed clearly a vertical uprising of the implemented buildings during the passing by of the centuries. Its height difference meanwhile is surely depending of a lot of factors, such as the specific area, its proper use and exposure (i.e. fluvial, agricultural a.s.o.), and even the kind of constructed building itself.

2.4.3.5 Stream course observations

Upwards the secondary river bed, north of sites I&III, the observations done along the stream course revealed that the depth of the former flowing river must have been round about 4.00m (*ibid*, 31). Its water affluence would have been, at least temporarily, quite voluminous and torrential, the site showing several visible horizons with rubble material in it, including partly very big boulders, such as a flood level with some red roof tile pieces and one yellow-blue-white glazed carpet tile piece (*ibid*, 31), obviously not in their original site.

2.4.3.6 Upper Plateau Survey (Sites V, VI, IX & X)

These surveys, done at several areas along the plateau on both sides (main direction northeast) upwards the main river bed, revealed later settlement remains (including, house ruins and 'field wall' remains), dating in between the 18th-early 20th century, datable mainly through found pottery pieces. To sub line is the way of construction of the masonry of the houses, with mud mortar or even without any mortar (dry stone) (*ibid*, 42), The wall remains of what seems to be the northern protection wall should date much earlier, them appearing on the 18th century maps, but as part of the constructed defence system of the city could easily date back to the end of 16th, beginning of 17th century.

Finds analyses and interpretation

Wall Tiles: The same patterns of glazed yellow-blue-white carpet tiles (including *rodapé* and *friso*), dating from the second half of the 17th century, were found on site I. Parts of these tiles were found *in situ* beside the altar in III.E, as mentioned before (*ibid*, 49). Only exception in pattern was a piece showing a human figure (part of head and chest). Tiles from II, III and IV, 'although mostly of a similar style, were not consistently of the same type' (*ibid*, 50). Two pieces of monochrome green tiles were found in I.D (id), dating from the first half of the 16th century. *Hispano-moresque* tiles, dating from the beginning of the 16th century, appeared in a number of ten in I.D and I.E (eleven in 2006), but showing some different motives (*ibid*, 50, 51). Correlating the finds of monochrome *and hispano-moresque* tiles (see Appendix 1.4, table 1 and 2) show a clear appearance of both of them in the same trenches. Exception is I.B, where only monochrome tiles were recovered. The horizons with most tiles found correspond

seemingly to demolition layers, in which '(...) major disturbance (...) has not taken place later' (*ibid*, 53).

Glass: I.E and III.A were the only trenches which had, in between bottle glass, some window glass pieces, dark green and flat (*ibid*, 53, 54).

Metal: The highest number of iron nails was found in III.A and IV.A, meanwhile in I.D and I.E iron nails appeared in the same layers than the human bone remains, suggesting them being coffin nails. One iron bar and one led fragment, both probably belonging to windows (frame/stained windows?), were found in I.E, this corresponding with the found window glass (*ibid*, 54).

Stones: Potential vaulting fragments were recovered from I.E. Tombstones/pieces of tombs, as related, were found in I.E. (*id*).

Human bones: They were found in much smaller amount than in 2006. Human bones appeared in I.D, I.E, III.A, III.B and IV.A. Seemingly, the 'bone layer' found in 2006 extended till I.D and I.E.

Animal bones: To notify is, that through the contexts in which animal bones were found, a clear separation of what would have been 'domestic areas/activities' from 'religious areas' could be observed, showing that the first ones stayed outside of religious buildings (*ibid*, 47).

Concluding remarks

Most glazed carpet tiles were found on site I, such as it were the monochrome and *hispano-moresque* ones (*ibid*, 55). The finds of site I don't indicate any domestic activities, which is not the case on site III and IV. Together with the finds of the burial areas (tombstones, loose bones/burials and seemingly correlated iron nails) and the indicating religious architectural structures such as apse, side chapel/altar, ribbed vault fragments and led piece of stained window, the outstanding ecclesiastic context and use of the Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (I) is more than clear. Meanwhile the College of the Jesuits (III) fits, *per se*, under the designation of religious building (used to teach future clergies), its utilization, indicated by the finds (animal and fish bones, earthenware, coal at probable fire place/kitchen), indicates a much mundane use of it.

As reported in the documentation, the church itself could be the oldest one built in Ribeira Grande, indicating its construction in between 1467 and 1470. It is till now unclear if so, the oldest remains (till further excavation and analyses) not dating earlier than 1500. Meanwhile different constructing and ornamentation stages become to be clear, its beginning (if so) as chapel (at apse/main altar or side chapel) is also still unclear, even though the orientation towards east and the date of the two *hispano-moresque* tiles found in I:D till now indicate the earliest construction stage there. On the other hand, the question raised about the number of the (supposed) altar steps includes another ground level in I.E. While first religious buildings at beginning of settlement (i.e. Madeira and Azores, but also documented for other Islands as Santiago) were provisionally constructions of benches, stem and rough erected walls, or even simply a designated place with a wooden cross, this also might have been the case of this church at its very beginning.

As no documentation is found that relates to an effectively occurred construction of a Jesuit College, the building of the Jesuits might well have been a re-used one, dating as such before the beginning of the 17th century. Even its seemingly poor architectonic construction quality could be an indicator for a former civil building of minor importance, adapted and may be only partly reconstructed/enlarged/re-ornamented for its pretended use.

The finds done at the Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia*, namely the *hispano-moresque* tile pieces in its Hospital area, could be an indicator of it being the before mentioned Hospital of *Espírito Santo* of Ribeira Grande, before the installation of the *Misericórdia* in the town at the beginning of the second half of the 16th century. But this, such as the possibility of its church also having been the one of *Espírito Santo* before, is a very vague guest till possibly new information brought up by further excavations.

As a surprise, seemingly the settlement depth/height didn't raise substantially during the put up of the lower parts of town. One reason could be the only once erected architectural structures of major civil (and ecclesiastic) buildings as a slow process of filling the urban fabric, before consecutive abandonment since the end of 17th/beginning 18th century left to a unique construction of mostly vernacular buildings during the 18th/19th century. Thus it is very early to take general fundamental conclusions, the results obtained so far indicate a different settlement process as thought till now, namely a slower and more constant one of the civil areas/buildings such as a more irregular one (due to constant new adaptations) of the ecclesiastic ones.

The observation taking in account that occupation of the side plateaus/elevated areas (*S. Brás, S. Sebastião*) could have been settled as the first ones (Evans, C. and M. L. Stig Sorensen, 2007, 62) is very unlikely, having the distribution of the urban fabric with its main buildings and main place, including the given names of the streets, the typical characteristics of late medieval town in transition (as seen before), and as such very probable its chronologic development/enlargement sequences as known from other overseas harbour settlements (i.e. Funchal, Angra do Heroísmo a.s.o., see Annex 2.2).

As the first European settlement in the tropics, the negative experience with tropical torrential rains and flooding, such as the related health problems through tropical diseases in consequence, would only have come later into the conscience of the settlers, when the urban structure was already basically outlined and consolidated.

Important to bring to discussion are still two other observable issues exposed through excavation: First, the by Evans and Stig Sorensen already mentioned observation of the amount and 'composition' (Europeans-Africans/Christians or New Christians-Latinized slaves, adults-children) of the recovered early grave yards/burial zones (*ibid*, 62), which is of major interest, relating the function of the church/chapel/churchyard in its earliest years to the whole question of melting pot of races.

Second, related to the wall tiles, it is to confirm that till now only three basic types have been found, the *hispano-moresque* one (from 1500-1550), the green or honey coloured monochrome one (same date), and the yellow-blue-white glazed carpet tile, including its *rodapé* and *friso* (from c. 1670). Exceptions are some tile pieces (from c. 1680) with manganese contour lines.

We have to keep in mind that the apogee of the commercial prosperity of Ribeira Grande lied round about the middle/second half of 16th century, having entered in continuous decline from then on. It seems logic that during the prosperous time the ornamentation material would have been ordered in large amount from Lisbon (in this case, the *hispano-moresque* tiles, produced in Seville, would come mainly via the capital of the reign). This ornamentation could probably even have included residential *Sobrados* of noble inhabitants such as public civil buildings. The question is to find out what happened afterwards, over the next c. one hundred years. During this time span, the *Misericórdia* and the Episcopal Palace were constructed, the Cathedral having been in construction and other churches/chapels as the one of *Monte Alverne*, such as the Church/Convent of *S. Francisco*, have been built. Even though it couldn't be confirmed by any documentation, during the end of the 17th century (when the loss of slave trade monopole in connection with major financial problems led to ongoing dilapidation) must have been a next ornamentation stage. Note that the only major construction ongoing at the end of the 17th century was the finalizing of the construction of the Cathedral, thanks to the 'desperate' and nevertheless successful engagement of the Bishop D. Frei Vitoriano. In between these two stages, the ecclesiastic buildings seemingly continued to be ornamented (if) with the *hispano-moresque* tiles (it is likely that the same happened after the coming of the first carpet tiles (i.e. reconstruction of the Episcopal Palace and the seemingly started construction of the Seminary, both during the first half of 18th century). Or, as we will see in the next chapter, the decoration/ornamentation would have been done through tapestry. This in deed makes difficult any exact dating through types of tiles, which shows that a religious building could be or older or younger then the found tiles. It makes them only one of in between other finds to correlate for dating attempts.

3 The re-constructive and consolidating interventions done at the religious buildings

During the last decade, several architectonic interventions had been realized at some of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande. These include partial re-construction works, consolidation of wall, floor and roof remains such as conservation of degraded constructive elements found.

All of these interventions had been done by Spanish Cooperation/INYPSA in partnership with IIPC/Ministry of Culture of Cape Verde, under the technical supervision of the Spanish Architect Daniel Segura. The religious buildings which suffered interventions were the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* (at range of the archaeological excavation intervention and consolidation works in the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe*), the Convent of *S. Francisco* and the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*. Beside, smaller consolidations of dispersed wall remains and some other local interventions which are not relevant for our studies had been executed. Exception in these interventions is the Cathedral, whose responsible for consolidation, partial re-construction and conservation had been the Portuguese Cooperation/IPPAR, under the technical supervision of the Portuguese Architect Alexandre Brás Mimoso.

We have to underline that, unfortunately, till the date of our research no written documents, if existing, about these works done were accessible. We have therefore to rely on the oral statements given by the supervisors themselves, which could be interviewed in 2004 (Architect A. Brás Mimoso) and in 2008 (Architect D. Segura), being aware of their possible incompleteness.

3.1 Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, 1999

Quoting D. Segura, the only re-constructive intervention at the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, sequencing directly the first archaeological excavations done during the same year, had been the partial re-building of the external chapel wall, elevating it round about 0.20m till 0.30m above the original wall remains, bonding the stones with white mortar. Aim of this intervention had been the visible emphasizing of the buildings' volume.

No other architectonic intervention had been done.

3.2 Church and Convent of *S. Francisco*, 2001

Quoting D. Segura, after cleaning and in big part reconstructing the access stairway to the Convent, which took three month, the amount of earth layers inside the church and Convent, in average 1.00-2.00m high, had to be removed. Beside, tree trunks had to be cut and constructive element 'rubble' to be cleared away.

From the church building, used partially before re-construction and tills the data as cattle conglomeration area, were still all walls standing, in the upper parts (in average to one third) demolished and collapsed. The roof itself was completely absent such as any recognizable remains concerning its structure. If pieces of roof tiles and/or wall tiles were in between the 'rubble' layers couldn't be inquired but is probable.

At the wall remains themselves, door and window breakthroughs were partially visible, but none was complete. They had to be imagined concerning the shape of rests of door heads and doorjambs, which were still visible through their smoothed limiting wall stones or their supporting tile construction ('order') in flattened segmental arch form, lying originally underneath the calcareous door and window head stones, from which, as from the doorjamb and window jamb stones, none was found *in situ*. The main entry door at the south-west façade was still recognizable with its overhead design in flattened and at the corners squared segmental arch, its point forming a sort of horsehoe, framed at the both sides with two small pyramidal saliences. The main façade itself still had the bell tower standing, and the windows showed rusty rests of .iron bars, the windows themselves were visibly of original skew form.

Rests of yellow-brown plaster were still visible, such inside as outside, covering partially smaller surfaces of the wall itself. Grey plaster with wall tile marks was found inside at the right/south-east wall of the altar.

The cloister, embedded left/north between the nave and a c. 2.00m high rock faced wall, from which comes a spring following a bed which crosses the cloister nearly in its complete width, was surrounded westwards from wall remains in between 1.00-2.00m of height, lying at the beginning (left/west) to the church what is thought to be the *locutório* (speakers' room), on its right side ending with a c. 4.00m high wall remain containing a centered window, probably belonging or to Sacristy or to *casa da prata* ('silver house', place where the valuable sacred objects were stored).

The *cells* of the friars were aligned left/northwards to the *locutório* in raising level upwards the hill slope in double row, the upper west wall having been found nearly completely

destroyed, from the down one (west frontal façade) remaining one arched window frame and two rests of similar ones. In between the *cell* alignments, at the northern end, some steps made the connection between the two levels, lying in between them a small corridor and in its middle what seemed to be a 'private' cloister.

The re-construction and restoration works consisted out of the rebuilding of the church walls and of what thought to be the windows and door frames, constructing a new wood timbered roof framing in gable roof shape covered with roof tiles 'Marseille type'. The missing parts of the brown floor tiles were completed with locally made ones of Arab/*maciço* type (in Portuguese denominated *tijolo tipo burro*). The former supposed to have been existent arch between the nave and the presbytery, denominated 'arch of triumph' or 'arch of glory', was reconstructed in round/Roman arch shape. Behind the main altar, supposed to have been the *Camerin de la Virgen* (*Camarin* of the Virgin), its low wall remains and its ground floor of smoothed stone pavement were consolidated.

The Convent area was treated mainly as consolidation/conservation area for the wall remains, its only part to be reconstructed becoming the west frontal façade of the *cells*, reconstructing its one nearly intact and two only still partly existing window frames, also in round/Roman arch shape and, as the rest of the doors and windows, in 'order' tile construction. All new wall reconstructions were marked by implanted tile pieces. Missing cobble floor stones were partially re-put. The water alley inside the Cloister was re-enforced and consolidated.

Note: two interesting facts related to the floor level and the pavement have to be sub lined, being the first one that inside the main nave of the church became recognizable thirty two tombs, supposed to be of individual burials, made out of a horizontal alignment of Arab/*maciço* type of floor tiles, forming each group a shape of a rectangular 'tombstone'. Outside, lying beneath the left/northern Church wall and delimiting the Cloister towards it, are numerous burials aligned parallel to the named church wall, found through the floor level outlining excavations during the cleaning stage. Referring to Segura, these might have been the burial area of the friars themselves.

3.3 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, 2002/2003

Quoting D. Segura, finding the church still in a reasonable conservation state, probably also due the two former interventions in 1948 and 1960, latter one related to the 500 centenary commemoration of Cape Verde's discovery data, the intervening works at this building aimed mainly to maintain its still functional condition.

The complete roof of the church nave, including the one of the adjacent Sacristy, was rebuilt out of wooden timber roof framing in gable roof form, covered with 'Marseille type' tiles, substituting as such the former *telhas de canudo* (mission/barrel tiles).

The whole inside and outside faces of the church walls, including the ones of the Sacristy such as the outside walls of the bell tower and staircase tower, were covered with white washed plaster. Exception is the backside façade, which stayed un-plastered. The inside walls of the left/north side chapel were consolidated, plastered and painted its finish coat in Umbria-red. The ceiling of the chapel was cleaned. The inner façade of the church walls were uncovered from the former wall tiles and re-covered with new wall tiles, hand painted copies of the patterns of the original wall tiles.

The last one of the five calcareous steps upwards to the presbytery, covered and hidden till then in concrete, was uncovered.

Wall parts of the bell tower were partially re-constructed and its decomposed arches completely rebuilt in its original round/Roman arch shape, made out of limestone.

The inner access passages, leading from the staircase tower towards both bell tower storeys such as the one to the supposed former Choir, were bricked up. Its inner wall façade was consolidated by covering it with a cement layer.

The last intervention occurred with the pavement floor. Its ground level surface, found already made out of concrete, was partially removed to find the original floor level. This one was found in c. 0.40m depth, being its pavement made out of brown *tijolo tipo burro* in block flooring of units of two tiles. The attempt to uncover and expose what was supposed to be the original pavement was stopped due to the several tombs aligned along the nave, its former concrete surface being rebuilt and painted with red floor varnish. Only exceptions were two strips left and right along the inner façade of the wall in front of the presbytery, which were leads opened, exposing the floor tiles such as the still containing original wall tiles (*tapete/rodapé* type) at its very bottom.

The atrium (church-yard) was covered with medium sized round grey colored cobble stones, its southern surrounding wall white-washed.

3.4 The Cathedral, 2003/2004

Quoting A. Brás Mimoso, the standing wall remains were dried out, its hollow spaces filled in with consolidating bonding plaster through injections and week wall segments re-enforced through diagonal put in steel bars. Wall parts were partially reconstructed, mainly in the corner angles of the former towers and transepts, aimed to stabilize the standing walls such as to better visualize the volume of the former building shape. Areas of re-constructions were marked by copper wire. The still remaining original plaster was white-washed and conserved.

Loose window heads and jambs were re-put and its position re-enforced by iron bars. Above the main altar, the passage to the supposed *Camerin* was re-built. Calcareous quoin stones, column stones, the head and jamb stones, base and profile stones were sandblasted.

Due to missing pavement, the earthy floor level was covered with volcanic gravel for protection.

No other intervention works carried out could be ascertained.

Chapter 7: The specific characteristics of the Religious buildings in Ribeira Grande as compared with mainland and other colonies

1 The architectural styles and main religious building typologies during the respective periods

As it is in the case of the urban development of Ribeira Grande, it is also in the case of the architectural styles and their particular development that they found themselves in a plain period of transition during the second half of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th century, having in mind the date of the start of Ribeira Grande's urbanization (1462) and the installation and construction of the first temples, from which ones we have the first information (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 403) and whose documented begin of construction dates back to the year 1466 (Pereira, 2005, 39).

To understand better the stylistic developments and to try to interpret structural architectonic constructive elements and their specific characteristics, we should have always in mind two essential facts: first, that the attempt to define them temporarily is in so far vague as we can see the Renaissance at its first plain stage in Italy and other European countries, while the gothic in Portugal is still before its culminating final period during the second half of the 15th century, and both styles run still parallel during the first decades of the 16th century till its beginning influence in Portugal. And whilst already Mannerist elements appear, classic Renaissance is staring to exerce influence in Portugal. So does say George Kubler (Kubler, n.d., 4) that '(...) emerges a more recent criterium, according to which no style or category excludes the simultaneous possible convergence of a lot of previous categories. In any place and any moment, the artist strives himself to collect his materials of the past, combining and adjusting them according to his proper necessities and preferences'.

And second should be always kept in mind the the great distance to the motherland and the resulting communication delays such as of the specific development characteristics of Islands (Allen, 1997, 8). This would have had its impact on the local settling and constructing processes, which means that delays and local adaptations, such as further ongoing of application of stylistic elements possibly beyond the usual time period of the motherland should be taken in consideration.

1.1 The late gothic Manuelin style in times of transition

The gothic style, which in Portugal culminated with the late gothic variant of the Manuelin at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16 century, overlapped with the Renaissance one, the Manuelin buildings '(..) constructed while the Renaissance forms already triumph (...)' (T. Chicó, 2005, 156), which means that we can find both characteristics during a period of time which comprehends approximately the last years before 1500 and the first two decades of the 16th century.

Even though the first essays of the Portuguese late gothic constructions go back to the reign of D. Afonso V (1448-1481), it is only under the reign of King D. Manuel (1495-1521) that

we find '(...) the most variety of architectonic currents and also most amount of cases in which we can observe the fast popularization of the erudite subjects' (*ibid*, 17).

Definable in resume through its probably most characteristically element, the use and application of the ogee arch, the late gothic period differed as such from the high gothic period not only in deferring to its main pointed arch (even though the ogee arch had been already in use before, e.g. at the front façade of the *Mosteiro de Batalha*, beginning of 14th century), such as the Renaissance differed by the re-use of the round/Roman arch, but developed several specificities in which architectonic and decorative sculpture acquired proper characteristics, which developed without rejecting meanwhile the main influences and developments of the artistic developments of Occidental Europe (*ibid*, 22).

Coinciding with the splendorous period of the richness coming from the Orient, the Manuelin style is influenced in its ornamentation and issues by subjects connected to the navigation, such as ropes, heraldic and maritime subjects, but also by a real or imaginary Oriental flora and fauna. Another important symbolic element used had been the *Esfera armilar* (instrument formed of fix circles which represent the ones of the celestial sphere) which would be assumed as '(...) *Sphera Mundi*, in this way consolidating (and mystifying in his person [King D, Manuel]) the image of the absolutism and reigning justice' (Serrão, 2002, 23).

Even though we can find similar subjects at the doorways of certain churches in France and Germany at the end of the medieval age, the gothic style, and in special its last stage in transition into the modern epoch (i.e. the Manuelin style, the Flamboyant style, the *isabeline* and *mudejar* art, the Perpendicular) '(...) is for sure one of the European art manifestations which individualized most in each country' (T. Chicó, *op. cit.*, 23).

King D. Manuel (called *o Venturoso*, the 'fortunate one') searched for an artistic form which would be 'in the way of Portugal', agglutinating the gothic tradition with exotic elements from the Orient, but also from Moorish influence, a taste he had acquired during his visits to Granada and Cordoba in the year of 1495, applying e.g. Arab elements and architectonic forms in his Palace of *Sintra* (Serrão, *op. cit.*, 25).

In terms of decorative subjects, Lina Oliveira Marques (Marques apud Serrão, *ibid*, 33) names the following main ones:

- vegetarian subjects: trunks, roots, leaves of acanthus, vine leafs, laurel leaves, corn ears, branches;
- fruits: grapes, wads, pomegranates, vine trellises;
- animals: dragons, snakes, lions, *grifos* (fable animal, a mixture of eagle and lion);
- human figures: friars, musicians, warriors, *tondi* with elevated busts, savage human beings, *putti*;
- *passamanaria* subjects (connected to the art of ornamentation with ribbons, interlaced with gold, silver or silk yarns): fringes, ribbons, tassels, strings, rings;
- artefacts connected to the world of trade and services;

- Royal symbols: *Esfera armilar*, cross of Christ, monarchs and power emblems.

But the Manuelin style can't be seen as a mere decorative style, by bringing Portugal also different typologies and constructive solutions, as it is the case of the introduction of the religious building type of 'Hall Churches' (a variation of the German *Hallenkirche*), the introduction of a better system of integration of door and window heads in the walls or the technique of slighting the discharge of the covering at the walls of the building (Serrão, *ibid*, 26).

In terms of typology of the Manuelin religious buildings, José Fernandes Pereira (Pereira, 1994, 81) defines in Portugal four main ones:

1. The church of three naves, being the central nave the highest one, covered with ceiling of wooden cross beaming;

2. The so called 'Hall Churches' (*Hallenkirche*), with the three naves of the same height, with vault covering;

3. The church of one nave ('box-churches'), with pronounced main chapel and only with this area covered with vault;

4. Smaller churches and chapels, with only one nave, with wooden covering or, only in exceptional cases, vaulted.

Mário T. Chicó (Chicó, *op. cit.*, 163) goes further in classifying the Manuelin churches by defining their several constructive sections. For the façades of the Manuelin churches, he defines three different formulas:

1. The church with two towers, with few leaks, compressing the central *corpus*;

2. The church with only one tower, this one of a more robust construction than the rest of the building and divided into floors;

3. The church with façade without towers, which is the most common one.

Referring to the coverings (*ibid*, 158), he sub lines one of the principal characteristics which consist in the tendency of vaults which don't depend of the composition of the façades, but have as their main tendency the use of flattened vaults, placed upon segmented arches which rest on corbels.

For the vaults (*ibid*, 157), he defines only four types which cover the churches of the late gothic style:

1. The ones of simple ogees;

2. The ones of four pointed stars (star or stellar vaults, with intermediate ribs), with or without ogees;

3. The ones placed in net of ribs;

4. The ones of broken barrel (groin or cross vaults, underpitch or Welsh vaults), with penetrations, whose edges are covered up with ribs.

We can also observe in Portugal a exposure to different geographical influences, being the area of south (Alentejo, Algarve) more characterized by Moorish influences, whilst the north took more time to abandon its strong Romanic predominance.

It were these main architectonic characteristics which were at the origin, after the initial 'precarious' temples, of the first period of construction of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande, and of which we will try to find out their special characteristics by interpreting some of the surveyed local architectonic remains.

1.2 The Renaissance style, the Mannerism and their Portuguese characteristics

Even though the begin of the Renaissance is dated at the early 15th century in Italy, it is not before the beginning of the 16th century that it will achieve its highest period and that its influence will be seen in Portugal.

Thought initially as a re birth of the classical forms, inspired and leaned on the classical architectonic forms of the Antiquity (specially the classic order), its clear forms and rhythmic solutions searched and found were a countermovement to the 'playful' and dense gothic style, going hand in hand with the defence of anthropocentrism as essential value and the upcoming of a new self conscience and confidence of certain social classes (mainly merchants and artists), which brought up a new concept of individualism.

Arnold Hauser (Hauser, 1973, 201) describes it as subjectivism, which awoke in the artist to full consciousness, after he having been absorbing the ideal of knowledge, customs and beauty of dominating classes, Churches and elites, and which he, whatever tasks he may fulfil from now on, would never loose again. But the traditionalism of the medieval age, which did contradict the subjective direction as hard as it did the rationalist one, started changing slowly in its historic meaning and really did dissolve only with the development of the Mannerism. Meanwhile, the Renaissance marked the beginning of the new process in which the artist found himself suddenly, and this couldn't come better to its expression as '(...) through his divided loyalty between past and present, tradition and initiative, imposed and free chosen forms' (*ibid*, 201, 202).

This reflected itself in the upcoming and concentration of scientific achievements such as outstanding artistic personalities, which for the first time in history assumed themselves as the proper creative ones and not, as during the medieval age, as mere craftsmen and executioners or 'dogsbody of Gods will'.

While the Church fought against lots of developments and discoveries of the Renaissance, in special in the area of natural sciences, it developed at the same time, such as the rulers, a notable necessity of glory, so that till the end of the 15th century a still healthy individualism became partially a boundless high-handedness. 'The worldly position of the Renaissance-popes and from it resulting critic of the Humanism of the life-style of the religious class let already foresee where the reasons for a need for Reformation lied' (Gympel, 1996, 45, 46).

The Renaissance reached Portugal, which didn't want to stay back to the 'magnificent artistic current which over all places imposes itself by its greatness and new beauty' (Grau, 1989, 112) only during the first decades of the 16th century, in a time when the richness coming from the Orient and the Manuelin style were still at their apogee, contributing that latter one would '(...) tie in progressively inside of the classical severity, without meanwhile loosing all the proper richness of an art which results of a fusion between the local forms and the cultural tastes' (Grau, 1989, 114).

On the other hand, José Hermano Saraiva (Saraiva, 1988, 148) speaks of a proper 'Portuguese Renaissance' already in the fourteen hundreds, based on works which, besides having been of great difference between them, offered common characteristics such as the sense of complexity and complete originality. These were Portuguese manifestations and not Portuguese adaptation of foreign currents. As example he mentions the birth of the Manuelin style during the second half of the 15th century and the origin of a Portuguese painting school, which would have had its beginning and maximum work in the *políptico* (altar panel composed by several fixed or mobile panels) of the *Janelas Verdes* (small Palace in Lisbon from the seventeen hundreds).

George Kubler (Kubler, n.d.) meanwhile, quoted by José Eduardo Horta Correia (Horta Correia apud Kubler, *ibid.*, VIII), evidences the period from 1521 till 1706 ('(...) between Spices and Diamonds', referring to the period between the main richness coming from the Orient and the period of the beginning of mine explorations in Minas Gerais, Brazil) in Portuguese Architecture as a period of singular characteristics resultant from the '(...) Portuguese military and religious situation, and not only from Renaissance influence (...)'.

This long period, which includes in the European arts history the Mannerism and the Baroque, is seen by Kubler as a period of great decorative moderation dominated by what he denominates as *arquitectura chã* (Plain Architecture), situated between two periods of especial ornamental predominance, the Manuelin period and the *Joanina* period (of D. João V, 1706-1750), distinct and starting before the Spanish *estilo desornamentado* (undecorated Spanish style, e.g. of the Escorial, 1563-1584), having its roots in the epoch of turnaround of the tastes during the reign of King D. João III (1521-1557).

On the other hand, Vítor Serrão (Serrão, 2002, 47) speaks still of an 'Experimental Renaissance' in Portugal at its beginning, which he dates between 1530 and 1550. He mentions that the firm desire to embrace the 'Classic' reached Portugal late, which, due to the complexity of the Portuguese cultural situation, till this date still a medieval one, only would have reached it while the Italianism had been already '(...) under the sign of the new cannons of the Mannerism'.

With the Reign of D. João III, the tendencies of the architecture of the national architectonic panorama would have changed profoundly, which lead, beside the continuing of '(...) a vernacular language, to the diffusion of the new Renaissance taste (...)', which lead to a '(...) localized vast quantity of buildings in general of small size and of rigorous experimental character (...)', such as there were the '(...) micro architectures of centralized plan (...) or of longitudinal plan (...)' (*ibid*, 51, 52). First ones (of circular or polygonal plan) would have been, with the triumph of the contra-reform, inadvisable due to their 'excessive paganism', according to the new directives of the Council of Trent. Even though, their number would have been considerable, localizing themselves between the late Manuelin and the Plain

architecture style. And from 1550 on, for sure the Mannerist style would have been the dominant one in the constructive landscape of the Portuguese world (*ibid*, 52, 53).

José Fernandes Pereira (Pereira, 1994, 149) defines the Mannerism as a tendency of the 16th century, which diffuses in Europe, having its roots in Italy, and which initially developed '(...) beside the late Gothic style such as the Renaissance conventions, dissolving itself gradually in frames of the Baroque art'. He proposes the differentiation between three types of Mannerism: the one which is produced in Italy as a conscientious reaction against the artistic Renaissant codification; the one which could be denominated as 'Pseudo-Mannerism', product of the effort of the rest of Europe which tried to transit from the late Gothic to the evocative art of the classical forms; and the 'derivate' Mannerism, in which all the Occident, paying homage to the attraction Italy exerted over it, tried to copy its terms and solutions.

It comes describes as to find ambiguous elegant solutions, such in profane as in religious architecture, by converging different scales in a heterodox way, by showing extreme complexity in decorative rhythms, showing spatial ambivalence and taste for the bizarre effect, playing a 'libertine' play with the classical norms (*ibid*, 150).

The Mannerism, coming to Lisbon probably shortly after 1530, whilst it was already spread around nearly whole Europe, '(...) found vernacular representation in the Portuguese culture during the whole second half of the 16th century, with important prolonging (in the architecture, for example) through nearly the whole next century' (Serrão, *op. cit.*, 168, 169). There it would have been followed its national vernacular traditions and languages, where the Italian dimension was for sure visible, but the local expressions found, not with such finesse, not so elegant and voluptuous as of the Italian masters, would have certainly matched with a society which adhered to the Contra-reform, leading to solutions as the ones expressed in the 'plain style' (*ibid*, 171).

Kubler (Kubler, *op. cit.*., 3) defines the 'plain style' as the one which emancipated and differed from the academic norms and the Italian forms, being '(...) as a vernacular architecture, more related to the traditions of an alive dialect than to the great authors of the classic antiquity (...) coming up in a generation before the 'undecorated style' appeared in Spain and surviving it during several generations'.

The increased vernacular interest in retaking the church model of 'unified space' would have been the staring point for the Portuguese plain architecture, by retaking traditional medieval bases, recreating a temple structure of only one nave, without transept, with lateral chapels, giving predominance to quadrangular volumes and to the sobriety of the elements, detaching the double pulpit, giving through such geometric clearness a plain visibility to the main altar and good acoustics of the enclosure (Serrão, *op. cit.*, 208).

But till the beginning of the thirtieth of the 16th century, no clear architectonic expression of the resurrection of the classic antiquity would have appeared in Portugal. From then on, the Portuguese Architects would have been fascinated by the geometric and volumetric relations of the interior with the exterior. This would lead to a treatment of the walls as a membrane, channel or passage, as a barrier, and having in mind the special possibilities of the wall itself, it would be treated as a limit or obstacle to be transformed. Lots of these transformations treated the wall as a cellular structure and as a circulation zone (Kubler, *op. cit.*, 7).

The return to the austere forms after the ornamental exuberance of the epoch of D. Manuel could have probably had its origin by provided suggestions of Italian military architects, but its further development used a lot of other constructive possibilities from north of Europe, such as the ones which had been peculiar to the Portuguese tradition of one and a half centuries before. The interior of the buildings come described as

> '(...) enriched only by the refinement of the proportions, and their cold rational exteriors subsisted without any other ornamentation along round about one century, as if they would have been preserved of change by the peculiar temporal interruption under the Spanish domain, while the historic time seemed to have stopped in Portugal from 1580 till 1640' (*ibid*, 4).

Meanwhile, this would have changed from round about 1675 on, when the Portuguese started to decorate the 'naked interiors' with the new *talha dourada* (altar panel made out of wood, painted in or with gold), such as they started to decorate the exteriors with stone garlands and volutes, as trying to disguise austere profiles of arches and reticulated vaults, what found finally total architectonic expression in the new taste of the court of D. João V (1706-1750), who already benefited from the new resources coming from Brazil (*ibid*, 4, 5).

José Hermano Saraiva (Saraiva, *op. cit.*, 224) writes about the importance which the *talha dourada* such as the *azulejo* (ceramic wall tile) have had, defining them as the 'great creations of the Portuguese art of the 17th century'. The *talha dourada,* as being its production cheaper and so having been produced in enormous proportions, substituted in great part the wooden sculpture of the 16th century such as the one made of stone from the previous periods, such as it substituted other very expensive materials as the gold and the golden silver.

The wall tiles, which at the walls of the churches and palaces substituted the expensive tapestry coming before from Flanders and Holland (the so called 'frog cloth', *panos de rãs*), the subsequently called tiles of *tapete* type (carpet tiles) (see Appendix 1.4), together with the *talha dourada,* both a popular arts form where the artisans had been popular artists and not foreign masters, did achieve together such an admirable decorative effect, and because of being a Portuguese and popular art form, the exit of this decoration had been enormous and did prolong nearly through the whole 18th century (*id*).

But in general, the 17th century in Portugal comes described by Saraiva (*ibid*, 223) as having been poor in fine arts. Referring to the religious buildings, the most part of the buildings would have been constructed by the Jesuits, what gave them the designation of being of 'Jesuit style', an expression contested by several specialists saying that the 'Jesuit style' would have been only the Portuguese form of the European Mannerism. Nevertheless, the spirit of the Society of Jesus would have influenced in a strong way the Portuguese religious architecture of the 17th century. Benedito Lima de Toledo (Lima de Toledo apud Tirapeli et al, 2005, 38) resumes the prototype of churches of Jesuit origin in describing them as being of rectangular nave and main chapel, both separated from each other by a crossing-arch.

Even though after 1550 the Jesuits were the most prolific constructors in Portugal, Kubler (Kubler, *op. cit.*, 58, 59) insists in denying a proper 'Jesuit style', but he affirms meanwhile that the dominant tendency of the drawings of the Jesuit Churches shows a common tendency of creating spaces of homogeneous and functional character, with simple main naves and contrasting main chapel, clearly visible from any point inside the church. These

characteristics, taken in Portugal till an extreme, conditioned by the economic restrictions, would characterize in it the 'plain style'.

Referring to the façades, Saraiva (Saraiva, op. cit., 223) describes them as being '(...) plain, high, logic, and make think about the geometric austerity of the dogmatic, about the prohibition of fantasy, about the vertical discipline'.

The interior of the churches was conceived as a large auditorium, where 'the lesson is the sermon' (*id*), as a class room, where all was disposed in a way that the preacher could be seen and his voice could be listened from all over. What had marked the movement and force of the art of the previous period, such as it were the columns, the large recesses and saliencies, did disappear. 'The temple results as such from a cold and disinteresting severity' (*id*).

George Kubler (Kubler, *op. cit.*, 29) is much more specific in defining the various church typologies from round about 1550 on. The first Portuguese model, the *Igreja salão* would have represented a direct reaction to the ornamental exuberance of the Manuelin period. They come described as of clarified proportions and of being of pureness at the surfaces of the walls. Their aspect is of a church of pillars with three naves and with their vaults being of the same height, above a limited modular system by luminous walls which would require small inner or outer buttresses, their windows only sitting at the exterior walls (*id*). They avoid complicated effects, by the walls being like thin membranes which limit the most space possible, which are covered with ribbed vaults sustained by smooth supports. As examples, initiated to be constructed between 1550 and 1570, he mentions the Cathedrals of Leiria, Portalegre and Miranda do Douro in Portugal (*ibid*, 31).

Serrão (Serrão, *op. cit.*, 208) adds that in general the façades of the churches of the plain architecture were 'conceived in articulated levels, or with or without flanking towers, but always with rich small files of *Rolwerk* flanking the fronton'.

At the beginning of the second half of the 16th century appeared in Portugal the use by architects of a narthex, put in the churches below the high Choir. From the beginning of the 17th century on, this tradition would be accompanied by the introduction in Portugal of drawings of a narthex in Spanish type, differing between unornamented severe surfaces till 'heavy ornamentation' (Kubler, *op. cit.*, 136), treating the churches '(...) as if they were the main façade of palaces' (*ibid*, 143).

Another current, initiated in the decade of 1620, under Spanish domain, is the appearing in larger number of churches of façades which have similar aspect as the ones of large houses with numerous windows. Meanwhile the more or less decorated main façade defines it character as church, the rest of the façades seem absolutely profane (*ibid*, 148).

With the Portuguese restoration in 1640, the official recognition of Portugal's independence only occurring in 1668, the half of century previously of nevertheless more or less occurred architectonic 'stagnation' under Spanish domain would_only slowly start to rebirth again. What would characterise this period till the reign of D. João V would be a new austerity, which would maintain itself even still during the 18th century (*ibid*, 152, 153).

Exemplifying on the Church of *S. Vicente de Fora* in Lisbon, Kubler (*ibid*, 153) describes this new austerity which can be found in any little details. Referring to the interior of the Church, he mentions that it '(...) ignores any architectonic ornamentation and is covered with local marble (...)', which isn't polychrome. At the exterior, the vertical buttresses are narrow and only little emphasized, high and of reduced number. On the façades of the transept are missing the entablatures.

Referring to the windows, he (*id*) mentions that they are also an example of a geometry developed on scarce surfaces. The spans enlarge in diagonal plans from the glassed surface on, in differing angles, such as to the exterior as interior of the building (which means in skew form). The geometric relationship of forms of jambs and cills is varying. Both of these characteristics would be accentuated by the architecture of the Restoration. Another general characteristic of window frames would become the vertical bi- quadrangular shape.

Also on other religious buildings became recognizable the '(...) new aesthetic of the Restoration of the regularity of the spaces between simple forms (...) to obtain the maximum effect of the most number of ornamental geometric forms' (*ibid*, 154).

The nave would receive in Portugal a special treatment, achieving autonomy such in exterior as interior of the churches, detaching itself from the main chapel and Choir such in plan, structure and volumes (*ibid*, 158), by often been put in two different levels due to the specific occupations the congregation in the centre had to the surrounding areas, one or two steps higher, reserved for the ones which prayed at the altars their personal devotions and promises. In other churches, where their didn't exist a religious community in constant praying, 'the sense of sharing the nave was also transmitted by sensation of movement and of activities inside walls of 'honeycomb' type, with passages, tribunes, balconies and corridors, similar to house façades around a square' (*ibid*, 159).

The Italian Baroque architecture had nearly no influence over the Portuguese one during the 17th century (with exception of the Church of *St.ª Engracia* in Lisbon, of central plan), but richer surfaces of the Spanish architecture had during the end of the 17th century their repercussions in several churches of the north of Portugal, mainly in Braga. This taste of applied exterior decoration (sculptured stone panels put as frames at windows and above the doors, volutes, *Rolwerk*, foliages sculptured in stone, windows and inscriptions ornamented with garlands and strings of foliage (with or without interlaced flowers) meant to disguise and masquerade the architectonic austerity, is similar to the one to the upcoming *talha dourada* from 1675 on, as such distancing itself from the austerity of the architecture of the 17th century (*ibid*, 164).

With the increasing richness in gold (in the decade of 1690) and diamonds (in 1728) from Brazil, a new type of decorative extravagancy would finally install itself in the rational architectonic structures of the Restoration, rooted in Italy and in central Europe and brought to Portugal through craftsmen and construction assistants, having its own methods and rules (*ibid*, 1165, 166).

The Baroque itself, as before mentioned, would mainly be successful in Brazil during the 17th and 18th century, using as its main decoration the *talha dourada* and the carpet tiles.

Resume

Typologies:

- continuing of vernacular typology;

- small buildings of experimental character, between late Manuelin and Plain architecture (micro architectures of centralized (circular or polygonal) plan, such as of longitudinal plan), c. 1525-1560;

- from c. 1550 on: *Igreja salão* ('Hallenkirche'), clarified proportions, pureness at the surfaces of the walls. A church of pillars, three naves and vaults at same height above limited modular system. Luminous walls, with smaller inner and outer buttresses, windows only at exterior walls. Walls being like thin membranes, limiting the most space possible. Covered with ribbed vaults, sustained by smooth supports (e.g. Cathedral of *Leiria*, *Portalegre* and *Miranda do Douro*, constructed between 1550 and 1570);

- church model of 'unified space', recreation of temple structures of only one nave, without transept, with lateral chapels, more quadrangular volumes and sobriety of the elements, double pulpit, a plain visibility to the main altar and good acoustic of the enclosure due to geometric clearness;

- interiors enriched only by the refinement of the proportions, walls: treated as membranes, channels or passages, barriers, limits or obstacles to be transformed;

- cold rational exteriors, without any other ornamentation till c. 1675; façades of 'plain style', plain, high and logic, conceived in articulated levels, or with or without flanking towers, but always with small files of *Rolwerk* flanking the fronton;

- from 1550 on, use of narthex, placed below the high Choir;

- from 1600, narthex in Spanish type: or unornamented surfaces, or 'heavy ornamentation', the churches appearing with main façades as the ones of palaces;

- from 1620, large number of churches with more or less decorated façades with aspect of large houses with numerous windows, with rest of absolutely profane façades;

- from 1640 on (till D. João V, 1706-1750), characterization of period of new austerity, maintained even during the 18th century: interiors without any architectonic ornamentation, exteriors with reduced number of high vertical, narrow and only little emphasized buttresses, on façades of transept entablatures missing, windows geometrically developed on scare surfaces, the spans enlarging in diagonal angles such towards the interior as exterior (skew form). Variety of geometric forms of jambs and cills, accentuated by architecture of restoration, lot of times of vertical bi-quadrangular shape;

- from 1640 on: nave with special treatment: detaching itself at exterior and interior from main chapel and Choir, such in plan, structure and volumes, with centre one or two steps lower than surrounding area. Walls of 'honey comb' type, with passages, tribunes, balconies and corridors;

- from 1675 on: interior with wall tiles (substituting expensive tapestry from Holland and Flanders) and *talha dourada* (substituting wooden sculptures from the 16th century and

former stone ones) only on; Exterior decoration with stone garlands and ornamentation with volutes;

- end of 17th century, in north of Portugal (mainly) richer surfaces with applied exterior decoration (sculptured stone panels put as frames in windows and above doors, volutes, *Rolwerk*, foliages sculptured in stones, windows and inscriptions ornamented with garlands and strings of foliage, with or without interlaced flowers), to distance from the austerity of the 17th century (as *talha dourada*).

Architectural styles:

- from c. 1525 till 1560: between late Manuelin and 'plain style';

- from c. 1530 on: Mannerism in Portugal (Lisbon), with vernacular representation in Portugal during the whole 16th and 17th century;

- from 1550 on: dominance of Mannerist style ('pseudo' and 'derivate' Mannerism): conversion of different scales in a heterodox way, extreme complexity in decorative rhythms, spatial ambivalence, taste for bizarre effects, 'libertine' play with classical forms;

- 'plain style': Mannerist style influencing and represented through vernacular architecture in Portugal, not so fine, not so elegant, not so voluptuous as in Italy. A vernacular architecture, emancipated from the academic norms and Italian forms, more related to the tradition of an alive dialect than to the great authors of the classic antiquity, also defined as 'Jesuit style': Portuguese form of the European Mannerism, common tendency of spaces of homogeneous and functional character, with simple main naves, contrasting main chapel, clearly visible from all over; (same characteristics as 'plain style');

- nearly no Baroque influence in Portugal during 17th century;

- end of 17th, beginning of 18th century: installing of new type of decorative extravagancy.

2 Analyses of the results of survey done at the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, in comparison to religious buildings of the mainland such as of other colonies during the same period

2.1 Historical characterization and typology of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande

Through the results obtained by surveying the remains of each of the religious buildings, as far as it was possible and we understood it was necessary, obtaining in this way the necessary information for a classification, we will proceed in interpreting such as classifying their typologies and applied architectural styles as far as possible, falling back later on described styles and typologies from the same period in Portugal. Also here will be included some information obtained through the disposable historic material (maps, plans, illustrations, engravings such as photos).

In our opinion, this step includes three main critical points to be taken in consideration:

1. the need to sublime certain information to reach a nameable result by generalizing till the necessary. This includes, not at least due to restricted seize of our investigation, the concentration on selected aspects of the buildings, which is already a questionable pre-selection. To try to avoid a simplification the much as possible, not resolvable issues to be treated through this investigation will be mentioned as such ones (as we will see in special in the case of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, but also in the one of the Cathedral);

2. as the amount of found detailed elements is relatively low compared to the number of the supposed to have existed religious buildings (of some of them only wall remains existing, of others not even clear indication of their site plan and/or plan shape, including some not clearly identifiable construction and eventual re-construction dates), to proceed to a mean by necessary generalisation includes, as obvious, a higher risk of miss-interpretation;

3. as the main aim of our investigation is to reach to an answer about the initially formularized hypothesis by comparing these buildings to other ones of the mainland and colonies of the studied period of time, we have to classify them first, without this a comparison obviously wouldn't be possible. Meanwhile, a classification by direct comparison and at the same time would have been helpful.

Note: by proceeding in classifying the typologies of the religious buildings, we will sub-divide the typology of 'box-church' temple complementary in the one of 'battery-shape' temple, which defines itself by its specific form of detached smaller and more narrow part of the main altar, as if a second smaller building would have been adjoined to the main 'box' (nave) of it. Nevertheless, they make part of the group of 'box-churches', defined by one rectangular *corpus* of one nave only.

2.1.1 The Cathedral (Sé)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.1)

The surveyed doors, such as the pendants and rests of chiselled limestones, give us the most detailed information about the architectural styles applied at the Cathedral.

Door nr. 1 and nr. 3 show us through their main body executed in clear canons, even though simplified in profile at their bases, the Renaissance influence. Additional indicators seem to us the cornices shaped with lateral saliencies (in inverted 'U' form, seen as plan), such as the in flattened 'S' shaped ancones, details we meanwhile also find in Mannerism. Thus is to sub line in special the decorated (but unfortunately not decipherable) cornice of door nr. 3, such as it is its decorated ancones. The cornices of these doors have as parts of their moulding the application of the Roman modification of Greek moulding (M. Harris, 1983, 357), as it is the case of the *Cyma recta* and the *Cyma reversa*. Additionally, their bases show us the *Apophygis*, the *Fillet* and the *Torus*, all parts of the in the Renaissance re-applied Roman-Greek mouldings.

Door nr. 2 is, even though it also includes the application of the moulding of *Cyma reversa* at its lower part of cornice, identifiable as being Mannerist through its combination of clear formal lines with its loosening up through the two ancones shaped in half scroll. These ones alone, together with the a quarter round doorjambs, would even lead us to date them in between Mannerism and already Baroque (proto-Baroque).

The pendants have at their cornices, extremes of the dado and at their bases also elements of the in the Renaissance re-applied composite curved mouldings such as there are the: *Apophygis*, *Fillet*, inverted *Cyma recta* with *Fillet*, the *Torus* and the *Plinth* (base, up to down) and the *Bead*, *Fillet*, *Cymna reversa*, *Bead* and *Fillet* (cornice, up to down). At their top, the resting bases of former arches include the *Scotia* and *Torus* in their mouldings.

The quite simple moulded external surrounding base-profiles include as elements in their mouldings the classical upper sequence of *Apophygis*, *Fillet* and *Torus*.

The windows, in vertical height and with quadrangular base shape of their frame stones (head stones, jambs and cills), such as with their partially bi-quadrangular shape and their skew forms in different angles (i.e. as to see in the ones from the upper Chancel area) is according to Kubler (Kubler, n.d., 153) an indication of a period understood after 1640.

Additional information is given to us by the photos from the beginning of the 20th century, where we can clearly identify the major round arches of the entrance to the Chancel as to the lateral cells of the right transept. Also visible is the round arch (door head) of the internal entrance door to the left bell tower (baptistery), with the clearly jutted out key stone, a classical element used in Renaissance (fig. 47).

Several constructive elements, or their combination, indicate us the Cathedral's different construction phases. A clear indicator is the joining of the *Camarin* back side at the altar wall, where the existent bottom profile stones indicate the former independent existence of this wall, running below the later applied *Camarin* wall. Its square window could also be taken as an indicator of a later construction phase. Another indicator is the unusual joining of the return wall of the Sacristy at the base of the 2nd door, whose beneath running profile, such as the so created 'division' of the door leak into two, tells us a probably latter construction of the Sacristy. The diagonal door opening itself, contradicted by the still in right angle lying base stones, could have been re-shaped at that time, allowing as such access to the Chancel from outside such as from the Sacristy itself (fig. 72 and 73).

De Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 285) mentions the late finishing of the Sacristy and the main altar, which weren't finished to be constructed still in the eightieth of the 17th century, which could explain the before mentioned constructive stand outs.

The engraving from the 19th century shows us the clear designed main façade flanked by two lateral belfries (as described in chapter 6), with vertical windows, round arches and what seems to be a triangular tympanum above the main entrance door. This façade is without any visible additional ornamentation, severe and clear as described by Kubler (Kubler, *op. cit.*, 4), Serrão (Serrão, 2002, 208) and Saraiva (Saraiva, 1988, 233) above, denominated as one of the main characteristics of the plain architecture.

Meanwhile, looking at the Cathedrals ground plan shape, we recognize a traditional cruciform shape of church plan with orientation of altar to east, with three naves, the crossing between the north and the south transept, the Chancel and the altar. These were models already appreciated at Gothic churches, whilst the Renaissance and Mannerist influences in Portugal lead to tendency of more 'wider', square and central oriented churches, in which the visibility and acoustic were favourably towards the Sanctuary and altar, as seen before.

Even though we think that the illustrations and the engraving done from Ribeira Grande (fig. 17-19) are not absolute reliable in account of representing the having existed reality (especially the one from Duplessis), we have to mention that on the illustration from 1635 (Johannes van Reulen), the building of the Cathedral is clearly identifiable to have the two towers, naves in different heights, crossing with transept, Chancel plus the adjoined Sacristy, such as the *Camarin*. Meanwhile, on the illustration from 1699 (Duplessis), the Cathedral is shown with over-height crossing and triple transept, the building having no identifiable towers at its front side.

Referring to the previous classification done by Madeira Santos and M. J. Soares (Madeira Santos, M. J. Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, Vol. II, 384), quoted by us in chapter 5, that 'the typology of the building, which we can call Mannerist, follows close the style of the so called *igrejas salão* of the Jesuit architecture (...)', we have to mention that we can't agree to the citation in the point of attempt to classify the Cathedral as (or at least 'following close the style of...') *igreja salão*, having in mind that the Cathedral was constructed with three naves of different height such as with longed body shape, which are definitively not the characteristics of the *Hallenkirche* (Kubler, *op. cit.*, 29, 31). But we agree in the description as being a church type which comes described by Benedito Lima de Toledo (Lima de Toledo apud Tirapeli et al, 2005, 38), by resuming the prototype of Jesuit Churches by saying that they have been of rectangular nave, with main chapel, and both separated from each other by a crossing arch.

Resuming, we would classify the Cathedral's typology as being of traditional cruciform church, longitudinal and of vertical orientation, clear and unornamented, with two front lateral bell towers, baptistery, three naves of different height, one (double) transept with crossing, lateral side chapels and (probable) double pulpit, the Chancel with Choir and the altar oriented to (approximately) east, with adjoined Sacristy, missing apse/deambulatory. Its stylistic influences in construction details are the Renaissance, Mannerist and in small details also the beginning of Baroque ones. Or to say it in a very short way: a three-nave church with mostly plain architectural characteristics in a classical (gothic) Latin cross plan shape.

2.1.2 The Church/Hospital/*Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.2)

Taking in consideration the photos from the beginning of the 20th century, we see the clear and unornamented quadrangular bell tower topped by a pyramidal covering, with small pyramidal pinnacles each corner, such as high and vertical openings with head in round arch beneath. This indicates us an architectonic construction in Renaissance style. Adjoined is still the upper triangular section from the main façade visible. This let us conclude that it had been covered with gable roof.

One *hispano-moresque* tile piece was found in the adjoined Hospital area during 2006 archaeological excavation, which doesn't fit with the supposed construction date (1556-1558), but which leads us to suspect a former pre-dating building at its place.

The engraving from Travassos Valdez, 1864 (fig. 13) shows lying adjoined to the bell tower a building with gable roof and three vertical windows with round arch, from which it is not clear to be the Hospital or the church itself.

From the ground plan shape shown on the map of Engineer Andrea from 1769, we conclude the typology of the church as being of 'battery-shape' with one frontal adjoined bell tower such as a lateral adjoined Sacristy, its main altar approximately oriented towards east.

2.1.3 The Episcopal Palace

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.3)

We have no further detailed information about the typology and architectural style(s) applied at the original building of the Episcopal Palace, due to its degradation at the end of the 17th century, its burning down during the attack of the French Corsairs in 1712, its immediate re-erection, again ruin and re-construction during the second half of the 18th century (see chapter 5). We think that the found plan, elevation and section drawings, from which the author is unknown and which are seemingly not dated, must be from this last re-construction period, which would be the year of 1774, the same year of which we found the physical description (apud de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 62). Meanwhile, we should look at these drawings with certain reservation, taking in consideration the engraving from 1864 which shows the building without balconies, such as it does the photo from 1929 (fig. 21), showing still one (front?) façade window/door, more square in shape than indicated by the drawings.

Recognizable to define architectural styles of the Palace are, on the drawings, the cornice headed balcony-doors (the shape of the proper railings is of flattened 'S'), its main entrance door of the upper storey topped by a raking cornice framed tympanum/fronton. The aligned windows of the lower storey are square. The right back side door on the upper storey, visible at the section drawing, is headed by round arch (no door in ogee form, as described in de Senna Barcelos, could be recognized). The roof construction, such as the first storey, come described as to place on 'big stone columns' (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. II, 62), and the second *ante-câmara* is denominated as to include the chapel, both facts which we couldn't identify by our observations of the drawings. The wooden beam construction of the covering is of 'Queen Post' roof type, while in the longitudinal section drawing it seems to be a sort of alternated 'Hammer-beam' roof. The stair which comes described in de Senna Barcelos, lying seemingly at extreme east of the main façade (which is here called the south façade), with two stone columns and placed covering on it, couldn't be identified either.

The by us described architectonic elements, even though in reduced ornamentation, remind us certain major public buildings of the beginning classicist phase of the second half of the 18th century (i.e. as we can see in M. Harris, 1983, 340, the design for a hotel by F. J. Neufforge, under Luis XVI).

The typology of the building could be described as a major parallelepiped, rhythmically and severe in its design, functional and poorly ornamented, adjoined by an exterior stair case and a smaller functional building (kitchen), hip roofed, compact and 'classical' in its appearance.

Note: what seems to look like external setback and diagonal buttresses on its ground plan, and which don't appear at the elevation and section drawings nor in the engraving from 1864, couldn't be identified. .

2.1.4 The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Holy Mother of Rosary)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.4)

The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* is, and probably due to its continuous use till nowadays, a religious building that has been several times, at least partially, enlarged and/or re-constructed, which will difficult the understanding of some seemingly controversial information to be obtained, as we will see.

To start with the lateral side chapel, we could identify the pointed entrance arch (boss or obtuse arch) of being used during Gothic and late Gothic period, which dates him perfectly according to the initial date of construction mentioned, the year of 1495. The stellar vault of flattened pointed arches of ribs and tiercerones, their knots crowned by ornamented bosses, all this based on corner pendants and corbels, are classical gothic/late gothic vault constructions. The ornamentation at the bosses, at the corbels and arch friezes, of plants and elements connected to the maritime area, is poor but clearly connectable to the Manuelin style.

So is the access door to the upper floor of the bell tower, with its door head in typically but in this case reduced and simple Manuelin ogee shape. So are the small ornaments at the bottom of their doorjambs. This could date the chapel and bell tower between the referred begin of construction (1495) and approximately the second decade of the 16th century. This includes the adjoined stair case tower itself, with the canted door head and jambs, which, by its shape, looks Moorish influenced to us, of the region of Alentejo or Algarve in Portugal.

To the same period of construction we can count the second pointed left hand side internal (blind) arch, the same arch in boss-form, but without any ornamentation. It is aligned with the first one, which could be an indication that the nave of the church existed or was planned at the beginning construction stage. In this way is also the massive tower understandable, which wouldn't have existing reason without the nave of the church. The (former) access to the high choir above the side chapel, indicated by the late gothic/Manuelin ornamented stone consoles, coming from the stair case tower through the front façade, such as the orientation of the side chapel towards approximately north-west are two more points which could indicate the former supposed direct connection between chapel and nave in planning and construction.

From this point on, several other construction phases come visible. To start with the main entrance door, its round arch based on friezes (impost), crowned by cornice, such as its side pilasters based on mouldings, all including forms of Roman modification of Greek mouldings (cornice, from top to bottom: *Fillet*, *Cymna recta*, *Fillet* and *Apophygis*, *Bead* and *Fillet*; frieze, from top to bottom: *Fillet*, *Cavetto*, *Ovolo*, *Fillet*, *Fillet* and *Apophygis*, *Bead*; base, from top to bottom: *Bead*, *Scotia*, *Bead* (or *Torus*) and *Plinth*), such as the ends of the pilasters with *Apophygis* and *Fillet*). All indicates clearly Renaissance style, datable from c. 1550 on. Same are the horizontal door heads and cornices (with forms of Roman modification of Greek mouldings, top to bottom: *Fillet*, *Cyma recta*, *Fillet*, *Bead* and *Fillet*) of the lateral right entrance doors.

From the distribution of the central entrance door, flanked by two windows, topped by a third one which is topped itself by an ocular, is to sub line the vertical misalignment of the façade slightly to left, which could indicate re-construction or re-adaptation phases.

The two buttresses aligned opposite with the internal two arches, together with the misaligned façade in relation to the top of the roof could make us take in consideration the existence of a former vault ceiling, which would justify both facts

The altar zone (presbytery), the altar itself and the Sacristy raises further interpretational problems (which will be put in relation to the raised questions of the nave floor levels). To sub line are:

- the .five steps (made mostly of broken tombstones which date is not visible, but which show gothic lettering), irregular in their height, and, more notable, the only two steps (fig. 115) which lead to the proper altar. In the altar is inlayed a tomb stone part dated from 1546 and another entire not dated one;

- the cornice of the presbytery level area, flanking the five steps, includes forms of Roman modification of Greek mouldings (top to bottom: *Fillet*, *Cymna recta*, *Fillet* and *Apophygis*), and on both sides of the stairs sit adjoined what seem to be vertical modillions or inverted ancones in scroll form, based on a with a rectangular fluting carved pedestal (similar to the ones in the Cathedral) (fig. 157, 159, 160);

- The internal window/wall niche of the Sacristy (fig. 67), with cornice and cill including forms of Roman modification of Greek mouldings, its rectangular doorjambs shaped with five vertical, at the top and bottom rounded, notches (or flutings);

- The in screw form to the interior of the Sacristy shaped door and window spans, the (not from the nave accessible) door to the former pulpit, with its iron railing marks still visible.

The floor of the nave lies in two levels, separated approximately in its middle by a canted limestone/step. Right and left, at the end of the second level, are rectangular depressions, c. 0.30m deep, showing what is supposed to be the first original floor in ceramic (brick) tiles, *burro* type. Having in mind this fact, and that adjoined above this floor are carpet tiles from the second half of the 17th century *in situ*, and connecting it to the former description of the altar and Sacristy area, we can only suppose that round about 1700 (or may be shortly later), the original floor level was elevated to its actual level (between c. 0.20m (first part of nave) and 0.30m of difference), which lead to a (re) construction of the presbytery and altar, and to the construction of the Sacristy adjoined.

This possibility would suppose that the first tombstone (dated from 1525), lying at the foot of the first of the five presbytery steps, was raised together (with all the other ones which all pre-date the supposed raising data), and that its still visible 'original' mortar *in situ* must date from the raising date and not earlier as initially supposed by us.

This hypothesis would raise two main observations: if happened as supposed, at which level lied the pre-dated entrance and right lateral side doors, being adjusted with the today's floor level (inclusive the first lateral right door shows 'original' stone cill, levelled with the actual floor level), and would it be reasonable to think of a height difference of c. 0.30m from the former floor to the chapel floor.

Referring to construction phases, Pereira (Pereira, 1988, 45) dates the construction of the chapel as being before the one of the church itself. This, as shown above, doesn't seem right to us.

Observing the illustration from Duplessis (1699), we see at the supposed place where the church would be a bell tower without covering, topped by a salient and surrounding re-cut wall, which seems to us as a medieval watch or defence tower.

Defining the typology of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, we would describe it as a medium sized rectangular 'box-church' with adjoined massive bell tower, which includes the lateral chapel(s) (baptistery), such as the lateral Sacristy, high choir and pulpit, with main altar to (approximately) east.

It includes architectural styles of the Late Gothic/Manuelin, Renaissance and Mannerism, or even Baroque (?), as could be supposed in case of the vertical modillions/inverted ancones.

2.1.5 The Convent of *S. Francisco*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.5)

At the Church and Convent of *S. Francisco*, we have, beside its well known construction date and the for the Franciscan Churches so well known 'poor' ornamentation, some clear constructive and ornamental parts which seem to coincide with its construction period, even though we wouldn't like to give it in this place an architectural style denomination but simply name it characteristics. It has to be mentioned that the church and Convent complex, at least from what is remaining today, seems never had been reconstructed or alternated in its original conception. The only intervention known is after the tempest from 1754, but which affected mainly the dormitories part of the Convent (de Jesus Monteiro dos Reis Pires, 1999, 237).

The building determines itself through the large more quadrangular than vertically oriented windows, at the lateral sides in skew form towards the interior, at the front side quadrangular and in skew form to exterior such as interior.

At back side (altar), such as back left side, the window and the doors are crowned with round arch. So is the high internal arch which separates the nave from the sanctuary/presbytery area.

The fronton area above the main entrance door is designed in shape of 'angulated' omega, whilst its door head is in segmental arch shape.

The size and form of the windows (large, more quadrangular oriented, skewed), the shape of the door head of the entrance (flattened (segmental) arch) indicate us a construction date after sixteen hundred, while the round arches could date earlier.

The floor tiles (ceramic tiles *burro* type) such as the in parts cobbled grey stone Convent floor are constructive elements used during centuries nearly unchanged.

Observing the illustration from Duplessis (1699), the wing of the cells of the Convent comes shown as having an adjoined tower at its extreme.

By describing the typology of the church, we would denominate it as clearly vertically oriented church with narrow 'battery' shape of one nave, large leaks and clear division between nave and altar area, with *Camarin* backside, a small topped sidled and flat belfry, adjoined external Sacristy, cloister and longed cells body, main altar oriented towards north-east.

Its architectonic elements are approximately datable between second half of 16th century and end of 17th century.

2.1.6 The Church/Chapel *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (Holy Mother of Conception)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.6)

Tiles found through archaeological excavations, dating from c. 1500 (*hispano-moresque* type) and from second half of the 17th century, show us the time span of the applied ornamentation. A piece of rib/tiercerone, found in the trench of the side chapel, indicates us the possibility of former existence of a gothic/late gothic ribbed vault.

Observing the ground plan shape on Andreas' map from 1769, and partially confirmed through the excavations so far, we recognize as typology a medium seized church in 'battery-shape', with seemingly no external adjoined bell tower (but possibly buttressed), with lateral side chapel, lateral Sacristy and (interpreted as such) apse in the main altar zone, oriented towards east.

For further information please see Vol. II, Annex 2.4.

2.1.7 The Jesuit College/*Casa*/Seminary

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.7)

The same carpet tiles as from the Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, from second half of 17th century, were found through the archaeological excavations. One small part of cobbled grey stone floor was excavated. Parts of red-brown tile pieces (roof and possibly also floor tiles) were found.

The plan shape on the map from 1769, and partially confirmed through the excavation, show us as typology a long but narrow medium sized rectangular building, a paralellepippid (?), canted at one corner (north-east).

For further information please see Vol. II, Annex 2.4.

2.1.8 The Seminary

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.8)

The plan done by the Captain-engineer José Soares da Rocha, from the very beginning of the 18th century, shows us as typology a longed narrow rectangular building formed of aligned square compartments, its middle part of two storeys built of the same compartment type. Backside adjoined at its left part is a smaller perpendicular running rectangular compartment, at its right back side a small rectangular narrow and parallel running compartment.

The windows and external doors are of rectangular vertical shape, framed by narrow (stone?) heads, jambs and cills, which concede with the data of its elaboration. Its first two compartments of the right side have no windows, its third compartment (including upper storey) nor windows nor external doors, its fourth, fifth and sixth compartments (including upper storey) just windows. Its last compartment has doors and window. The back side adjoined compartments have neither external doors nor windows.

We would describe it as being of vernacular character without any visible decoration.

2.1.9 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.9)

Unfortunately, no rests of constructive elements could be identified, unless the (for all buildings) common mortar in calc or calc and sand mixture, in this case rarely, dispersed and its rests as powder.

From the map from 1769, we recognize as typology a small rectangular chapel in 'box-church' shape, with adjoined (only on the maps from 1778) of what seems to be the Sacristy, with no external belfry adjoined.

2.1.10 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Gonçalo*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.10)

One tile piece, of carpet tile, second half of 17th century, had been found during the archaeological excavations in the Royal Fortress of *S. Filipe* done in 2000, interpreted as to belong to the chapel. The chiselled base stone in the altar area could be dated as being probably from after mid 16th century.

The typology of the chapel is of small and sturdy rectangular 'box-church' type, with (seemingly) inner backside lying Sacristy, no external bell towers adjoined, with main altar approximately towards South-east

2.1.11 The Church of *S. Pedro*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.11)

No constructive element indicating date or architectural style could be found.

The typology defined through the historic maps is of a small rectangular 'box-church' with its main altar oriented towards (approximately) north, no external Sacristy, side chapel or belfry adjoined.

2.1.12 The Chapel of *S. Roque*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.12)

The nave of the Chapel of *S. Roque* has no windows, only two (front and lateral left) rectangular doors, with no defined door heads or jambs (chiselled, ornamented, shaped). Its windows (only for the Sacristy) are one slightly rectangular, the other square, with no defined

window heads or jambs either. No detail for style interpretation is visible, unless on the photo from 1929 the triangular and (at least at the bottom) with cornice mouldered tympanum above the main entrance (front façade), the top in double step-form, bottomed by a small ocular. Above its left lateral side wall topped and triangular crowned narrow belfry, containing rectangular opening with round arch as head. These indications could date it from c. 1550 onwards.

The typology of the chapel is the one of narrow rectangular small 'battery-shape', with included Sacristy on the backside of the altar, gable roofed and with small topping lateral belfry, its main altar oriented towards approximately north.

Note: the former described and in reality existing flattened vaults (in basket shape), one along the nave, the other one perpendicular towards it in the Sacristy, are not to be taken as of origin, taking in consideration the in totality existed destruction and disappearing of the covering, with no indications of such left, as recognizable on the former mentioned photo (fig. 21).

2.1.13 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º Antônio*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.13)

No elements for architectural style definition could be identified, beside the (for all churches and chapels) characteristic rests of mortar and red-brown tile pieces.

Observing the historic Fort plan of the Fort of *St.º António*, we recognize as typology a small chapel/hermitage in longed 'battery' shape, with adjoined Sacristy and second room (*casa de prata*?), with no external belfry, its main altar oriented approximately towards north-north-east (fig. 9).

Note: the from us hardly identified wall parts *in situ*, by comparing them to the drawn original plan shape, would have probably included some inner wall parts. This all supposes that the chapel has been drawn in its original shape on the plan, which is seemingly a re-construction/enlargement proposal.

2.1.14 The Church of *Monte Alverne*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.14)

No details for architectural style(s) identification could be found.

The maps and the results from the survey show us a typology of a long rectangular small/medium sized 'box-church', with (through survey identified) *Camarin* backside the main altar, which is oriented approximately towards West, an external adjoined Sacristy or side chapel, and without external belfry.

Note: the lateral left adjoined compartment (Sacristy or side chapel) comes different on the three maps: on the one from 1769 as in the middle adjoined and longed perpendicular running room ('T' form), on the black and white map from 1778 as square and to the altar/*Camarin* adjoined room (tilted 'L' form), and on the coloured map from 1778 as adjoined at the same place, but as a parallel rectangular running one (flattened tilted 'L' form). Through the survey

in situ, due to the surrounding terrain and rests of wall marks at the bedrock face, the first option seems to be the in reality having existed one.

2.1.15 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.15)

No indication about architectural styles or ornamentation could be found.

Its typology would have been, according to the maps of second half of 18th century, the one of a small 'box-church', with no external bell tower, side chapel or Sacristy, its altar oriented towards approximately north-east or east.

2.1.16 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.16)

No clear indication about its architectural style, ornamentation or typology could be found out. Only in case of it being the indicated building inside the Fort of *S. Lourenço*, its typology would have been the one of a small temple of rectangular 'box-church' shape, with adjoined what seems to be a Sacristy or side chapel. If this would include the bell tower is not to identify, such as is not the orientation of the altar.

2.1.17 The Chapel of *S. Sebastião*

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.17)

No indication about its architectural style(s), ornamentation or typology could be found.

2.1.18 The Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.18)

As supposed to have been the former Church of Misericórdia or of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, the only indications we have about architectural styles and typologies are from those two buildings.

2.2 General identification of architectural styles, typologies and constructive characteristics of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

At this point of our investigation we want to resume the obtained information, such as their interpretation done, of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, so that we can proceed with comparative analysis towards mainland and other colonies, as aimed.

We decided to divide our group of study into three differentiated periods: the first one from the beginning of urbanization till 1550, the second one from that date on until the end of the 17th century, and the third one from then on till the end of the us known main construction/reconstruction phases in Ribeira Grande, which we trace at being for the second half of the 18th century.

This division has in our understanding the following reasons to be:

- the circle of life of Ribeira Grande would have reached its apogee round about this date, the different and diverse parts of town would have been traced in their main outline (even though *S. Sebastião* was probably still at its beginning), and the first construction wave would have started to slow down, due to the installing of most of the principal necessary buildings for Ribeira Grande's functioning and occupied role to be established till that date;

- as seen at the beginning of this chapter, Serrão and Kubler start to date the European Renaissance and Mannerist influences in Portugal shortly before the mid 16th century, so that we, starting from the suppose that these influences would have taken some years, if not one or two decades to show their impact in the distant colony, did round these dates up, so that we could indicate the probable start of new architectural styles and typologies in Ribeira Grande c. from the middle/second half of the 16th century on (beside this, Kubler makes a classification of church typologies in Portugal from 1550 on, to which we will refer later on);

- the period after 1550 till the end of the 17th century was marked, beside the general starting of degradation, decline as well as the start of incursions done by foreign sea powers, by a second important construction phase of major representative buildings, such as there were the Church and Hospital of *Misericórdia*, the Episcopal Palace and the start of the construction of the Cathedral, beside the extension and building up of the defence system and the consolidation of the part of town of S. *Sebastião*, showing as only one clear traces of Renaissance space organization. Beside, some smaller religious buildings would have been built during along the next one hundred years of the second phase, as far as we could search out. This period, marked by the new directives of the Council of Trent of the Contra-Reformation, ended with the construction and conclusion of the Convent of *S. Francisco* and with the finalizing construction works of the Cathedral, at a time when, as Kubler (Kubler, n.d., 4, 5) describes, came up in Portugal the taste for decorating the austere buildings again, which found finally total architectonic expression in the new taste of the court of D. João V (1706-1750).

- the third period, starting with the beginning of the 18th century (start of construction of Seminary, attack and partial destruction of buildings by French corsairs, some re-construction and repair works, i.e. of the Cathedral, Convent and Episcopal Palace), falling in the period of 'Portugal of the new taste', would have had in Ribeira Grande, in terms of architectural styles and typologies, mainly its expression through the Seminary and Episcopal Palace, which will be, such as the Jesuit College, treated in the classification a part, by not being mere temples but specific distinguished representative and functional ecclesiastic buildings.

2.2.1 Resume of the specific typologies and architectural styles found in Ribeira Grande, such as of general constructional, ornamental and localization characteristics

Introductory note: we will have to generalize by transferring the experiences and information from recognized architectural styles, building construction and ornamentation characteristics from some to others, from which we have no further information available. Latter ones will automatically be included.

1. For the first defined period (1462 till 1550), we could define the construction of at least five religious buildings (*N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, *S. Brás*, *S. Sebastião*, *Espírito Santo*), from which two (the latter ones) are not to specify, for the already known reasons. In this case, we have to reduce our sample to the number of three, from which we have, typologically:

- one medium sized rectangular 'box-church' temple, external bell tower (including the lateral side chapel), external lateral Sacristy, main altar towards north-east;

- one small sized rectangular 'box-church' temple, no external bell tower, external lateral Sacristy, main altar towards south-east;

- one medium seized 'battery-shape' temple, no external bell tower, external lateral side chapel, external lateral Sacristy, main altar towards east.

The range of architectural styles includes the late Gothic (Manuelin) one, with beginning of Renaissance influence.

Their wall construction is of *opus incertum*, with basaltic stones, white or grey calc or sand-calc mortar and red-brown tile pieces, faced (if) with plaster from the same calc mixture. Quoin stones are of limestone, material for door and window frames is chiselled limestone, as well as from arches, vaults and ribs. Marble appears partially at tombstones, the rest ones are of limestone (one question mark is to put related to the side chapel floor of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, which seemes to be of granite). The original roof covering was of mission tiles, probably with wooden beam construction. The coverings, if vaulted, would have been of flattened vaults. The floor covering (if) would have been of red-brown floor tiles (*burro* type) or flagstones.

Ornamentation (if) is with *hispano-moresque* tiles.

Their localization in the urban fabric is in the near or immediate surroundings (max. 20.00m distance) of the water ways (primary or tributary ones), placed on a height level between 3.00m and 5.00m, one isolated from the urban fabric, one integrated in part of town and one placed adjoined to defence system.

Note: very little information from the first religious building constructions is to obtain concerning their types of covering, if in vault-form or with wooden beam construction, due to the fact that most of them vanished. We think that it is quite possible that at least parts of them could have been covered by ribbed vault ceilings (flattened), as we still see at the only resting example of the side Chapel of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, and as one small part of what seemed to be a rib found during the side chapel excavation of Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* let us suppose. But even though, this probably only had happened in parts of them, as side chapels or the main chapels, due to the complexity, costs and architectonic construction problems which this would have meant during the begin of urbanization, where access to certain materials and specialized craftsmen would have been even more difficult.

2nd note: we have to include in the first period analysis eventual initial 'precarious' temple constructions of basaltic stones, probably mud, branches and leaves, eventually wood from ship planks. Their typology would have been of small rectangular or square 'hut-church' temples in 'box-church' shape of vernacular character, without external belfry, Sacristy or

side chapel, with altar probably towards east, and without further ornamental details of architectural styles.

2. For the second defined period (1550 till end of 17th century), we could define the construction of at least twelve religious buildings (Cathedral, *Misericórdia*, Episcopal Palace, Convent (Church), Jesuit College, *S. Gonçalo*, *S. Pedro*, *S. Roque*, *St.º António*, *Monte Alverne*, *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*, *St.ª Marta*), from which ones we will not include in this part the Jesuit College (due to its specific function, not being a temple) and the Episcopal Palace (due to its specific function, not being a temple, and due to its only known characteristics from its reconstruction phase during the second half of the 18th century). To subtract is also the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*, from which the information is so precarious that we can't contribute with any secure detail to the classification. In this case, we have to reduce our sample to the number of nine, from which we have, typologically:

- one large cruciform temple, with two front lateral bell towers, three naves of different height, double transept with crossing, adjoined external lateral Sacristy, *Camarin* backside the main altar, with main altar oriented to east;

- three small 'box-church' temples, all without external adjoined belfry, external Sacristy (one of them with internal backside Sacristy) or external side chapel; one of them has main altar oriented towards north, one towards south-east and one towards north-east or east;

- a small/medium 'box-church' temple, without external adjoined belfry, with an external adjoined Sacristy (or side chapel), *Camarin* backside the main altar, main altar oriented towards west;

- two small 'battery-shape' temples, without external adjoined belfry (one with small topping lateral belfry), one with external lateral adjoined Sacristy and second room (*casa de prata*?), one with included Sacristy backside the altar, their main altar oriented towards north and north-north-east;

- one medium sized 'battery-shape' temple, with one frontal adjoined bell tower, lateral adjoined Sacristy, with main altar oriented towards east;

- one medium/large sized 'battery-shape' temple, with one small topped sidled belfry, an external lateral adjoined Sacristy, *Camarin* backside the main altar, main altar oriented towards north-east.

- to add is one specific functional rectangular parallelepiped building, not being a temple.

The range of architectural styles includes the Renaissance and Manuelin style, with question mark for some punctual constructive elements which could be already of Baroque influence (proto-Baroque).

Their wall construction is of *opus incertum*, with basaltic stones, white or grey calc or sand-calc mortar and red-brown tile pieces, faced (if) with plaster from the same calc mixture. Quoin stones are of limestone, material for door and window frames, such as for pedestals,

bases and profiles is chiselled limestone, arches include marble stone, such as it do step stones, and marble appears partially at tombstones, the rest of them being of limestone. The original roof covering was of mission tile, probably of wooden beam construction. Vaults are possible but not to confirm. The floor covering (if) was of of red-brown floor tiles (*burro* type) and of grey cobbled stone floor.

Ornamentation (if) is (still) with *hispano-moresque* tiles (only one example at *Misericórdia*) or (later) carpet tiles (*tapete* type), second half of 17th century.

Their localization in the urban fabric is spread all over the urban area and immediate surroundings, including the one and only case at a square (the *Misericórdia*), placed on a height level between c. 1.00m and 95.00m till 100.00m. One is centred at the main square, two (plus the Chapel/Hermitage of *Santa Marta*) are seemingly directly connected or adjoined to the defence system, two are flanking on height the central part of the town on right and left side, three are far distant from the urban fabric, main river bed/tributary river upwards (one of these topping a hill), one placed crowning directly above the centre and seaside dominating the respective part of town and focalizing with its presence the attention in the urban skyline. .

3. For the third defined period (beginning till second half of 18th century), we could define the construction/reconstruction of at least two religious buildings (Seminary, Episcopal Palace), from which the first one seemingly never was concluded, and the second one a reconstruction above destruction remains of the already former in the 16th century constructed and at beginning of the 18th century reconstructed Episcopal Palace. We do not include in these period later attempts of 'smaller' repairing or reconstruction works on some of the buildings, from most of them we don't even know if they took place. In this case, we have an sample of two, from which we have, typologically:

- one longed and narrow rectangular vernacular building, centrally of two storeys, building with the backside adjoined smaller compartments a flattened 'U' shape, without any visible decoration;

- one major compact parallelepiped, adjoined by an exterior stair case and a smaller functional building (kitchen) at one end (lateral façade), severely and rhythmically designed, poorly ornamented.

The range of architectural styles includes the vernacular one and the already classicistic influenced one.

Their wall construction has supposedly been of *opus incertum*, with basaltic stones, white or grey calc or sand-calc mortar and red-brown tile pieces, faced with plaster from the same calc mixture. Material for door and window frames such as stairs would have been chiselled limestone, columns could have included marble stone. The original roof covering would have been of mission tiles, with wooden beam construction, the floor covering of timber.

Ornamentation, if existed, could have been carpet tiles (*tapete* type).or eventually later datable tiles such as blue (on white background) geometric/floral patterns or figurative panels in the same monochrome way (including light red-brown on white background) from the 18th century.

Their localization in the urban fabric was on the outstanding *Achada of S. Sebastião*, dominating the central urban area, crowning directly above the centre and at seaside, focalizing with their presence attention in the urban skyline, placed on a height level of c. 20.00m.

In Resume:

1462-1550:

1. **Typologies and typological details**

- 'box-church' and 'battery-shape' temples (small/medium seized) of one nave (eventual 'hut-churches');
- with or without external lateral bell towers (in case of, one per building), no topped pyramidal hip roof;
- gable roofs;
- external lateral Sacristies (with exception of 'hut-church');
- with or without external lateral side chapel;

2. **Orientation of main altar**

- east or approximately east.

3. **Implantation in urban fabric**

- near by water or water ways, in or outside urban fabric, slightly elevated in height level.

4. **Construction details**

- masonry in *opus incertum*;
- mortar bounded and partially plastered (eventual mud);
- quoin stones;
- partially buttressed;
- wooden timber covering construction, stone (rib-) vault construction (by supposition only partly).

5. **Materials**

- basaltic stone, white or grey calc or calc-sand mortar (eventual mud in case of 'hut-churches'), including eventually animal grease, milk, olive oil or honey for ligament, red-

brown tile pieces, salmon/beige/brown/grey calc plaster, limestone for quoin stones (masonry);

- limestone for door and window frames (eventual wood in case of 'hut-churches'), pendants and corbels, tombstones, steps;
- partially marble for tombstones and steps;
- clay for roof and floor tiles ;
- wood for covering beam construction;
- (eventually granite ?).

6. Forms of structural elements

- low doors with canted door heads and jambs, or with ogee arch designed door head;
- small narrow windows, with partially canted doorframes, larger slight vertical windows;
- round arches (belfry), pointed obtuse arches (canted);

7. Ornamentation

- generally as well as in details poorly ornamented; leaves, flowers (roses), ropes;
- with or without *hispano-moresque* and monochrome tiles.

8. Architectural styles

- vernacular, late Gothic (Manuelin), eventual beginning Renaissance influence.

1550 till end of 17th century:

1. Typologies and typological details

- cruciform temple of three naves (of different heights);
- 'box-church' (small/medium seized) and 'battery-shape' temples (small/medium/large seized) of one nave;
- with ('battery-shape' temple) or without ('box-church' temple) external lateral bell towers (in case of, one per building), one case of double flanking frontal bell towers (cruciform temple), with topped pyramidal hip roof;
- topped small, front or lateral, belfries ('battery-shape' temples), with pointed top and with vertical, at top round arched opening;
- gable roofs, four-and three-sloped hip roofs, punctually shed roofs;

- external lateral Sacristies (cruciform, 'box-church' and 'battery-shape' temples), internal backside Sacristies ('box-church' and 'battery-shape' temples);

- with (only 'box-church' temples) or without external lateral side chapel, internal (cruciform and 'box-church' temple) side chapel(s), two (cruciform and 'battery-shape' temple) with external second room (*casa de prata*?);

- with (cruciform temple, one 'battery-shape' temple) or without *Camarin*;

- one parallelepiped shape;

2. Orientation of main altar

- east, south-east, north-east, north-north-east, west.

3. Implantation in urban fabric

- spread all over the surroundings of the urban fabric (mostly slightly outside, with one exception at the central square) or outside urban fabric, elevation between c. ground level (one) and maximum height (one), mostly between 10.00m and 30.00m of height.

4. Construction details

- masonry in *opus incertum*;

- mortar bounded and partially plastered;

- quoin stones;

- wooden timber covering construction/eventually stone rib-vault construction.

5. Materials

- basaltic stone, white or grey calc or calc-sand mortar, including eventually animal grease, milk, olive oil or honey for ligament, red-brown tile pieces, salmon/beige/brown/grey calc plaster, limestone for quoin stones (Masonry);

- limestone for door and window frames, arches, eventual vaults, pedestals, bases, profiles and tombstones, steps;

- marble partially for arches, tombstones and steps;

- clay for roof tiles, clay and grey cobbled stones for floors;

- wood timber for covering construction.

6. Forms of structural elements

- vertical rectangular doors (with round arch (partially with keystone) or with straight door head, with 'classic' moulded cornice (lateral salient or not), with or without ancones

(designed or not) in 'S' shape or scroll form, doorjambs (single or double) with 'classic' moulded frieze (if) and base with or without 'classic' moulded profile), partially half round shaped doorjambs;

- simple (round arched or not) or bi-quadrangular vertical windows, square windows, partially skewed windows, all mostly with narrow/fine framing, some big in seize;

- round arches;.

7. Ornamentation

- generally poorly ornamented, in details with poor/medium ornamentation: 'S' shaped ancones, with or without design, ancones in scroll shape, partially medium/rich ornamented tombstones; 'classic' cornice, frieze and base profiles;

- with (in one case), the rest without *hispano-moresque* and monochrome tiles, rest carpet tiles (*tapete* type).

8. Architectural styles

- vernacular, Renaissance, Mannerism as well as Baroque (proto-Baroque) influence .

Beginning till second half of 18th century:

1. Typologies and typological details

- specific functional and representative Parallelepiped shaped buildings (one compact, one longed one), hip roof, eventually gable roof; externally severe and unornamented, with small adjoined building/compartments or stair case.

2. Orientation of main altar

- none.

3. Implantation in urban fabric

- representative and exposed place, c. 20.00m of height, seaside.

4. Construction details

- masonry in *opus incertum*;

- mortar bounded and (partially) plastered;

- no quoin stones;

- wooden beam/timber construction for covering and floor;

- partly internal columns.

5. Materials

- supposingly: basaltic stone, white or grey calc or calc-sand mortar, including eventually animal grease, milk, olive oil or honey for ligament, red-brown tile pieces, salmon/beige/brown/grey calc plaster (Masonry);
- supposingly: limestone for door and window frames, steps (?);
- supposingly: marble partially for arches, columns and steps;
- clay for roof tiles;
- wood timber for covering beam such as for floor construction.

6. Forms of structural elements

- vertical rectangular (with horizontal doorjambs) doors, partially with triangular tympanum/fronton;
- simple vertical and vertical with saliencies (cornices/balconies) windows (or 'window-doors'), square windows;
- partly round arch;

7. Ornamentation

- generally poorly ornamented, in details with poor/medium ornamentation: 'classic' cornices, flattened 'S' shaped balcony railings, columns and arches without ornamentation;
- supposingly: if, tiles with blue over white/slight red-brown over white, geometric/floral or figurative panels.

8. Architectural styles

- vernacular/Classicism influence.

3 Similarities, differences and specific characteristics of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande in comparison

Before we will proceed in comparing the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande with other ones from the mainland and former colonies, we will analyze their development of localization and implantation in the urban fabric, comparing it to some chronologic maps of urbanizations of former colonies (Ponta Delgada, Island of S. Miguel, and Angra do Heroismo, Island of Terceira, both Azores, as well as Funchal, Island of Madeira, including for comparison part of town of *Bairro Alto*, Lisbon, which will give us an idea about similarities and differences in the way the religious buildings were localized during the different phases of urban development of harbour cities during the expansion period (see Annex 2.2, as well as Appendix 1.1).

A second comparison of the encountered typologies as well as architectural styles in Ribeira Grande will be done to the former generally described ones in Portugal.

3.1 Localization of religious buildings of Ribeira Grande in the urban fabric in comparison with other early urban nucleuses during the expansion era

Observing the chronologic development of the before mentioned colonies (in special the maps from Ponta Delgada, Azores, and from Funchal, Madeira), both staring with the 15th century and proceeding till the 17th (first ones) and 18th (latter ones) centuries, we do realize at very beginning that the implantation of the urban fabric started, in similarity how it proceeded in Ribeira Grande, with parallel running streets to the sea side (which includes the *Rua da Carreira* in Ponta Delgada). The very first religious buildings (which includes the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (*de cima*) in Funchal), with one exception in Funchal (Church of *N.ª S.ª do Calhau*), lied detached from the first aligned streets, along the shore as well as inside the rural area.

This is in similarity how it probably did happen in Ribeira Grande, with supposing of Chapel of *S. Sebastião* at the beginning of the first street alignment (*Rua do Porto* and *Rua do Calhau*), possibly including the Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* (if placed at the location of latter Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia*) at their end, where the main square was built up, and Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* tributary river upwards inside the rural area (or Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo*, in case of having been the same one at the beginning). Shortly afterwards, the Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* had been implanted, defining as such the second part of town to be built up, *S. Pedro*.

The second phase, 16th century, shows us a quick development of the urban fabric in Funchal (similar as the one supposed to have happened in Ribeira Grande), including the religious buildings in its street net (including three Convents, one of them being the Jesuit's one), which seemed to stay as reference points for its alignment. Meanwhile in Ponta Delgada, the development of the urban fabric did not proceed so fast, and the alignment continued along the shore, including a second religious building at the opposite extreme of the first on (Church of *S. Pedro*), also outside the main central urban area, as well as the first one inside the urban centre itself, the Church of *S. Sebastião*. But also here, the street alignment seemed to develop taking the religious buildings as reference and orientation points. Only from the second half of the 16th century on, the street alignment started to spread perpendicular as mesh into the interior of the hinterland, flanked by further religious buildings (including three Convents and one Jesuit College till the end of the century).

Till the end of the 17th century (Ponta Delgada) and end of the 18th century (Funchal), both urbanizations did seemingly complete their main development concerning religious buildings (Ponta Delgada: four churches, three hermitages, six Convents, one Jesuit College and two houses of retirement, Funchal: seven churches, three chapels, one Cathedral, five Convents (including the Jesuit's one), two houses of retirement), such as have laid out their main street net and their defence system.

Together with the maps from Angra do Heroismo (end of 16th and mid of 17th century, five churches, one Cathedral, seven hermitages, one chapel, four Convents, one Jesuit College and one Hospital of *St.º Espírito*) and the ones from part of town of *Bairro Alto*, Lisbon (first and

second half of 16th century, as well as second half of 17th century, five churches, one hermitage, one College and three Convents), we can observe the following:

Angra do Heroismo, Funchal and Ponta Delgada , beside including in their street net, at least each of them one in number, three of the already known streets in Ribeira Grande, the *Rua Direita*, *Rua da Carreira* and *Rua da Misericórdia*, had, together with the example of the part of town of *Bairro Alto*, all together several invocations and names of institutions in common (but not all of them together in each one) with Ribeira Grande: *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, *S. Sebastião*, *S. Pedro*, *St.ª Luzia*, *S. Roque*, *S. Francisco* (as Convent), *Misericórdia* (Church and Hospital), *St.º Espírito* (same as *Espírito Santo*), *S. Bráz*, *S. José*, such as Jesuit Colleges. This so far doesn't surprise due to the implantation of the late medieval urban model, as we have seen in chapter 2 (even though all of them possess or possessed a *Rua Nova*, with exception of *Bairro Alto*, Ribeira Grande didn't), as well as to common Saints, invocations and institutions.

To emphasize are the following points:

- the number of religious buildings which were supposed to have existed in Ribeira Grande, is relatively high, comparing its small urban extension area to the one of the other urban areas. On the contrary, the number of existed Convents in the comparative urbanizations is much higher than in Ribeira Grande;

- nearly all religious buildings of the comparative urbanizations or urban areas lie bedded in the outlined street net: or aligned to its roads or, in round about half of the cases, at squares, being as such complementarily urbanely projected in their important role to fulfil. No special connection to waterways or shore is to establish (with exception of *St.ª Maria do Calhau* in Funchal), and not one (with exception of Church of *S. João Baptista* in Angra do Heroismo) is connected to the installations of the defence system.

To explain the comparative high number of religious buildings existent in Ribeira Grande, as mentioned under point one, we will have to focus on two probable reasons: the first being the undoubtable importance which this small town had acquired during the time of expansion, having been and served as the main Trans-Atlantic centre for ship supply, slave trade and base for dissemination of the Christian faith during nearly two hundred years. We think we can affirm that responsible for the elevated number of churches, chapels and hermitages was not mainly, as it has been one of our initial obvious supposings, the importance Ribeira Grande occupied as emporium of slave trade in the triangular routes between Africa, Europe and (South and Middle) America as such, functioning as centre for latinization of the transported slaves. It were the slaves themselves which, by being integrated by force into the agro-merchandizing society of European settlers, made the on their labour force based functioning of the interlaced relationship between production and commerce possible, giving consequently existence reason for the dominating Catholic land owners, traders and clergies. The second one is obviously its important role fulfilled as Diocese of the vaste area of West Africa's 'rivers of Guinea'.

One of the main reasons for the in the second point mentioned differences is Ribeira Grande's topography as such: the implantation of the urban fabric in the deep and sloppy canyon area of Ribeira Grande didn't propose a wide spread urban development which could easily include squares (with exception of the pillory square and its beside adjoined lying

Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia* and, if connected, Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo*). Beside, the narrow area along the river bed upwards forced the localization of the religious buildings to be, at the beginning of urbanization, mainly along the above mentioned (with exception again of the Church/Hospital of *Misericórdia* or, if connected, former Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo*, as well as the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*). Meanwhile, most of the religious buildings became detached of the main central urban area, highlighted through their localization height level and/or distance to it, with the extreme examples of the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º António* on one side, the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta* (seemingly) on the other, Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel* and Chapel of *S. Roque* at both sides of the river bed high above the centre along the slopes, the Convent of *S. Francisco* isolated river bed upwards on the hill, Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, Church of *Monte Alverne* and the Jesuit College at north-east of part of town of *S. Pedro*, already outside of the main urban street net, as well as the Church of *S. Pedro* at its extreme north-eastern end. But even the Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, bedded in the part of town of *S. Pedro*, is detached in relation towards the surrounding streets by its higher localization plateau, and the Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás* at a hillock over the harbour and river delta, forms, together with *St.º António*, *St.ª Marta* and *S. Gonçalo*, the group of religious buildings connected or at least adjoined to installations of the defence system. Therefore the responsible could be, beside the aforementioned limiting topography, the rural structure and orientation of its society, as well as its warehouse to be defended.

The Cathedral, as well as the Episcopal Palace (and later the planned Seminary), are not, as would be supposed, placed in the middle of the urban area and standing out therefore through their centrality, nor are they even integrated in the adjoined part of town of *S. Sebastião*. They highlight themselves by crowning imposingly above the central 'down town', marking their presence proud and self-confident to all inhabitants, as well as to strangers which would reach Ribeira Grande by sea way.

3.2 Architectural styles and typologies of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande in comparison with the ones of Portugal

Comparing the by us defined main typologies and architectural styles of the religious buildings in Ribeira Grande with the before mentioned ones in Portugal during the same period of time, we will proceed in trying to find out till which point the developed styles and typologies in Portugal in general overlap or differ, through their given definition as well as their temporary fit in, with the ones encountered in Ribeira Grande.

Related to the first defined period of construction, between 1462 till c. 1550 (late Gothic/Manuelin style, even though already with starting Renaissance influence), we will only find two of the four by José Fernandes Pereira (Pereira, 1994, 81) given typologies as being similar to our described ones:

- the church of one nave ('box-churches'), with pronounced main chapel and only with this area covered with vault (which could have been the case of Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, through its pronounced main chapel designated by us as 'battery-shape' temple);

- smaller churches and chapels, with only one nave, with wooden covering or, only in exceptional cases, vaulted (which would have been the case of the Chapel of *S. Brás* as well

as possibly of Church/Chapel of *S. Sebastião* and *Espírito Santo*.(including in this typology the 'hut-church' temples).

Both of these types of one nave include in our case the 'box-church' temples such as their subdivision of 'battery-shape' temples, meanwhile we can't affirm in both cases with sureness about the having existed types of coverings. We can only suppose, by taking as example the Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, that the possibility of having existed rib-vaulted covering is indeed not to exclude, even though we still have no proof that one of these initial churches/chapels had been constructed so, with vault covering main chapel.

The vault of the Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* is one of the four types of existed vaults described by Mário T. Chicó (Chicó, 2005, 157, 158), the one of flattened vault, placed upon segmented arches which rest on corbels, being of four pointed stars (star or stellar vaults, with intermediate ribs), with or without ogees.

Comparing with the three different formulas of the façades of Manuelin churches given by Mário T. Chicó (*ibid*, 163), only two would partially be fulfilled in Ribeira Grande:

- the church with only one tower, this one of a more robust construction than the rest of the building and divided into floors (which would be the case of Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, meanwhile the division into floors is not given in this case) ;

- the church with façade without towers, being the most common one (probably the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* and Chapel of *S. Brás*, while we have no information about the Church of *Espírito Santo* and the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*).

In case of Ribeira Grande, we have to sub line the external lateral Sacristies (with exception of 'hut-churches') as well as the existence of churches/chapels with or without external lateral side chapel, a typological characteristic which doesn't come mentioned nor by José Fernades Pereira, nor by Mário T. Chicó.

The adjoined external stair case tower of Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* is supposed by us to be of the more Moorish influenced area of south of Portugal (Alentejo, Algarve).

In terms of describing the ornamentation of the side chapel of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, we would, according to Lina Oliveira Marques' (Marques apud Serrão, 2002, 33) description of the decorative subjects, only agree in finding three ones of the seven by her named areas:

- vegetarian subjects: trunks, roots, leaves of acanthus, vine leafs, laurel leaves, corn ears, branches, of which we find the described acanthus leaves as well as trunks and roses at part of the corbels, bosses, as well as on the frieze of the entrance arch of the chapel ;

- artefacts connected to the world of trade and services, which include the ropes connected to the sea world at the corbels, part of the bosses, as well as on the frieze of the entrance arch of the chapel ;

- Royal symbols: *Esfera armilar*, cross of Christ, monarchs and power emblems, of which ones we find the cross of Christ, the cross of *S. Bento de Avis* as well as the cross of *Santo André*.

Resuming, we can affirm that some of the main characteristic of typologies and architectural styles existent in Portugal at approximately the same time can be found in Ribeira Grande, but not at all to be assured in their described typological integrity such as in their stylistic architectonic richness and variety.

Related to the second defined period of construction, between c. 1550 and the end of the 17th century (Renaissance and Mannerism, 'plain style') we can only in parts find typological characteristics described by Serrão, Saraiva and Kubler as to be the determined ones of the comprehend period of study:

- we find what comes described as 'continuing of vernacular typology', as very probably most of the smaller/medium sized churches, chapels and hermitages of Ribeira Grande;

- we can identify the 'church model of 'unified space', recreation of temple structures of only one nave, without transept, with lateral chapels, more quadrangular volumes and sobriety of the elements', meanwhile we have no further information about the possible existence of double pulpits (only to confirm with high probability inside the Cathedral) such as 'plain visibility to the main altar and good acoustic of the enclosure due to geometric clearness'. These ones would include eventually the by us named 'box-churches of Chapel/Hermitage of *St. º Antônio* (in the case of one of the adjoined side compartments being a side chapel), eventually the Church of *Missericórdia* and the Church of *Monte Alverne*. All other ones, with exception of the Cathedral, have, being of one nave, no indication (or due to their seize or plan shape) of lateral chapels, a fact which we of course can't exclude categorically;

- referring to 'Interiors enriched only by the refinement of the proportions, walls: treated as membranes, channels or passages, barriers, limits or obstacles to be transformed', this typology would mainly fit to the Cathedral, meanwhile the treatment of its walls would have been a 'classical' one. So does the next category: 'cold rational exteriors (...) till c. 1675, façades of 'plain style', plain, high and logic, conceived in articulated levels, or with or without flanking towers, but always with small files of *Rolwerk* flanking the fronton', meanwhile also here the fact of having existed small files of *Rolwerk* is not to confirm;

- the period from 1640 on till c.1706, characterized as 'period of new austerity, maintained even during the 18th century', could include the finalization period of the Cathedral as well as the construction of the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (meanwhile no buttresses were existent), meanwhile the form of the windows ('skew form') is existent at Church of *S. Franisco* as well as, in part above the Chancel, at the Cathedral, including the 'variety of geometric forms of jambs and cills, accentuated by architecture of restoration, lot of times of vertical bi-quadrangular shape';

- the 'starting ornamentation of the interiors with wall tiles from 1675 on' must have been inherent to most of the religious buildings, meanwhile we can't affirm the same from the

also mentioned *talha dourada* and from the 'exterior decoration with garlands (stone *festões*) and ornamentation in spiral/scroll form (volutes)'.

In the described typologies don't come mentioned the internal back side Sacristies, nor come described explicit exterior lateral side chapels, the small topping flat belfries or types of covering of the bell towers.

According to the architectural styles, we can confirm the period between late Manuelin and 'plain architecture style' from c. 1525 till 1560, with dominance of Mannerism from then on but still with vernacular representation during the whole 16th and 17th century, such as all characteristics referring to the 'plain style' resulting of mannerist influence over and represented through vernacular architecture (simple main naves, eventual contrasting main chapel). The affirmation of having been 'nearly no Baroque influence in Portugal during 17th century' is not directly to transfer to Ribeira Grande as such, seen that the ancon in *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* as well as the ancon of the lateral Chancel access at the Cathedral seem to have to us already Proto-Baroque influence. What we think we can assure is that, as described, the 'installing of new type of decorative extravagancy' at end of 17th/beginning of 18th century wouldn't have had its influence in Ribeira Grande.

Resuming the both periods, we have to confirm that we couldn't identify neither the typology of '*igreja salão*', nor the experimental one of small temples with centralized plan shape ('micro architectures of centralized (circular or polygonal) plan, such as of longitudinal plan, c. 1525-1560').

For the third period (c. 1700 till second half of 18th century), we would describe the typology as continuing to be of vernacular character, with classicist influence at the end of this period. No strong development or spreading of Baroque influence could be identified in Ribeira Grande.

3.3 Examples of religious buildings in Portugal as well as former colonies during the same periods for comparison

For our comparative studies of the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, Cape Verde, with other religious buildings on the mainland of Portugal such as of other former colonies, which include the northern Atlantic Islands of Azores and Madeira, such as Brazil, as well as a few examples from North Africa (of Ceuta and Ethiopia, of Portuguese origin), we chose a general sample of religious buildings which we think could represent an average of what had been constructed in religious building typology during our comprehended period of studies, between the 15th and the beginning/middle of the 18th century. Added is a church from Cape Verde's proper Santiago Island (Alcatraz), Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, from round about fifteen hundred, where constructive structural elements are still well preserved and recognizable. Some civil and military buildings of this period complete the collection.

Our choices were mainly oriented by the wish to take different examples out of every building type as of the different regions, and not so much by the preliminary attempt to find, during the first stock-taking, already similar constructive characteristics, which would have strongly conditioned the analysis of the obtained results already from the beginning on.

For a more clear overall view, we gathered them under the topic of the respective region, ordered by their presumed construction dates, taking (as much as possible) in consideration later construction and re-construction stages. As for an architectonic oriented comparison of constructive structural elements, plans, sections, elevations as well as typologies, an extended approach, analyses and presentation of each one of these buildings would surely exceed immensely the boundaries of this investigation, we restrict ourselves to present them by their name, localization such as their construction and re-construction dates, as far as we could inquire. The chosen elements are shown in Vol. II, Appendix 1.3, put in comparison with the ones of Ribeira Grande, Vol. II, Appendix 1.2 (1.2.1-1.2.18). Also here we tried to continue the line of orientation given by the three differenciated periods (till c.1550, 1550 till c. 1700, and 1700 till seond half of 18th century) for the same reasons mentioned before.

Note: we are fully aware that this comparison is restricted and includes the risk of being very generallyzing as such, due to the fact that we can concentrate merely on a few aspects of each building, whose number is already strongly reduced. A complementary restriction is given by not being able to profound and take in consideration former comparative studies done in between the colonies and the mainland themselves, differenciating already the religious buildings from each geographic localization, delimiting them to each other and among themselves. But what we can show in general are main tendencies of similarities as well as of main differences.

2nd note: when we refere in the text to the comparative religious buildings of mainland and colonies (Appendix 1.3), we will only mention the respective number of the respective figure.

Our chosen sample of comparative buildings consists out of the following ones, as there are:

Cape Verde

- Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, Alcatraz, Santiago, Cape Verde, c. 1500

Ceuta

- Church of *N.ª S.ª de África*, first half of 15th century, rec. 1550

Portugal

- Hermitage of *S. Brás*, Évora, 1480 – 1490
- Hermitage of *St.º André*, Beja, begin 16th century
- Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510
- Chapel of *St.º Cristo*, Lisbon, begin 16th century
- Hermitage of *St.º Amaro*, Beja, begin 16th century, rec. 1620
- Church of *S. Domingos*, Viana do Castelo, 1566 -1576
- Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora, 1557-1563/1568-1572 and 16th / 17th / 18th century
- Cathedral, Portalegre, 1556-1571, 16th / 17th / 18th century

- Church of *S. Vicente de Fora*, Lisbon c. 1590
- Hermitage of *S. Pedro*, Alvor, c. 1600
- Hermitage of *St.ª Catarina*, Beliche, c.1600
- Barracks/Headquarter projected for *Praça de Almeida*, c. 1762

Azores

- Matrix Church of *St.ª Cruz*, Terceira, Chapel erected in 1456, matrix Church in 1517
- Church of *S. Sebastião*, Terceira, c. 1540
- Cathedral, Angra do Heroísmo, 1568
- Hermitage of *S. Pedro*, Pico, c. 1600
- Convent of *S. Francisco*, Pico, 1680 till c. 1750

Madeira

- Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520
- Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720
- Matrix Church of *Salvador* of St.ª Cruz, Madeira, c. 1508
- Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira, 1510-1608
- Church of *N.ª S.ª do Loreto*, Madeira 1520, enlarged 1530/1640
- Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516
- Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540
- Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670
- Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal, c. 1554, rec. between 1720 and 1750
- Convent of *S. Francisco*, S. Miguel, begin c. 1550, totally rec. mid 18th century
- Church of *N.ª S.ª do Carmo*, Funchal, c. 1660 till 1680
- Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624
- Chapel of *Nazaré*, Funchal, 1627
- Chapel of *S. Filipe*, Funchal, c. 1660
- Church of *St.ª Luzia*, Funchal, 1726
- Episcopal Palace, Madeira, 1750

- Habitation house, Madeira
- as well as habitation houses of *Rua dos Pretos* and *Rua do Bispo*, and the house of Museum of *Arte Sacra*, Funchal

Brazil

- Church of *St.º Ignácio*, Morro do Castelo, Brazil, 16th century
- Church of *N.ª S.ª de Assunção*, Anchieta, Brazil, 16th century, rec. 17th century (?)

Ethiopia

- Castle and Palace of *Gondar*, Ethiopia, 1632

The chosen elements of comparison are gone to be the ones we took in near consideration during our survey done in Ribeira Grande, as there are:

- Typologies (through plans, elevations and sections)
- Doors
- Windows
- Arches, columns and pilasters
- Pedestals
- Vaults (including ribs, pendants, corbels and bosses)
- Roofs (types of coverings, as well as roof tiles)
- Masonry (way of construction, as well as wall tiles)
- Floors
- Others (stair case towers, buttresses, wall niches, stoups, ancones)

3.3.1 Typologies in comparison

3.3.1.1 Plans

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.3, Fig. 32-43)

By observing the sample of comparative plans chosen, it becomes clear that the first division to be done has to be the one between 'box-churches' and the ones of Latin cross shape.

In between the 'box-church' temples, all being small/medium sized chapels or churches, we can find them all being the ones of 'battery shape' type, with more or less well differentiated main chapel area. In between them, we detach the main tendency of being of only one nave till c. 1550, with or without lateral adjoined Sacristy, starting afterwards to be lined out in

more complex plan shape, normally with three naves and complex adjoined side building structures (Sacristies, *casa de prata*, side chapels). What is to sub line is that from the beginning of the 16th century on (till c.1540/1550), these small/medium sized temples seem to be rib-vaulted, while the ones whose construction started before 1500 haven't been so (unless, as it is the example of the Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, reconstructed in 1720, fig. 33, that the vault covering would have been substituted by wooden beam construction).

The general tendency of being of three naves from c. 1550 on (with exception of the Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal 1550-1670, fig. 41, and the Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal, from c. 1554, reconstructed between 1720 and 1750, fig. 42) is mainly given by medium/large sized temples, their plan shape varying between longed rectangular ones (Church of *S. Vicente de Fora*, Lisbon, c.1590, fig. 40, and Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670, fig. 41) passing through 'medium' rectangular shaped temples (Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal, c. 1554, reconstructed between 1720 and 1750, fig. 42) till the compact rectangular shaped ones (Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora, 1557-1563/1568-1572 and 16th / 17th / 18th century, fig. 38, and the Cathedral of Portalegre, 1556-1571, 16th / 17th / 18th century, fig. 43), meanwhile the temples before c. 1550 seem all 'well equilibrated' in proportion of width to length.

With regard to the Latin cross shape temples, which in Ribeira Grande is only given in case of the Cathedral (Appendix 1.2.1, fig. 9), we can observe its existence in our sample in case of the Cathedral of Funchal, fig. 35, as well as in the Cathedral of Angra do Heroísmo, fig. 39.

The Cathedral of Funchal is planned and started to be constructed round about 1500, its plan shape being longed, with simple transept and three naves of different height, to the Chancel adjoined lateral side chapels, its only bell tower adjoined at the northern transept, the main chapel and side chapels covered with rib vaults. Further compartments have been constructed later outside around its Chancel area.

The Cathedral of Angra do Heroismo meanwhile, constructed from 1568 on, shows a much more compact plan shape, its (triple) transept being shortened, its three naves being seemingly of the same height (fig. 52), with two flanking bell towers and lateral backside adjoined Sacristy and seemingly deambulatory around the main chapel.

3.3.1.2 Elevations

The elevations from our sample, with regard to the main façades of the first period (1.3, fig. 11, 44, 46,50), show us a simple composition of main entrance doors with door head in pointed obtuse arch, no windows, topped by an ocular (Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520, Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540, Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510), flanked at the top (right, left or centred) by a put on small belfry with triangular top and round arched leak for the bell. Another version is the same façade type, but without any belfry (Chapel of *St.º Cristo*, Lisbon, begin 16th century, fig. 6).

As we have no further records related to these details in Ribeira Grande (Chapel of *S. Brás*, Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, as well as Chapel of *S. Sebastião*), this might well have been the case related to these first chapels and churches, probably with exception of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, even though its main façade seems to have suffered a reconstruction round about 1550 or even later. The by windows flanked main entrance starts to appear seemingly

only at the end of this period, as we can see in the case of the Church of *S. Sebastião*, Terceira, c. 1540, (fig. 12). On the other hand, the more 'simple' version continued to exist into the 17th century (Hermitage of *S. Pedro*, Pico, c. 1600, fig. 23, and Chapel of *S. Filipe*, Funchal, c. 1660, fig. 26, in Ribeira Grande seemingly having been the case of the Chapel of *S. Roque* (1.2.12, fig. 10, 18, 19, 21, 23), dating from between 1550 till 1600, meanwhile this characteristics are connected mainly to chapels/hermitages. An exception seems to be the medium sized Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, Alcatraz, Santiago, Cape Verde, c. 1500 (fig. 5).

Another detail is the partial existence of buttresses ('clasping buttress') (Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510, fig. 11, Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540, fig. 50) as it was already recognizable on its plan shape (fig. 37). This seems to have been the case at the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, whose plan shape (1.2.6, fig. 10) let us recognize an enforcement at the northern side of the frontal corner, a fact which lead C. Evans to suppose the existence of former buttresses (Annex 2.4, preliminary excavation report from 2006).

The lateral façades of the same period (Chapel of *St.º Cristo*, Lisbon, begin 16th century, fig. 7, Chapel of *S. Gerônimo*, Lisbon, fig. 10, Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510, fig. 11, Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520, fig. 45, Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720, fig. 46) let us recognize simple façades with only a reduced number of, mostly small narrow rectangular, skewed and high situated, windows, only in exception interrupted by lateral doors, as in case of the Chapel of *S. Gerônimo*, Lisbon, fig. 10, Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720, fig. 46, or, at the end of the period, the Church of *S. Sebastião*, Terceira, c. 1540, fig. 12. This corresponds to the only resting example we have from Ribeira Grande, the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 10, 32, 34, 68, 69), meanwhile here the two doors, as we will see later, indicate us also a former reconstruction phase (of which the shape of the 1st window, fig. 68, indicates that it could have made part of). Also the lateral façades are partly buttressed at their corners (fig. 10, 49) or, at is the case of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, with from the corner distanced buttresses ('setback buttress') (1.2.4, fig. 9, 10, 11, 14, 19). Most of the buildings are with gable roof, as it probably was the case in Ribeira Grande, with exception of the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510, fig. 11 (of clear Moorish influence) and the Church of *S. Sebastião*, Terceira, c. 1540, fig. 12, where the three naves of different height oblige to the application of lean-to roofs over the lateral naves. The detached main chapel area, in case of 'battery-shape' temples, (where this area is not only detached by being more narrow, but also lower), is also covered with gable roofs (e.g. fig. 7) or three sloped hip roof (e.g. fig. 45).

During the second period, from 1550 on, we can observe, mainly on the front but also on the lateral façades, an enrichment in number of leaks (at front façades with mostly two (fig. 12, 14, 29) or sometimes three (fig. 13) the entrance door flanking windows, as in variation of composition, with tendency of enlarging of the windows, them descending in height at the lateral façades. An exception seem to be the larger churches as well as the Cathedrals, which start to show more complex geometrical design (Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora,1557-1563/1568-1572 and 16th / 17th / 18th century, fig. 17, Cathedral, Portalegre, 1556-1571, 16th / 17th / 18th century, fig. 18, Cathedral of Angra do Heroísmo, 1568, fig. 19 and Church of *S. Vicente de Fora*, Lisbon c. 1590, fig. 20). This has been the case of the Cathedral of Ribeira Grande, whose geometrical layout from the main façade (as well as from the lateral one) we could study (see chapter 6 and Appendix 1.2.1, fig. 160-164). The leaks are varying in shape, from longed rectangular ones (partially in bi-quadrangular shape) towards nearly quadrangular ones, some topped by heads in round arch shape (mainly doors and leaks of bell towers), being a high number of them in skew form (mostly windows), a characteristic that

only seems to disappear during the second half/end of the 17th century (fig. 17, 18, 19, 20, 26). Most buildings are gable roofed above the nave or naves, with three sloped hip roof covering the Chancel/main chapel area (in case of the 'battery-shape' temples).

Reffering to the third period, from c. 1700 on, we can identify at the façades of the comparative parallelepiped buildings (Episcopal Palace of Olinda, c. 1700, fig. 30, the Episcopal Palace, Madeira, 1750, fig 31, and the Barracks/Headquarter projected for *Praça de Almeida*, c. 1762, fig. 55) a similar simple aligned row of *janelas de sacada* at their first storey, while the ground storey is made of an alignment of quadrangular simple windows. In case of the Barracks/Headquarter, an external stair case gives access to the first storey. In case of the Episcopal Palace of Olinda, as well as the Barracks/Headquarter, their corners are re-enforced by quoin stones. All buildings are hip roofed (with three or four slopes).

3.3.1.3 Sections

By observing the sections of our sample, we can identify for the first period the already confirmed existence of predominantly one nave (chapels/hermitages and smaller churches), partially or even totally rib-vaulted, as it is the case of the Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540 (fig. 59, 60, 114 and 115), its ribs and tiercerons placed on pendants and corbels fixed along the walls.

Exception seems to be the Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520, fig. 57, but which through its application of stylistic elements in the main chapel area as well as along the nave (at pulpit and side chapel) seems to have suffered a former re-construction phase, meanwhile not identifiable through its façade composition (fig. 4).

The supposition that this (one nave, partially or totally rib-vaulted) might have been in general the case of the religious buildings in Cape Verde, referring to the first period, has already been discussed before. To sub line is here the variation in between only one (i.e. Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540, fig. 60), two (i.e. Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, meanwhile reconstructed in 1720, fig. 58) and three steps leading to the proper main altar (i.e. Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520, fig. 57), a fact that is observable through the following period (i.e. Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670, fig. 61) or seemingly even beyond this (i.e. Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal c. 1554, reconstructed between 1720 and 1750, fig. 63). This re-enforces the observation given by C. Evans and M. L. Stig Sorensen about the number of steps (2) to the altar found in the side chapel of the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* in Ribeira Grande (see Annex 2.4, preliminary excavation report from 2007).

Another fact to observe is the well distinguished (and arched, by obtuse arch or round arch) division between the nave and the main chapel area (i.e. fig. 112-114), a fact which we only can confirm so far, but in this case for the lateral side chapel, at the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* in Ribeira Grande.

During the second period, and as already mentioned, is recognizable the disappearance of vaults, being substituted by coverings in wooden timber construction (fig. 61-64 and fig. 123), even though this type of ceiling could have existed already during the first period, covering the nave of the building (again Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520, fig. 128, and Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira, 1510-1608, fig. 130). This is supposed to have been the

case already at the first religious buildings in Ribeira Grande, where it is supposed that they have had rib-vaults only for main/side chapels. Also recognizable are (larger) temples with what seems to be a partially continuing of rib-vaulting above the main nave as well as barrel vault covering above the main chapel (i.e. the Cathedral of Portalegre 1556-1571, 16th/17th/18th century, fig. 116, 117). If this would have existed in Ribeira Grande (in this case in the Cathedral) is quite questionable (see Appendix 1.2.1, fig. 15, 16, 54-56 and 61), no indications suggesting it could be found in the Cathedral.

The general tendency of the larger churches and the Cathedrals, already mentioned and here re-confirmed (i.e. Cathedral of Angra do Heroísmo, 1568, fig. 62 and 64), is the 'clearing' of the inner spaces, widening them optically and acoustically through the elevation of the three naves to the same height ('*igreja salão*'), illuminated through windows at the outside walls. This type of building wouldn't have existed in Ribeira Grande, its Cathedral continuing with three naves of different height, as seen before.

For the third period, for the parallelepiped building, we only could find a cross section of the Barracks/Headquarter for *Praça de Almeida* (fig. 55) which confirms the two storeys, its upper storey based on internal columns, as found in the Episcopal Palace of Ribeira Grande, even though here the storeys are of same height, the lower one topped by round arches/vaults. The similar wooden timber construction of the roof is recognizable (confirm with Appendix 1.2.3, fig. 11).

Resume

We can recognize in our sample, during the first period till c. 1550, the already in this chapter before described 'box-church' temples, all being of 'battery-shape', rectangular and with well defined main chapel area, partly rib-vaulted, while the second period, after 1550 shows us a greater variety and complexity in shape (the longed, the 'well balanced' and the compact ones), with mostly three naves, some of them showing a well defined narthex. The temples in Latin cross shape, all Cathedrals, are longed and with three naves of different height before 1550, after then being more compact, with three naves of same height ('*igreja salão*') as well as frontal flanking bell towers.

Comparing to the temples from Ribeira Grande, we find for the first period the same 'box-church' type shapes, in 'battery shape' with lateral adjoined Sacristies, meanwhile the simple rectangular 'box-church' shape (as in the case of th Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*, 1.2.9, fig. 4) is not represented in the sample, nor is the version of frontal adjoined bell tower, as it is the case of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 5-8), including the lateral side chapel, case also of the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*. Unclear is if they would have been rib-vaulted, we suppose that this, if so, would have been only in the parts of the main chapel or side chapels, as it is still the case in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 9, 14, 75 and 76).

For the second period is shown a much more higher variety in plan shapes in the mainland and colonies as it is the case of the ones we can find in Ribeira Grande, where, beside the Cathedral, all chapels/churches, of small/medium size (with exception of the larger Church of the Convent, as well as the Cathedral itself) continued to be of only one nave and in most cases of the simple rectangular 'box-church' shape (with exception of the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (1.2.5, fig. 8 and 9), the Church of *Misericórdia* (1.2.2, fig. 5), the

Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (1.2.6, fig. 5 and 10) and the Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º António* (1.2.13, fig. 9 and 10).

Their frontal façade is varying in between the ones without lateral bell towers, but small topping, pointed and round arched, ones (Church of Convent of *S. Francisco*, Chapel of *S. Roque* and supposing others of the small chapels/hermitages), the ones flanked by one bell tower (mainly characteristic of medium seized churches, as the Church of *Misericórdia*), and the ones flanked by two bell towers (for large churches or Cathedrals, as the one in Ribeira Grande). These three types are as such recognizable through our sample.

The Cathedral of Ribeira Grande itself seems to be planned in a transition period between the former longed cruciform plan shape and the latter more compact one, meanwhile it continued to stay with three naves of different height at time of its finishing (c. 1700), had no deambulatory but included a *Camarin* (as the Chapel of *S. Roque*, 1.2.12, fig. 8, and the Church of *Monte Alverne*, 1.2.14, fig. 8, in Ribeira Grande), fact which only could be observed at the Church of *S. Vicente de Fora*, Lisbon, c.1590, (1.3, fig. 40). Its plan shape has a more similar aspect compared with the one of the Cathedral of Angra do Heroismo, with double frontal flanking bell towers, even though this one has a narthex, its Chancel area doesn't seem to be narrowed, and has what seems to be an apse (fig. 39)..

The general tendency of enlarging the body of the churches is not to find in Ribeira Grande, meanwhile the variation of different more or less longed and compact forms (from nearly quadrangular ones, i.e. Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, 1.2.10, fig. 7, till very longed and narrow ones, i.e. Church of *Monte Alverne*, 1.2.14, fig. 5-8) is well represented, them all continuing to be of one nave only. Nor do we find in Ribeira Grande the complexity of represented side adjoined buildings which is shown to us through our sample, even though a high number of the chapels/churches in Ribeira Grande had an external adjoined Sacristy or/and side chapel, three of them possessing an internal back side Sacristy (*S. Gonçalo*, *S. Roque* and *Monte Alverne*), a fact which we couldn't observe in our sample. In the same way, the *Camarin* behind the main altar appears in higher number in Ribeira Grande (*Monte Alverne*, Cathedral), as it does in average in comparison through our sample (where we could only observe it in the case of the Church of *S. Vicente de Fora*, Lisbon, c.1590 (fig. 40).

The comparison of typologies done by us with the defined typologies of Kubler, existent in Portugal after 1550 (fig. 65-69), shows us clearly a difference in missing in Cape Verde of one typology which is shown by Kubler, and which we couldn't identify also in our sample, namely the one of three naves of different height, the lateral ones built up of two storeys. This typology comes closest to the one shown by the Cathedral of Angra do Heroísmo, 1568 (fig. 62 and 64), where two storeys at the lateral naves seem to be recognizable, but not differentiated through a different cover levelling but integrated in the whole compact church corpus as such (beside this special characteristic, this typology could be designated as the one of the Cathedral in Ribeira Grande, ignoring the fact that no transept forming the Latin cross is indicated, which could have as reason a advanced simplifying of plan shapes by Kubler).

For the third period, we can confirm that the typology of the parallelepiped building of the Episcopal Palace in Ribeira Grande is quite similar to the ones of equivalent representative/functional buildings, as we have seen through the example of the Episcopal Palaces in Olinda and Funchal, as well as the Barracks/Headquarter for *praça de Almeida*, as described before.

In general, the comparison with our sample did confirm the main tendencies already outlined in this chapter before, by comparing the defined typologies existent in Portugal as well as in former colonies with the ones found in Ribeira Grande.

Note: we didn't integrate in our sample the Church of *St.ª Engracia* in Lisbon, which was mentioned by de Senna Barcelos (de Senna Barcelos, 2003, Vol. I, 301) before as serving as example in similarity for the Cathedral at its time of finishing of construction, as we already described it at the beginning of this chapter as being of Baroque influence, with centralized plan shape.

3.3.2 Doors

3.3.2.1 Church of N.ª S.ª do Rosário: the principal entrance door, main façade (south-west)

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 41-43)

The main entrance door, formed out of two quadrangular pillars topped with a round arch, sided by a fronton, with top, impost and base cornice, pilasters (doorjambs), all placed upon bases, is shaped in a manner of which we ca find several similar examples in our sample.

It starts with the Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720 (fig. 86), goes on with the Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516 (fig. 85), with the side doors of the Cathedral of Funchal,, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century (fig. 87), the Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal c. 1554, reconstructed between 1720 and 1750 (fig. 88), the Chapel of *S. Filipe*, Funchal, c. 1660 (fig. 26) and the Church of *St.ª Luzia*, Funchal, 1726 (fig. 29), as even being in the same shape findable inside of churches (e.g. the Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira 1510-1608 (fig. 112), functioning as arches leading towards the main or side chapel area.

By dating its shaped round arch and cornice profiles (in Roman modification of Greek molding), as described before in chapter 6, we think that the first three comparative examples given originate from one of the later having occurred enlarging or re-construction stages of the respective building, these ones dating too early in begin of construction to include an obviously Renaissance characterized door. Having in mind that the Renaissance influence in Portugal didn't start before the first decades of the 16th century (Grau, 1989, 112), and speaking of an 'Experimental Renaissance' at its beginning, dated by Vitor Serrão (Serrão, 2002, 47) in between 1520 and 1550, we could suppose that these types of doors would have had appeared round about the mid 16th century. This could date the Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal c. 1554, reconstructed between 1720 and 1750 (fig. 88), as one of the first ones in our sample, including by origin the door at its time of construction begin.

Even though we obviously weren't able to measure in detail the comparative moldings as we could do so in Ribeira Grande, it is recognizable that the given examples include, beside the referred molding, some differentiations of each one in between them, starting with their width, continuing with the seize of the fronton and distance between arch span and top cornice, the thickness of the pilasters till the form of the base, in parts having the pilasters based on clear identifiable pedestals instead of simple bases (i.e. fig. 85), with the pilasters continuing straight up till the top cornice itself.

The observed time span of our samples gives us the possibility to date them from c. 1550 till at least probability the second half of the 17th century. Parallel to this period of time, what would have happened partially with increasing mannerist influence, is a modification of the proper round arch shape into a flattened (segmental) arch, as we have the example from the Chapel of *Nazaré*, Funchal, from 1627 (fig. 92).

Meanwhile, at none of the observed comparative models could be identified the from our door described band, running in double row topped around its round arch, framing the fronton and closing beneath the top cornice.

3.3.2.2 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: 2nd door of right lateral (south-eastern) façade

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 44, 45)

The second door, as well as the first one, both at the lateral right (south-western) façade of the church, differ mainly from the principal entrance door in its horizontal door head, having beside the similar shaped top cornice no further cornices as well as no bases for the pilasters (doorjambs), which end directly upon the Plinth formed out of the upper step stones. Its inner part of the wall is in skewed shape form, enlarging towards the interior of the nave.

Also here we find several similar comparative models, with molded cornice, but most of them belonging or to civil buildings or to not immediate sacred areas of religious buildings, as there are:

at one of the outside buildings of the Cathedral of Funchal (fig. 89), as *janelas de sacada* at the upper storey front of the Episcopal Palace of Madeira (fig. 31), as well as at the Legislative Assembly of Funchal (fig. 94), the House of Museum of *Arte Sacra* (fig. 97), a Habitation house in *Rua dos Pretos* (fig. 95) and a Habitation house in *Rua do Bispo* (fig. 96), all in Funchal. We would date them the same as the main entrance door of the Church (c. 1550 till at least the second half of 17th century), and also in this case, slight variations in form and decoration are observable throughout the sample (one (fig. 95) with doorjambs set upon bases, having lateral cornices and a narrow horizontal division cornice between door head and top cornice, as well as other ones do (fig. 89 and 97)), meanwhile no other examples with framing band were found.

3.3.2.3 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: the entrance door to the stair case tower

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 47)

One example similar to the canted narrow and low entrance door of the stair case tower of the Church, as well as to its shortened but at the doorjambs nevertheless canted entrance door to the bell towers' first storey (fig. 50) could be found, belonging to the Chapel of *Corpo Santo* of Funchal, 1470-1520 (fig. 72). This could date back these kinds of canted shaped doors till the second half of the 15th, beginning of the 16th century. In both cases (entrance door to stair case tower as well as the door of the Chapel in Funchal), the door head is also canted.

3.3.2.4 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: door inside the top of the bell tower

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 51-56)

The door at the top of the church's bell tower, permitting the circulation between the upper storey of it and the stair case tower, has its rough and irregular mouldered large doorjambs and head ornamented, respectively with what seems to be a rolled up leave at its base, and with its door head chiselled in a horizontal simple ogee arch.

In our sample we find these Manuelin characterized door types at the Chapel of *S. Gerônimo*, Lisbon, 1514 (fig. 76), the Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516 (fig. 79) as well as in one case of Habitation house in Funchal.(fig. 83). Even though the variation in ornamentation of door heads and jambs is large, what characterizes them all is the variation of the ogee arch as door head (simple, double, with or without complementary emblems) as well as (if existent) allegoric ornamented doorjambs and their bases (parts of flora, heads, ropes, conches).

This dates the door, in very simple form and probably from the initial less decorated period of the Manuelin style, back to the end of the 15th, beginning of the 16th century.

3.3.2.5 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: internal and external doors of the Sacristy

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 57, 60, 62 and 66)

The doors of the Sacristy, of which the first internal one (the one for the supposed pulpit) as well as the external backside door have a bi-quadrangular shape, and, together with the door between the Chancel and the Sacristy, they possess simple quadrangular doorjambs and heads, meanwhile the door head of the back side door is larger and irregular.

This kind of simple, quadrangular and with narrow frame equipped doors, similar to the window frames of the main façade of the church, as well as to the windows at the Cathedral, could be found as an example (as window) at the Jesuit College and its Church, Funchal (fig. 105), whose project dates from 1595, but the construction itself started only in 1624. We think that, having also in consideration their skewed inner side form, that these could probably date from earliest the second half of the 16th century on, showing mainly characteristics described as making part of the ones of the 'plain style'. Other examples of similar framing (here as windows) are given at the Cathedral, Funchal (fig. 101) as well as at the Church of *S. Pedro* in Funchal (fig. 102 and 104), dating from 1590.

3.3.2.6 The Cathedral: Door 1&3

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.1, fig. 67-70)

The two lateral access doors to the Cathedral, one north, the other south, situated in immediate distance to the beginning transept. along the lateral nave walls, have both similar

shape, differing mainly in design of the top cornice, the ancones from the door 3 showing a complementary design.

We found one similar shaped example of top cornice (seen as plan in inverted 'U' form) in our sample, being the one from the entrance door of the Church of *S. Pedro* of Funchal, 1590 (fig. 93), meanwhile the door itself differs in being of round arch, having its pilasters (doorjambs) in round shape and possessing no ancones beneath the top cornice. Beside this it shows a higher fronton and its moldings seem to be more detailed. One shown window of the same church (fig. 103) has the beginnings of the same shape of top cornice.

As we understand that the ancones in case of the doors from the Cathedral have no supporting function, and looking at the date from the comparative model from Funchal, we think that these doors could be dated from earliest 1600 on, being of Mannerist influence.

3.3.2.7 The Cathedral: Door 2

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.1, fig. 71-74)

No similar door could be found in our sample, with the rounded off doorjambs and door head, its rectangular top cornice and beneath placed ancones in half scroll shape, which clearly do indicate us also to have no supporting function. We date this door second half/end of the 17th century, with, as already mentioned, Baroque (proto-Baroque) influence.

The main entrance door of the Cathedral is meanwhile only reproducible through the engraving from Travassos Valdez (fig. 19) and seemingly had been topped by a flattened tympanum, as indicated on the drawing of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra (fig. 12) and reproduced by us (fig. 13). In our sample we found a very similar type above the main portal of the Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora, c. 1557 -1572, 16th/17th/18th century (fig. 90), which would correspond also to its initial construction period.

3.3.2.8 The Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco*: it's front, lateral and back side doors

(see Vol. II, Appendix 1.2.5, fig. 45, 46, 48, 53, 56, 57 and 58)

The slight in segmental arch shaped visible order of the main entrance door, as well as the with round arch topped lateral and back side door, also with visible (and reconstructed) order, gives us no further indication about its original shapes (if front door topped with horizontal or segmental door head), nor if the side and back door have been really framed with chiselled doorjambs and heads. Meanwhile, the narrow quadrangular shaped rests of the doorjambs of the main entrance door indicate us already probably the 17th century.

We couldn't find any comparable model in our sample, but knowing the construction date from the Convent, we confirm and date them from the second half/end of the 17th century, a fact that will be more visible and as such confirmed by the windows, as we will see further on.

3.3.3 Windows

We would like to divide the windows in three main differentiated groups: the ones from the Cathedral, the ones from the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* and the ones from the Convnent of *S, Francisco*, which corresponds in general to the three buildings. As exception of these groups are seen the second lateral right window from *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, its internal window (wall niche?) from the Sacristy as the ones from the Chapel *S. Roque*.

The windows from the Cathedral (Appendix 1.2.1, fig. 31, 32, 35, 36, 39-42, 44, 76, 78, 79 and 80), experiencing different shapes, from longed rectangular ones over square ones till even seemingly horizontal rectangular ones, confirming with the illustration from Travassos Valdez (fig. 19) as well as believing the longitudinal section and the elevation drawn by the Faculty of Architecture of University of Coimbra (fig. 14 and 16) have all in common the narrow quadrangular window frames. The windows from the Chancel area open in skew form towards the interior of the building, being its middle placed ones in bi-quadrangular shape.

In our sample, we find these shapes of windows at the Cathedral of Funchal (fig. 101) as well as at the Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal (fig. 102 and 104). Relating them to the by Kubler (Kubler, n.d., 153) described manner in which 'the geometric relationship of forms of jambs and cills is varying', a characteristic which '(...) would be accentuated by the architecture of the Restoration', where complementary 'another general characteristic of window frames would become the bi-quadrangular shape', we would date them of being mainly from after the mid 17th century, may be with exception of the horizontal rectangular ones, placed along the external upper wall front of the central main nave, a type which is already recognizable during the second half of the 16th century, as seen e.g. at the front façade of the Cathedral of Angra do Heroísmo (fig. 19) dating from 1568.

The windows from the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 21-24, 33, 34, 37, 41, 46, 52, 64, 68 and 69), not varying so much in shape, being in general of nearly quadrangular (but even though still slightly rectangular) shape, are framed by slight narrow quadrangular window jambs and heads, their leaks opening in skew form inwards to the church/Sacristy. We find these kinds of windows at the Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal (fig. 102), from 1590, as well as Jesuit College and Church, Funchal (fig. 105), projected in 1595 and constructed 1624, with the particularity of the latter ones sidle overlapping window heads, in the same way as at the frontal windows of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*. The backside window from the Sacristy makes part of the same group, even it is (as it is the door) worked in a more 'rough' form.

They pre-date the description given by Kubler about the variety of geometric forms of window jambs and cills, but, compared with the ones from Funchal, stick into the previous period of round about second half/end of 16th century and beginning of 17th century, which could be an indication of a later re-constructed main façade of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* as initially thought.

The second lateral right window (fig. 69), skewed in diagonal plan such as to the exterior as to the interior of the building could date from slightly later, according to Kubler (Kubler, n.d., 153).

We have no comparative example of the window/wall niche existent in the Sacristy (fig. 62), so that we can only try to date it by its own shape, which could be, according to its 'classic' cornice and notches of supposing second half/end of 16th century till maximum 1700.

The windows from the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco*, as well as the one topping the cloister area (supposing from the former Sacristy) and the proper three round arched ones resting from the *cells*, are dividable into the round arched large windows (*cells*, *Camerin*) (fig, 34, 43, 44 45) and the wide rectangular, nearly quadrangular lateral side windows (fig. 46, 60), skewed towards inside of the building. An exception is the frontal main façade window, in quadrangular shape, (fig. 55), skewed as well as to the interior as to the exterior of the Church, corresponding to the description given by Kubler for one of the characteristics of windows, accentuated by the Restoration.

For the windows of the Chapel of *S. Roque*, without window heads and jambs, seemingly reconstructed, we have no comparative examples.

3.3.4 Arches, columns and pilasters

We can identify three types of arches in Ribeira Grande: first, the one from the entrance to the side Chapel in Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (together with its beside lying 'blind' one), pointed arches in obtuse shape, and second, the ones in round arch shape, well recognizable on the photos from the beginning of the 20th century from the Cathedral. The third type belongs to openings, which are not arches in their strict sense but belong to the leaks of the bell towers/belfries, as well as other leaks, and will be mentioned in this case separately, referring mainly to their varying shapes.

The two obtuse arches (1.2.4, fig. 70-74), of limestone, canted from their outside and inside, with impost frieze and base molding (the one from the chapel), have their homologous in a high number of mainly entrance doors, as can be seen e.g. at the Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520 (fig. 4 and 70), the Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510 (fig. 11), the Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540, (fig. 50), the Cathedral, Funchal,1500 till 1514, enlarged 17th/18th/19th/20th century (fig. 71 and 78), the Matrix Church of *Salvador* of St.ª Cruz, Madeira, c. 1508 (fig 74), the Church of *S. Sebastião*, Terceira, c. 1540 (fig. 77), the Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516 (fig. 81) and the Hermitage of *St.º André*, Beja, begin 16th century (fig. 84), but are also to find inside the churches, as it is the case of the proper Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, Alcatraz, on Santiago Island, Cape Verde, from c. 1500 (fig. 80) and the Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira, 1510-1608 (fig. 130).

They appear in numerous variations, with or without friezes and base moldings, simple or ornamented with multiple sculptured bands/nerves running along their sides, with narrow or with wide frames, and they all date from the end of 15th, beginning of 16th century.

In case of the side Chapel from *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, its poor floral (roses) and maritime (ropes) ornamentation at the friezes (fig. 71, 73 and 74), as well as their (both) canted corners, indicate us an early stage of Manuelin style, which corresponds with the indicated date of initiation of the side Chapel's construction (1495).

The round arches visible at the black and white photos from the Cathedral (fig. 28, 52, 54-56), relating to some still standing rests of their pilasters, could have been possibly, due to the recognizable porosity of their limestone, even of local origin (in this case from Maio, as indicated in Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 350).

The in parts huge round arches, dividing the naves from the crossing, the crossing from the lateral cells and from the Chancel, the naves and the side chapels in between them, framing the side chapel wall niches as well as the main chapel area towards the *Camarin*, had most of them pedestals to be based on as well as moulded impost friezes.

They might have looked similar like the ones we can see in our sample, from the Cathedral of Portalegre, 1556-1571, 16th/17th/18th century (fig. 116 and 117), based upon quadrangular columns and pillars (Fig. 52, 54, 61). They are datable to the same period of time, beginning of second half of 16th century, at time of the begin of the construction of the Cathedral, which would in this case indicate a limestone coming from Portugal. Meanwhile, for the still today *in situ* standing pilaster (1.2.1, fig. 50, 54, 81 and 82), belonging to the round arch which bridged the Crossing towards the Chancel as well as towards the second lateral right (southern) cell, we could find no homologous example in our sample. To sub-line is its canted shape and visible order above the height of its impost.

The rest of the found leaks crowned in arch form are from belfries and bell towers, as well as from the inner arch of the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco*, which we, due to lack of supporting and framing elements treat here as a mere opening (1.2.5, fig. 45). They are all crowned with round arches, while the time span of their construction clasps nearly two centuries, starting with the leaks to support the bells at the bell tower of Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, reaching till the above mentioned arch (also designated as 'arch of triumph').

Even though the gothic and late gothic period was characterized, as mentioned before, by its pointed and ogee arches, the round arch continued to exist throughout these periods, as can be seen on the examples of our sample at the belfry openings (fig. 4, 9 and 11), or even inside the temples, as to observe above the main altar of the Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, Alcatraz, Santiago Island, c. 1500 (fig. 80) or as window heads, as to see in the section drawing of the Chapel of *Encarnação* of Funchal, 1520-1540 (fig. 60). So do the leaks of the bell tower of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* fit in its supposed construction date (1495). So does also the arch between the nave and presbytery in the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (second half of 17th century).

Other leaks (unframed windows with visible order, e.g. of *S. Francisco*) as the in flattened segmental arch into the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* prolonged skewed door and window leaks are in our opinion not an indicator of later periods (i.e. the Baroque, where segmental arched door and window heads became usual), but usual for the construction of the proper order, even when the window/door was topped with horizontal door head, as it is well visible at some of the windows from the Chancel area of the Cathedral. (1.2.1, fig. 79, 80).

3.3.5 Pedestals

The still resting pedestals of the columns/pilasters of the Cathedral (1.2.1, fig. 83-91) show all at their cornices and bases, as before mentioned, parts of the Roman modification of the Greek molding, even though wear out due to time and the quite soft limestone. For the types

of pedestals placed at the right side, between the first and second transept (lateral right side chapels) cells, we found homologous examples at the portal from the Church of the Jesuit College in Funchal (fig. 121), project from 1595, constructed in 1624, showing in one case similar rectangular notches at its dado, as well as similar applications of the before mentioned moldings at cornices and bases. Other examples of similar moldings could be found at the Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590 (fig. 119, 120), as well as at cornices and bases of pilasters of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Carmo*, Funchal, c.1660 till 1680 (fig. 122 and 126). This could date these pedestals from any time between the beginnings of construction of the Cathedral till its finalization period.

3.3.6 Vaults (including ribs, tiercrones, pendants, corbels and bosses)

The stellar vault of the side chapel of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 75, 76), in flattened (pointed) shape, with transverse-, wall-, diagonal- and ridge ribs as well as tiercerons, placed on at the wall fixed ornamented pendants and corbels in each corner of the chapel (as described in chapter 6), matches with the second type of vaults described by T. Chicó (Chicó, 2005, 157, 158). Referring to the coverings of the late gothic/Manuelin period, he describes them as the ones which 'have as their main tendency the use of flattened vaults, placed upon segmented arches which rest on corbels. Further on, he describes them as 'the ones of four pointed stars (star or stellar vaults, with intermediate ribs), with or without ogives'.

We found examples of this type of vaulted coverings in our sample from the Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540 (fig. 59, 60, 114 and 115), where the ribs and tiercerons, as well as the pendants and corbels fixed at the walls/corners are well recognizable. Complementary, at the crossing points of the ribs/tiercerons (knots) are placed bosses. In this case, these rib-vaults cover the main chapel as well as the nave of the temple.

Further on, localized in one of its side chapels, the Cathedral of Funchal (fig. 135 and 136), as well as the Matrix Church of *St.ª Cruz*, Terceira (chapel erected in 1456, matrix Church in 1517) (fig. 137) and the Hermitage of *St.º Amaro*, Beja, begin of 16th century, reconstructed in 1620 (fig. 138) possess similar rib-vaulting, meanwhile in other shapes (but all of them being star vaults, with exception of the one from the Hermitage of *St.º Amaro*).

The same type appears in the Legislative Assembly of Funchal, begin of construction c. 1516 (fig. 140), from which we have (as well as from the rib-vaulting from the Cathedral of Funchal, fig. 139) images of the pendants and corbels, which indicate a similar shape and ornamentation.

In comparison to our sample we can affirm that the rib-vaulted covering of the side chapel from the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* in Ribeira Grande must date from the same period of time (end of 15th, beginning of 16th century), which fits with the indicated construction date of 1495, meanwhile the example in Ribeira Grande is sort of coarse in its shape and measurement of the ribs/tiercerons (in sturdy rectangular and trapeze-form), as well as poorly ornamented in comparison with our examples given from the sample.

Note: in most comparative examples of our sample from Azores and Madeira, we recognize the appliacation of local material (basaltic stone) in door and window frames, arches,

columns, pilasters, ribs, tiercerons, pendants, corbels, bosses as well as pedestals (*cantaria rija* and *cantaria mole*).

3.3.7 Roofs (types of coverings, as well as roof tiles)

Not much known is about the types of covering which would have existed in Ribeira Grande. We can affirm so far that, beside the probable initial thatched 'hut-churches', it must have existed mostly the type of gable roof, as the still standing (and recovered) temples indicate (Church and Convent of *S. Francisco* (1.2.5, fig. 19), the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 17, 19), If in between them would have existed the version of the three-sloped hip roof, as the (seemingly arbitrarily) reconstructed Chapel of *S. Roque* indicates (1.2.12, fig. 20), and as it is shown through the examples chosen from our sample (e.g. fig. 1, 46, 47, 49, 52, 61), is not clearly to answer. The base plans indicate this possibility, but also the first version, the gable roof, is absolute possible, and due to the existent of relatively high number of simple rectangular 'box-church' typologies also most probable. The exception also in this case is the Cathedral, where we can clearly understand through the recreated elevations (1.2.1, fig. 13-16, 18 and 19) according to the information obtained through the illustrations and the engraving, that would have existed gable, three-and four sloped hip roofs, as well as lean-to roofs.

The interior covering, as partly seen and mentioned before, could have been varying in between partially rib-vaulted coverings (if, probably mostly during the first period), mixed with wooden timber coverings as well as pure wooden timber coverings (e.g. Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira 1510-1608, fig. 143) and, as a third slight possibility, a (partial) barrel vault covering, and this only in case of the Cathedral. Even though, the example of the Cathedral, Portalegre, 1556-1571, 16th/17th/18th century (fig. 116 and 117) gives us an example which could also serve as one possible version of the one which could have existed in the Cathedral: partially barrel-vaulted, partially rib-vaulted. Note: we don't mention the segmental vault of the Chapel of *S. Roque* due to the aforementioned reason of being most probably an incorrect reconstruction, even though also here is not to exclude with absolute certainty that these types of vaults wouldn't have existed in the later constructed temples.

Concerning to the type of tiles, it is to suppose that, beside broken parts found during excavations done (e.g. 1.2.6, fig. 28, which meanwhile could also partially have belonged to the proper wall construction itself, as well as to former water pipes or channels) or simply *in situ* (e.g. 1.2.13, fig. 20), it would have been the mission/Spanish type of tile, as indicated through rests *in situ* at the Chancel and the Sacristy area of the Cathedral (1.2.1, fig. 78, 80, 104-106), as well as through the ones found in the round about of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 147), which, indicated by locals, would have belonged to it before restoration works done. Meanwhile, latter ones could have made part of a former restoration process (e.g. of the 60th).

This supposition fits with the found types of tiles at the comparative religious buildings (fig. 7, 30, 141) as well as on further normal habitation buildings (fig. 97).

3.3.8 Masonry (way of construction, as well as wall tiles)

All visible wall remains from the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande, from the Cathedral 1.2.1, fig. 64, 65 (reconstructed), 66), Church and Hospital of *Misericórdia* (1.2.2, fig. 29-34),

Episcopal Palace (1.2.3, fig. 18-20), Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (1.2.6, fig. 16, 18), Jesuit College (1.2.7, fig. 18-21), Church of *Monte Alverne* (1.2.14, fig. 19, 21-23), Church and Convent of *S. Francisco* (1.2.5, fig. 35, 50-52), Church of *S. Pedro* (1.2.12, fig. 14-18), Chapel of *S. Roque* (1.2.12, fig. 29), Chapel of *S. Çonçalo* (1.2.10, fig. 15-19), Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º António* (1.2.13, fig. 18, 19), as well as the not plastered back and part of lateral left side façade from the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 36-40) show us clearly the construction in the already so often mentioned way of *opus incertum* (masonry of not carved/not chiselled basaltic stones, filled in with smaller ones and broken tile pieces, bounded in white-grey calc or calc-sand mortar).

As the religious buildings from our sample are generally well conserved, we could only find a small part of not plastered wall inside the middle room between the Sacristy and the *casa de prata* of the Church of *S. Pedro* of Funchal (fig. 147), which indicates us a very similar way of masonry, in *opus incertum*, being not carved/not chiselled basaltic stones and tile pieces bonded in mortar visible. We would like to extend this example and affirm that in general this would have been probably also the masonry of the comparative religious buildings.

Plaster remains, e.g.at parts of the wall of the Cathedral, at the rests of the bell tower from *Misericórdia*, at the 'naked' part of walls of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, at the walls of the Church and Convent of *S. Francisco* as well as at small parts of the Church of *S. Pedro* and even at the wall remains from the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, indicate us a general plastering of the inside (i.e. of the side Chapel of *Rosário*), as well as outside walls. If this affirmation could be extended to all religious buildings is meanwhile not clear, one or another from the smaller ones could have stayed without plaster.

Concerning to the quoin stones, we would affirm that this way of construction would have been in use in Ribeira Grande for at least the larger buildings (i.e. Cathedral, 1.2.1, fig. 92, 93, Church of Convent of *S. Francisco*, 1.2.5, fig. 61, 62, Church of *Misericórdia*, 1.2.2, fig. 20, 31, 38, 39, 41, Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, 1.2.4, fig. 37, 49, 116-119), but that their way of alignment seems to be not so compact as at most of the compared religious buildings (fig. 106-111), where it also includes smaller temples (fig. 9, 12), substituting at them in parts the necessity of buttresses.

Mortar *in situ* with tile marks could be found at several building remains: Cathedral (1.2.1, fig. 107, 108), Church of Convent of *S. Francisco* (1.2.5, 82-84), Jesuit College (no fig.) as well as Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (1.2.6, fig. 31). Latter one, as well as the small exposed depressions before mentioned inside the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, were the only ones to show proper tiles *in situ* (1.2.6, fig. 33, and 1.2.4, fig. 145, 146, 151). Two photos from the 60th made inside the nave from the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* show us still original tiles along the wall (fig. 27, 148).

These found patterns (including the ones from the archaeological excavations, see Annex 2.4 and Appendix 1.4) were all from the second half of the 17th century, beside the small amount of *hispano-moresque* and monochrome types from the beginning of the 16th century. The pattern from the *tapete* type tiles, glazed yellow and blue (above white background) tiles, including their *frisos* and *rodapés*, all from round about 1670, origin of Lisbon, correspond to the same pattern we can identify along the walls of some religious buildings of our sample (fig. 146, 152 and 155).

3.3.9 Floors

We can identify three main types of floors applied in the religious buildings: first, the red-brown ceramic floor of *burro* type, found in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 144-146) and in the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (1.2.5, fig. 72.78), meanwhile it is not clear if the identified ceramic floor tiles positioned as door cills between the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo* and the Governors house did extend over the proper chapel floor (1.2.10, fig. 23 and 24). This type of ceramic floor, datable from probably round about 1500 (*Rosário*) till at least end of 17th century (*S. Francisco*), found out of context, broken into pieces, also on two of the sites of the archaeological excavations in large amount (Church of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, 1.2.6, fig. 28, 29, as well as on the site of the Jesuit College, no fig., please see Annex 2.4), was identified in our sample inside the Church of the Jesuit College from Funchal (fig. 133). It appears in Ribeira Grande in several sizes and different forms of tile alignments, forming different pattern (compare 1.2.4, fig. 144-146, and 1.2.5, 72-80).

The second type, flat medium sized grey flagstones, placed in parts in the surrounding compartments of the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (1.2.5, fig. 77), as well as in limited areas inside the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 59) could be identified, in a quite similar but there much more elaborated application way, inside the Chapel of *Corpo Santo* of Funchal, 1470-1520 (fig. 128).

The third type, floor made out of small grey and round cobble stones, appearing in Ribeira Grande inside the *cell* area of the Convent of *S. Francisco* (1.2.5, fig. 85, 87 and 88) partially with geometric ornamentation made out of aligned inlayed broken brown tile pieces (1.2.5, fig. 87), was also found during the excavation in 2007 in the site of the Jesuit College (see Annex 2.4, 2007 report, fig. 11A), as well as in 2006 inside the Hospital of *Misericórdia* (1.2.2, fig. 40). It appears in Ribeira Grande partially also in habitation areas (*Rua da Banana*) as well as in an ancient habitation floor found by instance in 2006 river bed upwards, in which the design includes aligned bone pieces (no fig.). A fourth place where it exists is in parts of the houses aligned with the Governors house, inside the Royal Fortress of *S. Felipe* (no fig.). In our sample, we could identify this type of floor, beside in front of a lateral door of the Chapel of *Corpo Santo* of Funchal, 1470-1520, (fig. 129) as well as in the first parallel to the *Marginal* in Funchal running street (fig. 134), inside the Church of the Jesuit College, Funchal (fig. 131). It seems that this type of floor is connected to surrounding areas (yards, streets, places) as well as partially to the inside of functional/habitation areas. It doesn't seem to appear in general inside of proper strict sacred ones.

An exception of floor seem to make the three square 'tile' pieces found inside the Chapel of *S. Gonçalo*, from which the shape, the material (hard, nearly stone-like ceramic) and the colour differe from any type of floor we could identify. Beside this, the surrounding, extremely irregular, tile marks could indicate a general *burro* type floor as such, where these three 'tiles', for any reason, were the exception. (1.2.10, fig. 21 and 22).

The type of wooden floor of boards or planks, as seen inside the Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira, 1510-1608 (fig. 130), couldn't be found in Ribeira Grande, even though we know that after the attack from Jaques Cassard in 1712, 'the Bishop D. Fr. Francisco started immediately to re-erect the Episcopal Palace by '(...) putting wooden lining and covering, such as putting wooden floor' (Madeira Santos, 2002, Vol. III, 372). Another wooden floor could have existed in the dormitories of the Convent, as we have seen by describing the

horizontal aligned holes found below the window level, which indicate seemingly a former wooden floor level (chapter 6).

The Cathedral, as already mentioned, didn't show any indication of pavement. Once again, the obviously restored or even reconstructed/exchanged floor of the Chapel of *S. Roque* (1.2.12, fig. 34) can't be taken in consideration, for the same already before mentioned reason.

3.3.10 Others (stair case towers, buttresses,wall niches, stoups, ancones)

Several further constructive and structural elements have to be mentioned in comparison:

- the stair case tower of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 21, 23, 49, 95), which was initially thought to be of Moorish influence, could be identified in similar shapes adjoined to several comparative buildings: to the Hermitage of *S. Brás*, Évora, 1480 – 1490 (fig. 2), obviously of Moorish influence; to the Church of *S. Domingos*, Viana do Castelo 1566 -1576 (fig. 16), north of Portugal and by supposition not of Moorish influence, as well as to the from Portuguese constructed Castle and Palace of Gondar in Ethiopia, 1632 (fig. 25). Unfortunately, we have no further details about construction as well as of the proper stairs, which in Ribeira Grande are shaped out of limestone, in one piece each and in propeller form (1.2.4, fig. 101-103);

- the buttresses ('setback buttresses') from the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 28, 105), both in different size and shape, couldn't be identified in this form in our sample, meanwhile the first lateral right one, the larger and more irregular one, could indicate that they could have been possibly originally of the type of buttresses found e.g. at the Chapel of *S. Gerônimo* of Lisbon (fig. 10, without topping), at the Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540 (fig. 107) or at the Cathedral of Funchal (fig. 109), later on having been mortared and plastered;

- wall niches could be found in Ribeira Grande inside the second lateral right cell/side chapel of the southern transept of the Cathedral (1.2.1, fig. 62, 63), at the exterior (and probably former interior of the Sacristy) of the southern façade wall of its Chancel area (1.2.1, fig. 49), as well as right side inside the nave of the Church of the Convent of *S. Francisco*, at height of the steps towards the presbytery (1.2.5, fig. 47), latter one comparable to the one identified in the Church of the Jesuit College of Funchal (fig. 152), the second example from the Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590, (fig. 153), varying in shape of its head;

- the three stoups, placed respectively right side to the three external access doors of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 155, 156, 158), are simple in shape without any ornamentation, in contrary to the richly chiselled exemplar which we can see from the Chapel of *St.ª Catarina* of Funchal, 1480, reconstructed in 1720 (fig. 157), its ornamentation being seemingly of late gothic/early Manuelin origin.

- the two ancones, flanking the entrance arch towards the side chapel of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, fig. 90-94), probably aimed to support the former wooden floor beams of the high Choir, as before mentioned. For them couldn't be identified homologous

parts, even though fig. 154 from the Church of *S. Pedro* of Funchal, 1590, indicates us a similar constructive solution;

- the vertical ancones in scroll shape, flanking right and left of the stairs towards the presbytery of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (1.2.4, 157, 160). For them couldn't be found any homologous parts either. What we could identify meanwhile are ancones in scroll shape, supporting the pulpit in the Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590, (fig. 150), which slightly remind us the before mentioned ones, which, in any way, seem to be out of place (compare the similar presbytery access area of the same Church of *S. Pedro* (fig. 155, 156) as well as the one of the Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira 1510-1608 (fig. 145).

3.4 Summary of the general resemblances and specific deviations of ways of construction and implantation in comparison between Ribeira Grande and the mainland, as well as other colonies

The following is an overview to list the resume of the main similarities, the main differences as well as exceptions obtained by comparing the religious buildings of Ribeira Grande with the sample of religious buildings from the mainland of Portugal as well as of other former colonies. This list will include the results obtained before, through comparison with the described typologies and architectural styles in Portugal at the same period as well as the ones obtained through comparison of implantation with other urban nucleuses.

The criteria are the before mentioned ones: building typology, architectural styles, ways of construction, materials, ornamentation and urban localization. Each criteria is sub- divided into the points: 'similar' (means that the found characteristics in Cape Verde are similar to the ones in the motherland and colonies) and 'different' (means that the found characteristics, individually marked through 'R.G.' for 'Ribeira Grande' and 'P.C.' for 'Portugal and colonies', differ from each other. Attempts where we couldn't find a respective comparable example (comparing Ribeira Grande to Portugal and the mainland, as characteristics found there which we couldn't identify in Ribeira Grande) or reach a reliable conclusion are categorized under the point 'inconclusive', marked with 'R.G' or 'P.C.' which refers to the place of the described characteristic. Under the point 'Exception' we name derivations to the general tendencies described under the points 'similar' and 'different', equally marked by 'R.G.' or 'P.C.', depending where the exception is from.

3.4.1 Building typologies and typological details

- **Similar:** vernacular thatched 'hut-church' temples; 'box-church' temples; 'battery-shape' temples; Latin cross shape temple; with or without frontal flanking bell tower(s); with or without topping small belfry; bell towers with or without pyramidal hip roof topping; gable or hip roofs (three or four slopes), lean-to roofs; all temples with or without lateral adjoined Sacristies and/or side chapels; all temples with or without internal side chapels; with or without backside *Camarin*/Sacristies; functional and representative parallelepiped buildings; Convent (church with adjoined cloister and cells);

- **Different:** relatively high number of 'box-church' temples (R.G.); comparatively low number of 'battery-shape' temples (R.G.); only one temple of three naves (R.G.); no

igreja salão typology (R.G.); no small centralized plan shape typologies (R.G.); no 'overloaded' main façades (R.G.); relatively high number of Sacristies adjoined to the back (R.G.); relatively high number of *Camarins* (R.G.); low number of adjoined *casas de prata* (R.G.); comparative low number of Convents (one) (R.G.);

- **Exception:** none;

- **Inconclusive:** main façades with main entrance door and without frontal windows (P.C.); temples without topping belfry (P.C.); medium/large church with topping small belfry (*S. Francisco*) (R.G.);

3.4.2 Implantation in the urban fabric

- **Similar:** stand out sites;

- **Different:** elevated sites (R.G); isolated/detached sites, inside and outside the main urban fabric (R.G.); mostly connected to sea or water ways, instead of to main roads or streets (R.G.); temples partly nearby or inside defence structures (R.G.);

- **Exception:** one church placed at a square (*Misericórdia*) (R.G.); one church aligned along a main street inside a part of the town (*N.ª S.ª do Rosário*) (R.G.).

3.4.3 Construction details

- **Similar:** masonry in *opus incertum*; partly stone rib-vaulted, partly with wooden timber covering; alternating number of altar steps; partially with adjoined stair case tower; with or without buttresses; with or without quoin stones; mission/Spanish roof tiles; same floor types;

- **Different:** no depressed central nave area (R.G.);

- **Exception:** none;

- **Inconclusive:** flattened segmental vault construction (R.G.); barrel vault construction (P.C.);

3.4.4 Materials

- **Similar:** application of local stones for masonry; lime or calc-sand mortar ('coarse stuff'); lime plaster; clay for tiles (roof and floor ones); (basalt) stones for floor; in part marble for tombstones;

- **Different:** mostly imported chiselled limestone for structural elements (R.G.); seemingly no application of local material till second half/end of 17th century (R.G.);

- **Exception;** none;

3.4.5 Forms of structural elements

- **Similar:** same door/window shapes and types; same arch shapes and types; same vault (including ribs, tiercerons, pendants, corbels and bosses) shapes and types; same

column and pilaster shapes and types; same pedestal shapes and types; same roof types;

- **Different:** none
- **Exception:** none;
- **Inconclusive:** ancones to presbytery area (*N.ª S.ª do Rosário*); window/wall niche Sacristy (*N.ª S.ª do Rosário*); ancones for high Choir (*N.º S.ª do Rosário*); Chancel door (nr. 2) of Cathedral; canted pilaster Cathedral;

3.4.6 Ornamentation

- **Similar:** same moldings; same cornice and frieze ornamentation; same tile types (*hispano-moresque*, monochrome, *tapete* type);
- **Different:** generally poorer in differentiation and number (R.G.);
- **Exception:** none;
- **Inconclusive:** ancon ornamentation 3rd door of Cathedral (R.G.);

3.4.7 Architectural styles

- **Similar:** vernacular style; late Gothic/Manuelin style; Renaissance style; Mannerist style; Classicism influence;
- **Different:** none;
- **Exception:** none;
- **Inconclusive:** proto-Baroque (R.G.);

Conclusion and further research possibilities

Throughout our studies, we have approached the urbanization of Ribeira Grande, the first settlement in the tropic latitudes during the expansion era, as well as its historic religious buildings from several sides.

First of all, we have seen the motivations of the Portuguese explorers, the civil and religious powers behind the conquest of new territories in the Atlantic and along the West African coast, to the opening of the sea ways towards India and Brazil.

We studied the impact which the new wealth had in Portugal and its colonies, and focused inside this picture on the urban implantation and development of Ribeira Grande as obligatory geo-strategic passing point in the routes of navigation and as centre of the slave trade. With the first settlers came the first missionaries, so that we concentrated on the important role which the Catholic Church played inside the growing local society as well as for the latinization of the new labour force coming from the West African coast.

This role of the Catholic Church led to the construction of local chapels and churches, and, after Cape Verde became the Diocese of the Islands and the West African coast, to the construction of its representative buildings, the Cathedral as well as the Episcopal Palace. Besides looking at the structure and the functioning of the ecclesiastic corpus we studied the different roles which most of the religious buildings occupied as well as their different construction phases and ways of financing. Even particular personal engagement through beliefs, as it was the case with several lay and ecclesiastic personalities, as well as testamentary estate drove forward construction and maintenance of local religious buildings. But in most cases, there was no trace to be found of the planners and builders (*mestres de obras* and military engineers) which must have existed according to custom.

We have seen them emerging under mostly difficult circumstances, due to the arbitrary exposition to several damaging external influences from pillages, as well as the fast decline in which Ribeira Grande fell after its short apogee, caused by the loss of importance for the routes of the slave trade.

Of most of the religious buildings, which, beside chapels/hermitages and churches, included the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace as well as one Church and Hospital of *Misericórdia*, one Convent, one Jesuit College and one Seminary, only a few ruins and their vanishing remains are left today, of some of them not even their site is known. Only four of the buildings received major re-construction or consolidation interventions.

By studying the accessible historic documentation, which included some remaining iconographic material, as well as by conducting surveys done *in situ*, we tried to collect the maximum of obtainable information about each building, afterwards trying to define them verbally and visually as much as and as detailed as possible.

By analyzing the constructive and structural remains which survived, we tried to classify their typologies, their architectural styles, the ways of construction, the applied structural and constructive elements and ornamentations, comparing them in the next step to the defined

typologies and styles for the historical period of the study. Afterwards, we took a sample of typical religious buildings from Portugal and other colonies of the same period and brought them into a detailed comparison, so that we had a double cross check, able to visualize and describe the found resemblances and deviations in detail.

Being aware that each religious building has its special and personal constructive and reconstructive history as well as a functional and symbolic role which it fulfils, our aim was to find out through comparison more of their general shown tendencies and the general represented architectural styles and typologies, and not so much the personal characteristics of each one of them seen separately.

Regarding to the initial hypothesis, which was the starting point for our extended research, that the religious buildings, constructed in Ribeira Grande mainly between the 15th and the 17th century (with one exception), show some particular characteristics in response to the specific local conditions, even though they followed constructive pre-existent models from the kingdom of Portugal and other of its colonies, we can conclude that they indeed followed the typologies and styles applied during the respective time span.

For most of their constructive and structural elements, with exception of three ones, we could find homologous or at least very similar parts at the structures in Portugal and other colonies which served as comparison, as well as we could find in the formerly described particularities, which shows us a clear orientation and following of the already pre-existent, disseminated and applied forms from the mainland. But also from the three not clearly to identifiable forms (the standing ancones at the presbytery steps of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, its Sacristy window/wall niche, as well as the door with half scrolled ancones and rounded door head/jambs in the Chancel area of the Cathedral), we start from the assumption that these followed forms of similar models applied elsewhere, simply by the fact that they had been imported from overseas and were not produced locally. Seemingly we weren't simply lucky enough to have chosen equivalent ones when defining our sample.

All of the identified typologies and architectonic styles, as before mentioned, and having in mind the particular and local variations of the comparative buildings, fit into the described and observed ones. So does in general their way of construction and applied ornamentation.

But it is exactly at this point that we have to stress their particular characteristics, which do not differ as such through *per se* different forms, styles or ornamentation, but simply through their 'poorer' and in general less differentiated application of the given models.

Their typologies as well as their ways of construction are of strong vernacular character, vernacular in the sense of being a kind of 'rural' (rougher, more simplified and less elaborated) variant of the otherwise mostly more differentiated and elaborated religious buildings on the mainland as well as of other colonies.

The relatively high number of simple rectangular 'box-church' temple shapes, as well as their small or medium size, their simple construction with rough *opus incertum* masonry as well as the minimal ornamentation on the structural elements (e.g. the reduced Manuelin ornamentation and rough forms of the constructive parts inside the lateral side chapel of the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, as well as its very simplified Manuelin bell tower door) are all indications of a poorer or even faster and less carefully executed construction. But even at the

representative symbols of the ecclesiastic power, the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace, the finalization works stayed with constructive parts missing (the presumably finished buildings stayed incomplete since some construction parts were never built in, e.g. as we saw through the inexistent pavement of the Cathedral), or had to resort to compromise solutions. Why this happened we did already see by studying the process of rise and decline of Ribeira Grande as well as the often troubled construction phases of each of the religious buildings.

Ribeira Grande as well as its new society forming by crioulization was a melting pot and experimental laboratory for races, cultures, plants and animals, but its religious structures, guided strictly and severe from the mainland, were not subjected to and mixed up with these factors, but simply subjugated and locally adapted to the living conditions and mostly vulnerable circumstances of its quite isolated and experimental position.

The question if its isolation from the mainland would have also influenced, in delay as well as in form of local application, the architectural styles as well as the construction itself from the religious buildings, can still not be answered clearly. Sure is that its distance to the mainland complicated already difficult processes even more, which had its reflection on the fluidity of construction, of re-construction as well as on ornamentation processes, and by loosing more and more importance in the routes of navigation some negligence and falling into oblivion did its share. Further major impact had the several destructive raids and pillaging.

But another factor, namely the structure and reason of existence of the local society itself, lead to these variation factors as to the only two real differences we could observe throughout our studies:

1. the nearly exclusive use of material imported from the mainland for constructive and structural elements, imported as finished parts only to be assembled locally on the construction site (i.e. door frames, window frames, columns, pedestals, ribs, partly wood, but also clay, calc, lime, tiles and ceramic in general);

2. the high number of the religious buildings as well as their mainly varied isolated and detached localization sites inside the urban fabric and its immediate surrounding areas.

Referring to the first difference, the parts like all stonework for structural elements and the tiles having been imported readymade from Portugal, this leads to a number of thoughts.

As an important and meaningful part of the colonization and Christianization of the tropics, that is, of the transplantation of society, civilization and moral world from the mainland to the island, the religious buildings have not only been imported as a finished idea, but literally as a finished product.

The import of building parts seems to fit the results regarding what is more similar to Portugal and what deviates: the typology and the iconography are strictly cultural, imported, as are details and some materials. But the site, where the building stands, and the execution, how it is erected or assembled and how well, are by definition local, that is, they can vary depending on the situation. These are parameters with certain adaptability by necessity. It would be interesting to know whether they deviate more from the norm (i.e. of the buildings in Portugal) than in other colonies:

Further topics of study, concerning certain construction, reconstruction as well as ornamentation phases of some of the investigated buildings, could be realized to try to find out why only three main types of tiles, differing in c. one century of time of creation, could be found till now in the whole area of Ribeira Grande. And why, if there would have been a re-ornamentation phase during the second half/end of the 17th century, as the facts indicate, no related reports and documents could be identified.

And who really planned and built the buildings? In Europe, as well as sent to the colonies, there were the travelling craftsmen, which could learn from different places. That assumed a sufficient number of well-paid building sites to support such a culture.The small chapels were seemingly erected by laymen. We know about the *mestres de obras* and military engineers in the mainland, but in Ribeira Grande, there may not have been more than one or two 'specialists', if at all, and some more who stayed temporarily. For the construction itself, did the workers come from the local community, where they slaves or where they even soldiers ordered to work on the job? Whoever built the churches could have a large impact on the degree of dedication of the people, the organization of the site, the need to pay the people and the capability (and limitations) for certain complexity of structures.

Referring to the second difference, the higher numbers of religious buildings would have been influenced on one hand by the ecclesiastic outstanding position Ribeira Grande was holding by becoming see of the Diocese. On the other hand, their generally higher and isolated localization is given through the own rough topography of its implantation terrain. But the main reason which explains the local deviations from the norm in Portugal is also probably in this case the on trade and ship supply as well as on the agro-merchandized self subsistence based society of European settlers inside the medieval appearing structure of *capelas e morgados*, sustained through the labour of the native Africans integrated by force. The religious buildings did not, as initially supposed, serve mainly for the latinization process of the slaves, but had their reason of existence in maintaining a society formed, dominated and marked by European beliefs and costumes.

As the Christianization of the world was a major drive for the explorers and colonizers, and the Church the authority of the Portuguese state (or parallel and stronger than the worldly authorities), then importing the signs and physical proof of their taking possession was meaningful and critical. Putting a cross on top of high places is a powerful statement (both to the locals and the ships arriving), a statement not so much needed in Portugal, where Christianity was not questioned, but very important in the 'wilderness'. Subsequently, the mass was performed where the cross was, and the chapel was built where the cross was. In other cases, the religious building may have been put at a higher place from the beginning in order to function as the 'sign'.

Of further interest to study would be the immediate relationship between the temples, their promoters or founders, as well as the believers, which had obviously direct impact on the way of implantation, ornamentation, re-construction, use and maintenance of the temples. Even though we know that the documentation is rare, mostly lost due pillages as well as simple negligence, one possible way could be the continuing purposeful extended research in archives, another one the focus on the tombstones found with special attention to their identification.

Another research line could be the separate comparison of the found and determined architectonic elements and typologies of Ribeira Grande with each of the other former colonies separately, examining and considering more closely their specific local resemblances and deviations, bringing together specific characteristics according to the different phases and periods of colonization throughout the Atlantic Islands till Brazil or even the Orient.

We are still not sure about some of the places where certain religious buildings which are supposed to have existed would have been sited. There are even still some doubts about if some of them would have even existed, and there remains the possibility that some buildings existed without any known traces in documents or on site, which would have made part of the whole of the ones of Ribeira Grande. Also in this case, specific research in archives as well as further archaeological excavations could help to hopefully clarify in the future.

While the transition of religious architectural models from the medieval age into the modern epoch has been described by the unnamed author of the 'XVII Exposição Europeia de Arte, Ciência e Cultura' (1983, 12),

> 'It's not a matter of repetitions but of re-creations; of artistic desire, not of staunching',

we conclude that the transition from the Portugal, itself in transition towards the modern epoch, to its colony Ribeira Grande. fell back to the medieval approach of repeating, and of staunching the artistic desire. The local conditions, and not the artistic desire, formed their specific characteristics.

And with every new building being conceived, with its typology, stile, main structural material and ornamentation coming from Portugal, there was no local learning process, no evolution from building to building, no deviation of the deviation of the deviation possible, and therefore no development of an autonomous cultural language.

Glossary

***Achada*:** capeverdean word which designates 'Plateau', often used in combination with a proper name in parts of town of capeverdean urbanizations, to show its localization on a height level.

Aforramento: leasing

***Agostinhos*/Augustinians:** community of clergies who, from the mid-eleventh century on, in Italy and France, adopted the Rule of St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) which required strict personal powerty , celibacy and obedience

Albergarias: lodgings

Aldeamento: Indian village under the direction of a Missionary

Alforria: exemption, legal attest to liberation of slave

***Aljube*:** temporarily ecclesiastic prison (ar. *al-jubb*)

Almoxarife: treasurer of the royal house, person in charge to deposit and to distribute the finances royal, position directly below the purveyor, position which he occupied sometimes accumulative

Almoxarifado: area of administration of the *almoxarife,* responsible for the royal finances

***Altaneiro*:** altar boy, responsible for the altar

Ancon: scrolled bracket or console which supports a cornice or entablature over a door or window

Aparelhadores: 'the one who prepares', for example who putted the first painting

Apophygis/Apophyge: part of a column which is molded into a concave sweep where the shaft springs from the base or terminates in the capital

Arcediago (Archdeacon): senior clergyman having administrative authority delegated by a Bishop

***Arquitectura chã*:** Plain Architecture

Armador: ship owner

***Armário/nicho de parede* (wall niche):** small niche in the side wall of a church/chapel, normally in arch form, to storage utensils

***Asilos* (Asylum):** refugee homes

***Auto-da-fé*:** bonfire

Azinhagoa: lane

Azulejo: 'small polished stone' (from the Arabic *az-zulaiju*), ceramic wall tile

Bandeiras: emblem or protections

Barlavento: windward Islands

Barrel/mission/Spanish roof tile: a clay roofing tile, approximately semi cylindrical in shape, laid in courses with the units having their convex side alternately up and down

'Battery-shape' temples: sub-division of 'box-church' temples, rectangular churches/chapels, with stand out main chapel area, this one being more narrow and lower in size, mostly of one nave

Bead (bead molding): a small convex molding of semicircular or greater profile

Beco: dead end

Bens de raiz: goods

Benedicts: monastic order founded in the 6th century, Saint Benedict in Monte Cassino

Bishop: highest representative below the pope, connected to a Cathedral *(Sé)*

Boçais: slaves imported recently, speaking only their native languages

'Box-church' temples: churches/chapels of simple rectangular ('box') shape, with mostly one nave only

Broken (barrel) arch: a form of segmental arch in which the centre of the arch is omitted and is replaced by a decorative feature

Bula Papal: papal pontifical document, official document from Vatican with legal value

***Brazão de armas* (coat of arms):** identification of a person or family, which distinguished itself, attributed normally by the king. Exceptions were the Ecclesiastics, which attributed coats of arms to themselves. From the 15th century on, cities also started to use them

***Breve*:** pontifical scripture which is not of general interest for the Church

Buttress: exterior mass of masonry set at an angle to or bonded into a wall which it strengthens or supports; buttresses often absorb lateral thrusts from roof vaults

***Cabido* (Chapter):** cathedral's council, grouping of canons instituted to assure the religious service in a Cathedral or *colegiada* church (Lat. *capitulum*)

Cabouqueiro: the ones which openes the trenches for putting the foundation of a building

***Caleiro*:** the one producing and applying lime, chalk, mortar and whitewash

***Camara*:** room destined for a person/repartition for royal or ecclesiastic dispatches

Camarin: room in Church backside the main altar, implemented in special after the Council of Trent, to heighten visually the image

Canneluras: notches

Cantaria: worked (carved, shaped or chiselled) stones for construction

***Cantaria mole*:** expression to describe the material of construction of the window and door frames, such as the frames/*cantarias* and ribs of arches and vaults, built in basaltic brown and soft stone, normally having being painted over

Cantaria rija: the same as *cantaria mole*, just that in this case the basalt stone is grey in colour and harder in consistence

***Canteiro*:** artist who works in *cantaria,* chiselled stones

***Capelas e Morgados*:** chapels and entailed estates

***Capelães* (Chaplain):** below the canons, they give messes and celebrate baptisms in the Chapels of the Cathedral or in Chapels

Capitular: someone who presides over a divine service

***Carmelitas Descalços* (barefoot Carmelits):** monastic order founded in 7th century, reformed in the 16th century by Santa Teresa de Ávila who introduced the norm of barefoot, in Portugal since 1585

Carreiros: conductors of ox cars

Carta Regia: royal letter or royal chart

Casa: Residency

***Casa de Prata* ('silver house'):** side room/annex to the sacristy, where the so called *alfaias religiosas* (religious implements), such as procession crosses, chalices, incenses, *turíbulos*, *caldeirinhas* (small kettles) were in storage. The storage and registry of all the money and financially valuable belongings of the Church were processed in there. Between the Sacristy and the *Casa de Prata* normally was a small intermediate room, to which exclusively the clerics had access

Casa professa: house of the ones which did votes in a religious order

Casublas: sacerdotal vestment to put over the stole

***Cell* (cell):** lodging of a Religious in a Convent

Casa e fazenda: house and farm

Casa e vocação: church or chapel under the invocation

***Cavaleiro fidalgo*:** nobleman

Chalonas (or ***Línguas*):** interpreters, such as ***Tangamãus***

Chancel: part of church near altar

Chanfrado: canted

***Chantre*:** cantor, takes care of the chorus and canticle

Chapel: religious building which responds juridical and belongs canonical to the matrix of the parish, but has independent funds, due to the payment of private persons. They are mostly nearby to Palaces, Fortresses, *Solares* or inside churches or the Cathedral

Choir: the part of the church between the sanctuary and the nave reserved for singers and clergy

Church: main (matrix) religious building of the parish

Cill/ skirting boar: the horizontal bottom member of a window frame or door frame

Cimalha: frame with such salience as height, built by two arches of circumference, the superior concave and the inferior convex, which serves as coping of the cornice

Clasping buttress: a type of buttress which stands out at the corners of the building

Colegiada: collegiate church, ecclesiastic corporation with function of canons in Churches, not subjected to diocesan prelate jurisdiction; Church where does exist this corporation (Lat. *ecclesia collegiate*)

Commenda: honorific benefit conceded to ecclesiastics or to knights of military orders (lat. *commenda*)

***Conceição* (*Imaculada Conceição*-Immaculate Conception):** one of the names of Virgin Mary, present in litanies

Concílio de Trento: Council of Trent

***Cónego* (canon):** clergy connected to a Chapter (conjunction of canons). Clergy of a Cathedral or *colegiada* church, connected to the religious service of the same. They work together with the Bishop and are responsible for the Cathedral, normally between 8 till 12 in number

Confraria: confraternity or brotherhood

Côngrua: what sustains the clergy or conjunction of incomes of a parish, the part of the *fazenda real/régia* which is paid to the Clergy (Lat. *congruentia*)

Convent: building in which lives a religious community. Convents are not paid through the royal treasury, but through charity (Lat. *convenire*)

Conselho Ultramarino: overseas council

Contador: official of the accountancy, verifying the accounts

Contratador: 'the one who contracts', one of the principal economic agents in the Archipelago

***Contratados*:** contracted labourers overseas

Conventual: resident of the Convent

Corbel: a projecting stone which supports a super-incumbent weight

Cornice: horizontal molding in relief along top of internal wall or as top most part of entablature

Corregedor: judge president of juridical circles (Lat. *corrector*)

***Cristãos-novos* ('new Christians'):** to Christianity converted, usually of Arabic or Jewish descendent

***Cristãos-velhos* ('old Christians'):** Christians of origin without Jewish ascendance in their families

Cross of Greek type: a cross with four equal arms

Cross vault: a vault formed by the intersection at right angles of two barrel vaults

Crossing: in larger churches, the space formed at the interception of nave, chancel and transept, often vaulted and with an axial tower above

Cyma recta: a molding of double curvature which is concave at the outer edge and convex at the inner edge

Cyma reversa: a molding of double curvature which is convex at the outer edge and concave at the inner edge

Deão: Dean, most ancient and important canon, president of Chapter;

engenheiro-mor: main engineer

Degredados: political or criminal banished/exiled, partly working as galley slaves in rowing boats, often becoming *Lançados*, and like them turning into an important white ingredient in founding the Creole population;

Dízimo: (tenth part) of all production, tax deductible (Lat. *decima pars*)

Dominicans: monastic order founded in the 7th century by Domingo de Guzmán, special vocation for preach in the situation of heresy risks, particularly important in the overseas territories.

Donatário: recipient

Donzelas: unmarried or virgin women

Empreitada: contract job/enterprise/venture

Door/Window jamb: side post of doorway/window way

Door/Window head: lintel, upper part of a door/window frame

Engenheiro Militar: military engineer (architects)

***Ermida* (hermitage):** isolated Chapels, which are paid by the persons of their neighbourhood (pilgrims etc.)

Escravos fujões* or *Badius: free or escaped slaves, who clung onto the African culture, despised the Portuguese and mostly came to live in remote regions in the interior of the island. ***Badio***, how people from Santiago Island are called in Cape Verde, comes from the Portuguese word ***vadio***, which means the one who strays or who roams about

***Escrivão* (scribe):** writer

Esfera armilar: instrument formed of fix circles which represent the ones of the celestial sphere

***Estaleiro*:** construction and repair site

***Estaleiros e oficinas*:** workshops/construction sites

***Estilo desornamentado*:** undecorated Spanish style, e.g. of the Escorial, 1563-1584

***Estilóbada* (pedestal):** basement part of a column/pillar, normally in rectangular cubic shape, including its profile friezes, formed out of: cornice, dado and base

Extradorso: the exterior curved surface of an arch

***Fábrica*:** administration of the income of a church;

***Fazenda Real/Régia*:** Royal Finance, coming from the kingdom

***Feitorias*:** commercial markets, land administration

Feitors: powerful private business men, mostly white

***Fidalgos*:** noblemen

Fillet: a molding consisting of a narrow flat band, often square in section

***Fogos* ('fires'):** designation of family residencies

Fôros: determined pension/privileges

***Forro*:** space between the ceiling and the roof

Franciscan *Capuchins:* a mendicant order of friars, originated in the 13th century as adherents to the precepts of St. Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226), the Capuchins being an off-shot of the Observants (1529-1617)

Franciscans of *ordem terceira* (third order): are the Poor Clares, a contemplative Order for women, founded by S. Clare, the friend of S. Francis

***Freguesia* (Parish):** territorial divisions, depending on the Bishop, which can include several chapels. Has normally one parish church to which it belongs

Frete: fright/nuisance cargo transportation

Frieze: a decorative band in a stringcourse, or near the top of an interior wall below the cornice

Frontal: hangings which cover the front of the altar

Fronton: a small pediment placed over a door, niche, porch, etc.

Funcos: temporary houses of wood and stones, palm leaves and undergrowth, built up by escaped slaves

Gable roof: a roof having a gable at one or both ends

Gafarias: leprosy Hospitals

Galhetas: vases which contain water and wine for the service of the mass

***Grifos* (Griffin):** fable animal, a mixture of eagle and lion

Groin arch: an arch formed by the intersection of two simple vaults, or: a transverse arch which separates each bay in a vault

Guarda-mor: main guard of the town or city

***Grandes livros de fábrica* (big factory books):** existed for all expenses done related to the maintenance of the churches, such as it is the construction itself, the conservation and the applied ornaments

***Grogue* (sailor's rum):** rum made out of sugar-cane

Hammer-beam roof: a roof supported by hammer-beams

Head: the upper horizontal cross member, between the jambs, which forms the top of a door or window frame

Hip roof: a roof with slopes upward from all four sides of a building, requiring a hip rafter at each corner

***Hispano-moresque* (or *mudejár*) tiles:** tiles of Arabic influence, coming from productions of Spain (mostly Seville). Till c. 1500 the decoration of these tiles was with Moresque motives, in agglomeration of geometric forms. From c.1500 till 1550, the ornamentation of these tiles was mostly inspired by gothic motives, vegetal elements and by chiselled brocades.

Homilia: sermon about the Evangelism pronounced during the mass (Lat. *homilia*)

***Igreja*-salão ('Hall Church'):** a variation of the German *Hallenkirche*, with the three naves of the same height, with vault covering

Intradorso: the interior curved surface of an arch;

Instituidor: founder

Impost: upper course of pillar, carrying the arch

Irmão: monk, brother of Confraternity

Jamb: a vertical member at each side of a door frame, window frame, or door lining

Janela de sacada: salient window, or window with balcony

Juiz dos órfãos, resíduos e capelas: person who is in charge of everything related to testaments

Ladinos: latinised baptised slaves with given Latin name

Lançados: middlemen at Africa's coast, responsible for trade goods and slaves, often being political or religious criminals, whites or *mulattoes* (mostly descendents of white patrons and black slave women, often becoming slaves with better social conditions, working as slave supervisors

***Lanço*:** could mean 'wall section', 'extension of a façade' or 'part of a staircase in between two landings or levels'

Lean-to roof: a shed roof, its higher end abutting a wall or a larger building

Legado: what is left by testamentary disposition to someone who is not legitimate heir; donative.

***Légua* (league):** old itinerary measure which was equivalent to 5 kilometres

***Livros de Fábrica* (big and small ones):** Junction of documents, elaborated by the *mestres de obras*, defining the plans, drawings, processes of elaboration, such as the origin of money expensed for the construction of buildings

Livros de receita e despesa: books of income and expense) would exist in each parish church for noting down and annotating the occurred masses, baptisms, marriages and deaths/funerals, such as further certificates

***locutório*:** speakers' room

***lugarejo*:** means 'small place'

***Meirinho*:** former juridical employee, comparative to the today's diligence office/service (lat. *maiorinus*)

Mesa: conjunction of people which direct an institution

Mesa da Consciência e Ordens: table of Conscience and Orders

Mesário: table member of a Confraternity (Lat. *mensarius*)

Mestres de obras: construction masters

***Misericórdias*:** mercy institutions

Missal: (Lat. *ecl. missal*), liturgical book used for religious services, containing the text of the mass

***Mitra* (mitre):** (Lat. *Mitra*), special garments worn by the clergy and their assistants during liturgical ceremonies

Monastic Orders: Christian community of monks or nuns living under rigorous vows

Monochromatic tiles: from round about 1500, coming from Seville, in yellow honey coloured or dark green, used for walls, floors and roof coverings, which were later, between 1550 and 1600, also produced in Lisbon.

Mulattoes: mostly descendents of white patrons and black slave women, often becoming slaves with better social conditions, working as slave supervisors

***Mordomo* (major-domo):** the one who administrates goods of confraternities and brotherhoods

Morgado: undividable and not transmittable link which was transmitted inside a family from primogenitor to primogenitor, but in direct masculine (virile) line; the possessor of this link (lat. *maioricatu*);

Naturais: born on Santiago or Fogo Islands as children of slave parents

Negros gentios: pagan native Africans, still not catechised and baptized slaves

New Christians *(cristãos-novos)*: those who had converted or had been converted to Christianity, usually of Arabic or Jewish descendent

Obras pias: pious/clemency works as construction of chapels, Hospitals, Fortresses etc.

Obra terça: financial belongings left by the deceased, of which one third part goes to the Church or for *obras pias*, to assure their souls a place in heaven

Obreiros: workers which delivered material directly to the construction site

Obtuse (drop/angle) arch: a type of pointed arch, formed by arcs of circles which intersect at the apex; the centers of the circles are nearer together than the width of the arch

Oficial régio: any clerk who had royal salary

Ogee arch: a pointed arch composed of reversed curves, the lower concave and the upper convex

Opus incertum: in ancient Rome, masonry formed of small rough stones set irregularly in mortar, sometimes traversed by beds or bricks or tiles

Ordem de Christo: Order of Christ

Ordem dos Templários: Templar order

Ordenações Manuelinas: Manuelin Ordinations

Order: in masonry, one ring of several stones/tiles around an arch

Ordinaria: daily or periodic expenses or revenues

***Organeiro* (organist):** responsible for the organ

Ouvidor: special judge

Padroado: concession given to Portugal by the *Santa Sé* (Bishop of Rome), allowing it the evangelization of territories outside of its political jurisdiction (Lat. *patronatum*)

***Palmo* (palm):** former measurement, one *palmo* corresponding to 0.22m

Pano di terra: locally produced cloth, made of cotton by slaves

Pardieiros: old or ruined houses or buildings

***Passamanaria* subjects:** connected to the art of ornamentation with ribbons, interlaced with gold, silver or silk yarns

Patim: evel or landing

Pedestal: a support for a column, statue, urn, etc., consisting in classical architecture of: cornice (top), dado (centre) and the base (bottom)

***Pequenos livros de fábrica* (small factory books):** were related to the accessories such as the *alfaias*, but also to processions and festivals such as to the normal cult.

Pedras de cantaria: carved/chiselled stones

Pendant: a suspended feature or hanging ornamented used in the vaults and timber roofs of Gothic architecture

Petitorius: act of requesting several people for beneficent or religious aims

Pilaster: rectangular column, one fastened into wall

Pillar: a pier, a post or a column

Plinth: A square or rectangular base for column, pilaster or door framing

Praças: forted settlements

Preboste: former magistrate of military justice which superintended in the committed crimes by the *praças* of land and sea (Lat. *praepositu*)

***Provedor* (purveyor):** head of a charitable institution

Provisor: ecclesiastic put in charge by the Bishop of contentious jurisdiction (Lat. *provisor*)

Praça: square

Preto: free native African

Prezídio: bulwark of prison

Políptico: altar panel composed by several fixed or mobile panels

Portaria: entrance hall

Povoação: normally it means settlement, but can also mean *lugarejo*-small place

Provincial: superior monastic of a province (Lat. *provincial*)

Provisor: ecclesiastic charged by the Bishop of contentious jurisdiction

Queen-post roof: a roof supported by two queen posts

Quintais: weight of four *arrobas* each, each *arroba*, an old measurement of weight, corresponding to round about fifteen kg

***Rabelados* ('rebels'):** Community born in the 40th by the dissidents from Catholic Church in reaction to several norms imposed by a severe establishment and interpreted as prolongation of colonial dictatorship. In consequence, they fled into the mountains and rejected any kind of contacts with the Catholic Church and state administration, such as education, civil registration or vaccinations, transforming this attitude during the time into a taboo. Some of them persist in the same attitude till today

Regrante: priest of the St Augustine Order

Regular clergy: canons living under the Rule instituted by S. Augustine

Rendeiro: means bidder or collector of incomes/revenues, or someone working on his own land and on other peoples land for wages

Response: religious verse to be sung during the Catholic services

Retábulos: ornamented part behind the altar

Rib: a curved structural member supporting any curved shape or panel, or: moldings which project from the surface and separate the various roof or ceiling panels

Ridge rib: a rib which follows the ridge of a vault

Rolwerk: longed ornamental form in shape of a band-like scroll

Rossio: large square

Rua: street

Rua direita: Main Street

***Rua nova*:** new street

Rua pública: Public Street

Sacrário: small shrine above the altar, where are guarded the *santo cibório* and the custody, when containing consecrated particles; fig. place where is guarded something worthy of veneration; (Lat. *sacrarium*)

Sacristy: side room in churches/Cathedrals, behind or aside the main altar (*altar-mor*), used for clerics to register baptisms, discuss marriages, for registration of heritages (*morgados*) and certification of obits

Scotia: a deep concave molding, especially one at the base of a column in Classical architecture

Screw stair: circular stair, whose steps wind around a central post

Scroll: an ornament consisting of a spirally wound band, either as a running ornament or as a terminal, like the volutes of the Ionic capital or the scrolls on consoles and modillions

Secular clergy: canons possessing and living in private properties, as well as sharing in the revenues of the Cathedral

Segmental arch: a circular arch in which the *intrados* (inner curve or face of an arch or vault forming the concave underside) is less than the circle

Senzala: part of farm with houses for slaves and workers, where they were kept reclused

Setback buttress: buttress distanced from the corner of the building, placed along the wall

Shed roof: a roof shape having only one sloping plane

Síndico: individual elected between the members of an association or of a class to defend their interests

Sínodo: council assembly of ecclesiastics convoked by its superior, (gr. *synodos* Lat. *synodus*)

Sobrado: colonial domestic, habitation and functional building which came up in the 19th century, of normally two floors, in two different shapes and two versions of floor forms: its shape is around an inner yard, in open 'U' or closed 'O' form

Solar: manor house

Sonegado: object subtracted of the rights

Sotavento: Leeward Islands

Souk: economic centre in Arabic culture, mainly the marketplace (ar. *as-sõq*)

Spout: a short channel or tube used to spill storm water from gutters, balconies, exterior galleries, etc. so that the water will fall clear of the building

Stellar/star vault: a vault whose rib pattern suggests a star

Taipa: mud wall

Talha dourada: altar panel made out of wood, painted in or with gold

Tangamãu: functioned as translator in the trade between tribes and the Portuguese, mostly being *mulattoe* (ar. *Targuman*, 'translator')

***Terceira Ordem* (third order):** a mendicant order (religious orders who's affiliated made vote of poverty, living from public charity) e.g. Franciscans, Dominicans

***Tesoureiro* (Treasurer):** responsible for the finances

Tierceron: in medieval vaulting, a secondary rib springing from an intersection of two other ribs; an intermediate rib that rises between the main diagonal and transverse ribs from the impost of the pier to the ridge ribs

Tiles of mission/barrel type/Spanish type: a clay roofing tile, approximately semi cylindrical in shape, laid in courses with the units having their convex side alternately up and down

Tiles *tapete* type (with *rodapés* and *frisos*): normally blue-yellow over white painted glazed ceramic wall tiles, with the panel limiting or dividing tiles (*frisos/rodapés*), forming different floral or geometric pattern. From the second half of 17th century

Tiles/*Tijolo tipo burro:* massive ceramic red-brown floor tiles of Arab type

Tombo velho: old archive

Toponímia: meaning of the roots of the words

Tore/Torus: a bold projecting molding, convex in shape, generally forming the lowest member of a base over a plinth

Transept: part of cruciform church at right angles to nave

Travessa: lane/alley

Trefoil arch: an arch whose intrados has three lobes or foils

***Tribunal do Santo Ofício* (Trial of the Holy Service):** Inquisition court

Tympanum: fronton ear/space enclosed impediment between lintel/door head and arch above, mostly triangular of shape

Underpitch/Welsh vault: a construction formed by penetration of two vaults of unequal size, springing from the same level

Vernacular (architecture): a mode of building based on regional forms and materials

Via pública: public roads

Vias: roads

***Vigário* (Vicar):** person leading the parish, put there in name of the Bishop, realizing baptisms, marriages and burials

Vigairarias: jurisdiction area of the Vicar

Vila: small town

Vintena: old tribute of a twentieth part (Lat. *vicesima pars, vintena*)

Visitador: visitor (Lat. *visitator*)

Vizinhos: 'neighbours', meant as inhabitants, the ones which possessed in its terms original goods

Volutes: ornamentation in spiral form of a column capital

Wall niche: shallow recess in wall

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E ARQUIVO

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- Caixas Arquitecto Luís Benavente

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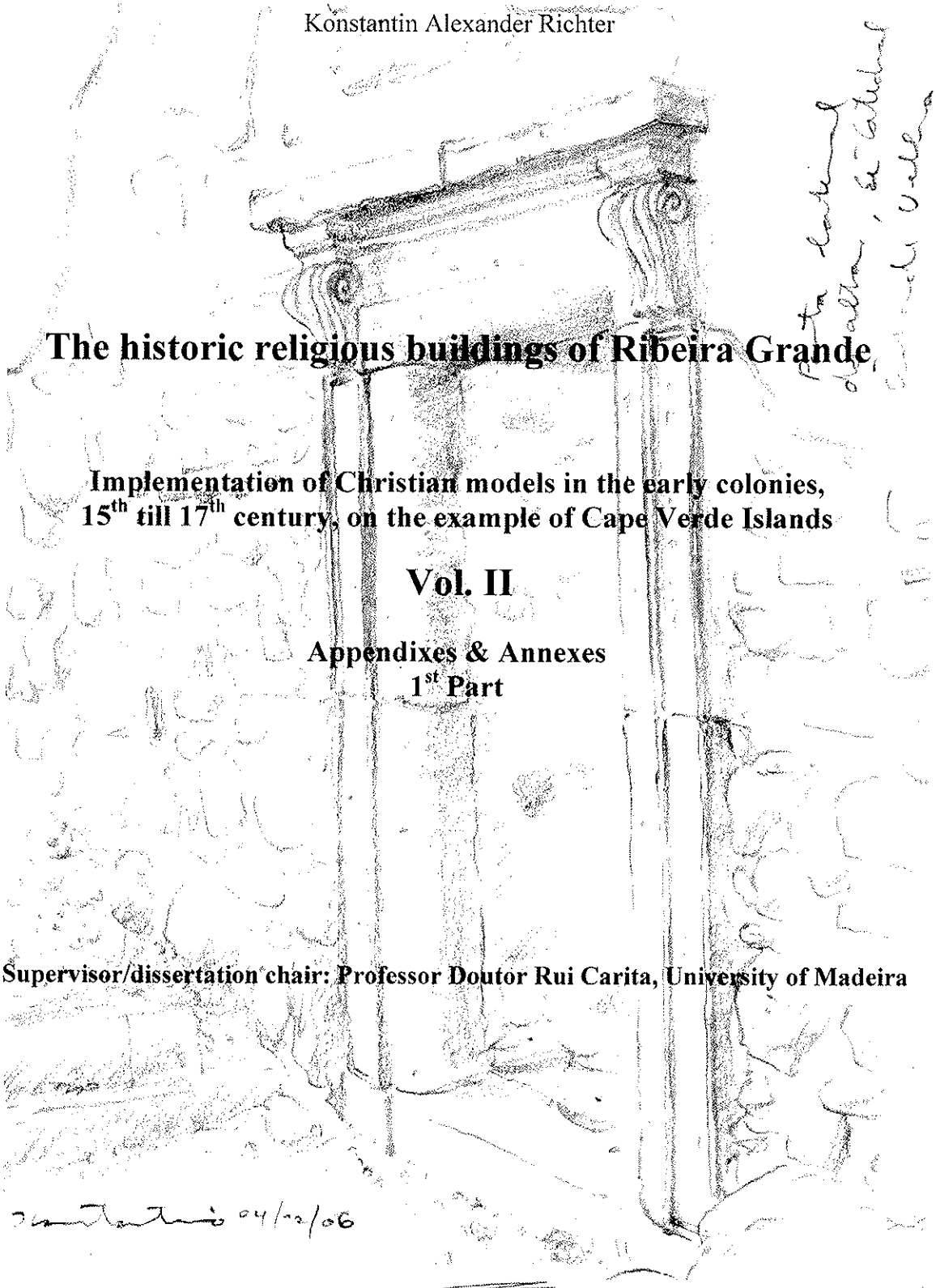
Konstantin Alexander Richter



The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands

Vol. II

Appendixes & Annexes
1st Part

Supervisor/dissertation chair: Professor Doutor Rui Carita, University of Madeira

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Konstantin Alexander Richter

The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

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Konstantin Alexander Richter, author of the theses entitled *The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande - Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands*, Vol. I & II, declares that, beside sources clearly identified, the present document is result of his personal, individual and original work.

City of Praia, Santiago Cape Verde,
31st of October of 2008

Konstantin Alexander Richter

Ph.D. thesis in 'Science of Arts', presented to University of Madeira

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1.1 APPENDIX

Thematic urban maps of Ribeira Grande

Fig. 1-21

Note:

- the source of all technical urban map drawings is from K. Richter, O. Monteiro and A. Cabral (based on the urban maps from Engineer António Carlos Andrea, 1769 and 1778, with exception of Fig. 21, which is based on the urban plan from Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA)

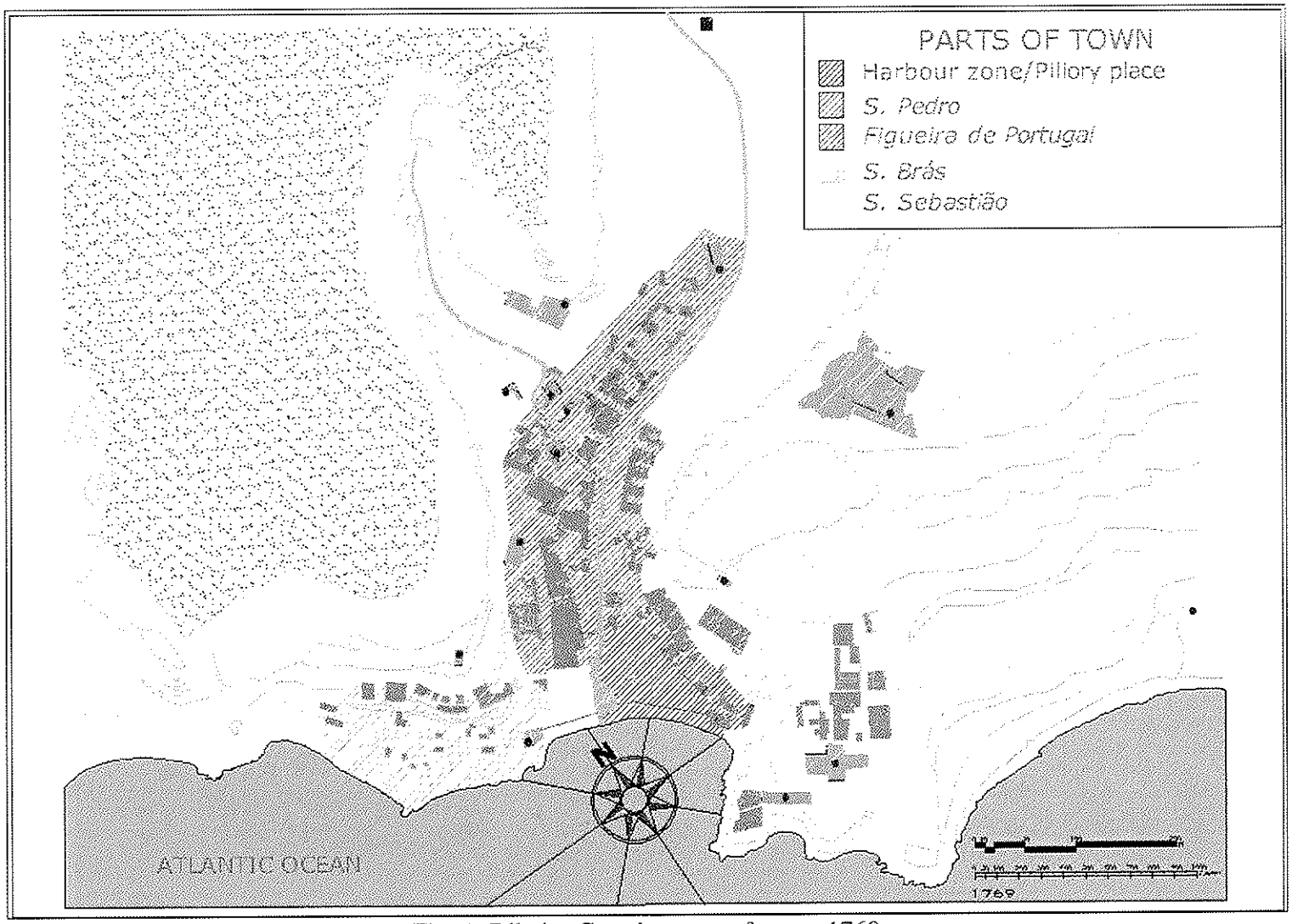


Fig. 1: Ribeira Grande, parts of town, 1769

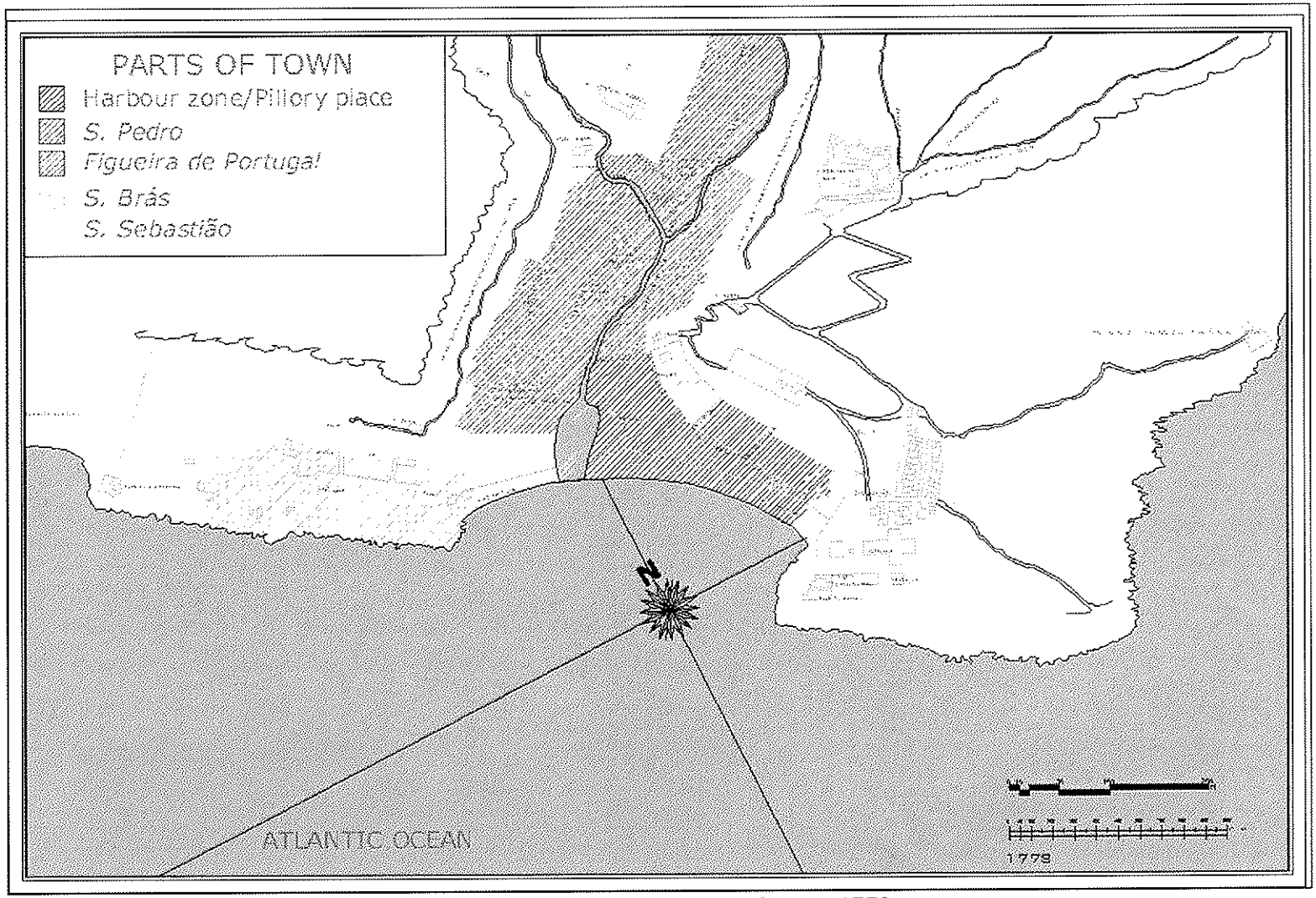


Fig. 2: Ribeira Grande, parts of town, 1778

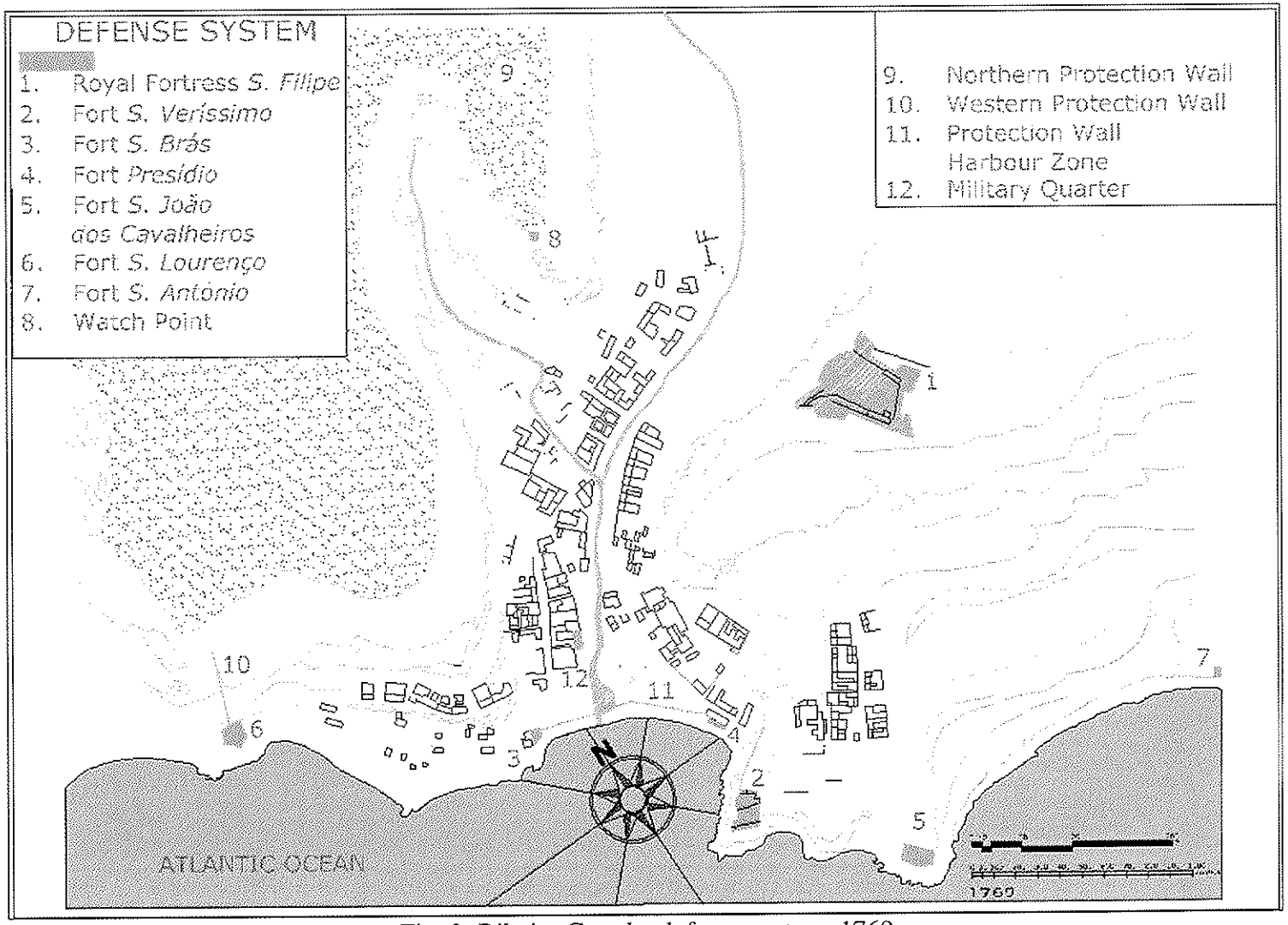


Fig. 3: Ribeira Grande, defense system, 1769

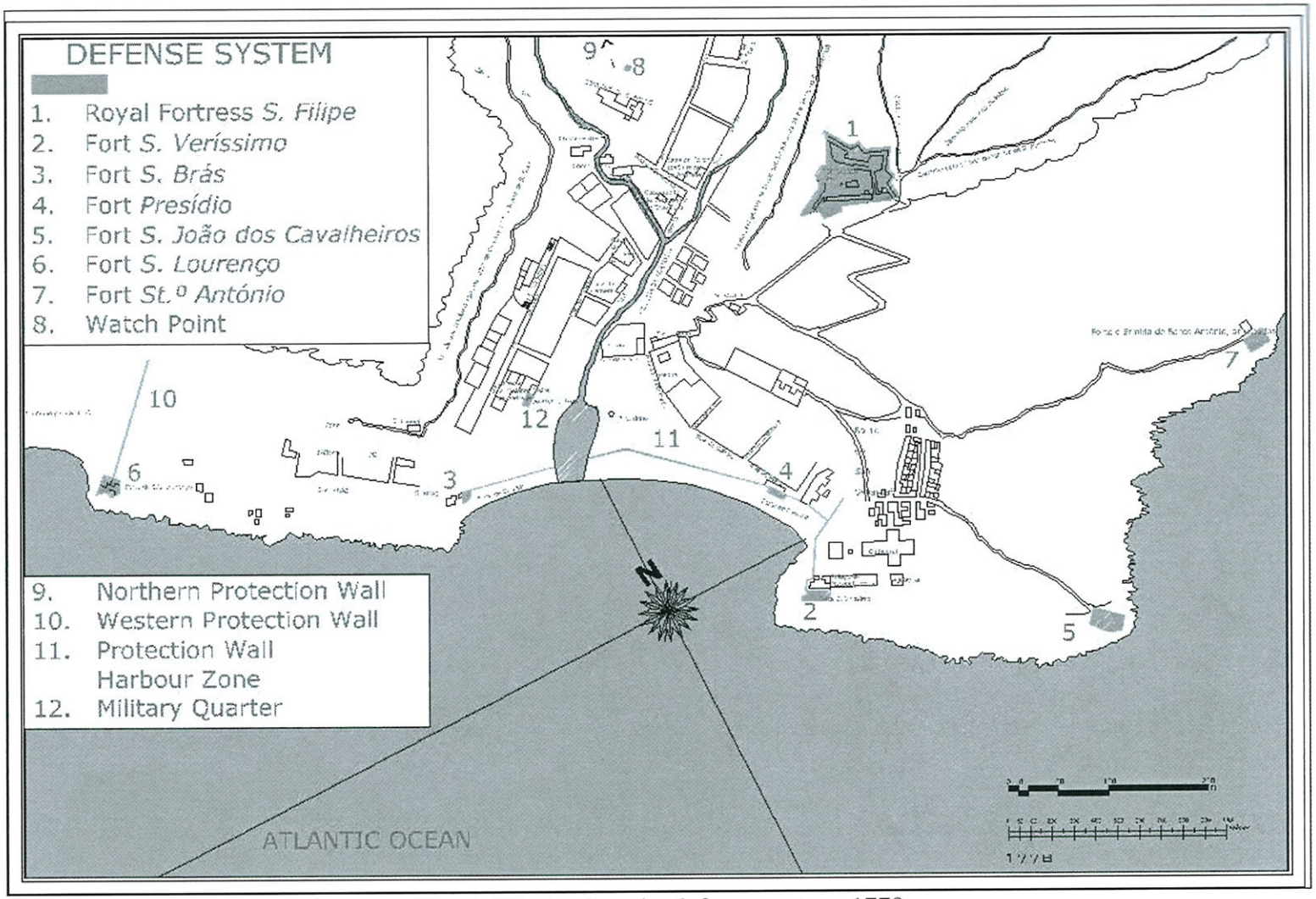


Fig. 4: Ribeira Grande, defense system, 1778

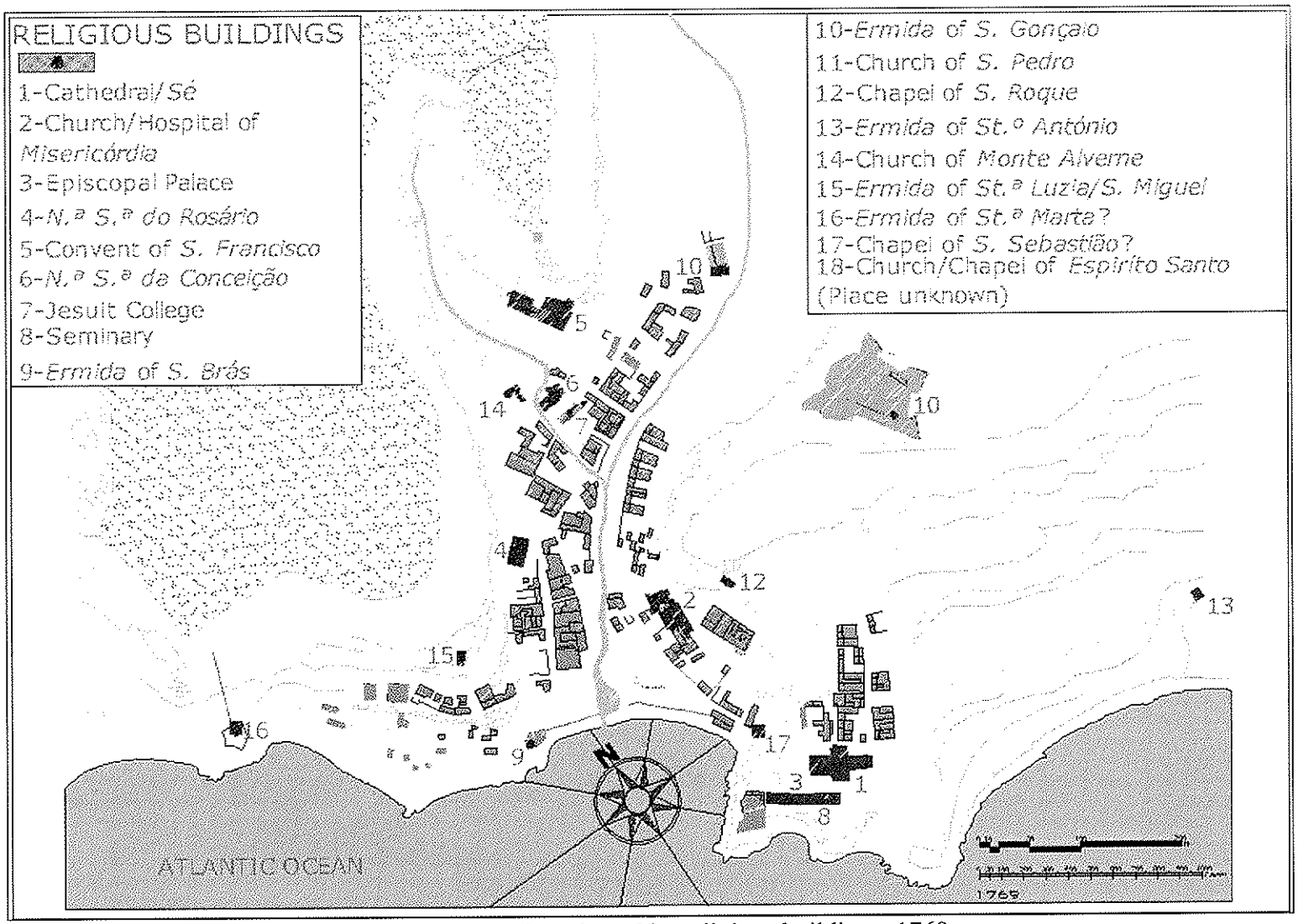


Fig. 5: Ribeira Grande and its religious buildings, 1769

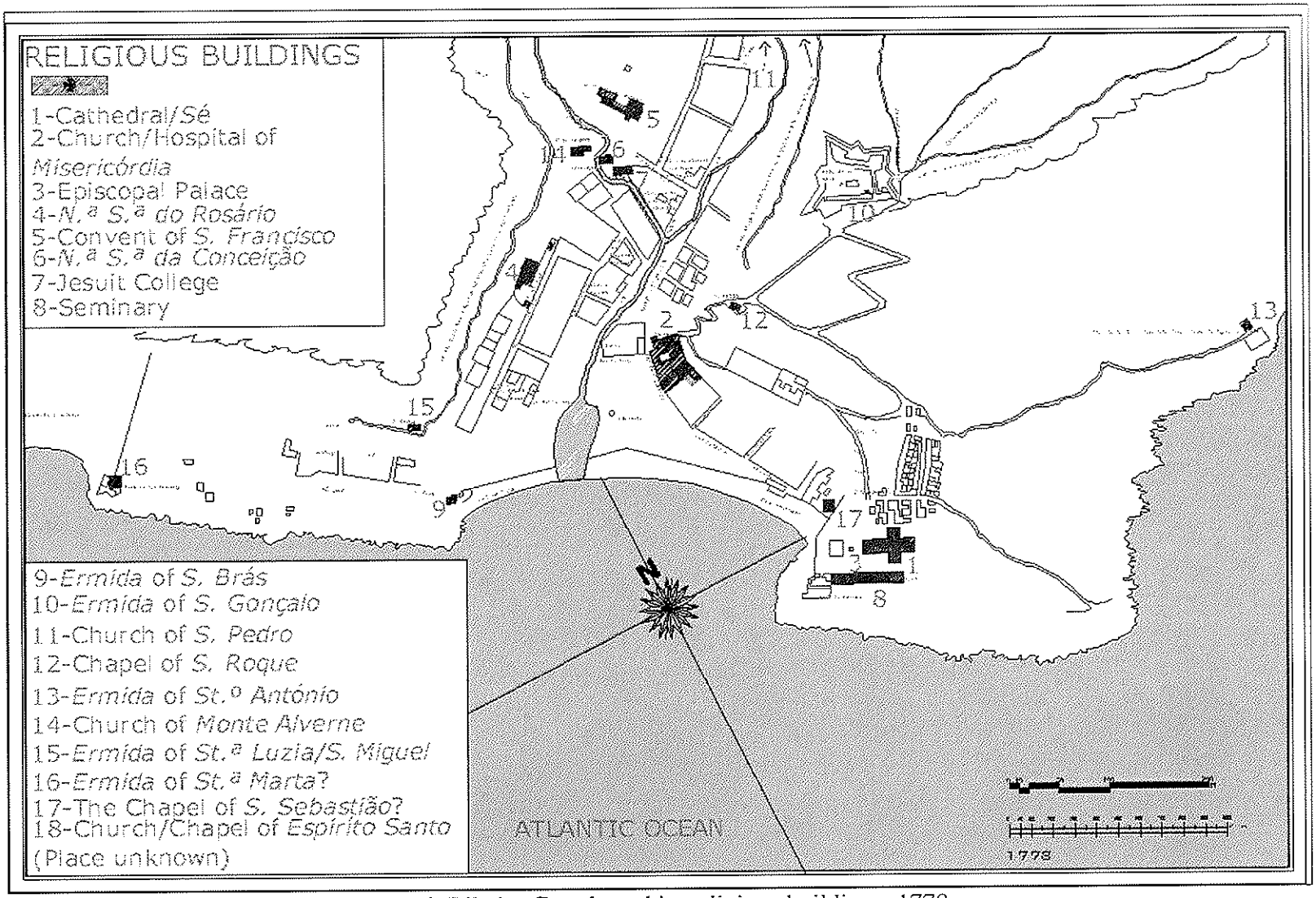


Fig. 6: Ribeira Grande and its religious buildings, 1778

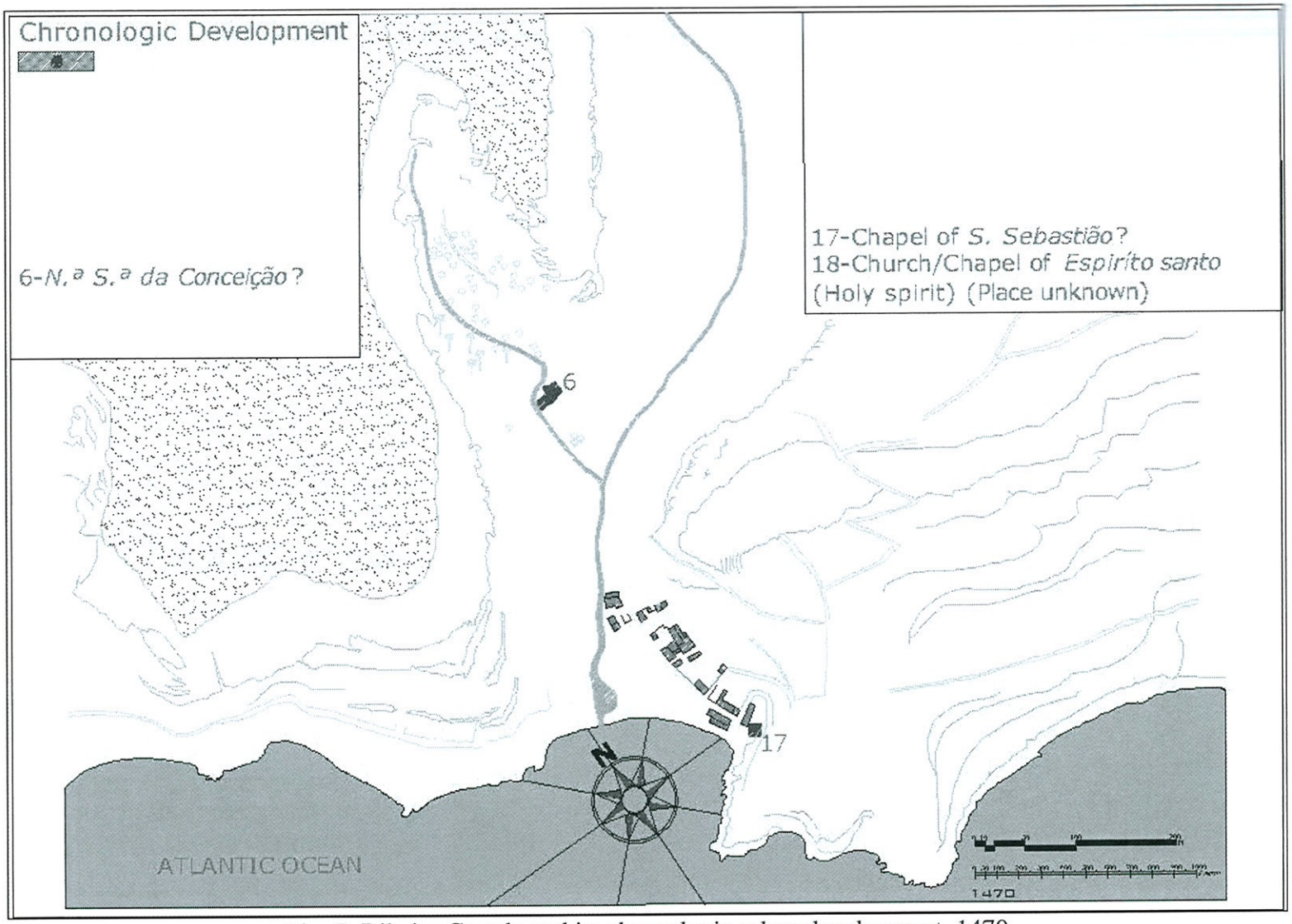


Fig. 7: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1470

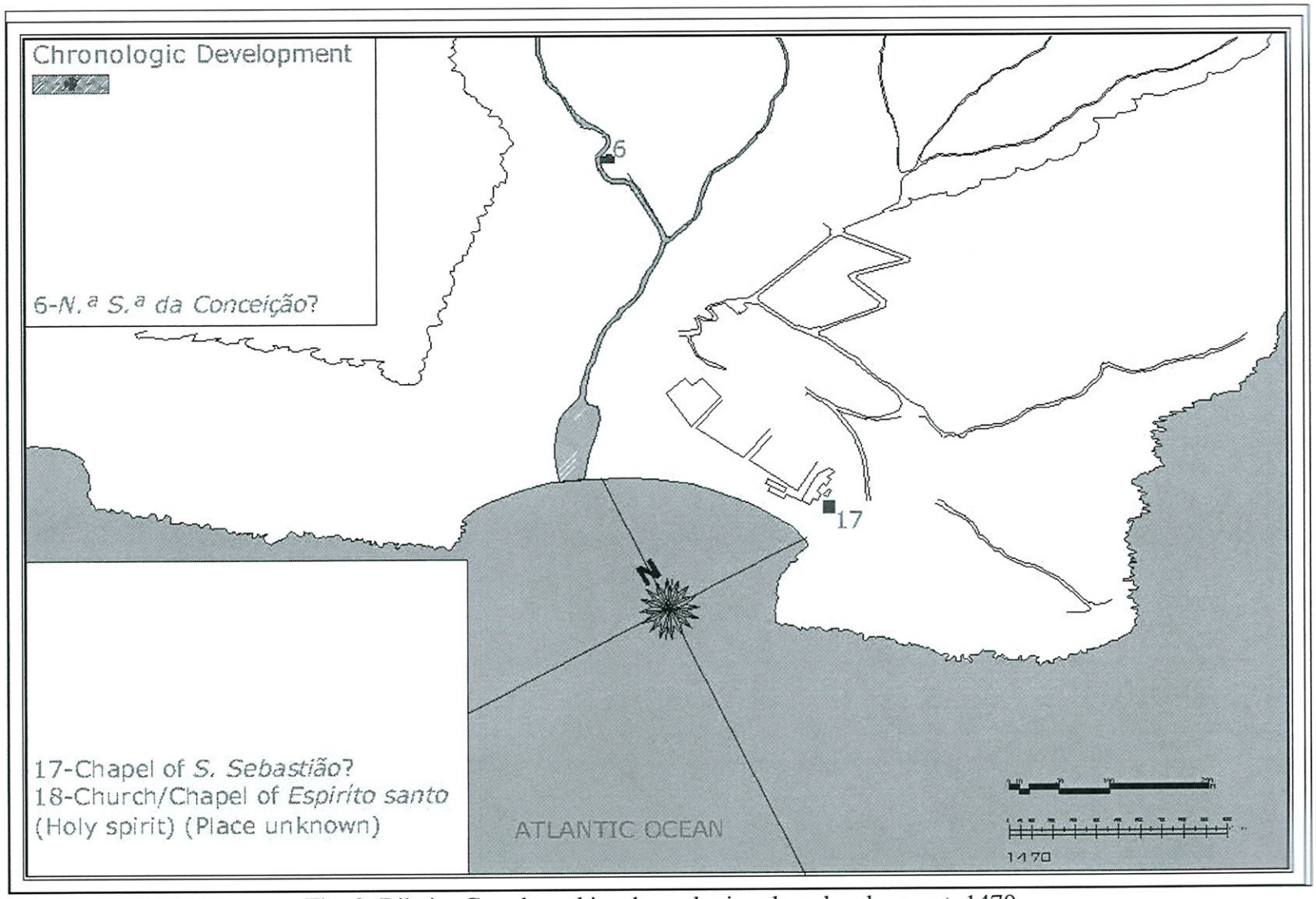


Fig. 8: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1470

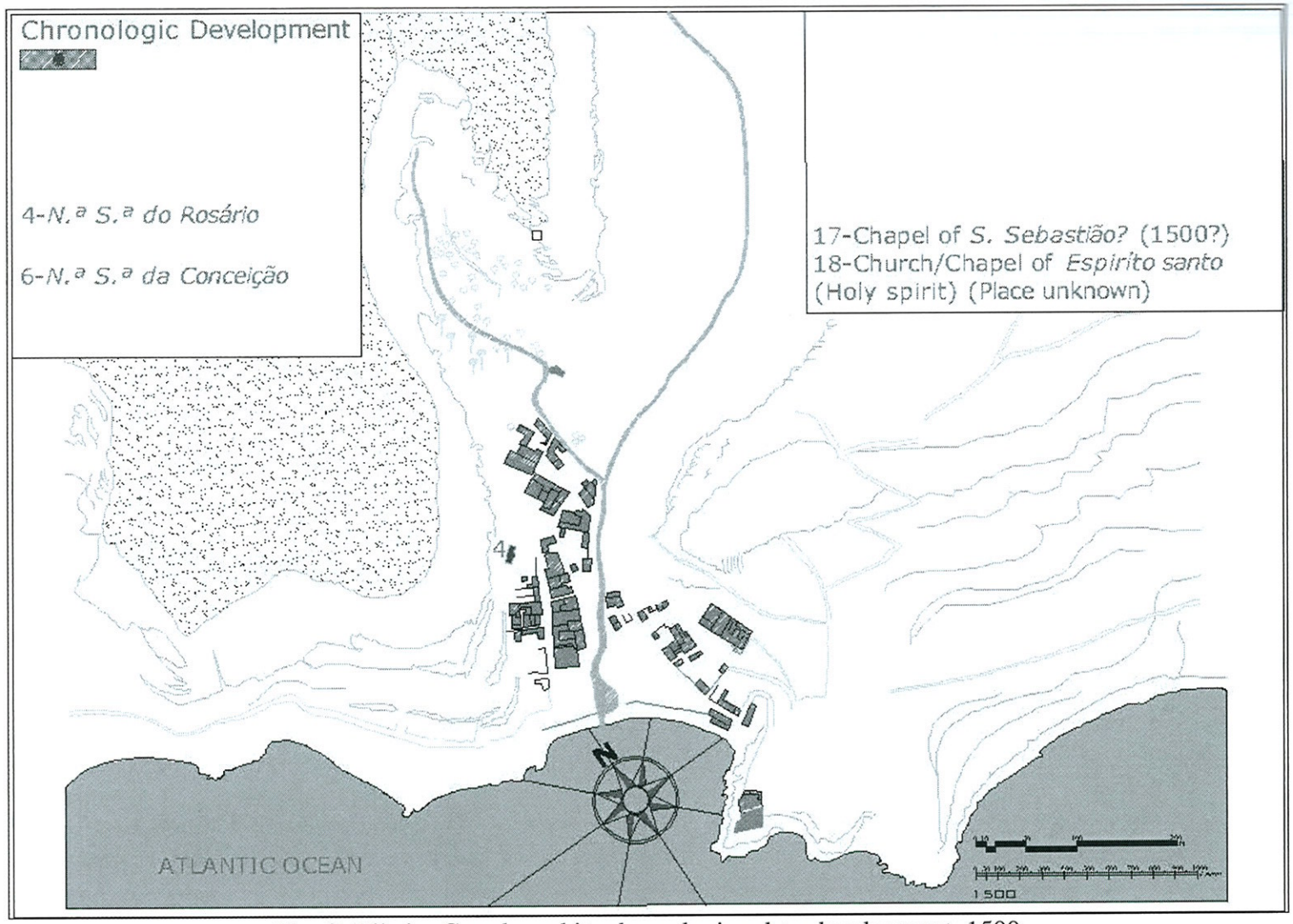


Fig. 9: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1500

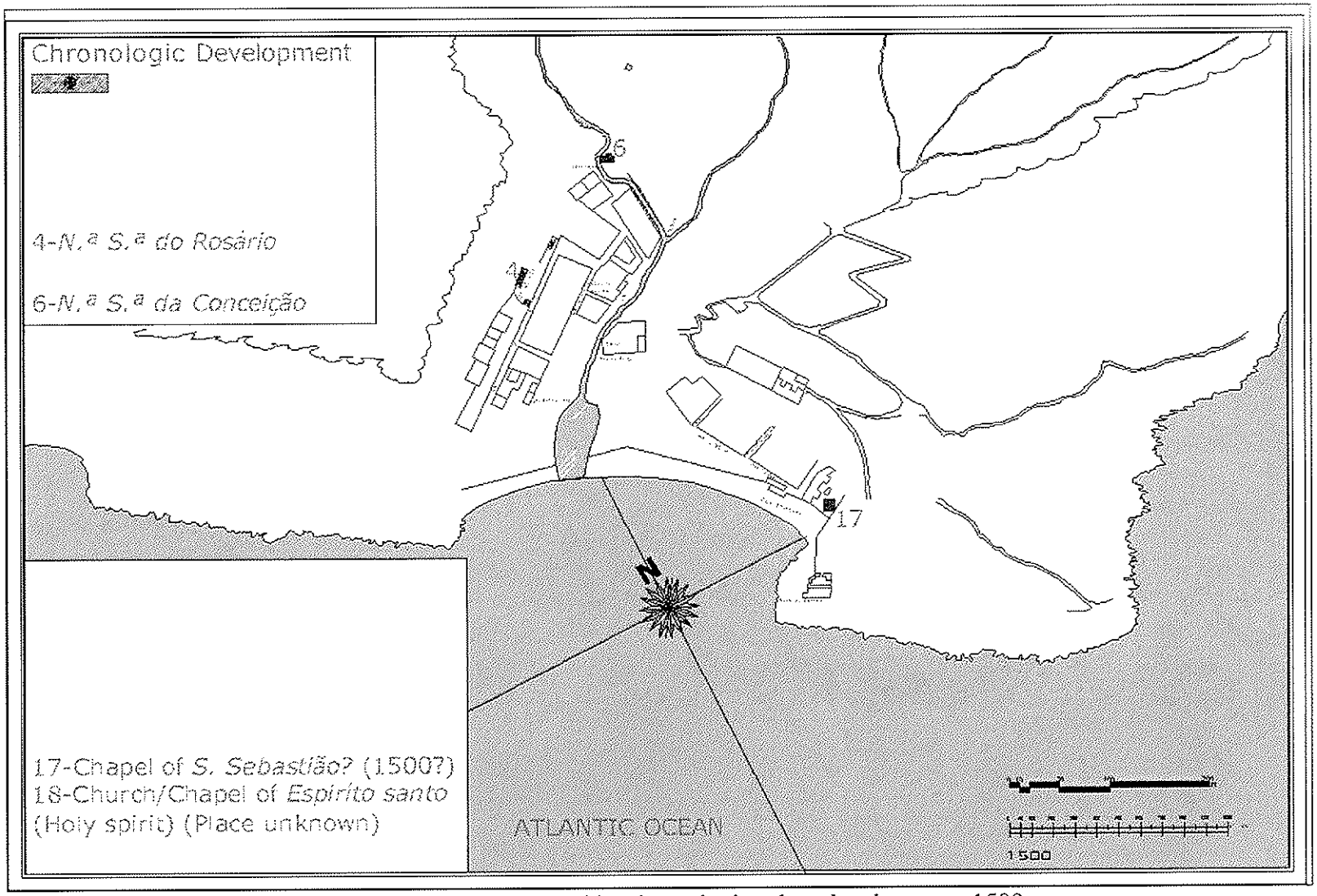


Fig. 10: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1500

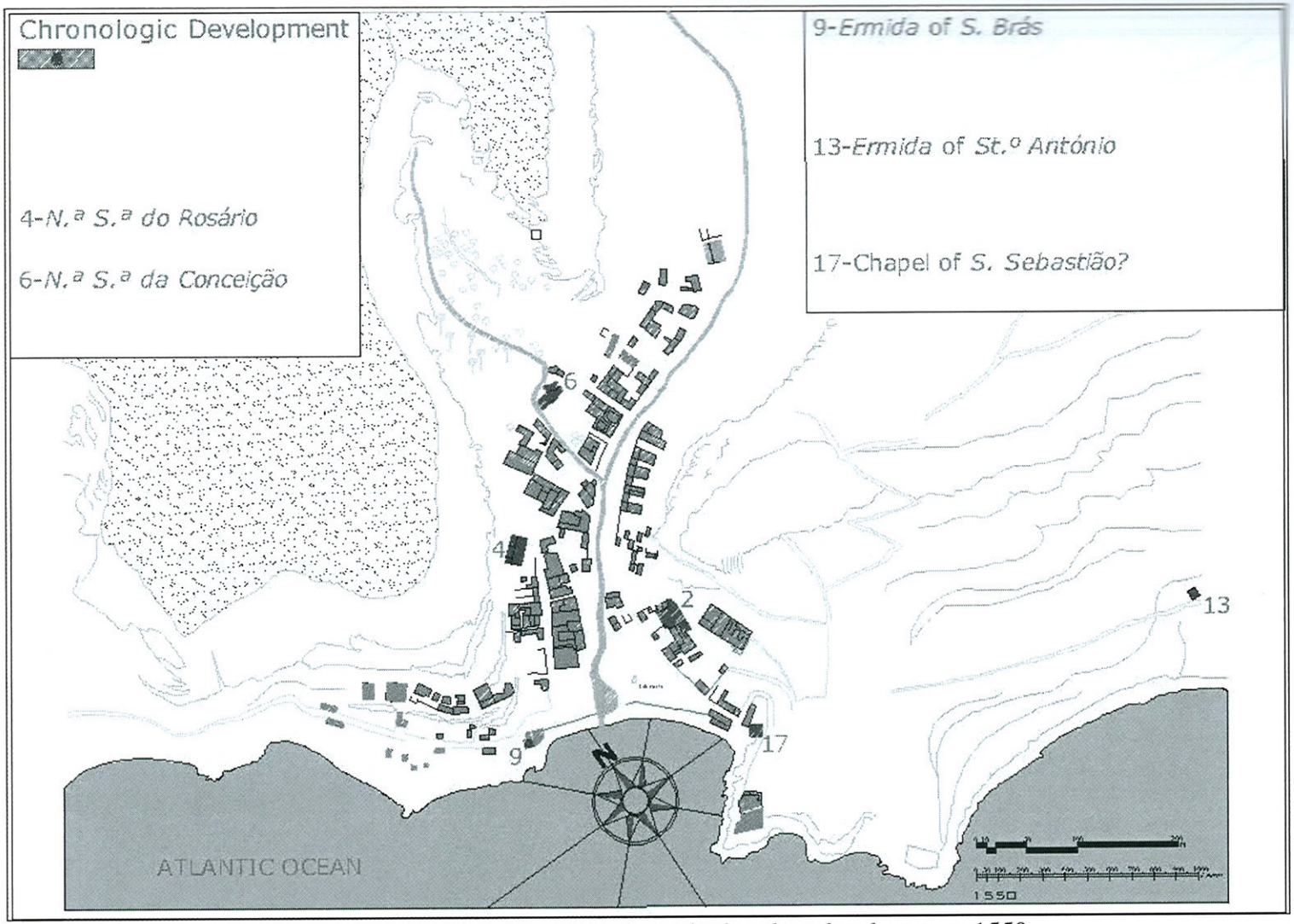


Fig. 11: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1550

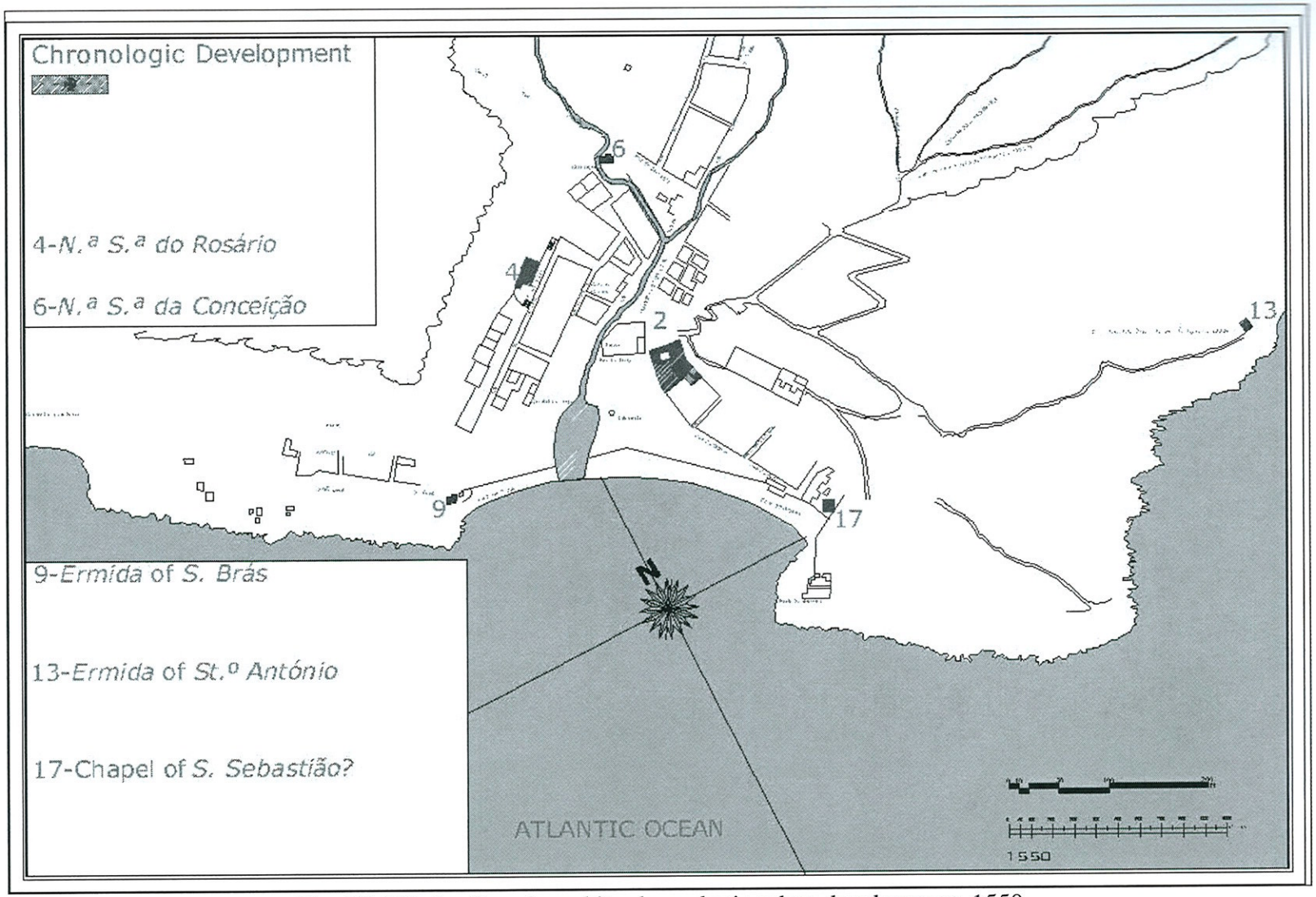


Fig. 12: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1550

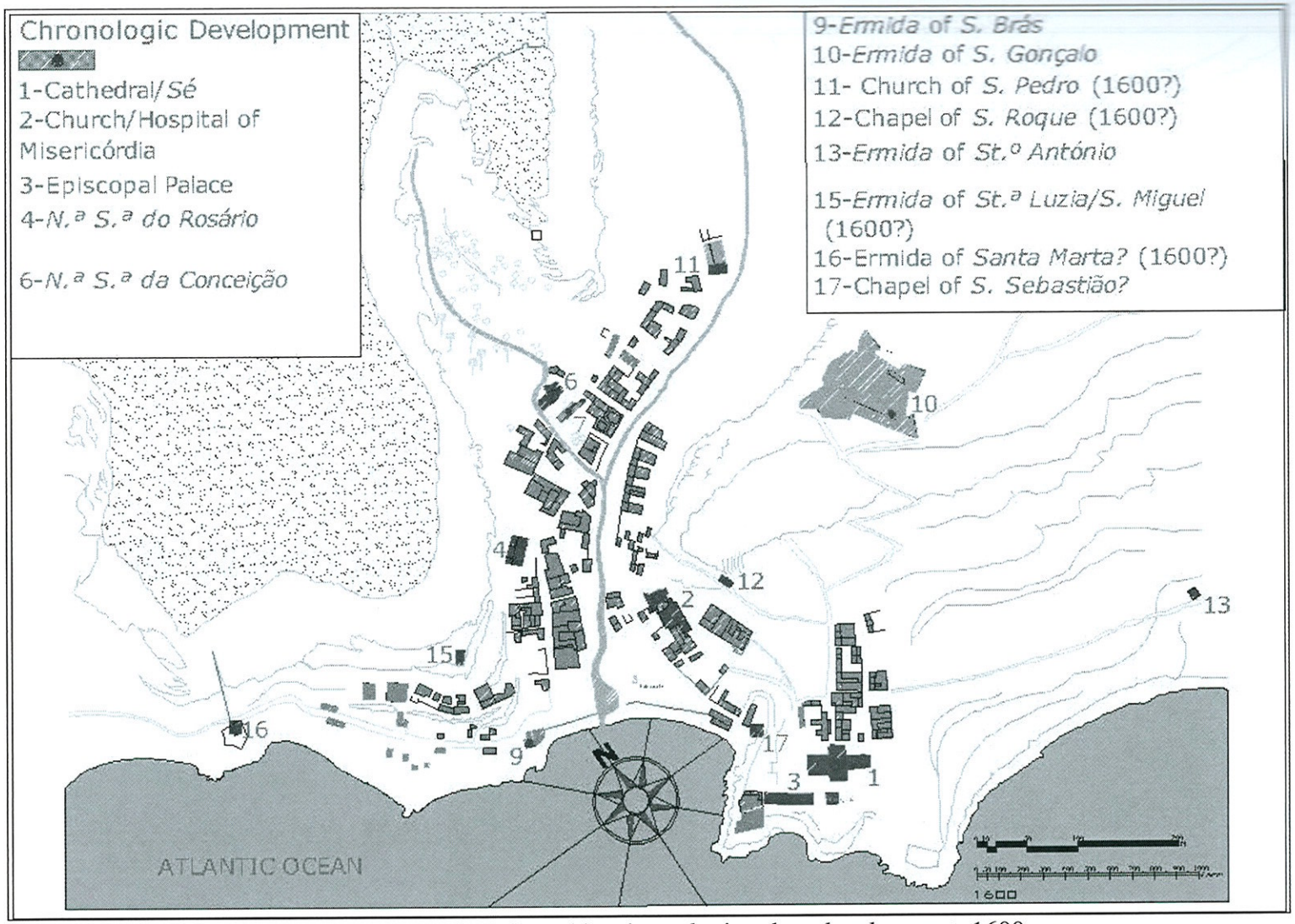


Fig. 13: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1600

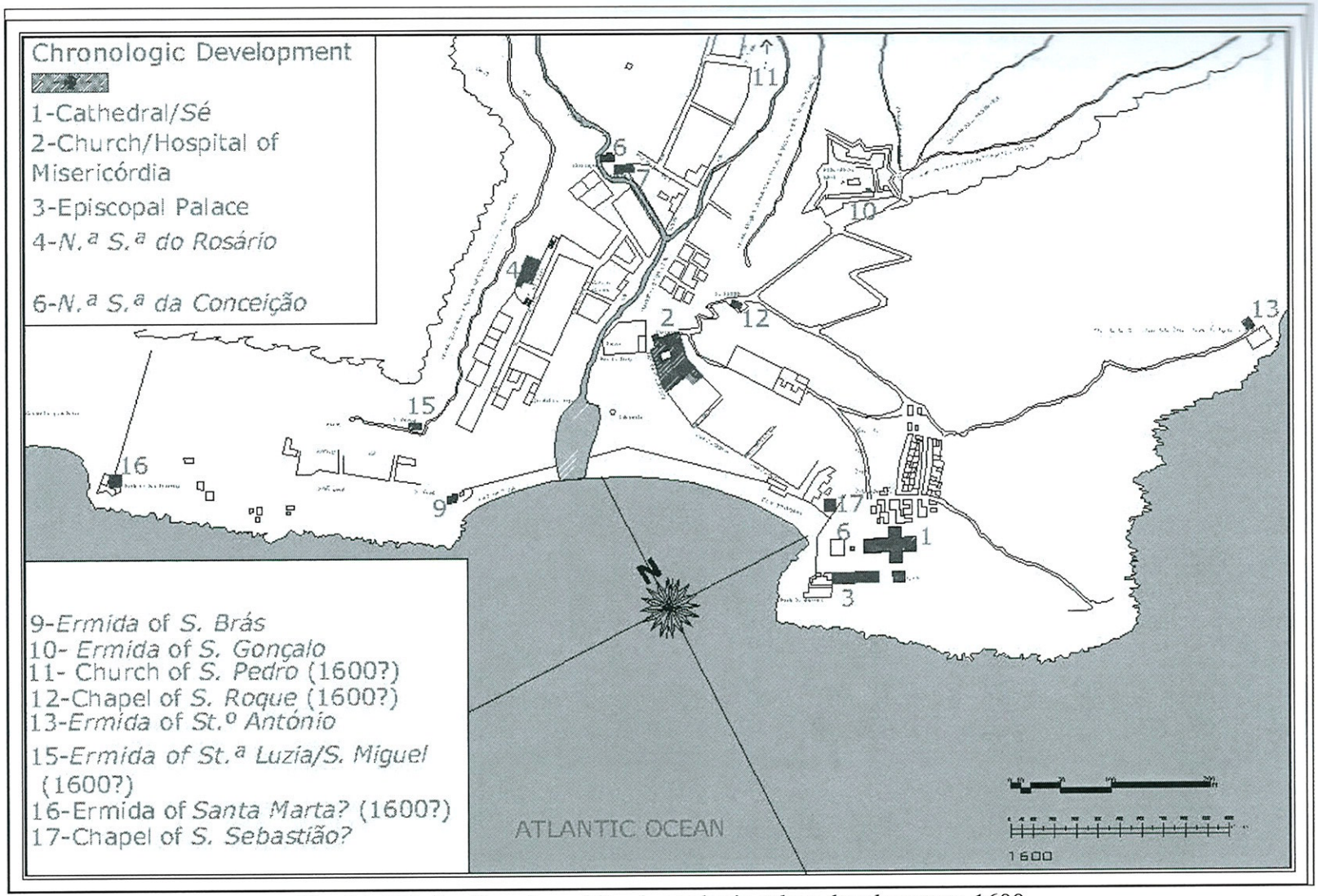


Fig. 14: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1600

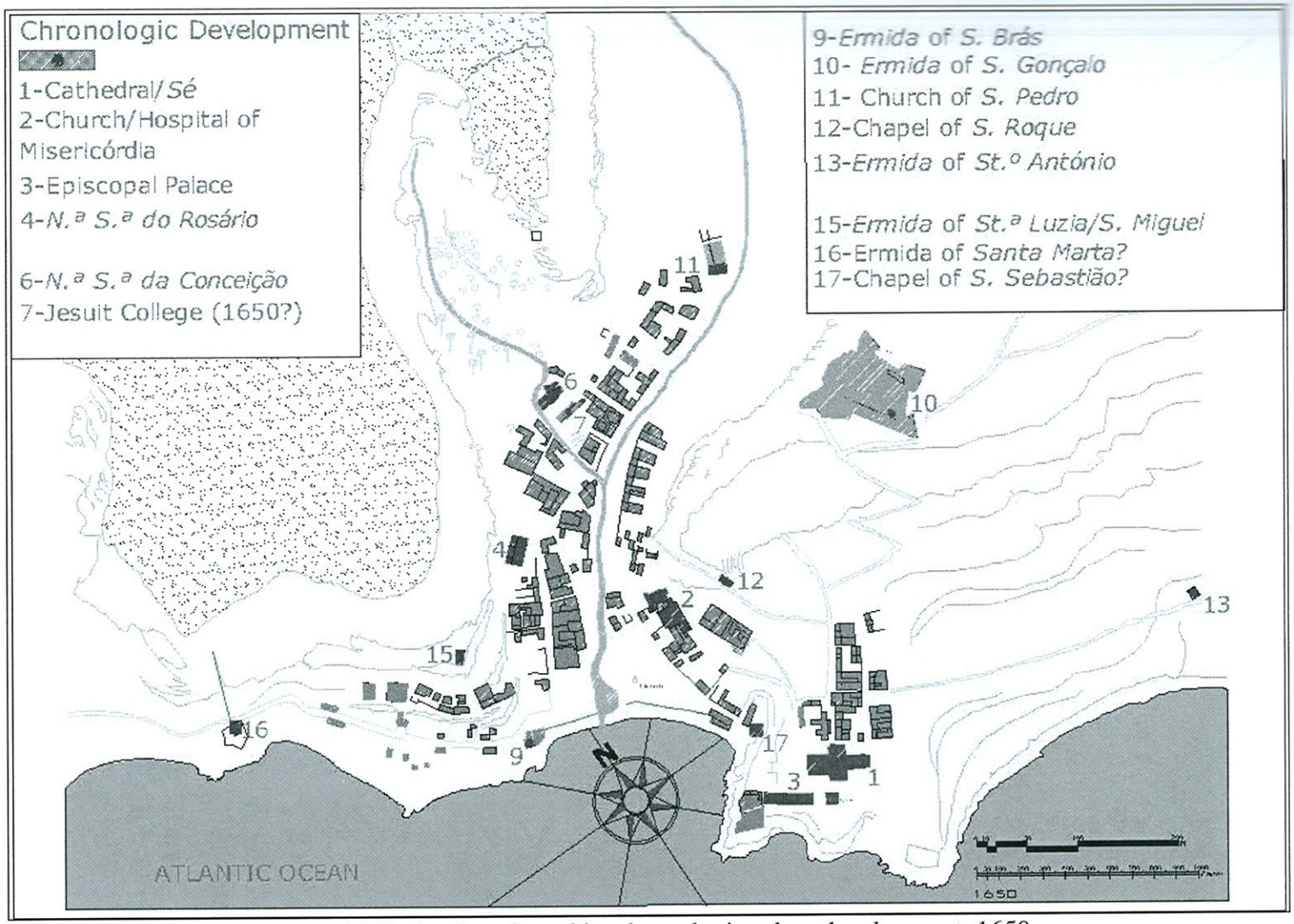


Fig. 15: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1650

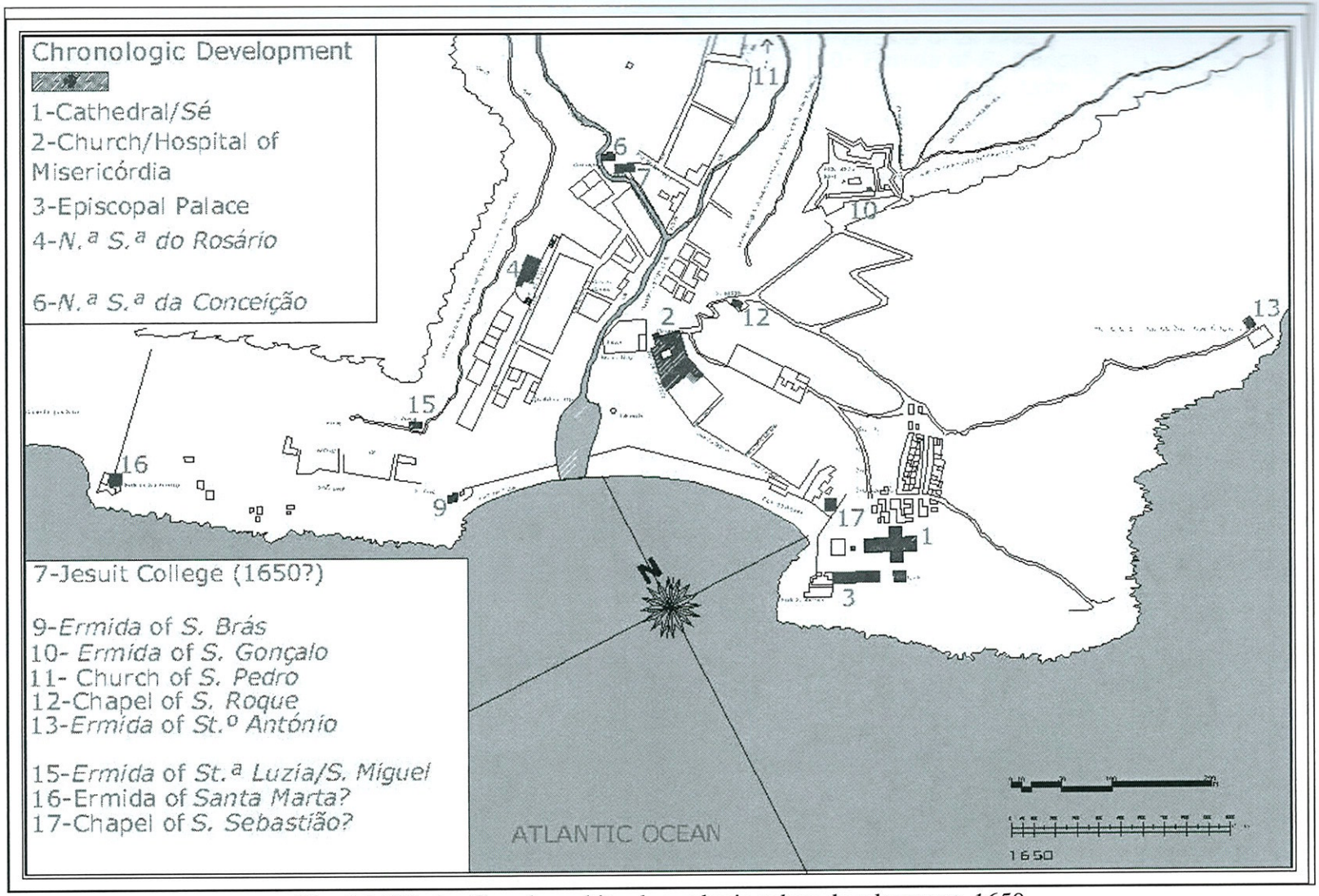
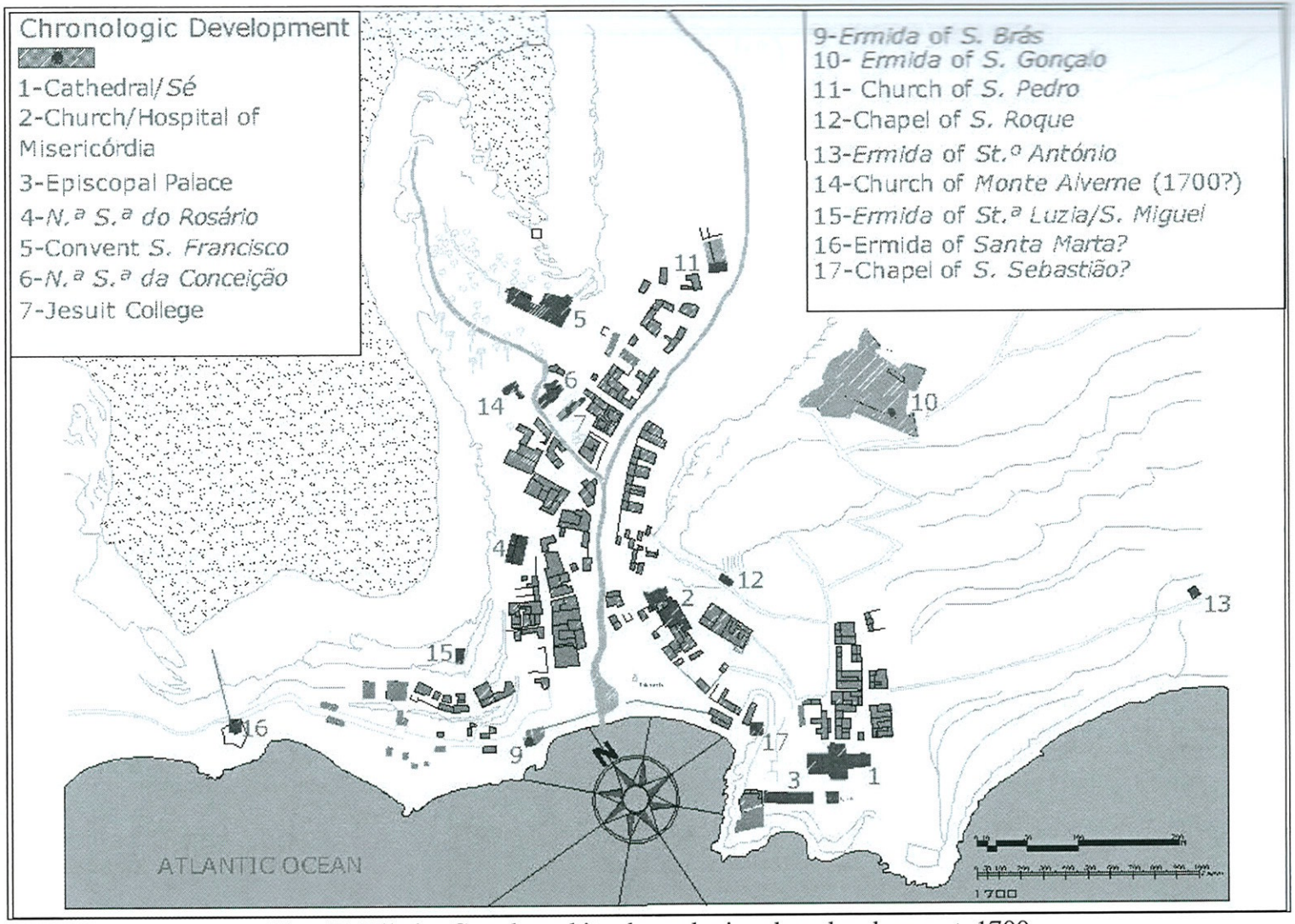


Fig. 16: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1650



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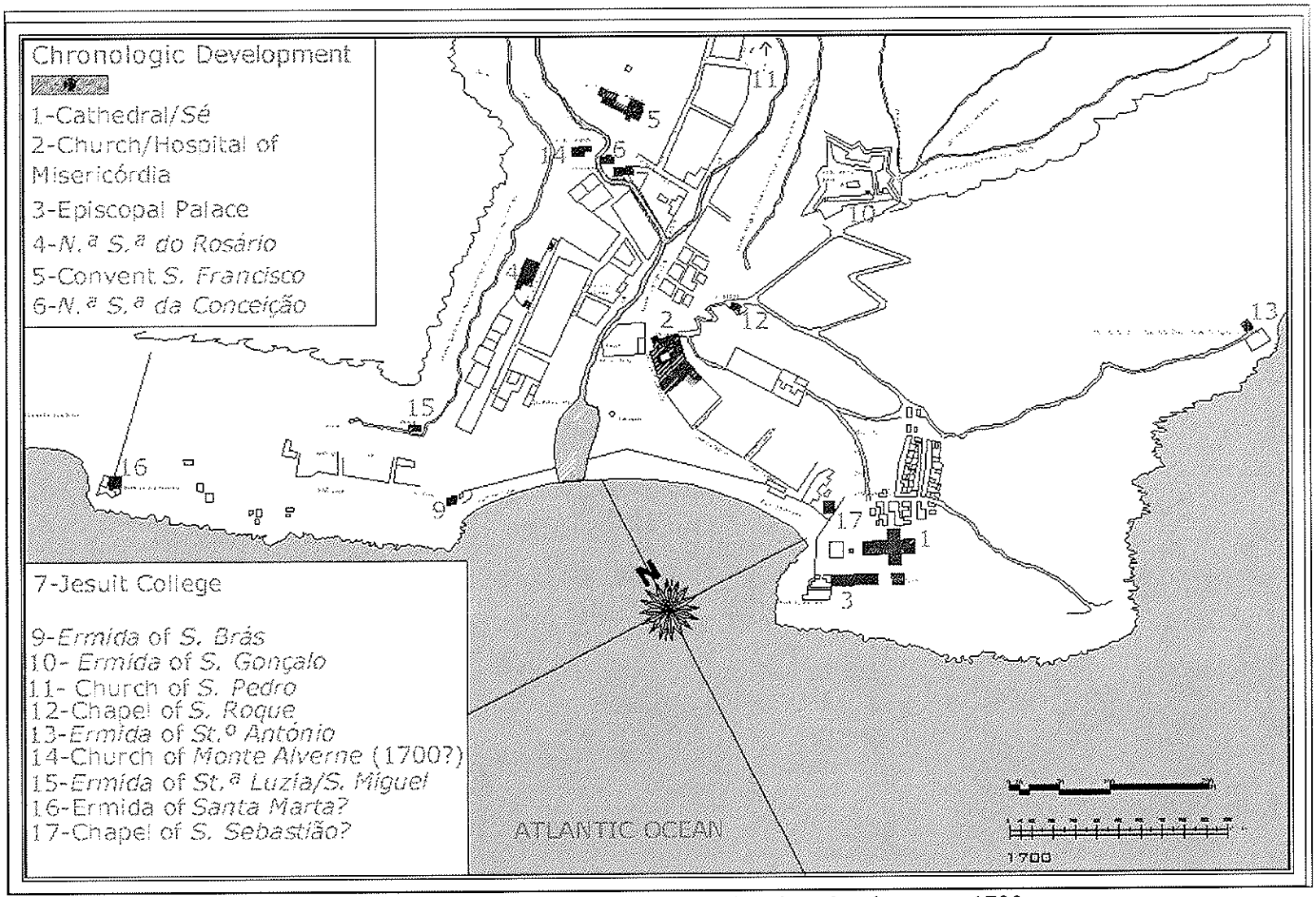


Fig. 18: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1700

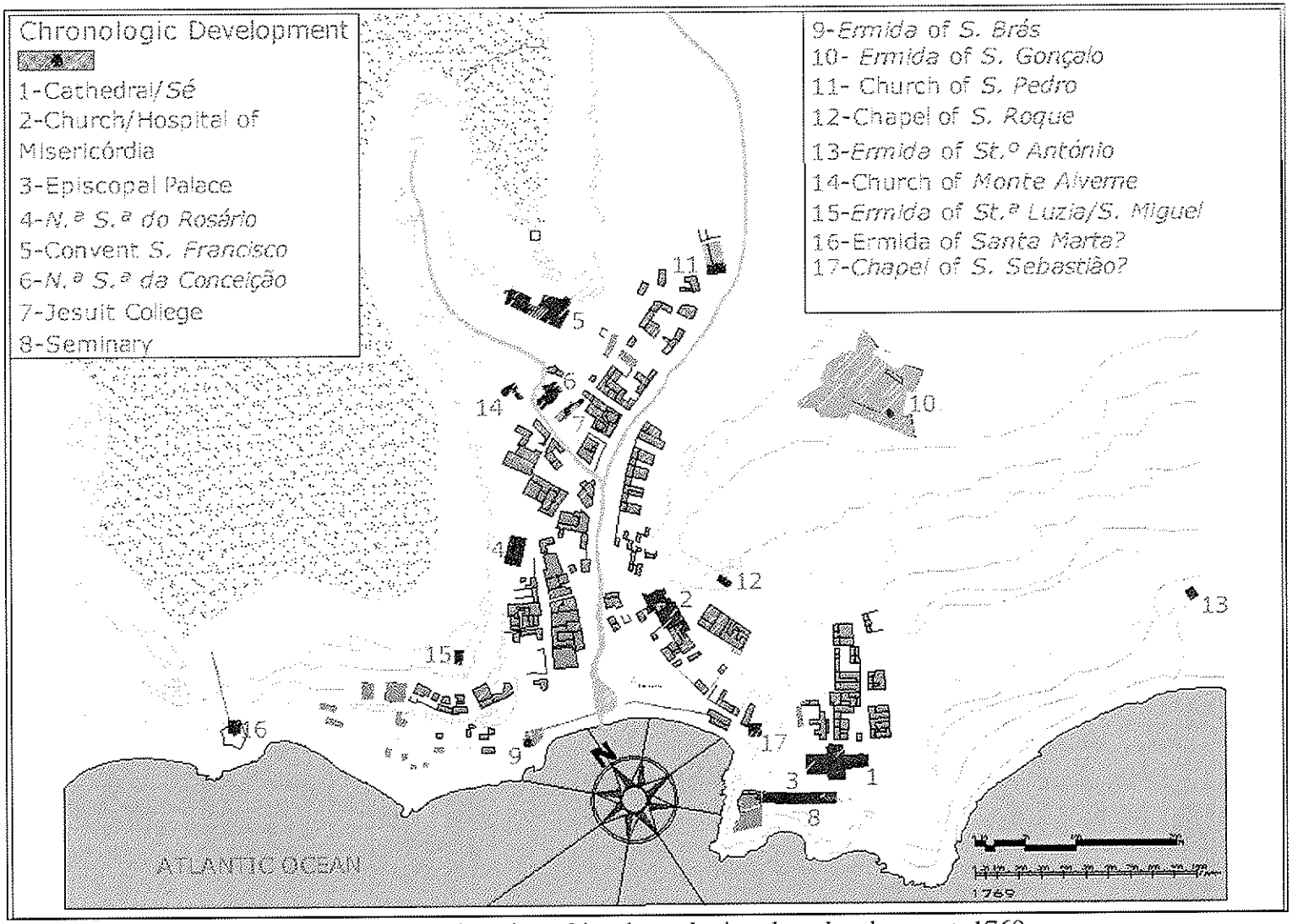


Fig. 19: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1769

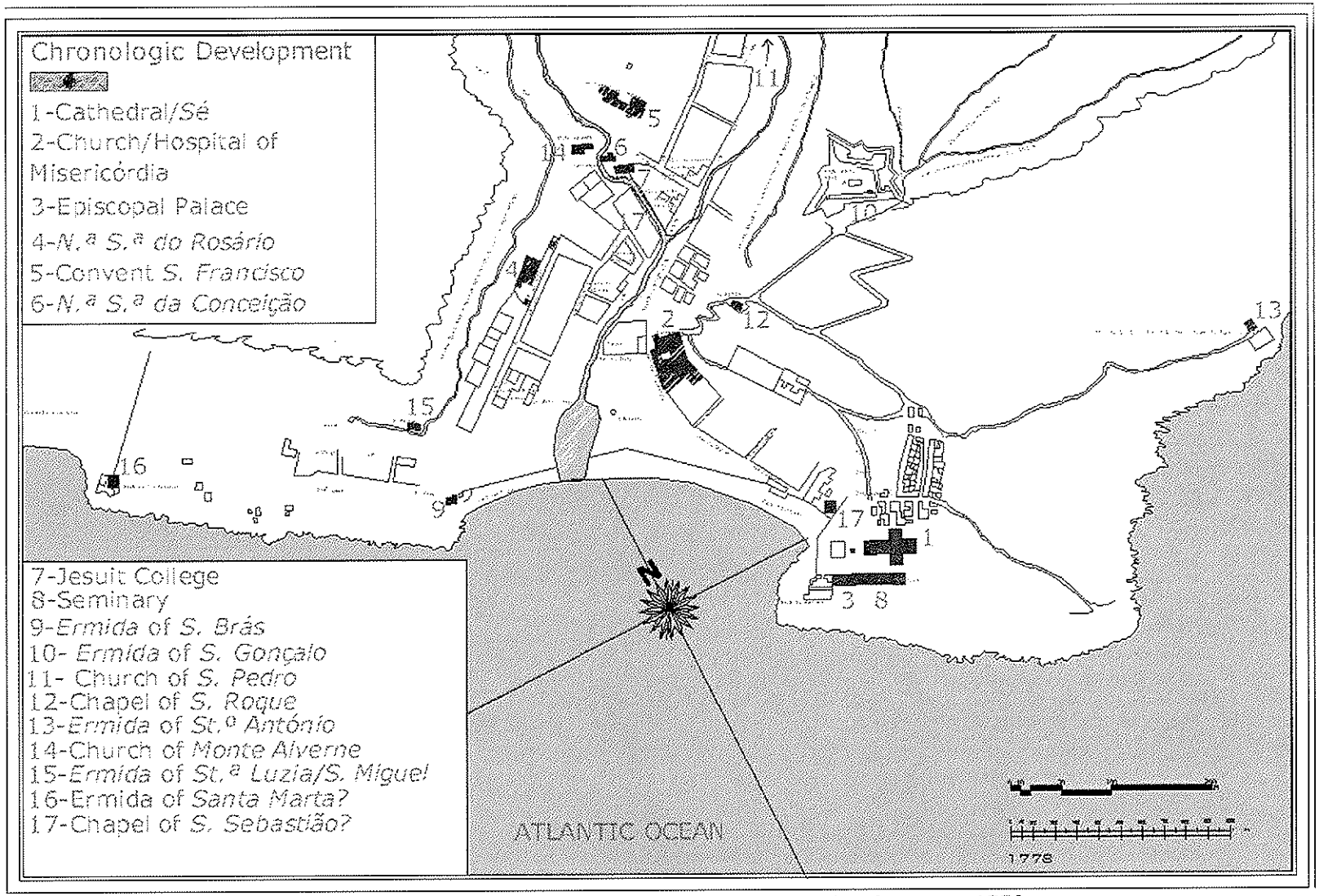


Fig. 20: Ribeira Grande and its chronologic urban development, 1778

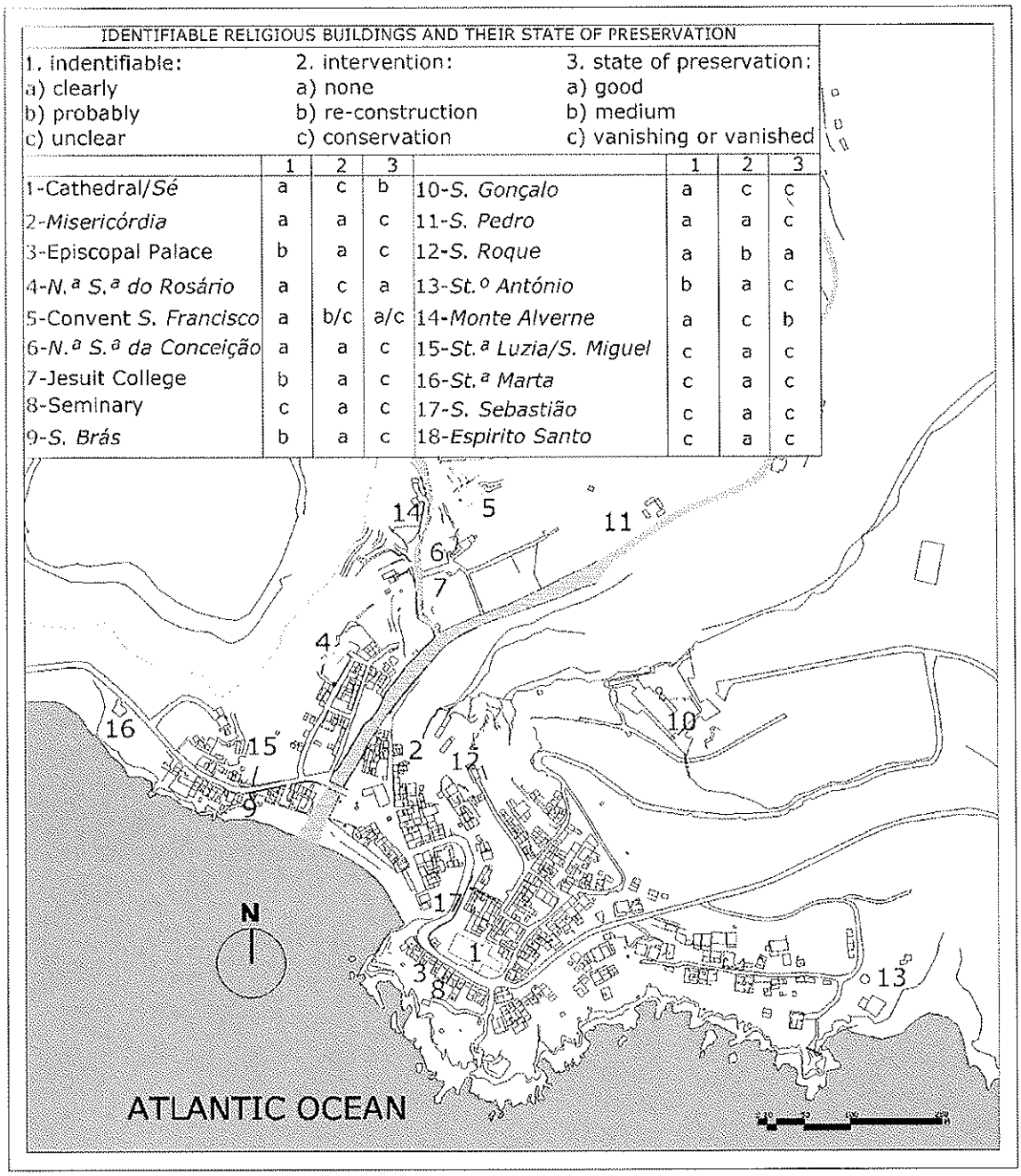


Fig. 21: Ribeira Grande and its religious buildings, 2008

1.2 APPENDIX

Identification material of religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

Notes:

- if without any indication, the source of the respective figure is from K. Richter
- the source of all technical site plan drawings is from K. Richter and A. Cabral (based on the urban map from Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA)
- the source of all technical building plan and elevation drawings (with exception of Appendix 1.2.6, Fig. 10) is from K. Richter, W. Rivera, D. Monteiro and A. Cabral
- the source of all technical section drawings is from K. Richter, W. Rivera and D. Monteiro
- the source of all technical detail drawings is from K. Richter and A. Cabral
- the source of all free hand survey drawings is from K. Richter
- all parts of illustrations from Duplessis, 1699, are from Source: Massa, Françoise, J.M. Massa, 2004. *Duplessis: Relation Journalière d'un Voyage fait en 1699 par M. de Beauchesne aux îles du Cap – Vert.* Rennes : PCLL
- all parts of illustrations from Johannes van Reulen, 1635, are from Source: Col. Iconografia, Estampas I.IV.E4.50, AHU
- all parts of engravings from Travessos Valdevez,1864, are from Source: Cabo Verde, Secção Cartográfica e Iconográfica, AHU
- all part of town maps from António Carlos Andrea, 1769 and 1778, are from Source: cartographic collection Ms. 119 and Ms. 8. IV. CM. 123, AHU, and GEAEM archive, 1198/1A-9-13
- all photos from Ilídio do Amaral, 1913, are from Source: image bank, AHN
- all photos from Frank, 1929, are from Source: image bank, AHN

1.2.1 Cathedral

Fig. 1-164

Site plans and plans

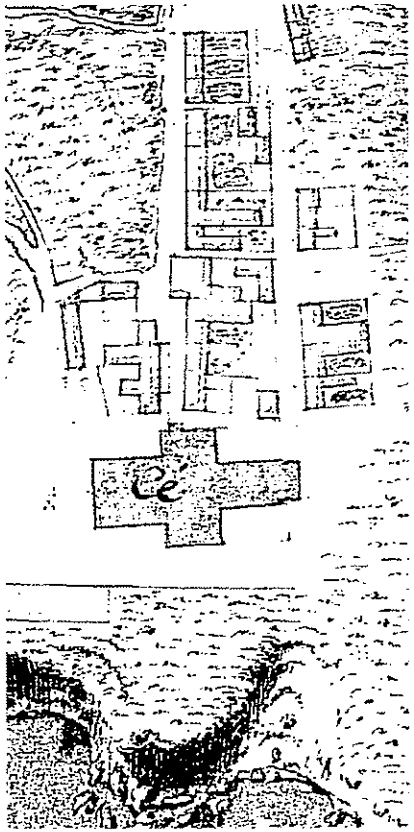


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

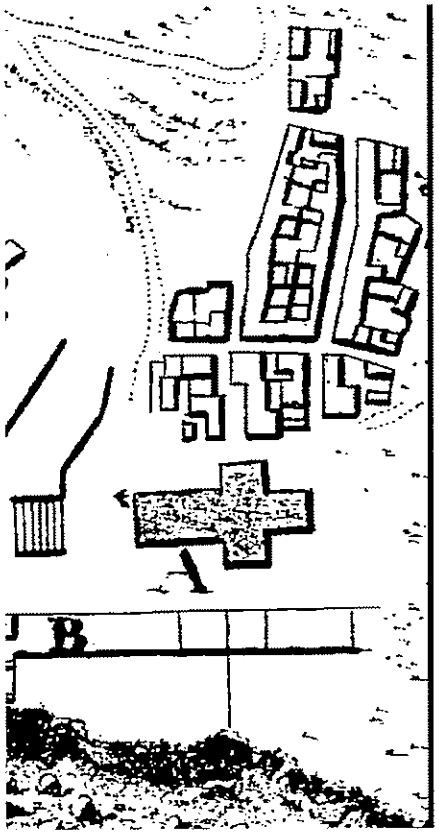


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

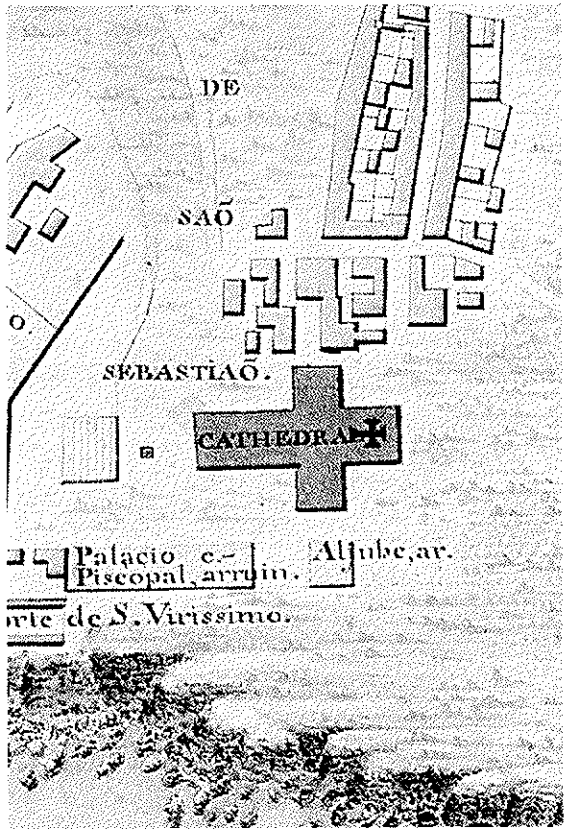


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

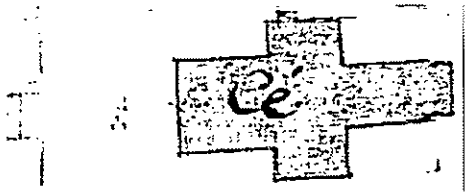


Fig. 4, (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 5, (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

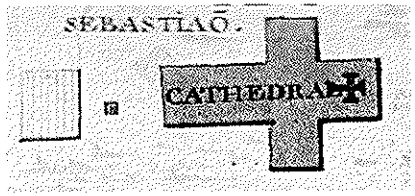
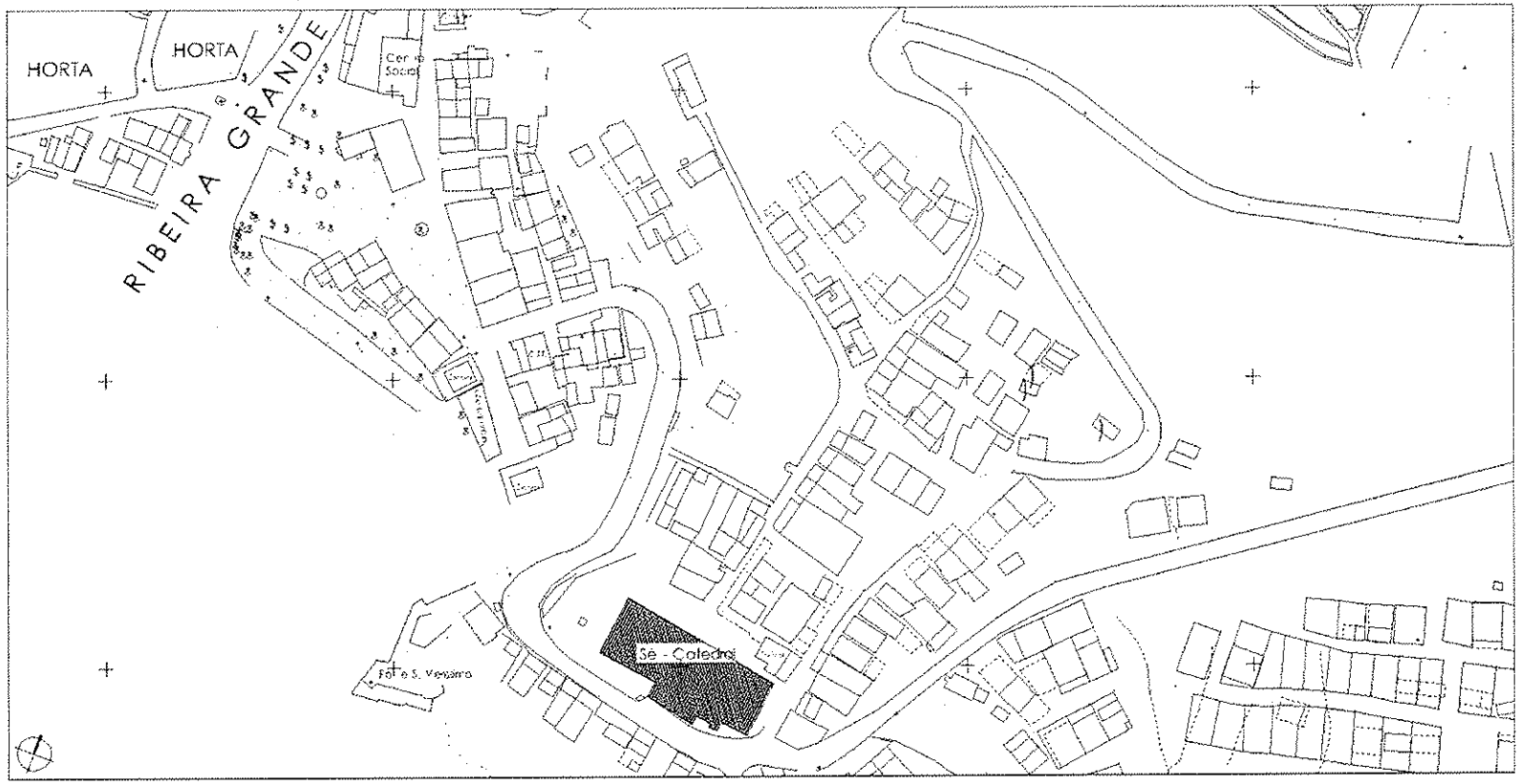


Fig. 6, (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



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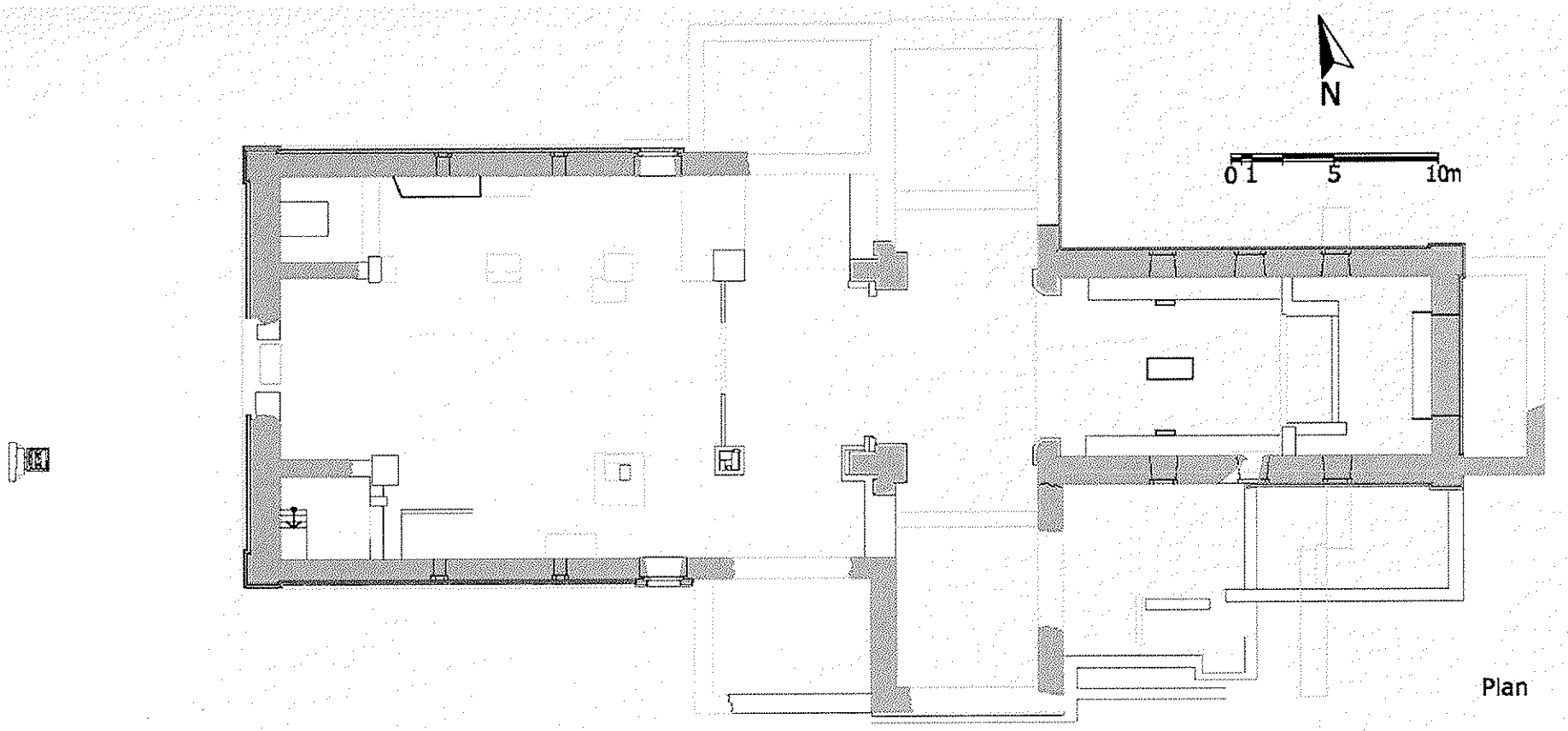
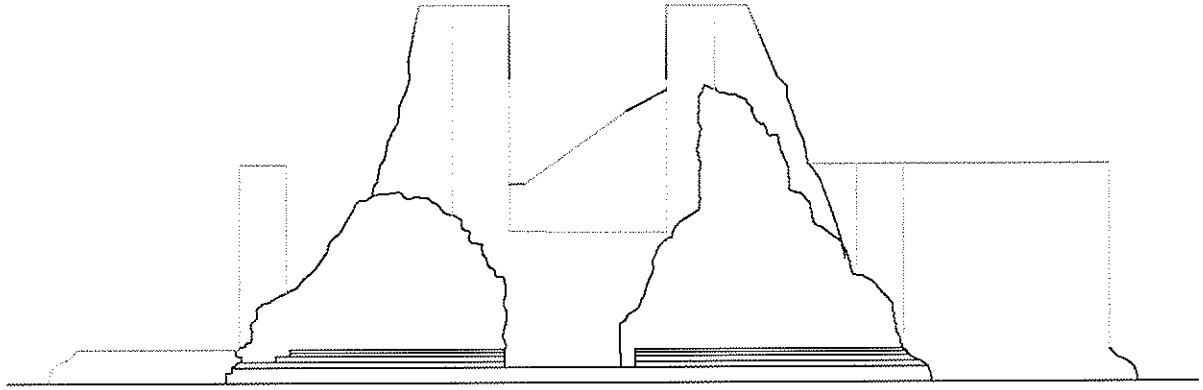


Fig. 8

Elevations



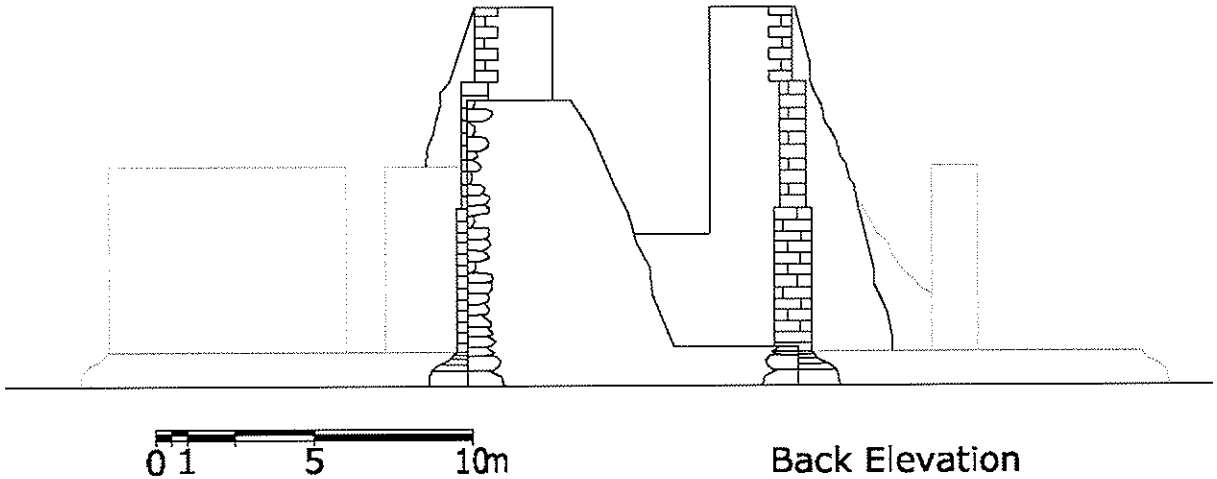


Fig. 9

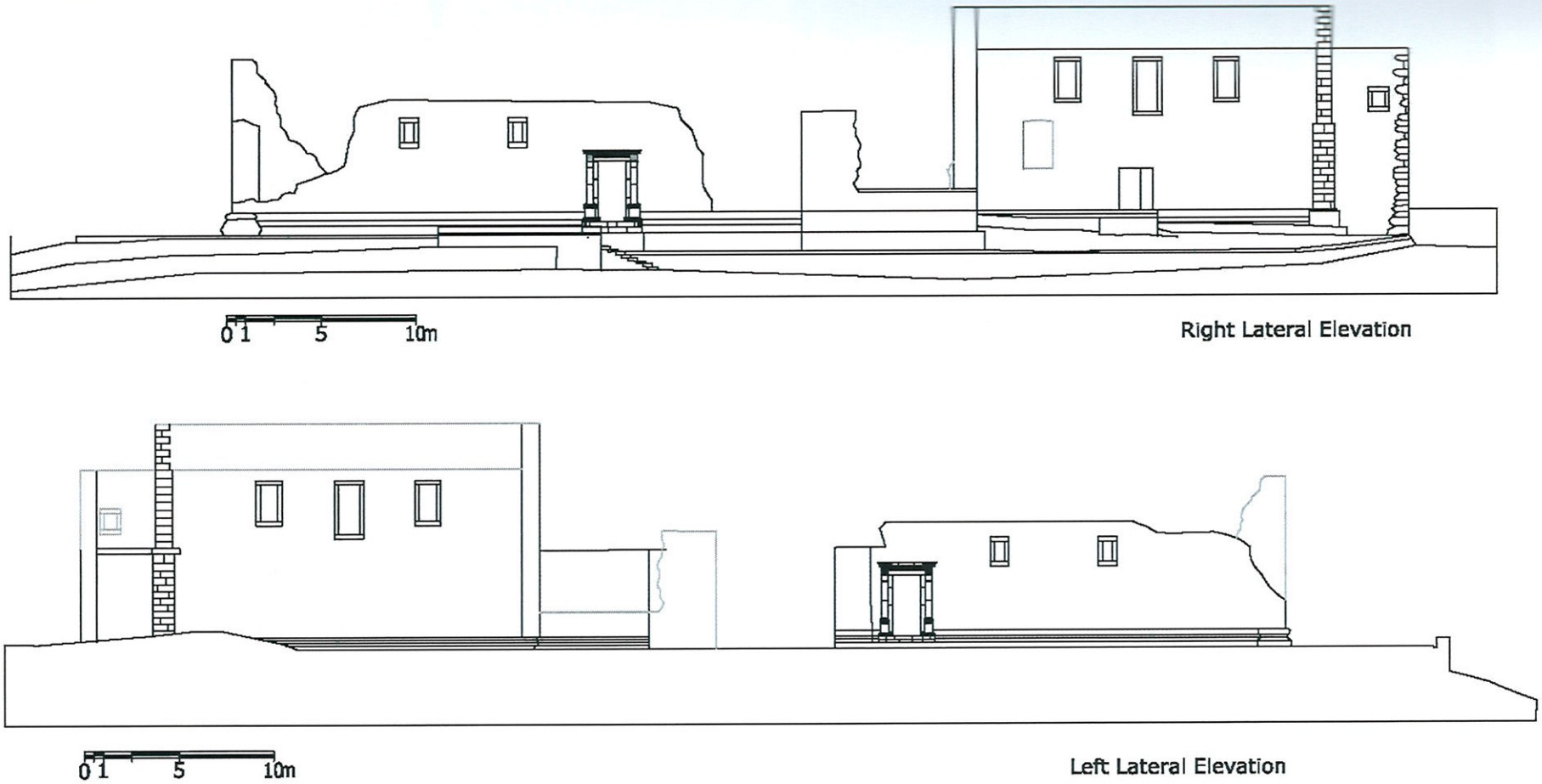

0 1 5 10m
Right Lateral Elevation
0 1 5 10m
Left Lateral Elevation

Fig. 10

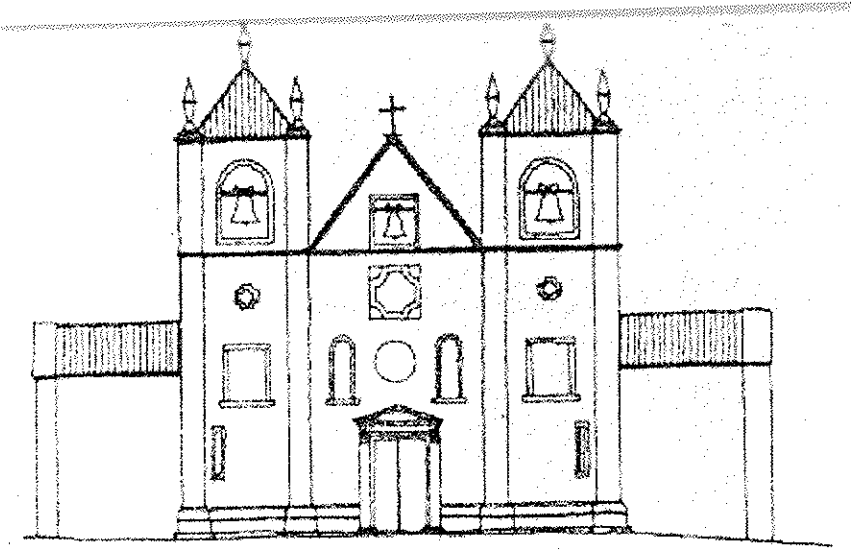


Fig. 11 (Source: Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)

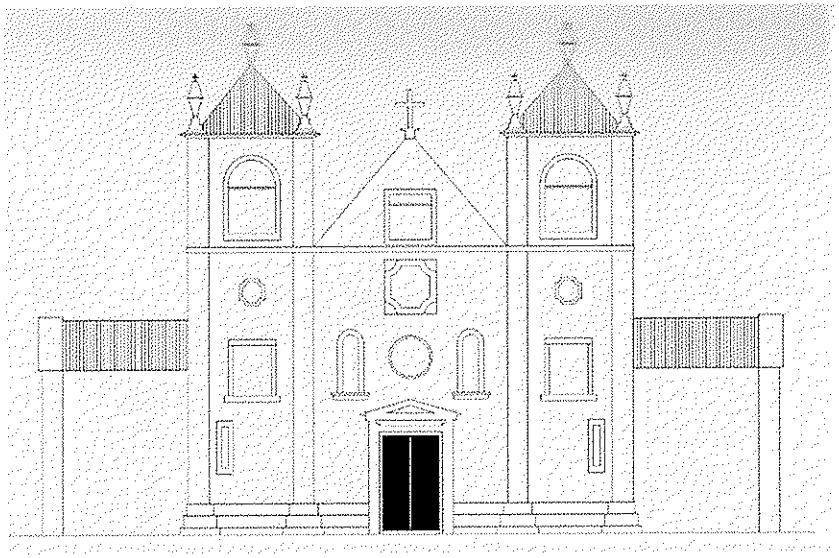


Fig. 12

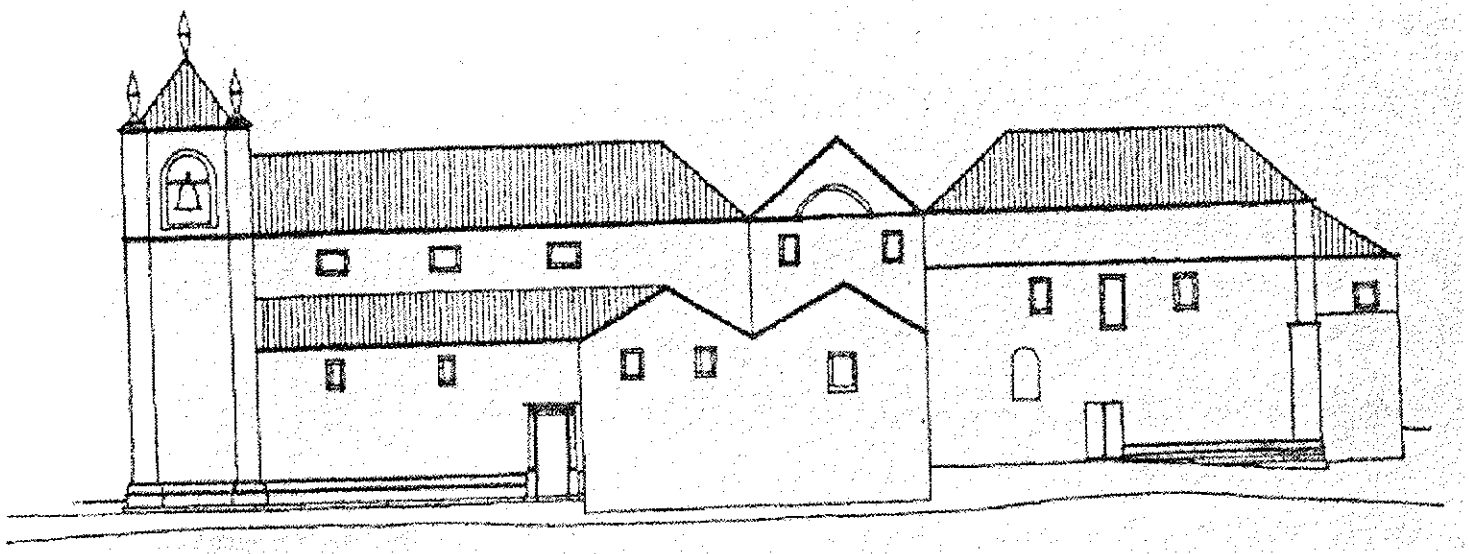


Fig. 13 (Source: Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)

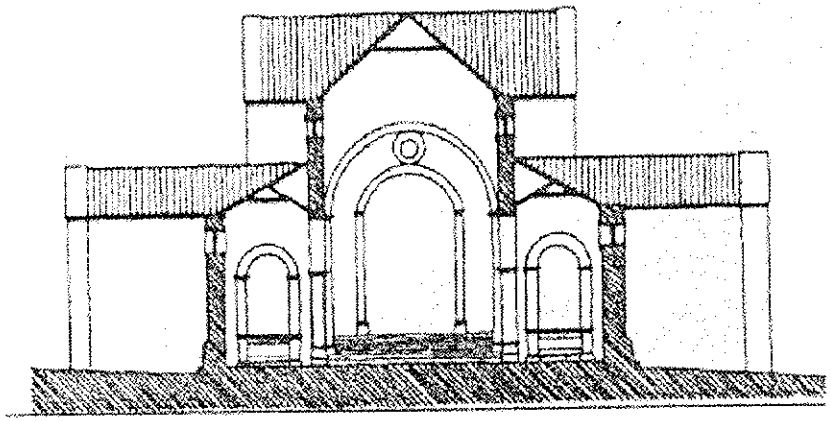


Fig. 14 (Source: Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)

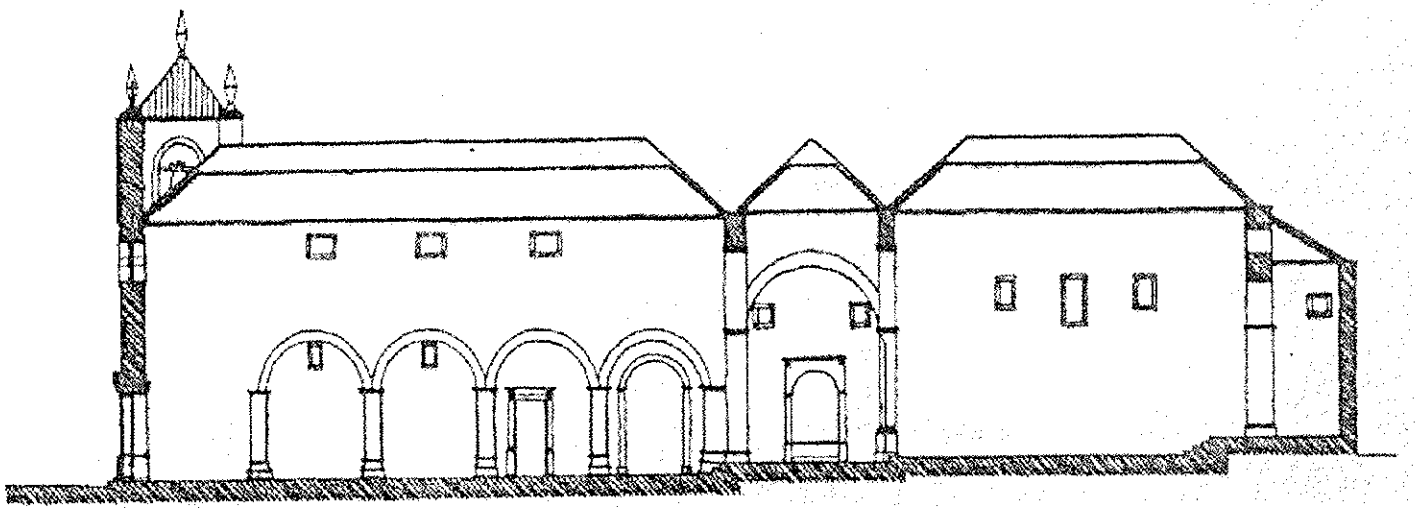


Fig. 15 (Source: Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)



Fig. 16 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)



Fig. 17 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)

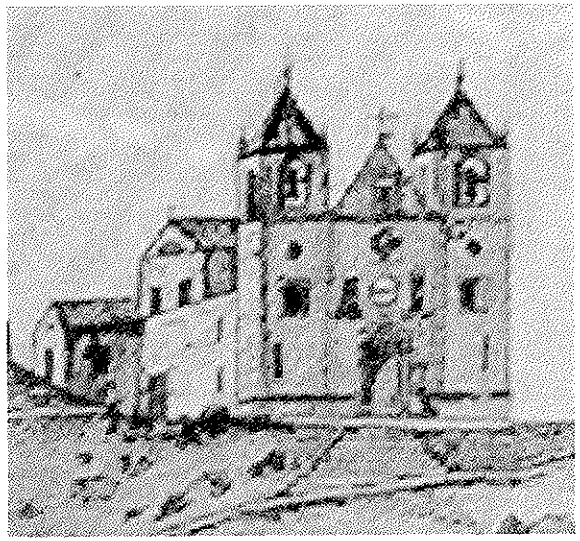


Fig. 18 (Source: author Travessos Valldez, 1864)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views

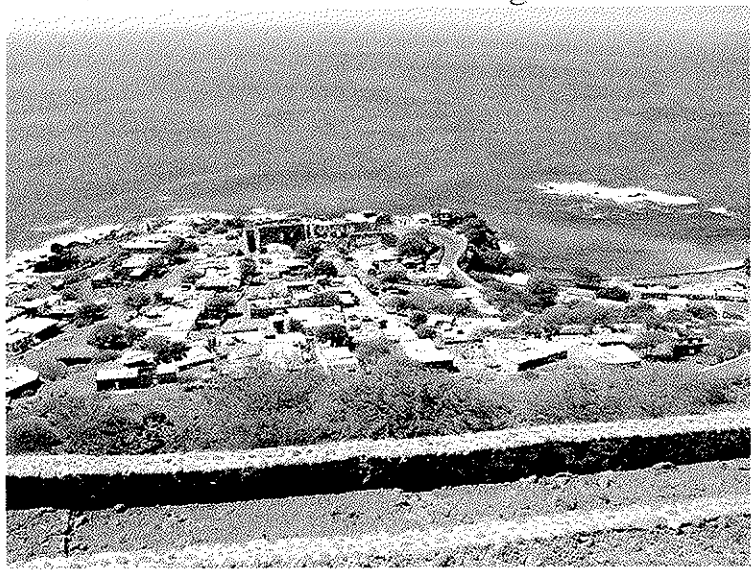


Fig. 19

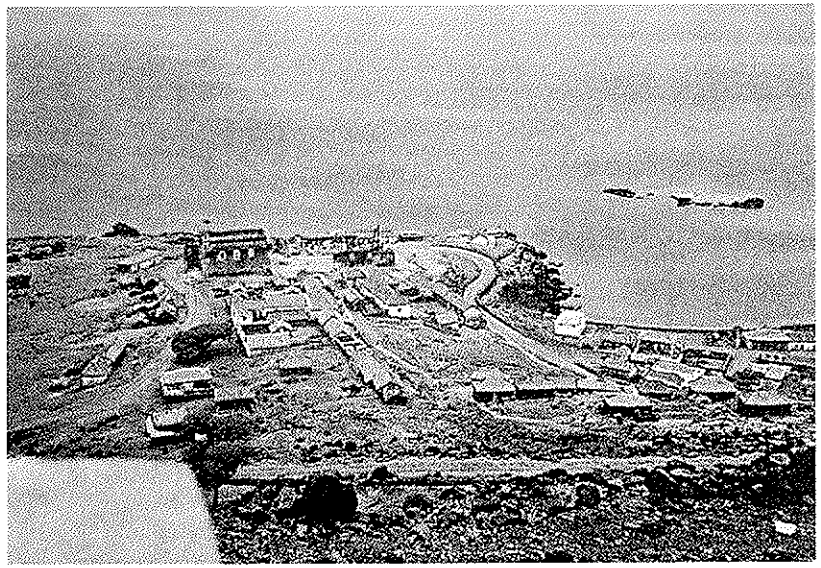


Fig. 20 (Source: photo author unknown, c. 1960, AHN)

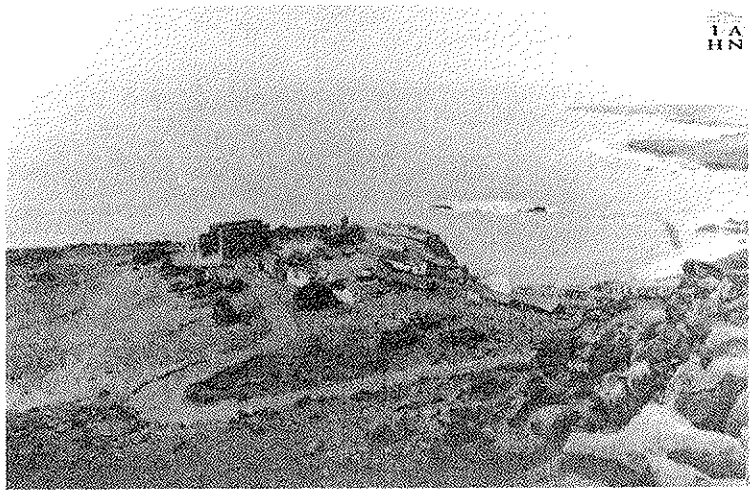


Fig. 21, (Source: photo Ilidio do Amaral)

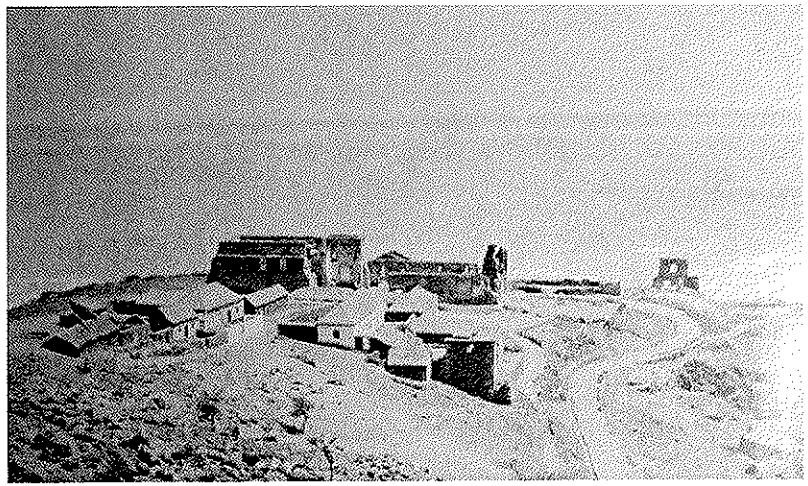
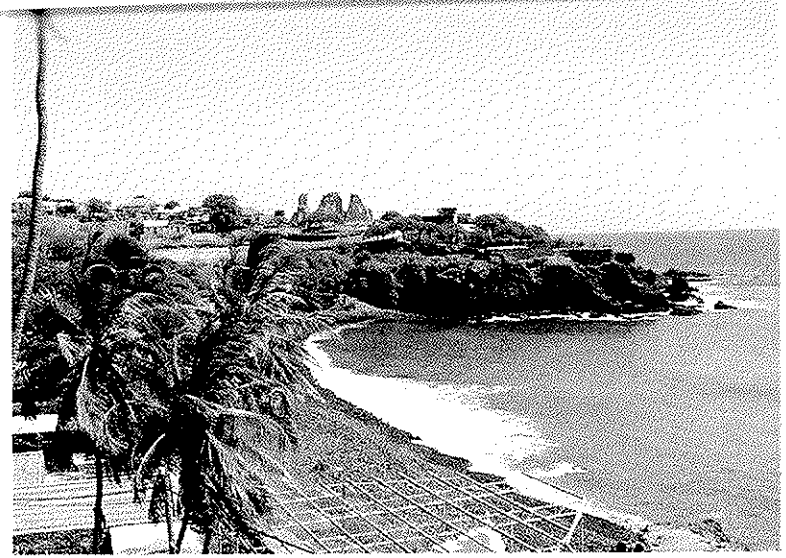


Fig. 22 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



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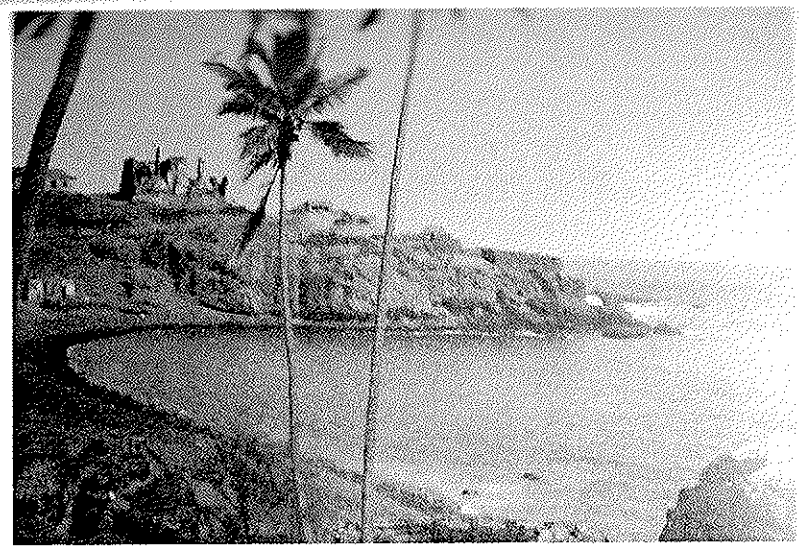


24 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)

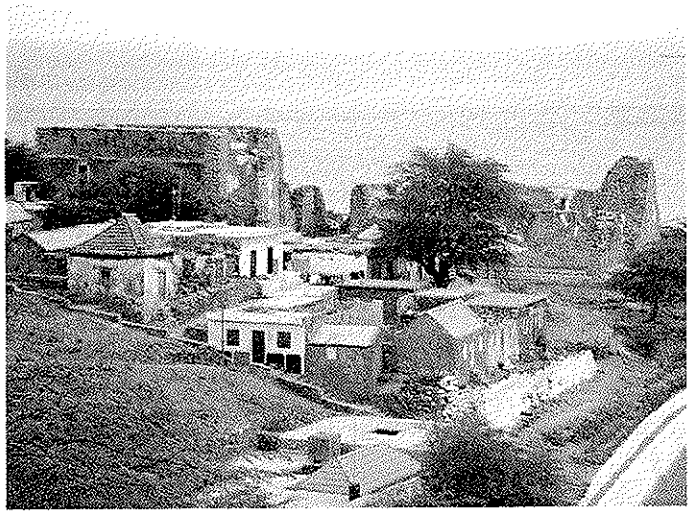
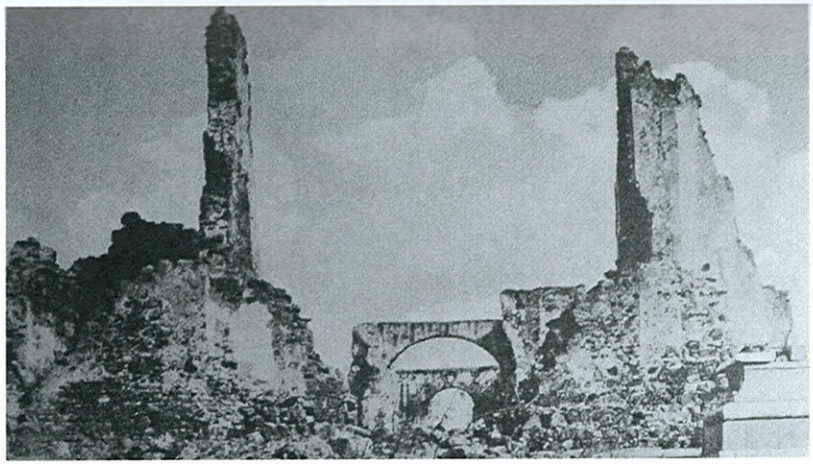


Fig. 25

Detail views



Fig. 26



27 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 28 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)

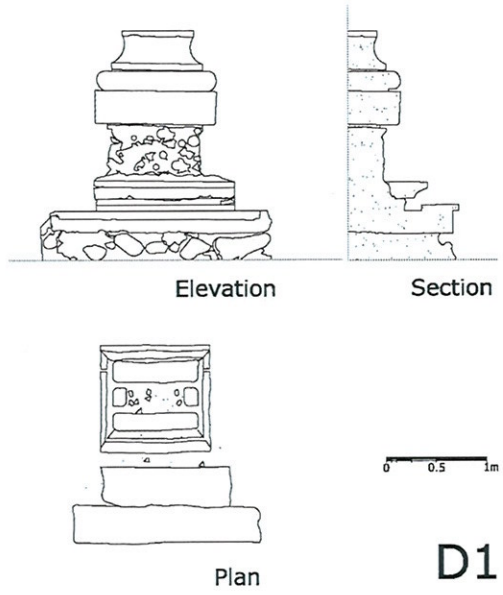


Fig. 29

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E ARQUIVO

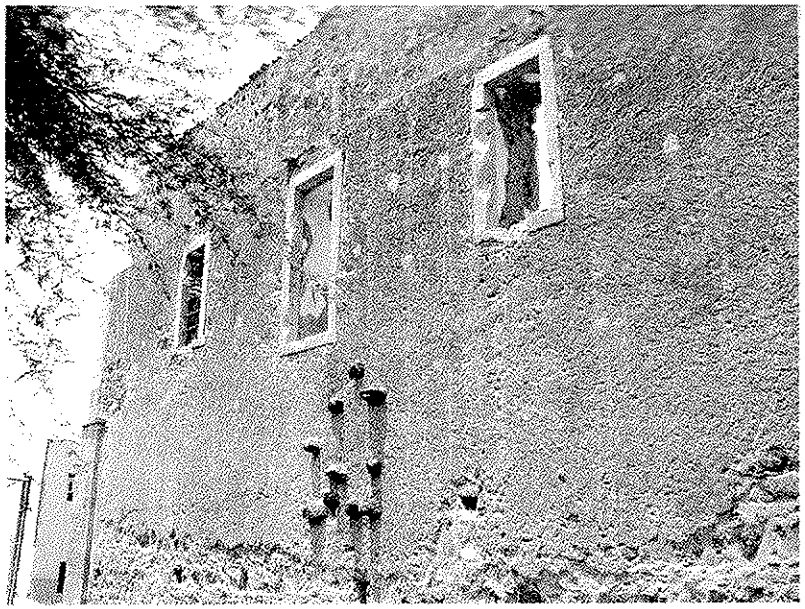
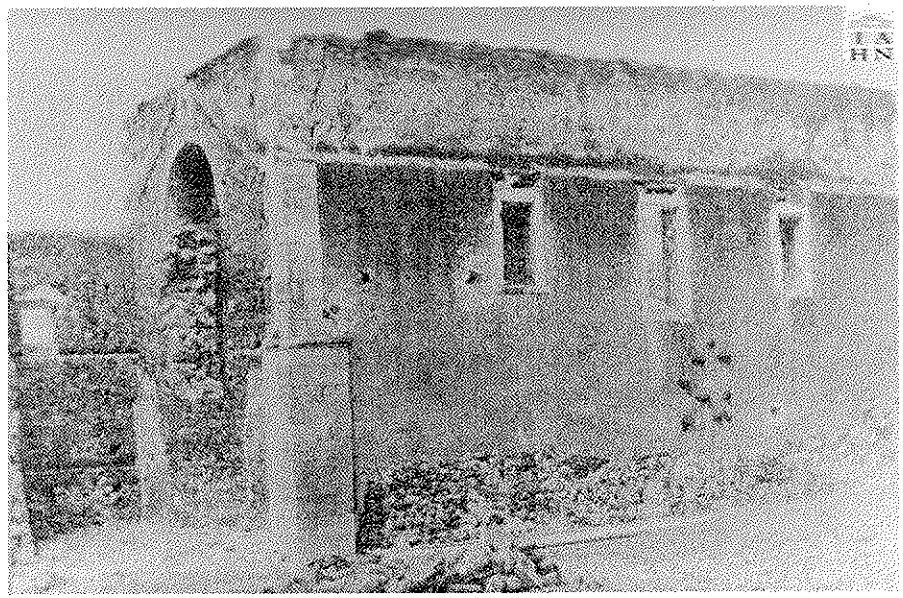
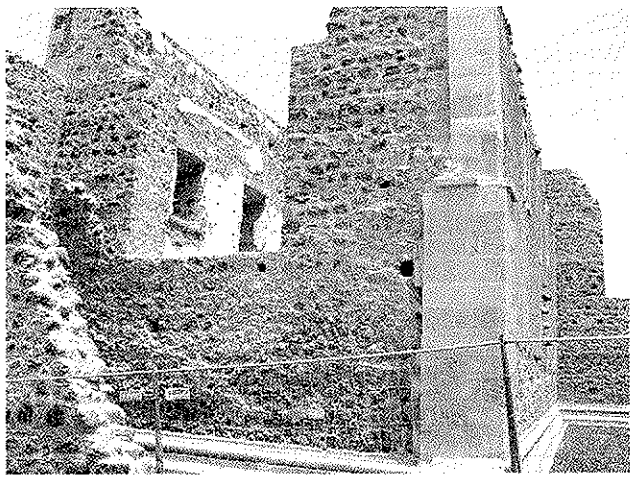


Fig. 30



31(Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



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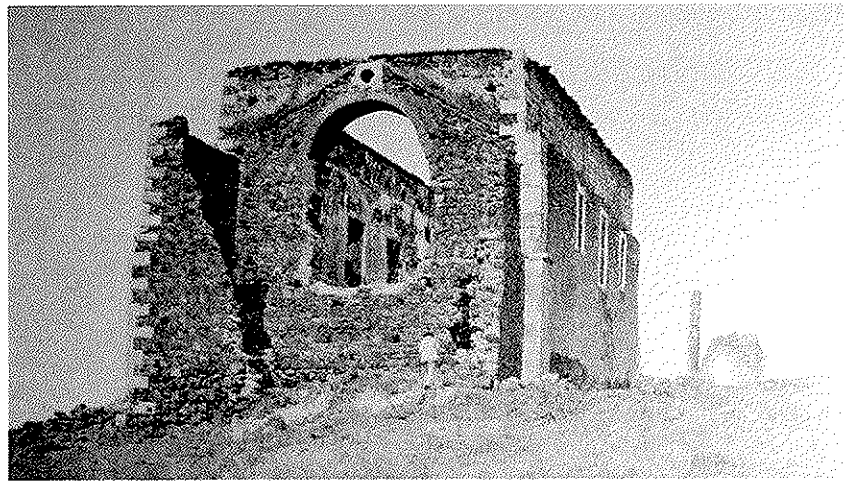


33 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)

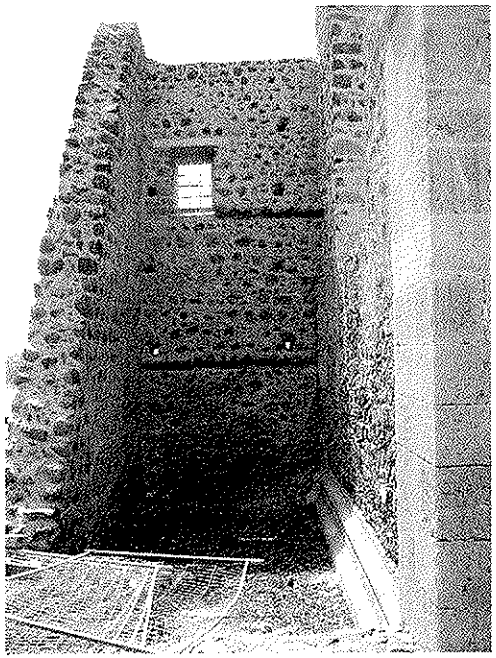
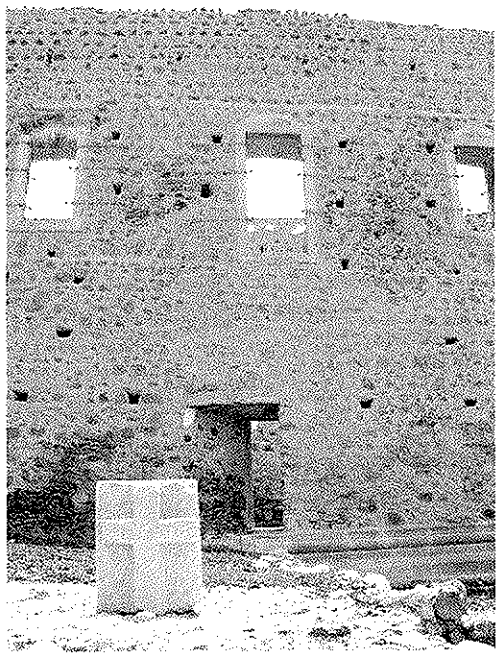


Fig. 34



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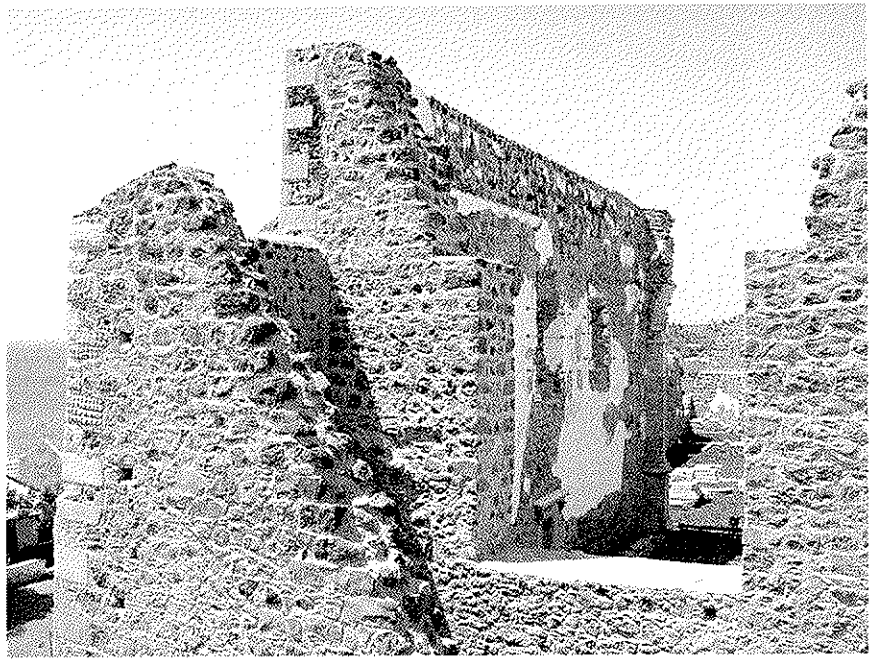
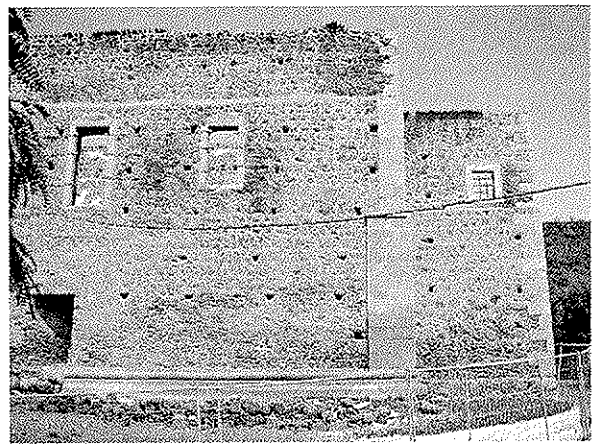


Fig. 36



Fig. 37



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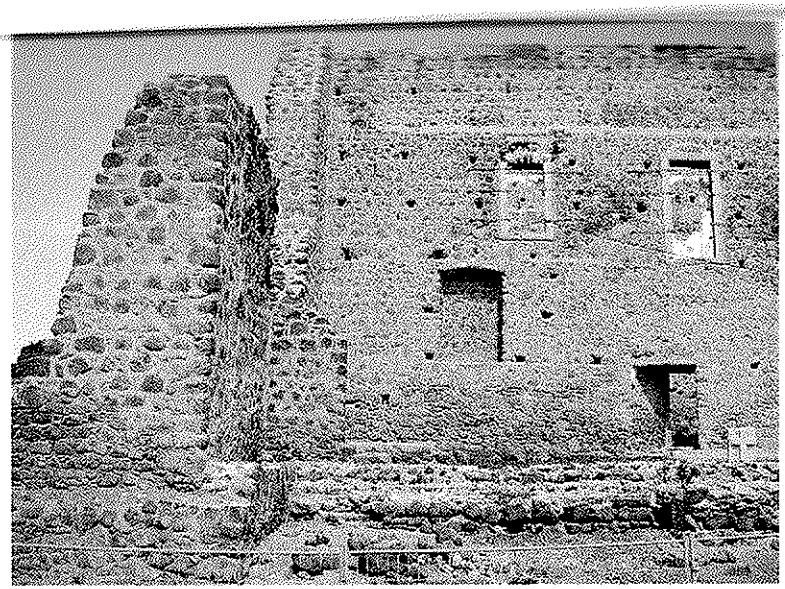


Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



Fig. 43



Fig. 44

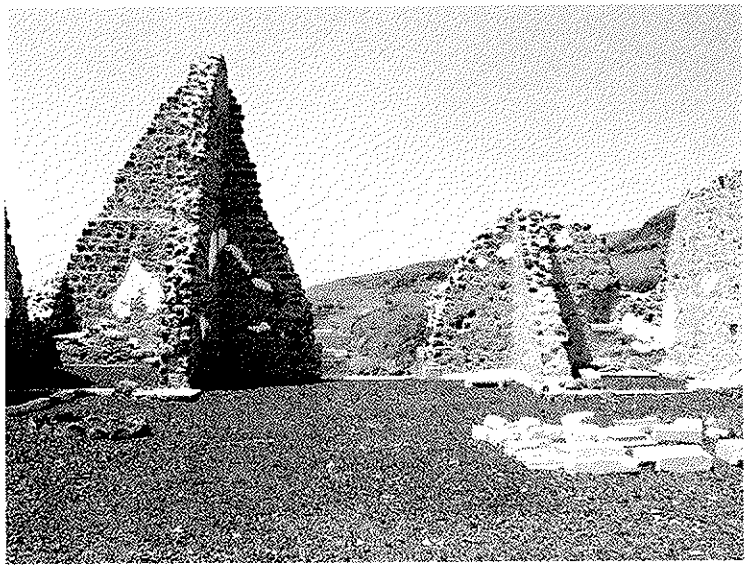


Fig. 45



Fig. 46 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)

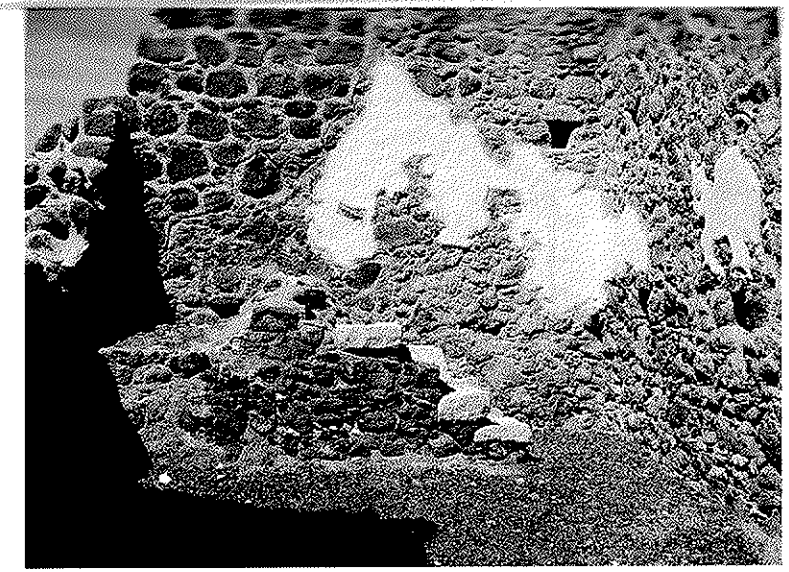


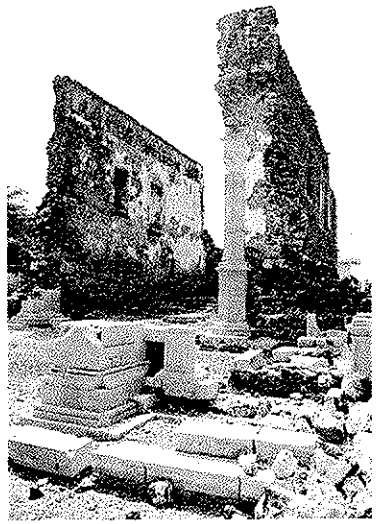
Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49 (Source: D. Segura, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA)



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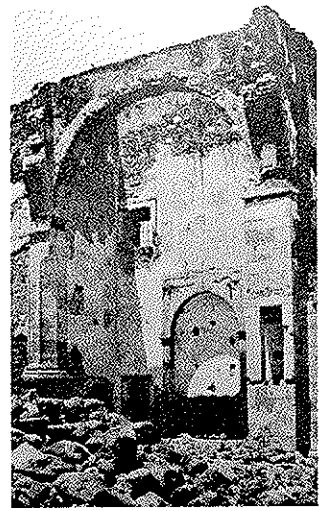


Fig. 51 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 52



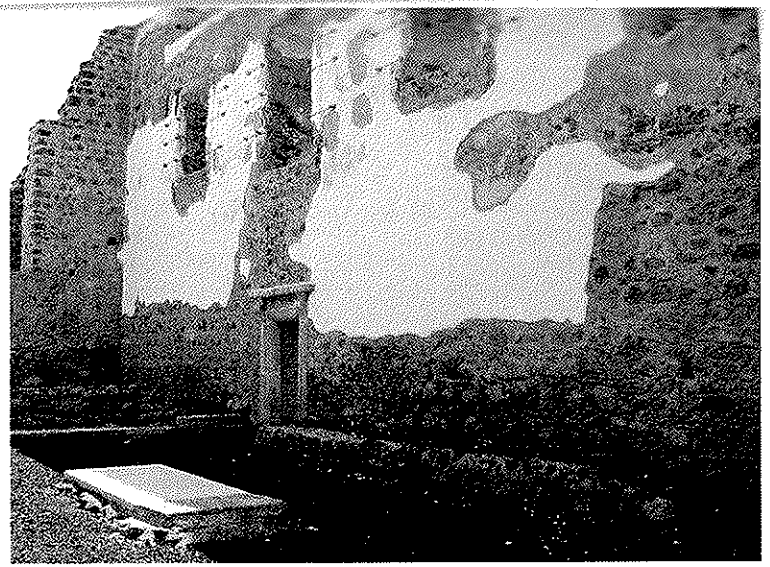
Fig. 53 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 54 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



Fig. 55 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



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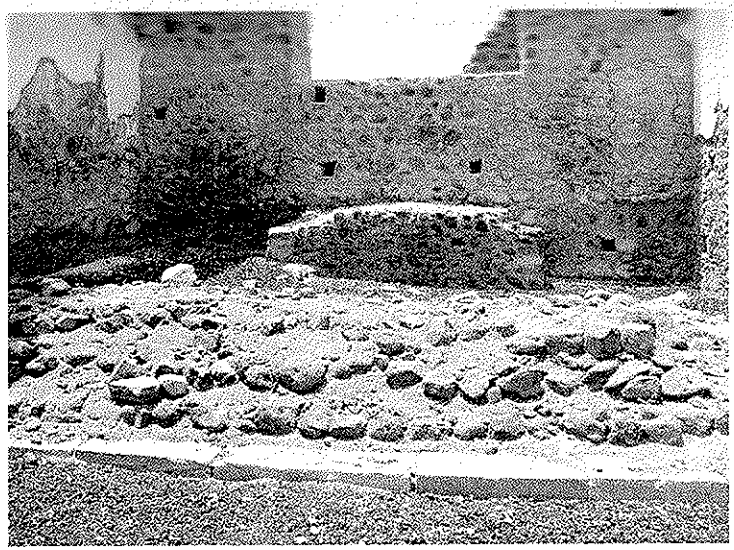
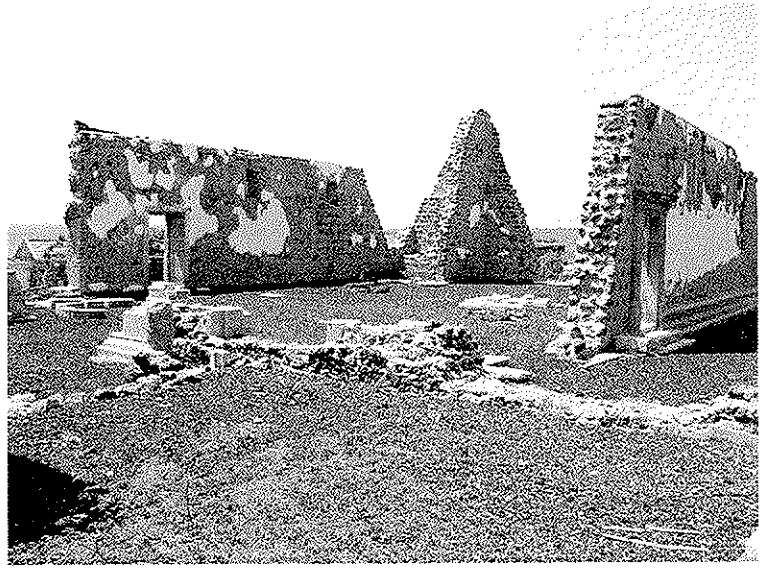


Fig. 57



Fig. 58



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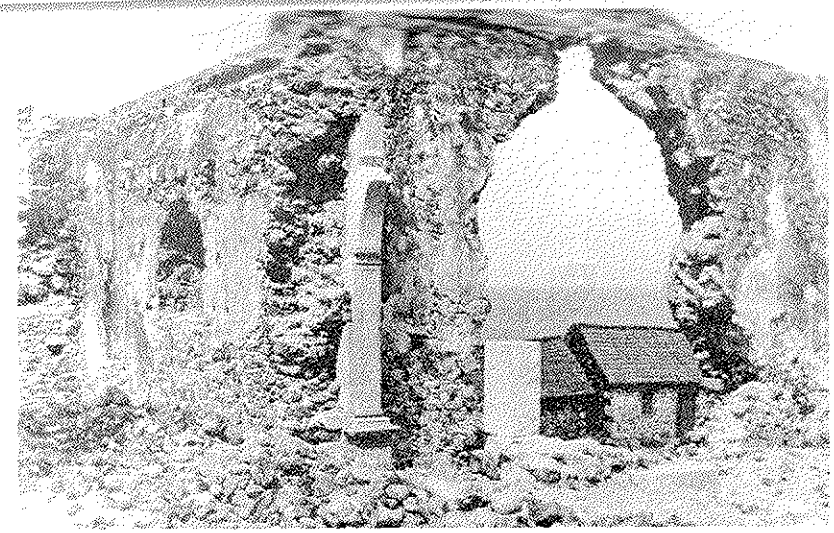

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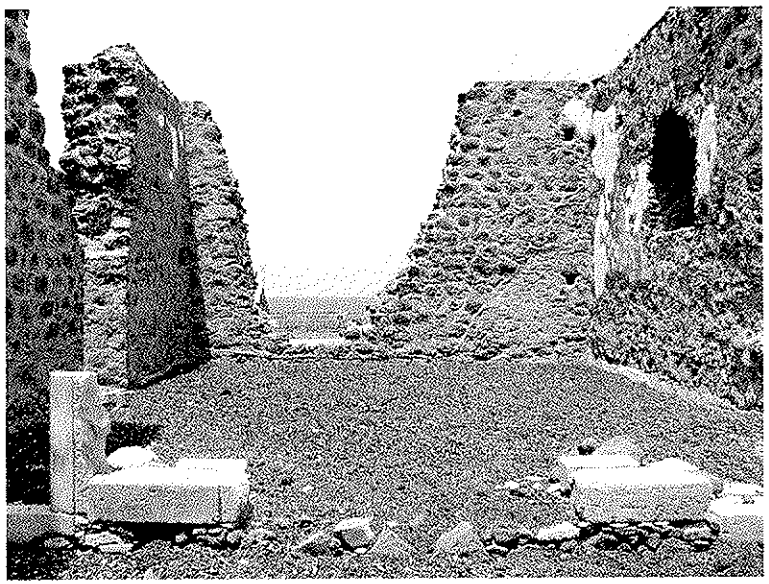


Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64 masonry after reconstruction (IPPAR)

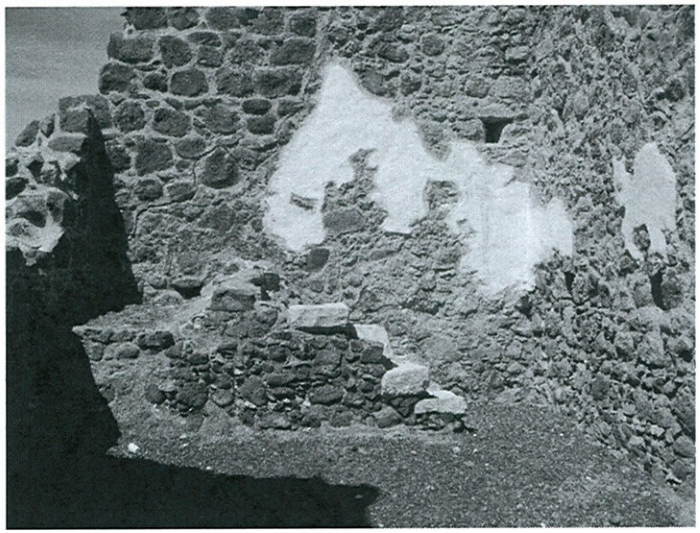
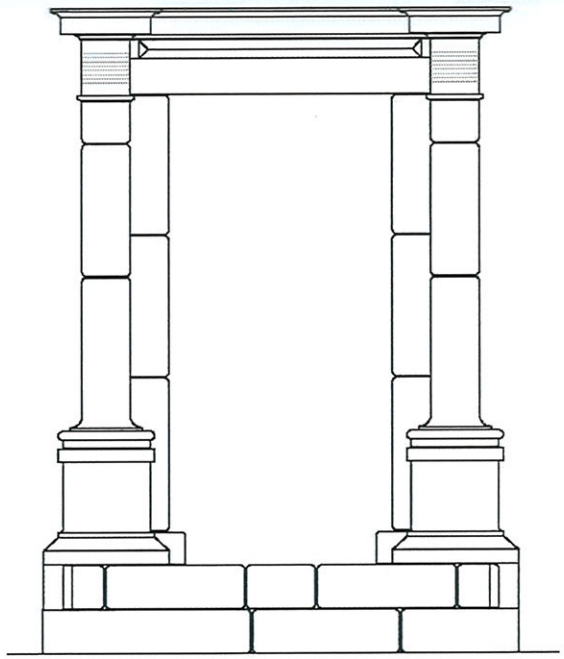
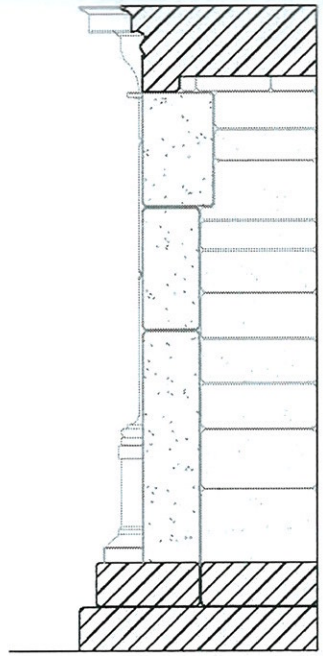


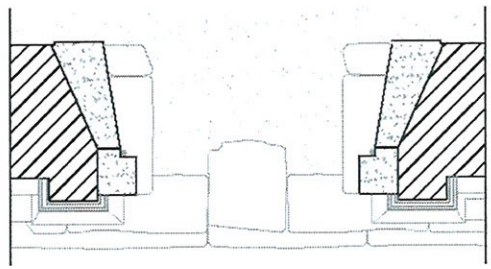
Fig. 65

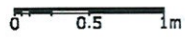


Fig. 66 Door 1









D3

Fig. 67 Door 1



Fig. 68 Door 3

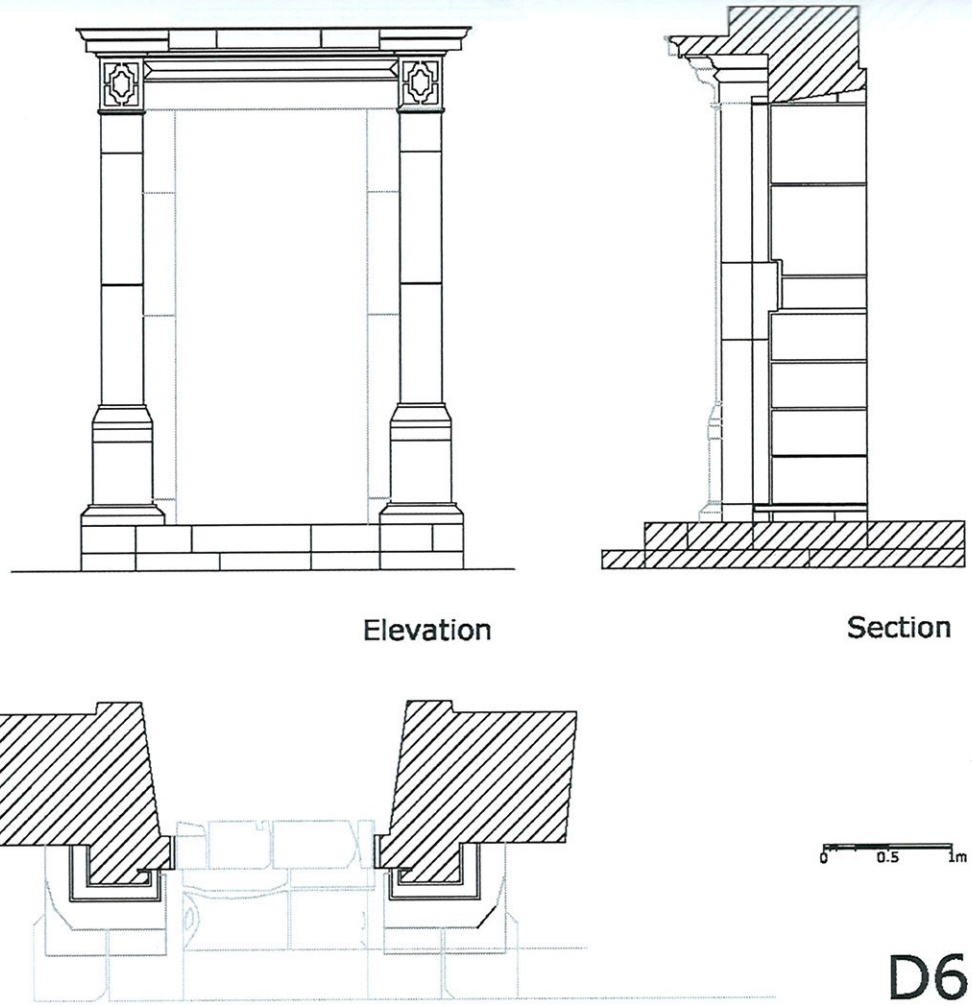


Fig. 69 Door 3



Fig. 70 Door 2

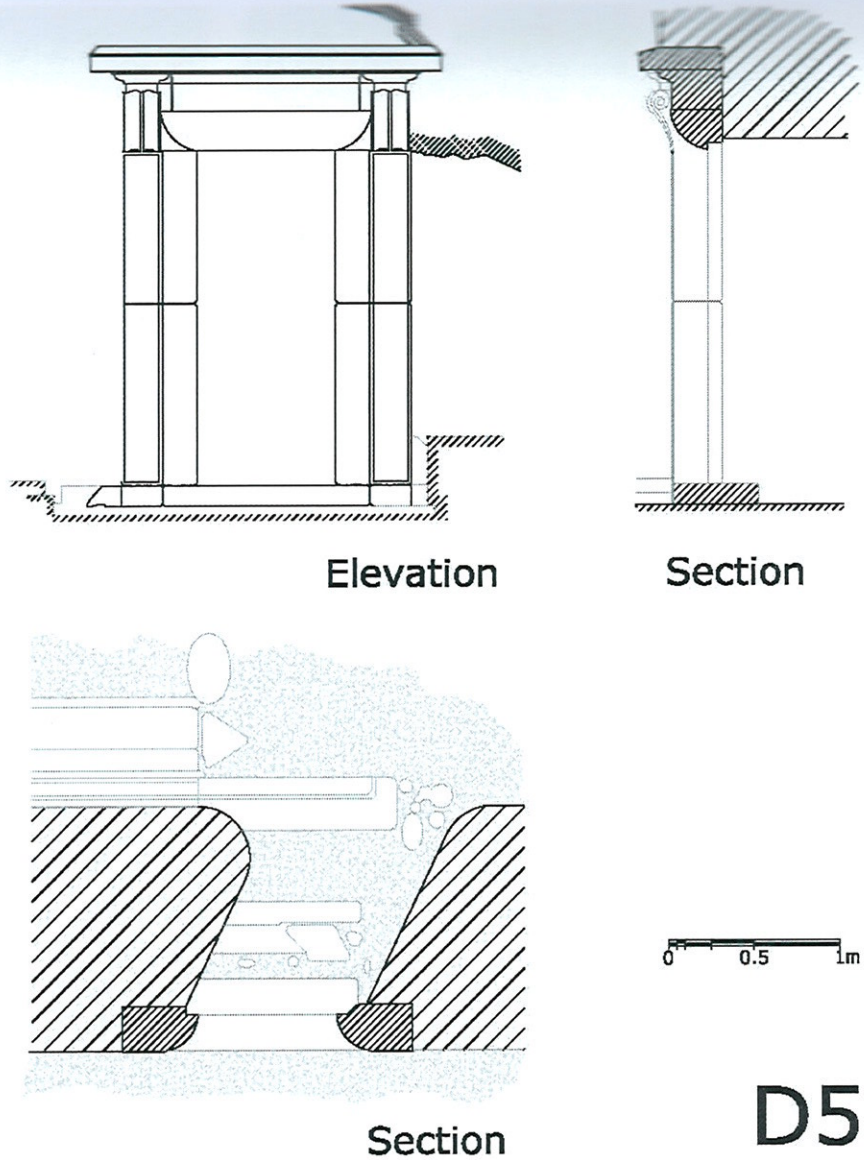


Fig. 71 Door 2



Fig. 72 Door 2

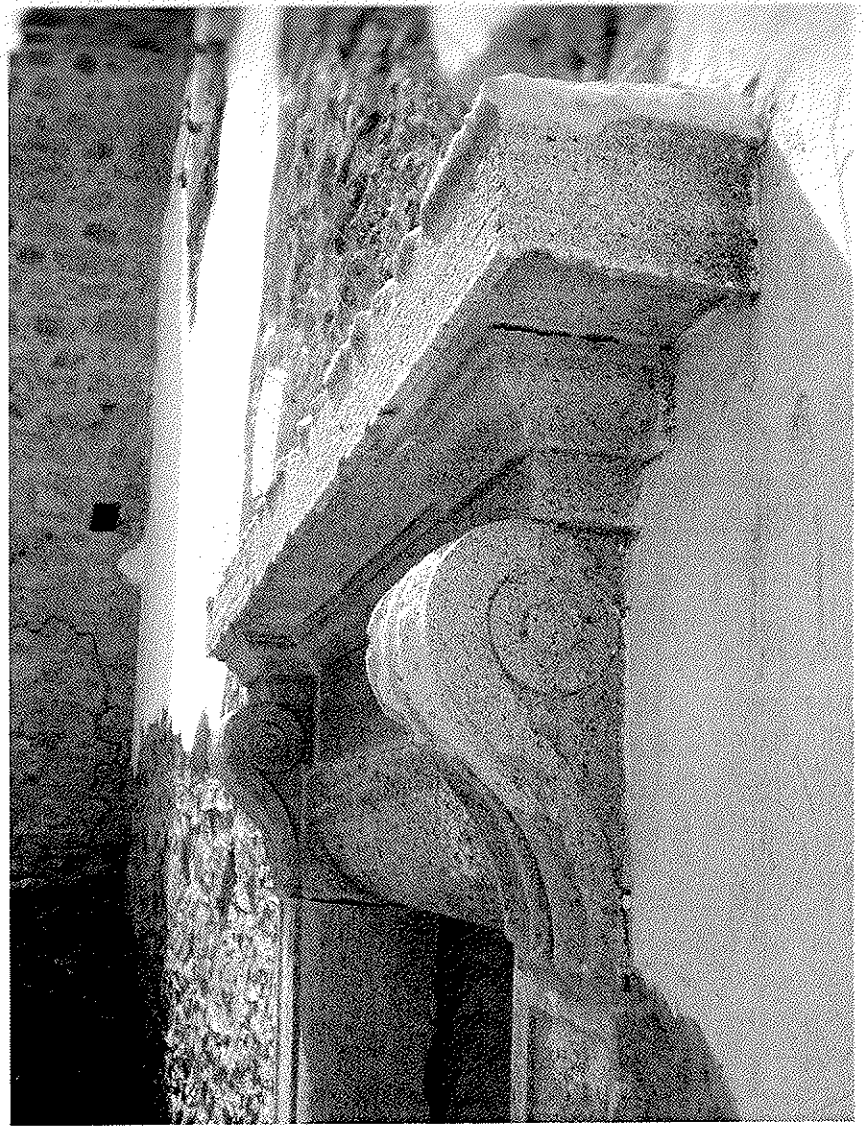


Fig. 73 Door 2



Fig. 74



Fig. 75

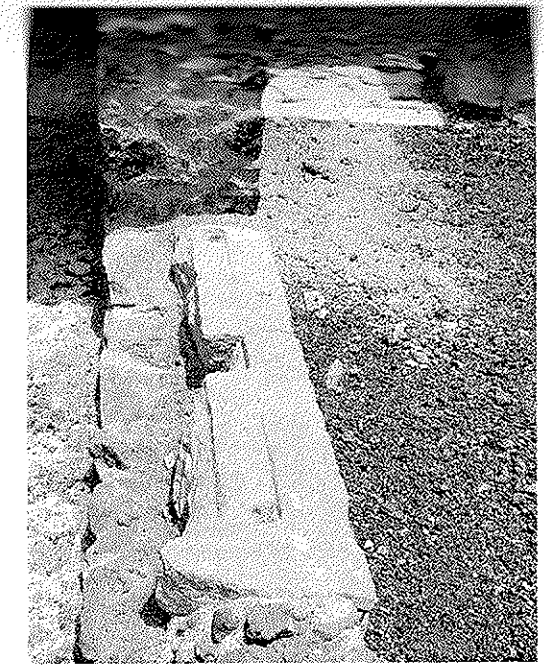
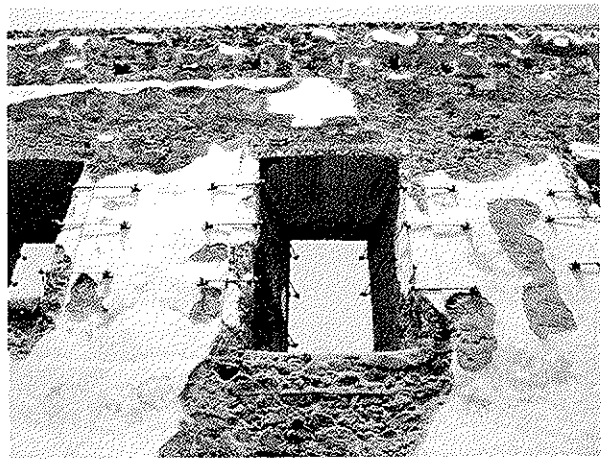


Fig. 76



Fig. 77



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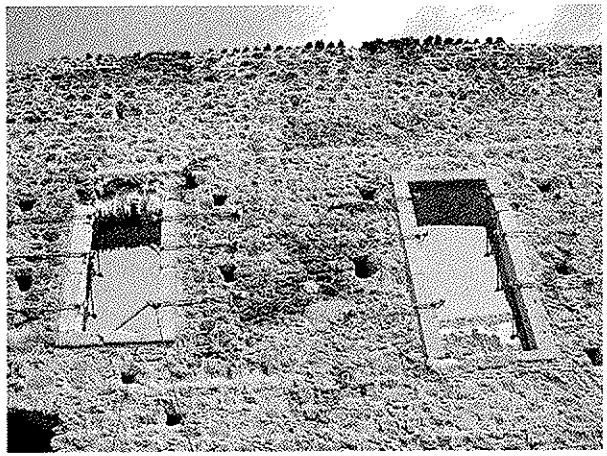
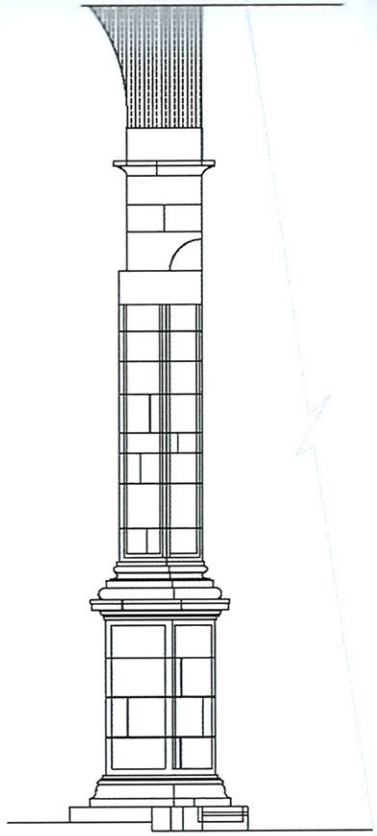


Fig. 79



Fig. 80



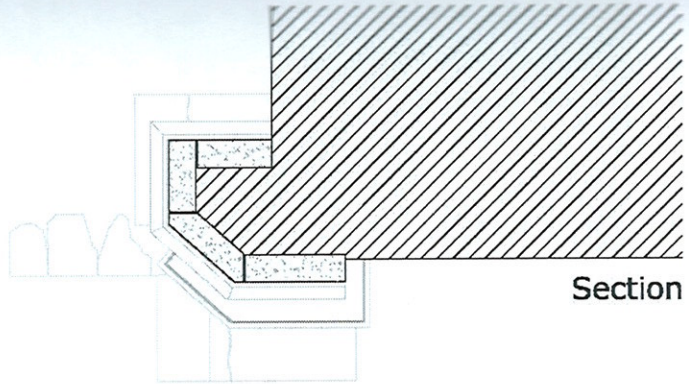


Fig. 81



Fig. 82



Fig. 83

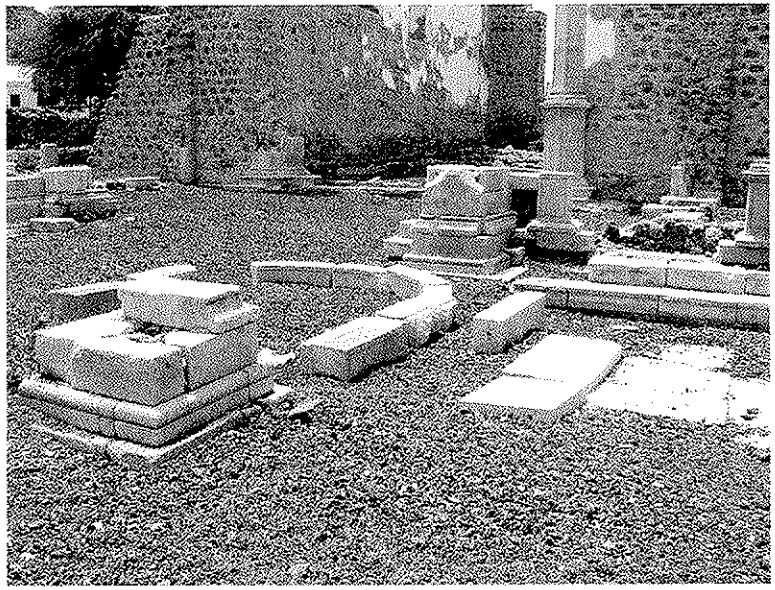


Fig. 84

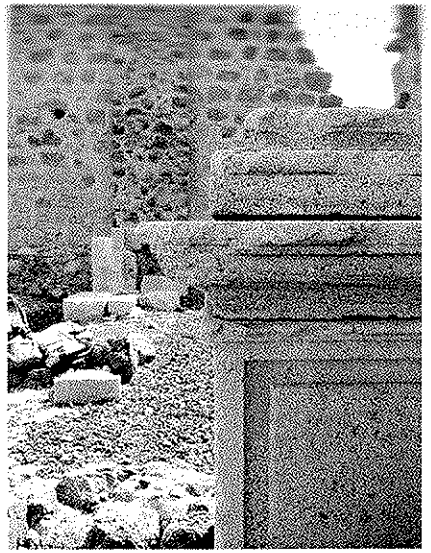
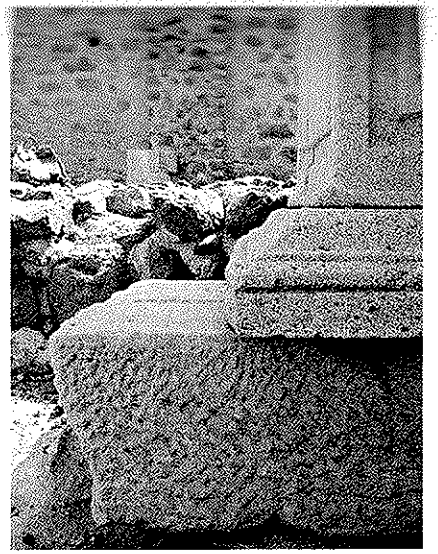


Fig. 85



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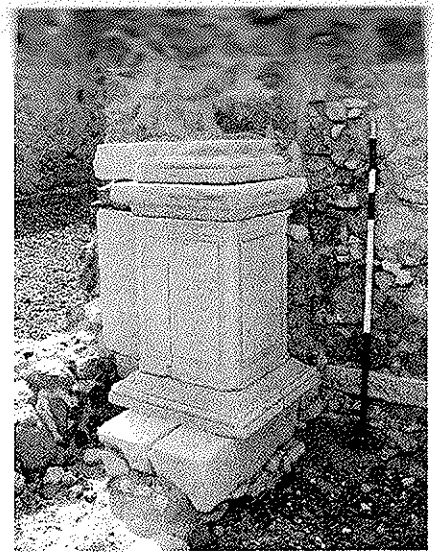


Fig. 87



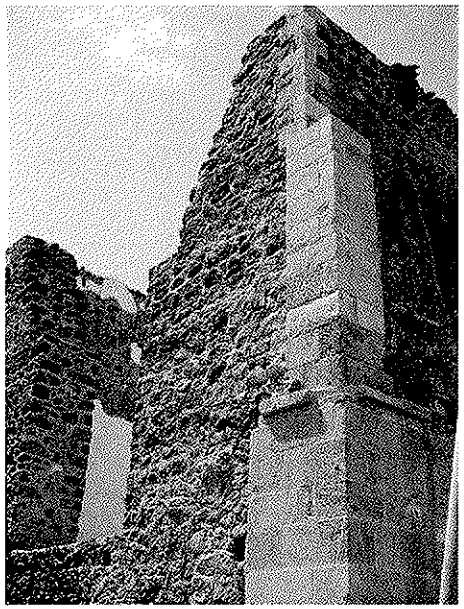
Fig. 88



Fig. 89



Fig. 90



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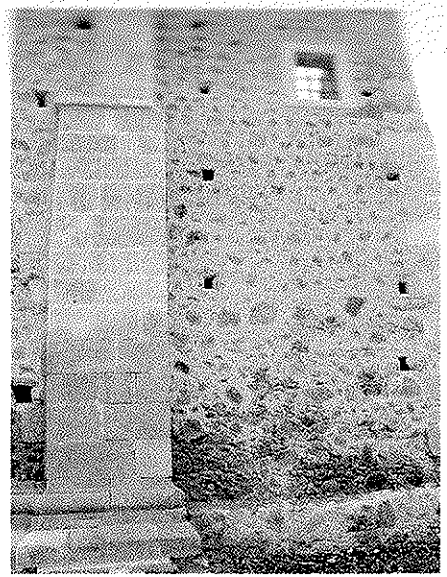

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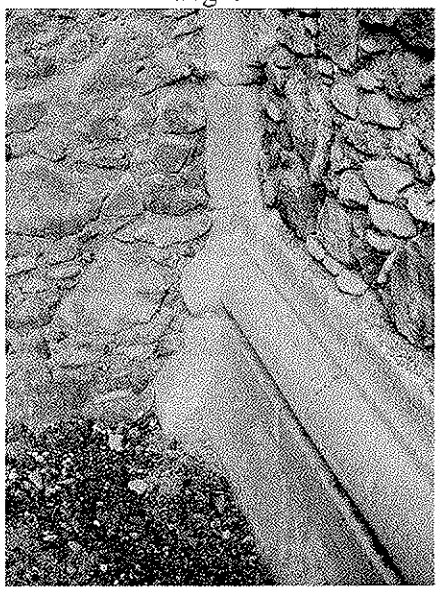

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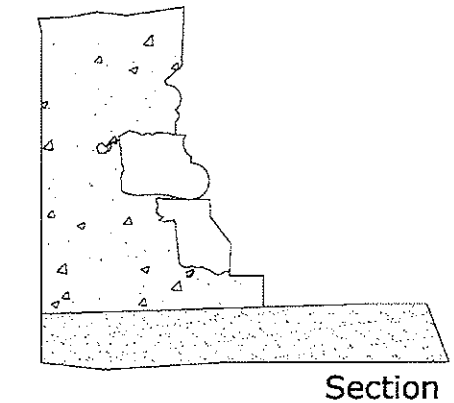


Fig. 93



Fig. 95

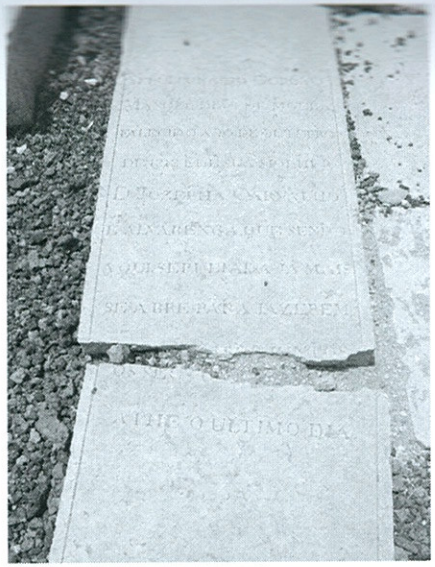


Fig. 96



Fig. 97

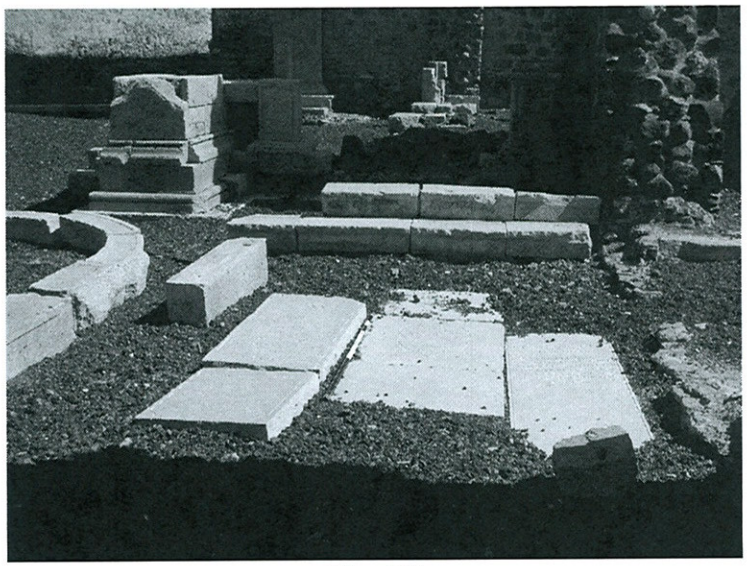


Fig. 98



Fig. 99

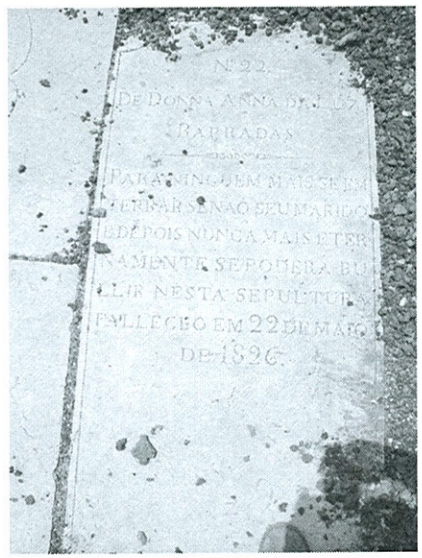


Fig. 100



Fig. 101

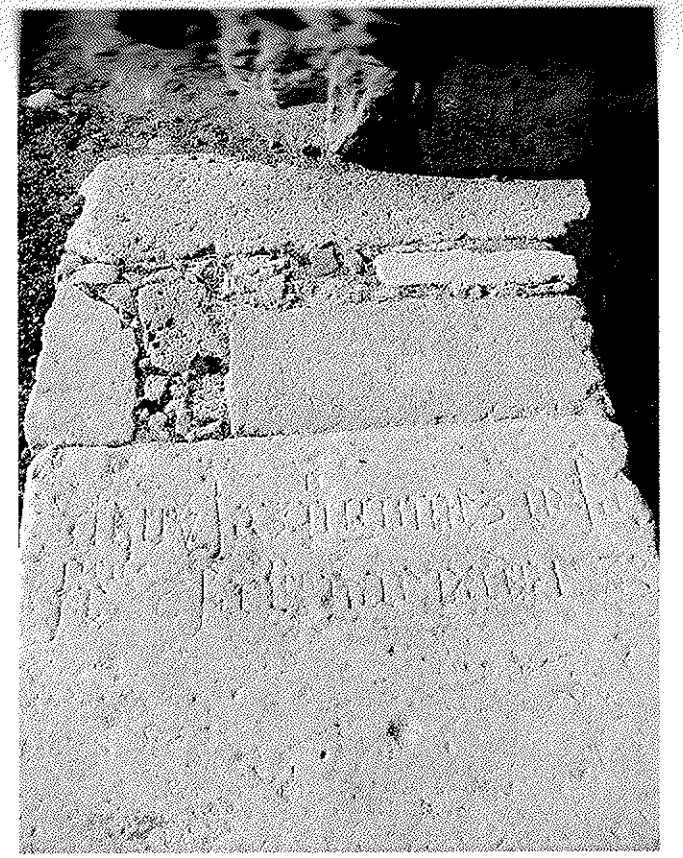


Fig. 102

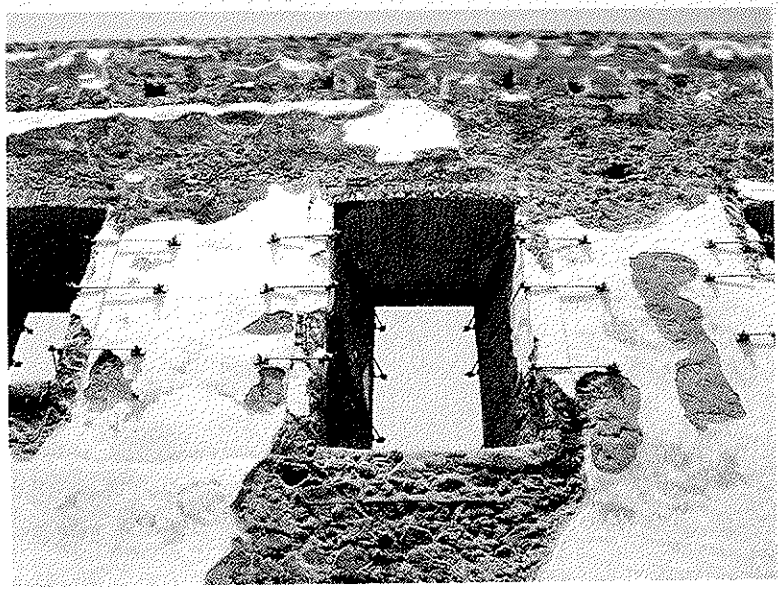


Fig. 103



Fig. 104

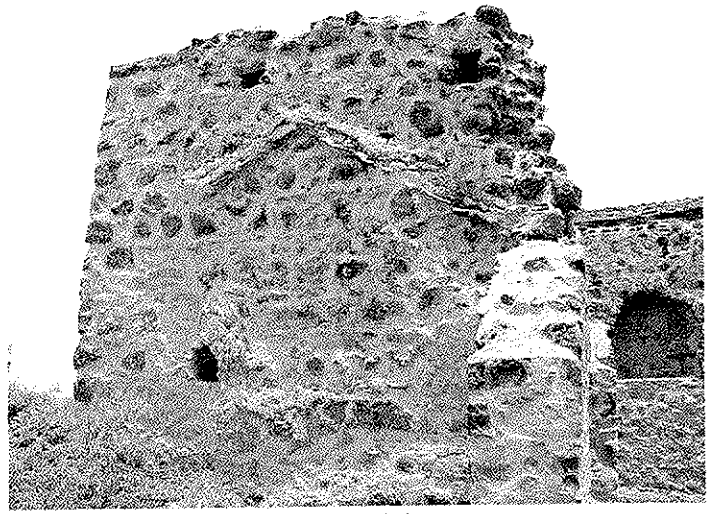


Fig. 105



Fig. 106

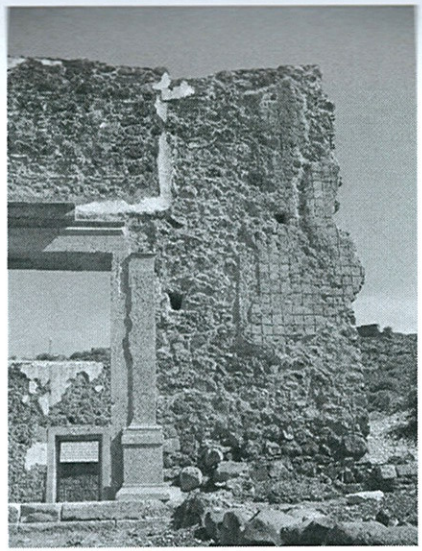


Fig. 107



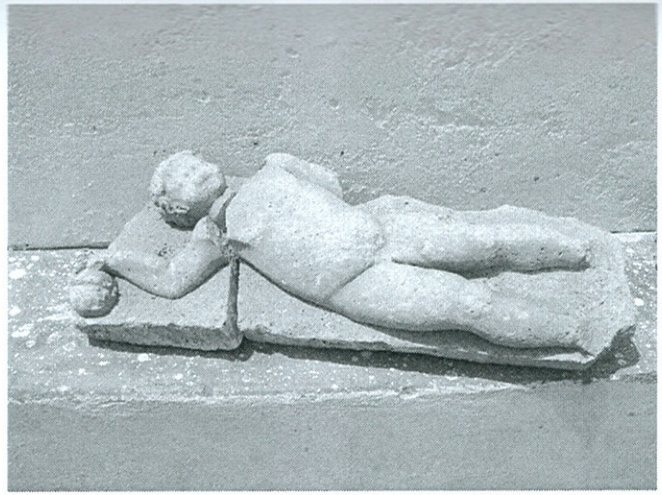
Fig. 108



Fig. 109



Fig. 110



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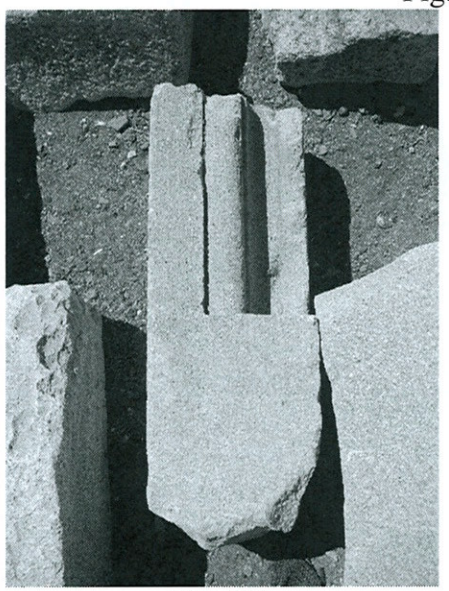


Fig. 112

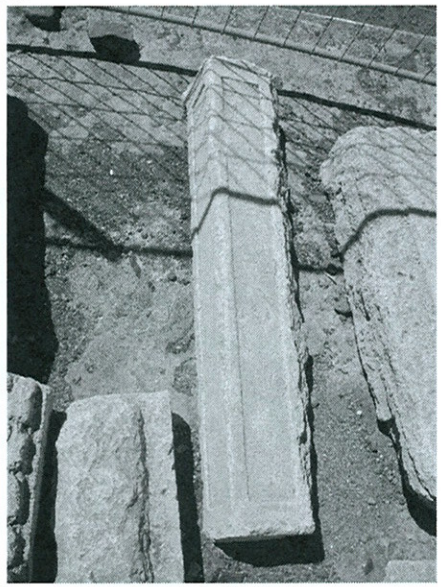


Fig. 113



Fig. 114



Fig. 115



Fig. 116



Fig. 117



Fig. 118



Fig. 119



Fig. 120

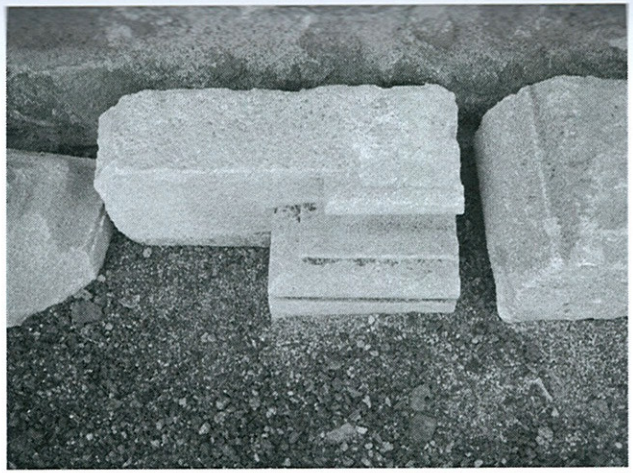


Fig. 121



Fig. 122



Fig. 123



Fig. 124

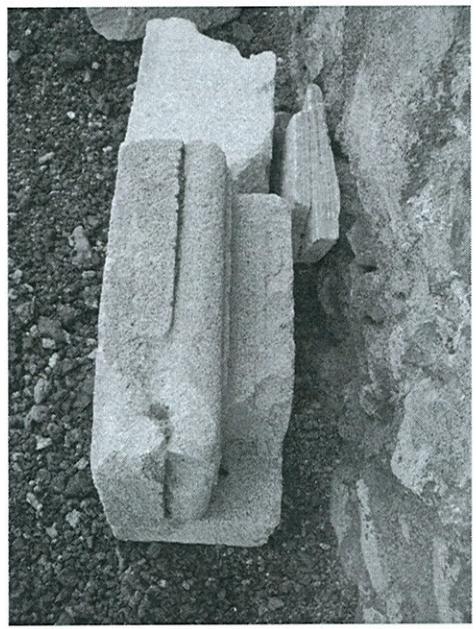


Fig. 125



Fig. 126



Fig. 127


Sé Catedral - vista para
central do lado
do transepto norte
Cidade Velha!

Fig. 128

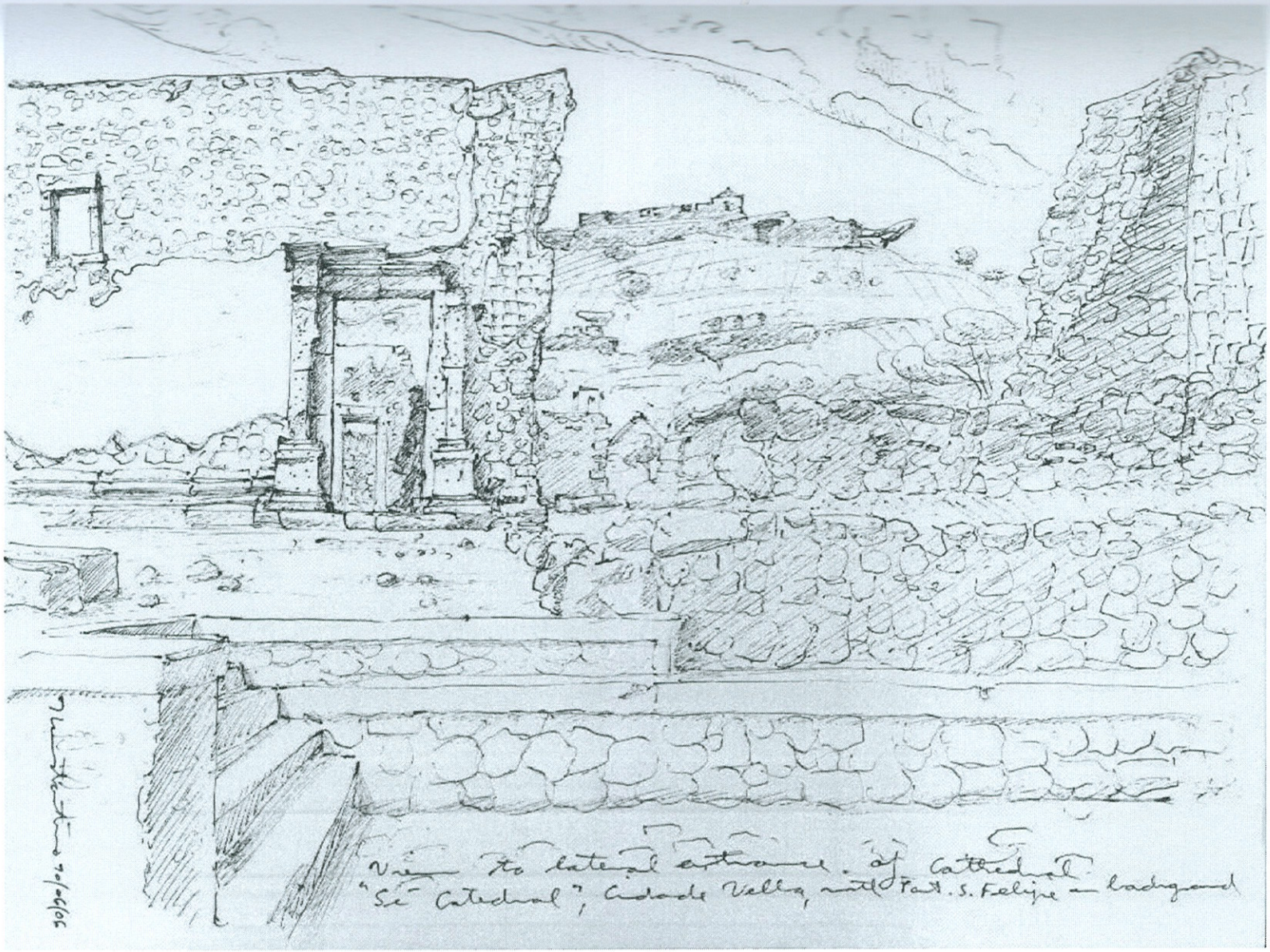
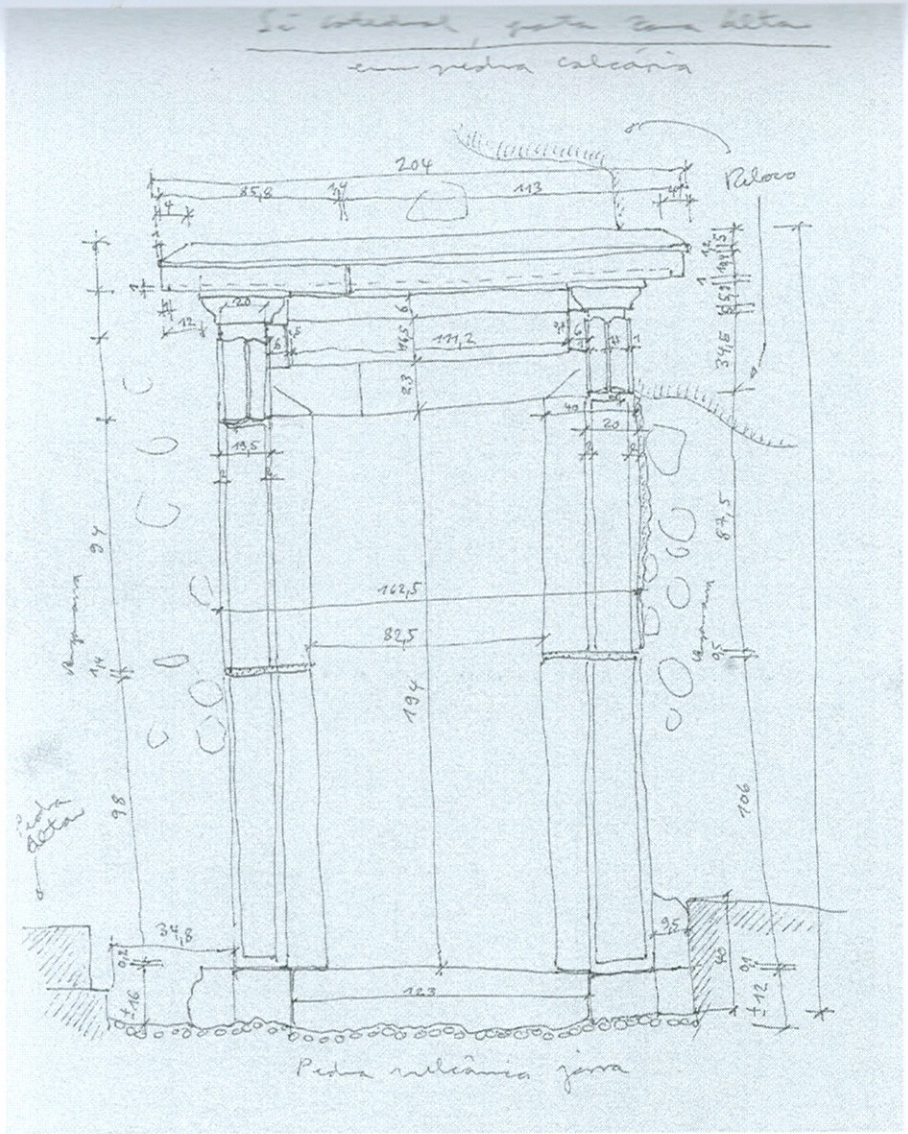

View to lateral entrance of Cathedral
"Sé" Cathedral, Cidade Velha, with Fort. S. Felipe — background

Fig. 129



Fig. 130



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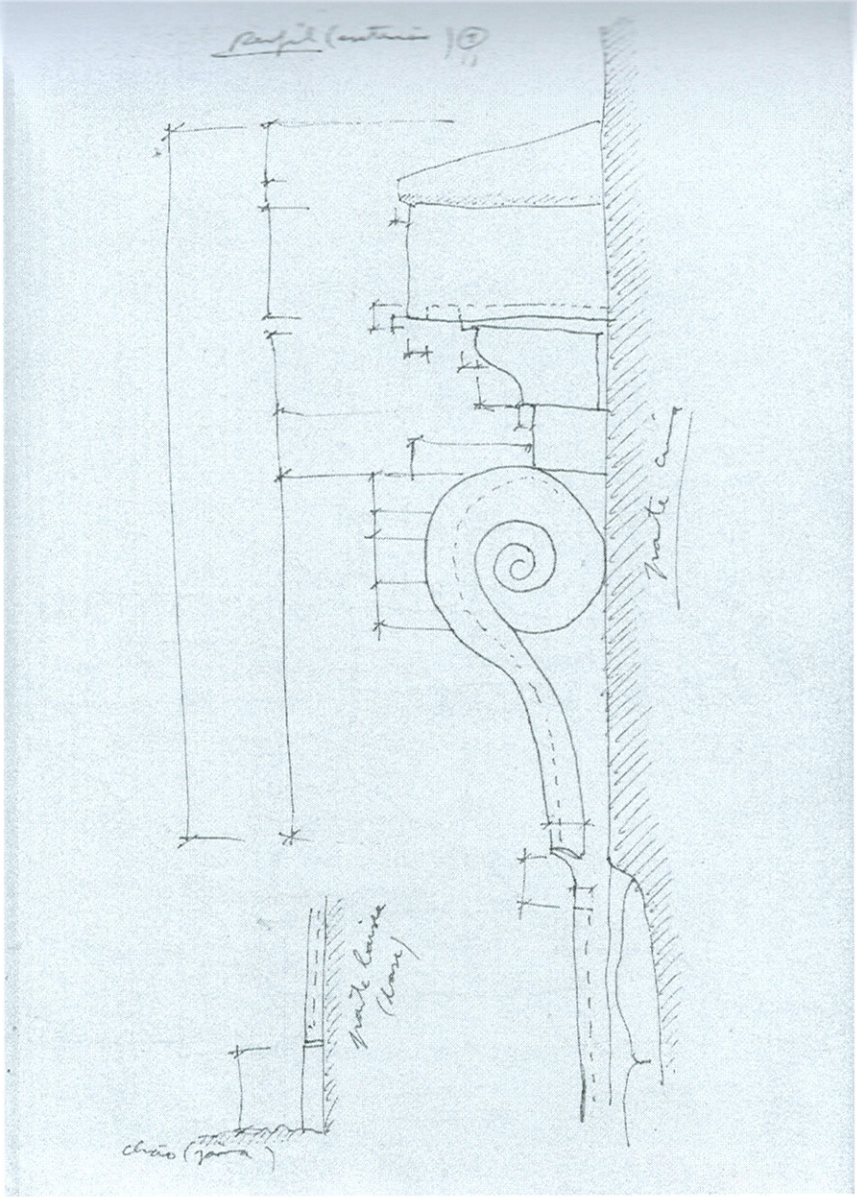


Fig. 132

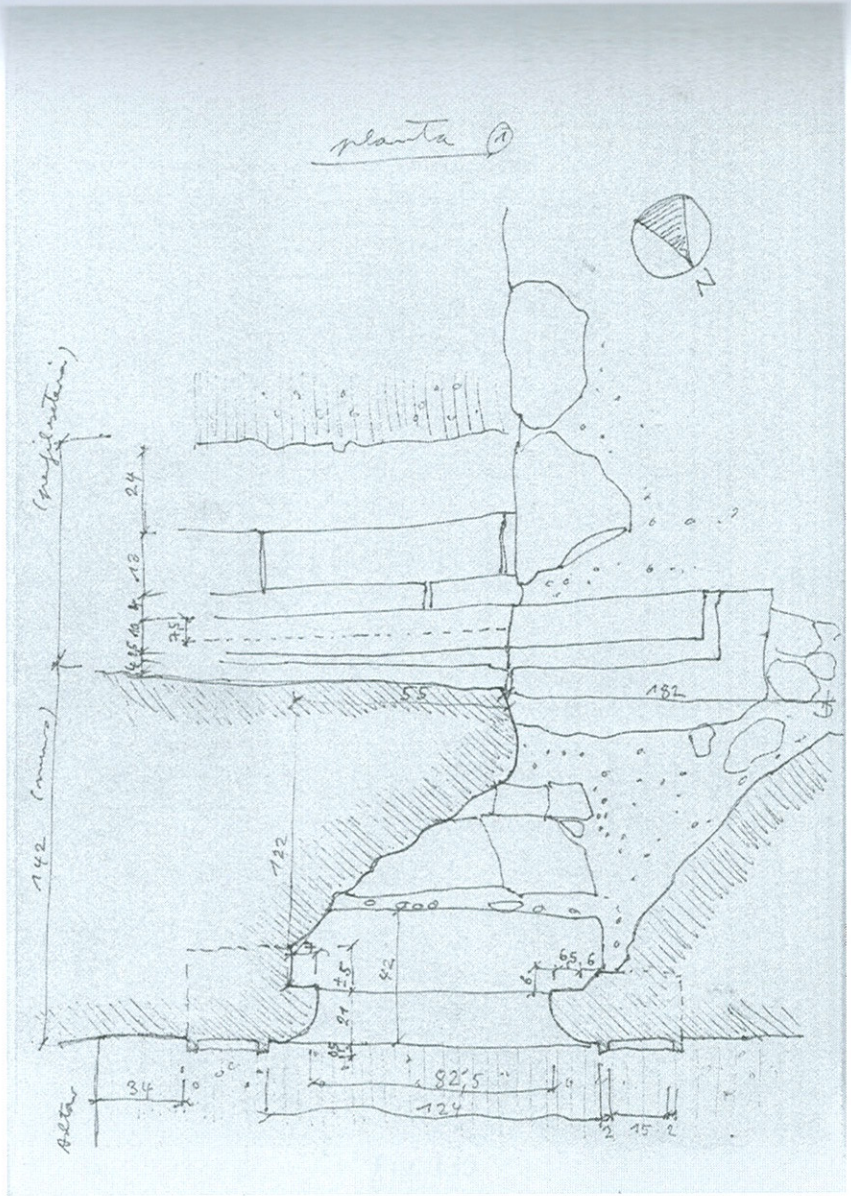
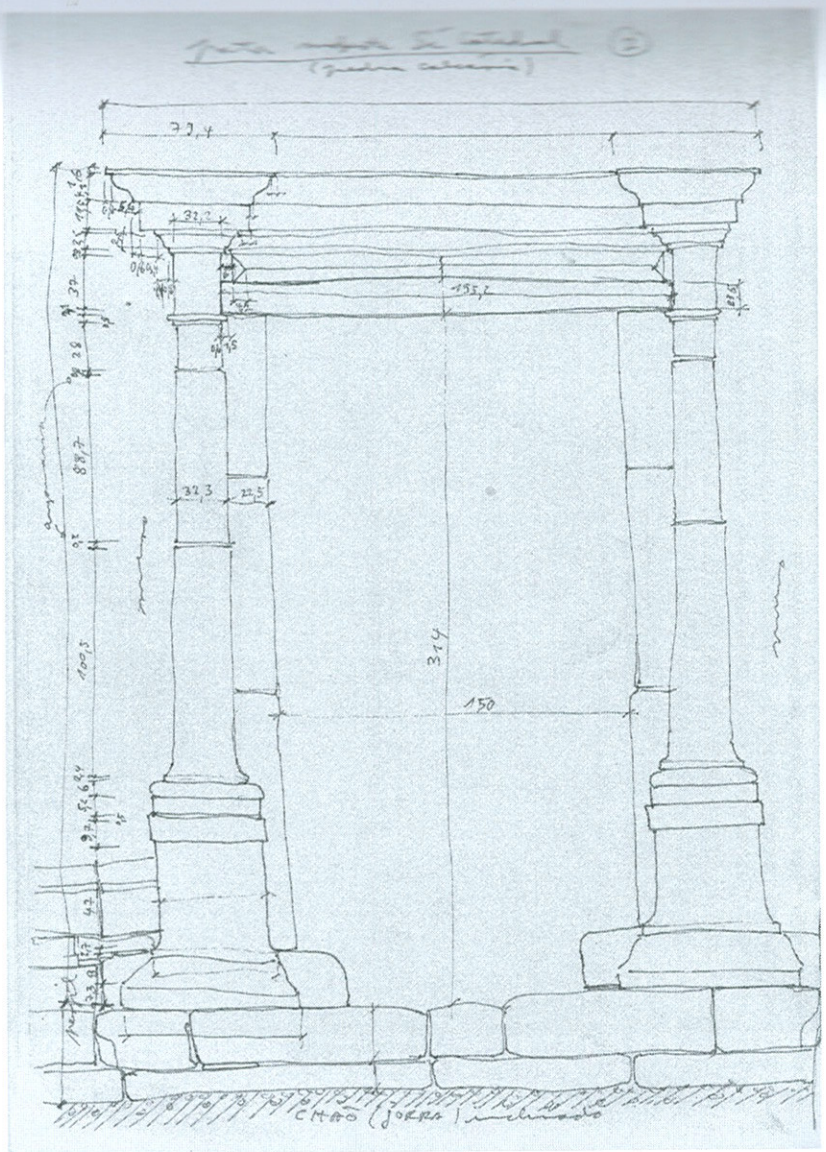


Fig. 133



Fig. 134



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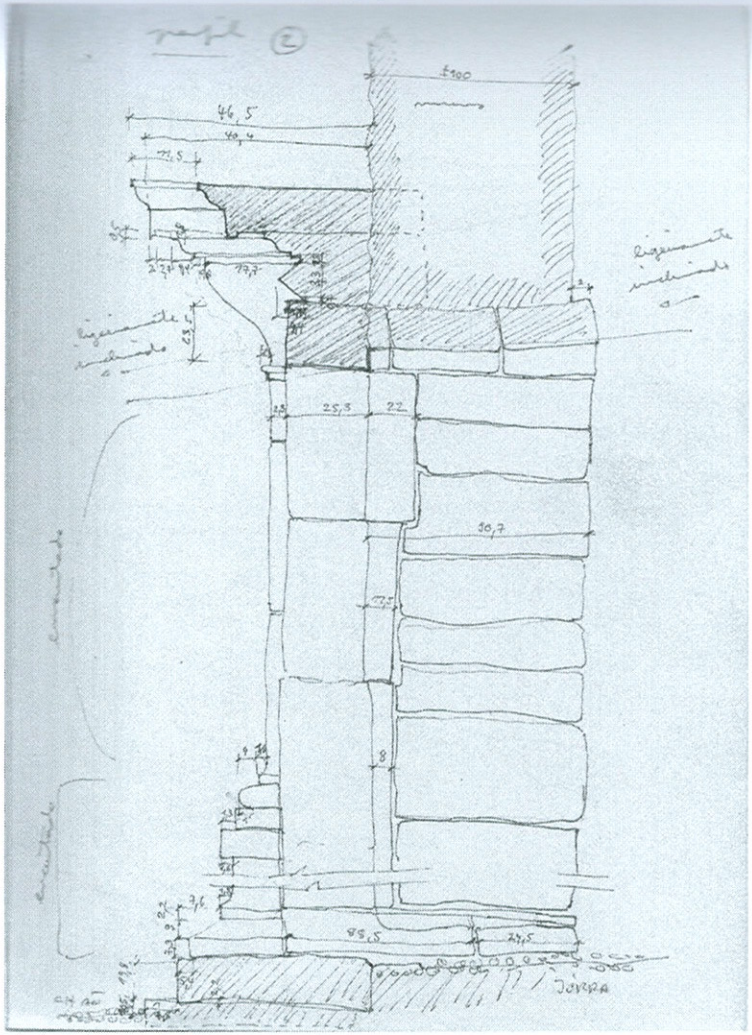


Fig. 136

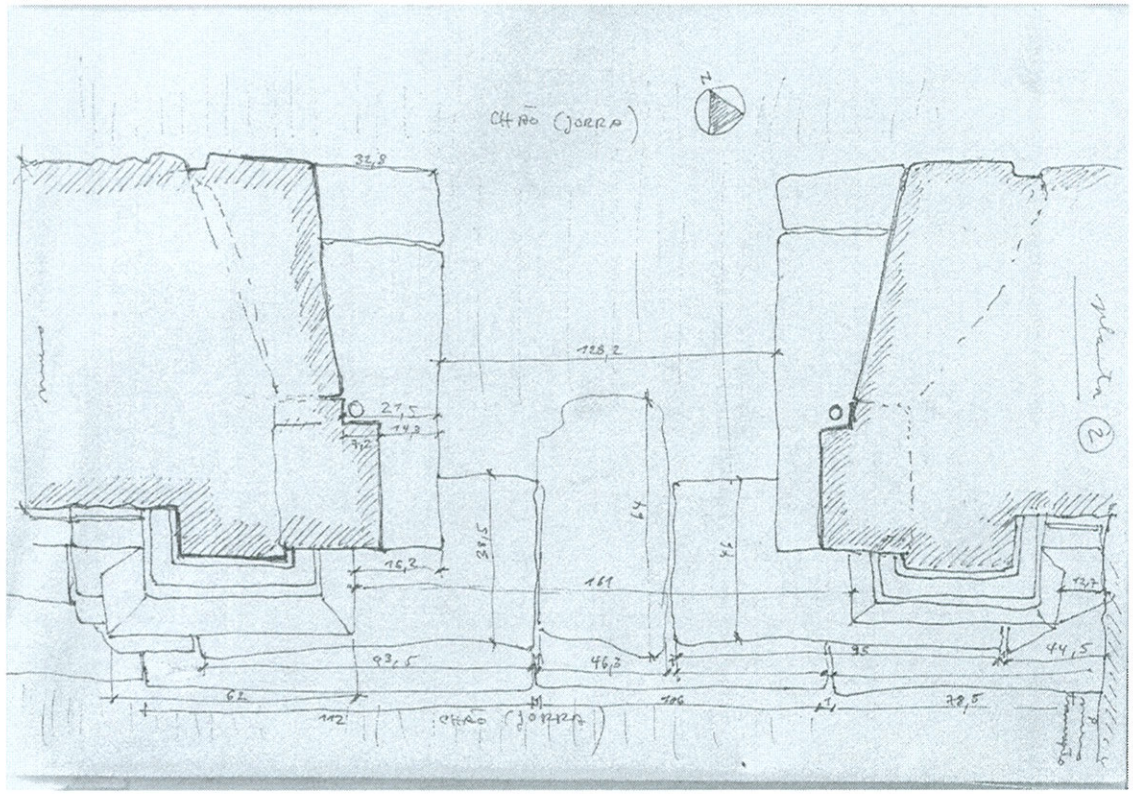


Fig. 137

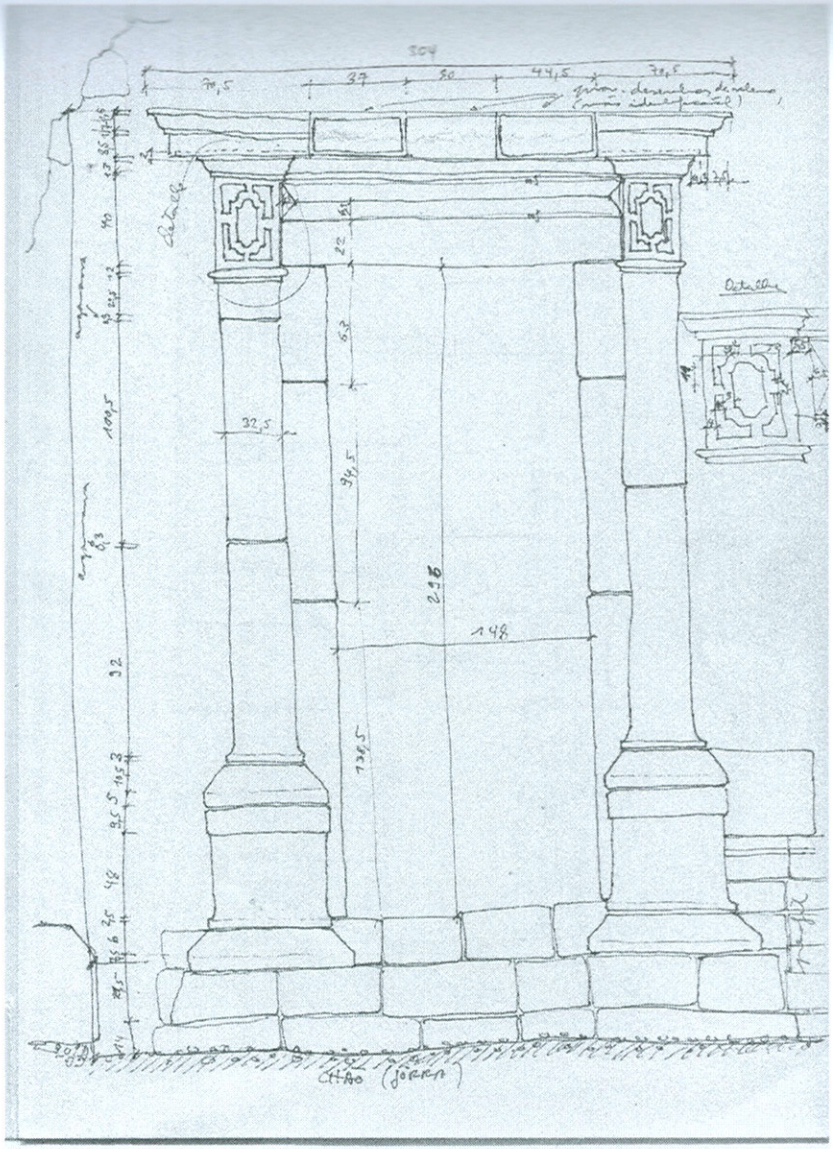


Fig. 138

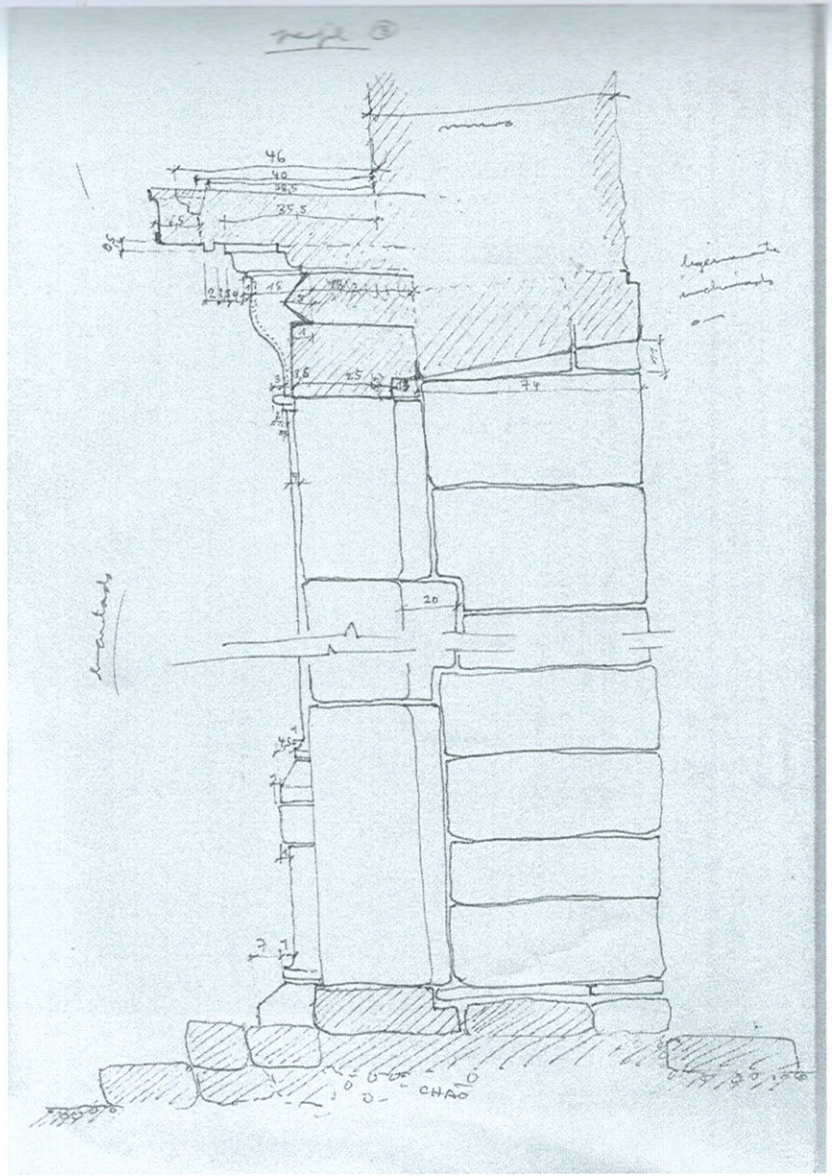


Fig. 139

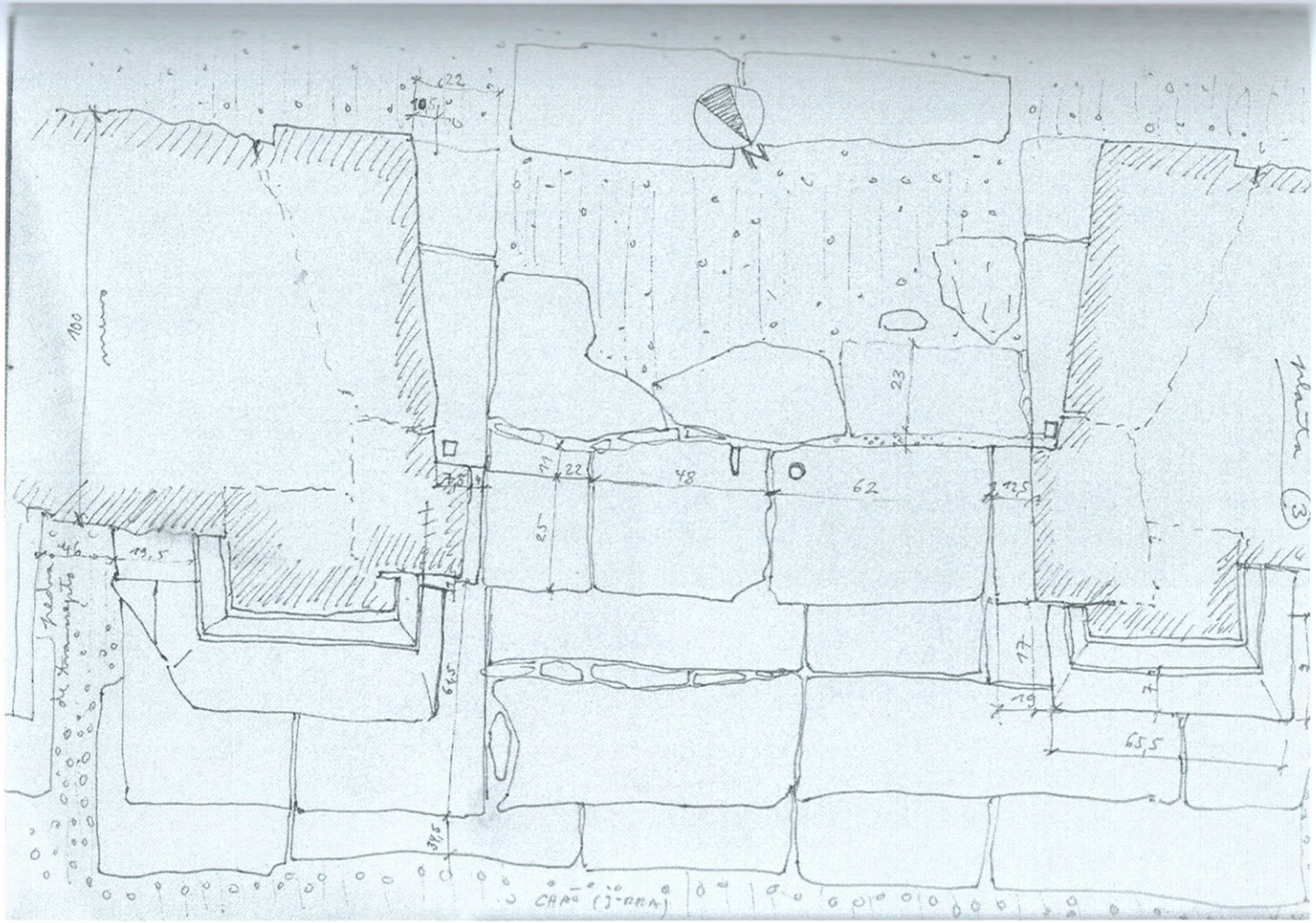


Fig. 140

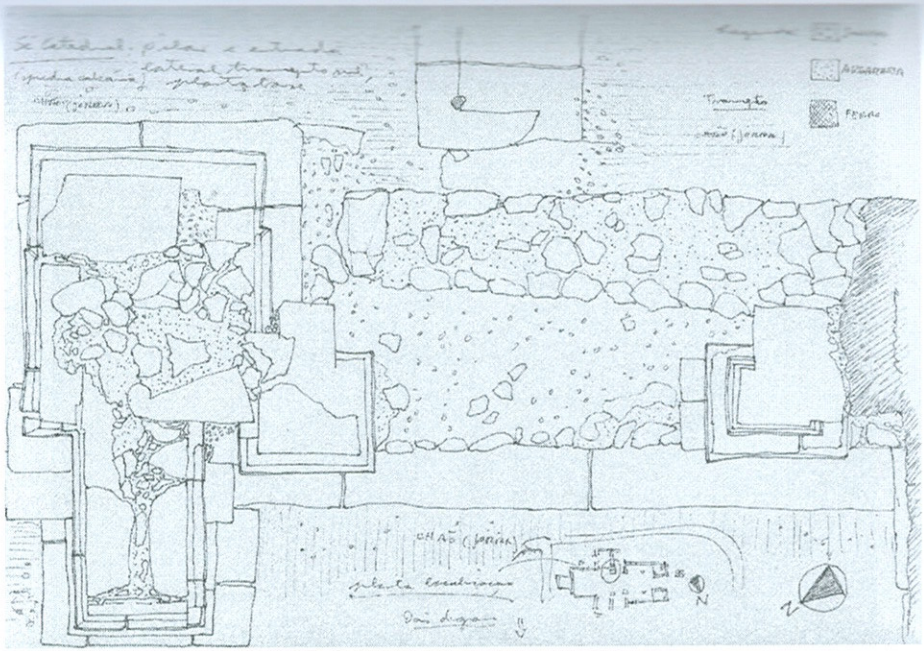


Fig. 141

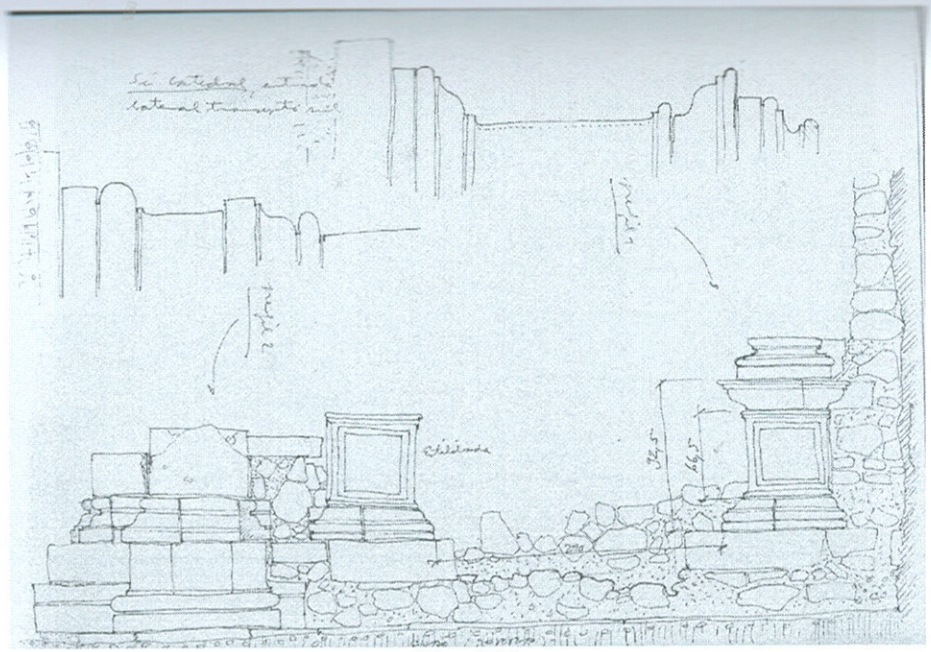
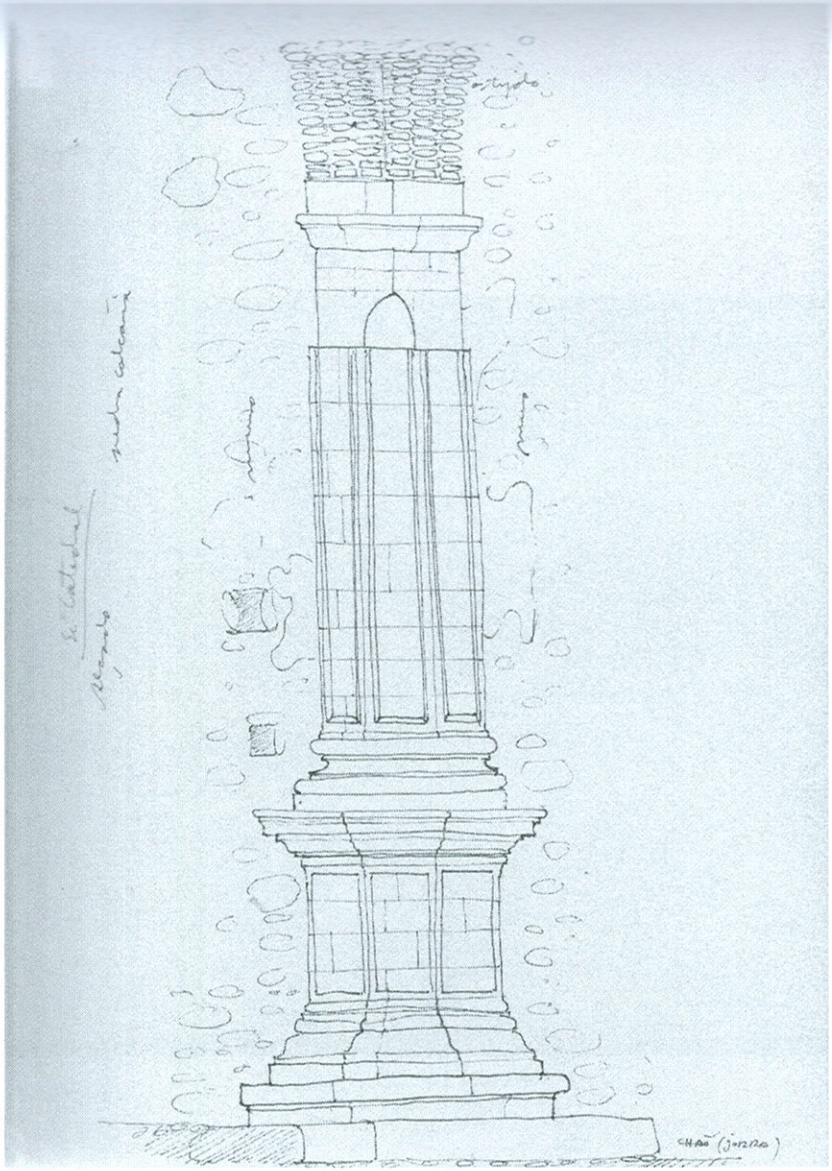


Fig. 142



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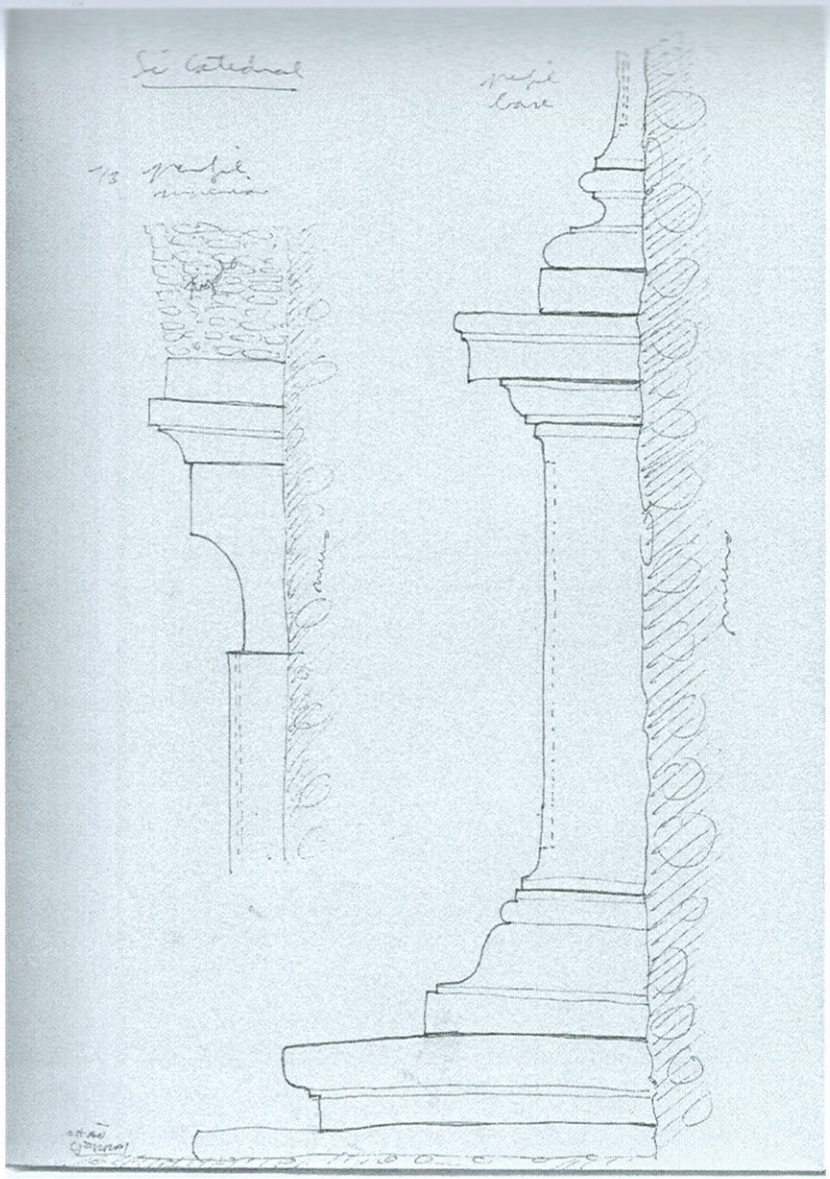


Fig. 144

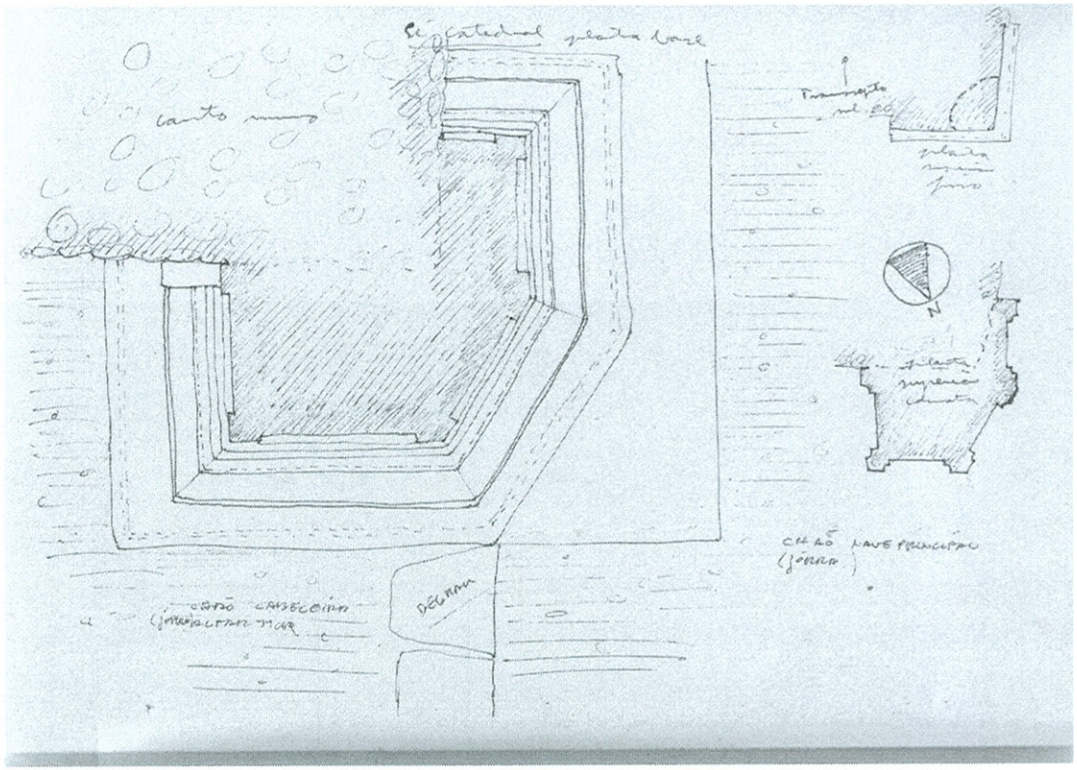


Fig. 145

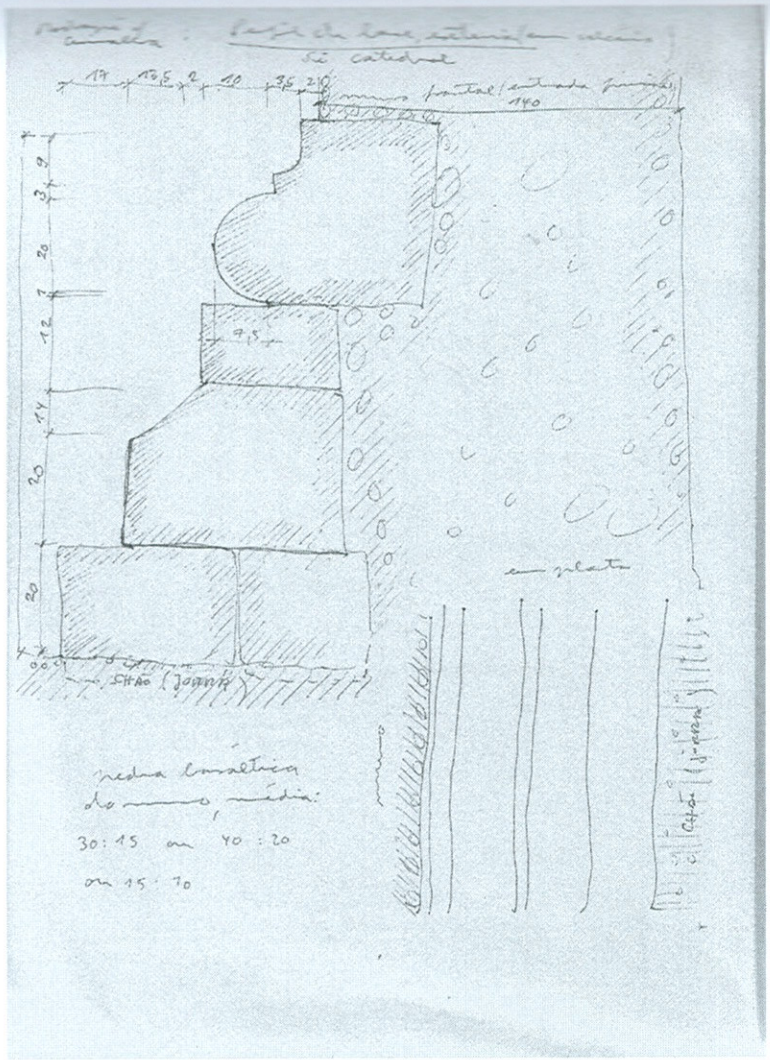


Fig. 146

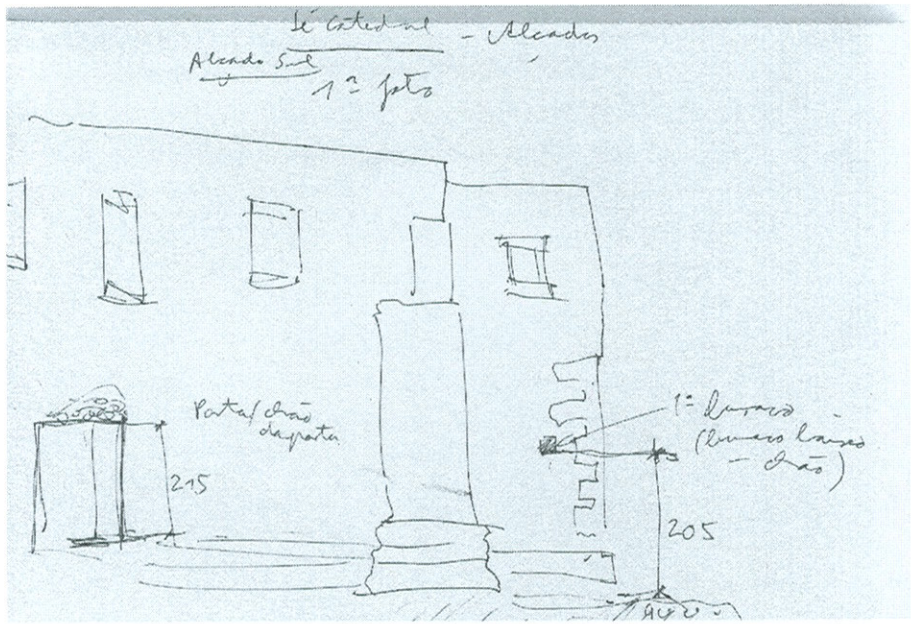


Fig. 147

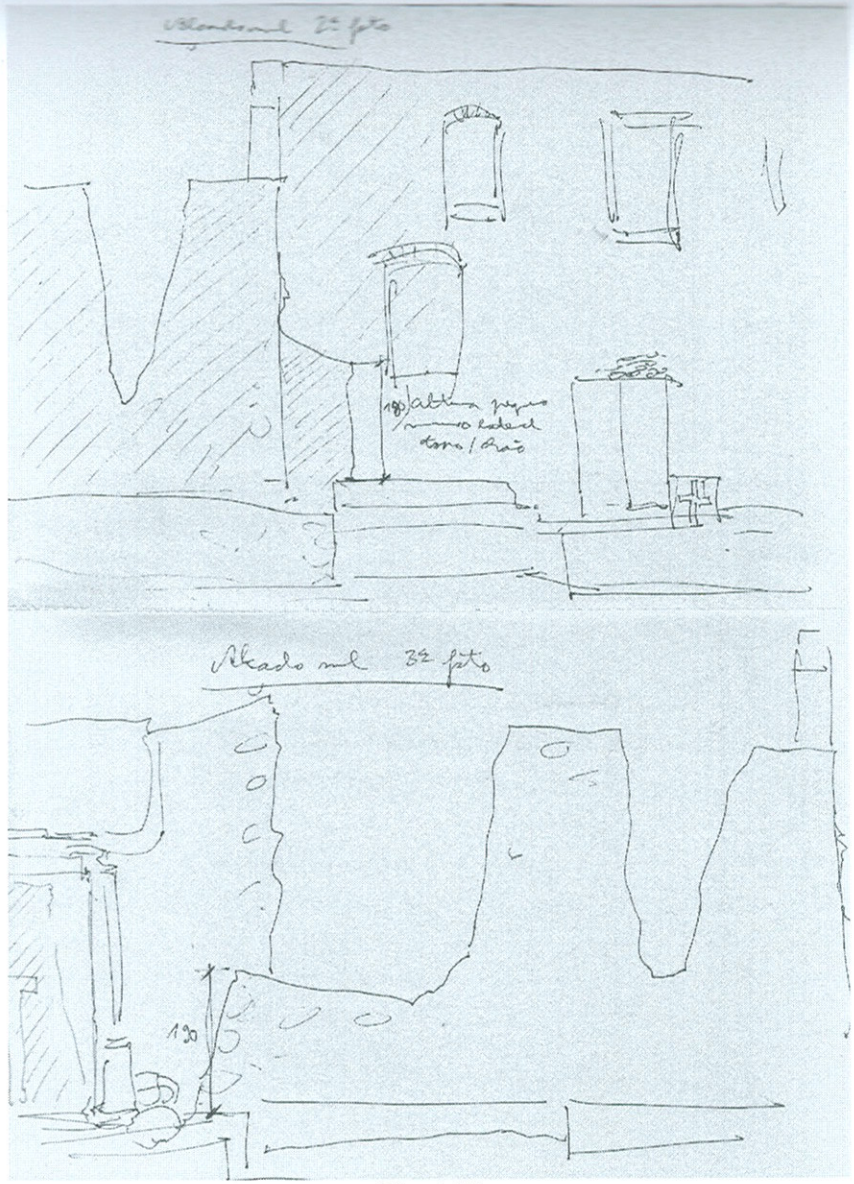


Fig. 148

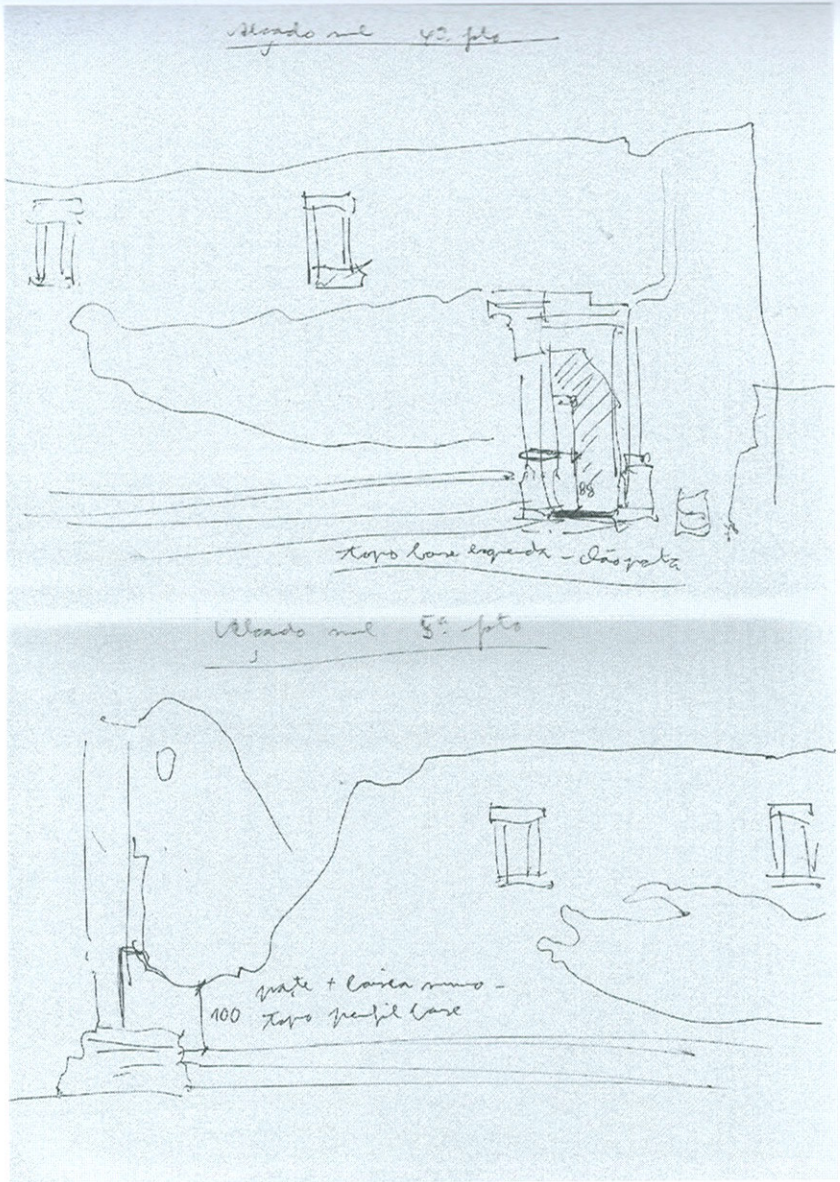
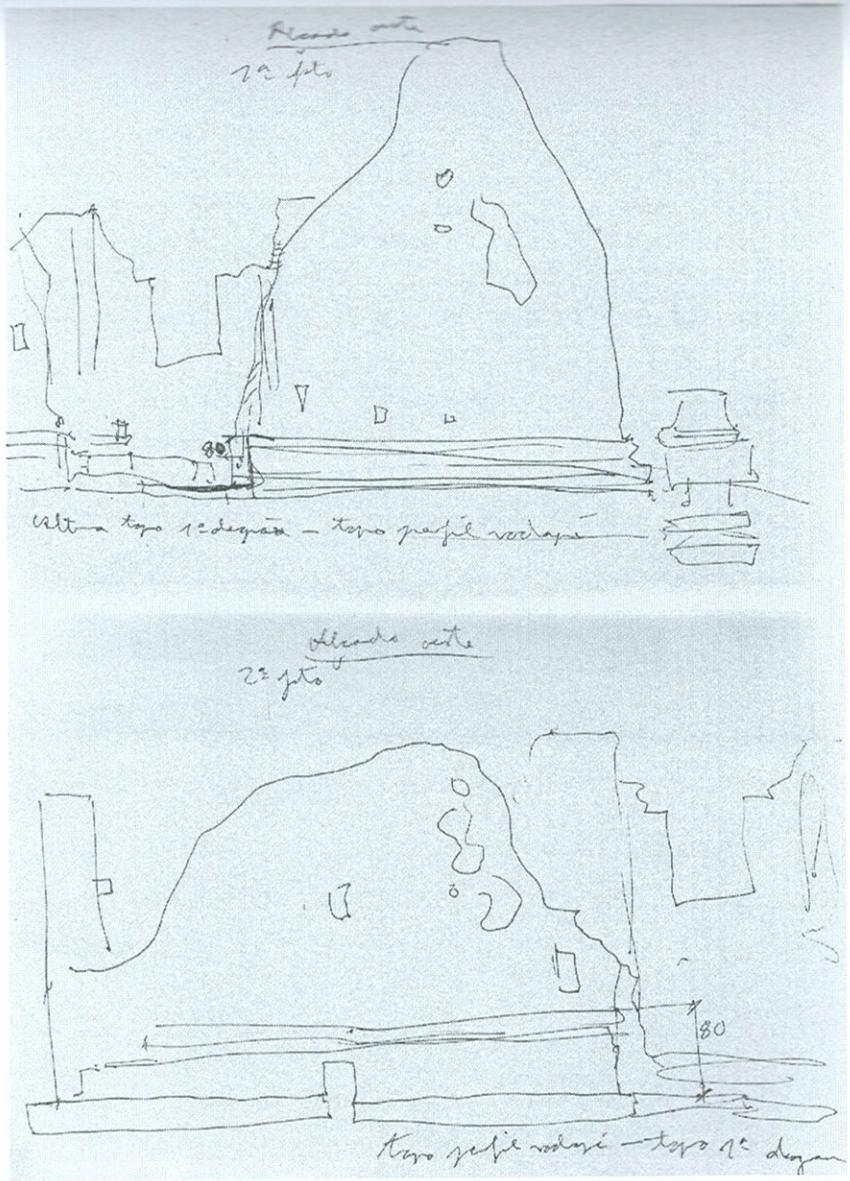


Fig. 149



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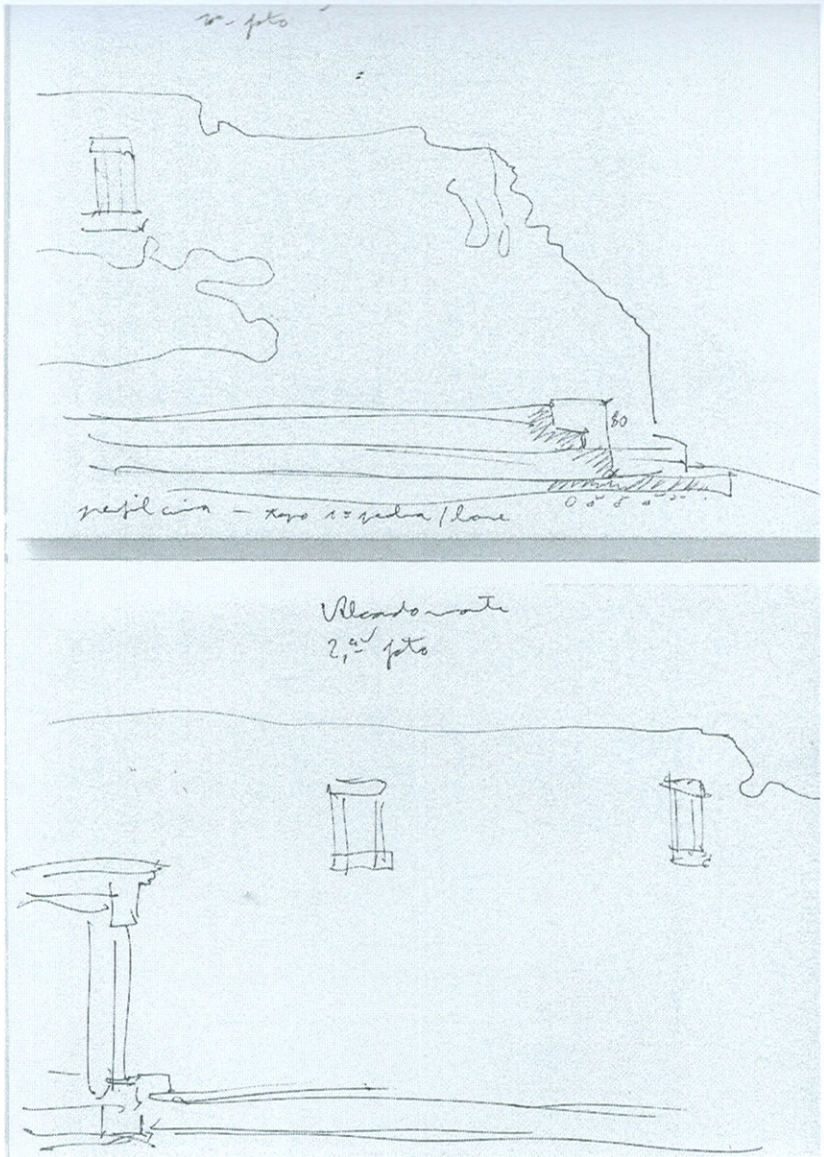

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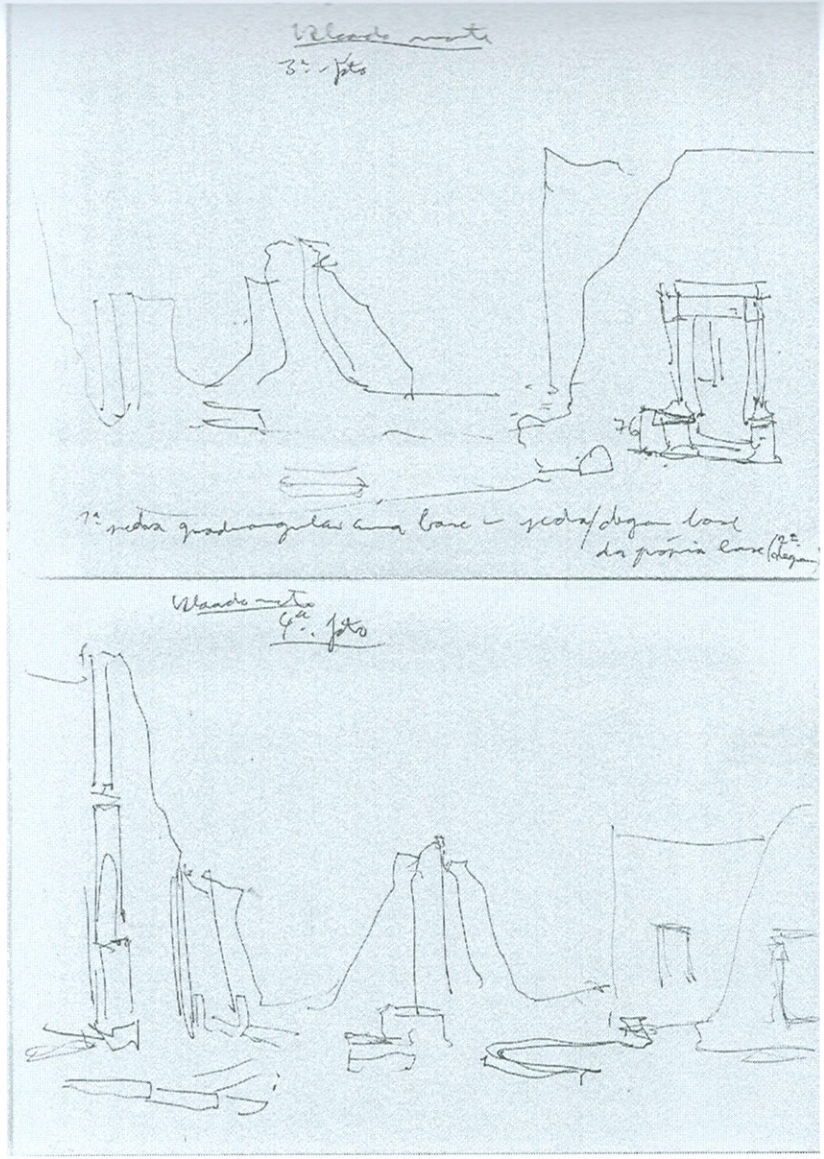

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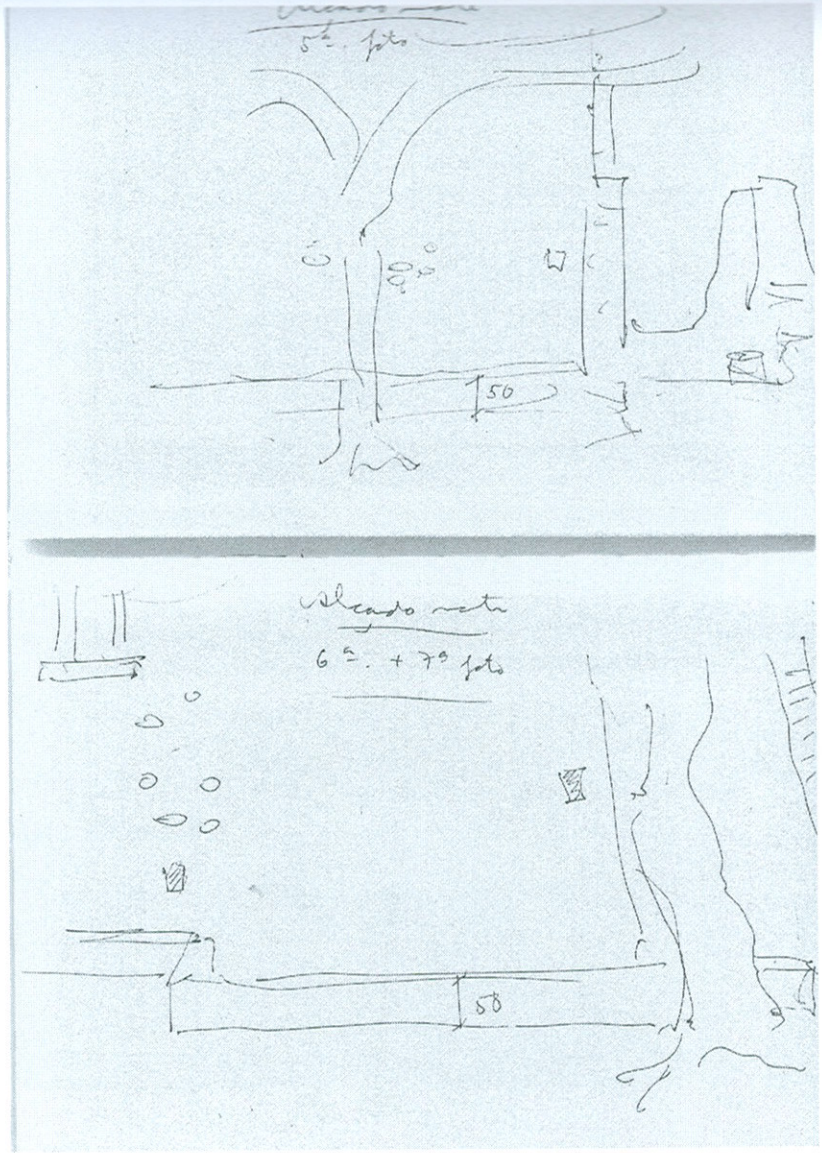


Fig. 153

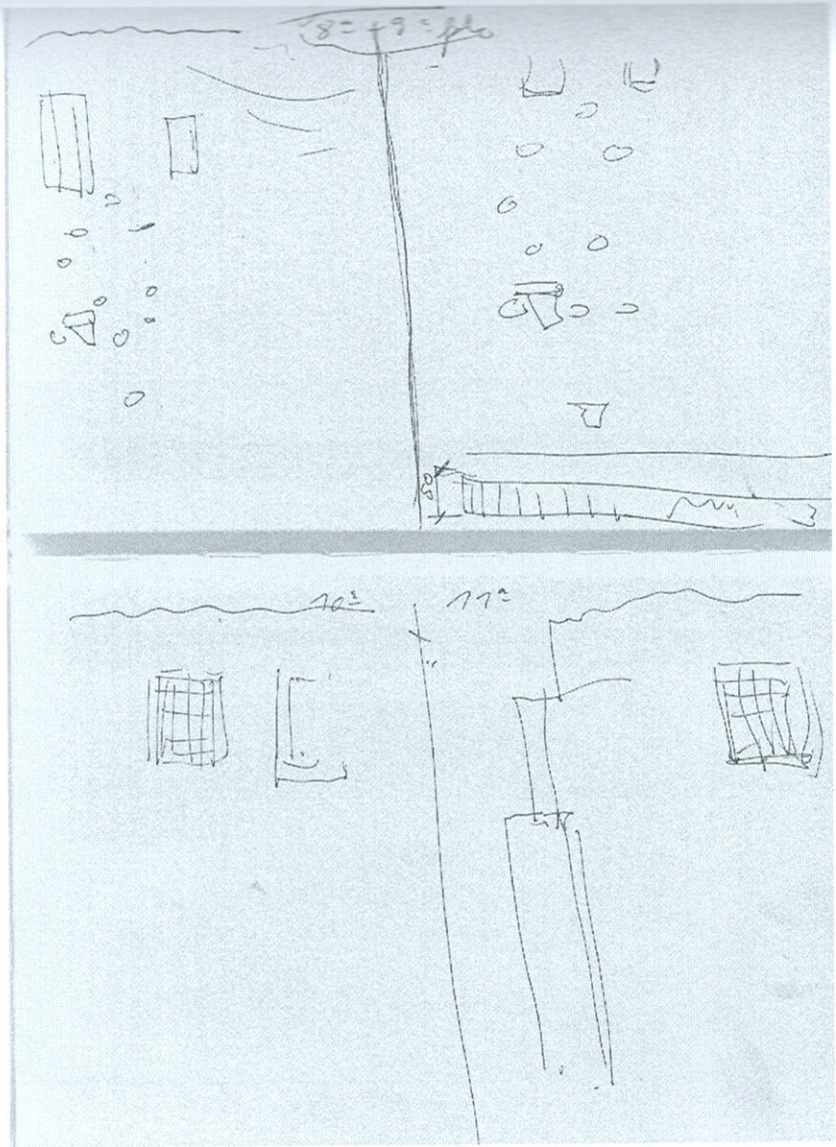


Fig. 154

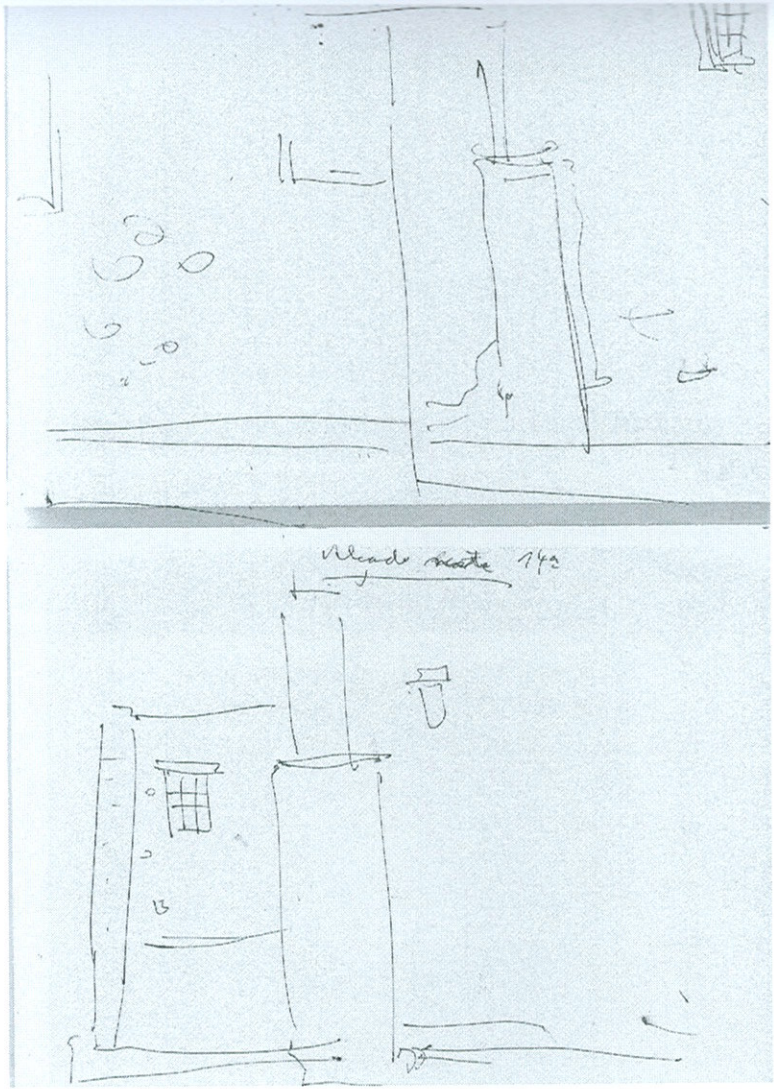


Fig. 155

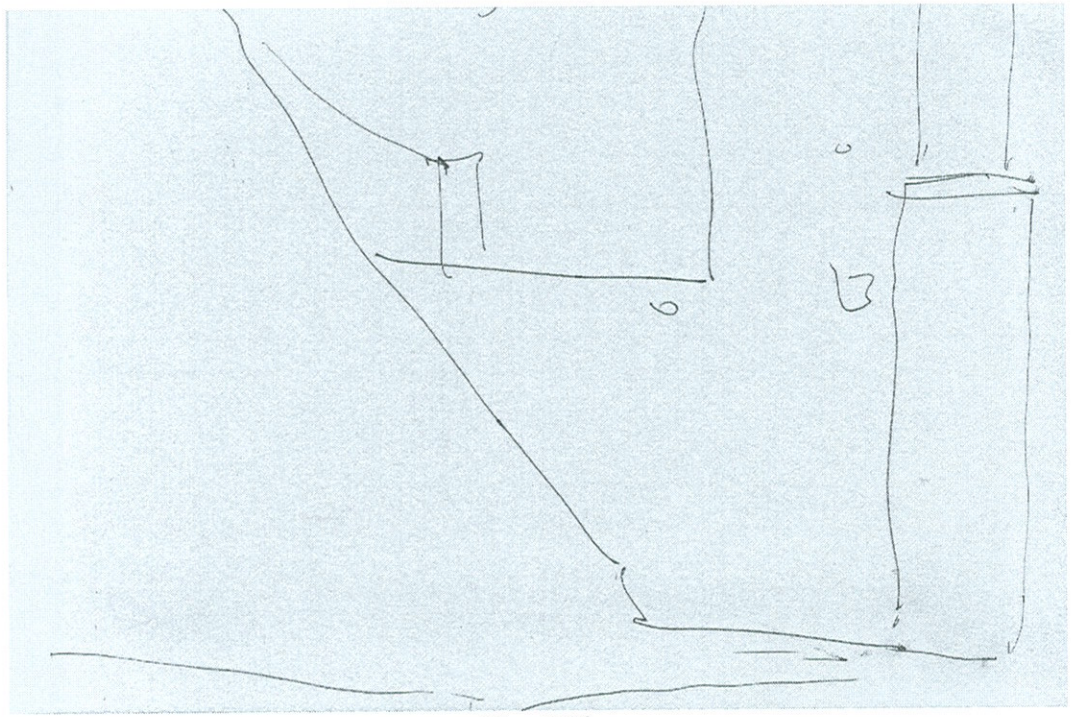


Fig. 156

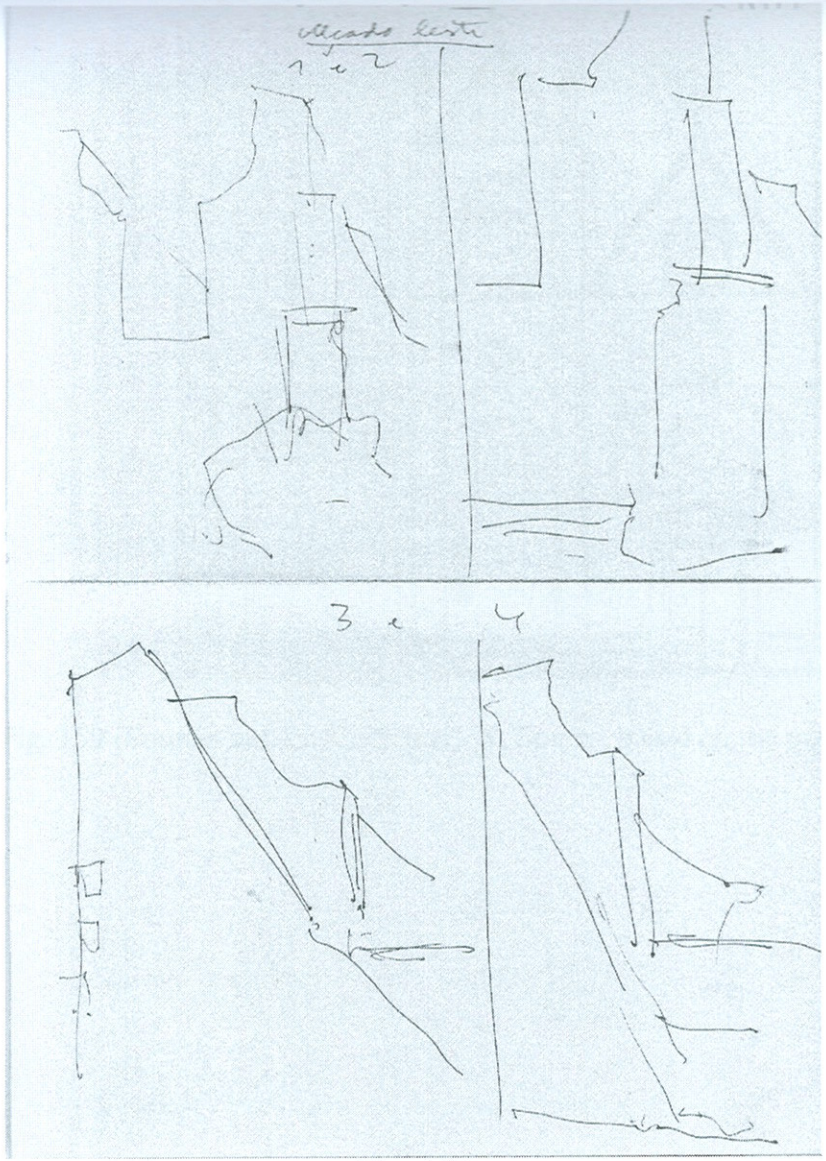


Fig. 157

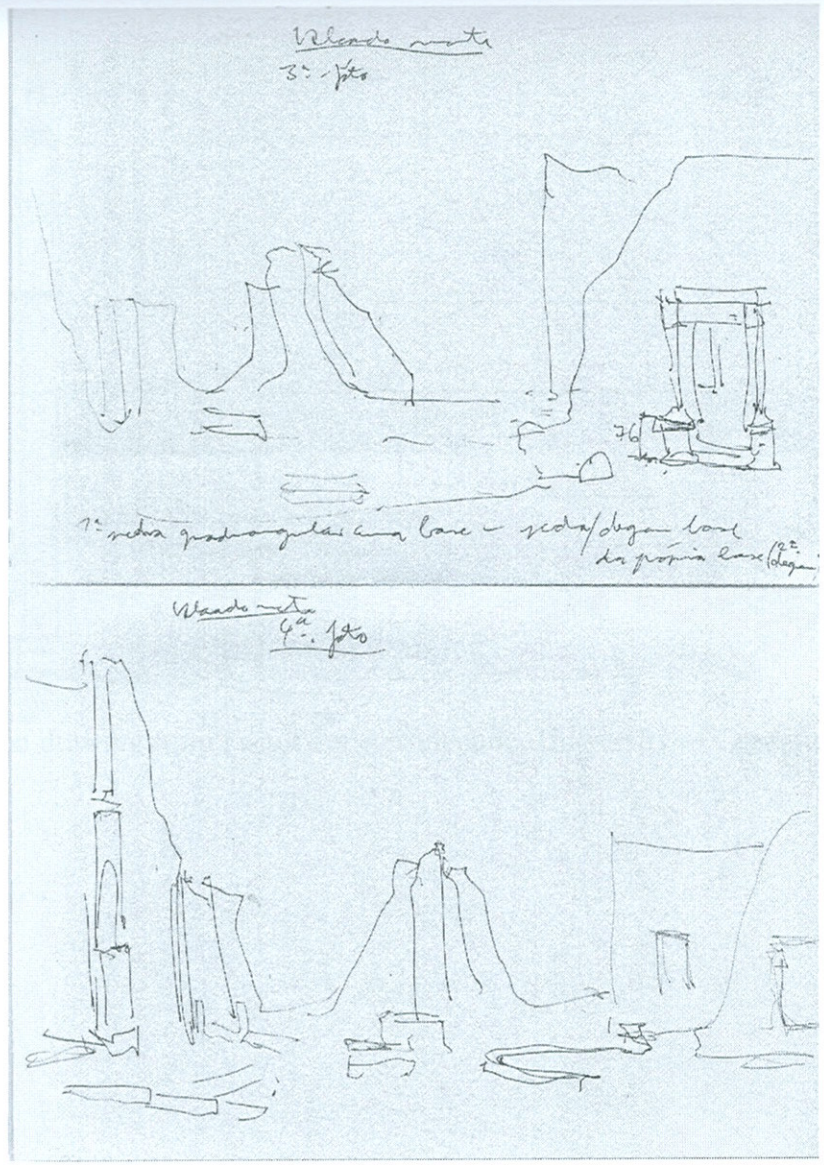


Fig. 158

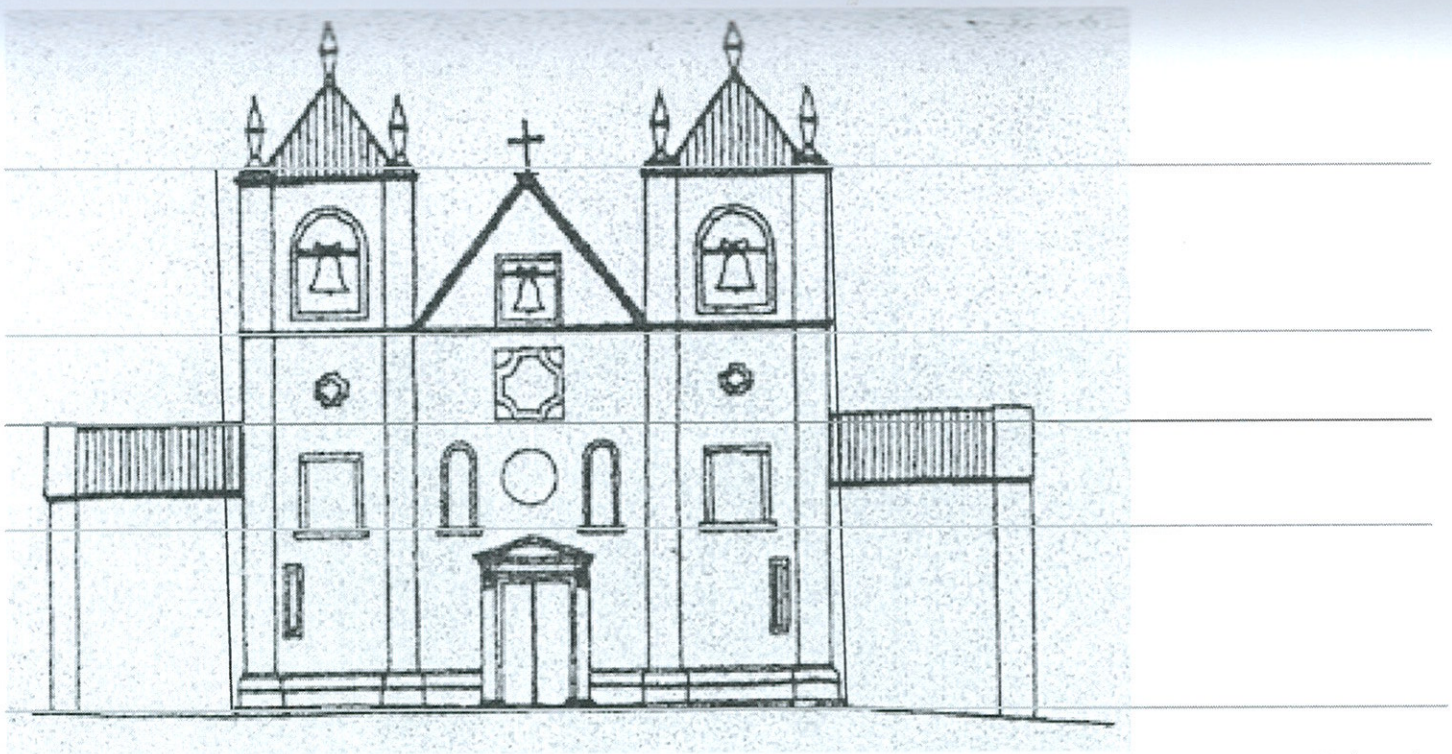


Fig. 159 (Source: author K. Richter, W. Soares, based on the main elevation drawing from Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)

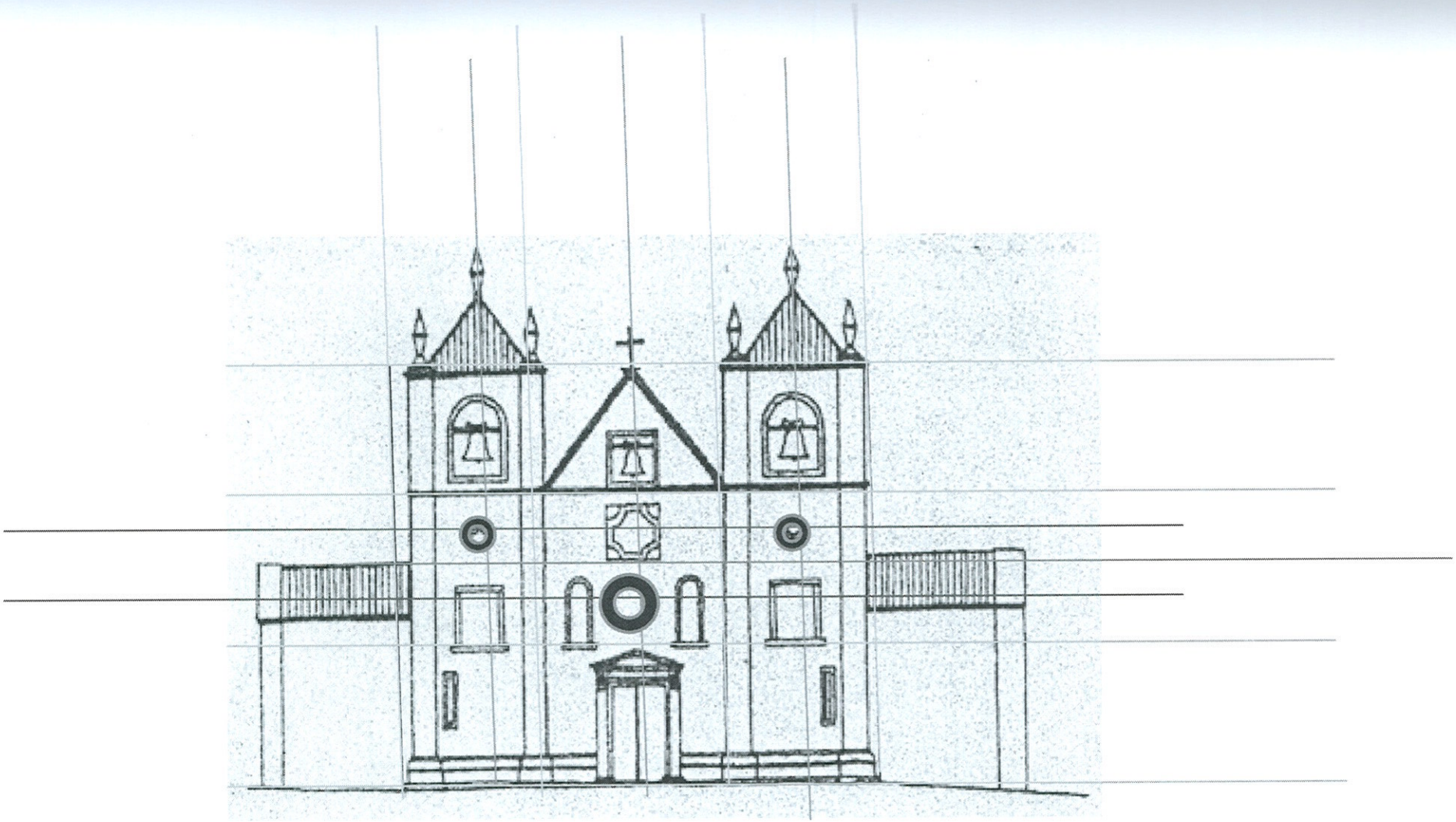


Fig. 160 (Source: author K. Richter, W. Soares, based on the main elevation drawing from Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)

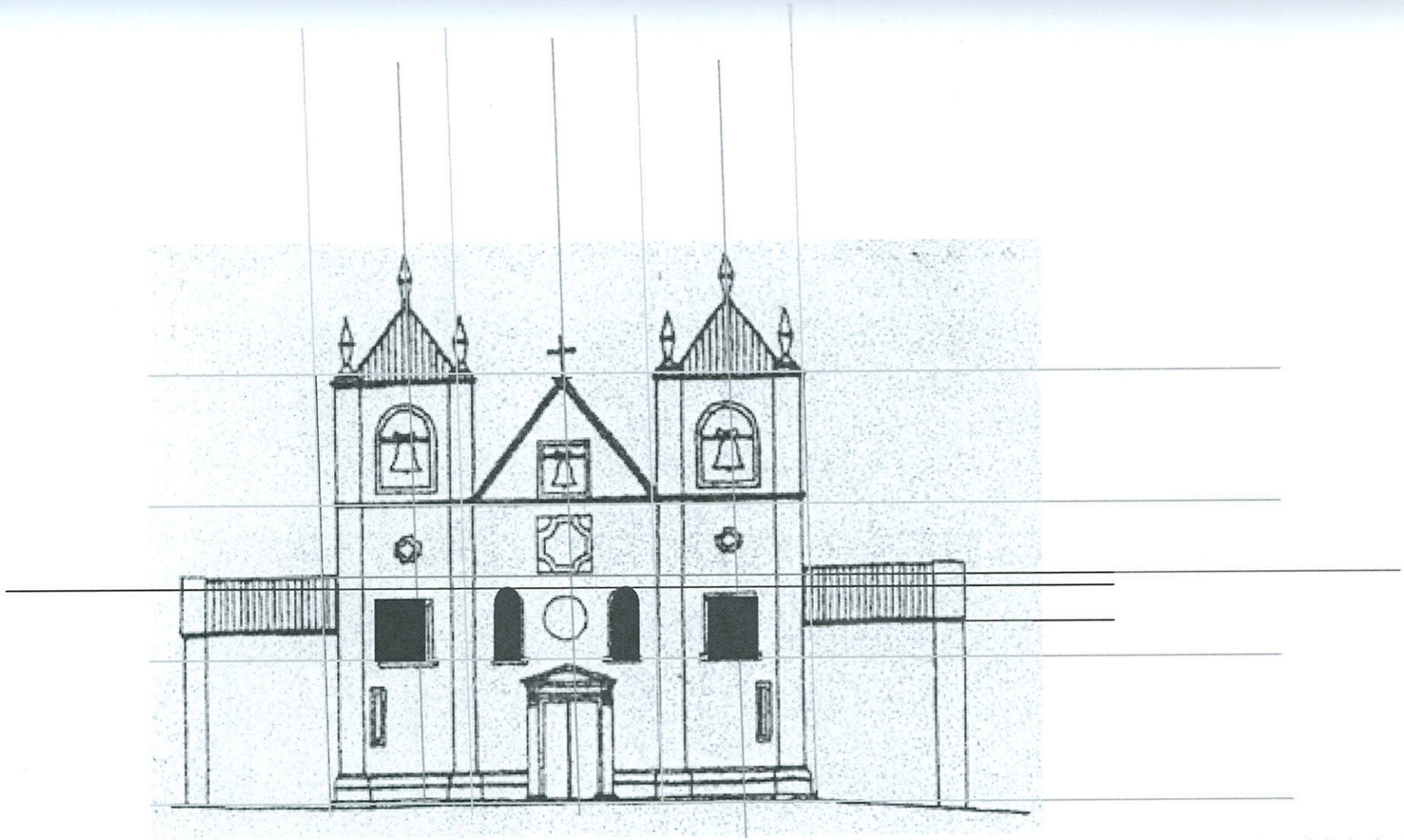


Fig. 161 (Source: author K. Richter, W. Soares, based on the main elevation drawing from Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)



Fig. 162 (Source: author K. Richter, W. Soares, based on the main elevation drawing from Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)

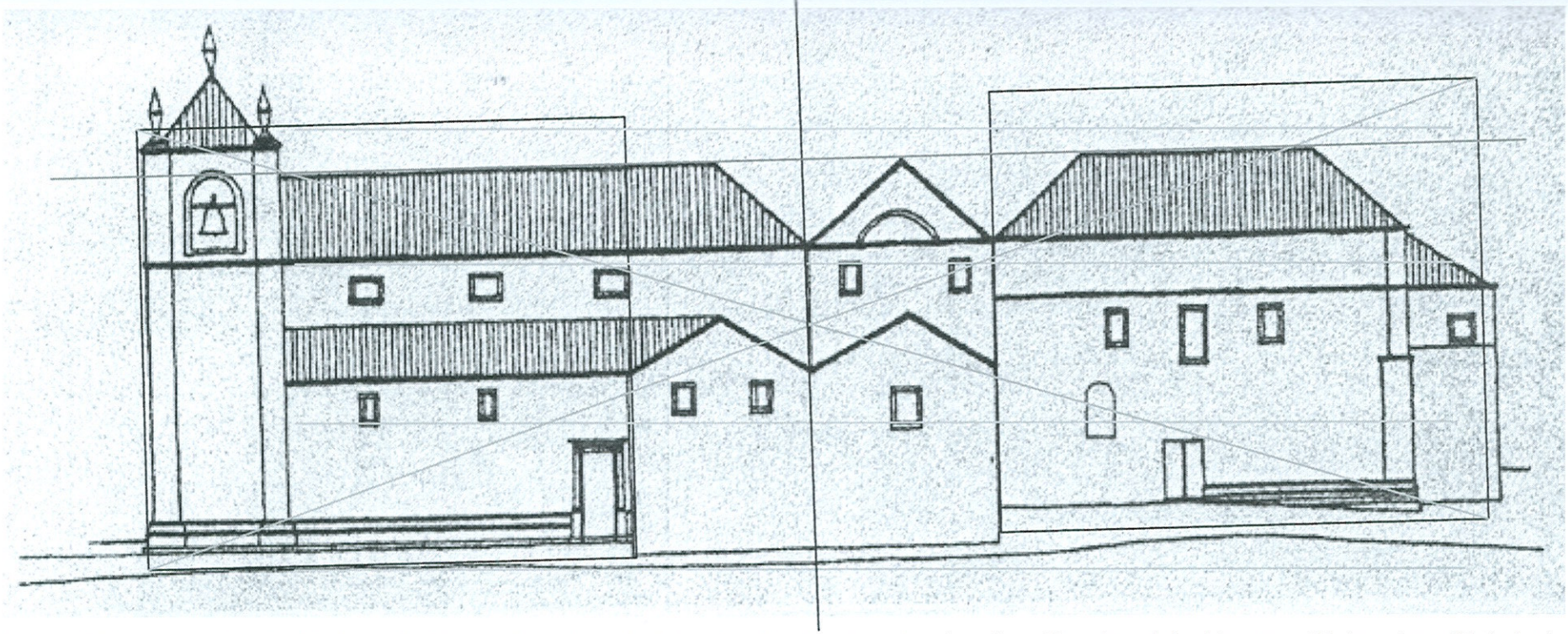


Fig. 163(Source: author K. Richter, W. Soares, based on the lateral right elevation drawing from Faculty of Architecture, University ofCoimbra)

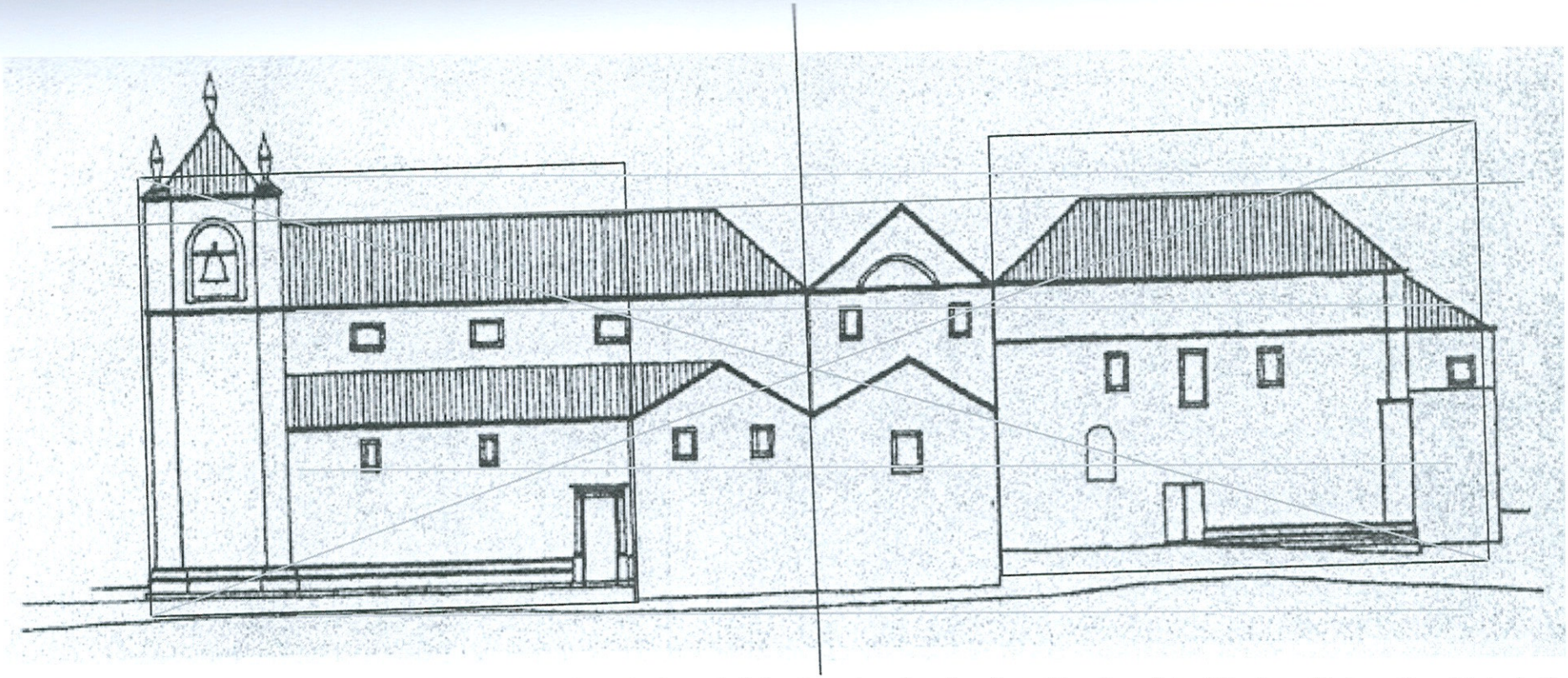


Fig. 164(Source: author K. Richter, W. Soares, based on the lateral right elevation drawing from Faculty of Architecture, University ofCoimbra)

1.2.2 The Church/Hospital/*Santa Casa da Misericórdia*

Fig. 1-44

Site plans

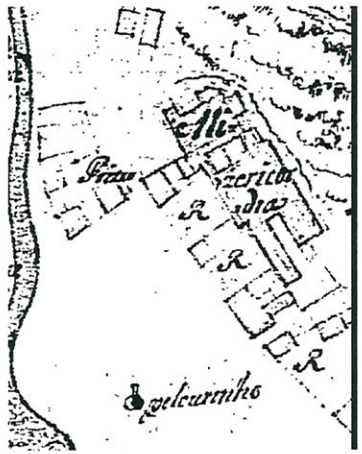


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

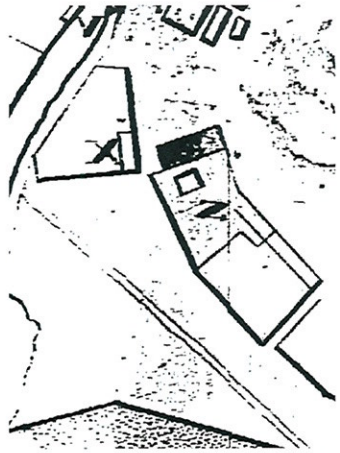


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

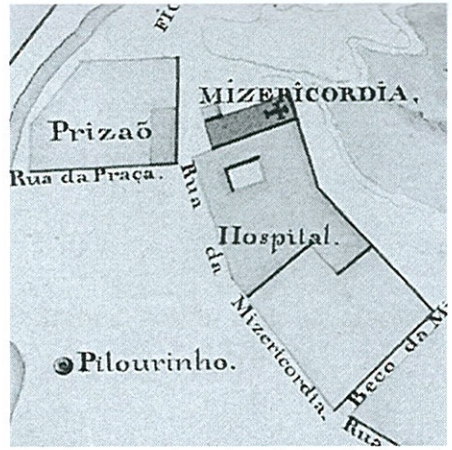


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

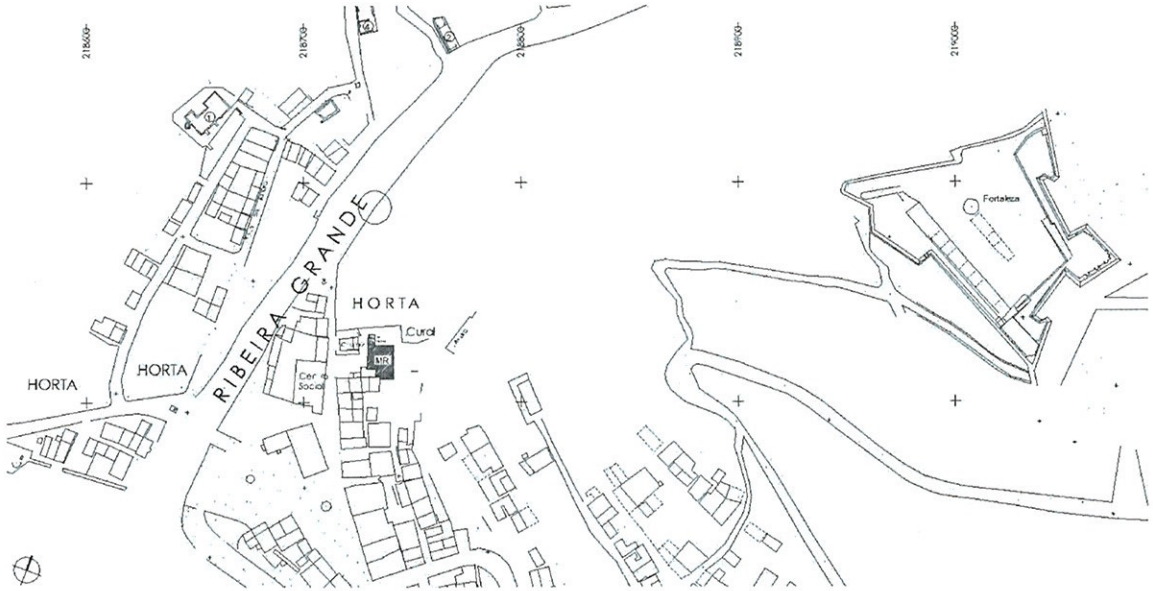


Fig. 4

Plans



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

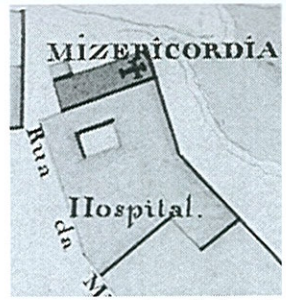


Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

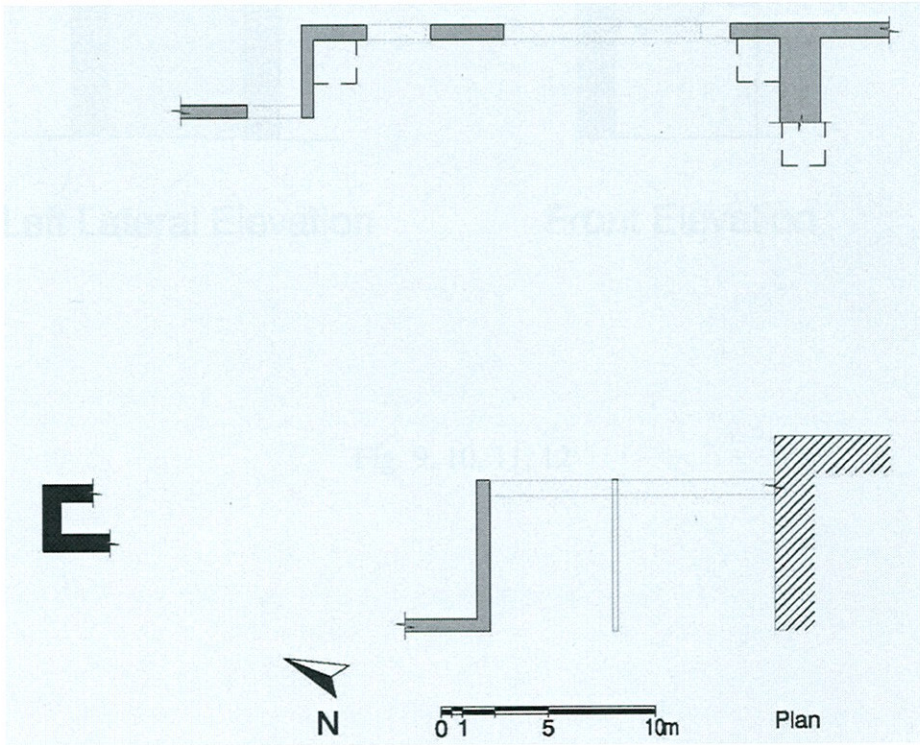
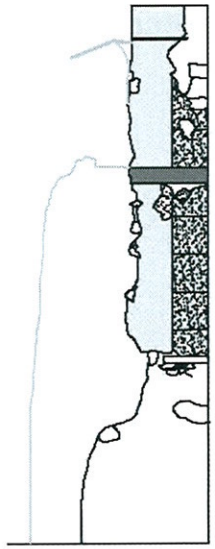
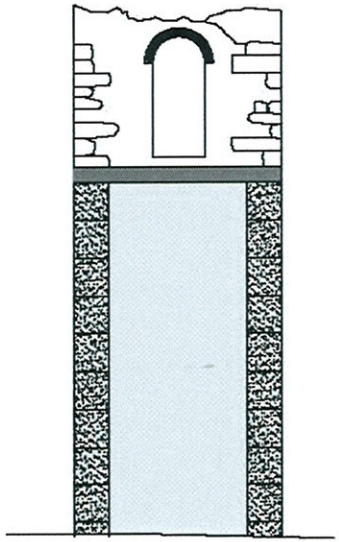


Fig. 8

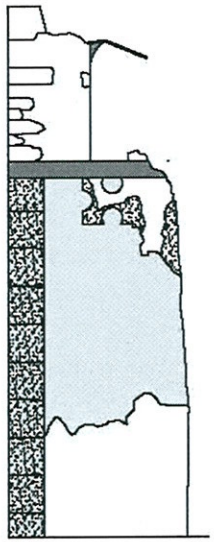
Elevations



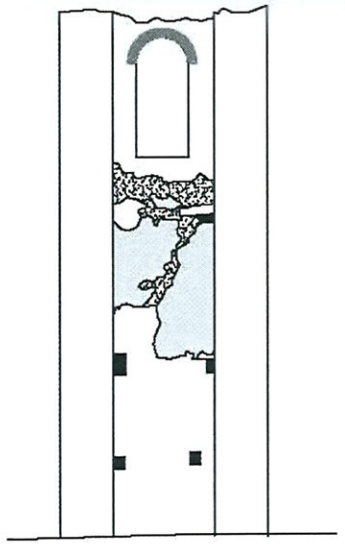
Back Elevation



Left Lateral Elevation



Front Elevation



Right Lateral Elevation

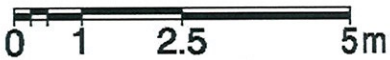


Fig. 9, 10, 11, 12

Additional material and documents



Fig. 13 (Source: author Travessos Valldez, 1864)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views

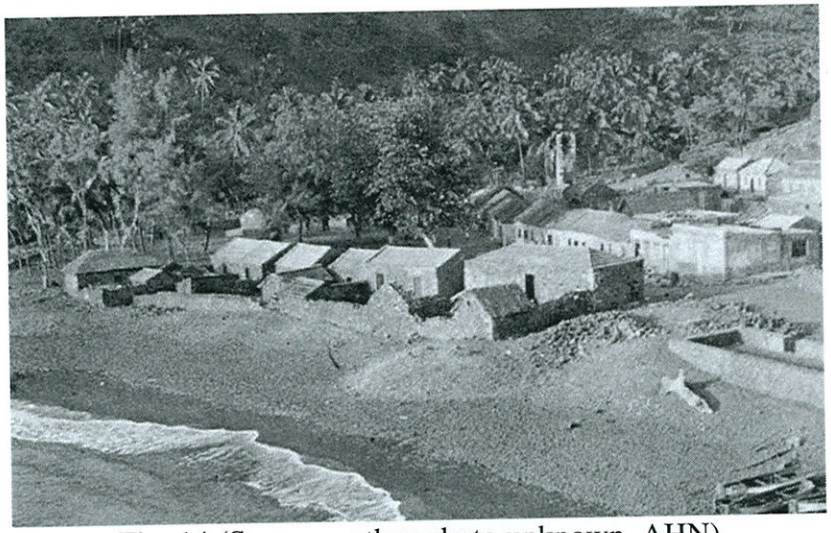


Fig. 14 (Source: author photo unknown, AHN)

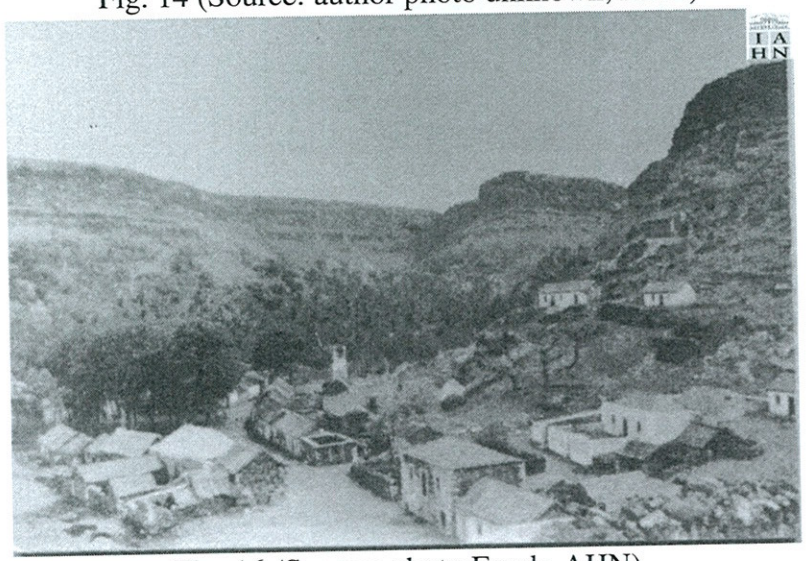


Fig. 16 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 15 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)

Detail views



Fig. 17

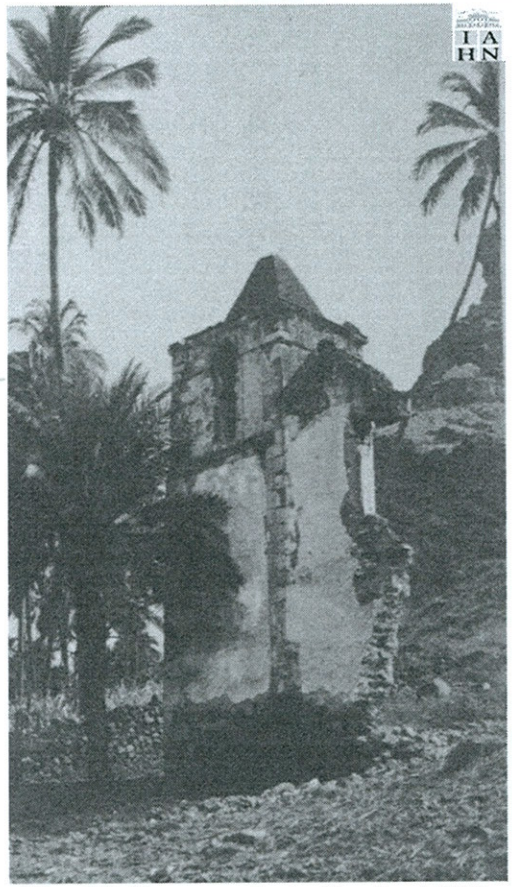


Fig. 18 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



Fig. 25

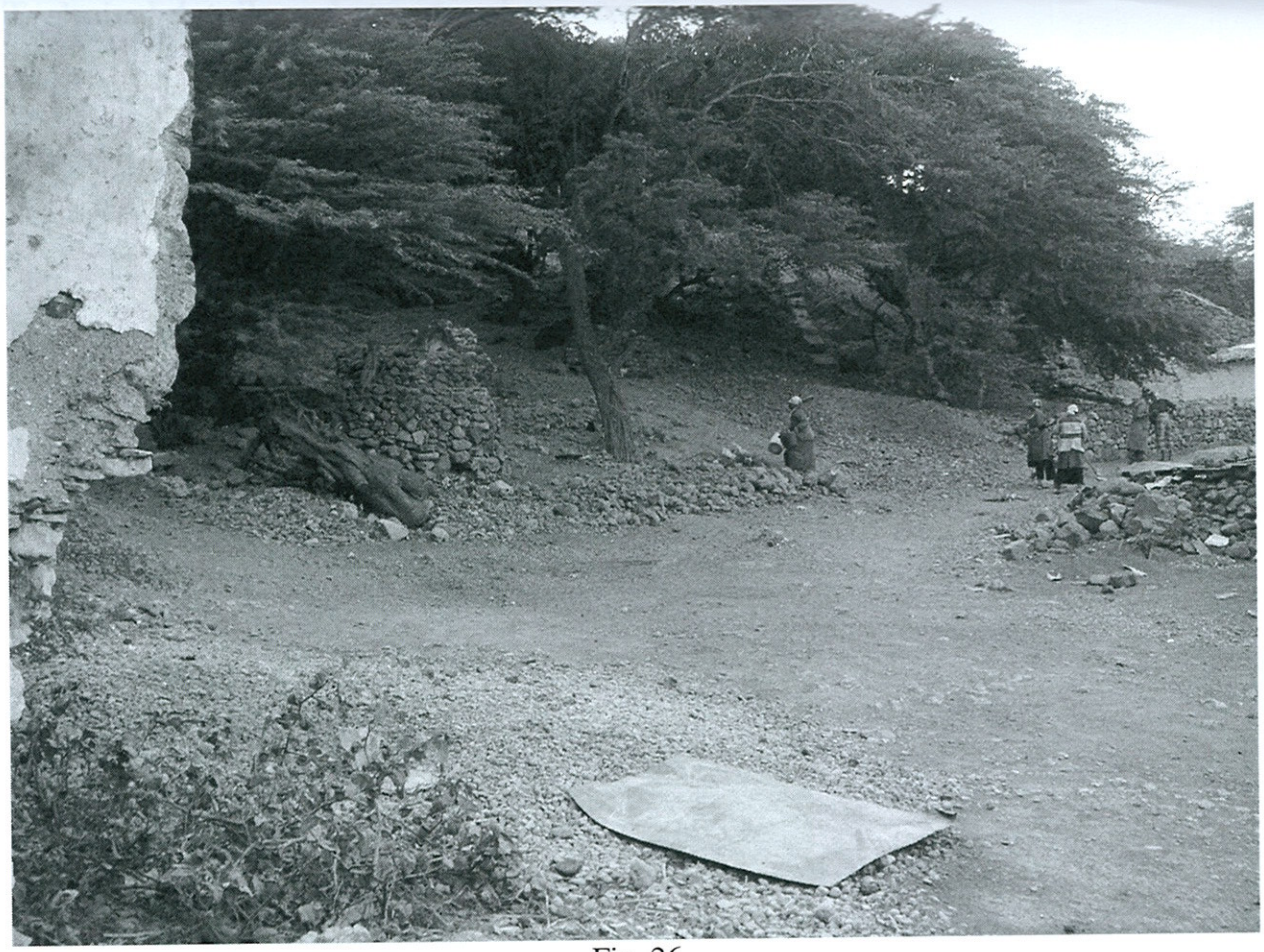


Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28

Technical details and structural constructive elements

Masonry



Fig. 29

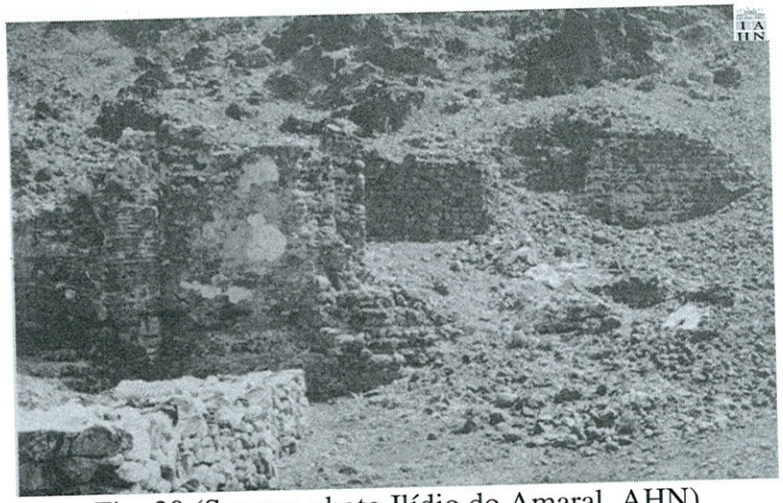


Fig. 30 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



Fig. 31



Fig. 32 (Source: photo CAU/Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge (UK))



Fig. 33



Fig. 35



Fig. 34

Leaks



Fig. 36



Fig. 37

Quoin stones, cobbled stone floor and stone bench



Fig. 38

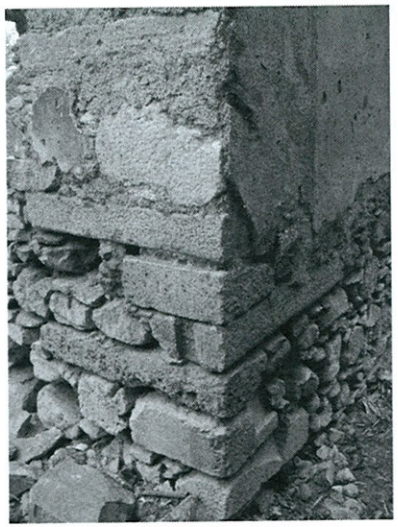


Fig. 39



Fig. 41



Fig. 40 (Source: photo CAU/Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge (UK))

Roof



Fig. 42

Others



Fig. 43

Survey drawings



Fig. 44

1.2.3 The Episcopal Palace

Fig. 1-23

Site plans

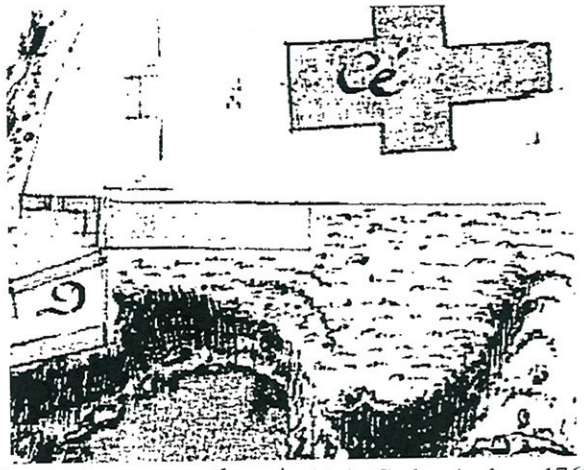


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

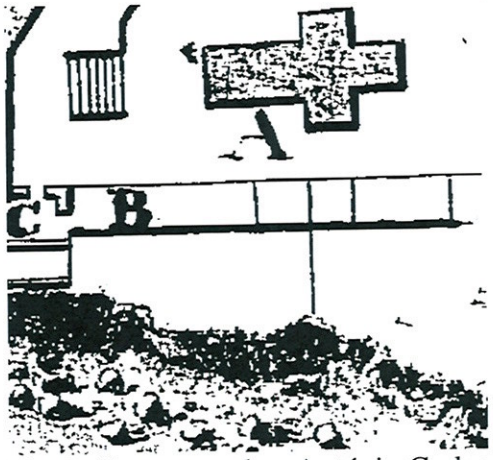


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

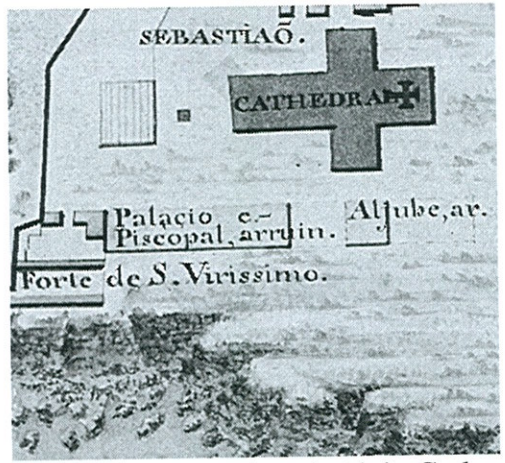


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

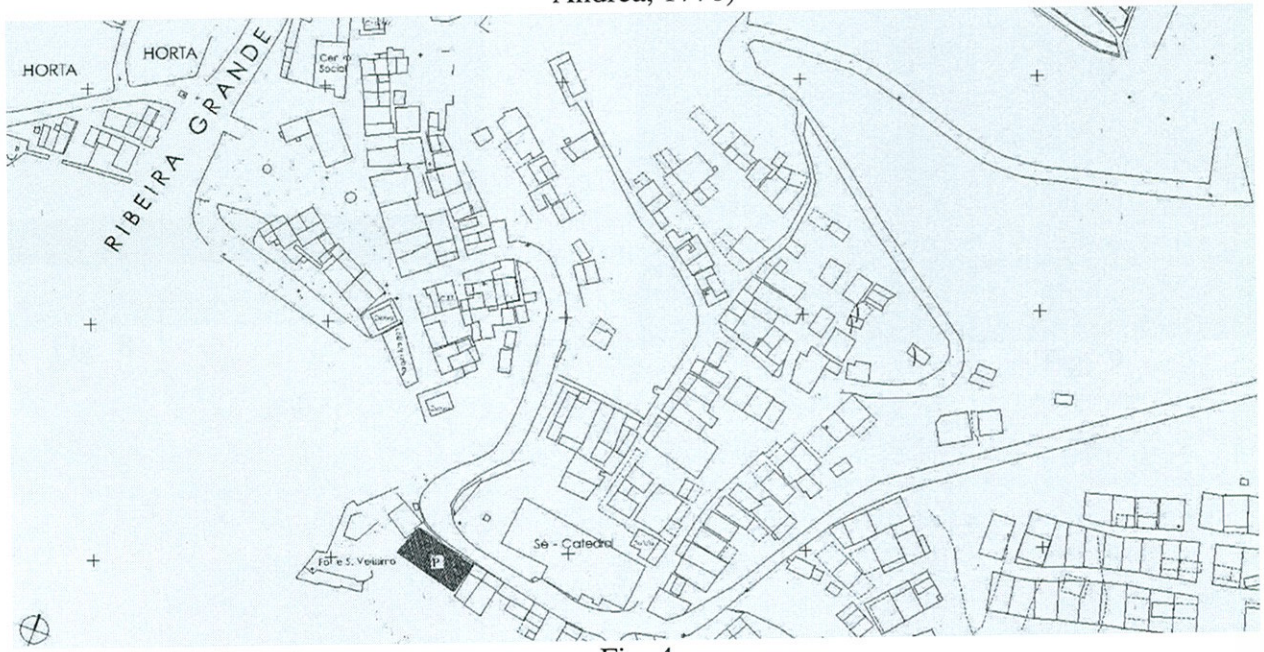


Fig. 4

Plans, Elevations and Sections

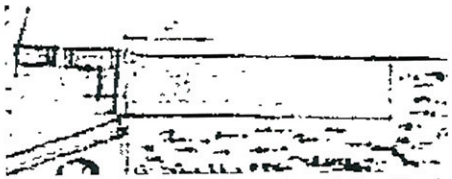
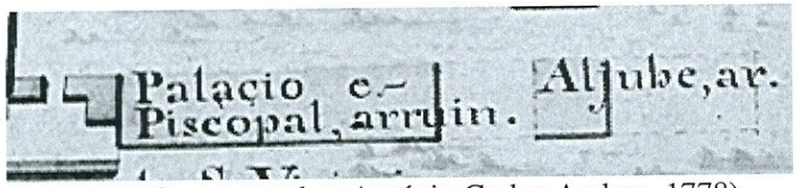


Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



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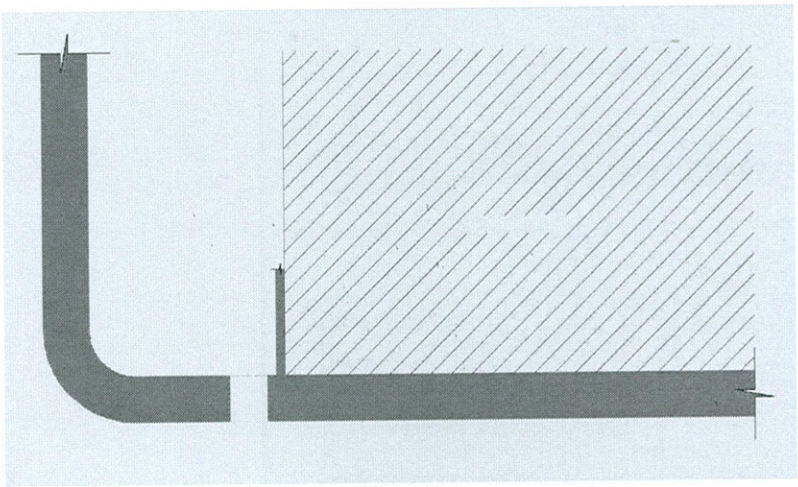


Fig. 8

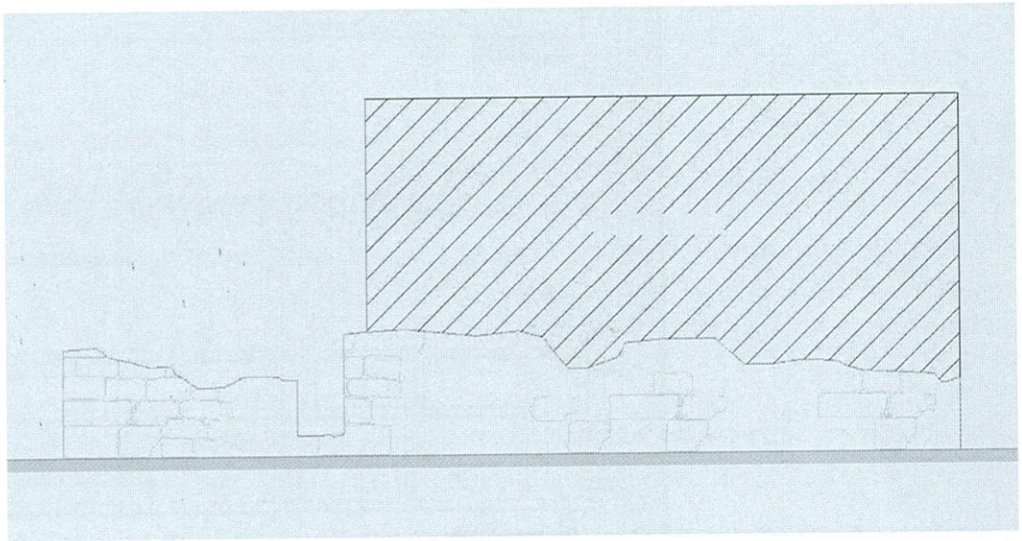


Fig. 9

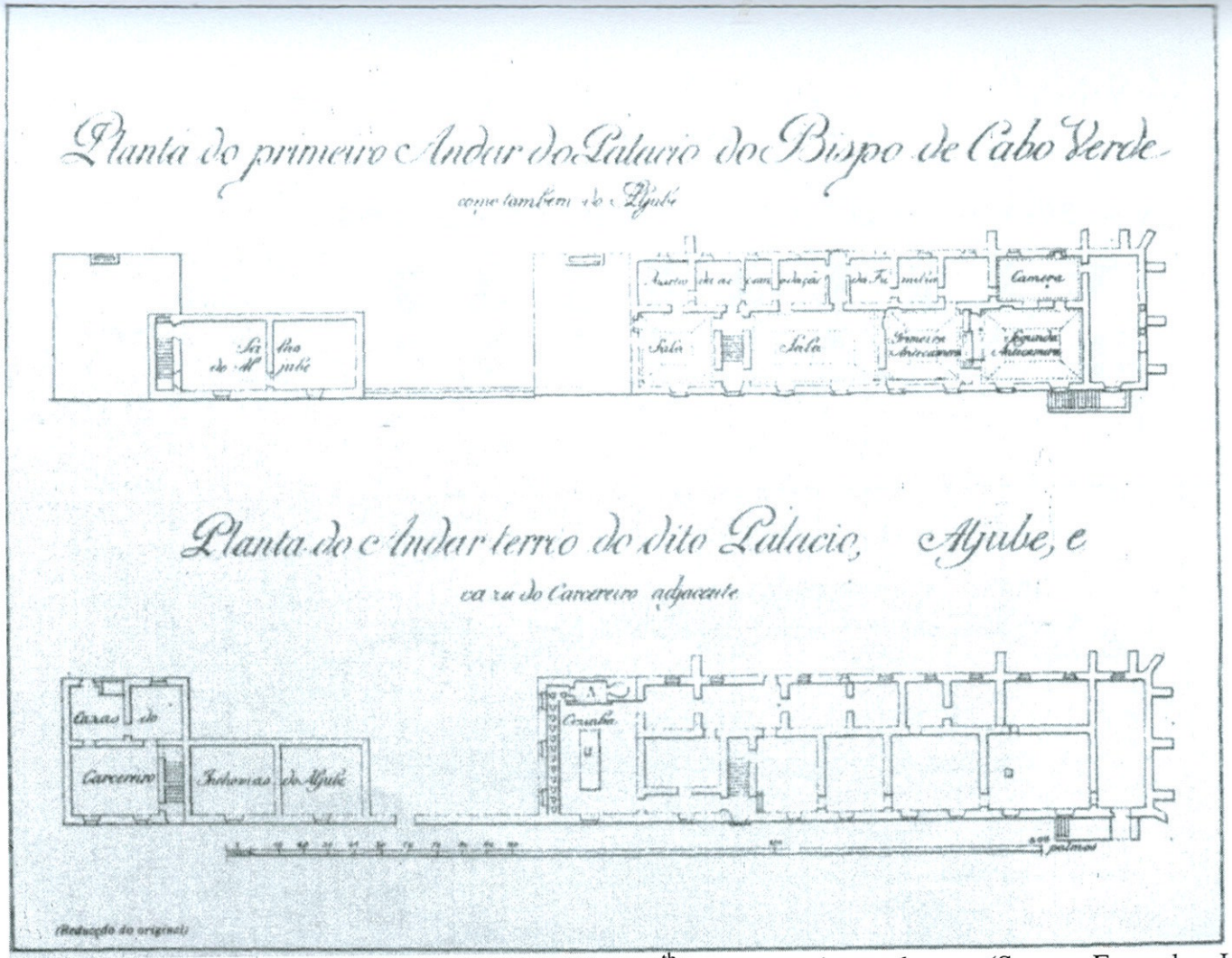


Fig. 10 'Palácio do Bispo, aljube e casa do carcereiro adjacente'. Plans, 18th century, author unknown (Source: Fagundes, João, 1989. *Ribeira Grande - a Cidade Velha*, engraving in Christiano José de Senna Barcelos, *Subsídios para a história de Cabo Verde e Guiné*, Vol. II, Lisboa, 1900)

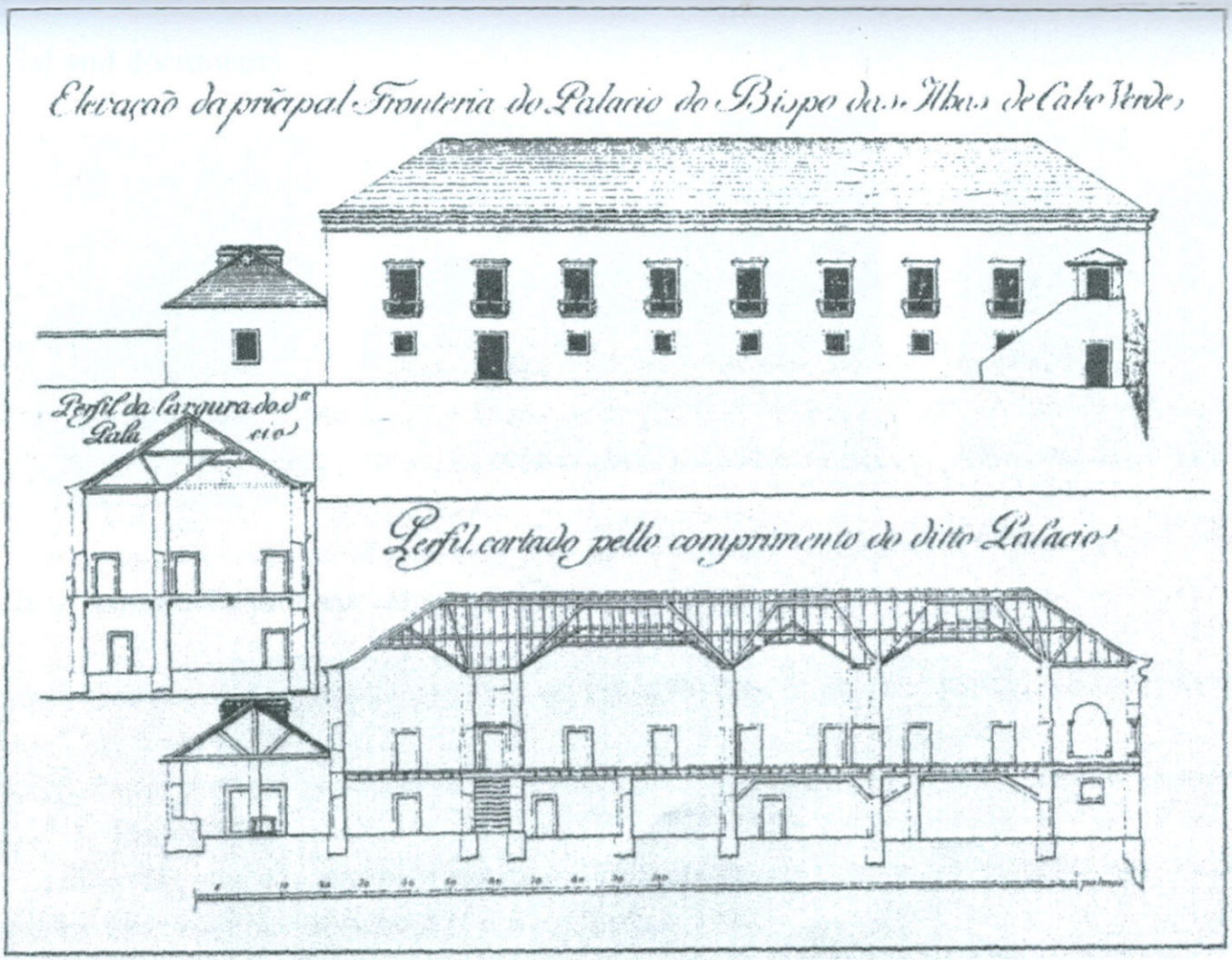


Fig. 11 'Palácio do Bispo das ilhas de Cabo Verde'. Main elevation and section, 18th century, author unknown (Source: Fagundes, João, 1989. *Ribeira Grande - a Cidade Velha*, engraving in Christiano José de Senna Barcelos, *Subsídios para a história de Cabo Verde e Guiné*, Vol. II, Lisboa, 1900)

Additional material and documents

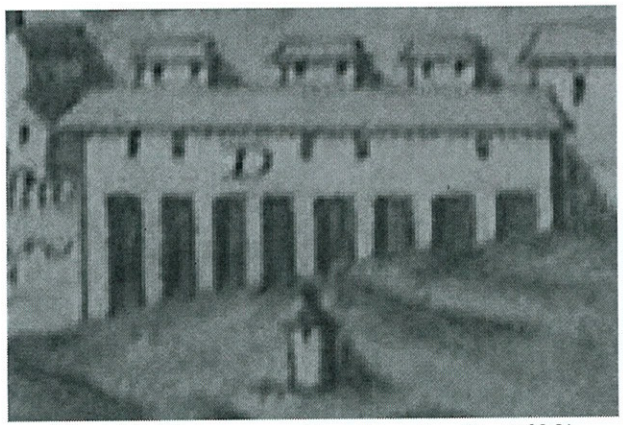


Fig. 12 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)

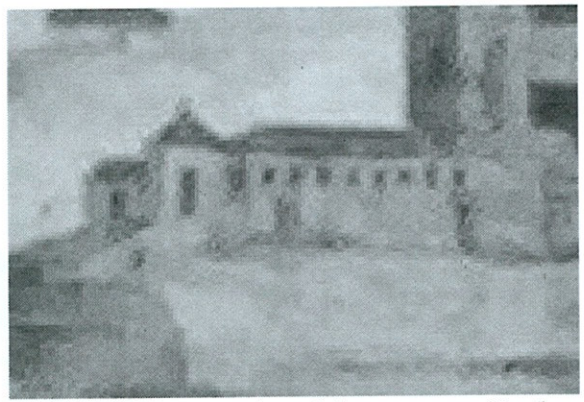


Fig. 13 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)

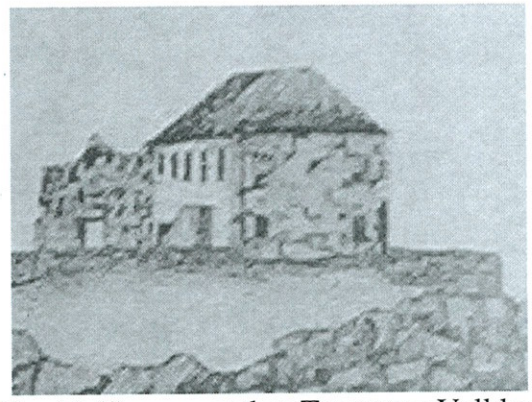


Fig. 14 (Source: author Travessos Valldez, 1864)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 15 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)

Detail views



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

Technical details and structural constructive elements

Masonry

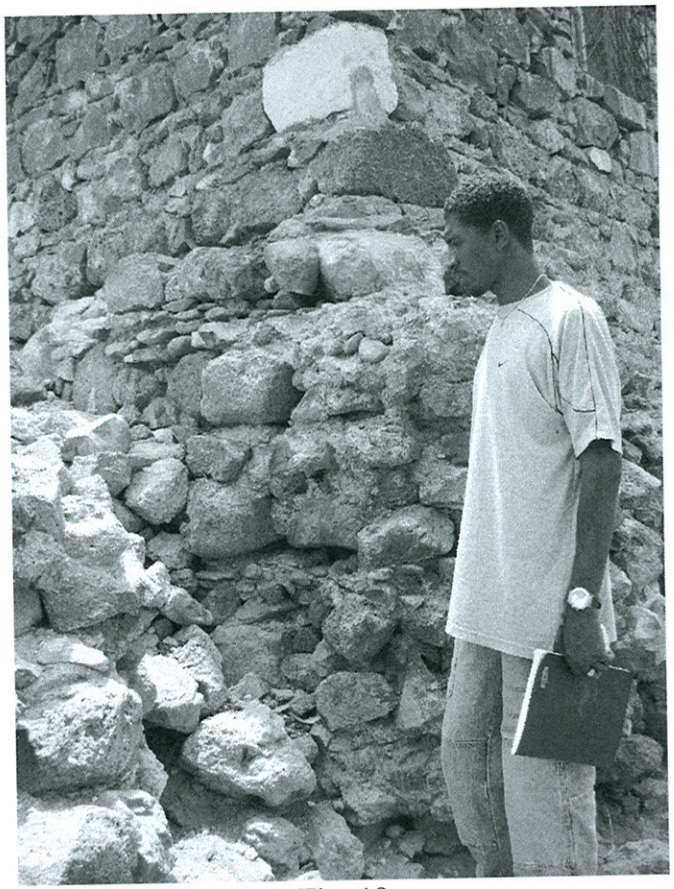


Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Mortar, plaster, doors and windows



Fig. 20

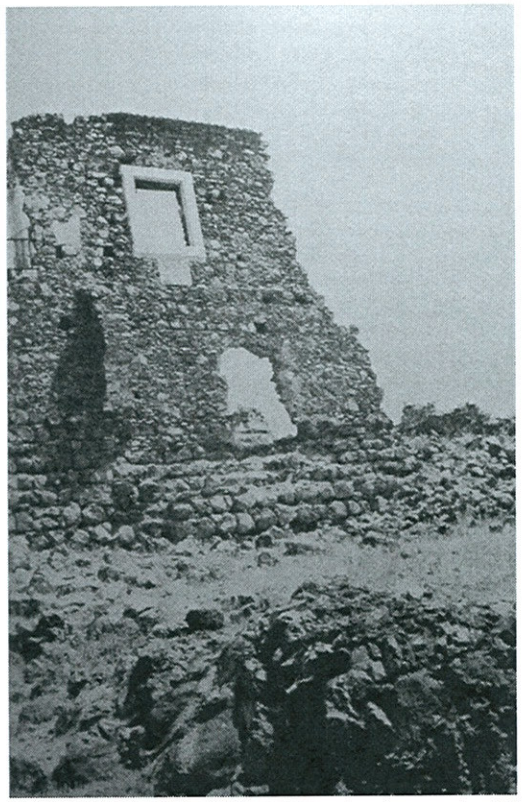


Fig. 21 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)

Chiselled stones



Fig. 22

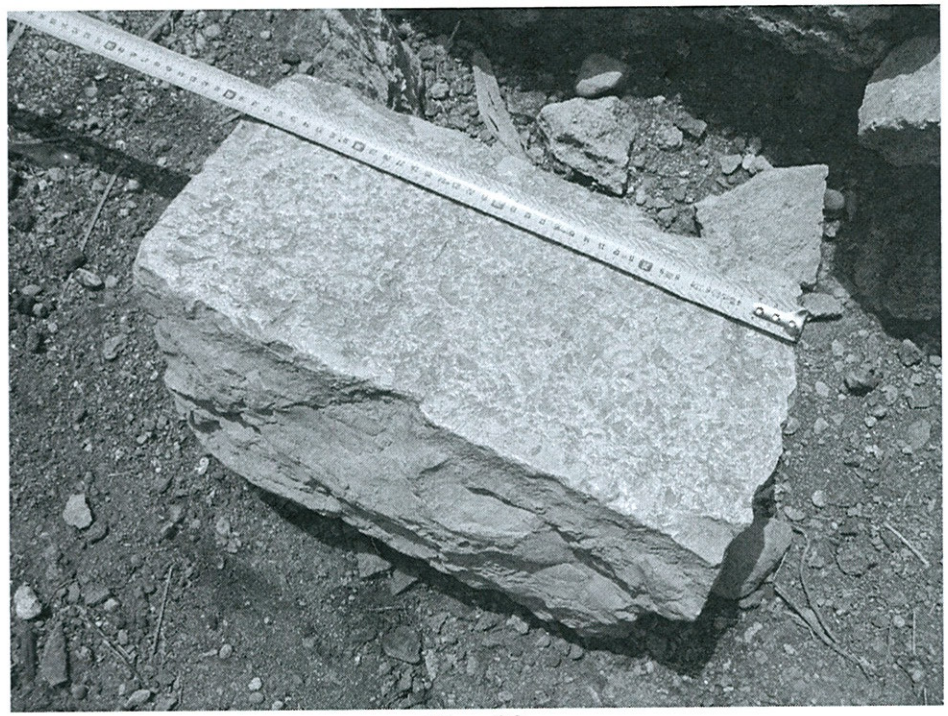


Fig. 23

1.2.4 The Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*

Fig. 1-229

Site plans

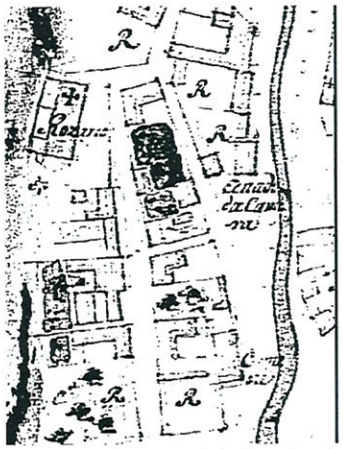
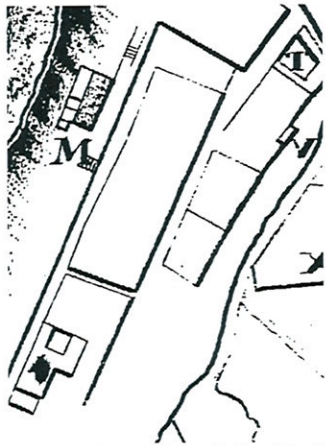


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



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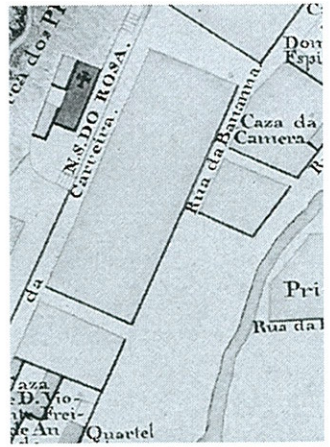


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

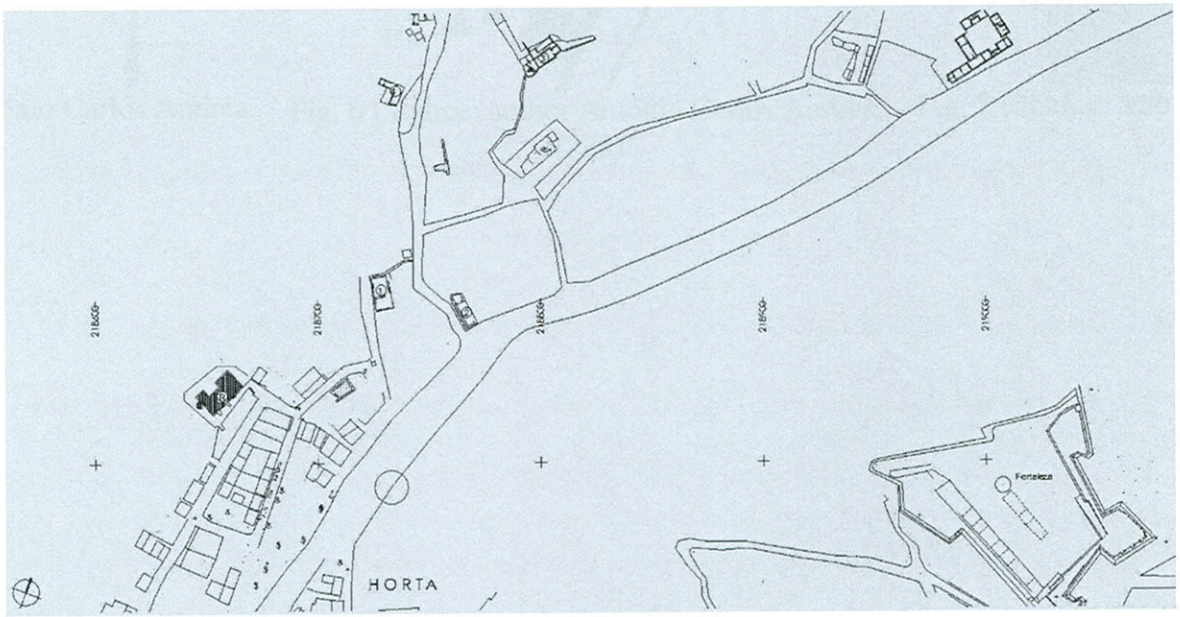


Fig. 4

Plans

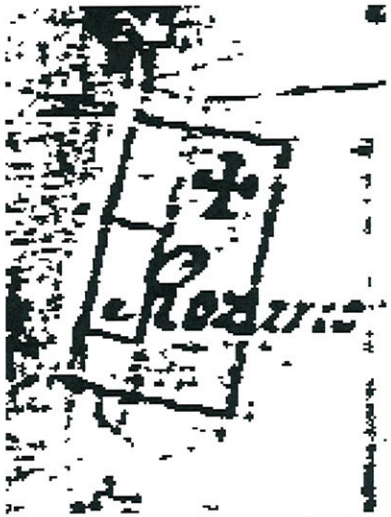


Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

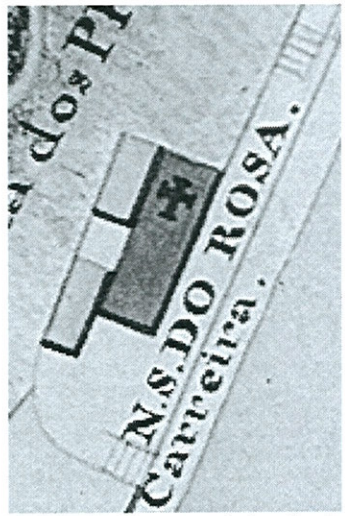


Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

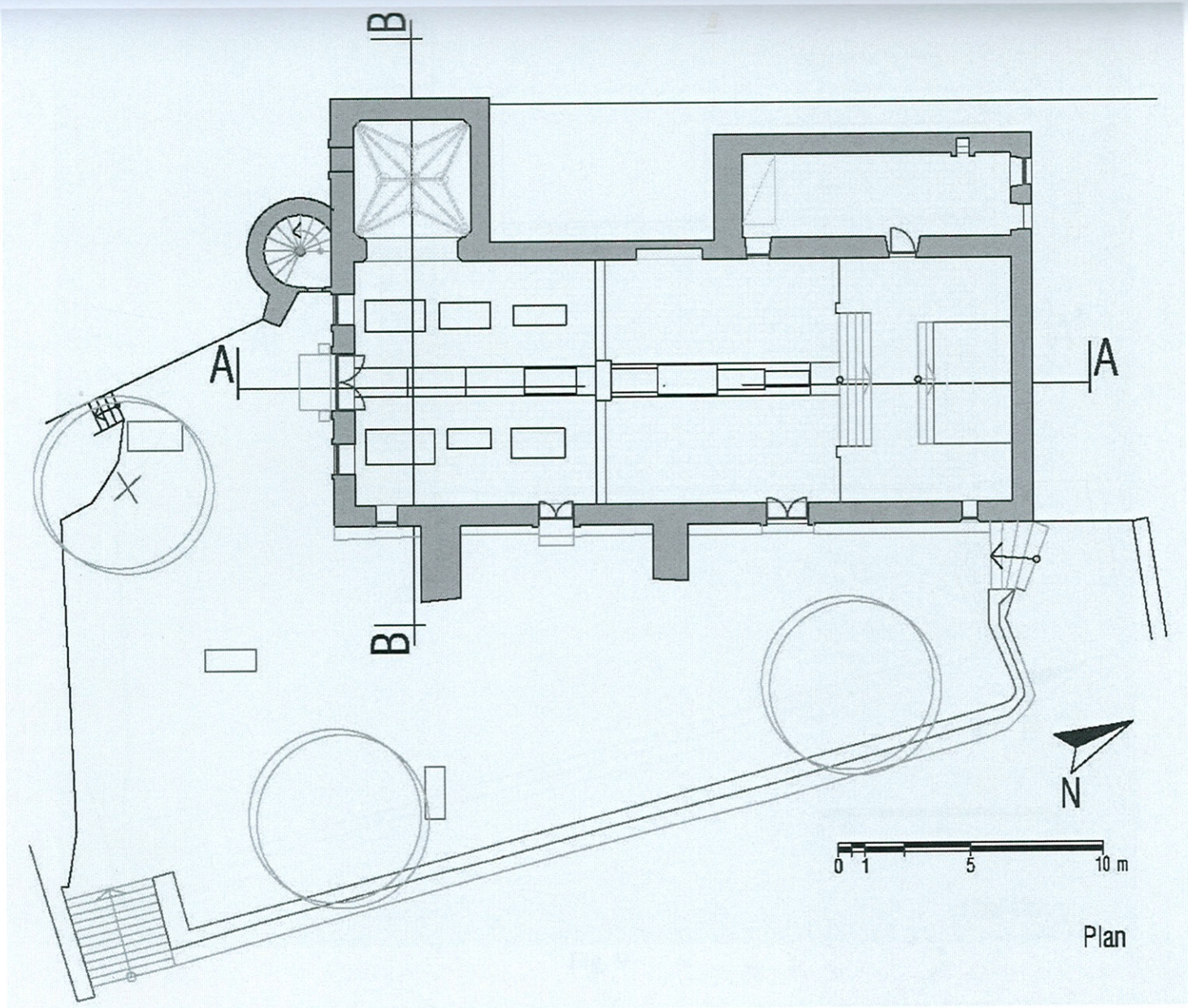


Fig. 8

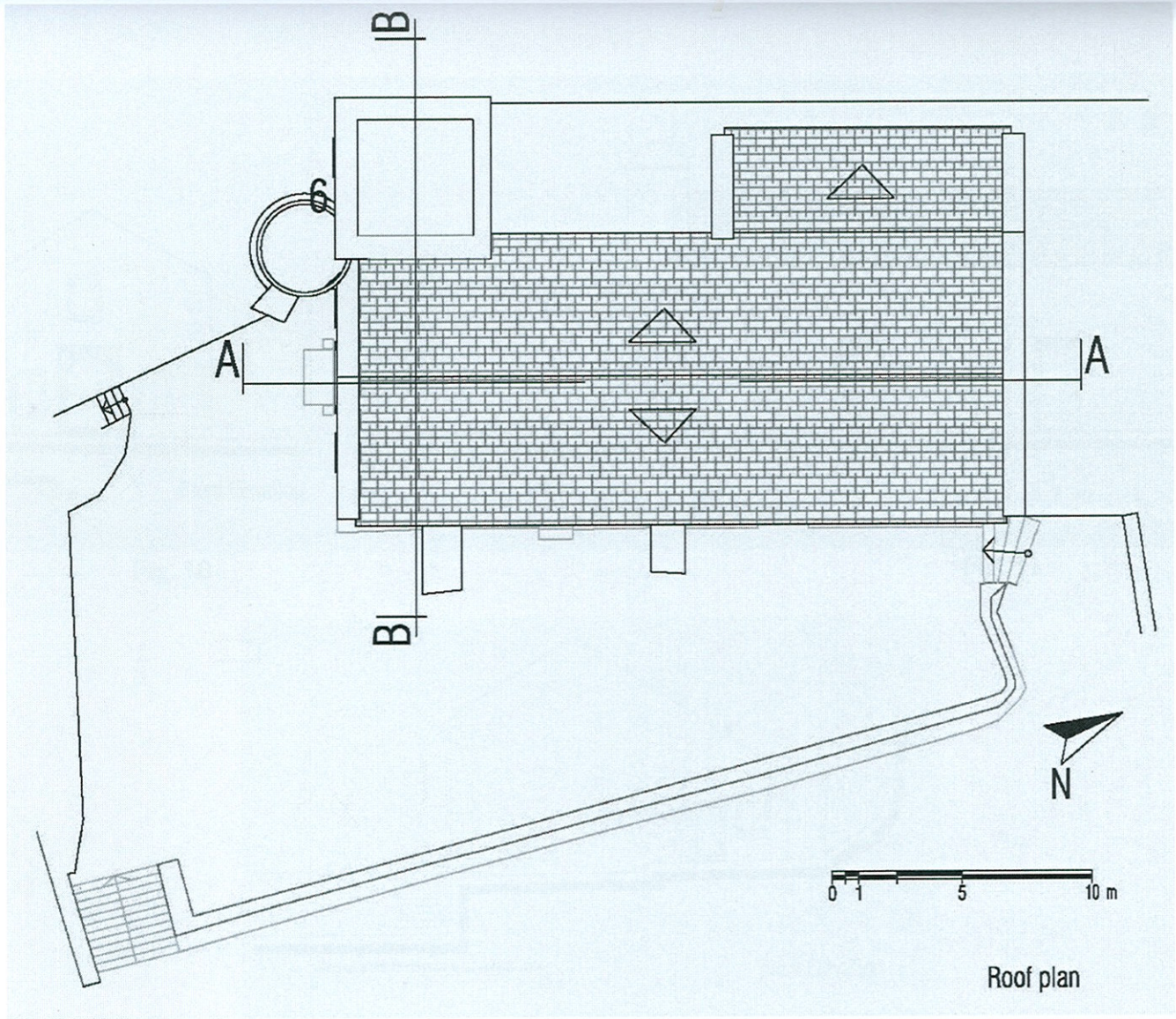


Fig. 9

Elevations

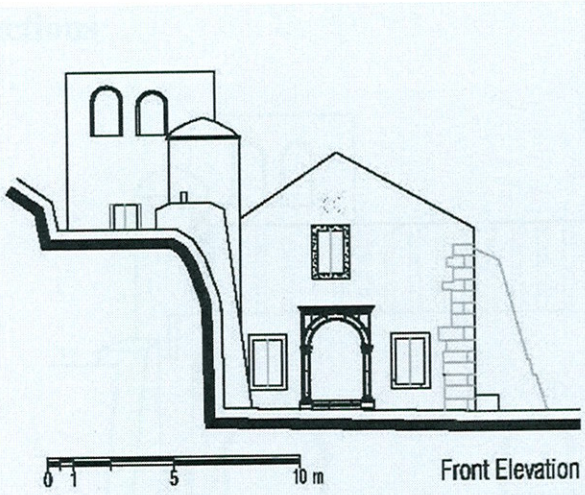
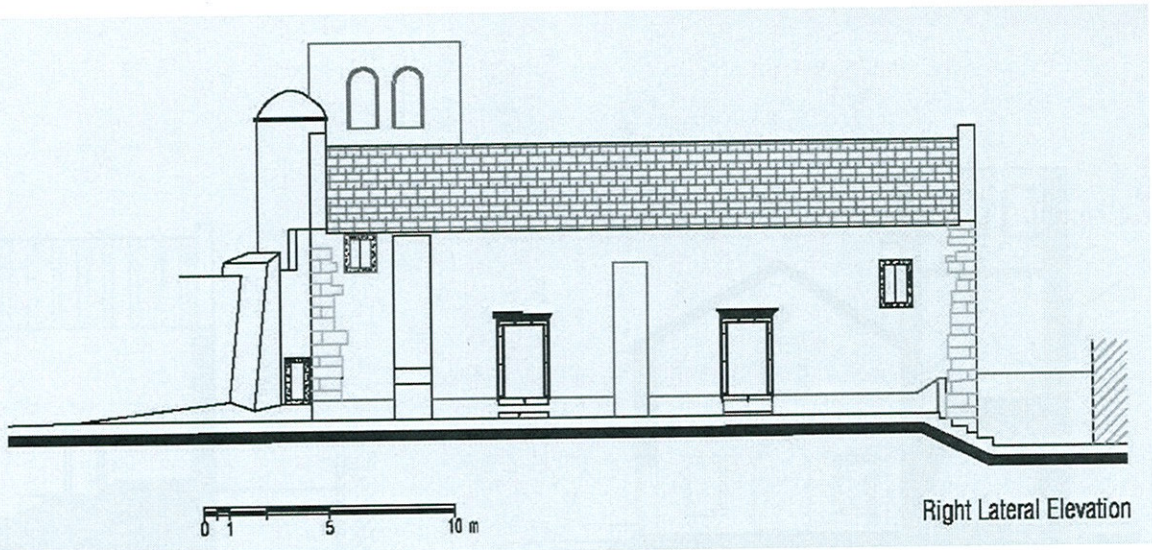


Fig. 10



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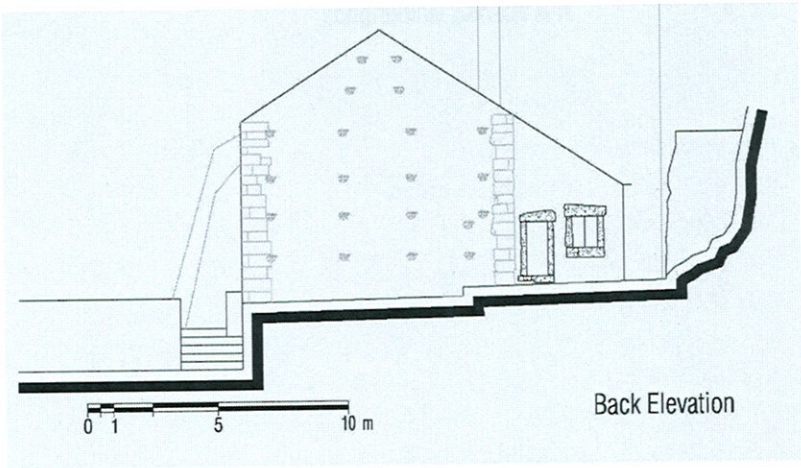


Fig. 12

Sections

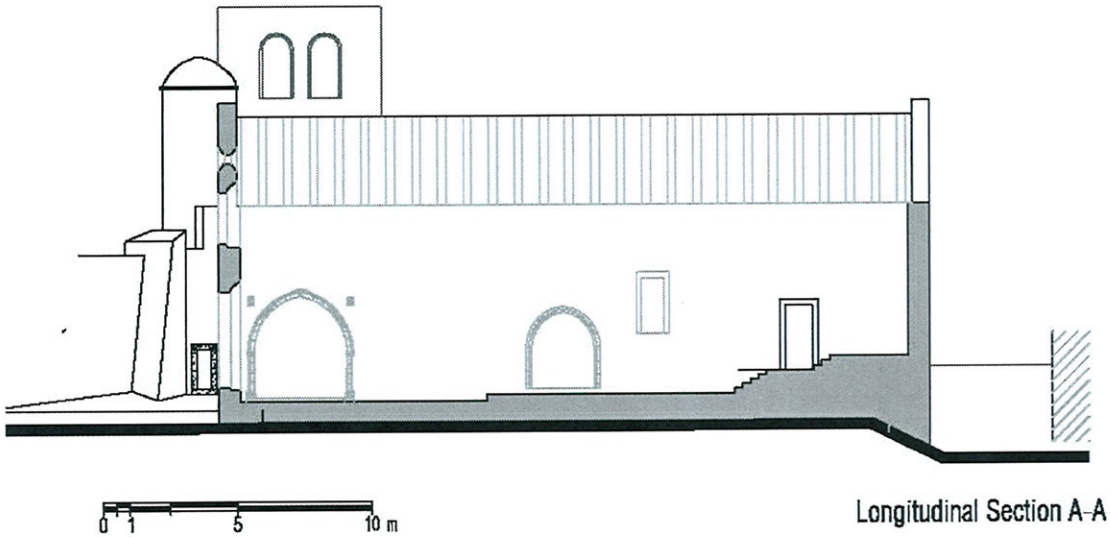


Fig. 13

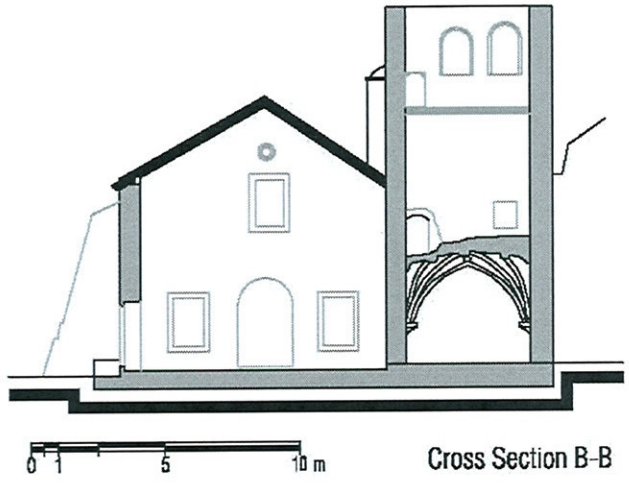


Fig. 14

Additional material and documents



Fig. 15 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)



Fig. 16 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

Detail views



Fig. 21 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 22 (Source: author photo unknown, AHN)



Fig. 24



Fig. 23



Fig. 25

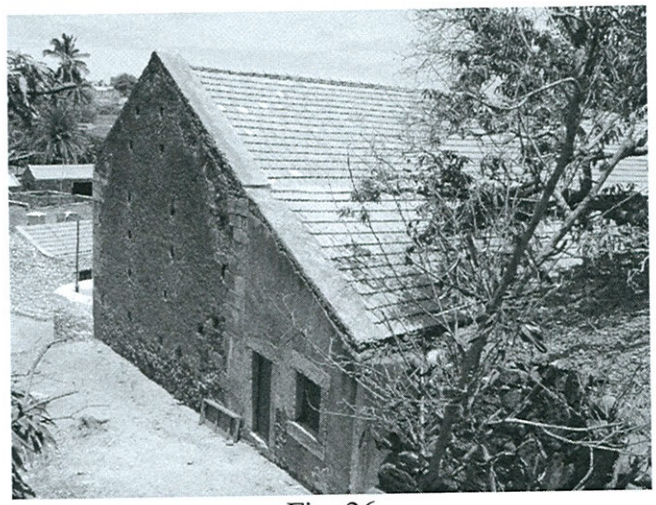


Fig. 26

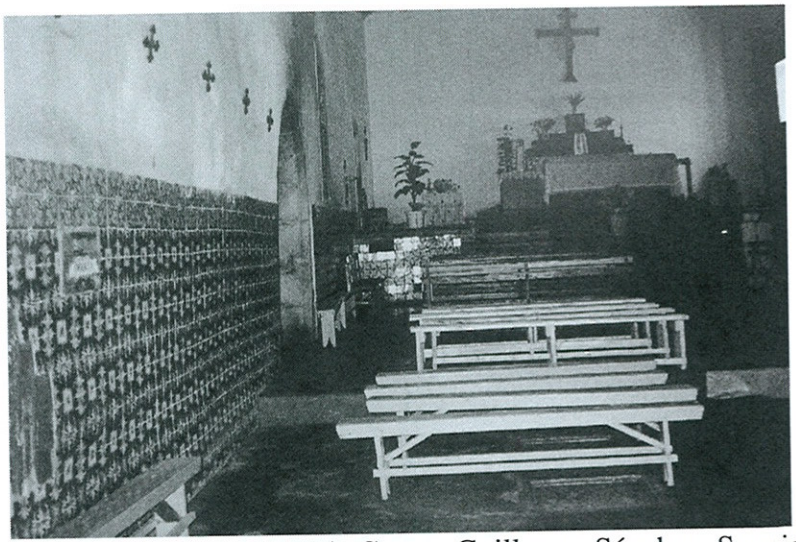


Fig. 27 (Source:photo Jesús Couso, Guillermo Sánchez, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA)



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32

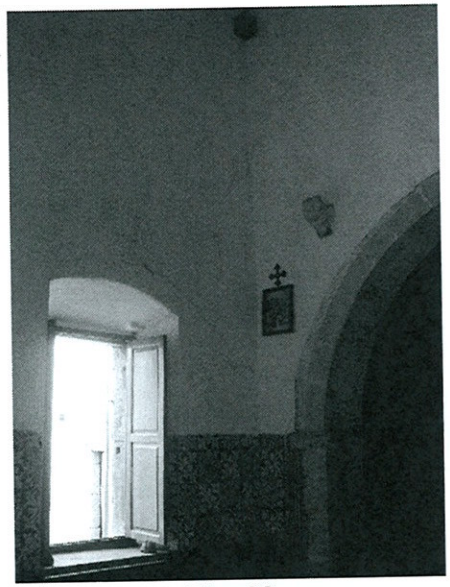


Fig. 33



Fig. 34

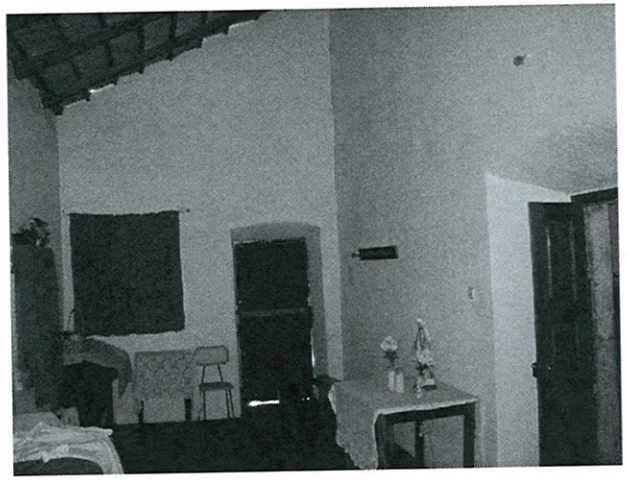


Fig. 35

Technical details and structural constructive elements

Masonry

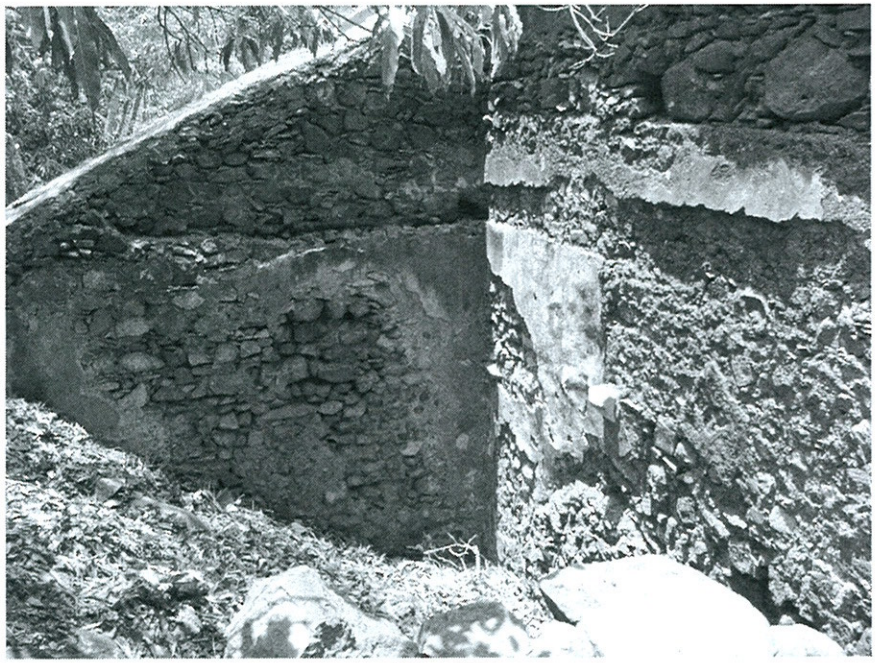


Fig. 36



Fig. 37

Mortar and plaster



Fig. 38

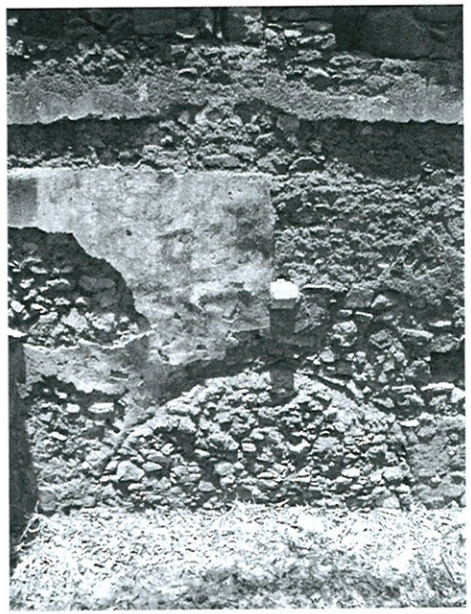


Fig. 39



Fig. 40

Doors, windows and leaks



Fig. 41



Fig. 43

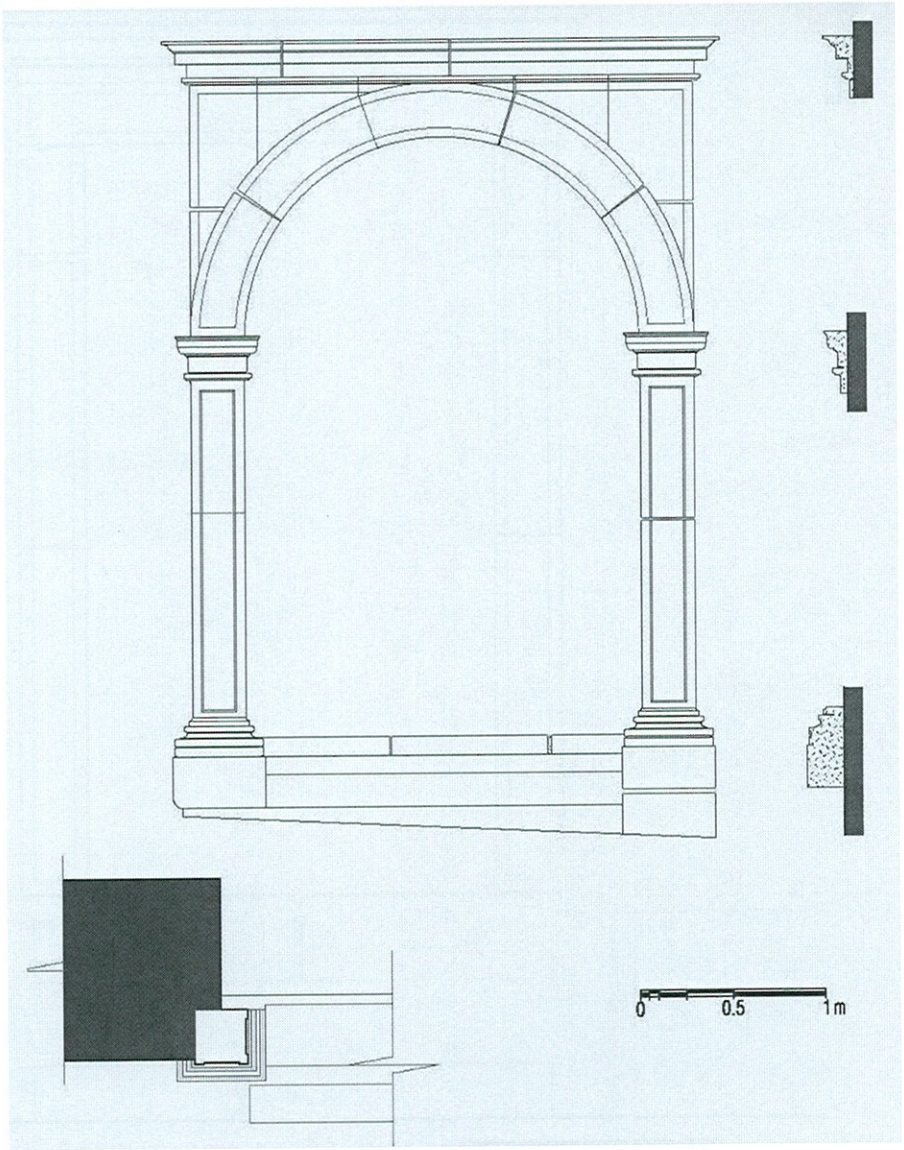


Fig. 42



Fig. 44

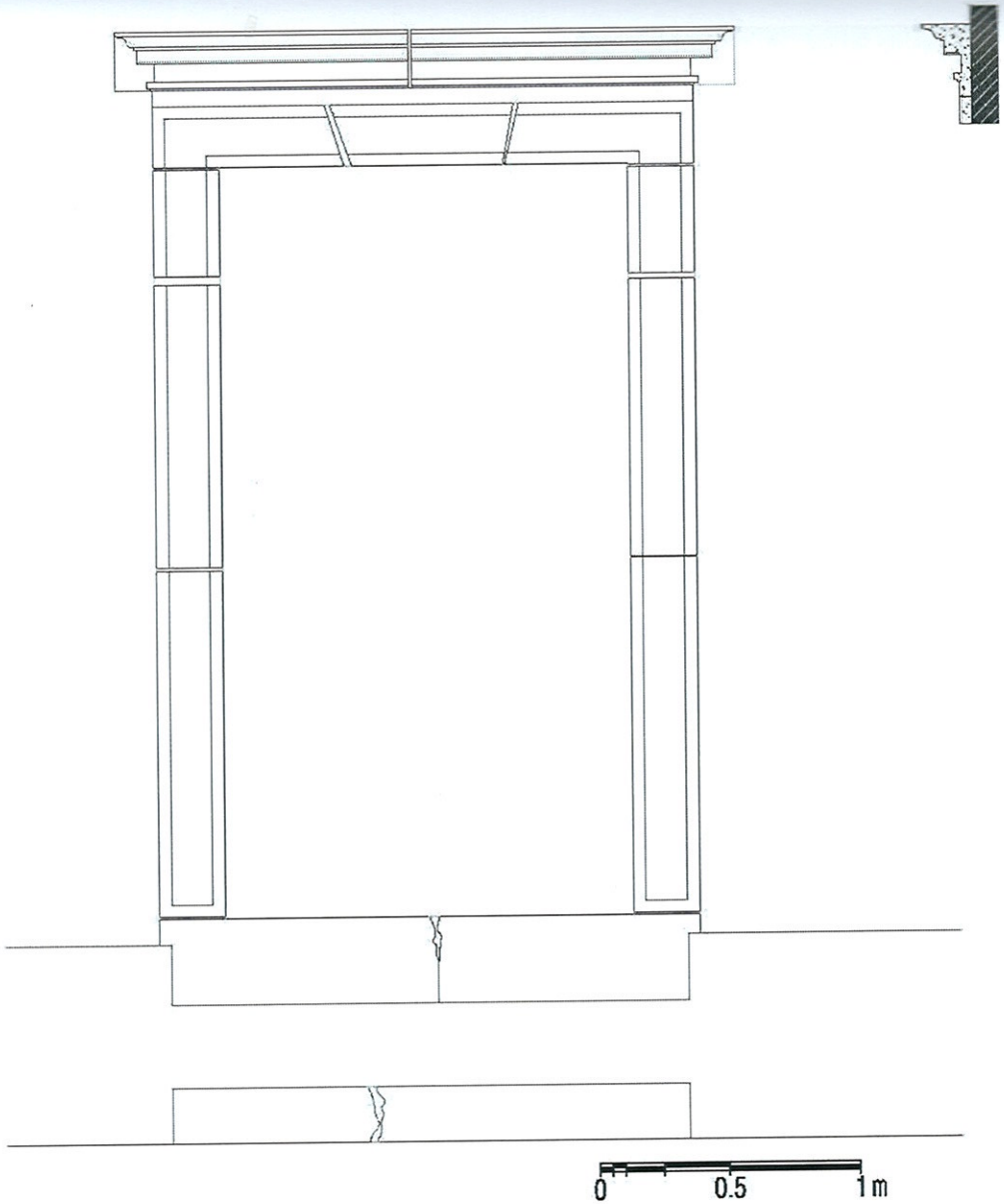


Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48

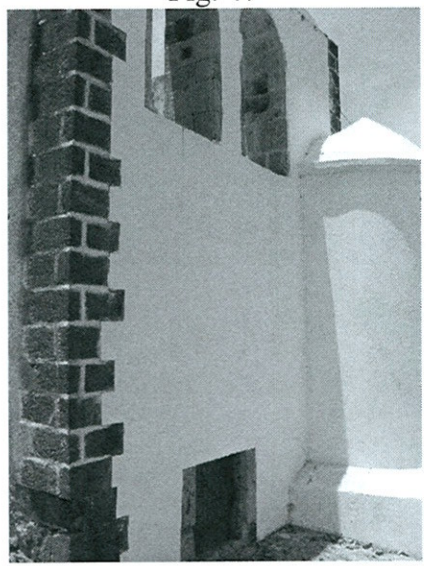


Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52

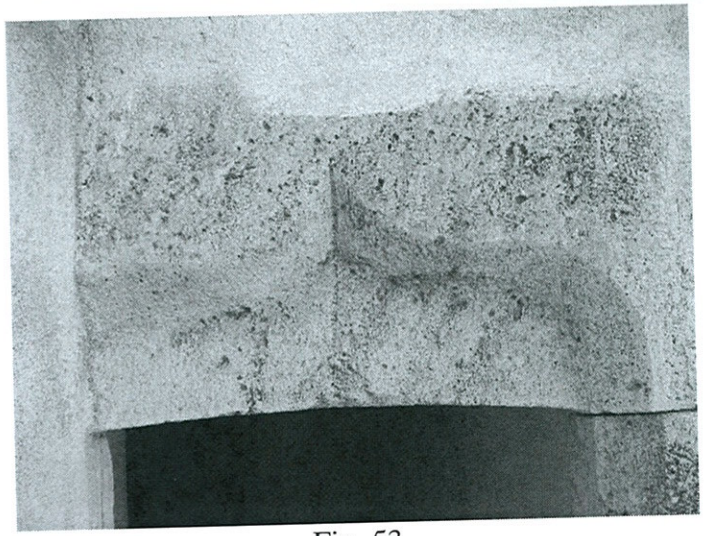


Fig. 53

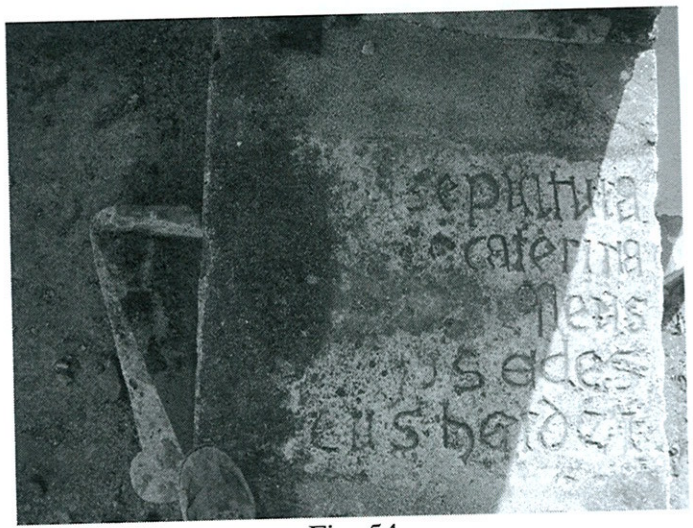


Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57

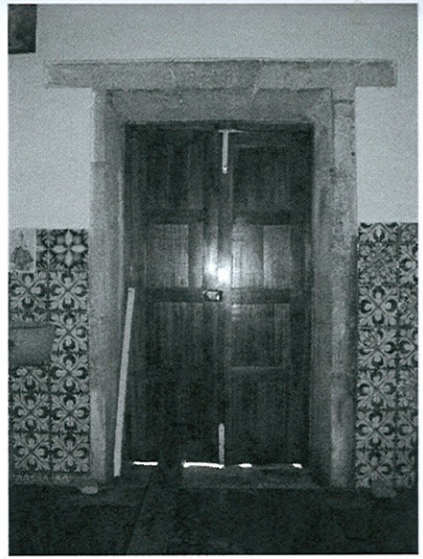


Fig. 58



Fig. 59

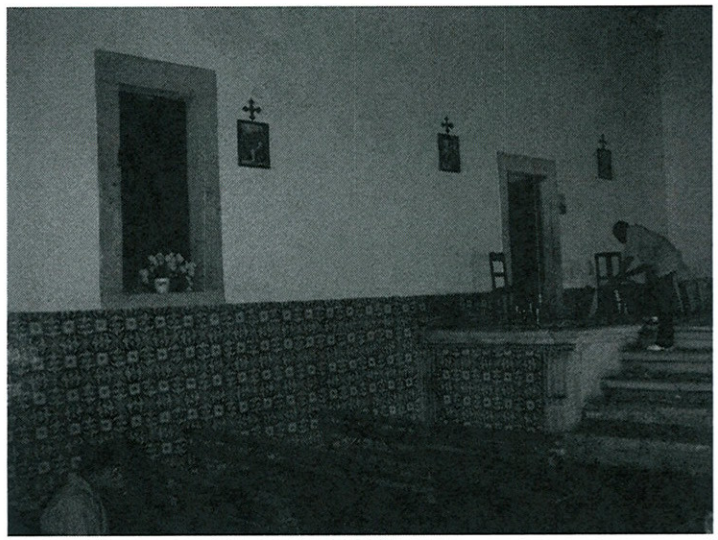


Fig. 60



Fig. 61

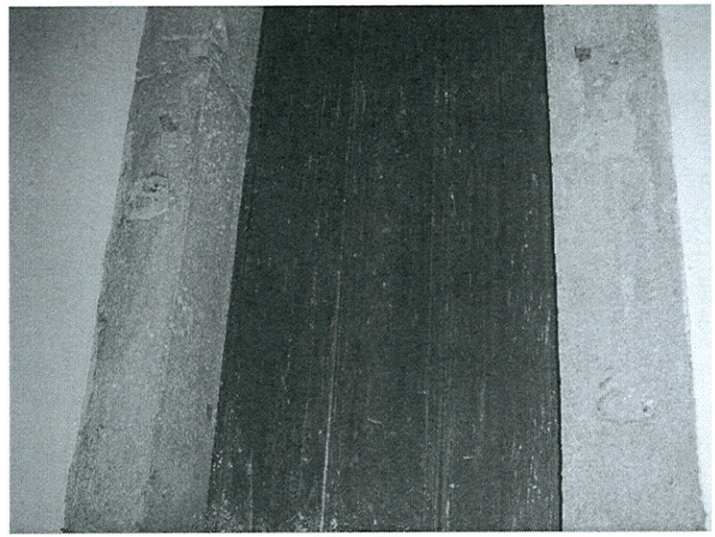
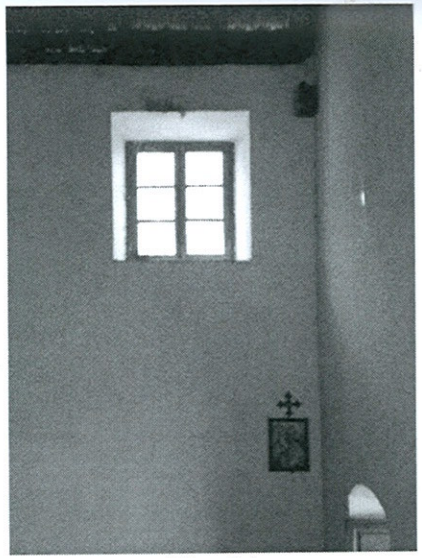


Fig. 62



Fig. 63



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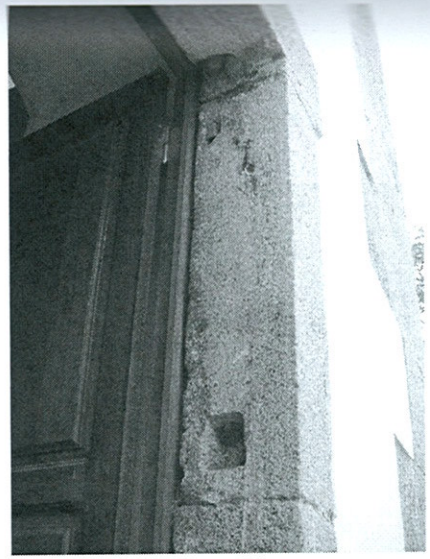

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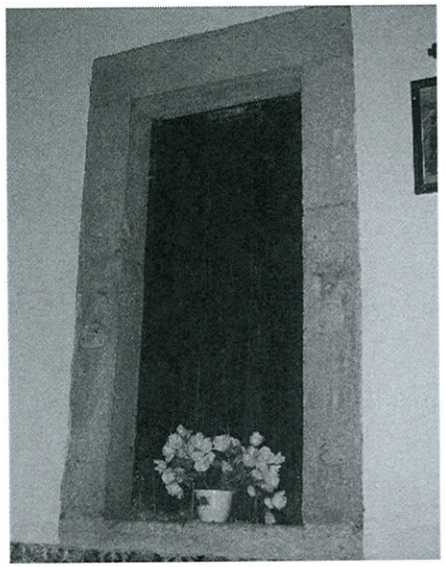


Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



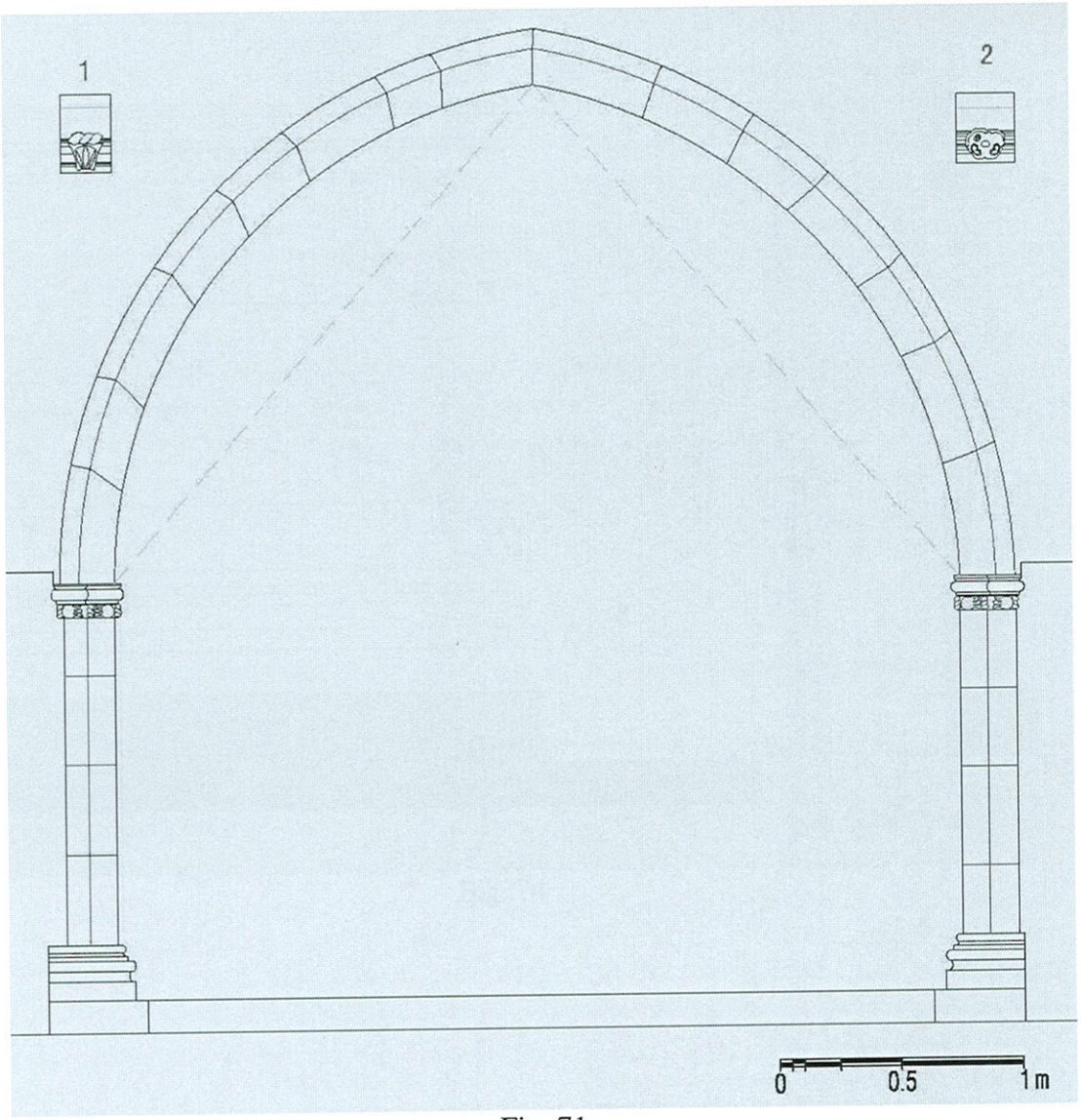
Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 72



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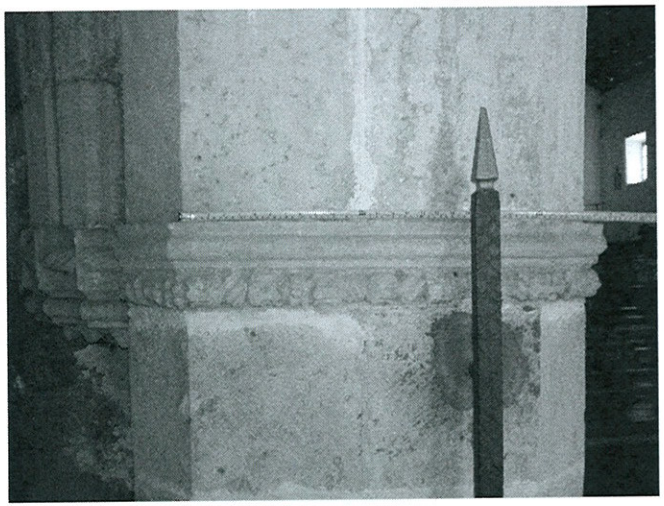

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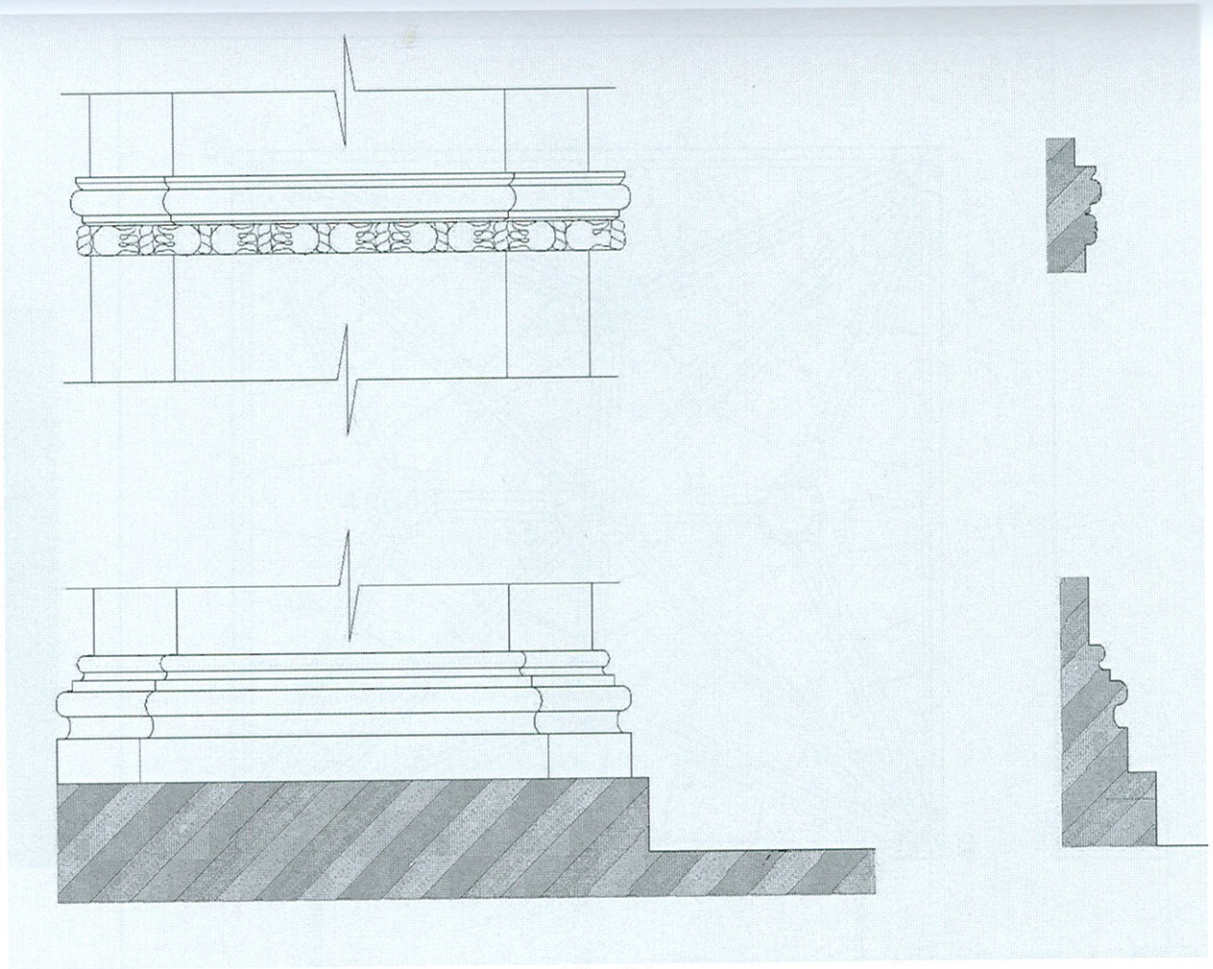
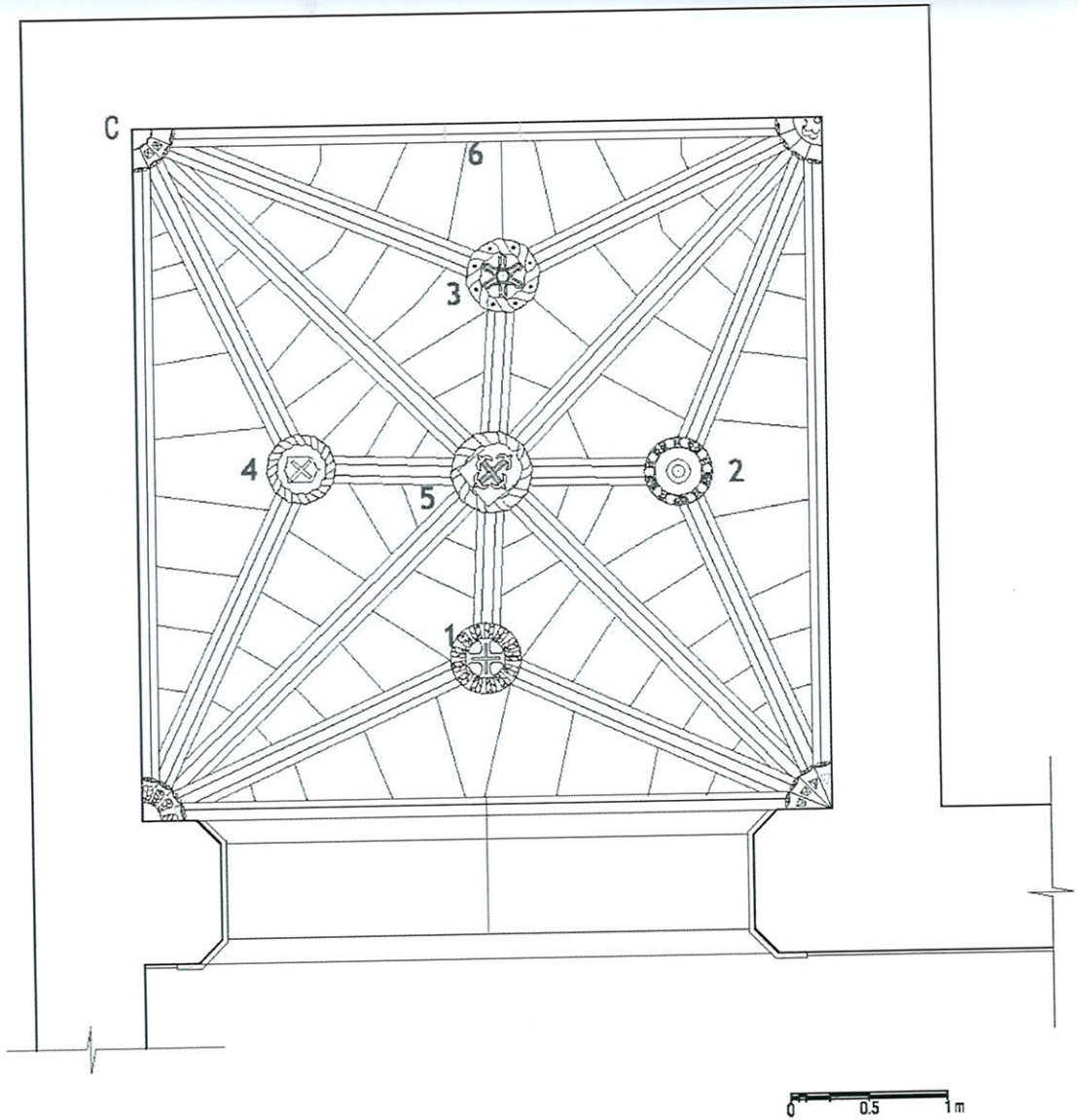


Fig. 74



Fig. 75



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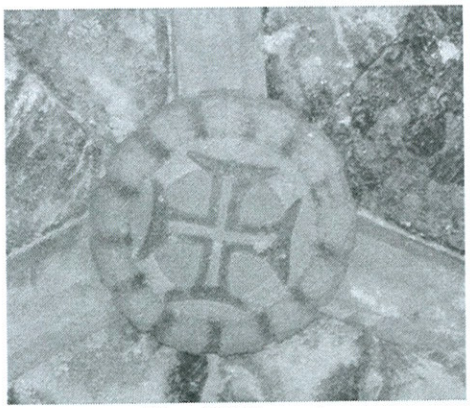


Fig. 77 Boss 1



Fig. 79 Boss 3



Fig. 81 Boss 5

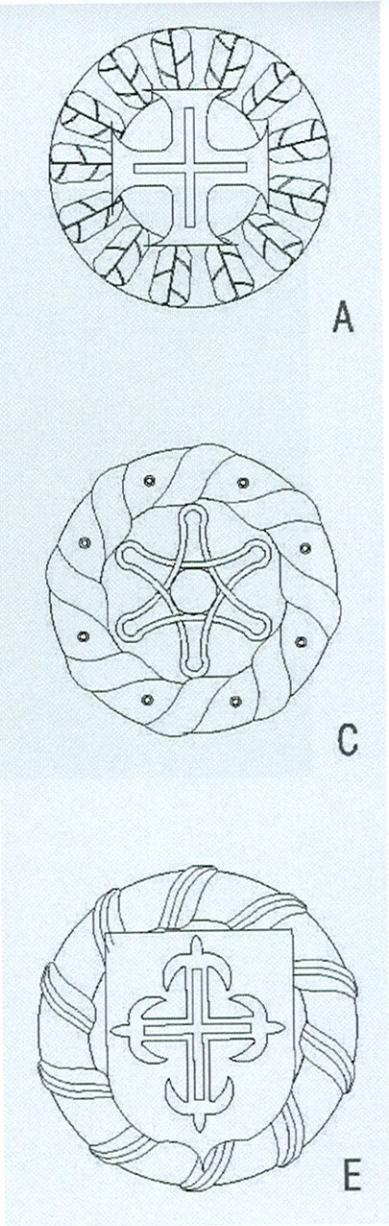




Fig. 78 Boss 2



Fig. 80 Boss 4



Fig. 82 Boss 6

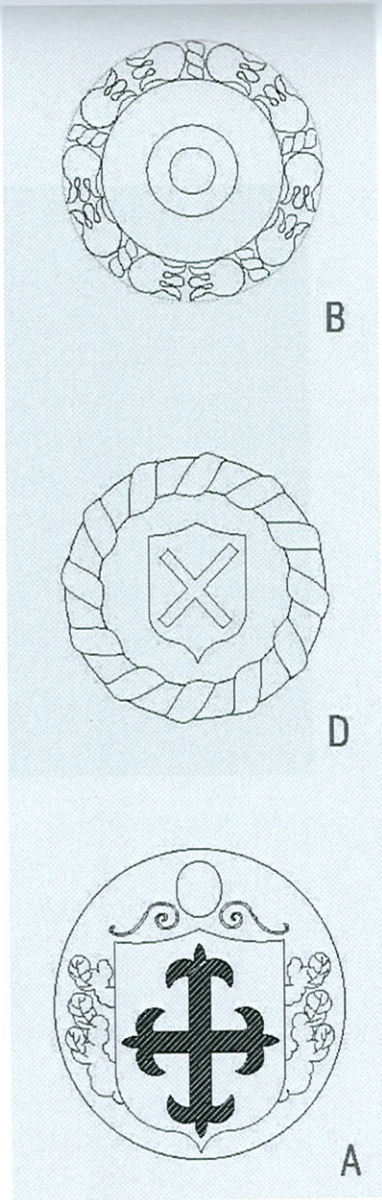




Fig. 83



Fig. 84



Fig. 85

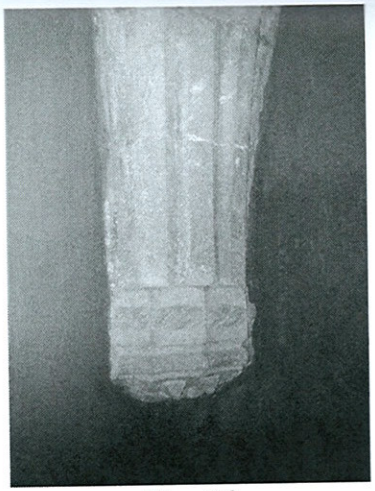


Fig. 86

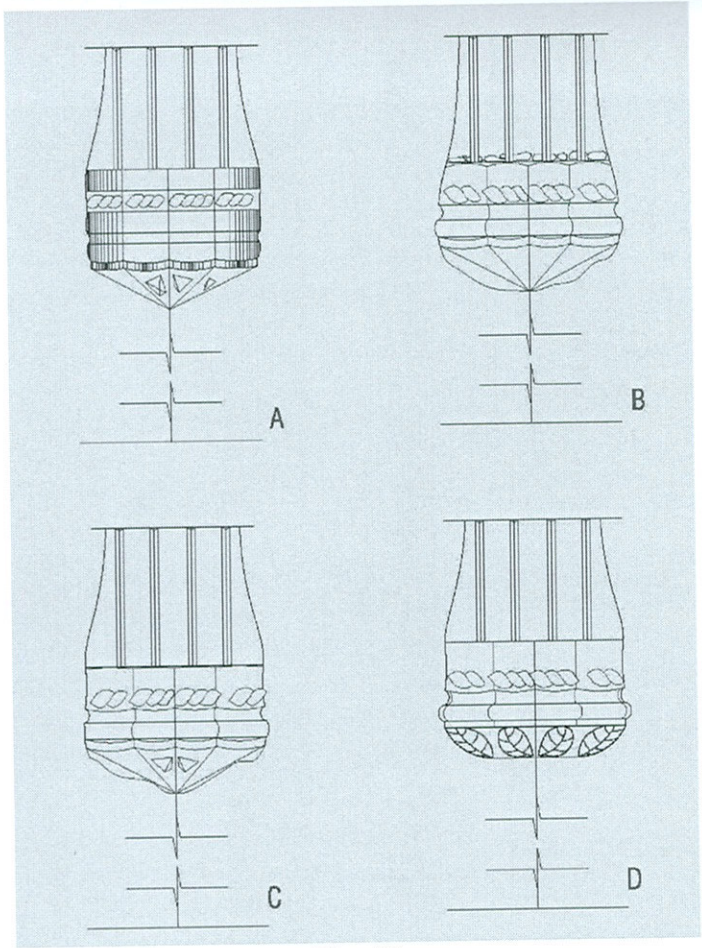


Fig. 87



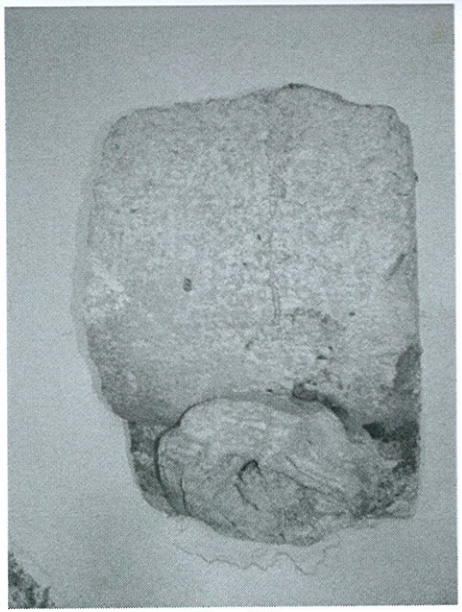
Fig. 88



Fig. 89



Fig. 90



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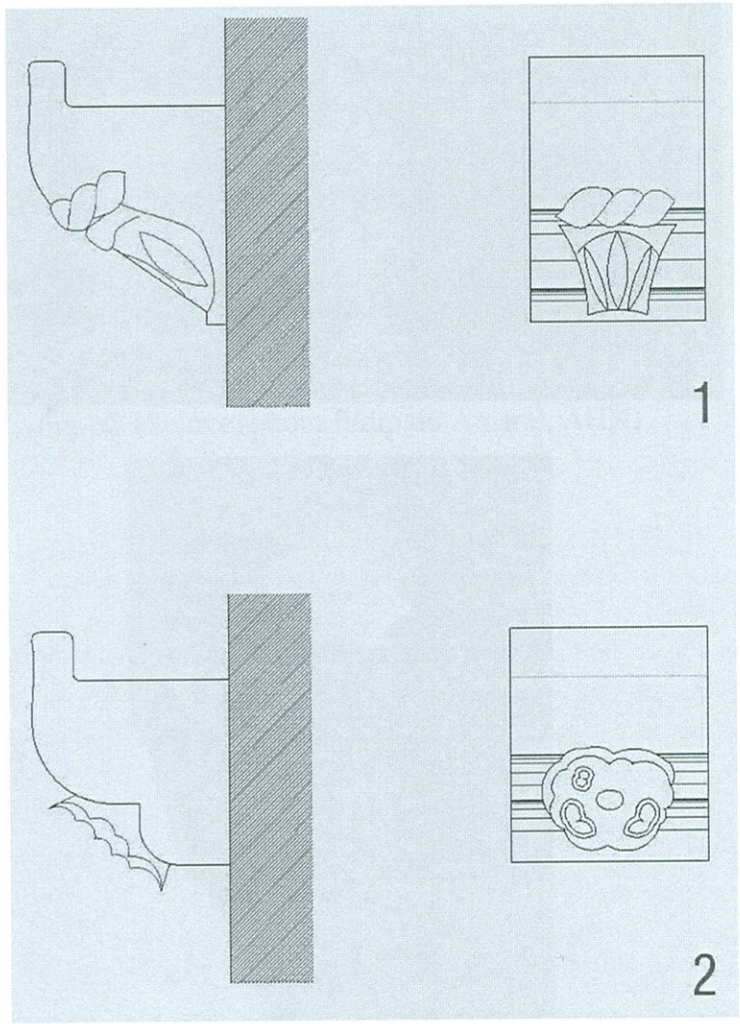

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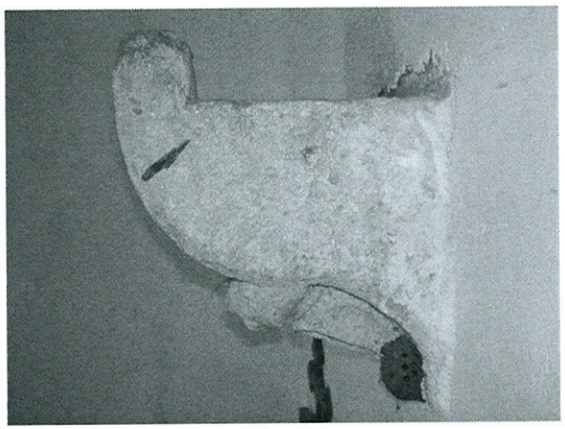

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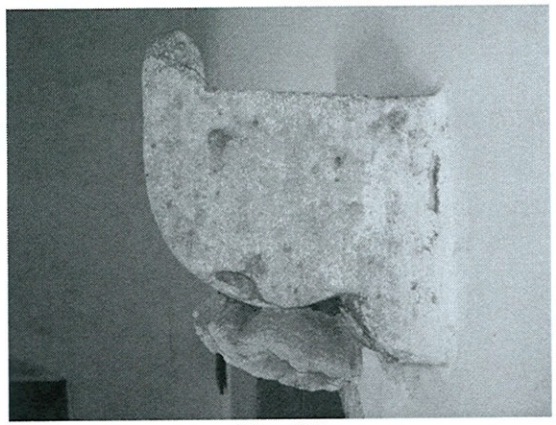


Fig. 94



Fig. 95



Fig. 96

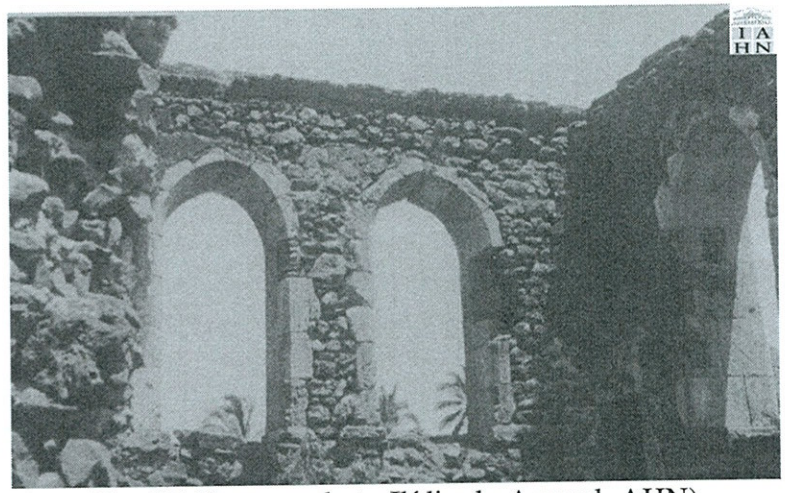


Fig. 97 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



Fig. 98



Fig. 99 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)



Fig. 100



Fig. 101

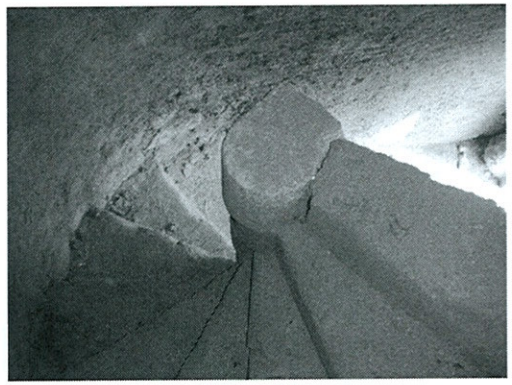


Fig. 102



Fig. 103

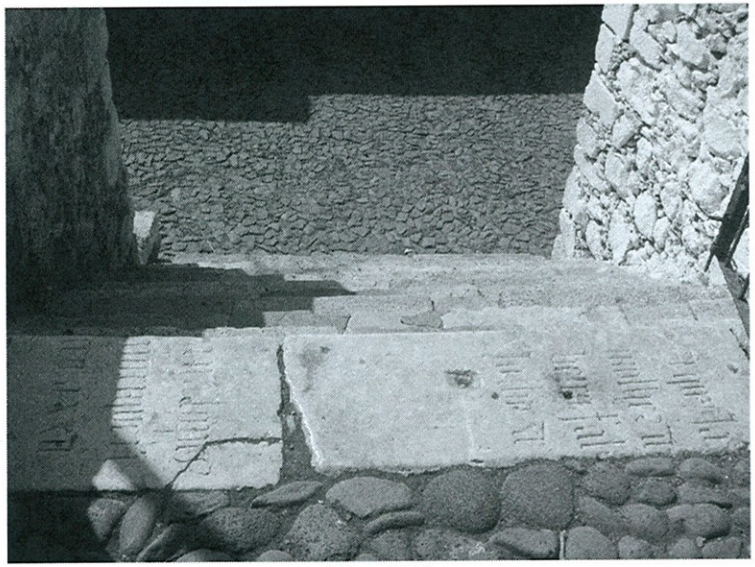


Fig. 104



Fig. 105



Fig. 106



Fig. 107



Fig. 108



Fig. 109



Fig. 110



Fig. 111



Fig. 112



Fig. 113



Fig. 114



Fig. 115



Fig. 116

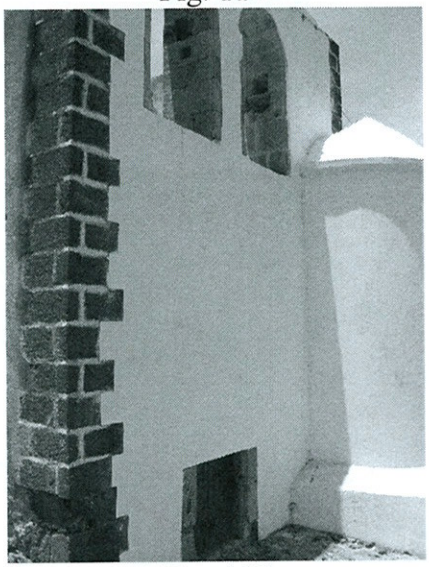


Fig. 117



Fig. 118



Fig. 119

Tombstones



Fig. 120



Fig. 121



Fig. 122



Fig. 123



Fig. 124

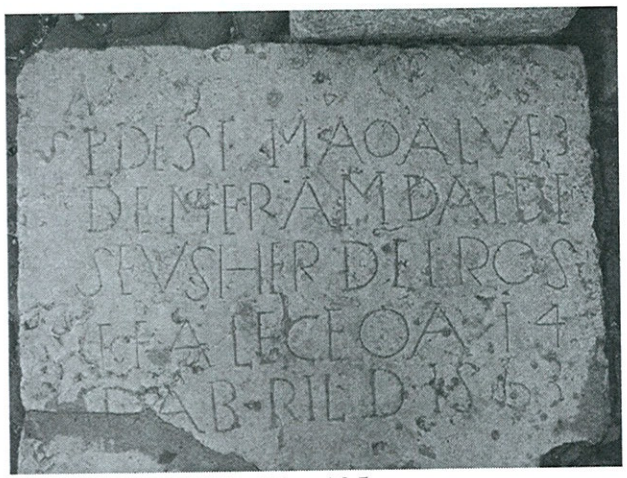


Fig. 125



Fig. 126 Rosário Tombstone 1



Fig. 127 Rosário Tombstone 2



Fig. 128 Rosário Tombstone 3



Fig. 129 Rosário Tombstone 4



Fig. 130 Rosário Tombstone 5



Fig. 131 Rosário Tombstone 6



Fig. 132 Rosário Tombstone 7

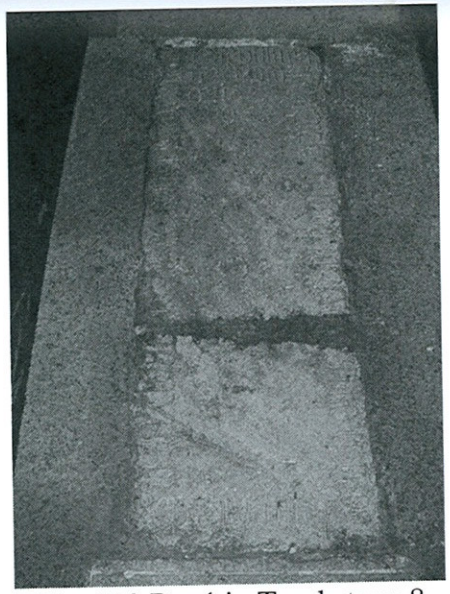


Fig. 133 Rosário Tombstone 8



Fig. 134 Rosário Tombstone 9

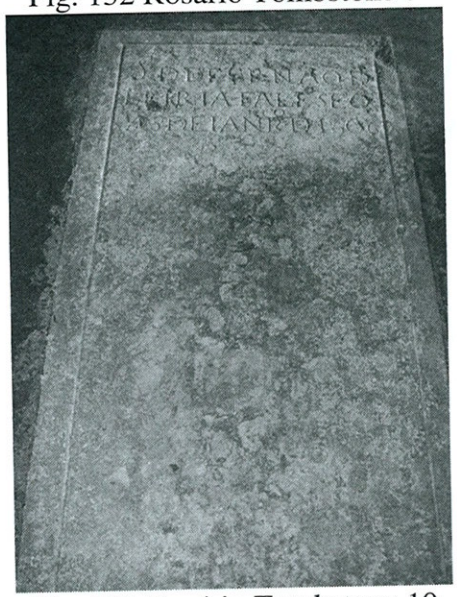


Fig. 135 Rosário Tombstone 10



Fig. 136 Rosário Tombstone 11



Fig. 137 Rosário Tombstone 12

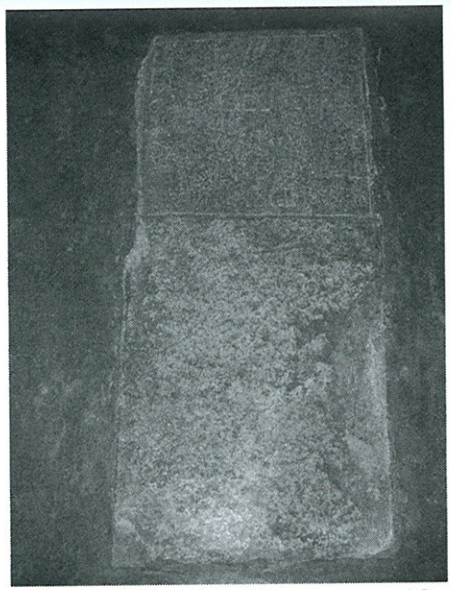


Fig. 138 Rosário Tombstone 13



Fig. 139 Rosário Tombstone 14



Fig. 140

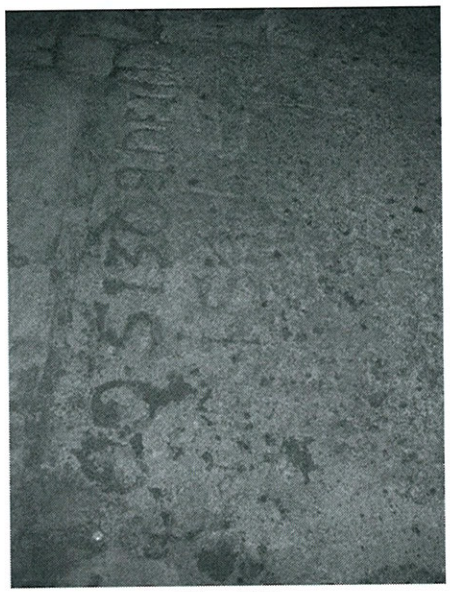


Fig. 141

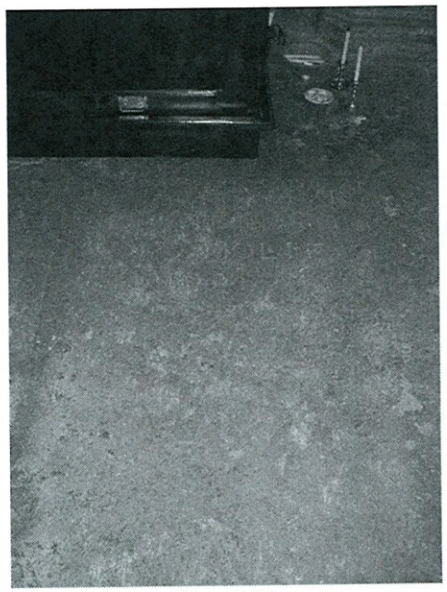


Fig. 142



Fig. 143

Floor

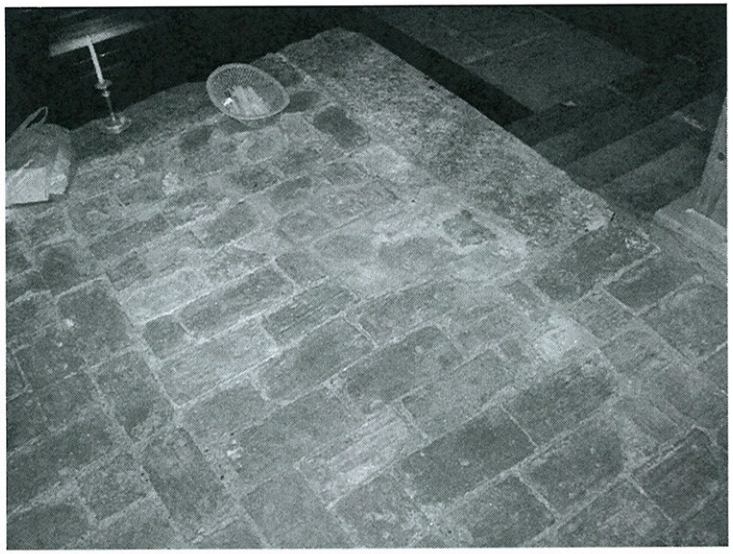


Fig. 144

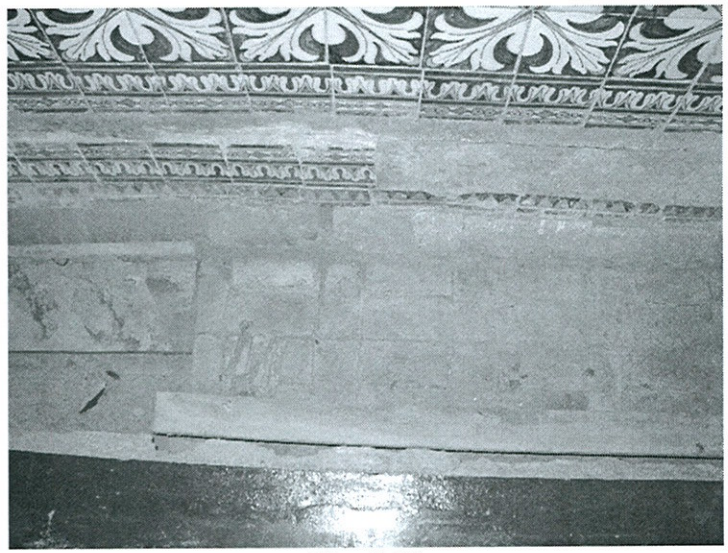


Fig. 145

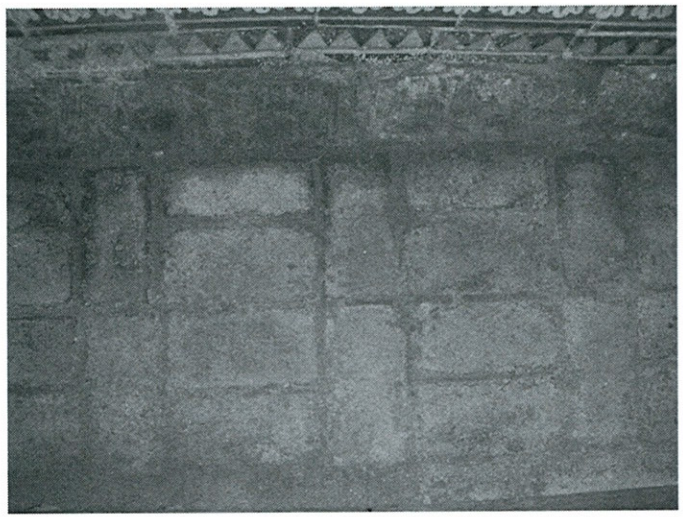


Fig. 146

Roof



Fig. 147

Wall tiles

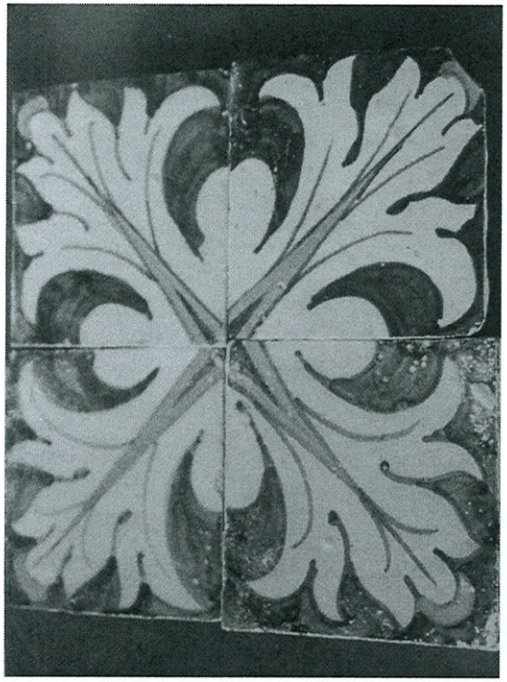


Fig. 148 (Source: Praia-Colour, Lda)

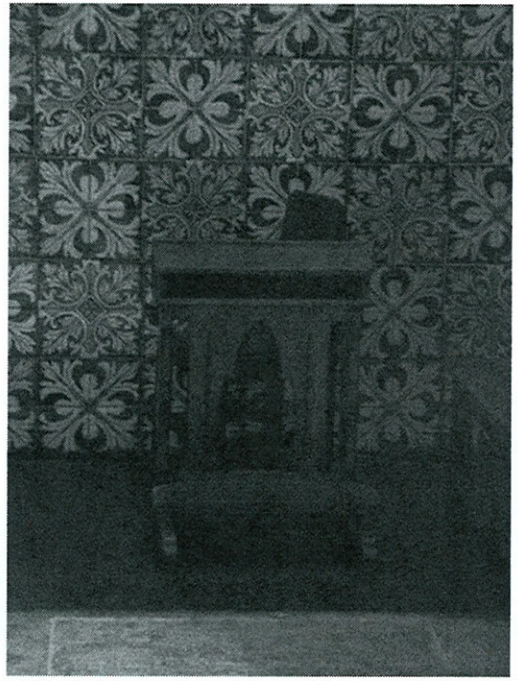


Fig. 149

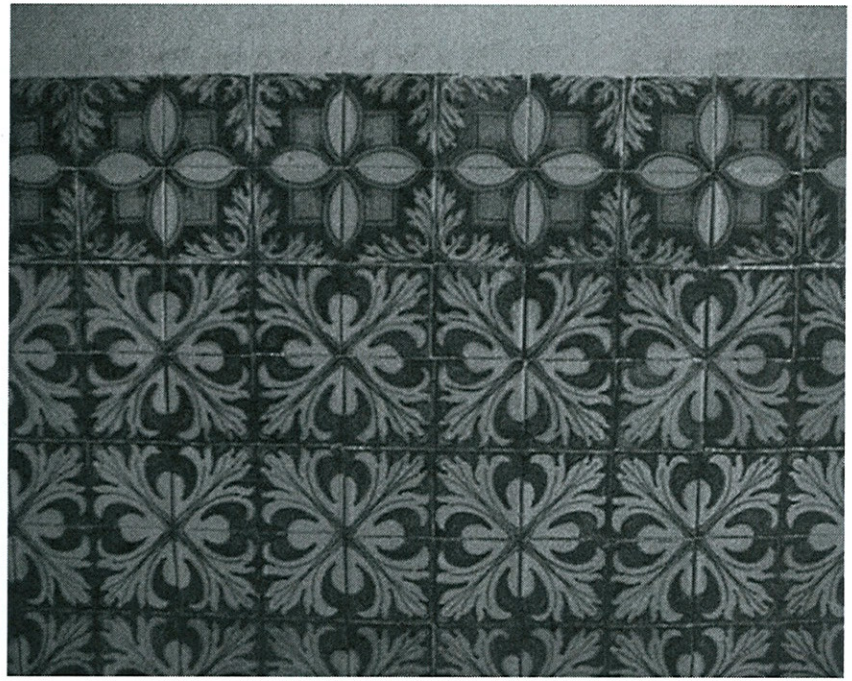


Fig. 150



Fig. 151

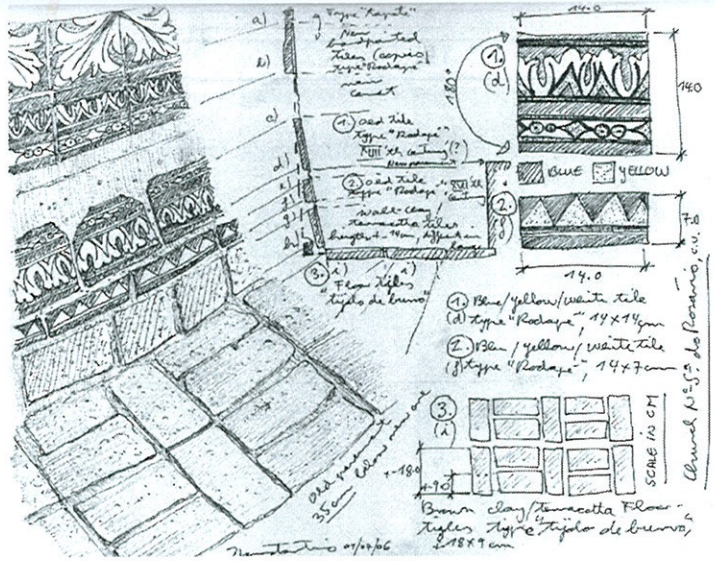


Fig. 152



Fig. 153



Fig. 154

Others



Fig. 155



Fig. 156



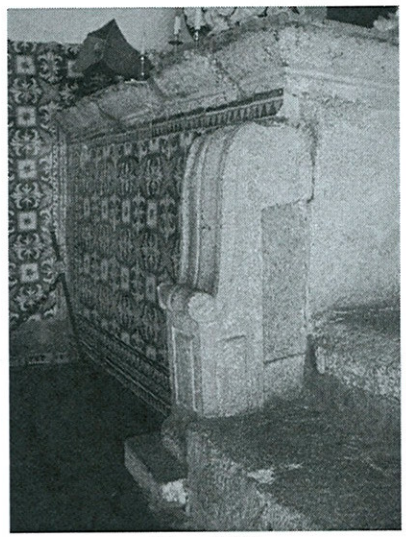
Fig. 157



Fig. 158



Fig. 159



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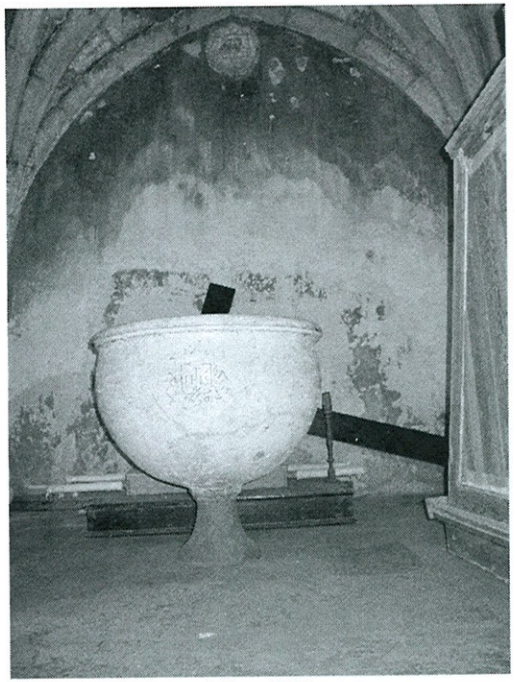


Fig. 161

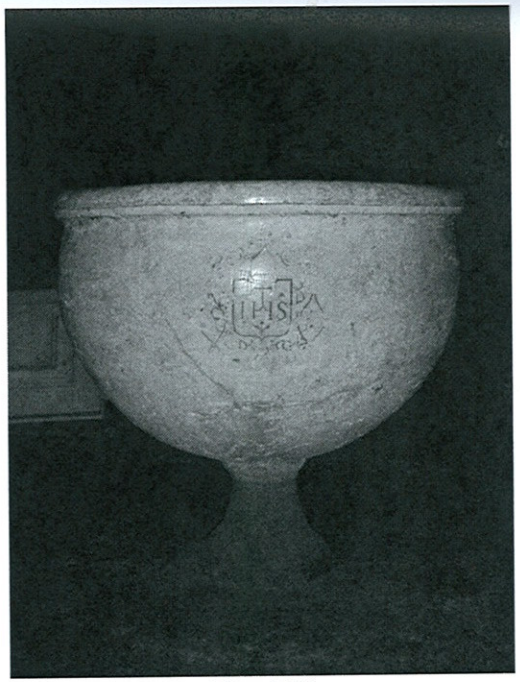
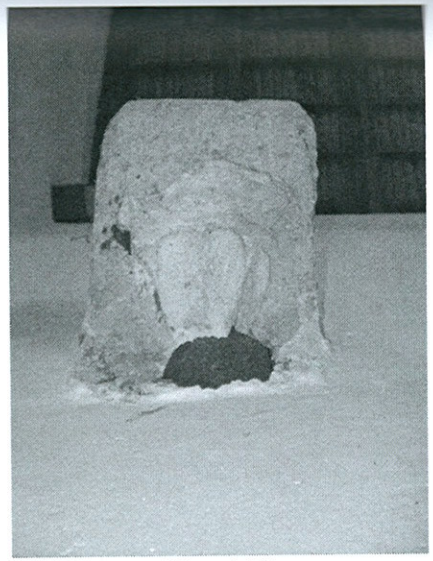


Fig. 162



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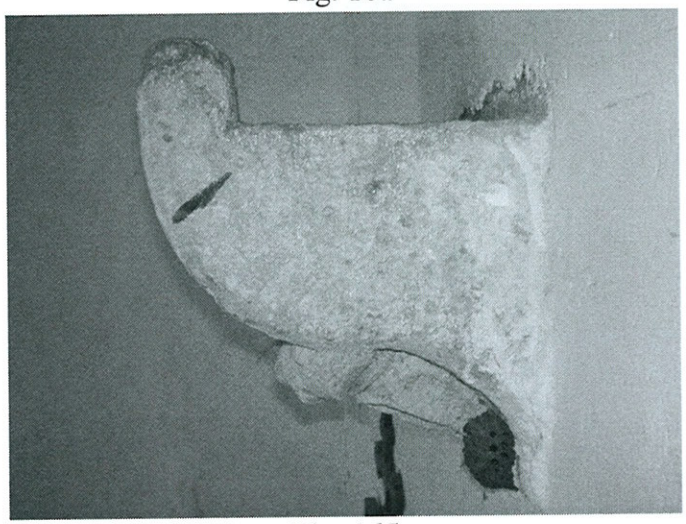
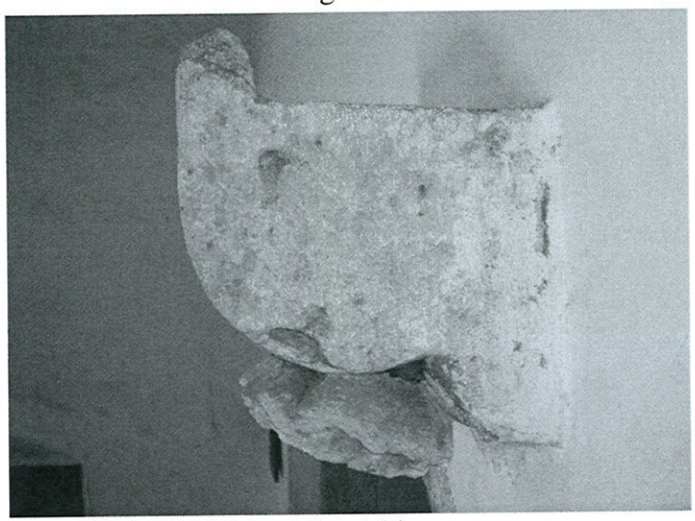


Fig. 165



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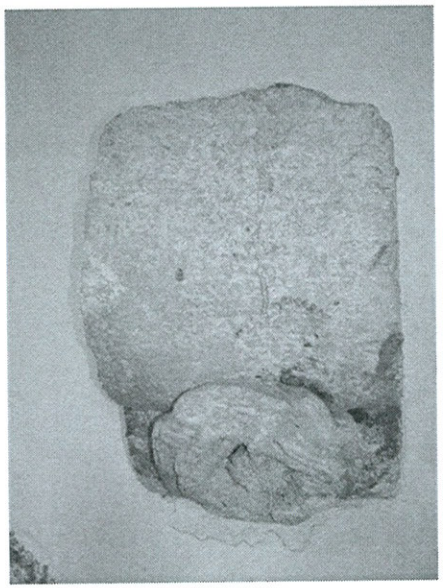


Fig. 164

Survey drawings



Fig. 167



Fig. 168



Fig. 169 View from the church over part of town of *S. Pedro*



Fig. 170 View from *Rua da Carreira*

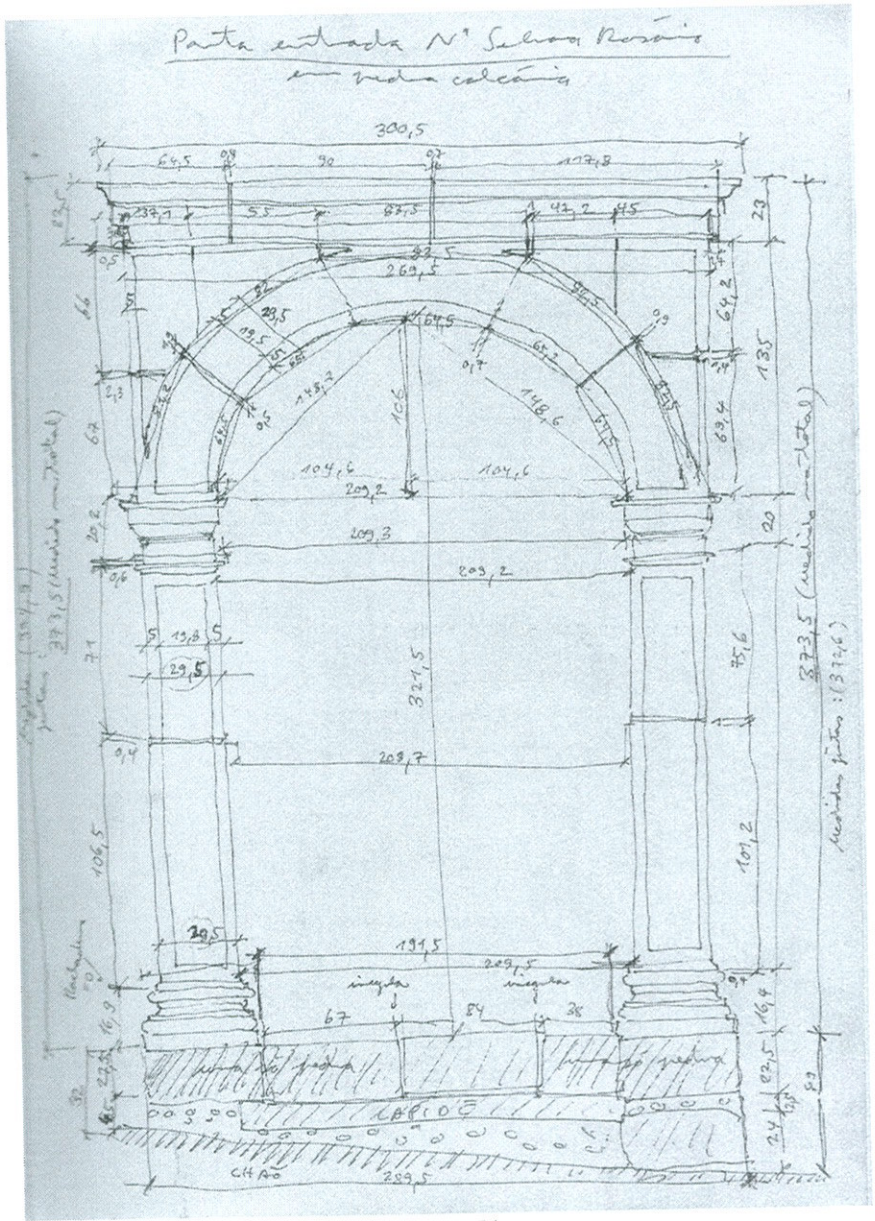


Fig. 171

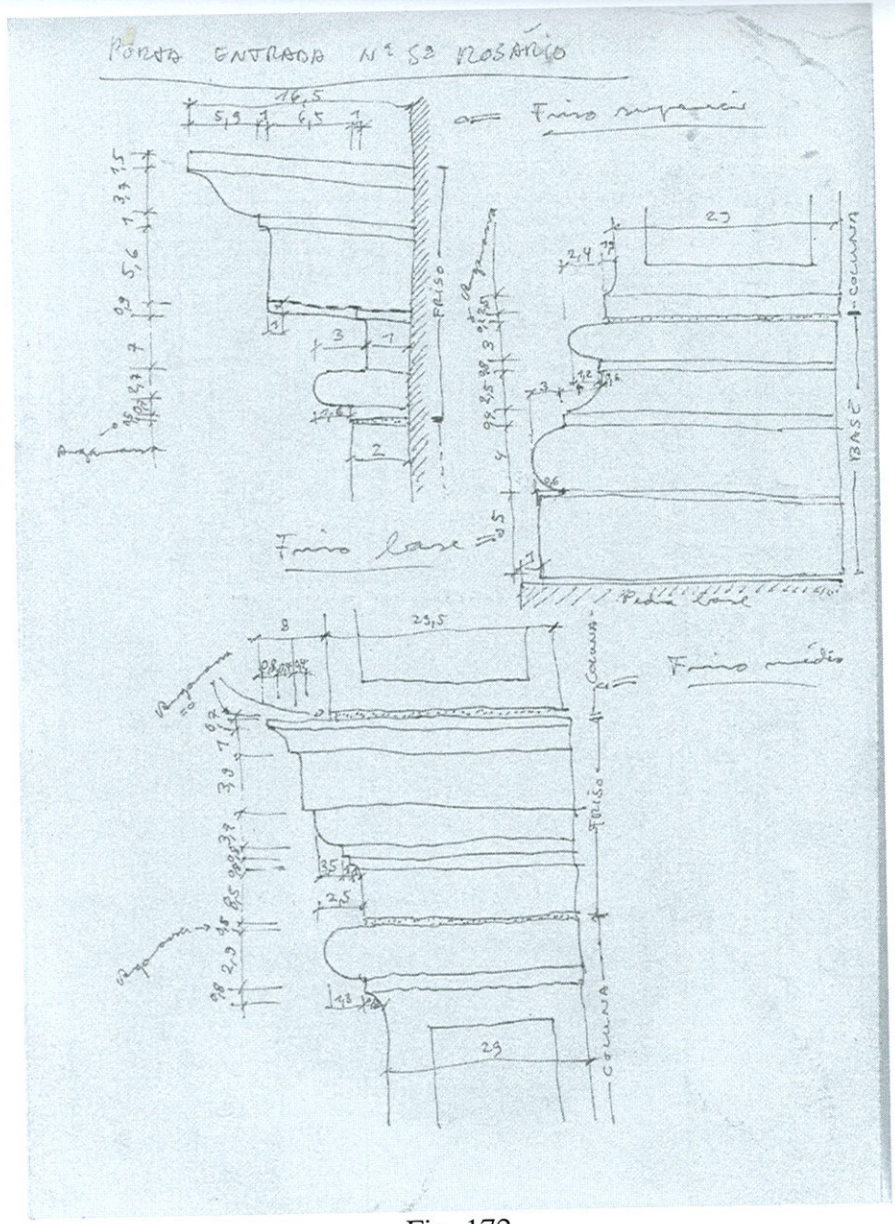


Fig. 172

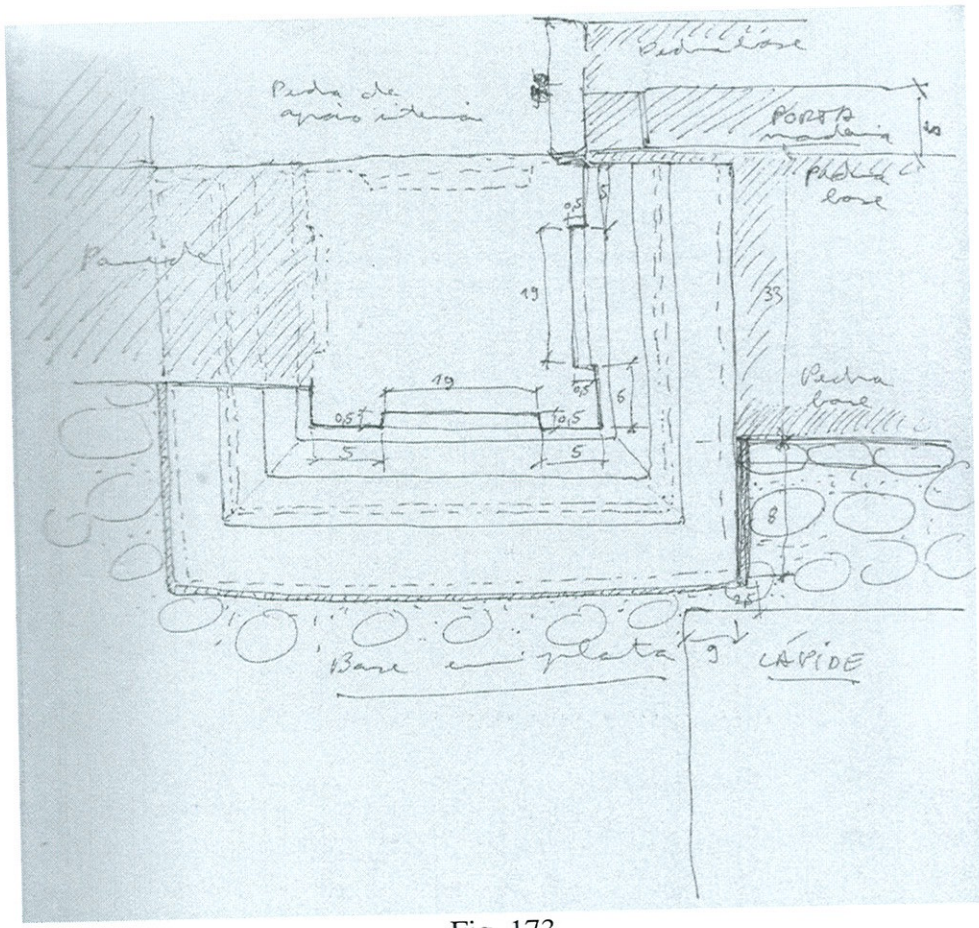


Fig. 173

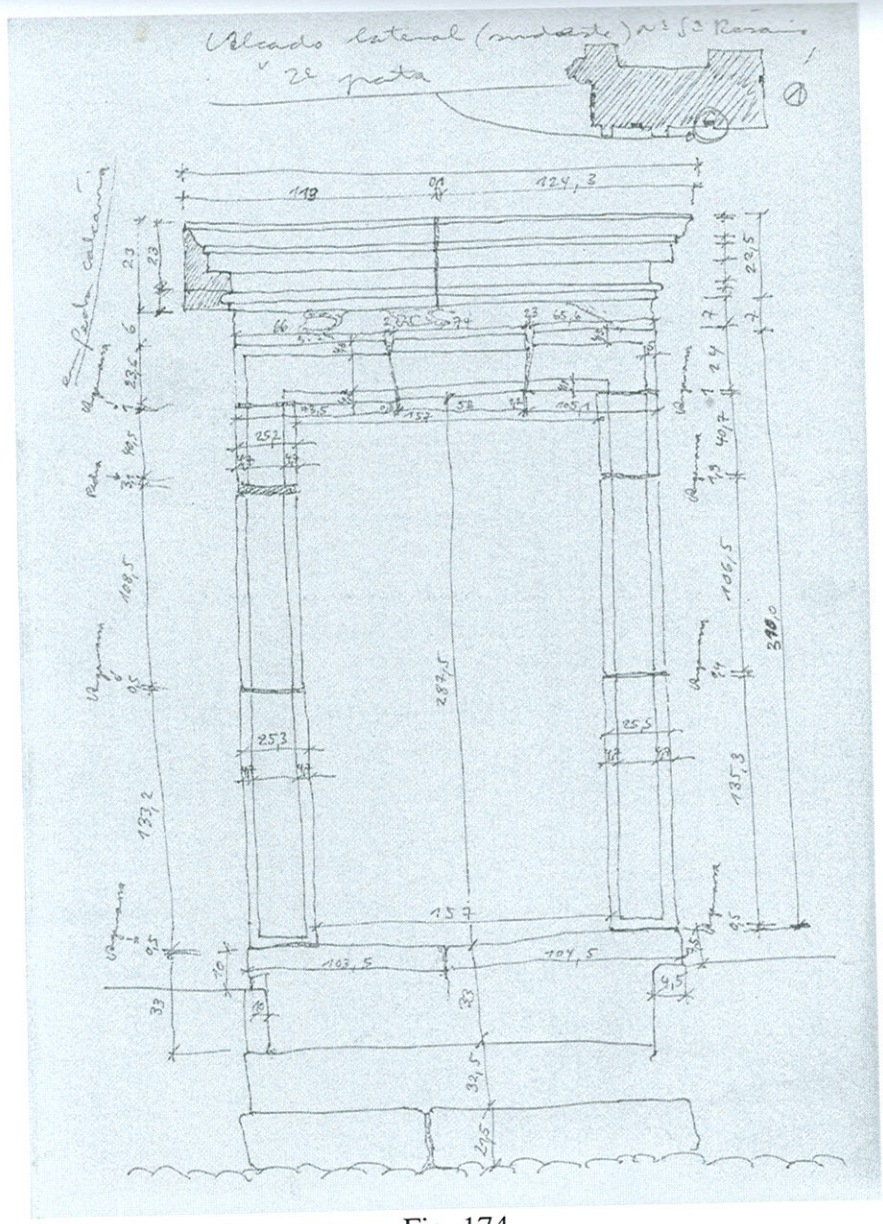


Fig. 174

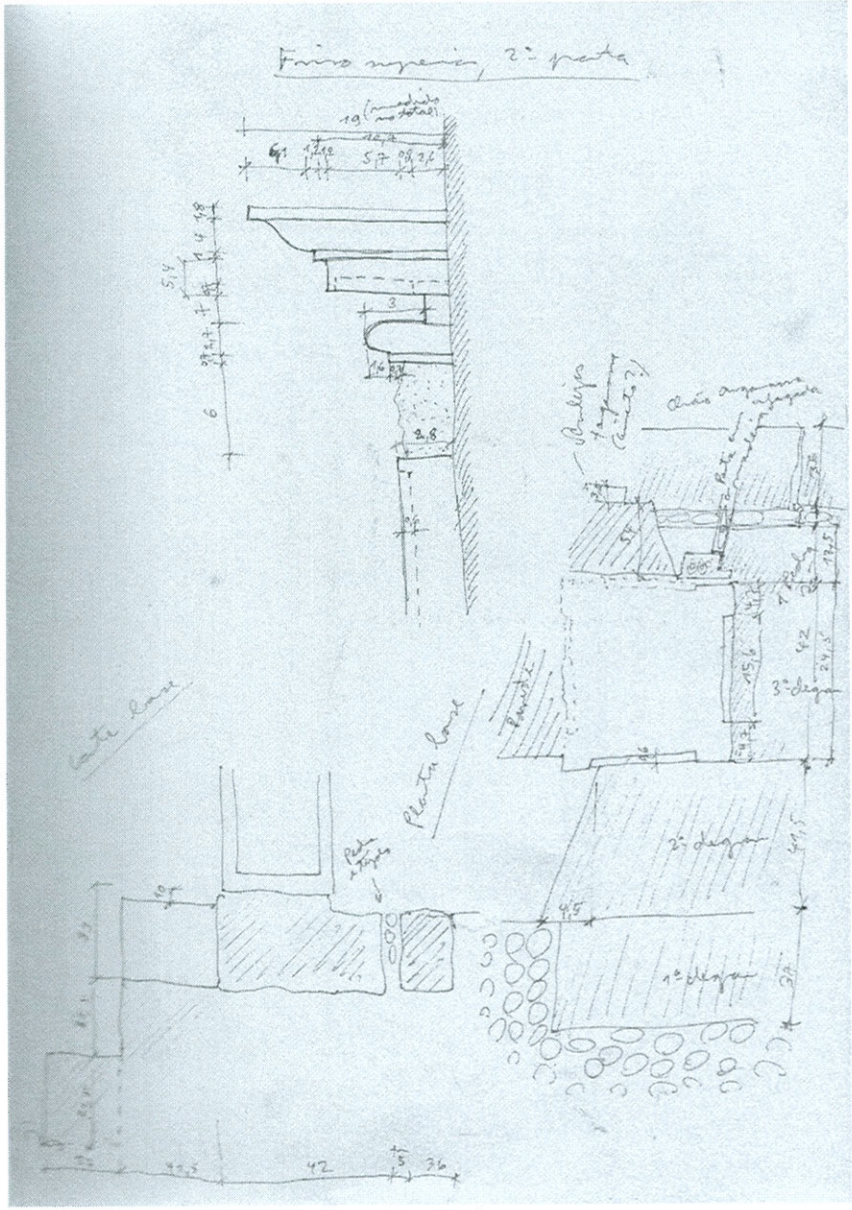


Fig. 175

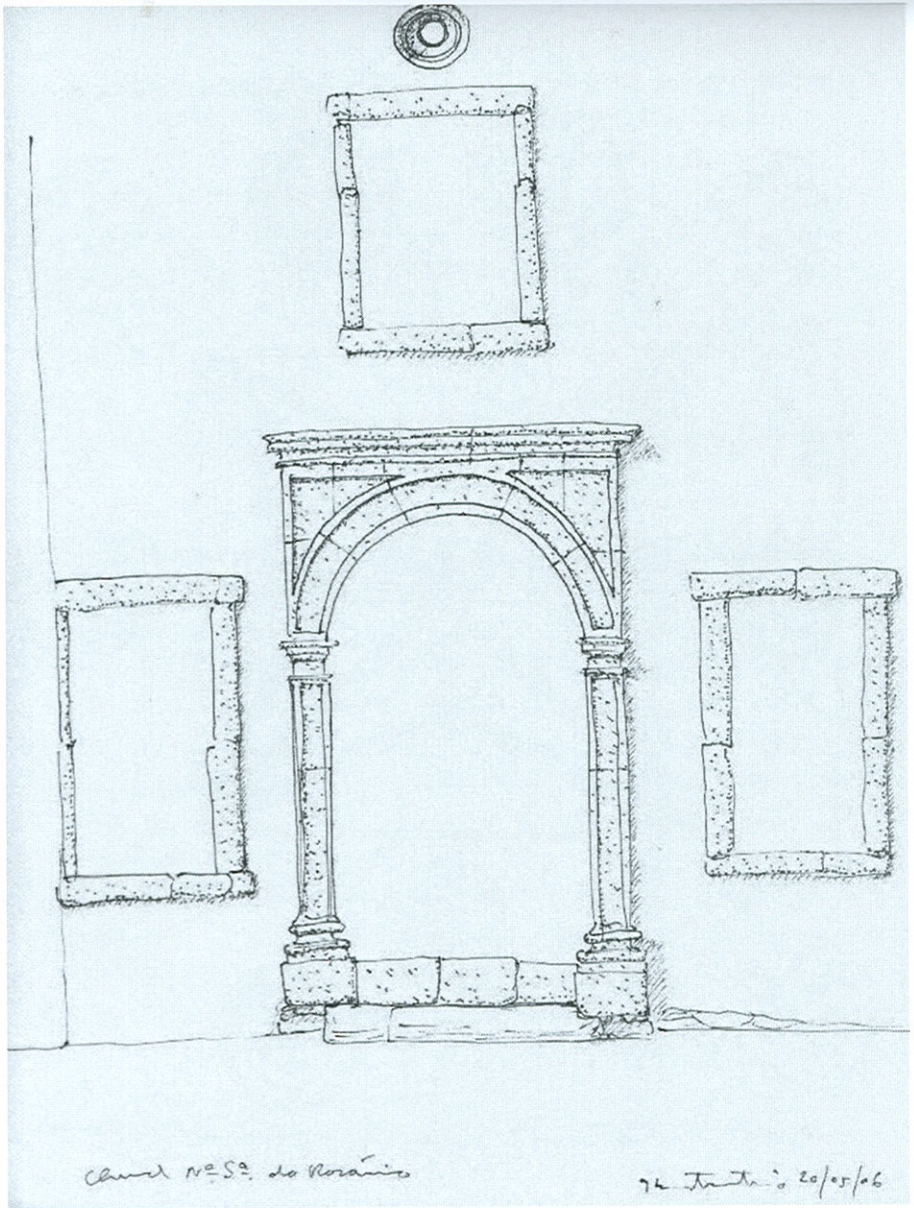


Fig. 176



Fig. 177

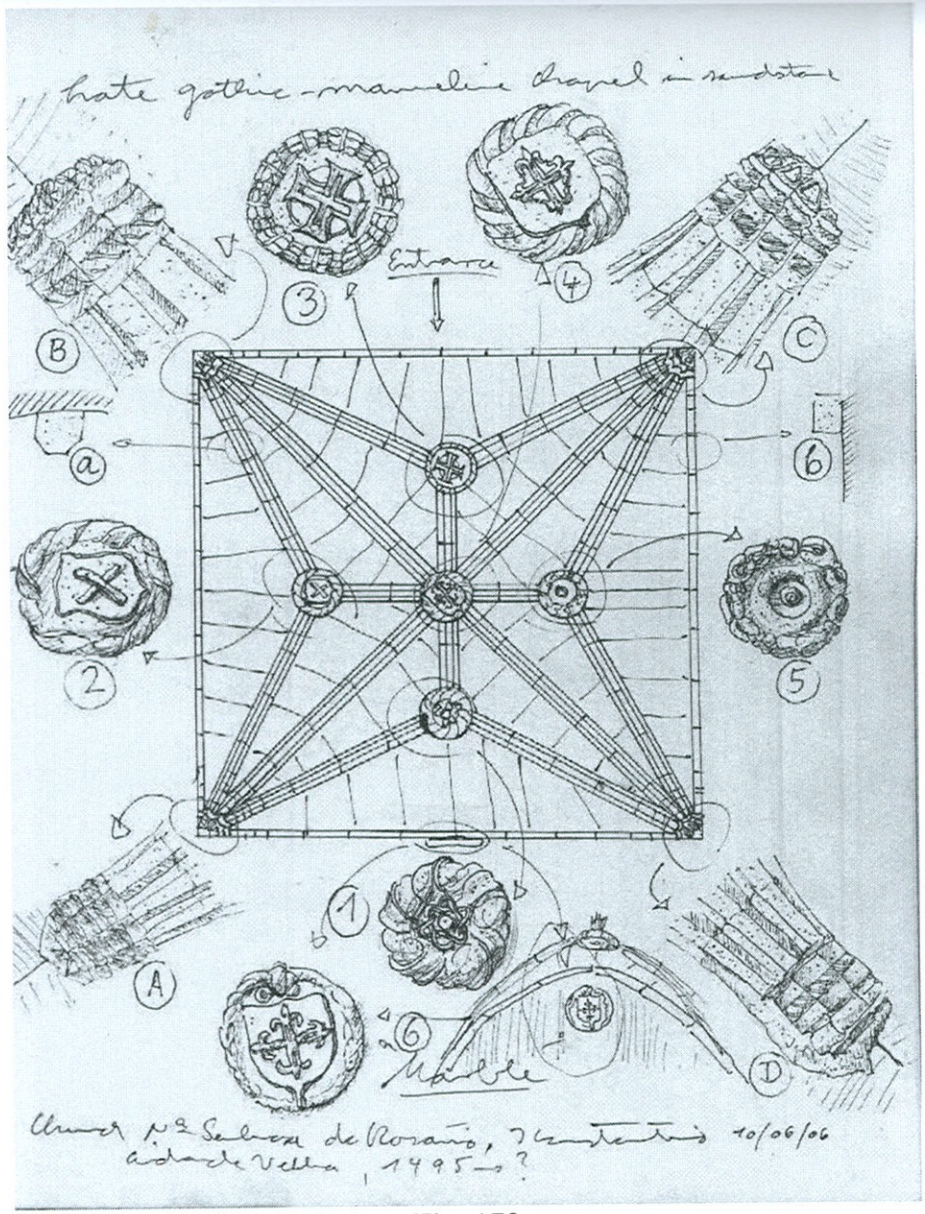


Fig. 178

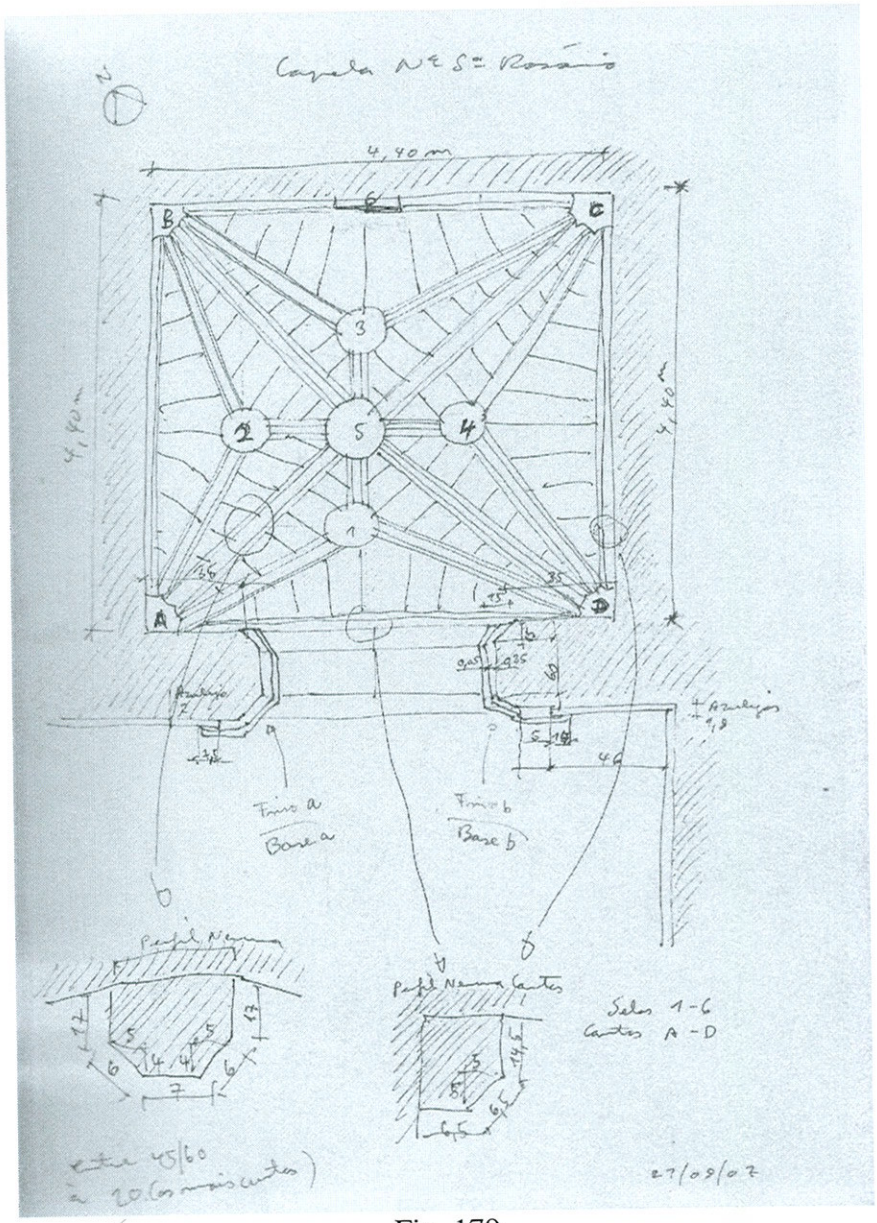


Fig. 179

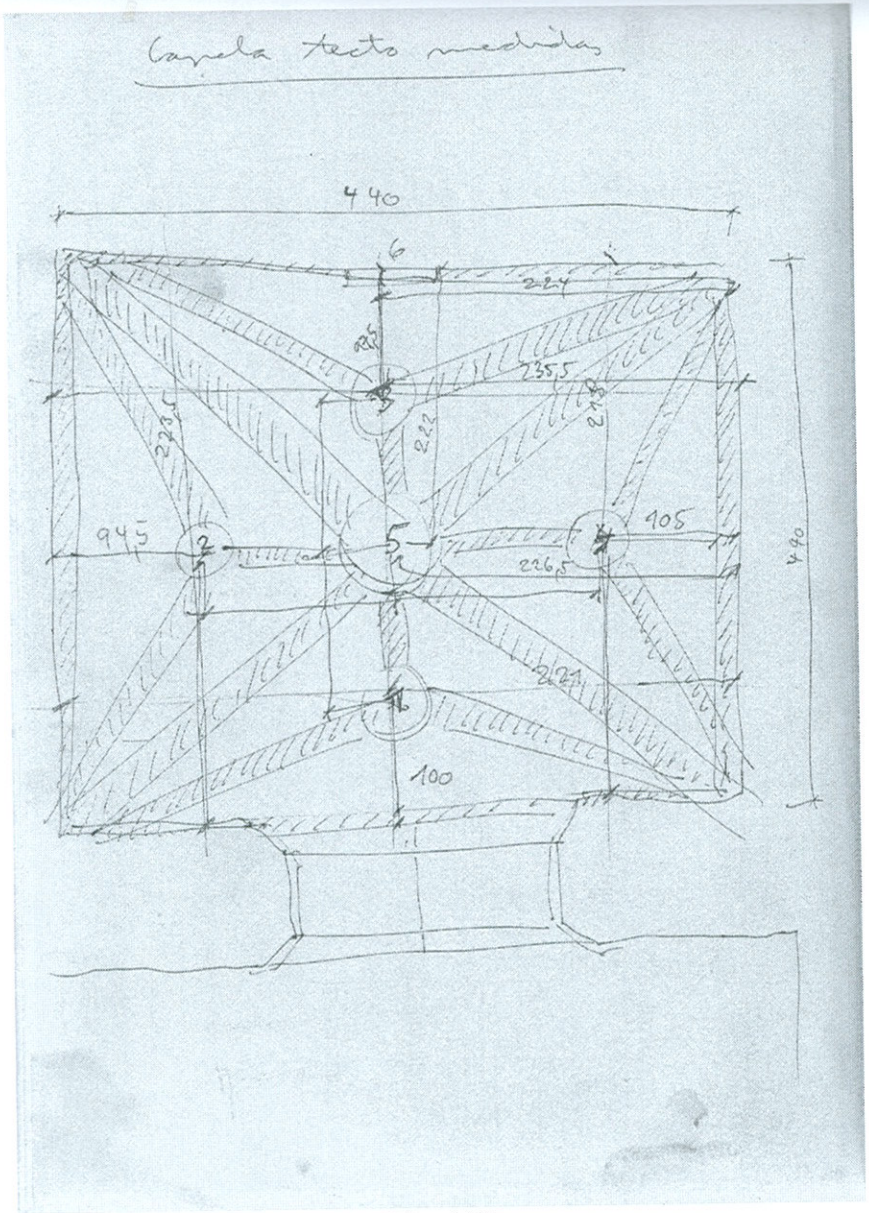
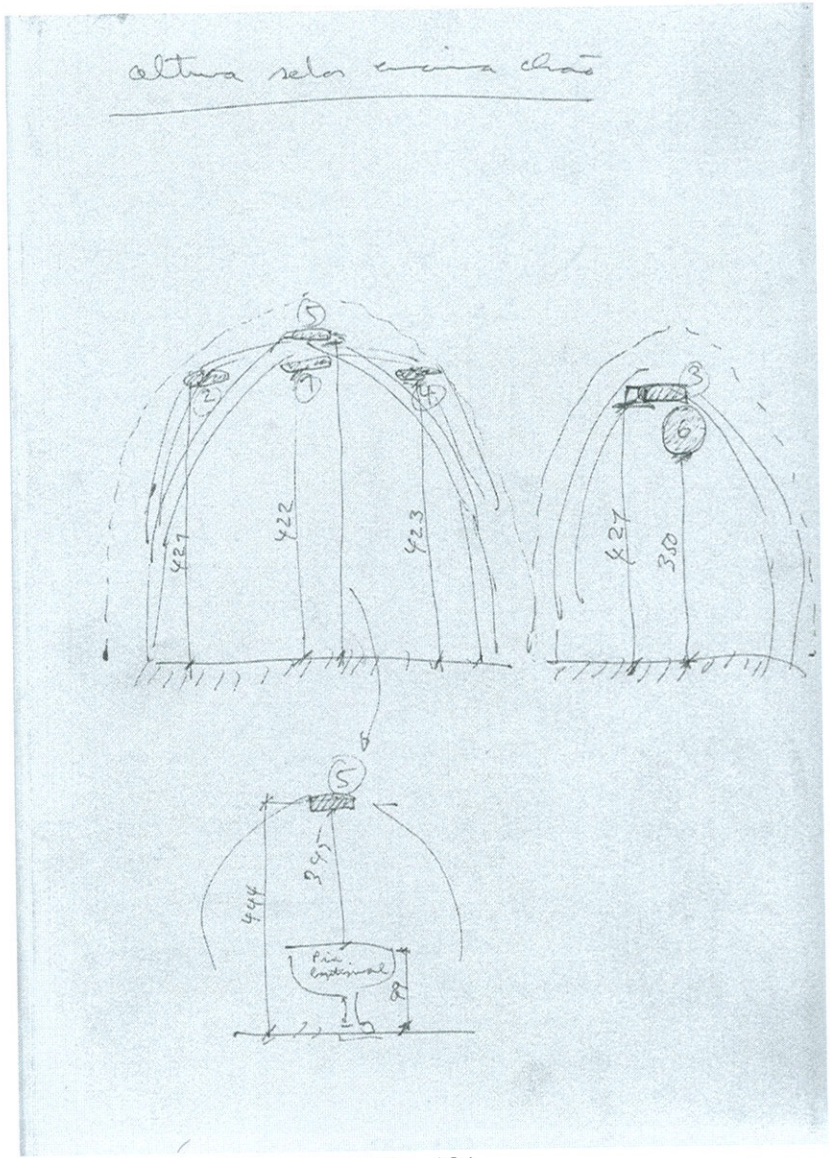


Fig. 180



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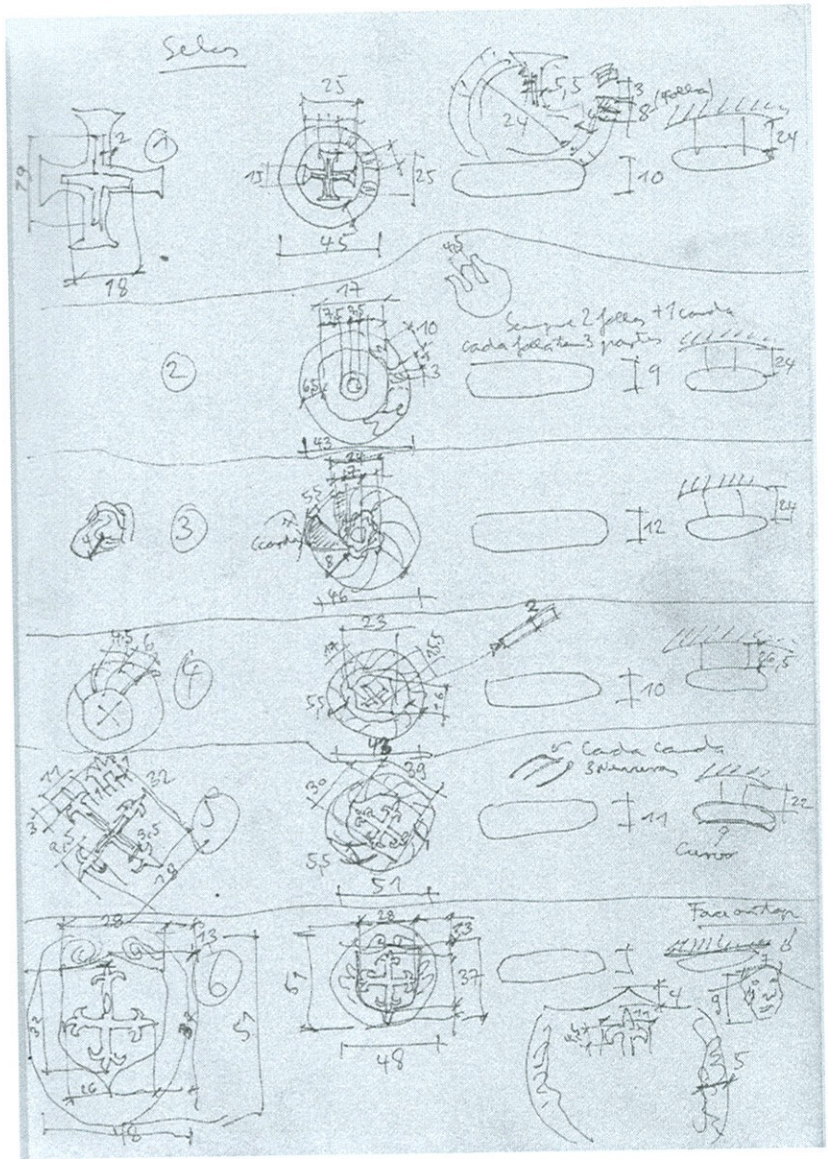


Fig. 182

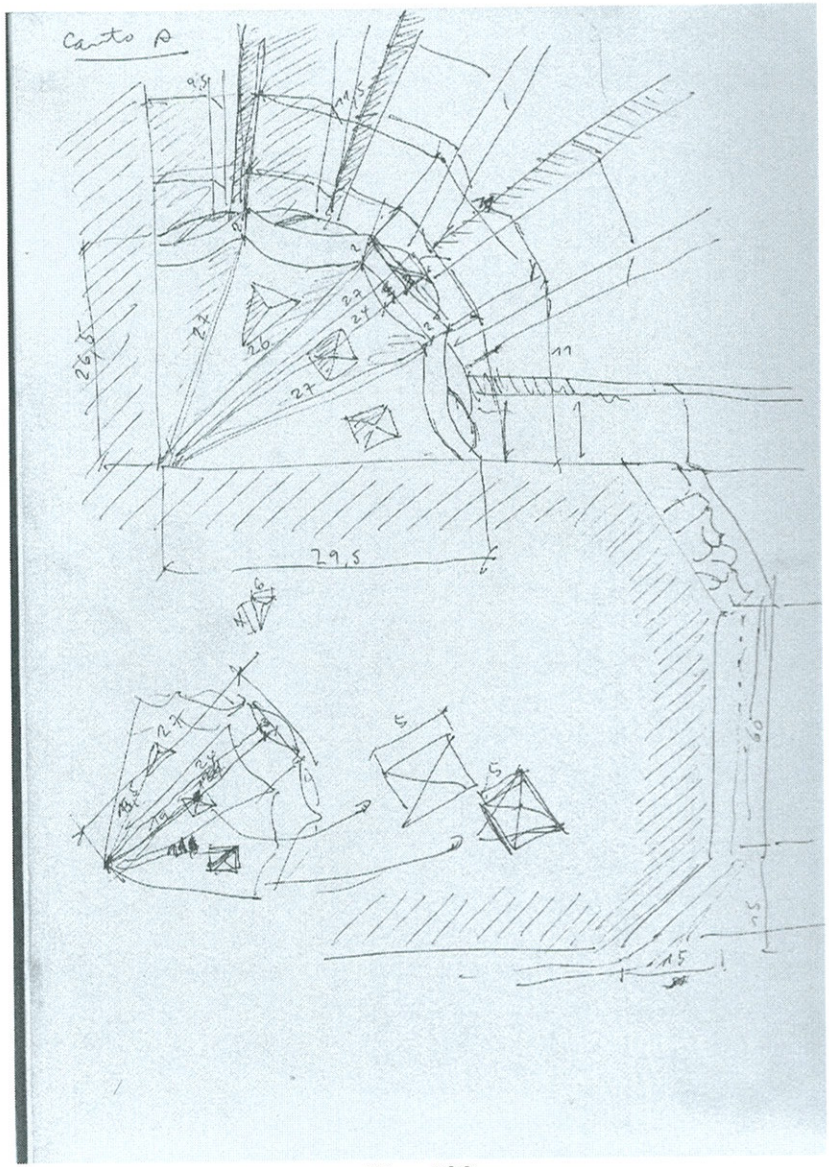


Fig. 183

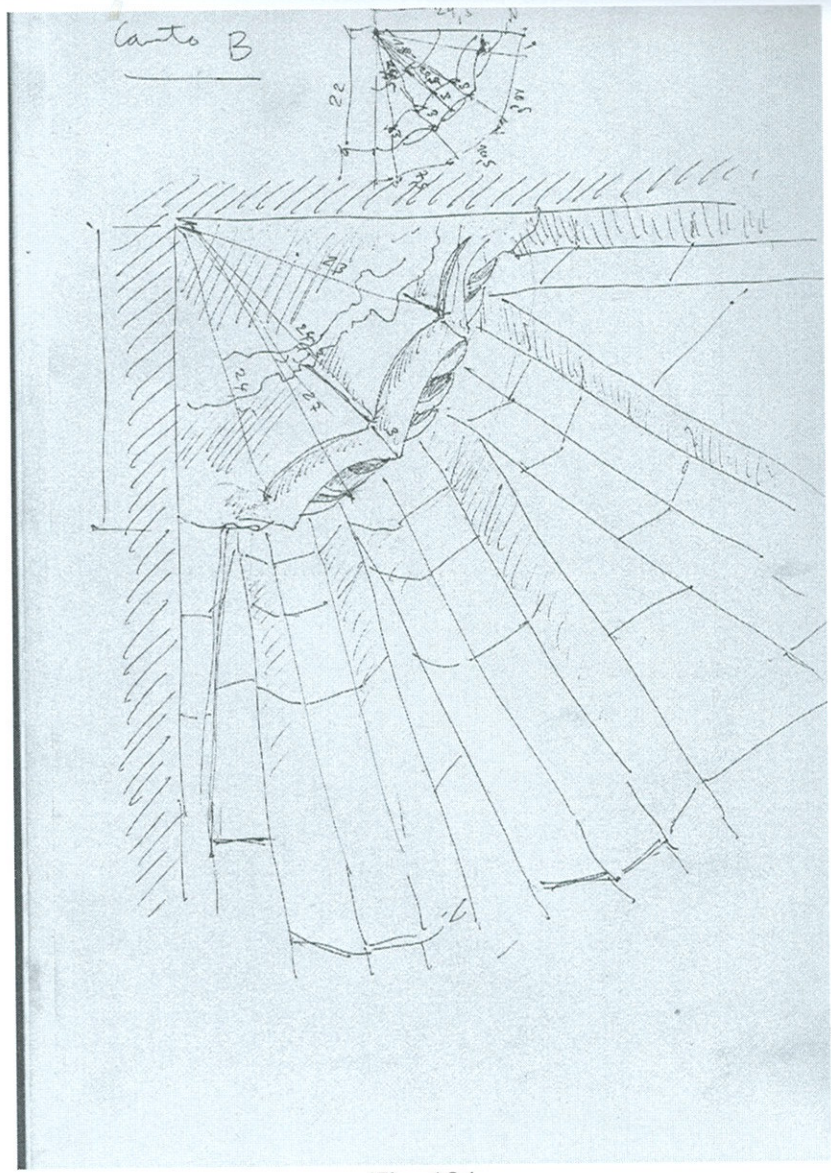


Fig. 184

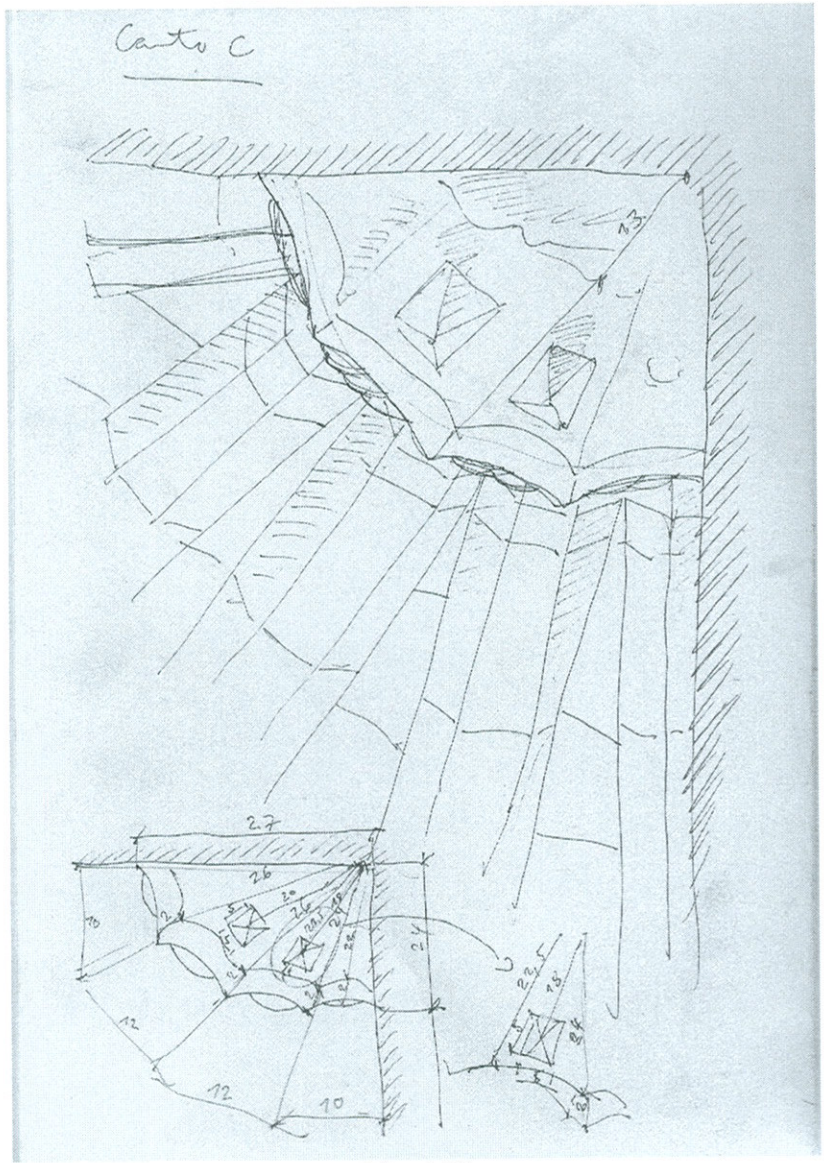


Fig. 185

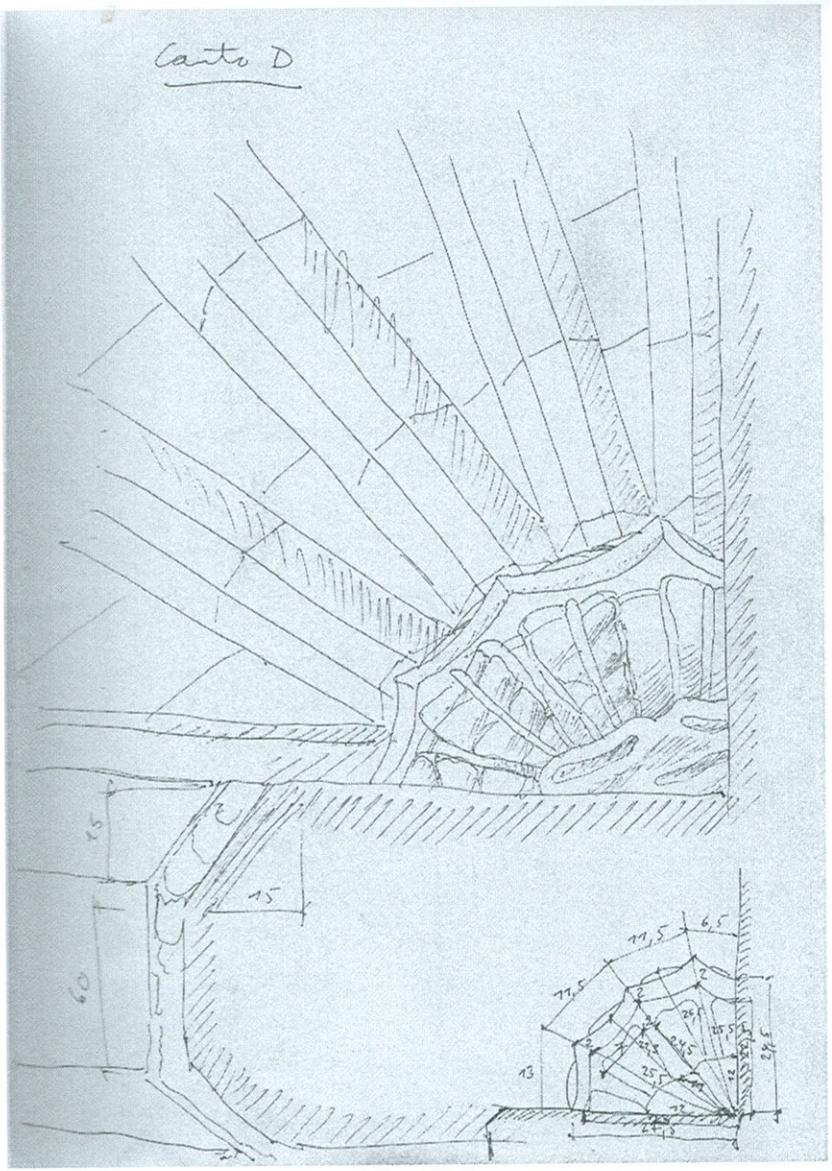
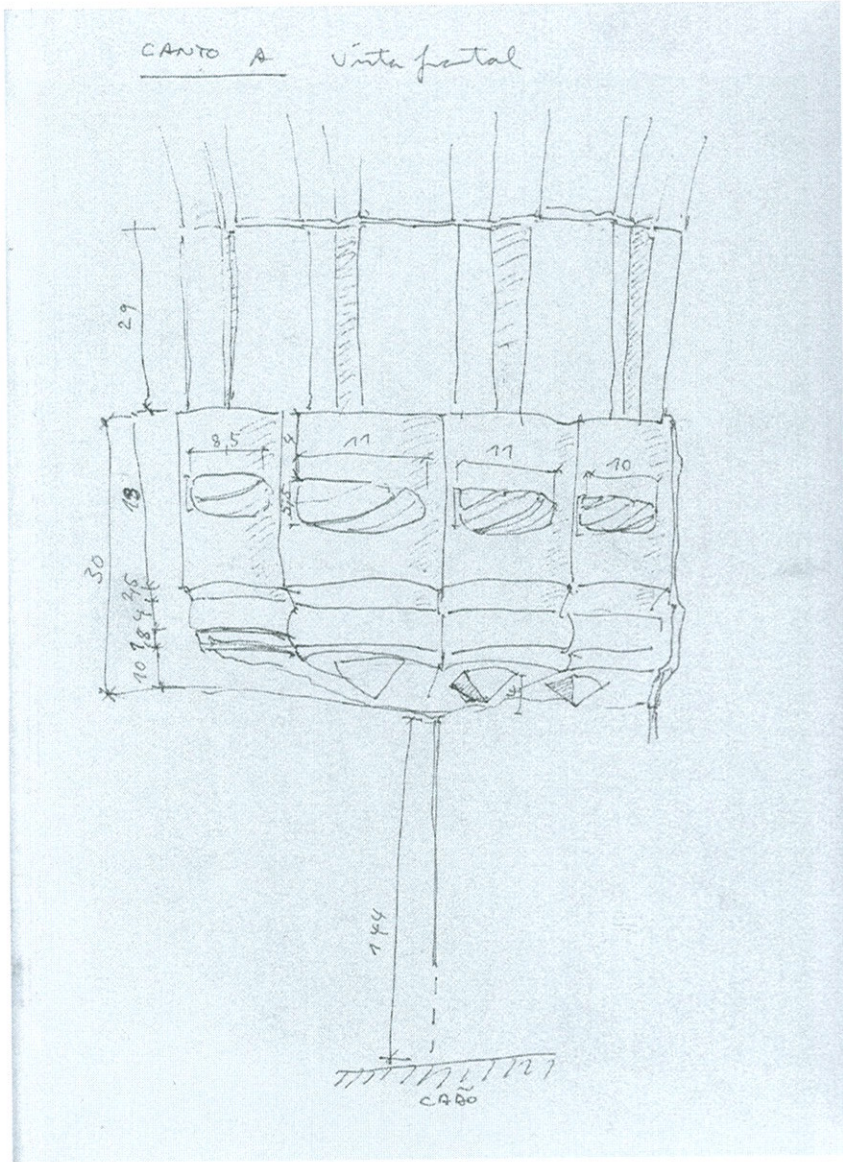


Fig. 186



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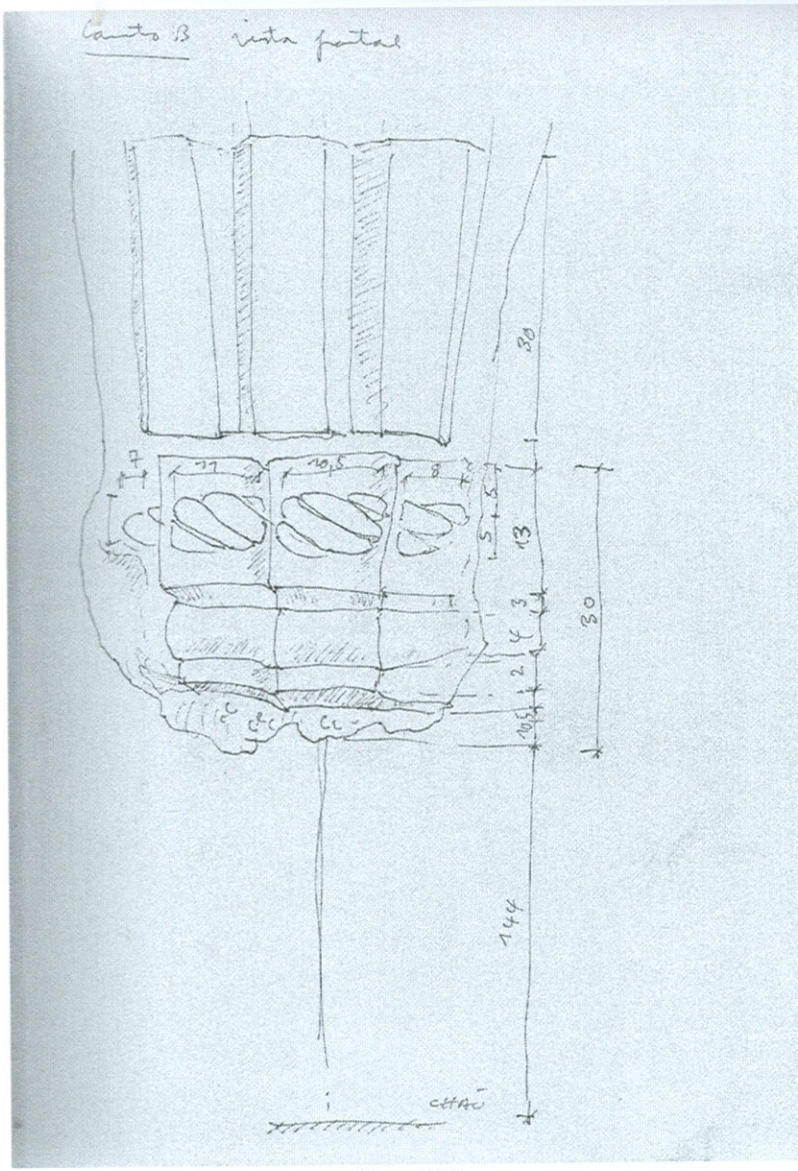


Fig. 188

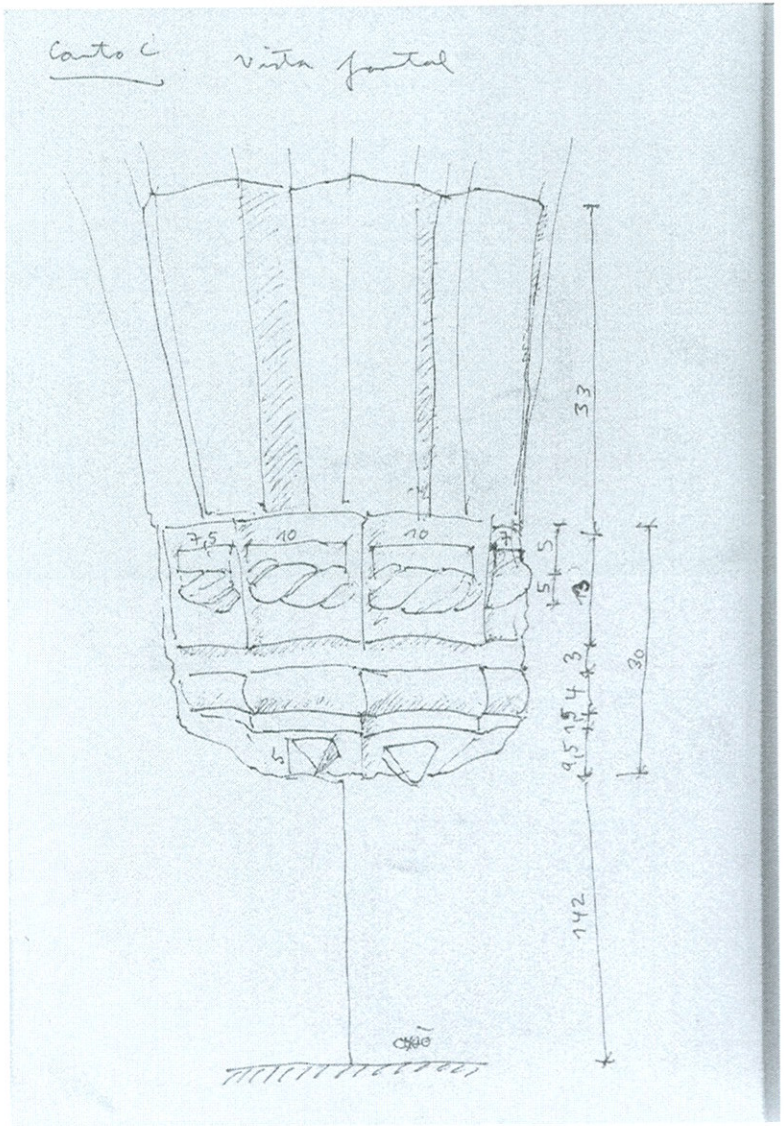


Fig. 189

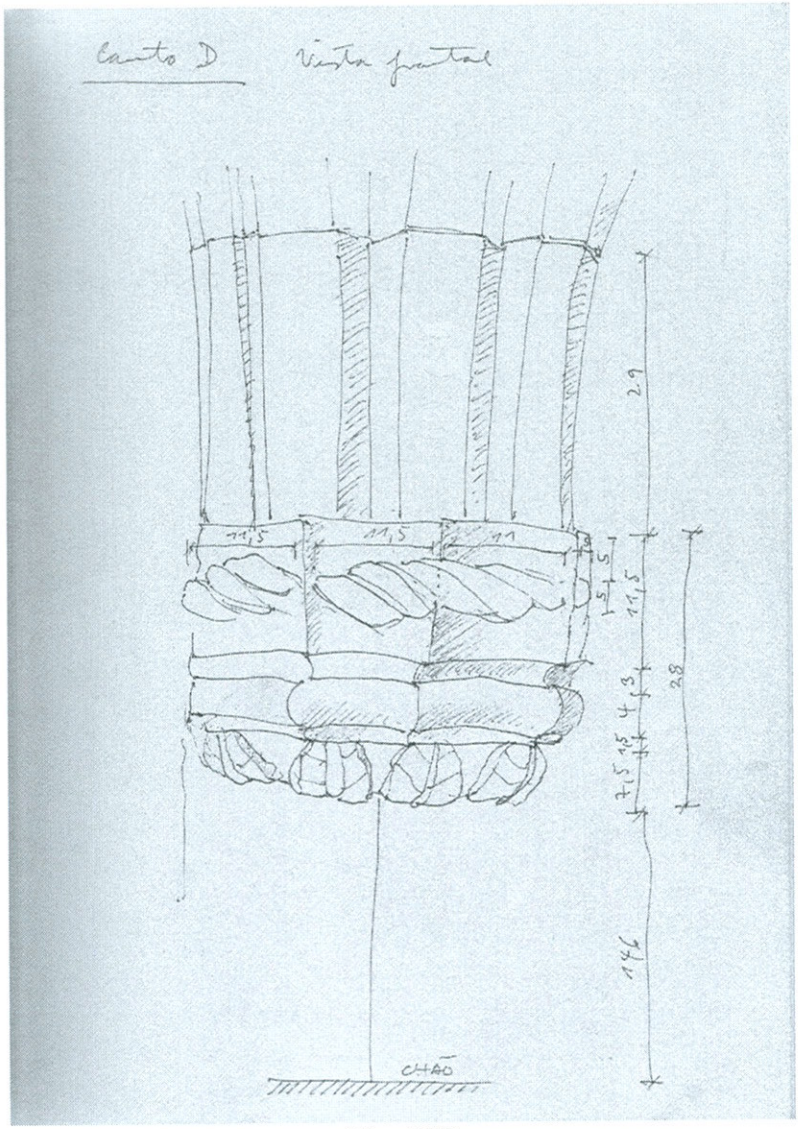


Fig. 190

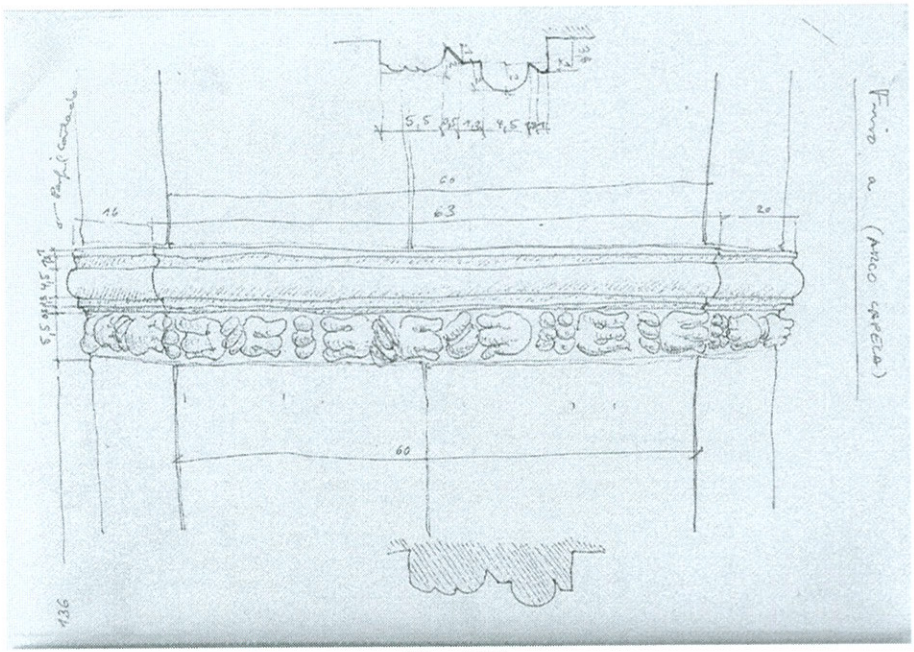


Fig. 191

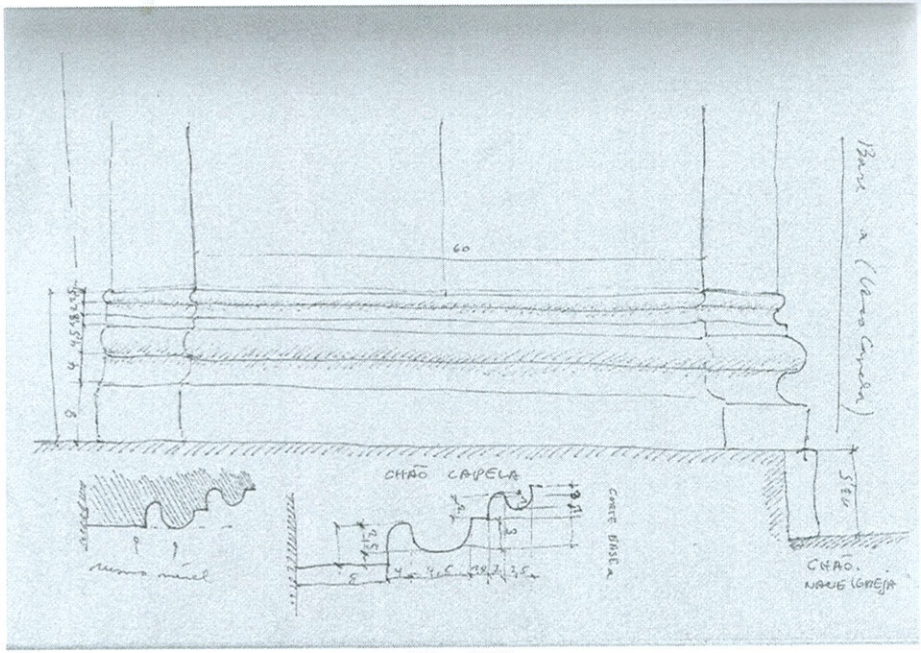


Fig. 192

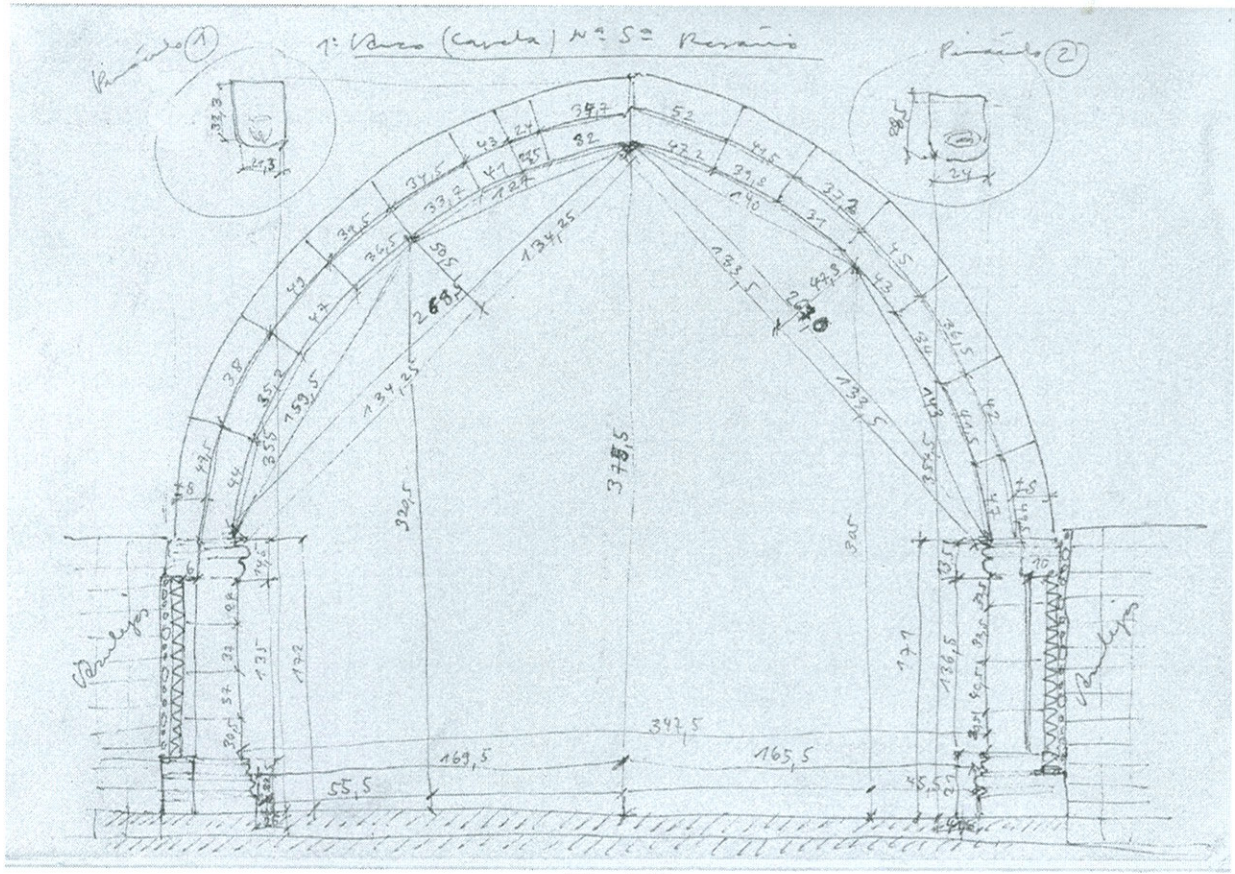


Fig. 193

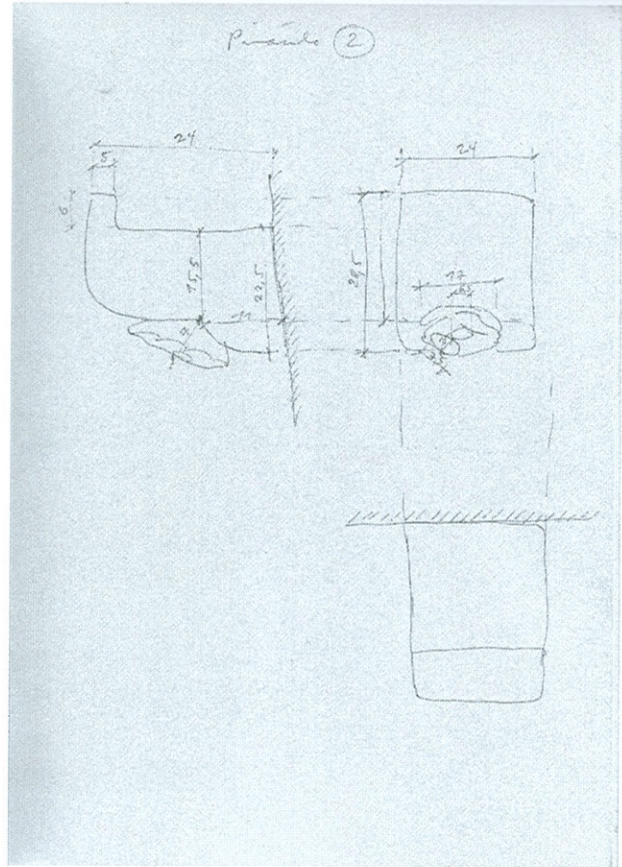
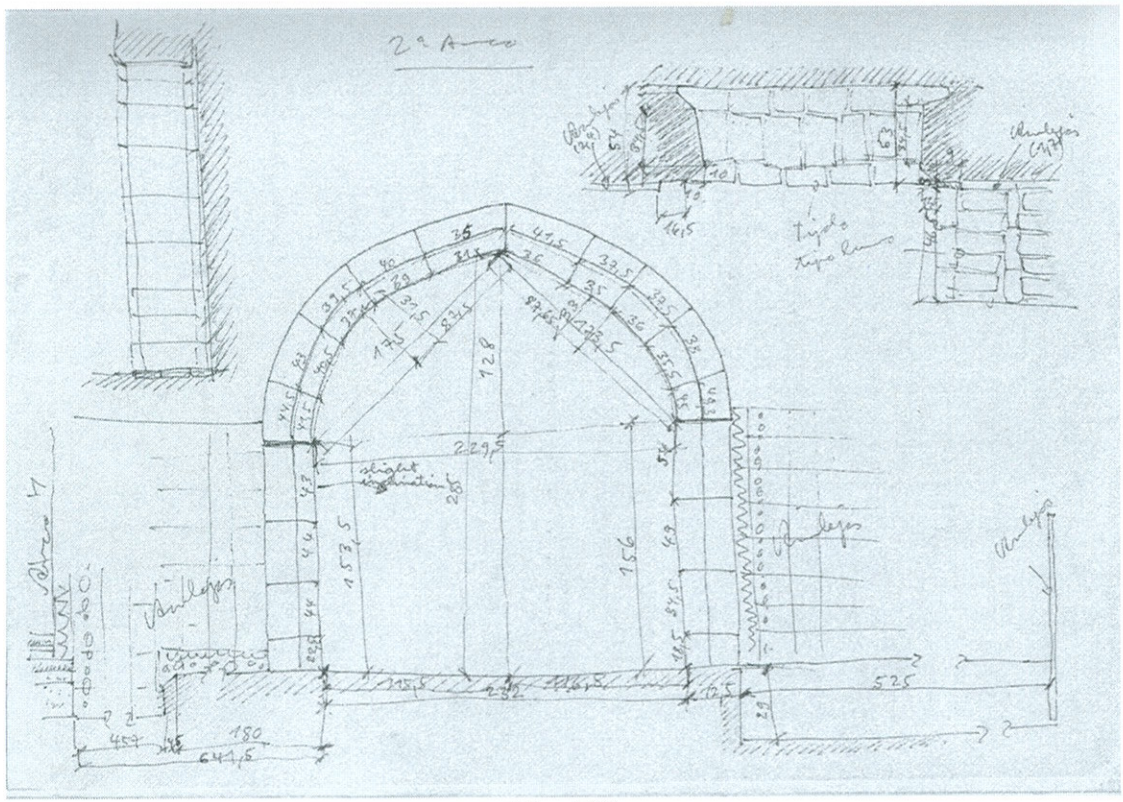
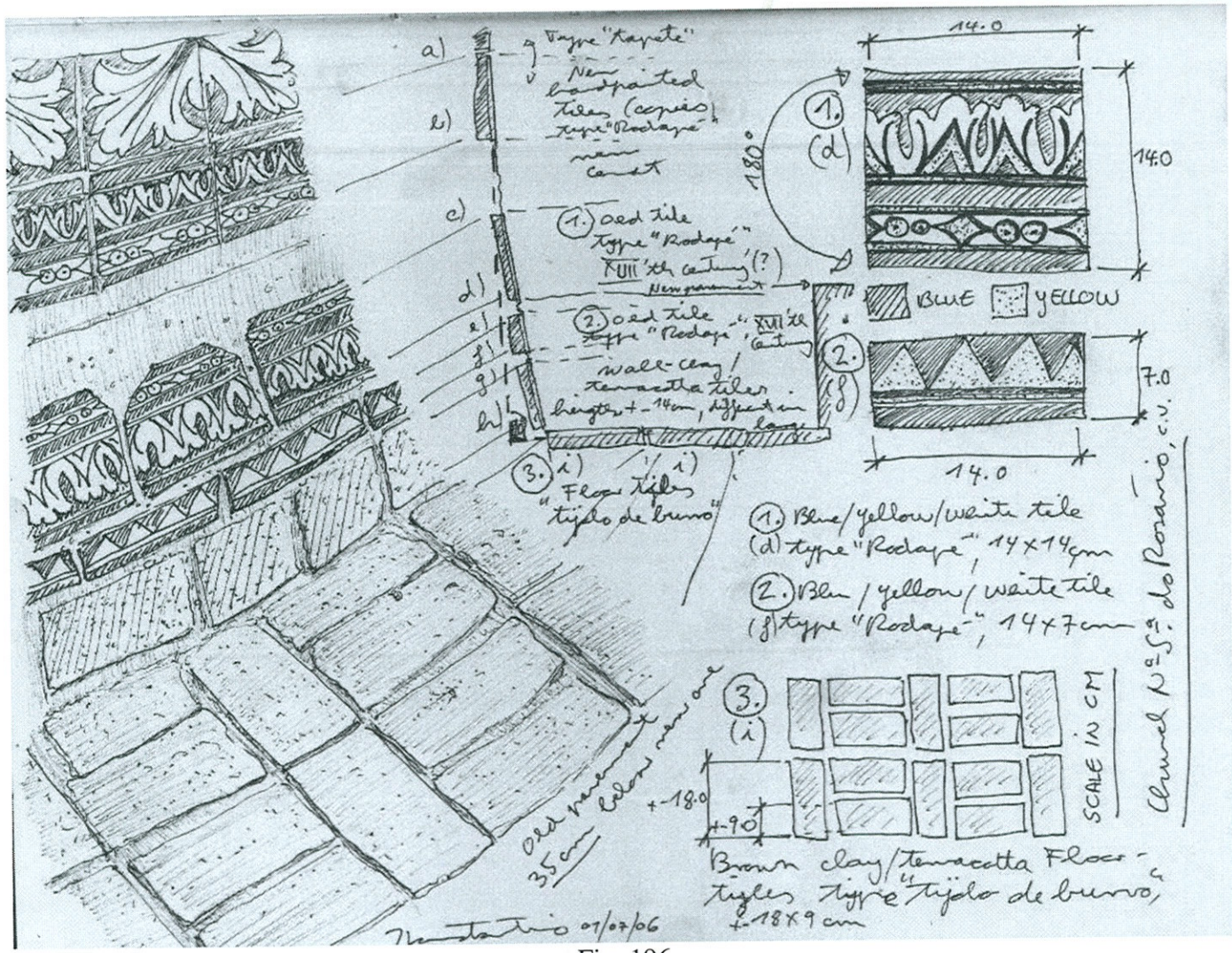


Fig. 194


2º Arco
Arranque
Tirante
Arranque
Tirante
Arranque
Arranque
Arranque



a)
b)
c)
d)
e)
f)
g)
h)
Type "tapete"
New handpainted tiles (copies) type "Rodape"
new cement
1. Old tile type "Rodape" XVIII'th century (?)
New pavement
2. Old tile type "Rodape" XVII'th century
wall-clay/terracotta tiles heights +-14cm, different in large
3. i) i)
Floor tiles "tijolo de burro"
14.0
14.0
180°
1. (d)
BLUE
YELLOW
2. (f)
7.0
14.0
1. Blue/yellow/white tile (d) type "Rodape", 14x14cm
2. Blue/yellow/white tile (f) type "Rodape", 14x7cm
3. (i)
+-18.0
+-9.0
SCALE IN CM
Brown clay/terracotta Floor-tiles type "tijolo de burro", +-18x9 cm
Old pavement 35cm below new one
Church Nª Sª do Rosario, c.v.
01/07/06

Fig. 196

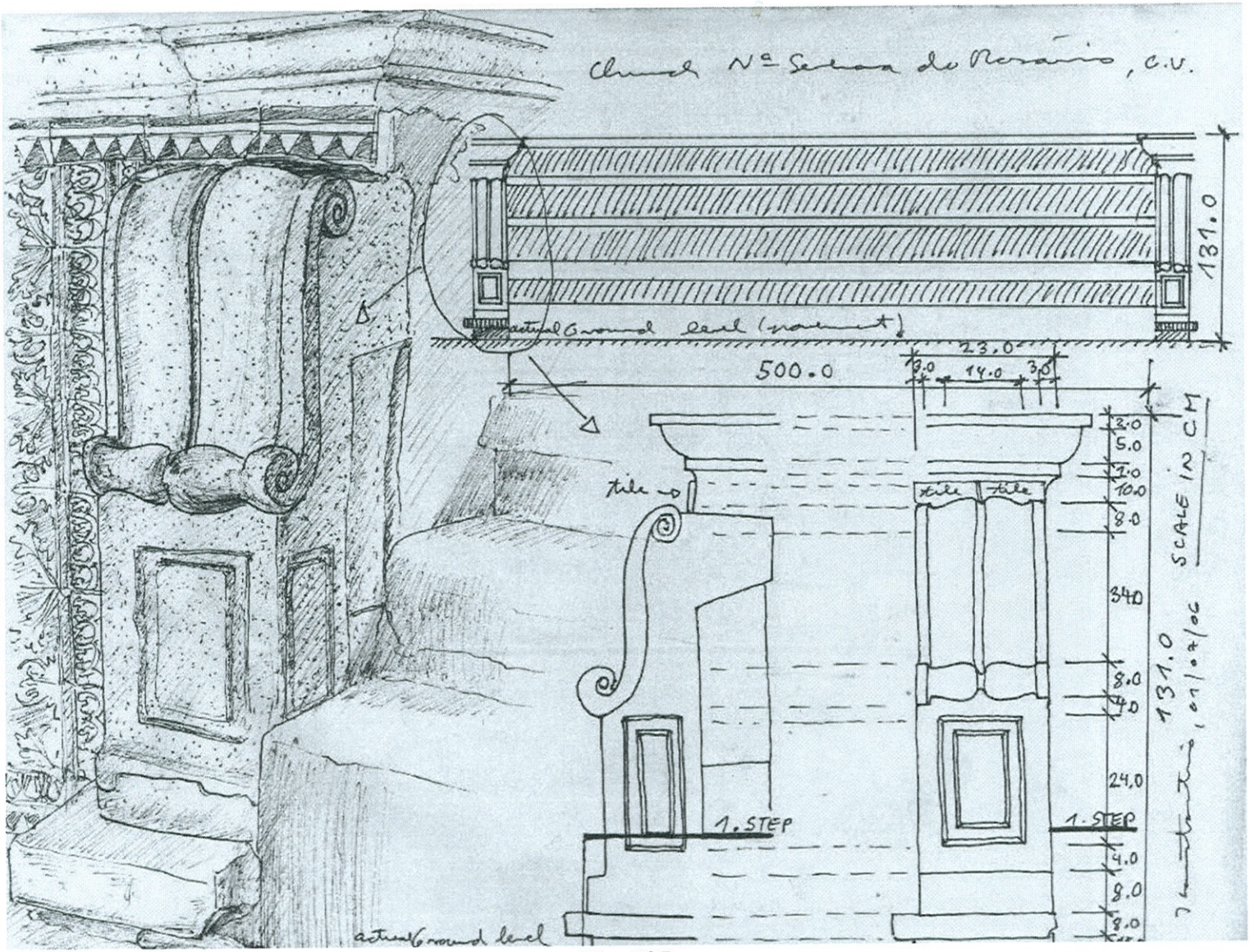

Church Nª Senhora do Rosário, C.V.
131.0
actual Ground Level (pavement)
23.0
3.0
14.0
3.0
500.0
tile
tile
tile
3.0
5.0
7.0
10.0
8.0
34.0
8.0
7.0
24.0
1. STEP
1. STEP
14.0
8.0
8.0
131.0
SCALE IN CM
actual Ground level

Fig. 197

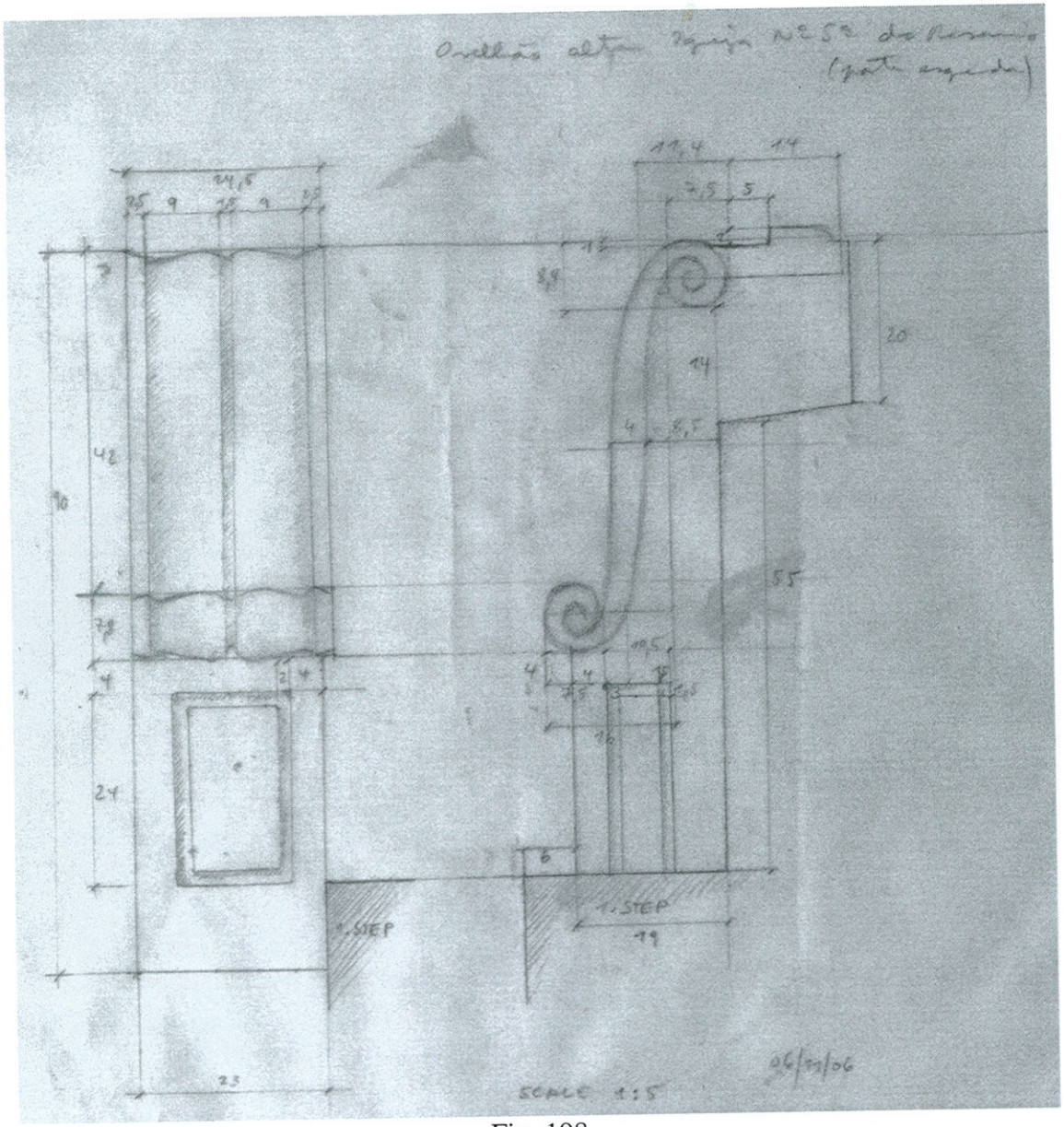


Fig. 198

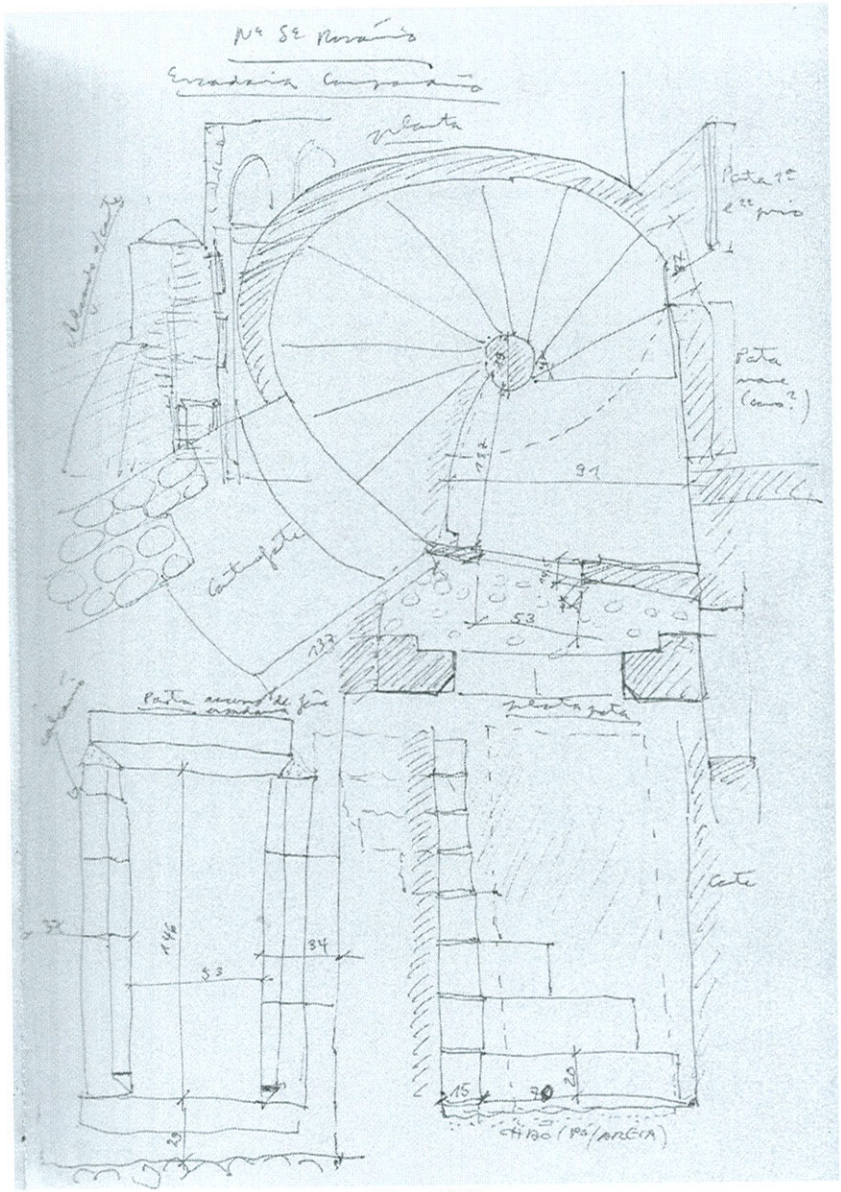


Fig. 199

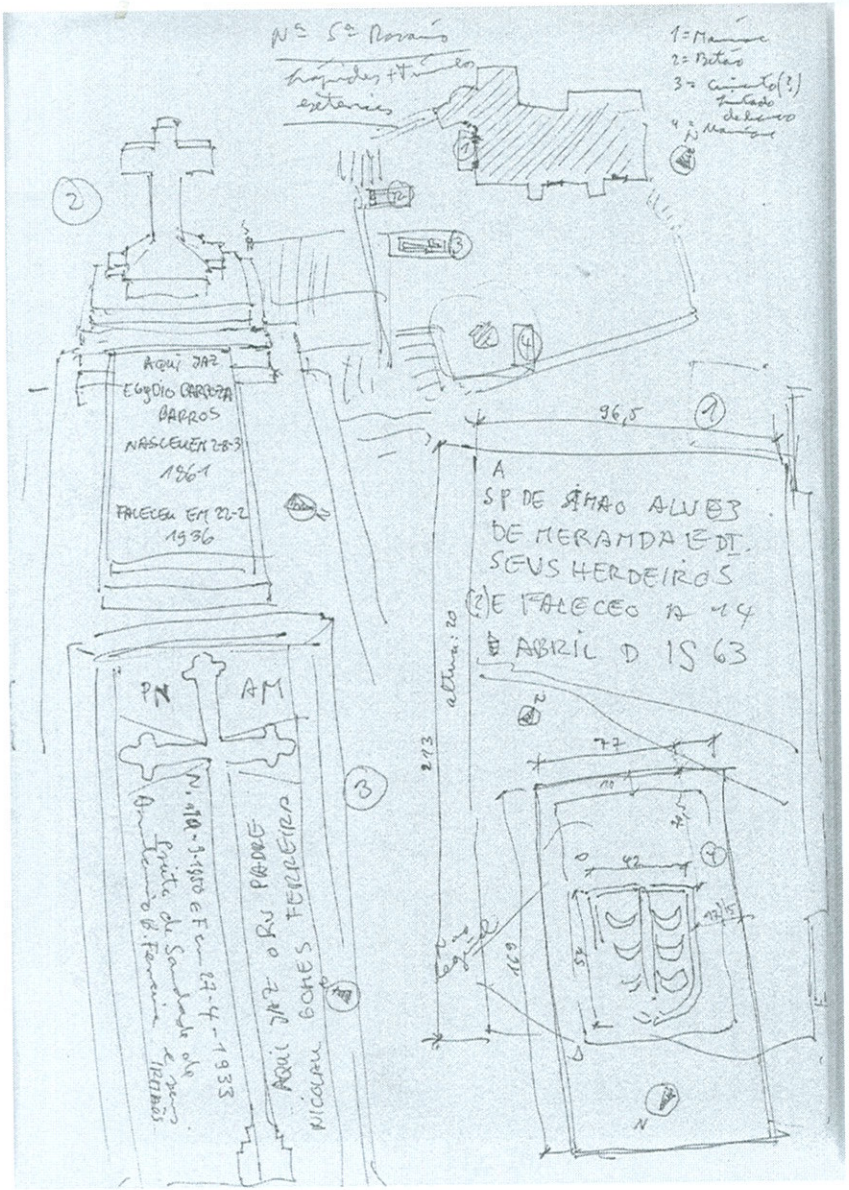
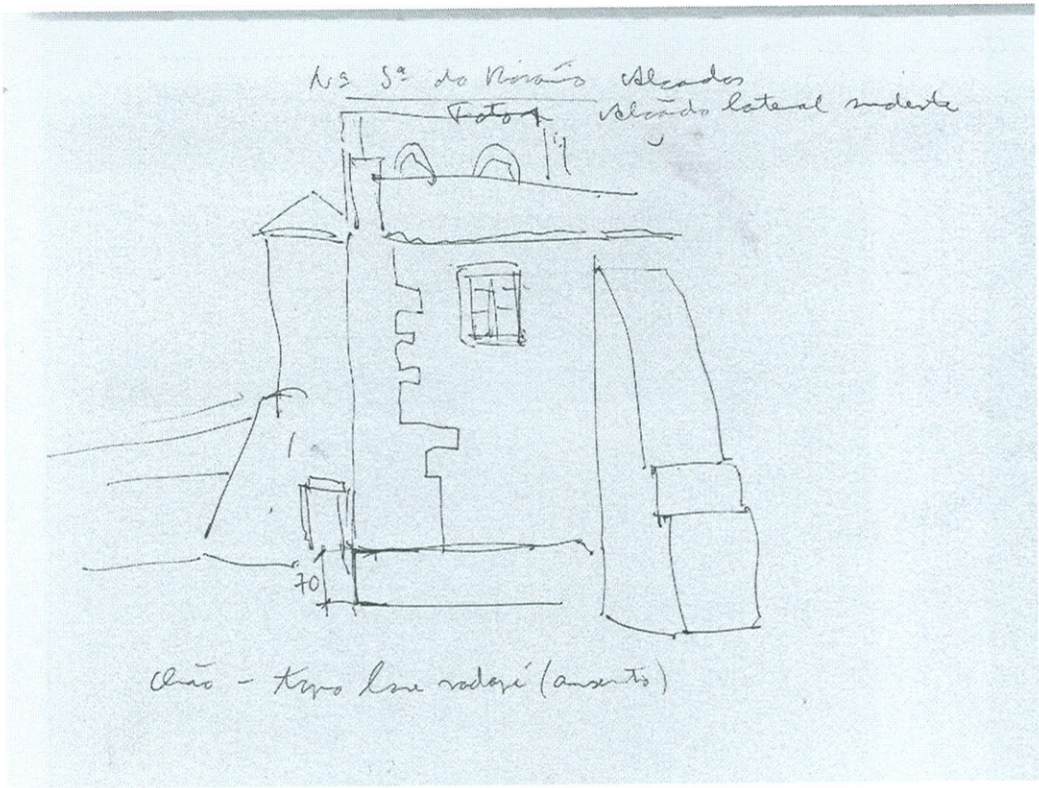


Fig. 200



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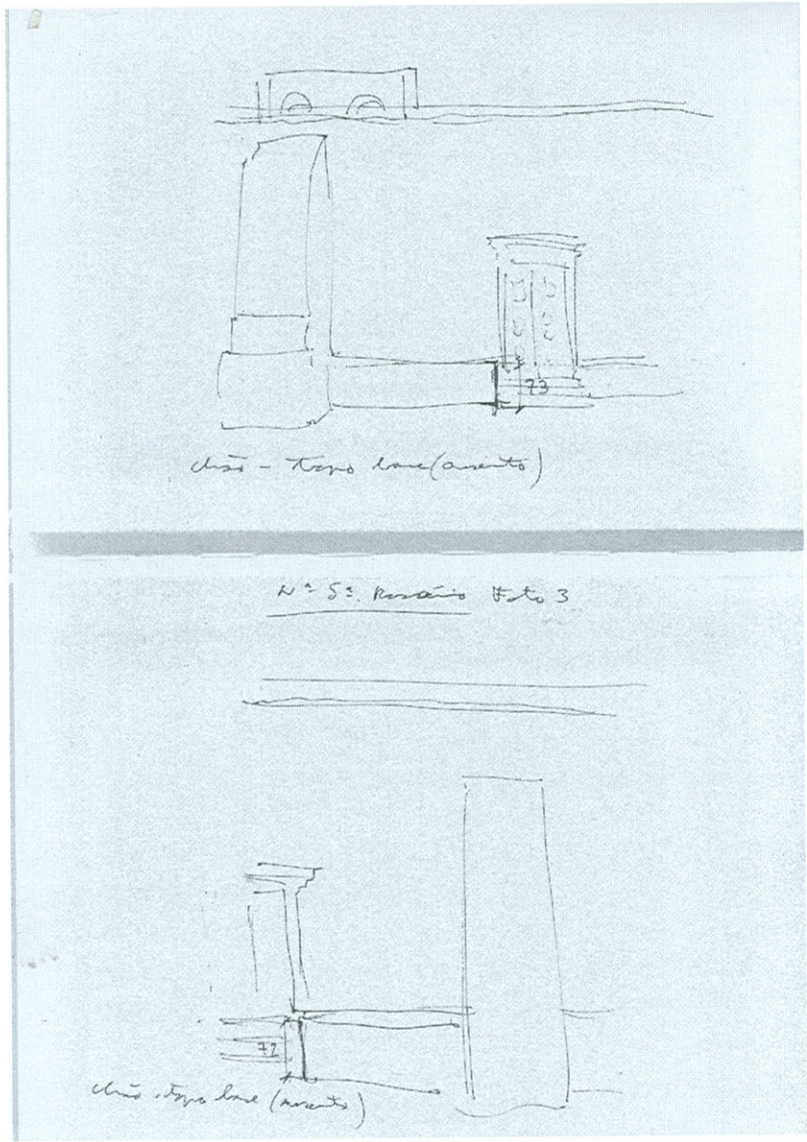
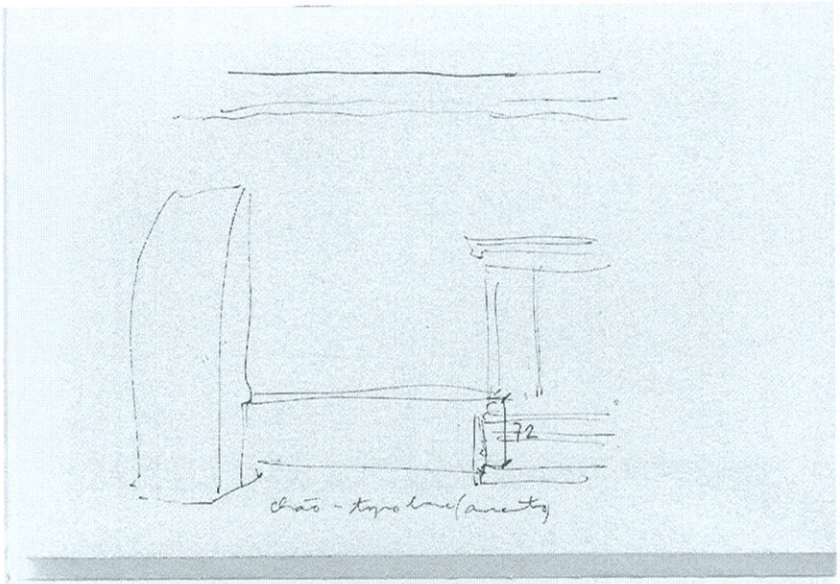


Fig. 202



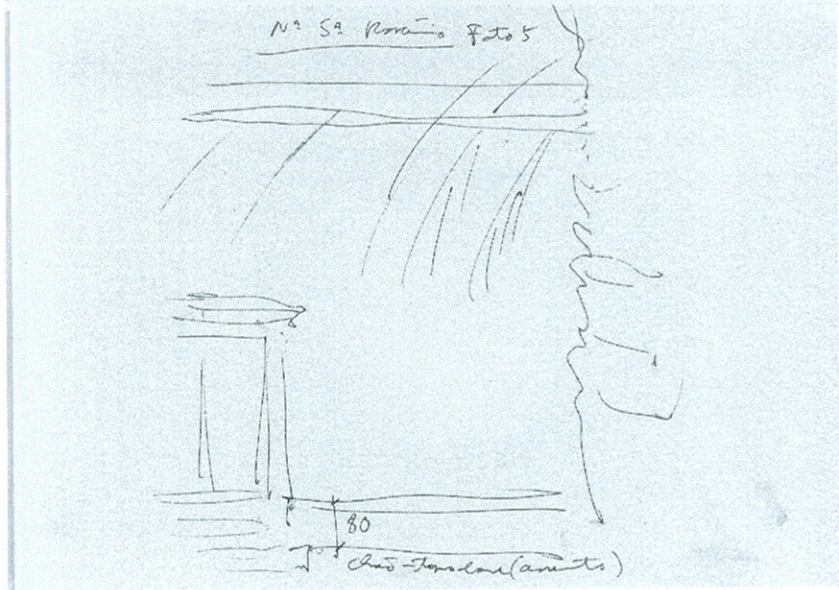
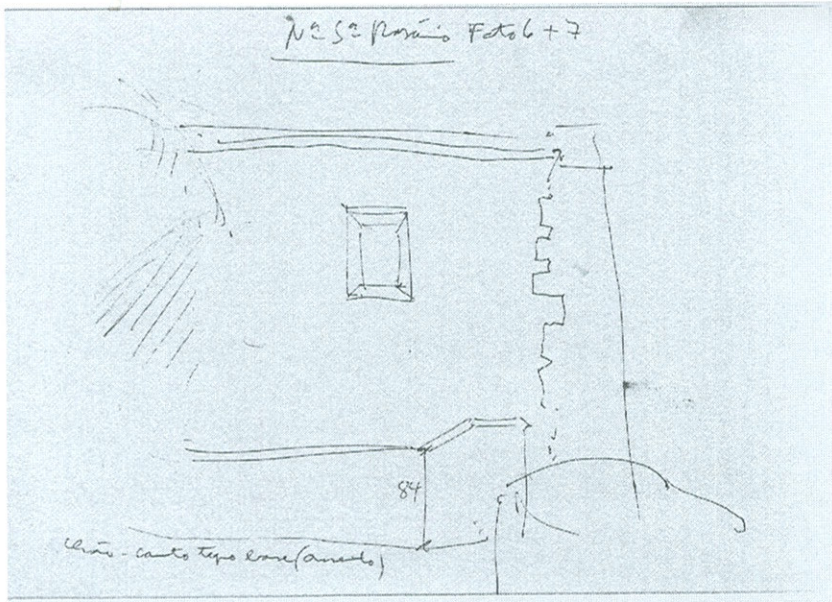


Fig. 203



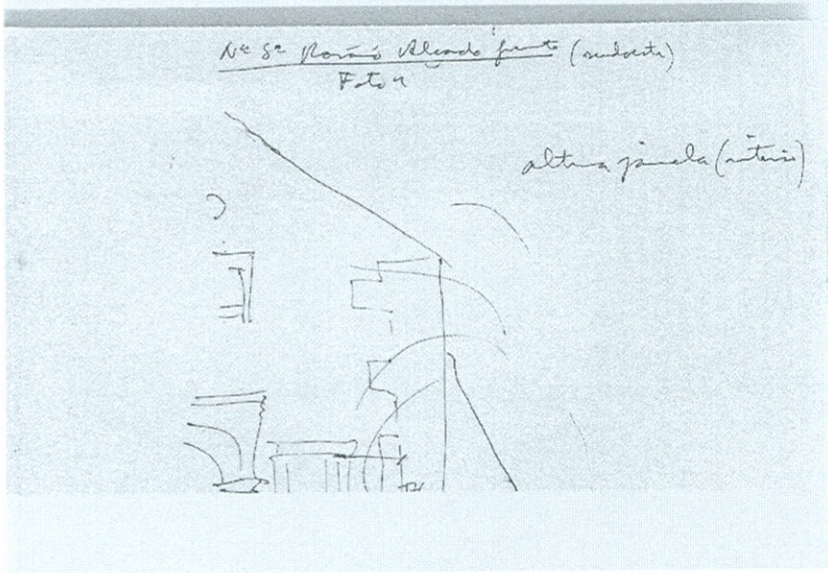


Fig. 204



Fig. 205

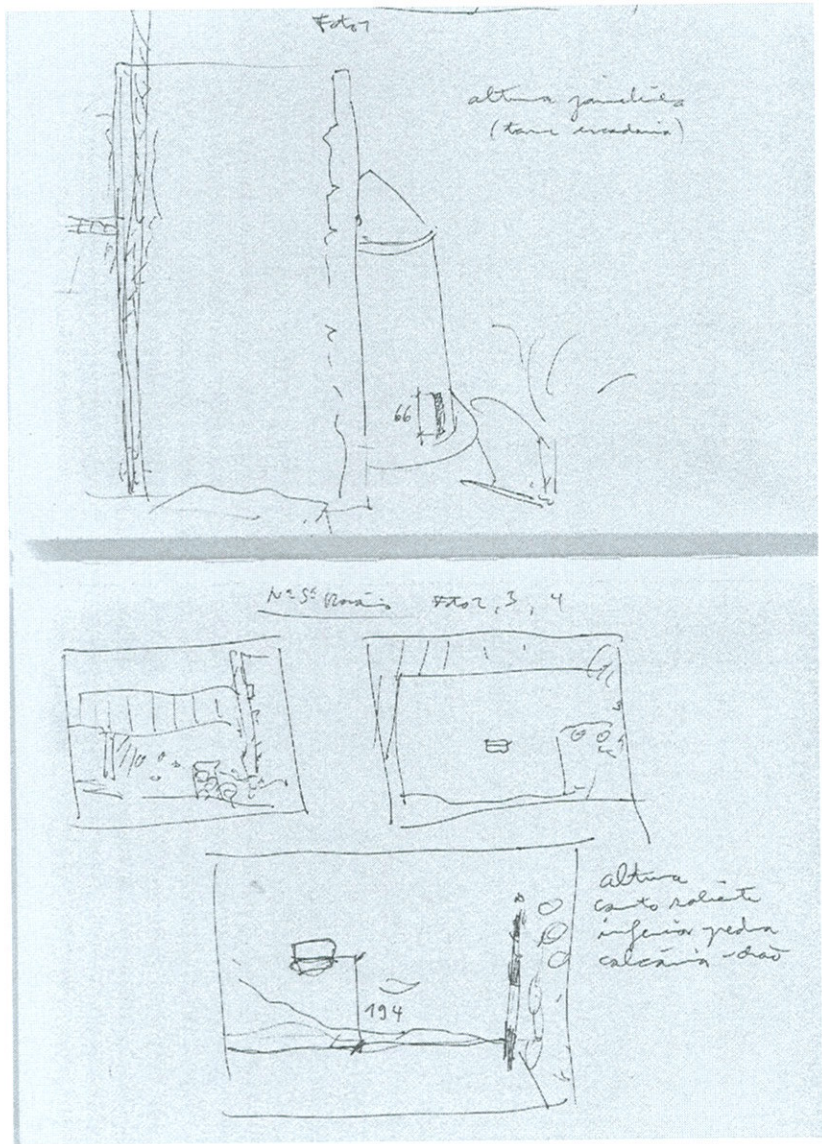
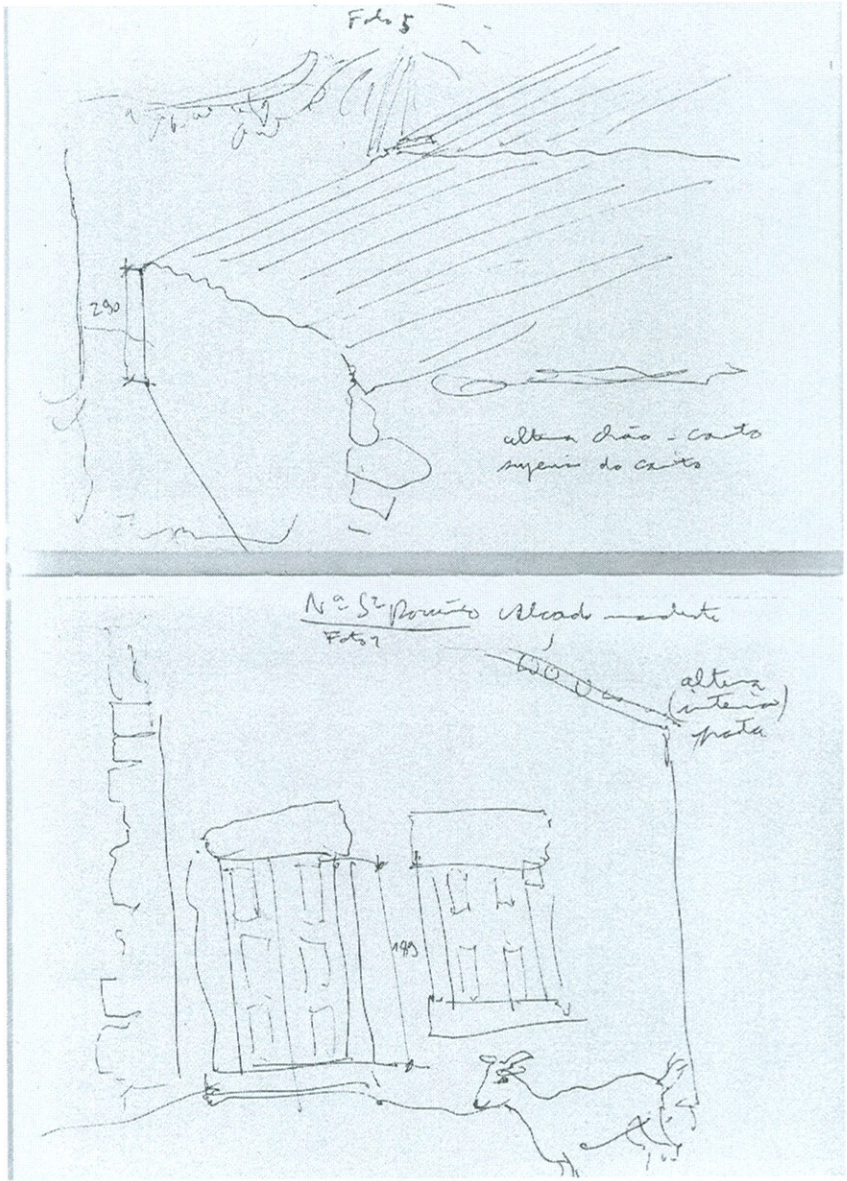


Fig. 206



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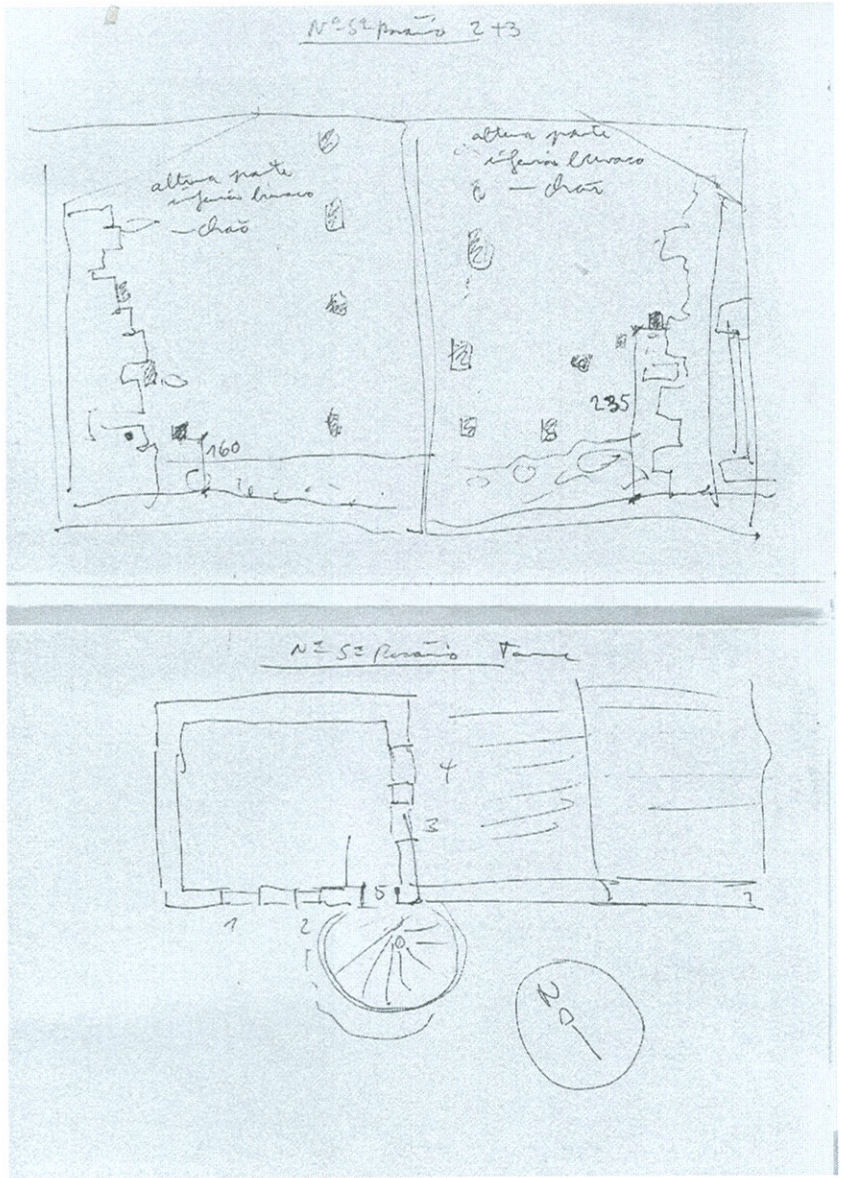


Fig. 208

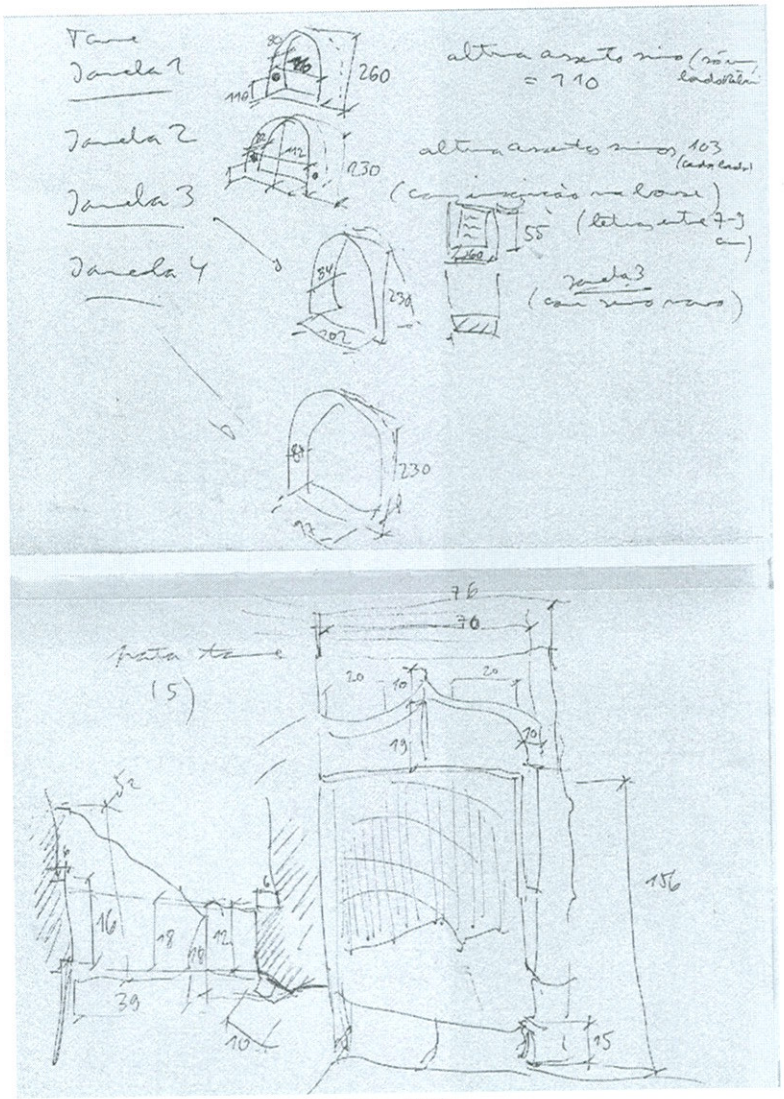

Janela 1
Janela 2
Janela 3
Janela 4
260
230
230
230
55
76
70
20
10
20
19
10
156
16
18
12
39
10
15

Fig. 209

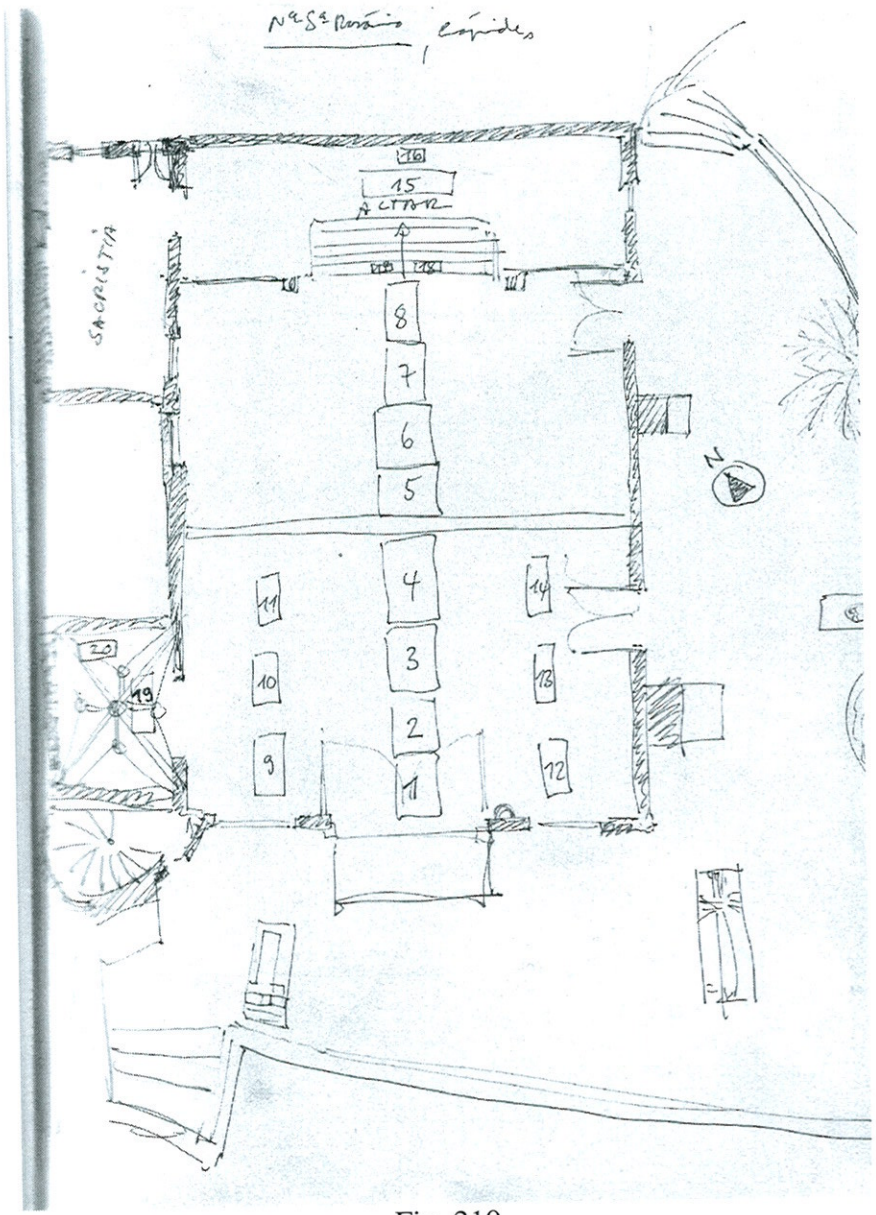


Fig. 210

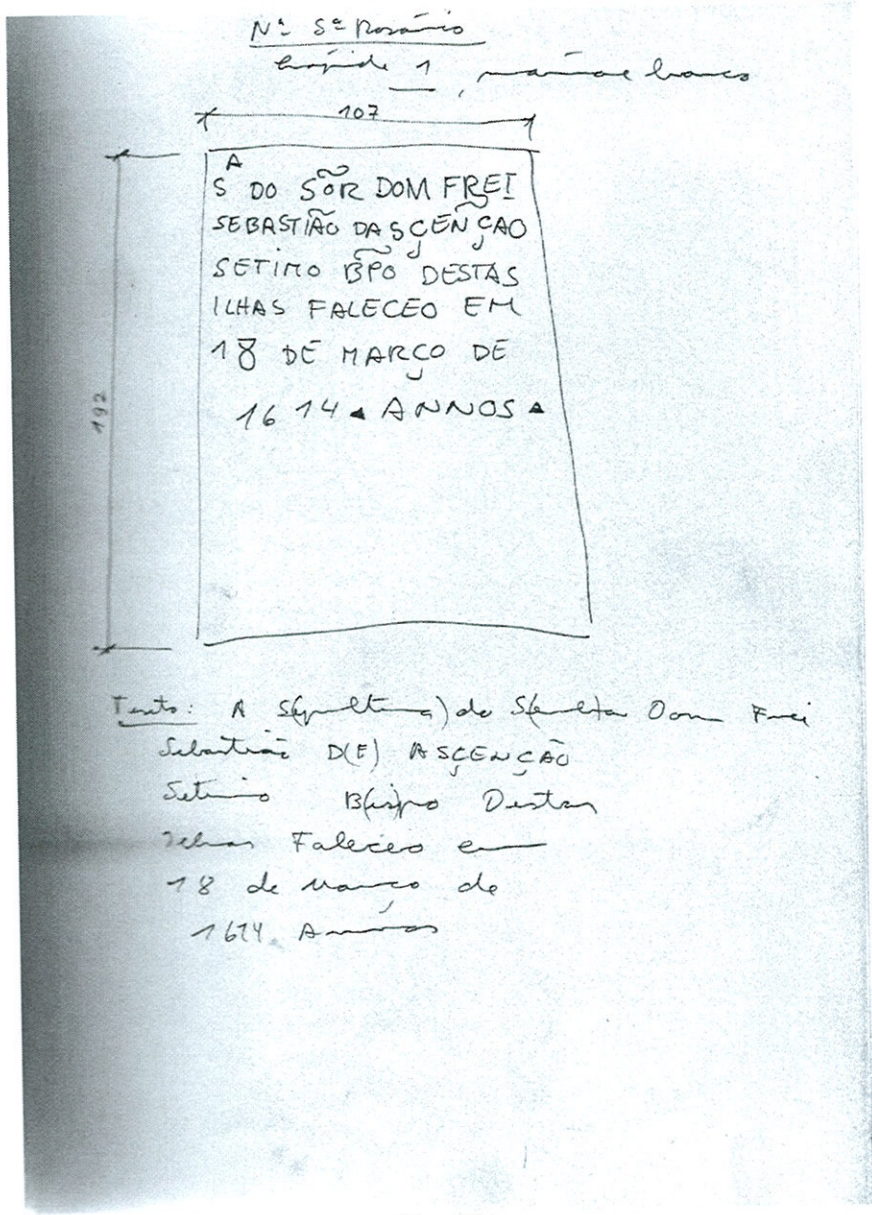


Fig. 211

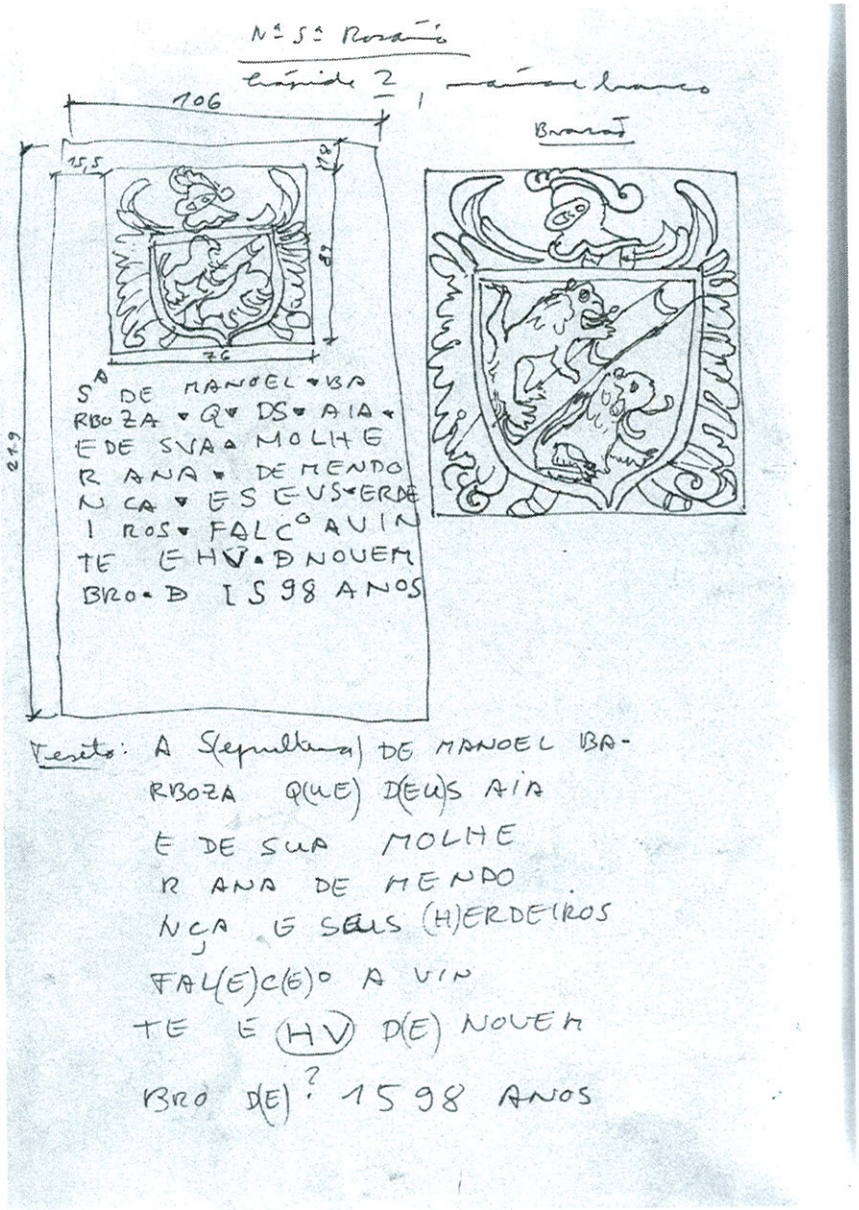


Fig. 212

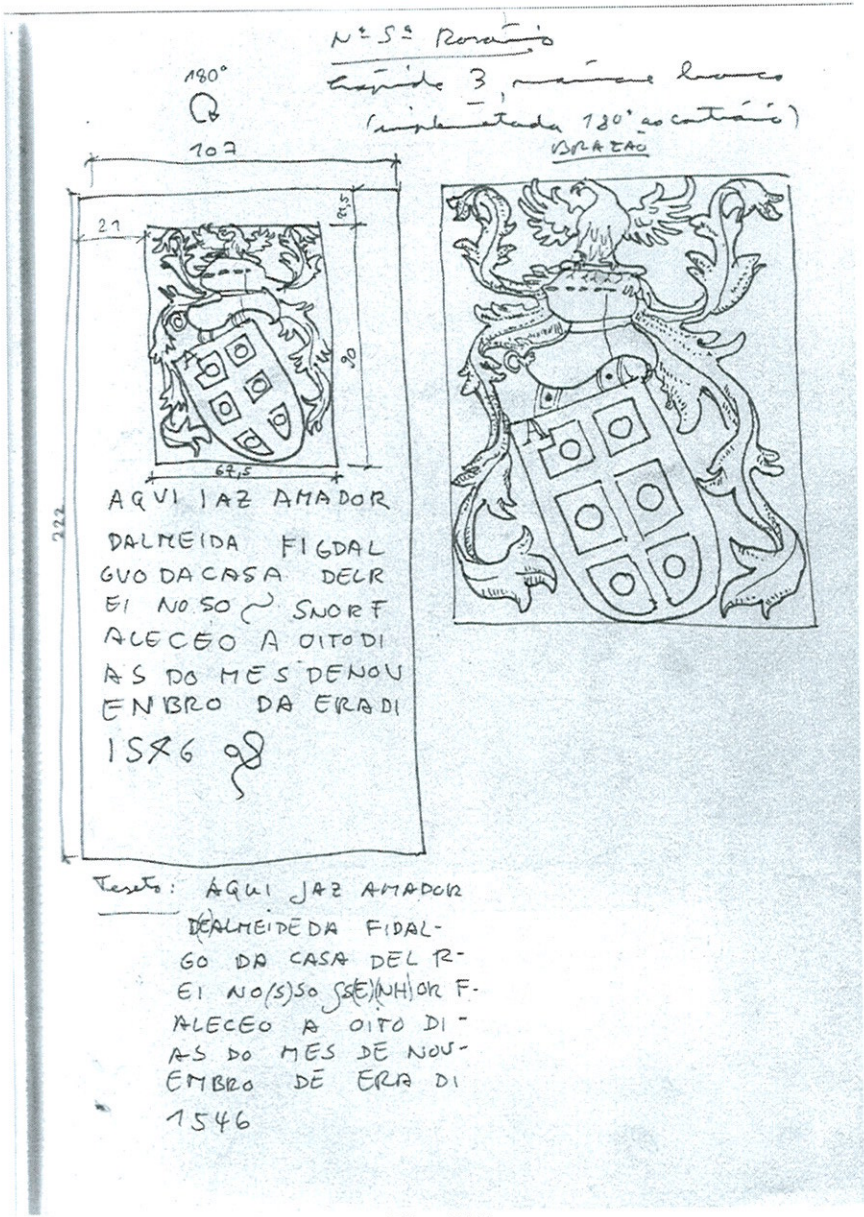


Fig. 213

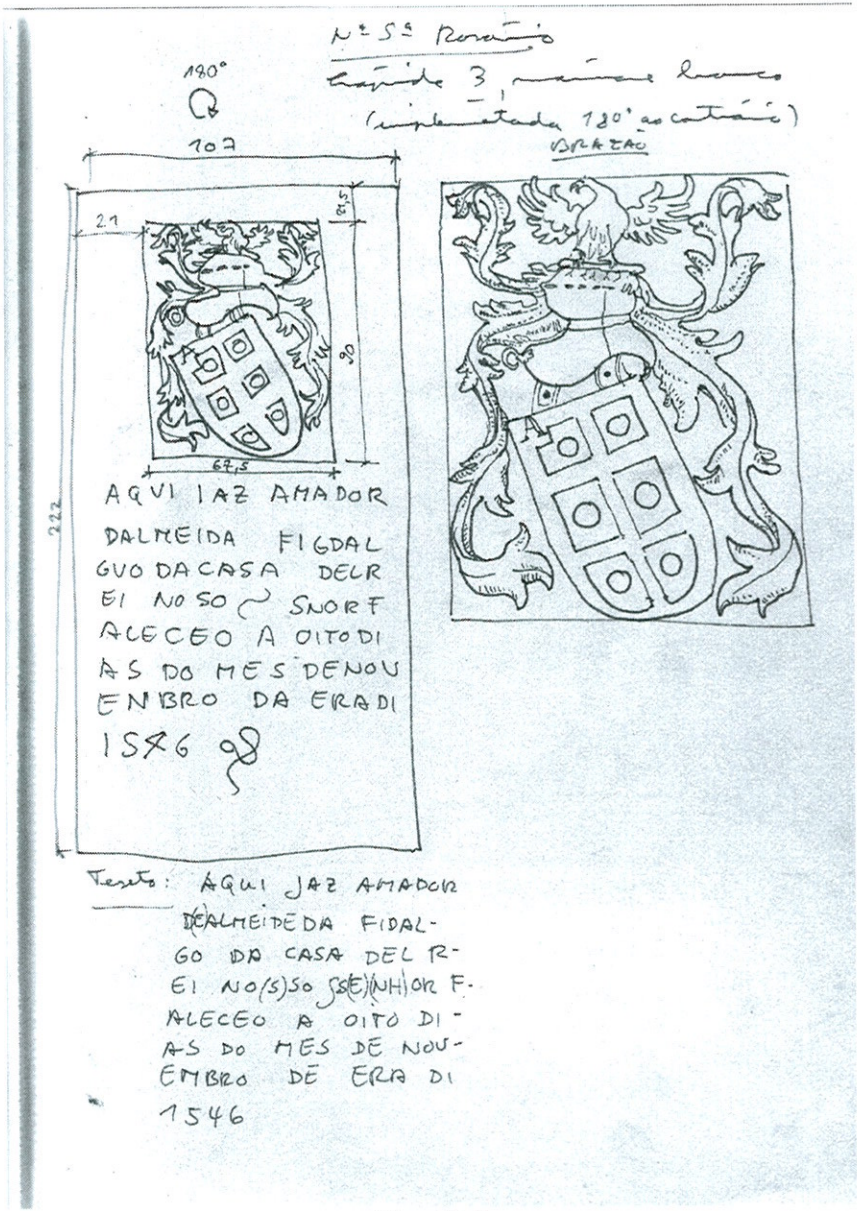


Fig. 214

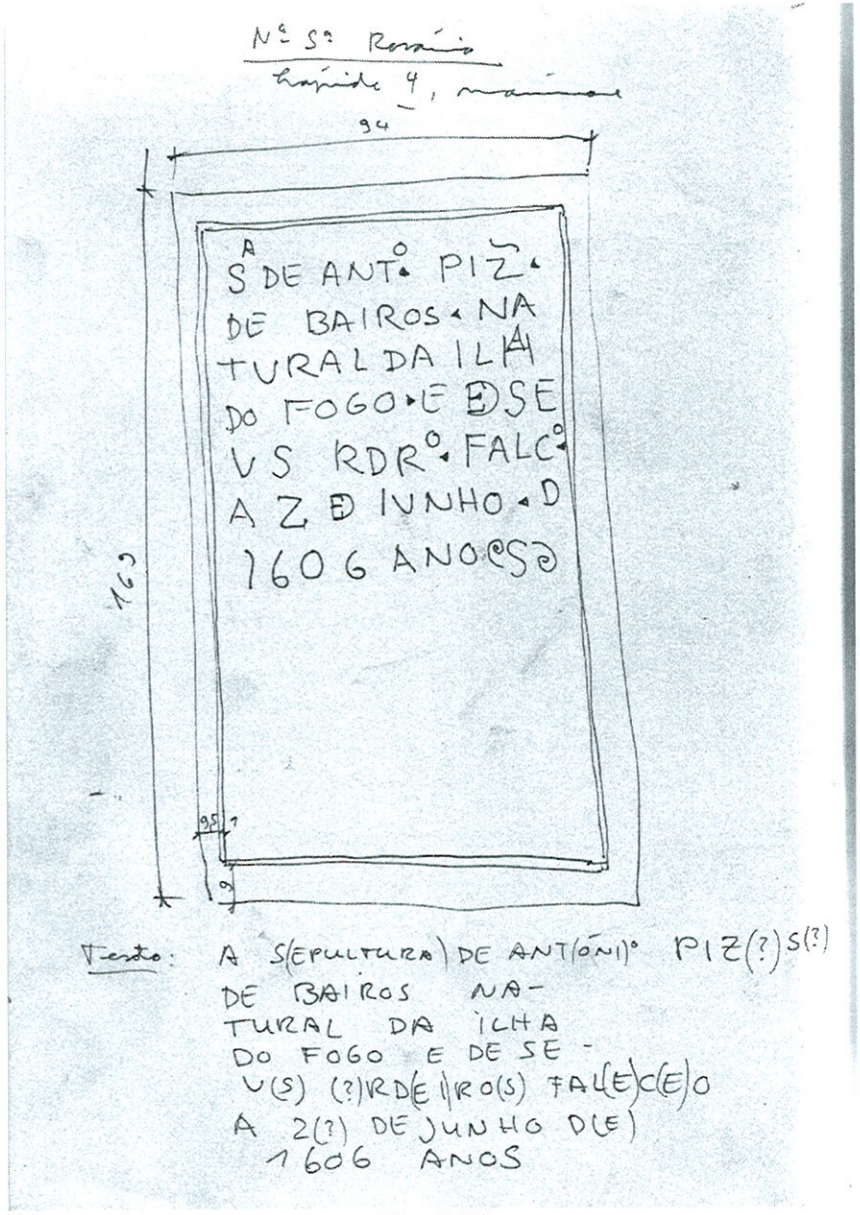
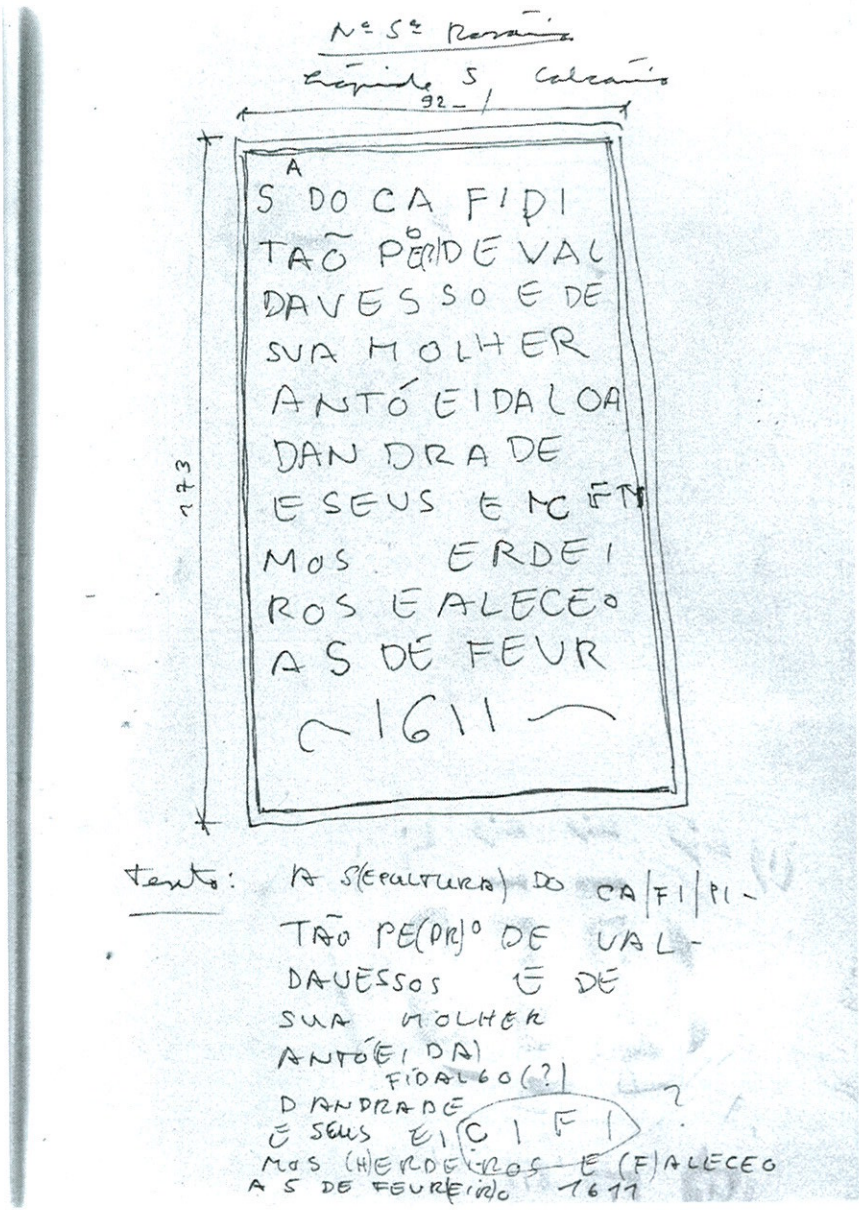
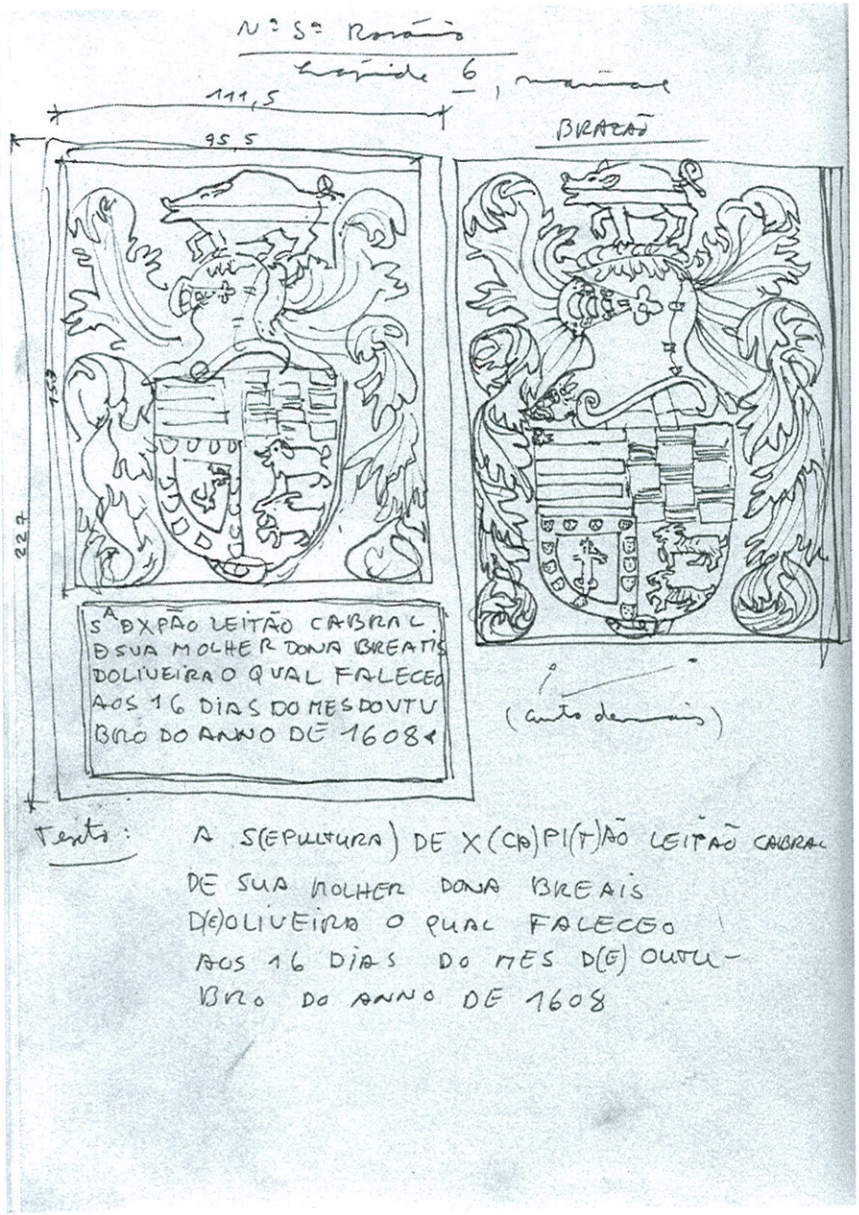


Fig. 215



Texto: A S(EPULTURA) DO CA|FI|PI-
TÃO PE(DR)O DE VAL-
DAVESSOS E DE
SUA MOLHER
ANTÓEI DA
FIDALGO(?)
D'ANDRADE
E SEUS EI C I F I
MOS (H)ERDEIROS E (F)ALECEO
A S DE FEUREIRO 1611

Fig. 216



Texto: A S(EPULTURA) DE X(CR)PI(T)ÃO LEITÃO CABRAL
DE SUA MOLHER DONA BREAIS
D(E)OLIVEIRA O QUAL FALECEO
AOS 16 DIAS DO MES D(E) OUTU-
BRO DO ANNO DE 1608

Fig. 217

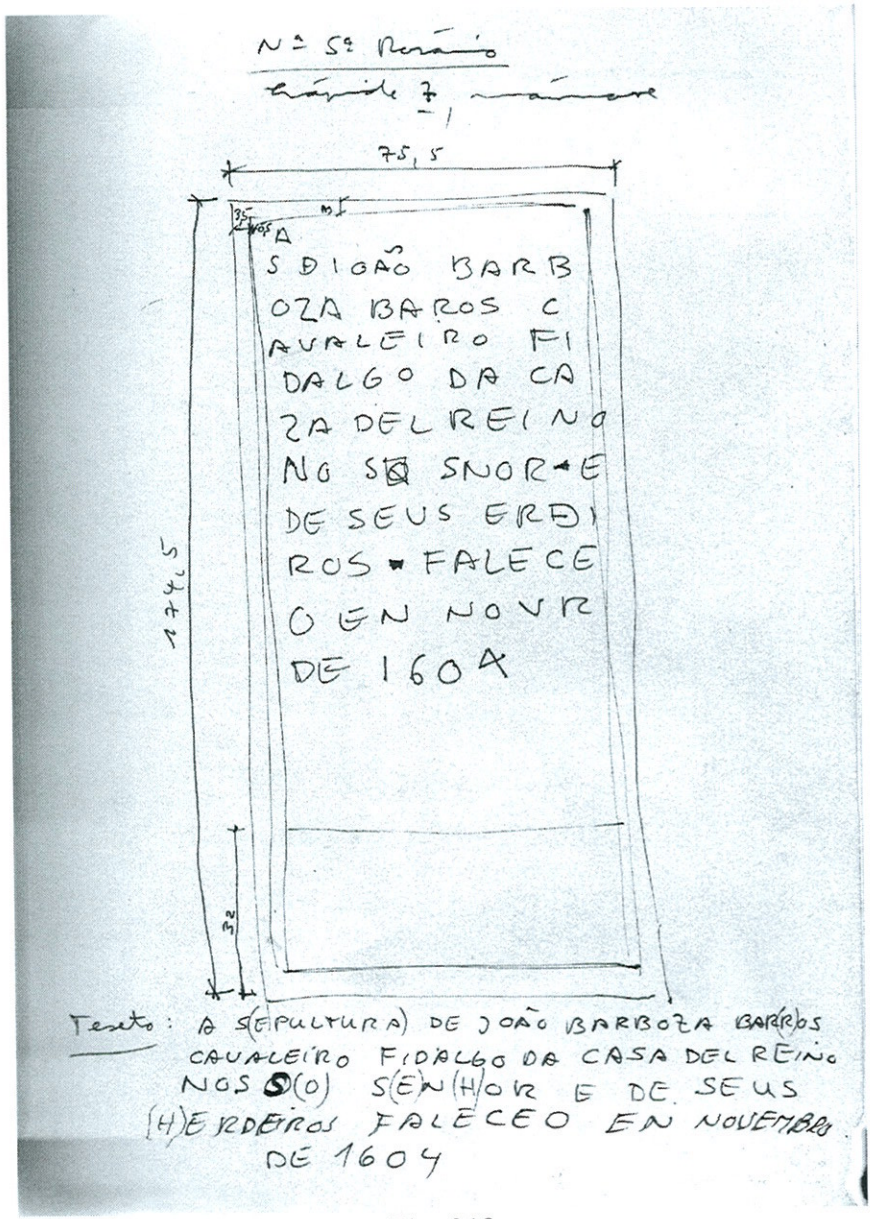


Fig. 218

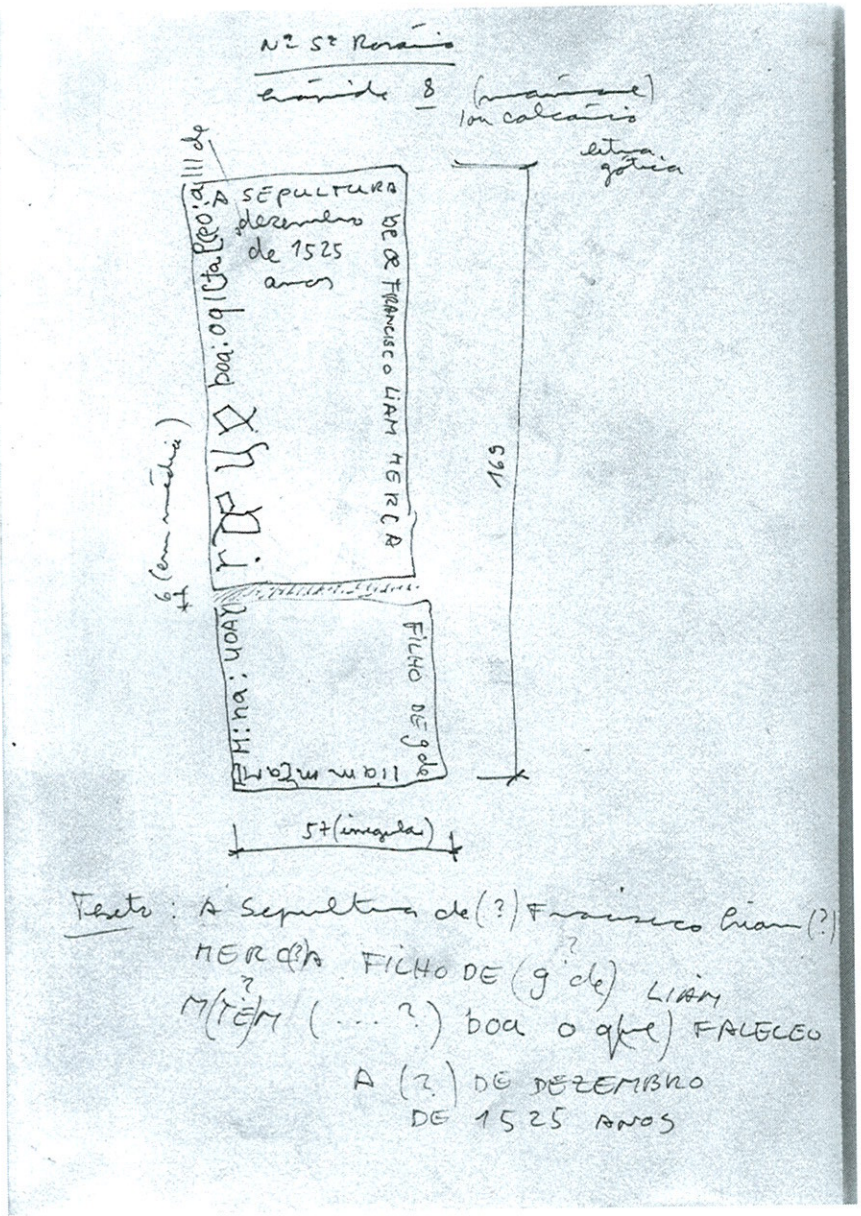
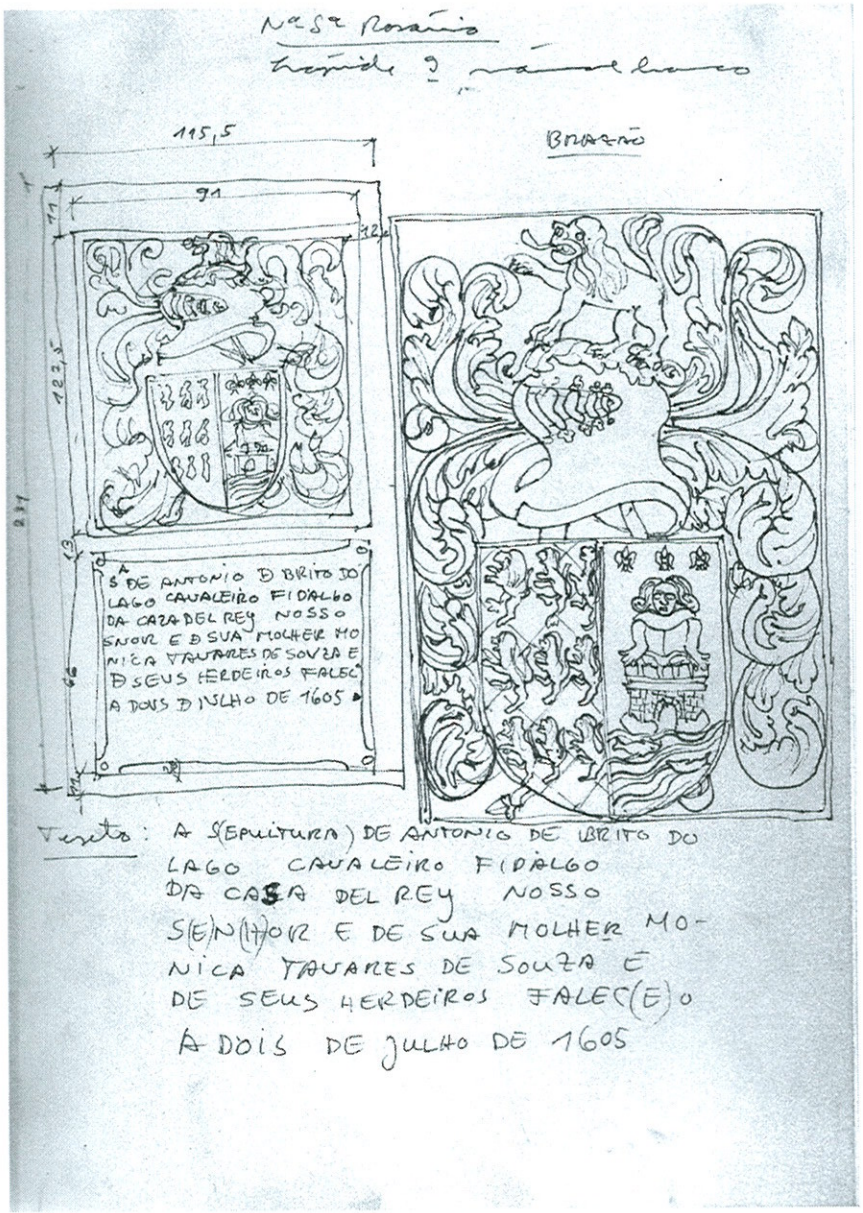
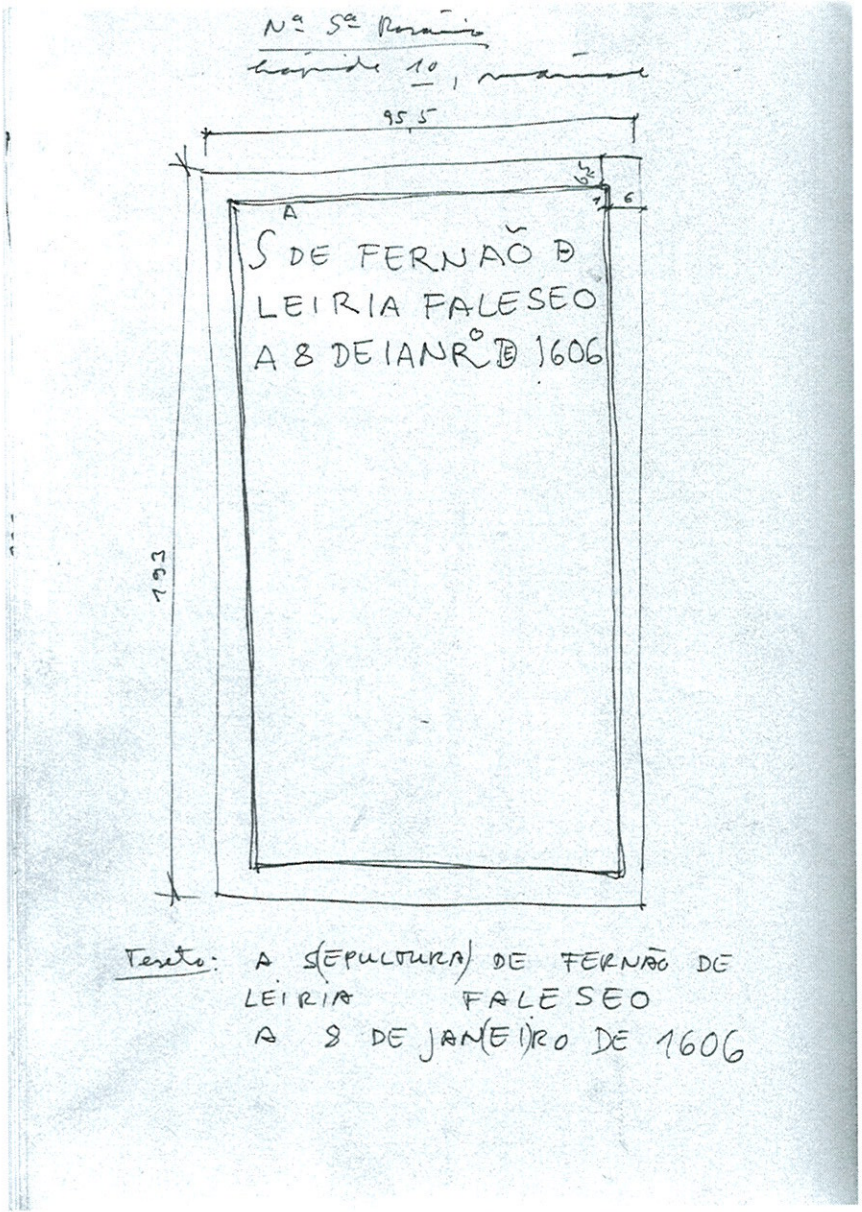


Fig. 219



Texto: A S(EPULTURA) DE ANTONIO DE BRITO DO LAGO CAVALEIRO FIDALGO DA CASA DEL REY NOSSO S(E)N(H)OR E DE SUA MOLHER MONICA TAVARES DE SOUZA E DE SEUS HERDEIROS FALEC(E)O A DOIS DE JULHO DE 1605

Fig. 220



Texto: A S(EPULTURA) DE FERNÃO DE LEIRIA FALESEO A 8 DE JANE(I)RO DE 1606

Fig. 221

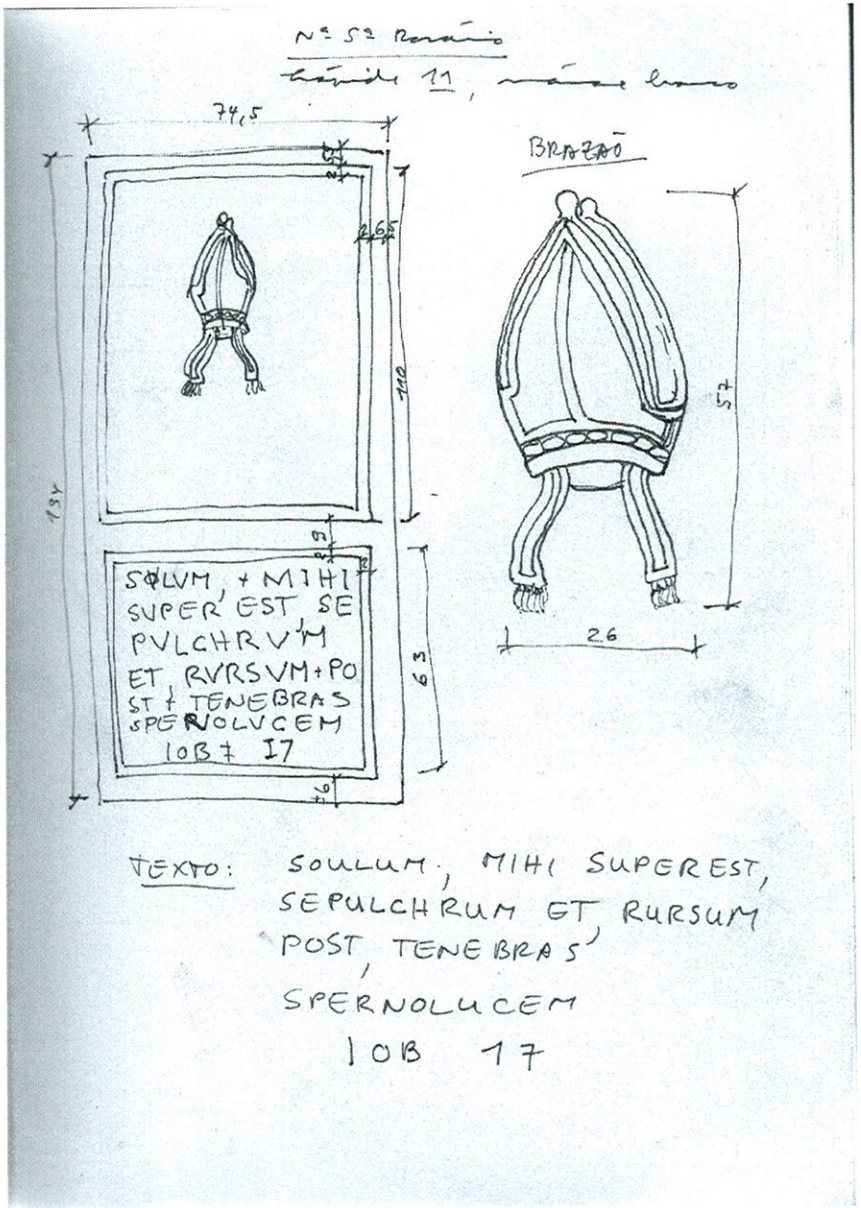


Fig. 222

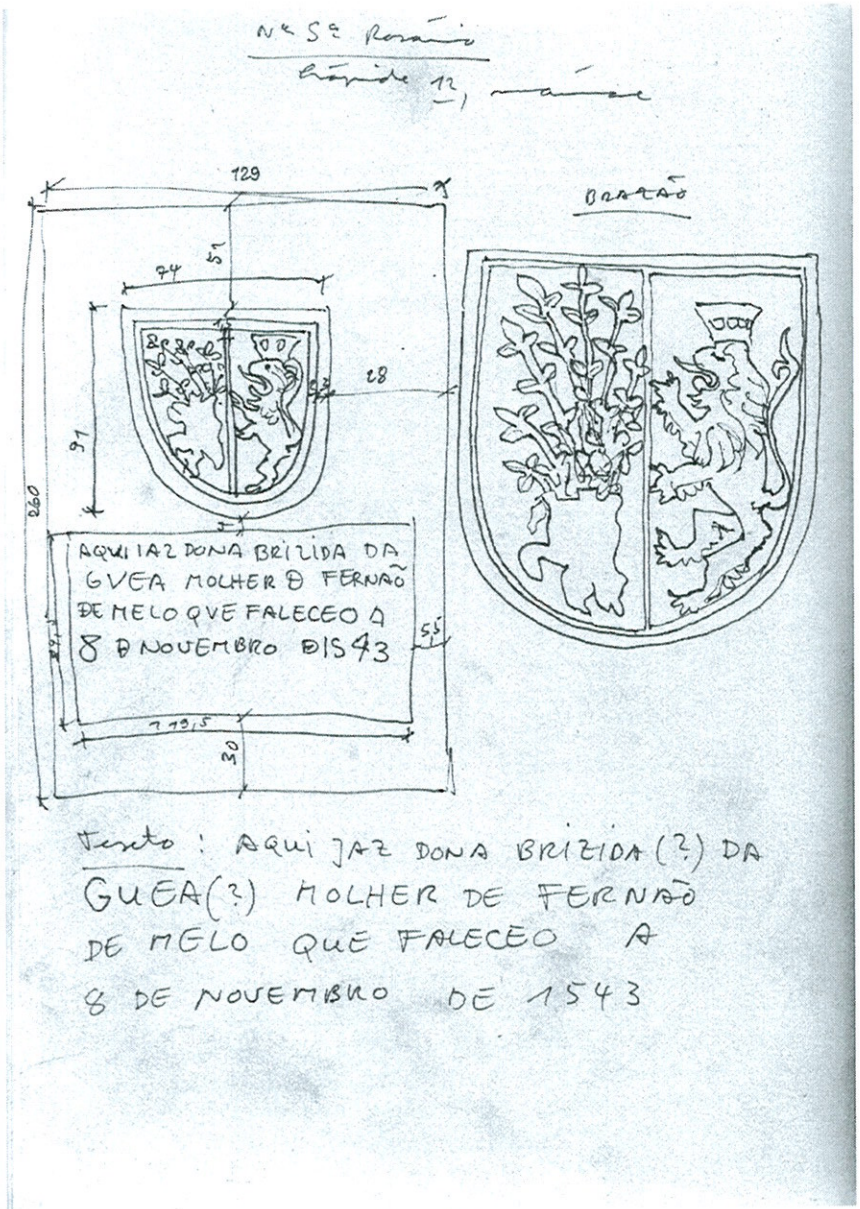
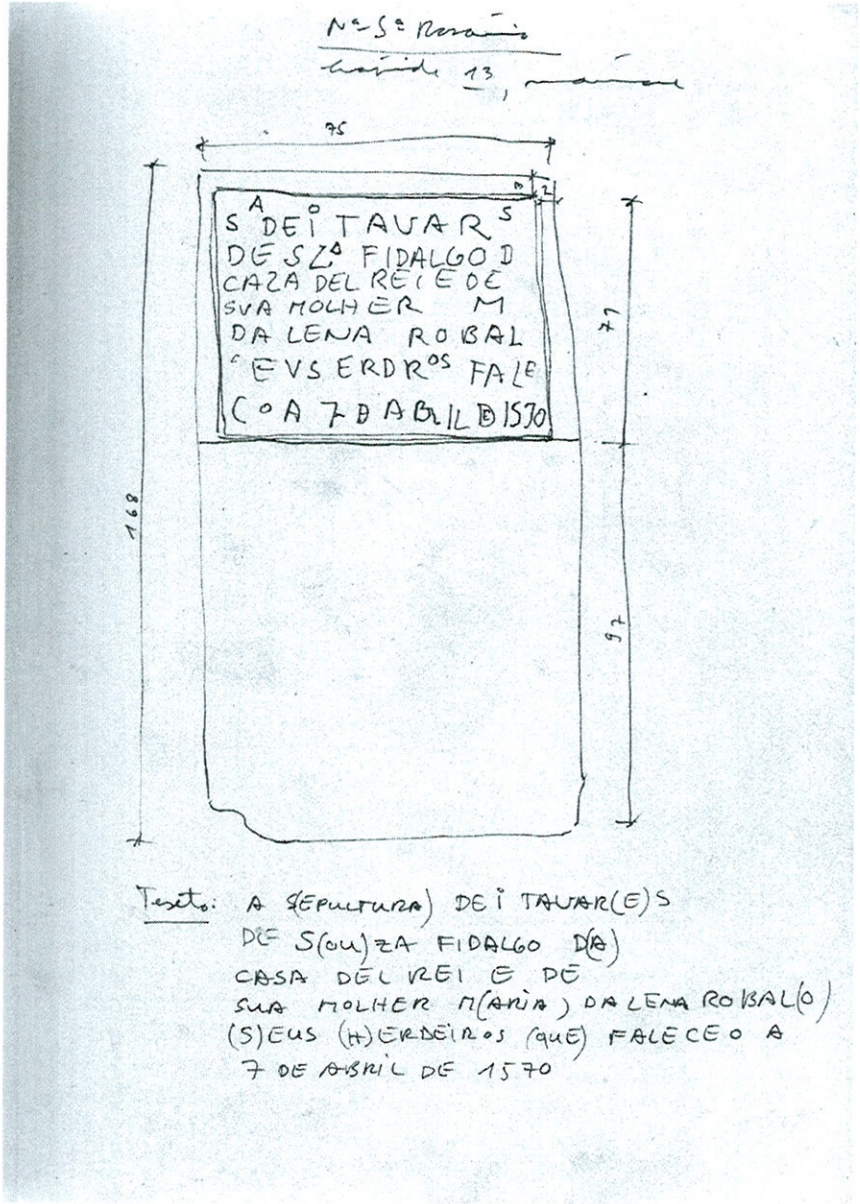
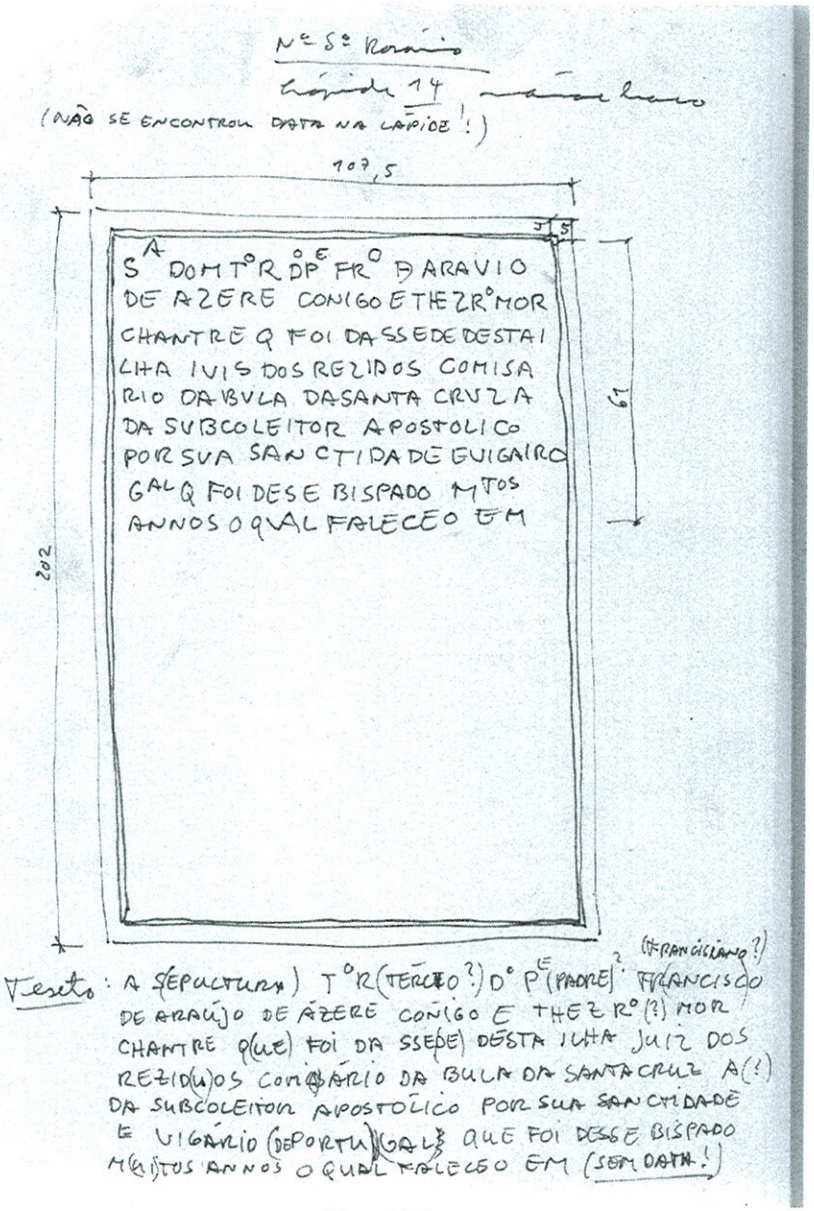


Fig. 223



Texto: A S(EPULTURA) DE I TAVAR(E)S
DE S(OU)ZA FIDALGO D(A)
CASA DEL REI E DE
SUA MOLHER M(ARIA) DA LENA ROBAL(O)
(S)EUS (H)ERDEIROS (QUE) FALECEO A
7 DE ABRIL DE 1570

Fig. 224



Texto: A S(EPULTURA) T°R(TERÇO?) D° P^E(PADRE) FR(ANCISCO?)
DE ARAÚJO DE AZERE CONIGO E THEZR°(?) MOR
CHANTRE Q(UE) FOI DA SSE(DE) DESTA ILHA JUIZ DOS
REZID(U)OS COMISÁRIO DA BULA DA SANTA CRUZ A(?)
DA SUBCOLEITOR APOSTÓLICO POR SUA SANCTIDADE
E VIGÁRIO (DEPORTU)GAL QUE FOI DESSE BISPADO
M(UI)TOS ANNOS O QUAL FALECEO EM (SEM DATA!)

Fig. 225

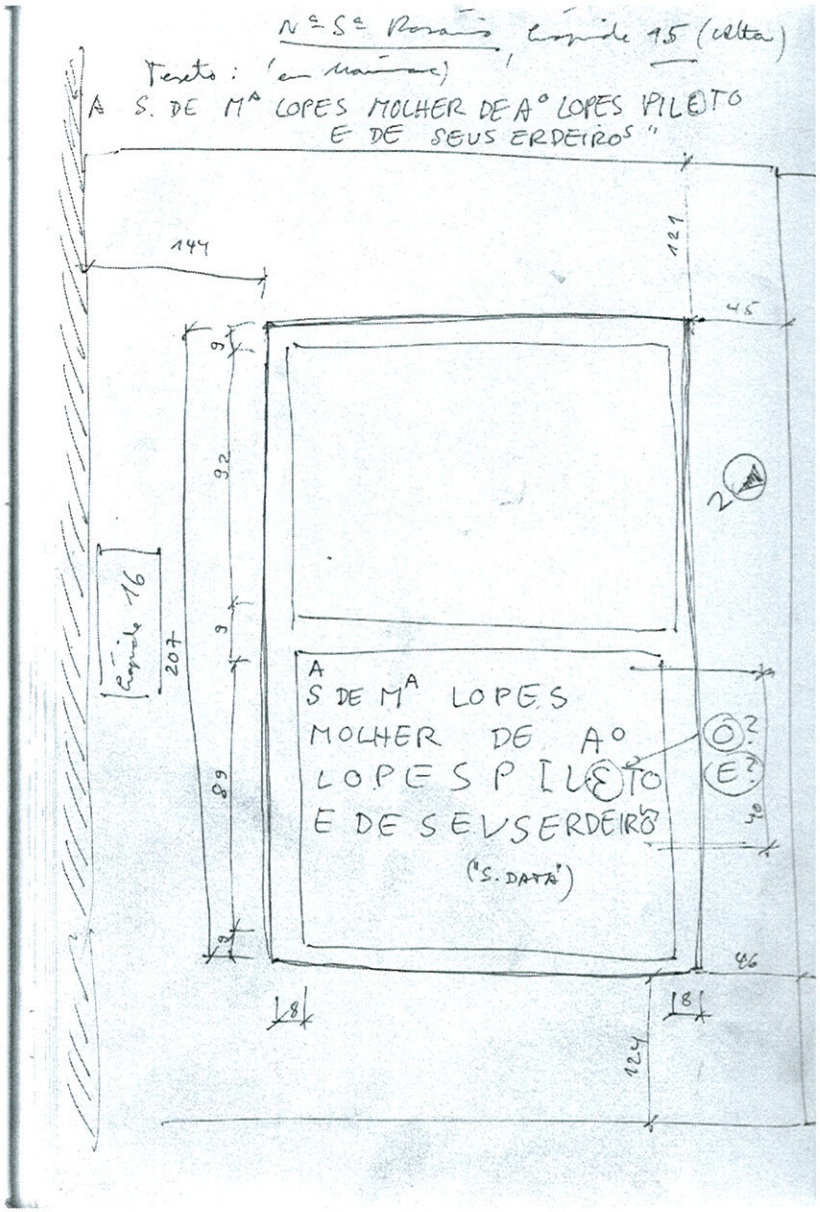


Fig. 226

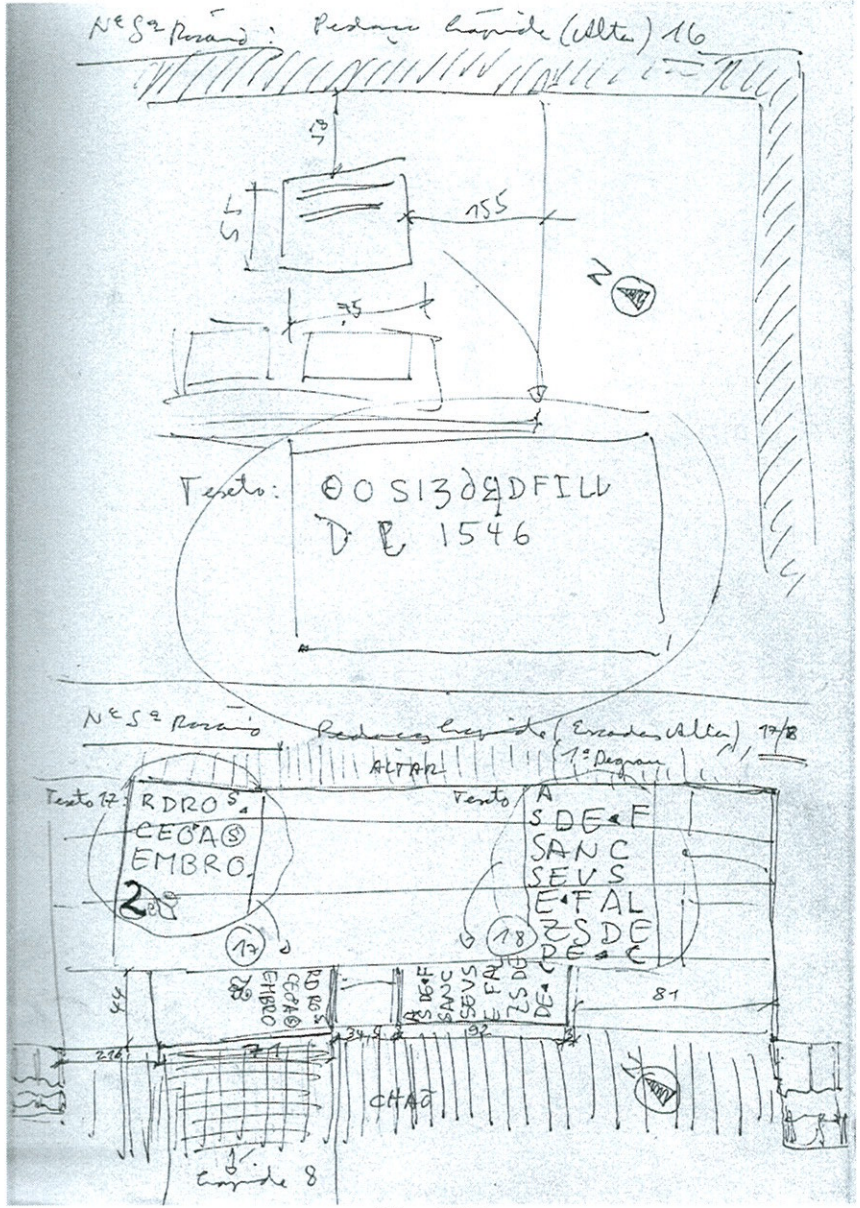


Fig. 227

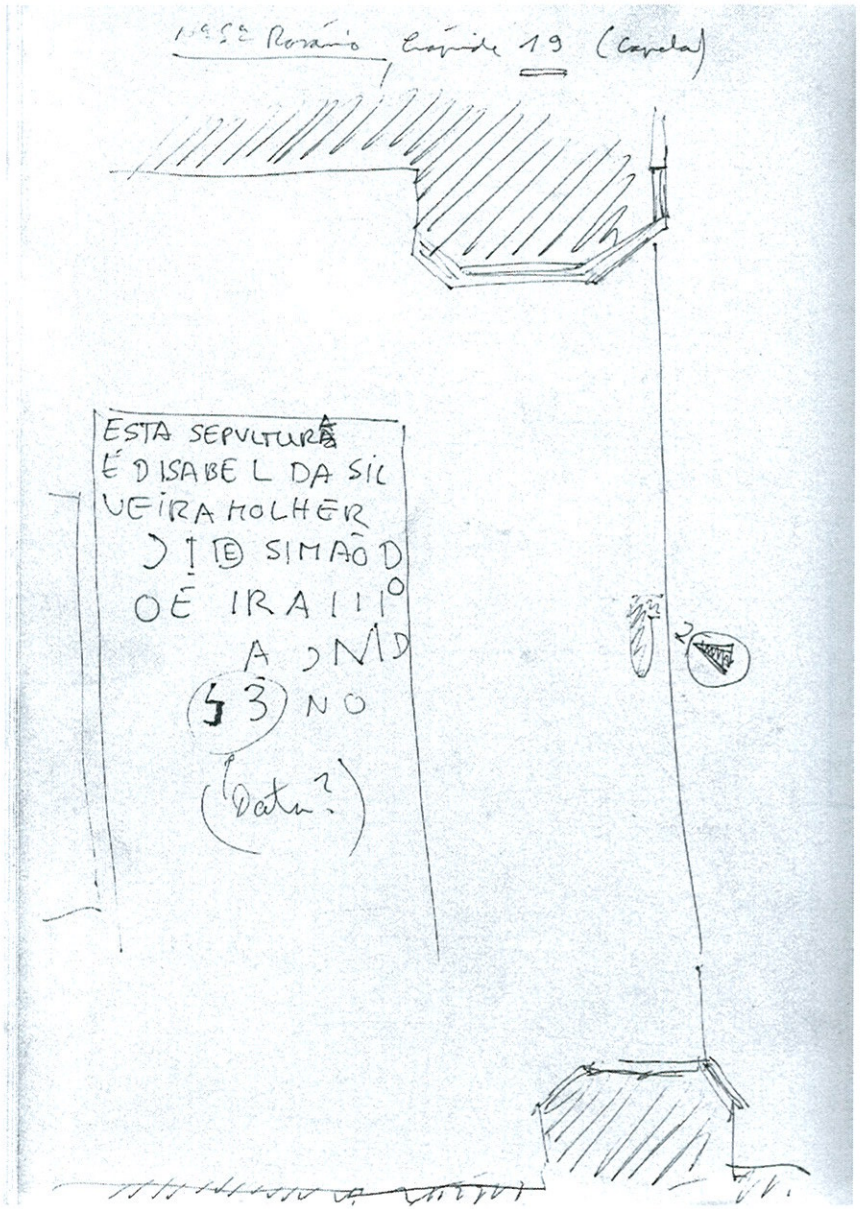


Fig. 228

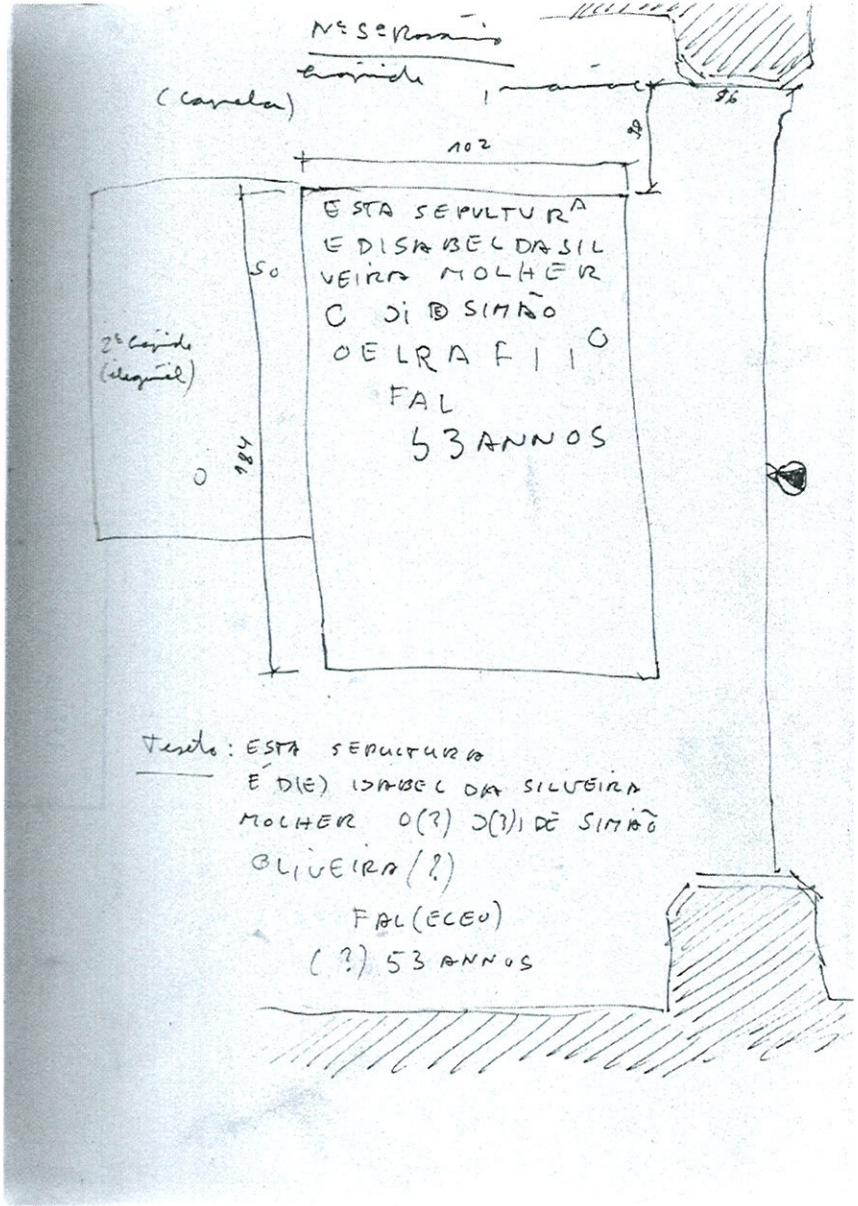
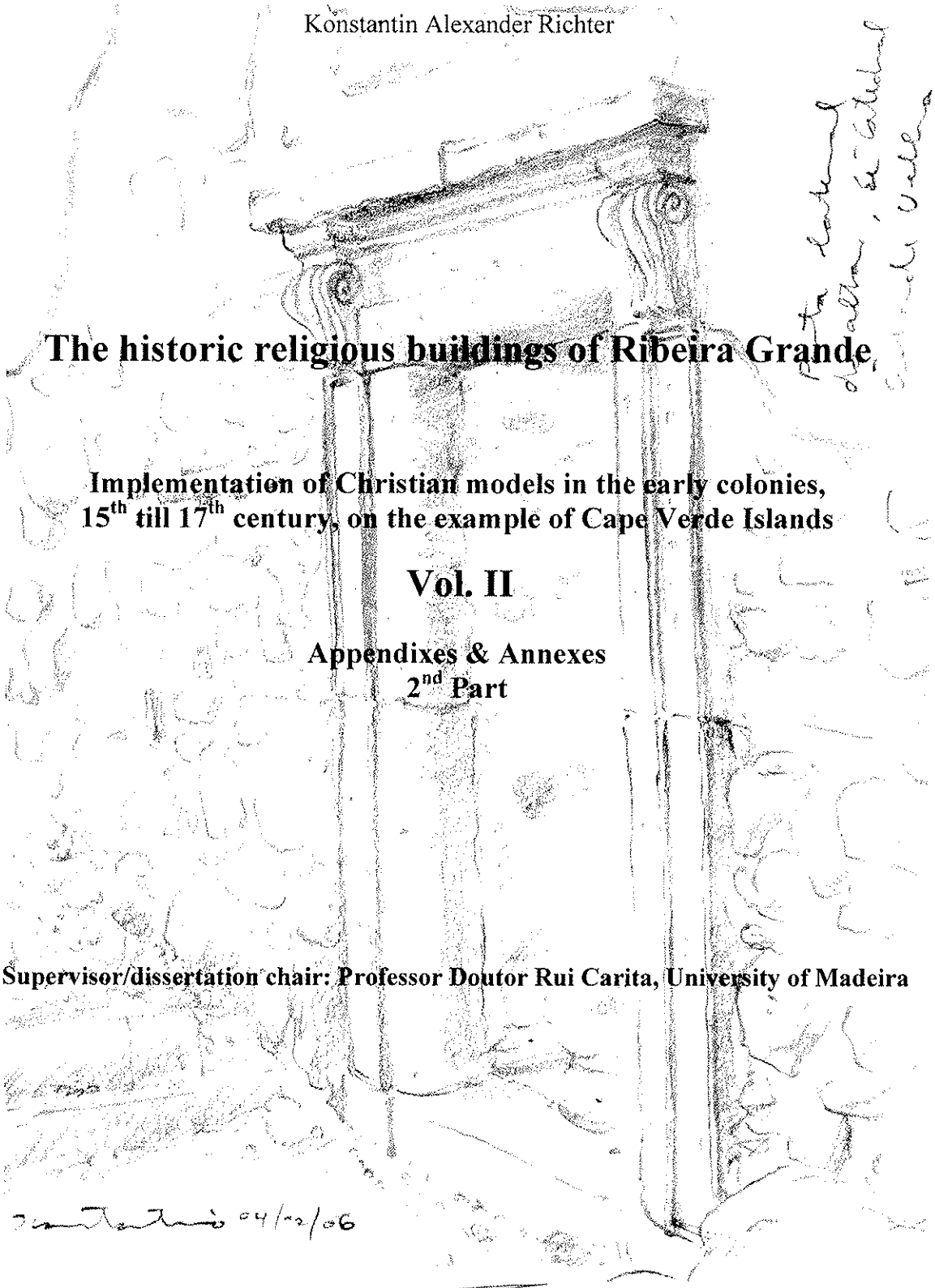


Fig. 229

UNIVERSIDADE DA MADEIRA
SECTOR DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO
E ARQUIVO

Konstantin Alexander Richter



The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands

Vol. II

Appendixes & Annexes
2nd Part

Supervisor/dissertation chair: Professor Doutor Rui Carita, University of Madeira

UNIVERSIDADE da MADEIRA

Praça dos Municípios
900-081 Funchal

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Konstantin Alexander Richter

The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands

Vol. II

Appendixes & Annexes
2nd Part

UNIVERSIDADE DA MADEIRA
SECTOR DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO
E ARQUIVO

Supervisor/dissertation chair: Professor Doutor Rui Carita, University of Madeira

UNIVERSIDADE da MADEIRA

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1.2.5 Convent of *S. Francisco*

Fig. 1-104

Site plans

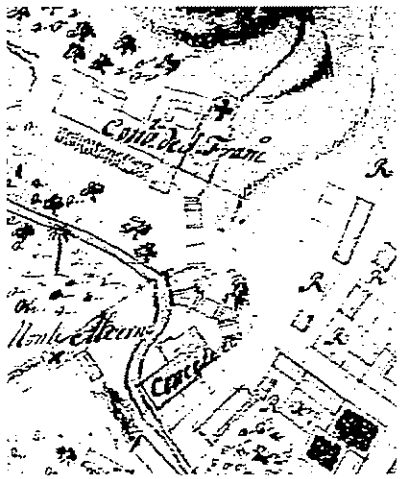


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

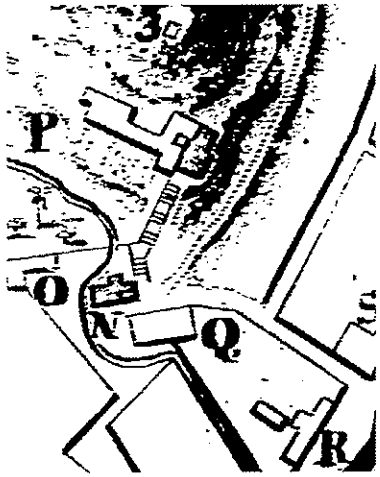


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

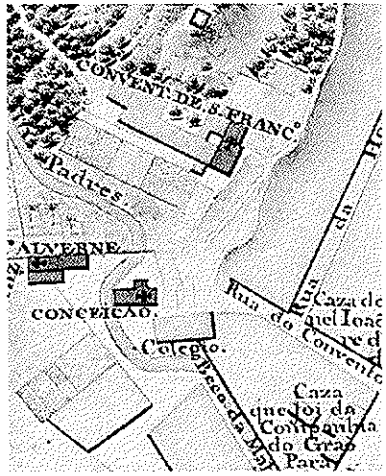


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

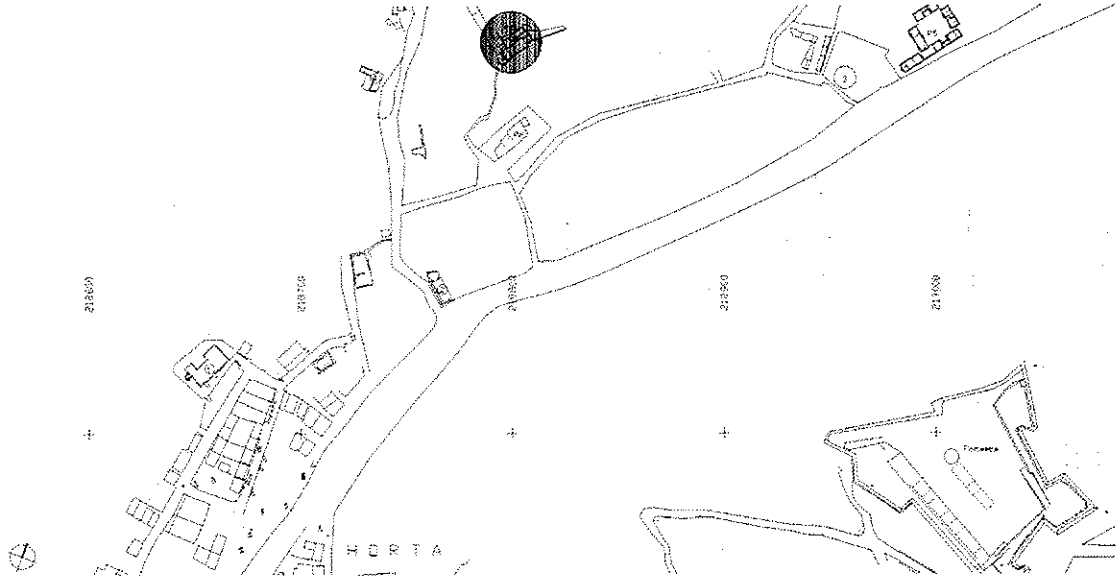


Fig. 4

Plans



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

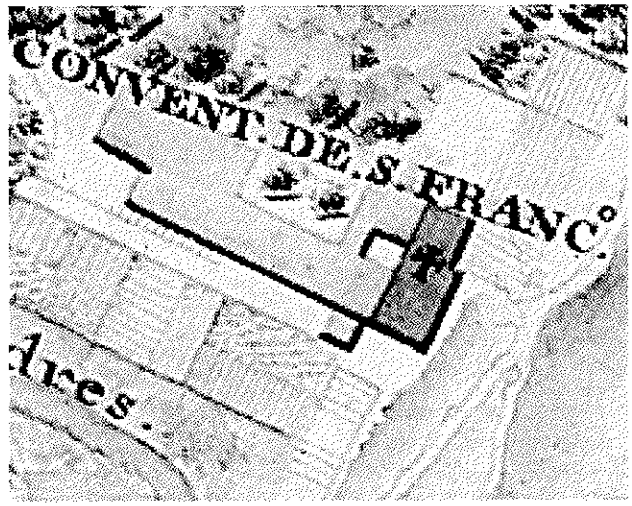


Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

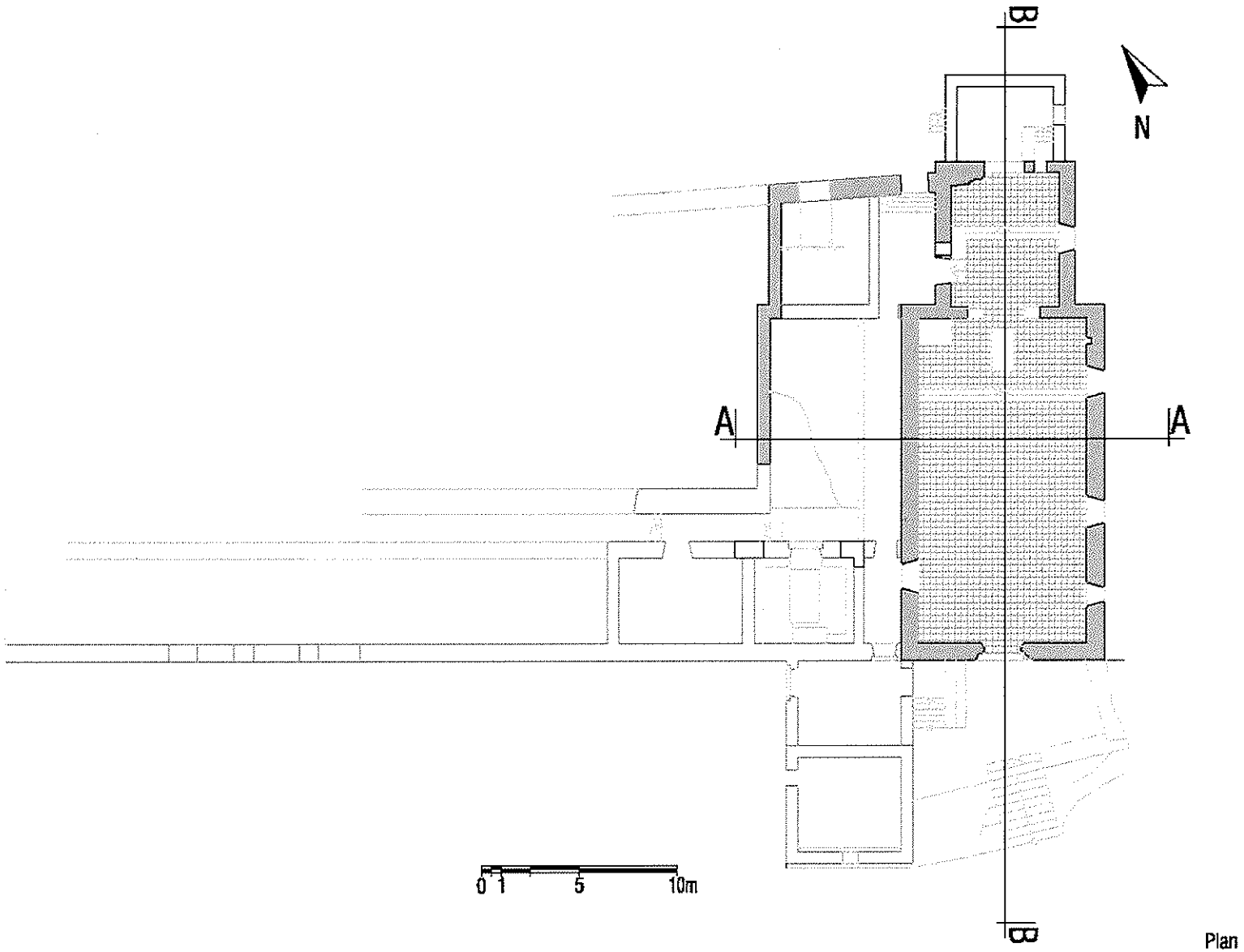


Fig. 8

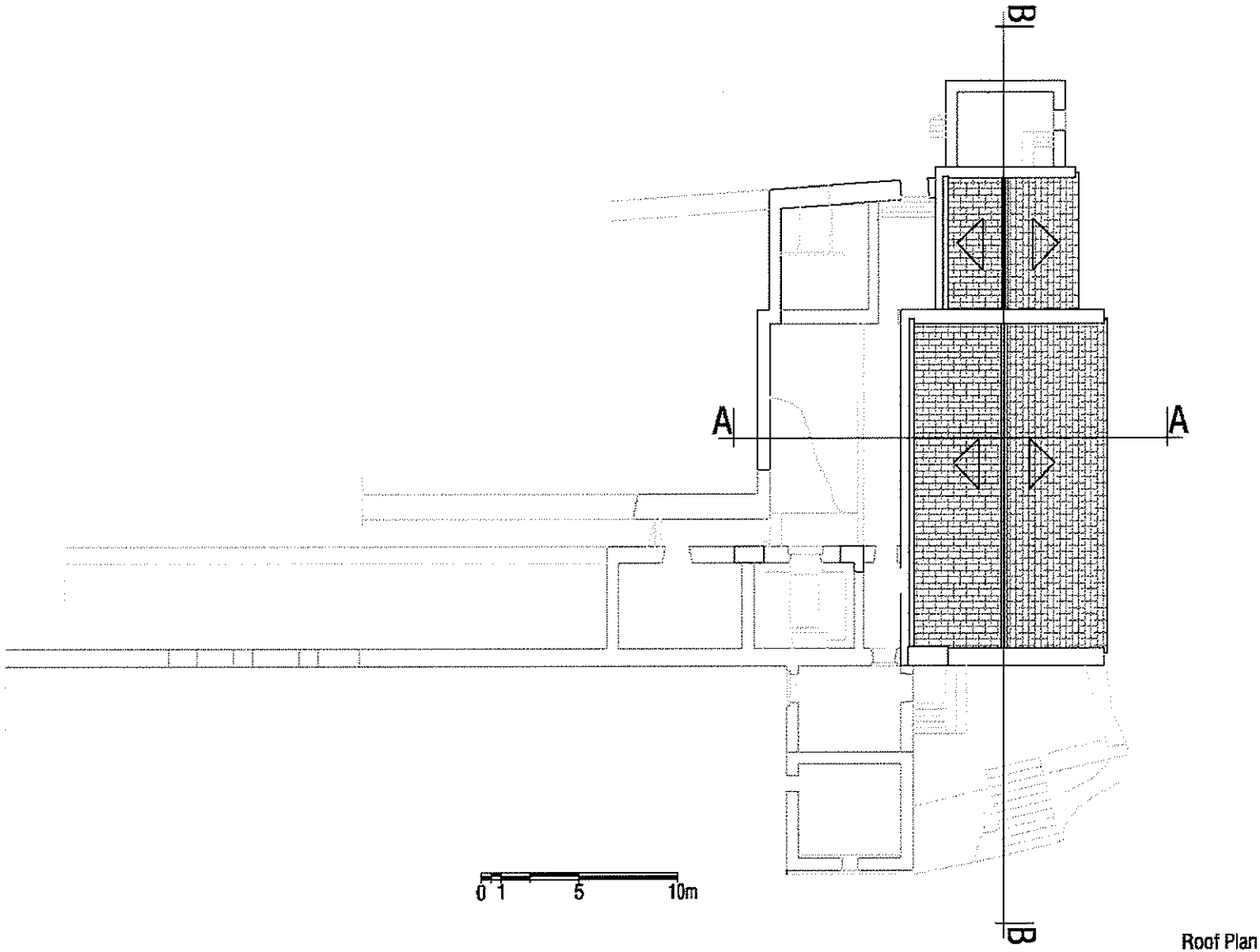
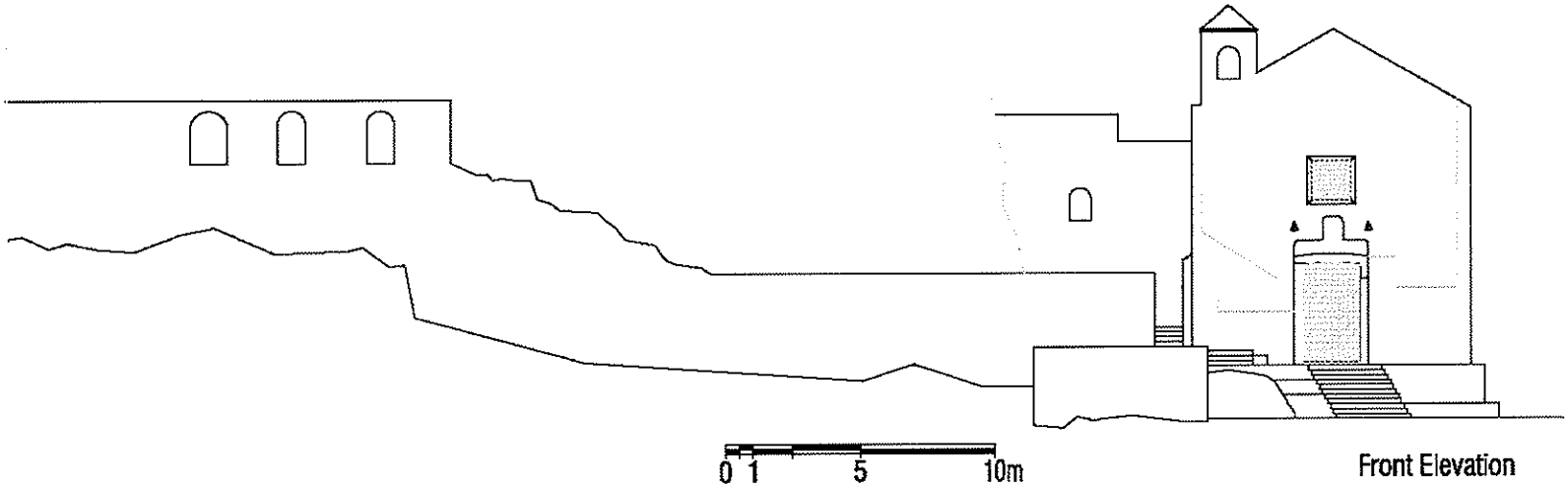


Fig. 9

Elevations



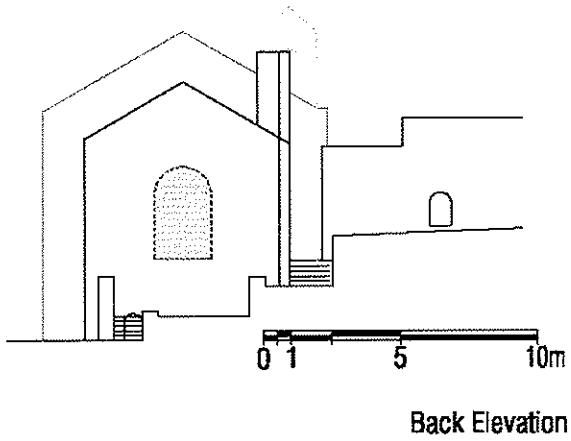
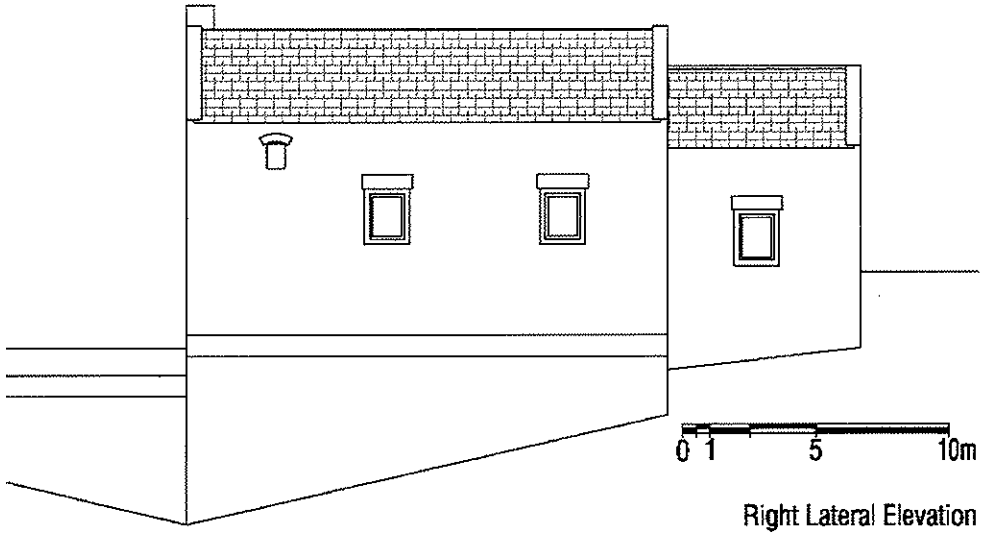


Fig. 10, 11


0 1 5 10m
Right Lateral Elevation

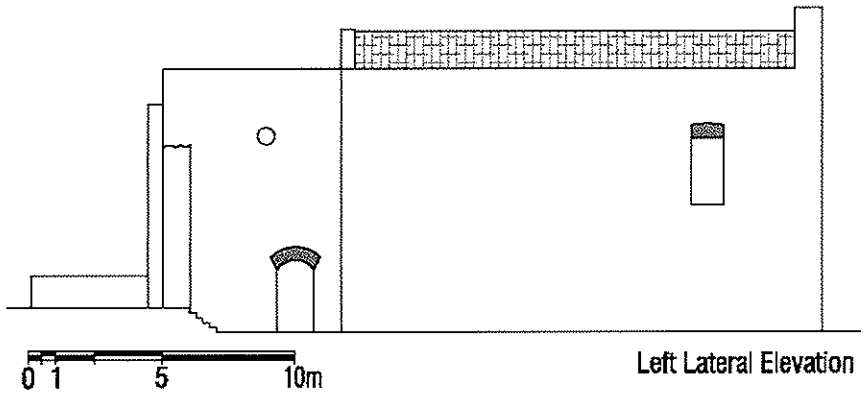
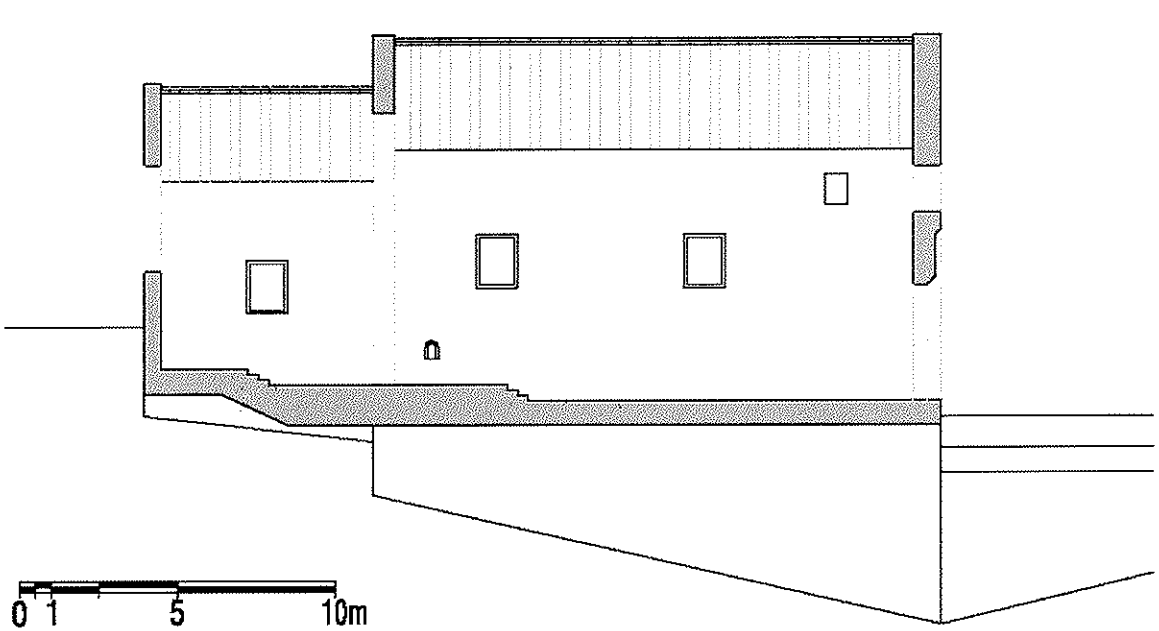

0 1 5 10m
Left Lateral Elevation

Fig. 12, 13

Sections



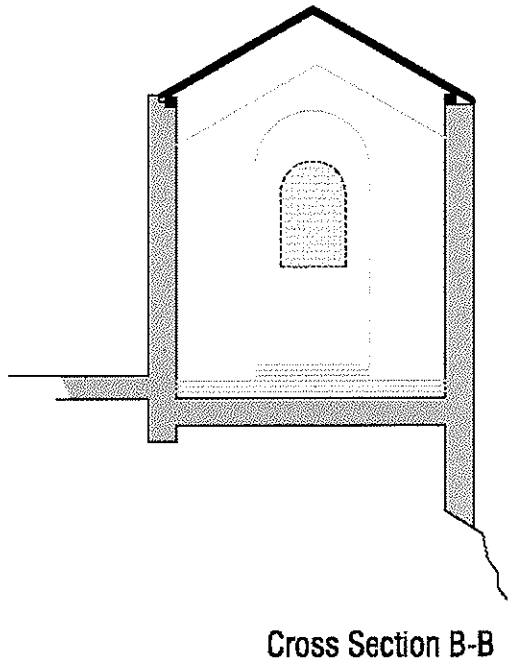


Fig. 14, 15

Additional material and documents



Fig. 16 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)

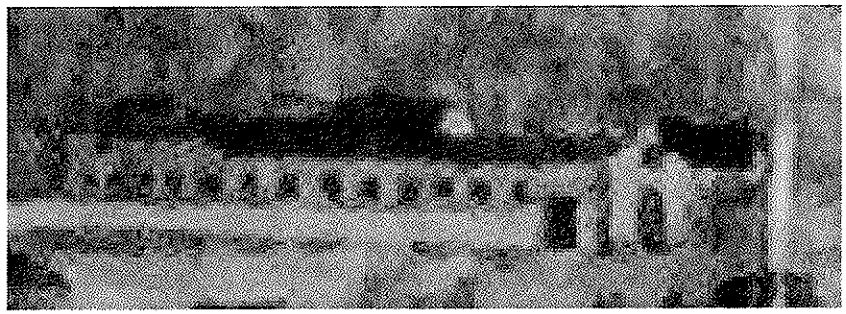


Fig. 17 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views

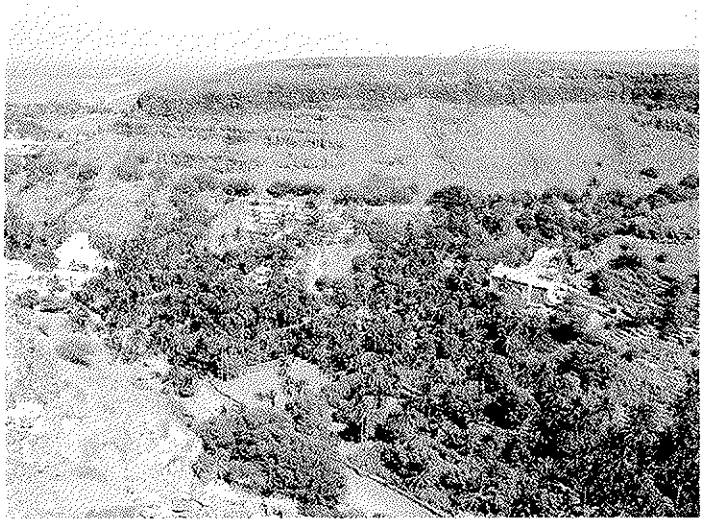
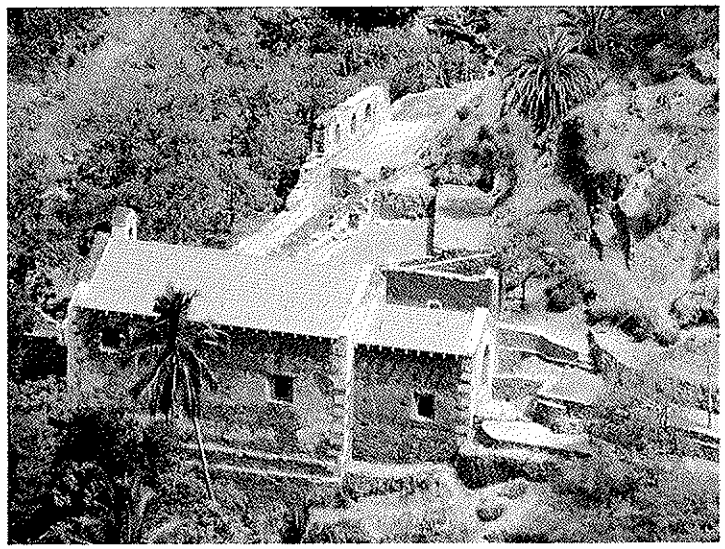


Fig. 18



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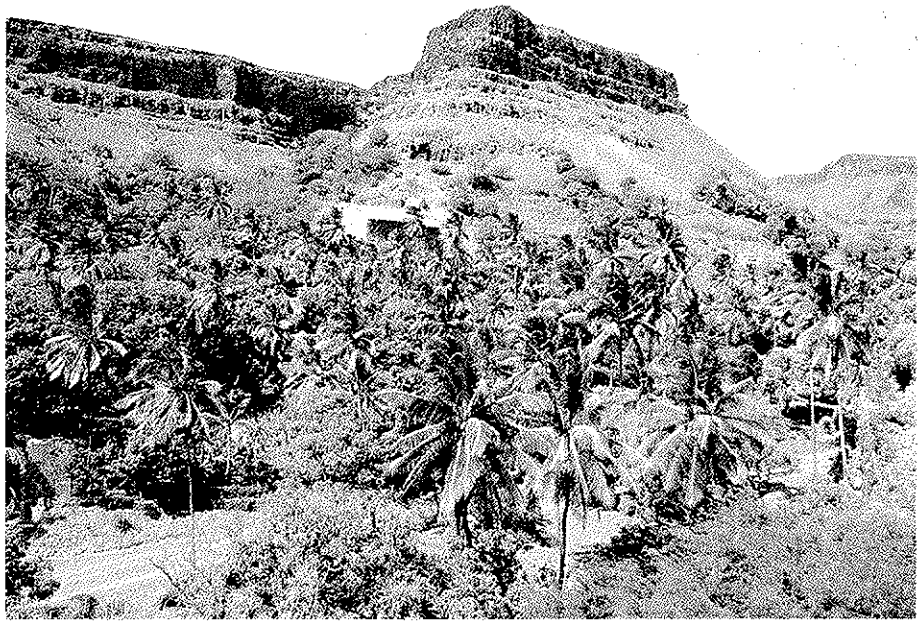


Fig. 20

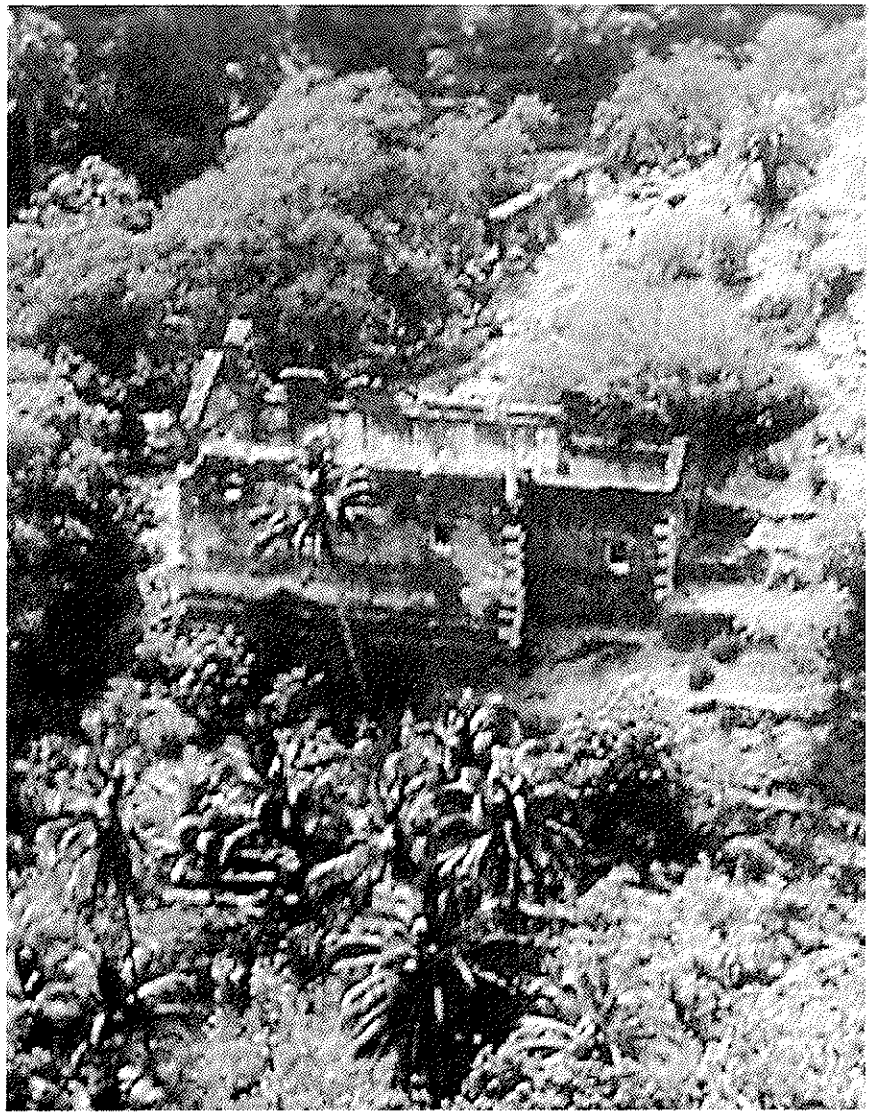


Fig. 21 (Source: photo C.G.P., Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA)

Detail views



Fig. 22 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 23 (Source: photo J. Estrela)



Fig. 24 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)

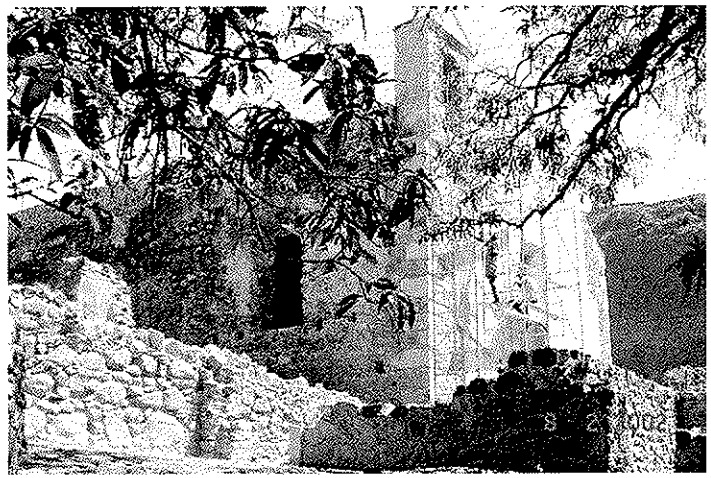


Fig. 25 (Source: photo D. Segura, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA)

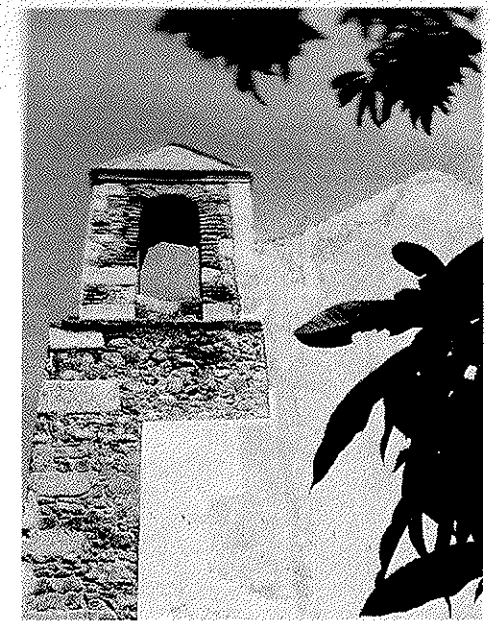


Fig. 26

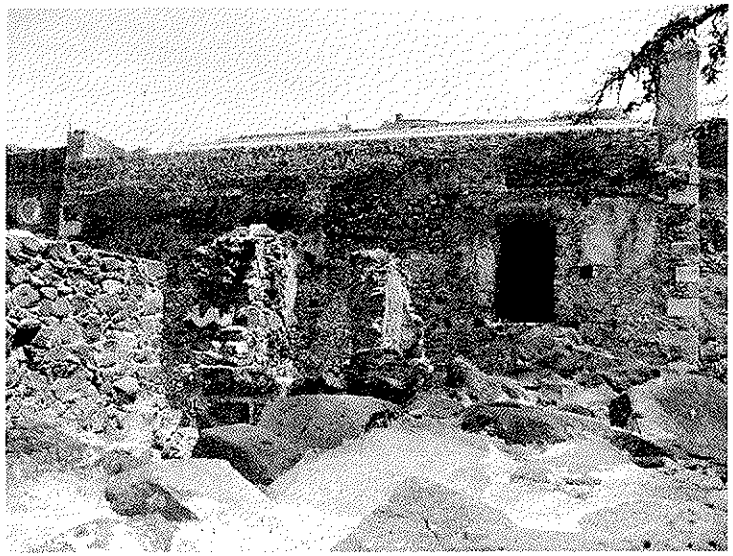
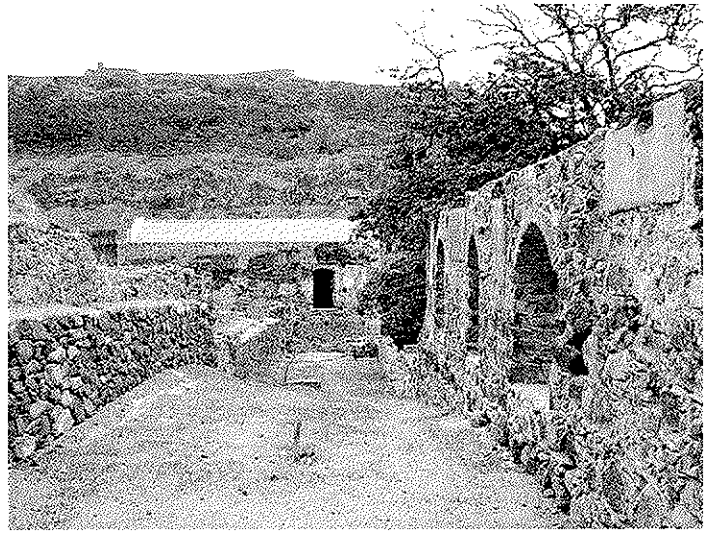


Fig. 27



Fig. 29



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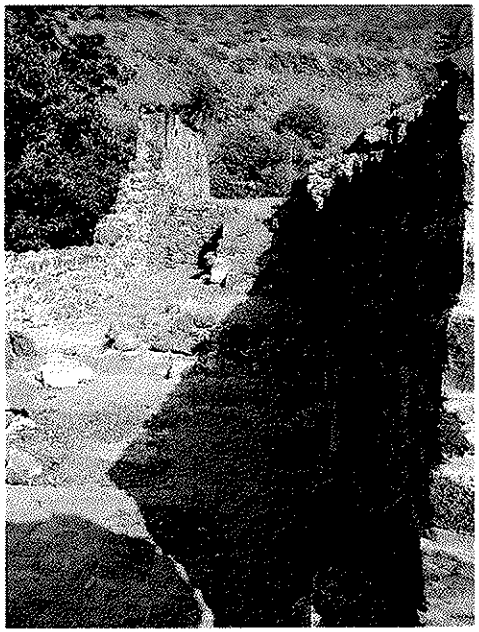
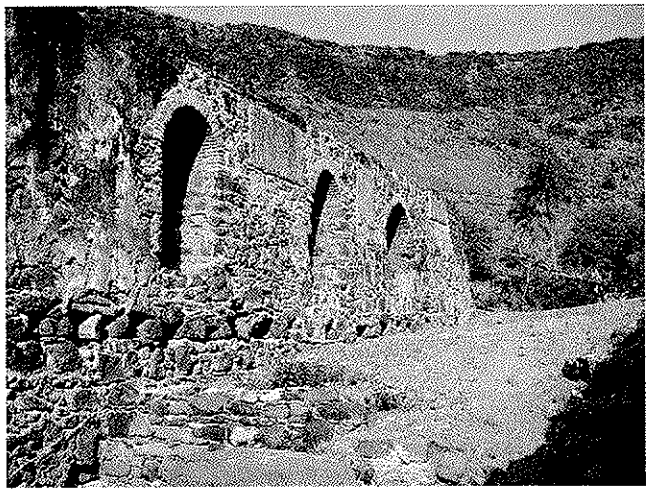


Fig. 30



Fig. 31



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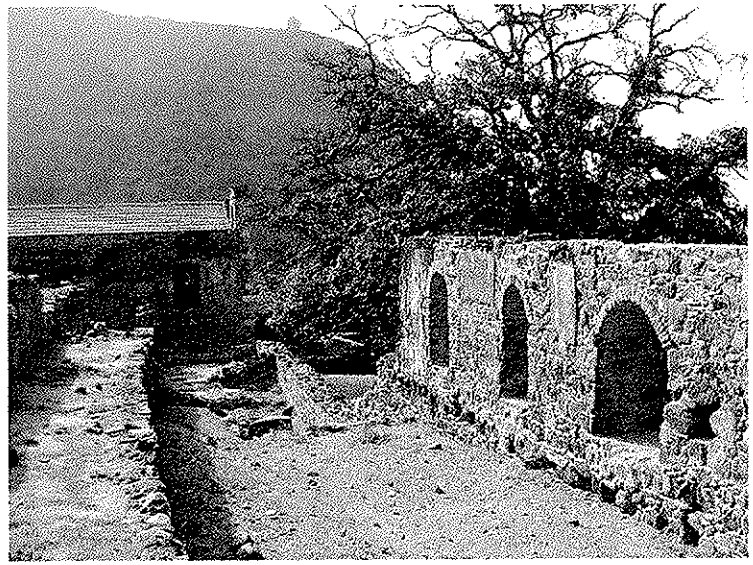
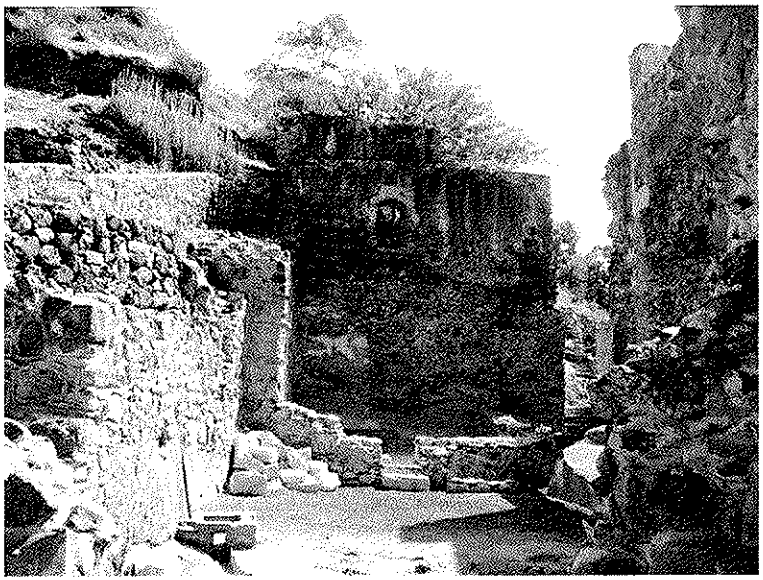


Fig. 32



Fig. 34



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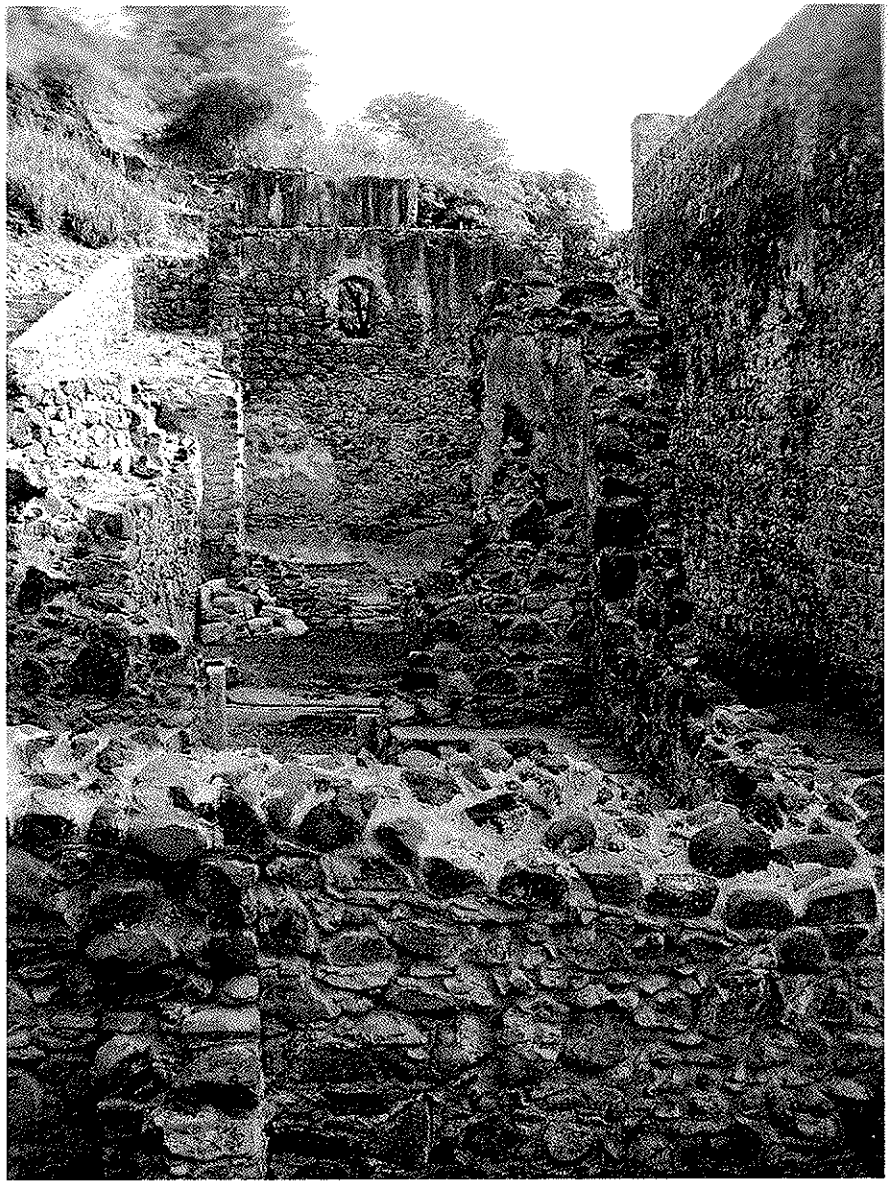

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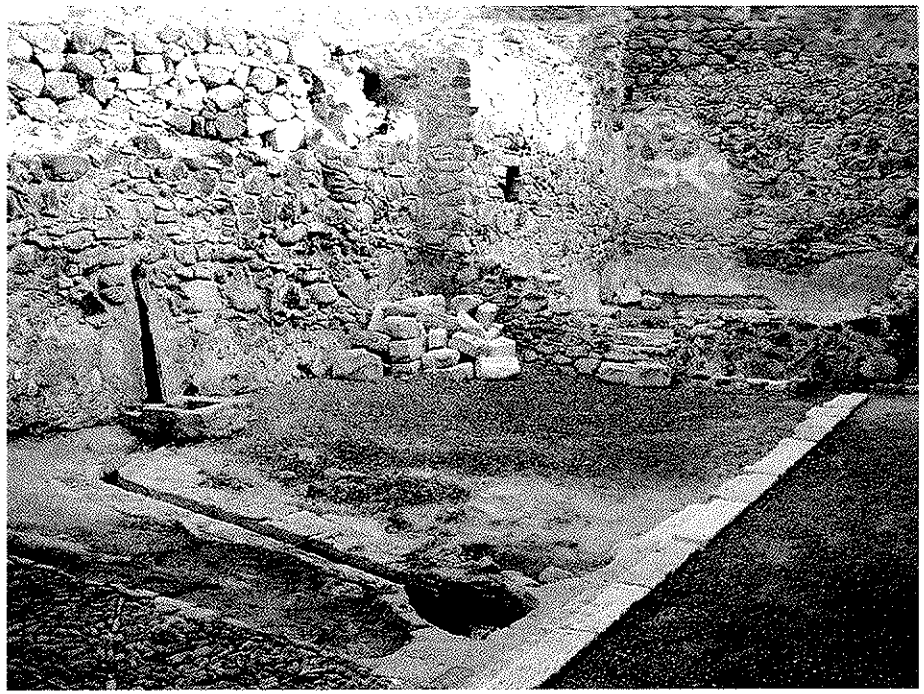

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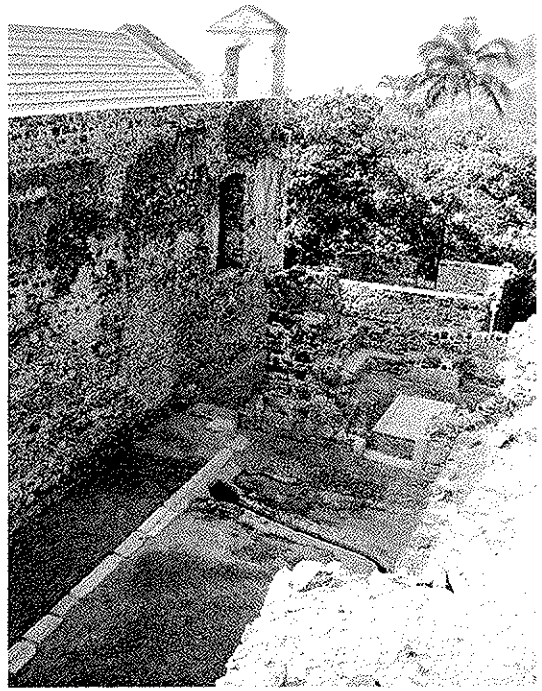


Fig. 38



Fig. 39

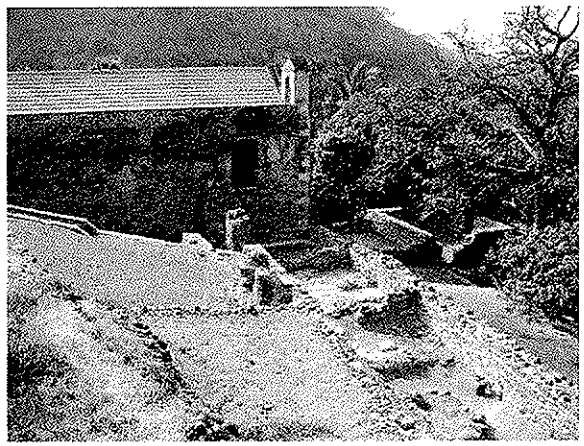
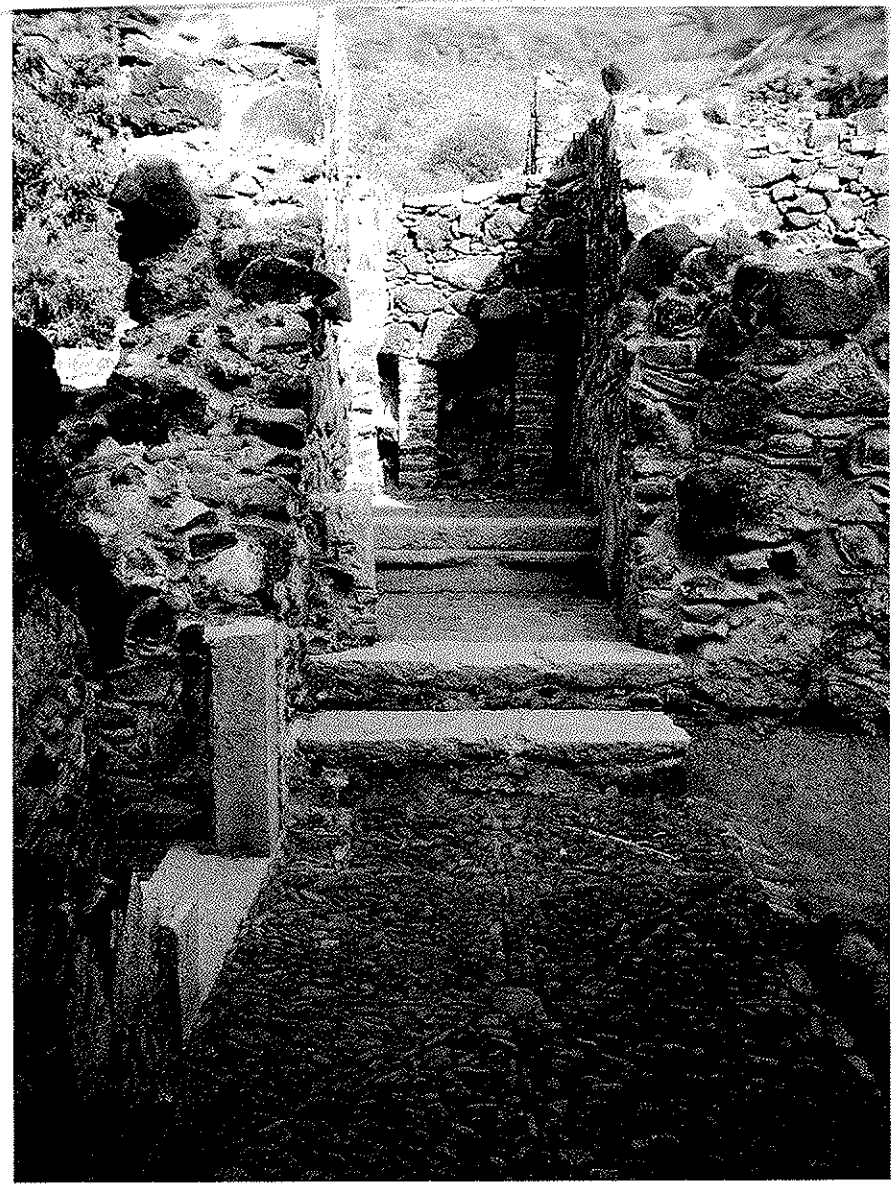


Fig. 40



Fig. 41



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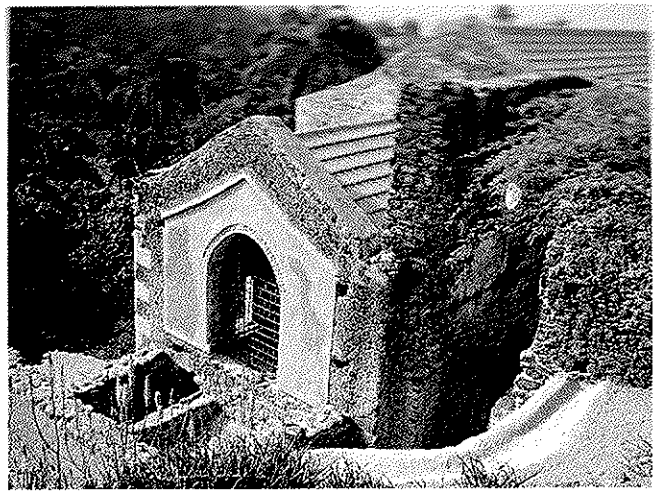

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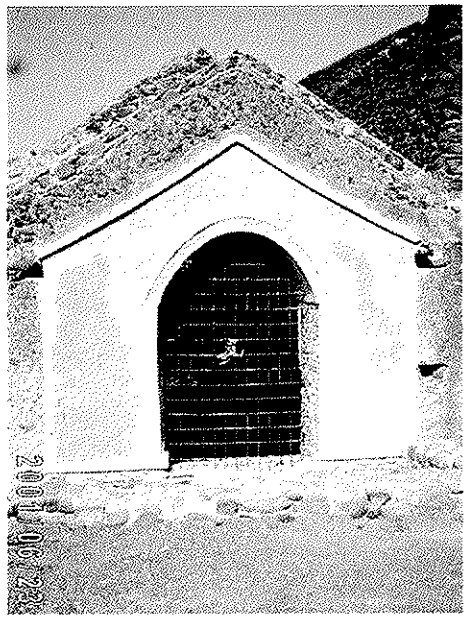

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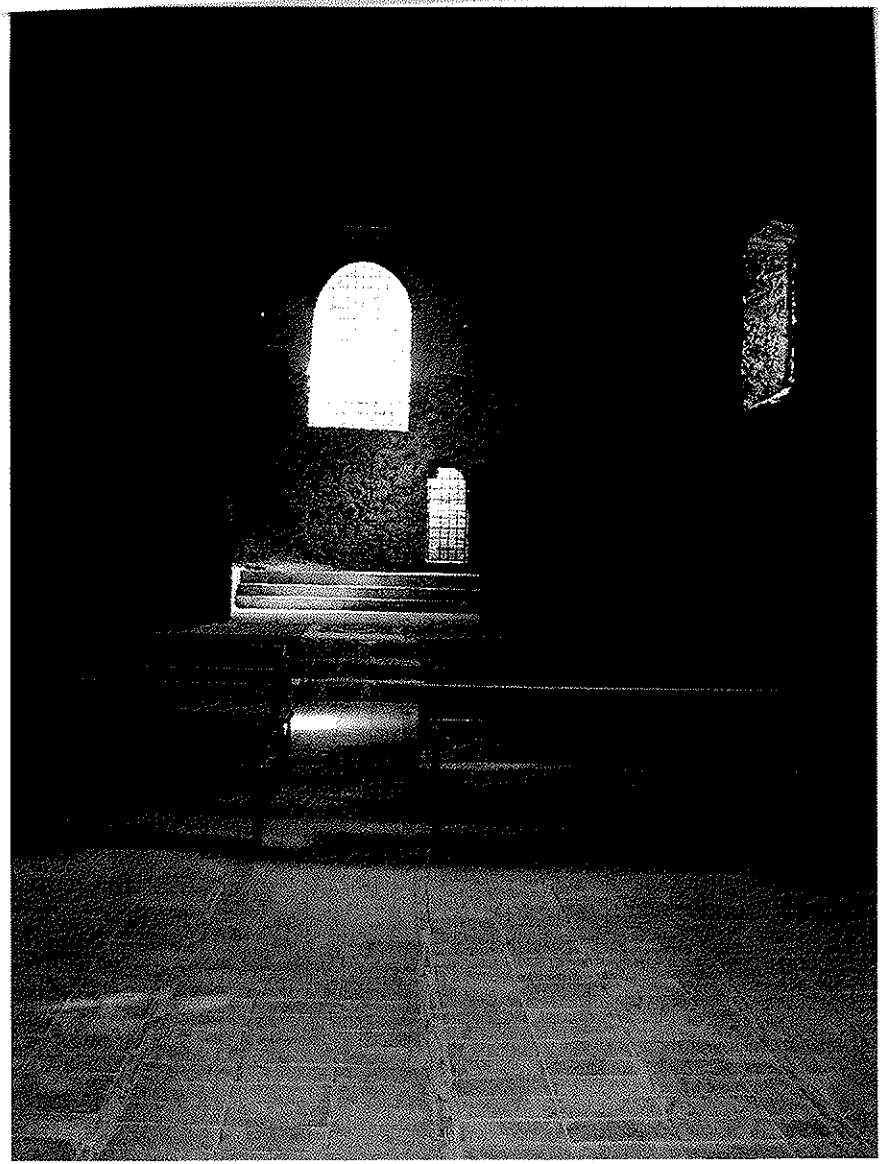

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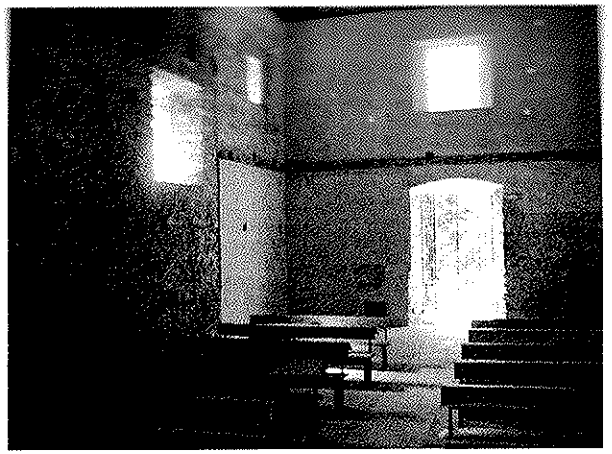

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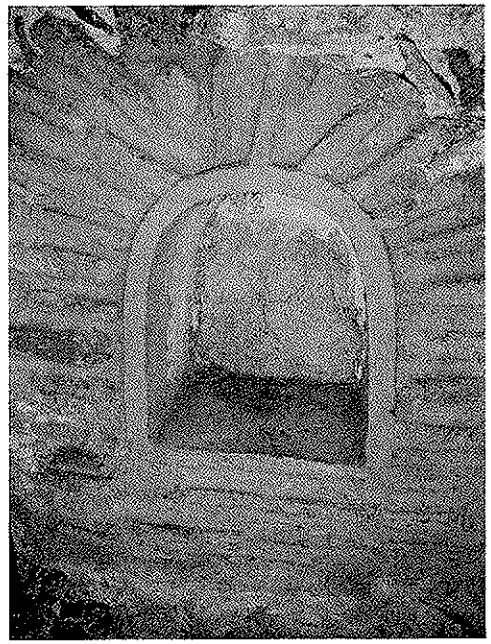


Fig. 47



Fig. 48

Masonry, mortar and plaster



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52

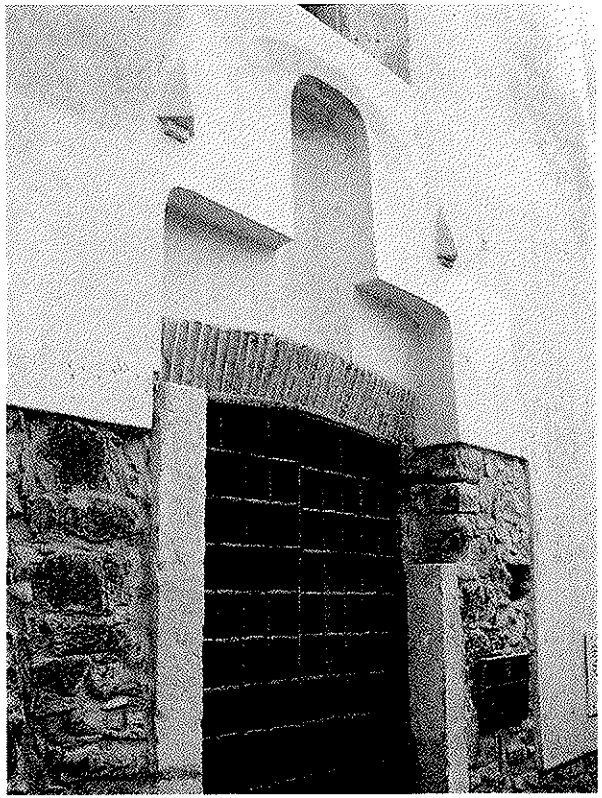
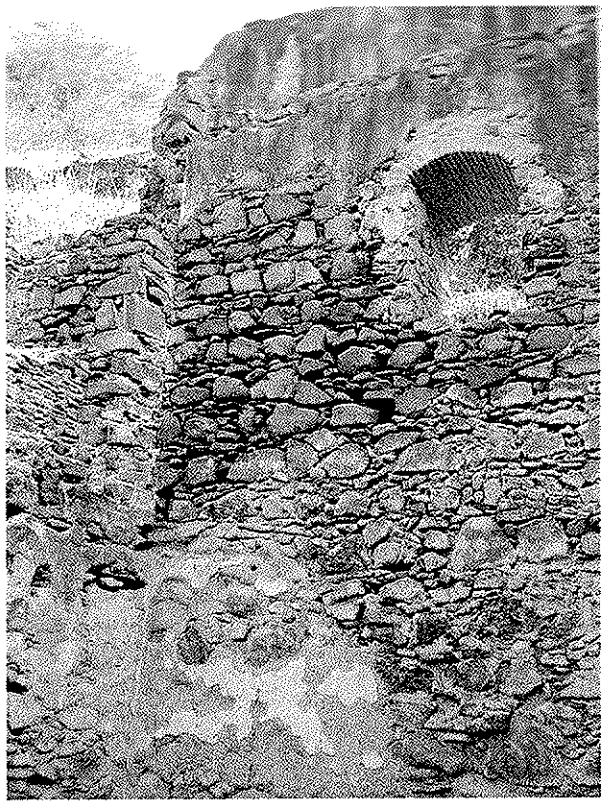


Fig. 53





Fig. 55



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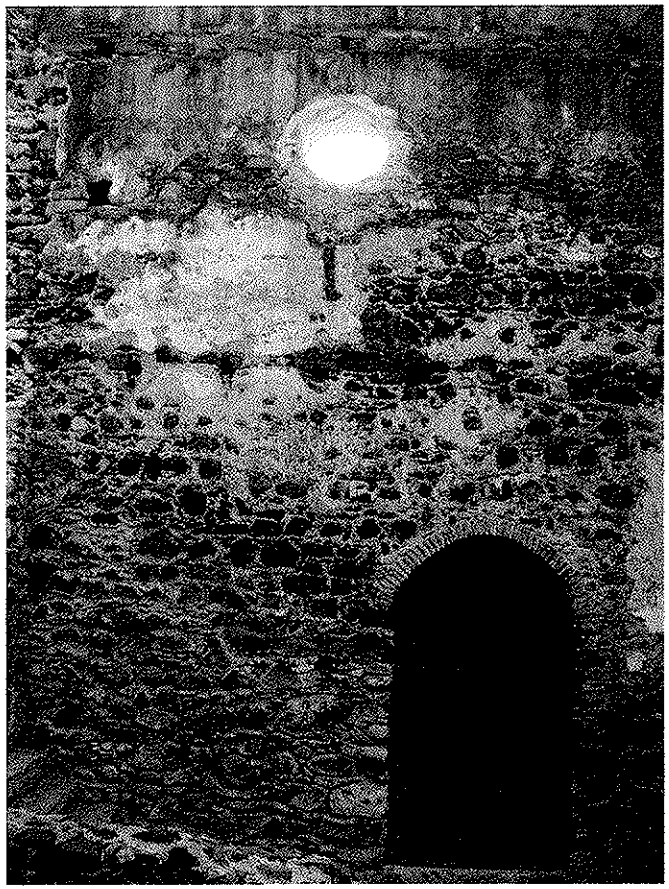


Fig. 56



Fig. 57

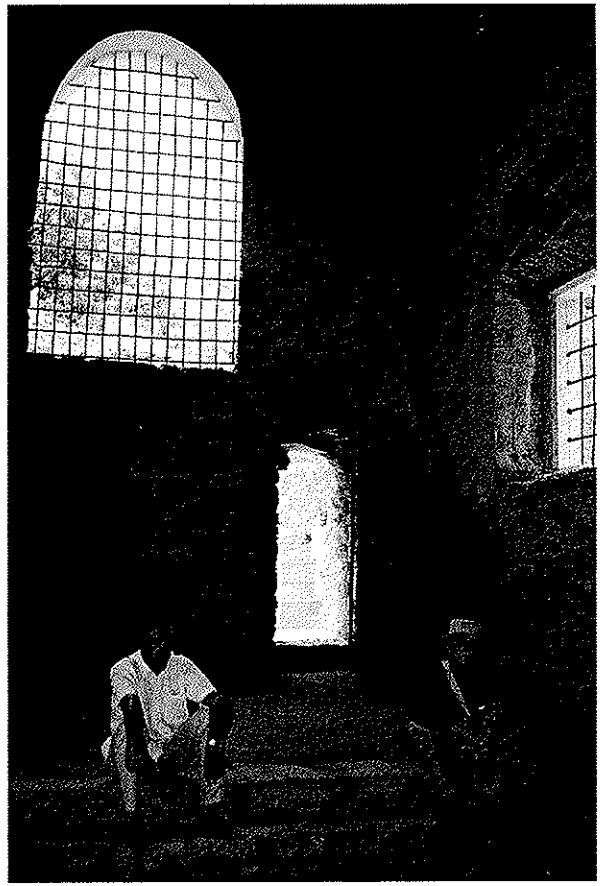
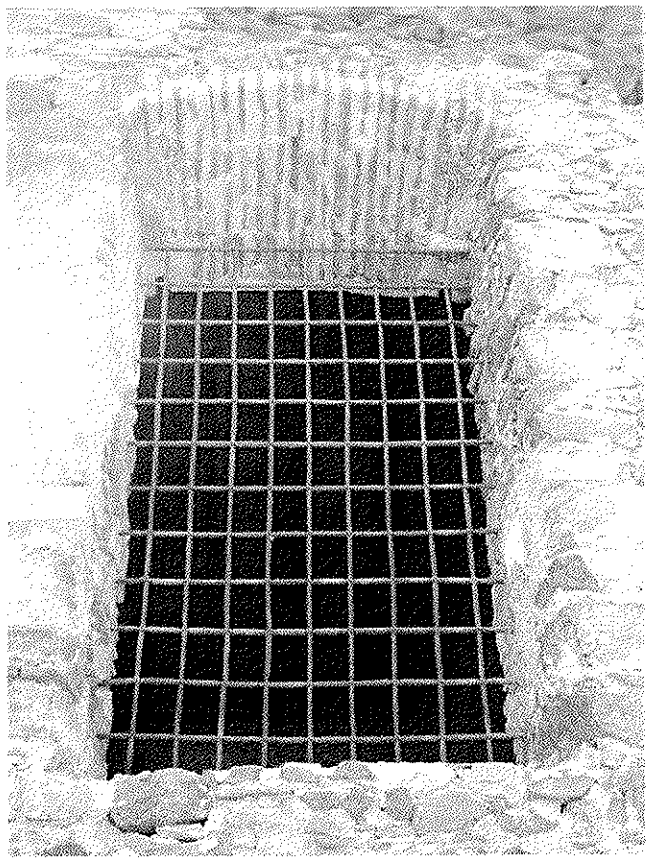


Fig. 58



Fig. 59



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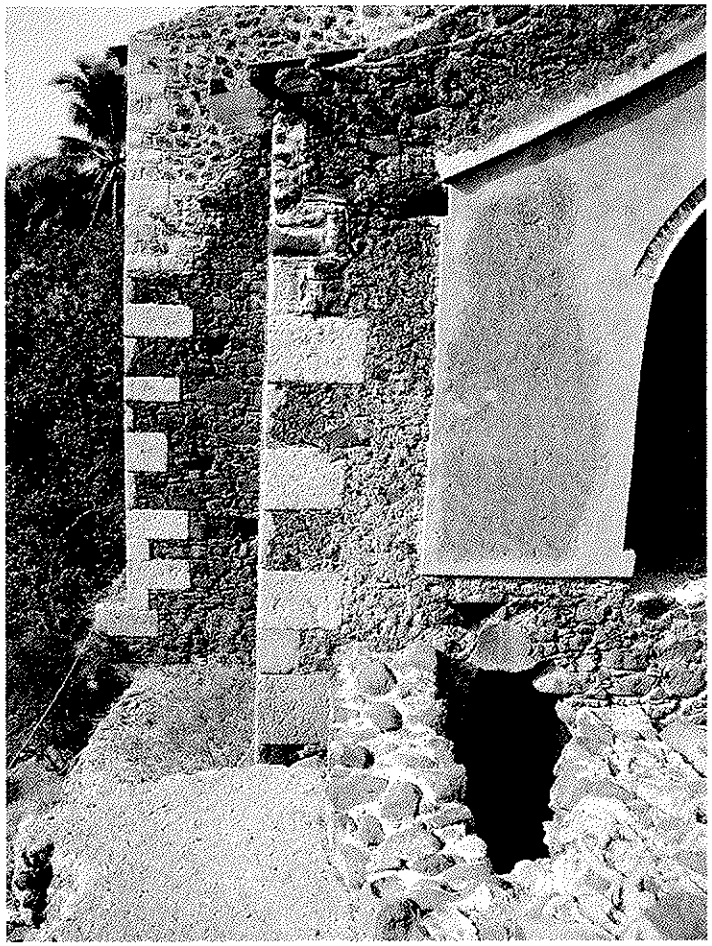


Fig. 61



Fig. 62 (Source: photo D. Segura, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation/INYPSA)



Fig. 64



Fig. 63

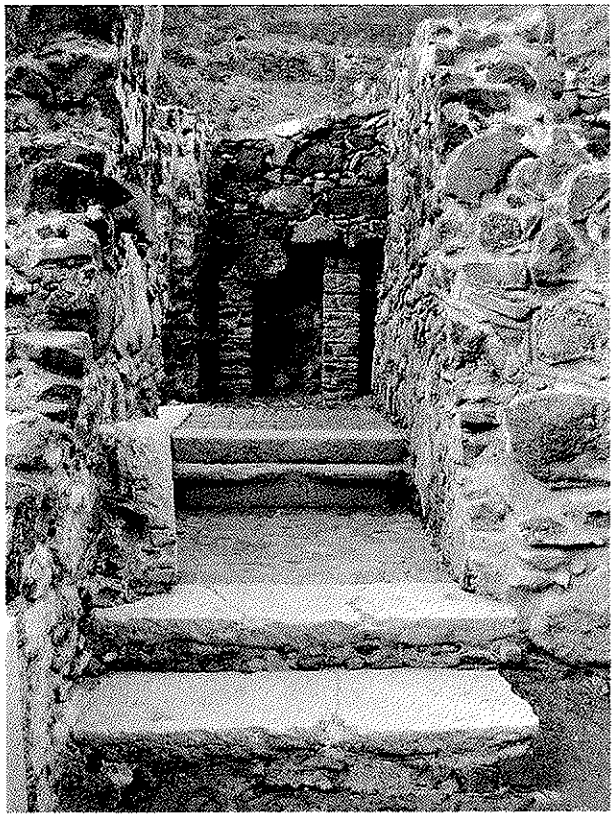


Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67

Tombstones



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71

Floor

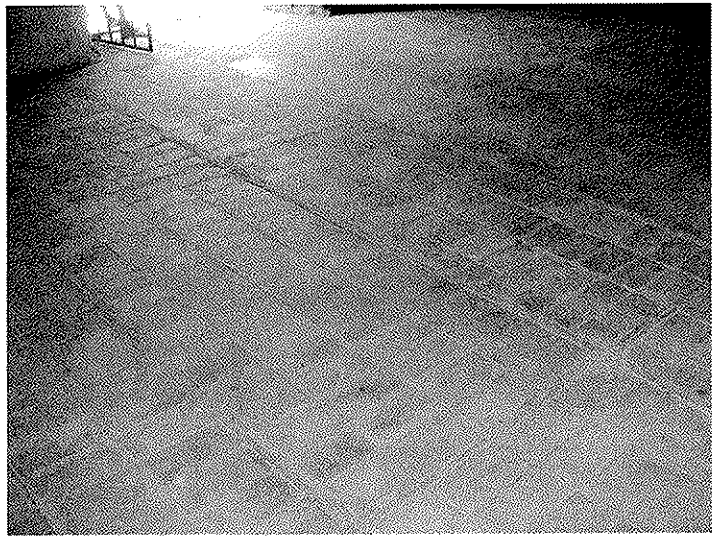
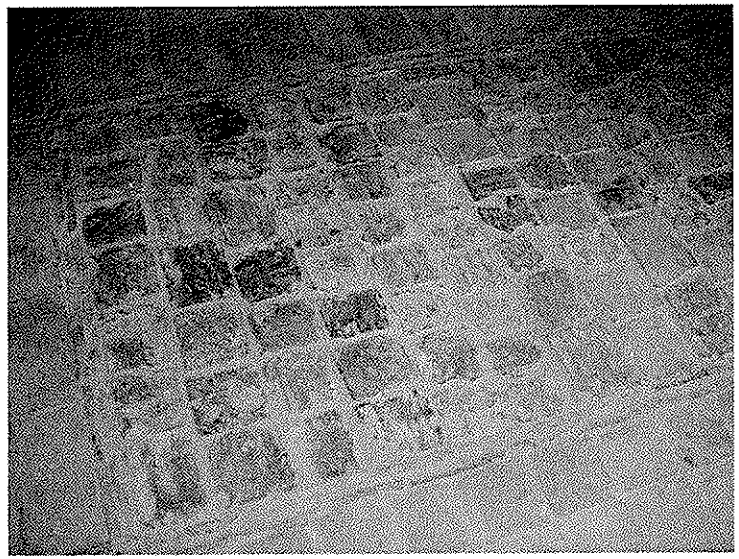


Fig. 72



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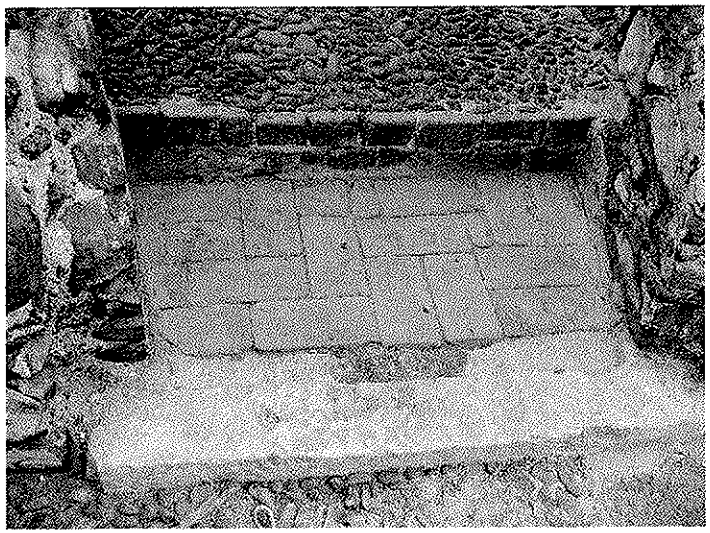


Fig. 74



Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 78



Fig. 77



Fig. 79



Fig. 81



Fig. 80

Tile marks

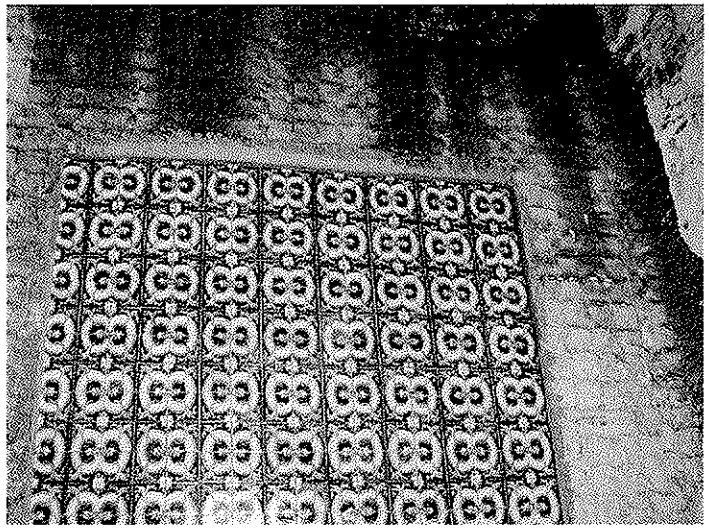


Fig. 82



Fig. 83

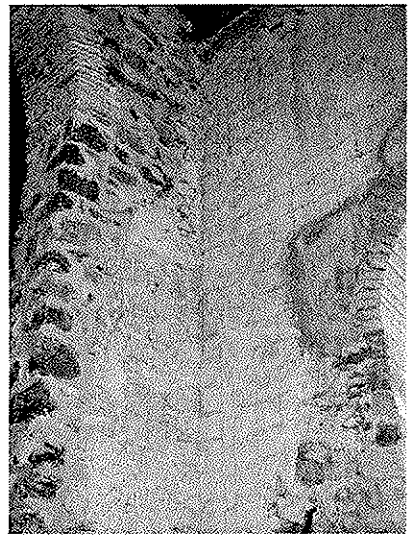


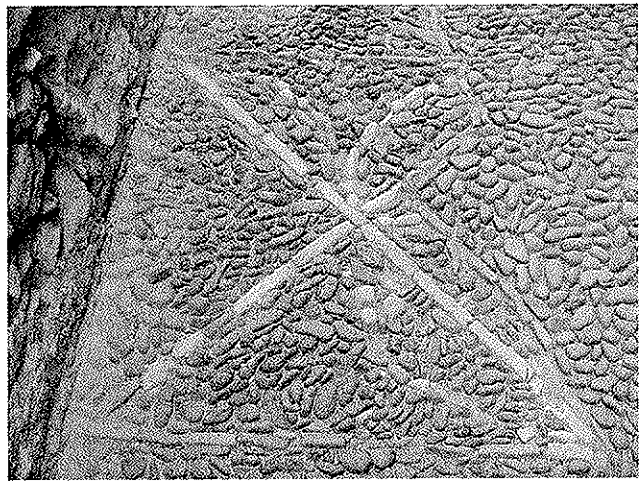
Fig. 84

Others



Fig. 85


Fig. 86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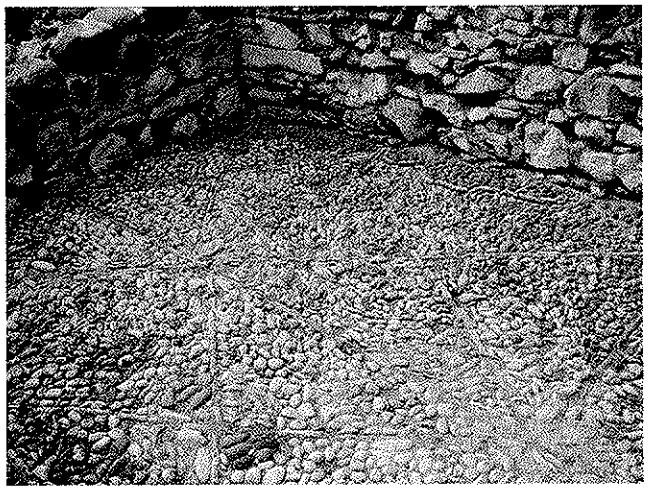


Fig. 88


Fig. 89

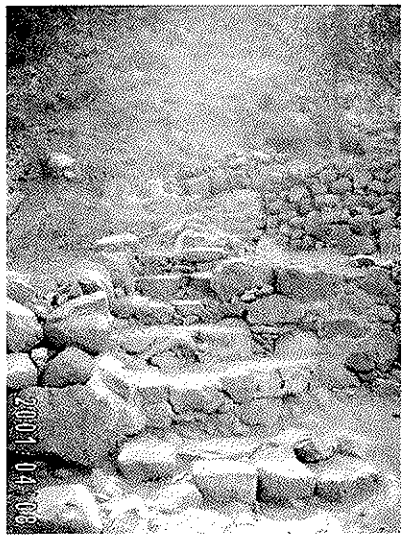


Fig. 90



Fig. 91



Fig. 92

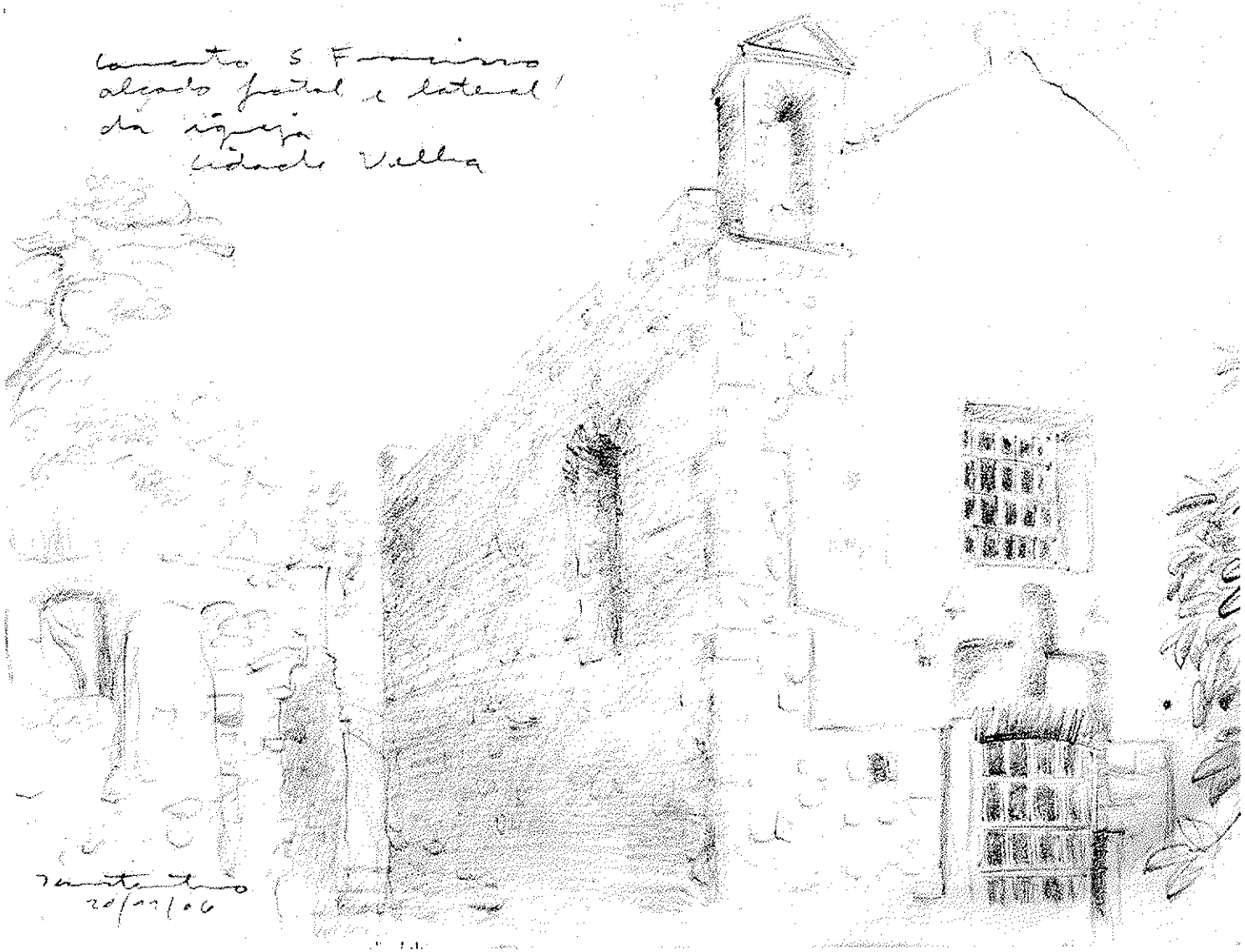

Convento S Francisco
alçado frontal e lateral
da igreja
Cidade Velha

Fig. 93



Fig. 94

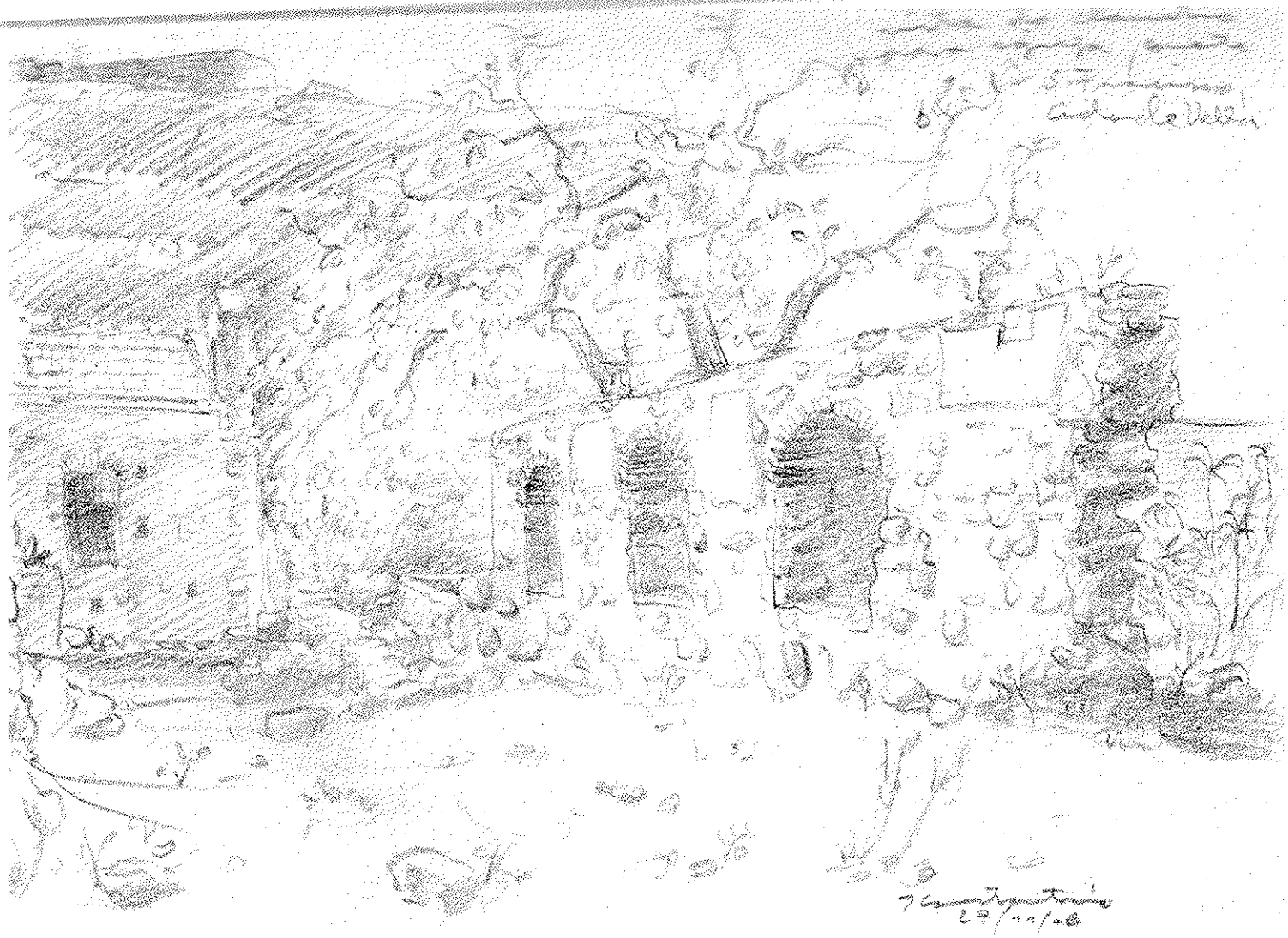


Fig. 95

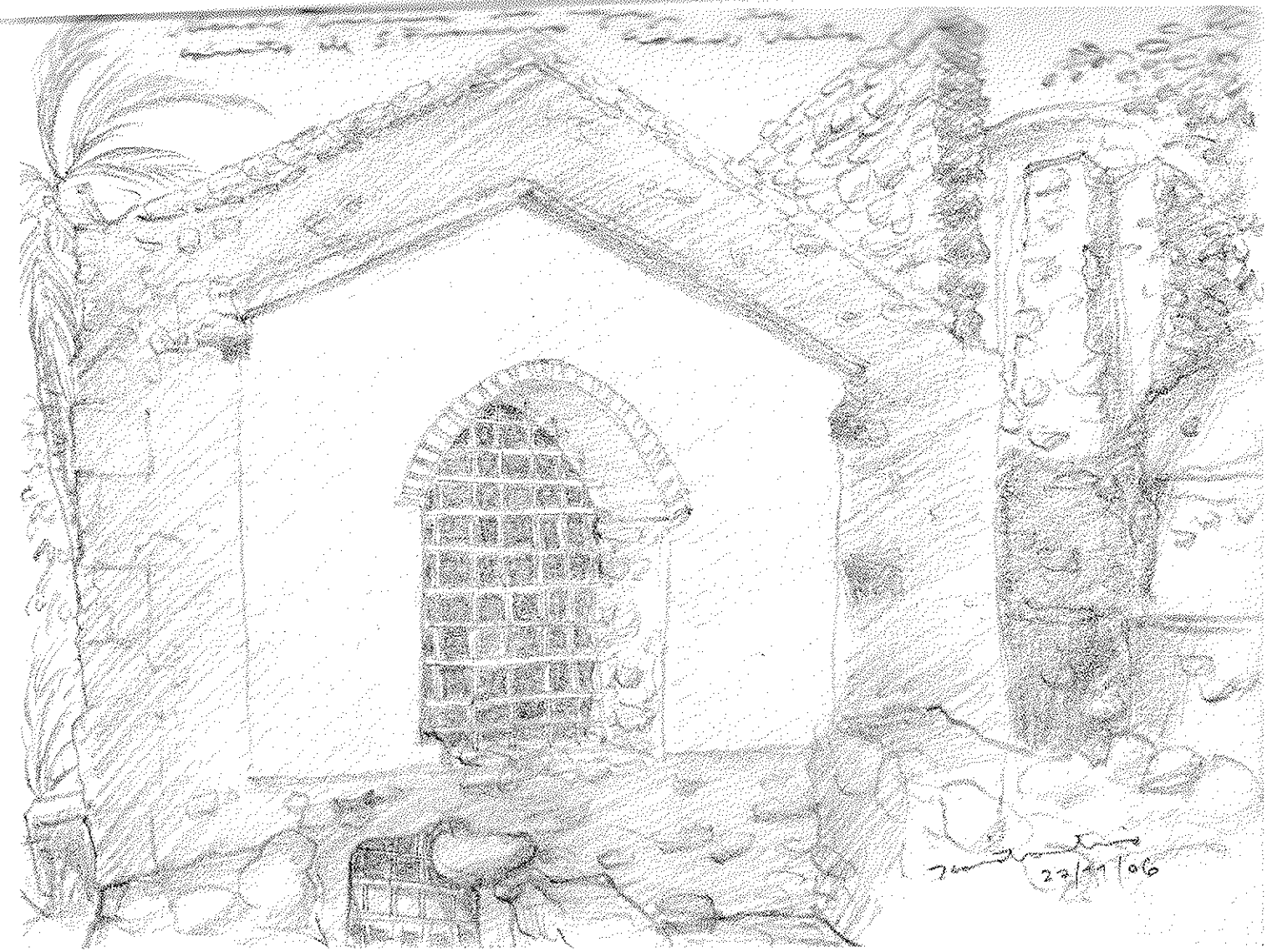


Fig. 96



Fig. 97



Fig. 98

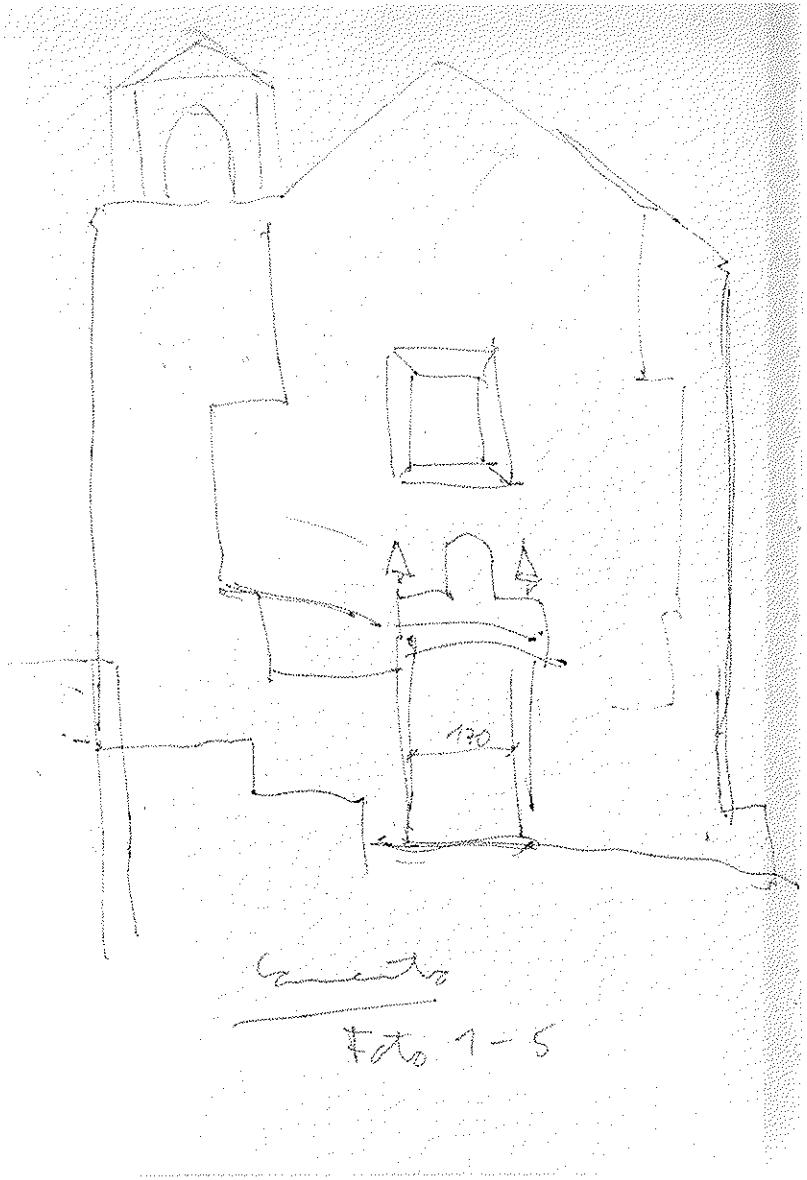


Fig. 99

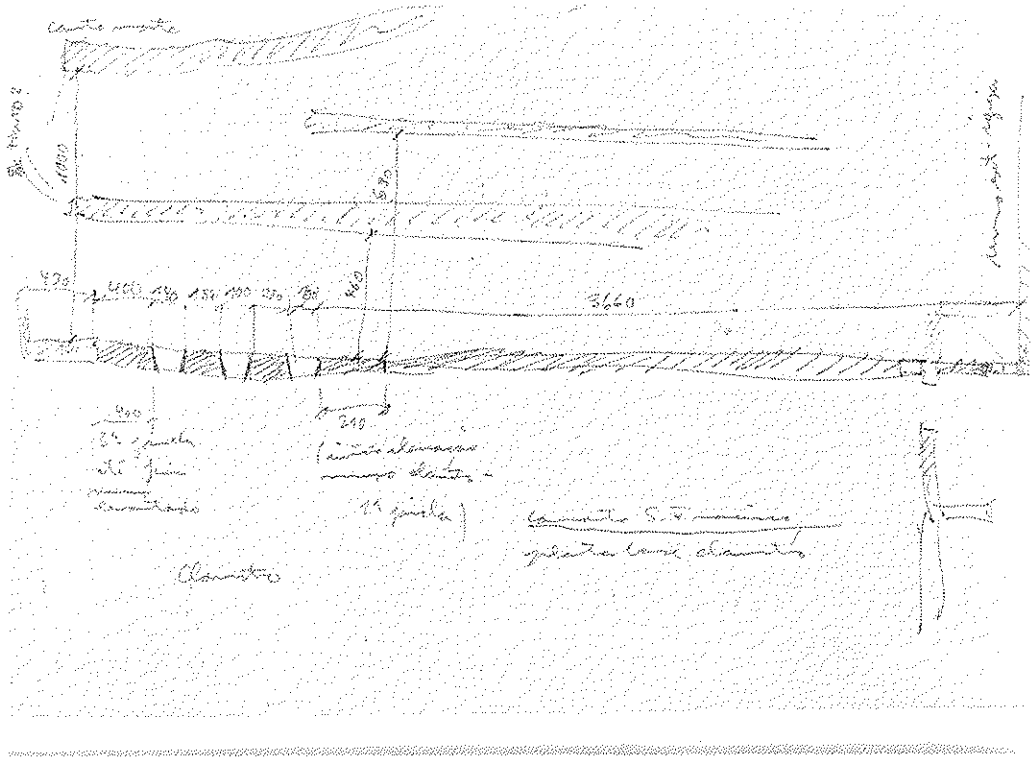


Fig. 100

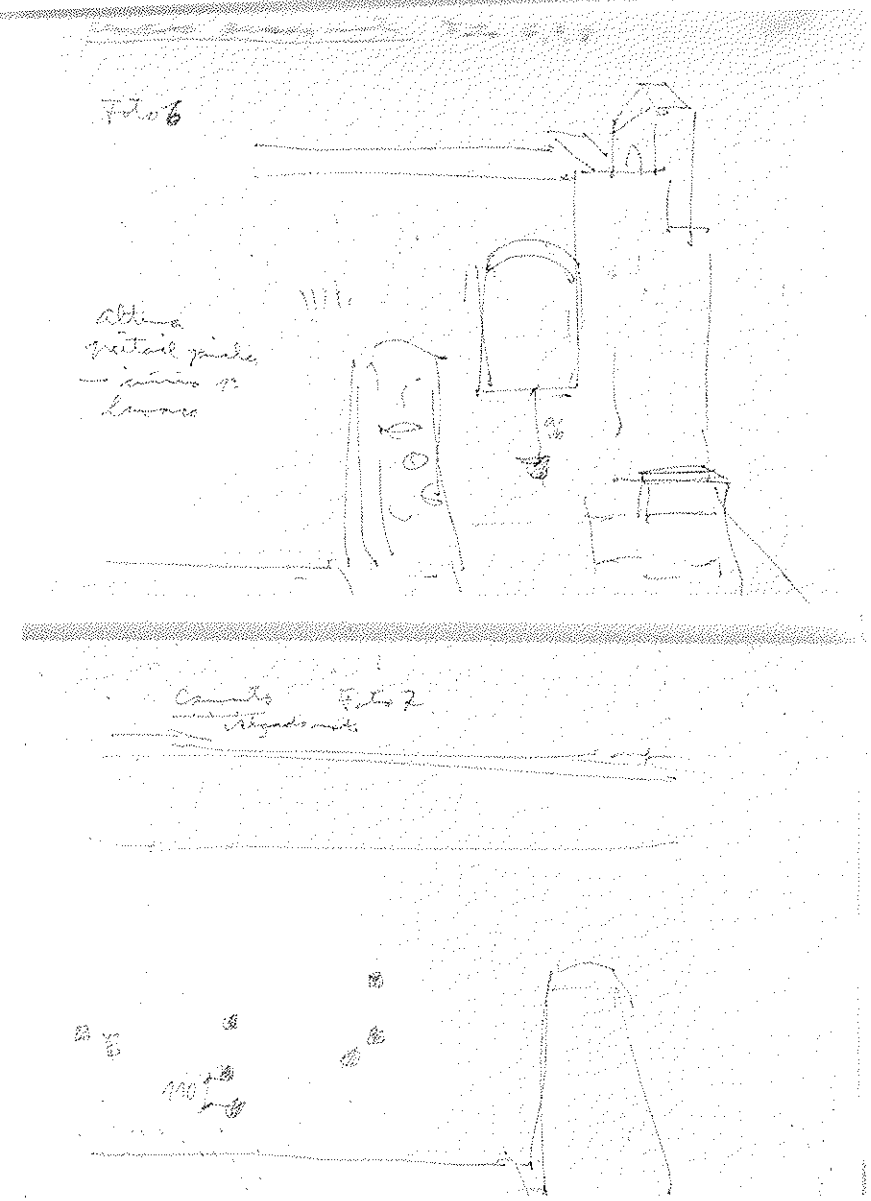


Fig. 101

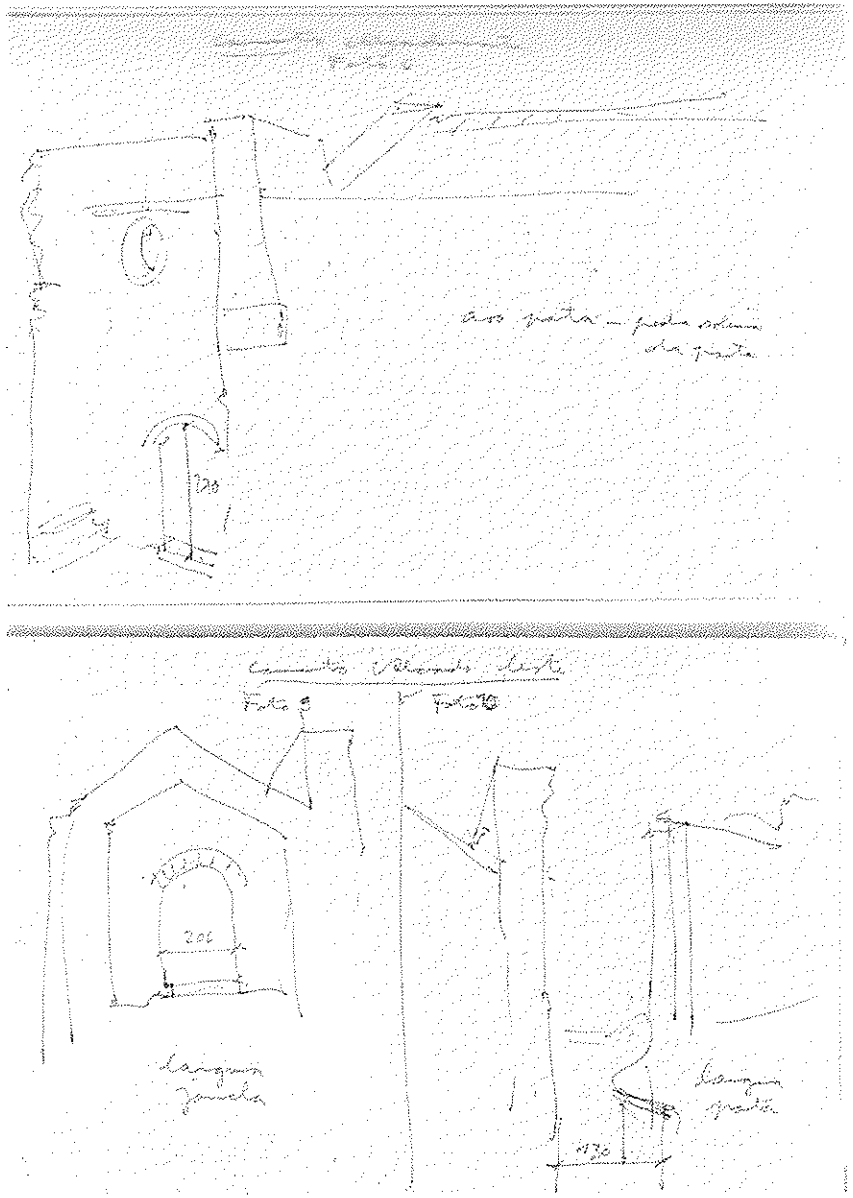
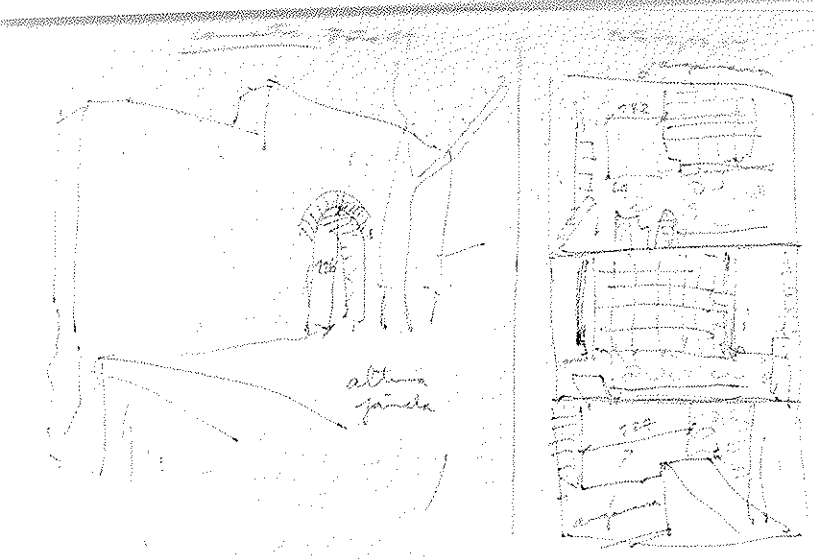
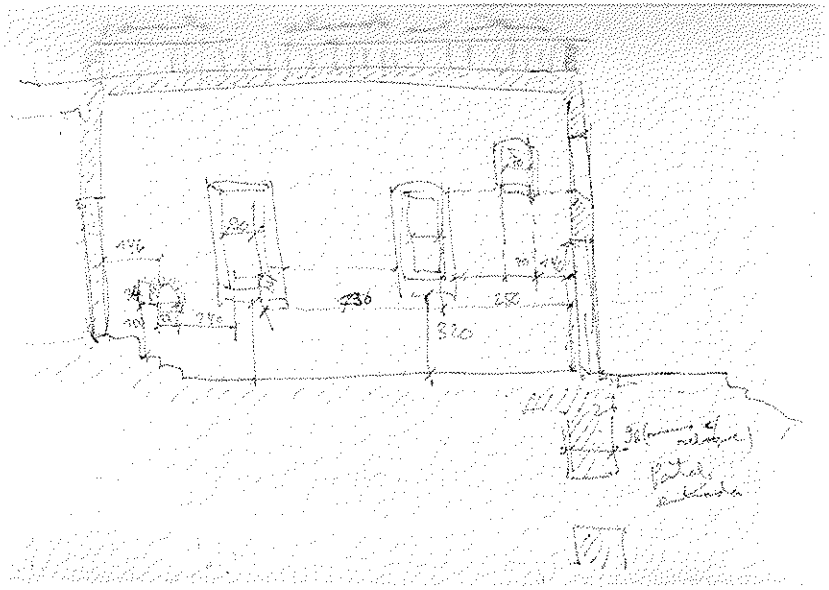


Fig. 102





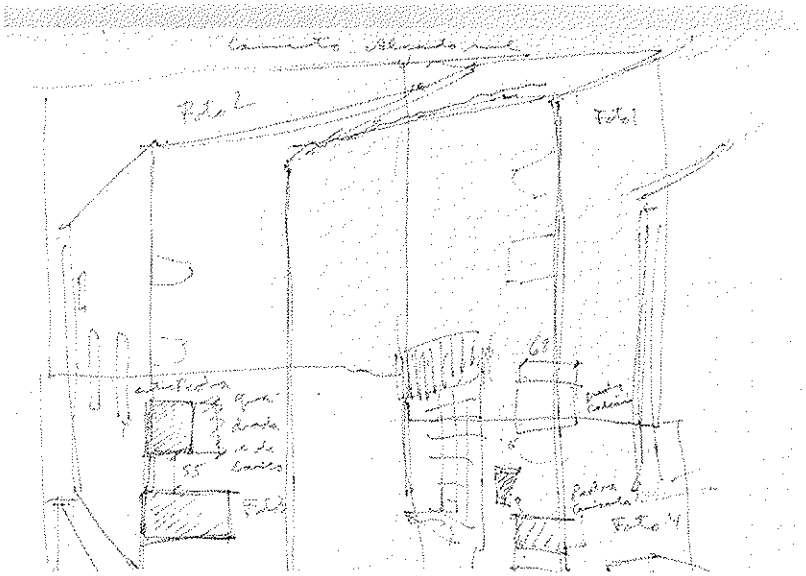


Fig. 103

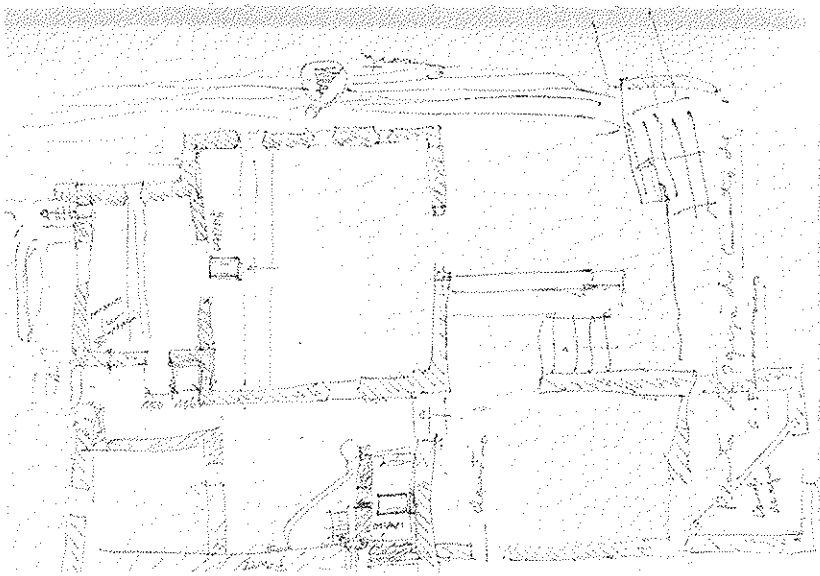


Fig. 104

1.2.6 The Church/Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*

Fig. 1-42
Note: for further detailed information see excavation reports 2006/2007 in Annex 2.4

Site plans

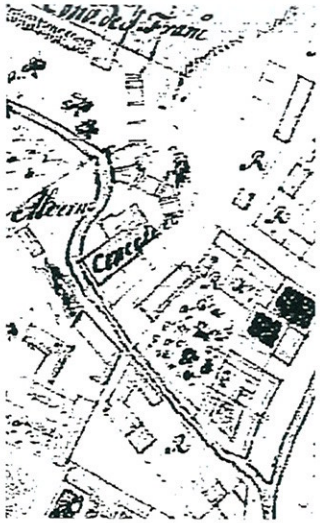


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

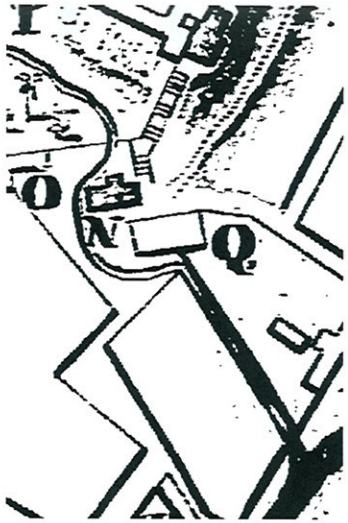


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

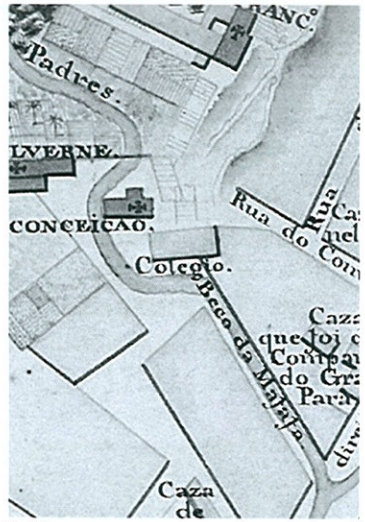


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

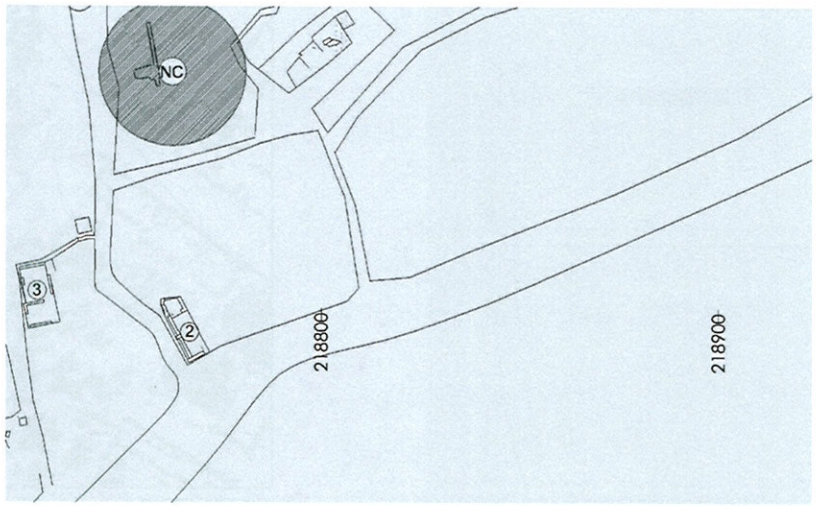


Fig. 4

Plans



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

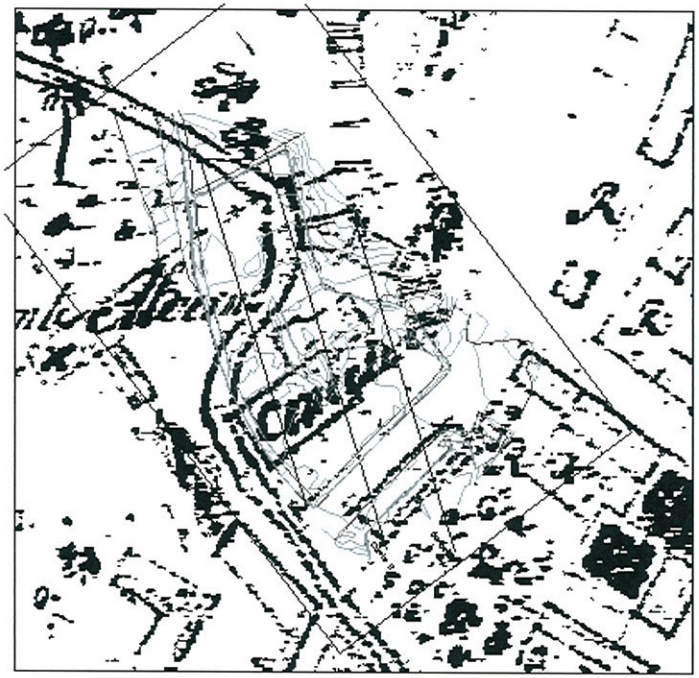


Fig. 8 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769, K. Richter, R. Pires)

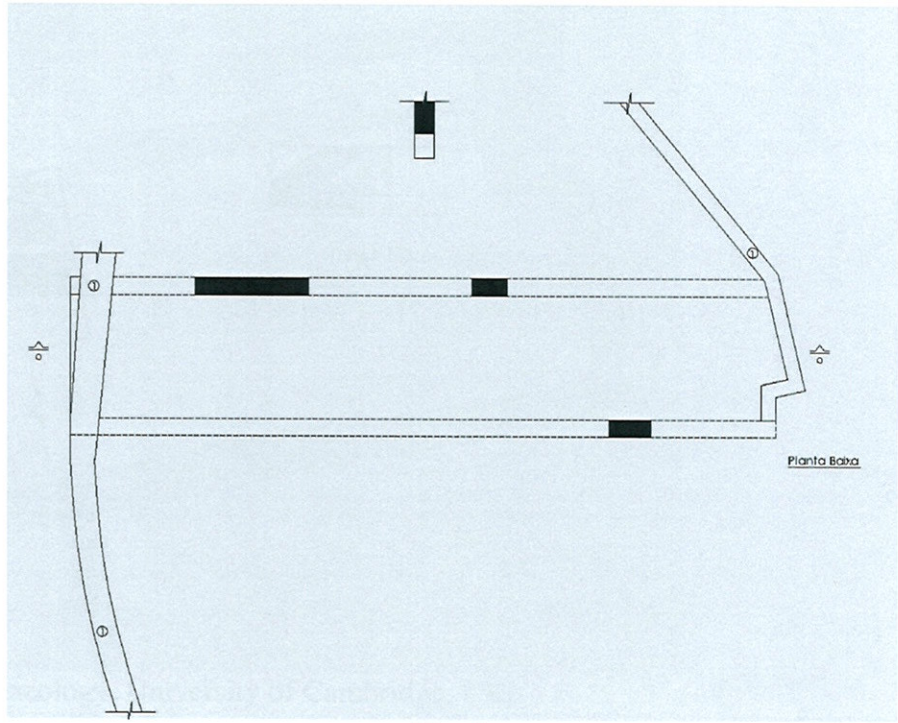


Fig. 9

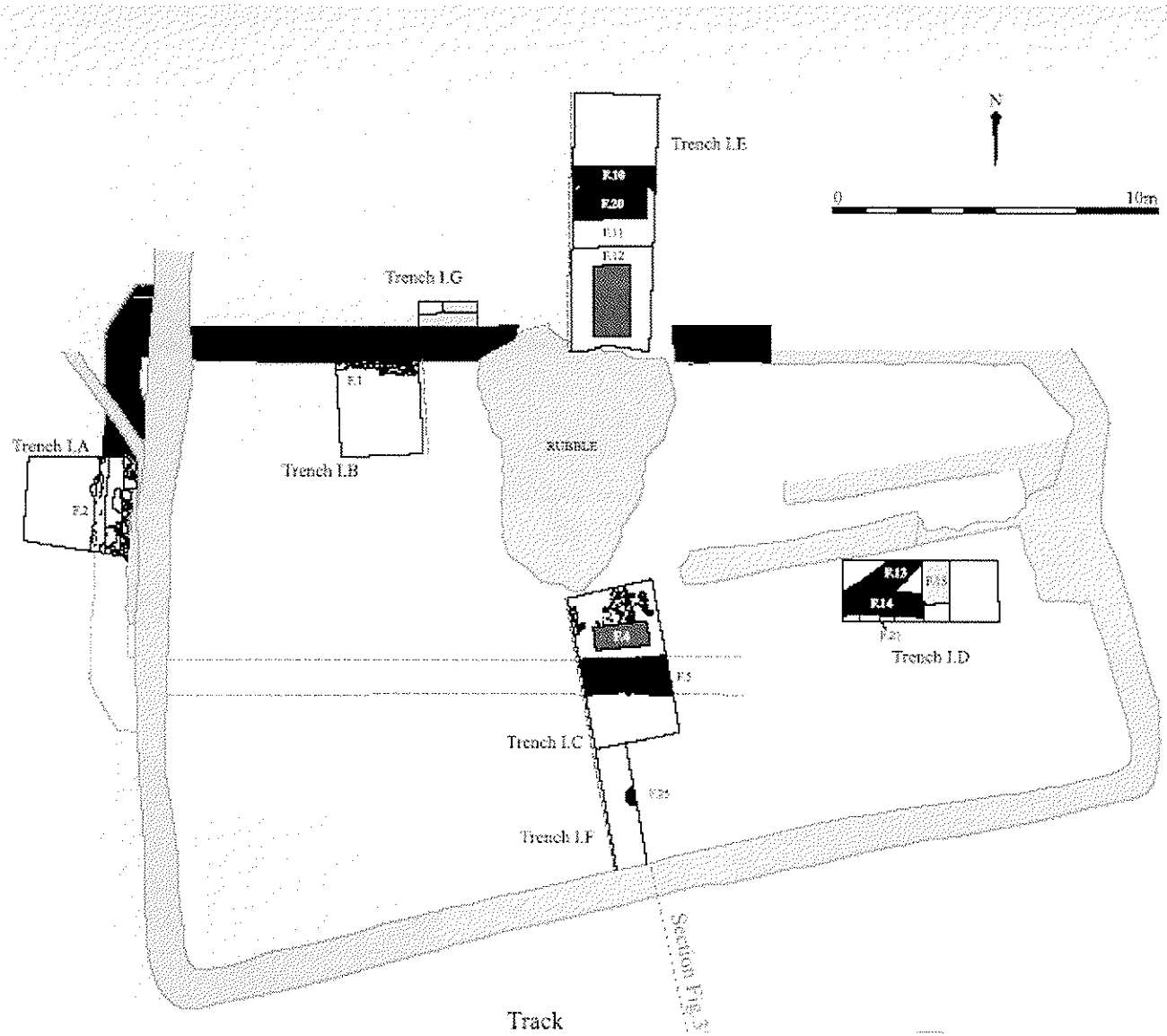


Fig. 10 (Source: CAU/Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK)

Sections



Fig. 11

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

Technical details and structural constructive elements

Masonry and mortar



Fig. 16

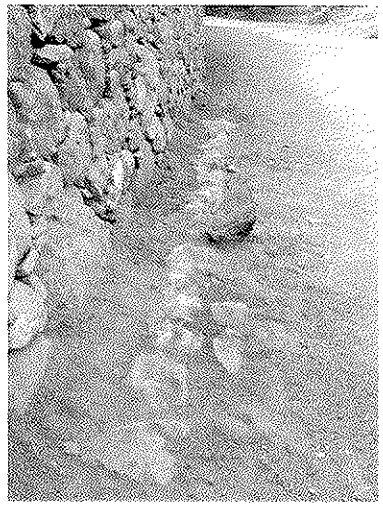


Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19 (Source: photo L. Costa)



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

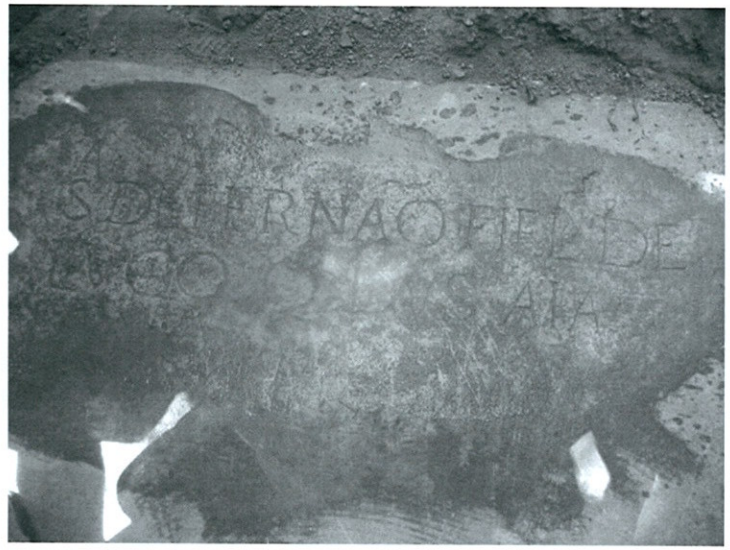


Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29 (Source: photo L. Costa)



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33

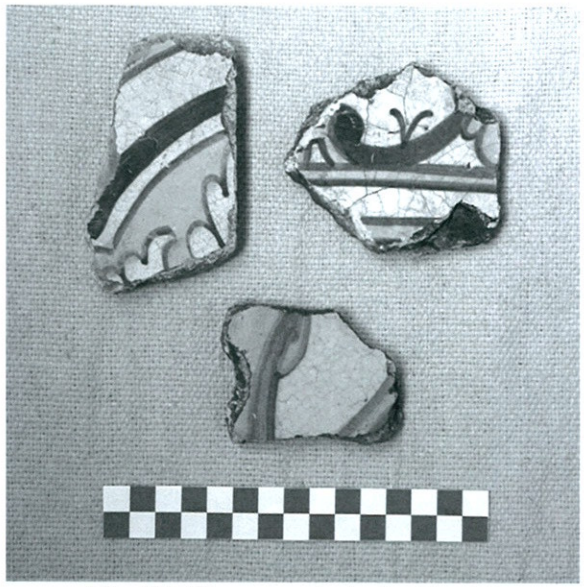


Fig. 34 (Source: photo L. Costa)

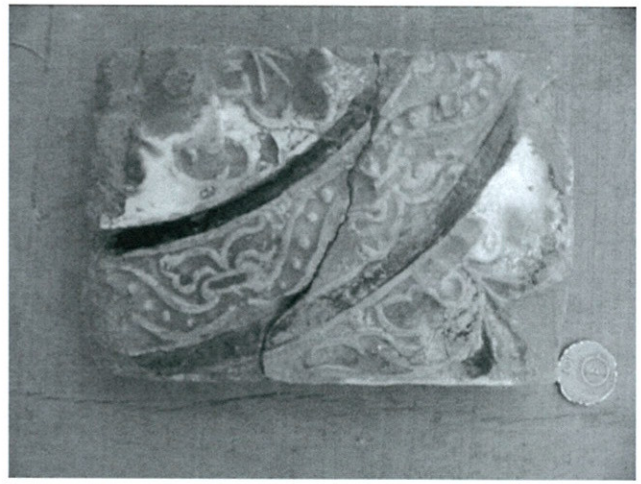


Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 41



Fig. 39



Fig. 40

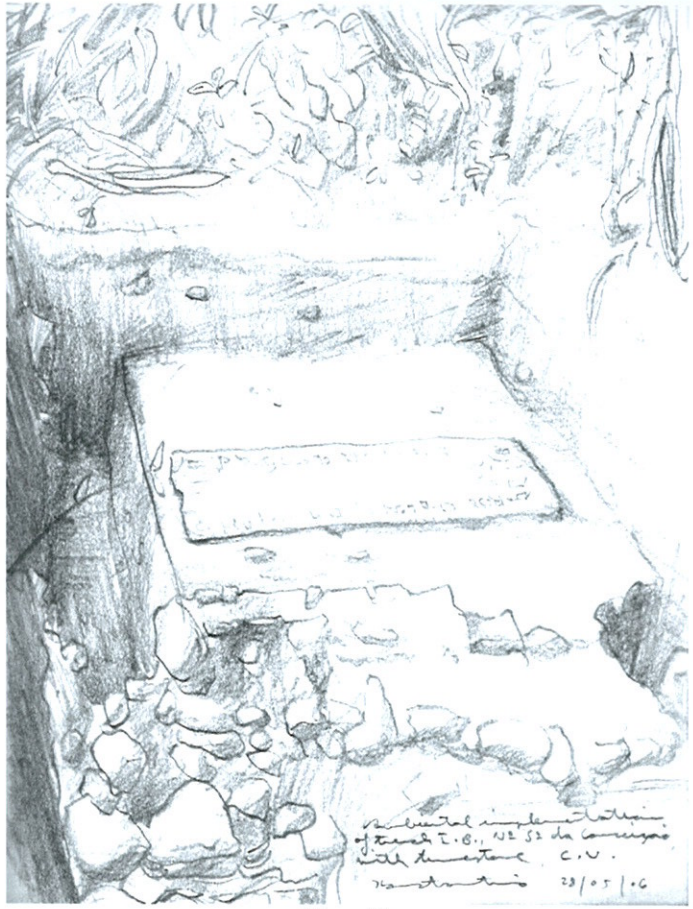


Fig. 42

1.2.7 The Jesuit College/*Casa*/Seminary

Fig. 1-20
Note: for further detailed information see excavation report 2007 in Annex 2.4

Site plans

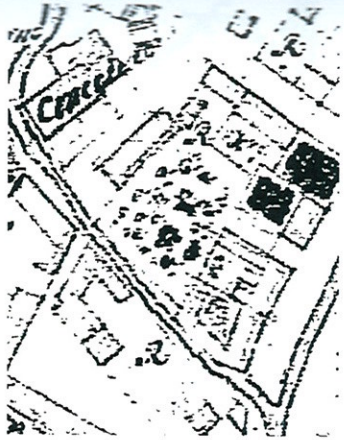


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

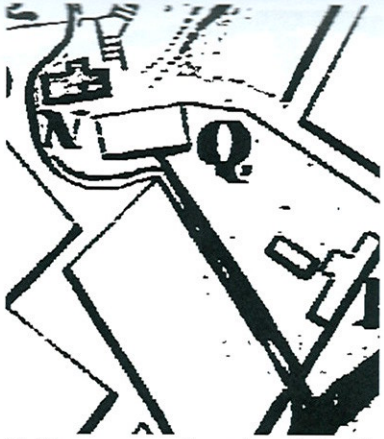


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

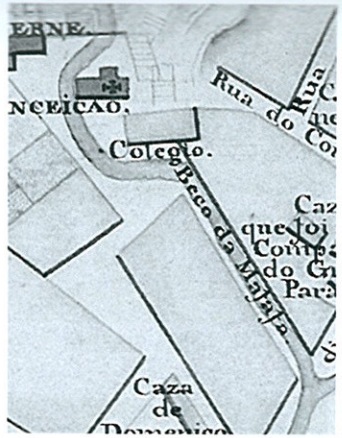


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

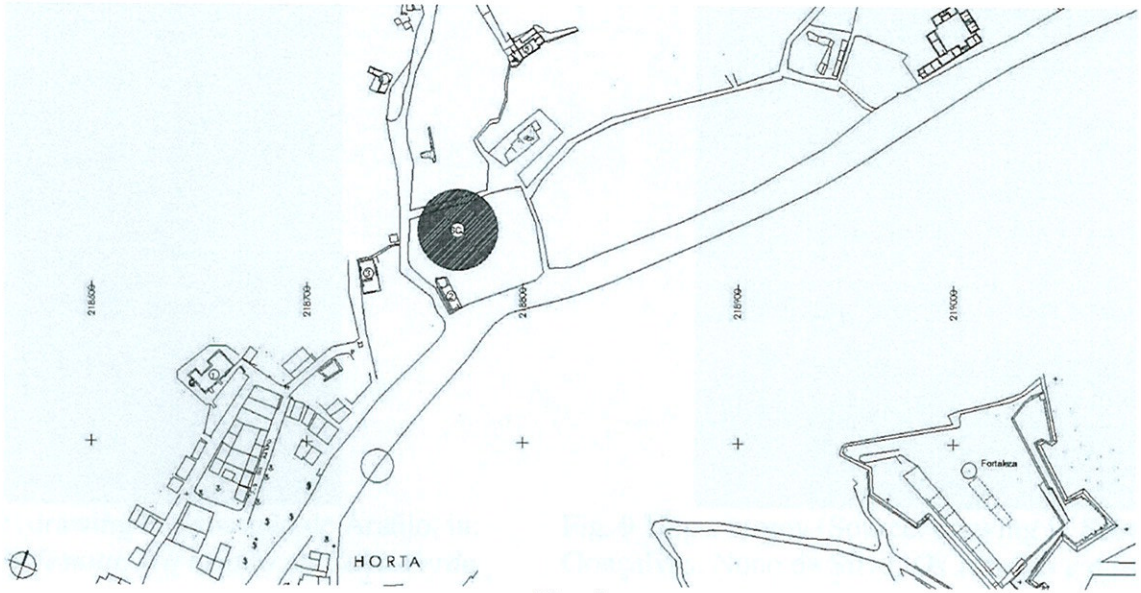


Fig. 4



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

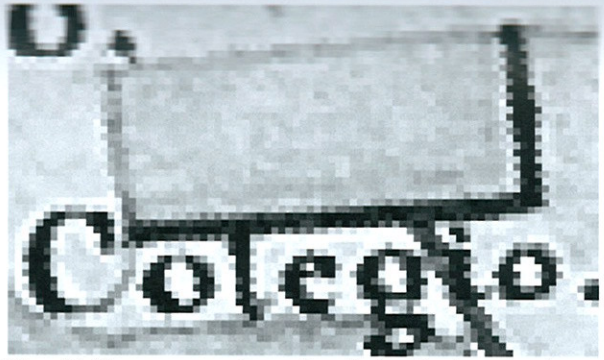


Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

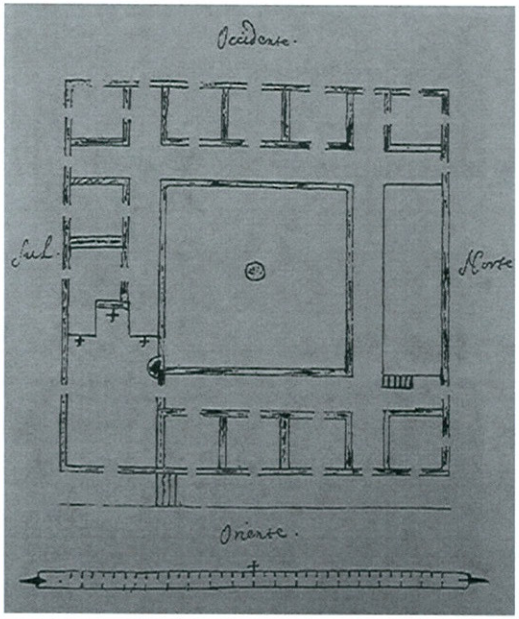


Fig. 8 Ground storey (Source: drawing P. Sebastião de Araújo, in: Gonçalves, Nuno da Silva. *Os Jesuítas e a missão de Cabo Verde (1604-1642)*. Cartório dos Jesuítas, maço 36, doc. 1, ANTT)

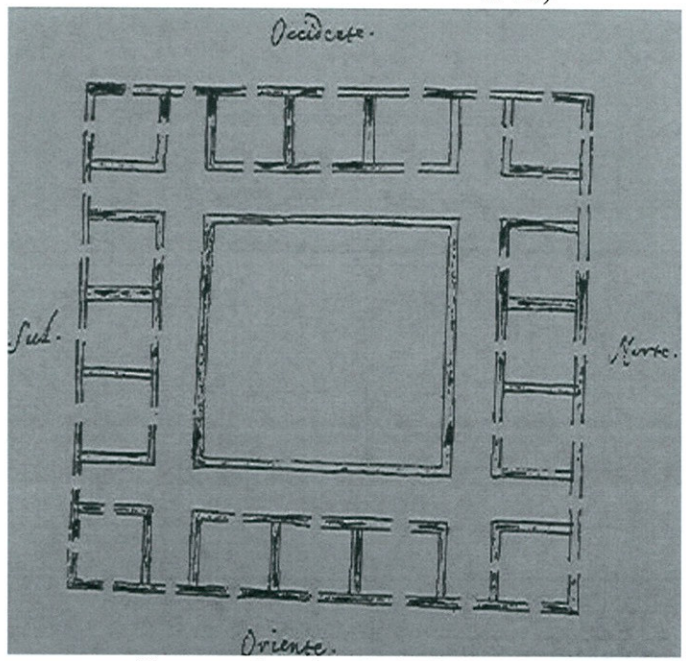


Fig. 9 Upper storey (Source: drawing P. Sebastião de Araújo, in: Gonçalves, Nuno da Silva. *Os Jesuítas e a missão de Cabo Verde (1604-1642)*. Cartório dos Jesuítas, maço 36, doc. 1, ANTT)



Fig. 10 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769, K. Richter, R. Pires)

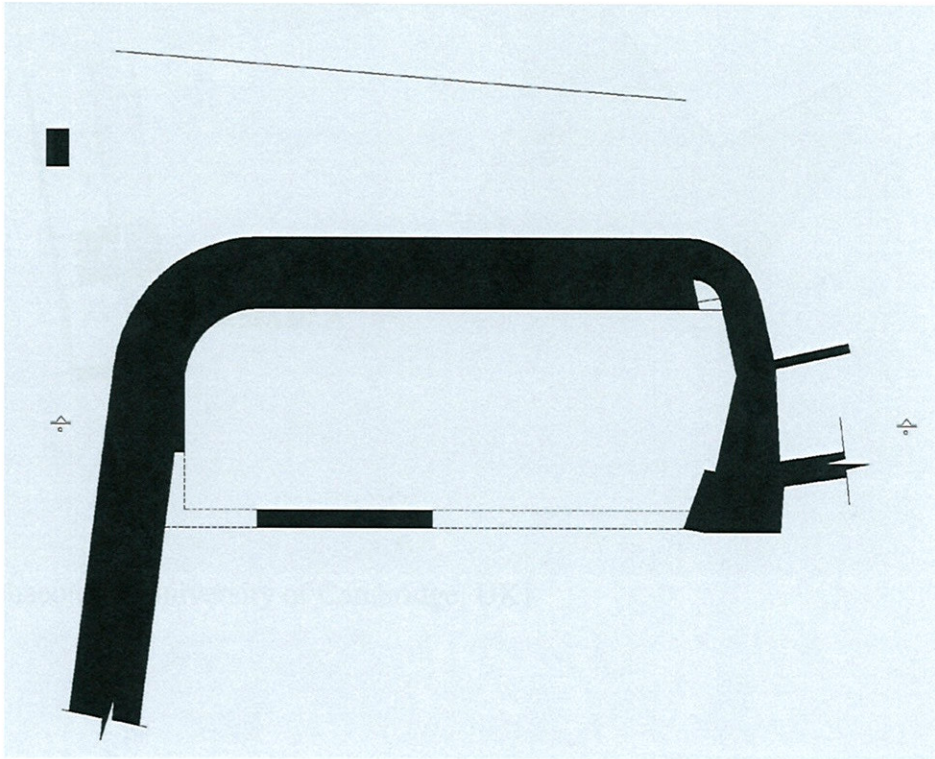


Fig. 11

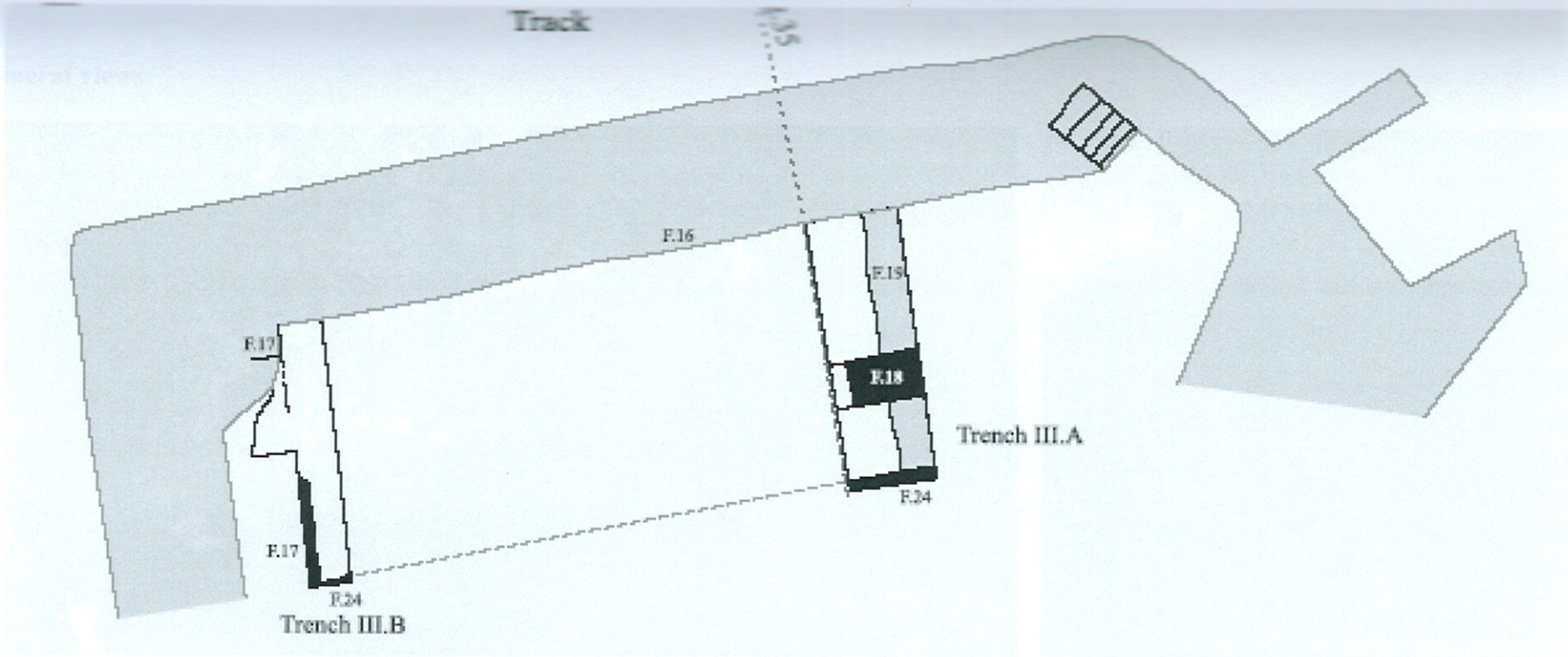


Fig. 12 (Source: CAU/Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, UK)

Sections

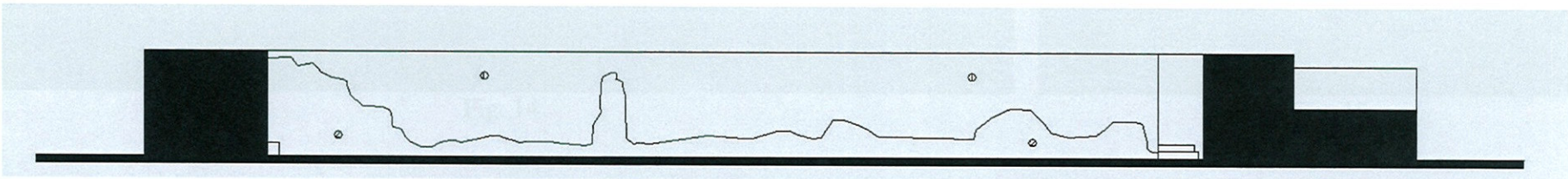


Fig. 13

General views



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16 (Source: photo E. Barreto)


Fig. 17

Technical details and structural constructive elements
Masonry, mortar and plaster


Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 21



Fig. 20

1.2.8 The Seminary

Fig. 1-9

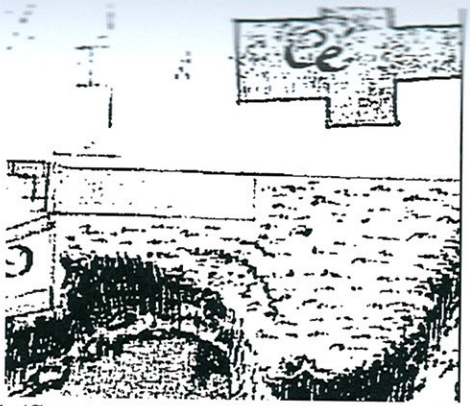


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

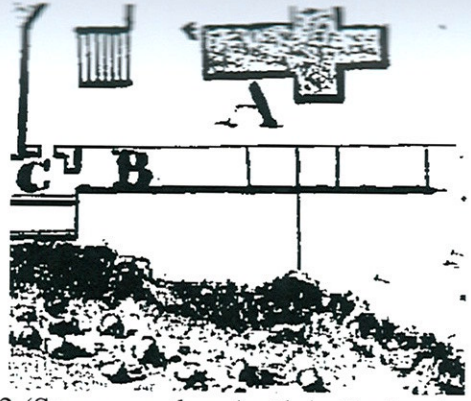


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

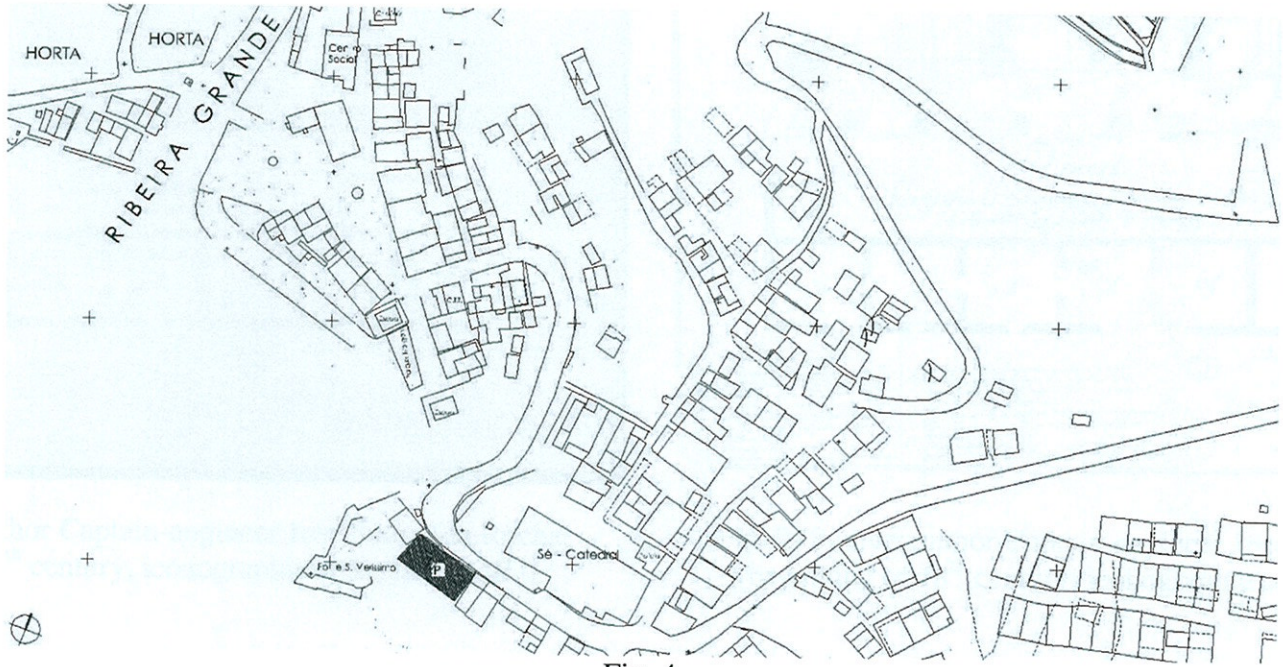


Fig. 4



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

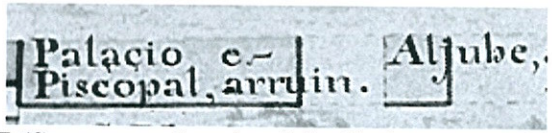


Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

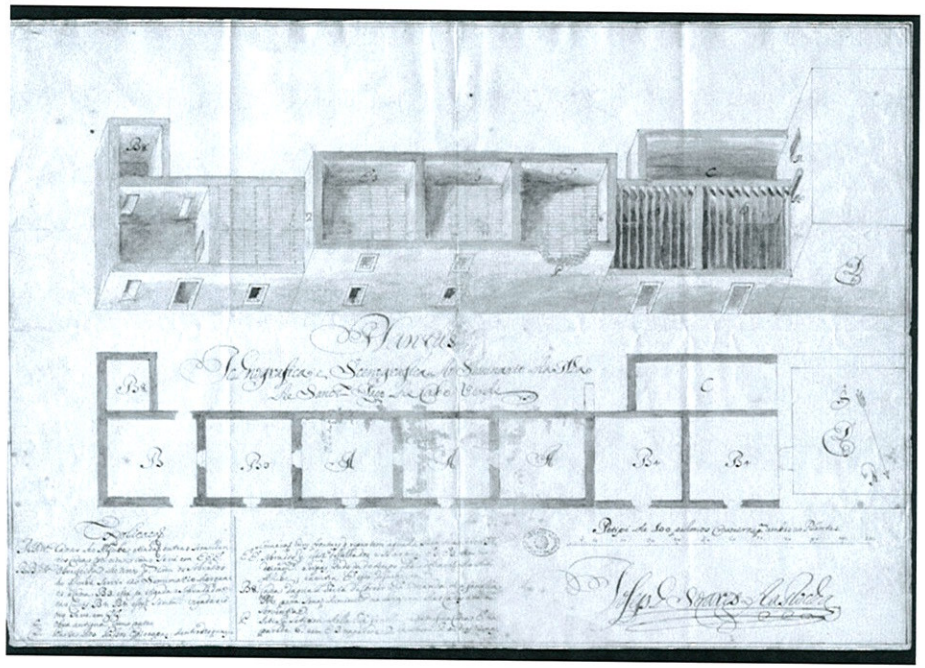


Fig. 8 (Source: author Captain-engineer José Soares da Rocha, beginning of 18th century, iconographic collection, AHU)

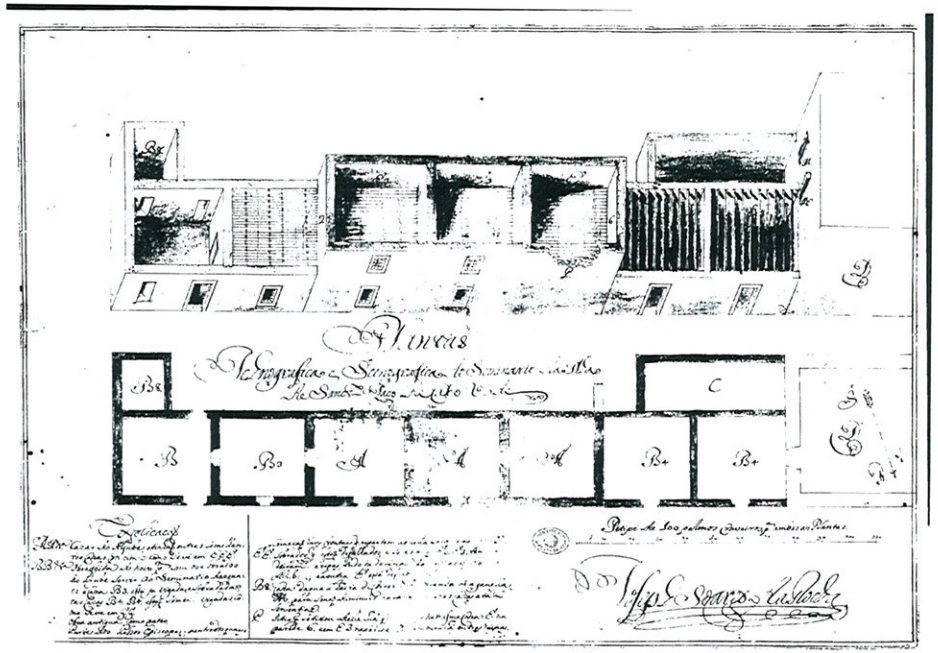


Fig. 9 (Source: author Captain-engineer José Soares da Rocha, beginning of 18th century, iconographic collection, AHU)

1.2.9 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Brás*

Fig. 1-18

Site plans



Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

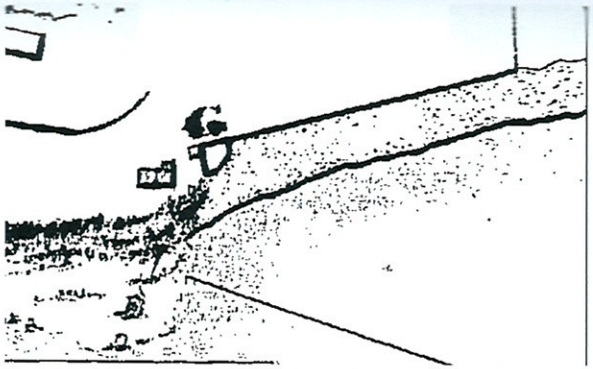


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

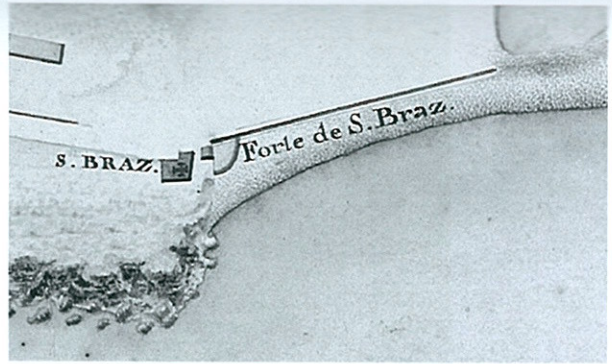


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

Plans



Fig. 4 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

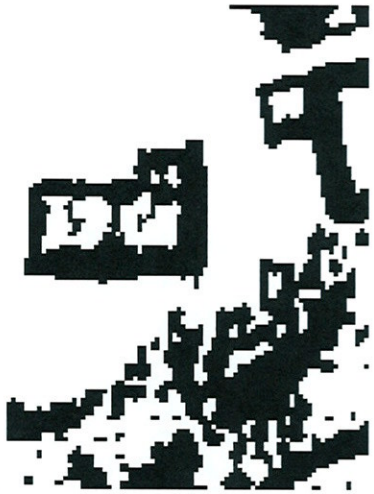


Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

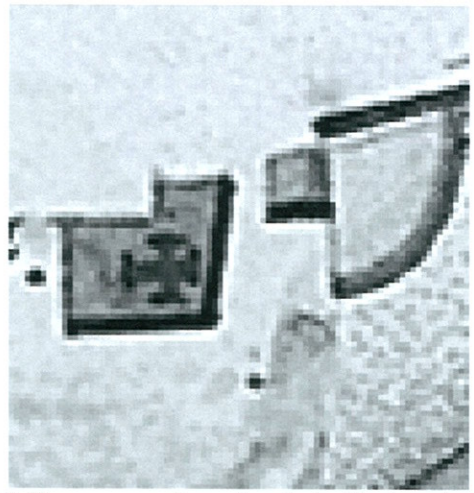


Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



Fig. 7 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)



Fig. 8 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Detail views



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

Masonry and mortar



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

Clay tiles



Fig. 18

1.2.10 The Chapel/Hermitage of *S. Gonçalo*

Fig. 1-27

Site plans

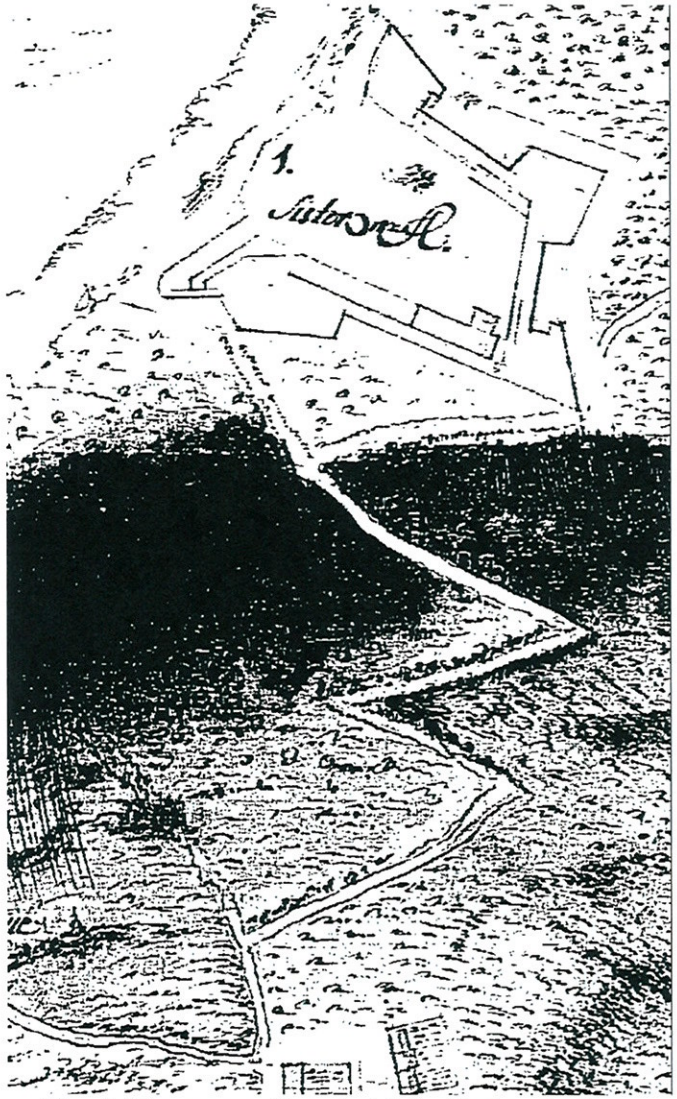


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

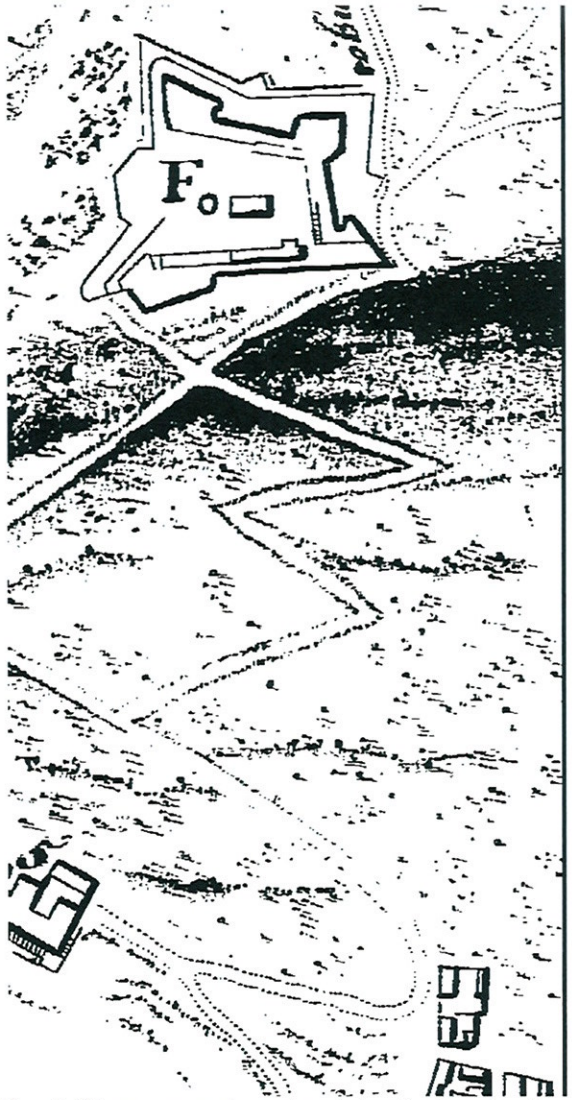


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

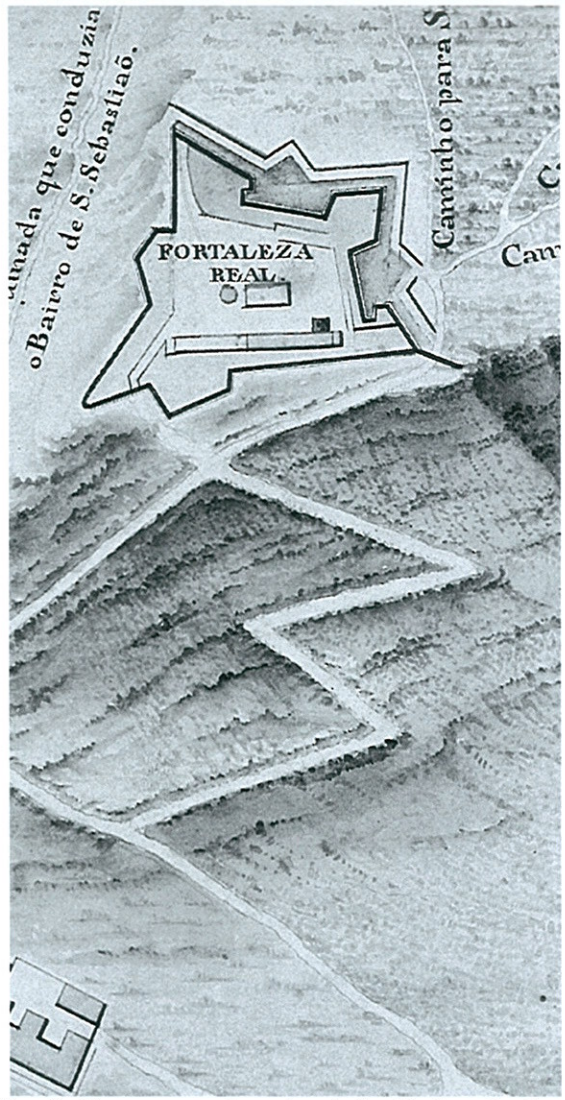


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

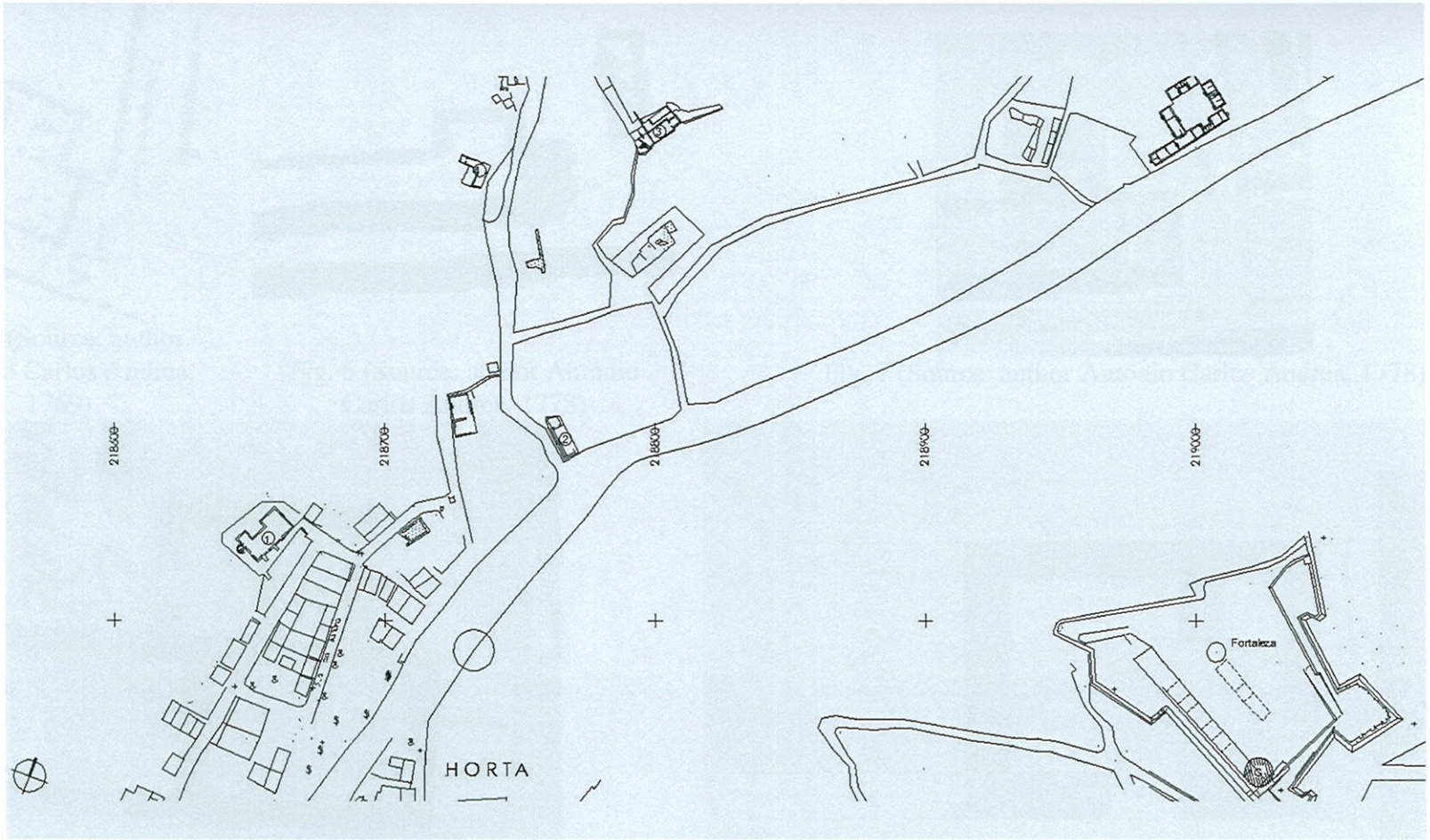


Fig. 4



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

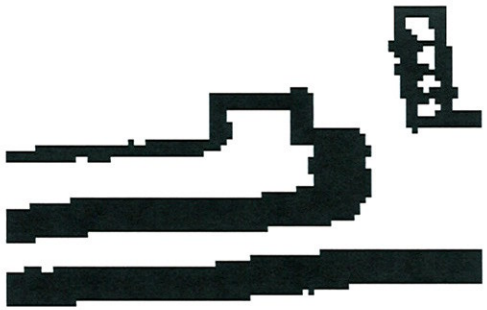


Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

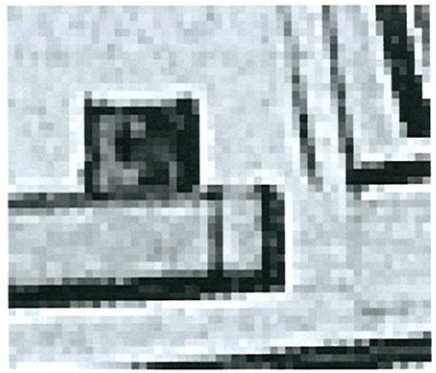


Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

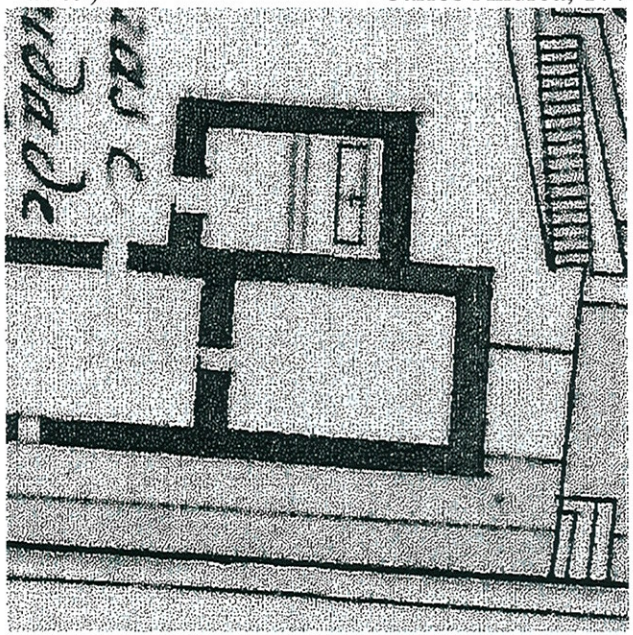


Fig. 8 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea (?), 1778 (?), AHN)

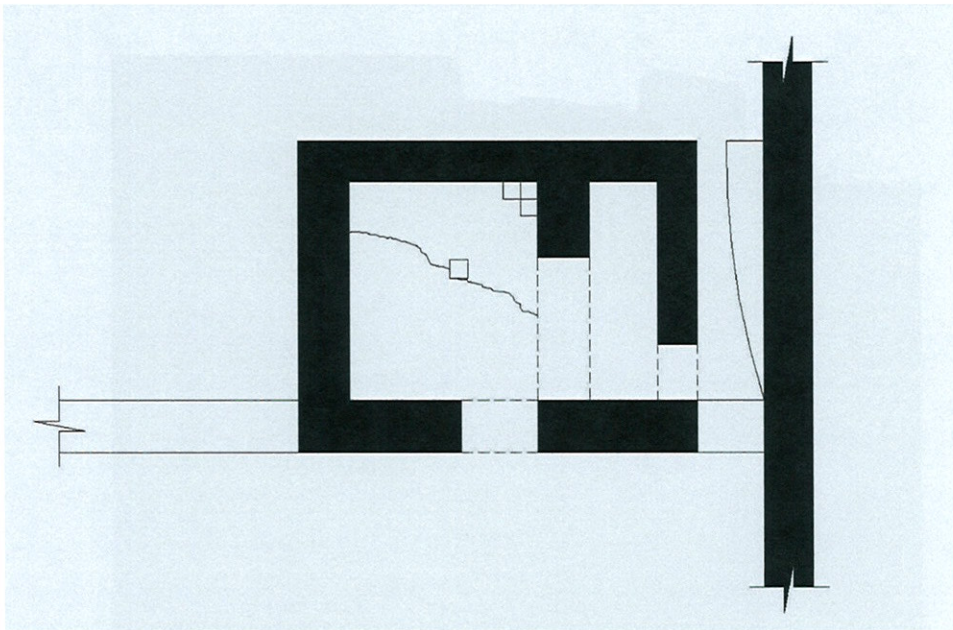


Fig. 9

Additional material and documents

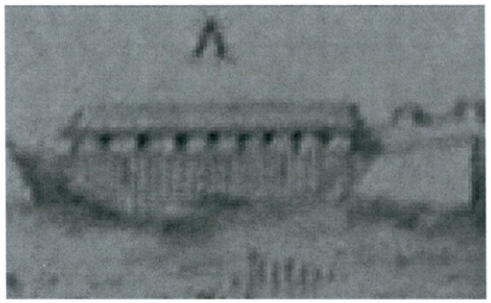


Fig. 10 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)

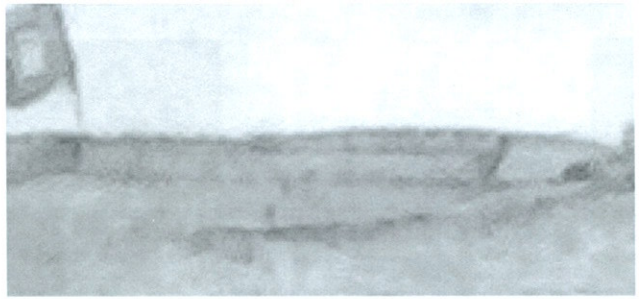


Fig. 11 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)



Fig. 12 (Source: author Travessos Valldez, 1864)

General views



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

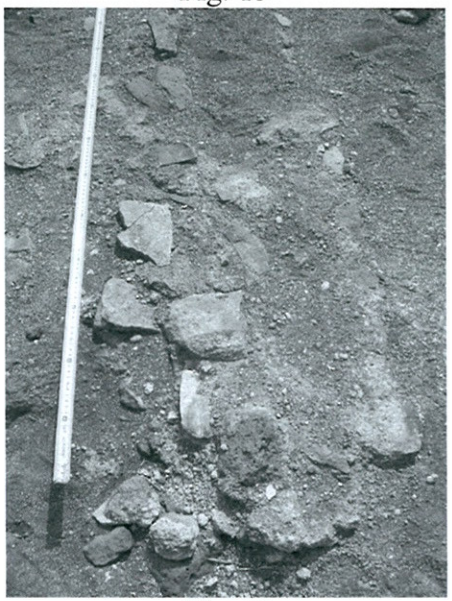


Fig. 17



Fig. 18

Doors and chiselled stones



Fig. 19

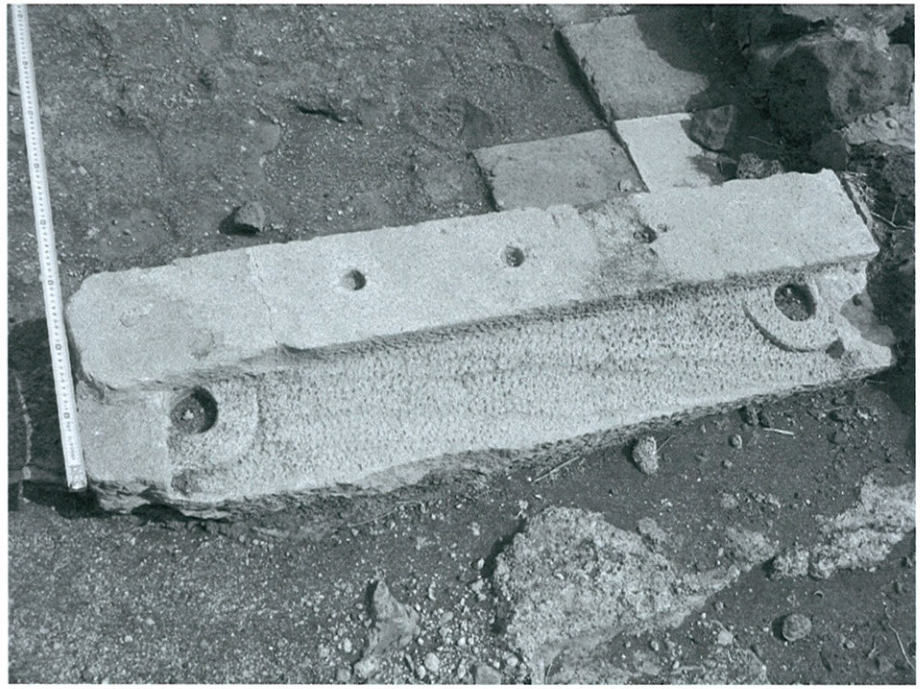


Fig. 20

Floor



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 25



Fig. 24

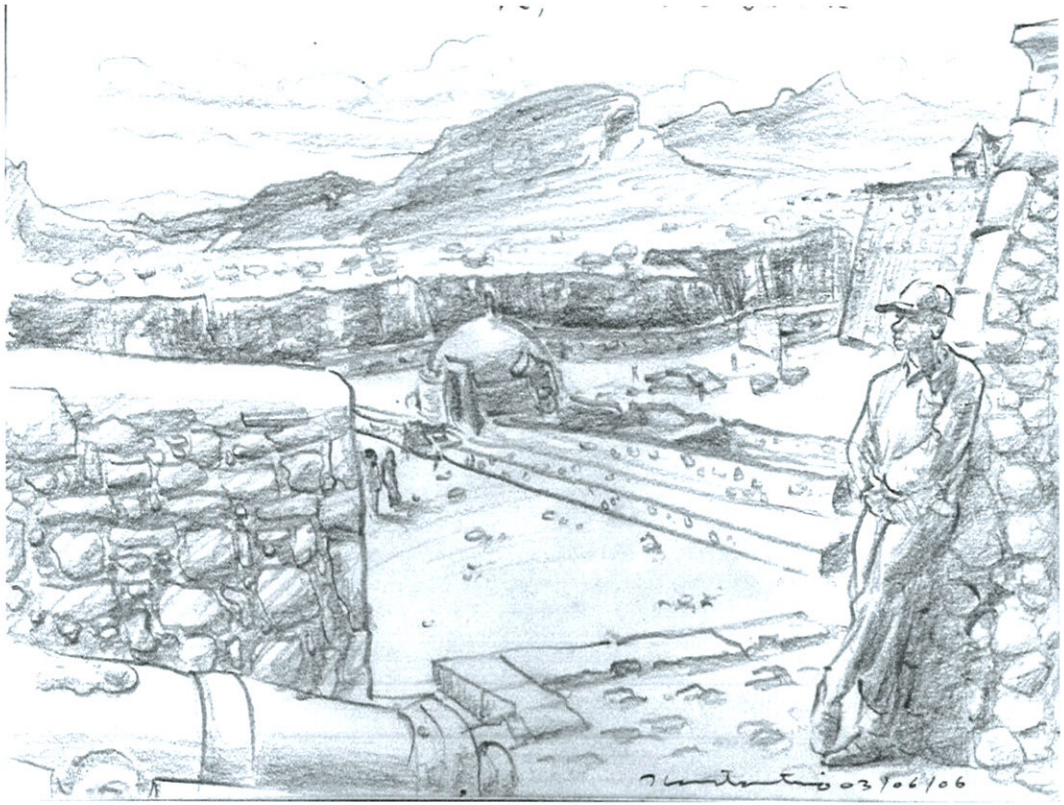


Fig. 26

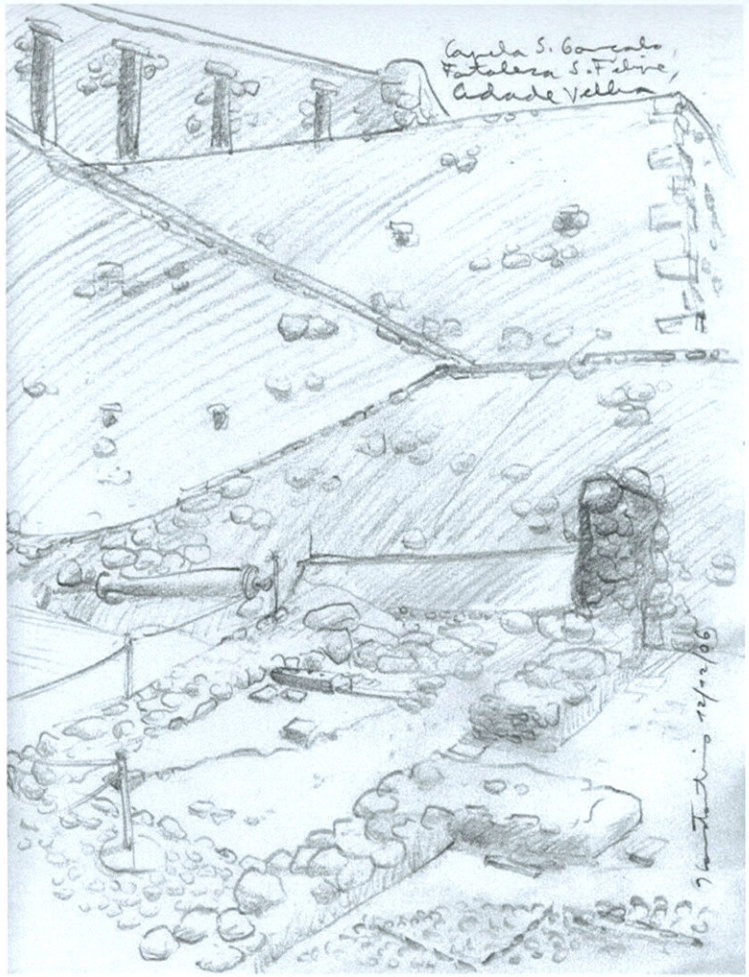


Fig. 27

UNIVERSIDADE DA MADEIRA
SECTOR DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO
E ARQUIVO

1.2.11 The Church of *S. Pedro*

Fig. 1-19

Site plans



Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

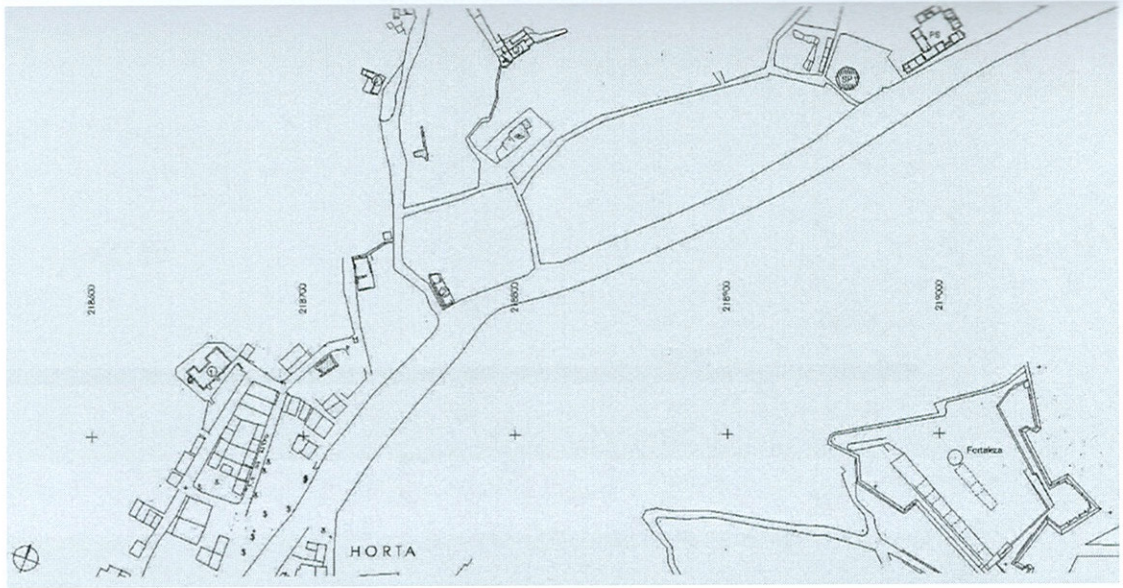


Fig. 2

Plans



Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

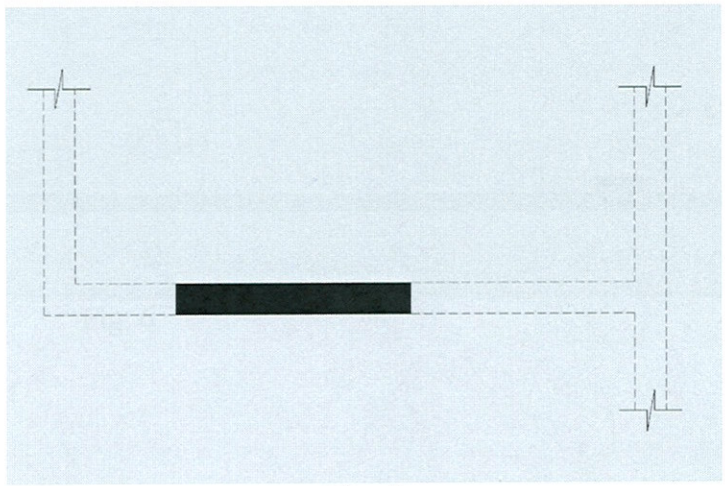


Fig. 4

Elevations

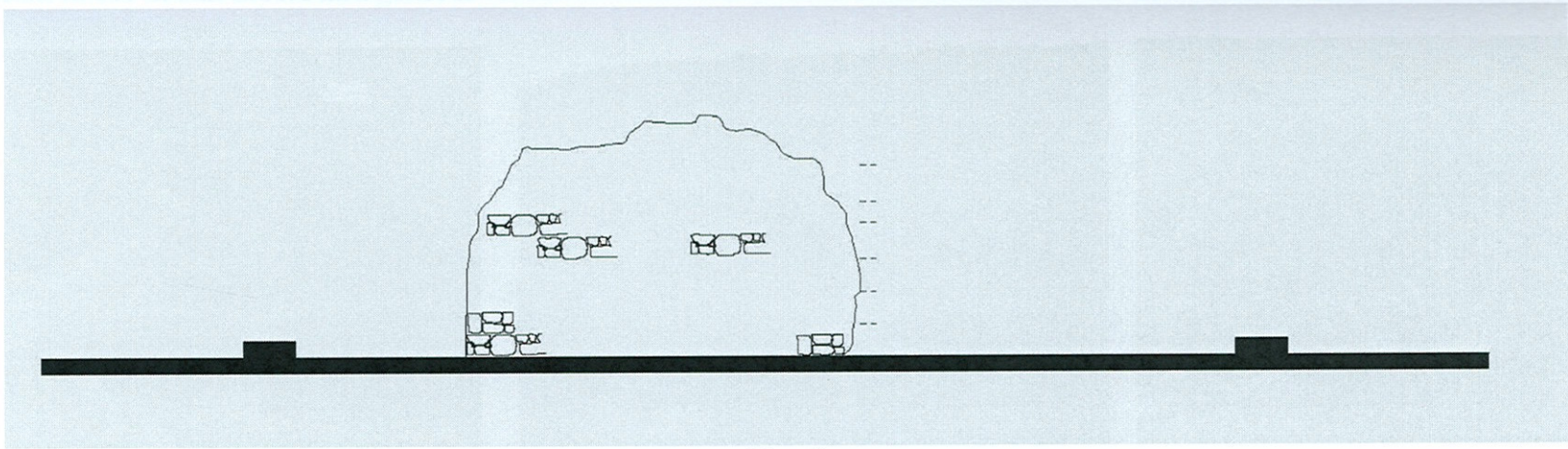


Fig. 5

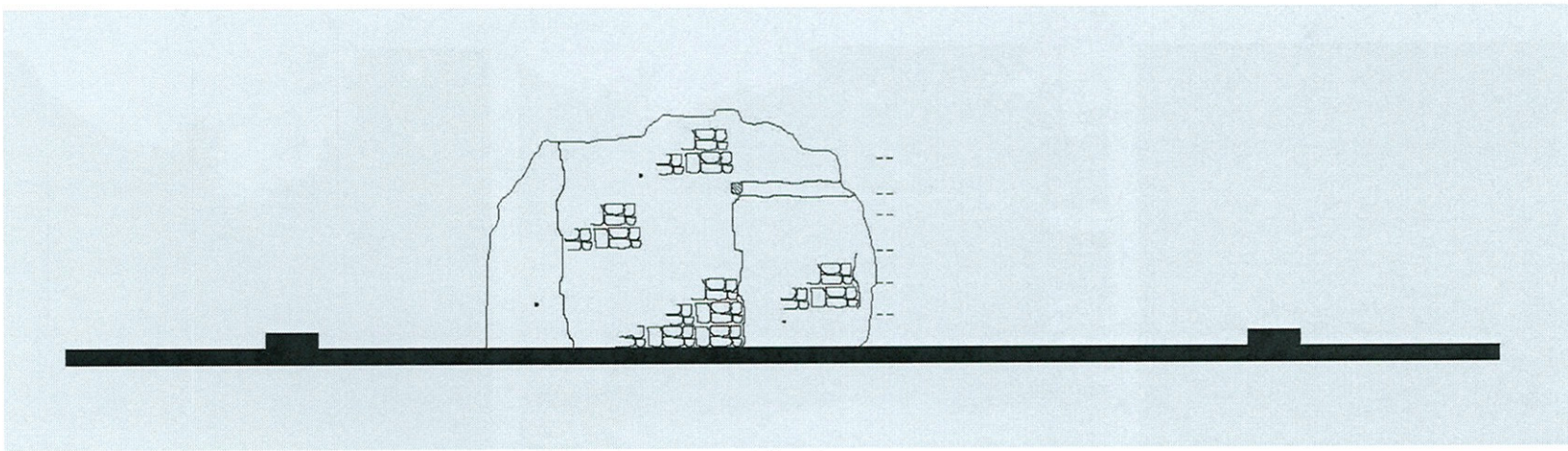


Fig. 6

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

Technical details and structural constructive elements

Masonry, mortar and plaster



Fig. 13

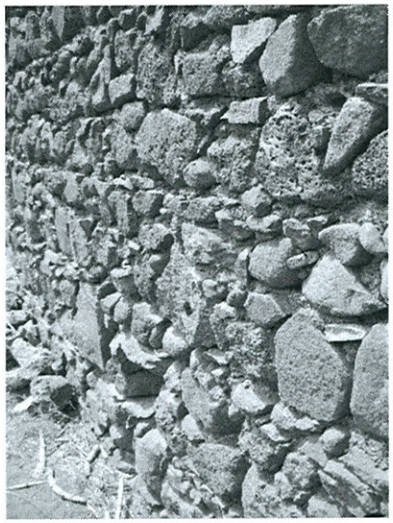


Fig. 14



Fig. 16



Fig. 15



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

Chiselled stones



Fig. 19

1.2.12 The Chapel of *S. Roque*

Fig. 1-38

Site plans



Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

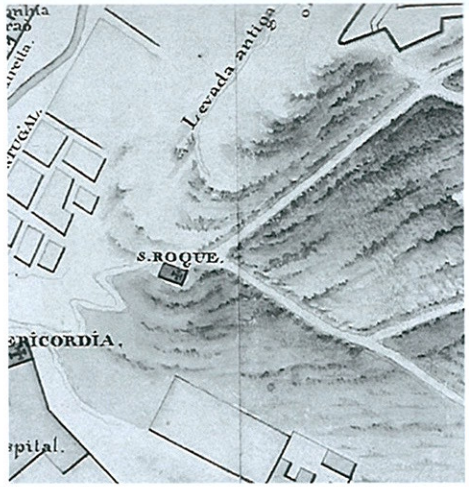


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

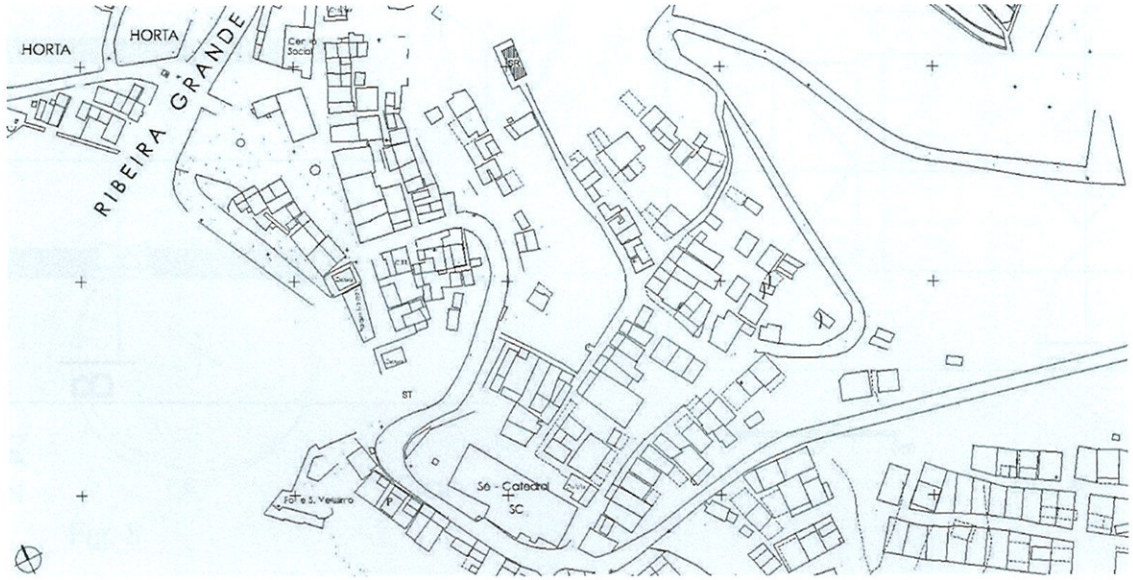


Fig. 4



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

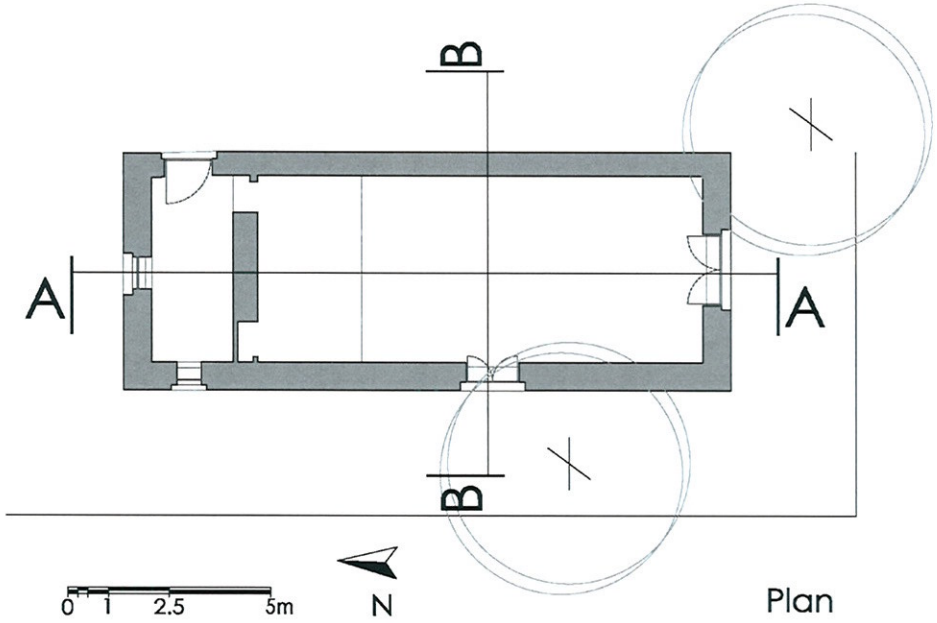


Fig. 8

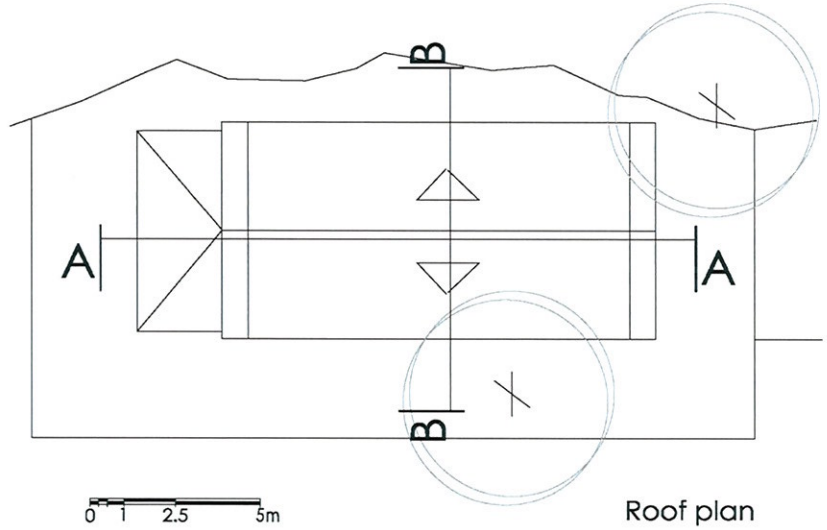


Fig. 9

Elevations

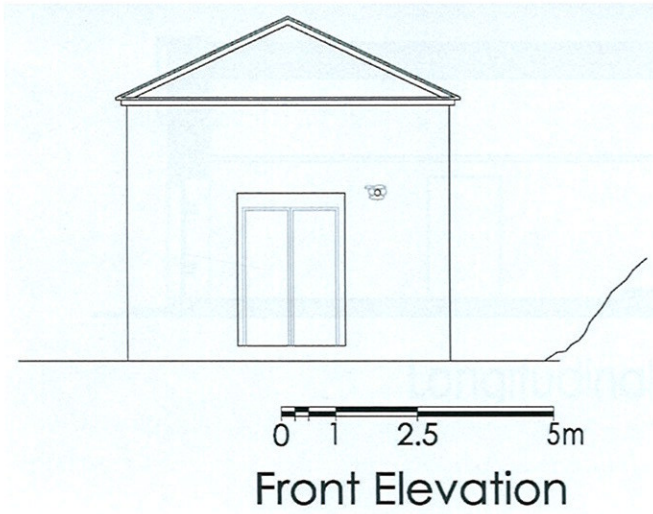


Fig. 10

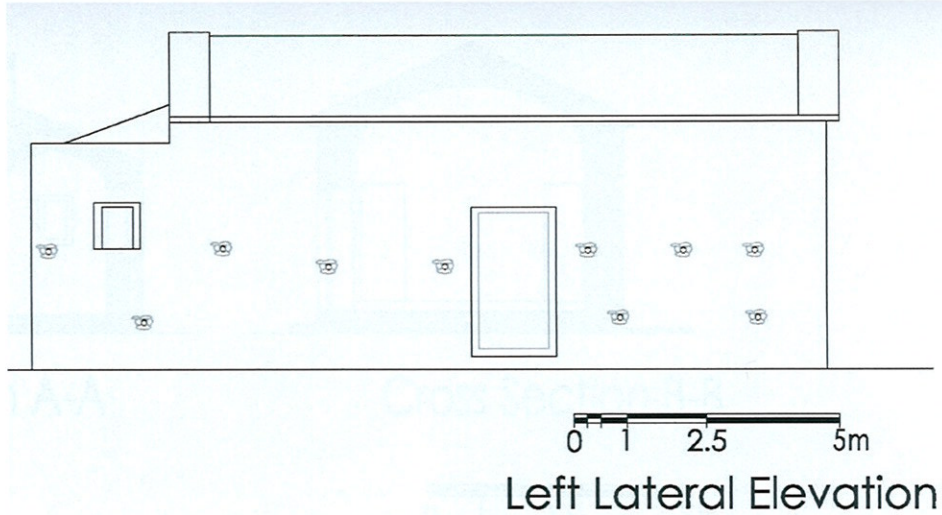


Fig. 11

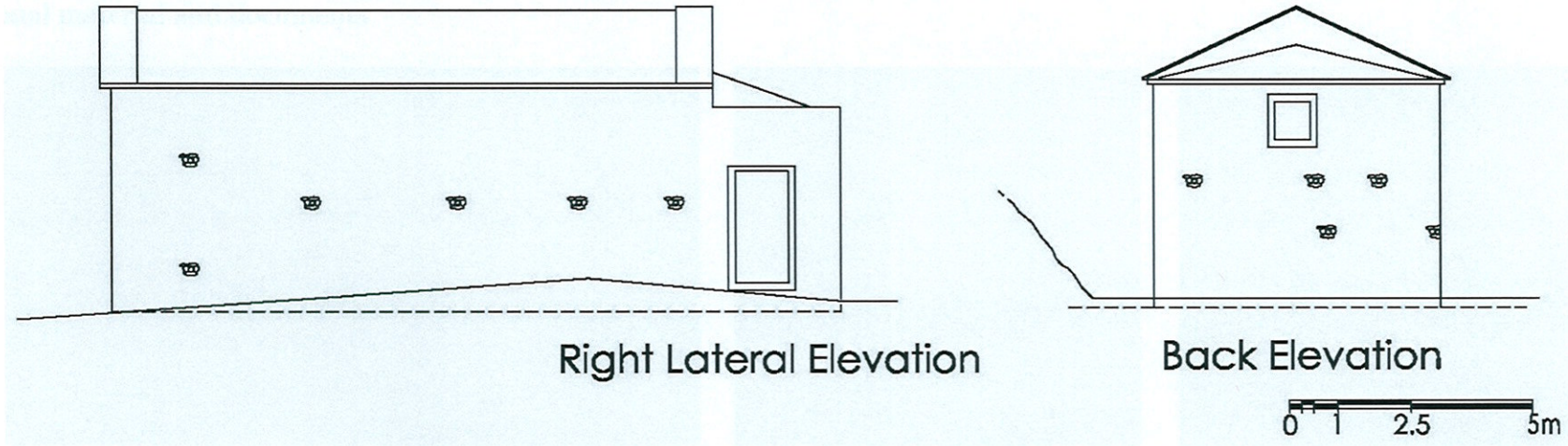


Fig. 12

Sections

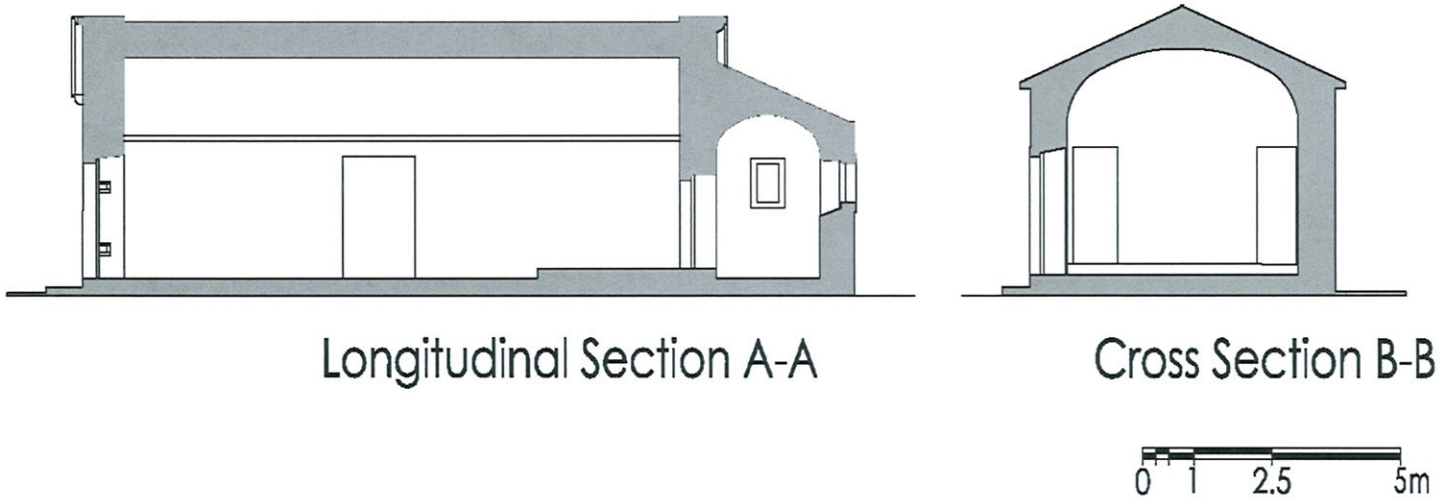


Fig. 13

Additional material and documents



Fig. 14 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)

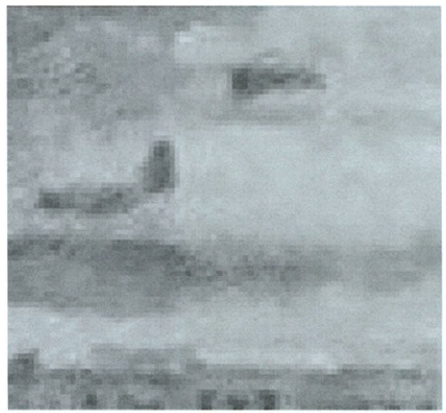


Fig. 15 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)



Fig. 16 (Source: author Travessos Valldez, 1864)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21 (Source: photo Frank, AHN)



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

Detail views



Fig. 26



Fig. 28



Fig. 27

Masonry



Fig. 29

Doors, windows and floor



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34

Survey drawings

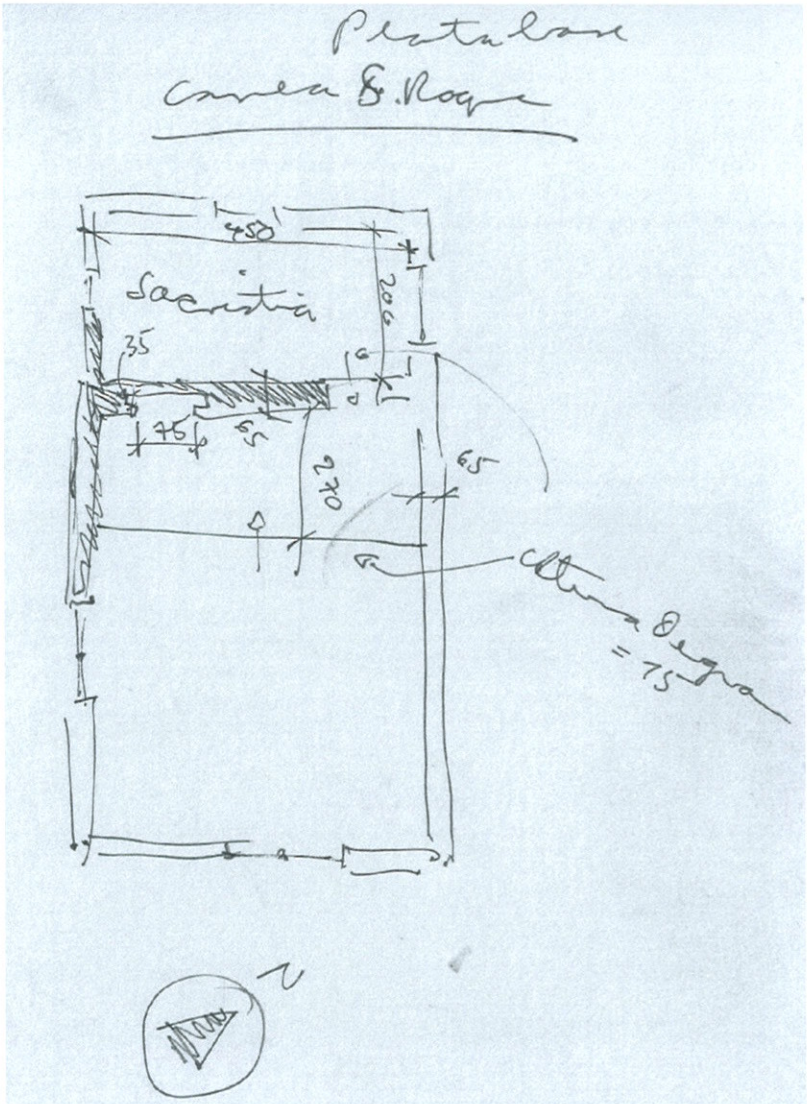
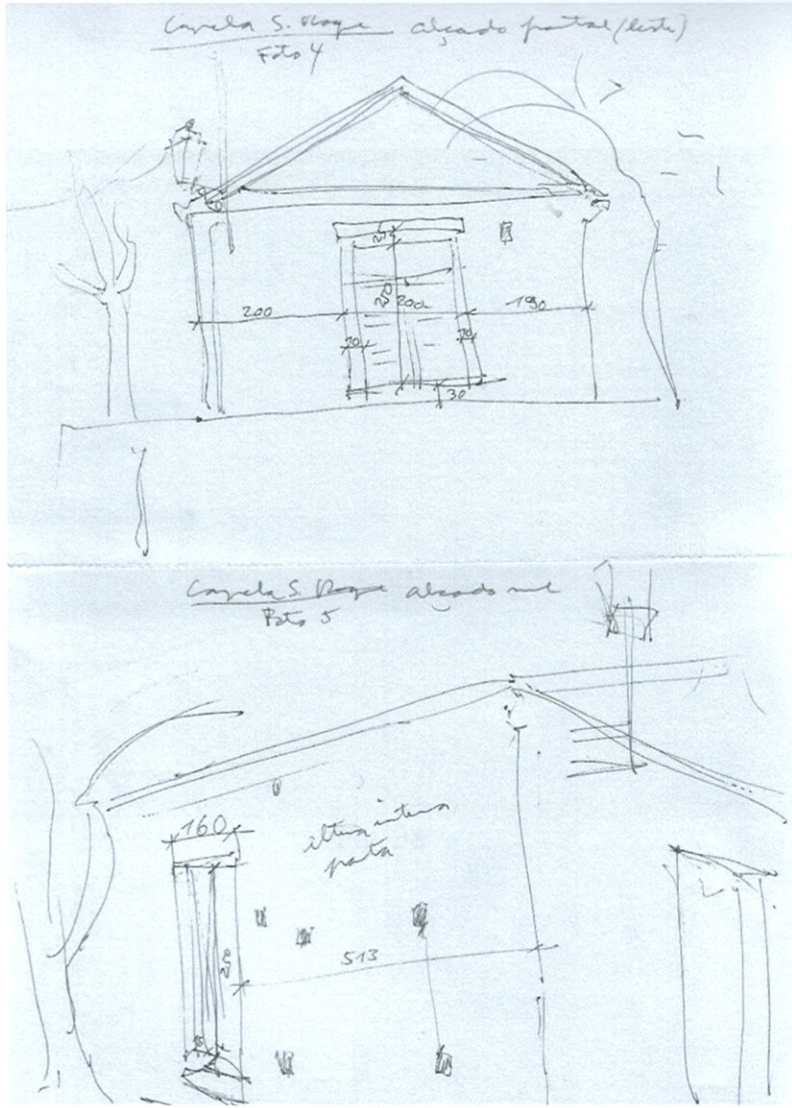


Fig. 35



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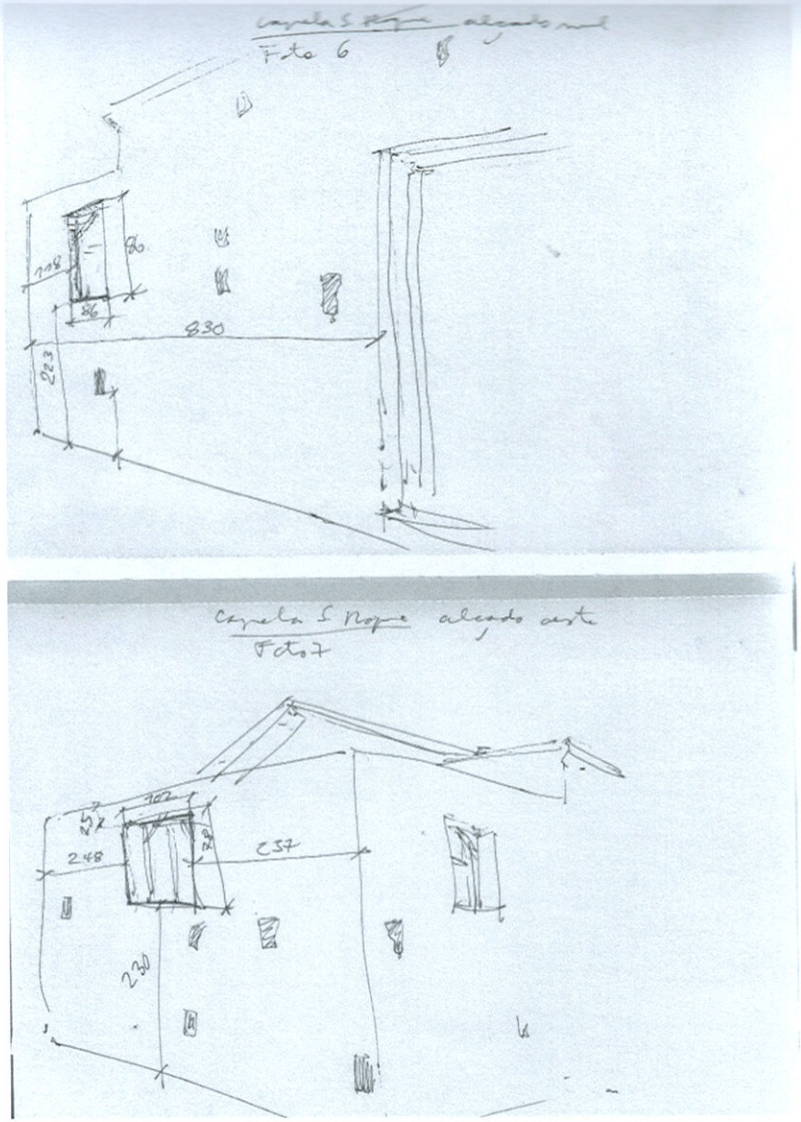
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Fig. 37

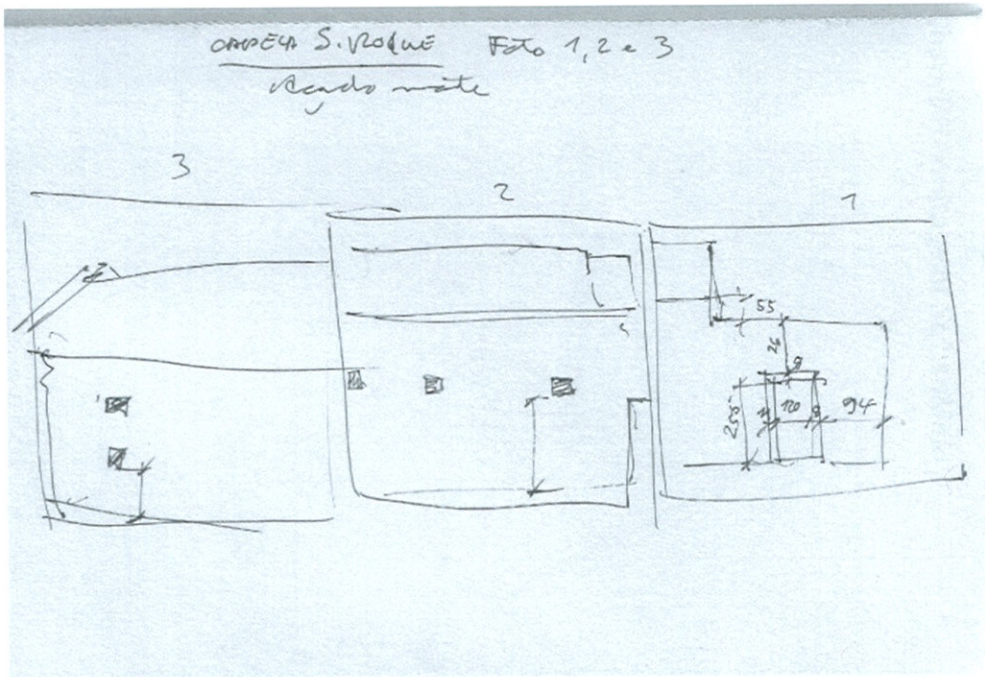
CAPELA S. ROQUE Foto 1, 2 e 3
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Fig. 38

1.2.13 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.º Antônio*

Fig. 1-21

Site plans

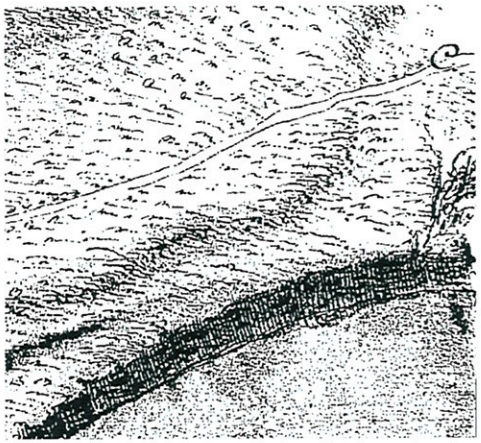


Fig. 1 , (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

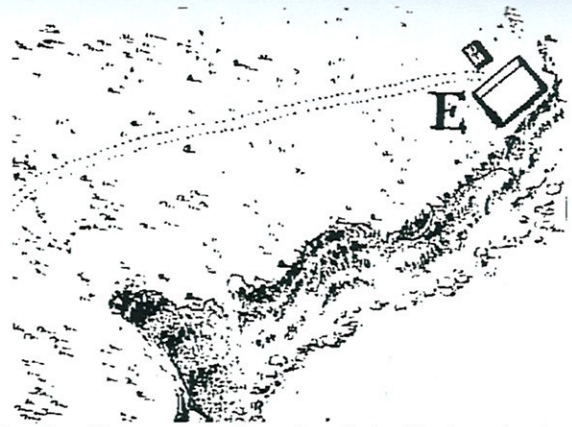


Fig. 2 , (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



Fig. 3 , (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

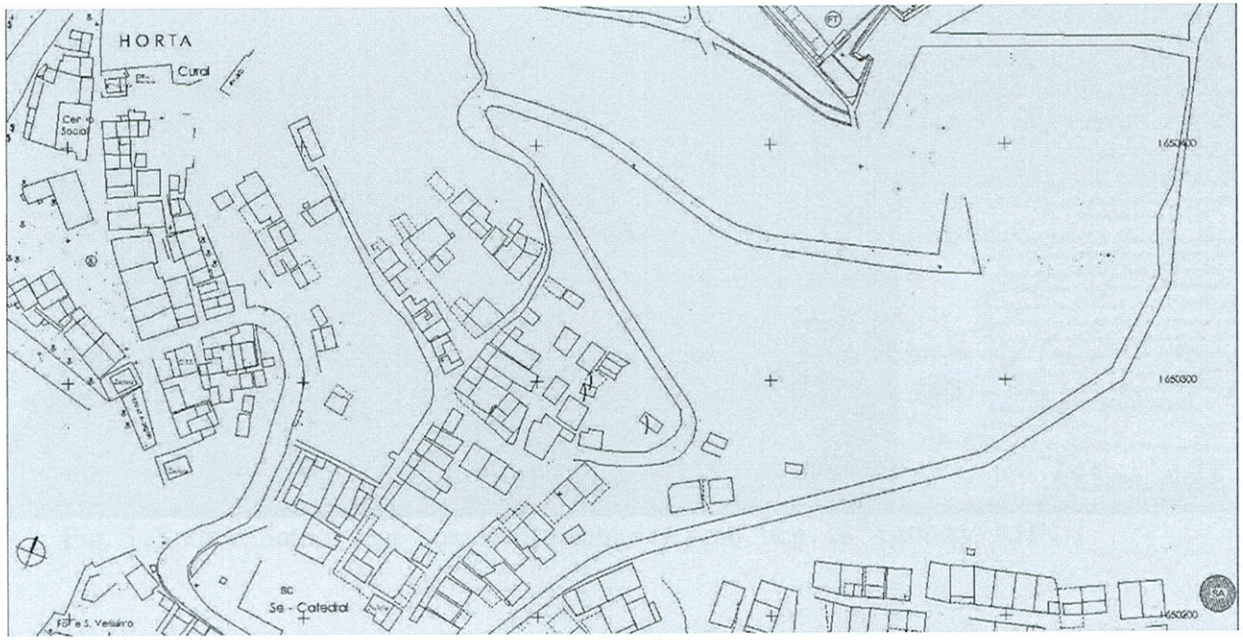


Fig. 4

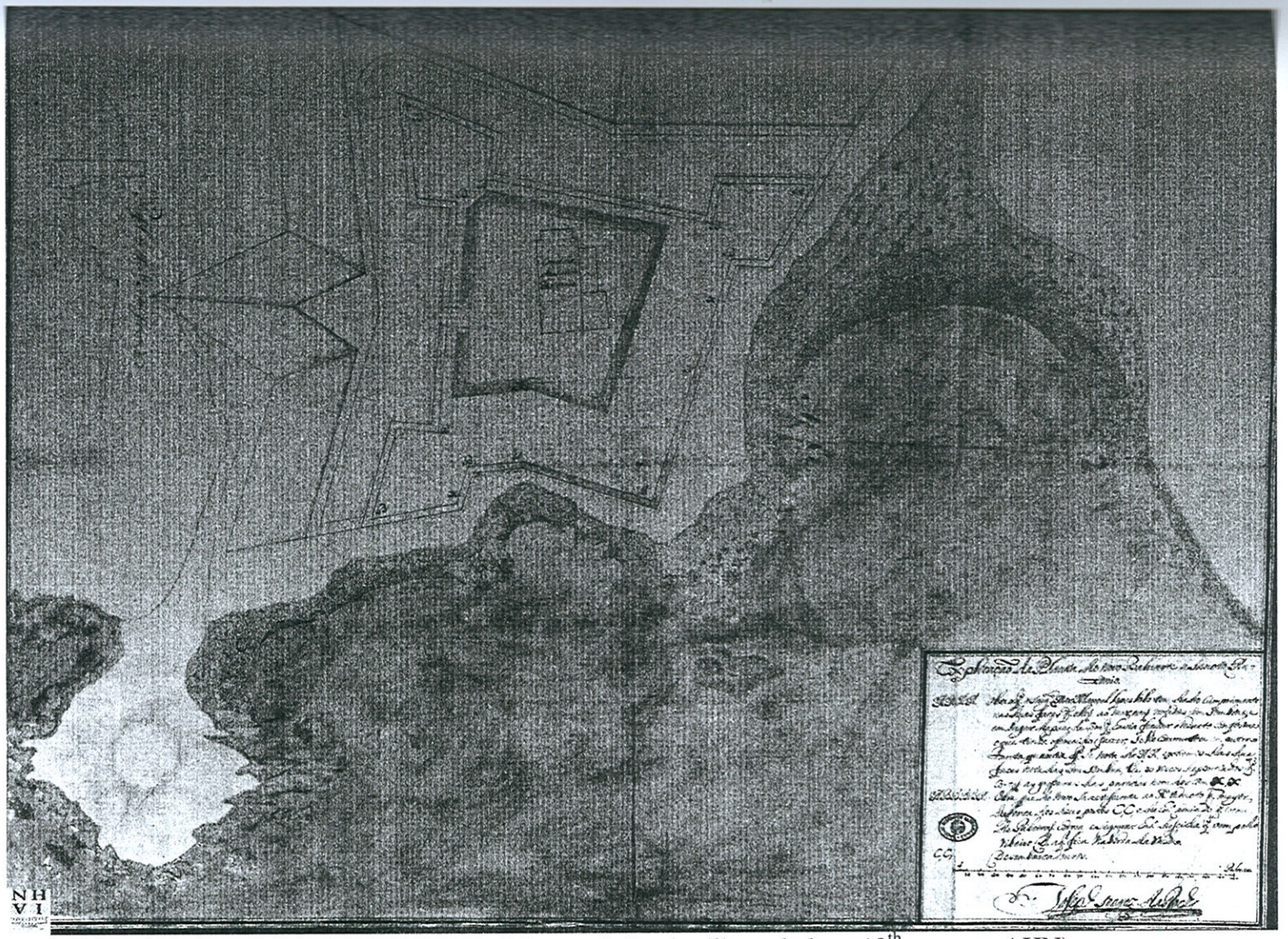


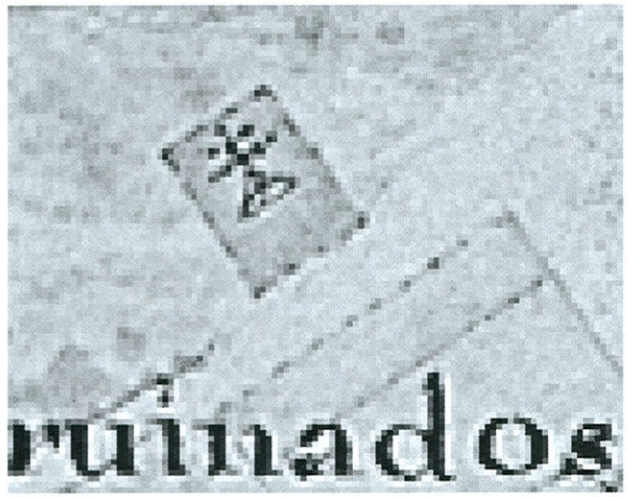
Fig. 5 (Source: author José Soares da Rocha (?), prob. beg. 18th century, AHN)



Fig. 6 , (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 7 , (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



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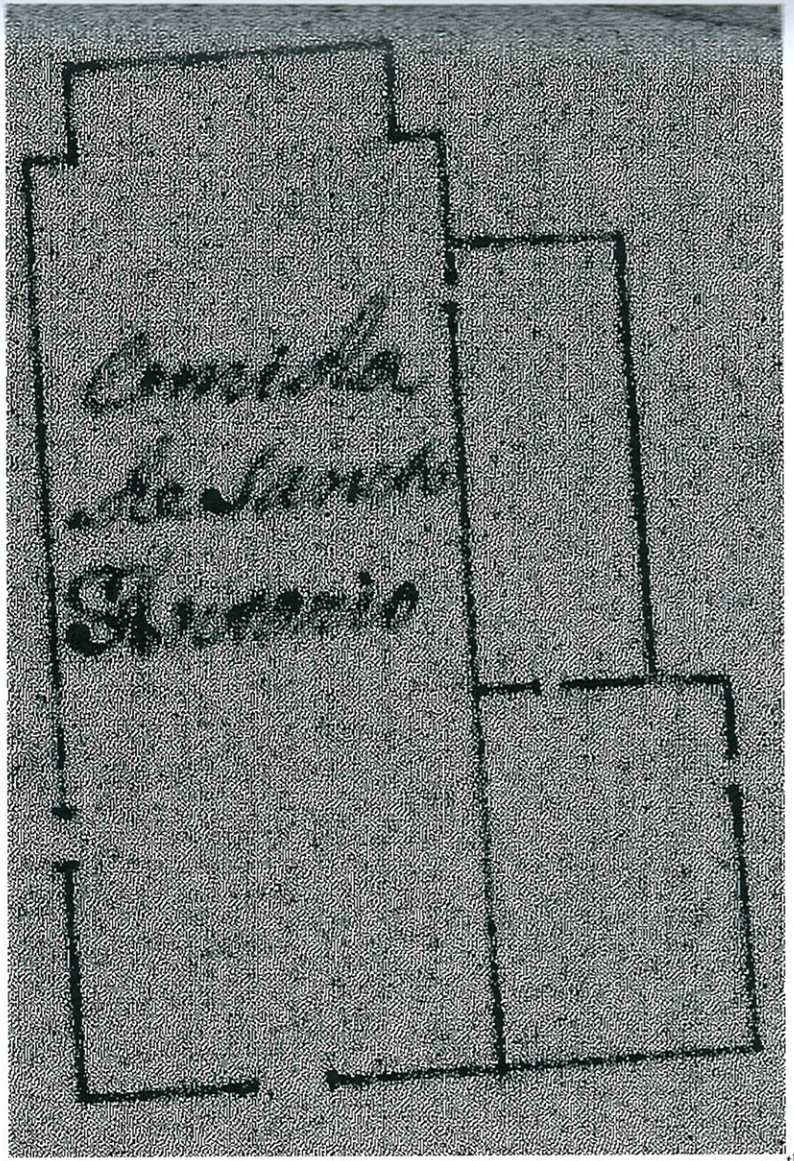

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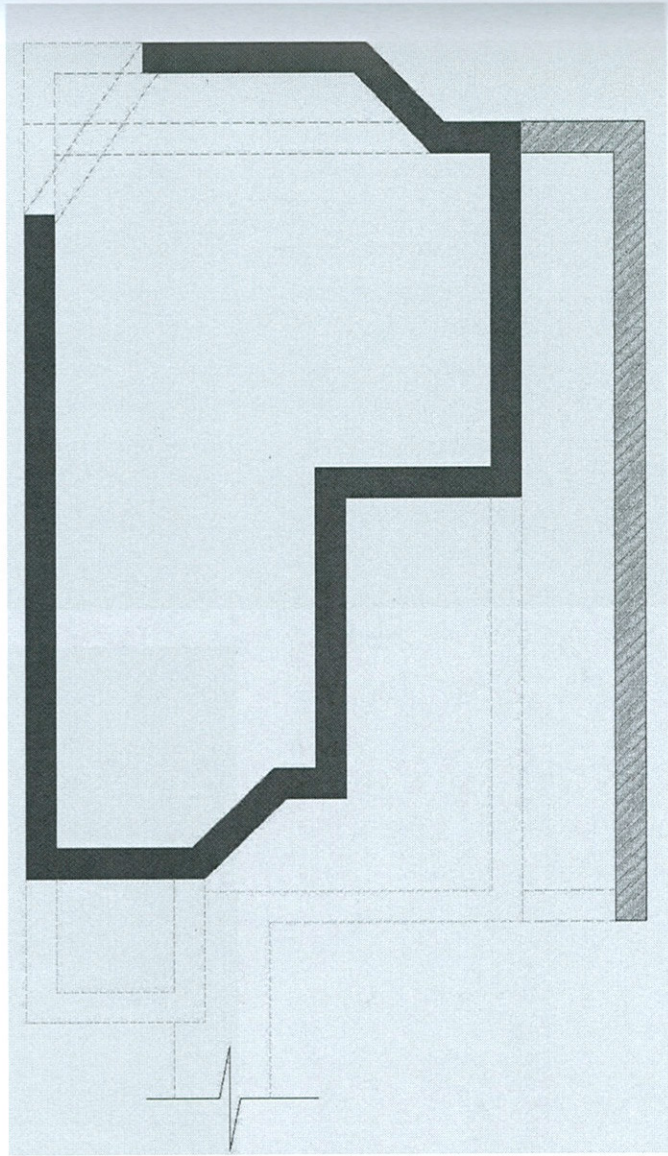


Fig. 10

Localization in the urban fabric and general views

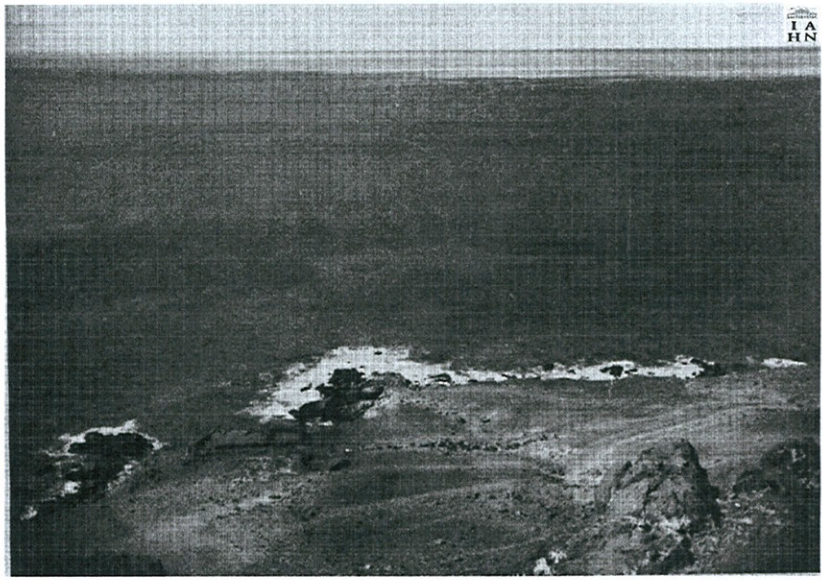


Fig. 11

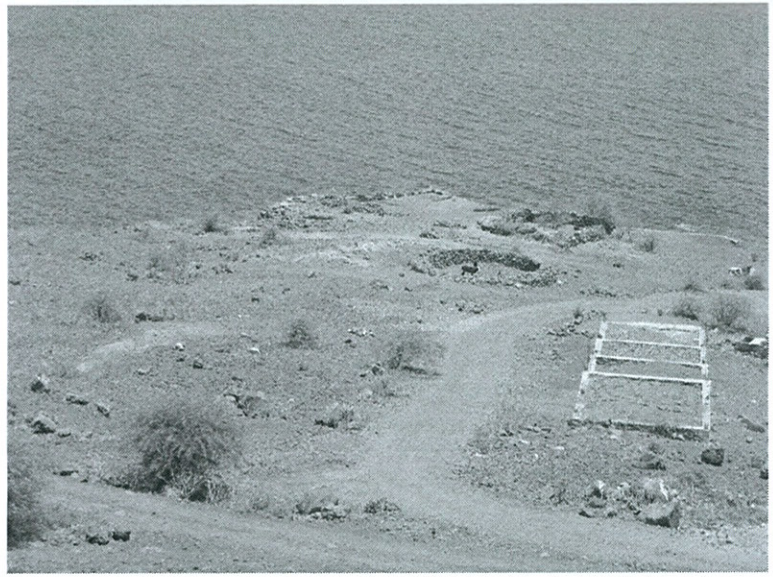


Fig. 12



Fig. 13

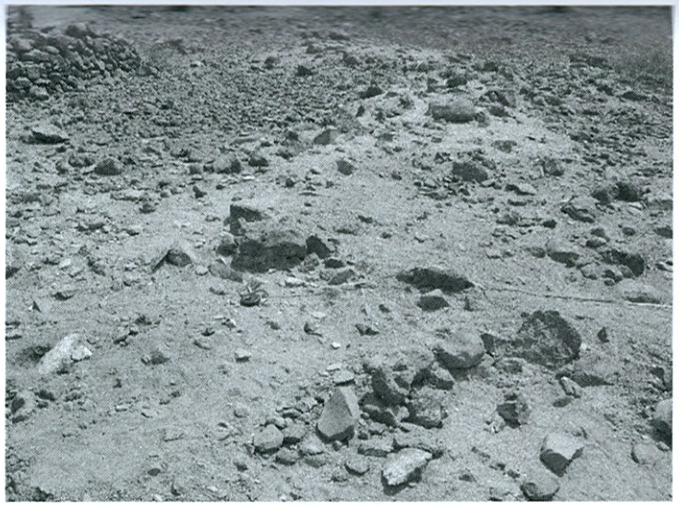


Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

Masonry, mortar and plaster



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Clay tiles



Fig. 20

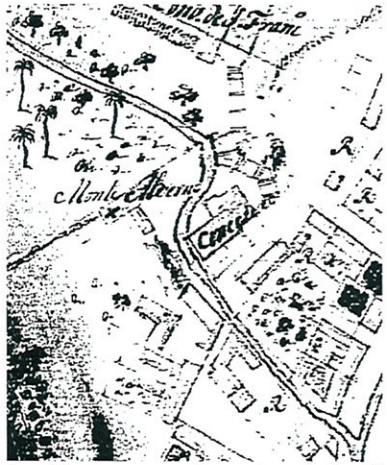


Fig. 21

1.2.14 The Church of *Monte Alverne*

Fig. 1-25

Site plans



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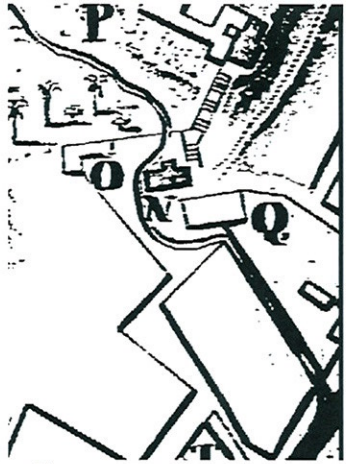

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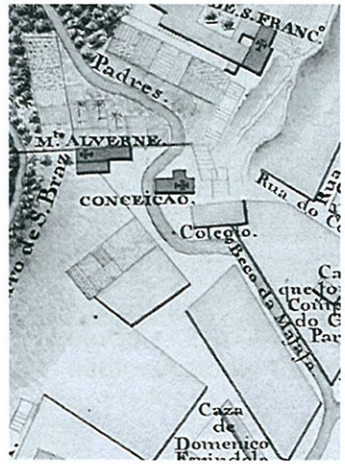

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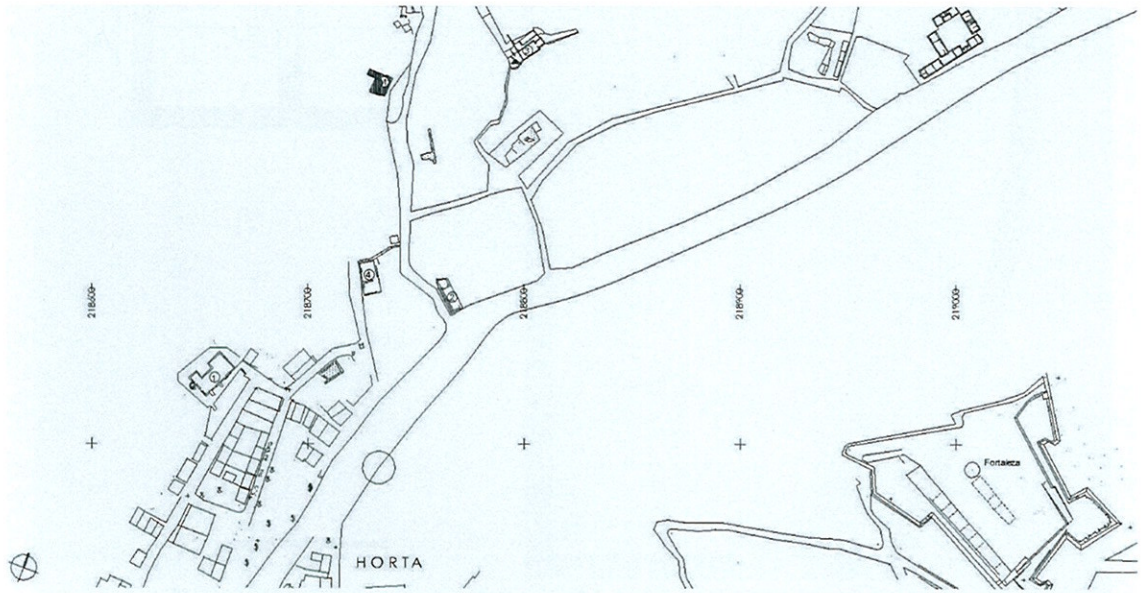


Fig. 4

Plans



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1759)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

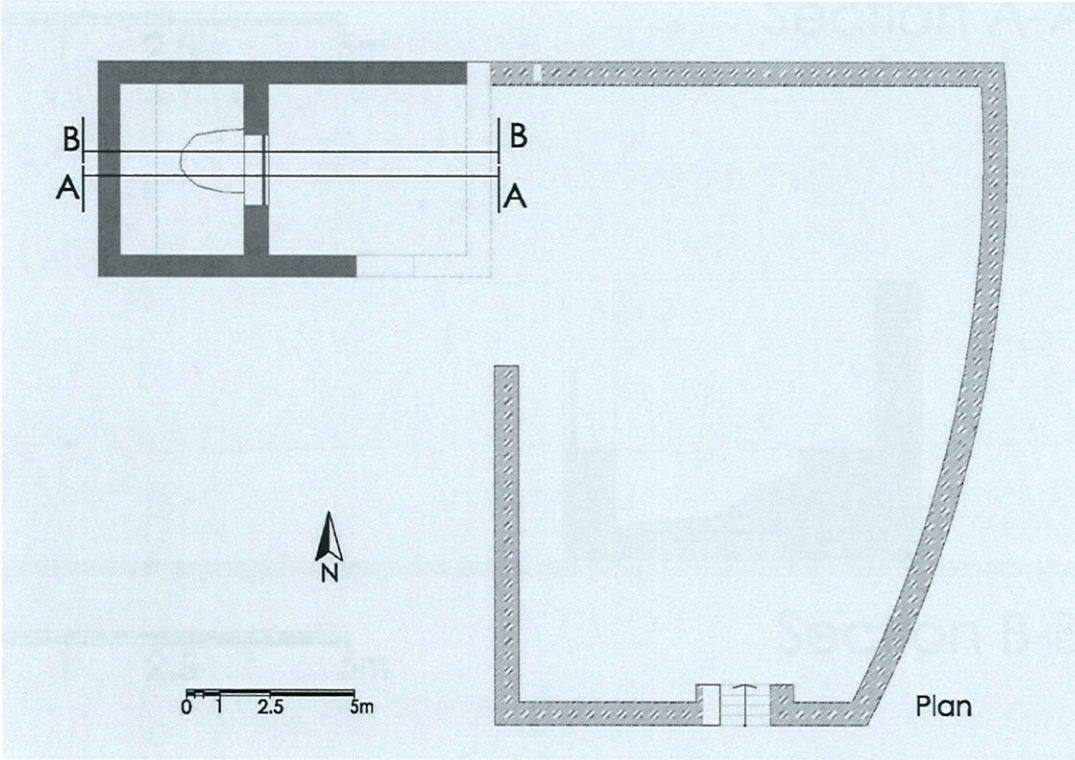
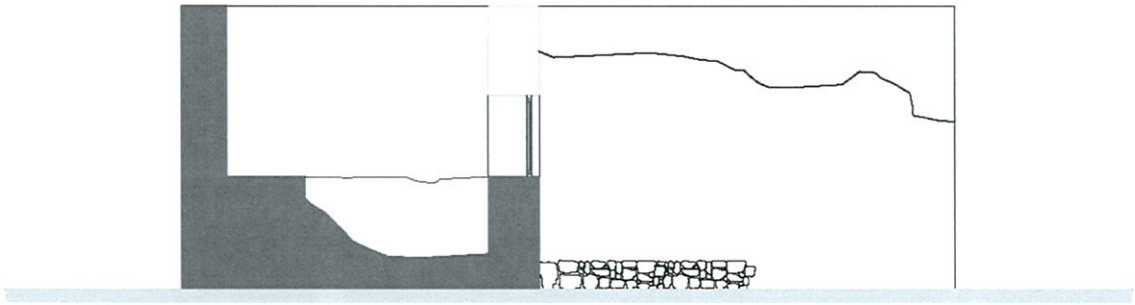


Fig. 8

Sections



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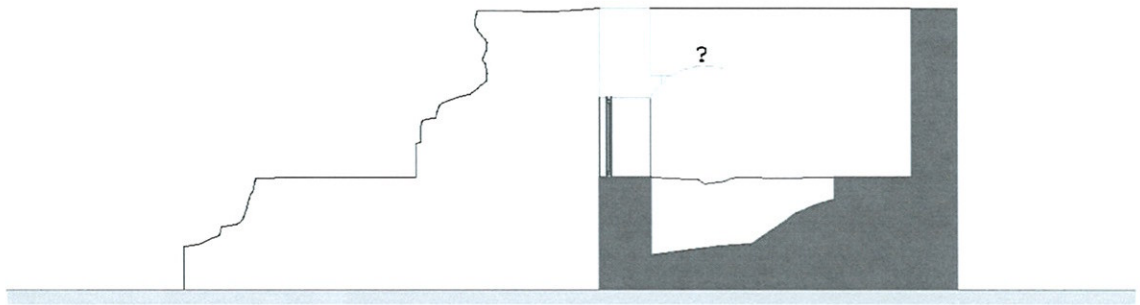
Section A-A



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Section B-B

Fig. 9

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 10

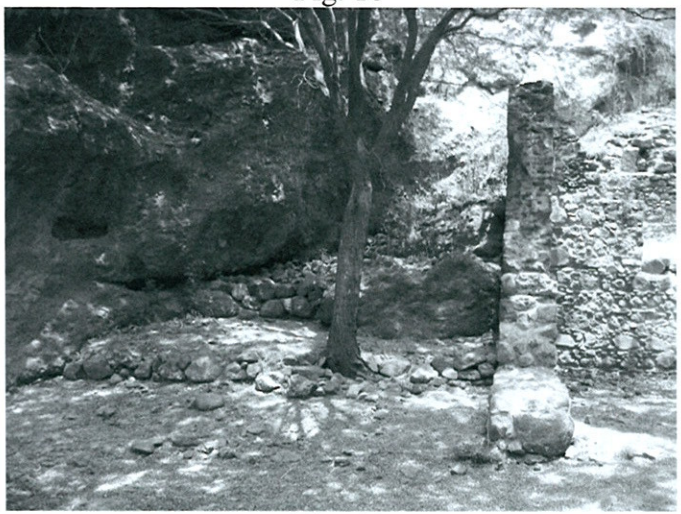


Fig. 12



Fig. 11



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

Detail views



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

Technical details and structural constructive elements
Masonry, mortar and plaster



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24

Floor



Fig. 25

1.2.15 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Luzia/S. Miguel*

Fig. 1-21

Site plans

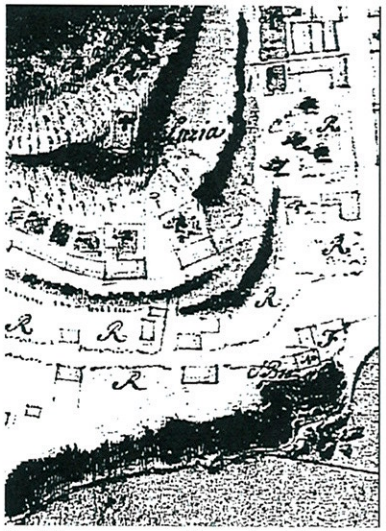


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

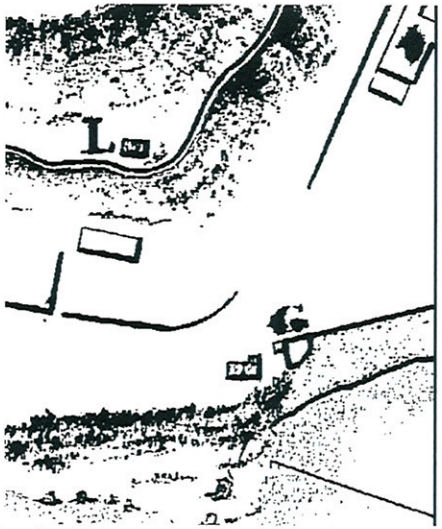


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

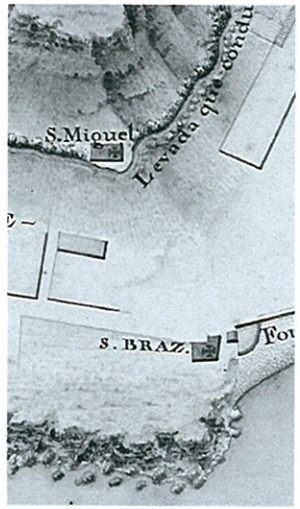


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

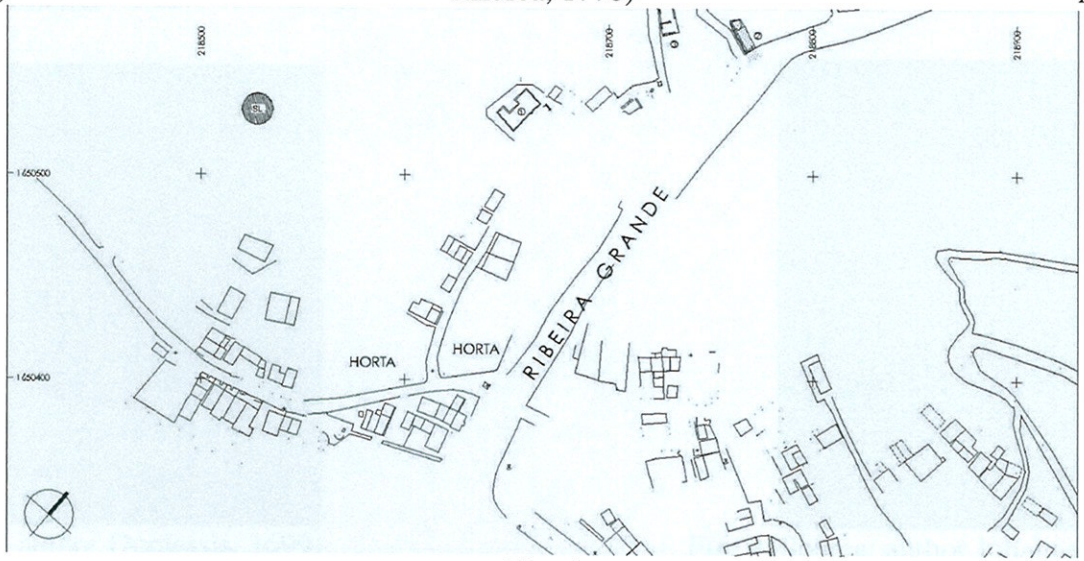


Fig. 4

Plans



Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 6 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)



Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

Additional material and documents



Fig. 8 (Source: author Duplessis, 1699)



Fig. 9 (Source: author Johannes van Reulen, 1635)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 14



Fig. 13

Detail views



Fig. 15 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)

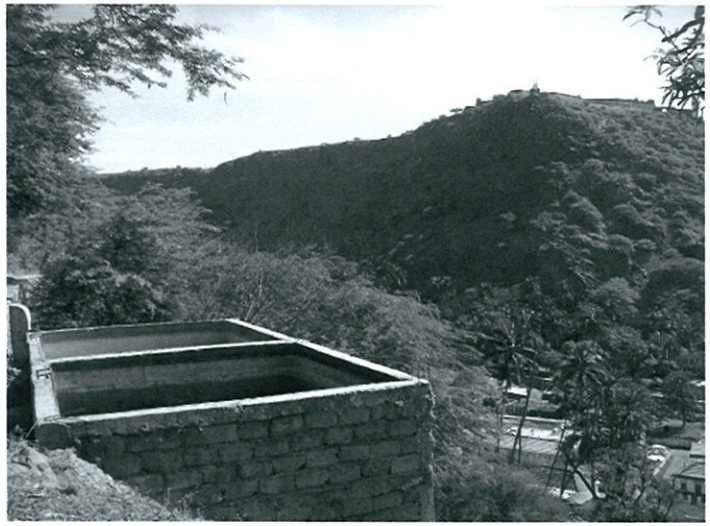


Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

Technical details and structural constructive elements
Clay tiles



Fig. 21

1.2.16 The Chapel/Hermitage of *St.ª Marta*

Fig. 1-14

Site plans

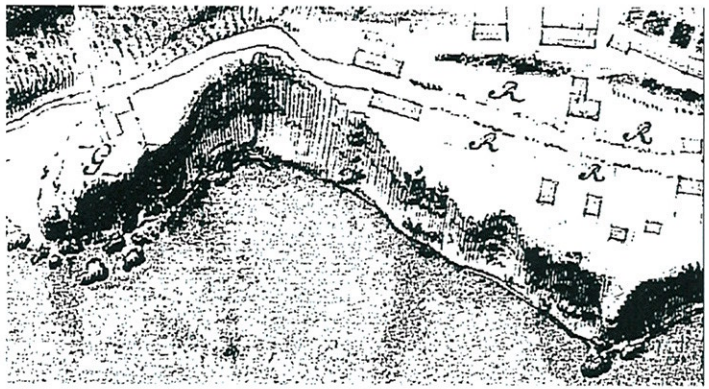


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

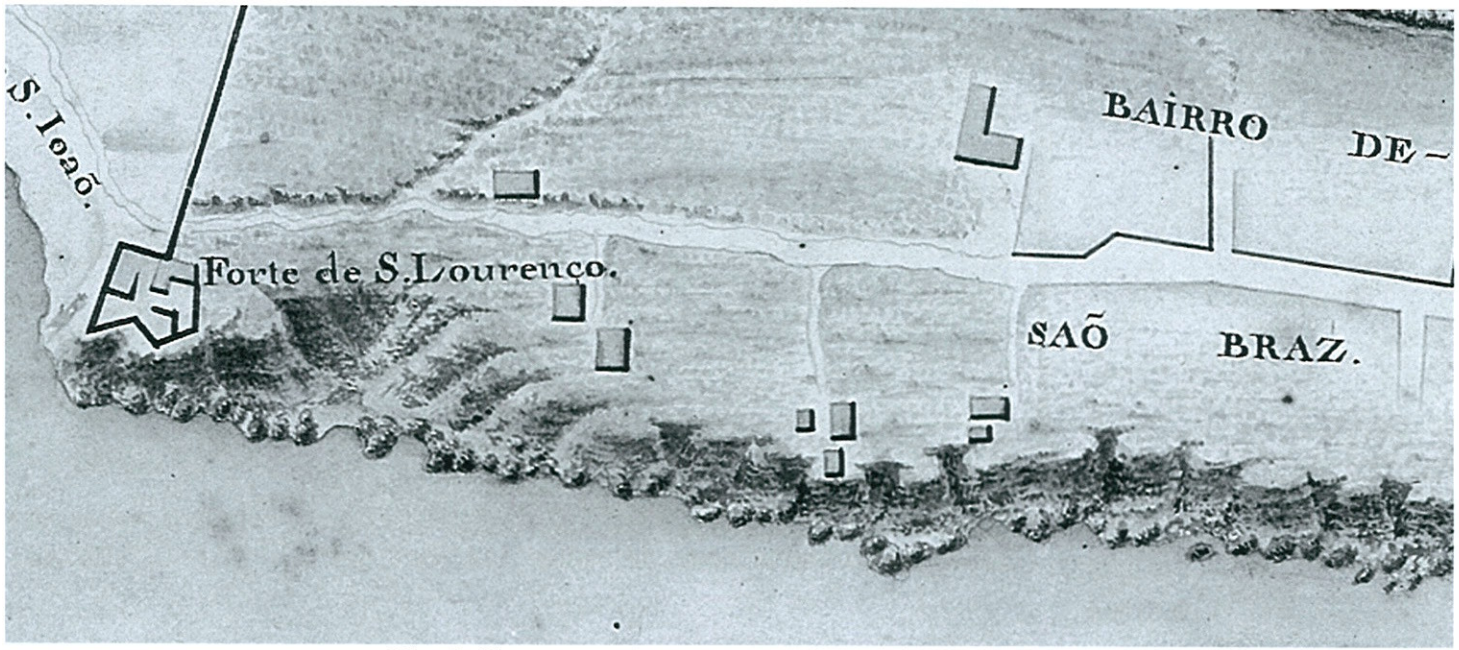


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

Plans



Fig. 4 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)



Fig. 7 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

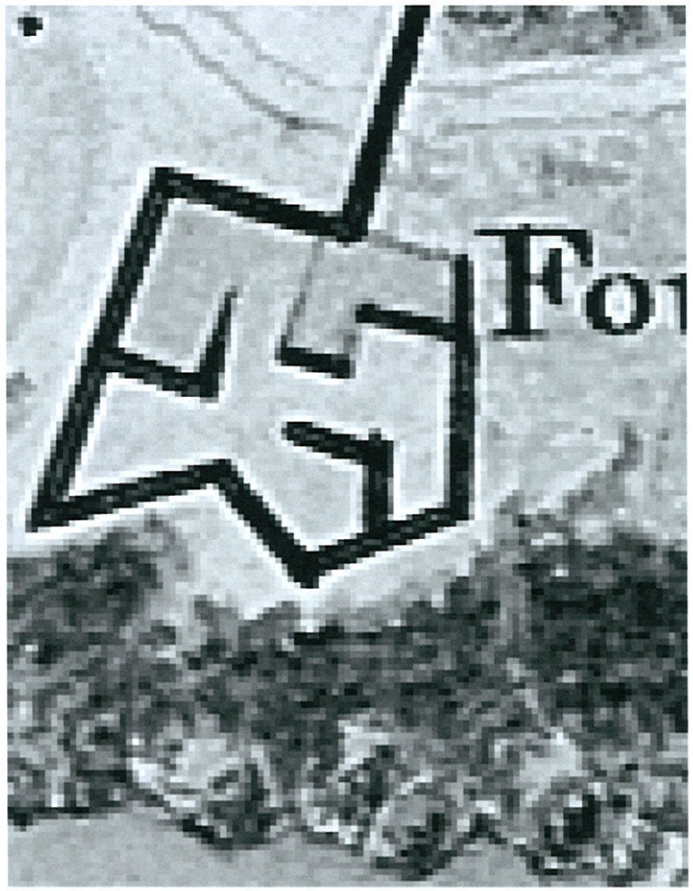


Fig. 5 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

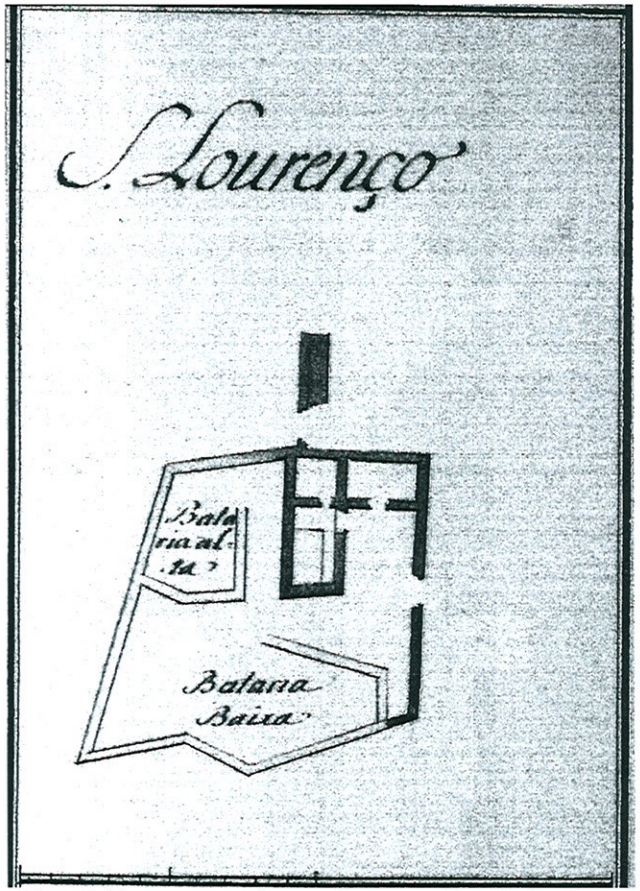


Fig. 6 (Source: author unknown (A. C. Andrea, 1778?), AHN)

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 8 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)

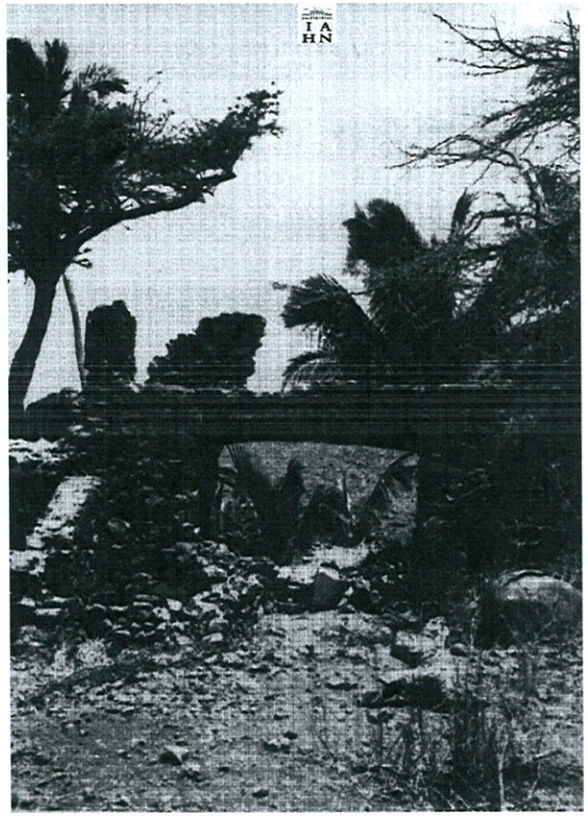


Fig. 9 (Source: photo Ilídio do Amaral, AHN)

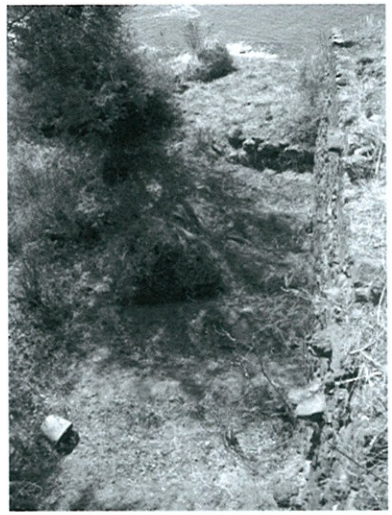


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

Technical details and structural constructive elements
Masonry, mortar and plaster



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

1.2.17 The Chapel of *S. Sebastião*

Fig. 1-10

Site plans

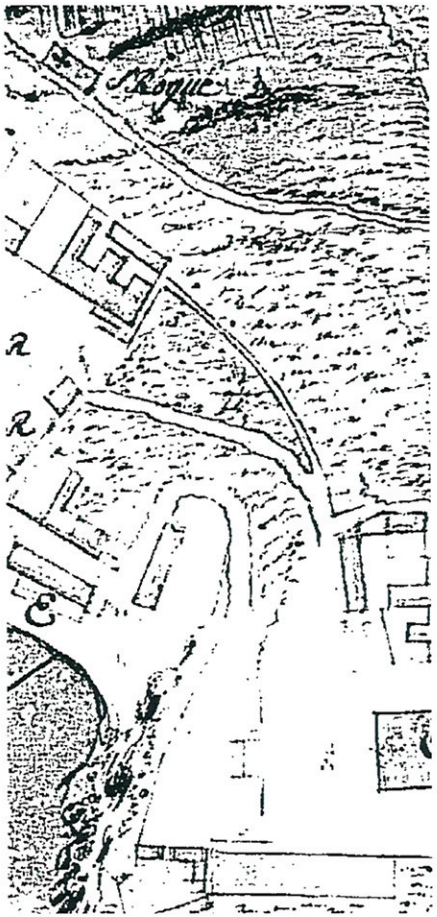


Fig. 1 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1769)

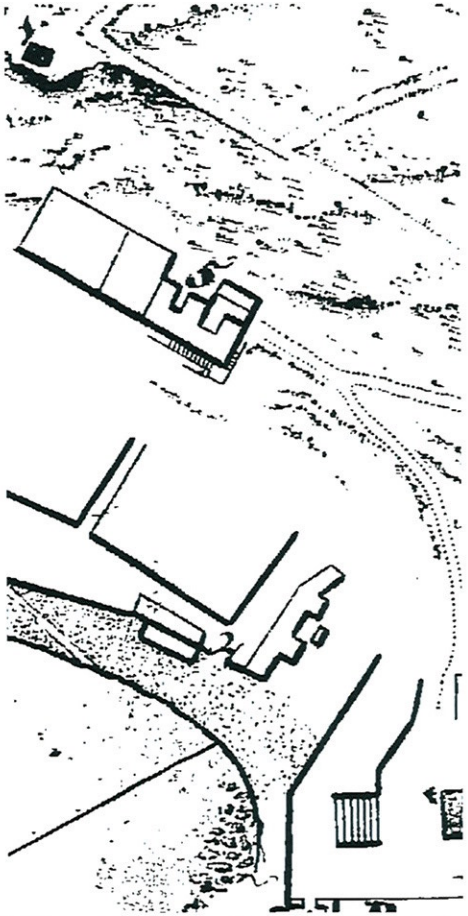


Fig. 2 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)

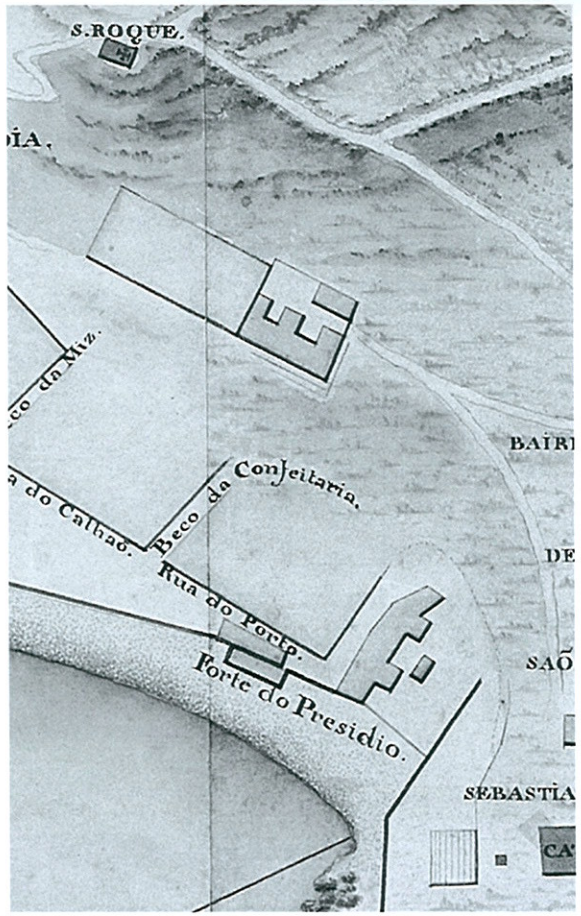


Fig. 3 (Source: author António Carlos Andrea, 1778)


HORTA
HORTA
RIBEIRA GRANDE
Cen o Social
ST
Sé - Catedral
SC
Fo e S. Verissimo
P

Fig. 4

Plan

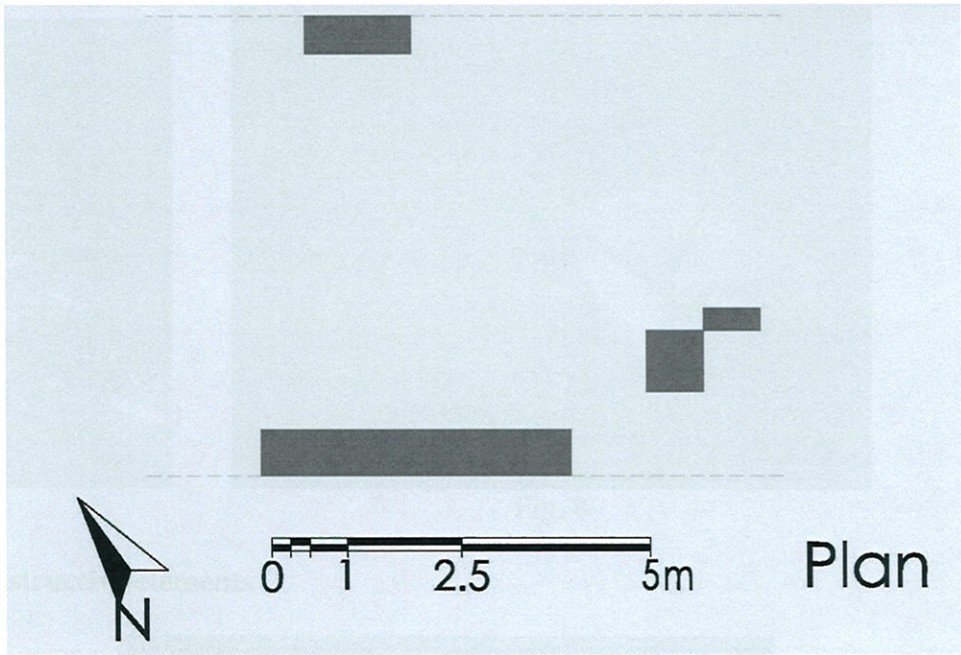


Fig. 5

Elevations

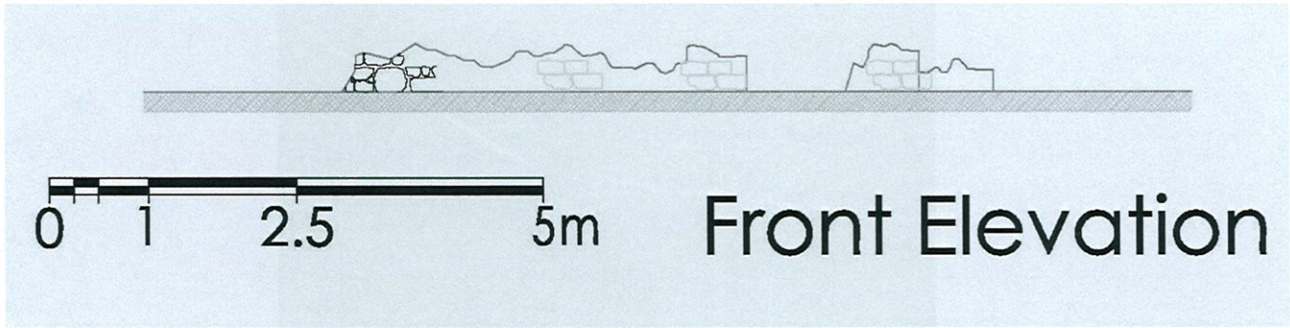


Fig. 6

Localization in the urban fabric and general views



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

Technical details and structural constructive elements
Masonry



Fig. 10

1.2.18 The Church/Chapel of *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit)

Note: very probably the same as *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*

or as *Misericórdia*. See both

1.3 APPENDIX

Plans, elevations and sections,
as well as constructive structural elements
of comparative religious buildings
from mainland and other colonies

Fig. 1-158

Note:

- if without any indication, the source of the respective Figure is from K. Richter
- the source of technical typology drawings for comparison, Fig. 66-69, is from K. Richter and W. Rivera
- the source of Fig. 39, 51, 52, 62, 64 is from the Instituto Açoriano de Cultura
- the source of Fig. 34, 35, 56 is from the Ministério do Ambiente, Ordenamento do Território e Desenvolvimento Regional/Instituto de Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, *SIPA-Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitectónico,* in: www.monumentos.pt
- the source of Fig. 2, 8, 11, 12, 15-27, 30-33, 36-38, 40-50, 53-55, 57-61, 63, 70, 74, 75, 77, 83, 84, 86, 88, 90-92, 112, 113, 115-117, 128, 130, 132, 137, 138, 142-145, 148, 149, 151, 157, 158 is from Rui Carita, *Image Bank*, in: www.arquipelagos.pt

Typologies and general views

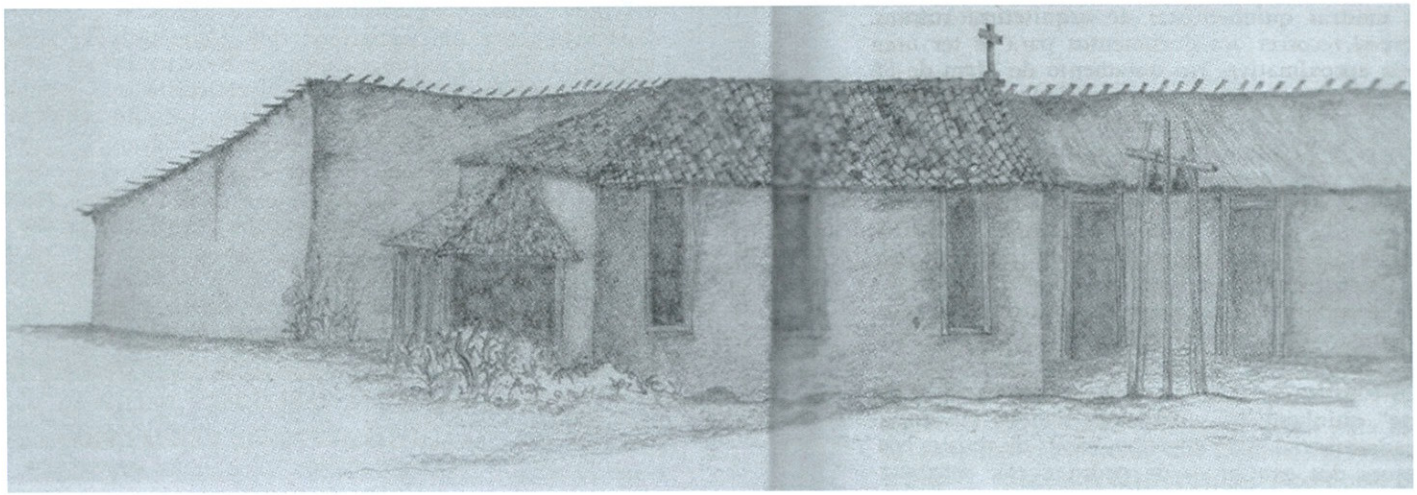


Fig. 1 Precarious temple ('hut-church'), Brazil, 16th century (Source: in Bardi, P. M., 1975. *História da Arte Brasileira*. São Paulo: Editoras Melhoramento)



Fig. 2 Hermitage of *S. Brás*, Évora, 1480 - 1490



Fig. 3 Church of *N.ª S.ª de África*, first half of 15th century, rec. 1550 (Source: photo author unknown, BNL)



Fig. 5 Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, Alcatraz, Santiago, Cape Verde, c. 1500 (Source : in António Brásio (1960), *MMA. Africa Ocidental*, Vol. II)

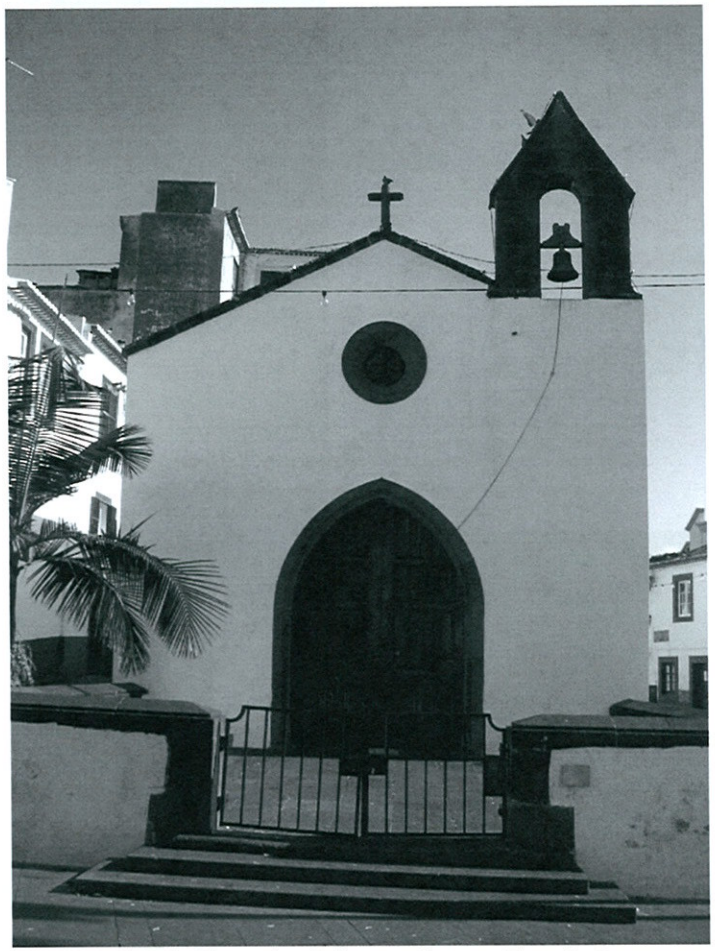


Fig. 4 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520



Fig. 6 Chapel of *St.º Cristo*, Lisbon, begin 16th century



Fig. 7 Chapel of *St.º Cristo*, Lisbon, begin 16th century



Fig. 8 Matrix Church of *St.ª Cruz*, Terceira, chapel erected in 1456 , matrix Church in 1517

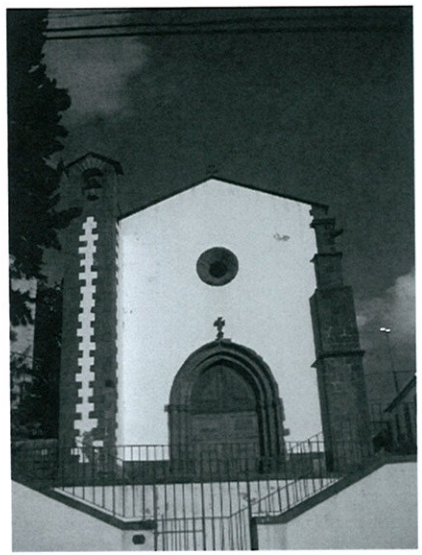


Fig. 9 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540



Fig. 10 Chapel of *S. Gerônimo*, Lisbon



Fig. 11 Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510



Fig. 12 Church of *S. Sebastião*, Terceira, c. 1540



Fig. 13 Church of *St.º Ignácio*, Morro do Castelo, Brazil, 16th century (Source: in Bardi, P. M., 1975. *História da Arte Brasileira*. São Paulo: Editoras Melhoramento)



Fig. 14 Church of *N.ª S.ª de Assunção*, Anchieta, Brazil, 16th century, rec. 17th century (?) (Source: in Bardi, P. M., 1975. *História da Arte Brasileira*. São Paulo: Editoras Melhoramento)



Fig. 15 Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal, c. 1554, rec. between 1720 and 1750



Fig. 16 Church of *S. Domingos*, Viana do Castelo, 1566 -1576



Fig. 17 Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora, 1557-1563/1568-1572 and 16th / 17th / 18th century



Fig. 18 Cathedral, Portalegre, 1556-1571, 16th / 17th / 18th century



Fig. 19 Cathedral , Angra do Heroísmo, 1568



Fig. 20 Church of *S. Vicente de Fora*, Lisbon, c. 1590



Fig. 21 Convent of *S. Francisco*, S. Miguel, begin c. 1550, totally rec. mid 18th century



Fig. 23 Hermitage of *S. Pedro*, Pico, c. 1600



Fig. 22 Hermitage of *S. Pedro*, Alvor, c. 1600



Fig. 24 Hermitage of *St.ª Catarina*, Beliche, c.1600



Fig. 25 Castle and Palace of *Gondar*, Ethiopia, 1632



Fig. 27 Convent of *S. Francisco*, Pico, 1680 till c. 1750



Fig. 26 Chapel of *S. Filipe*, Funchal, c. 1660

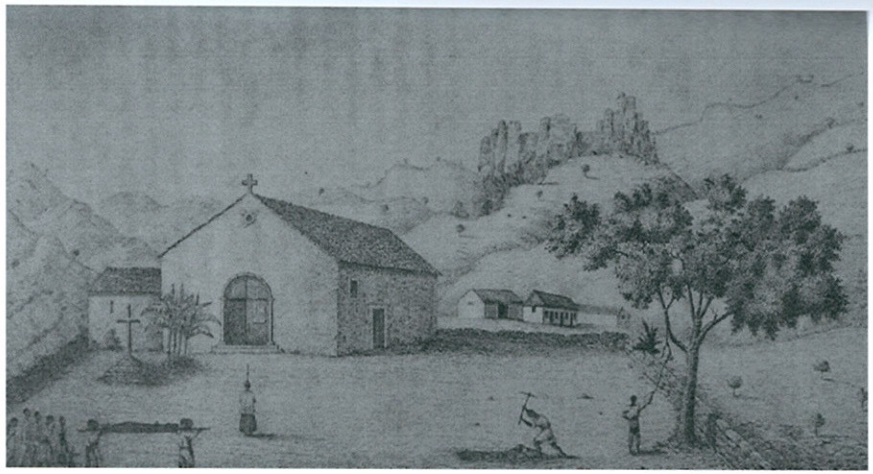


Fig. 28 Rural chapel, Santiago Island, 18th century (Source: in Madeira Santos, 2001. *História Geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. II Lisboa/Praia: Instituto de Investigação Tropical, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural)



Fig. 29 Church of *St.ª Luzia*, Funchal, 1726



Fig. 30 Episcopal Palace of Olinda, c. 1700

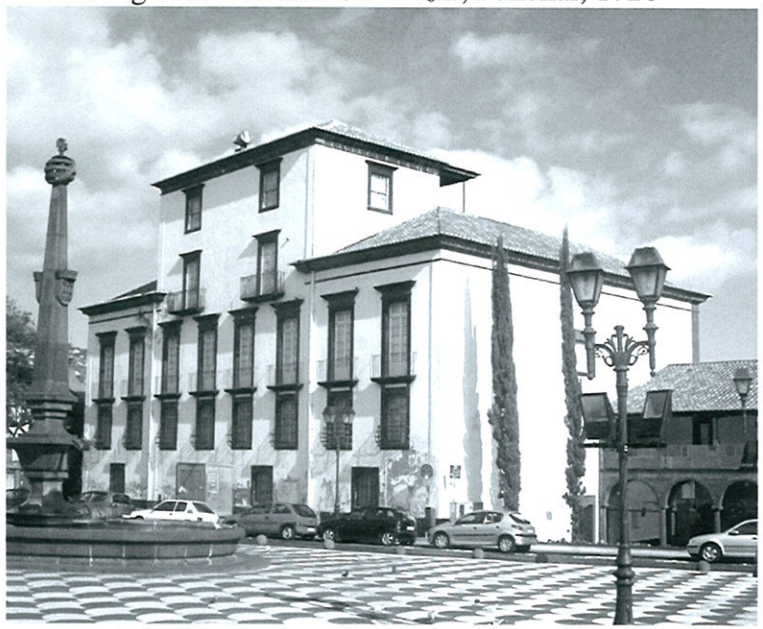


Fig. 31 Episcopal Palace, Madeira, 1750

Plans

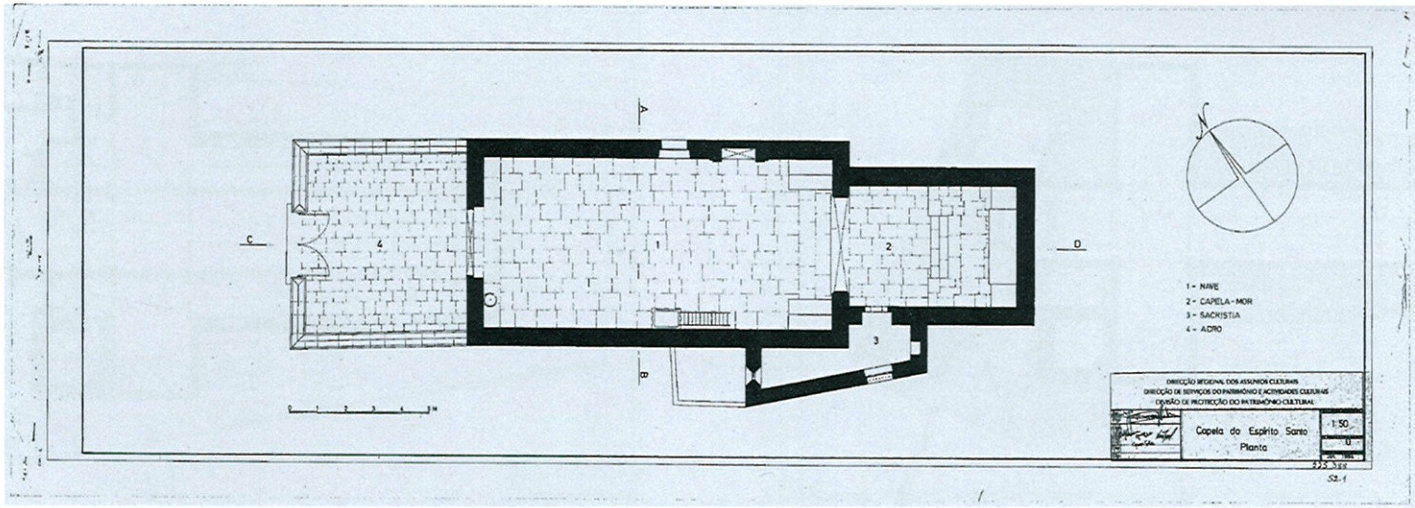


Fig. 32 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520

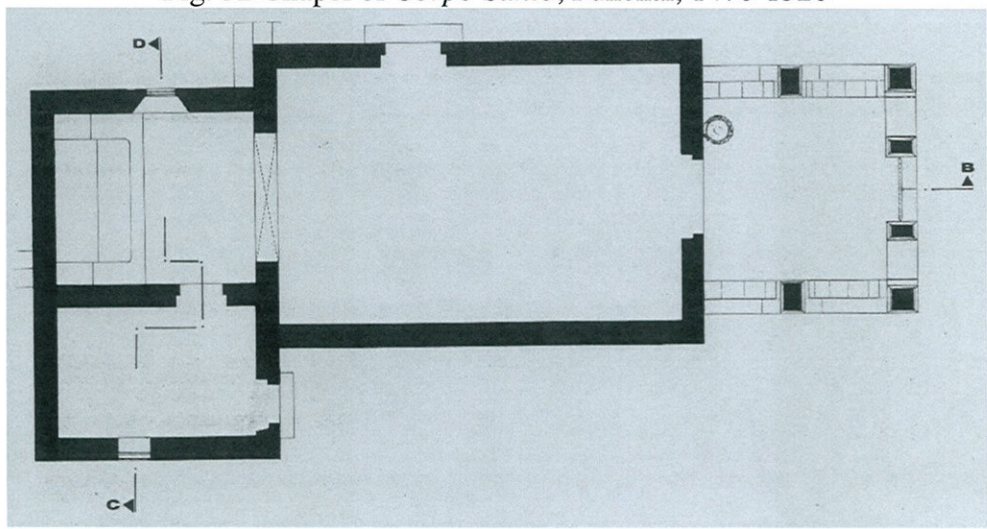


Fig. 33 Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720

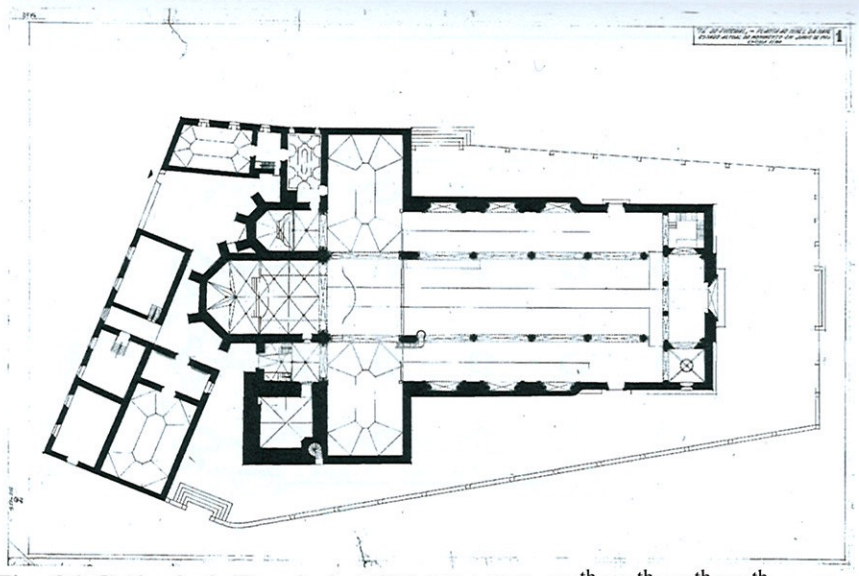


Fig. 34 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

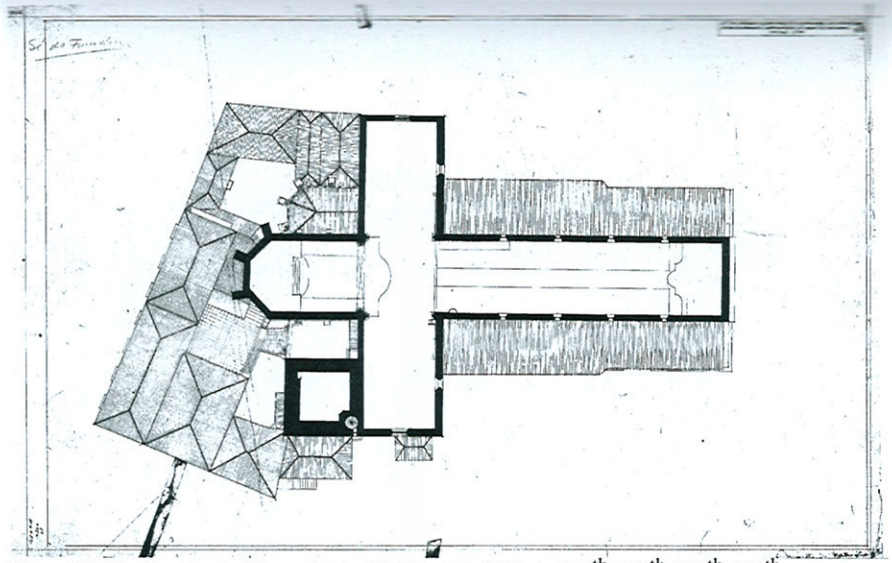


Fig. 35 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

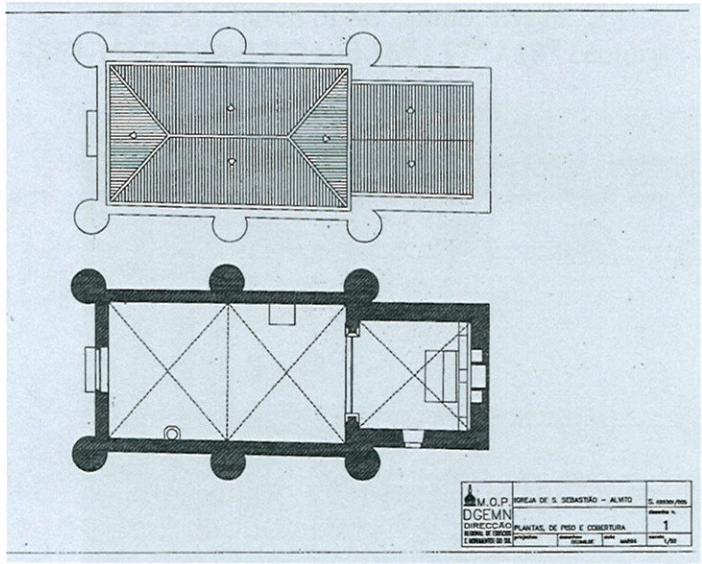


Fig. 36 Chapel of *S. Sebastião*, Alvito, 1510

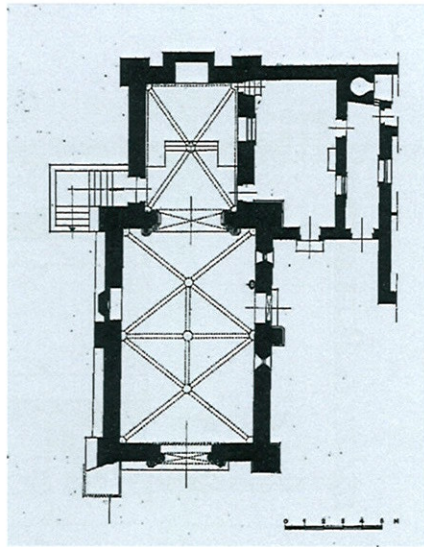


Fig. 37 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540

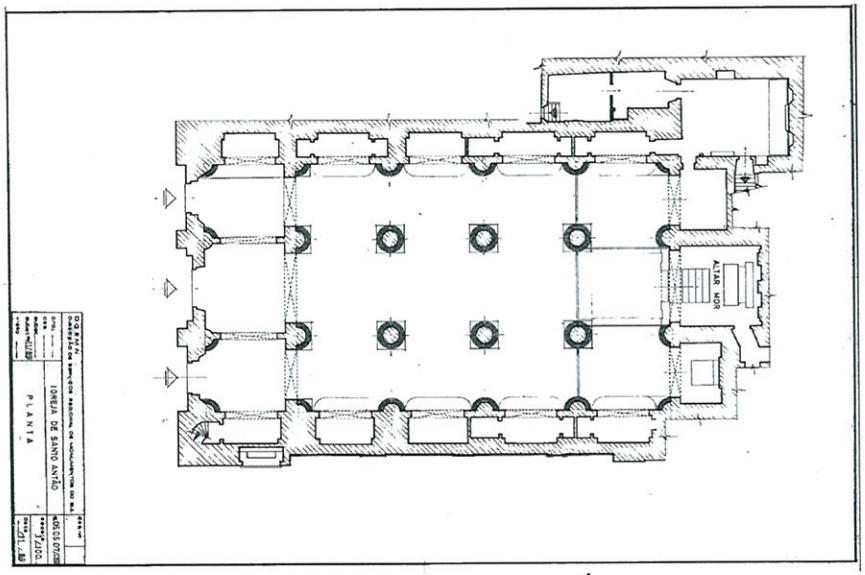


Fig. 38 Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora,
1557-1563/1568-1572 and 16th / 17th / 18th century

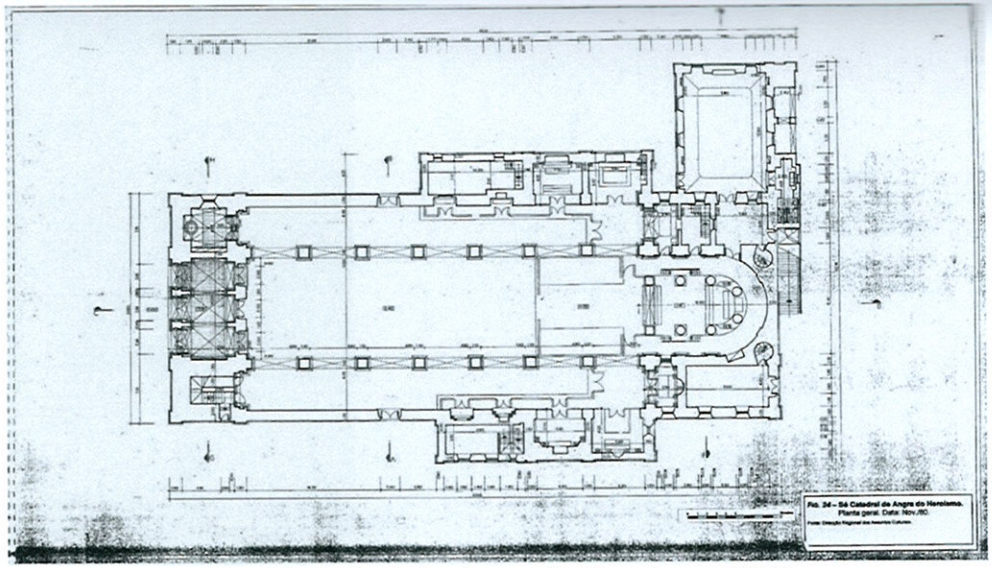


Fig. 39 Cathedral , Angra do Heroísmo, 1568

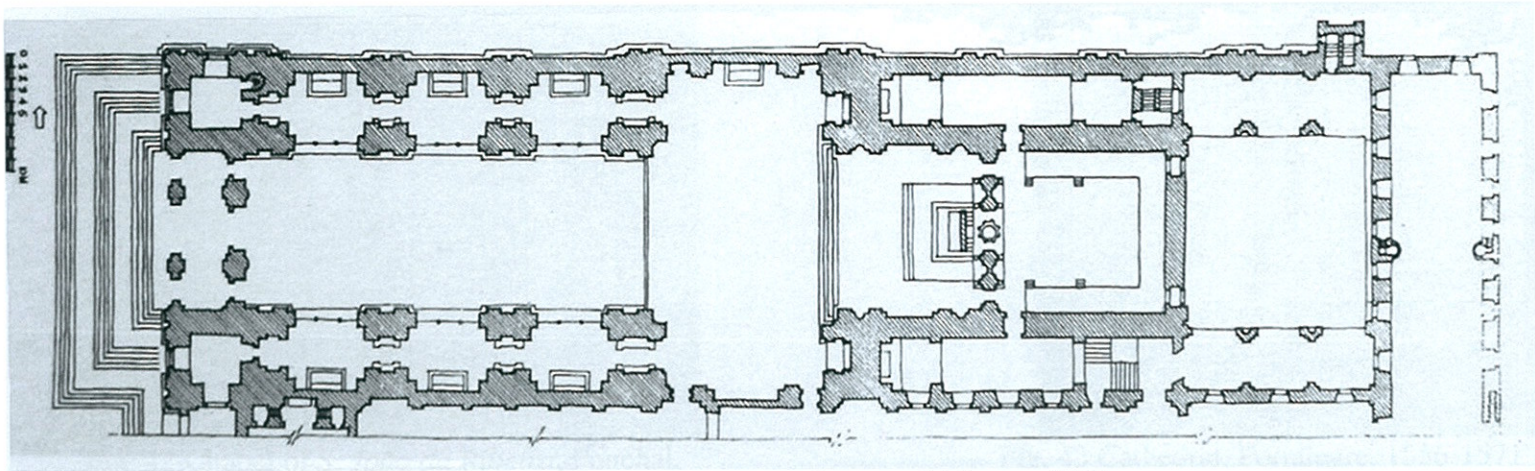


Fig. 40 Church of *S. Vicente de Fora*, Lisbon, c.1590

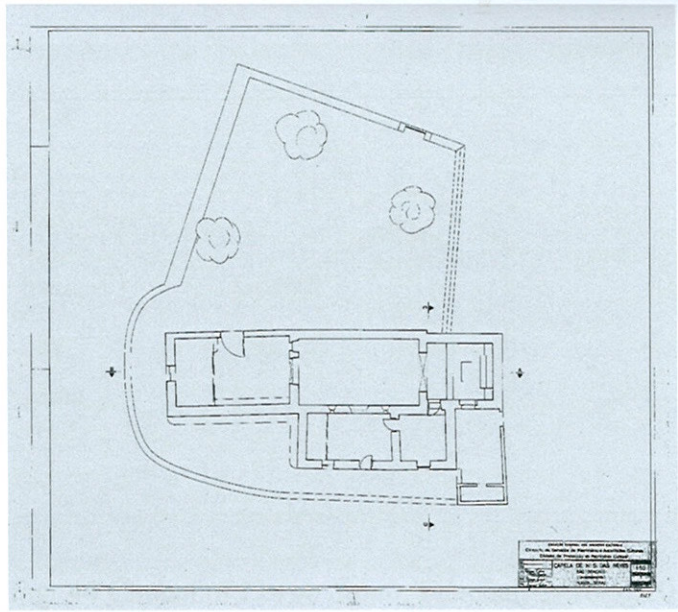


Fig. 41 Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670

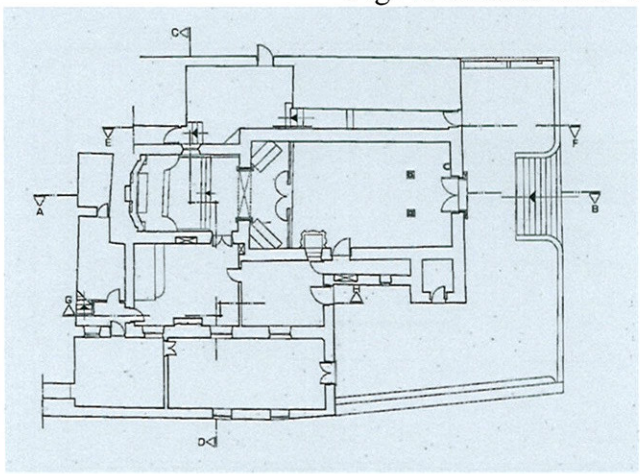


Fig. 42 Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal, c. 1554, rec. between 1720 and 1750

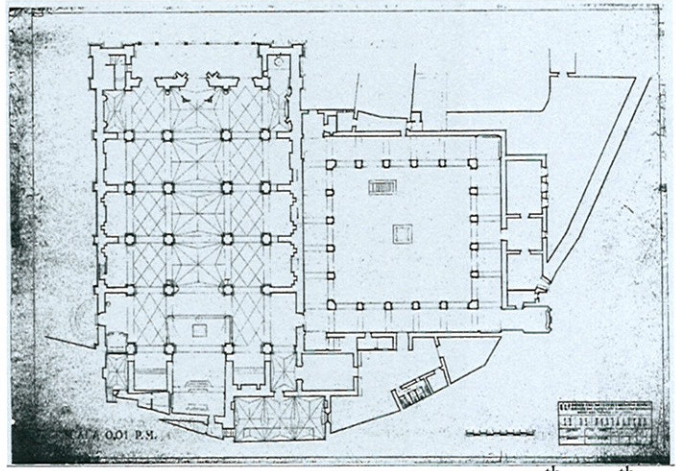


Fig. 43 Cathedral, Portalegre, 1556-1571, 16th / 17th / 18th century

Elevations

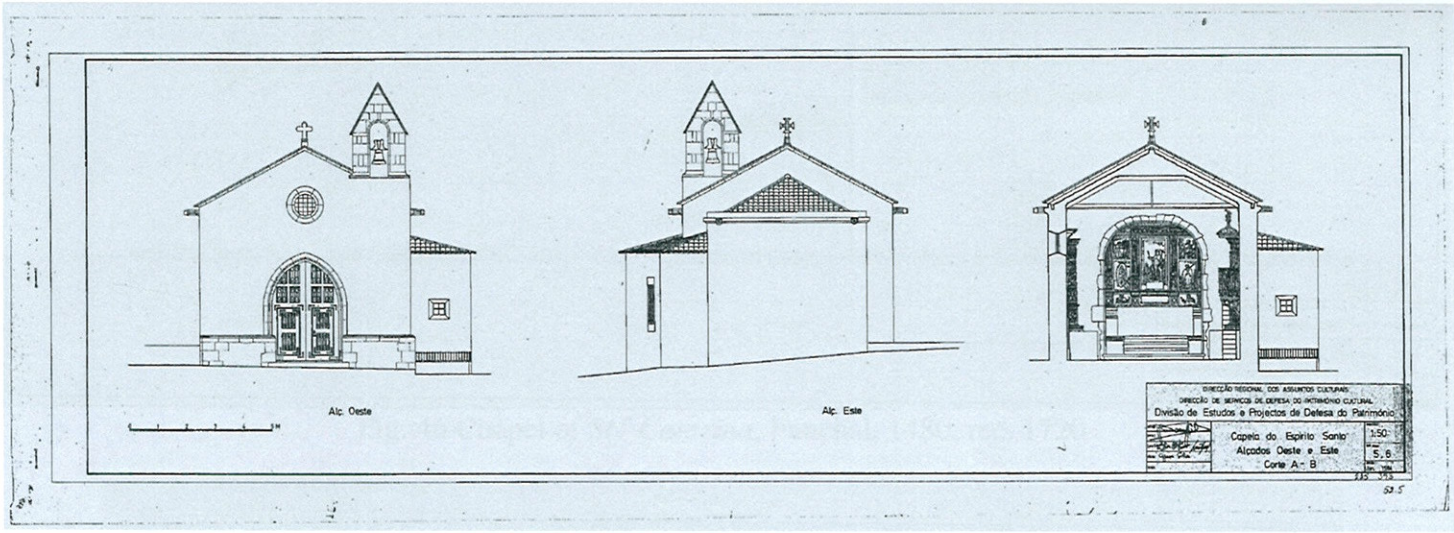


Fig. 44 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520

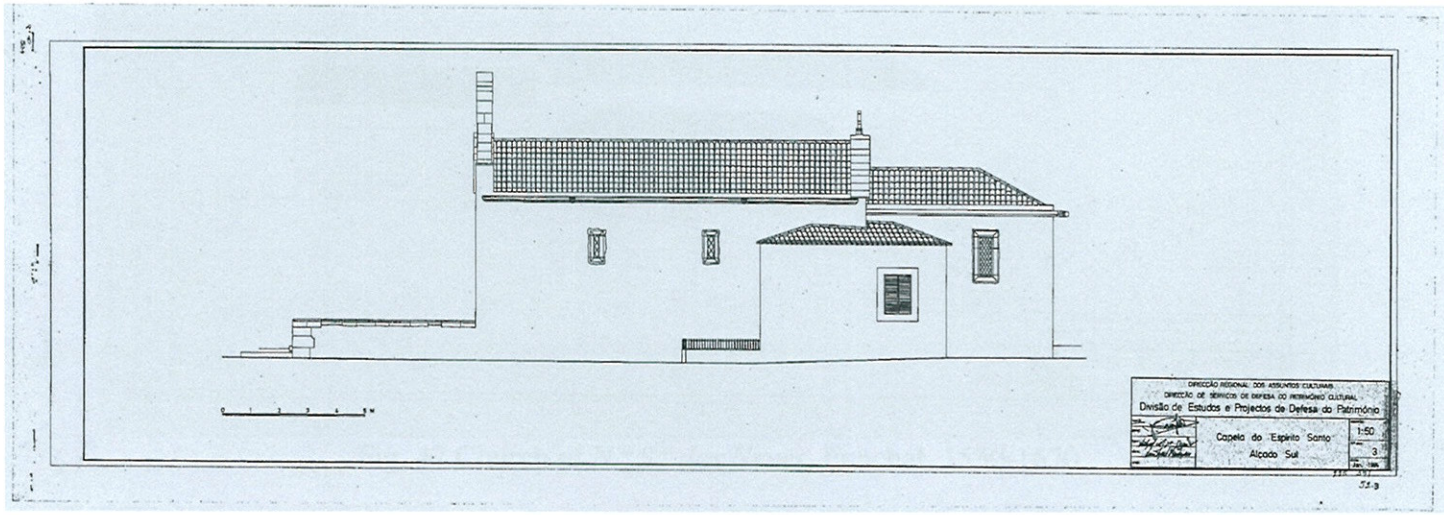


Fig. 45 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520

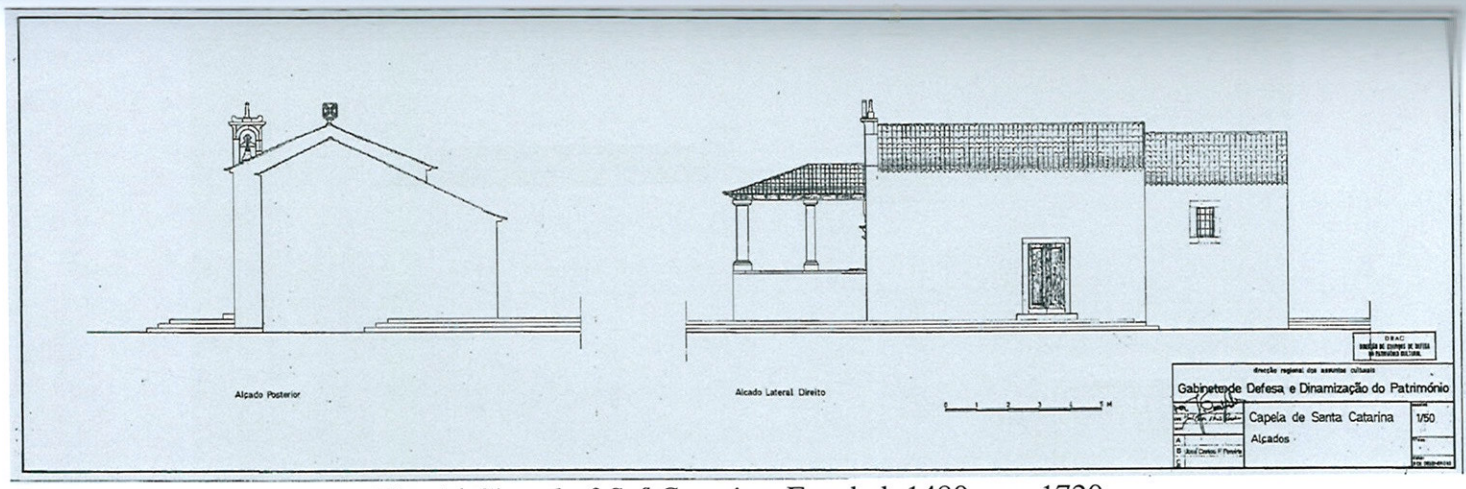


Fig. 46 Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720

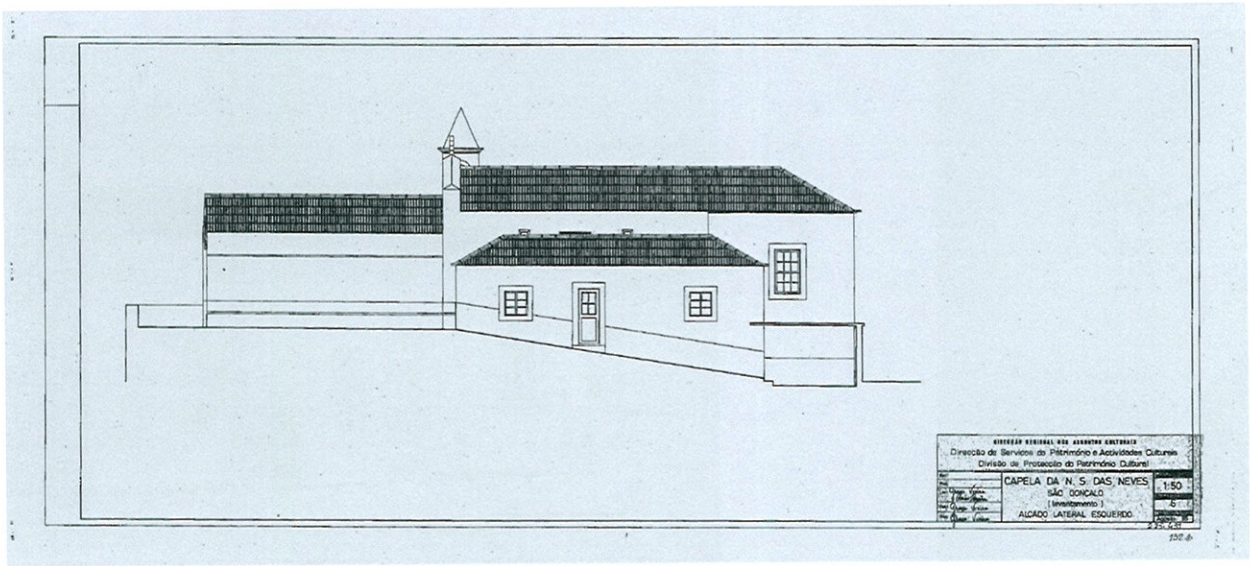


Fig. 47 Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670

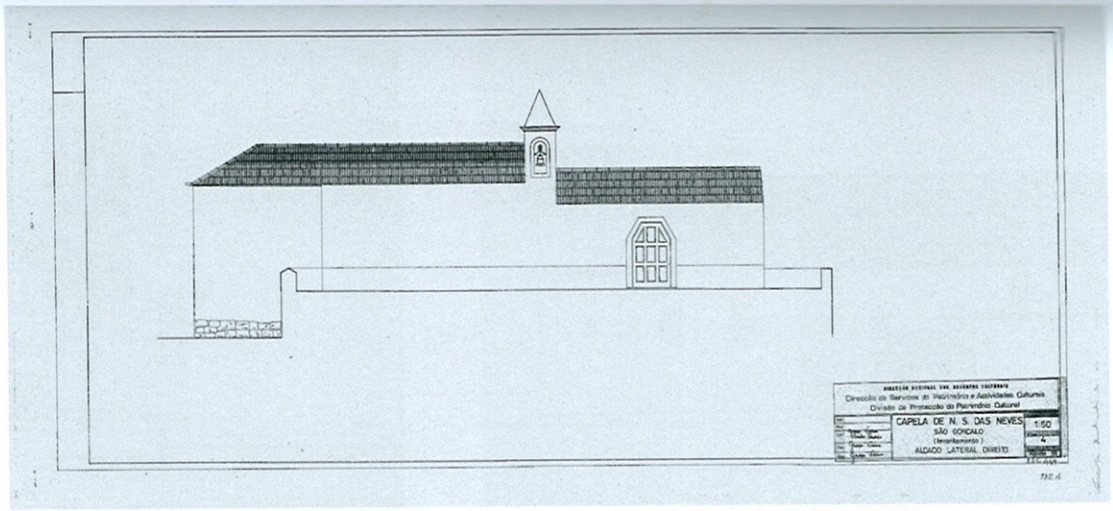


Fig. 48 Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670

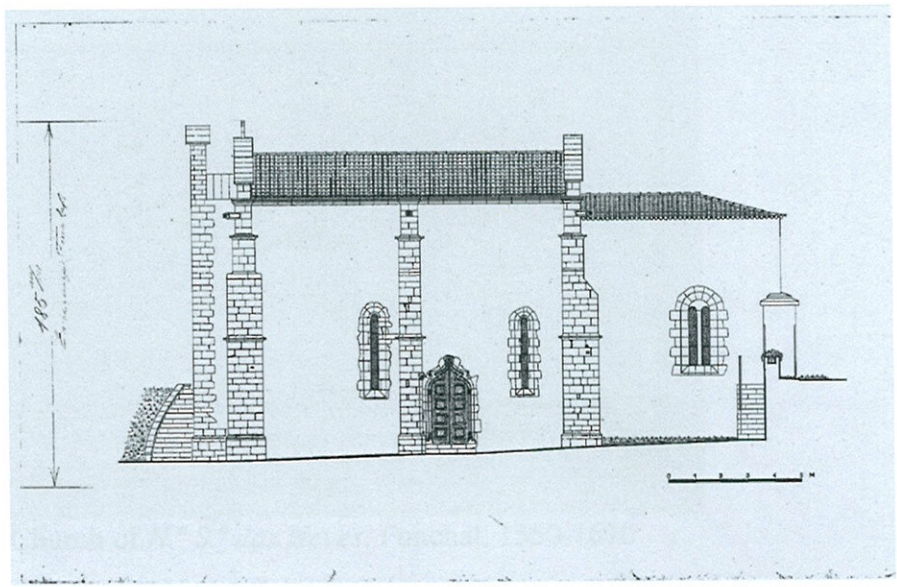


Fig. 49 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540

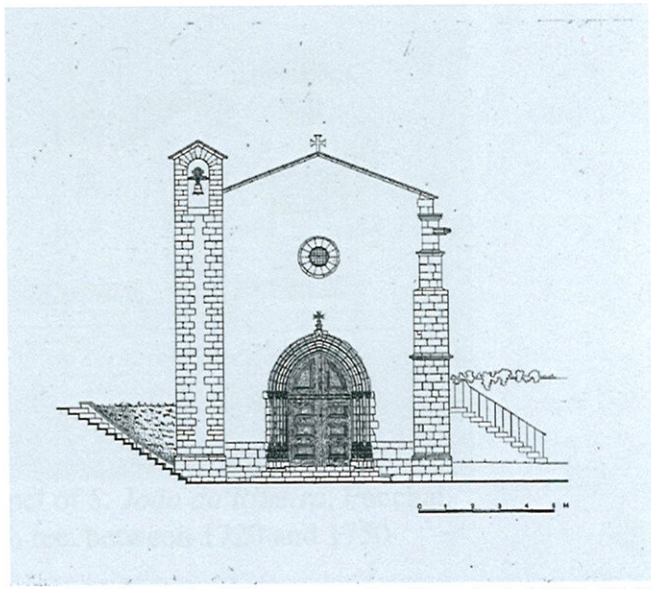


Fig. 50 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540

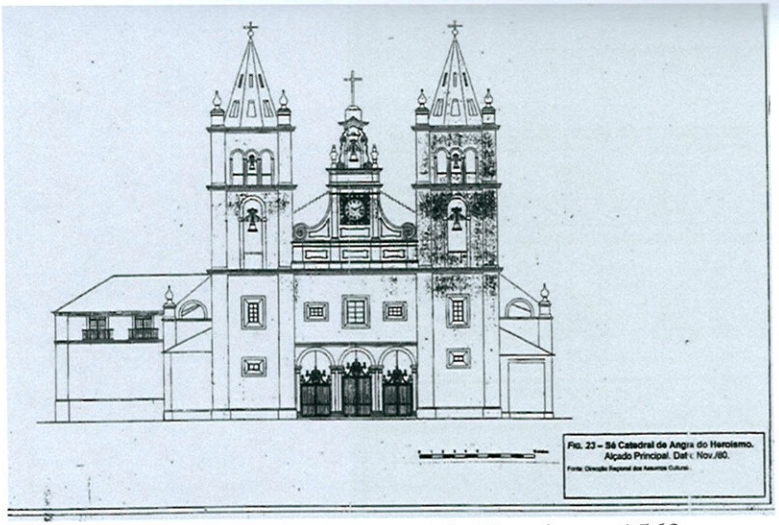


Fig. 51 Cathedral , Angra do Heroísmo, 1568

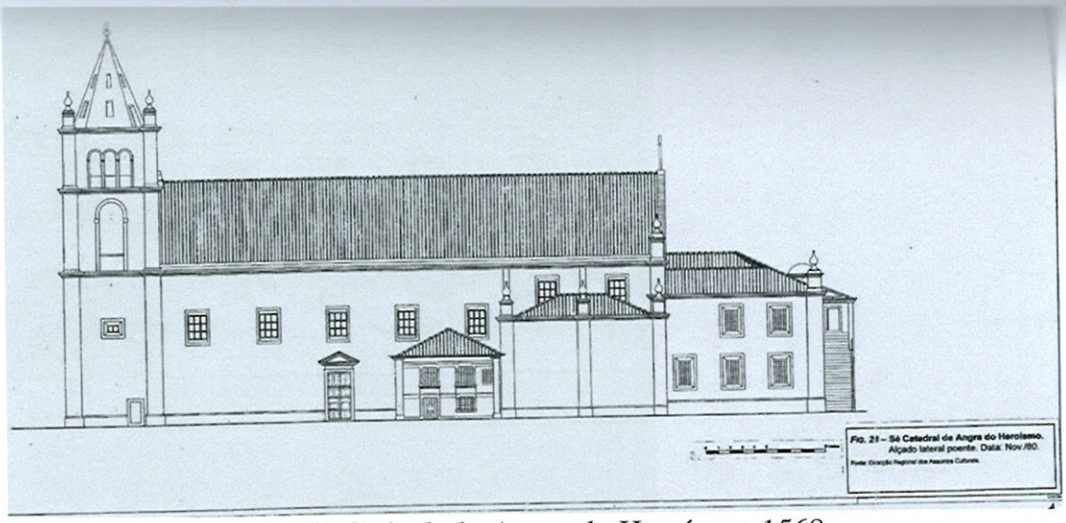


Fig. 52 Cathedral , Angra do Heroísmo, 1568

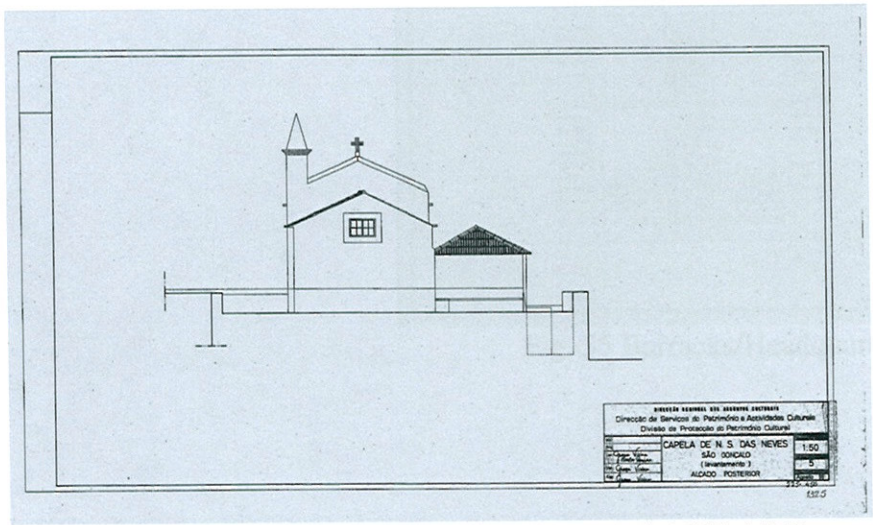


Fig. 53 Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670

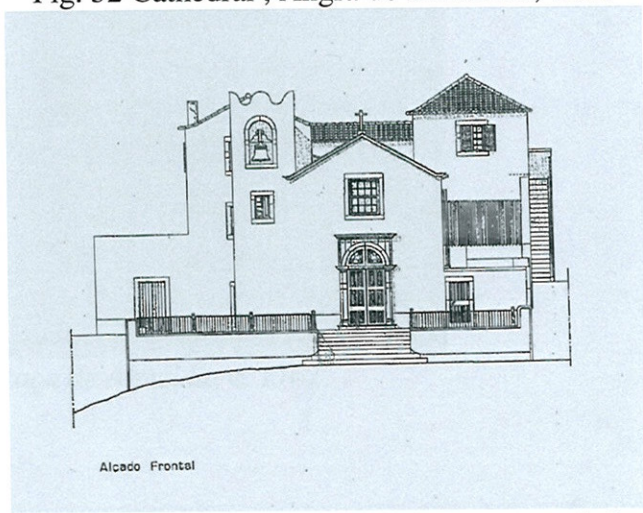


Fig. 54 Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal, c. 1554, rec. between 1720 and 1750

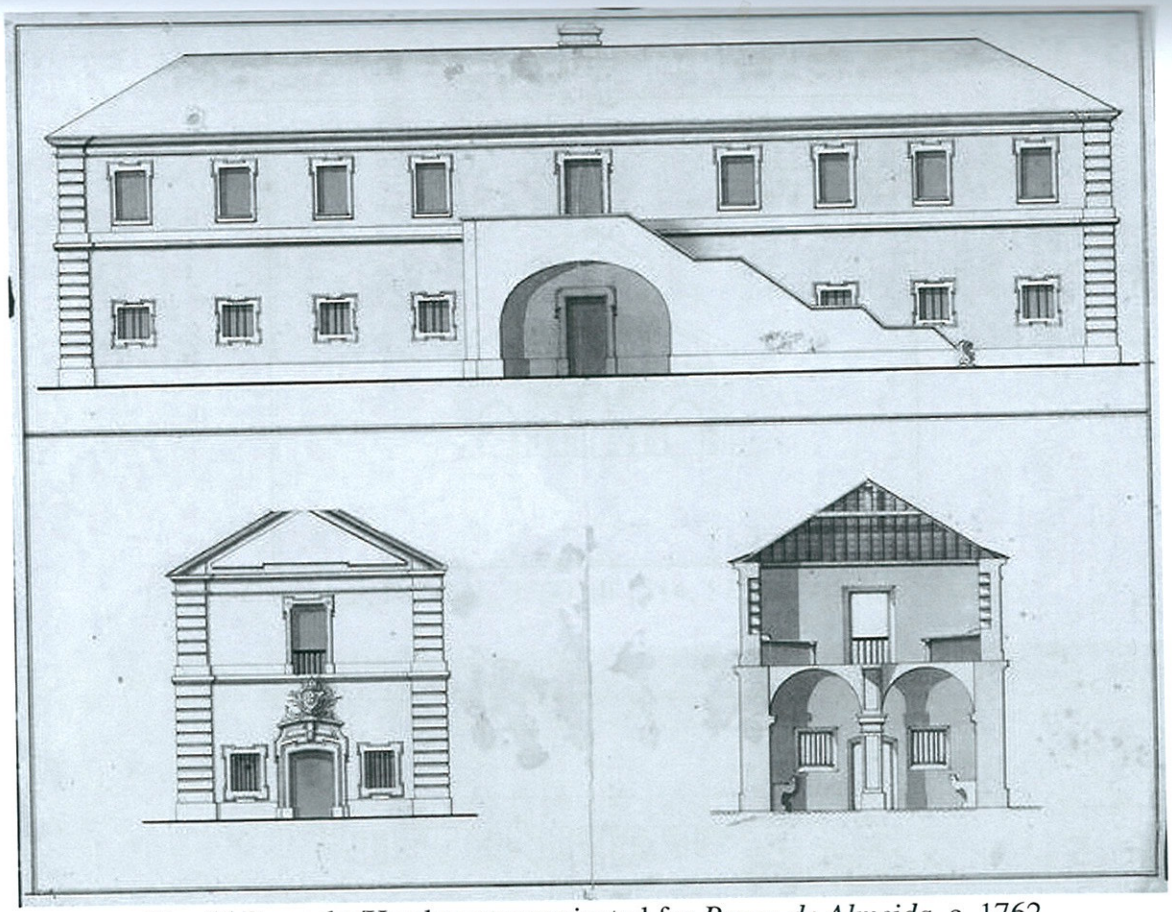


Fig. 55 Barracks/Headquarter projected for *Praça de Almeida*, c. 1762

Sections

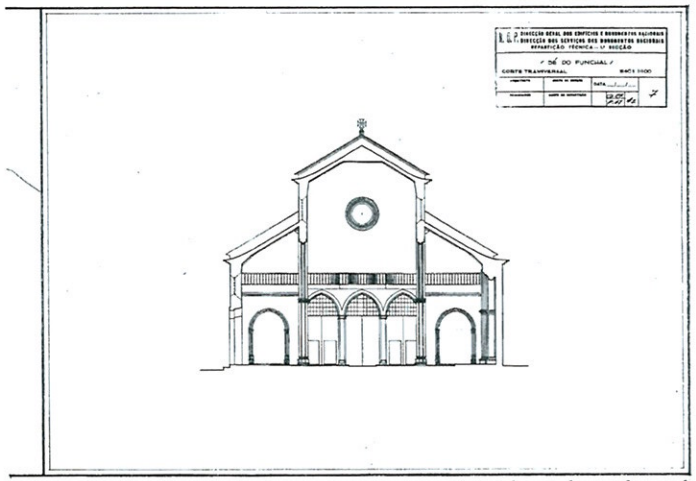


Fig. 56 Cathedral, Funchal,, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

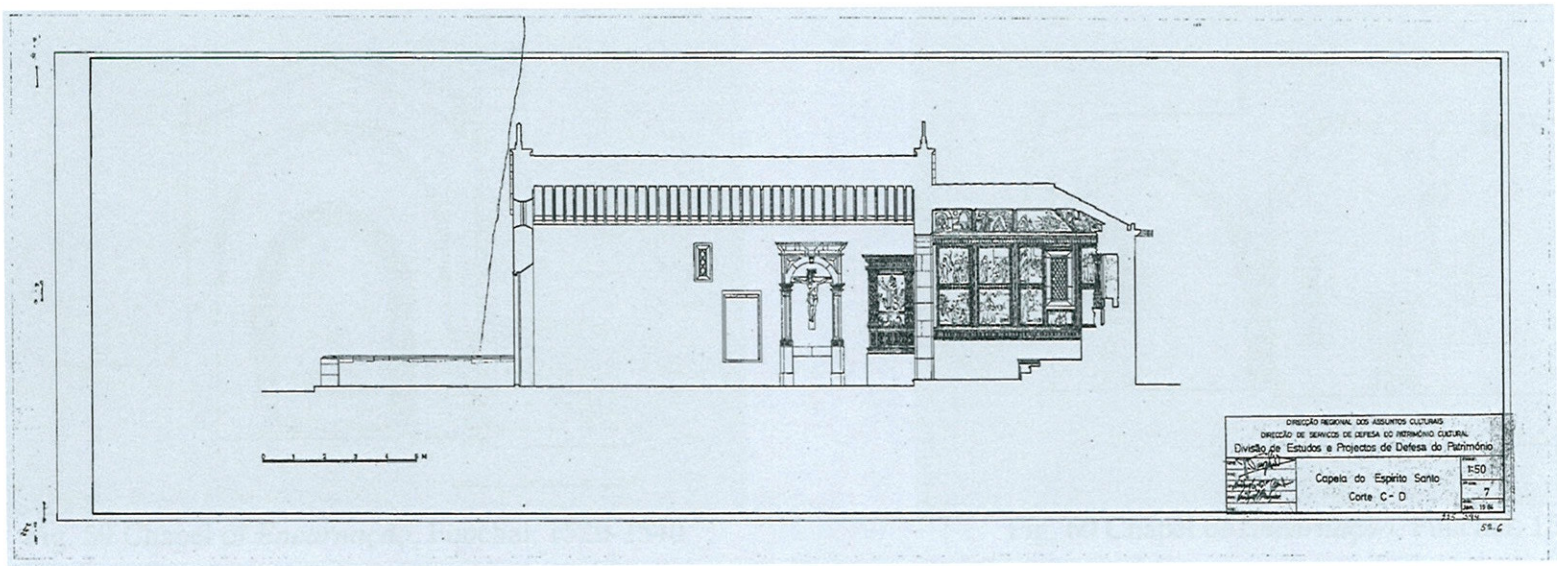


Fig. 57 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520

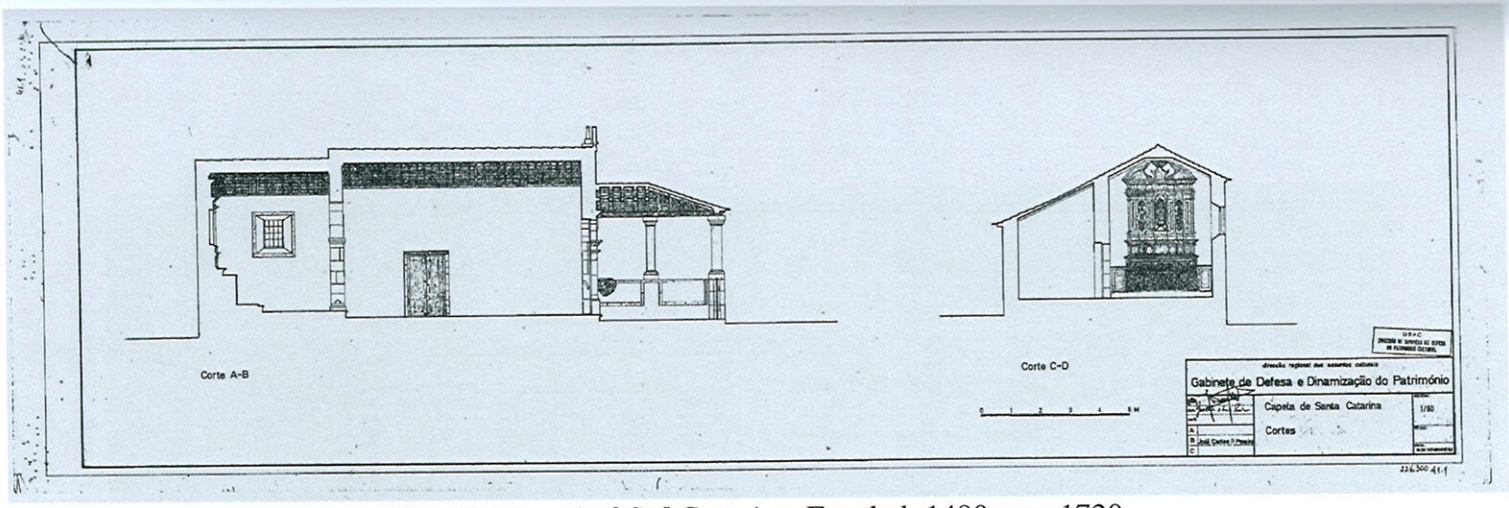


Fig. 58 Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720

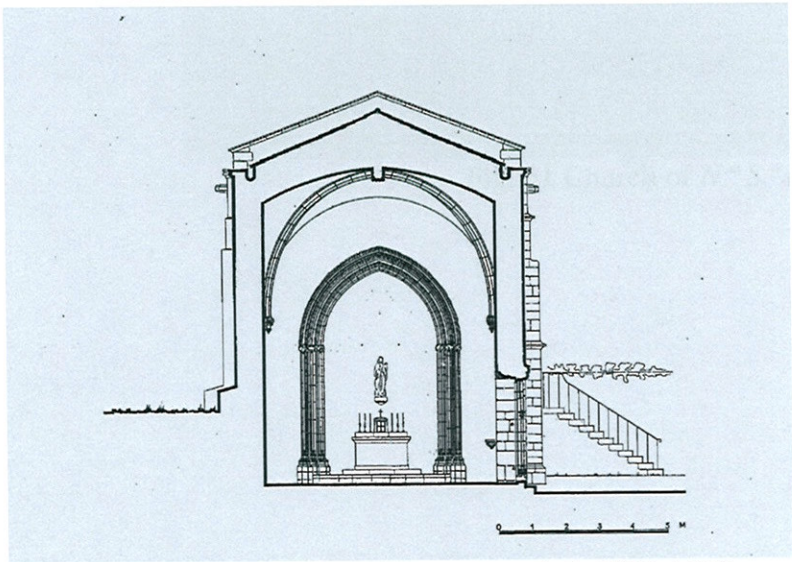


Fig. 59 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540

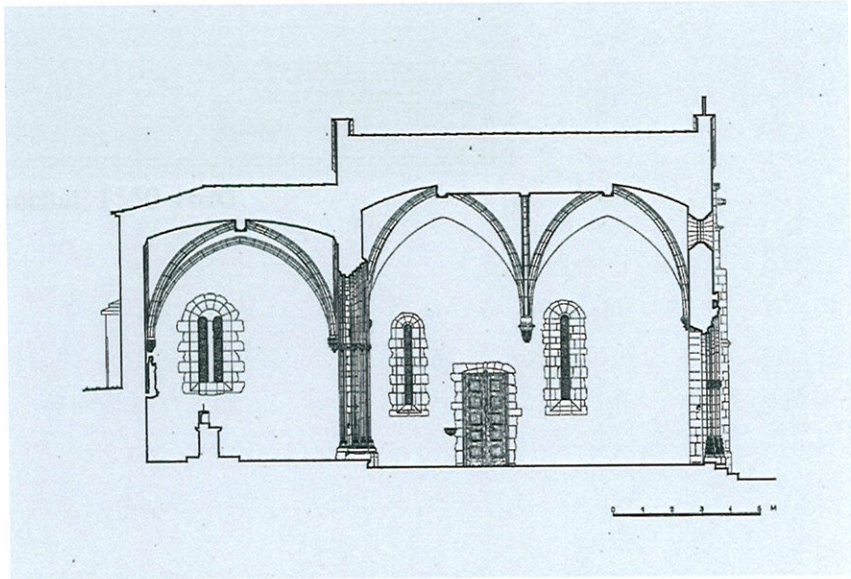


Fig. 60 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540

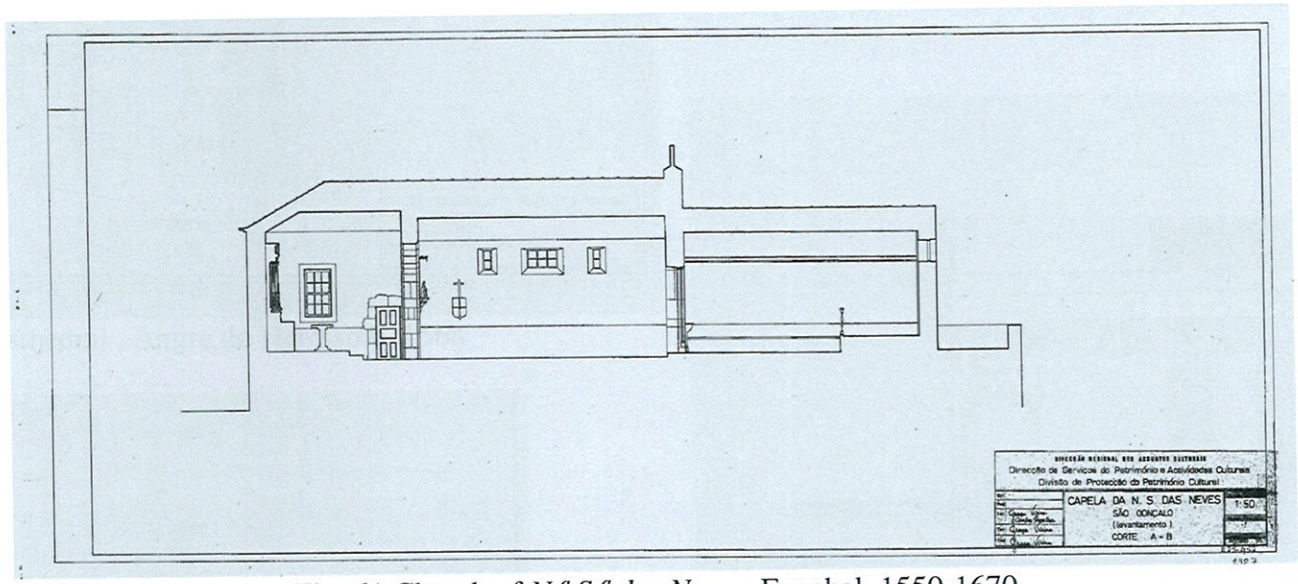


Fig. 61 Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670

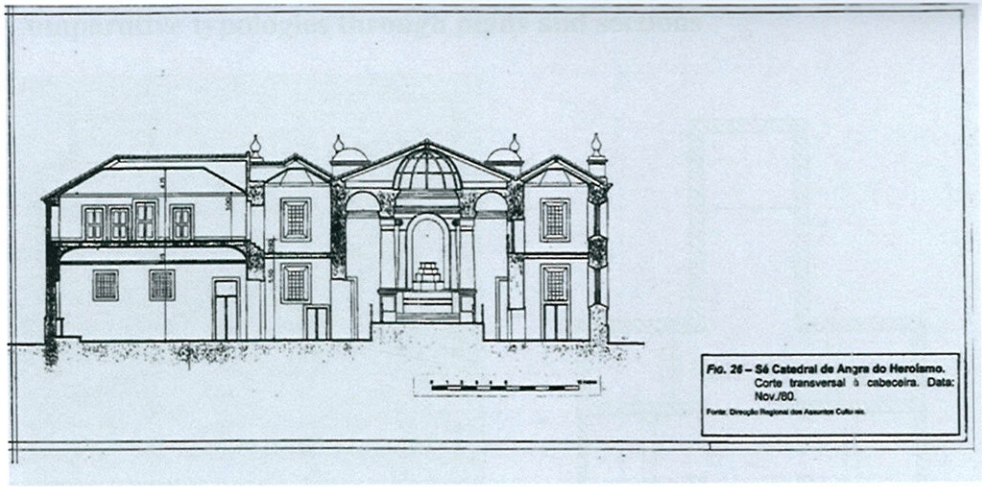


Fig. 62 Cathedral , Angra do Heroísmo, 1568

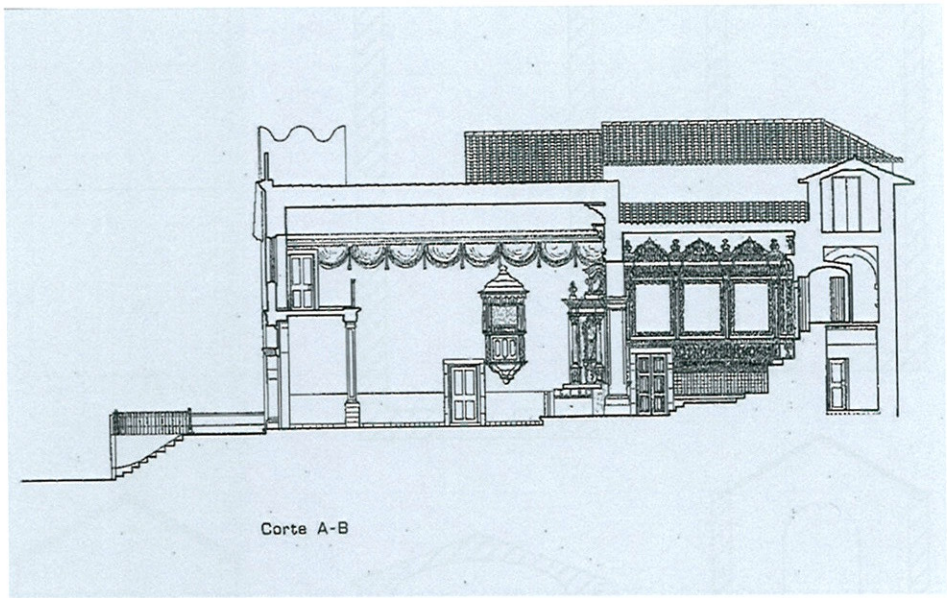


Fig. 63 Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal, c. 1554, rec. between 1720 and 1750

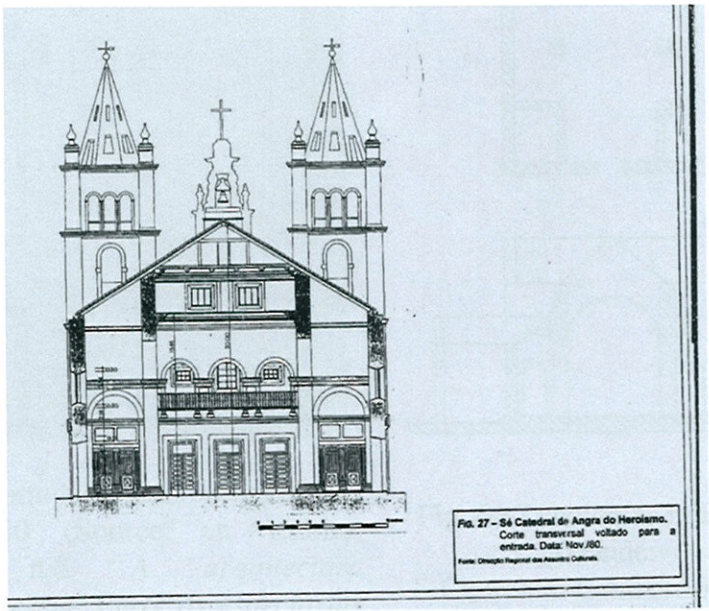


Fig. 64 Cathedral , Angra do Heroísmo, 1568

Comparative typologies through plans and sections

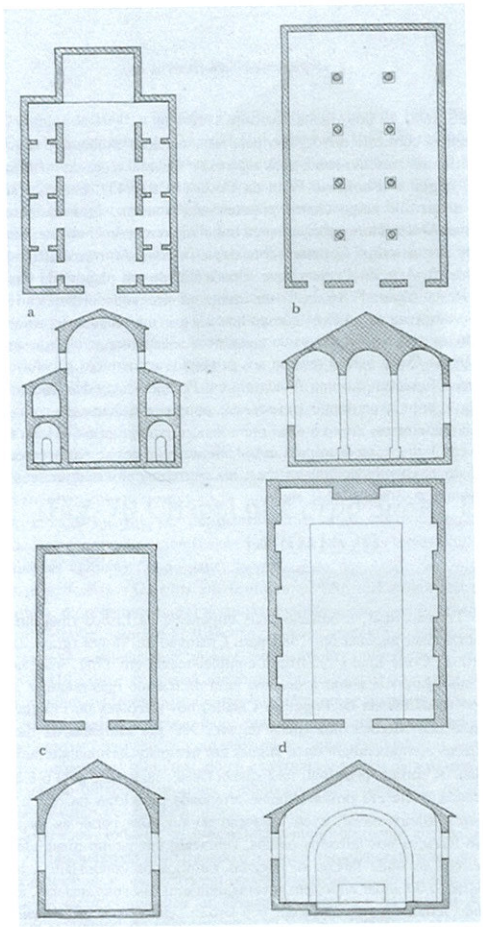


Fig. 65 Portuguese church typologies after 1550 (Source: in Kubler, George, n.d. *A arquitectura portuguesa chã. Entre as especiarias e os diamantes, 1521-1706*. Lisboa: Assírio Bacelar)

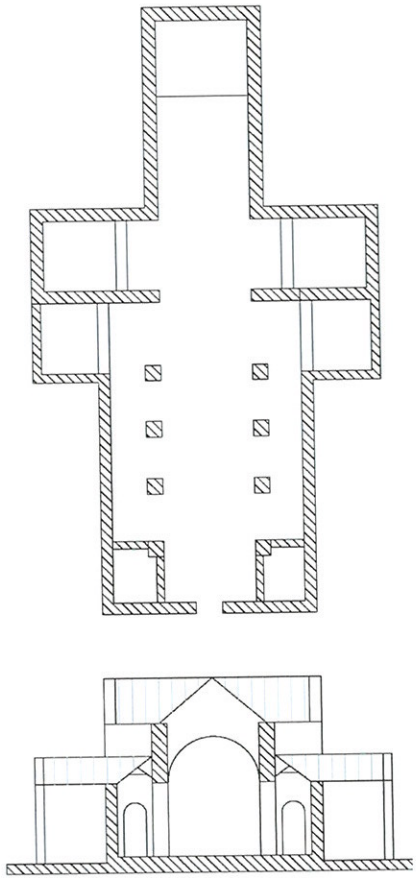


Fig. 66 Typologies in Ribeira Grande:
1. Church in Latin cross shape, (with backside *Camarin*)

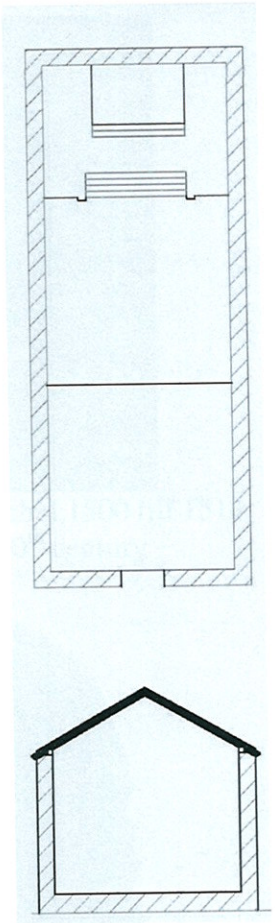


Fig. 67 Typologies in Ribeira Grande:
2. 'box-church'

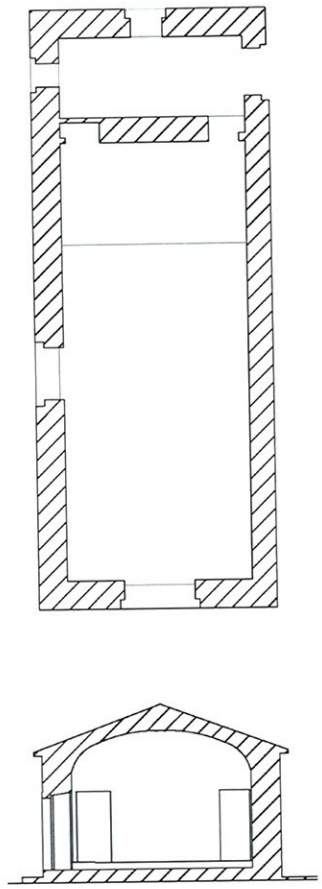


Fig. 68 Typologies in Ribeira Grande:
3.' box-church' (with backside *Camarin*)

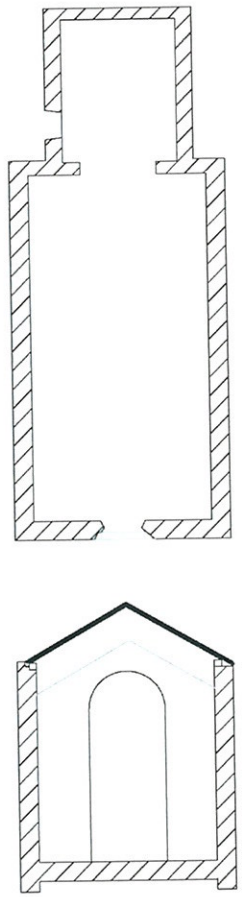


Fig. 69 Typologies in Ribeira Grande:
4. 'battery-shape'

Doors, windows and arches



Fig. 70 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520



Fig. 71 Cathedral, Funchal,1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century



Fig. 72 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520



Fig. 73 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal 1470-1520



Fig. 74 Matrix Church of *Salvador* of St.ª Cruz, Madeira, c. 1508



Fig. 75 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Loreto*, Madeira., 1520, enlarged 1530/1540

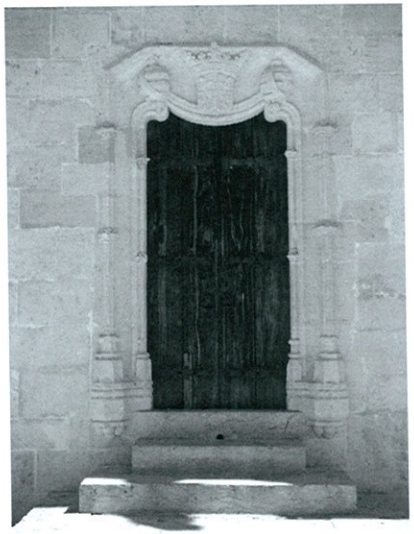


Fig. 76 Chapel of *S. Gerônimo*, Lisbon, 1514



Fig. 77 Church of *S. Sebastião*, Terceira, c. 1540



Fig. 78 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, $17^{th}/18^{th}/19^{th}/20^{th}$ century



Fig. 79 Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516



Fig. 80 Church of *N.ª S.ª da Luz*, Alcatraz, Santiago Island, c. 1500



Fig. 81 Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516



Fig. 82 Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516



Fig. 83 Habitation house, Funchal



Fig. 84 Hermitage of *St.º André*, Beja, begin 16th century



Fig. 85 Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516



Fig. 86 Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal, 1480, rec. 1720



Fig. 87 Cathedral, Funchal,, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century



Fig. 88 Chapel of *S. João da Ribeira*, Funchal c. 1554, rec. between 1720 and 1750



Fig. 89 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century



Fig. 90 Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora c. 1557 -1572, 16th/17th/18th century



Fig. 91 Chapel of *S. Filipe*, Funchal, c. 1660



Fig. 92 Chapel of *Nazaré*, Funchal, 1627



Fig. 93 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 94 Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516



Fig. 95 Habitation house *Rua dos Pretos*, Funchal



Fig. 96 Habitation house *Rua do Bispo*, Funchal



Fig. 97 House of Museum of *Arte Sacra*, Funchal

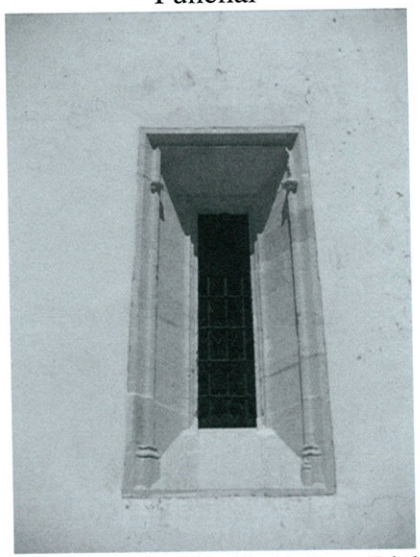


Fig. 98 Chapel of *S. Gerônimo*, Lisbon, 1514

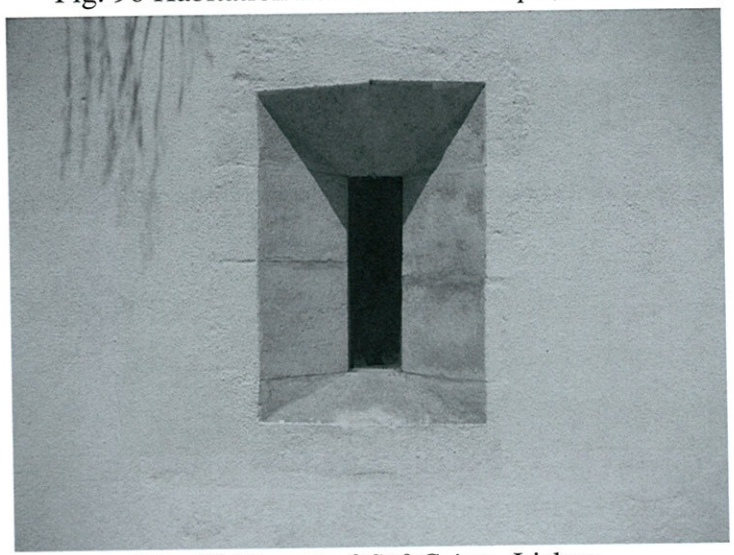


Fig. 99 Chapel of *St.º Cristo*, Lisbon, begin 16th century

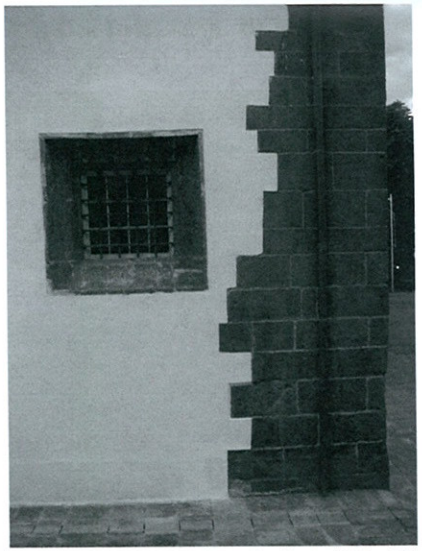


Fig. 100 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, $17^{th}/18^{th}/19^{th}/20^{th}$ century

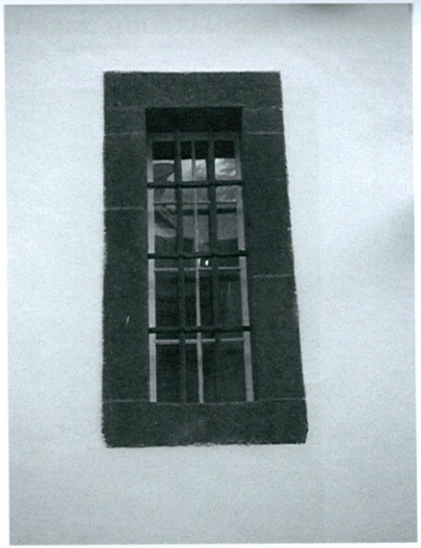


Fig. 101 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, $17^{th}/18^{th}/19^{th}/20^{th}$ century



Fig. 102 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 103 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590

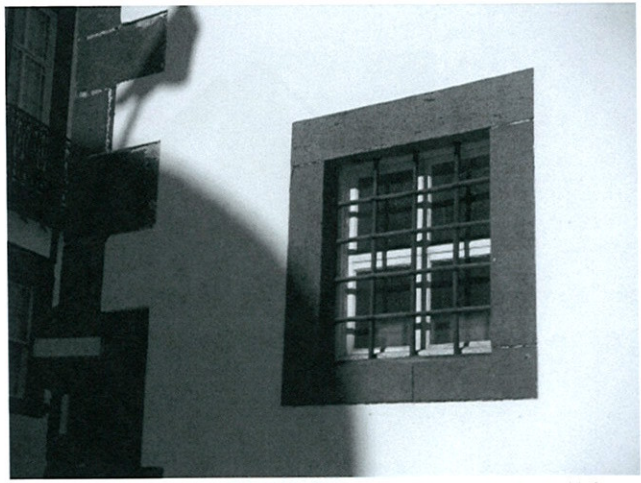


Fig. 104 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590

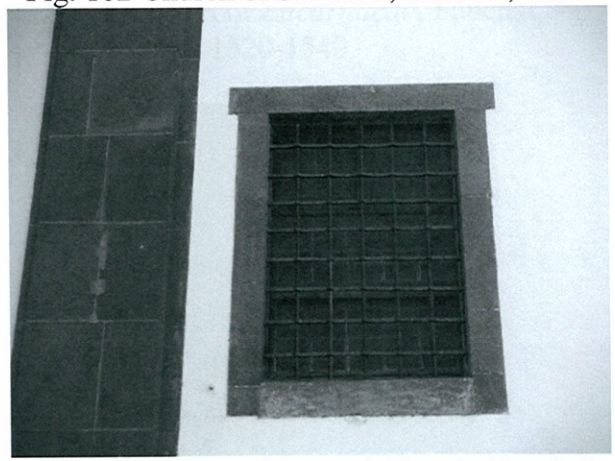


Fig. 105 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624

Arches, vaults, pilasters, buttresses, pedestals, cornices, friezes, quoin stones, buttresses and profiles

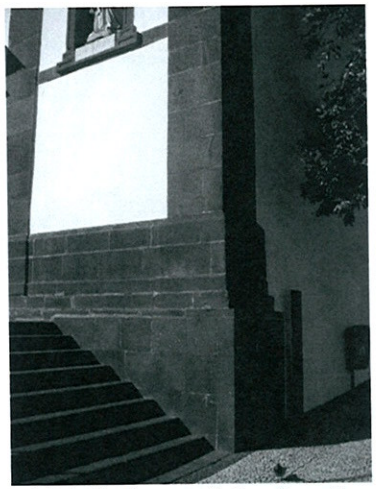


Fig. 106 College of the Jesuits and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624



Fig. 107 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540



Fig. 108 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540



Fig. 109 Cathedral, Funchal,1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

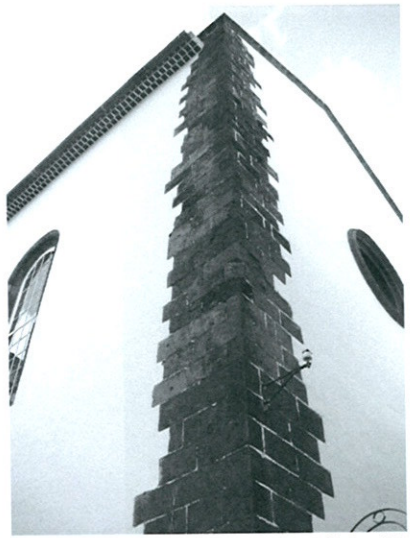


Fig. 110 Cathedral, Funchal,1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

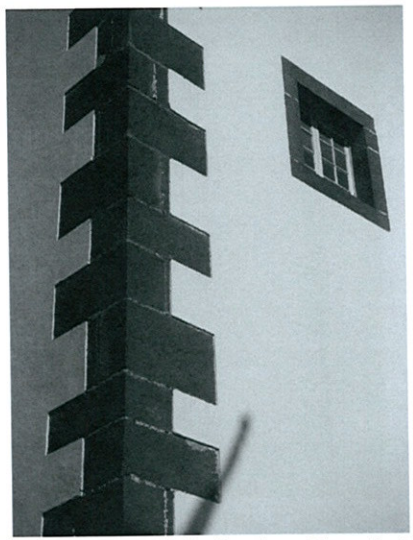


Fig. 111 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 112 Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira 1510-1608



Fig. 113 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Loreto*, Madeira., 1520, enlarged 1530/1540

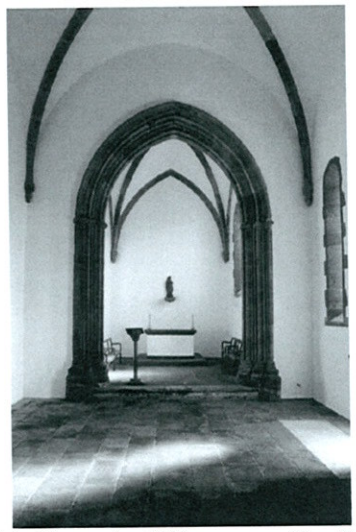


Fig. 114 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540



Fig. 115 Chapel of *Encarnação*, Funchal, 1520-1540



Fig. 116 Cathedral, Portalegre 1556-1571, 16th/17th/18th century



Fig. 117 Cathedral, Portalegre 1556-1571, 16th/17th/18th century



Fig. 118 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

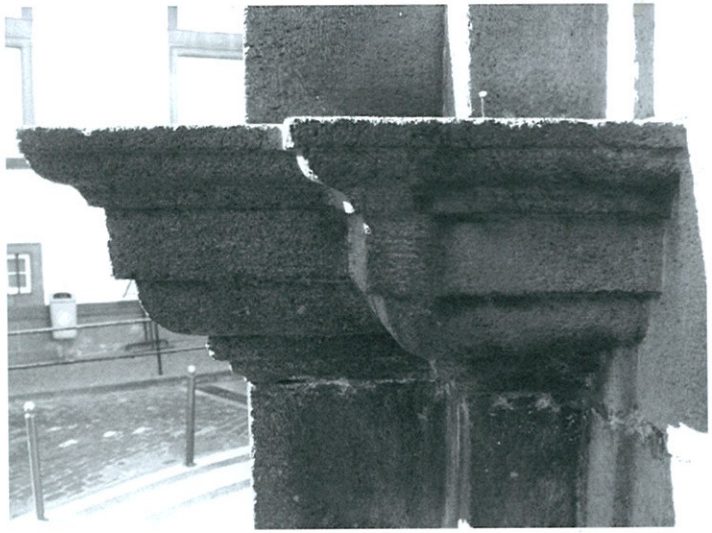


Fig. 119 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 120 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 121 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624



Fig. 122 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Carmo*, Funchal, c.1660 till 1680



Fig. 123 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624



Fig. 124 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 125 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624



Fig. 126 Church of *N.ª S.ª do Carmo*, Funchal, c.1660 till 1680



Fig. 127 Habitation house *Rua do Bispo*, Funchal

Floors



Fig. 128 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal, 1470-1520

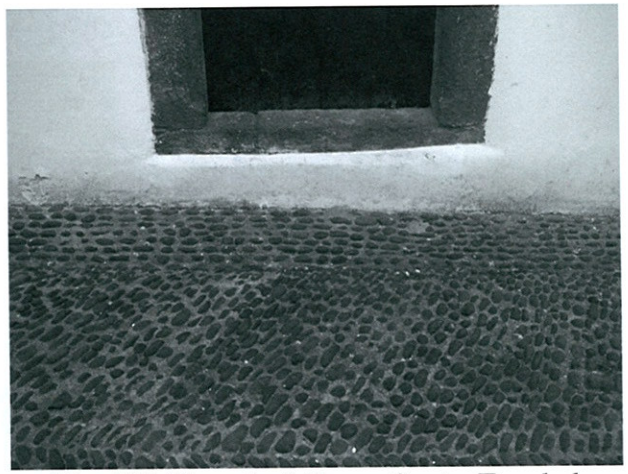


Fig. 129 Chapel of *Corpo Santo*, Funchal 1470-1520



Fig. 131 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624



Fig. 130 Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira, 1510-1608



Fig. 132 Church of *St.ª Luzia*, Funchal, 1726



Fig. 133 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624

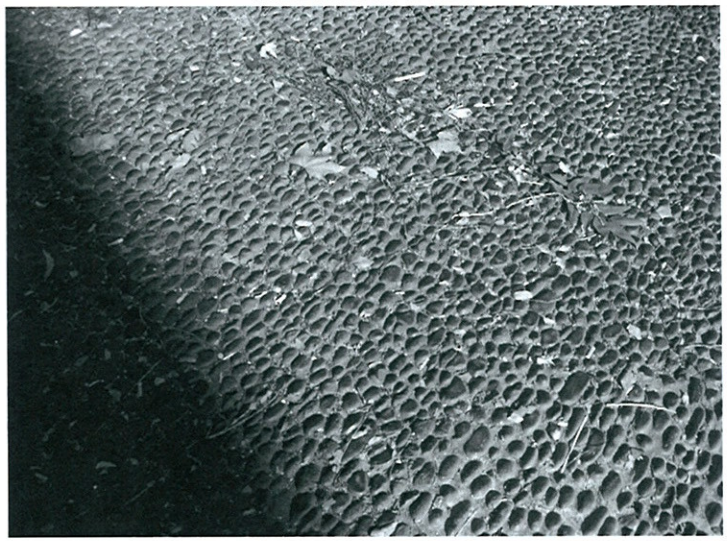


Fig. 134 Parallel street to *marginal*, Funchal

Roofs, vaults, pendants and corbels



Fig. 135 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

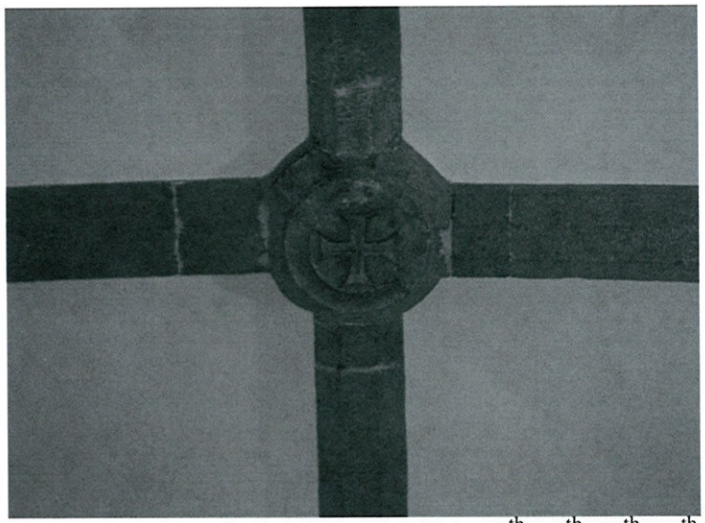


Fig. 136 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

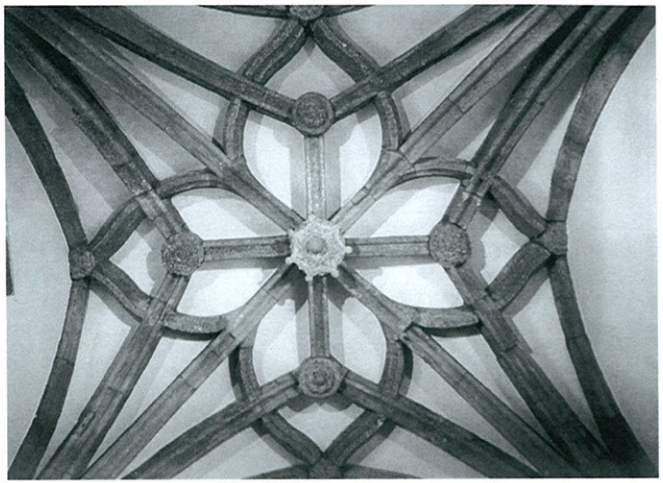


Fig. 137 Matrix Church of *St.ª Cruz*, Terceira, Chapel erected in 1456, matrix Church in 1517

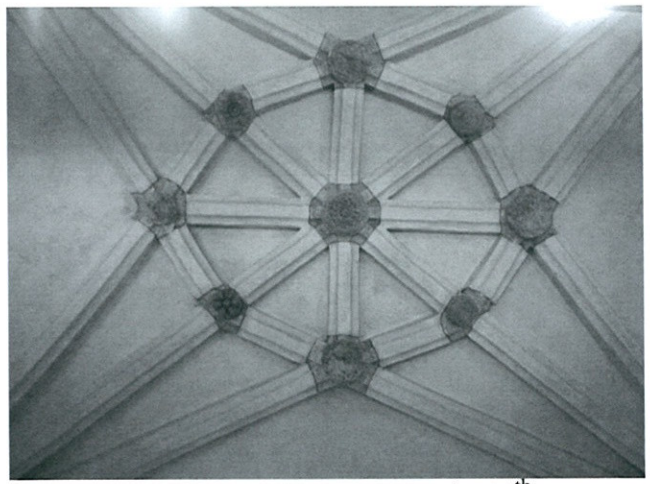


Fig. 138 Hermitage of *St.º Amaro*, Beja, begin 16th century, rec. 1620

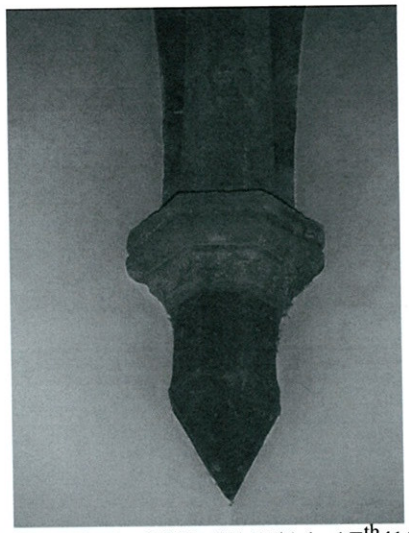


Fig. 139 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century



Fig. 141 Cathedral, Funchal, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century



Fig. 140 Legislative Assembly, Funchal, begin c. 1516



Fig. 142 Church of *St.º Antão*, Évora, 1557-1563/1568-1572 and 16th / 17th / 18th century



Fig. 143 Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira, 1510-1608



Fig. 144 Church of *N.ª S.ª das Neves*, Funchal, 1550-1670

Walls and wall tiles



Fig. 145 Matrix Church of *Calheta*, Madeira 1510-1608

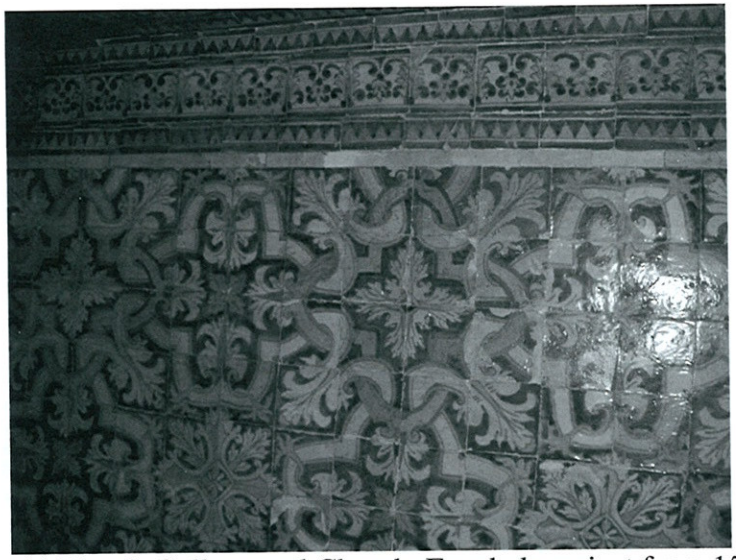


Fig. 146 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624



Fig. 147 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590

Others



Fig. 148 Cathedral , Angra do Heroísmo 1568

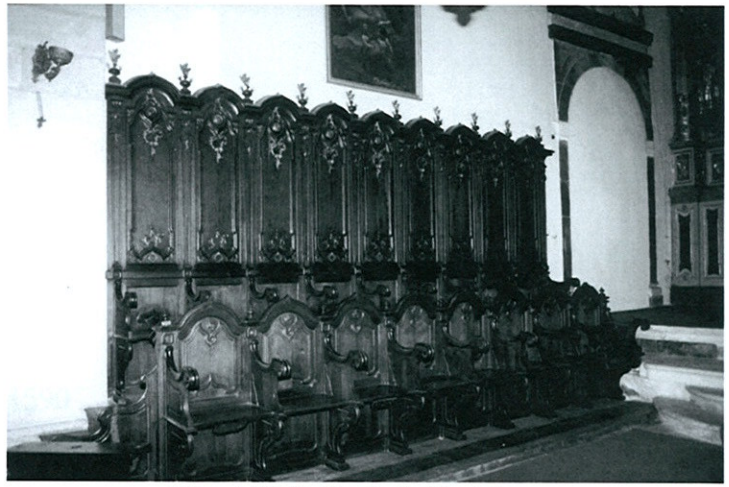


Fig. 149 Cathedral, Portalegre 1556-1571, 16th/17th/18th century



Fig. 150 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 151 Church of *St.ª Luzia*, Funchal, 1726



Fig. 152 Jesuit College and Church, Funchal, project from 1595, constructed 1624



Fig. 153 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 154 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590

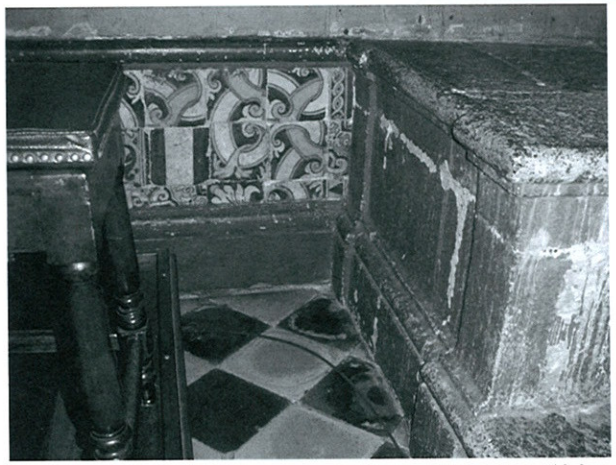


Fig. 155 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 156 Church of *S. Pedro*, Funchal, 1590



Fig. 157 Chapel of *St.ª Catarina*, Funchal 1480-rec-1720



Fig. 158 Cathedral, Funchal,, 1500 till 1514, 17th/18th/19th/20th century

1.4 APPENDIX

Tiles description and identification of archaeological excavations 2006 and 2007

Fig. 1-42
Table 1, 2

Note:

- Source: K. Richter, photos from Luís Costa and Rui Carita, where indicated

Tiles description and identification of April excavation 2006 on site of 'The Jesuit College and the first Church in the tropics', Cidade Velha, Cape Verde

by Konstantin Richter

The following article resumes the history of the most important types of tiles of Portugal from the 15th till 17th century, such as there influences and ways of elaboration. It also tries to identify, classify and date the types of tiles found during Easter 2006 on the site of the archaeological excavation of 'The Jesuit College and the first Church in the tropics', Cidade Velha, Cape Verde, joint venture project in between the Department of Archaeology of University of Cambridge (UK), British Museum London, University Jean Piaget of Cape Verde, and the Ministry of Culture of Cape Verde.

1. Short introduction to history of the most important Portuguese types of tiles from 15th till 17th century

> 'If the ceramic tile is a typical Portuguese art form, it is also a predominant art form from Lisbon. And it is due to a lot of reasons: because the main number of manufactories which produced tiles – and not only for the consume of the city, but for the rest of the country and for the overseas territories– where in the area of Lisbon (...)' (Meco, José et al, 1984, 9)

Portuguese ceramic tiles (*azulejos*) have an over 500 years longing history. Influenced by the Arabic occupation of the Iberia peninsula, rudimentary thick clay tiles, of 'geometric form, coloured through the mixture of diverse colours by glazing them with lead oxides' (Meco, José, 1985, 8), mainly used in large scale to cover floors of Cistercians abbeys , date back even into the 13th century, known as the compositions of *alicatados*.

1.1 The main importations from Spain during the first half of the 16th century

Azulejos, the 'small polished stones' (from the Arabic *az-zulaiju*)
(Costa, J. Almeida et al, 176) came till the first half of the 16th century mainly from manufactories from Spain (Seville) (Meco, José, 1985, 8). Techniques developed at the beginning of the 16th century in Toscana, Italy, known as *majolica* or *faience* '(...) pieces are covered with white opaque enamel, made of stain oxide, over which the painting is realized with metalic oxides, incorporated by fusion during the cooking (...)' (*id*) came only to Seville with an Italian ceramist, Francesco Niculoso. Still, contrary to the Italian way of production, the Iberian one was developed through the techniques of Granada and Levante (region of Valência): square tiles, mainly for pavements (*rajolas*), where repetitively disposed, such as combined conjunctions of hexagonal plates (*alfardons*) and squares (*losetas*), decorated in blue, or blue and red, over white (*id*). These type of tiles, made in moulds, also known as *alicatados* (re cut ones), where transferred to types for monumental wal decoration, such as for ceilings and frontals of altars. Initially, the way of production, known as *corda seca* (dry rope) was by making a separator on the surface, a scratch filled with manganese mixed with grease, avoiding the mixture of the several colours during cooking, transforming itself to a fine black bars (*ibid*, 8, 9). Mostly, the decoration of these tiles was with Moresque motives, imitating the *alicatados* in agglomeration of geometric forms. Round about fifteen hundred, this way of production was substituted by the one caled *aresta* or *cuenca*, even though they coexisted for a short period of time: the separator now was made out of a fine salience. The ornamentation of these tiles was mostly inspired by gothic motives,

vegetal elements and by chiselled brocades (*ibid*, 9). From round about 1500, there is also a monochromatic tile coming from Seville, in yellow honey coloured or dark green, used for walls, floors and roof coverings, which were later, between 1550 and 1600, also produced in Lisbon. Al this types of tiles are generally known as *hispano-moresque* (or *mudejár)* tiles (13x13x2 cm, also in 12x12x2 cm, sometimes as monochromatic only 1.5 cm thick). Mostly, these tiles where applied in complementary conjunctions in churches and palaces, and, contrary to the mainly one pattern using application in Spain, often mixed in a notable way resulting in complex schemes (*ibid*, 11). The large diffusion of the *hispano-moresque* or *mudéjar* stile came mainly after the visit of King D. Manuel's visit of Alhambra, Granada, '(...) integrating in this way as a decorative variety in the diversity of tendencies which characterize the Manuelin stile' (*id*).

1.2 The influence of the faience from the second half of the 16th century on

During the second half of the 16th century, finally the technique of *faience*, failed at the beginning of the century, now diffused by the installation of Italian ceramists in Antwerp, Flanders, had its influence in Spain and Portugal, due to the emigration of several ceramists to the Iberia Peninsula. 'The renovated taste of these artists, ignoring the heavy Moresque and *Mudéjar* heritage, contributed definitively to dethrone the elevated Seville tiles and its prison to repetitive framed ornamentation' (*ibid*, 17). They combined this new technique, now applied not only in Seville but also in Talavera, which consisted mainly in the possibility of free application of the colours on a flat tile, with the monumentality achieved by the application of the tiles on the Iberia Peninsula. Results were conjunctions as figurative and history panels, complex ornamental compositions and a variety of pattern types (*id*). 'This affluence of products and craftsmen of Flanders, of Seville and of Talavera conditioned the Portuguese tile production during the second half of the 16th century in aesthetic, models and fountains of *hispano-morisque* mannerism' (*id*). Even though the influence of Seville in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century is still visible, as through a new pattern called *ponta de diamante* (diamante edge, geometric forms archived by rectangular forms in blue over white tile), Spanish influence was decreasing due to the parallel development of the Portuguese production by immigration to Lisbon of Flemish ceramists, so that the order from Spain practically finishes till the beginning of the 17th century. 'From the last quarter of the 16th century are known some monumental conjunctions with religious and severe character, demonstrating the ideological weight which the catholic church had acquired in Portugal with the contra-reform and its total reflex on the artistic manifestations' (*ibid*, 19).

1.3 Changes in production, ornamentation and pattern into the 17th century

During the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, the economic crisis the colonial empire of Portugal was passing through, due to the disaster of D. Sebastião in Alcácer Quibir in 1578, the constant and increasing pirate attacks in the colonies and the annexation of Portugal to Spain in 1580, had it's deep reflex on the decreasing complexity of the architectonic constructions and ornamental arts. Now, the production of tiles came up to be done mostly by simple craftsmen and tile workers. 'If this experience contributed decisively to the evolution of the Portuguese tile work in the 17th century, it was mainly determinant, for its genesis, the variety of geometric experiences, realized with uniform coloured, not decorated tiles which where grouped in a free manner' (*ibid*, 21). First, the result was the so called pattern of tiles of *enxaquetados* or *caixilho,* used predominantly inside the interior of religious buildings, such as also in the coverings of buildings (*ibid*, 23, 24). Chess like composition, made out of green and white or blue and white tiles of possible Seville fabrication, are disposed in an oblique way to introduce a parameter of diagonal rhythmic movement.

> 'The diagonal dynamic, which moves and transforms irreversible any static and inexpressive space, such as the harmonic integration and the moderating effect resulting from the utilization of diverse scales and the plays of framing, were preponderant in the tile work of al 17th century, to which decoration the geometric and structural concepts of the tile *enxaquetado* served as skeleton' (*ibid*, 24).

Due to the difficult period of the Filipine domination (I. of Portugal, II. of Spain) and the war period and severe economic necessities after the restoration of 1640, the 17th century was mainly characterized by the 'maintenance of formulas and decorative processes and by contention of innovative solutions' (*ibid*, 26). This difficult situation resulted in a more and more isolation of the national artists, favouring the 'officinal productions' in stead of the 'masterpieces of school' (*id*). 'It is to notify a decorative inflation and a progressive dilatation of the coating, especially in religious spaces' (*id*). After a short period of at the beginning of the 17th century, where the white tiles of the *enxaquetados* were substituted by tiles with 'polychrome ornamentation', and the free compositions in special places of churches inspired in the mannerist schemes called *grotescos*, simplified and popularized interpretations of the mannerist panels of the century before, came up what characterized most the tile typology of the 17th century, the tile composition called *tapete (*carpet): the revetment of polychrome tiles (14x14x1.5 cm square of size) in a extended pattern, called so by being inspired by the lining of chiselled cloth used in the rest of Europe, coming up with the trade with the orient.

> 'The composition of the sixteen hundreds patterns based itself always on the interconnection of the ornamentation, creating a closed and continuous ornamental mesh above the surfaces. (...). To coat and frame the different floors were created in this century hundreds of patterns in different dimensions, borders, bars, friezes, angles and other accessories. There were utilized patterns of 2x2, 4x4 and 6x6 tiles (together with the ones of 12x12, in the first third of the century)' (*ibid*, 30).

On the upper and the lower side, they were mostly limited by a pattern of horizontal orientated, rectangular tiles called *rodapé* (skirting-board, 14x14x1.5cm or 14x7x1.5cm). Different patterns of *tapete* where mostly divided horizontally by tiles called *frisos* (14x7x1.5cm). These patterns not only coating the walls, but in some cases also the coverings, vaults, the domes, the baptistery, the pavements and the sacristies. Also integrated in these patterns came up small panels with religious symbols and in genuine figures of saints. A special case consists in the frontal parts of the altars: in the central part, called *pano*, appear interpretations and imitations of the traditional brocades and embroidery in gold. A lot of them were influenced by the oriental printed cloth which came from the orient, namely India, and were very common in Portugal at that time. This frontal tile works, called *aves e ramagens* (birds and branches) where filled with exotic vegetation, fantastically flowers on which are sitting types of birds, as birds of paradise and peacocks. In the landscape of the background appear normally in pairs animals of the European, African or Asian fauna. 'Al these elements were realized in a painting of rich and intensive colours, of impressive variety, taking in consideration the limits of the ceramic painting. (...) The frontals are crowned by painted angles which imitate woven goods' (*ibid*, 33). In contrary to the tiles of *tapete*, which were mostly in blue and yellow over white background, these added green and sometimes violet and even brown.

1.4 Innovations during the second half of the 17th century by Dutch influence

From the second half of the 17th century on, and 'in parallel to the persistence of the decorative processes of most the tiles, determined in special by the conservatism of the

church' (*ibid*, 37), some other forms of tile types came finally u These was influenced by the re-instauration of the political and commercial relations with Spain, France and the Netherlands, after the end of the war of restoration. On one hand there was a visible development in the figurative panels, which took nearly a character of animation design, as it is in the case of the *macacarias* (monkey behaviour). These kind of panels were applied in a lot of renovations of palace constructions, and occult a kind of mordacity criticism to the society of the époque (*id*). The vital polychrome was achieved by a determined surface line in manganese, filled in with, beside the traditional yellow and blue, copper green and violet manganese.

Due to the increasing influence and concurrence of the Dutch tiles at the same time, which found in Portugal an open market, there was developed parallel a painting in cobalt blue over white malt. These came up, beside in the classical *tapete* pattern also as isolated ornament of *figura avulsa* (isolated figure), mostly vases and flowers, 'similar in colour and scintillation to the Chinese porcelain' (*ibid*, 43) and inspired by the Dutch models, which concurrence was very stimulating for the development of the Portuguese production (*id*). These kind of tiles, blue over white, simplifying the cooking process due to the stability of the cobalt to the irregularity of the temperatures of the rudimentary ovens (*ibid*, 38), were enlarged at the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century also to historical and figurative patterns, mainly due to the influence and activity of the Spanish painter Gabriel del Barco, resident in Portugal. They found there fertile development and large application only interrupted by the strong earthquake in Lisbon in 1755.

Resume

Till 16th century:

- *Alicatados* (origin: Seville):

1. Rajolas square tiles, mainly for pavements, repetitively disposed.
2. Alfardons combined conjunctions of hexagonal bars
3. Losetas squares
Al: decorated in blue, or blue and red, over white

First half of 16th century:

- *Alicatados*
- *Hispano-Morisque* or *Mudejár* (origin: Seville, Levante, 13x13 cm square of size) :

1. Corda seca: with separator on the surface, a scratch filled with manganese mixed with grease, avoiding the mixture of the several colours during cooking, transforming itself to a fine black bar. Decoration of these tiles was with Moresque motives, imitating the *alicatados* in agglomeration of geometric forms.
2. Aresta or *cuenca*: with separator made out of a fine salience, with ornamentation mostly inspired by gothic motives, vegetal elements and by chiselled brocades;
1 and 2 for monumental wall decoration, such as for ceilings and frontals of altars;
3. Monochromatic tile: in yellow-honey coloured or dark green, used for walls, floors and roof coverings.

Second half of 16th century:

- *Monochromatic tile* (origin: Lisbon): in yellow-honey coloured or dark green, used for walls, floors and roof coverings;
- *Ponta de diamante*: geometric forms archived by rectangular forms in blue over white tile
- *Figurative and history panels*: complex ornamental compositions and a variety of pattern types, including religious and severe character

- *Maneirism*: *Hispano-moresque* or renascence motives, in blue and yellow over white, sometimes also as figurative panels

First half of 17th century:

- *Enxaquetados* or *caixilho:* pattern of tiles used predominantly inside the interior of religious buildings, such as also in the covering of buildings; substitution of the white tiles of the *enxaquetados* by tiles with 'polychrome ornamentation'
- *Grotescos:* , free compositions, simplified and popularized interpretations of the mannerist panels of the century before, in special places of churches;
- *Chess like composition* (possible origin: Seville): green and white or blue and white tiles of possible Seville fabrication, disposed in an oblique way to introduce a parameter of diagonal rhythmic movement;
- *Tapete* (14x14 cm square of size): revetment of polychrome tiles in a extended pattern, inspired by linings chiselled cloths, used in the rest of Europe. With accessories, such as borders, bars, friezes, angles and skirting-boards. Coatings of walls, coverings, vaults, domes, baptisteries, pavements and sacristies. Mostly in blue and yellow over white background
- Also integrated in these patterns: small panels with religious symbols and in genuine figures of saints. A special case: frontal parts of the altars- in the central part, called *pano*, appear interpretations and imitations of the traditional brocades and embroidery in gold. A lot of them were influenced by the oriental printed cloths, namely India. This frontal tile works, called *aves e ramagens* (birds and branches) where filled with exotic vegetation, fantastically flowers on which are sitting birds of paradise and peacocks. In the landscape of the background appear normally in pairs animals of the European, African or Asian fauna. The frontals are crowned by painted angels which imitate woven goods' (*ibid*, 33). These tiles added green and sometimes violet and even brown.

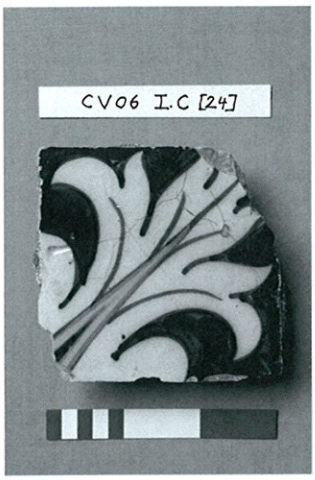
Second half of 17th century:

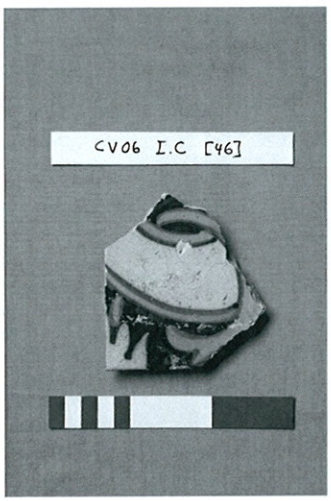
- *Macacarias:* figurative panels, with character of animation design. Applied in a lot of renovations of palace constructions. Vital polychrome achieved by a determined surface line in manganese, filled in with, beside the traditional yellow and blue, copper green and violet manganese.
- *tapete* pattern and *figura avulse* in blue over white: inspired by the Dutch models, enlarged at the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century also to historical and figurative patterns.

2. Description of type of tiles found during excavation

We can identify mainly four types of tiles found in the trenches of the Church *N.ª S.ª da Conceição* (Church Holy Mother of Conception), trenches I.B and I.C, and of the Church/Hospital *da Misericórdia* (Mercy Church/Hospital), trenches II.A, II.B and II.C:

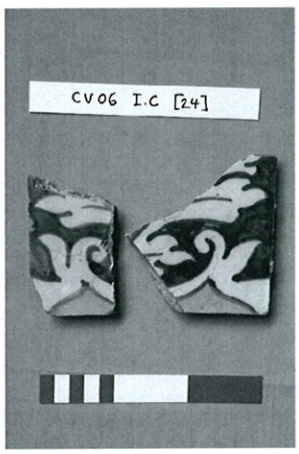
- First, and in the largest amount, fragments and, in between, a few nearly completely intact, type of tiles of *tapete* with there friezes and skirting-boards from the second half of the 17th century, in blue and yellow painted over white background. The panels of patterns of the tiles are made out of the repetitive ornaments of 1, 2 ore 4 tiles, dating probably from in between 1660 till 1670, produced in Lisbon workshops (see photos).


CV06 I.C [24]


CV06 I.C [46]


CV06 I.C [24]


CV06 I.C [24]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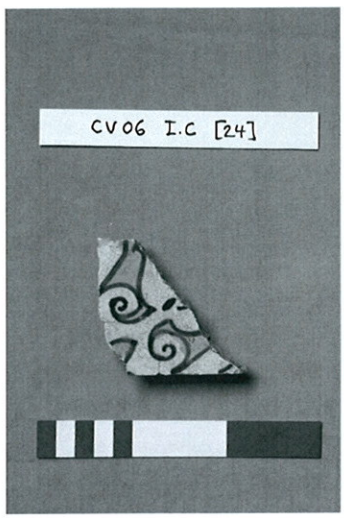
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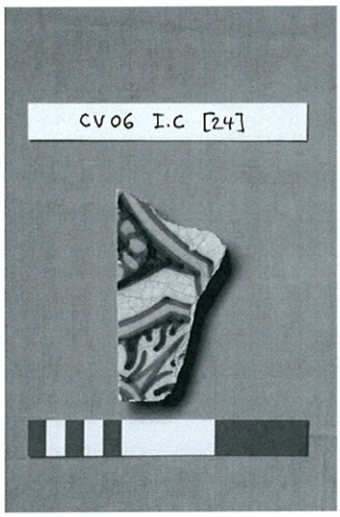
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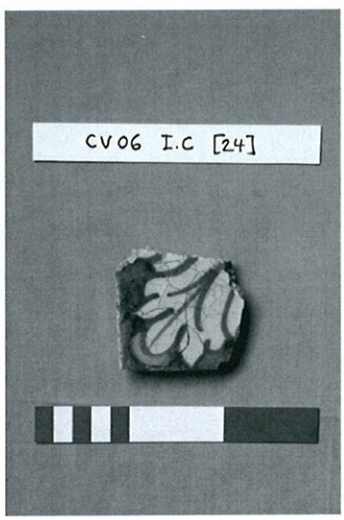
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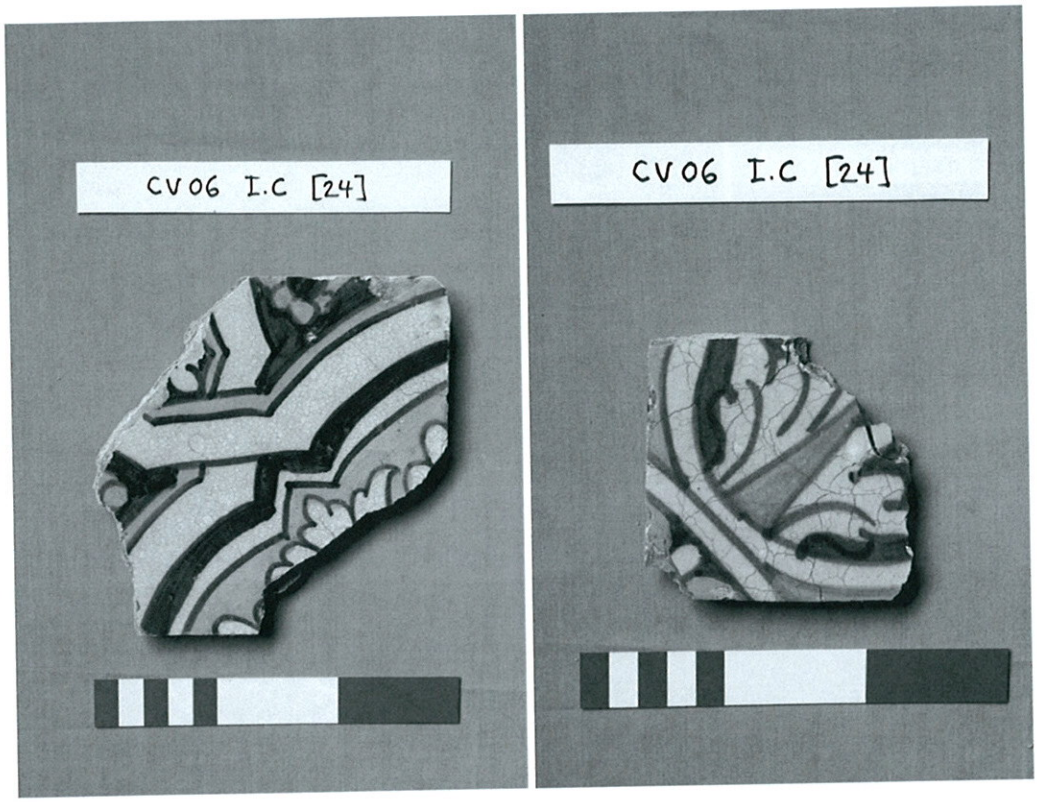


Fig. 1-10: The tile pieces on the following pictures are elements of *frisos* (two pictures up) and *rodapé* (two pictures down), which framed the *tapete* panels, such as the related friezes with balls (see photos)

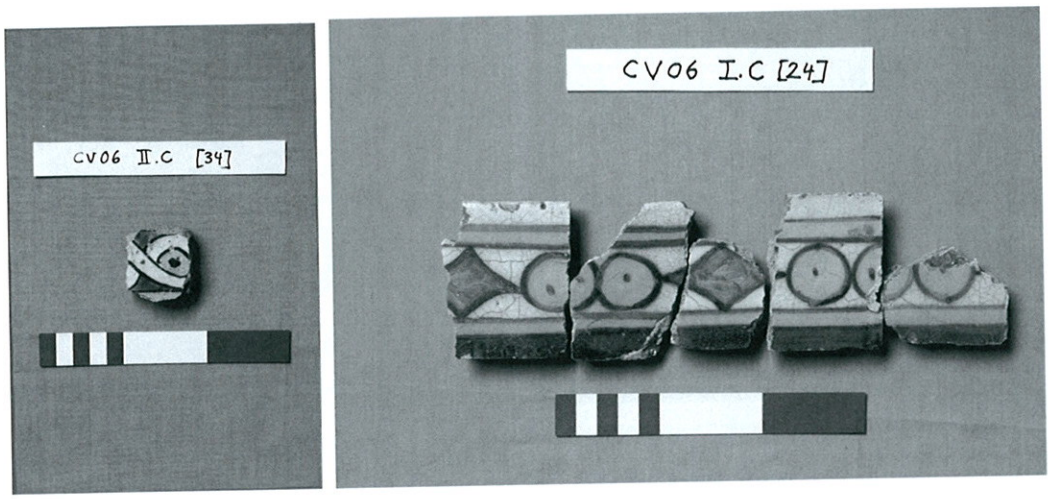
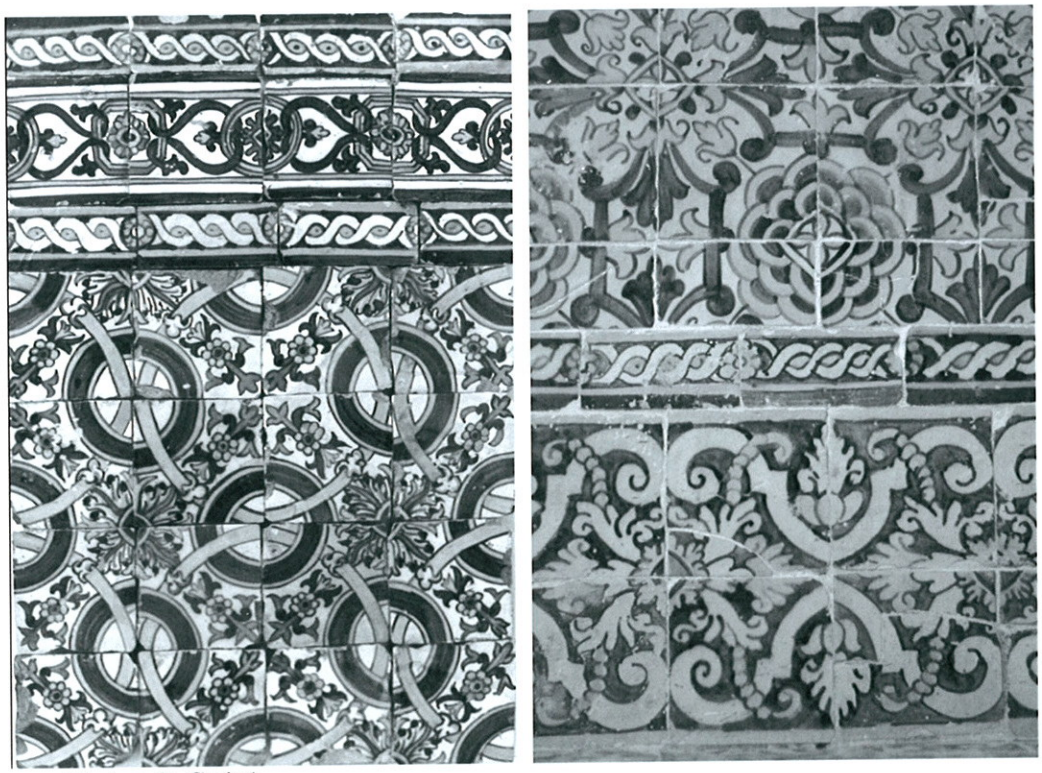


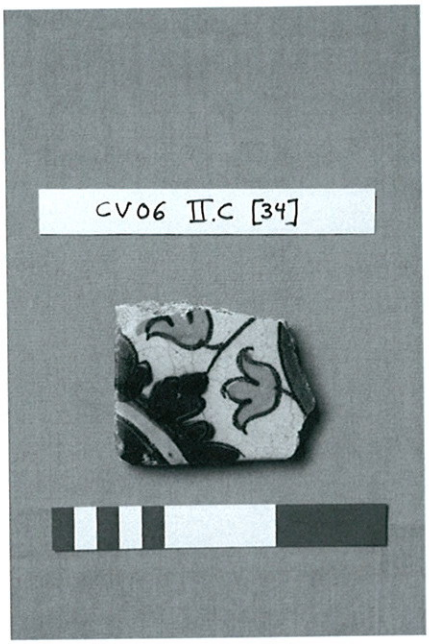


Fig. 11-16: Example of panels of patterns of tiles *tapete*, with *frisos* (see photos)



(Photos: R. Carita)

- One exception is on fragment found in trench II.C (34), which includes contour lines in manganese, dating probably from a little bit later, from in between 1670 till 1680, also from Lisbon (see photos).



- Second, and in a much smaller amount, fragments of *hispano-moresque* tiles dating from round about 1500, in *aresta* or *cuenca* style, such as one in *corda seca* stile (bottom right), in white, blue, green and red colours such as black, from workshops de Seville, coming from Manuelin importations, al found in the trenches of Mercy Church/Hospital (see photos).

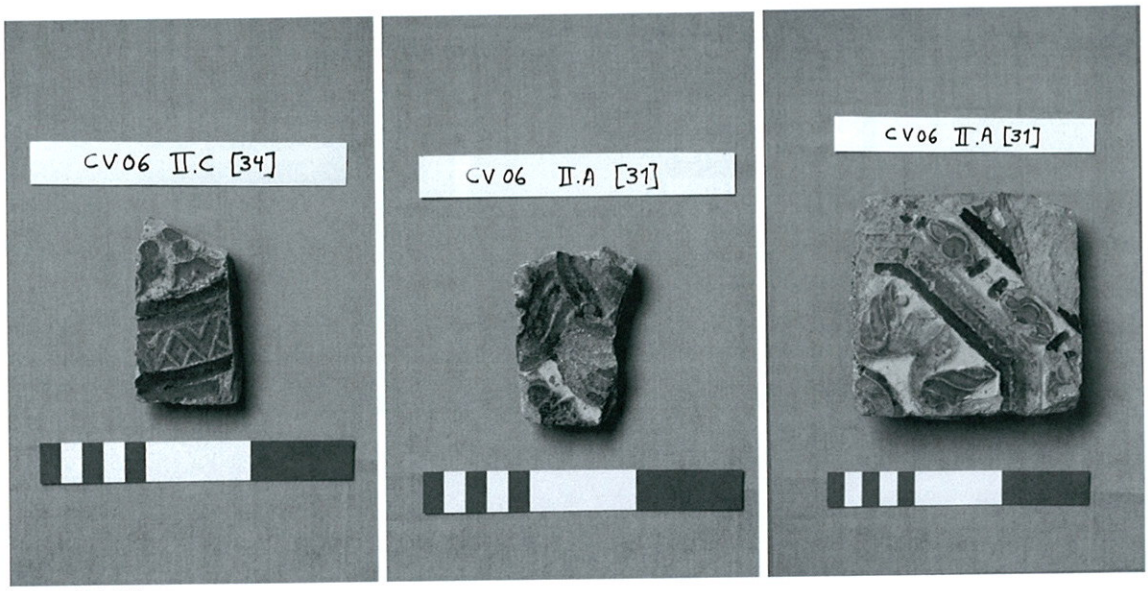


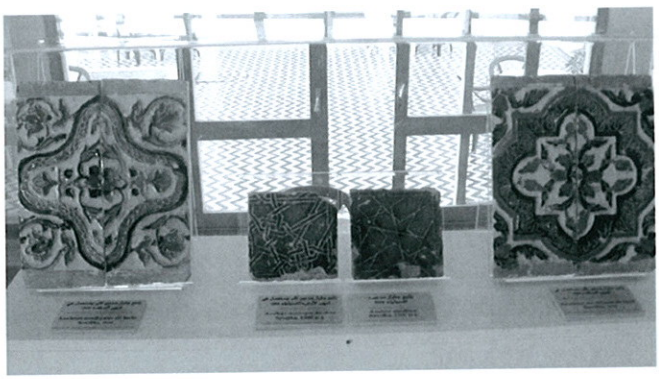
Fig. 17-20



Fig. 21- 25

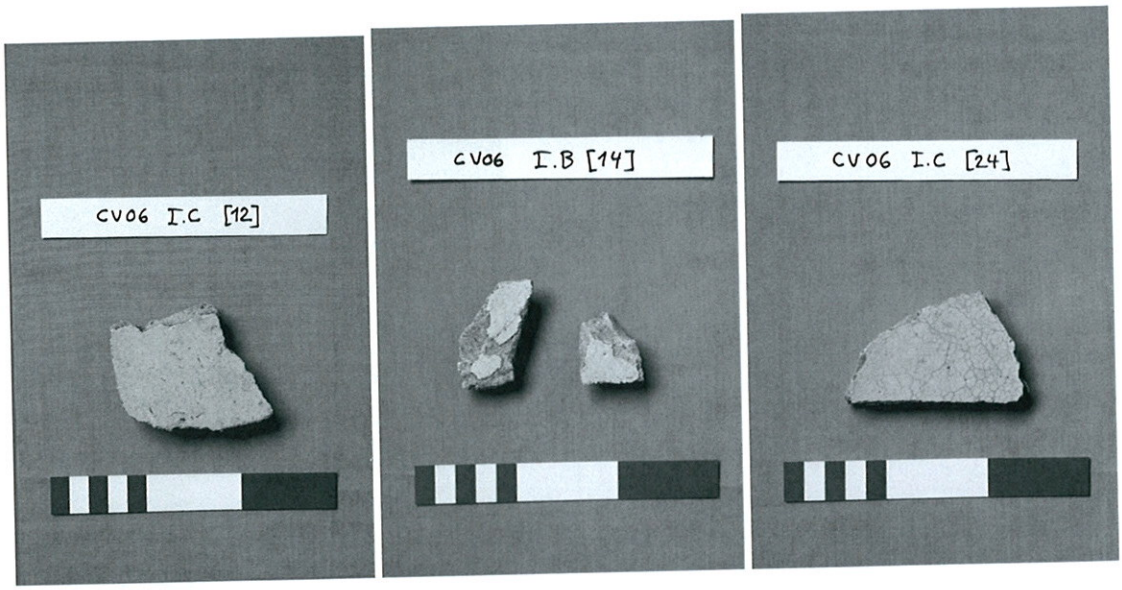
Example of panels of patterns of *hispano-moresque* tiles, such as single ones (see photos)





(Photos: R. Carita)

- Third, a small amount of fragments of monochromatic tiles in yellow-honey colour and dark green. Produced in Seville round about 1500, this type of tile was also produced later in between 1550 till 1600 in Lisbon, so its dates is difficult to define. They come exclusively out of the trenches of Church Holy Mother of Conception (see photos).



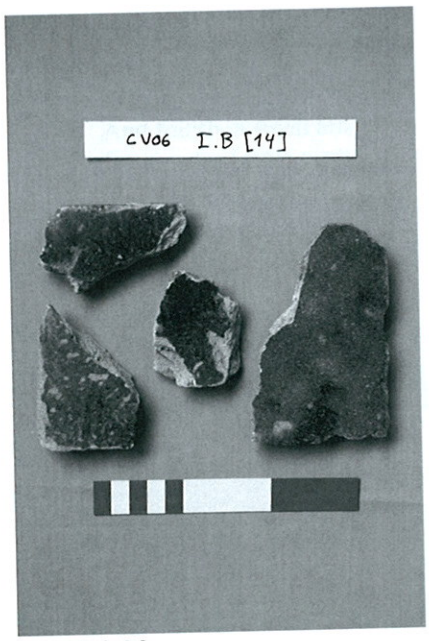
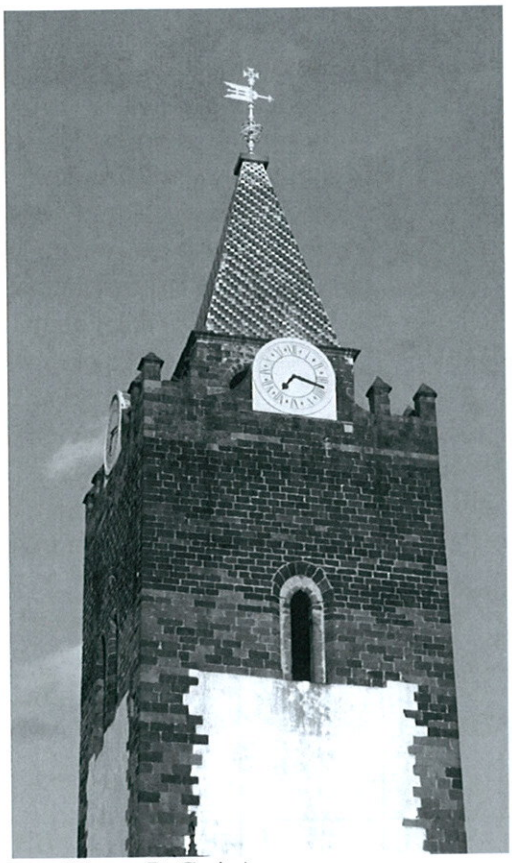


Fig. 26-29

Example: the roof (*coruchéu*) of the Cathedral of Funchal (1520), Island of Madeira, is coated with identical tiles, send by D. Manuel from Lisbon, but imported from Seville (see photo)



(Photo: R. Carita)

- And fourth, a small amount of tile pieces in cobalt blue over white background, seemingly pieces from *rodapé* (two pieces left side) and *tapete* (one piece right side), probably dating from the last quarter of 17th century, beginning of 18th century (see photos)

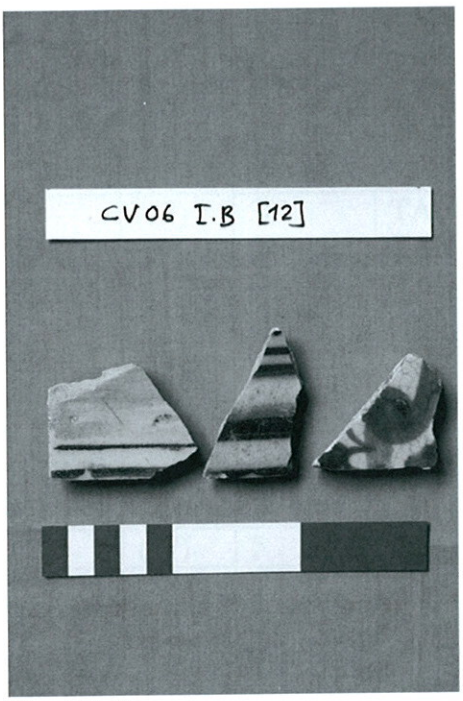


Fig. 30, 31

3. Classification of amount and types of tiles in the trenches and layers

Abreviations:
Hispano-Moresque tile: HM
Hispano-Moresque, corda seca: HMCS
Hispano-Moresque, aresta or *quenca*: HMAC
Monochromatic tile: MCH
Tapete: TA
Tapete rodapé: TARO
Tapete friso: TAFR
Tapete blue& white: TABW
Tapete blue & white *rodapé*: TABWRO
Tapete blue & white *friso*: TABWFR
Not identifiable: NI

Trench	Layer	Total Number	Type	Number	Remarks
I.A	(02)	2	MCH HMAC TA TA (?)	1 1 6 1	Dark green, 1.5 cm thick 3 ident. pattern, one with green
I.B	(11)	3	TAFR TA	1 2	 1 ident. pattern
I.B	(12)	128	MCH TAFR TARO TABWRO TA TABW NI	11 20 2 2 89 1 3	10 green, 1 yellow-honey, al light clay, 2 cm thick 1 ident. pattern 1 ident. pattern 2 ident. pattern (?) 3 ident. pattern without smooth surface, no colours
I.B	(13)	36	TAFR TARO TA	2 5 29	1 ident. pattern 1 ident. pattern 2 ident. pattern (beside: 1 bone inside bag)
I.B	(14)	61	MCH TAFR TARO TA	6 6 1 48	4 dark green, 2 yellow-honey 1 ident. pattern 4 ident. pattern
I.B	(16)	1	TA	1	1 ident. pattern
I.B	(17)	5	TA	5	2 ident. pattern (?)
I.B	(18)	1	TA (?)	1	1 ident. pattern
I.B	(19)	21	MCH TAFR TARO TA	2 1 3 15	dark green, 2 cm thick 1 ident. pattern 1 ident. pattern 4 ident. pattern
I.C	(spoil)	17	MCH TAFR	1 2	green, 1.5 cm thick 1 ident. pattern

			TA	14	4 ident. pattern
I.C	(12)	1	MCH	1	yellow-honey
I.C	(16)	3	TAFR NI	1 2	
I.C	(21)	61	MCH TAFR TARO TA	1 2 1 57	dark green, 1.5 cm thick 1 ident. pattern 4 ident. pattern
I.C	(22)	72	TAFR TARO TA NI	14 1 56 1	2 ident. pattern 3 ident. pattern
I.C	(23)	96	MCH TAFR TARO TA	1 10 3 82	green, 2 cm thick 1 ident. pattern 1 ident. pattern 4 ident. pattern
I.C	(24)	301	MCH TAFR TARO TA	3 62 16 220	2 dark green, 1 yellow-honey 2 ident. pattern 1 ident. pattern 6 ident. pattern (?), 3 tiles nearly intact
I.C	(25)	3	TAFR TARO TA	1 1 1	 1 ident. pattern
I.C	(30)	5	TAFR (?) TA	1 4	 2 ident. pattern
I.C	(34)	2	TAFR TA	1 1	 1 ident. pattern
I.C	(41)	7	TA	7	3 ident. pattern
I.C	(43)	12	HMAC TAFR TARO (?) TA	1 2 1 8	 1 ident. pattern 3 ident. pattern
I.C	(45)	4	TARO TA	1 3	 2 ident. pattern
I.C	(46)	8	TAFR TA	2 6	1 ident. pattern 2 ident. pattern
I.C	(49)	1	TA	1	1 ident. pattern
I.C	(50)	1	TA (?)	1	
II.A	(31)	7	HMAC HMCS TA	4 1 2	3 ident. pattern, 1 nearly intact tile 1 ident. pattern 1 ident. pattern (?)
II.C	(34)	3	HMAC TAFR TA	1 1 1	 1 ident. pattern with manganese contour lines

Table 1

4. Enumeration of types of tiles by there amount in trenches and layers

Type	Trench/Layer	Number	Remarks
MCH	**I.A** (02)	1	1.5 cm
	I.B (12)	11	2 cm
	I.B (14)	6	?
	I.B (19)	2	2 cm
	I.C (spoil)	1	1.5 cm
	I.C (12)	1	?
	I.C (21)	1	1.5 cm
	I.C (23)	1	2 cm
	I.C (24)	3	?
HMCS	II.A (31)	1	
HMAC	**I.A** (02)	1	
	I.C (43)	1	
	II.A (31)	4	
	II.C (34)	1	
TAFR	**I.B** (11)	1	
	I.B (12)	20	
	I.B (13)	2	
	I.B (14)	6	
	I.B (19)	1	
	I.C (spoil)	2	
	I.C (16)	1	
	I.C (21)	2	
	I.C (22)	14	
	I.C (23)	10	
	I.C (24)	62	
	I.C (25)	1	
	I.C (30)	1 (?)	
	I.C (34)	1	
	I.C (43)	2	
	I.C (46)	2	
	II.C (34)	1	
TARO	**I.B** (12)	2	
	I.B (13)	5	
	I.B (14)	1	
	I.B (19)	3	
	I.C (21)	1	
	I.C (22)	1	
	I.C (23)	3	
	I.C (24)	16	
	I.C (25)	1	
	I.C (43)	1 (?)	
	I.C (45)	1	
TABWRO	**I.B** (12)	2	

TA	**I.A** (02)	6+1 (?)	
	I.B (11)	2	
	I.B (12)	89	
	I.B (13)	29	
	I.B (14)	48	
	I.B (16)	1	
	I.B (17)	5	
	I.B (18)	1 (?)	
	I.B (19)	15	
	I.C (spoil)	14	
	I.C (21)	57	
	I.C (22)	56	
	I.C (23)	82	
	I.C (24)	220	
	I.C (25)	1	
	I.C (30)	4	
	I.C (34)	1	
	I.C (41)	7	
	I.C (43)	8	
	I.C (45)	3	
	I.C (46)	6	
	I.C (49)	1	
	I.C (50)	1 (?)	
	II.A (31)	2	
	II.C (34)	1	
TABW	**I.B** (12)	1	
NI	**I.B** (12)	3	
	I.C (22)	1	

Table 2

Conclusion and recommendations

A considerable small amount of tiles found in the trenches of Easter excavation 2006 are from round about 1500, the *hispano-moresque* tiles in *corda seca* (1 piece) and *aresta* or *cuenca* stile (7 pieces), while the monochromatic tiles(27 pieces) can possibly be dated also partly being from in between 1550 till 1600. Al *hispano-moresque* tiles have the identifiable size of 12x12 or 13x13 cm by 2 cm of thickness, while the whole size of the monochromatic tiles is not clearly identifiable (they divide in between the ones of 2 cm of thickness and the ones of 1.5 cm of thickness, probably related to there date and place of origin). 5 different patterns seem to be identifiable, 4 gothic and 1 Arabic one.

3 pieces of *tapete* stile in cobalt blue and white are from the end of 17th beginning 18th century, and 1 in yellow-blue-white with manganese contour lines dates from round about 1670 or 1680.

Al others are in *tapete* stile of the second half of the 17th century (blue-yellow-white, 14x14x1.5 cm) with there respective *frisos* and *rodapés*. Here we can identify at least six different patterns, with two patterns of *frisos* (7x14x1.5 cm) and only one of *rodapé* (14x14x1.5 cm).

Further interrelated studies should be done, correlating the amount and types of found tiles in the different trenches and there respective layers to each other, to the other artefacts and the stages of the building structures, such as an attempt of identifying there exact workshops by comparing the patterns to the ones that exists (for example in the National Museum of tiles in Lisbon). Defining the exact dates and origins of the monochromatic tiles should be useful, which is probably related to there thickness, clarifying if the ones of 2 cm thickness are from round about 1500 of Seville and the ones with 1.5 cm thickness are from in between 1550 till 1600, from Lisbon, as supposed.

We would like to thank Prof. Rui Carita from University of Madeira, as well as photographer Luis Costa, for their valuable support

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Moita, Irisalva et al, n.d. *Lisboa quinhentista - a imagem e a vida da cidade*. Lisboa: Museu da Cidade, Direcção dos Serviços Culturais da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa

Tiles description and identification of April excavation 2007 on site of 'The Jesuit College and the first Church in the tropics', Cidade Velha, Cape Verde

by Konstantin Richter

Beside the already identified patterns of tiles found during Easter excavation 2006 in Cidade Velha, which also built up the most amount among the assemblage of the excavations of the April 2007 season, we can add a few new identifiable patterns to the former ones:

Fig. 1: Two intact *Hispano-Moresque* tiles, *aresta* or *quenca* style, from in between 1500 till 1520, origin Seville, show us the whole pattern;
Fig. 2: piece of figurative panel (Virgin Mary?) of blue and yellow *tapete* tile, probably from a figurative panel of the altar, round about 1660, origin Lisbon. To remark is that no other piece of the figurative panel has been found;
Fig. 3: pieces of blue and yellow *tapete* tiles, *frisos* of so called ´tooth' type, from in between 1660 till 1680, origin Lisbon. Notable are the differences of colouring, which might be an indication of being of different painting/burning processes, or even of different workshops;
Fig. 4: Tile of *tapete*, *rodapé*, imitating a fringe of textile, beginning second half of 17th century, origin Lisbon;
Fig. 5: Tile of *tapete*, *friso*, with contour lines in manganese, 1670-1680, origin Lisbon;
Fig. 6: Tile of *tapete*, *friso*, also possibly used as *rodapé*, second half of 17th century, origin Lisbon;
Fig. 7: Tile of *tapete*, of so caled *maçaroca* type, round about 1660, origin Lisbon;
Fig. 8: pieces of tiles of *tapete*, different patterns, from in between 1660 till 1680, probably of origin of Lisbon, after exposition to strong heat (fire?)
Fig. 9: Tile of *tapete*, with contour lines in manganese, 1670-1680, origin of Lisbon;
Fig. 10: Not clearly identifiable piece of tile, could be *tapete* in blue and yellow, or from later in blue and white, could be also from a figurative panel. Supposed date is in between end of 17th century till mid 18th century, probably origin Lisbon. No other piece like this one has been found.

-

Tiles 1



Fig. 33: CV07 ID (093)
Hispano-mouresque, of *aresta* (or *cuenca*), Seville, between 1500-1520

Tiles 2



Fig. 34: CV07 IE (069)
Part of figurative panel (altar?), beginning second half of 17th century (Virgin Mary?). Lisbon

Tiles 3

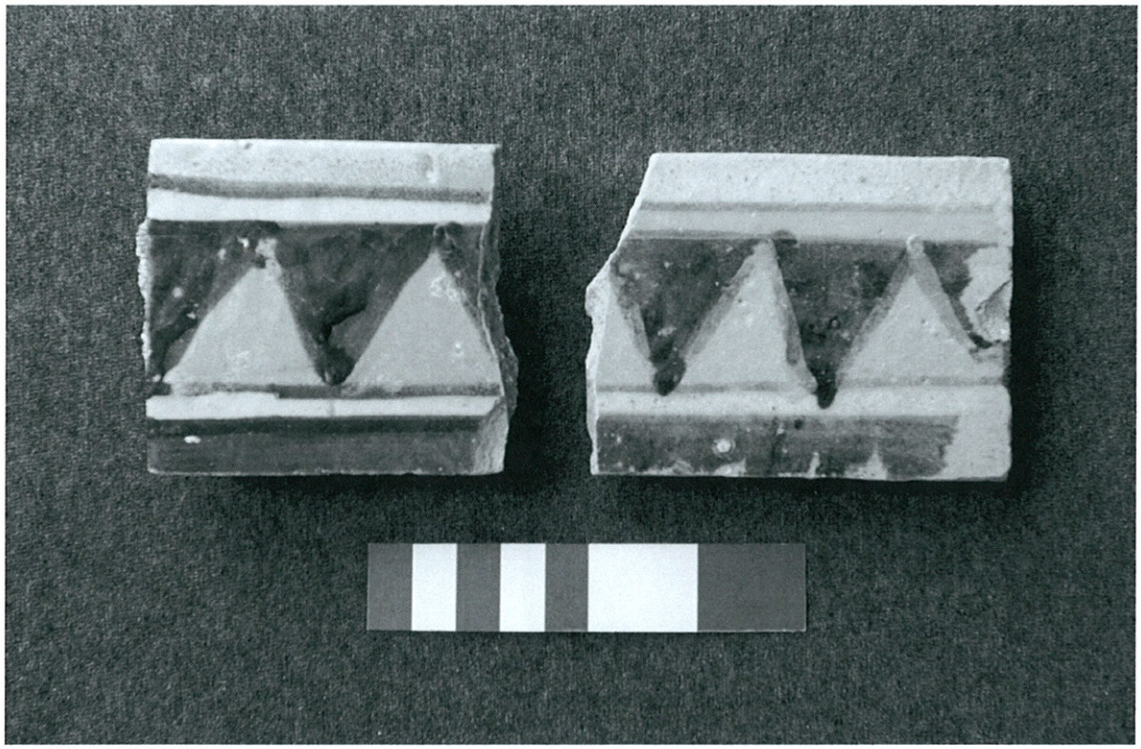

Fig. 35: CV07 IE (069)
Tapete type, of *Friso* 'teeth' (*Rodapé*?), between 1660-1680, Lisbon

Tiles 4

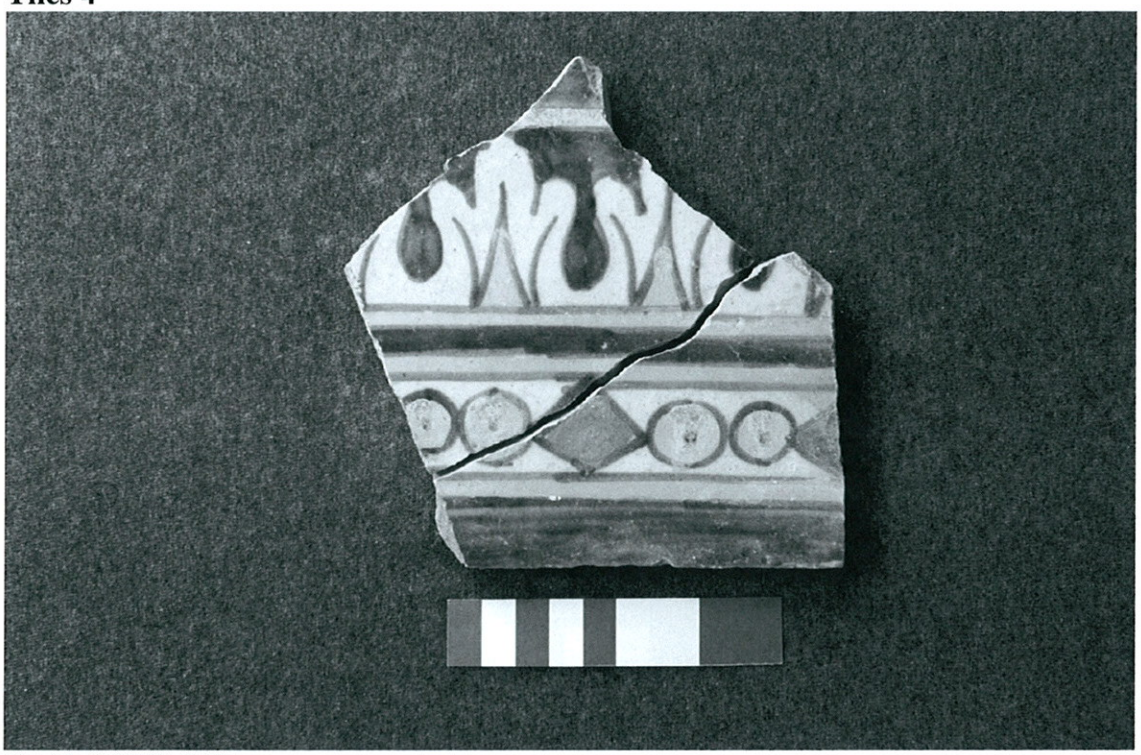

Fig. 36: CV07 IE (069)
Tapete type, of *Rodapé*, imitating cloth fringe, beginning second half of 17th century, Lisbon

Tiles 5



Fig. 37: CV07 IE (101)
Tapete type, of *Friso*, with manganese contour lines, 1670-1680, Lisbon

Tiles 6



Fig. 38: CV07 IE (101)
Tapete type, *Friso* used as *Rodapé*, second half of 17th century, Lisbon

Tiles 7



Fig. 39: CV07 IE (101)
Tapete type of *maçaroca*, beginning second half of 17th century, Lisbon

Tiles 8



Fig. 40: CV07 IE (103)
Tapete type, beginning second half of 17th century, Lisbon, after exposure to great heat (fire?)

Tiles 9



Fig. 41: CV07 IIIA (073)
Tapete type, 1670-1680, Lisbon, with manganese contour lines

Tiles 10



Fig. 42: CV07 IIIA (073)
Tapete type or from figurative panel, second half of 17th century (blue and yellow), or beginning/half of 18th century (only blue over white)? Lisbon

We would like to thank Prof. Rui Carita from University of Madeira, as well as photographer Luis Costa, for their valuable support

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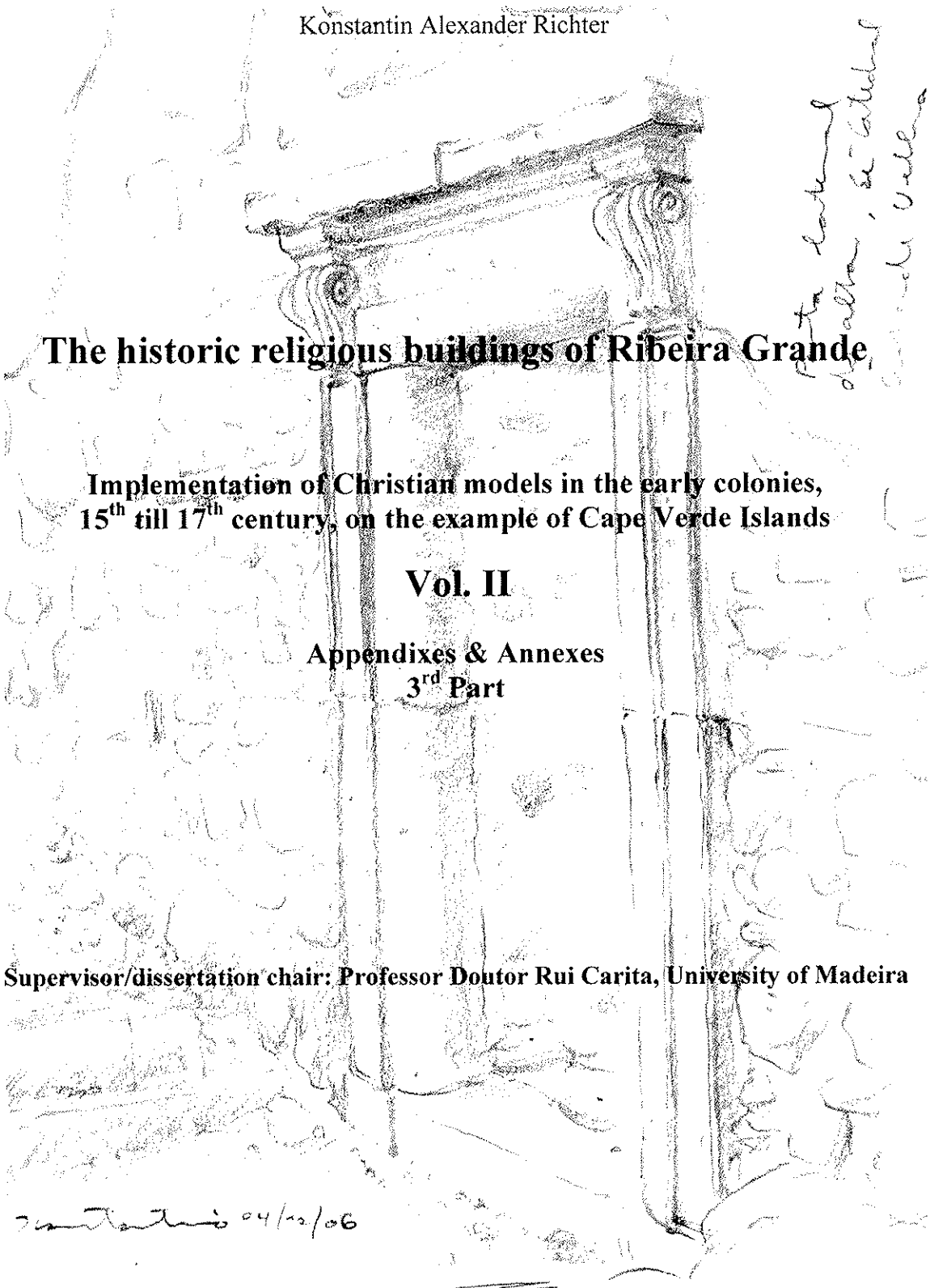
1.5 APPENDIX

Errata

Note:
indicated are found mistakes which couldn't be corrected at time:

- Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* should indicate two (2) steps to altar, instead of three (3) ones as by mistake indicated at plan and section drawings in Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 8 and 13
- Direction of compass in plan from Church of *Misericórdia*, Appendix 1.2.2, fig. 8, is too much to the right (east), c. 25°, the same in plan of Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*, Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 8 and 9
- 'Ribeira Grande and its religious buildings, 1769', map of Appendix 1.1, fig. 5, where is indicated nr. '10' for Church of *S. Pedro*, should be read nr.'11'
- Slight incongruence, backside window Sacristy Chapel of *S, Roque*: in section should be seen more quadrangular than rectangular, in Appendix 1.2.12, fig. 13
- Slight incorrectness in lateral elevation drawings of Cathedral, wall section beneath lateral doors, in Appendix 1.2.1, fig. 11
- Exaggerated window heads at lateral elevation drawings of Church (of Convent) of *S. Francisco* in Appendix 1.2.5, fig. 12, 13
- At front elevation drawing of Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário* (Appendix 1.2.4, fig. 10), the existent topping small round oculus is unfortunately hardly visible

Konstantin Alexander Richter



The historic religious buildings of Ribeira Grande

Implementation of Christian models in the early colonies, 15th till 17th century, on the example of Cape Verde Islands

Vol. II

Appendixes & Annexes
3rd Part

Supervisor/dissertation chair: Professor Doutor Rui Carita, University of Madeira

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Konstantin Alexander Richter

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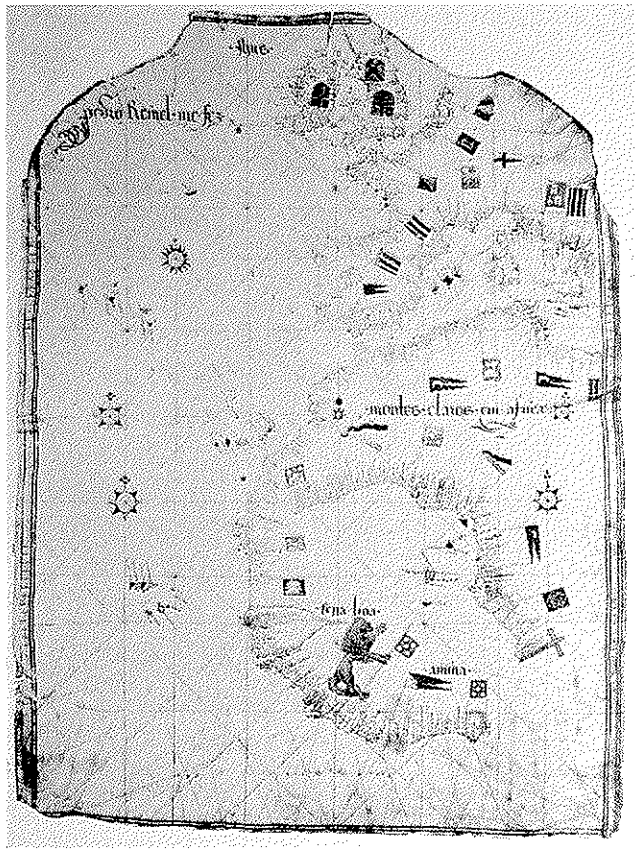
2. ANNEXES

ANNEX

Maps, illustrations and engravings

Fig. 1-18



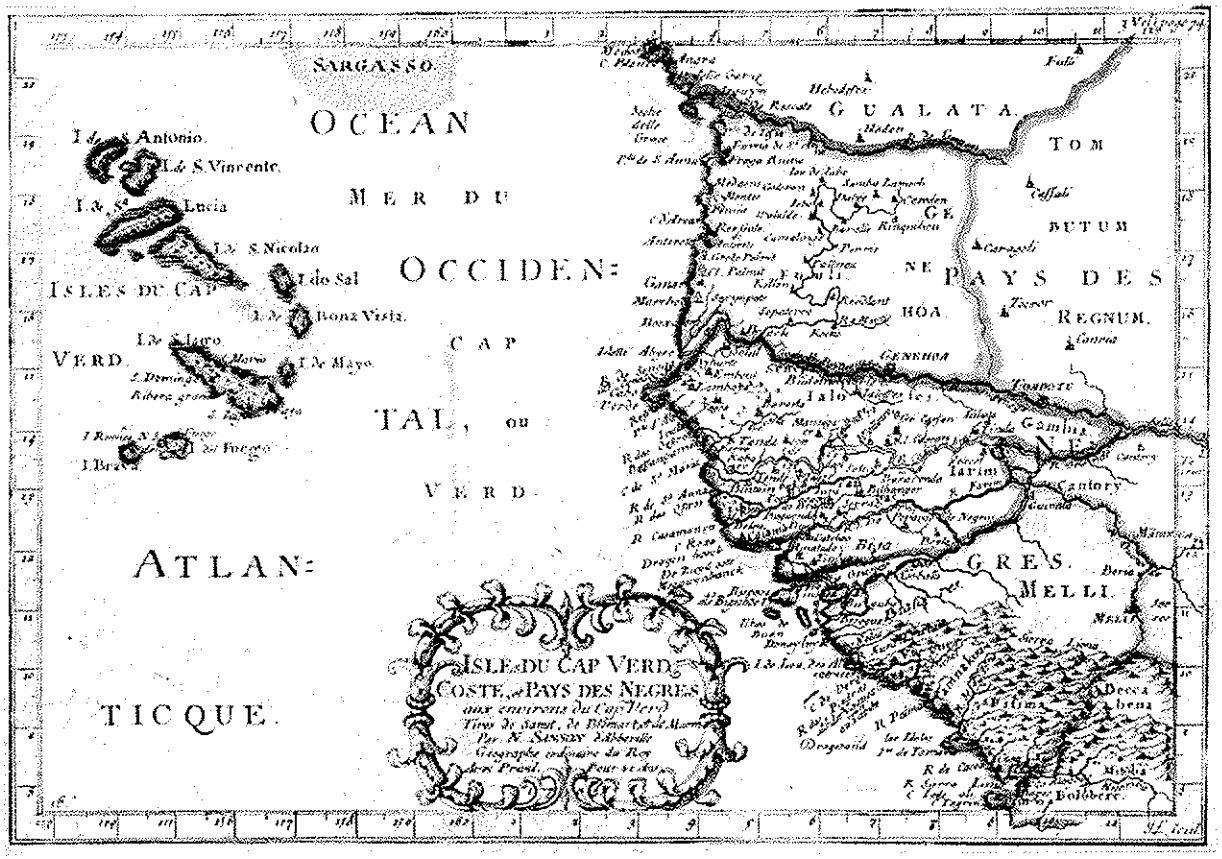


Fig. 1: author Pedro Reinel, 1485

Fig. 2: Islands of Cape Verde and coast of Guinea, author Nicolas Sanson, 1700.

(Sources: www.arquipelagos.pt/imagebank/image 25438 jpg and 19195 jpg)

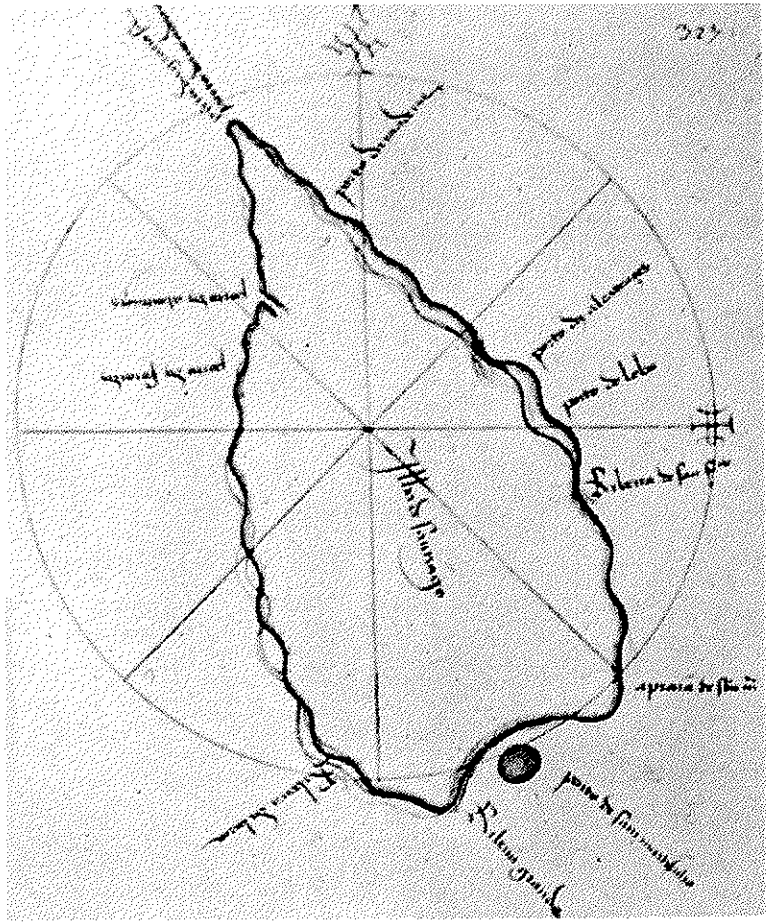


Fig. 3: Island of Santiago, author Valentim Fernandes, 1500 (c.). (Source: www.arquipelagos.pt/imagebank/image 8343 jpg)

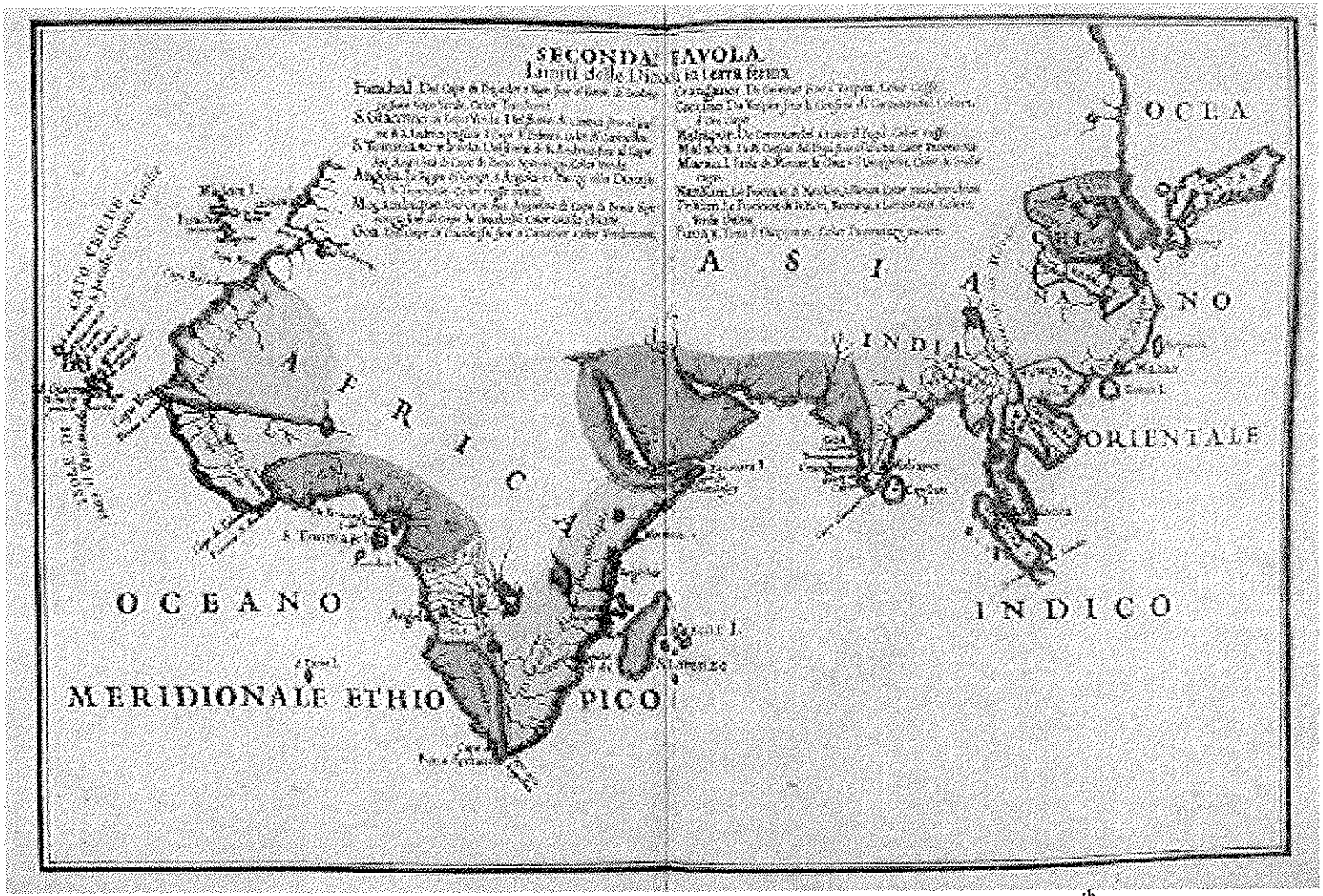


Fig. 4: The Dioceses of Africa and Asia, according to Italian representation of the 18th century
(Source: Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuelle II, *Fondo Gesuitico*, n.° 1225,
in da Silva Gonçalves, 1996. *Os Jesuítas e a missão de Cabo Verde (1604-1642)*. Lisboa: Brotéria)

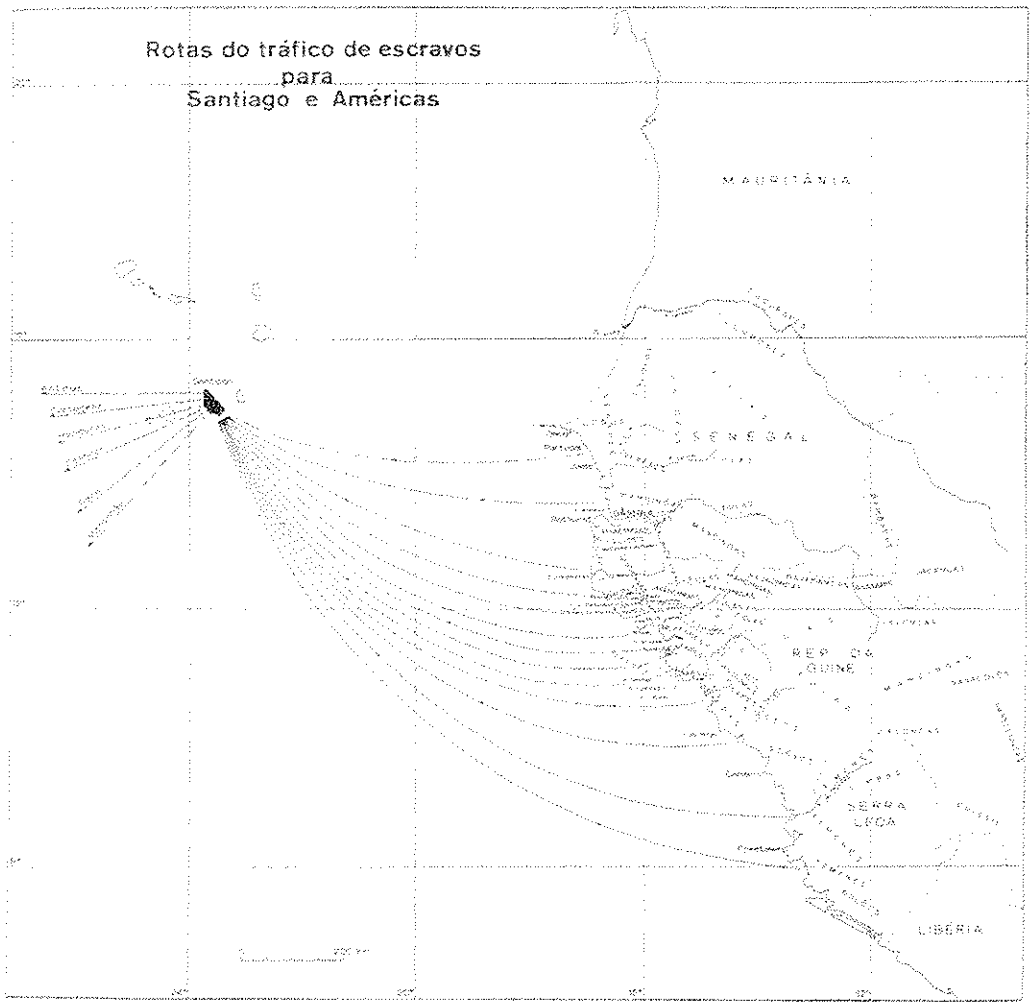


Fig. 5: Map showing slave trade routs from West Africa through Santiago to America (Source: in Pereira, Daniel A., 2004. *A Importância Histórica da Cidade Velha (Ilha de Santiago – Cabo Verde)*. Praia: Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro)

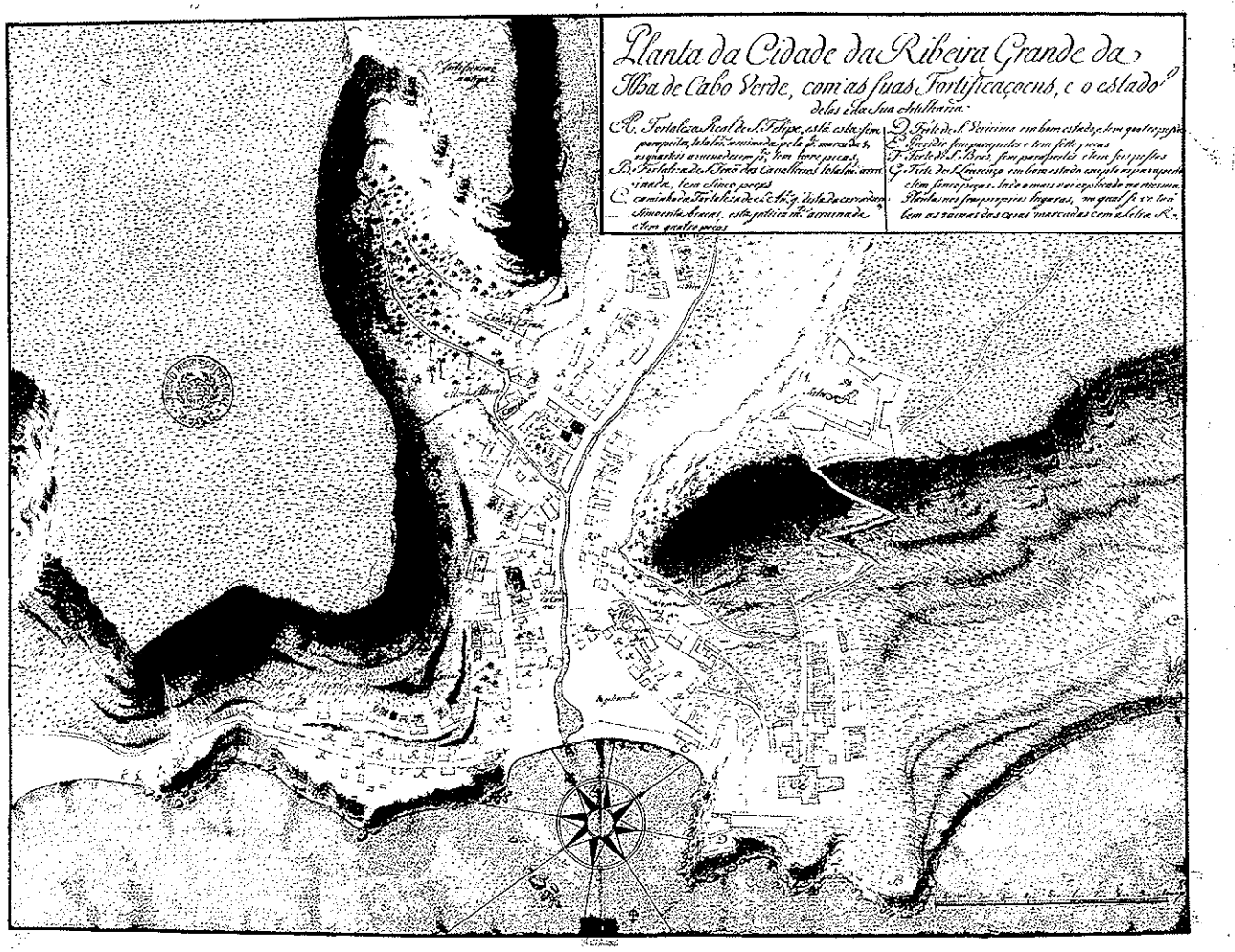


Fig. 6: 'Planta da Cidade da Ribeira Grande da Ilha de Cabo Verde, com as Fortificações, e o estado delas e da sua Artilharia'. 408x316 mm, manuscript, aquarelle. Linear scale of 1000 *palmos* (81 mm). Includes inscription. Author: António Carlos Andrea, 1769. (Source: AHU, cartographic collection Ms. 119)

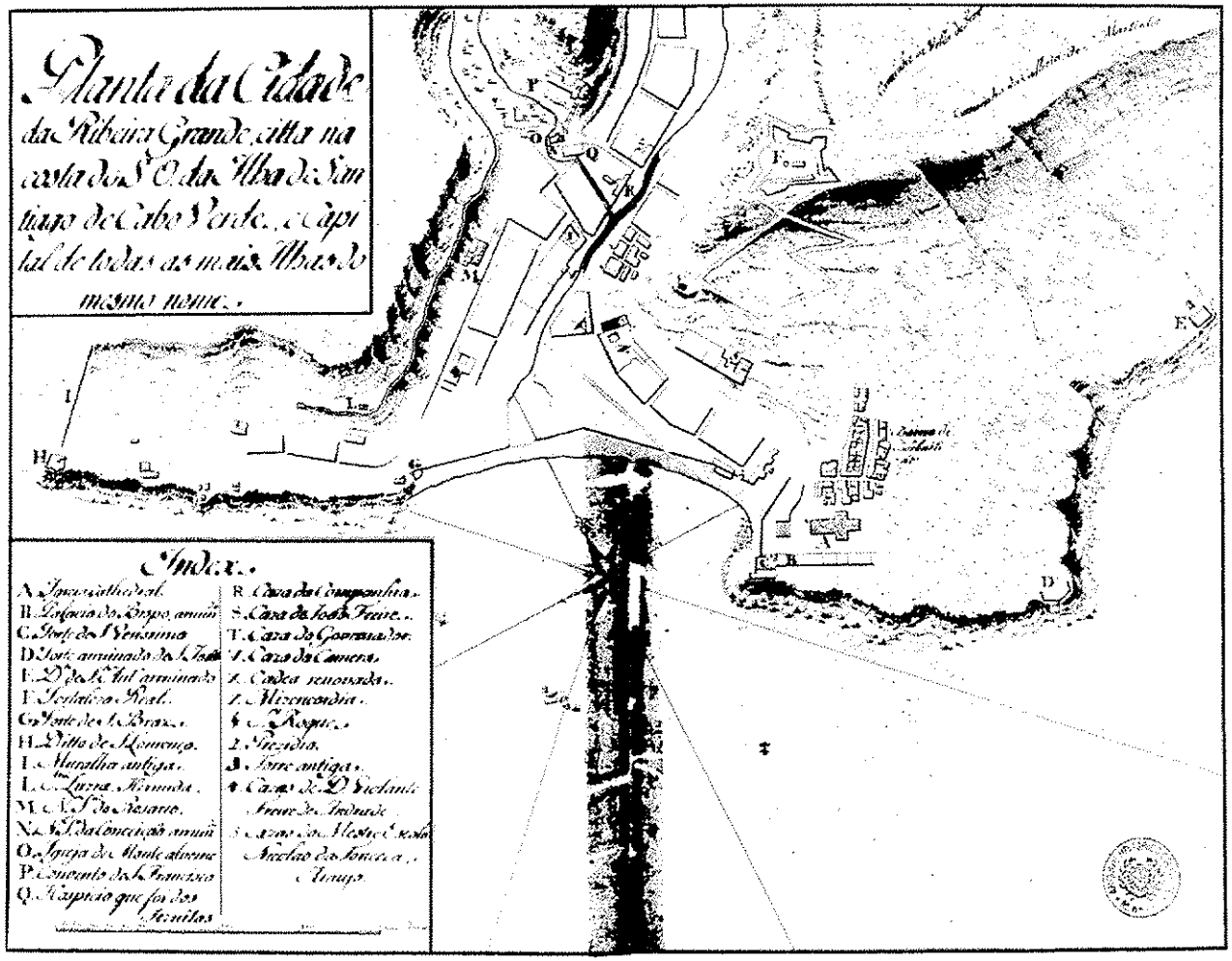


Fig. 7: 'Planta da Cidade da Ribeira Grande, citta na costa SO da Ilha de Santiago de Cabo Verde e Capital de todas as mais Ilhas do mesmo nome'. 300x394 mm, manuscript, aquarelle. Linear scale of 2000 *palmos*. Includes index. Author: António Carlos Andrea, 1778. (Source: AHU, cartographic collection Ms. 8. IV. CM. 123)

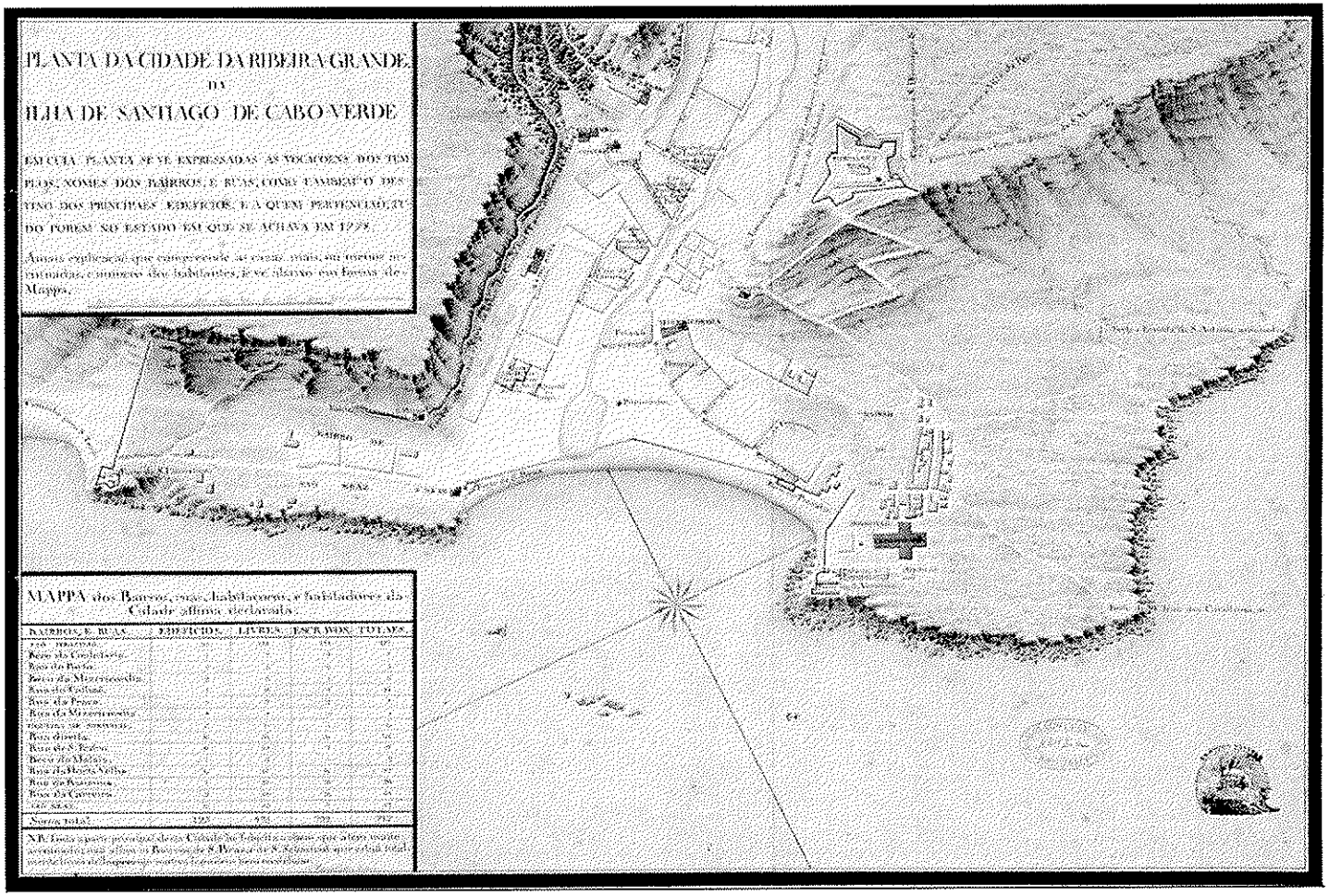


Fig. 8: 'Planta da Cidade da Ribeira Grande. Da Ilha de Santiago de Cabo Verde em cuia planta se ve expressadas as vocaçoens dos templos; nomes dos bairros, e ruas; como tambem' o destino dos principais edeficios, e a quem pertencião; tudo porém no estado em que se achava em 1778'. 642x436 mm, aquarelle. Linear scale of 1500 *palmos craveiros*. Includes plan of parts of town, streets, habitations, and inhabitants of the city declared above. Author: António Carlos Andrea, 1778. (Source: GEAEM archive, 1198/1A-9-13)



Fig. 9: Engraving (showing Francis Drake's attack at Ribeira Grande), author Teodoro de Bry, 1600 (?) (Source: Maritime Museum Greenwich)

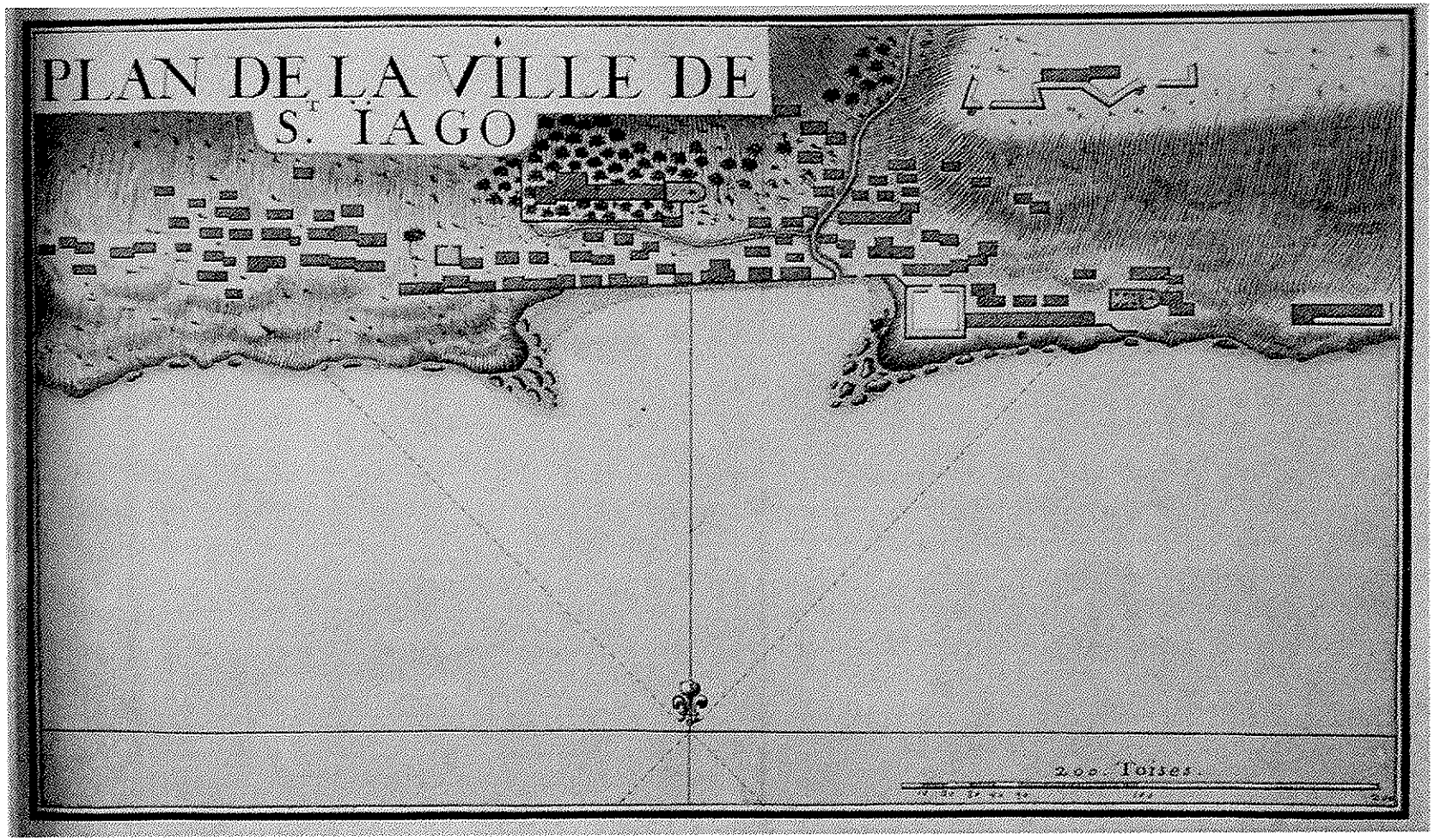


Fig. 10 : 'Plan de la ville de St. Iago'. Pencil and aquarelle. Scale : 200 Toises. Author : Duplessis, 1699 (?) (Source : Massa, Françoise, J.M. Massa, 2004. *Duplessis: Relation Journalière d'un Voyage fait en 1699 par M. de Beauchesne aux îles du Cap – Vert.* Rennes : PCLL)

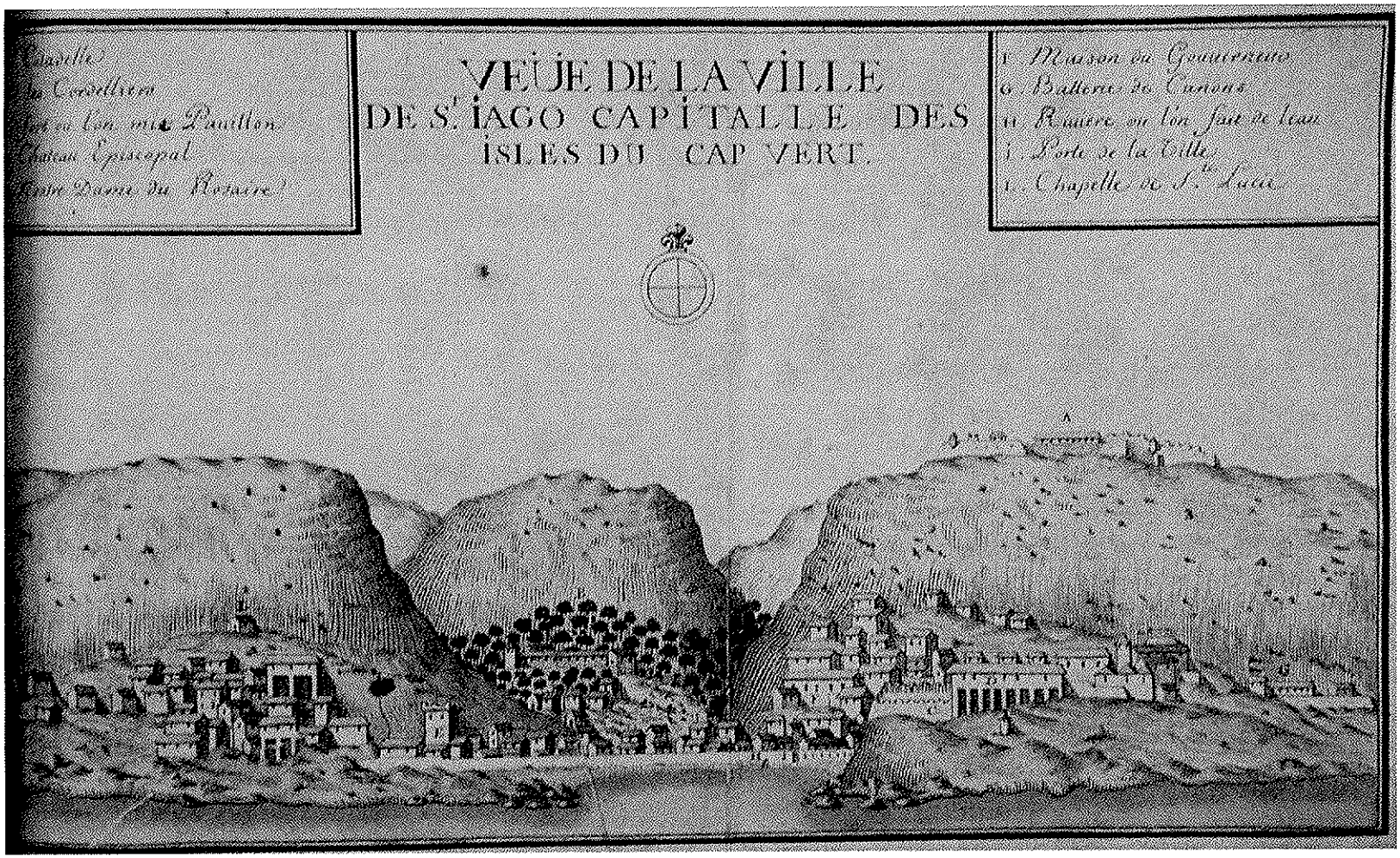


Fig. 11 : ' Veüe de la Ville de St. Iago Capitalle des Isles du Cap Vert´ .Pencil and aquarelle. Includes index. Author : Duplessis, 1699 (?) (Source : Massa, Françoise, J.M. Massa, 2004. *Duplessis: Relation Journalière d'un Voyage fait en 1699 par M. de Beauchesne aux îles du Cap – Vert.* Rennes : PCLL))

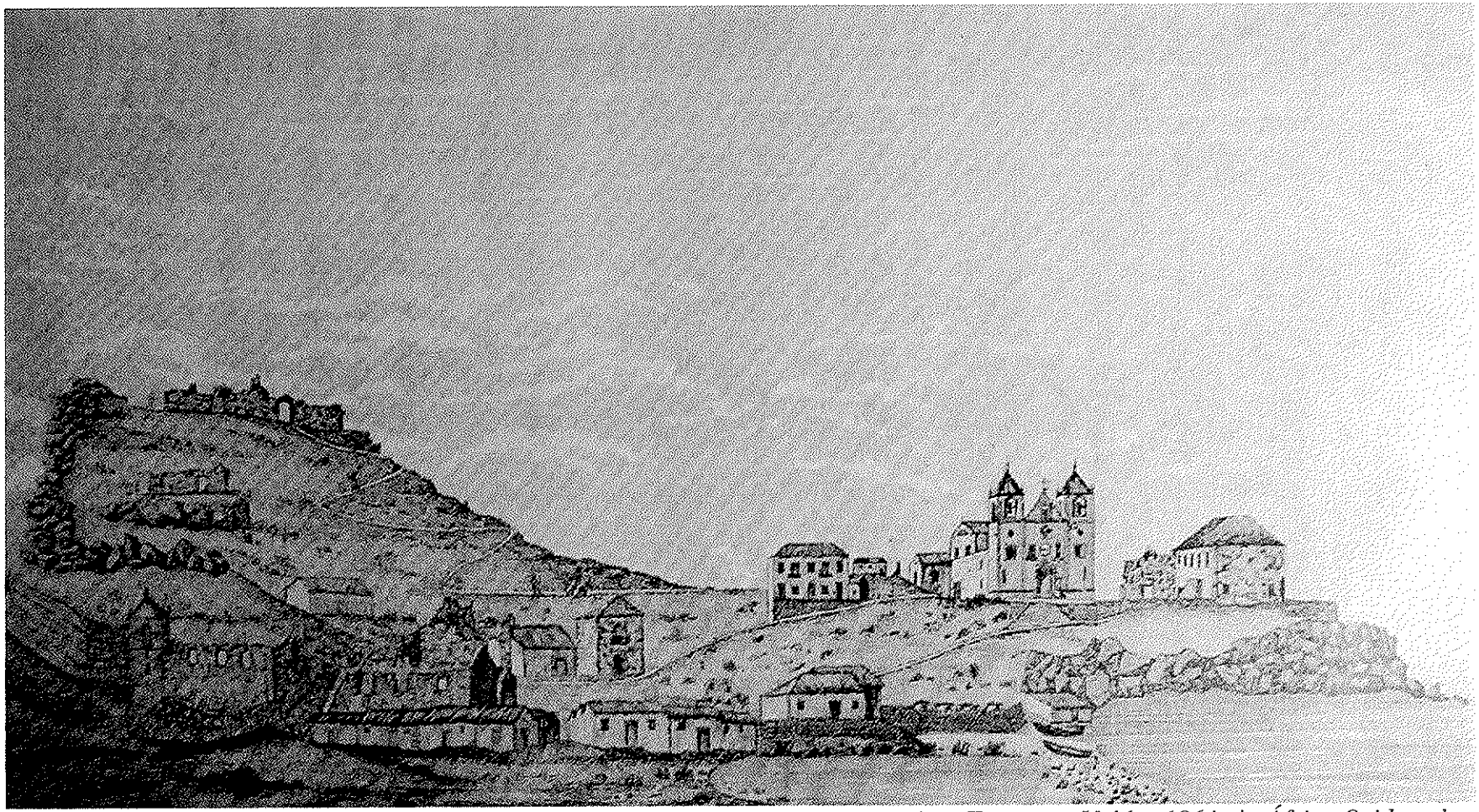


Fig. 12 : 'Ilha de S. Thiago, cidade da Ribeira Grande'. Lithography. Autor: Francisco Travassos Valdez,1864, in *África Ocidental-Notícias e considerações*. Lisboa: Tomo I (Source: Cabo Verde, Secção Cartográfica e Iconográfica, AHU)

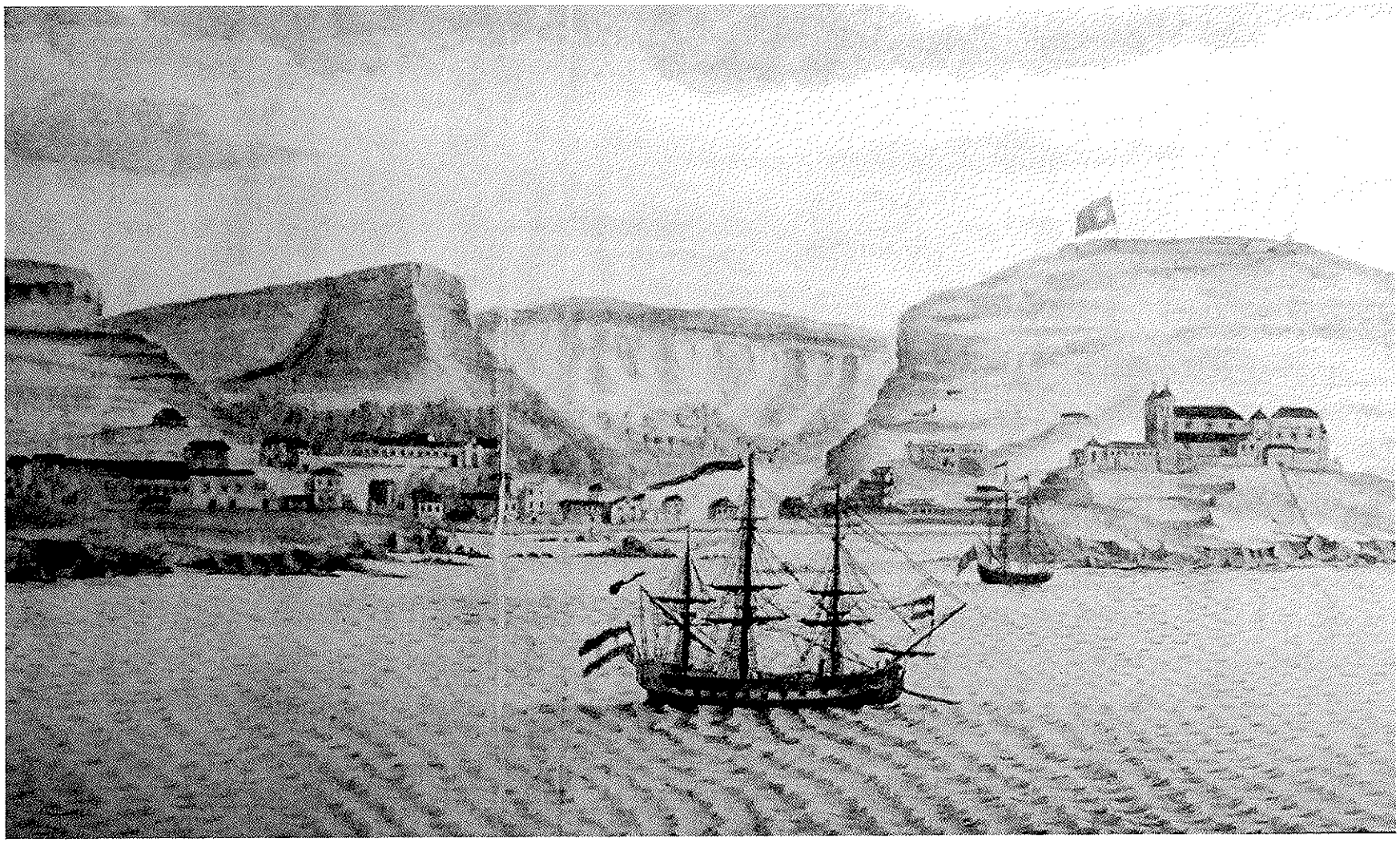


Fig. 13: 'Gezigt van de reed voor de Stadt S. Iago (...) '. Original approx. 290x680 mm. Engraving in aquarelle.
Author: Johannes van Reulen, 1635. (Source: Col. Iconografia, Estampas I.IV.E4.50, AHU)



Fig. 14: Illustration showing trade in between coast of Guinea and Cape Verde. 'An elite heterogeneous group installed on Santiago moved and participated in an intense trade with the African coast which conferred on them social and economic power.' (Source: in Madeira Santos, 2001. *História Geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. I. Lisboa/Praia: Instituto de Investigação Tropical, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural)

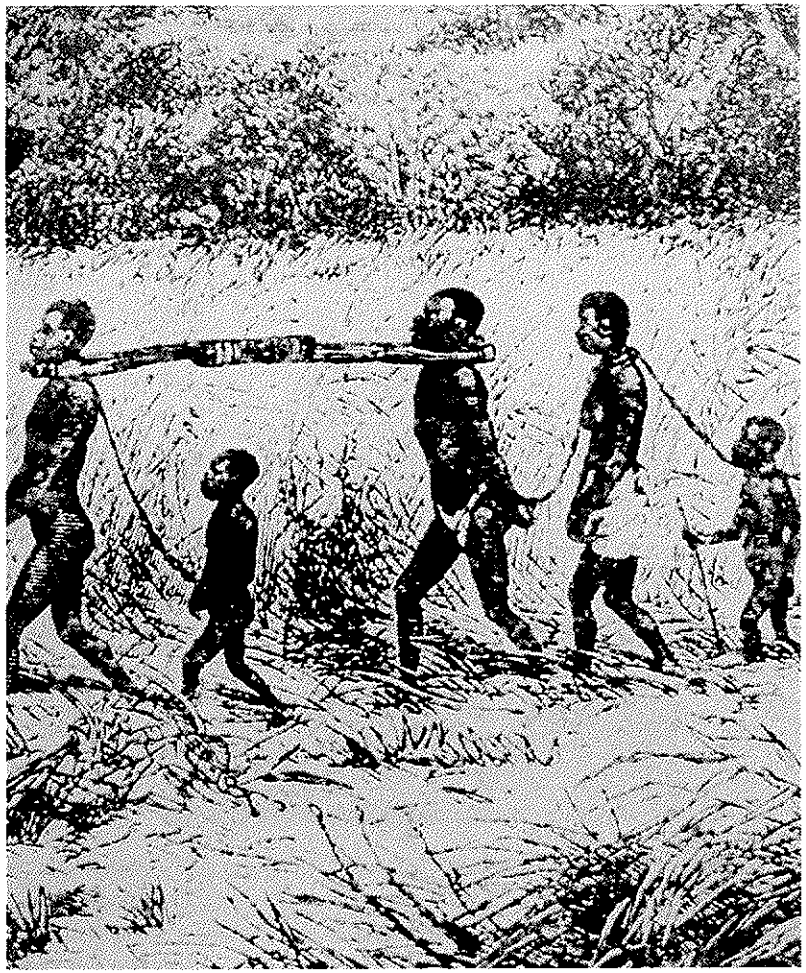


Fig. 15: Slaves in chains, coast of Guinea. 'For a prolonged period of time the slave trade was the principal economic activity for the inhabitants of Santiago. Bought on the coast of Guinea, they were brought to the holding port, which existed there, as much by the natives as by the *lançados'*. (Source: in Madeira Santos, 2001. *História Geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. I. Lisboa/Praia: Instituto de Investigação Tropical, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural)

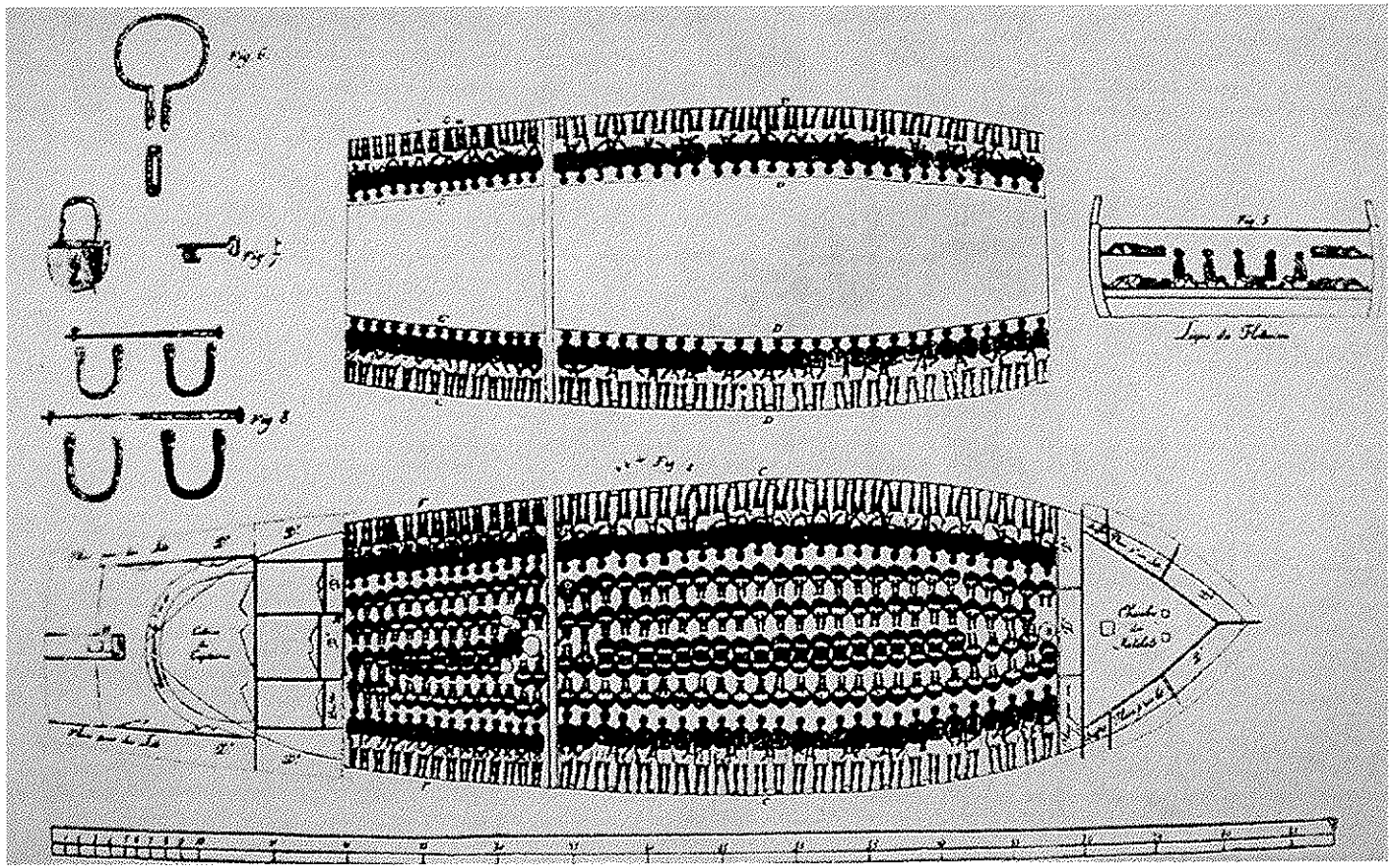
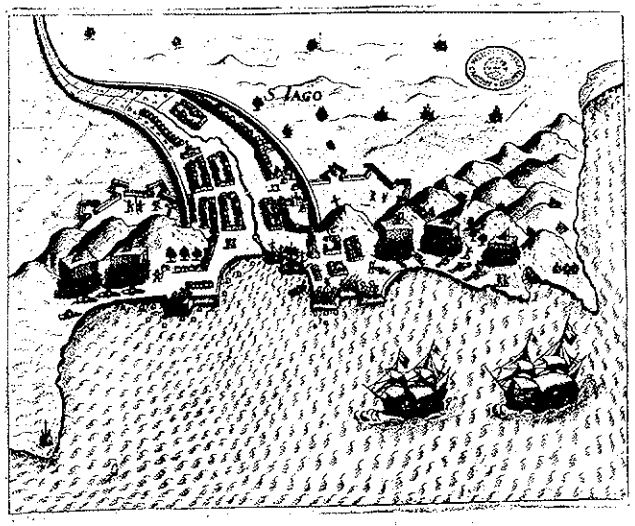


Fig. 16: 'The transport of the slaves was extremely painful. Chained and locked up, they were held in the dark inside the ships. Lack of hygiene, alimentation deficiencies and the cold they were exposed to on board contributed decisively to the high mortality rate during the trip.' (Source: in Madeira Santos, 2001. *História Geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. I. Lisboa/Praia: Instituto de Investigação Tropical, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural)



Sancta Iago, à Lusitanis, tum viris tum tormentis probè armata, munitaq; utroque latere vallis fortibus firmata est. Haec ciuitas à prædicta Praia duobus ferè milliaribus distat. Ad illam Lusitani fictis verbis Hollandos exciuerant, sub specie amici contractus & conuentus necessarij. Quò cum Hollandi applicuissent, binis nauibus idolum sibi intëtatum illicò senserunt. Lusitani enim non saltem multis ordinibus iuxta littora armati comparebant. Sed & per littoris spatia plurima tormenta disposuerant, quibus aduentantes incautius Hollandos exciperent. Insidiis itaq; detectis, Hollandi retrò cõmearunt iterum, quod suas hoc loco vires experiundi nullum propositum haberent.

Fig. 17: 'Verdadera Contrahechura de San Tiago'. Engraving. Author: Teodoro de Bry, 1600 (Source: de Bry, T. and Ed. Siruela, *America (1590-1634)*,Libro octavo. 302)

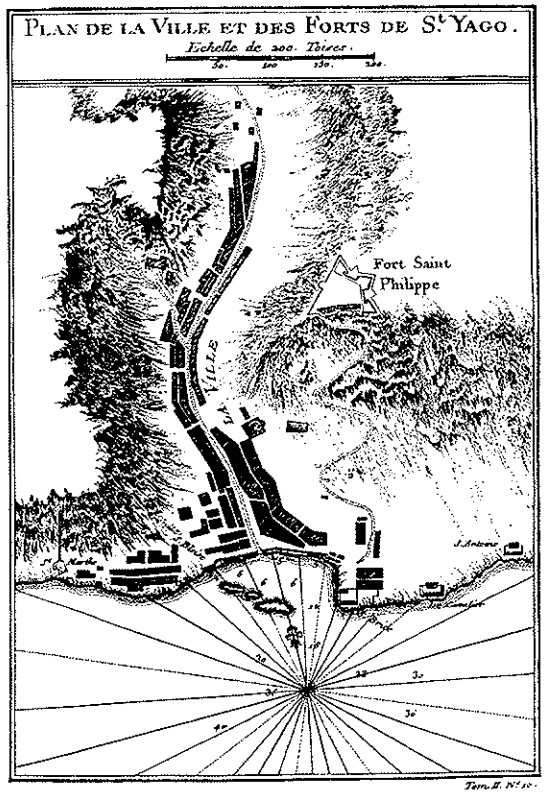


Fig. 18: 'Plan de La Ville et des Forts de St. Yago'. Scale: 200 Toises. French engraving, author unknown. 18th century (Source: cartographic collection. AHU)

2.2 ANNEX

Comparative chronologic urban maps of mainland and other colonies

Fig. 1-12

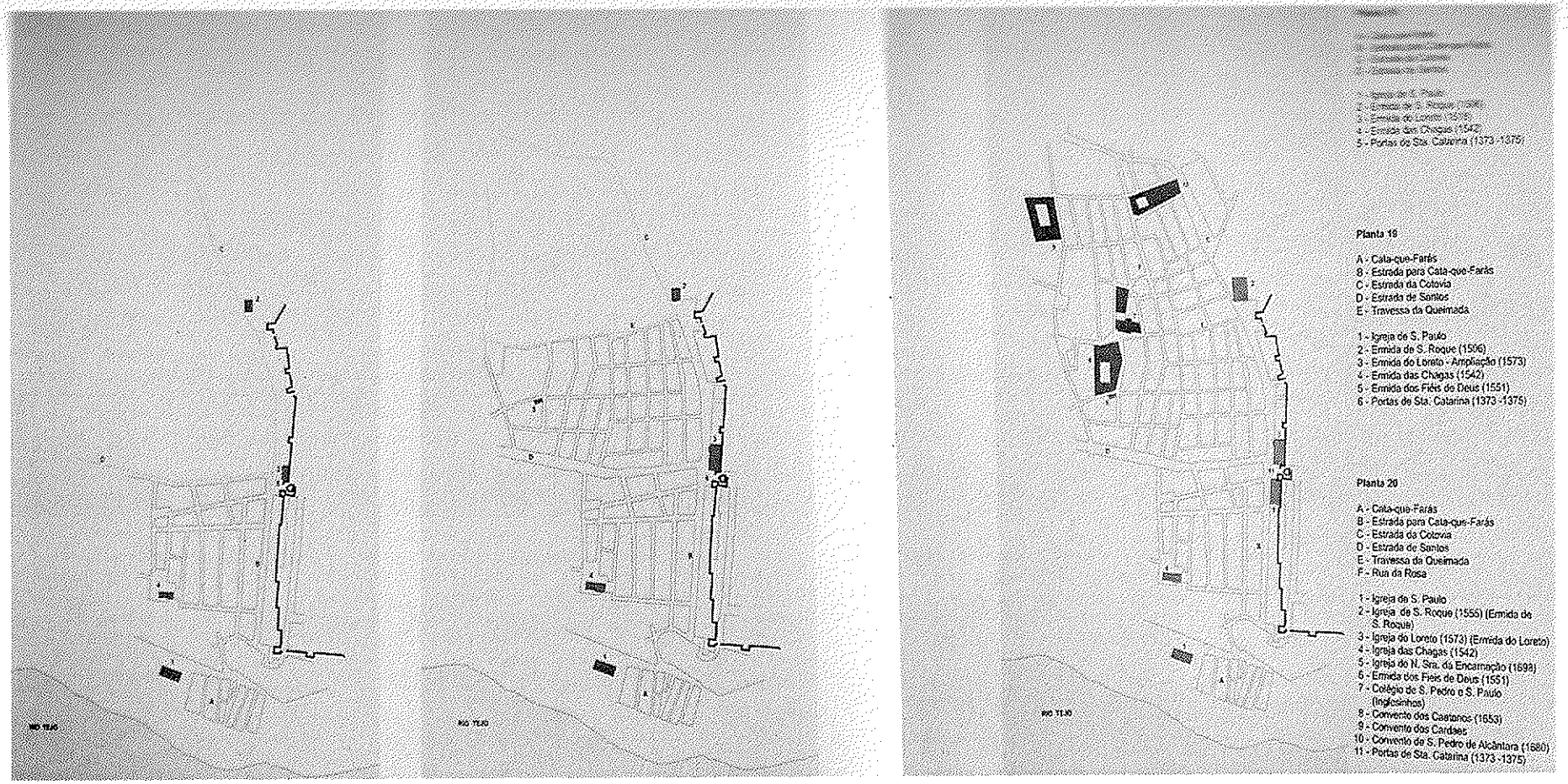


Fig. 1: Lisbon, *Bairro Alto*. First half of 16th century, second half of 16th century and second half of 17th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

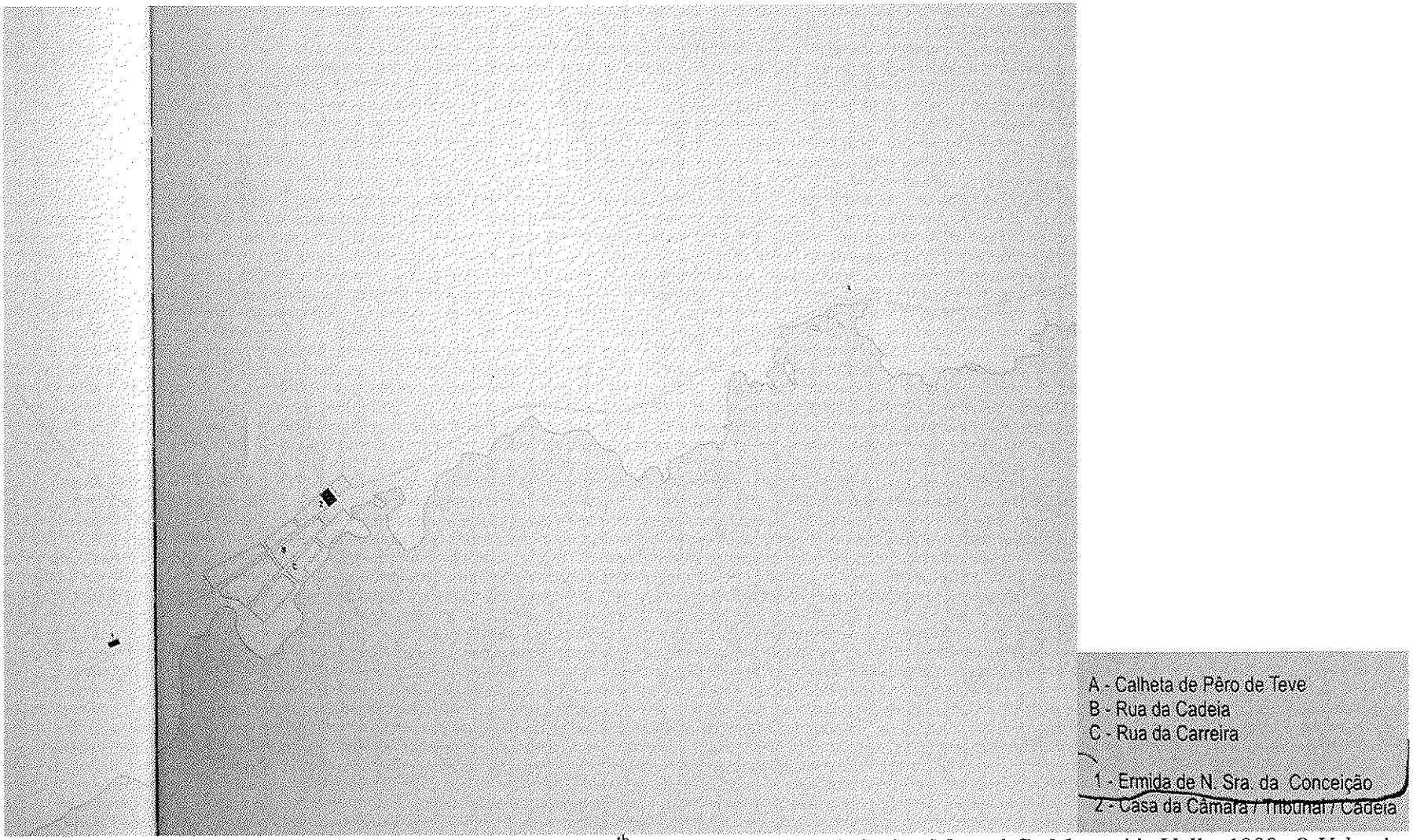


Fig. 2: Ponta Delgada, Island of S. Miguel (Azores). End of 15th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

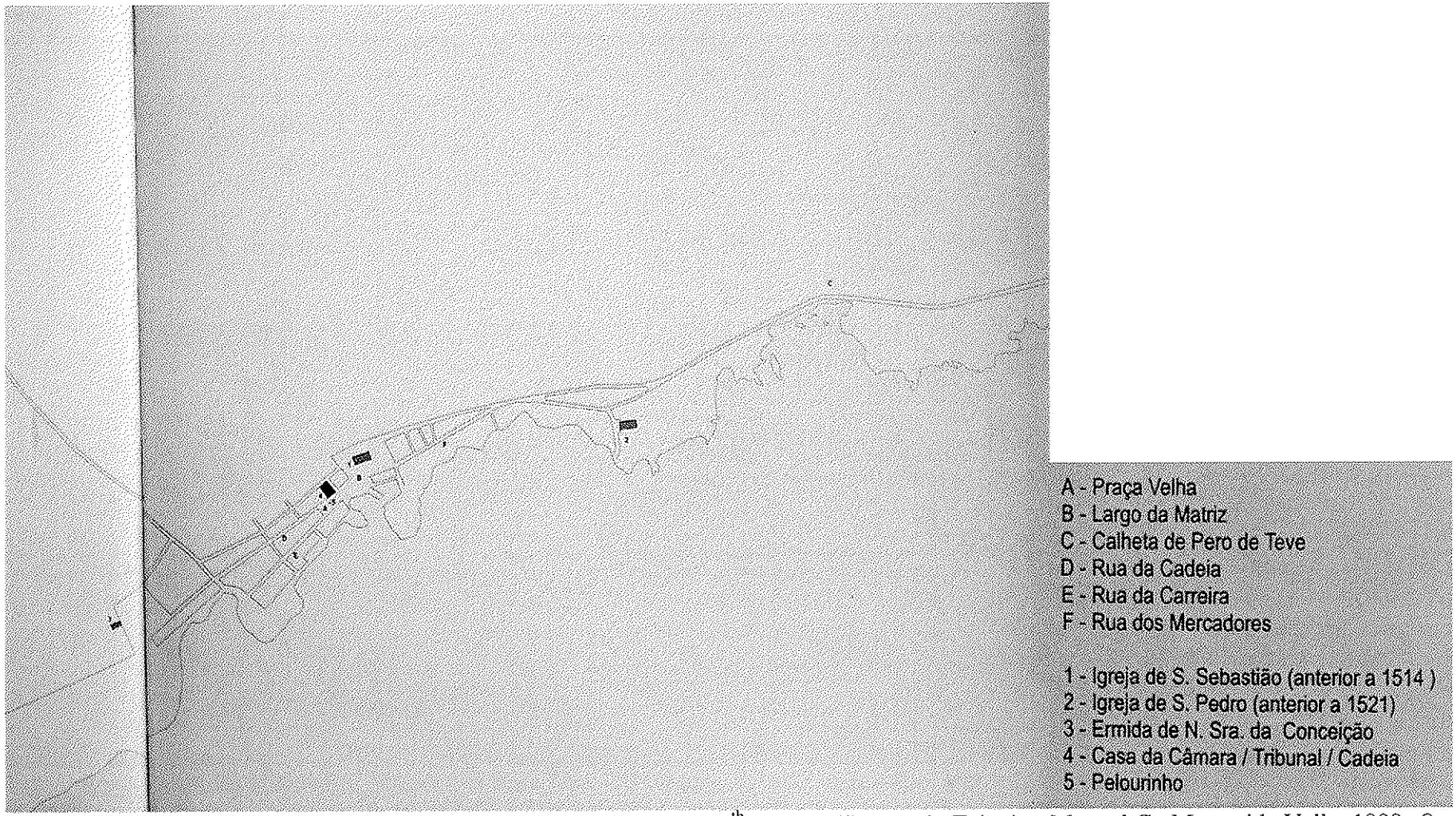


Fig. 3: Ponta Delgada, Island of S. Miguel (Azores). Beginning of 16th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

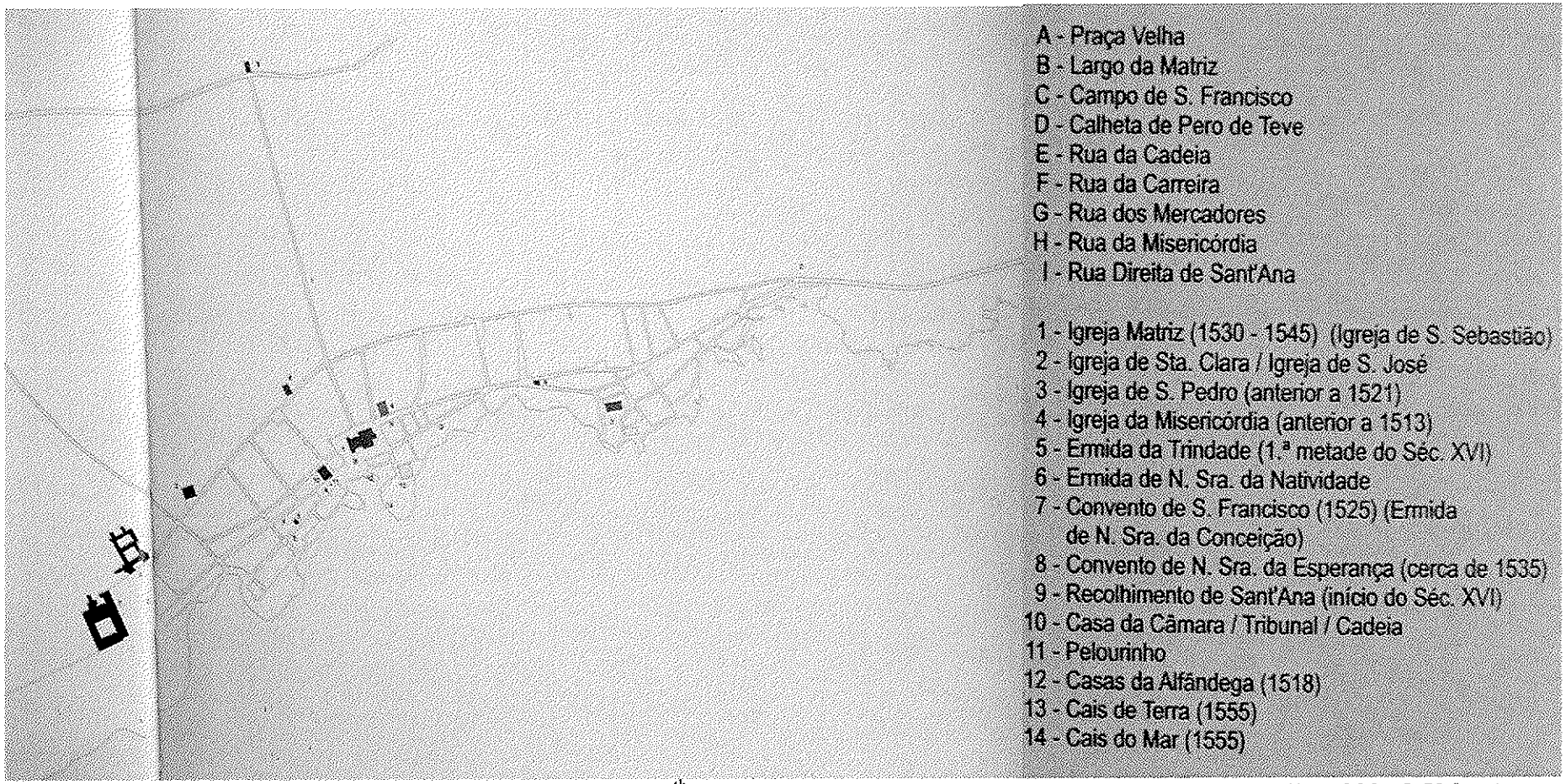


Fig. 4: Ponta Delgada, Island of S. Miguel (Azores). Mid 16th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil.* Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

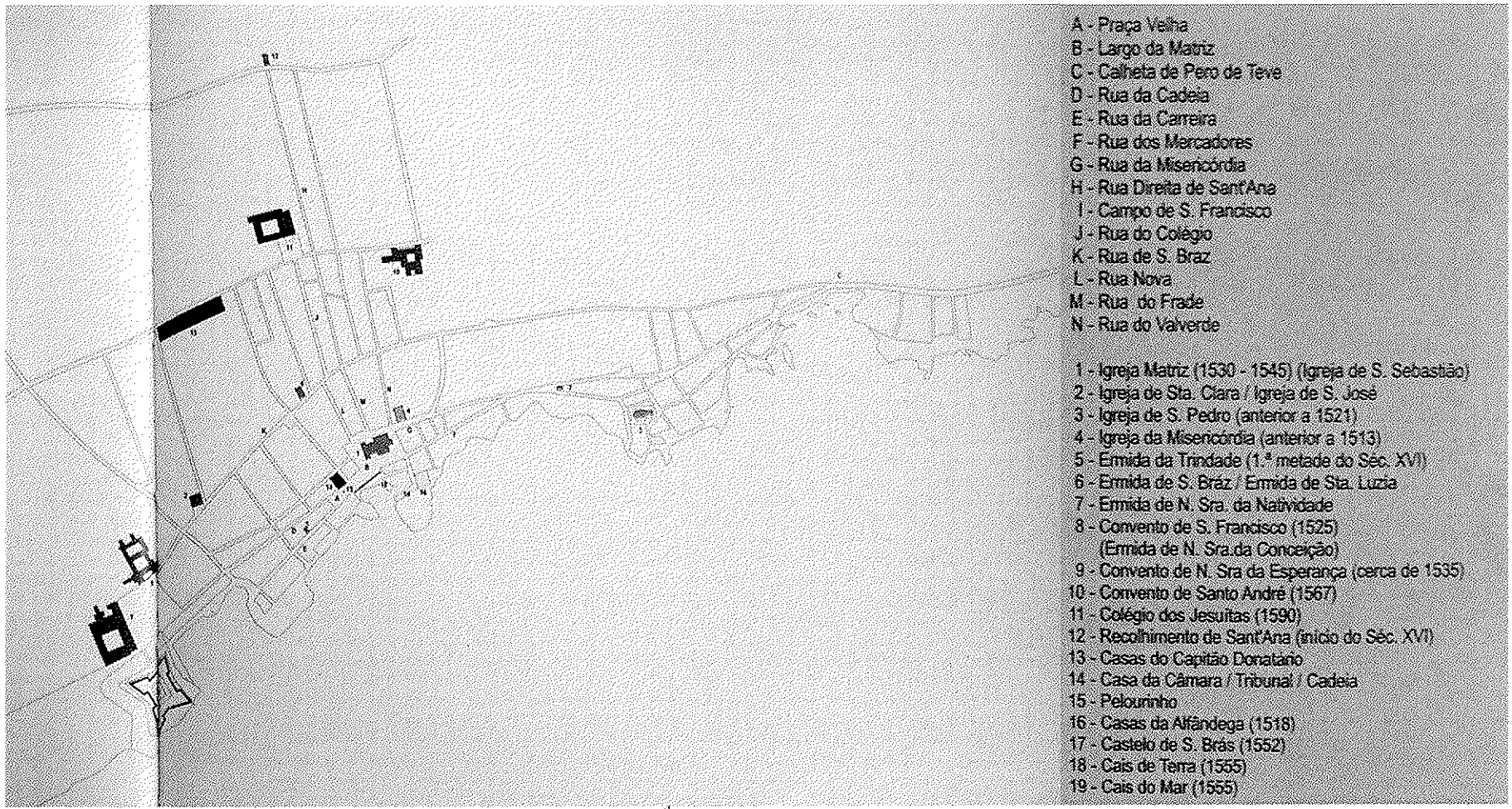


Fig. 5: Ponta Delgada, Island of S. Miguel (Azores). End of 16th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil.* Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

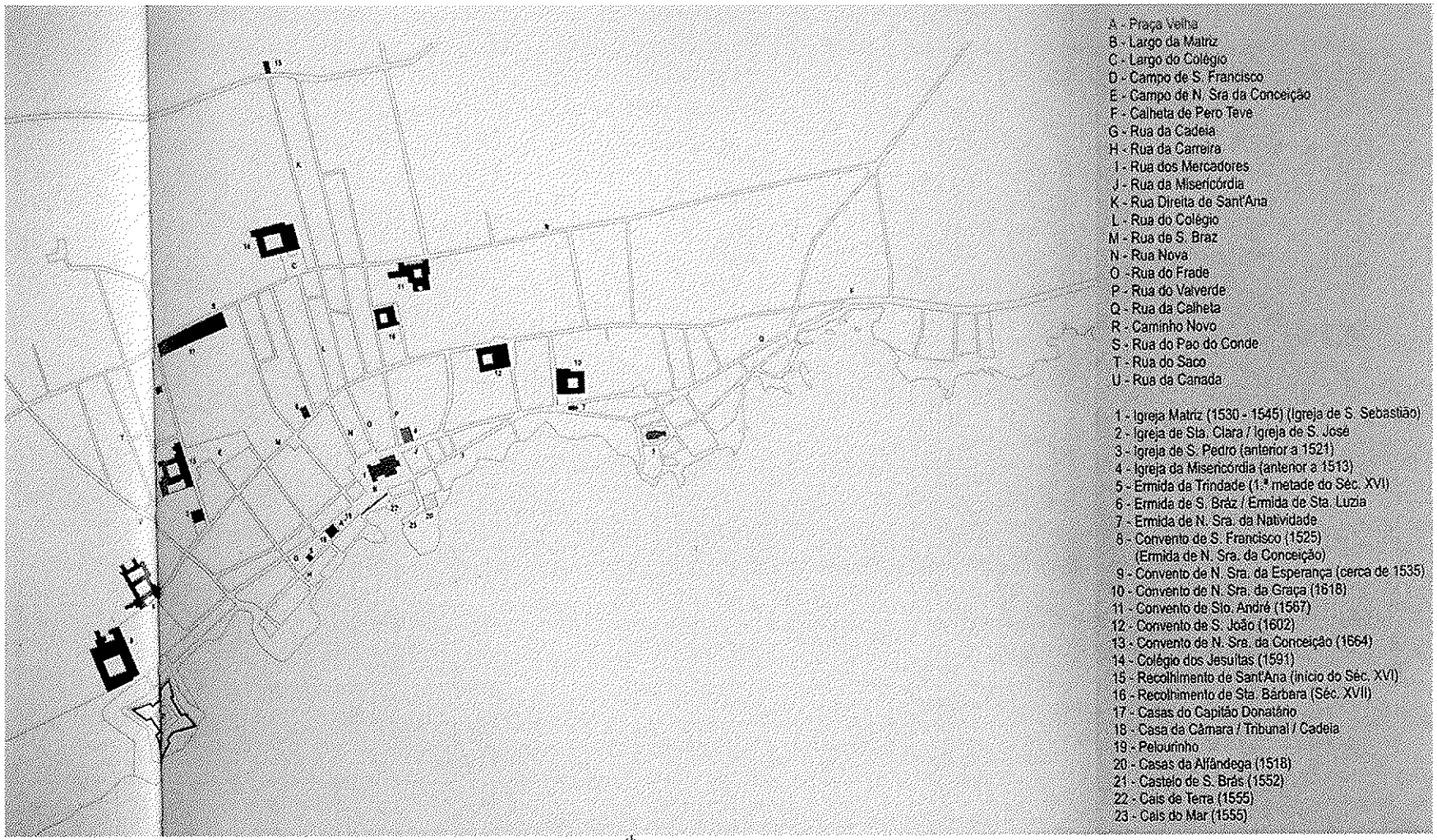


Fig. 6: Ponta Delgada, Island of S. Miguel (Azores). End of 17th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)



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Fig. 7.: Angra do Heroismo, Island Terceira (Azores). End of 16th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

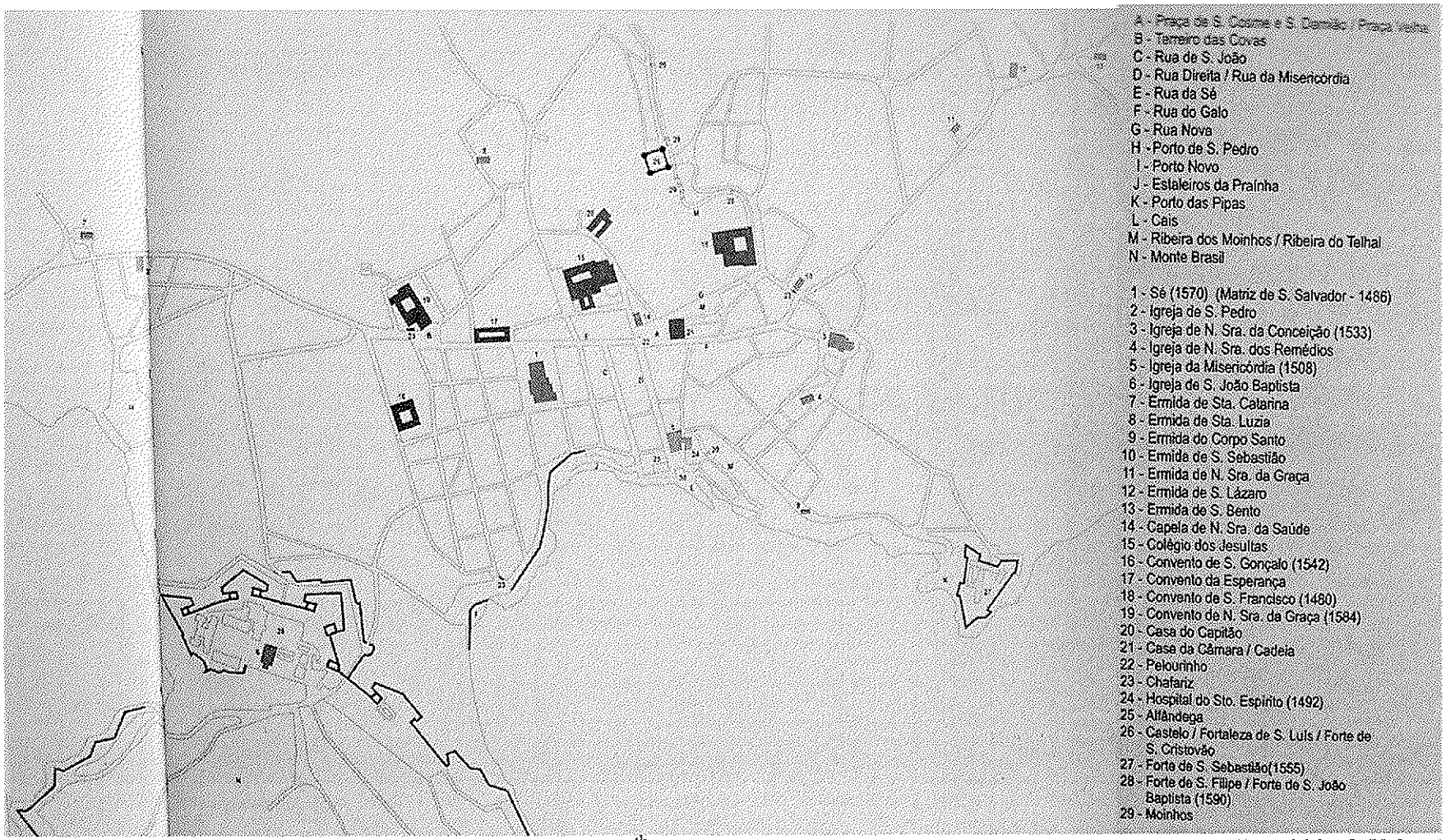


Fig. 8: Angra do Heroismo, Island Terceira (Azores). Mid of 17th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

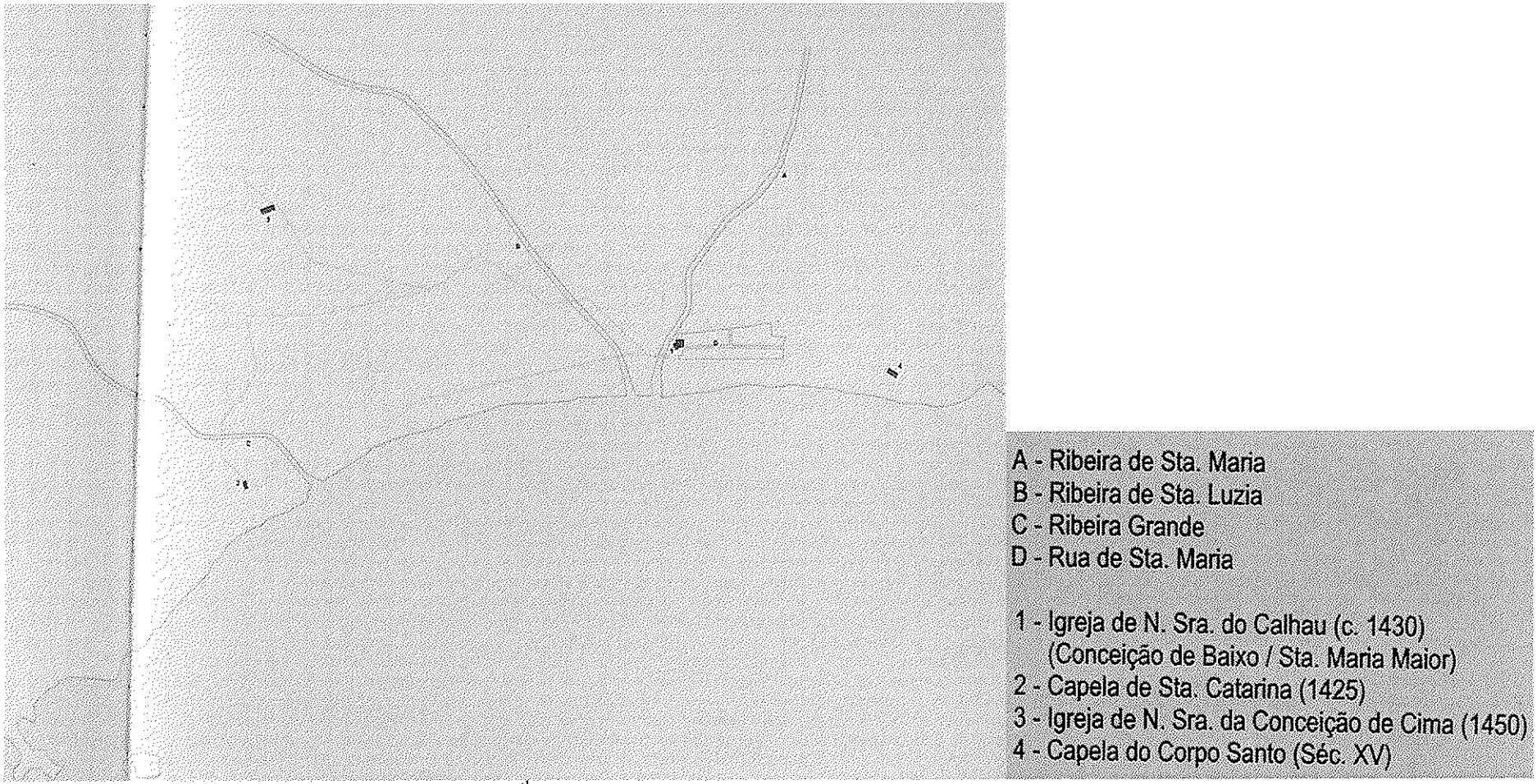


Fig. 9: Funchal, Island of Madeira. Mid of 15th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

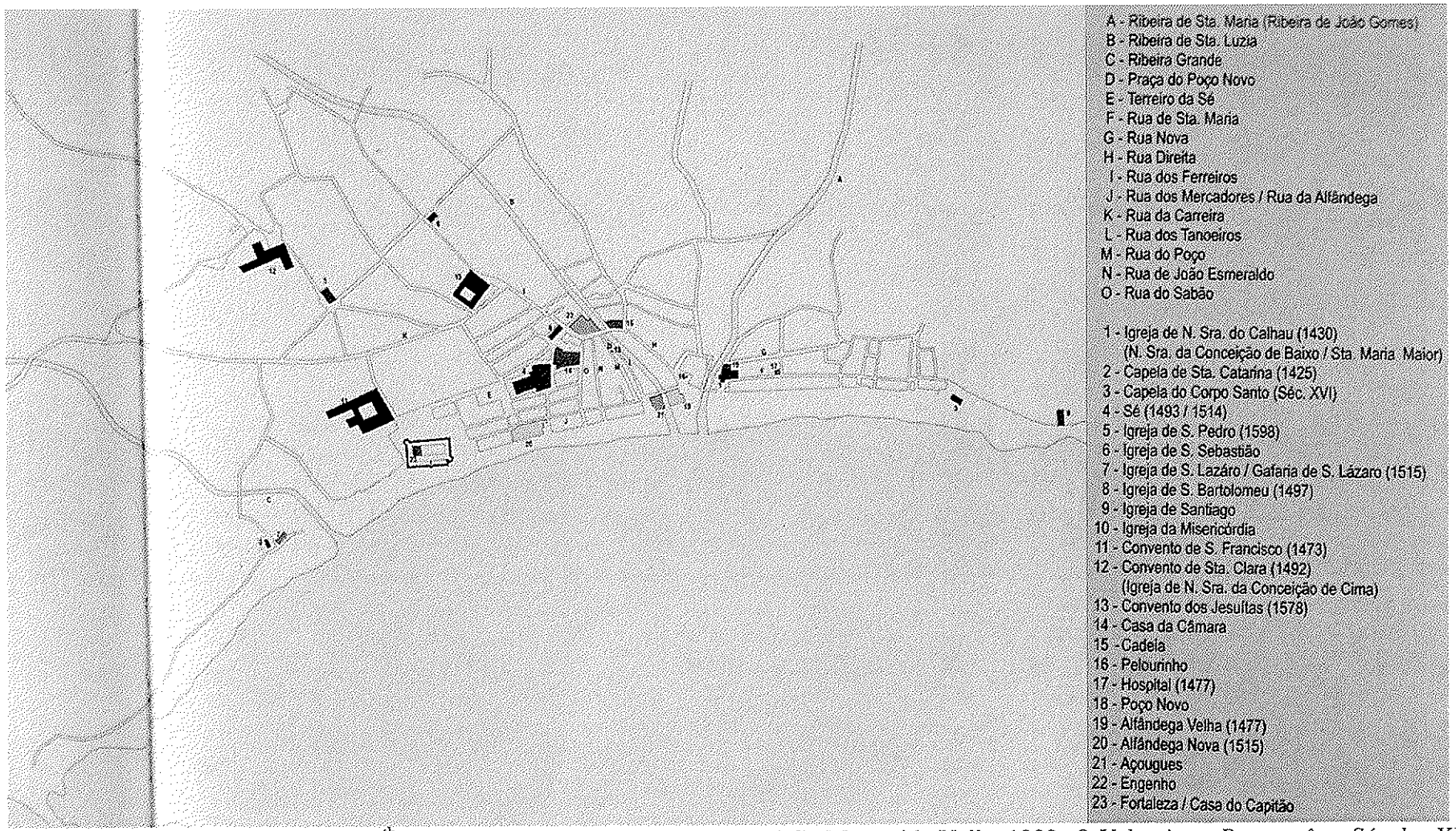


Fig. 10: Funchal, Island of Madeira. 16th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil*. Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

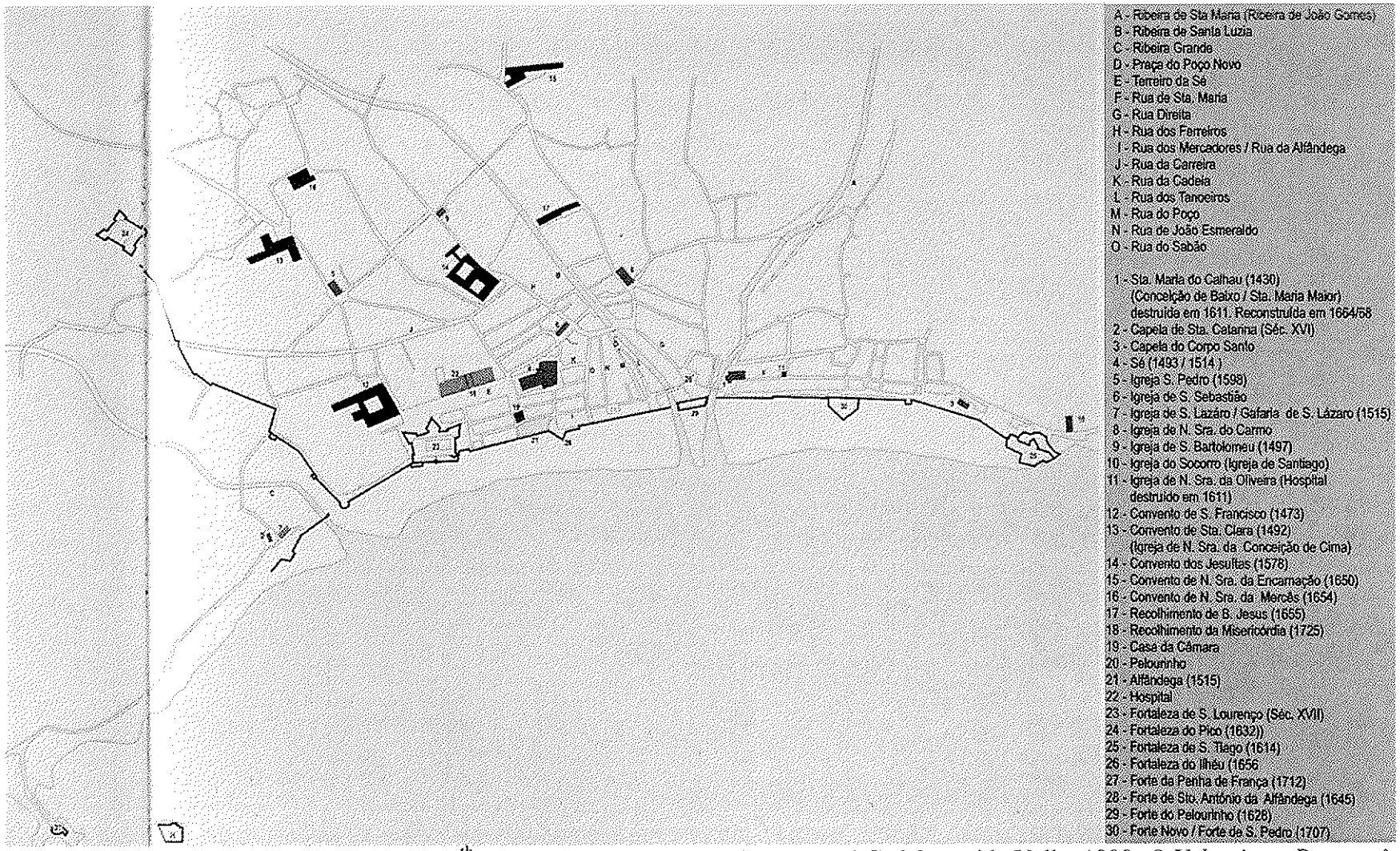


Fig. 11: Funchal, Island of Madeira. End of 18th century (Source: in Teixeira, Manuel C., Margarida Valla, 1999. *O Urbanismo Português – Séculos XIII – XVIII, Portugal – Brasil.* Lisboa (?): Livros Horizonte)

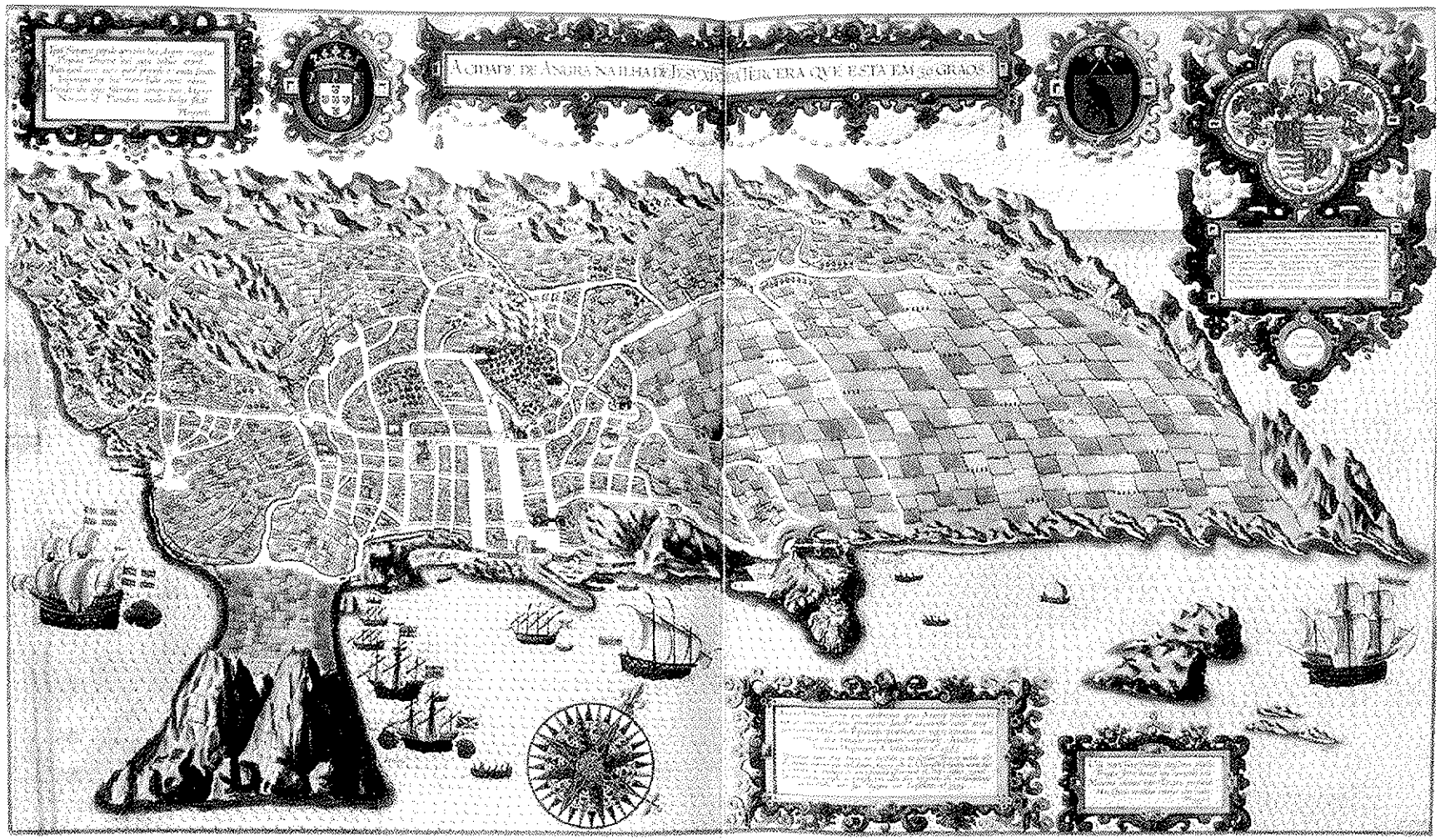


Fig. 12: 'A cidade de Angra na Ilha de Jesus Cristo da Terceira que está em 39 graus' Author: Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563; 1610), 583 Doetecum, grav., 1595. Impresso sobre papel, aguarelado, 1 fl., 54 x 88 cm. In 'Itinerário, Viagem ou Navegação de Jan Huygen van Linschoten para as Índias Orientais ou Portuguesa', 1596, reed., CNCDP, Lisboa, 1997. (Source: Biblioteca Real de Haia)

2.3 ANNEX

Drawings and models of religious buildings in Ribeira Grande, former surveys

Fig. 1-12

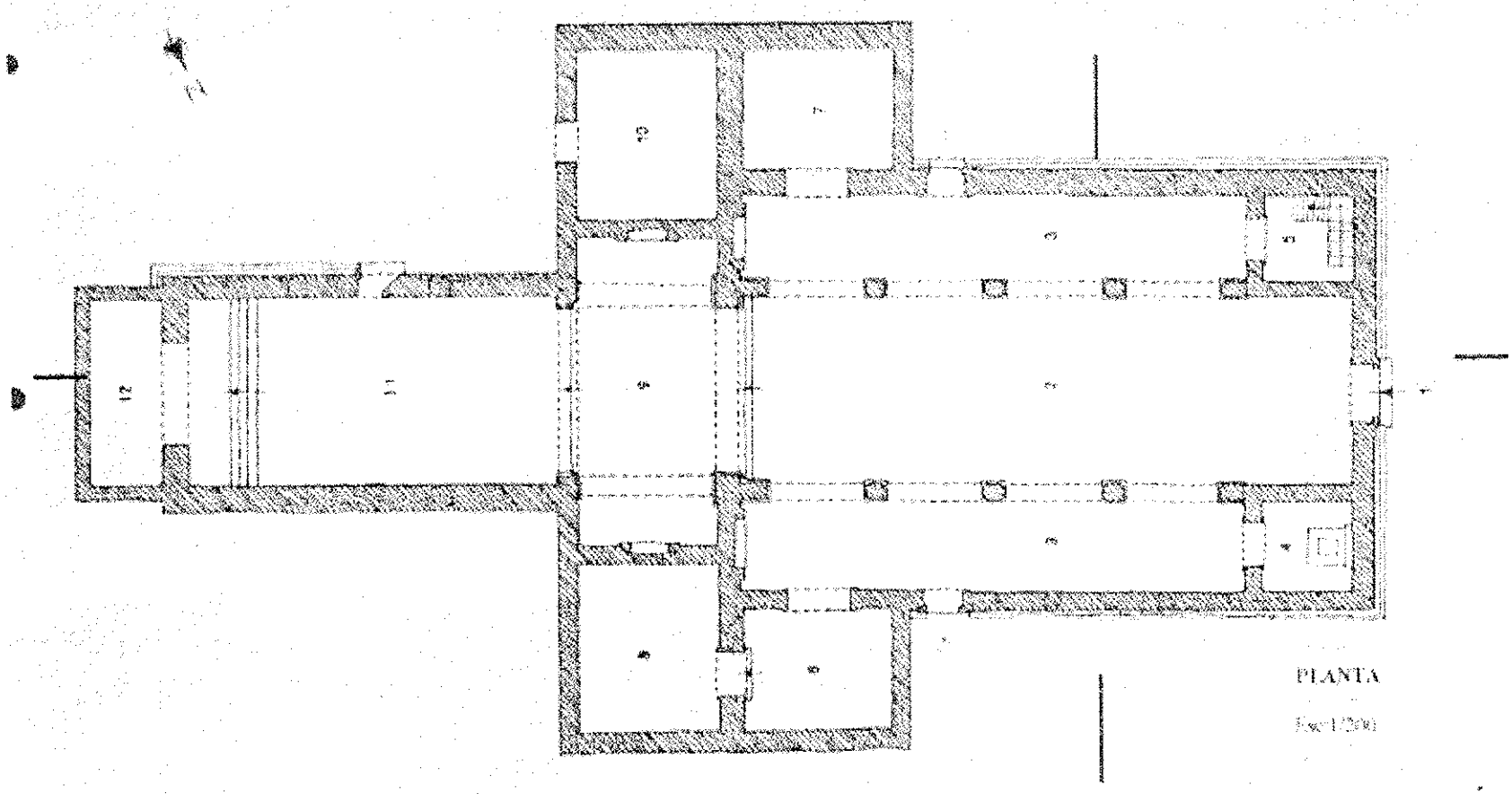


Fig. 1: Cathedral: plan (Source: Faculty of Architecture, University of Coimbra)

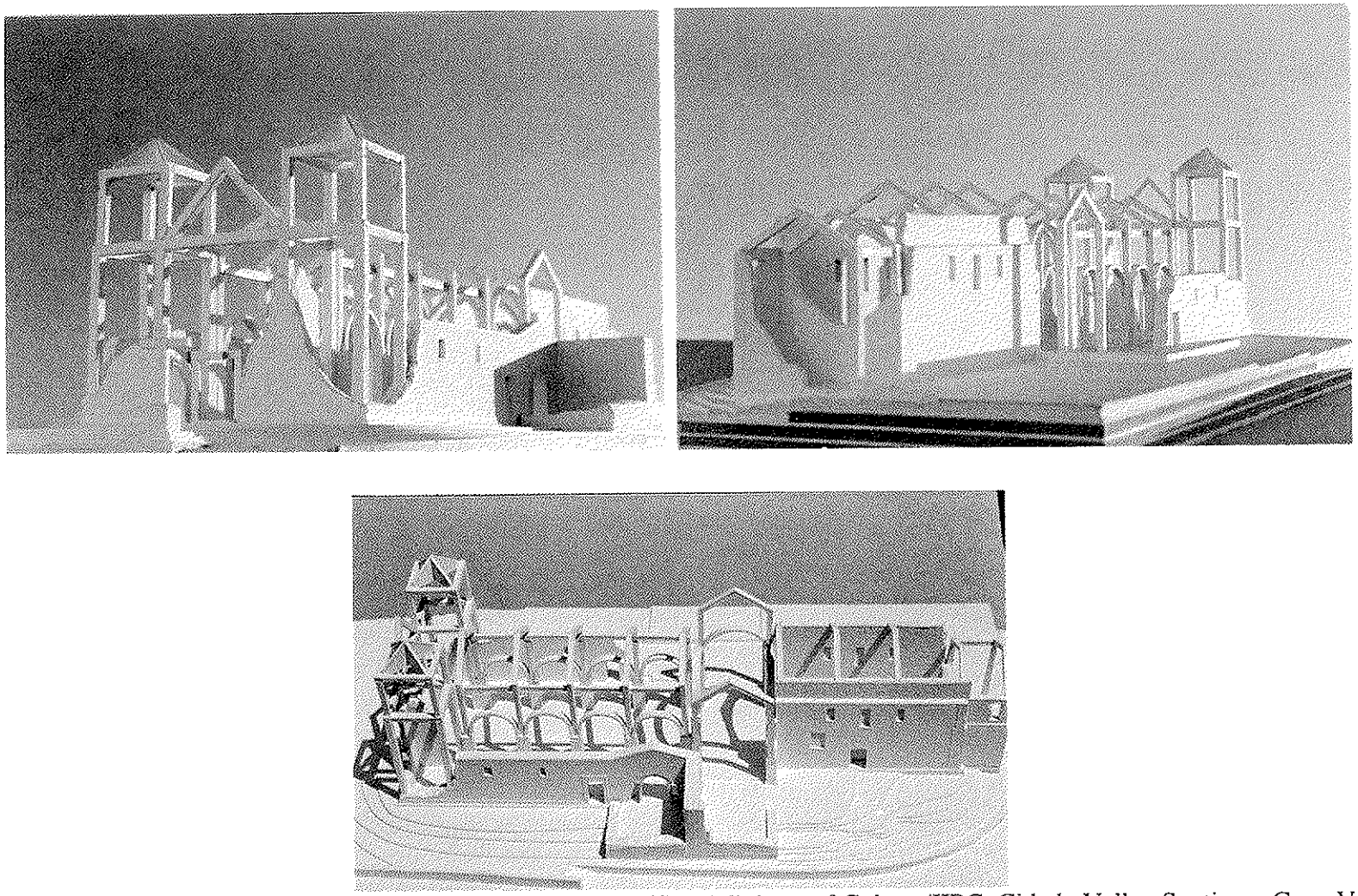


Fig. 2, 3, 4: Cathedral, constructive model (Source: technical office, Ministry of Culture/IIPC, Cidade Velha, Santiago, Cape Verde)

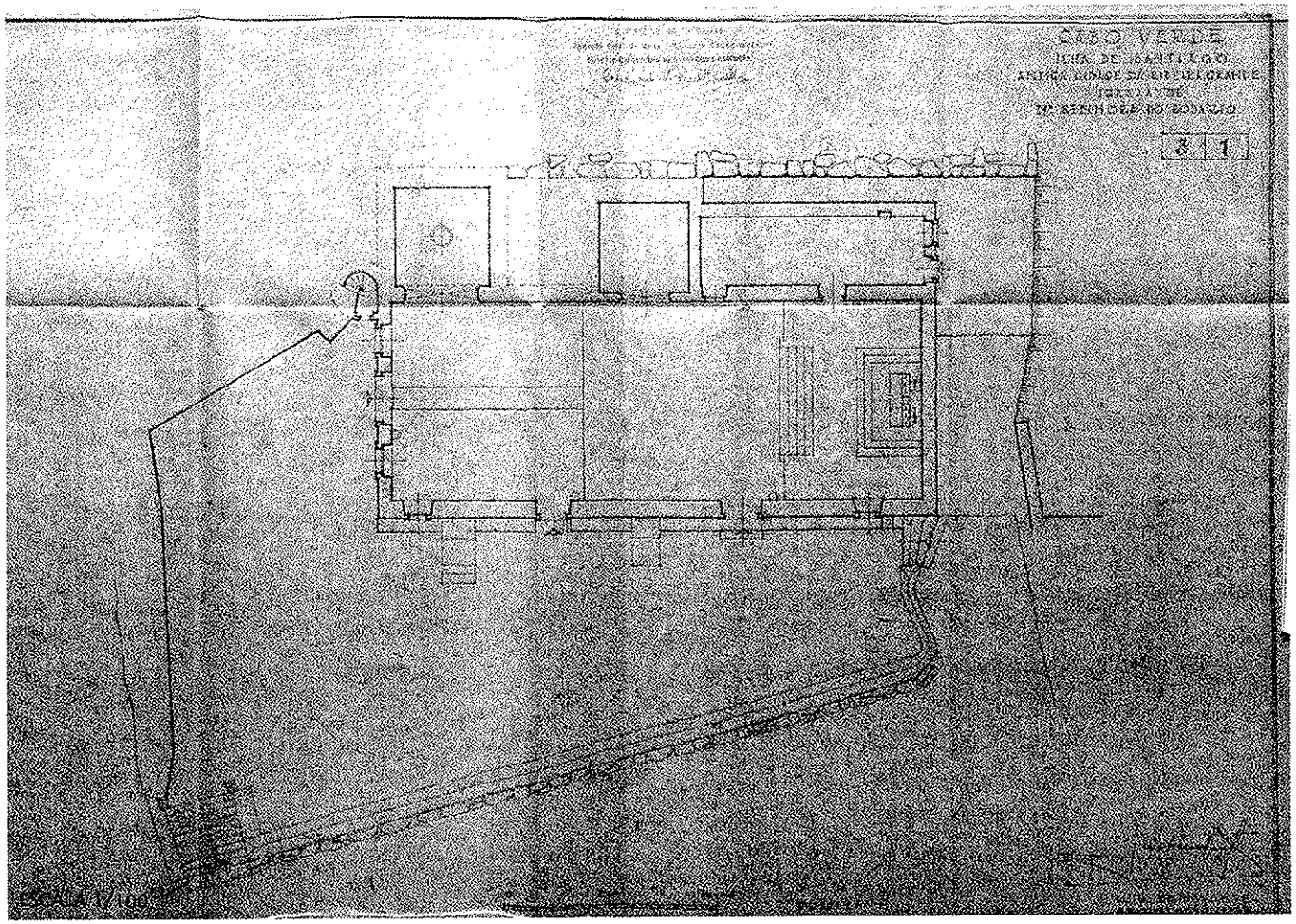


Fig.5: Church of ***N.ª S.ª do Rosário***: plan, 1967 (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. º 1819, AHU)

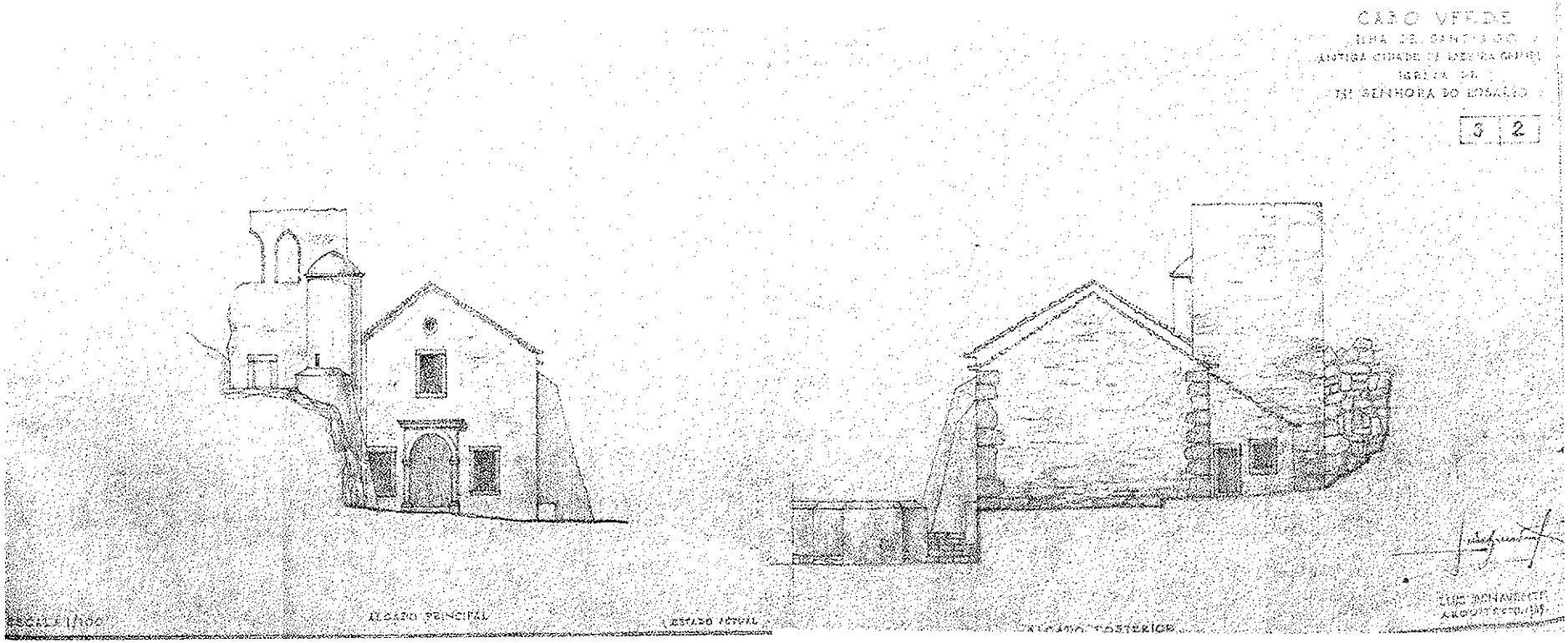


Fig. 6: Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: front and back elevations, 1967 (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. ° 1819, AHU)

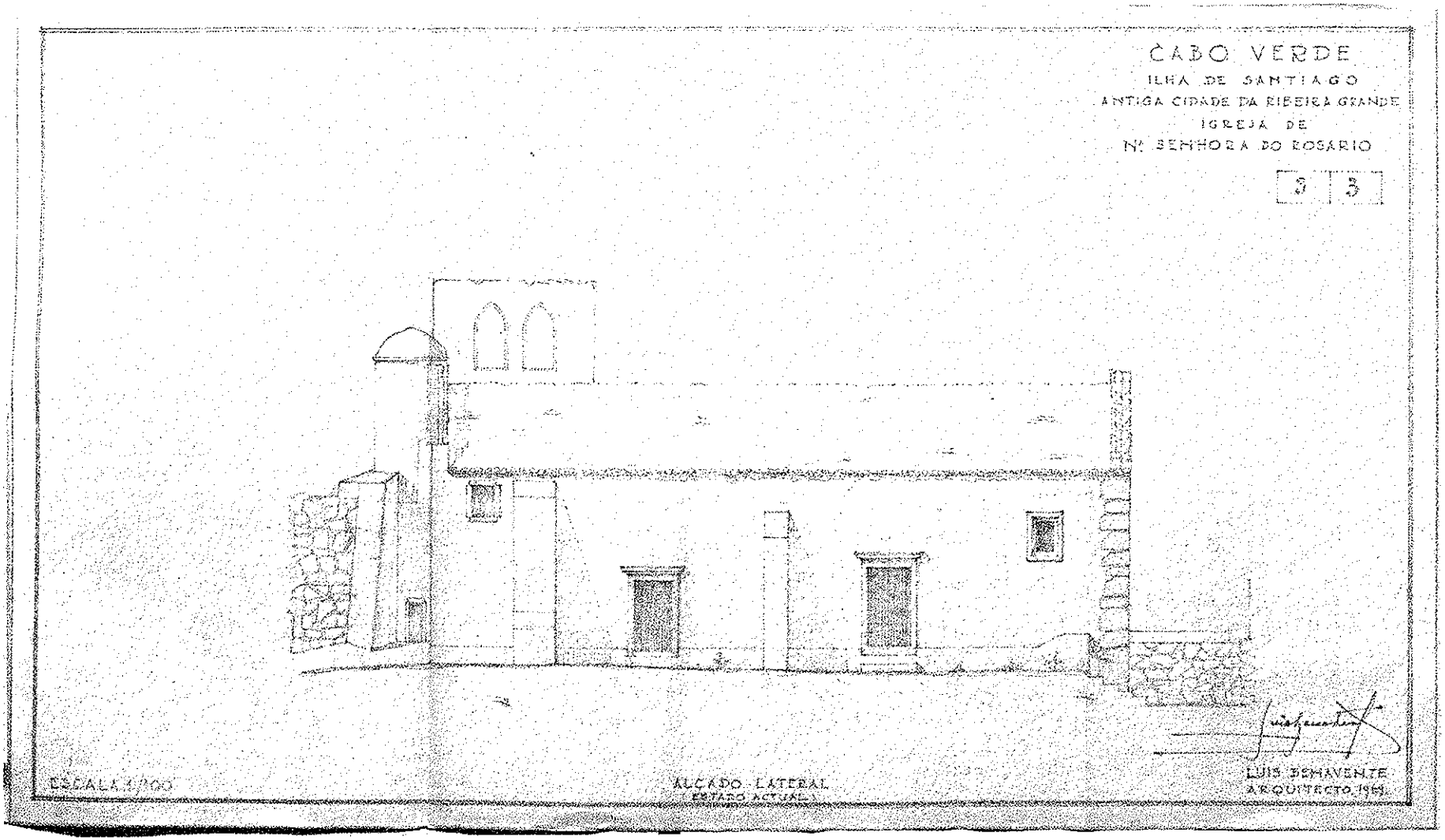


Fig. 7: Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: right (south east) elevation, 1967 (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. ° 1819, AHU)

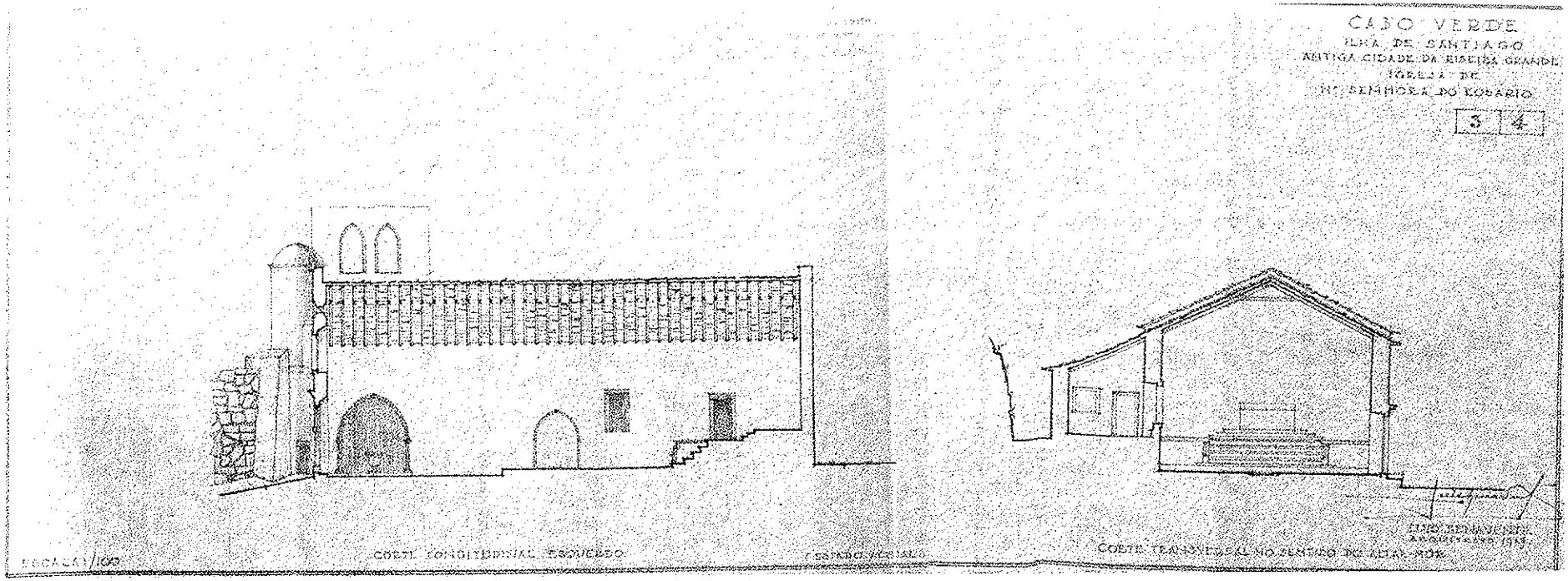


Fig. 8: Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: longitudinal (south-east to north-west) and cross (north-west to south-east) section, 1967 (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. ° 1819, AHU)

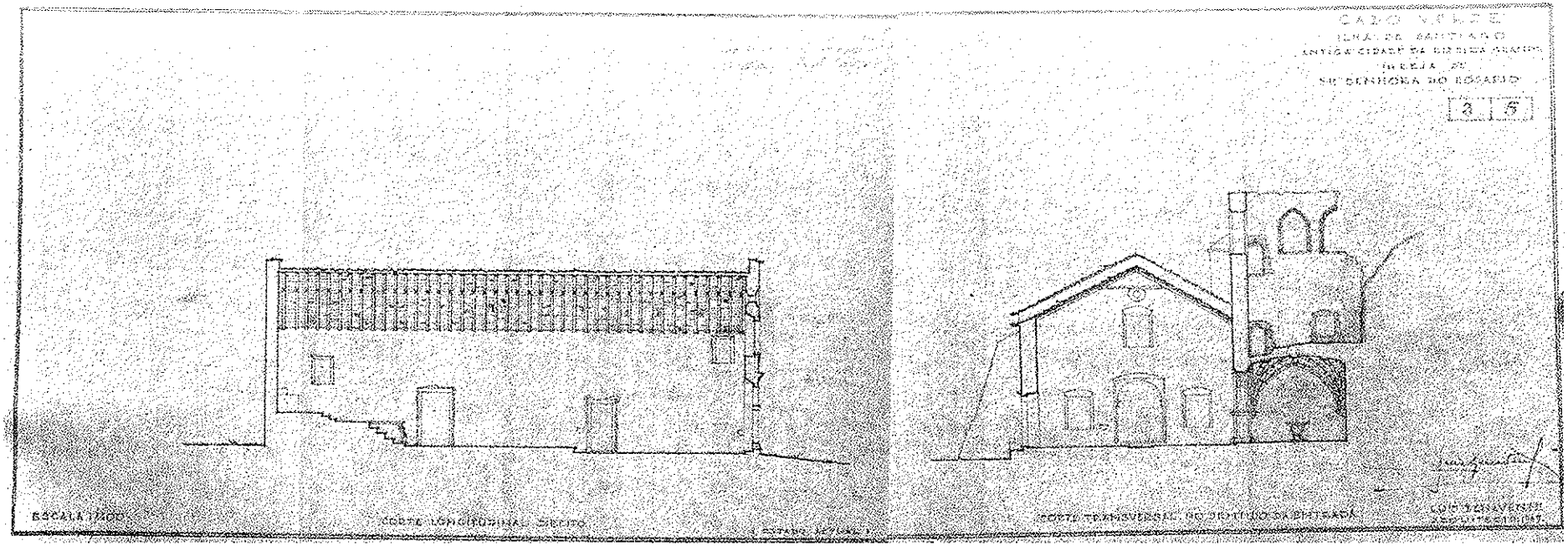


Fig. 9: Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: longitudinal (north-west to south-east) and cross (south-east to north-west) section, 1967 (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. ° 1819, AHU)

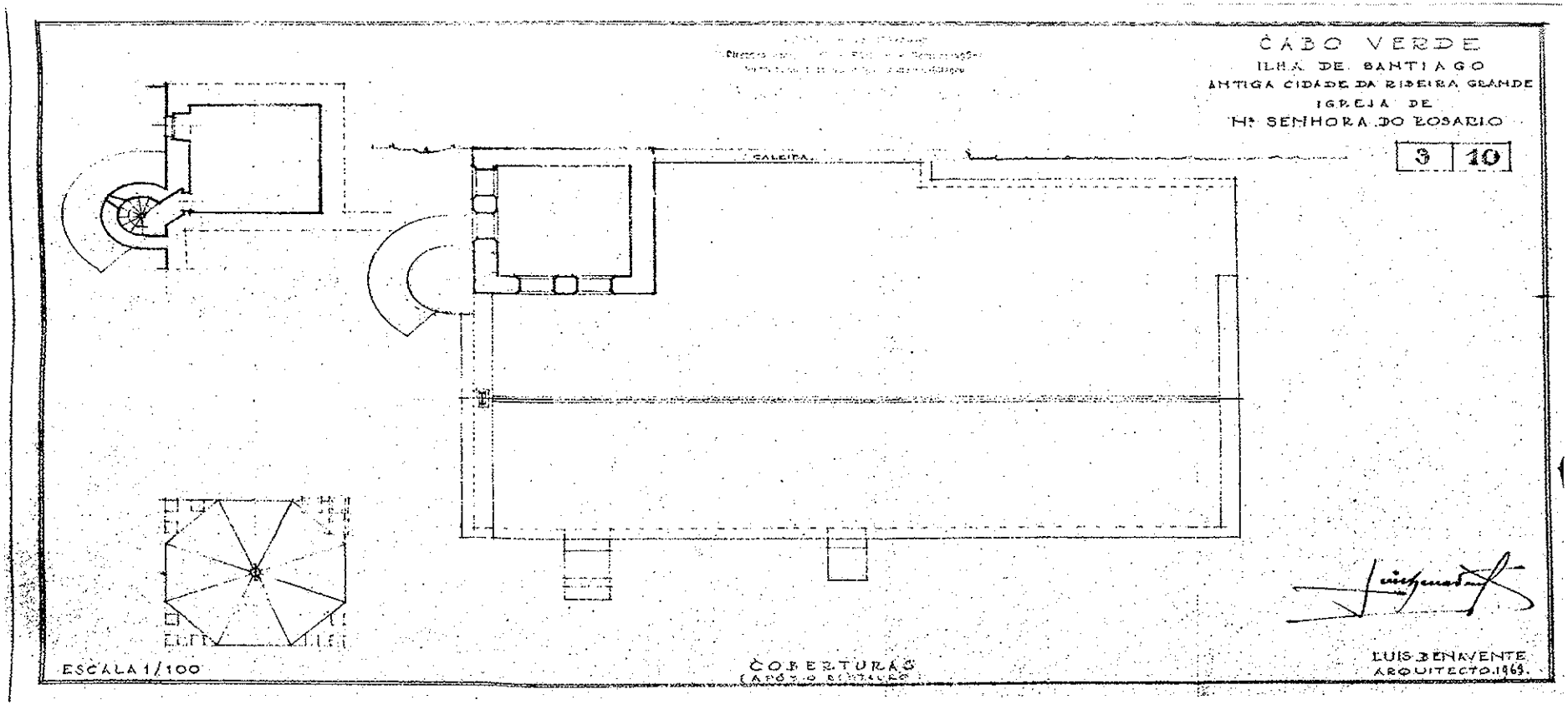


Fig. 10: Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*: roof plan and tower details, 1967 (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. ° 1819, AHU)

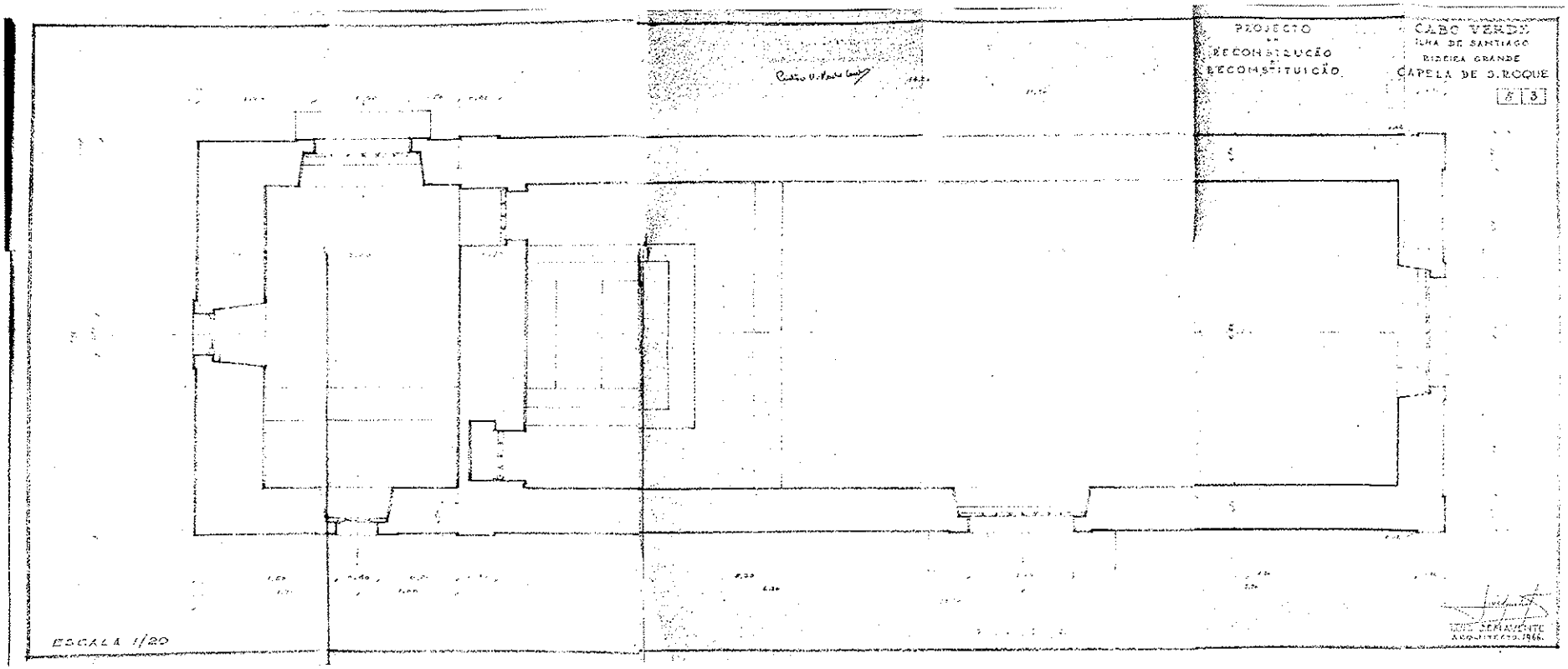


Fig. 11: Chapel of *S. Roque*: plan, 1967-(1969) (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. ° 1819, AHU)

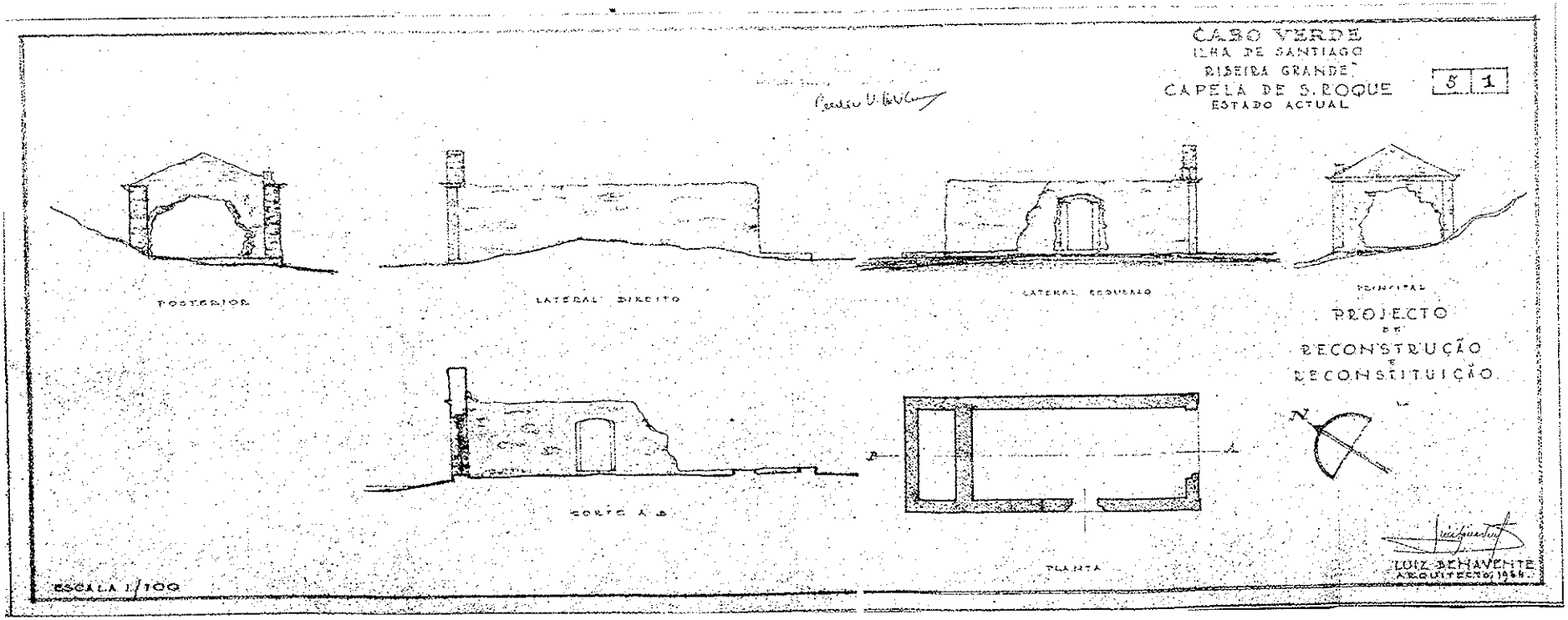


Fig. 12: Chapel of *S. Roque*: elevations and plan, 1967-(1969) (Source: author Luís Benavente, cx. n. ° 1819, AHU)

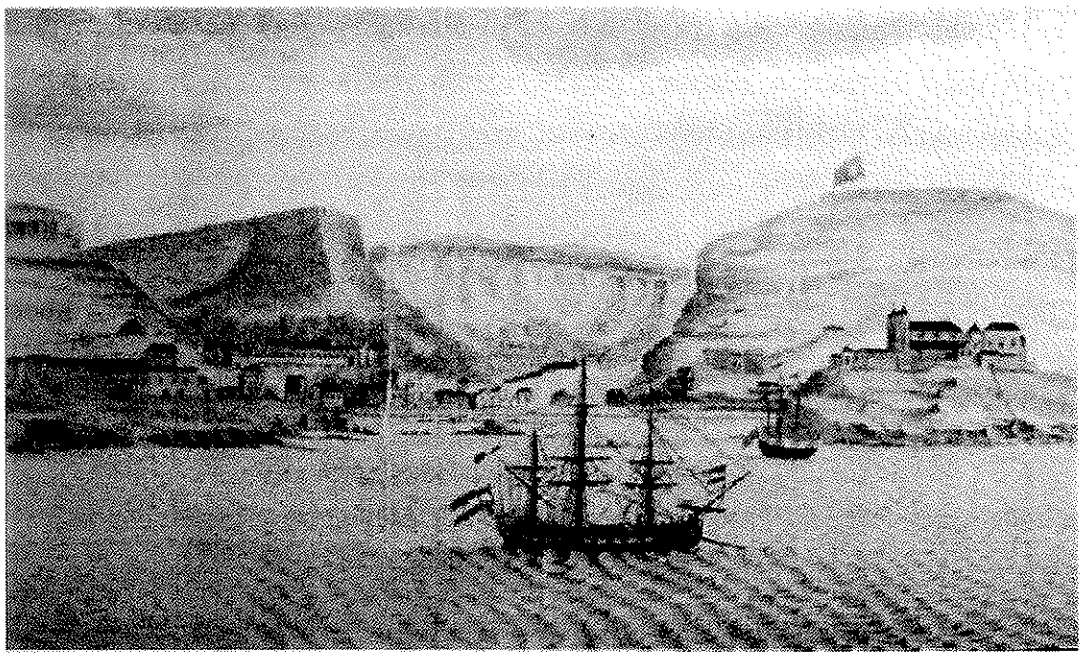
2.4 ANNEX

Archaeological interventions 2006&2007, preliminary project reports

Fig. 1-35, fig. 1
Table 1-3, table 1-10

Cidade Velha, Cape Verde, Archaeological Excavations

The 2006 Season



CHRISTOPHER EVANS and MARIE LOUIS STIG SORENSEN
With JD Hill and Konstantino Richter

With contributions by M. Brudenell, A. Hall & J. Wilson

In April 2006, initial trial excavations commenced on the Late Medieval, Portuguese trading town and slave transhipment centre at Cidade Velha, Santiago Island, Cape Verde (formerly *Ribeira Grande*). Established in 1462, this was to become the first European urban settlement within the tropics. The project represents a partnership between the Department of Archaeology (University of Cambridge), The British Museum, the Ministério da Cultura of the República de Cabo Verde, and University Jean Piaget of Cape Verde.

The fieldwork proved very successful. Involving at any one time a staff of 20-25 (including five UK archaeologists, an archaeologist from the Ministry of Culture, a lecturer and students from the University Jean Piaget). Two areas were investigated (figs 2-4), one being the immediate vicinity of the first documented church in the tropics (*Capela Nossa Senhora de Conceicao*/'Chapel of Holy Mother of Conception'), just beside the site of the Jesuit College, where three trenches were excavated (Site I), and the other being the 'Mercy Church' Hospital (two trenches; Site II).

As detailed below, substantial number of artefacts was recovered from both sites, and there are both similarities and some interesting differences between the two assemblages. The small finds, in addition to the considerable amount of decorated tiles, include metal (coins, nails, and buckles), glass, a few pieces of Chinese porcelain, glazed pottery, and earthenware from Portugal and other parts of Europe, and many sherds from coarse-ware pots, including so called 'Faience Africane'. Involving a large part of the assemblage, and probably originally deriving from African potting traditions, the latter may have been locally produced. It came as something of a surprise that so much local 'traditional' pottery was present, as it was expected that most of the pottery would have then been imported from Europe. The frequency of this type bodes well for the study of the development of local Cape Verdean material culture traditions.

Finally, the excavations showed that the stratigraphy was largely undisturbed, and that the town's stratigraphic sequences, while clearly interesting, should not prove unduly complicated. A firm understanding of the original layout and development of Cidade Velha should, therefore, be 'achievable' on a reasonable level of funding.

Site I

Early masonry had been observed within this area during the course of the 2005 inspection visit and, in reference to the town's map sources (e.g. figs 3 & 4), these were thought to relate to the 'Church/Chapel of the Conception' and be of later 15th century date. Accordingly, three trenches were excavated there in 2006 (fig. 5): A) in the terrace-/field-side alley; B) set against the exposed, tile-impressed face of the upstanding 'terrace' wall and presumed to be the remains of the church proper; and C) in the middle of the plot, in the hope of determining that building's southern wall-line. Apart from the first, in the field-side alleyway, the location and size of the trenches were, in part, determined by consideration of the farmer's crop and where the resultant spoil could be realistically stored.



Figure 1



Figure 2

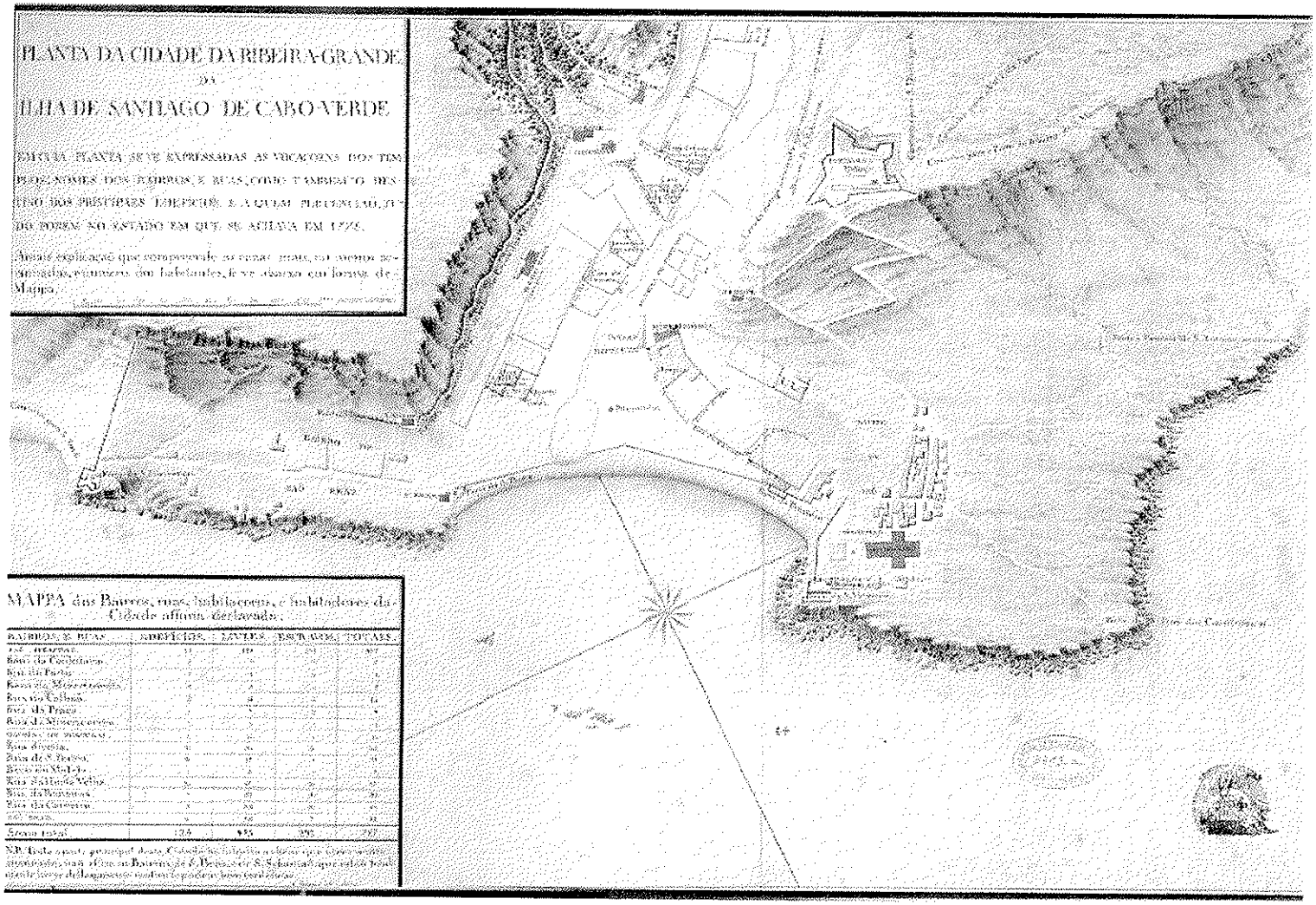


Figure 3 - 1778 Map

As the first formal excavations undertaken within the town proper, our approach was, accordingly cautious, with the deposits being spit-dug in relationship to major stratigraphic horizons. This was further complicated by the recovery of the cemetery levels in Trenches B and C, and these deposits were 100% sieved. From the outset, among our main concerns was the possibility of later 'squatter' reuse of the town's major masonry buildings, as, though potentially very informative of the settlement's particular dynamics, this would have greatly complicated the excavations. In this instance, no such 'afterlife-type' occupation was present.

Trench A (2.60-3.00 x 3.00m; figs 5 & 6) - Generally this was excavated to a depth of 1.45m, with a metre-square sondage at its base reduced to a further 0.45m (c. 1.90m deep in total). On the eastern side it progressed down the side of a lower field-/alley-side wall to a depth of 0.70m, at which point the main building foundation was encountered (F. 2). 0.95m+ wide (the field-wall bedding upon it), this was 0.75m deep; although dislodged/disturbed during the construction of the later boundary, some of the masonry blocks from the early wall proper were found still *in situ* along its southern end, clearly showing the terminal part of a substantial building.

Knowing from the town's early maps that the line of the alley coincided with a stream course that was evidently active at the time of the Jesuit buildings, it had been our intention to obtain contemporary environmental samples from this area. Unfortunately, this proved impossible. Apart from an upper, alleyway surface-consolidation level, the entire sequence consisted of boulder-strewn fluvial deposits. While, at the very bottom of the trench, one of these horizons clearly continued beneath the early foundation (i.e. predating it), above this level all of these deposits had evidently downcut across and exposed the footing's lower western face.

This sequence was also confirmed by the recovered finds as material of 17th and late 18th century date was retrieved from the lower trench deposits.

Aside from confirming that the F. 2 masonry does, indeed, mark the western wall of the Jesuit building, the results of this trench attest to the very 'active' seasonal velocity (and depth) of the area's early watercourses. The problems posed by fluvial downcutting does not rule-out the potential to achieve better preserved, early environmental horizons (potentially even waterlogged), it does though indicate that any attempt to expose such levels will have to be made on a much larger scale than this. (The frequency of down-washed stone within these watercourse horizons also means that surface-coring for such evidence is unlikely to be successful.)

Trench B (2.50 x 2.80m; figs 5, 7 & 9) - This trench was located to cut down along the southern face of the upstanding terrace wall (F. 1). It was excavated to a depth of c. 1.00m, with a 1.20m-square sondage taken down - to the top of what seemed stream-lain silts and boulders ('natural') - a further 0.60m (c. 1.60m in total).

Mid-brown humic loam horticultural soils compromised the uppermost c. 0.50-.70m of the trenchprofile. Below this was a demolition/collapse horizon consisting of medium-large stones and fragments of off-white mortar in dark brown sandy loam. Generally this lay c. 0.30m thick, but was stacked against/sloped right the way down across the face of the northern wall. At two points, pit-/trough-like features were observed cutting through this layer (themselves also filled with rubble), that were probably the result of field clearance and terrace construction.

Locally, along the western side of the trench, a surface of decayed light brown/off-white sandy mortar survived, that had fragments of red roof/floor tiles embedded within it (and, also, one yellow, white & blue glazed tile). This was evidently the patchy remnants of the building's floor.

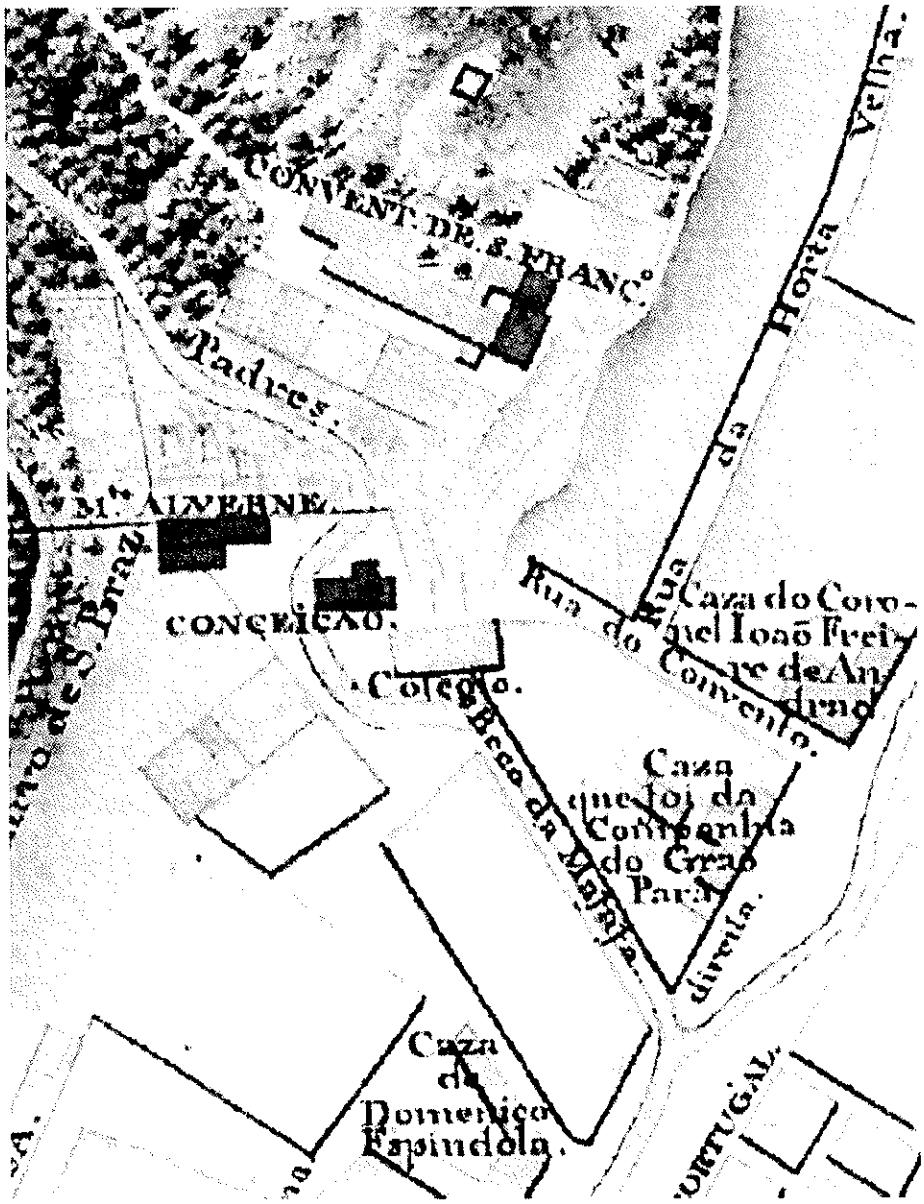


Figure 4 - 1778 Map (detail)

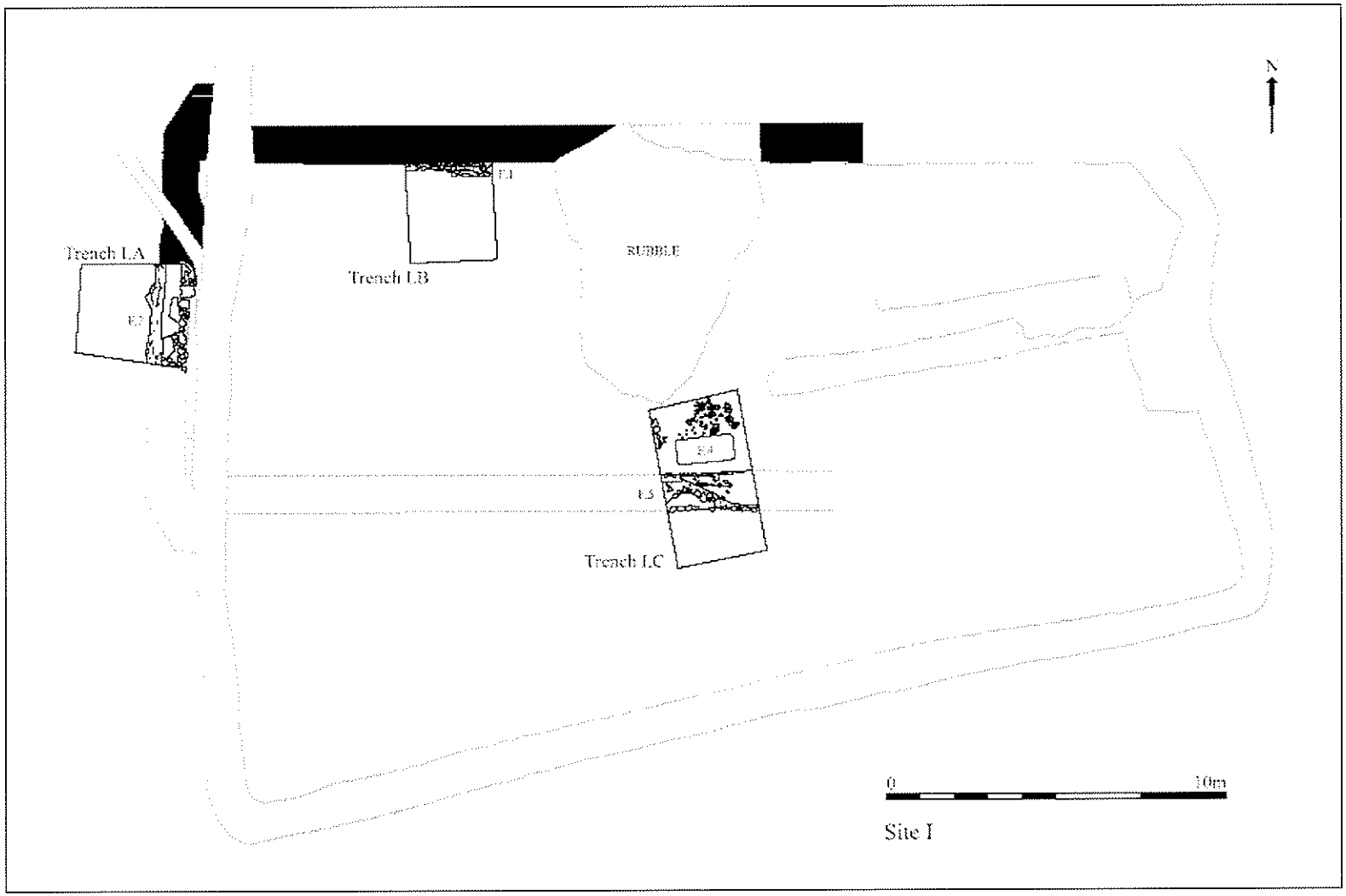
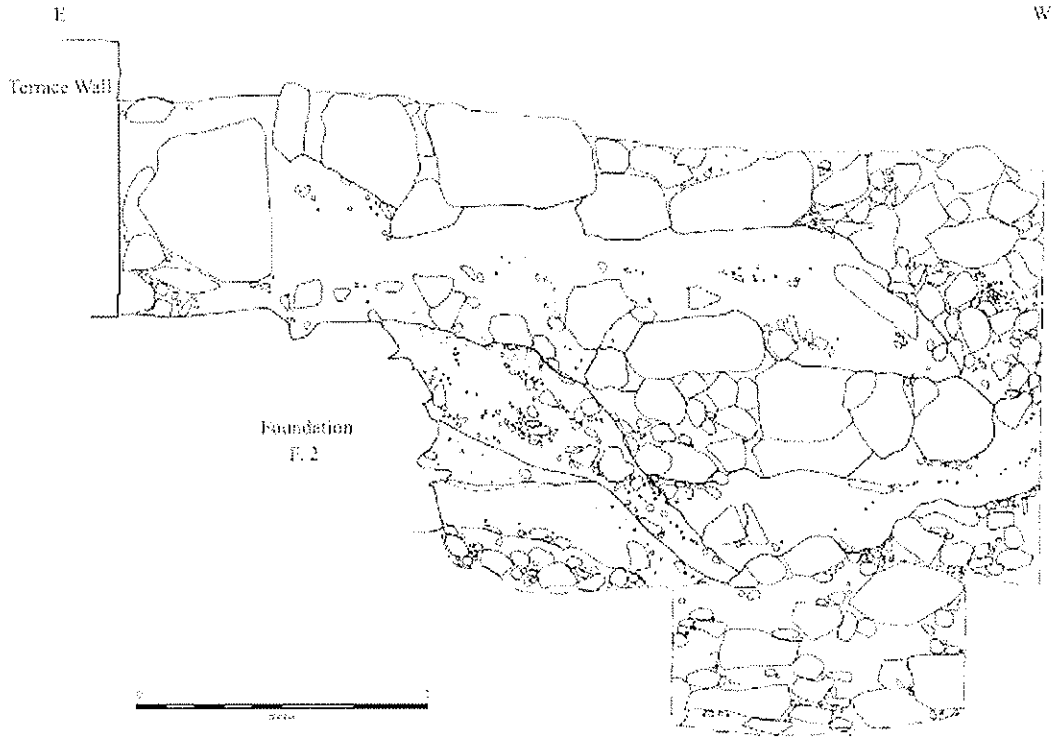


Figure 5



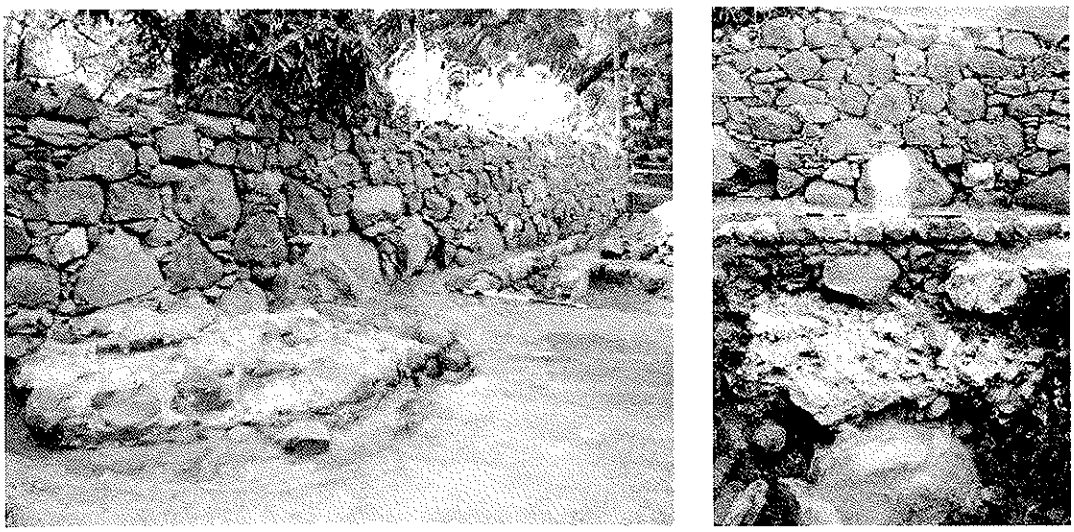


Figure 6 - Site I; Trench I.A

The floor bedded directly upon 'flattened' layer of humic, dark brown sandy loam, with only very occasional small building material inclusions. Extending throughout the area of the trench (generally excavated to a depth of 0.10-.20m), frequent small fragments of human bone and teeth were mixed within this horizon, that was evidently a graveyard soil. With the northwestern sondage, the total 0.75m depth of this layer was exposed and in a few cases articulated remains were encountered in addition to the disarticulated bones. Given the quantity of small human remains that were recovered (especially teeth), this layer had obviously seen intensive (re-)interment resulting in the turning/disarticulation of skeletons.

This cemetery horizon clearly predated the upstanding northern wall and, although difficult to distinguish with certainty, there was a hint of the construction trench for the wall cutting through this soil. The wall *per se* stands to a total height of 1.50m, the uppermost 0.30-.35m being 'loosely' rebuilt as a terrace boundary. Set on a levelling course of small/medium stones and tile, this is supported on a 0.80m deep foundation of, essentially, uncoursed and undressed medium/large boulders in off-white mortar; the foundations being off-set by 0.30m beyond the wall-face. The wall proper appears to have been built of well-coursed, roughly dressed, large stones (10-20 x 15-25cm), also bonded in off-white mortar. It is faced in light grey mortar (1-2cm think), that has raised horizontal ridges within it and which indicate that it had been tiled; the latter evidently being extracted/removed. The basal c. 0.12m of the wall-face does not have a mortar render, but rather a smoothed red/brown plaster cover.

Trench C (2.40 x 4.20m; figs 5, 8 & 9) - Removing the dark, humic horticultural soil (its lower profile having a high frequency of building material rubble), and also the line of a later, 'unbonded' terrace wall across its northern end (F. 3), this trench was generally excavated to a depth of c. 0.75m. At this level the top surviving courses of an east-west wall (F. 5) crossed its middle was exposed, dividing the trench into a northern and a southern half. Throughout the northern half of the trench was a decayed, light brown sandy mortar floor surface on which lay jumbled glazed tiles, some of which were almost intact. More importantly, an inscribed tombstone was flat/horizontally embedded within this surface (F. 4). Obviously being a finding of major significance, its was decided to leave it (and the burial it is presumed to seal) undisturbed. While, therefore, the floor deposit was left *in situ*, a c. 0.30m wide sondage was cut, north of the wall, along the western section to a further depth of 0.40-.45m (1.20m in total). Here, as in Trench B, the floor was found to bed immediately upon graveyard deposits and the semi-articulated remains of three individual were left in place within its base.

In order to facilitate deeper exposure, south of the wall sondages were also cut along the western and eastern trench sides (respectively, 0.90 and 0.60m wide). These, in the main, were taken down a further 1.40m depth to c. 2.00m reduction in total (the eastern being some 0.20-.30m shallower; see below). Within the western cutting, a comparable cemetery horizon was encountered at 1.80m depth (the eastern cut bottoming at this level), some 1.00m lower than the surviving top of the wall and the floor layer on its northern side. There, lying horizontal, a 5-8cm thick layer of crushed orange/brown sandy mortar bedded upon it. While the latter might represent some manner of informal surface, it lay below the wall's off-set foundations. Moreover, above it were further layers of mortar and tile fragments, which evidently derived from the demolition of the building and levelling of its wall, at least here, down to the floor level (its southern side being robbed out some 0.40m deeper). In all likelihood, therefore, south of the wall there was only an exterior ground level, some 1.1.5m lower than the interior floor level.

Mention should be made that, alongside the southern foot of the wall in the western sondage, an additional reduced cutting was made within its base. 0.40m wide and 0.45m deep, the deposits therein were comparable to the 'graveyard soils' (and also produced loose human bone), but had a much higher frequency of building materials. As in Trench B, it is, therefore, possible that this relates to an otherwise unrecognised construction trench for the insertion of the wall's footing (which continued down below this depth).

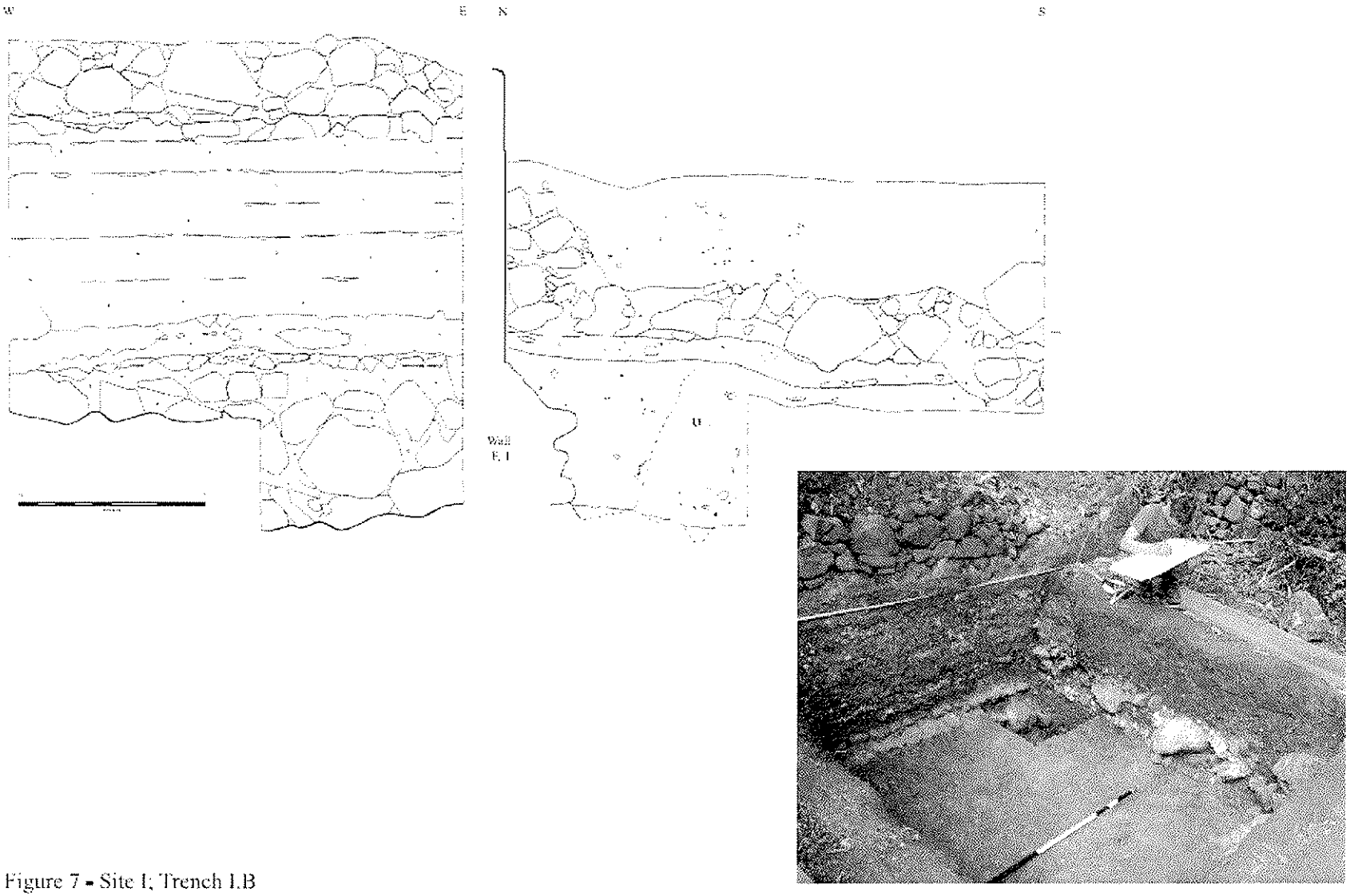


Figure 7 - Site I; Trench I.B

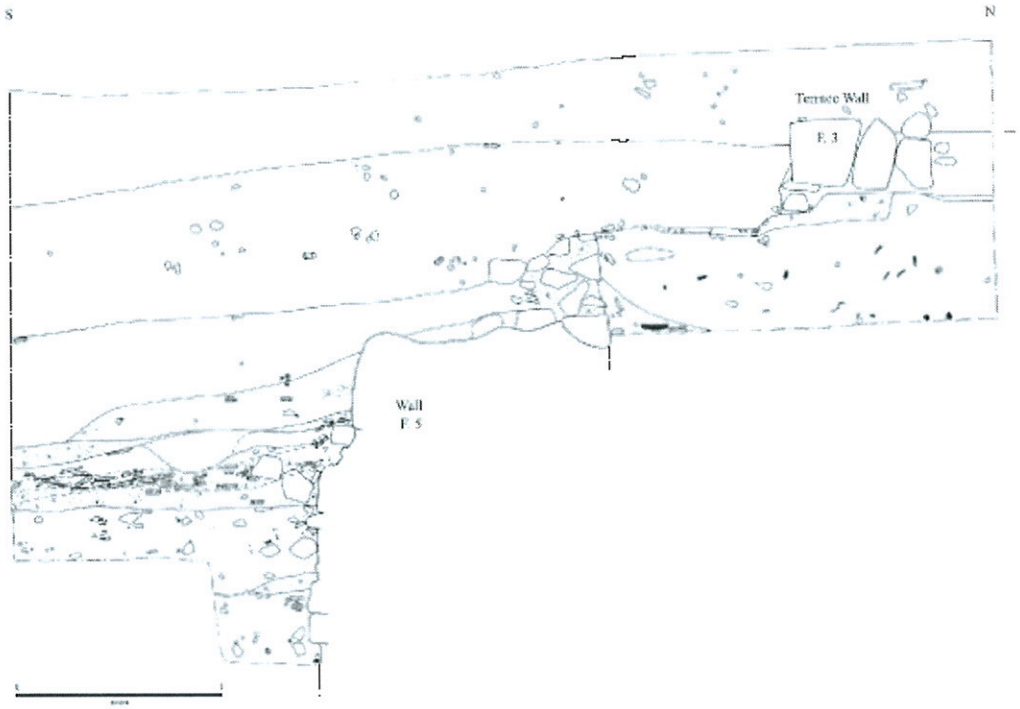




Figure 8 - Site I; Trench I.C

As it survived, the wall here - though, more appropriately, only below(interior-)ground level foundations were exposed proper - 'stood', in total, to 1.85m. In its upper portion (0.95m) it was 1.10m wide; below this level, on the southern side, it was stepped/off-set by c. 0.20m and, so, at this level was 1.30m wide. When compared to Trench B, as exposed within its southern side the coursing/finishing of the 'foundations' was much better. While not rendered, this presumably was attributable to the fact that it was here exposed as a below-floor exterior wall as such.

Prof. Rui Carita of Madeira University has translated the inscription of the tombstone slab (F. 4):

Esta S(epultur)a he de D(iog)o / Ro(dr)j (gue)s (H)omen e de seus (H)erdejros e nela jaz / sua molher / Margaryda de Paiva (?) q(eu) f (aleceu no) a (no de mil) 5 / 28

This t(om)b is from D(iog)o / Ro(dr)jgues (H)omem and from his (h)eirs and in it rests/ his wife /Margaryda de Paiva (?) w(ho) d(ied in the) y(ear of one thousand) 5 / 28.

Although the script is highly 'gothic-ised', the grave evidently dates to 1528 and, thereby, it marked a very early interment within the town. Moreover, cited in written sources, it would seem that he was an important individual, being responsible for the 'statual treasure'; as such, he would have held one of the most important offices of Cape Verde, directly below the governor and municipal/town judge.

When added to the evidence of alleyway surface-exposed wall corner, it is clear that the main F. 1, 2 & 5 walls all relate to a very impressive building, some 9.00m wide and 18.00m+ long (its eastern end not yet defined). By its size, the scale of its masonry and the evidence of its interior tile cladding, this certainly would have been an impressive structure and have probably have stood one-and-a-half or two storeys height. That it had ecclesiastical function is indicated by the tombstone set within its floor (and the larger cemetery itself) and, also, by the fact that the arrangement of the masonry within its northwestern corner would suggest that it was buttressed.

The recovered dating evidence, both the artefacts and building materials (e.g. 'latetype' glazed tiles), would suggest that this was of 17th century date. Such late dating would accord with what was obviously the intensity and implied duration of the interments within the underlying cemetery deposits; this means the graveyard would have seen upwards of a century or more of usage prior to the construction of the church. Of course, given this 'later' assignation of the building, the 1528-dated tombstone found inset within its floor in Trench I.C cannot be in primary context. Yet, with the building of the church over the cemetery this, in itself, is not at all irreconcilable. Presumably the slab was originally outside (it having signs of considerable wear), marking the grave of what was evidently an important inhabitant from the town's early days; with the construction of the church it may subsequently have been set into the floor to maintain its commemoration.

The occurrence of the earlier cemetery does, to some degree, also presuppose the existence of an earlier church within the vicinity; some confirmation of this is given by the recovery of a few 'earlier style', 15-16th century glazed tiles from the excavation. From the historical map-indications of the plan of the church (showing a chapel/transept extending off of its northern side), in all likelihood this earlier chapel/church lay on the northern side of the later building (e.g. to the north of F. 1), where indeed traces of masonry have been observed.

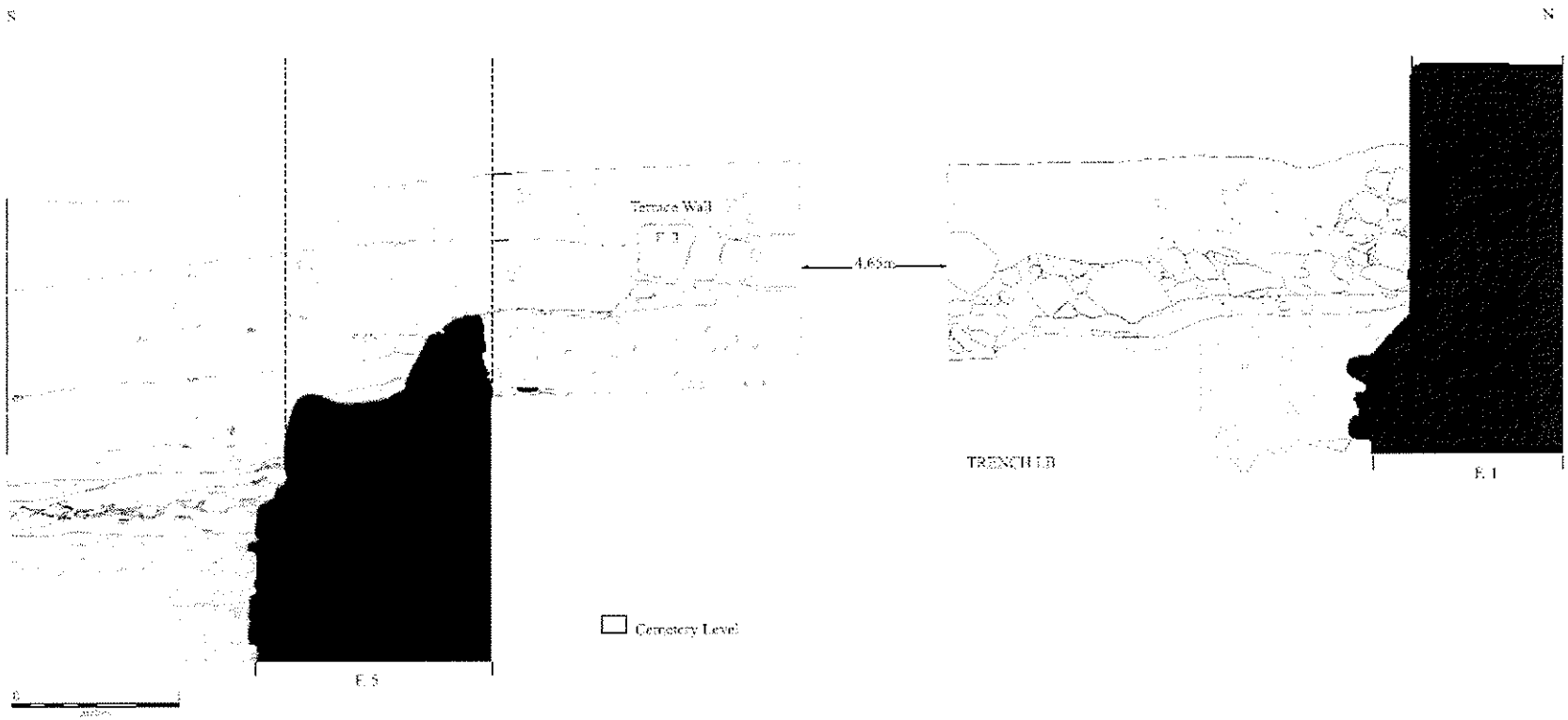


Figure 9 - Site 1: Trenches I.B+C (composite section)

Essentially, Site I's archaeology proved quite straightforward. We are not seeing an intense or long, multiple-surface sequence, whose complications would otherwise have stretched the abilities of the local labour force. Yet, this will also prove one of the major challenges of the town's archaeology. Well-maintained, it major masonry buildings seem unlikely themselves to produce particularly 'sensitive' occupation strata and, to fully appreciate their context, associated ancillary structures and/or middens will probably be more fruitful indicators of use-function/status.

The excavations also yielded other insights into what may be among the settlement's major dynamics. Aside from the downcutting and velocity of its early watercourses (which are also likely to have carried artefacts considerable distances), another factor will be multiple slope-related levels. As attested to by Trench C, different interior/exterior surface levels can be anticipated; it is likely its major buildings also had a terracing function in relationship to valley-/hill-slope location, which would give rise to 'step- platforming' arrangements.

Site II

Instigated by the Ministério da Cultura, the work within the interior of the 'Mercy Church' Hospital (figs 2 & 3; *Miscericordia*) was not so much a matter of excavation as such, as supervised rubble clearance (the Ministry-hired workmen) with the aim of establishing its potential for reconstruction. Now the site of the town middens, its finds assemblages were, accordingly, mixed, but included an interesting range of coarse earthenware. However, once below recent horizons, the pottery and tiles were generally of 17th century date, though some 'earlier style' 15-16th century glazed tiles were also present. The earlier tiles, as with the building in Site I suggest either an earlier phase to the building, possible along a lower terrace, or an earlier building nearby. If the latter, its potential connection to the nearly standing remains of a belfry would be worth exploring.

Surviving to a height of two-storeys and of almost monumental scale, the building has substantial standing walls of remarkable quality (fig. 10). At their base were found fine, stone-paved floors and a low, marble stone bench was set within the corner of one room. The preservation and complexity of this building would certainly make it a suitable candidate for further exposure and consolidation.





Figure 10 - Site II

Finds Assemblages and Environmental Remains

Field Recording and Methods

All small finds were collected during excavation and brought to the finds-house for further evaluation. The finds from each trench were kept separate, and the finds from each trench further separated on the basis of their context. The numbering of the finds was based on Site code (CDV 06), Trench code (e.g. I.A, I.B, I.C, II.A and II.C), and the context number. The context numbers were unique to the trench. The finds from within any given context were not given a unique catalogue number.

Spoil heaps were regularly checked for finds and sieving (mesh size, 0.5cm) was used for the excavation of the bone-rich layers. At the beginning of the excavation all finds were collected, but the substantial amount of mortar, stones and tiles made it clear that a more detailed collection strategy was needed. While the amount of mortar, stones, and tile was clearly important for understanding the structures, it became clear that they would contribute very little to the analysis if treated as 'artefacts' *per se* insofar as they would not provide evidence for either dating or activities. The exception to this was the decorated tiles all of which were collected. It was, accordingly, decided that the common and numerous pieces of wall and roof constructions should not be included in the finds record; but should be recorded as part of the site description. A sample of these materials was taken as a record.

The finds were collected in numbered finds trays and brought to the excavation-house where they were washed and sun-dried. Some of the bones showed tendency to disintegrate during washing, and the mortar attached to decorated tile fragments did over time dissolve somewhat, but the finds were otherwise robust and could easily be washed and dried. After drying the finds were sorted into basic categories (bones, ceramic, tiles, *etc.*) by Dr Sørensen and some of the students, and stored in numbered bags (plastic and paper bags depending upon material). This means that each material category is bagged separately for each context excavated. To the extent that time allowed it, some categories were further sub-divided, a task that was finished after the season for all material brought to Cambridge for further analysis.

The material categories and their further sub-divisions were:
Amber
Bone When possible a distinction was made between animal and human bones.
Clay Roof Tiles were sampled.
Glazed Decorated Wall Tiles were recorded either just as tiles or, when relevant, in terms of their basic colour schemes.
Pottery was divided into:
Porcelain (on the basis of the feel of the fabric)
Stoneware
Pottery, a collective term used for all earthenware pottery with glaze
Pottery 'Africane' was used as a collective term for all non-glazed ceramic.
Clay Pipe
Glass No sub-division of the glass was done during the basis finds recording.
Ivory Beads
Metal Sub-divisided, based on form and presumed function, into:
Coins
Nails
Other Metal Objects
Snail/shell No further sub-division was made during finds recording.
Stone Only included in the finds recording if an imported material such as marble.
Others This category was used to cover small finds not included in any of the above categories.
For each material category the number of objects and the total weight of objects within each bag were recorded. The exception to this were some cases of extremely fragmented bones where only the weight was provided.

Further Finds Recording and Treatment

Further finds recording took place after the end of the field season and involved the following:

Amber - One round amber bead was found together with ivory beads in Trench I.B [16], it was in a 'pure' condition and conservation took place to consolidate it. It was not possible to identify its source.

Bones - Detailed osteological analysis of all teeth was carried out by J. Wilson, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge (see below). This will be followed by an isotope analysis of a sample of the teeth, the analysis will be supervised by Dr T. O'Connell, but carried out by a student at the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Cambridge (to be done during January-February 2007).
Clay - Objects of clay were almost exclusively pottery sherds, one small figure head and three pipe fragments (two European and one African) being the only exceptions. In Cambridge, the material was further sorted into more well-defined categories (see below) by Dr Sørensen, and the sherds from each category were bagged separately for each context; this data was used for statistical comparison between Site I and II and more detailed comparison between and within the trenches. The following subcategories
were used:
Pottery Africane - Used to refer to all pottery without surface treatment in the form of glaze or paint. Fired at temperatures of 900-1200° C porous, this is the most soft and least compact of the paste-types, and often contains tempering material; colours range widely from red through to dark brown, and there is on near-black example. In this category there are various kinds of African sherds, including a 15th century sherd with white stone used as inlay in the decoration (similar to a vessel recovered from the bay of Cidade Velha and now displayed in the local museum). There are also, however, various kind of imported amphora from Iberia.
Coarse Earthenware - Fired at temperatures of 900-1200° C, this is porous, soft and there is little compaction of the paste. It often contains tempering material, with colours ranging widely from cream through dark red. In distinction to Pottery Africane, this term was used to refer to coarse pottery with surface treatment in the form of glaze or paint but in an unrefined fabric. The quality of the fabric was based on observation of colour and composition of the core of the sherds.
Refined Earthenware ('China' or 'semi-porcelain') - Used to refer to pottery where both the fabric and the glaze were refined, using different materials and colouring pigments than the coarse earthenware leading to a change of and wider range of colour in both. Fired at temperatures of 1100-1200° C, this is hard and compact (only slightly porous), and compaction texture may be visible; thin and cream to white in colour, and usually salt-glazed.
Painted decoration on pottery often in imitation of porcelain, and in Cidade Velha sherds with bluewhite flowery or line decoration dominated. Amongst the sherds are 17th century Iberian pottery similar to finds recovered from the wrecks and from the fort.
Stoneware - Fired at temperatures of 1200-1350° C, this is hard and non-porous (but not vitreous), and of granite-like texture; usually grey in colour, rarely cream or white.
Porcelain - Fired at temperatures of 1300-1450° C, this is very hard, compact and vitreous; white to bluish-white in colour, and sometimes lead-glazed. Separation based on the 'feel' of smoothness of the fabric in cross-section.
The specialist pottery report for coarse ware (Pottery Africane) was done by Matt Brudenell, and the report on porcelain, stoneware and coarse and refined earthenware was made by Andy Hall (see below for both).
Glass - No further sub-division of the glass was attempted during finds recording.
Ivory - The beads were divided into categories based on shape, and basic cleaning and consolidation carried out by Dr Christina Rozeik, who was contracted *via* Dr J. Dawson, the conservation laboratory, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

Metal - The nails and other metal finds were described in terms of broad types, while the coins were analysed by Dr M. Blackburn, the Numismatic Department, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.
Snail/shell - Dr Reece, of the Zoology Museum, University of Cambridge made a basic identification of the shell brought back to Cambridge.
Stone - The petrological collection manager at the Sedwick Museum of Geology, University of Cambridge inspected the small stone sample brought back to Cambridge.

Preliminary Observations and Results

Bones

Some 9800 gram of bones were recovered from the trenches. As not all the bones were taken back to Cambridge for further analysis, the proportion of different kinds of bones including the presence of animal bones can only be discussed in rough outlines. It is, however, clear that human bones are by far the dominant component, in particularly within Trenches I.B and C. The bones were not collected from Trenches II.A and C due to the distinct possibility of recent intrusion.



Figure 11 - Processing of bone material

Animal Bones - Securely identified animal remains were only found in Trench A, where it was a small although a distinct element of all the Contexts ([01] –[03]. In addition a small amount of animal bones were intermingled with the human remains in Trenches B and C.

Trench	Context	Material	Description	Weight (g)
I.A	[01]	Bone	Bones	90
I.A	[02]	Bone	Human and animals	640
I.A	[03]	Bone	Animal	100
I.B	[11]	Bone	Bones	40
I.B	[12]	Bone	Bones	59
I.B	[13]	Bone	Bones	10
I.C	[21]	Bone	Bones	20

Figure 12 - Number of securely identified and possible animal bones within the different trenches

Human Bones - A substantial 'bone-layer' containing largely disarticulated human remains was found in Trench B and part of Trench C (see fig. 13). This accounts for the large amount of human bones, including some 670 teeth (502 were taken to Cambridge for further analysis), found within these trenches, this contrasts with the much lower number from Trench I.A. A total of 502 teeth were recorded in detail (see Wilson below), of which only six were still associated with alveolar bone. The general preservation condition of the teeth was good and most were complete. The teeth represent the remains of a minimum of 29 individuals, with the number of sub-adults represented being at least eight. Caries were detected in a total of 44 teeth, and the health status was generally very good including low wear. This would be an indicator of either age or diet or a combination of the two.

Trench	Weight of bones, (gram)
I.A	830
I.B	6390
I.C	2601

Figure 13 - Quantity of bones in Trench I.A, I.B and I.C

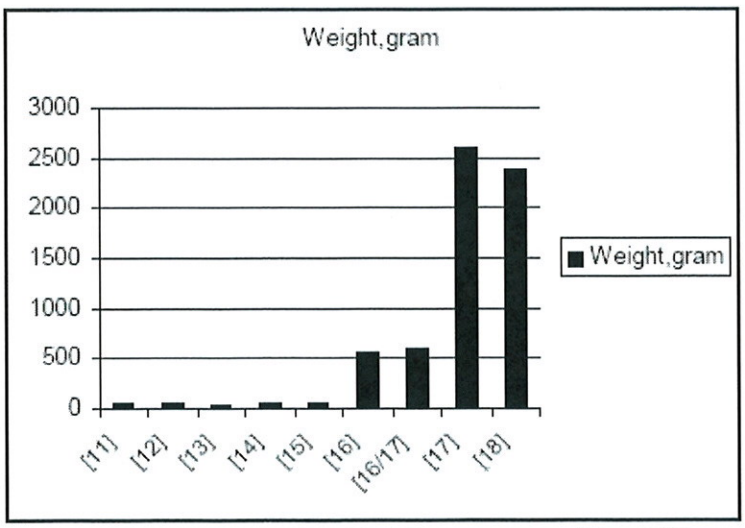


Figure 14 – Quantity of bones found in different contexts of Trench I.B

In Trench B the bones occurred in small numbers in Context [11] – [15] and then increased dramatically in numbers with [16] and [16/17] to become almost solid bone layers in Context [17] and [18] (see fig. 14). The number of the human bones strongly support the interpretation of Contexts [16] to [18] being the remains of a graveyard or a charnel house. Whether the bones are in their position as originally buried or whether this was a kind of charnel house can only be answered through additional

excavation work. It should be noted, however, that not all body parts seemed equally well represented (with an apparent over representation of skulls and long bones). The bones were clearly disarticulated and somewhat fragmented in the upper layer of the deposits while some articulation seemed present at lower levels.

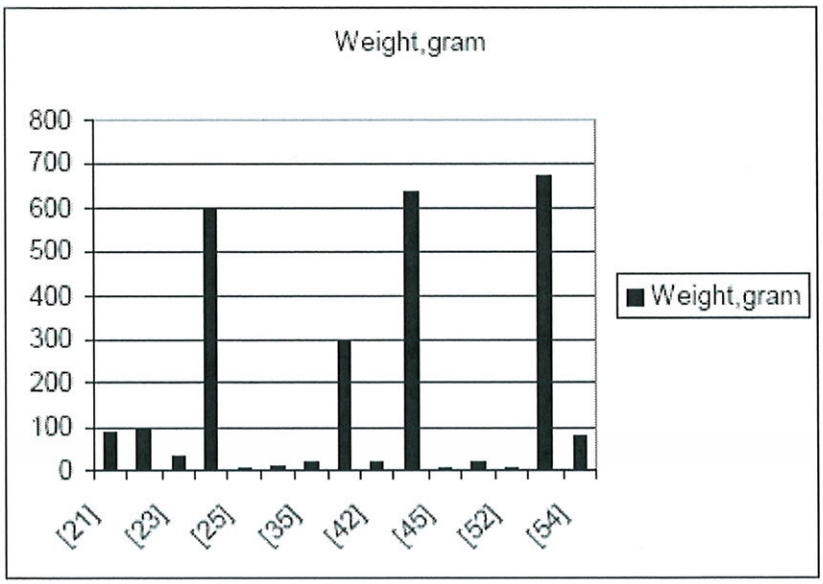


Figure 15 - Quantity of bones found in different contexts of Trench I.C, organized after context number

Trench I.C, which had a more complex stratigraphy due to the wall that seems to have divided the area, shows a more complex pattern (see fig. 15). This may be used to suggest that in this trench only Contexts [24], [43] and [53] were physically part of the graveyard (the 'bone layer').

Clay

Tiles (and other building materials) - These were, as mentioned, sampled and observations made during excavation. The volume and average size of tiles differed between the various trenches. Trench A, which was placed outside the walls of the presumed church and along the former riverbank, contained only a few and rather fragmented tiles. There were a high number of tiles, mortar and other building remains in Trench B, especially at the level of the robbed-out floor [15], while the volume declined dramatically after [16], the 'bone layer'. The tiles and other building materials were more unevenly distributed in Trench C, where it seemed that tiles at some point (after general demolition or decay of the building?) may have been stacked inside the remains of the wall. The tiles from the Mercy Church site were generally less fragmented than those from Site I, suggesting may be another process of decay or differences in date.

Yellow-blue-white Decorated Wall Tiles (16th-17th century; see fig. 16) - A large amount of wall tiles were found and recorded. With few exceptions these were all 16th-17thy century wall tiles including carpet tiles and various borders. They show a flowery pattern composed of vinery lines and leaves drawn in blue and orange/yellow with blue and orange/yellow borders on a while background. The pattern is non-geometric, but rather lively and free-hand, although the drawings themselves are only of a medium quality (see fig. 5). The 'carpet-tiles', narrow rectangular rather than square tiles placed as the bottom border of a tiled wall, are decorated with orange/yellow rhombic and circular shapes with a blue dot marking the centre and loosely conveying a sense of fruits, between bands of blue and yellow. In one case, fragments of carpet tiles (one whole and two fragments) were found still *in situ* in Trench B (see fig. 17). The decorative scheme of the tiles found in Trenches B and C were the same including

identical carpet tiles, and these tiles were probably all used within the same building. The tiles found at the Mercy site, although most being in a similar style, were not of the same type.



Figure 16 - Examples of Yellow-blue-white glazed tiles from Trench I.C

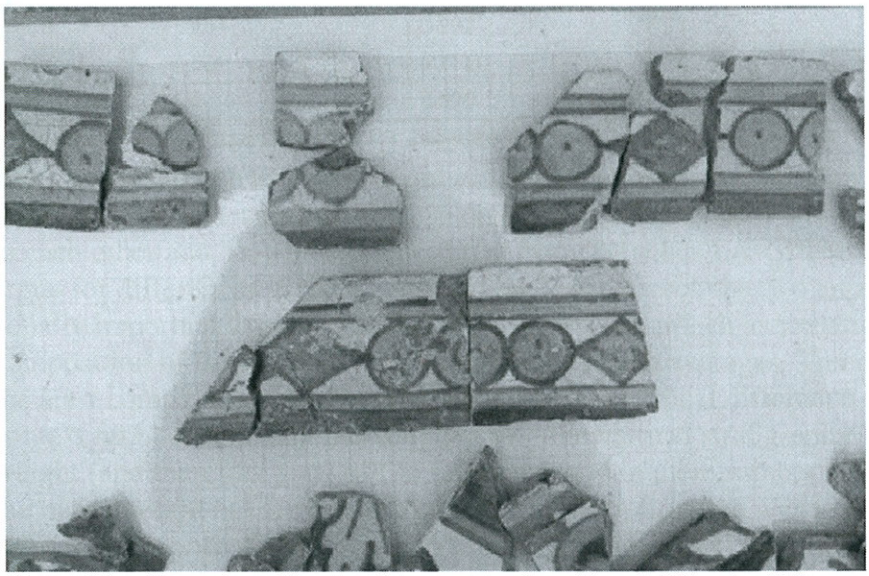


Figure 17 - Examples of 'carpet-tiles, top row from Trench I.C and middle row from Trench I.B

Monochrome Green Tiles - Seven pieces of monochrome green tiles were found in Trench I.B Context [14]. It is presumed they were of 17th-18th century date.

Relief-cut Tiles (15-16th century) - Tiles with deep-cut relief patterns are diagnostic of the 15th-16th century. Such tiles are known to have been found in Cidade Velha, and some have been recovered by the farmer working in the area of Site I, although it is not know exactly where (see fig. 18). Such tiles were also found during excavation although only in a few examples. One is a fragment from Trench I.A [02] and thus probably in a secondary location. Another is a tile with blue relief pattern from Trench I.C [43], while Trench II.A [31] had a total of nine fragments of these older types. Thus, while appearing only in a limited number, the tiles from the earlier phase(s) do exist and may be taken as a confirmation that earlier buildings (the exact outline of which is still to be established) may exist under or near the ones which were decorated with the later tiles.



Figure 18 - Examples of the relief-cut tiles found in the area of the excavation

The number and weight of decorated tiles vary considerable between the trenches as can be seen in Figure 19.

Trench	Number of decorated tiles	Weight of decorated tiles	Average weight of tile fragments
I.A	132	3640	28
I.B	284	5855	21
I.C	560	11120	20
II.A/II.C	12	1600	133

Figure 19 - The statistical data for decorated glazed tiles

The variation in the average weight of single fragments can be seen as an indicator of fragmentation and it is, therefore, interesting that Trenches B and C are very similar to each other and Trenches II.A/C differ from Trenches I.A-C. This may be used to argue for differences in the demolition process between the two areas. It is, however, equally important to consider variation within each trench as variation within the composition of the material may be masked by such averages. Trench B, which has the least complicated stratigraphy, shows a clear vertical difference (the sequence of context numbers corresponds roughly with the vertical stratigraphy) both in the weight (and therefore size) of tile fragments and in their numbers. This suggests that the major period of tiles being taken off or falling from the walls is after the level of Context [16], with some additional activities represented by the lower Context [19] (see fig. 20).

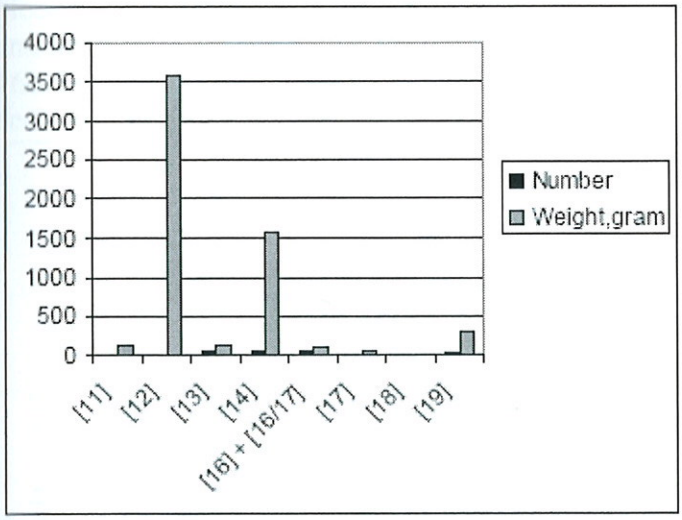


Figure 20 - Number and weight of tiles for the different contexts in Trench I.B

Pottery - The pottery can be divided into a number of different categories based on various variables. Two main areas of interest will, therefore, be used for sub division here. One is formulated around the goal of providing further comparison between the trenches and between contexts, and the other aims at the further characterisation of the various types of pottery present and the activities and contacts suggested by them; the latter will be further explored in the specialist reports.

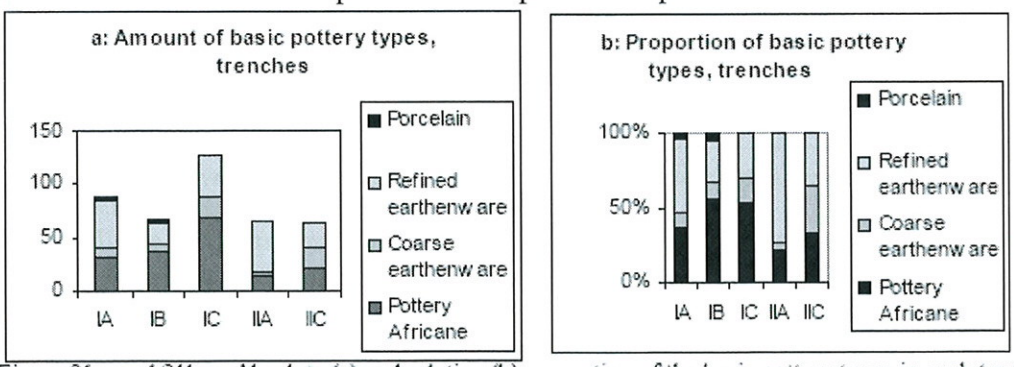


Figure 21a. and 21b - Absolute (a) and relative (b) proportion of the basic pottery types in each trench

The differences between the trenches in terms of type composition is not substantial. This is the case both with regard to the absolute number of sherds and the relative proportion of the different types within each trench. Pottery Africane makes up more than 50% of the sherds in both Trenches I.B and I.C, and there is a surprisingly high number of sherds in these trenches considering this is the inside of a religious building. However, different volumes of soil were removed from the different trenches, so too much emphasis should not be put on this direct comparison. The relative proportion of different basic pottery types within each trench does, however, suggest that the layers rich in pottery represent some kind of activities. The high number of refined earthenware in Trench II.A can in part be explained by the inclusion of relatively recent rubbish, including broken domestic china in the general fill of this trench; but the assemblages in the other trenches are mainly of 17th and early 18th century date and must relate to activities taken place after the floor was removed. Porcelain is the only type that does not to occur in all the trenches. Only six

pieces of proper porcelain were found: three pieces from Trench I.A ([01] and [02]) and three from Trench I.B ([11] and [12]); in all cases the dates of the porcelain is late 16th-17th century (see Hall below) confirming the date provided by the majority of the decorated glazed tiles.

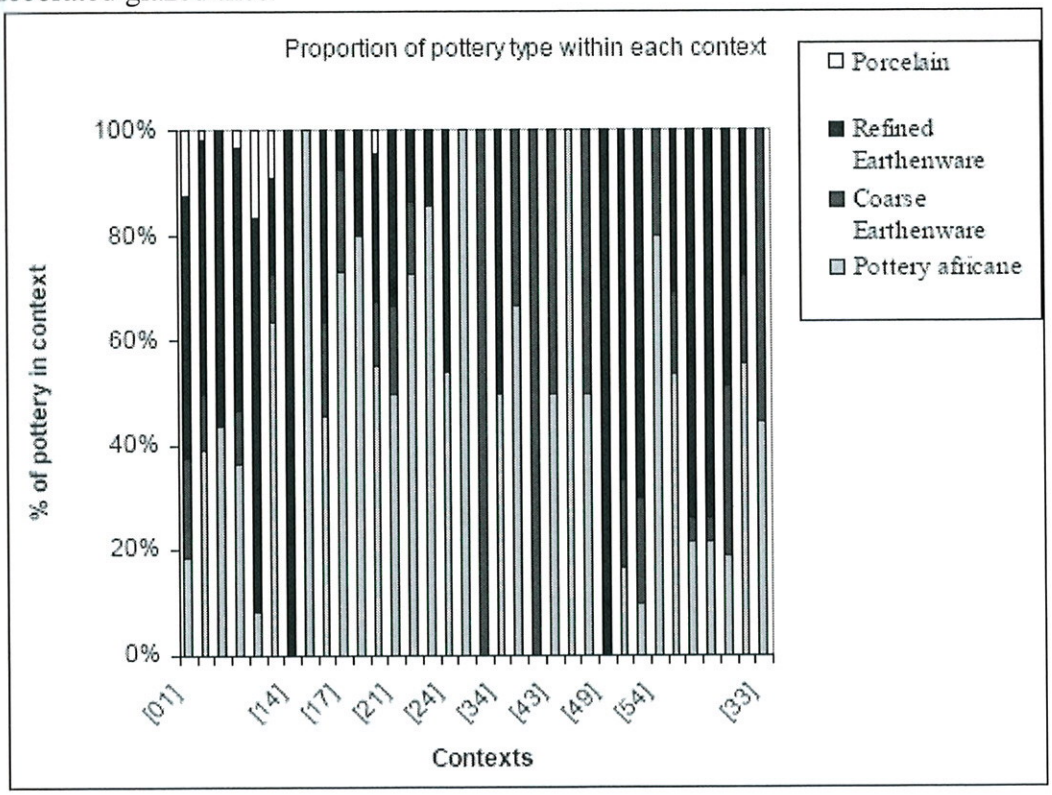


Figure 22 - The relative proportion of the different basic pottery types, ordered along the X-axis first after trench and then context

When all the contexts are compared some variation in composition appears suggesting that some similarities and differences between contexts are not determined by the trenches alone. To explore this possibility the data set was sorted after Pottery Africane first and the Refined and Coarse Earthenware (see fig. 23). The results is a negative bell-curve composed in the two extremes ends of contexts that have respectively only Pottery Africane and only Fine or Coarse Earthenware, and a range of contexts in the middle that have all three types in roughly equal numbers. This suggests that there are two kinds of contexts where the earthenware (coarse and refined) makes up more than 50% of the pottery. One group is composed of contexts from Trench I.A and II.A/C, both areas where substantial later additions to the original deposits may be expected. The other group is composed of some of the top layers from Trench I.B and a few contexts from different levels of Trench C; however for both of these trenches the relevant contexts had very few sherds (1-11) which makes the compassion less significant. Therefore, as a general result we may suggest that Coarse and Refined Earthenware is only dominant in contexts where a later inclusion of materials is likely. Pottery Africane, on the other hand, seems to dominate the lower contexts in Trench II.B and in a variety of contexts from Trench II.C.

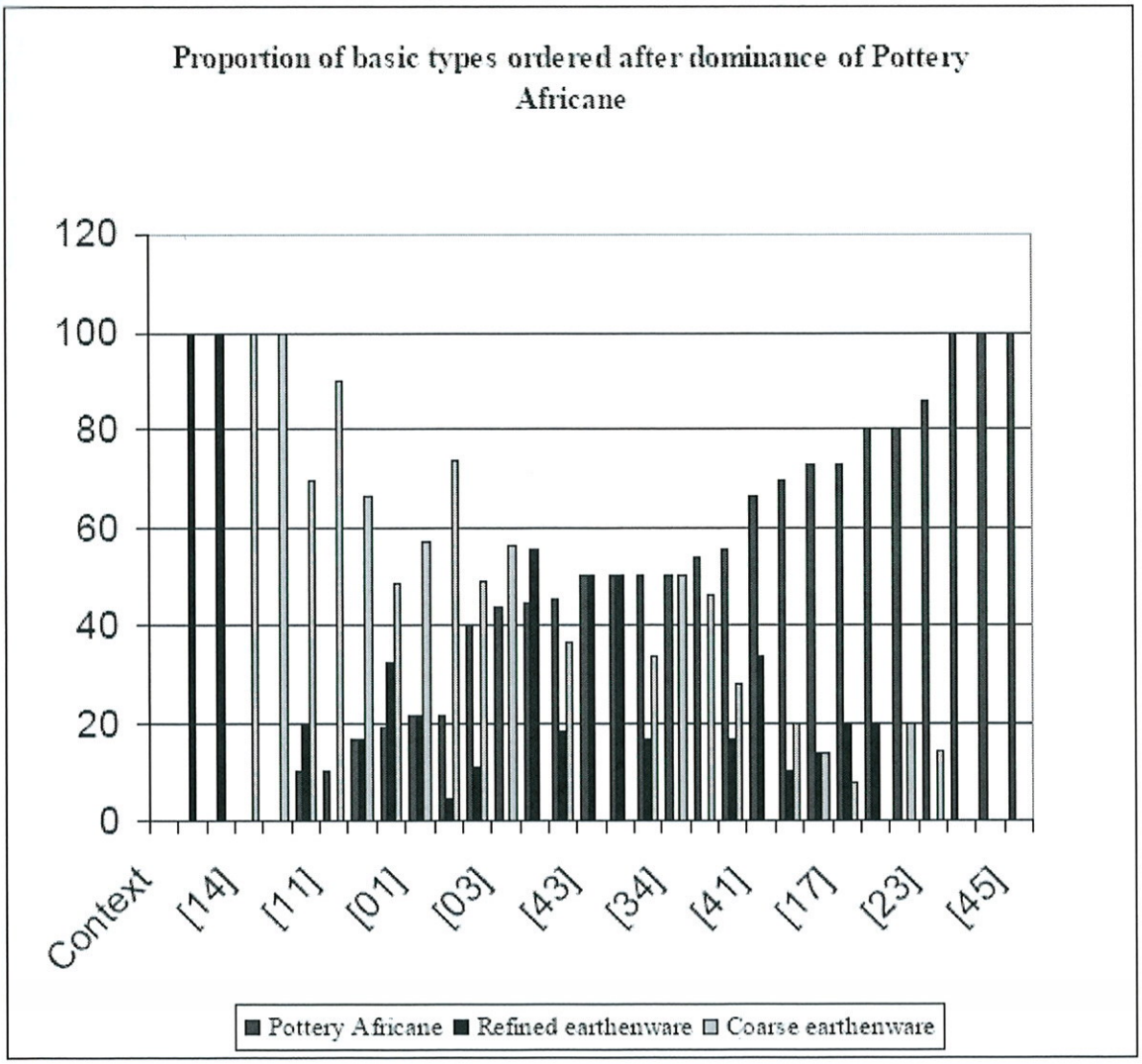


Figure 23 - The relative proportion of the different pottery types sorted after type

The variation in average weight also suggests a difference between the trenches (see fig. 24), with Trench B and C being similar; Trench A being comparable, but having in average bigger sherds; and Trench II.A/C having much bigger sherds, including some very large ones representing up to a third of a vessel.

Trench	Number sherds, all types	Weight of sherds, all types	Average weight of sherds, all types
I.A	90	950	11
I.B	94	616	7
I.C	106	781	7
II.A/II.C	154	4270	28

Figure 24 - Average weight of sherds within the different trenches

Other Clay Objects and Other Small Finds

Clay Objects (including pipe fragments) - There were only four other objects made of clay (see fig. 25). Of these, there were two fragments of European clay pipes, one a stem and the other part of the head. The report on these is still forthcoming. The fourth objects, a small thimble-like 'cup' with a straight rim and a line of decoration under the rim, is a part of an African pipe.

Trench	Context	Material	Description	Number	Weight (g)
I.B	[11]	Clay	Attachment to pot?	1	5
II.A	[31]	Clay	Clay pipe	1	10
I.C	[21]	Clay	Figurine, small head	1	10
I.C	[52]	Clay	Pipe stem	1	5

Figure 25 - Other objects made of clay

Beads (various materials) - The layers of bones contained fewer objects than the overlying deposits. It is, therefore, interesting that a number of beads were found in different locations amongst the bones. They were found in Trench B Context 14, 16/17 and 18, and in Trench C, Context 24. A total of 27 beads were recovered, one amber, one stone and, the rest, ivory or bone. 21 beads were round, five had various elongated rod-shapes (one of these may have been a spacer bead as it had two holes going through in two opposite directions) with different patterns of protruding grooves and ridges or incised lines, and another bead had a central protruding part. Several beads show traces of their working, and where this can clearly be seen these appear to be lathed-turned. Generally, the beads are presumed to be the remains of rosaries or ornaments buried with individuals; the former may be likely since no other personal objects were found amongst the bones.

Coins and Other Metal Objects - A total of 82 metal objects (mainly iron but including six of bronze) were found (see fig. 27); most had no diagnostic value in terms of type or date.

The iron nails are large with square-section and large flat square-heads, and were presumably from substantial or rough timber constructions. It is, therefore, interesting that they appear particularly frequently in Trenches I.B and I.C, where the excavation suggest a building has been demolished as well as the present of a former cemetery. The distribution of iron nails throughout all contexts of Trench I.B is, therefore, worth more detailed scrutiny as the contexts numbers correlates directly with vertical depth. The distribution shows that the iron nails appear, as one would expect from the interpretation of the excavated sequence, around Contexts [13] and [14], which correspond to the layers immediately above the dismantled floor and, therefore, related to the demolition phase. There is, however, an even more obvious concentration in the lower levels, the so called 'bone layers', and in these instances it may be the case that the nails are remains from decayed wooden coffins (see fig. 27).

Trench	Context	Nails, numbers	Coins, numbers	Others (numbers)
I.A	[01]	2	1	Ring fragment (1)
I.A	[02]	6		Bronze buckle or attachment (1)
I.A	[03]	1		
I.B	[12]	4	1	
I.B	[13]	2		
I.B	[16]	11		
I.B	[17]	5		
I.B	[18]	3		
I.B	[19]	1		
I.C	[22]	1		
I.C	[24]	11		
I.C	[25]	1		
I.C	[35]	13		
I.C	[43]	3		
I.C	[46]	1		
I.C	[53]	1		Hook (1)
II.A	[31]			Globular metal ball, attachment (1)
II.A	[31]	1		
II.A	[31]	1		
II.C	[34]	5		Ring (1)
II.C	[35]		2	

Figure 26 - The types and amount of metal objects found in the different contexts

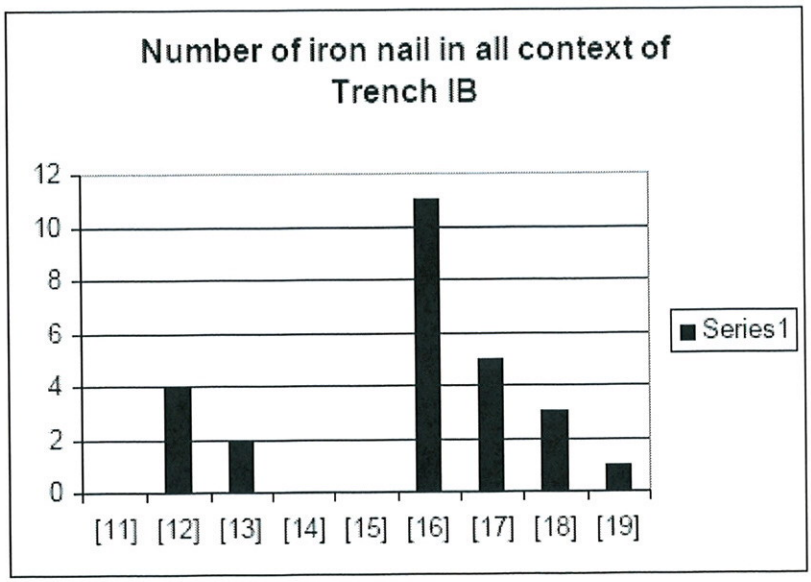


Figure 27 - The number of iron nails in the different contexts of Trench I.B

In addition to the iron nails, there were four coins that deserve brief mention:
1) *Portugal, John V (1706-50, 1750-77), copper-alloy, 10-Reis piece, 1736?*
Obs. IOANNES/DEI . GRATI.A, Crowned arms of Portugal.
Revs. PORTUGALIÆ . ET. ALGARBIO . UM . REX
X (=10) with ***1736*** *below within a wreath*
(Ref. Krauser Mischler (Portugal) 217.
2) *Portugal, Jose(Joseph) I (1750-77), copper-alloy, 10-Reis piece,* ***176?***
Obs. IOSEPHUS. I . /DEI . GRATI.A
Revs PORTUGALIÆ . ET. ALGARBIO . UM . REX
(Ref. Krauser Mischler (Portugal) 243.
3) *Portugal, John V or Jose(1706-50, 1750-77), copper-alloy, 3-Reis piece, date uncertain (****1710x1764****)*
Obs. Crowned arms of Portugal, inscription illegible.
Revs, III (=3) within wreath, inscription + date illegible.
(Ref. Krauser Mischler (Portugal) 190, 215, 225 or 241.
4) *Small copper alloy, machine-struck, prob.* ***19th*** *century. Only part of an inscription legible*
[ ] ES[ ].
The date of these coins place them around the town of the abandonment of Cidade Velha and later.
Samples
Stone - While a large number of stones were recovered during the excavations, only a few fragments were taken to Cambridge for further identification. Amongst these was a piece of vein-quartz (white and not scratched by steel), which could be from a Cape Verdean vein-source within the lava. The other fragments were all calcite, and were from limestone or marble. They were all white, compact crystalline rock that could be scratched by steel and reacted with diluted HCP. Such limestone may exist along the coast, although it seems unlikely that large pieces suitable for substantial masonry work would have been available locally.
Shell - A total of 23 shells were collected; this represent a systematically selection for Site I but more randomly inclusion for Site II. It has not as yet been possible to identify them as to species, but all but one were sea rather than land shells. They are, furthermore, typical of brackish water, and may well have originated at the mouth of the town's river as it flows into the bay. None of the shells had any obvious potential as a food source, and we can assume that their integration into the site was secondary; they might for example have been attached to boulders or rocks collected from the seafront.

Trench	Context	Number	Comment
I.A	[01]	2	
I.A	[02]	2	
I.B	[11]	2	Fragm. of shell
I.B	[12]	1	
I.B	[15]	1	
I.B	[16]	3	1 shell, 2 framents
I.B	[16/17]	2	
I.B	[18]	1	Land snail
I.C	[22]	2	1 limpet
I.C	[24]	2	1 limpet, 1 fragment
I.C	[43]	3	2 shells and I fragment
I.C	[52]	1	Key-hole limpet
II.C	[34]	1	

Figure 26 - The number of shell found in different contexts

*Soil Sample*s - Six soil samples were taken in Cidade Velha and brought back to Cambridge for assessment. A number of samples were also floated at the excavation house using buckets and water, but this method proved to be difficult due to the lack of running water and the characteristics of the soil.

The samples that were brought to Cambridge were processed by Nisha Doshi, a third year student, and the CAU system for environmental assessment was used. Prior to the processing, the soils were zapped with UV due to regulations about working with foreign soils. It was not possible to process the samples by dry sieving, so each sample was floated and left for drying for a couple of days. A sub-sample of each was selected for further soils science characterisation in the future.

Sample	CV06 I.C [54] II/III	CV06 I.A [09] vii	CV06 I.B [20] iv	CV06 I.B [20] ii	CV06 I.C [54] xi	CV06 I.B [20] ix
Volume (ml)	100	200	400	400	400	350
Charcoal >2mm				++	-	-
Charcoal <2mm	-	+	-	++	++	-
Roots	++	+	+++	+	-	+
? Seed (v fragmented)					-	
? Seed coat (v fragmented)		-				
Bone	-			-		
Shell	+	-	++	+		

Figure 27 - Macrofossil record based on floatation of soil samples from the trenches; '-' means 1-2 items, '+' 3-10,'++' 10-50 and '+++' >50.

Conclusions

The various dimensions of the finds (weight, distribution, character, *etc.*) confirm and add details to the interpretation of the sequence arising from the excavation. The presence of local, as well as foreign, materials is confirmed, as is also the impression of a substantial settlement. The dates are mainly 17th century with some later finds from the Mercy Church (Trenches II.A-C) and a few from the alleyway (Trench I.A). A few finds of earlier, 15th- early 16th century, date were also recovered, specifically some fragments of tile and African pottery sherds. The tiles suggest that earlier buildings existed in the vicinity of the trenches, but establishing their location, character and the state of their conservation must await further excavation.

Specialist Studies

Human Bone Joanna Wilson

A total of 502 teeth were recorded in this analysis, of which only six were still associated with alveolar bone. This reflects the extremely poor preservation conditions at the cemetery, which caused surviving bone to crumble upon excavation. The general preservation condition of the teeth themselves was good and most were complete.

Recording of teeth took place according to the protocol set out in Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) with additional recording of non-metric traits according to the recommendations of Turner *et al.* (1991). For each specimen, an individual record was created in SPSS version 13.0. The aspects of each tooth recorded were: context number; tooth type; upper/lower; left/right; mesio-distal length, linguo-buccal length and crown height; wear (Scott for molars and Smith for incisors, canines and premolars); the presence, position and size of carious lesions; presence and severity of dental calculus; presence, type, number and position of Dental Enamel Hypoplasias; and the presence and expression of non-metric traits (Turner *et al.* 1991). Additional observations were recorded as notes.

A total of 502 teeth were identified, including 80 canines, 122 incisors, 136 premolars and 162 molars (fig. 28). 231 teeth were from the left side and 251 from the right side of the dentition; 208 were upper and 283 lower teeth. These represented the remains of a minimum of 29 individuals (based on the numbers of complete permanent upper left first premolars). A total of 32 deciduous teeth were identified. The number of subadults

represented is at least eight (based on deciduous lower right canines).

Unfortunately, the canine is the tooth most affected by sex-based variation in age of development. Further work will be needed to gain a more precise idea of the distribution of age represented by the sample.

Caries were detected in a total of 44 teeth, of which six were in incisors, two canines, six premolars and 30 molars. Caries affected the occlusal surface, interproximal surfaces and smooth surfaces of the teeth in very similar proportions. Dental Enamel Hypoplasias were recorded in 43 % of incisors (45 cases). These almost always took the form of linear grooves in the enamel. The highest number of enamel hypoplasias in a given tooth was seven, but most had only one or two lines of growth interruption.

	Upper		*Lower*	
	Left	Right	Left	Right
First Incisor	13	13	16	19
Second Incisor	9	13	12	12
Canine	7	19	21	20
First Premolar	13	9	29	24
Second Premolar	12	14	16	15
First Molar	16	14	18	22
Second Molar	2	8	11	20
Third Molar	10	3	6	2

Figure 28 - Numbers of permanent teeth in each class (excludes teeth with imprecise identifications e.g. M1/2)

Glazed Pottery Andrew Hall

Site I

A total of 152 sherds of glazed pottery were recovered from the excavated contexts (excluding the 'Faience Africane'). The sherds were well-worn with an average sherd weight for the tin-glazed wares of 5.5g. This suggests some reworking-redeposition, or movement of the material within their respective matrices. This is supported by the mixed nature of several of the assemblages, with contexts containing ceramics from the 17th to 19th centuries. The later is represented by mid 19th century transfer printed earthenwares from Staffordshire of both the willow pattern type, and the wild rose pattern. Some English late 18th century creamware sherds are present as is a single sherd of 19th century spongeware.

The 17th-18th century material is largely composed of sherds of Iberian tin-glazed wares (92 sherds, 61%), dominated by Portuguese Fiaence, with some Spanish wares represented. These are mainly decorated in cobalt blue on a white ground, with a smaller proportion decorated in cobalt blue with manganese (purple) on an opaque white ground. The fragmented nature of the assemblage makes it difficult to reconstruct vessel types however it is clear that dishes and bowls are present as are some straight sided vessels, possibly drug jars (*Albarello*). The decoration imitates that of the Chinese *Kraak porcelaine* Ming period ceramics that were imported into Europe during the later 16th and 17th centuries. Hurst suggests a peak of output during the first half of the 17th century (Hurst et al 1986), however the production will have continued into the later 17th and early 18th centuries. Chinese export porcelain is present with 6 sherds (4%) from various contexts. A single sherd of possible Ming (16th/ early 17th) *Kraak porcelaine* dish or bowl is included within the group. The remaining sherds date from the *Kangxi* period (1662-1722), and all originate from plates or dishes decorated in underglaze blue. A single body sherd is from a large (15-20 inch diameter) charger. A sherd of *Westerwald* German stoneware tankard is also present. Production of *Westerwald* ware flourished in the Rhineland during

the 17th and 18th centuries and these distinctive cobalt decorated vessels were exported widely. Gaimster notes examples found across Europe and along the coasts of Africa and America (Gaimster 1997).

The remaining component of the assemblage consists of various coarsewares totalling 34 sherds (22%). Included within this category are sherds of earthenware with a dark green lead glaze. This ware appears to be made in two distinct fabrics, one a buff, off white earthenware, possibly from Seville, the other a red-orange fabric with micacious inclusions. The later could well be Merida-Type Ware from the Alentejo region of Portugal. Hurst notes its presence on East African sites and suggests a 17th century date (Hurst *et al.* 1989). Jugs, costrels and jars are noted by Hurst but the sherds represented here are most likely from bowls/dishes or large thick bodied basins.

Other coarsewares include red-orange fabrics with clear lead glaze, a buff-pinkish fabric with similar glaze and an unglazed fabric with an off white slip applied to the exterior surface. The later is represented by a sherd from a straight sided ribbed vessel, possibly an olive jar or similar storage vessel. This may have originated from Seville (Hurst et al 1989).

Site II

This assemblage consisted of 95 sherds, again it was worn, but not to the same extent as the sherds form Site I. An average sherd weight for the tin-glazed wares is 6.1g. Once more 19th and some 20th century sherds are present mixed in with the earlier material, an example being one sherd of early 20th century Wedgewood. Creamware sherds from the late 18th century are also represented one sherd displaying the impressed mark of the Spode factory. A pearlware sherd of the early 19th century is also present.

The assemblage is again dominated by Iberian tin-glazed wares which constitute 62% of the assemblage. The material is very similar in nature to the Site I assemblage, both in terms of vessels represented and forms of decoration. It is interesting to note the lack of oriental export wares from this site.

The range of coarsewares is similar to that recovered from Site I with several thick body sherds with green lead glaze.

Having completed this initial overview of the ceramics, it is clear that further work on different aspects of the assemblage is needed. This should include research on the Iberian tin glazed ceramics, including identification of production centres and aiming to acquire a much better understanding of the chronological development of the decorative styles of these wares. This would relieve the over reliance on exotic ceramics imports such as the Chinese export and German stonewares for creating a chronological framework. Often, the latter are not present (as demonstrated by Site II) or if they are, their functional life span may well extend beyond that of similar ceramics in a northern European context.

The coarsewares also require detailed sourcing and comparison with published assemblages. The fragmentary nature of these groups makes vessel identification difficult and therefore there has been little attempt to discuss form and vessel function. Comparison with museum collections and more complete excavated examples (especially from dated shipwrecks) would prove invaluable in this instance.

Non-glazed Wares Matt Brudenell

The assemblage comprised 201 sherds (3887g). Most sherds were of small to medium size (<8cm in length), through larger fragments were recovered from Site IIA and C, notably Contexts 31, 34 and 35. The mean sherd weight (MSW) for the assemblage was relatively high at 19.3g, though trench sub-assemblages displayed averages ranging from 7.1g-33.7g (Table 1). In general, the sherds were in varying states of fragmentation. Most showed signs of surface or edge abrasion, and even some of the larger fragments had worn and rounded edges.

Site	Trench	No. Sherds	Weight (g)	MSW (g)
I	A	37	455	12.3
	B	42	297	7.1
	C	88	2098	23.8
Sub-total		*167*	*2850*	
II	A	13	330	25.4
	C	21	707	33.7
Sub-total		*34*	*638*	
Overall Total		**201**	**3887**	

Table 1 - Assemblage breakdown

A wide range of fabrics were observed in the assemblage, showing that a variety of temper-mixtures were used in pottery production. Equally, differences in the natural clay inclusions and overall nature of the pastes suggest that different clay sources were exploited. For the purposes of this report, three simple fabric groups were identified, based on the principle type of inclusion visible to the naked eye. It should be stressed that these are very broad categories which require further refinement.

Fabric 1: Hard fabric tempered with moderate-common, medium-very coarse crushed off-white grit inclusions, sometime appearing as flecking in the paste. The grits are hard but powdery, and can be crushed under the finger nail. The fabric can also include moderate-common, medium-very coarse, grey to dark grey-brown grits. These are often angular or sub-angular, and are harder than the off-white grits. These maybe crushed pieces of basalt. The fabric contains a 'background' of sparse fine-medium sand, with spare medium-coarse quartz, rare grog/clay pellets and sparse fine mica. The ceramics occur in a range of colours from dark grey, through to orangey-brown and browny-red.

Fabric 2: Hard-very hard fabric with sparse-common fine-medium sand inclusions, with a background of sparse-moderate medium-coarse quartz, sparse fine mica. Fabric occasionally has moderate-common medium voids. The ceramics occur in a range of colours from dark grey, through to orangey-brown and browny-red.

Fabric 3: Hard-very hard fabric characterised by common-abundant very fine-fine mica. Fabric has a background sparse-moderate sand. The ceramics are hard fired and are usually yellowy-orangey in colour.

The assemblage was dominated by sherds in Fabrics 1 and 2. By weight, 47% of the assemblage was in Fabric 1 (61 sherds, 1838g), 36% in Fabric 2 (64 sherds, 1413g), and 16% was in Fabric 3 (75 sherds, 633g). The remaining sherd in the assemblage was tempered with shell (3g). One pattern emerging from the analysis is that there is a close relationship between the fabrics and method of manufacture (see below)

In general, the assemblage comprises both handmade and wheel-thrown ceramics, together with some which appear to have been hand-built, but wheel-finished (most probably large slab built storage jars/containers). Because of the small size of some sherds, it was not always possible to distinguish between purely handmade and wheelfinished
pottery (though one suspects that much of the unassigned probably was handmade). However, some basic quantification has been attempted.

Technique	No. sherds	Weigh (g)	% by No.	% by Weight
Handmade	24	607	12	16
Wheel-thrown	86	1032	43	27
Wheel finished	18	414	9	11
Unassigned	73	1834	36	47

Table 2 - Method of manufacture

As wheel-thrown ceramics were easily identifiable, the most interesting distinction is between wheel-thrown and non-wheel-thrown. The statistics suggest that around 40% of the assemblage was wheel-thrown, with the remaining sherds having a handmade component in their manufacture. Intriguingly, 56% of the wheel-turned sherds were in Fabric 3, whilst only 17% were in Fabric 1. The Fabric 3 wheel-thrown sherds included fragments of what could be Iberian amphora, or similar large vessels such as jugs or costrels. It is possible that these, together with all the micacious sherds in Fabric 3, were imported Merida-Type Wares from the Alentjo region of Portugal (Hurst *et al.* 1989). This possibility is also supported by the fact that none of the definite handmade sherds were in Fabric 3 (there being roughly equal portions of Fabrics 1 and 2). In summary, it may be hypothesised that Fabric 1 and 2 are local, being used in the manufacture of handmade and some turned wheel-thrown ceramics. Fabric 3 may be non-local, found exclusively on imported wheel-thrown ceramics. Alternatively, if Fabric 3 proves to be local, then it would appear that micacious clays were reserved for the manufacture of wheel-thrown European-style ceramics.
As there were no complete or partial vessel profiles in the assemblage, very few forms were identified. Based on the limited evidence, the handmade wares appeared to comprise small open bowls, or large jars. Most of the definite handmade wares were burnished, often on the inside and outside. Some had been washed with a reddishbrown slip, and many had evidence of wiping. A number of sherds displayed
decoration, primarily consisting of deeply incised horizontal grooves, probably executed with a stick. One sherd in the assemblage had two fragments of quartzite impressed into the surface prior to firing, whilst another two had stabbed toolimpressions.
A single sherd was also decorated with lines of closely spaced
rectangular impressions, possibly created by a toothed-wheel being rolled over the surface. The wheel-thrown vessels appear to have European-style forms, consisting of open beaded-rim bowls, dished, conical lids, and strap-handled jars or jugs.

Remarks and Recommendations

It is clear that the assemblage contains elements of two different ceramic traditions existing side by side. On the one hand, there appears to be some local production of pottery in the European style, and on the other, there is a handmade tradition originating from the west coast and central region of Continental Africa (i.e. 'Faience Africane'; Cultural Patrimony Institute 2005). The main goal of ceramic studies should be to understand the relationship between these traditions in the colonial context. In particular it should focus of the role of pottery production and pottery use in the creation of local identities. For the moment, more basic issues need to be addressed. For example, it is of paramount importance that the different types of temper in the ceramic are properly identified and sourced, so that imported and local ware can be reliably sorted. Once this has occurred, a detailed fabric series should be constructed, against which other ceramics from the island can be compared. It would also be worth conducting a detailed study of the ceramics in the ethnographic collections held at the Cidade Velha Museum, both to better understand local manufacturing techniques, and gain an impression of the type and range of vessel forms and decorative motifs used in the recent past.

Excavation Proposals and Research Themes

What is now proposed is a three year-long excavation programme, with two years thereafter given for post-excavation analysis and publication. Beginning in 2007, this will involve one to three month-long annual excavation seasons (with 10-20 staff, some local and others from the UK) that will sample the town as a whole (in an attempt to consider the character and date range of its various quarters) and also excavate in detail a range of its specific building types. The latter will involve an ecclesiastical structure (the first church and adjacent Jesuit College tested this year) and also a series of domestic and 'support' buildings (e.g. Company headquarters, warehouses, slave quarters and fortifications). In addition, in order to investigate Cidade Velha's supply dynamics, its main river bed and waterfront pool with be tested (having the potential to recovery the waterlogged remains of small barges and port facilities), and also the contemporary, hinterland farming plantations along its river valley which, through time, would have increasingly provisioned the town. Beyond the immediate five-year scope of the project, it is expected that excavations on the site will thereafter continue; its first stage providing the infrastructure for its further fieldwork and study. It is intended, and indeed the success of the project will be gauged by the degree to which through on-site and University training, it becomes a Cape Verdean project. Accordingly, it is expected that, with support from Cambridge, the researches will continue with local archaeologists.

At this time it is anticipated that the interpretative framework of the research will focus upon the concept of 'world-level' change and movement. This will, firstly, involve the idea of Cidade Velha as an port-of-trade centre - as somewhere where 'the world' (i.e. its people, objects and plants) came to - and, secondly, as it was eventually transformed into a community in its own right as regards increased local production and provisioning (i.e. a locally supply-supported town). Of the latter, questions of creolization will feature, that being the detailing of how, through an

admixture of African and European traditions, a uniquely Cape Verdean culture was born.

In addition to these, a number of other themes will be emphasised. Aside from the generic adaptation of European traditions/structures to the tropics (e.g. church and vernacular architectural styles), this will involve:

1) *World Trade and Commerce* - Where, through time, its imported goods and stuffs derived from.

2) *Environment* - Detailed investigation of what was the pre-colonial environment of the island/valley and what plants were brought to it from where, and, also, the impact of introduced animals (e.g. goats and rats). This is a theme of major significance, for Cape Verde is potentially unique in having no prior indigenous population - it is a matter of 'Europe' arriving and impacting upon nature - and, as such, it represents an unparalleled situation in post-Medieval globalisation.

In this capacity, the study of the settlement's irrigation system and network of water supply will prove important in terms of how the local environment was adapted to.

3) It will also be essential to consider Cape Verde as *a unique place* and somewhere that history impacted upon disproportionately to the islands' geographical scale. This ranges from Darwin's *Beagle* visit, to the stationing of America's anti-slavery fleet and Drake's destruction of Cidade Velha.

4) Finally, is will be equally important to consider Cape Verde and Cidade Velha in terms of its place with the *Portuguese World Trade Empire,* and compare its development, for example, to Goa and their trading ports in Africa.

Aside from the training of local students and the encouragement of cultural tourism to Cidade Velha, the immediate outcomes of the project will entail:

1) The publication of brochure (folded A5) with a map showing the location of major standing remains for distribution to visitors to the site and also to local hotels and resorts, as well as to cruise companies whose ships dock at Praia.

2) A large, orientation signboard at the site to broadly outline its history and alert visitors of what there is to see (including any on-going excavations). There will also be daily site-tours when the excavations are on-going and visitors will be able to tour the finds processing building (examine artefacts, *etc.*).

3) A two-volume publication series that will thoroughly present the academic results of the excavations and its historical sources, and a popular version of the publication for sales.

4) All of the above facets will be underpinned by an interactive project web-site. Fronted by 'theme-triggered' reconstruction paintings, not only will this encompass the project's technical archives, but, aimed for a target audience of 14-16 year olds, provide both a basis of local school and visitor information dissemination.

In addition, beginning with the results of the initial 2006 excavations, it is anticipated that interim publications of the work will appear annually, which will include, for example, publications in *Antiquity* and, the popular, *Current World Archaeology*.

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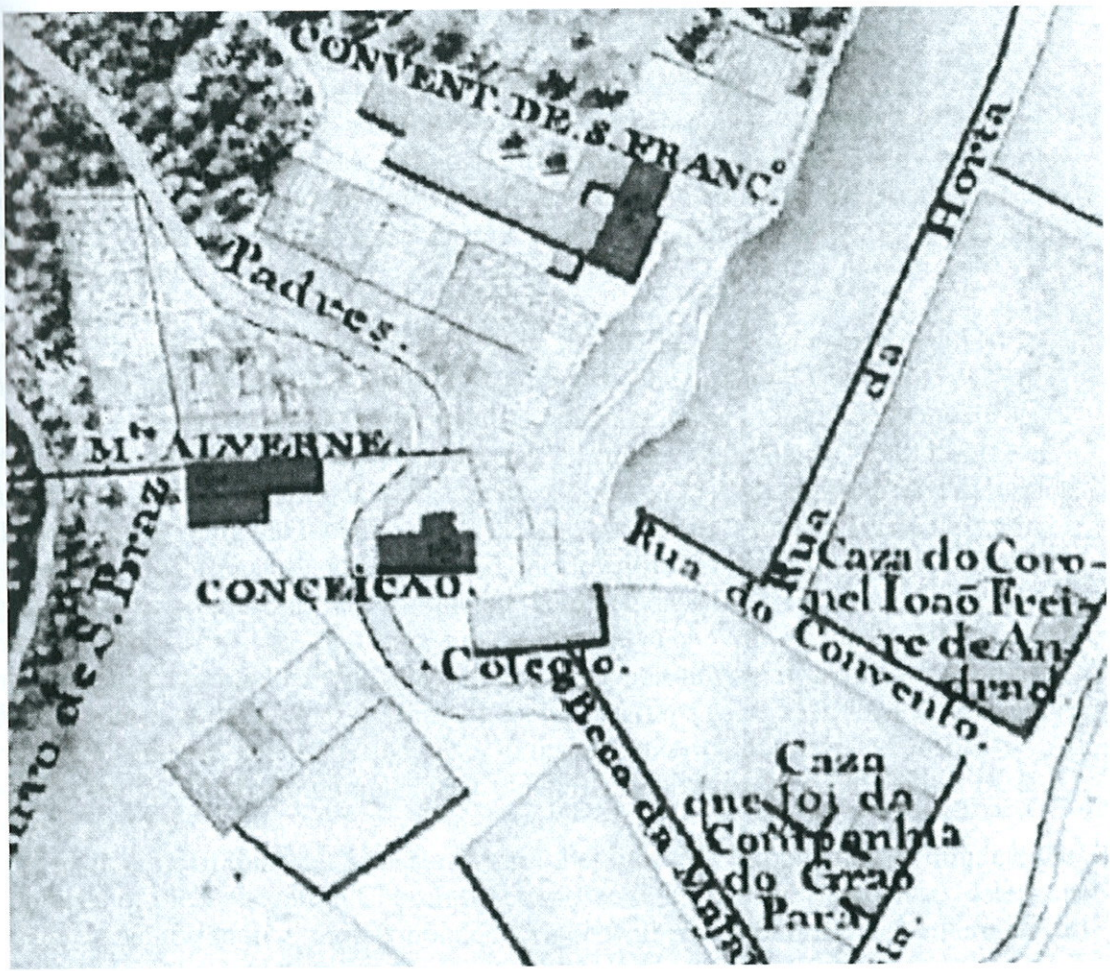
Cidade Velha, Cape Verde, Archaeological Excavations

The 2007 Season



CHRISTOPHER EVANS and MARIE LOUIS STIG SORENSEN
With JD Hill and Konstantin Richter

With contributions by C. Cessford, A. Hall & K. Seetah

This year's fieldwork greatly broadened the project's coverage. Not only did we complete the immediate trial programme on the 'Conception Church' (*Capela Nossa Senhora de Conceicao*; Site I) during our two week-long April season, but also established the existence, extent and character of the neighbouring Jesuit Seminary (Site III). Moreover, the arrangement of the trenches within these two areas was such that they now provide a near-continuous down-terrace/-slope section-exposure over a distance of some 40.00m and document a drop in contemporary surface levels of *c.* 3.00m. In addition, we then extended our trench exposures south-westward towards the town's core (Site IV) and, also, undertook survey reconnaissance of what proved to be an 'old' lynchet/paddock system (Site V) upon the plateau immediately above the town. The latter lies west of the upper 'Triangular Fort' (Site VI) that was surveyinspected
last year.

In July, Evans returned for a further week's investigations (and also to enable negotiation with potential local funding sources). The intention was to excavate a large sewage shaft being dug as a result of house-building at the seaside end of Rue da Carreira. Involving a massive basement, during the intervening months, Richter and his students had undertaken rescue investigations of the walls exposed at its sides, this evidently being the location the 'The House of Dona Violante Freire de Andrade' (Site VII). Unfortunately, at last minute, the developer brought forward his final groundworks programme and completed them just days before Evans' arrival; the results of this work - the first rescue excavation as such within Cidade Velha - is, nevertheless, reported below. While there, the opportunity was taken to excavate a further trench at the foot of the Slaving Company ruins (Site VIII; located towards the riverside south of Sites I/III) and, also, to inspect other potential 'plateau sites', visible on the aerial photographs, near the northern head of the valley (Sites IX & X).

Sites I and III

The main aims of this year's season within the Sites I/III 'plots' was to complete the appraisal of the Conception Church first exposed in 2006 (Site I) and, also, determine whether the upstanding, mortar-bonded terrace wall which flanks the southern side of the trackway there does, indeed, relate to the Jesuit Seminary (Site III; figs 2 & 3). Based on the first season's results, it is clear that downslope terracing was a significant factor in the arrangement of the early settlement and its buildings. Therefore, the trenches were also laid-out to provide a continuous north-south section. To this end, their location invariably had to be 'staggered' and their position to some extent compromised due to the farmer's trees (as featuring in the photographs of Trench I.E; nor were we allowed to severe their main roots).

As outlined below, over the season the true scale of the area's 'fluvial action' and the intensity/depth of its early stream channels became strikingly apparent (and which clearly demonstrated the futility of last year's small trackside cutting - Trench I.A - dug, in part, to investigate its beds). In this regard, a number of this year's exposures did, moreover, reflect upon the character of the area's 'natural'. It seems highly unlikely that at any point the archaeology sequence there will bottom-out on bedrock and, rather, its basal strata will consist throughout of earlier stream deposits.

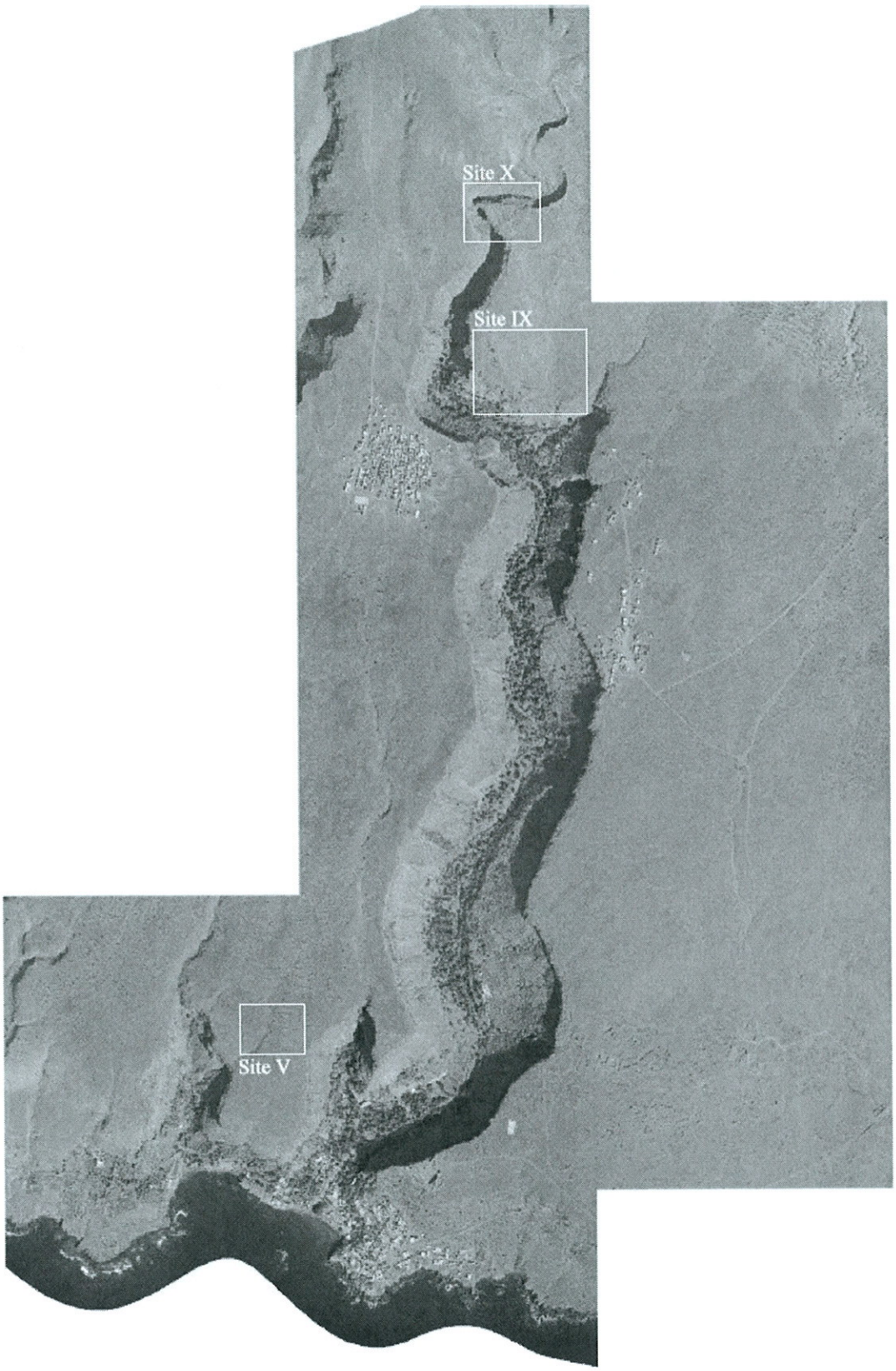


Figure 1.


SITE VI
SITE I
SITE III
SITE VIII
SITE IV
SITE VII
SITE II
SITE V

Figure 2

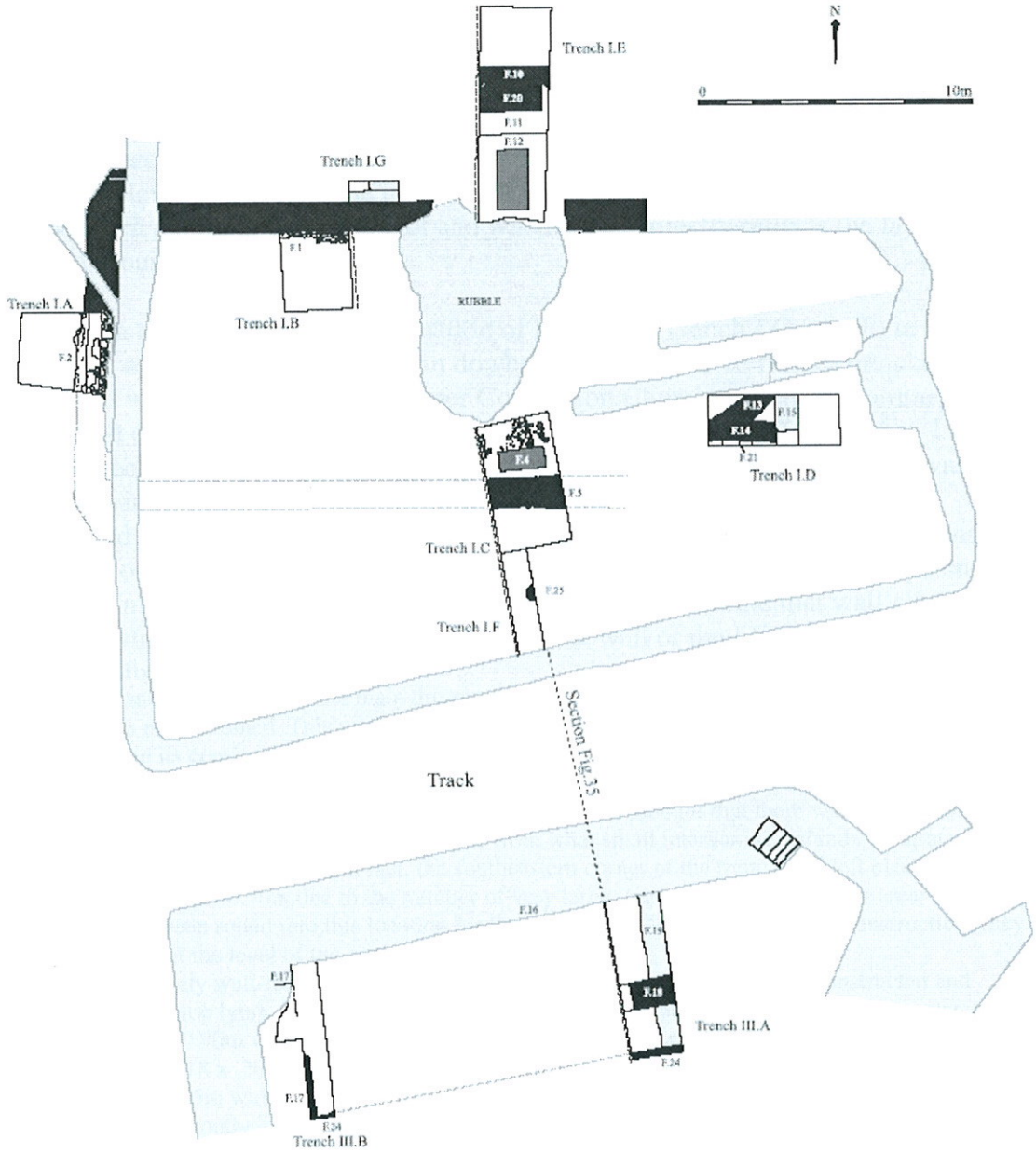

N
0
10m
Trench I.E
F.10
F.20
F.11
F.12
Trench I.G
F.1
Trench I.B
RUBBLE
Trench I.A
F.2
F.13
F.14
F.15
F.21
Trench I.D
F.4
F.5
Trench I.C
F.25
Trench I.F
Section Fig.2.5
Track
F.16
F.18
F.17
F.19
Trench III.A
F.24
F.23
F.22
Trench III.B

Figure 3

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E ARQUIVO

Two other general points are also raised by the fieldwork within this area. The first relates to the damage incurred to strata through on-going agricultural practices. Not only is this reflected in the deep, terrace wall-related 'disturbance' in Trench I.E, but also the destruction, through horticultural furrowing/channelling, of shallowly buried surfaces within Site III. The other issue arising, and which is particularly relevant for the latter sub-site, is the degree to which today's terrace walls are held to 'fossilise' earlier building lines. Essentially determined by immediate contingency, it should not come as a surprise to realise that their interrelationship is not consistent and, rather, seems matter of as 'needs dictate'. As will be explored at length below, the most pressing relevance of this is the unusual arrangement of the terraces in the northeastern corner of Site III's plot and whether this directly reflects the layout of the Seminary building's end.

Site I

In addition to the southward continuation of last year's Trench I.C (as I.F) to complete, as far as possible, the main downslope section, three further trenches were excavated within the area of the former Conception Church to further examine its layout and determine whether it had an earlier precursor (fig. 3). To the west, I.D was dug to check on the arrangement and location of its end in that direction; I.E was opened to investigate a spread of mortar visible at that point and which might correspond with a side-chapel as indicated on the town's early map sequence (and possibly correlating with the location of the earlier chapel). Finally, only exposing the top of the main F. 1 wall-line, Trench I.G was sited to determine that wall's full width (and test where, possibly, it was conjoined by the wall of the I.E chapel).

Trench I.D (fig. 4)

2.00m wide and 4.60m long, in the main this trench was only excavated to a depth of *c.* 0.90m and its sequence was not bottomed. This was due to the density/number of early masonry features that were exposed within its confines and that we did not want to remove/excavate these at that time but, instead, leave them *in situ* for more large-scale excavations (and potentially reconstruction). Accordingly, given the very limited area thereby left for further excavation, it was thought that there was simply no way that we could comprehend the trench's sequence from what small intervening 'islands' of strata that survived between its many walls. In fact, the southeastern corner of the trench was left even higher and only dug to a depth of 0.50m due to the number of very large, 'natural' boulders in that area; these seemed to have been rolled into this location for the purposes of 'early' terrace wall construction (they were not visible at the level of the ground surface).

Of the trench's early wall-features, running north-south, F. 15 was the most well-constructed and finished. With its top lying only 0.30m below the topsoil surface, bonded in a hard white mortar, its foundations were 0.90m wide and *c.* 0.50m deep, and consisted of roughly coursed medium/large boulders (c. 0.15-.18 x .20-.25m; not tile being evident within the wall's build). Upon this had been constructed the 0.55m wide (i.e. inset on the eastern side) wall proper, which only survived one course high (0.12m). The southern end of F. 15 corresponded to the eastern end of wall F. 14 (i.e. the former's westward return). Essentially having the same 'build characteristics', this was only 0.30m high/deep and 0.40-.45m wide. It did, however, have a 0.15m wide, lower offset step on its northern side that must attest to the top of its *c.* 0.60m wide footing. It is worth mentioning that, while the foundations of F. 14 abutted those of F. 15, their walls, as such, did not conjoin. Instead, the 10cm gap between was taken up by a curved, mortared trough, evidently a water channel (F. 22).

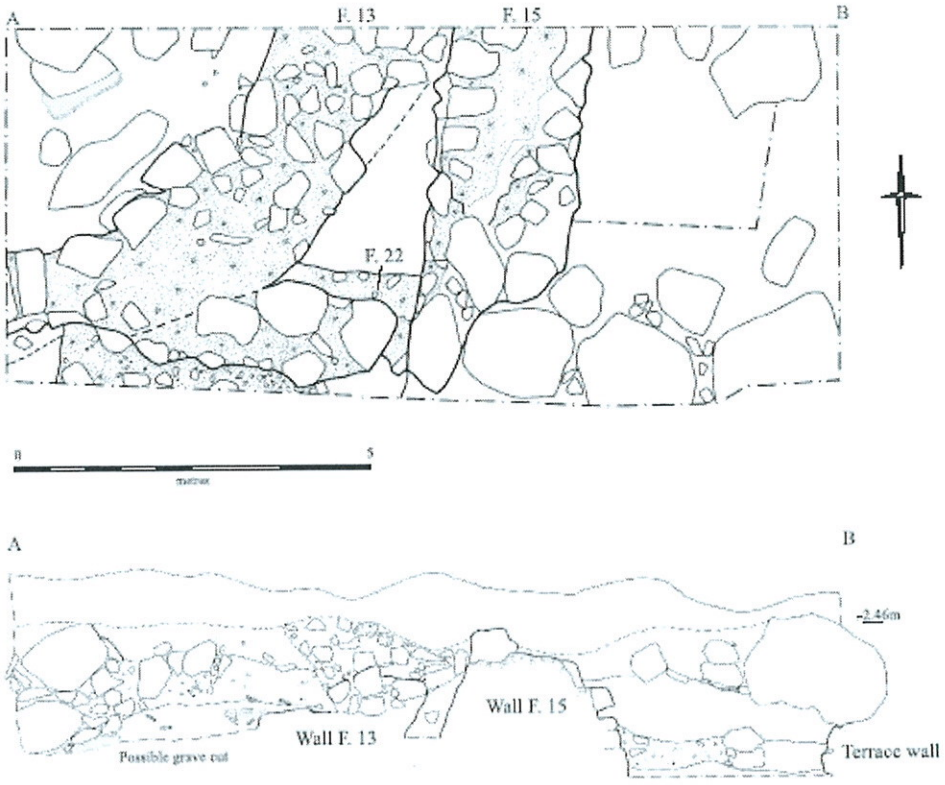

A
F. 13
F. 15
B
F. 22
0
5
metres
A
B
-2.46m
Wall F. 15
Wall F. 13
Possible grave cut
Terrace wall



Figure 4



A



B

Figure 5

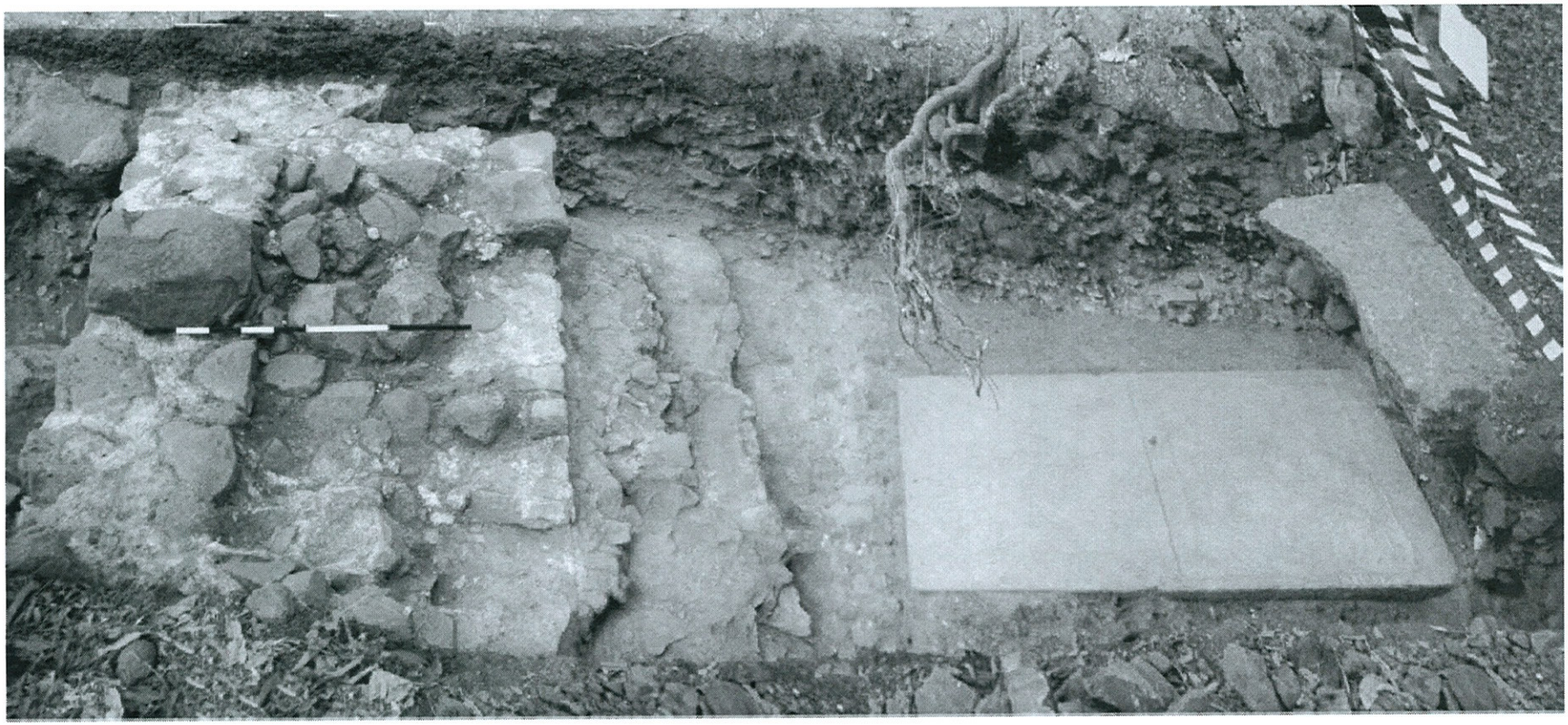


Figure 6

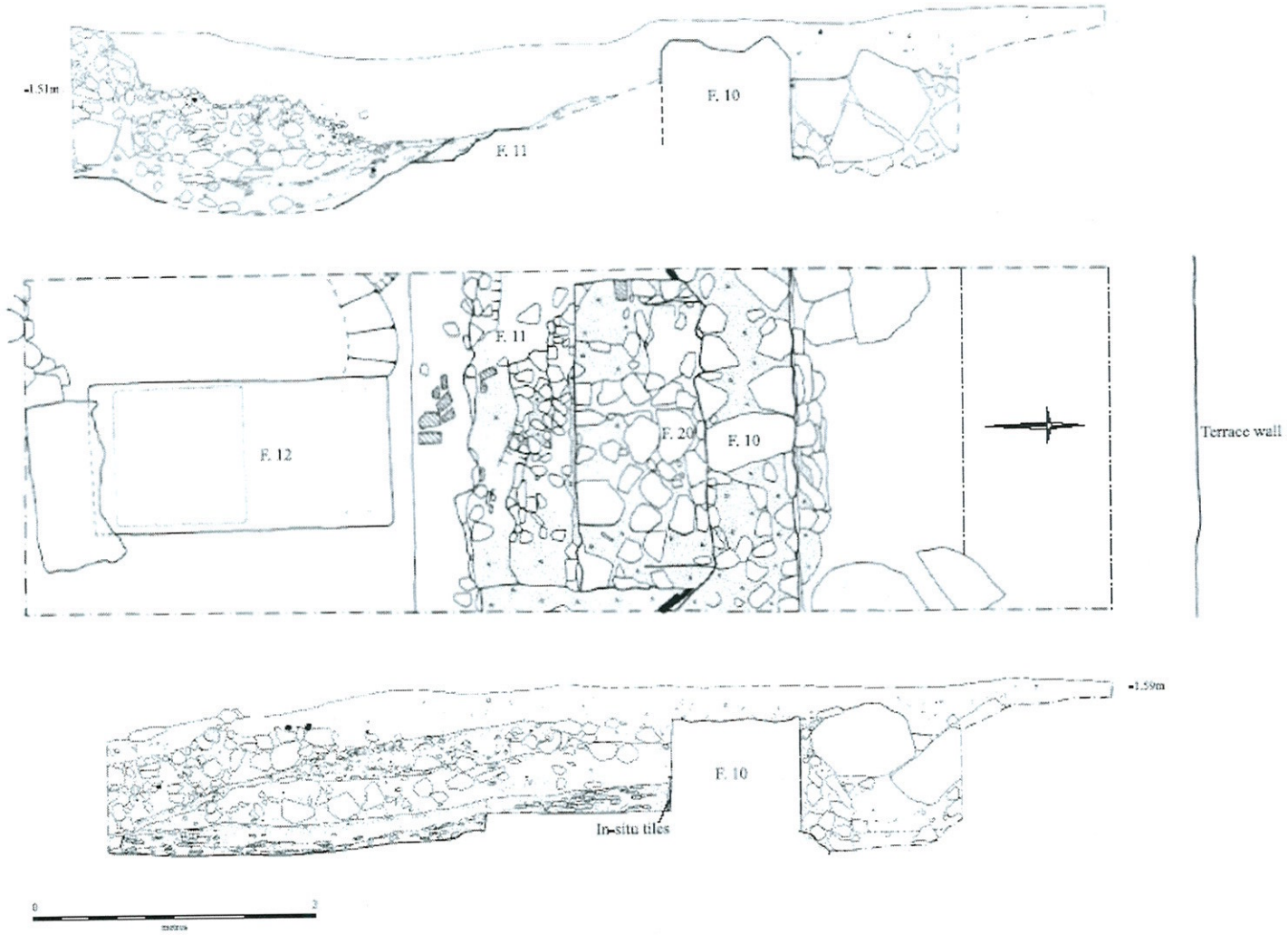

+1.51m
F. 10
F. 11
F. 11
F. 12
F. 20
F. 10
Terrace wall
+1.59m
F. 10
In-situ tiles
0
2
metres

Figure 7

Appearing to overlap (and post-date) F. 14, was a 0.50-.60m wide wall (with an additional/wider boulder-built, offset foundation on its northern side) and which stood 0.25-.35m high, F. 13. In plan, this arced from the southwest corner to the northern middle of the trench (beside/just west of F. 15's line) and would indicate a semi-circular apsidal end-wall.

Intriguingly, only visible along the extreme southern side of the trench and extending below F. 14, at a depth of 0.75m was the exposed flat top of an earlier north-south foundation/wall, F. 23. This consisted of a distinctly hard brown sandy mortar (and stone) 'layer', 0.80m+ wide. Note that it was not seen to continue on the other side of the line of the walls F. 13 and 14. Rather, the northwest corner of the trench appeared to be 'occupied' by a grave cut and human bone was locally present within that area. It is, therefore, conceivable that F. 23 related to an earlier/primary version of the church. In this context, it is surely relevant that two complete, 'early style' tiles were recovered from this trench.

Trench I.E (figs 4-8)

Extending over 7.40 x 2.50m, this was our largest trench and, certainly, it produced this season's most spectacular results. It had been sited to investigate a spread of *in situ* wall mortar, thought to be a 'high', chapel-related wall, north of the F. 1 wall-line. An east-west wall (F. 10) was, indeed, revealed in this location (lying 2.25m south from the trench's end), where it was found to be integral with a great block of masonry; on the whole, this proved to be a complicated 'architecture'.

Lying roughly horizontal, the building's compact earth floor level generally lay at a depth of 0.90-1.05m. In relationship to it, the F. 10 (*et al.*) wall stood *c.* 0.80m high, with its surviving top only lying 0.10-.25m below the ground level (as mentioned, at one point, its *in situ* fabric even poked through the surface). In the main, the wall was 0.60-.70m thick. Bonded in a hard white mortar, it was generally built of medium/large stones. Noteworthy is that, set into its surviving top, was a very distinct large, upright-set boulder, which would have marked the central axis. Although the northern side of this wall ran straight across the width of the trench, on either side its inner southern faces turned to run at 45 degrees. This wall (and the room it delineated), therefore, would have been of a quasipolygonal/apsidal plan.

Built against its straight, mid-southern side was a large 'block' of masonry (F. 20), *c.* 0.90m wide and, originally, 1.85m long. Surviving to the same height as the wall proper, its eastern and western sides stopped at the point at which the interior/southern side of F. 10 angled. In other words, this 'block' filled the length of the backwall of the polygonal-plan chapel and, given its location and size, there can be little doubt that this was a large altar. Its fabric was essentially the same as the F. 10 wall, though its northern 'core' included larger stones and there was less evidence of mortar within its bond than in its three other sides.

The altar had subsequently been lengthened by 0.16-.18m on both its eastern and western sides. Partially infilling the area of the main wall's 45 degree 'bends', this eventually made the altar 2.20m long. Though awkward to distinguish within the restricted area (0.20 and 0.10m respectively) left between its ends and the eastern and western trench sides, there the exposed southern face of F. 10 (but not the altar itself) carried a mortar face and was still clad with *in situ* 'late style' glazed tiles; it could not be determined whether these continued behind the infilled extensions to the altar's sides.

The southern front of the altar was evidently approached by two steps (F. 11). These were essentially built in the same fabric as the altar, but were not integral to it. Together, these were 0.65m wide (top step, 0.35m; lower, 0.30m) and 0.41m high (first, 0.23m above the floor; upper, 0.41m). While the upper step (whose surface lay 0.19m down from the altar's surviving top) ran along the length of the altar - and their join/angle still carried traces of a plastered mortar facing - the length of the lower step was difficult to distinguish. At its level-height, the masonry essentially extended right across the full width of the trench and ran back along the sides of the altar to floor its flanking 'angled alcoves'. This being said, a slight lip was apparent in smoother mortar surface along the projected line of the east side of the altar. From this, and the width of the steps, it would seem that F. 11 was only constructed after the altar had been widened. Note, however, that the point or 'way' of access up to the altar may have been more limited. Set horizontally into the floor immediately in front of it (just west of its central axis) were roof tiles. These only extended over an area 0.50-.60m wide, and were also present over approximately the same area/width in the top of first/lower step.

Lying directly and symmetrically in front of the altar steps was a very large, inscribed marble tombstone (F. 12; 1.08 x 2.12m), whose surface lay some 0.10m proud of the floor; this was left *in situ* and not lifted (see below).

Although evidently cut down from much higher up in the sequence, at floor level a very large cuthollow was apparent (F. 21). Extending flush right the way along the western side of the F. 12 slab, this continued down for more than 0.35m below the level of the floor. Time and the trench's restricted exposure, did not allow us to bottom this feature. However, at the depth it was taken down to, large pieces of human bone were present. (As exposed in the side of this cut, beneath the floor level - at which depth, otherwise, the excavation stopped - was exposed what seemed to be the same boneflecked, greenish grey-brown sandy silt, cemetery soils that were tested within Trenches I.B & I.C last year.) Given this, and the configuration/depth of the F. 21 cut, in all likelihood it had removed another large tombstone, that must, originally, have also been set into the floor beside that of F. 12. Two large slab-fragments of this slighted monument (0.65 x 1.24m & 0.65 x 1.15m), both 0.215m thick, were found, bedding horizontally face-down and stacked directly upon each other, within the upper backfill of this cut along the southern edge of the trench. By the manner in which the lower slab overlapped the top - projecting for some 0.20m south beyond its edge - these are presumed to have been set as a pair of steps along the line of F.1 as it later served as a terrace wall. Other broken fragments of tombstone, also probably belonging to that reset within the terrace, were recovered from the cut's rubble backfill. One was inscribed, as was also one of the main step-reused slabs (both of which were removed from their terrace setting, photographed and reburied on top of F. 12). When the retrieved pieces were reassembled, they would seem to have derived from a very large tombstone, more than 1.15m wide and 1.89m in length. Like F. 12's, its inscription would have been restricted to only its upper portion, the lower part being left blank (see below).

While the western section was almost entirely taken up with the fills of the F. 21 cut-hollow (and the 0.30-.55m deep topsoil loam above) with its stratified horizons, the eastern section proved much informative and representative of the trench's sequence as a whole. Extending over the altar's lower step (and side 'alcoves'), the chapel floor was sealed by a 0.10-.20m thick demolition horizon ([65], [67], [101] & [102]). This essentially consisted of friable yellow-brown mortar, with flecks and fragments of same, and, also, frequent medium-large glazed tile pieces; the latter often bedding horizontally and face-down.

This was overlain by a layer of mortar-flecked, brown loam with moderate medium/large basalt rocks (up to 0.25m in length; [67]). This terrace-/topsoil-like horizon was generally 0.25-.35m thick, but thinned southwards, apparently in relationship to the terrace construction cut. This, in turn, was sealed by a second rubble and mortar/plaster demolition layer (0.05-.25m thick; [62]), whose southward bedding mirrored that of the [67] 'soil'. Finally, this was, for the most part, sealed by the topsoil ([61]), but with the rubble fill of F. 21 cut ([63]) intervening between these two layers over the southern 1.65m of the trench (there 0.20-45m thick/deep).

On its back, northern side, F. 10 stood as a faced wall, some 0.70m high and at the base of the trench its foundation (off-set by 0.20m; though its full width may not have been observed) was achieved. North of this point, below the topsoil, the deposits (there dug to a total depth of 1.10m, except for the northernmost metre which was left as a 'high' step and dug to only 0.25m deep) consisted of dark brown 'topsoil-type' loams with frequent medium stone and, also, very large boulders (and with inclusions of roof tile). Essentially, this horizon seems to have related to either horticultural terrace construction or, more general, landscape 'grooming'. Whatever, there is no doubt that it sealed the F. 10 wall and its foundation.



A



B

Figure 8

Trench I.F (fig. 3)
In order to complete the downslope section between Sites I and III, Trench I.C was extended for 3.70m southward to the terrace wall (as Trench I.F). Cut as a metre-wide sondage, we were only able to excavate to a depth of 1.60m, down through the terrace/topsoils and bottoming upon the more mortarbased horizons associated with F. 5 (the church-related E-W wall in I.C). While the occurrence of few medium/large stones in the lower profile within the southern edge of the trench might attest to the existence of an earlier precursor of the extant trackside terrace wall there, otherwise only one feature *per se* was recovered, F. 25 - the *c.* 0.45m wide top of a mortared small/medium-stone wall/footing (standing c, 0.15m 'high' in the base of the trench). Aside from this, the importance of this trench's findings lies in the demonstration of the extreme (if consistent) southward ground-level slope along that side of the Site I plot and which, thereby, suggests that the standing trackway wall there does not itself mark a 'dramatic' early terrace-drop and, rather, the 'natural' contours fell well before that point (i.e. further to the north).
Trench I.G (fig. 3)
This small exposure (1.80 x 1.80m) was sited, stagger-offset north of last year's Trench I.B, to establish the full width of the church wall, F.1, and to attempt to locate its junction with the main Trench I.C side-chapel wall (F. 10). To this end, and due to the pressure of our work schedule, it was only excavated to a depth of 0.30-.40m; it never being our intention to bottom this trench.
Unfortunately, however, the deposits were extensively penetrated by tree-roots (which we were not allowed to cut) and these also smashed and disarticulated the masonry. Nevertheless, the F. 1 wall, as such, *appeared* to be only *c.* 0.70m wide. Approximately 0.10-.15m below its surviving surface level, its full foundation width (1.45m in total) was seemingly exposed, being offset from the wall proper by *c.* 0.75-.80m. This 'high' occurrence of the foundation on that side could indicate that the interior of the church had been deeply terrace-reduced in relationship to its northern exterior ground level at this point. However, from the evidence of the depth of the F. 10 wall footing *per s*e within Trench I.E, this is highly unlikely; it would have to imply a major difference in contemporary building-exterior ground levels over what is only a distance of *c.* 5.00m.
Given the degree of root-disturbance of the masonry, its proved impossible to establish with certainty whether F. 1 was actually here 'met' by F. 10 (from Trench I.E). While they might conjoin over the easternmost *c.* 1.00m of F. 1's length, pending further work this can only be considered a highly ambiguous possibility.
The Tombstones (Trench I.E; figs 8.B & 9)
The F. 12 tombstone inscription reads:

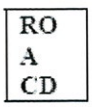


'A S(epultura) DE FERNÃO FIEL DE LUGO QUE DEUS AIA (haja).
'The tomb of Fernão Fiel de Lugo whom god has'.
The words SEPULTURA (tomb) and QUE (whom) are abbreviated by the first letter, the word DEUS (God) shows D and E in one letter.

On the bottom part, left side comes up what seems to be three inverted and incomplete letters in vertical position, 'A N E'. This might be an indication that the tombstone had been reused.
Fernão Fiel de Lugo appears in the documentation under the social stratification of the armourers of Santiago, royal house, as knight (*cavaleiro-fidalgo*; Correia e Silva *et al.* 2001, 419), having occupied the position of treasure holder (*almoxarife*) in Praia from 1528 till 1529, such as in Ribeira Grande (Cidade Velha) between 1542 and 1557, and lived in both cities during these dates (*ibid,* 438, 439). He also, under the administrative governmental or municipal functions, held power of attorney as 'treasure holder of the rents and royal rights' of Santiago in 1542, and was common judge of the city of Ribeira Grande (Cidade Velha) in 1555. His other activities included seller of slaves to New Spain, and his history is chronicled between 1527 and 1557 (*ibid,* 414).
'The information respective to Fernão Fiel de Lugo, treasure holder of Ribeira Grande in 1547, could be applied to other individuals, which were simultaneously inhabitants, governmental officials, owners and armourers, such in city of Santiago as in Praia Village' (*ibid,* 98).
The treasure holder in Ribeira Grande was, first of all, an inhabitant, whose post was confirmed by the king or the 'counter', by buying or trespass. His function was also to provision ships with goods, such as gold and silver (*ibid*).
Fernão Fiel de Lugo is mentioned several times having debts to pay and to justify, which he does in 1536 by affirming that he had to spend a certain amount by mandate of the sovereign in the chapel of the church of Praia Village (*ibid,* 99, 100, 122). He was landowner of two huge agricultural areas, one in Trindade (between Praia and Cidade Velha) and the other one in Santa Catarina (today Assomada), both on the island of Santiago (*ibid,* 195), and these goods were partly mortgaged by debt towards the Crown in 1536 (*ibid,* 150). As his chronology continues till 1557, this could very well be the date of his death and burial.
The inscription of the second, terrace-reused tombstone (i.e. broken and reset as steps) reads:



'A S(epultura) DE DUARTE ...SUA MOLHER... DE E DE SEUS (h)ER(deiros)...A T(?),O V S T, E (?)'
'The tomb of Duarte (Rodrigues?)...his wife...DE (from?end of word/name?) and of his heirs...'A T(?, or I or 1?), (rest - O V S T and E - not identifiable).
Another small broken fragment was also recovered from the topsoil depsoits:



Not identifiable, meanwhile the letters 'RO' could be from the surname *Rodrigues.*
As the surname of the male person 'Duarte' is not clearly identifiable, but the type of letter and the pieces of the tombstone indicate to be one of round about the mid 16th century, we could only search in the accessible documentation for persons during the 16th century that had this first name and were in any way related to Cidade Velha.

Only two Duartes where found: the first one called *Duarte Fernandes*, who had been *feitor* (overseer) of the cotton of the island of Fogo, who started his function as such in *c.* 1530 and finished in 1532/33 (Correia e Silva *et al.* 2001, 104, 282, 446). No other dates and references concerning him had been found.
The second one, *Duarte Rodrigues*, has his history chronicled from 1513 till 1515 under the heading of 'list of armourers of Santiago, who in parallel developed activities by the armourers and chronological period to which they correspond' (*ibid,* 416), appearing also as an armourer of a ship with NN under the heading of 'armoured ships and transaction goods by the armourers of Santiago (1484-1529)' (*ibid,* 425). He comes under the designation of *rendeiro* (the one responsible to produce income; *ibid,* 466), being mentioned twice, first in a letter of 1504 to Rui Penteado, overseer of the islands, to purchase, together with partners, the heather of the island of Santo Antão, paying an annual amount of 30,000 *reais* (*ibibid,* 226). Second, and being at the same time the first known 'contract of hiring of the estate rights' (*ibid,* 364, 365), this contract was established between Duarte Rodrigues and the Crown. He hires for three years (1502-1504) the fourth part of the goods imported from Guinea (*ibid,* 365). He also hires for three years (1505-1507) the *quarto e a vintena* (fourth and twenties part; *idem*). This designation defines the commerce between the patron and the Crown, avoiding as such the risks a direct transaction of the produced goods between the slave and the Crown would be. Having as example the production of cotton, made by slaves, 28.75% of the respective income would belong to the Crown (*ibid,* 362).
It is very probably that the second, broken tombstone, belongs to Duarte Rodrigues.

It is clear, given the character of the architectural remains within Trench I.E (including ribbed-vault fragments recovered from its upper soil sequence), that this has revealed an elaborate side-chapel of the church and, stylistically, it might well have been relatively 'early' (earlier 16th century). What is clear, given the dates of the two grave-slabs recovered this year (and the probable occurrence of cemetery deposits beneath the chapel's floor), is that the 'late' attribution of the main church proper based on the first season's results - including the postulated re-setting of the 1528 grave-slab into the floor within Trench I.C's exposure - was probably erroneous. Rather, now, given the consistency of the dates of the three recovered grave stones, the church proper probably dates to the first half of the 16th century, and its interior may well have been subsequently clad in 'late style' glazed tiles. (This issue may be resolved when/if the side-additions to the F. 20 altar are dismantled, when it can be determined whether the lower, *in situ* tile face on wall F. 10 at that point extends behind this later build or if they were only applied after the altar's alteration. In other words, the original mode of the facing of the church's interior should survive behinds these additions.)
The floor surface within last year's Trench I.B was *c.* 0.40-.50m deeper than in Trench I.E. Yet, as shown in Figure 3, within the latter area both the floor and the F. 12 tombstone continued southward across the projected line of the F. 1 wall. Therefore, at least at this point, there could not have been a wall dividing the sidechapel from the church's nave. Instead, it must be presumed that the central northsouth axis of Trench I.E's altar/tombstone marked a portal between the two. In the light of the difference in floor height between these portions, the chapel must have been accessed by a set of steps leading upwards to it.



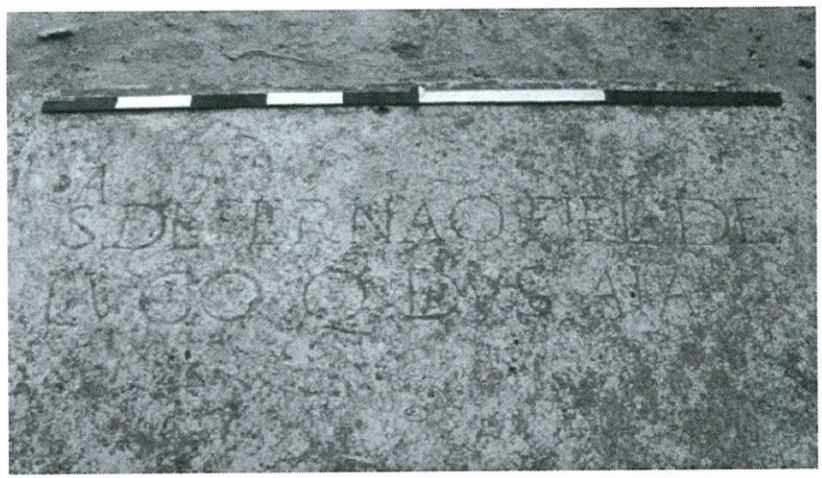
A



B



C



D

Figure 9

The reappraisal of the date of main church potentially has significant implications concerning the earlier cemetery sealed beneath its floors, and which is still thought to relate to its primary, later 15th century, chapel-form. Certainly its density - as attested by the intensity of its 'reworked' burials - was then clearly demonstrated. Yet, it is one thing to see such interment occurring over a period of a century or more (as then was postulated as the interval between its primary chapel and later 'church' forms) and quite another to have this take place over only a duration of approximately 50 years. The latter would suggest high mortality rates within the early settlement. From this it could, moreover, be inferred that a high percentage of the town's slave populace were then being converted to Christianity as, otherwise, it is unlikely that they would have received such 'formal' cemetery burial.

Although it may seem an obvious observation (and somewhat pedestrian), an important finding of the Trench I.E's sequence (most clearly evident in its eastern sequence) is the demonstration of two distinct, building-demolition/-robbing horizons. With the loamy soil layer ([67]) intervening between the two, it was the uppermost demolition layer ([62]) that related to terrace-construction (and the setting of its tombstone-slab steps). This indicates that the establishment of the area's horticultural terraces occurred at a time well after the abandonment of the church.

The evidence forthcoming from Trench I.D indicates that the width of the apse-end of the church was reduced by *c.* 3.00m in relationship to the nave. Based on the sequence of walls exposed there, it would appear that, originally square/rectilinear, this apse was later altered to a semi-circular apsidal form. However, given the very limited area of that trench, and the sheer quantity/density of masonry features exposed within it - and their evident complexity (e.g. what of the F. 22 water trough?) - it would, perhaps, be rash to give too much credence to this stratigraphic/building succession (circular replacing square apse; i.e. the sequence could be reversed). This caveat aside, what is equally relevant is the evidence of the F. 23, north-south wall foundation. When combined with the recovery of complete 'early style' tiles from this area, this could mark the location of the earlier church - '*The First Church in the Tropics*'.

Site III

Lying immediately south of the track and opposite from Site I, prior to any excavation, this field-plot had been identified as probably relating to the site of the Jesuit Seminary (fig. 3). Not only was this attribution based on this locale as indicated on the town's maps but also the that, unlike the 'active' terrace walls, this plot's upstanding northern wall (F. 16) was mortar-bonded. In addition, at its western end, the surviving stub of its southward return wall (i.e. forming a building's corner) was also visible.

The 18.50m long, F. 16 wall generally stands 1.85-2.15m high above the ground surface. However, the height to which its original fabric survives varies greatly, from 0.30-1.60m (i.e. rebuilt above this level). Without any plaster/mortared facing, it is bonded in a fairly coarse, *ad hoc* manner, with a hard white mortar (discoloured brown through long exposure). Its construction was irregular, involving both large boulder-size pieces and small stone courses; little or no tile was evident within its fabric.

It is in relationship to the eastern end of this wall, and the unusual configuration of the terrace boundaries in the northeast corner of this plot, that most clearly raises the question of the potential terrace 'fossilisation' of building wall-lines. In this case, the angular arrangement of its walls seems if not to mirror, than at least complement, the quasi-apsidal end of the Seminary as shown on one of the early 1770s maps. This being said, when we cleared away the refuse heaped against their lower western faces no mortar bonding was evident whatsoever.

Both running south from the foot of the F. 16 boundary, two trenches were dug in this area: A) in the east-centre (so as to extend the main north-south section line from across Site I); B) at the western end to investigate the wall-corner and its southern return. Based on the findings of the first of these (A), Trench B was subsequently extended southward to strike the building's east-west wall on that side.

Trench III.A (figs 10 &11.B)

2.00m wide, this trench extended for 6.00m south from the upstanding F. 16. The base of the latter was exposed for a further *c.* 0.60m below the present ground level, its lowest 0.40m appearing to slight, offset footing. (the evidence of the western trench section would suggest that it had been trench-built; see [079].)

As a whole, this area would appear to have been somewhat down-cut into the 'natural' stream beds deposits (see below) and, apart from where it was more deeply truncated by cut features, the strata (including its 0.30-.35m thick topsoil) was only 0.50-.60m deep.

Among the main features exposed in this trench was F. 19, the large boulder-built foundation of a major north-south wall. Essentially this must have been trench-constructed, but no evidence of its insertion was distinguished; its was 0.80m+ wide, its eastern side extended, throughout, into the section of that side. This footing definitely extended beneath, and thereby pre-dated, the upstanding F. 16 wall. Given, however, the complete lack of mortar within its build, and on top of it and, also, the sealing topsoil at this point (F. 18 aside; see below), it is difficult to see how, in itself, this could have been building-related. While due to its robust 'regularity', some element of interpretative doubt must linger, the evidence could suggest that this is an 'early' terrace wall.

Extending for 1.50m into the trench (stopping, if in a ragged manner, 0.40-.50m shy of this western section), two-thirds of the way south along its length was a large, east-west oriented footing, F. 18. 1.00-1.30m wide and 0.20-.35m high, this appeared to be built directly on top of the F. 19 'line' (though see below), its mortar extending as a 'surface' lens for some 0.50m across the top of the latter to the north. Very substantially built, and also involving medium-/large-size stones in its fabric, this would seem to have been built as a freestanding foundation, and must either represent the western end of a wall-line or a pier base.

Continuing west into the section from the end of F. 18 was a rounded medium-sized cobbled spread ([077]) and which also seemed to run east under that footing. By inference, this must equate with the comparable cobbled surface that was found surviving across the northern third of Trench III.B (see below). Within the western section (of III.A), this appeared to bed within a slight, 0.25m deep 'scooplike' hollow (though its profile may, alternatively, have been subsidence-related) and, south of that point, possible remnant traces of the same surface was distinguished in the section and which is suggestive of its more widespread, if patchy, distribution. The tile-fragment horizon seen, in the southern end of the same section, to bed on top of [078], might, in fact, also equate with this surface 'level'. Otherwise, the latter context would seem to relate to the construction for wall F. 24. Possibly constructed upon an un-mortared, boulder-set footing (whose top surface was only exposed off-set by 0.40m from the face of F. 24), the lower southern end of the trench consisted of a two course/0.40m high wall, F. 24. Bonded in a hard white mortar, its fabric also included large boulders and this wall would extend west into the southern end of Trench III.B (see below).

Note that while no relationship could be firmly established between F. 18 and F. 24, the north-south footing was probably truncated by the southern wall. The latter, and its construction trench fill ([078], and the possible surface it carried) were sealed by a 0.15m thick occupation deposit ([074]).

Comprising greyish brown sandy silt with lenses of ash and charcoal, this produced relative quantities of pottery, tile and glass fragments, and dry sieved samples from this deposit yielded much fish and small mammal bones; a carved pipe-bowl and a bead were also recovered.

Trench III.B (figs 11.A & 12)

Generally only 1.00m wide, this trench eventually also extended for 6.00m south from the western corner of wall F. 16 and ran along the eastern face of that wall's return, F. 17. At the corner itself the latter was found to stand, in total, to a height of 1.20m; it there survived southward for only 0.70m, at which point it had been completely truncated and removed through terrace wall-construction. After, however, an interruption of 2.95m its eastern face was, again, exposed over 2.30m along the southern end of the trench. There, it conjoined with its eastward return, and which must equate with wall F. 24 in Trench III.A. Also bonded in a hard white mortar, this southward length of F. 17 (and the western portion/projection of wall F. 24) stood up to 0.40m and, including large basalt boulders in its fabric (up to 0.30 x .40m), its build seems fairly coarse and irregular.

Dug with the specific purpose of tracing the western side of the Seminary building, this trench was not bottomed as such (i.e. taken down to 'natural') and it was only excavated to a depth of 0.20-.50m, generally to the base of wall F. 17. However, across the northern third of its length, this was found to correlate with a rounded small-/medium-stone cobbled surface ([081]). Although densely set/laid, lying only 0.20-.25m deep, even there the survival of the surface was patchy, and it is evidently suffering ongoing damage through horticultural furrowing and the digging of irrigation channels. While across it southern length, the base of this cutting was eventually excavated some 0.10-.20m deeper, this cobbling did not survive at all over the southern two-thirds of the trench and, there, no clear surfacelevel was distinguished.

Although not of the highest quality of construction (or 'finish'), there can be little doubt that the trenches within this area have outlined a substantial building, some 6.00m wide internally and 18.50m+ long (as defined by walls F. 16, 17 and 24). If, in fact, the unusual arrangement of the terrace walls in the northeastern corner of this field-plot does reflect/fossilise that structure's eastern end, then it would be some 21.00m long and, by its proportions/plan, most likely relate to the Jesuit Seminary. Having a cobbled interior surface, in this case F. 19 would probably have been an earlier terrace-wall footing and the F. 18 footing may well mark a latter re-building of that structure.

It should be noted that the alignment of this building does vary considerably from that of the Conception Church. Yet, this many not so much relate to factors of 'town planning' as the lie of the immediate land and its terraced ground slope. While the situation/depth of this structure might well indicate a degree of purposeful downcutting, in all likelihood the main drop in the valley-side occurred over the extent of Trench I.F (or thereabouts; it being 'un-bottomed') and subsequent terracing may also have occurred along its length.

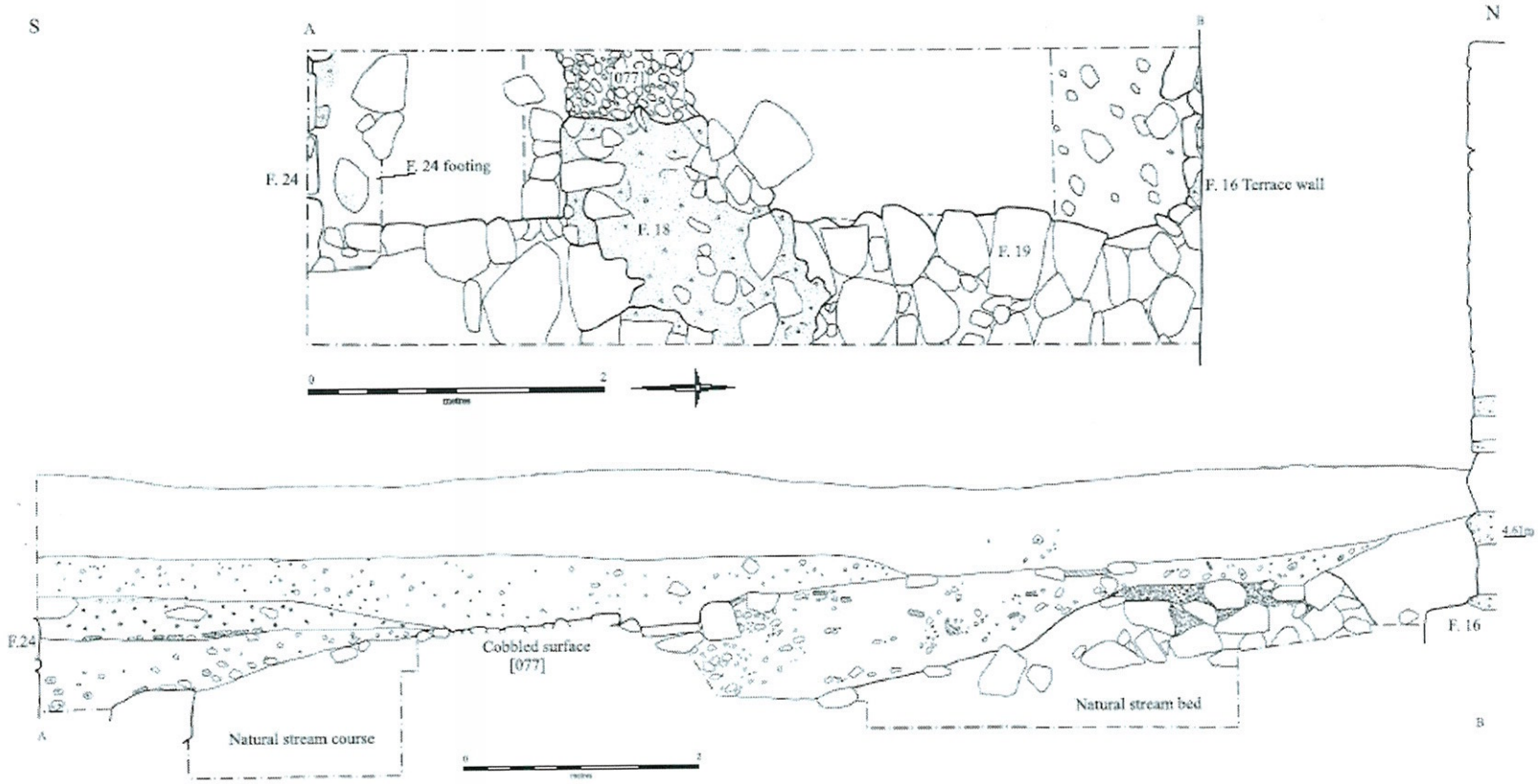

S
N
A
B
077
F. 24
F. 24 footing
F. 18
F. 19
F. 16 Terrace wall
0
2
metres
4.61m
F.24
Cobbled surface
[077]
Natural stream course
Natural stream bed
F. 16
A
B
0
2
metres

Figure 10



A



B

Figure 11

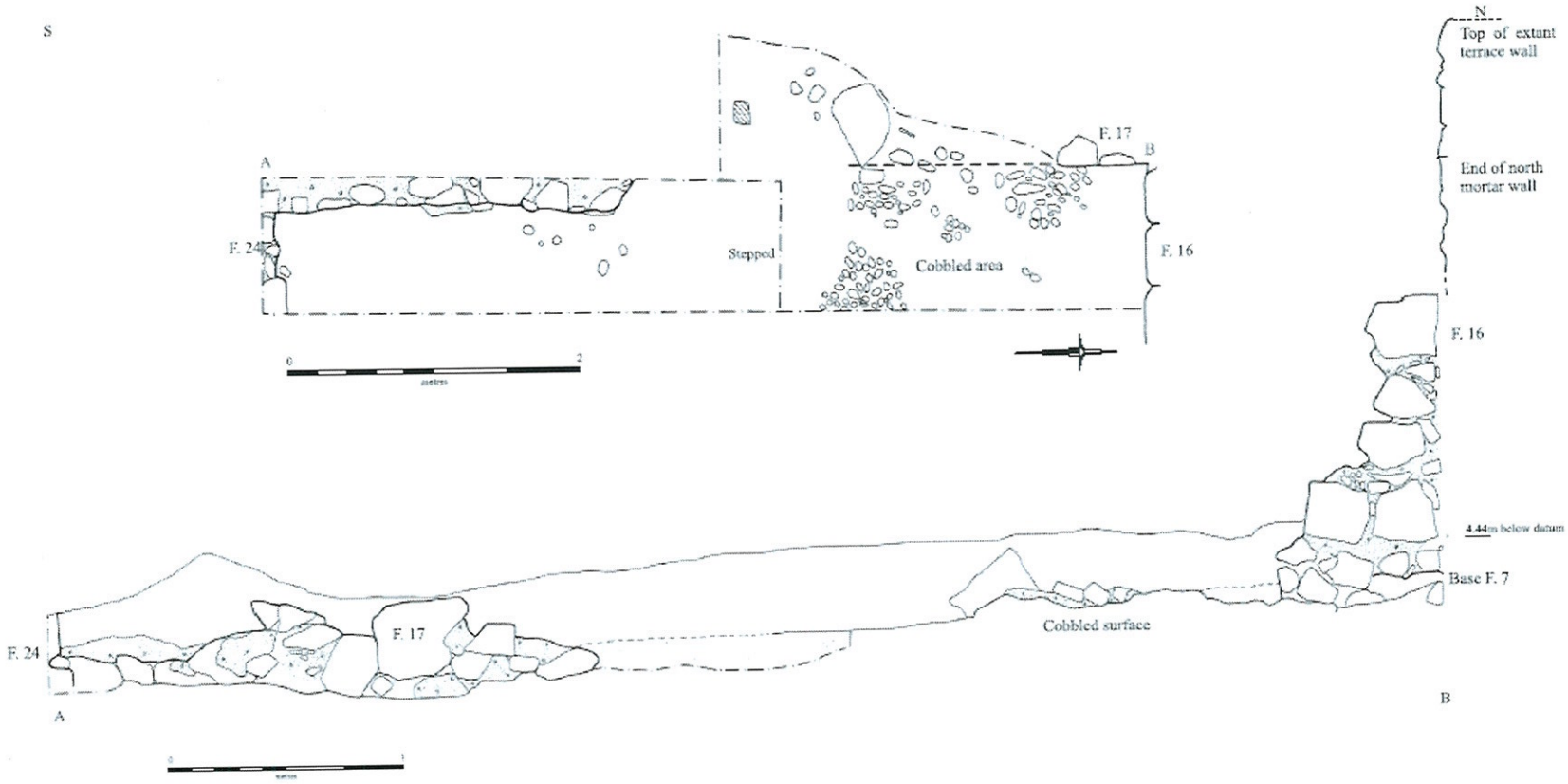

S
N
Top of extant terrace wall
End of north mortar wall
A
F. 17
B
F. 24
Stepped
Cobbled area
F. 16
0
2
metres
F. 16
4.44m below datum
Base F. 7
F. 24
F. 17
Cobbled surface
A
B
0
1
metres

Figure 12

The Slaving Company Headquarters (Site VIII)

In order to complete our appraisal of the cluster of identified early structures on the northwest side of the town's core - including the Site I church and Site III seminary - it was decided to excavate a test trench adjacent to the standing ruins attributed to the *Companhia do Grao Para e Maranha.* Established in the mid 18th century by businessmen of Portugal and northern Brazil, the Company held the monopoly on the slave trade between Brazil and Guinean Cost of Africa, and had enormous economic privileges (see Appendix B). Its building is amongst the most impressive remains at Cidade Velha; they have, though, been cut through by the track/road that borders the western side of Sites I/II and, today, survive as a 'L'-shaped setting of walls some 7.00m long and *c.* 5.50m high (fig. 13). (The ruined tower-like 'square' of another building, of unknown attribution, lies immediately to the north; see below.)

Inspection of the top of the walls' junction indicated that a mortar face upon the main, north-south wall (F. 30) continues south behind the eastern wall (F. 33), with the latter, therefore, obviously being an addition (fig. 13). The divide between the two builds is not at all apparent in their shared south face; it being masked by a plastered mortar face. This being said, the actual line of their juncture is marked by a 1.05m wide (5cm think) vertical mortar panel, which is rendered in the outlines of very large rectangular 'blocks' in imitation of ashlar stone (fig. 14.A) - a decorative aspiration to grandeur.

While not plastered, the northern end of wall F. 30 was roughly finished with a mortar render and evidently did not continue in that direction, at least below 1.40m from its top (the level above that being raggedly truncated back from this end face). Both seemingly of the same build as the main wall (though certainty of this is impossible given their rendered faces), the surviving stubs of walls continue westward from the two ends of F. 30; at its southern end F.31 is 0.65-.90m wide; F. 32, in the north, being 0.60m wide. What is interesting it that, though F. 31 runs at straight right-angles, the line of F. 32 actually appears to bend slightly north-westwards (more to the alignment of the separate northern 'square' building; see below).

Only the eastern face of the wall was formally recorded (figs. 16 & 18). The wall is 0.65m wide and constructed of medium/large, rough-hewn basalt blocks set in hard white mortar with frequent black pebble inclusions (where exposed, the mortar has discoloured to a light/mid orange-brown hue). While no reused moulded stones were observed within its fabric, occasionally tile pieces had been employed. Where the latter have been frequently used was vertically set within the 45mm thick mortar rendering that covers the upper 3.20m of its face, and which was also plaster-covered. The bottom of this rendering stops 0.20-.30m above the level of a series of large joist-holes. Obviously marking the floor level, this indicates that only the building's upper storey was finely finished, with the lower being left rough.

The southern, eastward wall addition to wall (F. 33) is 0.75m wide and, in its northern interior face, four large joist holes mark the same floor level as within the eastern F. 30 face (fig. 14.A); the walls being continuously mortared/plastered at the same level relative to the floor level. Although its build was essentially the same as that of F. 30, within its exposed eastern end, a stringer course of sandstone slabs marks the floor height within F. 33. From this level and below the end of the wall was raggedly cut through (i.e. originally continued eastward), whereas above the floor divide it was plaster-finished and this must indicate the location of second-storey doorway. Coinciding with the base of this facing, a *c.* 0.10m square 'hole' passes horizontally through the wall's fabric and this presumably supported some manner of porch; a 0.12m wide and 0.20m deep recess also runs vertically up the exterior southern face of the doorway, which must have held its frame (stone?).

While related as, for example, it seemed faced in a comparable mortar render, the building details/levels of the western face of wall F. 30 (not being recorded in detail) clearly differed. Traces of its plastered mortar face continue down some 1.00m lower than on the east (fig. 15). The top edge of its rendering stops, moreover, *c.* 1.40m below the top of the wall; there it has been smoothly curved to mask what must be a step in the wall-face. Its upper portion must be recessed some 0.20m back from the lower face and, thereby, this may mark an original storey-/roof-level. While clearly subsequently altered (possibly due to the construction of eastern room/range with the addition of wall F. 33), even then, however, there would seem to be no direct correspondence of room-/storey-height on either side of the F. 30 'divide'.

The upstanding ruins of a 'square' building (5 x 6.40m) lie approximately 8.50m to the north (fig. 13). With its alignment well off of that of the Company remains, it is without known attribution. Its 0.60/.70m thick walls (F. 35) stand to a maximum height of *c.* 3.60m (in relationship to the same approximate ground level as the Company wall elevation), though its interior is raised by rubble in-fill to a height of *c.* 1.50m. There is evidence of floor joists within its interior and the building is likely to have been two-storeys high. With its interior face carrying a 3.5-4cm thick, fine mortar facing (the exterior being coarsely rendered), it is of a 'large stone' rough bond/coursing, involving only limited brick/tile within its fabric and no reused moulded stone. There may, in fact, be evidence of its phased construction; with the western wall (having what appears to be the side of a doorway in its southern end) seemingly original and the eastern portions of the structure being secondary. The surviving western end of the stub of the southeastern wall appears to have been finished around a window. All things considered, it is thought that this building is probably somewhat earlier than the Company walls, perhaps of 16th century date.

Our trench, *c.* 2 x 2.50m, lay 4.00m east of the foot of the main Slavery Company building wall (fig. 13). It was excavated to a total depth of *c.* 1.70m. (Although not formally levelled in, it was estimated that the surface of the topsoil there lay approximately 1.20m below that in the Site III trenches.) The building's contemporary floor level was encountered some 1.55m down. This implies a total basement-/ground-storey height of 3.20m.

The building's floor was essentially only a trampled earth level, its surface being trodden into the top of the fine, mid brown clay silts that comprised the section's basal deposits and which were probably river-derived (fig. 13). What was somewhat surprising was that a 0.70m wide wall, oriented approximately north-south, appeared to have been built directly upon this floor level (fig. 17). Standing 0.50m high and built of roughly coursed, medium to large stones (up to 0.10 x. 25 x .45m) - with some/occasional red roof tiles also used - it was bonded in a hard off-white mortar. The exposed western face of this wall (F. 34) had mortar roughly smoothed against it; it being without careful rendering (i.e. no plaster). That the orientation of F. 34 actually diverged from that of the standing 'Company wall' (F. 30) and, rather, was parallel with that of the northward square structure (F. 35), would suggest two possible phasing interrelationships; the 'build-type' of F. 34 could imply that it was earlier than the F. 30 (*et al.*) 'Company' fabric', as does also the lower, sealed depth of the F. 34 wall. One the one hand, this might indicate that, incorporating earlier standing components of the northward structure within its build, the Company building was 'compromised' and included multiple alignments (as also seen in the northwestern return line - F. 31 - of the F. 30 *et al.* walls). Alternatively, if much earlier, the F. 34 wall might actually have been a foundation *per se* - relating to the northern square structure complex - that had simply been exposed when, perhaps, the lower storey of the Company building was dug down and basemented.

Within the trench, above the floor, was a *c.* 0.50m thick deposit of white mortar-flecked brown loam with moderate building rubble inclusions (medium-large stones, wall plaster and tile fragments) and that evidently related to the disuse/demolition of the standing components of the Company building (and also the F. 34 wall). This merged into a *c.* 0.40m thick horizon of brown clay loam, attesting to the fact that the area had been turned to horticultural usage; the few pottery sherds recovered suggesting that this occurred in the later 18th/19th centuries. This garden/agricultural soil was overlain by a series of flood deposits. Some 0.35m thick in total, these variously consisted of lenses of mud/clay and fine, water-washed sands. Above this (and immediately below the 0.25m deep topsoil) was a 0.10-.15m thick layer of fine, dark grey sand silt with mortar flecking and small stone rubble. The source of this horizon - whether another, still more 'drastic' flood-related layer (i.e. causing building outwash/collapse) or deriving from a later local 'building event' - is unknown.

Relatively few finds were recovered from the excavation of this trench and, though red roof tile fragments were present in some quantity, only one small glazed tile piece was retrieved.

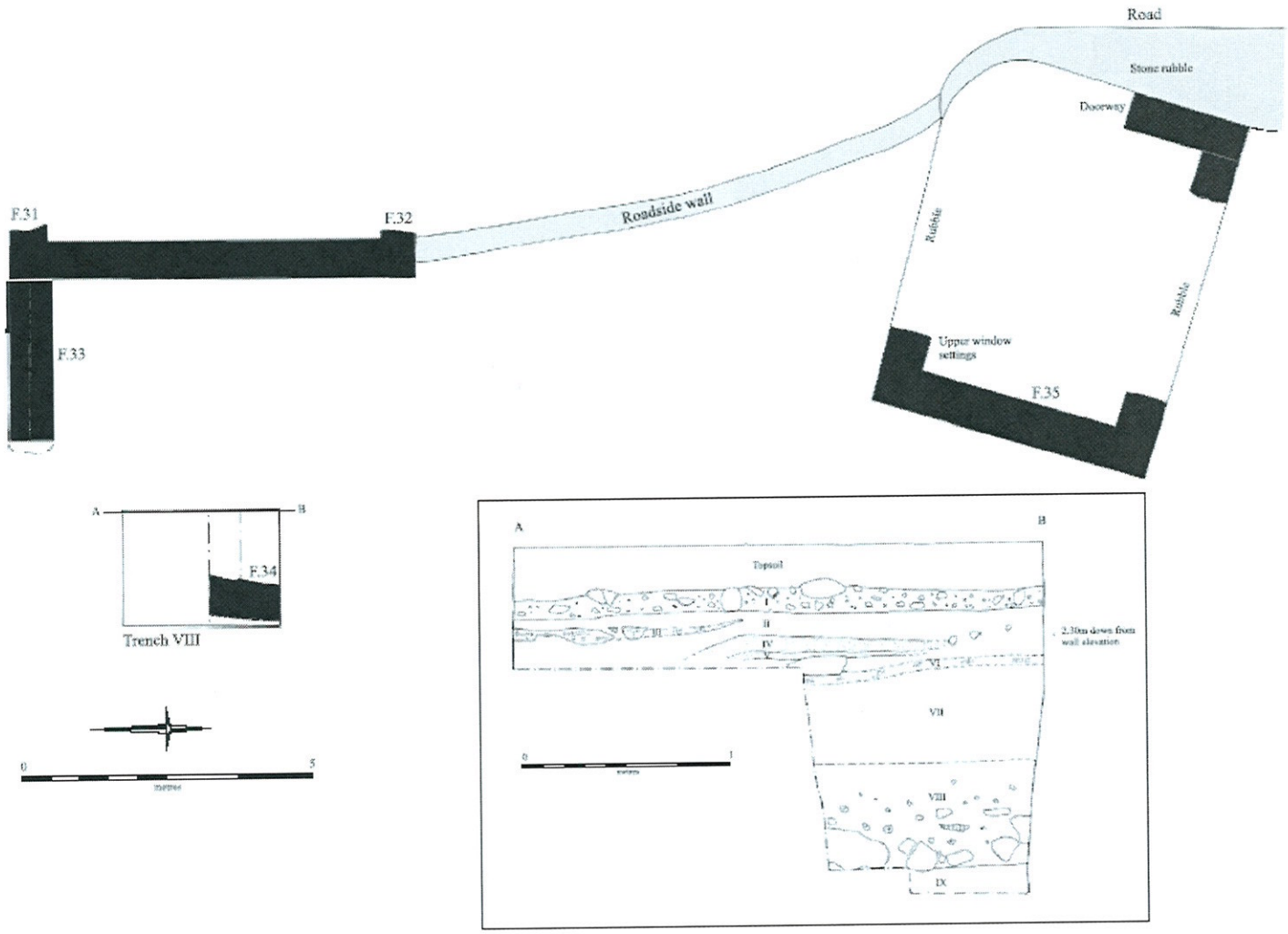

Road
Stone rubble
Doorway
F.31
F.32
Roadside wall
Rubble
Rubble
F.33
Upper window
settings
F.35
A
B
F.34
Trench VIII
0
5
metres
A
B
Topsoil
I
II
IV
VI
VII
VIII
IX
2.30m down from
wall elevation
0
1
metres

Figure 13



A



B

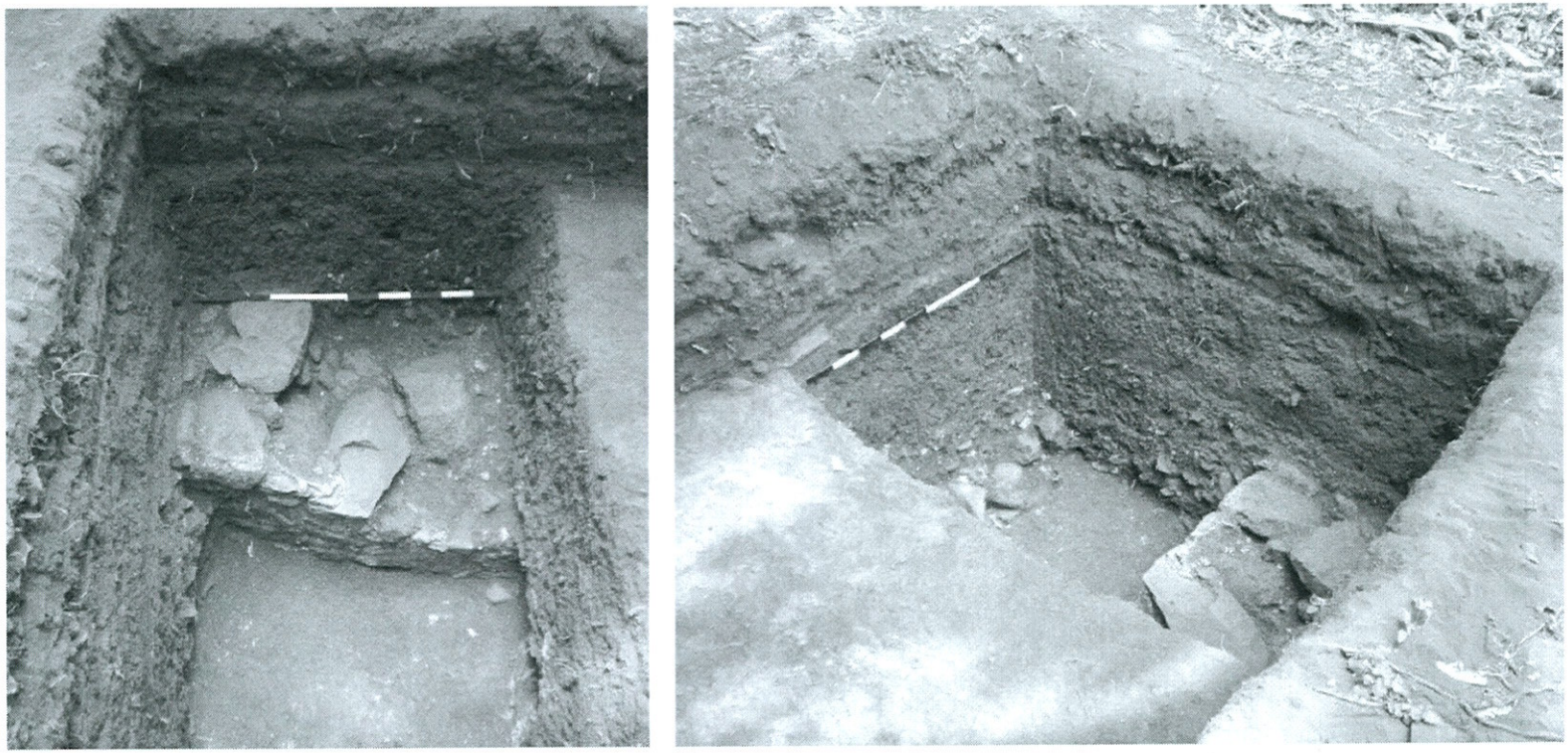
Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16

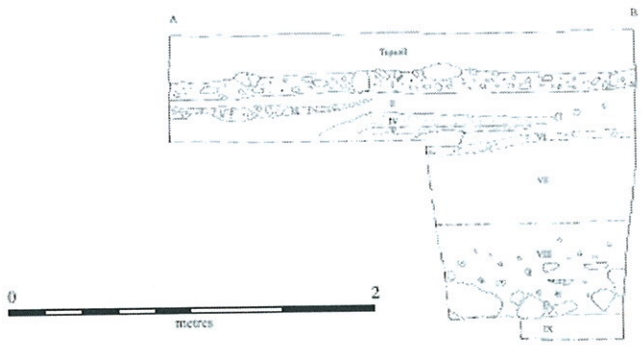


A B

Figure 17



First Floor Level



Floor Level

Figure 18

Two-storeys high with imitation ashlar-block rendering on its riverside frontage - whose vista would have been appreciated from the building's upper-storey porched doorway - the Slaving Company Headquarters clearly aspired to some architectural grandeur. Yet, it was also a 'compromised' or 'accumulative' edifice. Not only was it of phased construction (the eastern F. 33 range added to the western F. 30 *et al.* core), but also seems to have had multiple wall alignments by the incorporation of elements (wall F. 34) relating to the earlier building to the north (F. 35).

By its fabric, it is clear that, at least for the F. 33-build, its higher and well-finished upper-storey - elevated above any risk from flood levels - would have served for its reception and main living rooms, the lower ground-storey (which may have been partially cellared) presumably have held produce: both 'stuffs' and humans.

Of its architecture, as a result of only informally recording of the western elevation of the F. 30 wall, we cannot at this time fully detail the structural interaction of the rooms on both of its sides. What is, however, even more difficult to comprehend is what the northern 'end-finishing' of the F. 30 wall implies; it being without an possible lower-story continuation in either that direction or to the east. Its arrangement suggests that, at this point, it must somehow have facilitated both ground- and upper-story access into the eastern F. 30 range (i.e. the F. 33 extension) either *via* a 'high' west- or north-side entranceway.

Stream Course Observations

Up the former steam bed/trackway that flanks Sites I/III (itself being investigated by Trench I.A in 2006), immediately north of the Site I plot, the eastern terrace wall had been completely washed away over the last year and this revealed a continuous 50m section (fig. 19.A). This strikingly demonstrated the great depth of the stream-lain deposits, with the size of the boulders so-carried attesting to the high velocity of its flood action.

Generally, as exposed, the section was 2.20-3.00m deep; with the upper 0.75-.85m showing terrace-agricultural turning of soils (and this horizon includes the bases of extant terrace walls). Below this, the deposits essentially consisted of grey-brown sandy loams with distinct 'lines'/lenses of medium-large boulders and, also, smaller stones; also present were more uniformly distributed, 'small stone' matrices. Over the section's southern length, between 1.50-2.00m depth, was a flood horizon with moderate small-medium red roof tile fragments and in which a blue and yellow glazed tile (i.e. 'late style') was visible (fig. 19.B). At the northern end of this section was an additional out-washed exposure. This revealed deposits some 1.80m deeper, taking the total depth of the stream bed's exposure to *c.* 4.00m. These lower beds were extremely 'stone-crammed', and no cultural material was readily apparent within them.



A



B

Figure 19



A



B

Figure 20



A



B

Figure 21

Dona Rosalinda's House (Site IV)

In an effort to test-excavate close to the town's core, we obtained permission to dig within the footprint of the empty two-room house of one of Cidade Velha's oldest and most celebrated inhabitants, Dona Rosalinda (fig. 20.A). Located beside the Rosary Church, not only would this allow us to appraise the depth/intensity of the earlier strata within that area, but also provide an opportunity to investigate the fabric of one of the town's characteristically vernacular houses.

The House and its Fabric

The gable ends of the now roofless house - much of whose front wall has collapsed (as well as the internal dividing wall) - stand 3.55m high and the northern back wall, 2.05m (figs 20-22). This tworoom unit extends, in total, over *c.* 5 x 8.75m (externally). The larger western room (3.70 x 4.40m internally) had a central window in its gable end (with in-built cupboard shelves below), a pair of wooden-slat shelves set into its northwestern corner and was accessed by a narrow, central doorway, only 0.55m wide. There was interior connection to the eastern room (2.70 x 3.70m) *via* a 1.10m wide door; this small room having a very elaborate, in-built stone cupboard within its back wall (including, within it, 'pipe-like', complete circular tile settings, presumed to have held bottles).

The house's walls are some 0.60m wide and were bonded in clay-mud mortar (see below). It was essentially stone-built throughout and, apart from its now removed rafters (and other missing components; e.g. door frames), the only wood used were the heavy, bulk lintels above its windows and cupboards (and, also, its small, slat-shelves). Its fabric included much high quantity, reused dressed/moulded building stone, these were especially employed, 'quoin-like', within its corners and as door jambs. Otherwise, its build included large, rough-hewn basalt blocks (up to 0.20-.25 x .40-.60m), small/medium fragments of the same and, also, red roof tile pieces. Almost entirely whitewashcovered, the sheer quantity of the tile used is only really apparent in its 'bare' back exterior wall.

Apparently during the house's active span its front wall had collapsed and, above the 0.40m level, was entirely rebuilt (including the infilling of its original, 1.15m+ wide door, whose base and western side was observed into its earlier, lower fabric immediately west of its later entrance).

While the building (and the 'type' it is representative of) may seem quite small and relatively unelaborated (apart from its in-built cupboards), attention should be drawn to the fact that, typically, many activities - including food preparation and cooking - would have taken place within its rear yard. Today, many of the town's traditional houses (e.g. Dona Rosalinda family's new residence) variously have separate and connected building ranges behind them, which provide cover for these needs, as well as also storage and further sleeping accommodation.

On the 9th of April, Evans and Richter interviewed Dona Rosalinda concerning the house. She related that she had moved into it on her marriage in 1960, it having been in her husband's family since the time of his great-grandfather and that it was then more than 120 years old (i.e. before 1840). She had lived there with, in addition to herself and her husband, their 11 children. When asked if it was a nice place to live, she replied, 'yes, that it had been very vice, it had round red roof tiles, with the smaller bedroom on the right (with a window) and the living room - with a window and door - to the left' (in relationship to the street frontage). When, in relationship to its inbuilt cupboards and shelves, we asked what furniture they had, she quickly listed a bench, a table, six chairs, one double-bed and another for a child; they kept their clothes in a chest.

Interestingly enough, Dona Rosalinda had no idea that the house had originally been paved. Of its series of sand floors, she explained that it was resurfaced once a year, in December, and that it was then stamped in and levelled with a weight; the surface being wetted down daily. With the house deteriorating (rot having apparently got into its palm-wood roof rafters), in 1978 they built their new house immediately beside it (demolishing the thatched roof building that had stood there). Though its construction involved working with a professional mason and carpenters, it had apparently been

designed by her husband. As to the future of their old house (in which we excavated), Dona Rosalinda and her family now wish to have it rebuilt.

The Excavation

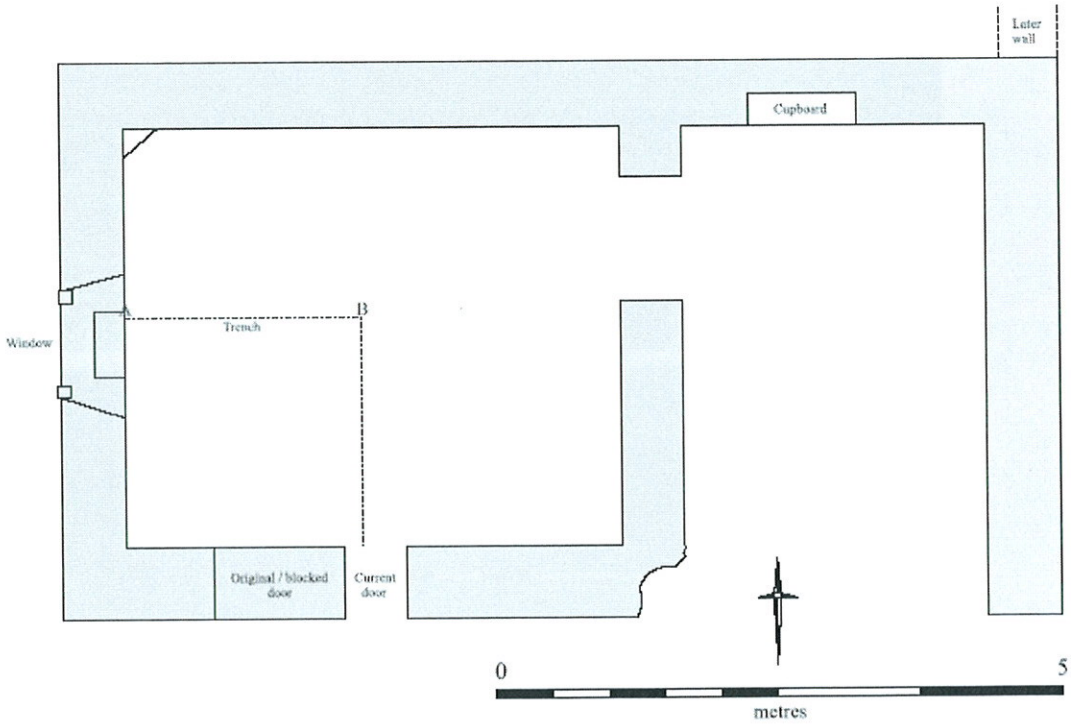
A 2 x 2.00m trench was dug in the southwest corner of the building and was excavated to a depth of *c.* 2.00m (fig. 22). In relationship to the extant interior ('soil') level, its walls were found to continue down for a further 0.55-.60m, at which point its foundation were reached; offset by only *c.* 0.10m on the gable side and, more markedly by 0.25-.40m, along the southern, street-front side.

Bedding upon a 0.10-.15m thick make-up layer of compacted mid-brown sandy silt (with pebbles, charcoal, tile and animal bone inclusions; rat burrowing was evident within it) that sealed the footings, was a stone paving (fig. 23.B). Consisting of small/medium slab-like stones, while not continuous, this was clearly the building's original floor. Laying across this was a 0.10m thick occupation horizon, a friable grey-brown sandy silt with extensive pebbles and much animal/fish bone. Above this level was a series of thin (c. 1.cm), stratified, fine yellow and grey/black sandy floor levels, some 0.10m thick in total (the uppermost, abandonment horizon consisted of 'dusty' grey sandy silt with tile and stone inclusions; fig. 23.A).

Upon achieving the houses' foundation level (and excavating its floor make-up layer), the loose, stone/tile rubble fill of a large pit (F. 26), 1.80m+ across, was apparent and this occupied most of the area of the trench (obliquely cutting across the face of its northern and southern sections; figs 22 & 23.C). Approximately 0.90m deep, this cut through a 1.50m thick layer of 'pure', water-lain dark grey silty clays, in which no finds and only few inclusions were present. (Our workmen remarked that this type of clay was used to bond the houses, and extraction for such purposes probably accounts for the F. 26 pit.). Due to safety concerns - and a complete lack of 'human occupation/intervention' evidence - the excavations here ceased on striking a horizon of dark grey/yellow water-lain ('beach-like') sand.

Aside from the existence of the building's paved floor, the 'story' of the upper quarter of the trench's sequence - with its series of sand floor levels - tallies well with Dona Rosalinda's account. The existence of its stone floor, moreover, attests to the 'purposeful formality' of the building's construction, and indicates that such houses should be counted as an act of 'architecture' in their own right and not just some form of 'make-do squatting' amid the town's ruins.

The most remarkable aspect of the sequence below the house's floor level is its simplicity and the lack of any cultural sequence. Particularly, that no earlier building/occupation evidence was forthcoming, only naturally laid clays and sands. The discovery of these deposits (which were extensively sampled for pollen and geomorphology), while suggesting that the town's occupation sequence or 'urban process' was not intense - at least within this immediate area - does, though, bode well for potential waterlogged preservation of deeper horizons within its core-area.


Later wall
Cupboard
A
B
Trench
Window
Original / blocked door
Current door
0
5
metres

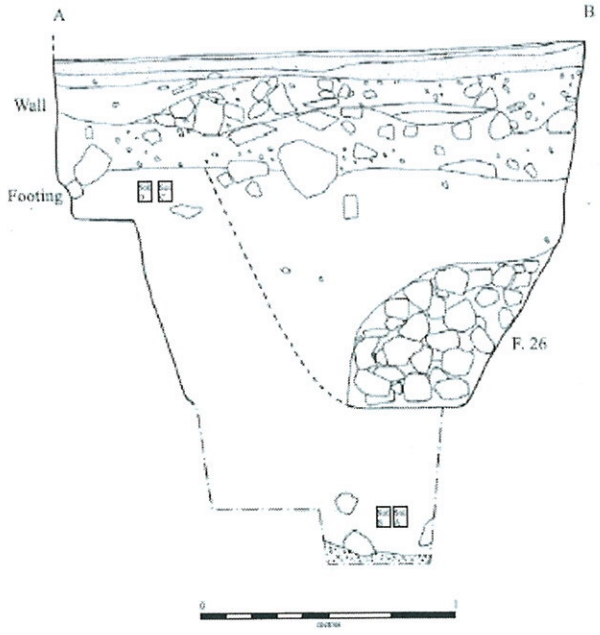

A
B
Wall
Footing
F. 26

Figure 22



A



B



C

Figure 23

Upper Plateau Survey (Sites V, VI, IX & X)

Close scrutiny of the vertical imagery obtained last year revealed a number of abandoned settlement sites upon along the upper length of the main valley. Probably of 19th/early 20th century date, unfortunately we were unable to inspect these during our spring fieldwork. However, closer at hand, west of the 'Triangular Fort' (Site VI; see below) the pictures also show a lynchet system whose rectilinear layout seems quite distinct from the contour-based curvilinear arrangement of the 1970s acaciaplanting ridges. This we were able to inspect and it did, indeed, prove to be an 'early' landscape allotment system, probably for pastoral control; it being, to the best of our knowledge, the first of its kind recognised on Cape Verde.

Its drystone cairn-like lynchets are 2.00-2.50m wide and stand 0.50-.75m high (fig. 25.B). Having a short length running parallel along the edge of the dry-river bed above the spring point west of the aforementioned fort, from that point its main boundary extends west for some 410m, at the end of which there is a 80 x 100m subrectangular enclosure on its northern side (fig. 24.1). Set into the latter's southwestern side (bordering a sub-square paddock) are two neighbouring *c.* 7 x 7.00m square, stone-heaped house plots (fig. 24.2). The moderate quantities of 18/19th century pottery recovered from that spot (mostly imported glazed wares; A. Hall pers com.) must date its usage.

From the southwestern corner of the main rectangular compound a matching lynchet arcs south-westward for some 200m, stopping at the next dry stream bed in that direction. The imagery suggests further house settings on the southern side at its end (fig. 24.3). Unfortunately, there was not time to visit and confirm these (nor the two/three other small, 'house-scale settings' that have been since distinguished within the immediate area; fig. 24.4 & .5).

Visited again this year, straddling the peninsular-like end of the plateau between the town's two deeply cut valleys (immediately above their junction), the Site VI 'Triangular Fort' was survey-inspected last year. Indicated on one of the 1770s maps, and as is apparent on the aerial imagery (figs 2.3 & 18), its wall runs for *c.* 90m. While it is interrupted by north-/landward projecting bastions, no gateway entrance appears within its length (fig. 25.A). The wall itself generally stands a metre high and is, approximately, also a metre thick. The tower-like bastions stand up to 2.00m, and both rectangular and triangular-topped cannon embrasure-openings occur within the wall itself.

Despite that no building ruins are visible within the fort's interior, much pottery (both glazed and handmade coarsewares) occurs there, especially near the wall. This suggests that either any ancillary structures were flimsy (e.g. its garrison camped up there, but did not have permanent barracks) or, alternatively, it was only manned on a daily basis, with its troops coming up each day from below. The evidence would suggest that this was essentially a landward defence, there being no gun emplacements facing seaward (nor no access out toward the north). Some 10.00m down the steep slope at the fort's 'apex', there is a *c.* 3.00m high, square, tower-like observation post. While we did not venture down to inspect it (though we must this in the future), it is presumed that a path must lead up on that side.

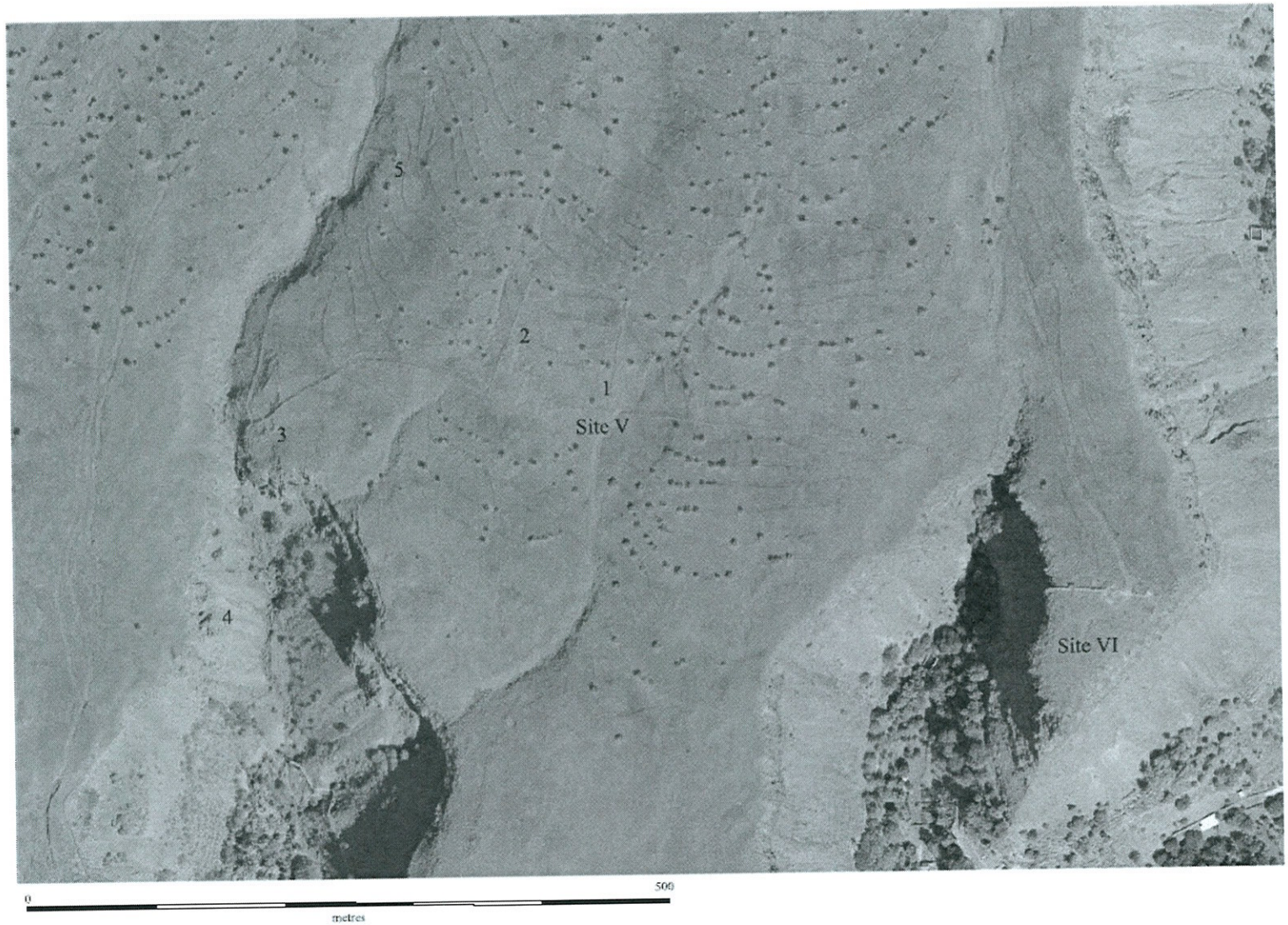


Figure 24



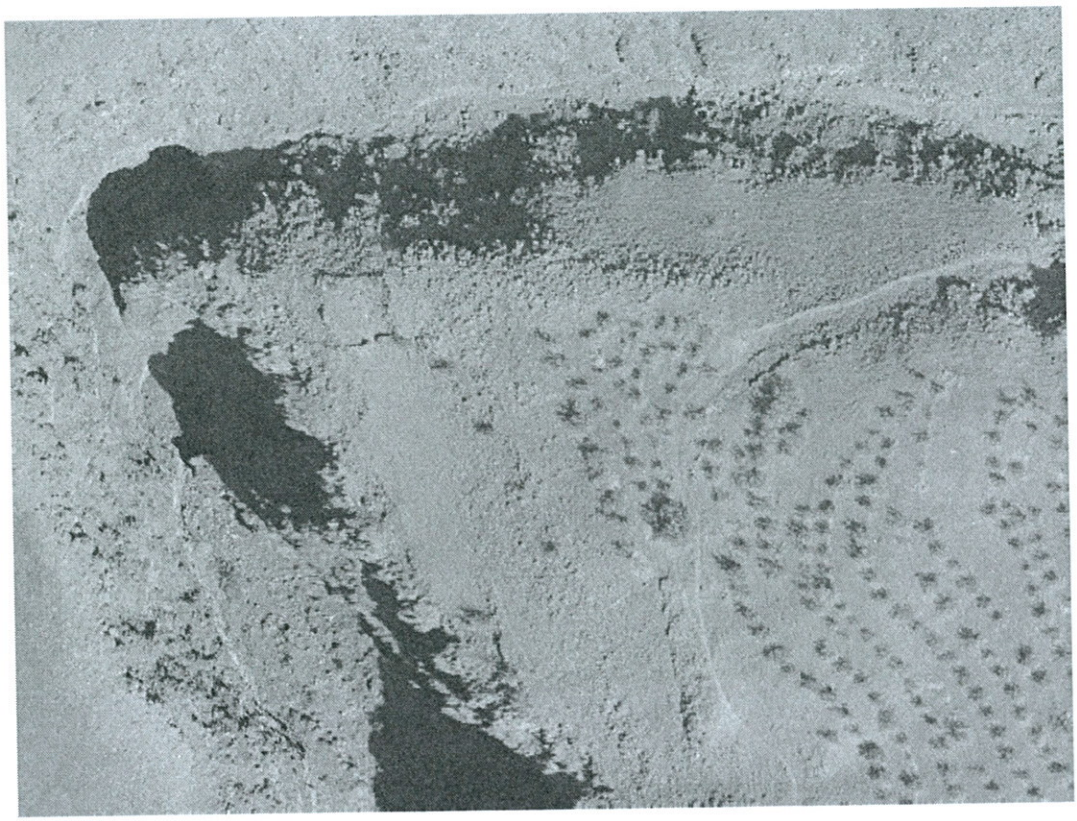
A



B

Figure 25

During our July fieldwork were travelled up to the upper reaches of the valley to inspect two potential 'sites' located upon the plateau, near its edge, north of Ma Parda (fig. 1). There, Site IX consists of a series of abandoned house plots and kraals perched close to the cliff-edge on the northern side of the valley up near that village itself (fig. 26); they divide into two main groups: A in the east and, B, towards the northwest. The buildings were of mud-mortared stone construction, with walls 0.65m thick. In both groupings house ruins still stood to their full gable-height, *c.* 2.50m.
The eastern group, A, setting consists of three house plots. Their buildings being, from east to west:
1) 4.60 x 7.60m
2) 4.60 x 5.50m, with a secondary extension on the eastern side, 4.50 x 6.70m
3) 4.60 x 9.90m (there is a smaller second unit sub-division in the western end).
Interestingly, in all three instances, the denuded rubble ruins (only *c.* 0.50m high) of the earlier phase of these buildings were apparent immediately before them (the house doorways all opening southwards).
The northwestern, B, grouping also comprises three house plots (fig. 27), with there being a *c.* 9-8.00m diameter (0.65m high) circular kraal at the northern end. The house within the southernmost setting (4.80 x 7.40m, with a 4.20 x 5.90m extension on its southern side) lay on the eastern side of a sub-square stone paddock/enclosure, which had minor structures attached to its western perimeter. The house of the 'middle plot' was 3.60 x 5.30m. The northernmost house setting (4.30 x 6.00m), like the southern, fell on the eastern side of a sub-ovoid kraal enclosure that had ancillary structures on its western side. Generally, this grouping was distinct from the eastern (A); not only for its kraal-enclosures, but that there was no evidence of any immediate/in-front rebuilding. This being said, in the case of the northern plot, two slight and obviously older, 'platform-like' house ruins lay *c.* 10-15.00m east of its kraal; the one that could be traced with any certainty being 6.10 x 7.70m.
Quantities of pottery were found at both groupings; essentially late 18th to 20th century 'china' and glass was present (pottery also being observed mixed within the buildings' mud mortar). In the absence of plastic, one presumes that this settlement was abandoned in either the late 19th or earlier 20th century. (Pigs are still penned in one of the Group A plots and it is clear that the ruins are visited and even thus utilised.) This was clearly a pastoral community, probably keeping goats up on the dry scrub-land of the plateau. The extraordinary thing about this settlement is that it would have been without any ready source of water; it could only have been obtained *via* a steep track down into the valley bottom, over 100m's below.



SITE X



SITE IX

Figure 26

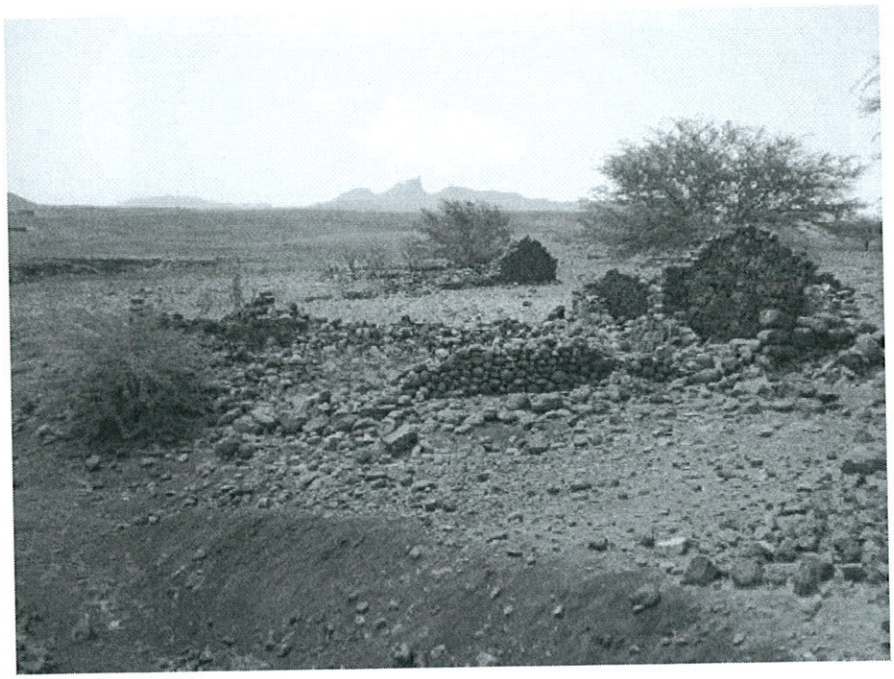




Figure 27





Figure 28

The Site X setting, perched at a marked bend of the river course at the head of the valley, proved different (figs 1 & 28). In the main, it consisted of a sub-square stone enclosure, 13.60m across; there is a 1.40m wide entranceway midway along its southern side. It is of drystone construction (i.e. without mud mortar) with walls 1.40m thick and which survive up to 1.35m high. The interior of its square has been levelled roughly flat, through the dumping of stones across its western half. Unusually, its wall construction involved the use of vertical-set slabs; thus far, we have not observed elsewhere on the island.

This same 'slab-technique' had also been used in a cist setting located some 10.00m in front of the enclosure proper (fig. 28). Measuring 1 x 4.00m, the interior of its 'box' is rubble-filled. Though looking quite tomb-like, the function of this setting is entirely unknown.

As to the site as a whole, while two/three 19th century 'china' sherds were present, their occurrence seems to be incidental and, essentially, the enclosure is without finds. All the available evidence suggests that the enclosure was 'old'. Given it strategic situation guarding the northward approach into the valley one would have thought a defensive role likely. Yet, due to the lack of lime-based mortar within its build (and paucity of finds), a 'Portuguese affiliation' seems improbable. One, therefore, presupposes that it was some form of stock enclosure (no buildings *per se* seem present) of some 'antiquity'; it someday could warrant further investigation.

Finds Assemblages and Economic Studies

The procedures established in 2006 were followed with regard to all aspects of finds recovery and recording (see 2006 report). In particular, the finds numbering was, as before, based on Site code (CDV 07), Trench code (I.D, I.E, I.F, I.G, III.A, III.B, or IV.A), and the context number. The context numbers were unique to the trench. The finds were divided into material categories (Bone, Clay, Glass, Ivory, Metal, Snail/shell, and Stone) with the number of objects and their weight measured for each context. Each category will be briefly discussed in the following, with more detailed specialist reports to follow.

Bones

A specialist analysis of the animal bones has been conducted by Dr K. Seetah, and the limited number of human bones have been analysed by Dr J. Wilson.

The amount of animal bone was considerably higher than in 2006 (1188 fragments *vs.* 9800g in 2006); this was in the main due to the amount recovered from Trench III.A (547, 46% of total) and IV.A (397, 33% of total), with animal bones from site I being found either outside the buildings (in Trench I.A) or in a few instances intermingled with human remains (Trench I.B). The difference is probably a reflection of these trenches representing sites that had different functions from the religious building(s) of Site I (bones were not recovered from Trench II in 2006 due to the pollution of the area); it is, however noteworthy that Trench III.A was even richer in animal bones than Trench IV.A. The high amount of animal bones in these two trenches suggests they were part of or close to areas of food preparation or consumption. The source of some of the remains in Trench IV.A may, however, be a bit ambiguous as the floor layers were made up of soil brought from elsewhere although one may assume that the soil was cleared of the most obvious and offensive debris before being spread out on the floor (Donna Rosalinda in her interview stated that the sand used for the floor was collected from the beach). We may therefore, tentatively, suggest that animal bones (and thus food remains) were found both inside domestic context (Trench IV.A) and outside them in open areas (Trench III.A) at a much higher frequency than inside the religious buildings (Trench I). Furthermore, the lack of animal bones in the post demolition layers of the religious buildings suggests that the in its later use the area remained separated from domestic activities.

While the characteristics of the human bone material, i.e. disarticulated bones with parts of different individuals mixed together, were similar to those of the human bones recovered in 2006, the number is considerably smaller with 164g (of which xxx teeth) in 2007 against 9800g (601 teeth) in 2006. Human bones were recovered in small numbers from Trench I.D (22 pieces), Trench I.E (25 pieces) with a few pieces from III.A (one piece), III.B (six pieces), and IV.A (five pieces). It is noticeable that while the numbers were small, they were found in several contexts in Trench I.D and I.E rather than just in one location, suggesting the 'bone layer' found in 2006 extended into these trenches at the level of contexts [91-98] and [65-69] respectively; it is, however, possible that the 18 bones from [103] in Trench I.D were from a single grave cut.

For a more detailed quantitative breakdown of the animal and human bones see Appendix A, Table 1 and 2.

Clay

Objects of clay were almost exclusively tiles or pottery sherds, with seventeen pipe fragments being the only exception. Only glazed tiles were recorded. The coarse categorisation of the pottery was based on a simple division between glazed and unglazed pottery with specialist reports on both types forthcoming. In terms of types, it should be mentioned that a number of distinct coarse ware sherds, probably of local or west African origin, were found.

Pipes - 17 pieces of clay pipes were found. With the exception of one black pipe stem, these were all while clay pipes and all were of European origin. The limited number does not allow statistical analysis, but it should be noted that the majority were found in Trench III.A (ten pieces) with another four from Trench IV.A, this augments the impression of these sites being different in character to Site I. Further characterisation and dating of the clay pipes are provided in the specialist report by Craig Cessford, and further quantitative breakdown is given in Appendix A, Table 3.

Pottery - During the initial recording the pottery was divided into glazed, unglazed, porcelain, and stoneware. The objectives of the pottery analysis are to 1) produce numerical comparison between sites and trenches, and 2) characterise the various types of pottery present, and the activities and contacts suggested by them. The former of these aims will be considered here, while the latter will be the focus of the specialist reports.

Glazed Pottery - as detailed in the specialist report, glazed pottery covers a wide range of types from coarse earthenware with yellow or green glazes to refined earthenware with different types of glazes and decorative motives. Here the glazed pottery will, however, be treated as a single class as they can be differentiated from the unglazed sherds. A total of 377 glazed pottery sherds were found (3099g), in comparison 173 were recovered in 2006. Although the glazed sherds are not evenly distributed between the different areas most trenches had some sherds in this category, and fragments of glazed pottery clearly occur in a number of different contexts. The very high numbers in III.A and even higher in IV.A should be noted as it supports the suggestion that these areas were used differently to Site I. The mean sherd weight does not, however, show a similar pattern suggesting that the differences between the trenches are not due to different post depositional activities. For the quantitative analysis see Appendix A, Table 4.

Unglazed Pottery – the category of unglazed pottery similarly includes a wide range of forms ranging from hand built coarseware to amphorae. A total of 291 sherds were recovered (4917g), this compares with 201 (3887g) recovered in 2006. The sherds are more evenly distributed between the trenches than was the case for glazed pottery and there is less differences between the numbers of sherds recovered. Trench III.A had the largest number of sherds, while the number in IV.A (which had an

exceptional high number of glazed sherds) was average. Further details are provided in Appendix A, Table 5.

Comparison between glazed and unglazed sherds suggests that Trench IV.A is considerably different from the other trenches; it is the only trench in which glazed pottery dominate (80:20%)[1], and it contains a larger amount of pottery than any other trench. The composition of the material in Trench IV.A suggests that it was mainly domestic fine ware that became integrated in the matrix of the floor. In all the trenches of site I and III (apart from I.A) unglazed pottery dominates, as was also observed in 2006, while glazed pottery dominates on site II and IV. However, as different volumes of soil were removed from the different trenches too much emphasis should not be put on direct comparison at this stage of the exploration of Cidade Velha. The differences in absolute amounts and in the relative proportion of glazed and unglazed pottery within each trench do, however, suggest that pottery is not evenly distributed throughout the sites, and that there were layers/fills with higher than average amounts; as these may represent specific episodes of activities the project should continue to record the quantitative pottery data in details and make comparisons between sites, trenches and contexts. For further quantitative details see Appendix A, Table 6 and 7.

Porcelain - Nine pieces of porcelain were found (four of these appear to be from the same vessel); there were one piece each from Trench I.D and I.E, five pieces from Trench III.A and two from Trench IV.A. This compares with six sherds of porcelain from Trench I.A and I.B in 2006. The number overall for the two seasons is small (15 sherds), but it should nonetheless be noted that they so far have mainly been found outside the area of the religious buildings (10 outside: 5 inside).

Stoneware - Four pieces of stoneware were found, compared with two in 2006.

Tiles - A large amount of decorated wall tiles were found and recorded: 1548 pieces, 77242g. Three basic types have been identified, corresponding to the types found in 2006. They were: *Blue-yellow and white decorated tiles* (16th-17th century), *monochrome green tiles* (probably mainly 1550-1600 A.D), and *deep-relief tiles* (15-16th century). In addition, there were two fragments of unusual tiles.

Blue-yellow and white decorated tiles - The majority (app. 99%) of the tiles were 16th-17th century blue-yellow and white tiles including carpet tiles, various borders, and one with a human figure (Trench I.E), see fig. 29. The decorative style of the square wall tiles were the same as the majority found in 2006. The pattern is non-geometric being composed of lively free-hand swirling compositions and flowery patterns of vinery lines and leaves drawn in blue and orange/yellow with blue and orange/yellow borders on a while background. The execution of the drawings is only of a medium quality.

The 'carpet-tiles', narrow rectangular rather than square tiles placed as the bottom border of a tiled wall, were also similar to those of 2006 (having orange/yellow rhombic and circular patterns with a blue dot marking the centre and loosely conveying a sense of fruits, between bands of blue and yellow), but also added a type with a band of alternating yellow and blue triangles. Tiles were found *in situ* at the 'altar' in Trench I.E showing their position on the wall.

[1] The coarse sampling used in Trench I.F means the numbers from that trench are unreliable for absolute comparisons.

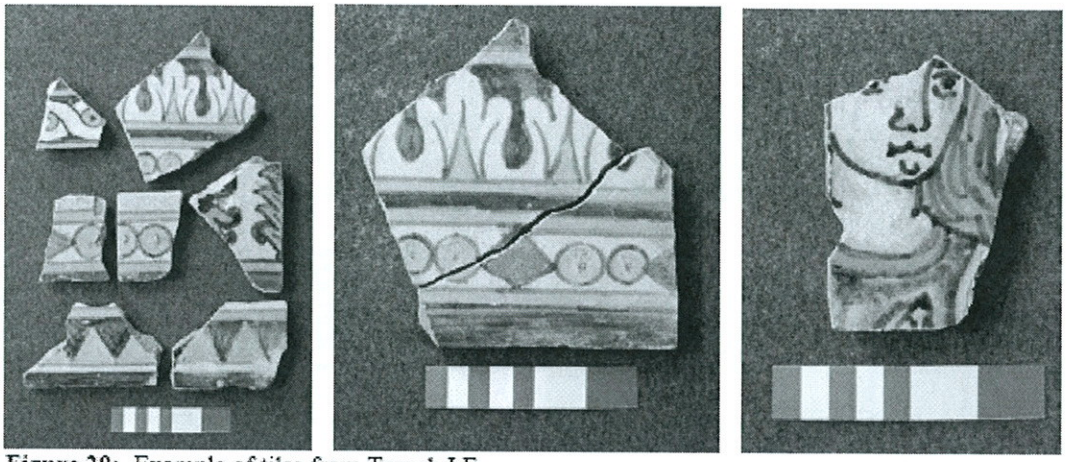
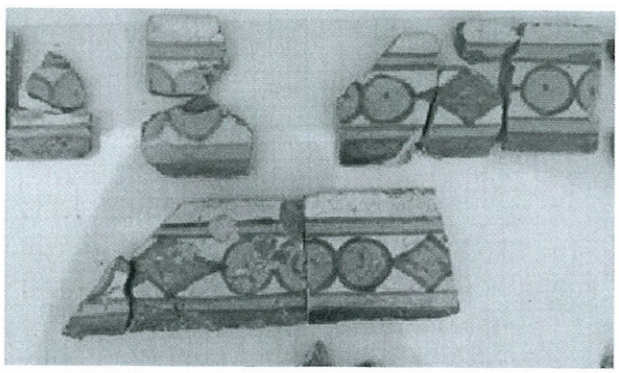


Figure 29:. Example of tiles from Trench I.E

The carpet tiles found *in situ* were of similar design to those also found *in situ* in 2006 in Trench IB and found dismantled in Trench I.C (see fig. 30).



Figure 30: *In situ* tiles from Trench I.E (left) and Trench IB (below, bottom row) and tiles from Trench IC (below, top row)

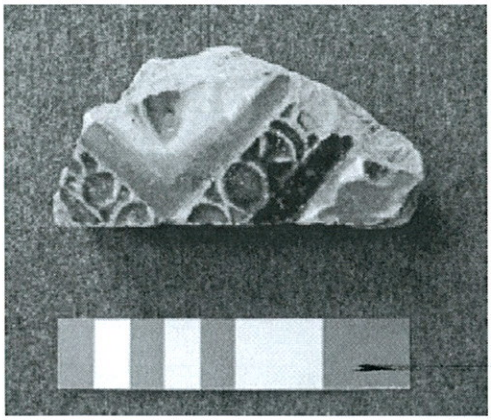


So far, the same decorative scheme has been found on substantial numbers of tiles from Trench B, C, D and E including identical carpet tiles; these tiles were probably all used within the same building. The tiles found on Site II (and III and IV), although mostly of a similar style, were not consistently of the same type. The number and weight of decorated tiles vary considerable between the trenches as can be seen in Appendix A, Table 8.

Monochrome Green Tiles - Two pieces of monochrome green tiles were found in Trench I.D. It is presumed they were of 16th century date.

Relief-cut Tiles (15-16th century) - Tiles with deep-cut relief patterns are diagnostic of the 15th-16th century, and are know as 'Moorish' types. Such tiles have been found in Cidade Velha, although they are more rare than the blue-yellow and white ones. 11 examples were found in 2006, two from Site I and nine from Site II. It is therefore interesting that another ten were found in 2007, although it should

be noted that the relief tiles recovered so far do not all have identical motives. There are, however, a number of tiles from this group with apparently similar decorative schemes found in Trench I.D and I.E (see fig. 31).



I.D [92]



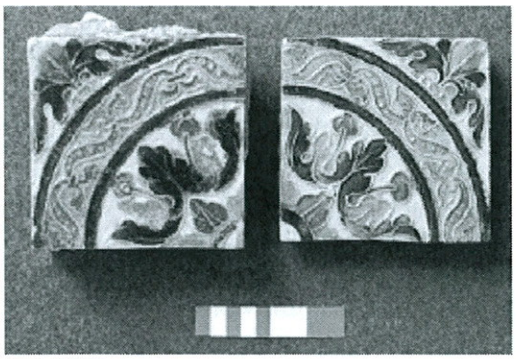
I.G [121]



I.E [63]



I.E [101]



I.D [93]

Figure 31: Relief tiles with similar motives from Trench I.D and I.E.

Meanwhile, since the location of these tiles may be indicative of earlier structures underlying or destroyed by the excavated ones, it is important to provide full details of their contexts:

Site	Context	Number	Weight (g)	Comment
ID	92	1	122	Relief pattern
ID	93	2	1000	Two complete tiles 'Moorish' type
IE	63	3	150	Fragments
IE	102	2	500	'Moorish'
IG	121	2	120	Relief pattern

Figure 4. The details for the relief tiles found in 2007

When added to the distribution of early tiles recorded in 2006 a pattern begins to emerge that may be suggestive of the earliest buildings, see figure 5.

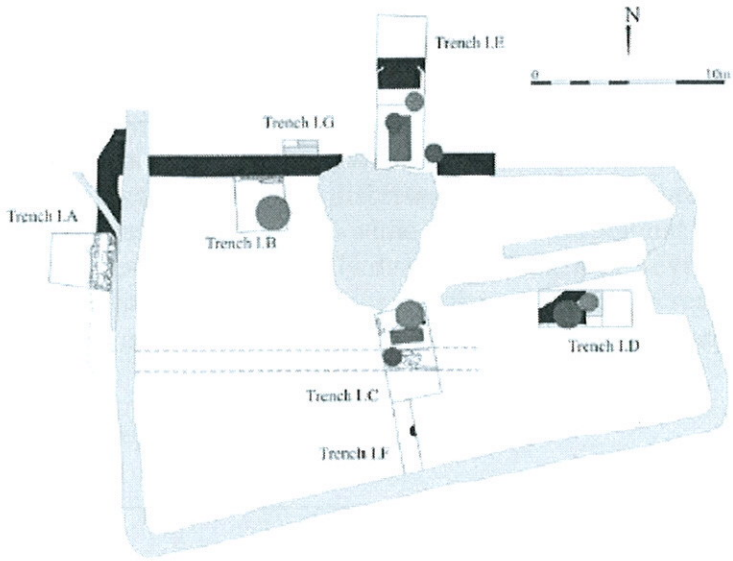


Figure 32. Red dots = location of relief tiles (app. 1500 A.D), green dots =location of monochrome green tiles (app. 1550-1600 A.D). Size of dot indicates the amount of tile found.

Variation in the average weight of single fragments of tiles was in 2006 seen as a possible indicator of differences between the trenches in terms of demolition and post-demolition activities. It was also suggested that a 'horizon' with large amount of less fragmented tiles could be identified and may represent a demolition phase. This was observed particularly clearly in Trench I.B, see fig. 5a, as its simple stratigraphy means its contexts numbers correspond to vertical sequence. Comparison of the distribution of tiles from the different contexts of Trench I.B and I.E, see fig. 5a and b, shows clear peaks in the weight of tiles within each trench suggesting that they relate to a distinct period of demolition, as also observed in the excavated stratigraphy.

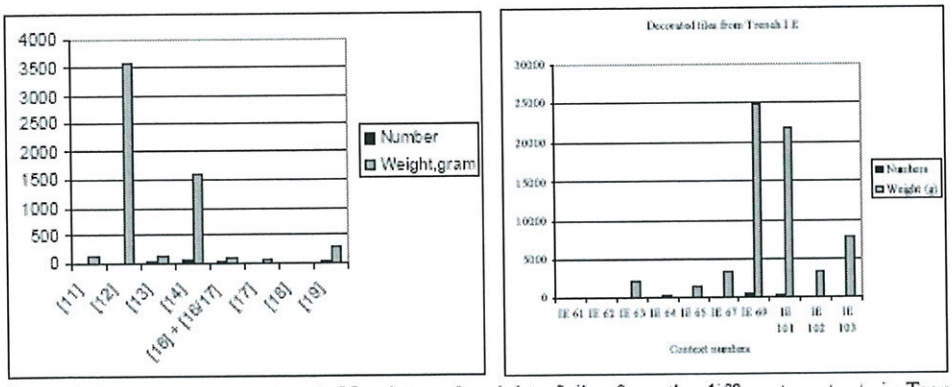


Figure 33a (left) and **33b** (right): Number and weight of tiles from the different contexts in Trench I.B (left) and Trench I.E (right)

When all context within Site I are compared (see fig. 34), this becomes even more apparent and the pattern emerging suggest i) that the accumulation of considerable amount of decorated tiles took place as a discrete event (demolition) resulting in a horizon with high numbers of tiles, and ii) while a peak in the amount of tiles can be observed in most trenches, this is especially distinct in Trench I.E (even if differences in soil volume is taken into account). This support the interpretation reached during excavation, and also suggests that major disturbance of these demolition layers has not taken place later.

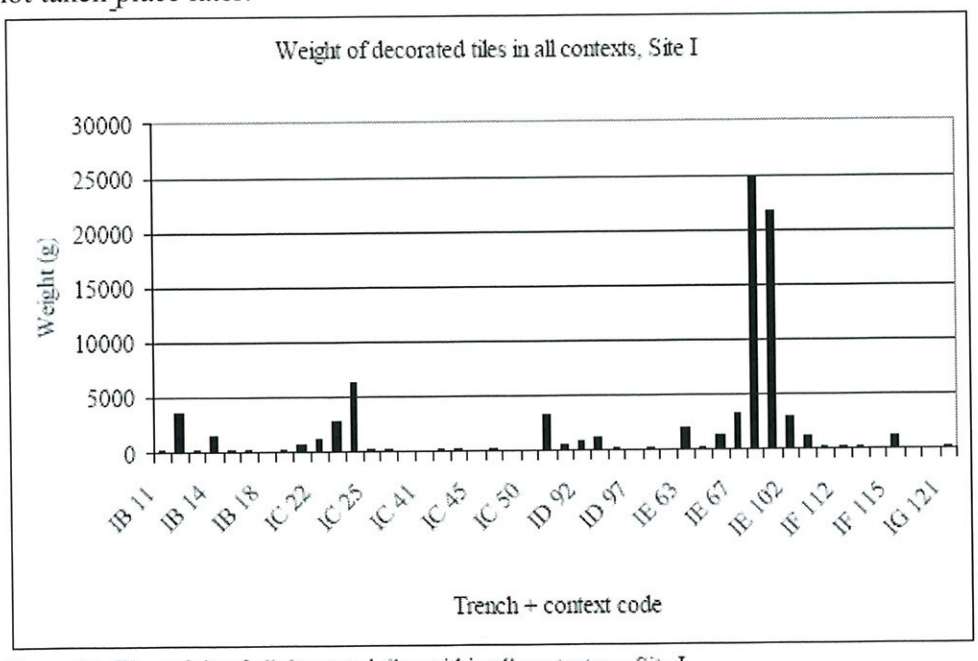


Figure 34: The weight of all decorated tiles within all contexts on Site I

Glass

While the number of glass was relatively small, 53 pieces, it nonetheless was a more distinct component than in 2006 when only seven pieces were found. It was interesting that some of the pieces seemed to have been from window glass (dark green, flat pieces), Trench IE and IIIA had particularly high numbers of glass, 17 and

21 pieces respectively, and both trenches had window glass. The remainders of the glass were from different types of dark-green or transparent glass bottles.

Ivory

In contrast to CV06, where the find record consisted of 27 beads, only two were found in 2007. Both were pale beige round bone or ivory objects, one slightly flat and the other rotund and decorated with lines.

Metal

A total of 82 metal objects (mainly iron but including six of bronze) were found; most had no diagnostic value in terms of type or date. This compares to 53 found in 2006. While this includes 51 iron nails similar to those from 2006, the range of types was considerable wider and included a number of modern objects, such as a contemporary coin and an iron tube. The iron nails were widely distributed and occurred in most trenches with the highest numbers being found in Trench III.A and IV.A. It is interesting to note that the nails in both Trench I.D and I.E occurred at the same levels as the human bones, this suggests (as was argued in 2006) that they may be the remains of decayed coffins. Two interesting pieces of metal found in Trench I.E should be mentioned, one is an app. 1m long iron bar, which could be from a window, and the other is a fragment of led that is possible part of the led mounting used in a stained window; this fits with the window glass found in Trench I.E.

Snail/shell

A total of 42 shells/shellfish were collected; this was based on normal excavation procedures rather than sieving or hand sorting. They all appear to be sea rather than land shells, and the species are dominated by limpets, with a few (one from I.D and otherwise from IV.A) edible shells such as oysters and shellfish). In contrast to the CV06 sample which was typical from brackish water, the material from CV07 was more mixed with some examples (from IVA) from deeper salt water. The presence of shells may thus be due both to diet (reflected by their dominance in IV.A) and as by products from rocks collected from the seafront (limpets).

Stone

While a large number of stones were recovered during the excavations, including potential vaulting fragments and tombstones (see separate report for the tombstones), none were included amongst the small finds.

Conclusions

The various dimensions of the finds (weight, distribution, character, *etc.*) confirm and add details to the interpretation of the sequence arising from the excavation. In particular the finds help to augment the sense of difference between the sites. On one hand, the finds clearly separate Site I from the other sites through the much higher amount of decorated tiles (and their location in a distinct demolition horizon) and much less animal bones and clay pipes. On the other hand, the finds also articulate some differences between Trench III.A and IV.A with the latter being the only site in which glazed pottery totally dominates the assemblage. The finds also document the presence of local as well as foreign materials. The dates are mainly 17th century with many later finds from Donna Rosalinda's house (Trench IV.A). A few finds (tiles) of earlier, 15th- early 16th century, date were also recovered; these were distributed in the same areas of Site I as the early tiles found in 2006. The handmade, decorated 'Africaine' sherds was a distinct component of the coarse ware but further research is needed before any conclusions on date and origins can be reached.

The characterisation of different parts of the archaeological zones of Cidade Velha is an important part of the excavation strategy being pursued, and the small finds will play an important role in this task.

Glazed Pottery Andrew Hall

Site I

A total of 50 sherds of glazed ceramic vessels were recovered from the excavated contexts within three trenches (I.D, I.E, I.F). This excludes the pottery *Africane* that is discussed elsewhere. The average sherd weight for this group is 4.9g, with the majority of the sherds being heavily worn and rolled. The condition of the sherds is comparable to that of the assemblage recovered from the neighbouring 2006 trenches, both in terms of sherd size, weight and wear, suggesting considerable reworkingredeposition

of the material within the site area. This is supported by the mixed nature of many of the context groups, with several containing ceramics from the 17th to 19th centuries. One difference between the 2006 and 2007 assemblages is the number of sherds recovered; 152 sherds in 2006, three times as many as in 2007, yet from the same number of trenches. This could be explained by the positioning of the 2007 trenches within the structure itself, perhaps less likely to be a dumping ground for refuse. The ecclesiastical context of the site also goes some way to explaining the relative lack of ceramics within the excavated contexts, especially when compared to the much larger domestic group from site IV.

As with the 2006 assemblage, the material is dominated by sherds of Iberian tinglazed wares (26 sherds; 52% by sherd count). These have cobalt blue decoration on a white ground, with a smaller proportion decorated in cobalt blue with manganese. With such a small and fragmented assemblage, reconstruction of individual vessel forms is very difficult, although the presence of flatwares such as dishes and plates can be proposed with some degree of confidence. Production of these wares peaked

during the first half of the 17th century (Hurst *et al.* 1986), with manufacture and export continuing into the later 17th and early 18th centuries. These Iberian tin glazed wares were made to compete within the European and colonial markets against imported later 16th-17th century Ming period *Kraak Porcelaine* from China. A single sherd of this ware is present, as is another sherd from a bowl or vase of the subsequent Kangxi period (1662-1722). Later mass produced northern European wares including several sherds (12; 24%) of Cream ware, and feather edged Pearl ware plates from the early 19th century, were recovered in association with the earlier material. Two sherds of later 19th century refined white earthenware were also retrieved.

Various coarseware sherds (8; 16%) are recorded. As with the 2006 assemblage, within this category are sherds of earthenware with a red-orange fabric with micacious inclusions, and a green lead glaze. Hurst suggests this could be Merida-Type Ware from the Alentejo region of Portugal, produced in the 17th century. It is recorded from other East African sites (Hurst et al 1989). Other coarsewares include red-orange and buff fabric vessels with clear lead glaze. A small bowl is the only recognisable form.

Site II

This assemblage consisted of 97 sherds from two excavated trenches (III.A and III.B). As with Site I, the sherds are heavily worn. An average sherd weight of 10.0g may indicate different post-depositional factors, but most likely this relates to a higher percentage of the larger courseware sherds within the group. Again the group largely consists of 17th century Portuguese tin-glazed wares of similar type to those witnessed from Site I (52 sherds; 54%). Of note is a large vessel with a single foot and a plain white glaze, reminiscent of an amphora base. A dish with a concave base is also present. A possible sherd of mid 18th English or Dutch delft is noted, with blue and purple decoration. Chinese porcelain of the 18th century is represented by six sherds (7%). Late 18th – early 19th century Cream ware sherds and two sherds of refined white earthenware are mixed throughout several of the contexts. Two contexts, [72 and 73] from Tr. III.A and the three contexts from III.B lack any of this later material. The proportion of coarse glazed earthenwares is slightly higher than Site I, 30% as opposed to 16% by sherd count. However, the range of coarsewares is very similar, with several thick body sherds with green lead glaze. There is also the rim of an amphora type vessel in a sandy buff fabric, with a clear internal glaze. Other buff and red–orange fabrics are present, often glazed or covered in a white slip. A single sherd with a red fabric and dark green glaze to the exterior and a lighter green glaze to the interior, is similar to 16th-17th century ceramics from eastern England. However, this may well be a later product from elsewhere.

Site IV

The results from the excavation at Site IV are recorded within the table below.

Context	101	103	104	105	106a	106b	107	108	109	111
Refined white earthenware (RWE)	1	14	2		4	1	1			
Cream ware		7	14	4			1			
Pearl ware		4	3	4	3		1			
Staffordshire Salt glazed stoneware						1				
Chinese export porcelain					1				1	
English Dutch tin glaze	1			1						
Iberian tin glaze		8	3	2	17	7	13	35	16	20
German stoneware		3	1							
Glazed red or buff earthenwares	1	3		3	8	2	6	7	7	4
misc									1	

Table 2: Ceramic assemblage from Site VI.A (number of sherds)

The ceramics represented are all similar in type and range to those witnessed from Sites I and III. The total number of sherds retrieved (237) demonstrates a much higher frequency of material than encountered at the other sites, especially as only a single trench was excavated. The domestic nature of this site, and the length of occupation must be important factors in determining the density of the finds.

The table demonstrates a clear chronological sequence of ceramic deposition. The uppermost contexts [101-105] include a large proportion of later 18th and 19th century Cream wares, Pearl wares and RWE in association with residual earlier sherds of Iberian tin glaze and coarsewares. Below these layers, contexts [106-107] have far more early material, 47 sherds of 17th century material against 11 sherds of 19th. This may represent some later disturbance of intact 17th - 18th century horizons leading to the incorporation of the later wares. Layers [108-111] are clearly of 17th century date, with no intrusive material. The group of tin glazed wares from [108] includes some fresh looking sherds, and a few large fragments of dishes, which may suggest this material has not strayed too far form its original point of deposition. Also of interest is what is missing from this sequence. There does appear to be a chronological gap within the ceramics, suggesting perhaps a hiatus of occupation during the 18th century.

The need for more detailed interrogation of these assemblages is clear. As stated in the 2006 report this should include research on the Iberian tin glazed ceramics, including identification of production centres and issues of chronological development of decorative styles. In addition, there is a real need for the comparison of these assemblages with those held within museum collections (especially from dated shipwrecks).

Clay Pipe Craig Cessford

The small assemblage of clay pipe fragments from the 2007 season was examined. There were nine pieces weighing a total of 18g. The presence of clay tobacco pipe fragments in a context indicates a date of the late 16th to early 20th centuries (c. 1580-1910).

IIIA [073] - A bowl fragment, finely polished and with signs of use. The high degree of finishing suggests a Dutch origin and the size of the fragment indicates an 18th or 19th century date. Weight 1g.

IIIA (unstratified) - Two stem fragments, both with stamped decoration. One has the makers mark IH GOUDA running across the breadth of the stem, with just the beginning of decoration above the name. The initials IH are thicker and less well executed than the place name GOUDA, indicating that the stamp was probably created in two stages. The place name would be the first element, probably produced *en masse*, and then initials executed as required. The nature of the makers mark suggests an 18th or 19th century date and could probably be identified with a particular maker through further research (Duco 2003). One potential complicating factor is that the GOUDA mark was widely copied by pipe makers working elsewhere in Europe. The other has simple mould-imparted decoration running across the breadth of the stem. Weight 4g.
IVA [073] - A stem fragment and one bowl fragment; the bowl fragment shows signs of use, is finely polished and has a milled rim. The high degree of finishing suggests a Dutch origin and the size of the bowl fragment suggest an 18th or 19th century date. Weight 3g.
IVA [104] - Two joining stem fragments with incomplete stamped makers mark W·MORGA[] in rectangle running along the length of the stem. This is probably a British product and the nature of the makers mark suggests a late 18th or more probably 19th century date. Oswald (1975) lists a number of makers of the appropriate date named William Morgan; the most likely candidates based on geographical location were working in London (1867) and Liverpool (1803), although there are other possibilities. Further research on makers marks might potentially identify a specific maker. Weight 6g.
IVA [111] - A stem fragment with stamped decoration in the form of a single row of diamonds (two present) containing single *fleur de lys*. This piece could be of either Dutch or British origin. Although it may be later, a 17th century date is likely. Weight 2g.
IE [064] - A stem fragment with part of a heel/spur and beginning of flare for bowl. The stem has frequent parallel lines on it that are probably a form of deliberate decoration. Weight 2g.

Although a small group, the material is of some interest mainly due to the presence of several makers' marks and decoration, and spans the 17th to 19th centuries. The stem marked IH GOUDA is probably of Dutch origin and most of the rest of the material, with the exception of the W·MORGA[] which is British, is also probably of Dutch origin.

Faunal Remains - Krish Seetah

An assemblage of animal bones was recovered from six trenches following archaeological investigations in April 2007. The recovered remains were studied within a restricted time frame and it was only possible to analyse the assemblage to the level of species present. Despite this, it has been possible to construct a broad view of faunal exploitation for the localised region illustrating which species formed part of the diet. The results hold considerable promise for more focused and systematic analyses in the future with the potential to contribute to a clearer understanding of past environmental conditions as well as socio-economic attitudes to animals and their exploitation.

The assemblage was recovered by hand and totalled 1207 fragments, of these 607 fragments were identified to element (50%) and 257 (21%) further identified to species. The identified fragment count included 31 human bones that have been discounted from further analysis or interpretation, as these will be reported elsewhere (giving a total of 226 identified animal bones). Table 3, below, shows the distribution of animal finds across the excavated areas and demonstrates that two of the trenches, III.A and IV.A, were particularly fruitful for faunal remains.

Table 3: NISP counts per trench

Trench	NISP (Total)	NISP (%)
ID	121	10
IE	101	8
IF	19	1.6
IIIA	561	46
IIIB	8	0.6
IVA	397	33

Of the identifiable elements, cow dominated the assemblage accounting for 119 fragments (46%; Table 4). Although the versatile nature of this species would support both its economic and nutritional significance, this figure should be taken with caution. As time did not permit full zooarchaeological analyses the species estimates have been based on fragment counts; this is not the ideal situation and future research will be based on a more complete interpretation of skeletal portions present as well as species frequency. Cattle were undoubtedly of importance both as beasts of burden and for meat. However, as a source of nutrition, they would probably have been secondary to the smaller domesticates which potentially provides an interesting point of departure for future investigations.

Table 4: NISP counts per species

Species	NISP (Total)	NISP (%)
Cow	119	46
Ovicaprids	28	10
Pig	50	19
Bird	22	8.5
Dog	5	2
Rat	1	0.4
Equid	1	0.4

In contrast to what might be expected both from the contemporary environment, and from observations of modern husbandry practices, pig bones (50 fragments accounting for 23% of the identified total) were recovered in almost double the quantity of ovicaprid (sheep or goat) bones (28 fragments; 12% of total NISP count). While ovicaprid bones are notoriously difficult to distinguish, at least one 'definite goat' mandible was recovered. With more systematic analysis the proportion of distinct goat elements should be augmented if we are to assume that the present-day local environment is a suitable proxy for the past. The region is particularly suitable for this species. If this is not borne out with future archaeological investigations we may have a good indication of a markedly different environment in the historic past, potentially providing useful data to complement primary sources of environmental analysis such as archaeobotanical and micromorphological investigations. One equid bone, a lateral metapodial, was also recovered and would indicate that aside from cattle either horse or donkey were also used as beasts of burden. Unfortunately, this element is not suitable for estimating withers height and it was not possible to establish with more certainty whether this bone indicates the presence of horse or donkey.

Of the bird bones that could be identified to species all were from chicken. As discussed above, this would fit a pattern of exploitation focused on smaller domestic species probably on a small scale, 'household level' mode of husbandry. Fish (250

fragments) were also important but have not been included in the above proportions as no elements were identifiable to species. As the local region is coastal the fish bones would almost certainly have been from salt-water species. However, this once again demonstrates the need for future research: in this case to identify the types of fish being exploited and whether these could be caught from the coastline or from deeper waters. This would give an important indicator of the types of technologies developed by, and available too, local fishermen as well as the level of complexity associated with fishing activities to exploit marine resources.

A small mammal find of a rat pelvis is not surprising; this commensal species would have taken advantage of household waste. Small mammals are often considered an important indicator of localised environmental conditions. However, the importance of small mammals for an island enclave such as Cape Verde should not be underestimated as baseline data detailing extant species *prior* to colonisation is totally absent. This would provide valuable information regarding the implications of environmental transitions (observed for example in changing micro-fauna populations) following colonisation.

One of the trenches does merit further separation and discussion. Trench IV.A, excavated in order to study early modern activity, was an interesting location as it was the former dwelling of a local elder: Dona Rosalinda. The material from this trench followed the underlying trend observed for the site as a whole. Of the 397 bones recovered 159 (40%) were identified to species and showed a predominance of cattle (65 fragments; 41%), followed by pig (24; 16%), bird (14; 9%) and ovicaprid (8; 5%). Fish were also clearly of considerable importance (48; 31%), although in the absence of systematic sieving and flotation we are probably underestimating the significance of this resource. It is interesting to observe this parallel between earlier and more recent animal exploitation; the environment and locally available faunal resources have resulted a degree of continuity. However, we are at present unable to appraise the finer details of this connection. Whilst the species representation may show a link, it would be interesting to observe whether the parts of the animal forming the diet show a greater degree of variation through time.

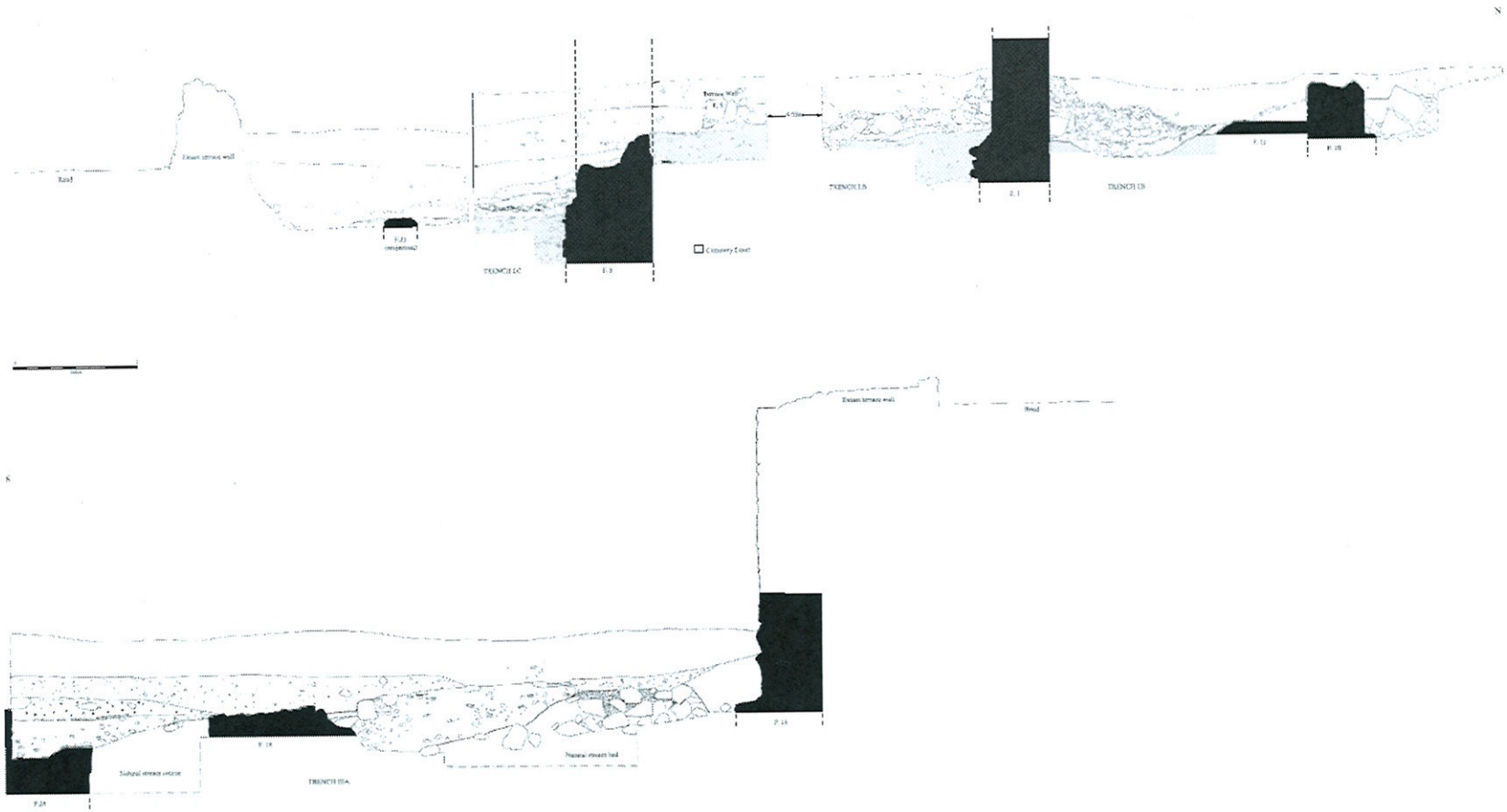


Figure 35 (see Figure 3 for location)

Concluding Discussion

This year's Site I excavation, especially the work within Trench I.E, certainly demonstrated the quality and robust scale of the church there. As discussed above, based on the attribution of the three tombstones now thus far recovered within it, we have had to reappraise its dating, assigning it to the first half of the 16th century. This, effectively, shortens the duration of the primary-base cemetery sealed by its floor, and has major implications concerning the intensity of its interment-sequence and what this must tell of mortality rates within the early town (and the number of Christians it included *viz.* its converted slave populace). While the lowest/earliest masonry observed within Trench I.D is a possible candidate for relating to any cemetery contemporary
ecclesiastical building, where this early chapel actually lay has not yet been answered with certainty.

With its construction probably involving a degree of terrace down-cutting at the foot of the valley-side slope, we can feel confident that it was, indeed, the Jesuit Seminary that we exposed within the Site III trenches. This being said, the relatively poor quality of its masonry would suggest that it was a 'functional' building and not 'prestige architecture'.

Relative to the valley-side slope, within the Site III trenches we have now descended to the 'plain' level of the town generally. The shallowness of the stratigraphic sequence there, further suggests that - aside, perhaps, from its waterfront 'core' proper - the town's strata is not very deep. This observation could find confirmation in the paucity of archaeology exposed beneath Dona Rosalinda's house. Though the clay beds struck there bode well for possible waterlogged preservation of the town's early, seaside core, the evidence is beginning to suggest that, as a whole, the settlement did not witness a particularly intense 'urban process'.

The evidence of Site IV's trench might indicate that the 'lower level' town was, in fact, quite a late foundation. Its water-lain basal clays could suggest that this area was only developed when the stream courses were dammed/regulated, and dates no earlier than approximately the 18th century. In which case, the buildings of the earlier, Late Medieval town could conceivably have been restricted to the areas of stoneoutcropping along the sides of the main valley (including, evidently, the stone-strewn former stream beds in the area of the Conception Church and the Seminary), the southeastern hill-top around the cathedral (and below the fort) and, otherwise, the southwestern coastal strip. In such a scenario, a degree of reclamation - and with it 'early' port-related building - could be anticipated adjacent to the seaside pillory and river-mouth pool.

Equally, among the crucial issues raised by this fieldwork, is the degree to which the extant domestic architecture of Cidade Velha and its street layout is held to reflect that of the earlier, pre-19th century town. Do its characteristically small, two-roomunit, street-front houses directly reflect its specific 'urban' legacy or, simply, a dense village-version/-adaptation of a more widespread vernacular building tradition? This is a major question and will only be addressed by further excavation within the town's core and, also, survey investigations within other adjacent 'early' settlements, both isolated abandoned farms and extant, 18/19th century-origin villages. In this capacity, the recognition of the Site V lynchet-system, on the upper plateau immediately above

the town, demonstrated the potential for further aerial reconnaissance. Equally, the indication of early roadways on the 1778 map - north to San Domingos and east to 'porta Riberia des S Martinho' (and northeast to Praia and west to San Joao) - provides significant clues to Cidade Velha's communication/settlement network. To this end, future surveys should be conducted both along these routes and within the environs of their respective settlements.

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Appendices

A) Finds Data Tables

Table 1: Animal Bones

Site/Trench	Numbers	Weight (g)
I.A		730
I.B		109
I.C		20
I.D		
I.E		
I.F		
II.A		NA
II.B		NA
III.A		
III.B		
IV.A		

Table 2: Human Bones

Site/Trench	Numbers	Weight (g)
I.A		830
I.B		6390
I.C		2601
I.D		66
I.E		45
I.F		0
II.A		0
II.B		0
III.A		2
III.B		16
IV.A		35

Table 3 : Clay Pipes

Site/Trench	Description	Number	Weight(g)
I.A		0	
I.B		0	
I.C	Stem	1	5
I.D	Stem	1	2
I.E	Stem	2	4
I.F		0	
II.A	Stem	1	10
II.B		0	
II.C		0	
III.A	Bowl, stem	10	38
III.B		0	
IV.A	Stem	4	16

Table 4: Glazed Pottery

Site	Trench	No. Sherds	Weight (g)	MSW (g)
	A	44		12.3
	B	19	297	7.1
	C	39	2098	23.8
	D	15	551	10.8
	E	22	1292	24.4
	F	13	270	38.6
I	G	0	10	10.0
Sub-total		*279*	*4973*	17.8
	A	13	330	25.4
II	C	21	707	33.7
Sub-total		*34*	*638*	18.8
III	A	116	1218	10.5
III	B	12	152	12.7
Sub-total		*128*	*1370*	10.7
IV	A	*51*	*1424*	27.9
Sub-total		201	3887	19.3
Total	06 + 07	642	10868	

Table 5: Unglazed Pottery

Site	Trench	No. Sherds	Weight (g)	MSW (g)
	A	37	455	12.3
	B	42	297	7.1
	C	88	2098	23.8
	D	51	551	10.8
	E	53	1292	24.4
	F	7	270	38.6
I	G	1	10	10.0
Sub-total		*279*	*4973*	17.8
	A	13	330	25.4
II	C	21	707	33.7
Sub-total		*34*	*638*	18.8
III	A	116	1218	10.5
III	B	12	152	12.7
Sub-total		*128*	*1370*	10.7
IV	A	*51*	*1424*	27.9
Sub-total		201	3887	19.3
Total	06 + 07	642	10868	

Table 6: Pottery Statistics 2007

Glazed	Number	Weight	Mean weight	Unglazed	Number	Weight	Mean weight
I.D	15	141	9.4	I.D	51	551	10.8
I.E	22	133	6	I.E	53	1292	24.4
I.F	13	176	13.5	I.F	7	270	38.6
I.G	0	0	0	I.G	1	10	10.0
III.A	92	907	9.9	III.A	116	1218	10.5
III.B	5	30	6	III.B	12	152	12.7
IV.A	230	1712	7.4	IV.A	51	1424	27.9
Total	377	3099	8.2	Total	291	4917	16.9

Table 7. Pottery statistics 06+07

Trench	No. Sherds, glazed	No. Sherd, unglazed
I.A	44	37
I.B	19	42
I.C	39	88
I.D	15	51
I.E	22	53
I.F	13	7
II.A	48	13
II.C	23	21
III.A	92	116
III.B	5	12
IV.A	230	51

Table 8: Tile

Site/Trench	Number	Weight (g)	Mean (g)
I.A	132	3640	28
I.B	284	5855	21
I.C	560	11120	20
I.D	142	5966	42.0
I.E	1142	57826	50.6
I.F	53	1426	26.9
I.G	45	7	0.2
II.A/II.C	12	1600	133
III.A	27	1244	46.1
III.B	10	1	0.1
IV.A	30	1595	53.2

Table 9: Metals

Trench	Nails, numbers	Coins, numbers	Others (numbers)
I.A	9	1	Ring fragment (1) Bronze buckle or attachment (1)
I.B	26	1	
I.C	31		Hook (1)
I.D	9		
I.E	11		Iron bar (1), led fragment (1), iron fragments (3)
I.F	1	1 (modern)	Iron tube (modern), pieces of metal (2)
I.G			
II.A	2		Globular metal ball, attachment (1)
II.B			
II.C	5	2	Ring (1)
III.A	12		Knife handle (1), button and pins (4)
III.B	2		Disc (1)
IV.A	29		Metal (1)

Table 10: Snails/shell

Trench	Number	Comment
I.A	4	
I.B	10	Fragm. of shell, landsnail
I.C	8	Limpets
I.D	3	Oyster
I.E	1	
I.F	1	
II.A	0	
II.B	0	
II.C	1	
III.A	7	
III.B	0	
IV.A	30	Limpets, mussels, shellfish

B) **The Company *Grão Pará e Maranhão***

By Konstantin Richter

The Company *Grão Pará e Maranhão* was directed by businessmen of northern Brazil. Its aim was to valorise economically the land of *Pará* and *Maranhão*, which would not have been possible without labour of African slaves (Correia e Silva *et al.*, 2001, Vol. III, 217). The project was a joint enterprise with other businessmen from Lisbon, who invested part of the necessary capital to found the Company (*ibid.*). Its organisation was approved on July 6th, 1755, without restriction of any privilege, powers or guaranties (*ibid.*). Its activities were not just directed towards commerce, but also agriculture. In Brazil, it had huge fiscal benefits; independent of the courts, it had the licence to construct merchant and war ships, promote the cotton and rice culture, and develop intense activities in slave trade transport *(ibid,* 217, 218).

Their immediate interest in the trade in Africa was connected to a need for labour. However, due to the high concurrence of European foreign potencies, they decided to concentrate their activities in those areas where the Portuguese had most influence. They presented a petition to the Portuguese king in November of 1757, in which they ask for exclusive commerce in the area of Cape Verde and the Guinea coast (*ibid,* 218); it being immediately approved. This guaranteed the Company not only the monopoly of the slave trade, but also the commerce with *urze* (heather) and the *pano de terra* (hand-woven cloth; *ibid,* 221).

Approximately one month later, the Company installed itself in Cape Verde, immediately starting its activities, and tried to make trade for foreigners as difficult as possible (*ibid,* 222). The Company's trade also extended to more minor activities, such trade of cattle, fruits and vegetables, and organising a network of storehouses and shops on all inhabited islands (*ibid,* 224).

The local inhabitants, due to the exclusivity of the rights of the Company trade, suddenly saw themselves severely restricted in their commercial activities, being hindered by the Company in their contact with foreigners, and so a confrontation between both parts was inevitable (*ibid,* 224). Another strategy of the Company was to raise the prices of products, making the trade of little interest for foreigners to stop by and supply their ships with necessary goods (*ibid,* 224, 225): ' … in some trade goods, with special focus on the construction materials, the rise (of the prices) achieves the 600% (in 15 years), like it is the case of the lime. Therefore, the huge degradation of the constructed patrimony …' (*ibid,* 229). For their severe economic policies, the Company used their own ships to control the harbours and had public functionaries throughout all the islands (*ibid,* 225).

The Company itself has no interest in supplying the islands with new slaves, but, as the prices achieved in *Pará e Maranhão* were much higher, rather to ship them to Brazil. Only the slaves *mascavados* (unrefined slaves), those who wouldn't survive a trip to Brazil, were sold. The slave trade was in this way controlled indirectly by the Company, which has the sovereignty over the production of the *pano de terra*, the main exchange currency for the slave trade at the west African coast (*ibid,* 227, 228):

> With the relations of exchange extremely unfavourable for the inhabitants, the economic situation of the islands is degrading more and more, entering in total collapse and condemning to ruin the insular society in a general mode. Even though, facing this scenario, it is not to

strange that, during the 20 years in which it was in possession of the islands, the Company had achieved 'bulky' profit (*ibid,* 230).



Figure 1: Part of 1778 map of Ribeira Grande (by António Carlos Andrea) showing a portion of the town of *S. Pedro* (left of river) and *Figueira de Portugal* (right of river), with correspondent index, indicating the Company house (R; source: AHU)

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Abbreviations
AHU – Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon

2.5 ANNEX

Tables

Tables 1-4

Islands and Islets	**Surface (km^2)**	**Length (m)**	**Width (m)**	**Height (m)**
CAPE VERDE	4.033			
Santo Antão	779	42.750	23.970	1.979
S. Vicente	227	24.250	16.250	725
Santa Luzia	35	12.320	5.350	395
Ilhéu Branco	3	3.975	1.270	327
Ilhéu Raso	7	3.600	2.770	164
S. Nicolau	343	44.500	22.000	1.304
Sal	216	29.700	11.800	406
Boavista	620	28.900	30.800	387
Maio	269	24.100	16.300	436
Santiago	**991**	**54.900**	**28.800**	**1.394**
Fogo	476	26.300	23.900	2.829

Table 1: Geographic dimensions of the Islands and Islets (Source: according to Project NLTPS, Praia, 1996)

Name	Papal Confirmation	Arrival	Death	Remarks
Dr. Brás Neto	31/01/1533		1539	Secular Clergy; never resides in the Bishopric
D. João Parvi	23/09/1538	c. 1545	29/11/1546	Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Évora; buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*
D. Francisco da Cruz	?	1551 or 1552	19/03/1574	Canon of *St.º Agostinho*; buried in the Church of *Misericórdia*
D. Bartolomeu Leitão	06/02/1576	1577	09/02/1587	Doctorate in Theology
D. Fr. Pedro Brandão	08/08/1588	1589	14/07/1608	Carmelite; returns to Lisbon c. 1590, renounces to the Bishopric at 22nd of December of 1606; buried in the Convent of *Carmo*, Lisbon
D. Luís Pereira de Miranda	31/03/1608	Mid of 1609	End of 1609	Nobleman and regular Clergy; buried in the Cathedral
D. Frei Sebastião de Ascensão	18/04/1611	End of 1611	18/03/1614	Dominican
D. Manuel Afonso da Guerra	24/02/1616	1622	08/03/1624	Professor of Salamanca and parish priest of Vila Flor; buried in the Church of *Misericórdia*
D. Fr. Lourenço Garro	End of 1625	c. 1627	01/11/1646	*Ordem de Cristo*

Table 2: Bishops of Cape Verde, 1533-1646 (Source: according to Maria João Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, *História Geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. II. Lisboa/Praia: Instituto de Investigação Tropical, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural)

Name	Papal Confirmation	Arrival	Death	Remarks
D. Fr. Fabião dos Reis	16/05/1672	03/05/1673	08/02/1674	Carmelite
D. Fr. António de S. Dionísio	02/08/1675	24/06/1676	13/09/1684	Franciscan, master of theology; buried in the Church of *N.ª S.ª do Rosário*
D. Fr. Vitoriano Portuense	12/05/1687	17/04/1688	21/01/1705	Franciscan; buried in the Cathedral
D. Francisco de Santo Agostinho		29/12/1709	1719	Franciscan of the *Ordem Terceira*; buried in the Chapel of *Mitra* at the farm of *Trindade*
Fr. José de Santa Maria Jesus	02/02/1721	25/12/1721	07/06/1736	Buried in the Convent of *Xabregas*, Lisbon
D. Fr. João de Faro	16/06/1738	22/02/1741	21/05/1741	Franciscan of the province of Piedade; died on the trip to Santiago, after passing through *Cacheu*
D. Fr. João de Moreira	06/1743	1744	13/08/1747	
D. Fr. Pedro Jacinto Valente	1753	25/04/1754	19/01/1774	Friar of the *Ordem de Cristo*; buried in the Chapel of *N.ª S.ª da Penha de França*, Ribeira Grande, Santo Antão Island

Table 3: Bishops of Cape Verde, 1676-1774 (Source: according to Maria João Soares apud Madeira Santos, 2001, *História Geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. II. Lisboa/Praia: Instituto de Investigação Tropical, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural)

Product	**Prices 1758-1765**	**Prices 1765-1773**
Milheiro (thousand pieces, or large and undefined quantity) of **roof-tiles**	10$000	25$000
Barricada (barricade) of **lime**	2$100	13$000
Plank of *Casquinha* (**Flanders pine wood**) [1]	$500	1$275
Plank of *Pinho da Terra* (**country pine wood**)	$150	$530
Dozen of **laths**	$350	1$100

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Table 4: 'Account of the prices of the goods which were sold in the administration of the Company of *Grão Pará e Maranhão* on the Islands of Cape Verde (…)' (Source: AHU, *Cabo Verde*, *Papéis Avulsos*, caixa 33, doc. 11, apud Madeira Santos, 2002. *História Geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. III. Lisboa/Praia: Instituto de Investigação Tropical, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural)

[1] Note: This information leads to doubts due to the small existence of pine wood in Flanders at that time, but mostly oak wood. Flanders imported wood from Riga, which was sold afterwards. Flanders during the 16th and 17th century did export essentially oak wood, and pine wood was only imported during the 18th century from Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. The pine wood, due to its special characteristics to become hard as stone when in contact with salt water (reason why it was often transported outside board), gave exceptional wood for pavements and beams. The pine wood plantation of Leiria in Portugal in the 14th century was due to its special characteristics described before.