

CLOISTER GARDENS, COURTYARDS AND MONASTIC ENCLOSURES



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PREFACE by Ana Duarte Rodrigues

We often share a feeling of quietness when strolling through cloisters, sometimes contemplating their puzzling image of both glory and decay, sometimes enjoying the perfume and the colors of their garden, listening to the mumbling water, or trying to decipher the tombstones' inscriptions on the pavement beneath our feet. This atmosphere of peacefulness can be sensed in the stone corridors, as well as in the garden, as if remnants of the solemn seclusion of past days are still embodied in these spaces.

The lack of research on cloisters, together with the intriguing meanings, forms and functions of cloister gardens, often bypassed by the extant literature, are the main reasons behind this thematic issue. *Cloister Gardens, courtyards and monastic enclosures* is the third volume of the series of books *Collection of Gardens and Landscape Studies*, following *The Garden as a Lab where cultural and ecological systems meet in the Mediterranean context* (2014), and *Gardens and Tourism for and beyond economic profit* (2015). The starting point for this book was the international colloquium held at the University of Évora on February 29th 2015, and organized by Aurora Carapinha and I. The talks presented at the colloquium have been included in this volume in essay-format. They cover the study of different landscapes, both cultivated and designed, inside monastic enclosures such as cloister gardens. In addition, this volume also focuses on the relationship between these monastic enclosures and the courtyards of civil architecture in the Iberian Peninsula.

The seven chapters in this volume take up a select group of topics that provide a new insight on a subject about which many arguments have been built, still with little evidence to support them. The chapters are organized so as to provide a cross-sectional understanding between form and function, between etymologies and meanings of the cloister garden, courtyard, patio, and *jardín de crucero*, following their Roman and Islamic models.

This volume provides new historical evidence to substantiate insights on the various meanings of cloister gardens in monastic enclosures.

The first chapter provides, using Portuguese case-studies, an overview of the different functions held at the cloisters other than contemplation; more specifically, a huge variety of daily-life activities. Architect Luís Ferro contributes to the volume with a thorough examination of space in the Santa Maria Scala Coeli monastery in Évora, and stresses the connection between the Carthusian choice of the place and the landscape and its *genius loci*. Another architect, João Puga Alves, pursues a similar research project on the forms and functions of Quinta do Conventinho. He presents his report of the interactive iBook and the 3D reconstitution of the monastic enclosure, which stands as an example of its use as tool for education and the preservation of heritage.

Part II moves from the duality of form and function to the forms, models and evolution of the Islamic garden up to the *jardín de crucero* in Spain. The *jardín de crucero* fosters debate on how it can be translated either into cloister or courtyard, depending on religious or civil architectural context. Antonio Perla de las Parras and Victoria Soto Caba discuss comprehensively cloister gardens in Toledo, and Magdalena Merlos discusses the variations of this typology in Aranjuez.

Finally, the Part III of this volume includes two chapters dedicated to the gardens of the Convent of St. Paul of Serra da Ossa, in Alentejo, Portugal, mirroring friars' sensibility towards nature. Teresa de Campos Coelho explores the erudite sources used by the friars in the convent, evoking the circulation of models stemming from the court. Luísa Arruda studies the baroque gardens and specifically the cloister garden called *Varanda Formosa*, which attests the complex etymological analysis of cloister gardens throughout time, still far from settled.

When it comes then to cloister gardens, there is often no single or easy answer to solving the problems raised by recent research. Bearing that in mind, we tried to outline this volume so as to demystify ideas that have been continuously associated to cloister gardens, without any definite proofs. We have also illustrated different cases of cloister gardens in the Iberian Peninsula, in relation to their civil counterparts such as courtyards, patios and *jardines de crucero*. The ultimate goal of this volume is thus to offer the reader specific and substantiated methodologies, using from archeological to technological tools, which can be applied to improve our understanding on this fascinating topic.

PART I - CLOISTERS BETWEEN CONTEMPLATIVE AND ACTIVE LIFE

Ana Duarte Rodrigues

Beyond contemplation, the real functions held at the cloisters

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The Carthusian Hermitage Space. Santa Maria Scala Coeli's cloister architecture

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The Convent of Espírito Santo. A new approach to the study and dissemination of the convent spaces

BEYOND CONTEMPLATION, THE REAL FUNCTIONS HELD AT THE CLOISTERS

Ana Duarte Rodrigues¹

Introduction

The first idea that comes to our mind when we think about a cloister is an open air space, square or rectangular in form, divided into four parts by paths that form a cross at their intersection point. It usually has a fountain in the middle of the garden, and it is surrounded by four galleries or corridors, covered by vaulted ceilings that communicate with the open air area through sculptured arches. The coolness conveyed by the stone and the shade, the quietness – as if we could hear the sound of silence and the fragrances exhaled by flowers and plants evoked the idea of Terrestrial Paradise – is the second idea that is immediately associated with cloisters, and consequently the function of contemplation appears as being the main activity to take place within them.

However, did religious men and women perceive contemplation as a prerogative of cloister gardens? And, if not, how were they perceived from within and how were they experienced? These questions, as well as the contemplation as an *institut* rather than the cloisters' function, are fundamental issues underlying the present essay. In order to tackle these issues, I will examine how cloisters were sensed and what the real functions held there were, but I will do this from a different perspective. The idea of contemplation as

¹ Research fellow at the Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e Tecnologia, Faculdade de Ciências, Universidade de Lisboa, 1749-016 Lisboa, Portugal. Ana Duarte Rodrigues thanks the Foundation for Science and Technology for its support.

solely associated to the idea of Terrestrial Paradise² seems to be a theoretical, theological, and historical construction enhanced by scholarship *a posteriori*.

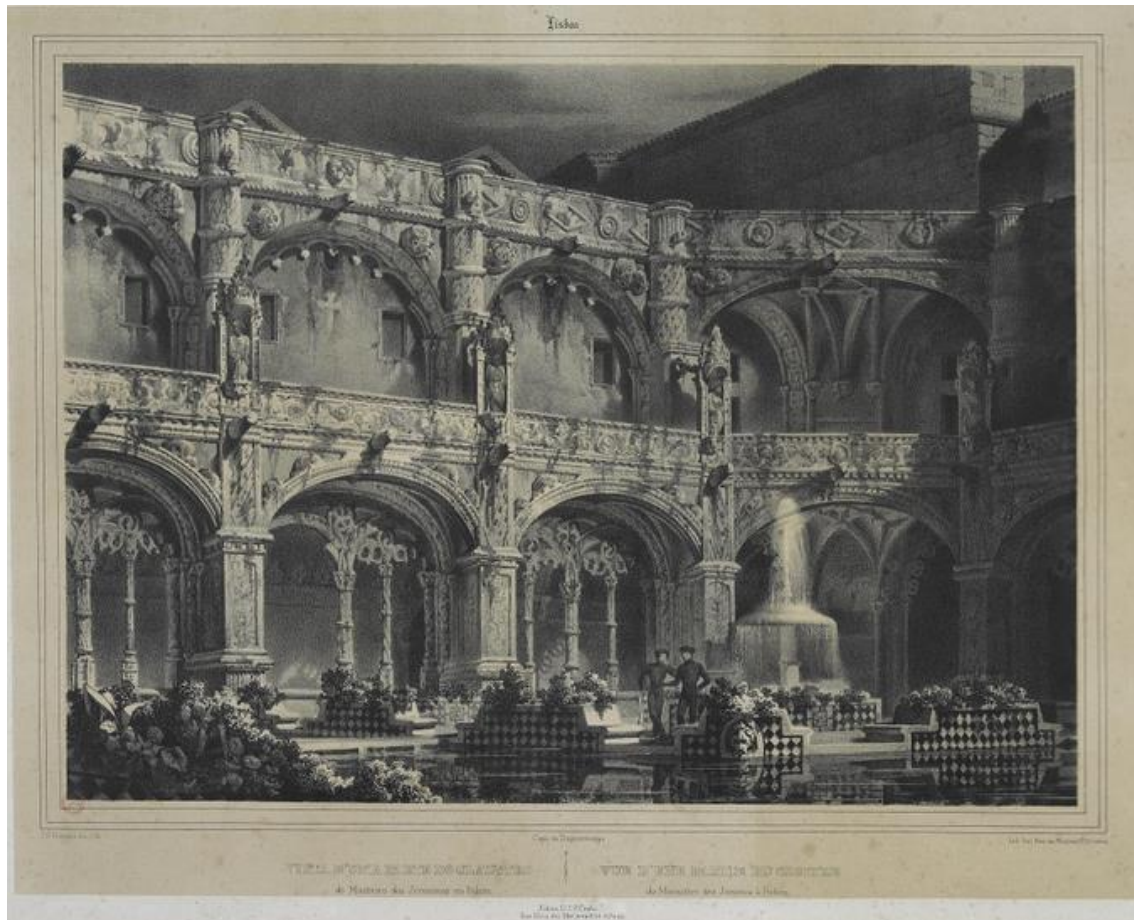


Fig. 1. *Vista d'uma parte do claustro do Mosteiro dos Jerónimos em Belem = Vue d'une partie du cloître du Monastère des Jeromes à Belem* / J. P. Monteiro, [Lisboa]: Rua Nova dos Martyres nº 28, 2º andar, ca. 1850. Lithography of the cloister garden of the Monastery of Jerónimos.

Focusing on Early Modern cloisters in Portugal³, although resorting to other examples whenever required, I seek to discuss the function of cloisters - and by that I mean the open air square with a colonnade around it, rather than the monastic enclosures sometimes

² Our five-year long research on Renaissance cloister gardens aimed at finding out the relationship between architectural traits and the garden within them. The results of the research have contradicted the idea of the cloister as the perfect terrestrial paradise because cloister gardens built to suggest the biblical symbolism are in fact quite rare. Renaissance Portuguese cloisters do not often present a garden, but rather pavement, and we can only point out two examples that have in fact been built to suggest a Terrestrial Paradise, an earthly vision of the lost promised land of Eden: the Cloister of the Manga in Coimbra and the Cloister of the Monastery of Jerónimos in Lisbon (Rodrigues 2014b). The allusion to Eden is reflected in the central fountain/temple, symbol of life from which the four rivers of Paradise spring, represented in both cases by four lakes.

³ The group of Renaissance cloisters and the circulation of their forms, models, architects and main phases of construction is provided in Rodrigues 2014a.

equally referred to as “cloisters” – departing from the idea of “cloister” mentioned above, and basing this study on data that enhances the activities that took place there.

In terms of methodology, we will carry out this analysis over a long period of time, since life in seclusion has not dramatically changed throughout the centuries. Furthermore, we have not made any distinction between male or female monastic enclosures because, from this particular perspective, the self-sustained life within the cloister led to similar kind of activities. In addition to this, and for the same reason, we have not approached any distinctions between the Religious Orders because daily-life activities would have to be performed in all of them, although with slight differences. We believe though that the common ground shared by all who lived life in seclusion overlap the differences between them.

Contemplation and the “sound of silence”

The “sound of silence” is a very wise expression put forward by Julie Kerr (2009: 82) to describe the sounds and noise religious men and women heard in the cloisters of silence, such as the sound of bells ringing throughout the day, the music emanated from the church, the sounds of birds and small mammals, the running water, and the noise made by the monks going about their daily chores – all of this intermingled with the noise of workmen carrying out works and repairs. The terminology of cloister of silence (“claustro do silêncio”) in Portugal appears quite often and we recall the “Claustro do Silêncio” (or Claustro de D. Dinis) of the Monastery of Alcobaça⁴, the “Claustro do Silêncio” of the Monastery of Santa Cruz⁵ in Coimbra, the “Claustro do Silêncio” of the Monastery of Santa Maria de Salzedas, and the Claustro do Silêncio of the

⁴Built between 1308 and 1311, we must emphasize the fact that it was first called Claustro de D. Dinis, because of the King who had it built, and only later was it called Claustro do Silêncio. The reason for this was that the Cistercian monks respected the rule of silence in this great cloister—the most important cloister in the the Monastery of Alcobaça.

⁵ Built by Marcos Pires between 1517 and 1522.

Monastery of Lorvão⁶, all built at different periods of time – thus conveying an idea of transversality. Nevertheless, if so many sounds can be heard in cloisters, why were they called cloisters of silence?



Fig. 2. João Pedroso, *Claustro do Silêncio em Santa Cruz*, Coimbra, [Lisboa]: Emp. Horas Romanticas, 1876. Print.

We have to go back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and recall the intellectual concept of *claustrum* as an allegorical space stressed by theologians such as Honorius Augustodunensis⁷ (1080-1154), the Italian bishop Sicard of Cremona (1155-1215), and the French bishop Guillaume Durand⁸ (c. 1230-1296). Although the *claustrum* referred most of the times to the whole monastic enclosure and the seclusion the monks lived in, the cloister garden was seen as the *Paradisus*

⁶ The cloister was renovated in the late-sixteenth century.

⁷ He wrote *Opera exegitica* (c. 1170), a commentary on The Song of Songs, where an enclosed garden is compared to the purity of the Virgin. This is also the work where the phrase *hortus conclusus* is originated. A correspondence between this phrase and the cloister garden was easily made because of both the ideas of form and monastic seclusion. The cloister garden was therefore an *hortus conclusus*. We should notwithstanding bear in mind that this interpretation was made during medieval times, a period where allegorical meanings differ from the ones of the Renaissance. As our research proved, Renaissance cloisters did not often have gardens in Portugal, and thus this earlier interpretation does not seem to be universal.

⁸ He wrote *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, a liturgical treatise on the origin and symbolic meaning of the Christian rituals, where he does not also disregard both the main buildings and furniture.

claustrali. Consequently, the quietness of the cloister had also a symbolic significance and evoked the eternal silence of God. Hence, the cloister of silence was, both idyllically and theoretically, a place of solitude within a quiet environment, required for meditation and contemplation, i.e., the cornerstones of monastic observance.

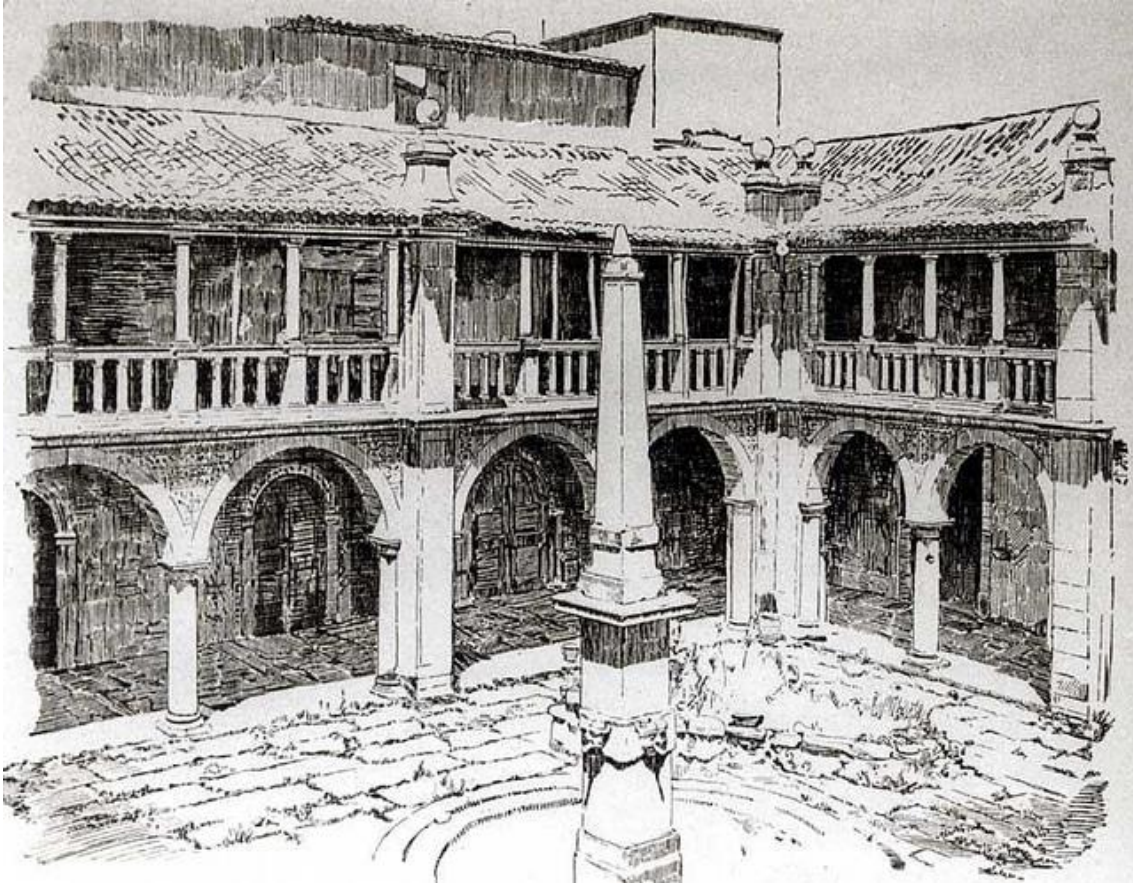


Fig. 3. Cloister of Silence in Lorvão.

In this sense, and although sounds were heard in the cloister, the cloister of silence was perceived as the necessary scenery to engage in meditation and contemplation, essential steps in the path towards salvation. Even so, and based on the Rule of Saint Benedict⁹ concerning the Spirit of Silence, in some religious institutions the necessary communication was carried out through the use of a system of signs:

“(...) that if the spirit of silence ought to lead us at times to refrain even from good speech, so much the more ought the punishment for

⁹ The Rule of Saint Benedict is a book of precepts by Saint Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-547). This can be read online, in English, at: <http://www.osb.org/rb/text/toc.html> [accessed May 16th 2015]

sin make us avoid evil words (...) But as for coarse jests and idle words or words that move to laughter, these we condemn everywhere with a perpetual ban, and for such conversation we do not permit a disciple to open her mouth.” (Saint Benedict, ch. 6)

Hence, the cloister of silence is not really a cloister of silence as sounds can in fact be heard, but it is a space where conversation should be forbidden or avoided. What was then the real reason behind the coming close to the Sound of God? From the reading of these rules, I stress that these had a sociological purpose: to control conversation as a means to manage communal living at the monastery. One could argue that for a religious man to keep focused on sacred and highly spiritual affairs he could not be permanently distracted by gossip or be disturbed by the sound of others talking. These readings also provide evidence that conversation had a bad connotation. It was perceived as an easy way to plan conspiracies, and generate strife and discontent within the community. Accordingly, conversation was restricted to certain spaces and periods of time, and even replaced by the system of signs used by the Cistercians¹⁰. Conversation was therefore strictly controlled in the cloister garden, whilst entirely forbidden inside the church. Brief talks could take place in the parlor¹¹ and the monks could talk to the community in the chapter house, one at a time (Kerr 2009: 82). Furthermore, the Rule forbade anyone of speaking after Compline (Saint Benedict, ch. 42), thus following the Rule of Saint Benedict: “Monastics ought to be zealous for silence at all times, but especially during the hours of the night” (Saint Benedict, ch. 42).

The cloister of silence of the Monastery of Lorvão was in fact intended for reading activities, as appropriate places for books can

¹⁰ Within the different orders these rules could be slightly different, being that the Cistercians and the Carthusians were the most rigorous. Benedictines could have a brief period to talk – location – but for Cistercians it was totally forbidden to talk inside the cloister and therefore they communicated through sign language. The *Livro dos Sinais dos Cistercienses Portugueses* shows evidence of this (Martins 1958).

¹¹ A word used to designate rooms in civil or religious buildings, where you received guests or sat to talk with someone. Its etymological origins stem from the French word “parler”, which means to talk. It is defined by Furetière’s *Dictionnaire unniversal* as “Parloir: place where people speak. It is now only said of places where Nuns come to speak with outside visitors through a grill. There are convents where you need to reserve the Parlors early” (Woshinsky 2010: 159).

still be found in the southeast area of the cloister (Borges 2002, vol. I: 247).

The cloister of silence as the perfect place for contemplation appears then to be more of a theoretical construction, rather than the actual reality of circumstances of cloister gardens¹².

The cloister of silence was indeed filled with sounds and the main goal was the control of conversation in order to simultaneously manage and protect the community's life.

The undertaken research on iconographic sources evokes the quietness of the place, as if it was sheltered from noise and disruption, protected from outsiders who were forbidden or had restricted access to it, a place where silence was observed. Two nineteenth century paintings suggest the painters perceived the cloisters as a quiet place, and therefore conveying an appropriate atmosphere for meditation, prayer or reading. It is the quietness of the Collegiate Church of St Peter at Westminster's cloister that J. R. Hamble (1775-1825) brings to mind in the print of the *South East Angle of the Cloister of Westminster Abbey* (1812), where a student is depicted reading a book, while seated in one of the cloisters carrels. The same quietness or the "sound of silence" is suggested by Hugo Darnaut (1851-1937) in his painting *A monk in the cloister of Stift Millstatt* (1819), in Austria. Here, silence is only broken by the sound of the birds chirping. The portrayal of a monk walking across the cloister's gallery with the Book in his hands, while birds are picking some seeds at his feet is a clear allusion to Giotto's *Saint Francis preaching to the birds* (14th century). It also evokes the high level of spiritualization found in the silence of nature (the Silence of God), recreated in the cloister through theological and theoretical literature and art.

¹² Furthermore, and although we are aware of having covered but an insignificant part of the documentation available, we have not found one description of the emotions and feelings of a religious man or woman contemplating a cloister garden in Portugal during the Early Modern period. The idea of cloister gardens as places for contemplation seems difficult to be corroborated, both in manuscripts and iconographic sources. Though we do not want to discard it, the truth is that other purposes were easier to document, such as religious functions as well as daily-life activities.

Processions in cloisters: “to move in rounds”

When the cloister is defined according to its function – *deambulatorium*, *obambulatorium*, *ambitus* – we recognize processions were at the heart of the cloisters’ purpose. The form of the cloister made up of an open area surrounded by four roofed walkways was perfect for this act¹³. During the liturgical processions that took place in the cloister, the participants regularly moved in rounds. In view of this, Anne Muller and Karen Stober considered “function” to be responsible for the rectangular design of the cloister, in other words, for its form (Anne Muller and Karen Stober 2009: 88).

The entire community participated in the processions on Palm Sunday, Ascension Day and Assumption Day, which were headed by the abbot/abbess or prior, who was then followed by the monks, novices and lay-brothers, walking in pairs. In this sense the cloister might be identified as a central space where the essence of monastic existence found its corporeal expression in these regularly performed circular movements.

The description of the Monastery of Alcobaça made by Fray Manoel dos Santos (1672-1760) refers to the main cloister as the “claustra das procissões” (Santos 1979: 21), as if this were the principal function of that cloister. The *Memoria sobre o Convento da Ordem de Christo* (1842) also tells us that the Great Cloister of the Convent of Christ in Tomar was used for the procession of the *Corpus Christi*¹⁴. In addition, the Procession of Saint Bernard on August 20th 1681, the Procession of the Santíssimo Sacramento on Easter’s Sunday, the Procession of the Corpus Christi and the Holy Week were held at the cloister of silence of the Monastery of Lorvão which was described with detail in 1789, and then again in 1791 and 1798 (Borges 2002, vol. I: 248).

We can envision that tapestries or mural programs in frescos or tiles – usually depicting scenes of the Passion of Christ, the Virgin and

¹³ Besides this the *Usos* of Cister forbade processions to be held inside the church, therefore most of the times in festivities days they used the cloister (Borges 2002, vol. I: 248).

¹⁴ “O 8º finalmente é dos Filippes, obra verdadeiramente grandiose, e d’um genero novo, que seria longo descrever: este era no tempo dos freires conventuaes o claustro favorite por onde passava a procissão do Corpus Christi, e outras nas grandes solemnidades da casa”, in 1842: 38.

the Saints¹⁵ - would serve as a backdrop to religious processions and that, in the course of processions, the surrounding monastic buildings would be blessed.

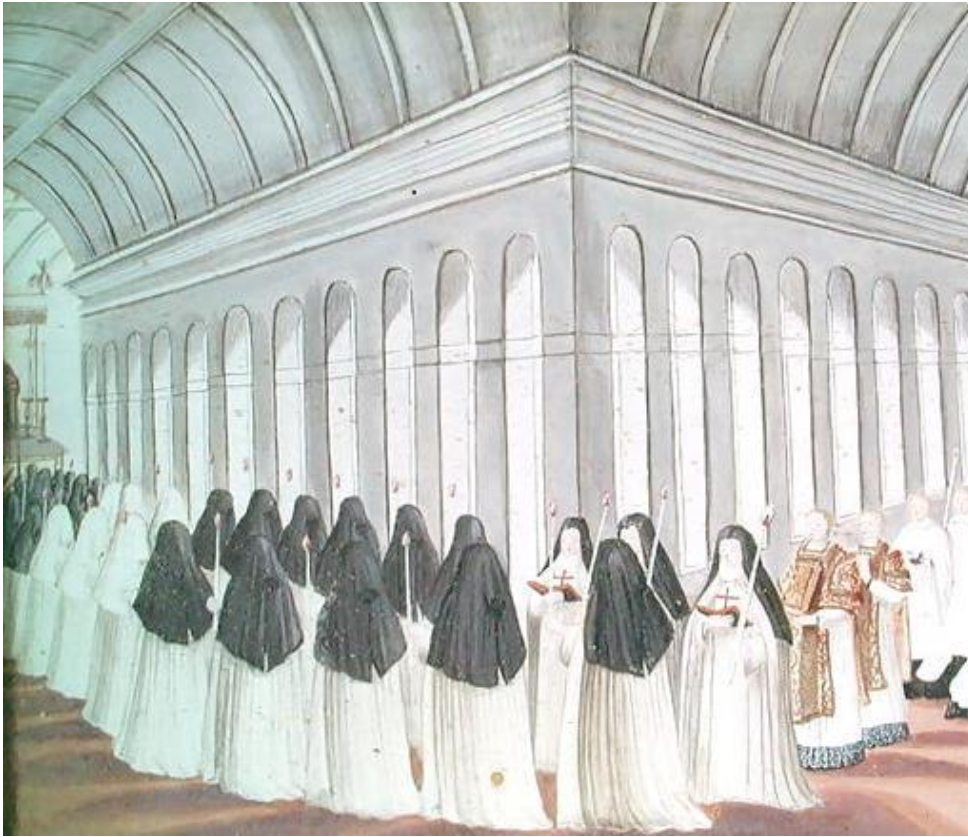


Fig. 4. Detail of Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels Cochin's *Procession of the Holy Sacrament of the Cloister of the Abbey of Port Royale* (c. 1710). Painting.

We can have an idea of the use and the visual impact processions had in the cloister through the study of some iconography. One of the best iconographic sources to study the daily-life of monastic enclosures is the series (ca. 1709) of twenty-three plates depicting the nuns of the abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs, a work by Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels Cochin (1686-1767), the mother of the famous French painter Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790).

Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels Cochin's *Procession of the Holy Sacrament of the Cloister of the Abbey of Port Royale* (c. 1710) shows the nuns walking in pairs, carrying candles in their left hand and holding the Book in the right hand, followed by the priests and other religious figures walking in the cloister's galleries, whose

¹⁵ See the chapters by Teresa de Campos Coelho and Luísa Arruda, also included in this book.

function was to be used as corridors, paths to walk through, to “move in rounds”.

The same composition can be recognized in the work of Spanish history painter Elena Brockman y Llanos’s *Procession in the Cloisters of San Juan de los Reyes*¹⁶ (1892) that depicts a procession taking place in the corridors of the cloister of the Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, built by the Catholic Monarchs (1477-1504) in Toledo. We see the religious men walking in three parallel rows, carrying the order *standards* under the vaulted ceiling of the cloister’s galleries.

In conclusion, one of the functions that was certainly attributed to cloisters was their use for processions; during these events, religious men and women performed the essence of their orderly and repeated actions through the art of moving in rounds.

A place to entomb the dead



Fig. 5. Convent of Cartuxa, Évora. Photograph by João Verdasca.

¹⁶ This work was exhibited in Rotunda, Woman’s building, 1893 Exposition.

Second to the church, the cloister was the most sacred place in a monastery, and as people wanted to be next to God in their afterlife, churches and cloisters were privileged places to function as a burial ground. Thus, the best place to be buried would be, above every other, the church, and after that the cloister, although some cases even seem to point to the opposite; such is the case of Queen D. Leonor, who asked to be buried in the cloister of Madre de Deus (1517), which was built at her request.

This was a very important function of the convent and it was organized through “*assentos de sepulturas*”, with the registration in books of the names of the people buried in the church and in the cloister of the convent. There is a lot of documental evidence, as for example: the book with the registration of the names of people buried in the church and cloister of the Convent of Santo António de Pinhel between 1814 and 1821; the index of the people buried in the cloister of the Monastery of Jerónimos¹⁷; and the index of the people buried in the cloister of the Convent of São José do Ribamar¹⁸. In this case, if documents did not exist, they wouldn’t be needed to provide evidence for this function, since the tombstones speak for themselves. For example, the cloister of processions of the Monastery of Alcobaça is full of epitaphs¹⁹.

The “*Claustro do Cemitério*” (cloister of the cemetery in Portuguese), was built inside the Convent of Christ in Tomar, dating back to Medieval times. This particular cloister was used for the burial of the monastic community, and the highly decorated chapels on the sides signal the importance of every person buried there. This tradition continued through all the Modern period and in the 17th century a “*Claustro do Cemitério*” (cloister of the cemetery) was built in the Monastery of Tibães.

¹⁷ IAN/TT, MSLIV, Manuscritos da Livraria, nº 253.

¹⁸ IAN/TT, MSLIV, Manuscritos da Livraria, nº 652.

¹⁹ “Na mesma antiguidade quando a piedade christam era mais florente se mandavam enterrar neste claustro muitos Fieis para [13r] serem participantes das oraçoens, e sufrágios dos nossos monges de Alcobaça, sempre venerados pela austera observância que guardão, e destes se vem epitaphios pelas paredes do mesmo claustro, que declaram os nomes e óbitos dos que jazem em baixo. Dou os que pude ler em obsequio da curiosidade publica”, in Santos 1979: 44. The epitaphs described here can still be seen in the same place.



Fig. 6. Detail of Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels Cochin's *The burial of a nun* (c. 1710). Painting.

Another painting of the Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels Cochin's series (ca. 1709) of twenty-three plates depicting the nuns of the abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs is entitled *The burial of a nun* and it shows us the funeral service of the nun's burial, with all the monastic community surrounding the open hole in the cloister's ground. Around the nuns who held the Book in their hands, there are a great number of crosses on the ground, which show that this cloister was a cemetery – probably its main function if we take into consideration the number of depicted crosses.

A place to die in *Auto da Fé*

The cloister was a place to bury the dead, but also to die in. Many people were the victims of “autos-de-fé” held at the cloister of the Convent of São Domingos, in downtown Lisbon.



Fig. 7. Detail of the List of the people who died at an auto da fé at the cloister of the Convent of São Domingos in Lisbon.

There is no other evidence found to support the existence of this function except for a list dating back to October 20th 1765,²⁰ which confirms that the cloister of the Convent of S. Domingos in Lisbon was used for “autos da fé”.



Fig. 8. Procession de l'Auto da Fé in Colmenar 1715: 907.

Why would this happen at the cloister of the Convent of São Domingos? Probably due to its location, at first. It was the best available space near the Palace of Inquisition in Rossio, where is

²⁰ “Listas das pessoas que saíram, condenações que tiveram, sentenças que se leram no auto público da fé, que se celebrou no claustro do convento de São Domingos da cidade de Lisboa”. IAN/TT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 15428.

today the Theater of Queen D. Maria II. The “auto da fé” started at the Palace of Estaus, then there was a procession through the Rossio square that would end in the Convent of São Domingos culminating with the public punishment of those considered to be heretic, as illustrated by Juan Álvarez de Colmenar’s (1707-1741) *Procession de l’Auto da Fé* (Colmenar 1715: 907).

Intellectual activities

Teaching congregations represented a new, hybrid form of religious life. All monastic communities were built on the same foundations: the vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and *clausura* (the obligation to remain within the premises of the cloister). These specific congregations added another: the holy apostolate of instruction, which they called their *institut*. In these cases, cloisters were the perfect place for the *institut*, as they were the perfect heirs of the classic tradition of teaching in the garden, like Plato had done before at the *Akademus*.

Living a life of seclusion, religious men and women dedicated a significant part of their day to prayer, spiritual reading and meditation. The originality of teaching congregations was based on their apostolic intention of saving souls through the instruction of children. They differed from the contemplative orders insofar their main goal was teaching rather than prayer. However, even in orders whose mission was not specifically teaching, cloisters could be used for teaching, as it happened in the upper floor of the “Claustro das Lavagens” (cloister of clothes wash) of the Convent of Crist in Tomar.

Other intellectual activities were also pursued in cloisters during medieval times, when cloisters could function as a *scriptorium* (a place where the monks would copy the manuscripts in community). This would though become less relevant after the invention of printing.

However, very little evidence attests to the existence of physical *scriptoria* throughout most of the middle Ages: there are no

archeological remains or literary accounts that provide an adequate indication of the existence of such a specialized space in monasteries²¹. The monks would probably carry out their work together in different places of the monastery, but whenever the weather would allow it they could for instance use the multi-purpose cloister²². There is a drawing showing how the cloister of Battle Abbey might have been used by the monks as *scriptorium* in the 13th century²³. From then onward cloister carrels were probably used for copying²⁴, as depicted in an illuminated manuscript (14th century) of the Spanish *Scriptorium* held at the Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid.

Beyond the *institut*

Beyond contemplation, there were many other activities being held at the cloisters, which stood at the heart of the monastery's communal life. Several authors have already drawn attention to the fact that "The cloister was not simply a place for contemplation but was for communal living" (Kerr 2009: 21), and that "A wide range of activities, both liturgical and domestic, took place in the cloister, which could at times be a busy and bustling area" (Kinder 2002: 132). Based on our research, our argument is defined in two different perspectives. On the one hand, although acknowledging the importance of contemplation and other allegorical interpretations, it considers them as more theoretical constructions, lacking enough evidence based on historical data to prove this. On the other hand, it tends to highlight practical and daily-life activities held at the cloisters, being that these are well documented.

The best example of the multi-functionality of cloisters in Portugal is the Convent of Christ in Tomar. Between its eight cloisters, many

²¹ There is one space designed in St. Gall's plan which was never built and there is none in constructed monasteries until the 13th century.

²² The other spaces that could have been used as a *scriptorium* were the library and the chapter house.

²³ V&A Museum. The image belongs to the English Heritage Photo Library.

²⁴ See D. Ganz, "The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule", 1987; W. Horn & E. Born, "The Medieval Monastery as a Setting for the Production of Manuscripts", 1986.

functions can be identified just by their names: “Claustro do Cemitério” (Cemetery Cloister), “Claustro das lavagens” (Washing cloister), “Claustro da Micha” (“Bakery” cloister), “Claustro da Hospedaria” (Hostel cloister), “Claustro das Necessidades” (The Needs cloister) and the Great Cloister where the procession of *Corpus Christi* took place.

The most prosaic activities can be traced at the cloisters in Portugal during the Early Modern period. The “Claustro da Micha” at the Convent of Christ in Tomar was near the kitchen and bakery house and it was the place for the distribution of the “broinha” (small loaf of corn bread) to the poor. This cloister was also called “Claustro da Procuradoria”, which refers to a totally different function of administrative character, validating the multi-purpose function of the cloisters. In the 18th century, at the Monastery of Alcobaça, Fray Manoel dos Santos also describes the sixth cloister as the place where the granary, oven and other workshops were (Santos 1979: 24).



Fig. 9. Cloister of the Monastery of Santos-o-Novo.

Worldly activities such as receiving guests were also carried out in cloisters. To ensure that the community was not unduly disturbed by the arrival of visitors, the guesthouse was usually located in a different place, sometimes a different cloister (Kerr 2009: 91). This is the case of the “Claustro da Hospedaria”, in the Convent of Christ in Tomar, and there were also two cloisters at the Monastery of Alcobaça that would constitute the “palacio das hospedarias” (Santos 1979: 24).

The chronicle on the life of Princess D. Joana (1452-1490), daughter of King D. Afonso V (1432-1481), entitled *Vida da Serenissima Princesa D. Joana* (1674), narrates her choice for a monastic life of seclusion at the Monastery of Aveiro. Despite being mentioned only once, there is a description of Saint Joana attending confession in the cloister. We can easily imagine that moments such as this often occurred in cloisters²⁵. The same book states the Princess used to clean the cloister’s pavement²⁶, suggesting the type of working activities that took place there and providing evidence of one more paved Renaissance cloister, instead of the gardens we would imagine in these places²⁷.

²⁵ Cf. “Confessavase, & comungava com o Córdão sem nunca faltar, & aos Confessores q se confessavam as outras religiosas, & hia no grão das Noviças, está do esperado na Clastra pera hir á confissam” (Dias 1674: 94). The description that is given by this biography is easily visualized at the Monastery of Jerónimos where the confessionals also have doors to the cloister.

²⁶ “...ajudandoas a varrer, & a apanhar o cisco das varandas, & Clastra” (Dias 1674: 94).

²⁷ During medieval times, the cloister garden was really a garden filled with fruit trees, medicinal and aromatic herbs, vegetable gardens, as part of the rich mystical symbolism that characterized medieval culture. Nevertheless, this cannot be linearly extended to Early Modern Portuguese cloister gardens (Rodrigues 2014b). Many of the box hedges gardens in cloister gardens seen in present days were built during the baroque period or later. If we take into consideration the monastic enclosures as a whole, conclusions differ. Monastic enclosures were self-sustained; therefore, cultivated land inside the complex was used for many purposes, including vegetable gardens (“hortas”), herbaria, orchards and cultivated agricultural fields—certainly contributing to preserve the scientific secrets of agriculture and horticulture. The monastic enclosure landscape created within these religious houses reached high levels of development, such as in the case of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Cerca dos Sete Montes de Tomar and Mosteiro de Tibães, among many others. The availability of emblematic books of agriculture in the rich libraries of the convents was also most significant. Just to give an example, D. Teotónio de Bragança (1530-1602) donated an important collection of rare books, antique manuscripts and other works that then went to the library of the Cartuxa de Évora (see book chapter by Luís Ferro: 33-50). He gave away to the Évora library a copy of one of the most famous books on agriculture: Piero de Crescenzi’s treatise *De Ruralium Commodorum*, a compendium of the art of agriculture and horticulture, written between 1299 and 1305. There is a later edition in Italian at the Carthusian library, entitled *Opera di Agricultura*, edited in Venice in 1553. We have this information since the front page reads: “*Livro da Cartuxa de Scala coeli de que’ oitt.mo R.mo S.or D. Theotonio de Bragança, Arcebispo de Évora fundador da mesma casa lhe fés doação*” (BNP, S.A. 6524 P).

In some cases, both stones as well as documents suggest nuns lived a decorous but comfortable and pleasant life with their servants, their pets, their visitors, and they were even allowed to have their own pastimes/ leisure activities.

For the less noble but still upper-class religious people, there were other convents that were basically “well-furnished hotels and respectable retreats” (Rapley 2001: 81). It is easy to recognize this situation in the Convent of Santos-o-Novo, where there seemed to be a lot of small dwellings around the cloister, with very well furnished, private chapels, ready for the ladies and their servants. It was common to have small houses in cloisters, which should have the same function as these dwellings of the Convent of Santos-o-Novo. For example, there is notice that some houses inside the cloister of the Convent of Saint Ana were bought by the Company of Jesus on October 10th 1730²⁸.

The Fountain of Life provides the water for washing

The fact that the cloister has water – a fountain, a lake, a well, a ditch – conveys a lot of different functions for which water is necessary, some with a more spiritual connotation and others with more mundane associations.

The cloister is a place where rituals take place, as we have seen, and because it has water it is the ideal place for the ritual of the washing of the monks’ feet. But washing in the cloister was not restricted to feet²⁹.

The presence of water is essential to all cleaning activities and the cloisters became privileged places for washing. There are references

²⁸ IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuítas, mç. 26, nº 24.

²⁹“While many activities related to water took place in the gallery nearest to the fountain, the *mandatum* was performed in the collation cloister. The weekly *mandatum*, i.e., the ritual of the washing of the feet, takes its name from the commandment of Jesus (John 13: 34), which was also the text of an antiphon sang during the ceremony: “Mandatum novum...” (“A new commandment I give you...2). The ritual was a reminder of humility and also of charity toward one’s neighbor, whether those within or outside the community. It was obviously inspired by the biblical episode where Christ washed the feet of his disciples, and it was commonly practiced in the early church as a simple act of charity, recommended by Saint Paul.” (Kinder 2002: 136).

to cooks dipping water and taking it elsewhere for washing or for drinking at meals and refreshments (Kinder 2002: 139). In fact, everybody used the available water at the cloister: the scribes took water from the fountain to prepare their ink; the infirmaries to take care of the sick, etc. Customaries present many descriptions of water being carried for the washing of hands, of the rest of the body, as well as clothes; and on shaving day the brothers gathered around in the cloister, near the fountain, at the appointed time (Kinder 2002: 139-140). As there was always water in the cloister, if someone was sick and needed vomiting they would be immediately taken to the cloister, and only after cleaning up were they allowed to return to the church and to the choir (Kerr 2009: 97).

The “Claustro das Lavagens”, at the Convent of Christ in Tomar, whose name makes its function very obvious, was for washing clothes. The fact that it is an open air area also facilitated the drying of clothes. The French painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808) gives us a perfect idea of this process through his depiction of the kettle on the fire and how clothes were put to dry in the cloisters in the late eighteenth century’s painting *The Cloister of the Augustinian nuns*³⁰.

The more spectacular case can be found in the cloister of the Monastery of Alcobaça, where a waterway would be created to carry water from the river to the kitchen. This water would also be used in the cloister for the washing of clothes, profiting from running water—much better for dirty linen.

Final remarks

The aim of this study was to analyze examples of cloisters that embody the monks experience at a paradigmatic level. This paper clarifies the central importance of the cloister and their functional design concepts. Each case is described from the point of view of a major functional concept or idea of human use and it helps us to

³⁰ Hubert Robert, *The Cloister of the Augustinian nuns*, oil on canvas, 130,2 x 105, 1 cm, late 18th century, The Norton Simon Foundation.

understand how architecture embodies the deeper purposes and meanings of everyday life.

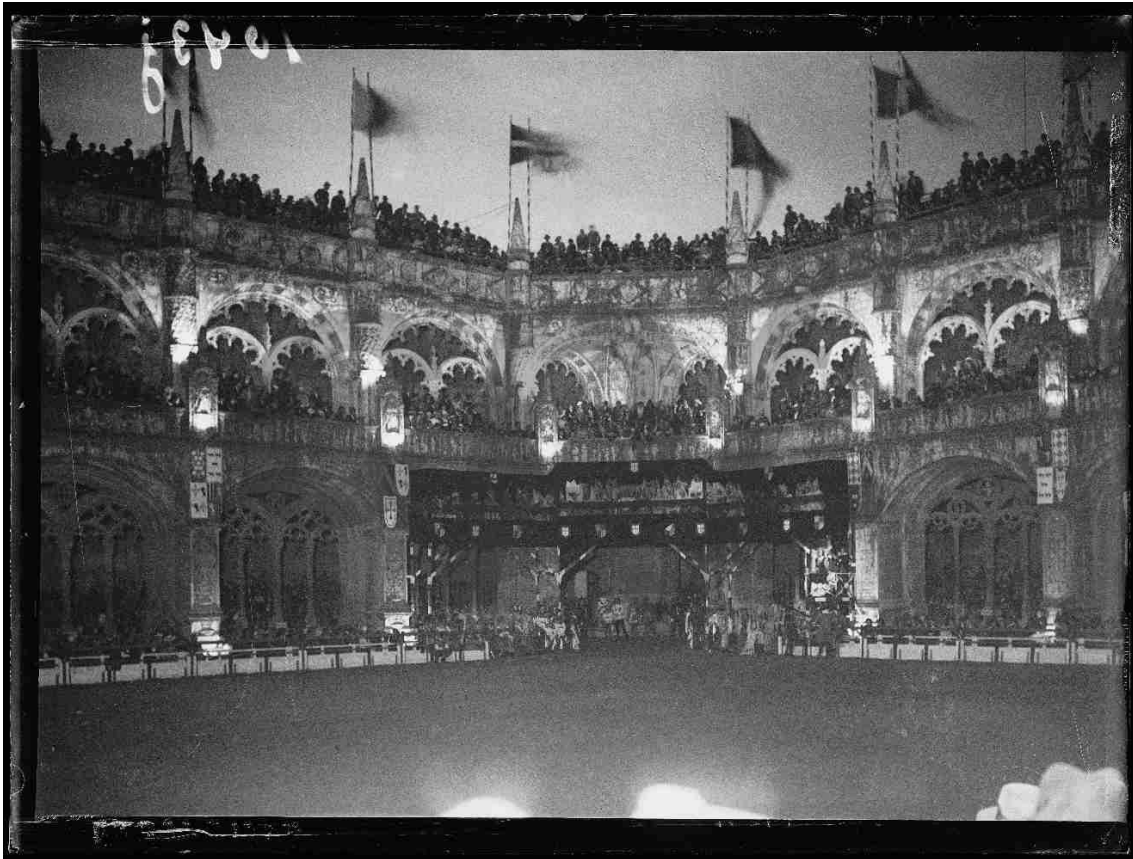


Fig. 10. The medieval competition held at the Monastery of Jerónimos, of which there is a photograph from June 8th 1935. IAN/TT, EPJS, Serviço de Fotografia.

Findings show the existence of various religious functions (contemplation, praying, processions); others related with burial functions; others regarding teaching and intellectual activities (such as the *scriptorium*); others connected with the Inquisition and its trials; others connected with their architectural form (circulation between the different spaces); and, finally, a large group of functions directly associated to daily life activities such as food distribution, clothes wash, and some other prosaic functions that were carried out under the protective umbrella of symbolic meanings. Although we do not always have the knowledge of all the details, there are enough clues that have survived and enable us to present an overview of how cloisters were used, mainly based on Early Modern Portuguese examples.

The situation will completely change after the dismantlement of the Religious orders in 1834 and after a period of dramatic circumstances for convents and monasteries, a time when the former functions of sacred places such as cloisters were totally ignored. At the beginning of the 20th century, many cloisters are recognized as monuments and thereafter a new set of different functions of recreational character³¹ are held there and replace the previous religious and burial functions. Nevertheless, the peacefulness of these spaces is maintained and the ability to convey quietness never seems to wane.

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³¹ In the 20th century the most diversified events took place in cloisters, such as: the reception of the prince by children holding flowers at the Convent of Saint Joana in the “scenery of the Greek cloister”, conveying the meaning of the classic style of the cloister (photograph taken between 1908 and 1912 by Joshua Benoliel, Empresa Pública do Jornal O Século, cx. 092, negativo 14); the medieval competition held at the Monastery of Jerónimos, of which there is a photograph from June 8th 1935 (IAN/TT, EPJS, Serviço de Fotografia); the theatre play held at the Monastery of Jerónimos, as confirmed by a document from the director of the Spanish National Service of Propaganda requiring the use of the cloister of the Monastery of Jerónimos for a theatre performance in the 20th century (IAN/TT, Secretaria-Geral da Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, Gabinete do Presidente, cx. 6, proc. 189/4, nº 14).

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THE CARTHUSIAN HERMITAGE SPACE. SANTA MARIA SCALA COELI'S CLOISTER ARCHITECTURE

Luís Ferro³²



Fig. 1. Great cloister of Santa Maria Scala Coeli. Photograph by Luís Ferro, 2009.

This essay is devoted to the study of the Carthusian monastery of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, located one and a half kilometres northern Évora, Portugal (following Ferro 2009).

The five extant research studies on this monastery either present an analysis based uniquely on written documents³³, virtually ignoring the authority of the plans and drawings, or they focus on particular aspects of the charterhouse, disregarding the eremitical area of the great cloister and of the cells. This study, on the contrary, is supported by an examination of the drawings connected with the diverse projects concerning the monastery, located in the archives of the Directorate General of the National Monuments and Buildings, in the Vasco Vill'Alva Institute of Culture, in the Library of the

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³³ AA.VV., *Revista Monumentos*, n.º 10, Direcção Geral de Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais, Lisboa, 1999; *Um Cartuxo, São Bruno na Cartuxa de Évora. IX Centenário de São Bruno*, Fundação Eugénio de Almeida, Évora, 2001; Sara Pereira, "O Restauro da Cartuxa de Évora pelos Condes de Vill'Alva (1942-1960)" in *Revista do Instituto Superior de Teologia de Évora*, n.º 29, Separata Eborensia, Évora, 2002, pp. 119-144; *Um Cartuxo, A Cartuxa e a Vida Cartusiana*, Gráfica Eborense, Évora, 1995.

University of Évora and in the Library and Archives of the Cartuxa itself. In this collected documentation, we can find essential elements for understanding the architecture of Santa Maria Scala Coeli that have never been published or even studied by an historian or catalogued by archivists. These unpublished documents are, in our opinion, of capital significance for a profound analysis of the monastic enclosure.

When we compare the plan of any Carthusian monastery with that of a Benedictine abbey, we easily perceive the importance of the great cloister for the Carthusians, which is approximately rectangular and surrounded by the cells of the monks. Or if we compare the plan of any charterhouse with a hermitage of the Camaldolese order – an order founded by Saint Romuald in 1024, prior to the foundation of the Carthusian order by Saint Bruno in 1084 – we see that there is a fundamental difference between them: the presence of an organizing element that links the cells to the rest of the monastic complex (Aniel 1983: 35). Thus, the great cloister and the cells that are placed around it are the defining characteristic of monasteries of the Carthusian order. Therefore, these elements constitute the object of my research.

The hermitage today



Fig. 2. Great cloister of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, view from the terrace. Photograph by Luís Ferro, 2009.

The great cloister of Santa Maria Scala Coeli has 76 columns and encloses a precinct of 98 x 98 metres, defined by the limit of the columns. The galleries or cloister alleys are 4.50 m wide and display a crossed vaulted ceiling and a solid brick pavement. Each cloister alley has an orange tree garden on one side and on the other “the plain wall [...] from which warmth radiates, because behind it the life of the hermits throbs” (Um Cartuxo 2001: 6). A terrace that enhances the setting of the alleys, the cloister garth, and the cells covers the galleries of the great cloister.



Fig. 3. Great cloister of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, view from the gallery. Photograph by Luís Ferro, 2009.

There is an impressive harmony in the cloister promoted by the correspondence between the height of the constructed elements and the natural elements. The cloister's arcades are 6.40m high, the same height as the mature orange trees that occupy the whole cloister garth, following the lines of the arcade columns. At the centre of the four galleries of the cloister there is a box tree corridor 1m wide and 1.80m high into the cloister garth, uniting them to the main fountain, highlighting thus the human scale.

Next to the fountain, there are eight cypresses, which, when looked at more attentively, reveal the coincidence of the height with the volume of the church in the centre of the south-eastern gallery, as well as with the library, the vestry and the sacristan's cell.

The great cloister plays a central role in the organization and distribution of all the constituent parts of the monastery. From the galleries, there are doors that connect the cloister to the cells, the church, the library, the vestry, the refectory, and the prior's cell.



Fig. 4. Cells, view of the northwest row. Photograph by Gonalo Pôla, 2014.

These connections are established through the cloister's galleries. For example, to go from the church to the library one has to always pass through these galleries. The doors of the cells are 1.80m high x 0.90m wide and 0.90m thick and have adjacent revolving hatches – fenestrations which afford no view inwards or outwards, where the monk receives his daily allowance of food and drink. The graveyard is at the western corner of the cloister. It is a square precinct, enclosed by a wall and three cypresses. There are eight tombs with a plain marble cross in the centre.

The great cloister of the monastery of Santa Maria Scala Coeli has at present fourteen monk's cells. They occupy 12m of the common wall with the great cloister and 17m perpendicular to it. The cells have two floors and a patio. The patio is approximately 113m², the paved ground-floor is 70m and the first-floor is 45m. On the ground-floor there are seven different spaces: the vestibule, the *Avé Maria* room³⁴, the sleeping room, the studio, the oratory, a closet and a patio with a

³⁴ The name of this space derived from the action of praying *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary), by the monk as he arrives to this room.

southward porch. On the first floor, there are two compartments: the room above the vestibule and the attic covered with tiles. All of the cells are directly illuminated through windows overlooking the patio. The division into several areas that differ in proportions, dimensions, illumination, function and even environment are adapted to the needs of the solitary life that the monks lead in the isolation of their seclusion (Leoncini 1979: 68).

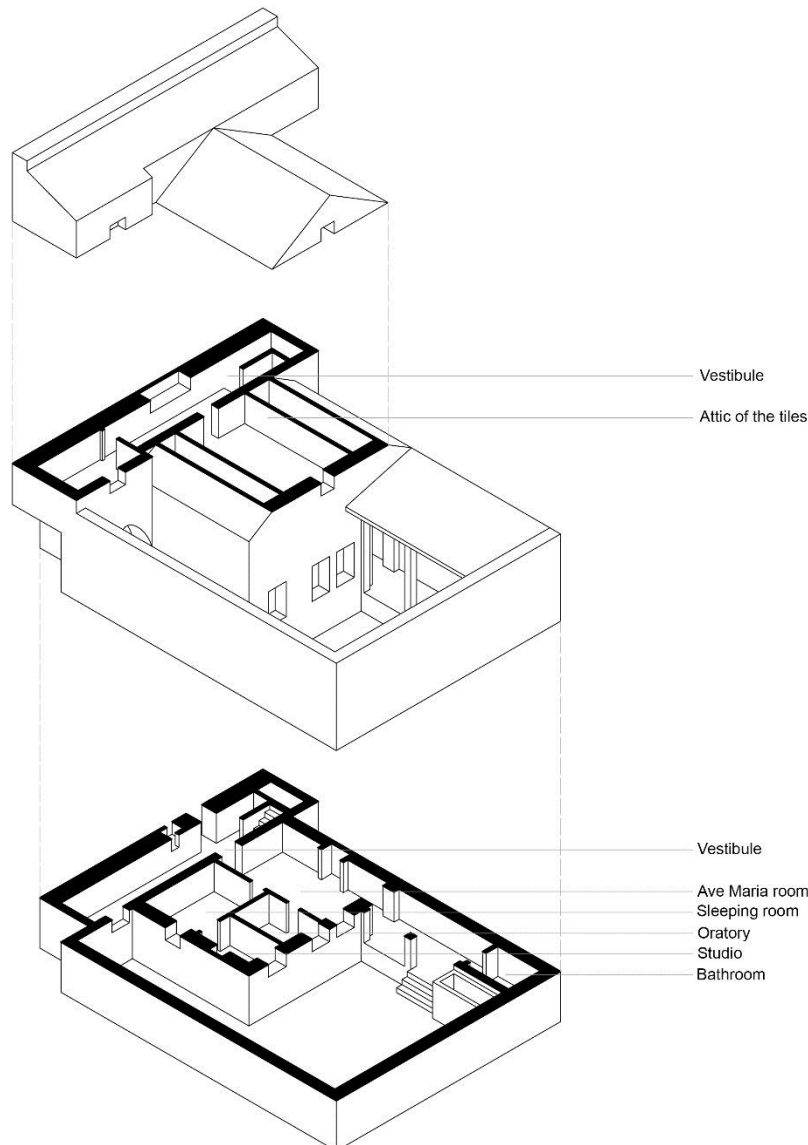


Fig. 5. Cell-type of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, axonometry. Designed by Luís Ferro, 2009.

The vestibule is 2m wide x 9.30m long and 3.70m high. The verticality and the seeming absence of any function of the vestibule make it the perfect scenery for various occupations and usages that can range from being a space for meals or work to simply a place

where one can enjoy the freshness provided by its thick walls in a hot summer day. The pavement is built of rectangular, solid bricks of 15x30cm. Walls are plastered in lime, conferring a slight rough texture felt first by the eye and then confirmed by the touch. The ceiling is barrel vaulted with the same plaster and lime as the lateral walls, a fact that confers great unity revealing the harmony of its proportions. We now come into the *Avé Maria* room through the vestibule. It is the biggest of the interior compartments of the cell – 3.70m x 6m, and 3.80m high – and the brightest. Inside we find a fireplace of 1m in height x 0.60m in width and in depth, placed at the centre of the wall.

The sleeping room, next to the door that opens to the studio, there is a little oratory surmounted by a crucifix placed at the centre of the wall. The only furniture we find there is a bed where the monk sleeps, and a stall where he prays. Next to the bed there is a window overlooking the patio. There is also a door to the studio, or the monk's reading room. It is a very small space, only 1.80m wide x 2.80m long. It is the place to keep and read the books brought from the big library of the House. The oratory is approached through the *Avé Maria* room which it is the most important room in the Carthusian liturgy; because it is there that the monk establishes contact with God.

The patio contributes to the agreeable living conditions of the cell through a good ventilation and insulation. In Aurora Carapinha's words, the patio of the cells of Santa Maria Scala Coeli is a space of «*simple geometry and [...] candid and graceful conception*», of correct proportions and great simplicity (Carapinha 1999: 23).

In the great cloister there are cells different from the normal model of the Carthusian type-cell. The corner cells are the adaptation of rectangular type-cells to square plots, provoked by the insertion of two sets of cells in galleries of different orientations. The sacristan's cell is adjacent to the church's altar and the vestry, in order to better accommodate his responsibilities and obligations that are different from the rest of the community.

At present, the cell of the vicar is the former prior's cell. This cell's door is topped with a tile with the letter «A». The differences between it and the rest of the cells of the great cloister are found at different levels: the façade – decorated by frescos –, the location in the great cloister, the inversion of the type-cell plan – as if reflected in a mirror –, the first floor turned into a terrace, and the cupola defining the oratory ceiling.

Morphological evolution

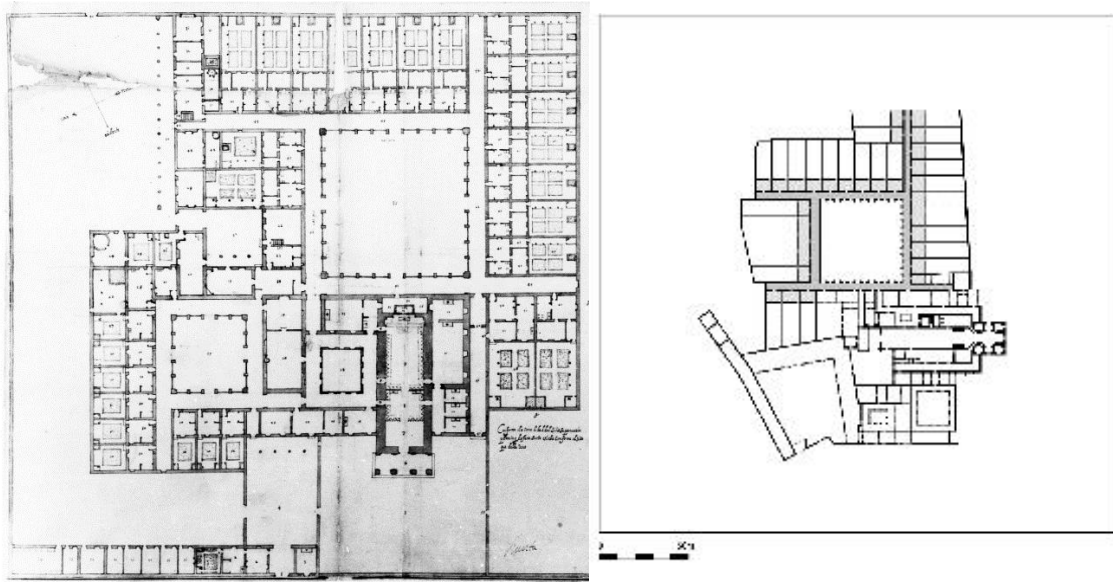


Fig. 6. Plan of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, Francisco de Mora, 1588. Public Library of Madrid.

Fig.7. Plan of Santa Maria de El Paular. Designed by Luís Ferro, 2009.

The military engineer Tiburcio Spanochi was commissioned to draw the architectural project for the monastery of Santa Maria Scala Coeli in 1588 from the Archbishop of Évora, D. Teotónio de Bragança, but there are no registers of his plans (Sousa 1735-49: 284-387).

In 1588 the Spanish architect Francisco de Mora was commissioned for a further project and, together with Filippo Terzi, they drew a plan that reveals a curious element: its similarity to the Carthusian monastery of Santa Maria de El Paular (Ferro 2009: 50-51, 86-87). This similarity can be associated with de Mora's nationality. When he was hired to plan a Carthusian monastery he may well have visited and studied the monastery that was closer and known to him. As can be seen on the plans, both monasteries have the same

structure – a succession of cells around the great cloister, with the prolonging of the galleries, avoiding the corner cells. The reduced dimension of the cloister that, despite being double – it has 24 cells –, measures approximately 46 x 46m, and the similitude of the cells with a rectangular patio developing along the ground-floor only, should be noted. The reason why Mora and Terzi project's were not implemented is unknown.

Giovanni Vincenzo Casale, an italian military engineer, was then invited (Sousa 1735-49: 284-387). He drew several plans that were subjected to various alterations until the final project was approved (Ferro 2009: 51-53). As we can see from the reproductions, the first plan had a similar structure to the last one: the entrance patio of the charterhouse, the two minor cloisters on each side of the church, and finally the monumental great cloister of 98 x 98m that gives access to the cells. The drawings Casale produced closely reflect the layout of Italian Carthusian monasteries.

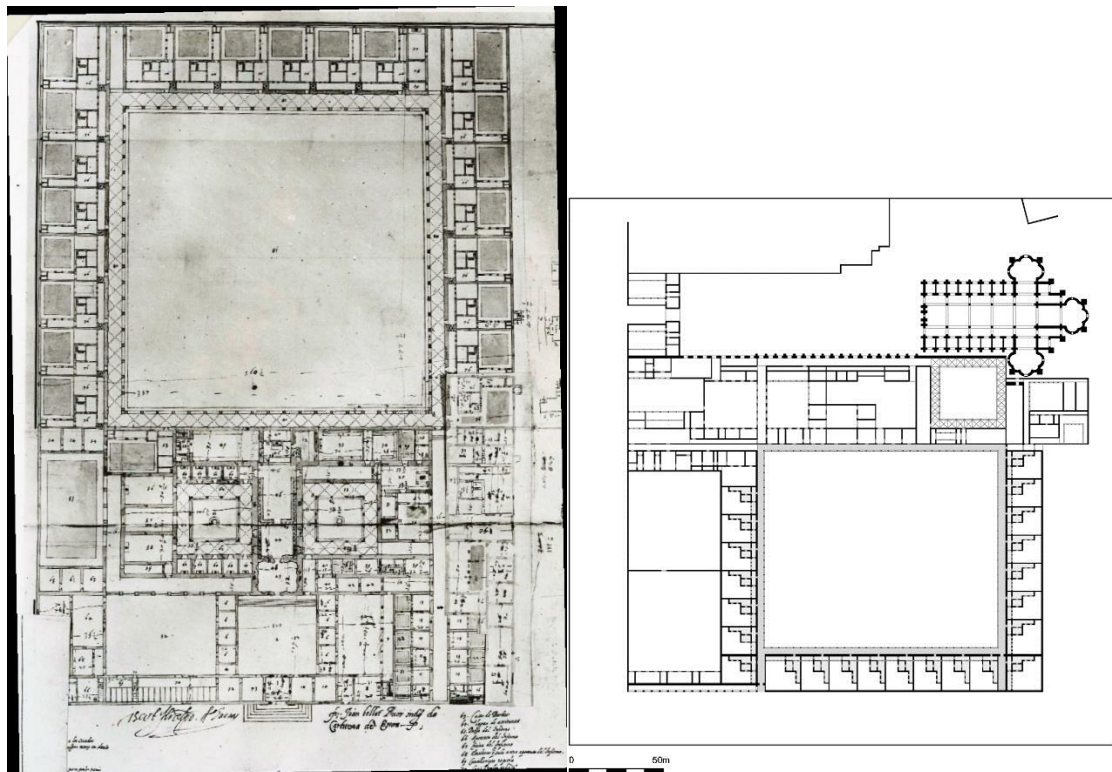


Fig.8. Plan of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, Giovanni Vincenzo Casale, 1588. Public Library of Madrid.

Fig.9. Plan of Pavia Charterhouse. Designed by Luís Ferro, 2009.

If we compare the final plan with the one from the charterhouse of Pavia, we notice that both have a cloister of huge dimensions that groups around it all the cells and the main buildings of the monastery, conferring great unity to the building. In Casale's first plan the prior's cell has the position it maintains today; however, all the cells of the southeast and northwest galleries are now inverted in relation to the initial project. But there are other differences: the corner cells do not have the fortified towers that helped to consolidate the structure, the prison has two extra compartments – an ante-chamber and a closet next to the wall. With the inversion of the cells, all porches remain in the shade, northwards, except for the porch of the prior cell, which faces south.

We can infer that the last plan was implemented because it is signed by prior Joan Bellot – which indicated that the plan was accepted, a necessary condition for the construction of the monastery (Ferro 2009: 54).

However, Giovanni Vincenzo Casale died in 1593, nine years before the monastery of Santa Maria Scala Coeli was completed (Baldinucci 1846: 127). If we compare the final plan, signed by the prior, with the present plan, prepared by the Regional Directorate of Monuments and Buildings of the South in 1996, we can observe a number of differences. The cells are inverted, the porches face south and the covered space is more exposed to sunlight. We can deduce that this alteration was due to the appreciation of the importance of natural illumination, aiming at greater economy and autonomy for the monastery.

The charterhouse of Santa Maria Scala Coeli as we see it today is the result of various modifications made throughout the centuries. Any analysis of the building that disregards these changes lacks historical consciousness.

On May 30, 1834, the masculine religious orders were suppressed in Portugal. The State ceded the monastery to the Hospício de Donzelas Pobres de Évora (Évora's Home for Poor Young Ladies), which after a few years sold it to the state. According to a decree from December 6, 1852, the state opened there a school of

agriculture. This institution was closed in April 1869 and for two years – until February 1871 – the monastery was left in abandonment (Espanca 1966: 308). According to the certified copy dated February 13, 1871, on that day the Quinta da Cartuxa was sold to José Maria Eugénio de Almeida, for the amount of 23.100\$000 (Ferro 2009: 56); he used the approximately 78 hectares of the monastery's enclosure to produce agricultural products. His heir, Carlos Maria Eugénio de Almeida, Count of Vill'Alva, followed in his steps (Pereira 2002: 125).

The count's drawings

In 1940, Vasco Maria Eugénio de Almeida came into possession of the monastery when his grandmother, D.^a Maria do Patrocínio Biester de Barros Lima, died. The Quinta da Cartuxa was still the headquarters of the Agricultural Company Eugénio de Almeida. Vasco Maria Eugénio de Almeida decided to restore the Carthusian monastery and to adapt part of the ruins for his own accommodation. Initially the idea of restoring the charterhouse had the objective of revitalising the Agricultural Company Eugénio de Almeida. «However, the study and investigation about the ruins, living among them, might have made him aware of the spiritual and historical interest of these and of what they have represented» (Pereira 2002: 125-129).

Restoration was made in a relatively amateur form, both on the Count's part – who, notwithstanding, researched and read all he could find about the monastery –, and on the part of the commissioned constructors. The Count did not have Giovanni Vincenzo Casale's plans, nor did he know of them while he was restoring part of the complex, so the construction works were based on the difficult reading of the clues left in the ruins. This procedure led to alterations to the final project of Giovanni Vincenzo Casale (Ferro 2009: 88-90). Although a few differences can also be found in the great cloister area, the main differences are manifested essentially in the coenobitic parts of the monastery. This restoration

work consisted mainly in the renewal of materials and in the reconstruction of the cells. Only the cell of the vicar, the former cell of the prior – called cell no. 1 by the Count – was kept in the first floor. Curiously, this cell, that served as a reference for the remaining ones, was the only one to be changed intentionally, as the first floor was eliminated for that purpose. It was during the process of restoration of the charterhouse that the location of the prior's cell changed; presumably it was initially located where the library and the archives are today, becoming, thus, the vicar's cell. Maybe the alterations were due to the change of function that rendered unnecessary such a compartment on the upper floor (Ferro 2009: 59-61).

During one of the visits we paid to the cells of the charterhouse, it was found a spiral staircase. Casale's plan reveals that all staircases were initially spirals. This indicates that they were originally built like this and that the Count, when he reconstructed the cells staircase following the plan of the former prior's cell, might have made them with two stories, probably because construction was easier (Ferro 2009: 62-63).

In the Vasco Vill'Alva Cultural Institute, two plans can be found that make proof the Count's commissioned engineer Raymundo Valladas to survey the monastery and its surroundings. There is also another document that was drawn from an earlier sketch, when the property belonged to Carlos Maria (Ferro 2009: 57, 91). This drawing is not listed, thus it is not easily available to researchers. Still, it is very important for this type of study, since it shows what existed before any new construction took place. In the document we can see that little was left of the original cells. The prior's cell is possibly the only one in reasonable conditions. We can also distinguish the north corner cell, the extension of the gallery reaching the walls, and a waterwheel outside the seclusion area. The drawing also shows some calculations, a series of numbers, and the name of the plantations that are present in the monastery. This sketch also denotes the intention of the owner to take advantage of the cloister

[illegible]

Thus, this document joins a cloister, calculations, and a new idea for agricultural usage, clearly showing the multi-functionality of the Carthusian cloister.

Carthusian identity and specifics of Santa Maria Scala Coeli

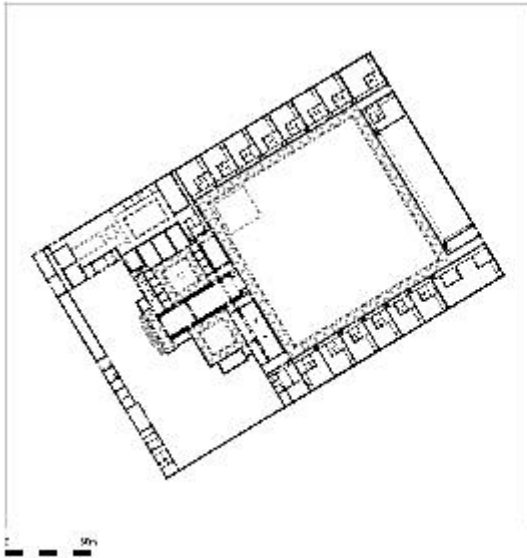


Fig. 11. Plan of Santa Maria Scala Coeli. Designed by Luís Ferro, 2009.

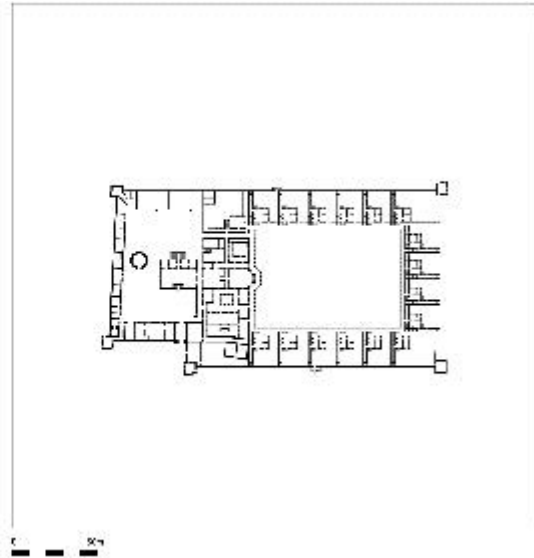


Fig. 12. Plan of Port-Saint-Marie. Designed by Luís Ferro (based on Viollet-Le-Duc), 2009.

If we compare Santa Maria Scala Coeli with the charterhouse of Port-Saint-Marie – defined by Viollet Le-Duc in 1875 as the typical Carthusian type monastery – we are able to identify a series of elements that can be observed in all the monasteries of the order. In both, the great cloister is located in the east side of the church. This is due to the necessity of having the façade of the church facing west, in front of which the entrance courtyard with the monastic obedience lay (Viollet-Le-Duc 1875: 306-310). Thus the great cloister – with three cells lining in both its sides – is situated on the other edge of the church, to make sure the hermitage area is the most isolated part of the monastery. The main buildings of the monastery are allocated round the charterhouses great cloisters: the church, the cells, the vestry, the library, and the refectory. The cloister alleys constitute a covered peripheral path that links all these areas, which lends a substantial unity to the architectonic whole.

In the sub-type that gathers together all Carthusian great cloisters, each has its own specifics characteristics, corresponding to variations of identity that give the charterhouse its autonomy and individuality. As Carlos Martí Arís argues, in spite of the rule of rigidity in the Carthusian order, the individuality of each monastery

is intense, since some factors connected with the adaptation of the building to its site – regarding its geographic location, the topography, the enclosure of the monastery, the relation to the surrounding fields, the hydrographical features, the way of access to the charterhouse, etc. – mould the actual buildings. Scala Coeli offers a perfect example of the conciliation between the individuality of the building and the identity of the architectural type (Martí Arís 1993: 92-92).

A comparison of the two charterhouses reveals that Santa Maria Scala Coeli had twice as many cells as Port-Saint-Marie. In the first centuries of the Carthusian order the maximum number of monks was twenty nine: twelve choir monks, sixteen *conversi* (laybrothers), and the prior. The great cloister was thus constructed for twelve choir monks. The gradual expansion of the Carthusian order, allied to its increasing status and more favourable economic conditions, led the General Chapter of 1324 to authorize the Grande Chartreuse to have twenty cells, a number that was increased to twenty four in 1332 (Aniel 1983: 49). Thus the duplication of the great cloister was necessary in order to allow for twice as many cells, as can also be found in the charterhouse of Santa Maria de Montalegre.

From the 12th century onwards, with especial emphasis after the 14th, we witnessed the golden age of the Carthusian order and duplications of the great cloister were on occasion necessary (Aniel 1983: 49). Then some charterhouses were constructed with only one great cloister that allowed from the beginning the double number of cells. This transformation conferred a great monumentality and impressiveness to the cloister, as can be seen at Santa Maria Scala Coeli.

We should also bear in mind that the monastery of Port-Saint-Marie is oriented according to the cardinal points. If at first, the Santa Maria Scala Coeli's church was committed on having an east-west orientation – a fact that determined that one of the galleries of the great cloister with cells would face north, as can be seen in the charterhouse of Port-Saint-Marie – from a certain period onwards, charterhouses began to be built according to a hypo-dynamic layout,

breaking with the east-west orientation, so as to privilege the cells of the monks, making sure none would be facing north, increasing sun exposure.

Unlike Port-Saint-Marie, in the great cloister of Santa Maria Scala Coeli the southeast and northwest galleries are prolonged to the outside wall of the charterhouse, allowing for an easier future extension of the great cloister. As the great cloister of Scala Coeli is double – twenty-four cells – this extension would correspond to a quadruplicating of the number of cells of one single cloister. It would be the first Carthusian monastery to have a quadruple cloister.

The existence of an upper walk on the terrace of the galleries of the great cloister is also something a very specific adaptation to a hot climate like that of Évora, a phenomenon that does not occur at Port-Saint-Marie. Another particular characteristic of the great cloister of Santa Maria Scala Coeli is connected to the vegetation that, as we have seen, corresponds to orange trees, with box tree corridors, connecting the centre of the galleries to the central fountain, with cypresses and myrtle around the cemetery. The vegetation is austere but fills completely the 98 x 98m of the great cloister. We find the opposite in the great cloister of the charterhouse of Pavia, which is totally covered with grass and as no presence of vegetation, thus lacking luxuriant vegetation, reinforcing the idea that the cloister is merely an element of distribution and organization of the cells, a mere area of passage.

If we compare again the plans of the charterhouse of Santa Maria Scala Coeli with those of Portes-Saint-Marie, this time focusing in the cells, we see that the cell type of Santa Maria Scala Coeli is quite similar to that of Portes-Saint-Marie, particularly in the proportions and relations of the various divisions of the cells. On the ground-floor there are a number of interior compartments, while the upper floor serves to optimize the thermal isolation.

But whereas the charterhouse of Port-Saint-Marie was located in a very cold region, with ice and high precipitation in winter, Santa Maria Scala Coeli is located in a zone characterized by high

temperatures during the summer. Therefore it adopted the local construction system – partition wall and stonework – with very thick walls to guarantee a very good thermal inertia, hence provoking an excellent thermal insulation.

Topography is also a determining factor. In the charterhouse of Santa Maria Scala Coeli there is a difference on height between the interior of the cells that maintains a balance with height of the great cloister, whilst the patio of the cells are related to the height of the land outside the wall of the charterhouse, and, as the land slopes down to the north, the corner cell on that side has such a difference in height that it enabled the construction of a basement. This is due to the smooth undulation that characterizes the landscape of Alentejo, which is even more enhanced by the presence of such a gracious monastery.

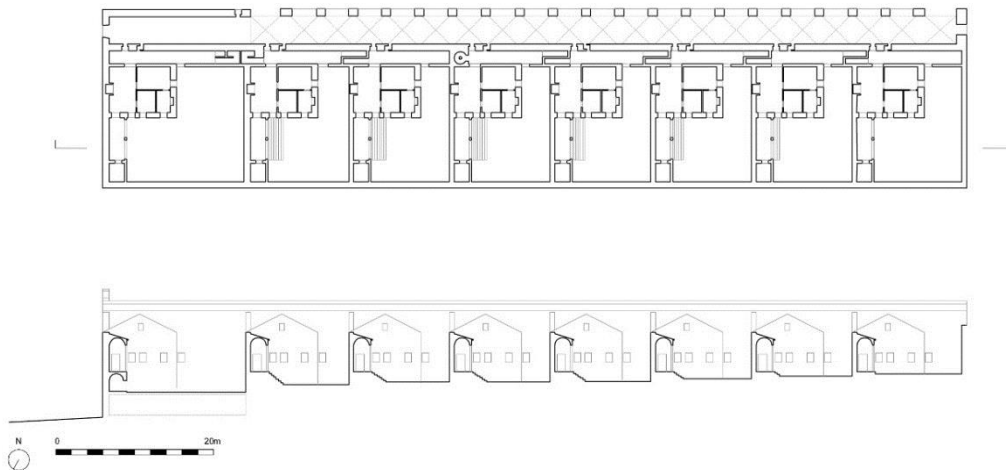


Fig. 13. Plan of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, northwest-row cells. Designed by Luís Ferro, 2009.
 Fig.14. Section of Port-Saint-Marie, northwest-row cells. Photograph by Luís Ferro, 2009.

The statutes of the order state that charterhouses have to be simple and sober; this helps us to appreciate that the adaptation of the Carthusian model to Alentejo was not difficult, because the landscape seemed to be already Carthusian before the Carthusians arrived. Hence, close to the borderlands of Évora, we find the contemplative monastery of Santa Maria Scala Coeli, which through the model established by Saint Bruno of Cologne in the Chartreuse valley, elevates the spirituality of Alentejo.

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THE CONVENT OF ESPÍRITO SANTO. A NEW APPROACH TO THE STUDY AND DISSEMINATION OF THE CONVENT SPACES

João Puga Alves³⁵

Introduction

This paper arises from the final project that culminated the cycle of graduate studies in gardens and landscape of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. This project is developed in a participating nature between the university and an external institution that could see the work to be carried as a plus to this institution.



Fig. 1. Perspective of the monastic enclosure. 3D Model by João Puga Alves.

From this perspective the criteria that led to the choice of the "Quinta do Conventinho" was due to the interest shown by the culture department of the Town Council of Loures in deepen the dissemination of its heritage and seeing the creation of this

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interactive support as a privileged mean of reaching the general public by placing it later accessible through the website of the institution for download.

The work presented here is supported by three pillars of understanding: the propagation of existing heritage; providing research means for clarifying the public in general and creating a support form for the advanced study of the building set.

In order to do so, this set of intentions would be achieved through an evolutionary interactive iBook and a virtual model of the space.

Methodology

By studying up the monastic gardens and the group of buildings that complement them, it is noted that, in most cases, the disclosure of the architectural ensemble that is described by text cores are complemented by photographs of sets of existing reality or drawings that take us to the imaginary field, allowing the reader to conceive the best way to describe it.

It can be seen in this context that the right solution would be to develop a multipurpose approach that in one hand as an academic study document that would allow an easier approach to the subject of study and to show as an evolutionary platform, and on the other hand, to the general public that would show a more appealing and interactive aspect that is currently critical to the success of a promotion work.

Therefore, we have come up with the conclusion that it would be essential to use a stable working tool, while evolutionary as a platform of development and its format would allow disclosure in an efficient manner and for all these reasons it was decided to apply the concept of "evolutionary interactive electronic book ", an iBook format.

Object of study

It is briefly characterized by the following points:

- Monastic set of the 16th century
- Erected by the Arrábidos Franciscan Order
- Monastic enclosure with approximately 600 meters long
- Intervention area of approximately 15 500 m²
- Built group: Monastery, chapel and museum

The monastic enclosure studied in this paper is characterized within the framework of the so-called Portuguese landscape of sub-units, "such as high mountains and great downtowns, very fertile soil, fueling by this virtue inherent in Lisbon of vegetables and fruit." The presence of slopes, varying between the abrupt and gentle surrounding, the large and central, moist and fertile that is lowland Loures. This monastic enclosure is situated in Santo António dos Cavaleiros, county of Loures, in the district of Lisbon.

The historical context

In the 16th century, with the Second Dynasty ongoing and under the aegis of the "Wanted Prince", King D. Sebastião I, the Franciscan Order represented by Brother Martinho of Santa Maria takes over the Arrábida consecrated chapel that before was of Blessed Virgin Mary. This was the turning point for the so-called Franciscan "Arrábidos" to carry out the foundation of numerous monasteries and one of them was the Convent of the Holy Spirit that was erected in the year of 1574 (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 22).

At the time, the convents were not prepared with the best conditions of salubrity and consequently the Order of the Franciscans took the initiative to create additional places that allowed recovery of diseases that particularly the Brothers suffered. And thus gave rise to a set of six mental hospitals and three infirmaries.

This monastic enclosure comprises three particular and distinct elements: a chapel for religious worship, the convent building for the accommodation of the friars and the workshops and the fence that kept the friars in privacy, enhancing it as a space of

introspection and mainly played the important role of producing food.



Fig. 2. Cloister with the water fountain and the centenary rosebush. Photograph by João Puga Alves.

The monastic function

Luís Castro do Rio intended to assign the role of a chapter house to this convent where it was to have a much more exuberant and larger architecture. This fact alone did not happen because the Order of the prelates was overseen by simplicity and austerity. By the nature of the first built chapel, the remaining construction group was determined to have the same evolution.

The program set to the monastic enclosure construction is not known clearly by that time, thus there was only a proposal for the 1st floor of the convent around the 18th century, but it is thought to have had integrated areas for a living space for the friars, such as cells for monks and novices, chapter room, kitchen and dining hall and also complementary areas to the chapel (sacristy and cloister). Later, in 1646, Fray Inocência do Rosário, which in the meantime

was retired at the convent, begins the renovation work of the monastery complex which at the time had turned into a state of ruin.



Fig. 3. Panel tiles inside the cloister. Photograph by João Puga Alves.

This recovery intervention also led to an expansion of the dining hall level, number of cells and the creation of a library space that would take place later in 1709 (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 25).

The group of buildings that currently exists is the result of evolution that it had with the different kind of occupancy, from the monastic, through the civil phase and currently with the museum function there. The occupancy of the Holy Spirit Convent lasted about 250 years, passing through several generations. Such longevity was due in much to the influence that the Franciscans held either in commonwealth as in the most elite social strata, including the royal family. The Franciscans were, along with the Dominicans, confessors of the nobility and wealthier people, and this does guarantee them a great advantage in terms of ideology and moral question that would consolidate during the 16th century. The friars lived in the convent until 1834, when the Liberals took power and abolished the religious orders. With the transition of religious space to a civil space of agricultural, playful and introspective functions it kept having, however, different program settings to meet the needs

of who lived there. Meanwhile, Costa Cabral, count of Tomar and minister of Queen D. Maria II, bought it at an auction for the sum of 200 *escudos* (Portuguese currency unit), and made it his summer house. Only in 1995 it was acquired by the Loures City Council.

The residential function: The summer Estate

The date of September 22nd 1834 would lead to a new phase on the Estate.

After the eviction of its previous occupants, the fence and the convent building were bought at auction by Thereza Bernarda de Jesus by the price of six hundred and twenty-one thousand “reis” (621\$000) (“Kings” or “Crowns”, ancient Portuguese currency unit before *escudo*). It is relevant to point the fact that the former convent church, preserving its cult function remains held by the state as in the Letter of Auction. On March 6th 1839, also at public auction, the church is purchased by José Silveira for one hundred and seventy thousand “reis” (170\$000) and later, after a few years on March 3rd 1853, he sold the property to António Bernardo da Costa Cabral. It was in the 20th century that the convent saw his property registration changing innumerous times. In May 1925, Alves dos Reis purchased the Estate on behalf of José Bandeira (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 77).

There are descriptions about this time that make us realize the occupancy and use of the entire complex and remits us to our imagination the pictures of the living space where everyone had their place thus creating a bucolic scenery in the lowland Loures, in the romantic line of the 19th century, situated on the outskirts of Lisbon. In December 1925, belonging until then to José Bandeira, “Quinta do Conventinho Estate” met a new owner, the German Joseph Gellweiler, having been bought at auction in 1971, this time by a “new owner or at least aspiring to such status” (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 81), Carlos Manuel de Sousa Beirão da Veiga. However he only lived in Conventinho for four years and it returned to the hands of the Gellweiler family.

The museum function

On February 10th 1988 the City Council of Loures becomes the owner of Conventinho and its adjacent lands, however, as provided in the agreement of 1987, the previous owners retained the right of using and living in the property. During the year of 1993 the technicians prepared the existing surveys which served as the basis for the rehabilitation of Quinta do Conventinho that over that time was suffering damage which would have to be recovered such as the two viewpoints. After all the vicissitudes, the museum space was inaugurated on July 26th 1998, having already been awarded twice by the Portuguese Association of Museology; one as Better Cultural Extension Service and the second in July 2009 with the integration into the network of Municipal Museums, along with the opening date of Sacavém Ceramics Museum.

The relationship with the Portuguese Garden

By beginning to observe the Convent and what composes it as an architectural ensemble, we tried to glimpse elements that could characterize within the called Portuguese Garden: the diversity of trees and flower bushes, the views, the presence of tile and large tanks. Indeed it is unarguable that in Quinta do Conventinho we have some of these characteristics such as the landscapes which are especially relevant to the local topography that develops the use of tiles either inside buildings (especially in the chapel and in the cloister area) or on the outside (in some of the tanks we can actually find traces of the plaster of tile parts and still present in the location of the Mirante da Boa Vista) and the presence of two large tanks, one of which called Tanque dos Patos.

The Fence

The delimitation of the fence lacks accurate information and the one that is observed in picture is based on oral information and the delimitation of the property in the first half of the 20th century. Furthermore, there are descriptions made by Fray António da Piedade describing an increase in the property originally acquired (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 30).



Fig. 4. Pedestrian route along monastic enclosure. Photograph by João Puga Alves.

Shrines

There were two chapels in the Monastery, one of the St. Mary Magdalene and the other called Hermitage Fence (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 30). Places of prayer and meditation, they were lost in time and currently unknown its location, being only in written description.

The pigeon house

There is very little information about this building and this same typology was recurrent in this type of group of buildings and its size reflects exactly that, winning spatial relevance. Proving this importance is its implementation at the highest point of the fence.

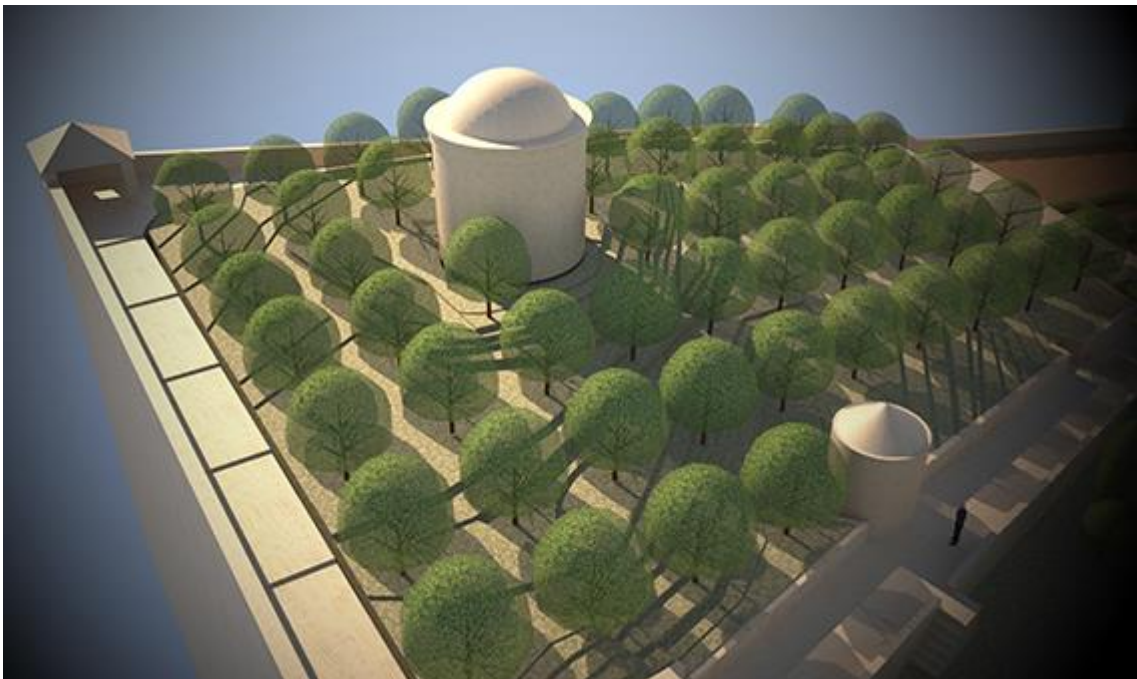


Fig. 5. Dovecote and the olive grove. Photograph by João Puga Alves.

Fig. 6. Dovecote and the olive grove. 3D Model by João Puga Alves.

Vegetation

In the genesis of the Holy Spirit Convent, one of the species described in it are jasmines which were planted predominantly and whose function was the decoration of the chapel altars. The bougainvillea plants can be found particularly in the arbor located in the area of Mirante da Boa Vista. The most reliable descriptions that can lead us to know the Botanical Flora (twentieth century) were made by one of the daughters of Joseph Gellweiler, Josefa Maria da Costa Gellweiler, letting us know the existence of roses in the cloister or bougainvillea plants in the entrance courtyard (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 111). However, we can still have the privilege of observing how the tree species *Araucaria*, the Pomegranate - *Punica granatum* bounded by a small set of hedges, comprehended by a number of small landings and near the area of the waterfall; the Orange - *Citrus sinensis* where we can find numerous examples in the orchard area; the Anoneira - *Annonae Cure* located in the access to the Fount of the Lion; the Apricot - *Prunus Armeniaca* right next to the dragon tree and the main house; the Dragon Tree - *Dracaena Draco*, a centenary specimen. There were also other species recorded in photographs at the time as was the case of the almond - *Prunus dulcis* and Judas trees - *Cercis Siliquastrum*.



Fig. 7. Orchard with orange trees. Photograph by João Puga Alves.

The hydraulics and the role of water in the space operation

As with any building of this type, the water and all of its associated hydraulic system were fundamental part of the whole complex and guarantee element of its durability in time and performing the functions for which it was designed. This monastic assemble has in its history a series of restructuring, expansions and demolition which caused an impossibility as to its physical characterization of the whole hydraulic structure for these operations gave rise to changes that often determined paths and eliminated points of water storage. Due to this difficult time, path descriptions of the hydraulic system should be considered more as assumptions because of the uncertainty of the same. There are certain assumptions that can lead us to conclude that the convent would benefit from its location to benefit from the water supply. However we can observe in a visit to the convent a wide variety of major tanks, such as "Tanque dos Patos" or the huge "Tanque das Lavagens", which would later serve as a pool to the Gellweiler family members, or small tanks near the access to Mirante da Boa Vista and the Cascade.

Water sources and tanks



Fig. 8. Small water tanks (unknown function). Photograph by João Puga Alves.

In addition to providing the necessary water to the friars, they were leisure facilities, contemplation and isolation. There are several fountains that can be found in the monastery complex citing the spout which is framed by a tile panel that eventually could have had the drainage function of rainwater and extending beyond the existing tanks and highlighting the Lion Fountain located on a limitation of the property to the northwest wall, which played an important role in providing water in the convent and in analyzing their existing reminiscences. The terrace which is located above the same may have belonged to the house that perhaps dated the 17th or 18th century. The component that can lead to this possible characterization would be its decor with embedded technique dating the 18th century and is very common in convents found in this geographical area. With the archaeological work that took place in 2005 there were few traces of the distribution system that the buildings had but yet it is thought that for the supply of water for the Lion Fountain would come from the tank located southwest through a channel cove.

The sights and viewpoints

There are two viewpoints throughout the Convent of the Holy Spirit: the “Mirante da Boa Vista” or the “Mirante Grande”. Located in the east of the property its access is made by the area that also gives access to current educational gardens with a curious set of stairs flanked by two small tanks, each of which in its extreme with a niche, and what used to fill them is unknown. Before we reach the viewpoint itself the route in shape of an “L” consists of a set of stone benches and flowerbeds and always accompanied by the arbor of wisterias. This will develop and then culminating in the space where once was the stone table at the end of the gazebo where guests of the time took their tea and could have access to all views. Currently the stone table disappeared but we can still glimpse the beautiful tile panels with floral motifs. In the northern area of the

Fence there is the “Mirante dos Ventos” or also called “Mirante Pequeno” where four columns support a hipped roof system. On the walls oriented to the northwest and northeast there are two windows that provide a full view over the lowland of Loures.



Figs. 9 and 10. Belvedere “Mirante dos Ventos” or “Mirante Pequeno” and Belvedere “Mirante da Boa Vista” or “Mirante Grande”. Photographs by João Puga Alves.

The Vegetable Garden

The vegetable garden used to be lying in the surrounding of the buildings, its location was conditioned through its flatness and having as a characteristic the existence of multiple levels of access which was made by stairways and, more importantly, by clamped areas which allowed a good maintenance of the areas of the vegetable garden and orchard. During the stay of the Gellweiler family, the vegetable garden also developed where today the area of the parking lot is. A reminiscence of this vegetable garden space is witnessed today in place by the existence of a well and it was provided with a waterwheel (of long high axis) and that allowed the most distant places of the farm to be supplied with water. Maize and wheat cereals were grown outside the walls of the fence. These spaces were active until the year 1995, year in which on October 4th is publicly announced the installation of the Municipal Museum in Quinta do Conventinho (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 97).



Fig. 11. 3D Model by João Puga Alves.

The Vineyard

Due to its particular location, good orientation to sun exposure and the quality of soil for wine production, predominantly for white varieties, it naturally led to the planting of vineyards. It may have been a cellar, which would not have the usual function of wine storage in casks and mill for the production of the same, but to store other products. Because of the status defined by the Arrábidos Franciscan friars, they were allowed to plant vineyards for grape juice production, although it was not possible to produce wine. However, with the use of the estate already in the twentieth century, the use of the vineyards ceases to be solely for grape juice production or direct consumption of the fruit, but also going to wine production, earning a considerable dimension. With the property in the possession of the Gellweiler family, they invested in vineyards and they were transformed. This transformation was reflected in the Portuguese Association of Grape Varieties with some of them coming from Germany to enrich the crops (Assunção and Inácio 1998: 112). From these vineyards just some of the latticework called “latadas” remains inside the fence having disappeared all those who were planted outside of it.

The currently existing group of buildings is a result of the evolution that it had with the different kind of occupancies, from the monastic, through the civil phase and currently with the museum function there.

With the transition of religious space to civil space, the agricultural, playful and introspective functions were kept, however acquiring different program settings to meet the needs of those who lived there.

Nowadays it is still perceived the multiplicity of spaces that are inside the fence, including the olive grove and the existence of some specimens of fruits of the time. However in its monastic lifetime, they were constant presence filled with productive gardens, an extensive orange grove and even the existence of vineyards and

consequent production of "grape juice" (not the appreciated wine, because the monks could not drink alcoholic beverages). This production was only consummated in the 20th century with the coming of the Gellweiler family to the property. Nowadays there are only a few "latticework". It is expected and it is desired to come with the years that some of the fence areas acquire the primary functions that they were intended and that the disclosure of the potential that this area has to allow people to rehabilitate and make use of them.

The interactive book development methodology

This document has been designed in order to provide a variety of information available to the public in order to inform it and at the same time to stimulate it to discover new elements during the visit to the place. In order to do so, we made the decision to structure the book to contain the following elements:

Text cores

Genesis of any book, these cores make the presentation of the convent area to the reader as well as the elements that compose it giving a general description of them.

Interactive Images

Often, despite the virtual creation to be endowed with great accuracy, the same does not reflect its real value if the graphic treatment is not appealing to the final consumer. It was then placed the challenge of making the images created from the virtual model into a dynamic and appealing element and not just a static and uninteresting frame.

The challenge that always exists in the initial perspective of a work of this nature is that it is required to formalize the virtual representation of a group of buildings built and the purpose for which the format is developed.

Therefore, they are each associated with different images "evolutionary labels" that, when touched would reveal, describe and categorize certain existing elements of the monastic fence.

Picture Gallery

When not physically on the place, and after a visit, it is the best photograph image that remains and that brings us to the space described, allowing the reader to observe whether the past or the present through the exact moment of capture. I tried to include these core images of the past and the present to reach better knowledge through comparison.



Fig. 12. Example of a didactic sheet by João Puga Alves.

Didactic Sheets

In a work of this nature it does not make sense to exclude the possibility of passage of knowledge and discovery by those who query the interactive book and those who end up visiting the space. Thinking of all users and particularly in the children, it was decided to create a core of botanical characterization sheets that enable lay people to consult the existing plant species in the convent fences as

well as some that no longer exist in there but that once have occupied it in the past. Seeing this iBook as an evolutionary document and after considerations and contributions that will bring value to this document, it opens up the possibility of including sheets that can also categorize species of birds and insects that live in this place, making this document even more enriching and appealing.

The virtual model development methodology

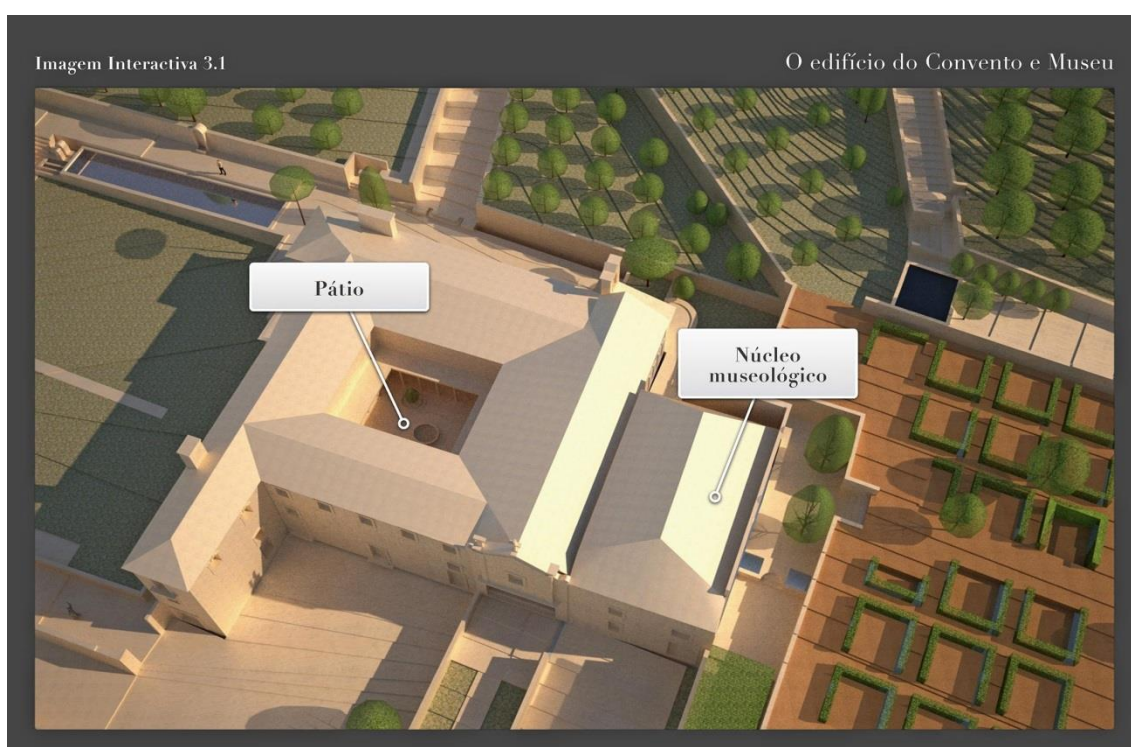


Fig. 13. Example of an interactive image by João Puga Alves.

Using one of many software tools geared for three-dimensional modeling, often the challenge is not to know the tool by which to work it but to choose one that fits the best with the desired end result. Fundamental in the initial design and layout of the work, after all the documented research that will support the historical descriptions of the studied object, we have to go to the next stage which consists of the photographic inspection of the place as well as the terms as support of a well-designed survey.

When we speak of isolated buildings or groups of buildings, is imperative that the development of the virtual model on which will stand all the information available to the reader is gifted with great scientific rigor, specifically in the implementation of all built elements, whether built or of natural character. About this rigor and veracity of virtual representation of the convent fence, it was imperative because the local topography is very rugged and an unreliable placement of the built program would lead to an inadequate reading of the studied space.

Another challenge, predominantly of imaginative nature but based on the reading of historical documents is to interpret and formalize what were virtually determined spaces that meanwhile with the passage of time disappeared.

The ideal solution would be to apply the archeology of the buildings and open spaces but the necessary resources for this method proved to be unreachable. From the existing representative content in iBook, the element that would be more challenging and to have more work involved was the virtual model of the monastic fence. The preparation of it passed through the stages of reading and processing the available cartographic information, three-dimensional modeling of architectural elements and subsequently the implementation of them with the maximum rigor and the final stage of landscape elements location (ground cover, shrubby and arboreal).

"Experience to persist"

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PART II – CLOISTERS AND COURTYARDS: FUNCTIONS AND FORMS

Antonio Perla de las Parras and Victoria Soto Caba

The Jardines de crucero: a possible study scenario for the gardens of Toledo

Magdalena Merlos

Variations around one constant: The cloister typology in the cultural landscape of Aranjuez

THE JARDINES DE CRUCERO: A POSSIBLE STUDY SCENARIO FOR THE GARDENS OF TOLEDO

Antonio Perla de las Parras and Victoria Soto Caba³⁶

Addressing the issue of the *Jardines de Crucero* or “cross-shaped” gardens is complex. Research is in its early stages, even though it has been many years since the Marquis de la Vega Inclán intuitively worked out the design of a cross-shaped garden in the so-called Courtyard of Trade (*Patio de la Contratación*) of Seville's *Alcazar*, a garden which, years later (in 1973), was to be given shape by the architect Rafael Manzano. Although from the outset it was thought that this was an *Almohad* garden, subsequent research has shown that this is really a design dating from the time of the Christian occupation. Nevertheless, the fact is that it can testify to continuity in the concepts of a cross-shaped, sunken or recess garden (Vigil-Escalera 1992).

It was Torres Balbás in 1958 who described, possibly for the first time, the structure of the courtyards' cross-shaped gardens: “a rectangular space with paths or walkways along their natural lines, tracing out the form of a cross”, with another walkway or pavement along the inner side of the courtyard walls, thus “marking out four square beds for plants and flowers between these and the arms of the cross”³⁷. From then, a long period elapsed until the recent work by lecturers at the University of Granada, Tito Rojo and Casares Porcel, on Hispano-Muslim gardens, which defined their different types³⁸.

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³⁷ TORRES BALBÁS, Leopoldo: “Pacios de crucero”, *Crónica de la España Musulmana*, 6, in *Obra Dispersa*, recopilada por Manuel Calamar, vol. I, Madrid, Instituto de España, 1983. The article on El Patio de Crucero is dated 1958.

³⁸ TITO ROJO, José y CASARES PORCEL, Manuel: *El jardín hispanomusulmán: Los jardines de al-Andalus y su herencia*, Editorial Universidad de Granada, Granada, 2011. They devote an extensive section of the first chapter to defining each of the models of sunken garden and its variations.

Despite the importance of this project, the adoption of terminology and the exact definition of the models of cross-shaped garden are still pending, as well as the agreement to decide whether we should call these generically “cross-shaped” gardens or, more accurately, use the term of *sunken* garden. In any case, to try to keep a fairly clear definition, we shall start from the principle of the garden termed as *cross-shaped* – a sunken garden – on the basis of a series of walkways that enabled people to walk above the quadrants of vegetation located on a lower level, and a number of lower galleries around their perimeter, which protected visitors from inclement weather. This basic scheme, dating from the ninth century, from ancient Iran and modern Iraq, was reported as the cross-shaped garden (*jardín de crucero*), according to different scholars, geographies and contexts of Muslim civilization.

The study of the still few examples documented in Spain (mainly based on archaeological studies in the Alcázar of Seville), reveals to us the presence, in some, of that side corridor, separated from the planted area by arches. So, we have a model that enables us to walk along with the treetops in view, and the flutter of birds, also providing us with the chance to walk round the lower levels and look at some of the smaller-sized plants.

The layout of the upper walkways – which in some cases have water-channels running along them – where two paths cross, produce a courtyard or garden in the shape of a cross: we suspect that this may be the origin of the lines reproduced in many of the convent cloisters in Toledo. Our aim is to reveal the evidence that tells us of the existence of those gardens which Toledo’s Taifa may well have had and which reveal clear signs of a correlation with those known and documented up till now. We shall concentrate our exhibition, therefore, on four of the examples we consider to be typical in the city:

Gardens of the Almunia of al-Mamun ibn Di l-Nun (1043-1075)

The building, which is inaccurately known as the Palace of Galiana, is the *almunia* (or country house) of the king of the Taifa of Toledo, al-Ma'mun ibn Di l-Nun (1043-1075), also mentioned by the various names of *al-Munya al Mansura*, *Royal Almunia* or *King's Orchard*.

The *almunias* were areas given over to horticultural farming with a twofold purpose of farm and leisure area, and were thus located just outside the town. Usually they were structured around a tower whose function seems to have been more for representation than defense, and surrounded by their own walls (Ramos Ramos 1998: 51-75). The *almunia* of al-Mamun is located on the high plains of Toledo, near the train station. For a long time it was mistakenly believed that they were the mythical and literary Palaces of Galiana³⁹, maintaining an interpretation that could have been documented in the early seventeenth century, when Salazar y Mendoza referred to "some old houses with a pond for a courtyard, which the ignorant would call the Palaces of Galiana" (Salazar y Mendoza 1603: 248).

In fact, even today in the inventories and protection plans, the buildings are listed as such. The confusion with the palaces of al-Mukarran is also corroborated by a certain ambivalence in the identification of the two. This adds to the interpretation of the descriptions that tell us of the palaces of Galiana and their adornment on the occasion of the festivities to celebrate the circumcision of the grandson of al-Mamun, passed down through a whole series of texts by *Andalus* authors, such as the writer Al-Idrisi (1100-1165 or 1166), on whom the thirteenth century historian and editor, Ibn Said al Maghribi, bases himself. He, in turn, draws his inspiration from the works of al-Hiyari (Andalusian writer

³⁹ As mentioned, for instance, by TORRES BALBÁS, L.: *Ciudades hispano-musulmanas*, t. I, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hispanic-Arabic Institute of Culture, Madrid, 1971, p. 146 and by PAVON MALDONADO, Basilio: *Tratado de arquitectura Hispano-Musulmana*, Madrid, CSIC, 1990, p. 102.

straddling the eleventh and the twelfth century and a contemporary of al-Mamun)⁴⁰.

The confusion over the identification of the *Almunia* and the palaces is no anecdote, as it responds to a lack of in-depth study of both. Traditionally, the chronicles have come to accept that continuing attempts throughout the twelfth century to recover or capture the city of Toledo, first by the Almoravids and later by the Almohads, kept the high meadow or *Vega Alta* as a place where troops were gathered, with the subsequent occupation of the Royal *Almunia*: an invasion that led to its progressive deterioration, up to its total destruction in 1212, in the pre-battle of Naves de Tolosa (in this case due to its occupation by the Christian troops). After the supposed total destruction of Islamic buildings, it has been interpreted that the today's vestiges of the Royal *Almunia* were the work of reconstruction done around 1394 by Alvar Pérez de Guzman and Beatriz Silva, in a style similar to the previous design, hence its description of *Mudejar*.

Then came the deterioration and abandonment of centuries, reflected in engravings which delighted in the romantic view of its ruins and the photographic images captured in the late nineteenth century by Laurent, or at the beginning of the twentieth century by Toledo-born Pedro Román Martínez and Casiano Alguacil, or the photographers of the House of Rodríguez.

In the 1960s, Alejandro Fernández de Araoz and Carmen Marañón, the owners, tackled the restoration of this damaged and battered area. These efforts were unhurried and done unconventionally, as far as the relationship between owners and project management was concerned. The works were handled by Fernando Chueca Goitia who, along with the historian, Gomez Moreno, decided on the work to be done as they progressed.

As far as we know, and on the basis of individual reports we have, no plans were drawn up as such, nor was there any report. Often

⁴⁰ On the same issue, see Vid. DELGADO VALERO, Clara: *Toledo islámico: ciudad, arte e historia*, Toledo, Zocodover, 1987 and an aspect studied by Clara Delgado, "Noticias sobre Toledo suministradas por los geógrafos musulmanes" in *En la España Medieval*, Volume V, Madrid, Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1986.

Gómez Moreno worked intuitively, and work went ahead on that basis. So it was, we are told, that one day he said that on the esplanade opposite the tower of the *Almunia*, there must have been a sunken garden (no doubt a deduction after reading some texts, such as the ones we have quoted by Salazar de Mendoza).

A vital review of the building leads us to the need to rethink and carefully study the history of the whole complex, separating what was built by Chueca Goitia from the remains preserved. The relatively recent restoration of the *al fresco* wainscoting⁴¹ has drawn our attention to certain aspects that incline us to rethink the accepted chronologies of the destruction and reconstruction of the *Almunia*.

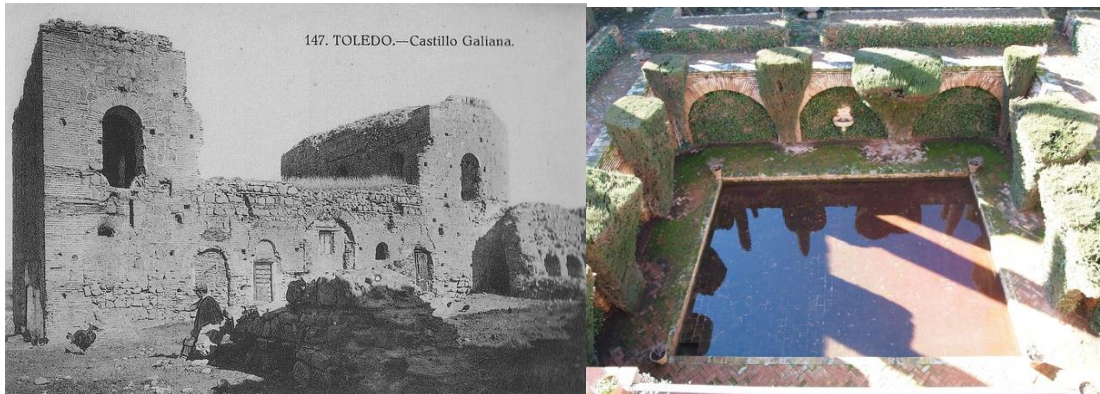


Fig. 1. The Royal Almunia in the beginning of the 20th century with the garden area covered. Photograph by Grafos.

Fig. 2. The garden in present days, after excavation. Photograph by Victoria Soto Caba.

Similarly, the comparison between the images of early last century, with an esplanade in the place that has come to be taken up by today's sunken garden, led us to think of an imaginative approach taken by the architect, which certainly contributed to it not being greatly considered by historians. The reality seems to contradict us, however, and careful analysis shows that, indeed, Gómez Moreno was right when he said that there must have been a sunken garden (Figs. 1 and 2). The semi-circular brick arches, which form the perimeter, must have appeared in the excavation, probably broken

⁴¹ Carried out under the supervision of Carmen Rallo, by Carolina Peña Bardasano and Antonio Perla in 2011.

at the top, which shows a reconstruction with mortar which is different from the rest of the style.

The wall which blocks off the arches is also likely to be the result of the intervention of Chueca, although we cannot be absolutely sure about this at this moment. The truth is that this wall is not attached to the arches but superimposed, leaving a gap between the two. On the sides facing east to west there are two internal corridors that indicate, at least partially, that behind the arches there is a gallery. This same evidence is manifest in the slanting space behind the arches on the west side, where the staircase leading down to the pool was built i.e. what we have is exactly that model of sunken garden which Navarro Palazón called a *pool-courtyard* (*patio-alberca*) and which Tito Rojo and Manuel Casares refer to, classifying it as “Type 3.4.1” (Tito Rojo and Casares Porcel 2011: 102-104).



Fig. 3. The excavated garden with the original access to the underground on the right tower.

Although we cannot attest to exactly what remains were found of the *Almunia*, and whether they were, in fact, as we see them today,

what is certain is that all the evidence points to that lower perimeter gallery, which would be accessed through the vaulted area to the right, on the north face, and which would extend beneath the room located at the southeast end of the tower (Fig. 3). In this room, the wooden floor has a trap door that reveals the steps leading down to the lower level gallery of the garden (now a kind of basement warehouse). The wall that blocks off and separates the alcove of the room shows evidence of being superimposed on top of remains of colored plasterwork that appears to be related to the paintings of the wainscoting on the upper section.

Although on the main floor of the garden the palatial buildings opposite the tower were destroyed, virtually at foundation level the general pattern is quite clear, with the path that runs along level with the crowns of the fruit trees, possibly planted in the narrow strip left for vegetation.

Water tower and well of the Convent of Concepción Francisca

It was the domination of water that enabled Toledo to represent for posterity the place where some of the most beautiful gardens in the Hispano-Muslim world grew and prospered, along with those of the Madinat al-Zahra and the Alhambra. From the Taifa period, Toledo was an orchard of palaces and gardens as evidenced by its chroniclers. Al-Hiyari, providing the basis of many descriptions when he mentioned the large number of pomegranate trees in the city; the importance of farming, compared to other cities; and the various different types of grafting used - facts which were to be reinforced by Muslim texts well into the late Middle Ages⁴².

⁴² The Granada geographer, Ibn Sai al-Magribi, (last third of the thirteenth century), on writing on Toledo states "al-Hiyari has described it at great length, mentioning the greatness of its defences and the trees that surround it everywhere. Through the *Puerta de la Sagra* one can see the pomegranates with flowers almost the size of a pomegranate. Many different types of grafts and crops are used which exceed those of other cities....". Ismael Imad-ab-Din-al-Ayubi, an Arabian prince, historian and geographer, born in Damascus in 1273 and better known as Abulfeda, in turn points out that "Toledo is surrounded everywhere by groves of trees and appears to turn into pomegranate flowers at the enormity of pomegranates it contains, without forgetting other types of fruit trees", quoted by VILLAR GARRIDO, A. and J. (1997), *Viajeros por la Historia. Extranjeros en Castilla-La Mancha*, Toledo, Publications Section, Department of Education, p. 34.

Al-Ma'mun was responsible for buildings that were mythologized by poets and polygraphs of successive centuries; constructions where gardens and water, as an essential element of landscaped areas, took on a leading role and set the tone of the city's green spaces.

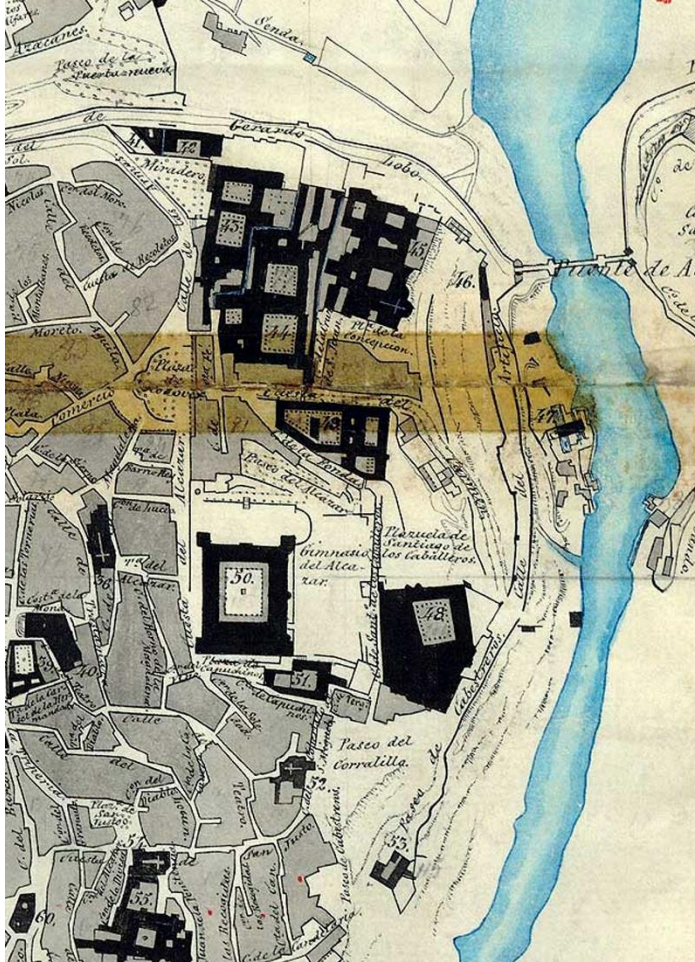


Fig. 4. Detail of Toledo's plan, 1879, covering the area occupied by al-Mukarram, the Alcázar in the southern area and the convents of Santa Fe and Concepción Francisca in the northern area. Centro Nacional de Información Geográfica.

The first, and perhaps, most important of all these buildings was the al-Mukarram *alcazar*, or fortress-palace, located in the northeast corner and highest part of the town; a fortified Moorish citadel, in turn within the walls of the city itself, constituting an official, military and residential district which came to be called *al-Hizam* (the girdle) (Fig. 4). The alcazar of al-Mukarram was where the mythical palaces of Galiana were actually to be found: a series of pavilions and halls between gardens on terraces facing north to

south, like the structures superimposed upon them. The succession of stepped terraces was obviously the best formula, given the steep and rugged terrain of the area, and the best solution for the location of the gardens.

These gardens were structured to adapt to the land, broken down into successive units of cross-shaped courtyards and gardens – following the Moorish tradition and certainly that of the Caliphs – which overcame the difficulty of some very steep slopes, which had to be reinforced by walls, thus becoming a kind of hanging or “raised” gardens. These terraced gardens required a solid tectonic system – assisted in many cases by the very walls of the al-Hizam – and a hydraulic scheme which would water the plants and make it possible to install pools, ponds and fountains, as we know from written sources.

It would not be at all farfetched to present these gardens as a formula of transition or evolution between the Caliphate and Nazrid style of gardening. In many ways, we believe that the succession of courtyards and gardens of the Alhambra and the Generalife, on mountainous terrain and within a walled enclosure, similar to the situation of Toledo itself, found a clear model in the work by al-Mamun on the palaces of al-Mukarran or Galiana.

The loss of the city did not mean the palaces were abandoned, however, and evidence remains of how they were used by successive kings to become an important center of cultural exchange⁴³. The commentary on the old Toledo *Alcazar* appears in the account of the voyage of a Moroccan ambassador, who mentions how even in the late seventeenth century there were “remnants of the Kasbah, where kings had formerly lived; those who lived after the last conquest of this city, constructed new buildings there” (Villar Garrido 1997: 133). There is no lack of references but, as we know, the old al-Mukarran citadel had been transformed completely, shared out among different religious orders and their

⁴³ José María TORROJA MENÉNDEZ described how King Alphonse X accommodated the Jewish, Muslim and Christian scholars of the School of Translators in the Galiana palace, *El Sistema Del Mundo Desde la Antigüedad Hasta Alfonso X el Sabio*, Instituto de España, 1980, p. 176.

convents, who settled in and gradually transfigured their settings, although among them remained (and still remain) fragments of that past⁴⁴, such as the orientation of their architecture and the configuration of their terraced gardens.

So, with the convent of Concepción Francisca, whose origin and foundations have been written about *ad nauseam* over more than a century and a half⁴⁵, with information not always sufficiently referenced, we see a construction superimposed upon what was once the convent of San Francisco, founded in turn on top of part of the Palaces of Galiana.

Despite great strides being made, many questions remain, to reveal more accurately the changes in each of the areas that formed the palace, namely: the citadel, the Franciscan convent, the Convent of Santa Fe, the Convent of San Pedro de las Dueñas and the Convent of la Concepción.

On vestiges of the past in the form of terraced gardens, we recently mentioned Concepción Francisca⁴⁶, however we must not omit a mention of aspects of the little studied hydraulic systems that made the construction of palaces and gardens at the top of the city possible. In the space between the retaining wall of the terrace, which is the site of today's Museum of Santa Cruz, and the buildings known as the *Casa de los Demandaderos* (*House of Claimants*) and the Chapel of St. Jerome (really *Chapel of the Fountain or Fountains*), there are two sets of arches that once led somewhere but

⁴⁴ The most recent work on the Convent of las Comendadoras de Santiago revealed some of the structures of the Islamic *aula régula* and brought a new interpretation of some of the existing work, as is the case of the Chapel of Belén, interpreted as the superimposing of a Muslim prayer room. Cfr. MONZÓN MOYA, Fabiola and MARTÍN MORALES, Concepción: "El antiguo convento de Santa Fe de Toledo", *Bienes Culturales, Revista del Instituto del Patrimonio Histórico Español*, Department of Fine Art and Cultural Heritage, nº 6, Madrid, 2006, pp.53-76; and CALVO CAPILLA, Susana: "La Capilla de Belén del Convento de Santa Fe de Toledo: ¿Un oratorio musulmán? Mit. 8", *Madrid Miteilungen*, nº 43, 2002, pp.353-375

⁴⁵ "Where the Convent of Sta. Fé now stretches out its high gallery, and the Hospital of Santa Cruz its magnificent wings, and the Church of la Concepción raises its hand-carved pails, there stood the traditional palace which was handed down by the Goths to the Muslim princes, and then by them in turn to the victors of Castile; ...that small space sums up the most vital events of the history of Toledo over many centuries..." in PARCERISA, F.J. y QUADRADO, J.M.: *Recuerdos y bellezas de España. Castilla La Nueva*, Madrid, 1848-1853, Vol. II Toledo (1853) [Facsimile Ed., Zocodover, Toledo, 1981], p.276

⁴⁶ At the International Colloquium held at Evora University, cfr. SOTO CABA, V. and PERLA DE LAS PARRAS, A.: "Vulnerable images: Toledo, the arid city and its hidden gardens" in DUARTE RODRIGUES, Ana [coord.], *Gardens and tourism. For and beyond economic profit*, CHAIA/CIUHCT, 2015, pp. 27-46 .

which, at some unspecified time, were blocked up. We think that the first arch, on entry, corresponds to an old water mine (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Mine in the Santa Cruz wall at the convent of Concepción Francisca. Photograph by Victoria Soto Caba.

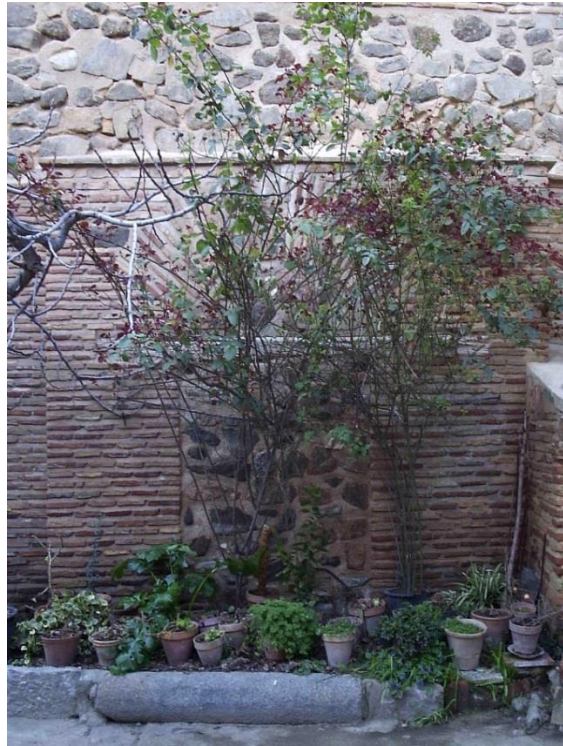


Fig. 6. Possibly an *aljibe* located near the above mentioned mine. Photograph by Victoria Soto Caba.

These galleries of different lengths, which search out veins of water which flow directly, or which collect the water from small streams into sinks or runoff reservoirs — known also as water towers and which in the Islamic world were known as *qanats* — were common in Toledo, as we know from written and surveying⁴⁷ documentation and, in fact, a good number of them have been preserved to this day, locked within the courtyards of some of Toledo's houses (Gutierrez Arias 2014).

The second arch in the Courtyard of the Demanderos has an architectural structure which is different to the previous one, as it is surrounded by a brick factory. In this case we do not believe that it

⁴⁷ See, for instance, HURTADO DE TOLEDO, Luis: *Memorial de algunas cosas notables que tiene la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo* (1576), re-published in *Relaciones histórico-geográficas-estadísticas de los pueblos de España hechas por iniciativa de Felipe II*, vol. III, Madrid, 1963. Also available for consultation are the plans of the 19th century Geographical and Statistical Institute and, among them, the General Plan of Toledo, which dates back to 1901, IGE, 452073, sheet 11.

is the entrance to another mine but rather a well that may have been fed by the water from the previous mine (Fig. 6). In terms of its construction, it has great similarities with the well-known public wells of the city of Granada from the twelfth (as in the case of the Well of San Miguel) and thirteenth centuries. We believe, therefore, that it is quite possible that both buildings were destined to collect water, and were part of the water system belonging to al-Mukarram's palaces and gardens of Galiana.

Courtyard of el Moral in the Convent of Santo Domingo el Real

As with a number of convents in Toledo, the history of the Convent of Santo Domingo El Real has evolved through the appearance and amalgamation of various different architectural and urban phenomena which are a result of the acquisition of heterogeneous properties that have led to anarchic architectural forms, and have earned Toledo the title of a small-scale, disorderly city. In the view of Sixto Parro, this was simply an old building whose design lacked a uniform plan, and he noted that when spotting it from the meadow, one could see no more than a group of houses lacking any unity or beauty (Parro 1857: 137). Amador de los Rios mentioned the possibility that in the place where the convent stood a "none too ordinary building" had existed, dating from the tenth century (Amador de los Ríos 1905: 67). We assume he refers to the west area, where the courtyard of el Moral is located. We do not know what this scholar based his claim upon, although in view of some of the remains we find, this does not seem unreasonable.

Without going into areas of the convent, and therefore into each of their present histories, or the terraced gardens that unfold upon the walls of the city on its north face, we would like to draw attention to the traces of the Courtyard or Patio of el Moral.

Beyond the claims of Amador de los Rios as to its origin, the courtyard of el Moral is taken to be a work of the fifteenth century,

transformed in the early sixteenth century when, in 1507, the works of one of its builders' groups⁴⁸ was begun.

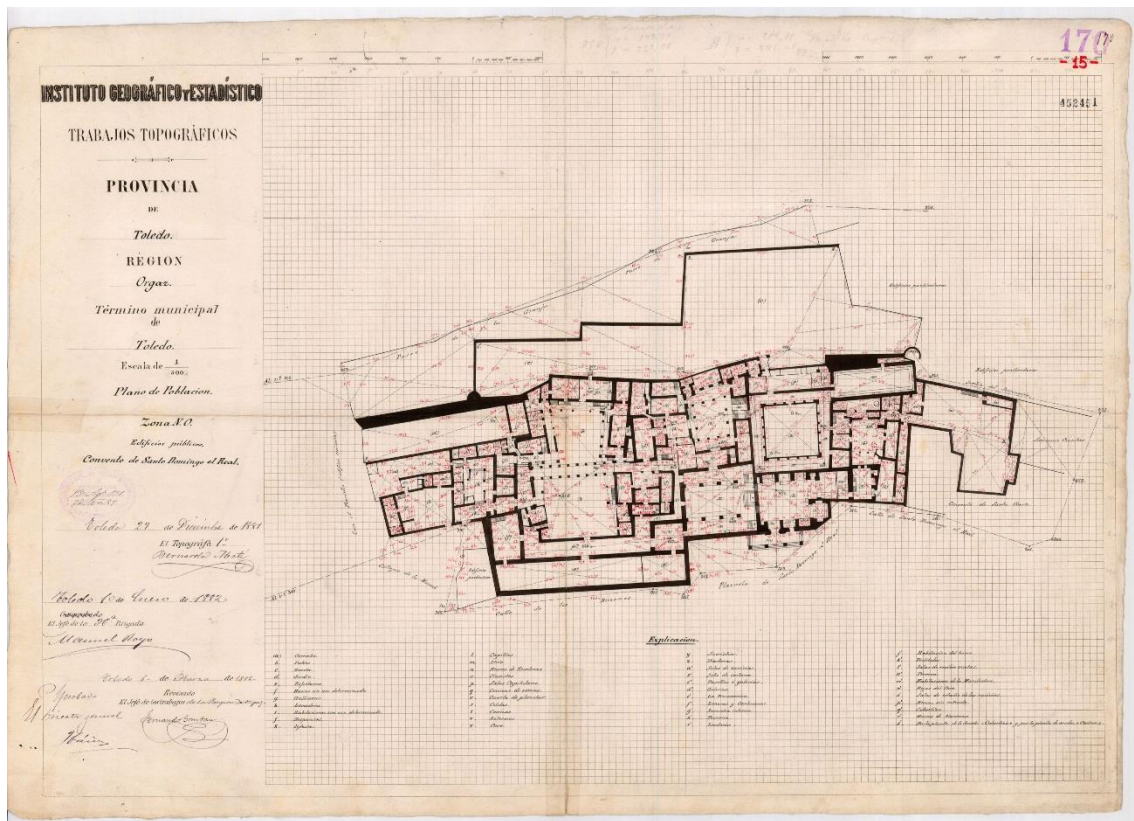


Fig. 7. Convent of Santo Domingo el Real, Cartografía de Ibáñez Ibero, 1881. Centro Nacional de Información Geográfica.

For the construction of this part of the convent several pre-existing houses were demolished. Looking at the plans, it appears that their final form was the result of adaptation to a pre-existing path and a number of buildings, to accommodate a number of sections which attempted to create the form of a rectangle - but without success (Fig. 7).

The corridor that divided the courtyard into two in the seventeenth century (on March 5th 1615 the stonework for the underground passage was contracted for the project by Juan Bautista Monegro), finally set out this great space by visually dividing it into two courtyards, thus lending it a more regular shape without diminishing its grandeur as a whole. The renting out of a part of the

⁴⁸ Santo Domingo el Real Archive, Toledo, (ASDRT), Documents nr 360 and 361.

Convent to the Cadastre, or Land Registry, produced the traumatic division we see today, blocking off the arcades of the corridor gallery and creating a view of a closed courtyard (the Cadastre courtyard). But curiously this image, coupled with the short notes indicated, are what lead us to ponder over the possible existence of an earlier courtyard, indeed, of a possible sunken garden. For the time being, we do not have any more documentary evidence that witnesses or contradicts this, but this could initially be the key to the more rectangular form of this section, as opposed to the one to the north. Our attention is caught by the existence of this raised corridor that closes off the courtyard to the north side and leads to the garden via a central staircase.



Fig. 8. Patio del Moral, Convent of Santo Domingo el Real. Photograph in Fray Luis Gomara, *Los Dominicos y el arte*, 1925.

When looking at old photographs in search of answers which pre-date the most recent works, in the breastplate of the gallery we have observed that the style of construction corresponds to the techniques of the tenth or eleventh centuries (Fig. 8). We know that this is not a definitive dating scheme, and may vary in accuracy, however we

cannot fail to point out that this is consistent with the assessment of Amador de los Rios.

Moreover, in the layout of the garden we see a cross-shaped structure of several paths with flower beds on each side, although in the photographs of the first third of the last century⁴⁹ what we see is a floor completely covered with stone slabs, but with a network of fruit trees whose crowns are level with passers-by through the raised gallery on the north side.

Cloister of the Imperial Monastery of San Clemente

Finally, we bring in the seventeenth century notes in the last works undertaken to restore the main or Processional Cloister of the Imperial Convent of San Clemente. As in the previous case, these are not definitive conclusions, since the findings and interpretation of some remains that have been complex are still being drafted.

We believe there is a fair amount of evidence which points to the possible existence of a sunken garden, displaced by today's layout of the cloister, whose final form appears to be the result of adapting the structures of an early fifteenth century cloister to a Renaissance classicist form by the hand of Nicolás de Vergara, conducted between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Again, as in the previous case, a Toledo convent is the result of an amalgam of diverse properties. The fact that this was the first convent founded in the city makes it more complex to interpret, without it being fully clarified whether this dates from the first or second half of the twelfth century. What we do see clearly is the existence of earlier urban structures which we believe are still present in some of its areas.

We know of the presence of a Roman well of considerable size, for public use, discovered in the west bay of the cloister. In a straight line, east to west, following the slope and just below the refectory, we come across a well with running water which flows only a few

⁴⁹ Moral Cloisters. Rodríguez Collection. Provincial Historic Archive of Toledo (APHT).

meters below the parapet. In principle, this would be nothing unusual but the surprising thing is that we find ourselves at a height of just five meters below the highest point of the city, located right at the head end of the church.

The uneven configuration of the convent, with considerable differences in height, made it necessary to stagger the construction in the monastery, or the construction which it was built upon, using a system repeated since ancient times in many old buildings of the city, involving the formation of chambers or galleries with barrel vaults which, in turn, made best use of the spaces created.



Fig. 9. Cloister of Processions of the Imperial Convent of San Clemente, staircases to the underground gallery. Photograph by Victoria Soto Caba.

In the case of San Clemente, we know that the refectory was built upon a series of brick-built barrel vaults, with no formwork, and which authors such as Balbina Martínez Caviro date from around the eleventh or twelfth centuries (Martínez Caviro 1990: 73). The existence of vaults with no formwork is fairly well documented on the Iberian Peninsula in the Nazrid era, although examples of the

Umayyad and Emirate periods are also known (Hernández Giménez 1975 and Almagro 2001: 147-170).

In sections reproduced in the book, *Architectures of Toledo*, the gallery under the refectory appears, as does the bay where the Roman well is to be found⁵⁰, but not the other galleries in the main cloister, beneath the nave and the north corridor, or the vaulted space on the right of the altar, opposite the Chapter House. In effect, in the gallery on the north side, attached to the balustrade, there is a staircase that must have been opened relatively recently, because in the 1882 plan, this does not figure nor, of course, does the fairly recent construction, as well as the fact that this makes an irregular break in the openings on the lower floor (Fig. 9).



Fig. 10. Arches of the underground gallery closed by a support wall. Photograph by Victoria Soto Caba.

The staircase leads to a lower gallery, which runs in the same direction as the main gallery and which, in principle, is entered from

⁵⁰ VV. AA.: *Arquitecturas de Toledo*, Castilla-La Mancha Regional Government Publications Department, 1991, 2 vols

the rooms beneath the centerline, through a passage in the wall—today sealed off. Just below the line of the arch that closes off the cloister, a series of masonry arches coincide with the columns which support the arches of the cloister floor. The arches of the lower floor are of a substantial thickness and clearly have been blocked up by a rubble-mound, undoubtedly to support earth movement (Fig. 10). It is not known at what point this occurred but we think that the blocking off appears to be concealing the identity of a garden which, like cross-shaped or simply sunken gardens, this lower level was reached through these arches.

The scheme would be very similar to that of the sunken gardens in the cross-shaped courtyard within the *Patio de la Montería* (Hunting Courtyard) of the Alcázar of Seville. Two of the arches correspond with skylights which are open at the top, literally glued to the arcade, with an obvious function of lighting that seems to us particularly similar to that of the skylights that we see in the so-called *Baños de Doña María* (Baths of Doña María), the garden's lower pool, originally Almohad, in the Patio de la Montería of Seville's Alcazar.

It is difficult, nevertheless, to draw conclusions, given probable scenarios that require a very complex effort to confirm i.e. a far-reaching archaeological analysis. All we should remember is that we are allowing ourselves to be carried away by stereotypical conventions, without pausing to reflect upon their real correspondence with the tangible evidence of the past. Toledo, long before revealing to us that brown, arid image that eventually became a symbol of its identity, was sung about by Hispano-Muslim poets, for its orchards, trees and gardens. The witnesses of that past still, therefore, await a study which is capable of looking must deeper.

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VARIATIONS OF ONE CONSTANT: THE CLOISTER TYPOLOGY IN THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF ARANJUEZ

Magdalena Merlos⁵¹

Introduction

One of the characteristics of the Cultural Landscape of Aranjuez, specially recognized as a World Heritage site by UNESCO, is the variety of styles and typologies of its gardens, and the weight and influence it has in the history of world gardening.

The trajectory of this history can be followed in the two axis cloister gardens of the renaissance, baroque, neo-classical, and romantic periods. The *Jardín del Rey* (Garden of the King - a *giardino segreto*) and the *Jardín de la Princesita* (Garden of the Little Princess) has remarked this tradition in Aranjuez since the 18th century up to the 19th century. In the greatest gardens of Aranjuez - *La Isla* (The Island, 16th century) and the *Jardín del Príncipe* (Garden of The Prince, 18th - 19th century) - are identified zones of orchards adapted to the cloister typologies.

The cloister plan appears not only in the gardens, but also in its urbanism and architecture. The development and composition of cloister gardens in 18th century towns is very significant, facilitated by the orthogonal design of the streets and squares. Many examples can be seen not only in open spaces, but also in interior patios of palaces or court buildings up to our days.

Other disappeared examples may be studied through the rich and vast historical cartography of the place. They are in relation with the structure of *crujías* (or corridors) of the buildings over renaissance models, highly developed in the town. Finally, Aranjuez shows the

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formation of *apples* of nature, like urban gardens, where the cloister lines represent a prolongation of the streets, showing the transition from stone to nature.

The paper intends to show the adaptation of the cloister typologies to different scenes in a World Heritage site which given the primary and significant role of the nature in it, has been recognized as a Cultural Landscape.



Fig. 1. Jardín de la Princesita. Photograph by M. Merlos.

OBJECTIVE

The goal of this study is to show the adaptation of cloister garden typology in different areas of Aranjuez, which is one of the most relevant Royal Sites of the Spanish Monarchy since the 16th century and is located near Madrid in a privileged location in the valley of the river Tagus at the point where it receives its affluent, the river Jarama. The Cultural Landscape of Aranjuez, declared a World Heritage site in 2001, maintains its uniqueness and universal values of harmony between man's work and nature. These values are exemplified in the confluence of styles and types of gardens and in the strength and influence that Aranjuez has had in the world history of gardening. Thus, it is considered an ideal reference for the study of monastic types of gardens which were very characteristic in the peninsular Middle Ages and intimately linked to architecture since they were not only present in monastic or church cloisters, but in civilian areas too as an expression of both Christian tradition and the Islamic world⁵². Crucial Peninsular Muslim palatine references

⁵² For the purpose of this study, the name *cloister* is considered as a generic type of axial compartmentalized courtyard into four parts, as synonymous of *crucero*. This terminological precision ought to be studied in a more general context.

are the *califal* Madinat al Zahra, the *almohades* Patio del Crucero and Patio de la Casa de la Contratación, both in the Alcázar de Sevilla (Almagro 2007), and the *nazarí* Patio de los Leones (Alhambra in Granada). A Christian example in Spain is the Monastery of Guadalupe. All of these constructions are in physical connection with Royal Palaces. Moreover, it is relevant to remember the established relations of the Spanish Crown with religious architecture. Many Spanish royal residences were located in monasteries from the Middle Ages (*Las Huelgas*, Guadalupe, Yuste). In this sense, the Renaissance Monastery of El Escorial is not only a monastery but also a palace as the result of a logical historical process.

Origins

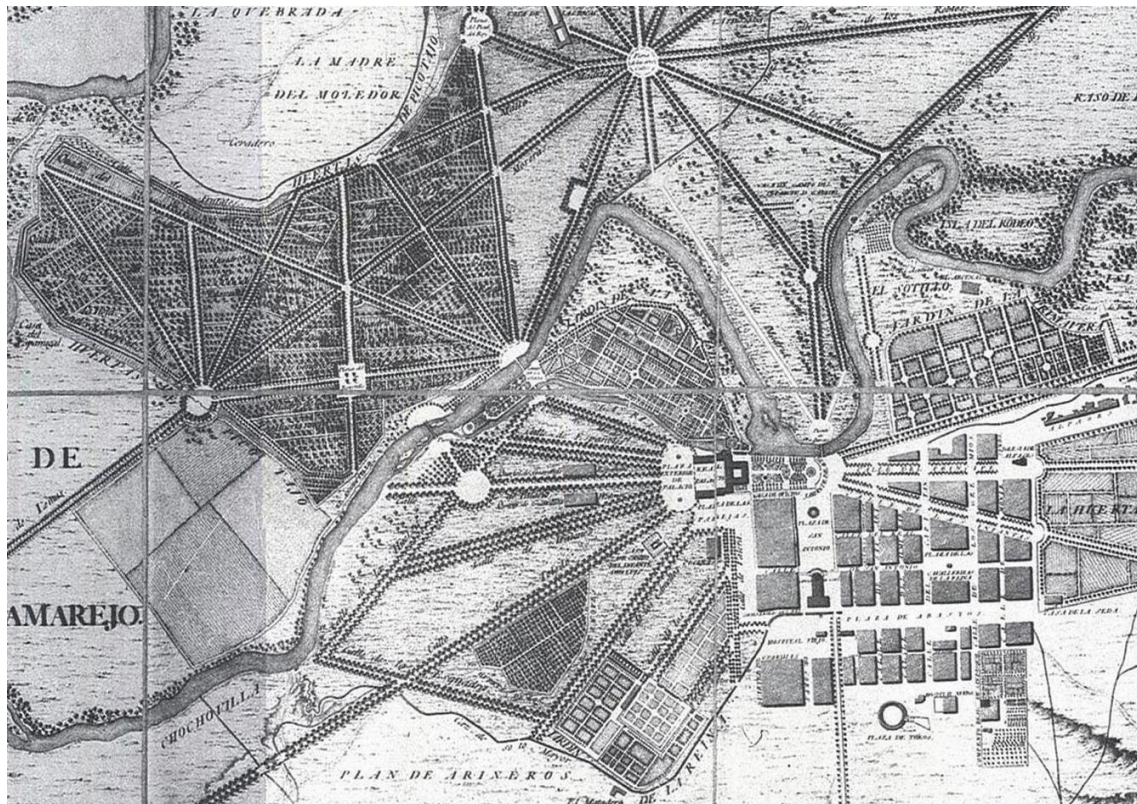


Fig. 2. Domingo de Aguirre (drawing), Juan Antonio Salvador Carmona (engraving). *Topografía del Real Sitio de Aranjuez* (fragment), 1773. © Ayuntamiento de Aranjuez. On top, on the left, Picotajo. On top, on the right: Jardín de la Primavera and Pabellones. In the middle: Jardín de la Isla. Jardín del Rey (nearby the palace). At the foot: Potaxier, Huerta de la Reina. At the foot, on the right: Orchard of the Convent of San Pascual, and Hospital of San Carlos.

In Aranjuez, several areas have been created and developed throughout the Modern Age with two milestones in the 16th and 18th centuries: the first and best known area, the Palace and Gardens (created in the 16th century); the second, historical gardens and alleys - tree walks - (16th and 18th centuries); and the third, the city, a foundation dated on the 18th century.

It was Felipe II who conceived the enclave based on functional diversity, requiring distribution and prioritization of these spaces. (Merlos 1998). Still a Prince, he created an administrative body for the Royal Sites, the *Junta de Obras y Bosques* (1545), which established the hierarchical superiority of the gardener respect the architect (García Morales 1990). On the one hand the functions of court representation and manifestation of power and on the other the residential, recreational (hunting, riding) and productive role of the Royal Site (crop and livestock) were represented in painting, landscaping, both urban and architectural Renaissance resources, mainly through geometry and perspective and the game of three-dimensional scales.

Thus, three rings or fields in three scales were established from those early interventions and functional diversity and were determined to a lesser or greater degree of intervention of man over nature (Merlos 1998). Thus, in the space of the *vega*, the fertile valley of natural groves and forests is a core or first ring, the Palace and the nearby garden with an institutional, residential and enjoyment function. A wider second ring, which may correspond to the *selvático* (open wild garden), is destined for both the leisure and production⁵³. And a third space, an organized territory bounded by the same elevations which delimit the valley and flank the channels of the rivers, but structured on the basis of urban scale intervention (alleys and squares) for leisure and production and spatial communication; which results in a subtle transition from areas of

⁵³ The *selvático* was so called in documents from 16th century, proceeding of the Archivo General of Simancas (cfr. Merlos 1998).

high human intervention to those in which nature has not been altered (Fig. 2).

Consequently, in the transformation of these natural spaces converge both architects dedicated essentially to design tasks which subject the natural surfaces to constructive rules of geometry and order, and professionals dealing with scientific garden shed, selection and arrangement of species to stimulate the senses or its production, care and maintenance. There are expert gardeners and horticulturists of varied origin (Moorish, Flemish, Nordic French, and Italian) involved. The indigenous professionals from Granada, Sevilla, Málaga and Murcia introduce an aesthetic taste that the king has already enjoyed in other inherited royal residences of Muslim princes. These are the cases of garden-orchard and traditional crops with typical species of pleasure gardens (myrtle, boxwood, cypress, orange, lemon, jasmine), or irrigation systems and water tanks (ditches, ponds), concepts that should be presented in the Medieval Aranjuez of the Order of Santiago.

The confluence of so many elements supports an anti-classical, mannerist and eclectic aesthetics. This diversity fosters the broad typological range of gardens in Aranjuez. This is the space in which the history and the evolution of cloister models from the 16th to the 20th century in two different but interrelated forms - module and model- are tracked, precisely because it is determined by the same architecture. The explanation is given below, firstly, the cloistered module in the garden and orchard, secondly, the monastic model in relation to urbanism and architecture.

Cloister module in the garden and in the orchard

The cloister module is found in the three rings of intervention. At the core, in the *Jardín del Rey* (King's Garden) of the 16th century, and the *Jardín de la Reina* (Queen's garden) (16th-20th centuries). It is on the second ring where the *Jardín de la Isla* (Garden of the Island, 16th) is located. Moreover, the *Huertas* (orchards) of *Picotajo* (16th), of *Potaxier* (16th-18th) and *New Huertas* (16th-18th) are identified in

the third ring; also the *Huerta de Alpajés* (15th), this one annexed to the late *Jardín del Príncipe* (Prince's Garden, 18th) (Fig. 2). Somehow, repeating patterns will encourage idealistic images of Aranjuez made of green reticules (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Nicolau de Fer (drawing), Juan Bautista Homann Heirs (engraving), Palace of Aranjuez, c. 1735. Plan of Madrid with four views (detail). Private Collection.

Jardín del Rey (King's Garden)

The *Jardín del Rey* is the *giardino segreto* of Felipe II. It represents the maximum subjection of the trace of the garden to the architecture. Juan Bautista de Toledo takes a much reduced scale, according to the exclusive and reserved character of the space (Figs. 10 and 13). This is a *crucero* focused on the famous source of jasper (possibly commissioned in 1580 by Felipe II to Roque Solario) and adapted to a rectangular surface by lateral reiteration of the module. Mannerist tensions are manifest, as it occurs between the elevated height of the dome of the chapel and the small size of the garden (Fig.4).

A gallery of the palace facing south gives access to this separated garden from an outside view, originally as a whole, thanks to the facade of the palace and to the wall with *andito* (an elevated pass).

*en ella tiene un jardín a la parte del mediodía que le goza el Rey desde sus ventanas, bien compuesto y adornado de estatuas antiguas, de medio cuerpo arriba metidas en nichos, el todo del jardín es empedrado y enlosado, tiene en medio una fuente de jaspe verde maravillosa*⁵⁴



Fig. 4. *Jardín del Rey*. Photograph by M. Merlos.

This garden, a bounded space opposite to the open garden, somehow includes concepts like the medieval *hortus conclusus*, or the Islamic garden wall. This most private sphere responds - through the Renaissance prescript to peninsular Muslim tradition - to the basis of the *Spanish garden*. In this sense, the same characters can be identified as the representation of Paradise at its minimum scale, or the role of the wall and the *andito* to allow contemplation of the garden from a high altitude.

⁵⁴ 18th century. *Description of the Palace of Aranjuez* by Gómez de Mora. (Biblioteca Vaticana. Cfr. Sancho 1996).

The internal *crucero* traces, both the Western and Muslim garden, also symbolize the four rivers of Eden⁵⁵. In the *Jardín del Rey*, the trace is increased to four *parterres* which seeks a bigger dimension and allows the transition from the quadrate to the rectangle. Islamic reminiscences, which are corroborated in the aforementioned gallery, open to the south, to the shortest length of the garden, and consequently trace a layered access facing the garden entry. The Islamic influences can mainly be seen in the selection of species, like the orange (as is stated in the *mudéjar* courtyards or in the shin of the mosques). A document written in 1583 refers to:

*el jardin de naranjos questa en el quarto rreal nuevo*⁵⁶

The symmetrical *Jardín de la Reina* was projected for the 16th century but not built until centuries later (fig. 10). The *Jardín de la Reina* is garden along with the longitudinal area east of the palace, which was also planned but not built, follows a traditional Spanish layout between gardens and architecture, called *Hispanic model in T and U* (Sanz 2009).

Jardín de la Isla (The Island Garden)

The *Jardin de la Isla* can be found on the second territorial circle where the binomial *orchard garden / country house* characterizes once again the organization of peninsular Islamic suburban palaces (Figs. 2 and 13). The setting of the royal site reinterprets an existing structure from the middle Ages (14th century), of a time when the property belonged to the Order of Santiago and developed a residence and a vegetable garden. Within the stylish and typological variety of the gardens of Aranjuez, the *Jardín de la Isla* is a sample of the eclectic art which dominated the end of the 16th century.

⁵⁵ It is inevitable to mention the perfect model of *crucero* garden in the creations of Felipe II: *The Patio de los Evangelistas* in the Monastery of El Escorial.

⁵⁶ 1583. *Relación de la hacienda, posesiones, preeminencias, derechos y aprovechamientos del Real Heredamiento de Aranjuez*. (AGP. Administraciones Patrimoniales. Aranjuez C^a 14423. fol. 31 v^o -37 v^o), published in Merlos 1998.

All of the Mannerist aesthetics are included: the treatment of space, vegetation, architecture, and fountains; a Spanish space where Italians, Flemish and Muslim concepts are fused. In 1550, Gaspar de Vega and Alonso de Covarrubias, architects who were serving the Crown, would stake the garden arranged in a formed island taking advantage the River Tagus's shape. They would assume the first arrangement of the intercrossed streets and the closing of the garden by marble gates, inherited from Al-Andalus but now considered to be under the Renaissance era. These reforms were the starting points of the present garden.

The architects Juan Bautista de Toledo (most liable for the planning of Aranjuez under Felipe II) and Jerónimo Algora would intervene in an immediate reform in 1561. The symmetry and layout of the area bounded by the River Tagus, narrow and elongated triangle aiming at the surface, was achieved by the provision of a broken hatched from the series of transverse axes and secondary streets that strengthen the already Mannerist style (Figs. 5 and 13).

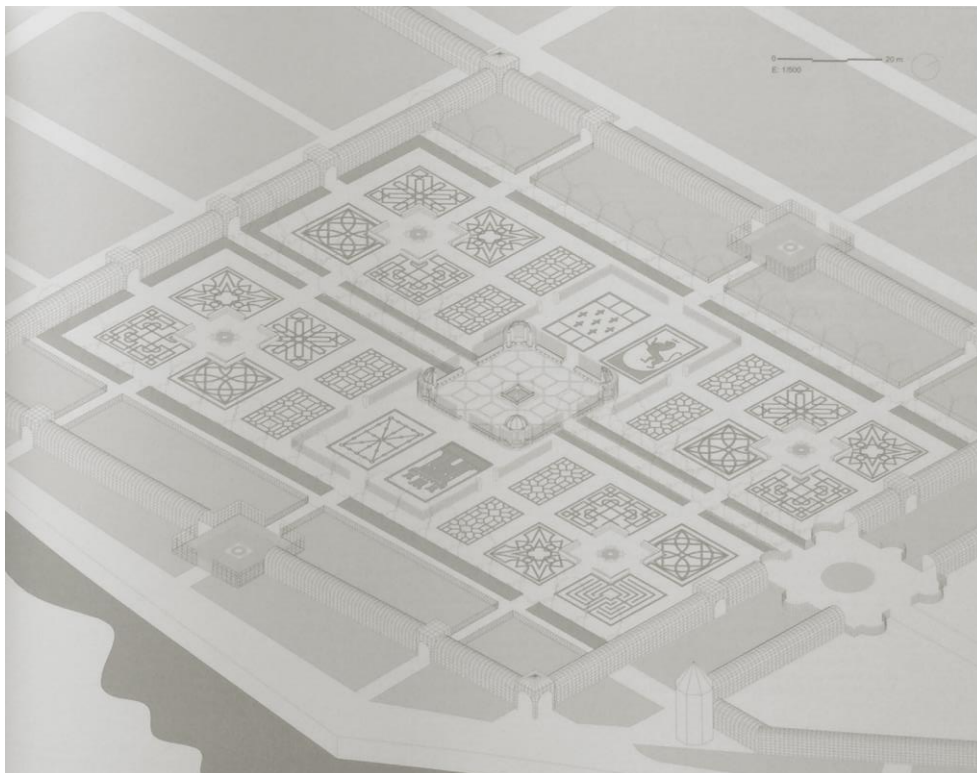


Fig. 5 Jardín de la Isla (Luengo 2008).

The proportion was solved by the regularization in rectangles:

porque siendo el jardín tan largo y poco ancho son mas proporcionados los quadros como estan tracados que no quadrados

After a proverbial dispute between Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Holbeque, it was decided that the latter (as a gardener) would be responsible for the selection, combination, and distribution of species. In other words, he would be accountable for the *scuadraturas* or divisions of 8 within a rectangle for the triangles in areas of transition, and for the adjustment of the shape of the island using smaller scale grids. Therefore, he was a subordinate to the designs of the famed Spanish architect trained in Italy. This is how some explain the strong eclecticism of the space enclosed by the large square rather than it embodying any of the coexisting Italian, Flemish Renaissance, or the Hispanic forms. Nature manifests itself as an organizer that ensures an aesthetic homogeneity. It is in this sense that the natural environment underscores the layout of the streets, and how the perspective is based not on an infinite extension, but in the chain of sections of alternating chiaroscuro. The Hispanic element can be a contrast such as the brick paving squares and some of the brick box fountains:

haziendo los moldes al proposito de los compartimentos (1583 document in Merlos 1998)

Utility garden: science and production

Aranjuez was the first botanical garden Felipe II developed in the eighties (such as the *Casa de Campo* and *El Escorial*). The scientific approach to nature, experimentation and practical applications, places botany as a significant interest, a characteristic of Philippine times. The scientific garden lies away from the palatine nucleus. This garden's purpose was for medicinal production as well as the distillation of perfumes. Long gone, its location has not been discovered yet. Without ruling out the hypothesis which predicts it

to be located in an undetermined point within the *Jardín de la Isla*, this study defends its location to be near the *Huerta Nueva* of King Felipe II (Merlos 1998). This is the place where, during the 18th century, another orchard garden would be formed (known as the *Jardín de la Reina*, not to be confused with the symmetry projected to the *Jardín del Rey*), including the so-called *Jardín de Potaxier* (Álvarez de Quindós 1804: 311-312).

The *Jardín de Potaxier* has a medieval *crucero* plant, which is the characteristic model for medicinal gardens, adopted in monasteries as the most suitable for this type of plantations (Figs. 2 and 6). In fact, the garden was the only surviving and continuing part of King Felipe II's *potager* project (or pharmacological garden project), whose mission was to supply the pharmacy of the Escorial, according to documents written in the same 16th century. The documents also confirm the various species of plants, including the medicinal ones in a space created expressively:

los quadros mediçinales que ay en la huerta nueva ... arboles frutales de la dicha huerta nueva ... plantel nuevo de yervas e medizinales...
(1583 document in Merlos 1998)

The orchard: module and scale

The utilitarian and productive functions take on another dimension in the ambit of the orchard. In the outer and larger surface ring, where this supposed scientific garden once was, lays an orchard. Within this ground, the repeated *crucero* module is identified, adapted to this higher layover, perpetuating the concept of a medieval vegetable garden. The described module is identified in *huertas* (orchards) and would be incorporated into the *Jardín del Príncipe* (Prince's Garden), in the 18th century. The *Huertas of Picotajo* are the most famous.

The *Huertas de Picotajo*, located at the confluence of the rivers Tagus and Jarama, north of the island, are the oldest sample of spatial planning process of the Royal Site (Fig. 2). The space is conceived by

radial avenues and squares, which generate geometric shapes on the plane. There are alleys (tree-lined streets), with double rows on each side, according to the 16th century landscape models imported mainly from Flandes and northern France. It is in the triangular *tranzones* (pieces) formed by the alleys and intended for horticultural production, where the cloister grid appears as internal organization of a larger scale frame (Fig. 2).

Another example illustrating the *crucero* typology is in the *Jardín o Huerta Grande de los Árboles* (Big Garden or Orchard of the Trees), situated at the beginning of *Alpajés* street (as depicted in various graphical representations from 16th and 17th centuries) (fig. 2). In 1561, its planning is entrusted to Algora, although it is immediately staked by Juan Bautista de Toledo who transforms the trace “*por no ser de su agrado*”, and supervises the work of Holbeque and Algora.

This is the origin of the so-called *Huerta de la Primavera* (Spring Orchard), which Esteban, the initiator of the Boutelou family of gardeners, would incorporate into the new project of the reign of Fernando VI in 1756, across the *Calle de la Reina* (Queen’s Street). Further, this project would be involved with the interventions of the future Carlos IV in the late 18th century, a garden which would become known as *Jardín del Príncipe*.

In its original 16th century trace, the orchard is orthogonally structured into squares and rectangles. It had fruit trees planted. Documents also show it required the formation of a garden within the orchard itself

el jardín que está entre los dos planteles de la guerta grande de los árboles (1583 document in Merlos 1998)

Nearby, the zone called *Los Pabellones* (Pavilions) would take form toward the end of the century, organized with two crossed streets and a fountain in the middle. Across the river, on the opposite bank,

the country house of the Infant Gabriel adopts a similar structure (Sanz 2009).

There is another relevant moment in the history of Aranjuez, in relation with the orchard tradition. Since 1751, when King Fernando VI ordered to build the city, the present model in suburban areas can be observed. One example, during the late 18th century, was the farm of *El Deleite*, in the south of the city projected during the reign of King Carlos IV by Boutelou; specifically verified in the *Jardín del Vergel* (Garden of Vergil) and in one of the closer areas to livestock buildings. (Fig. 6)



Fig. 6 Anonymous. *Panoramic view of Aranjuez*. (19th Century). Private Collection.
On the right, the Potaxier and the area around the palace. On the right, on the foot, El Deleite.

The cloister trace in the historic town

As pointed out, it is Fernando VI who in 1748 authorizes the establishment of a stable population and took the first steps in the formation of the city of Aranjuez at the east of the Palace. This task was entrusted to Santiago Bonavia that would be materialized during the second half of the 18th century. The layout of the city resulting from the superposition of an orthogonal design to a trident made of streets, would facilitate the characterization of the *manzana*, quadrangular or rectangular modular unit with a high functionality, formed by corridors around a central courtyard (Figs. 2 and 6).

The orthogonal city patterns found in the *crucero* monastic model and the most suitable type of garden, manifested throughout the 19th century, would have a sequel in the 20th century. This type would be found in all areas of the city, from the intimate sphere to the public space.

***Manzana* module and private gardens**

The development and composition of cloister gardens in the town of the 18th century was propitiated by the orthogonal design of the streets and squares.

Consequently, it is found in the interior courtyards of palaces or court buildings, in relation to the structure of *crujías* (or corridors) of the buildings over Renaissance models. The gardens associated with these architectures are known mainly by a plan of the *Junta General de Estadística* dated to 1861-1870, and noted for its thoroughness and detail (Fig. 7).

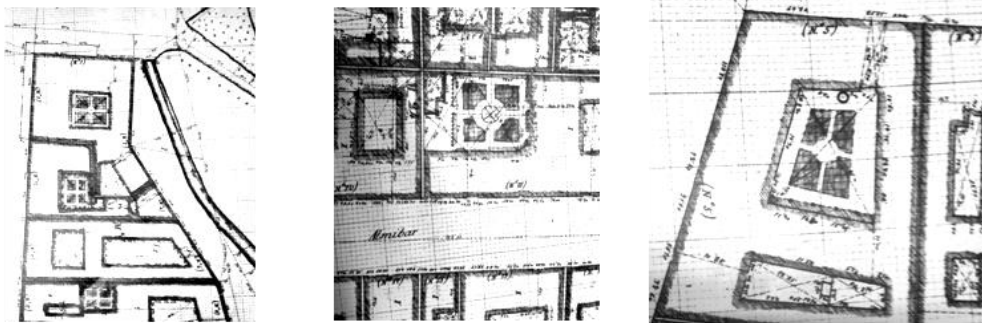


Fig 7 (a,b,c) . *Crucero patios* examples. Junta General de Estadística. Aranjuez. Hoja kilométrica. 1:500 . (detail). 1861-1870, © Instituto Geográfico Nacional de España.

Several examples can be identified, such as the garden of the palace of the Dukes of Medinaceli. Here is the posterior space which is landscaped, emulating urban palaces with rear garden from Madrid. (Fig. 8).

Other architectures (semi-public characterized) open toward the street through arches or portals such as *Casa de Infantes* or *Casa de Oficios* or *Patio de Caballeros*, and would be landscaped with *crucero* models in the last twentieth century (Fig. 10).

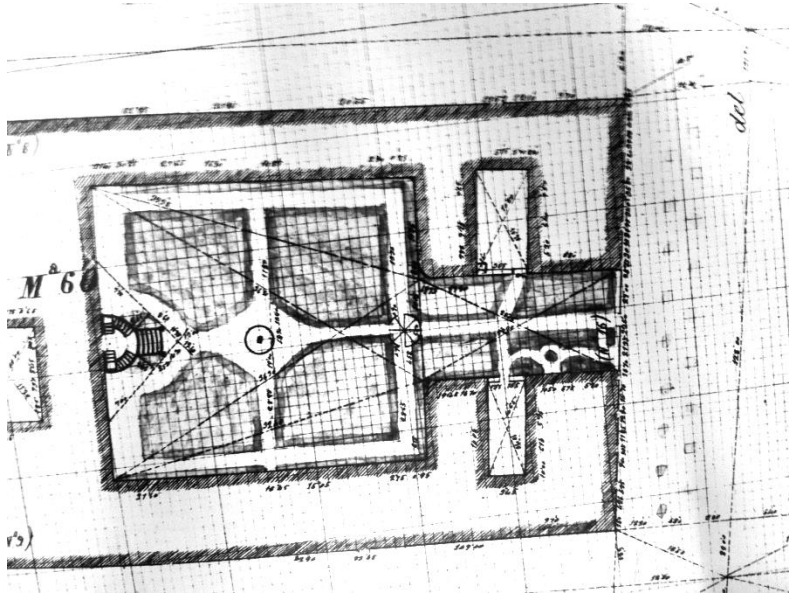


Fig. 8. *Palace of Duke of Medinaceli*. Junta General de Estadística. Aranjuez. *Hoja kilométrica*. 1:500 (detail), 1861-1870. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional de España.

Garden like block: the modules of the *Manzana* in the open spaces

In Aranjuez the formation of blocks of nature can be seen like urban gardens, where the cloister lines are a prolongation of the streets showing the transition from the stone to the nature. El *Jardín de la Princesita* (the future Isabel II) illustrates this concept (Figs. 10 and 13).

This garden is formed during the Regency of María Cristina in 1835. It is integrated into the urban fabric to occupy the area of a projected and never built block on the perimeter of the *Plaza de San Antonio* (St. Anthony's square). Bounded by a fence, the four lines of trees, like corridors, perfectly extend along the alignments of the streets. The square shape of the plot also determines its interior arrangement. It follows a cloister scheme with a cross plant. The centre is not a fountain, but a sculpture representing the future queen, who gives name to the garden (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9 Jardín de la Princesita. Photograph by J. C. Lopez Martínez.

The arms of this *crucero* correspond to the four entrances of the garden on the street, open on all four sides of the fence (Fig.1). The arrangement thereof, the elevation of the garden, the tall trees screen, overgrowth from the ground provide it with some autonomy and isolation. The natural surroundings is well integrated into the town. The garden is open to the street, yet like an intimate haven for relaxation.



Fig. 10 Aerial view of Aranjuez. (Photo A.S.)

Next to the Palace, on the left, *Jardín del Rey*, and on the right, *Jardín de la Reina*.
In the middle, *Patio de Caballeros*.
In the foot, *Jardín de la Princesita*.

The inertia of the model: The conversion of *plazas* and squares into gardens

The assimilation of the *crucero*, this type of garden, during the 19th century urbanism, would lead to model sequels in the first half of 20th century; the traditional diaphanous spaces of Aranjuez would be landscaped.



Fig. 11 *Constitution Square*. (in the middle of the 20th Century). (Private collection).

This is the case of the *Constitution Square*, around the monument to King Alfonso XII (Fig. 11), and also the former roundabout around the long-gone tourist office in the north access of the town, next to the bridge over the Tagus river. In this example, the cross was inscribed in a circle, not in a quadrate.

The surroundings of the town

Since the times of King Carlos III, the *crucero* module was identified in new spaces. First, in the garden-orchard of the Convent of San Pascual, erected over a large area to the south in the highest elevation. (Fig 2).

At the same time, the San Carlos Hospital was raised opposite to the convent (Fig. 2) in the suburbs, as illustrated by hygienist theories

(Merlos 2005-2006). His first court adopted the cloister scheme inspired not only in form, but also by the horticultural function of these spaces. It seemed somehow sufficient enough as a kitchen-garden for the institution of staff and patients, and in any case, seen as a source of health. Its plan not only responded to the module of the town (rectangular block or *manzana* with a courtyard), but the same type of cloister corridors around a courtyard of the usual hospital building model.

In the 19th century, the southwest area of the Royal Palace (the historical gardens of *Potaxier, Reina, Estanques, El Deleite, La Botica*) were occupied by suburban palaces or *villas*, where the garden and orchard concepts are reinterpreted (Merlos 1997). The *crucero* garden was manifested again, which now included in wide asymmetric plans of romantic inspiration. It may be a singular example the disappeared palace of the Marquis of Salamanca. (Figs. 2, 6, 13).

During the same reign of Queen Isabel II, *crucero* model traces the “non city”, the “city of eternity”, the graveyard. It was situated away from living areas, under premises of public hygiene (Fig. 12).

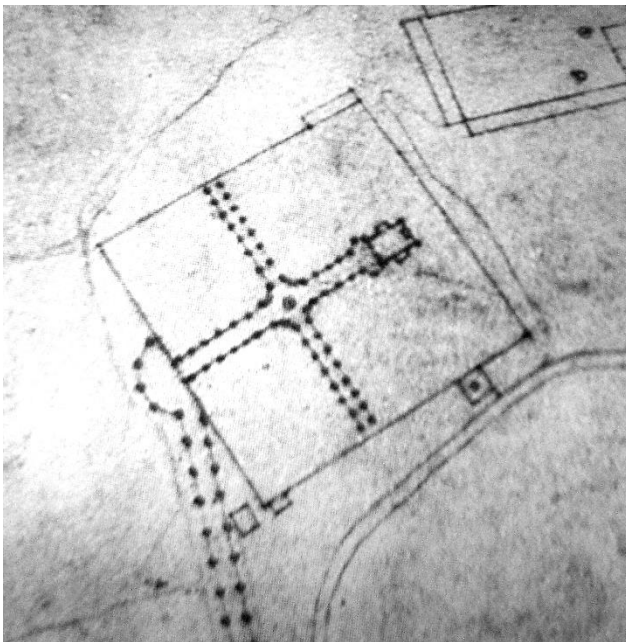


Fig. 12 Graveyard of Santa Isabel. Plan of Aranjuez, 1910 (Detail). Archivo General de Palacio. ©Patrimonio Nacional.

The architect José Segundo de Lema created a central square floor space, with two perpendicular axes, with the centre marked by an iron cross (Merlos 2005-2006). The *crucero* lines are underscored with a purposeful plants selection: cypress trees and bushes, especially roses. The appellant medieval conformation (also adopted in Italian cemeteries) now assumes a big symbolic content; the space for the death is crossed by the rivers of the life.

Conclusions

The model assimilated in the cultural landscape of Aranjuez through mediaeval items, would be considered effective up until present day, confirming its characteristic typological diversity, and the functional authenticity not only of the model, but of the place as well. Its formation and aesthetic design promote joy, contemplation, walking, and delight the senses.

The versatility of the scheme has been shown from its original purpose to the modular repetition in different areas and scales: patio, garden, urban block, square, *plaza* and orchard. From private to public ambit, open territory to the submission to the architecture. Its multivalence is supported by the balance of regular and irregular forms, and by its design and uncontrolled vegetation. The role of the architect and the gardeners illustrates the artifice-nature binomial; the dialectic between *natural artifice* and *artificial nature*.

In the end, the cloister/*crucero* model belongs to the deliberate fusion and confusion of elements, and to the unique eclecticism that propitiates the broad typological range of gardens of Aranjuez.



Fig. 13. *Hoja kilométrica de Aranjuez* 1:2000. 1861-1870. Junta General de Estadística. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional de España». On the top, in the left, *Jardín de la Isla*. In the middle, inscribed in the Palace, *Jardín del Rey*. In the middle, on the right, *Jardín de la Princesita*. On the foot, on the left, Palace of the Marquis of Salamanca.

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PART III - CLOISTER GARDENS AND MONASTIC ENCLOSURES

Teresa de Campos Coelho

The Convent of St. Paul of Serra de Ossa: the integration in the landscape and Nature's presence in its primitive gardens

Luísa Arruda

The Convent of Saint Paul at Serra de Ossa (Ossa Mountains). Baroque Gardens

THE CONVENT OF ST. PAUL OF SERRA DE OSSA: THE INTEGRATION IN THE LANDSCAPE AND NATURE'S PRESENCE IN ITS PRIMITIVE GARDENS

Teresa de Campos Coelho⁵⁷



Fig. 1. Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa, southern façade. Photograph by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

This paper is the result of a study that Luísa Arruda and me had begun when we published the book *Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa* (Arruda and Coelho 2004). Since then, our work has been focusing the theoretical models mainly used for both architecture and *azulejo* (tile) compositions. In Serra de Ossa, Nature plays a primary role, not only in the way that this convent finds to integrate in it (Fig. 1), but also in the importance that Nature assumes in its gardens. Several studies on the typology of Portuguese gardens

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have been already developed by many authors - that will not be approached in this paper, but we will focus only in the way they articulate with architecture and conventual life, choosing four different places: Cloister, Novitiate Garden, *Varanda Formosa* (Beautiful Veranda and General Father's Garden). In the following paper, Luísa Arruda will explain the evolution of these two last spaces.

The Friars of Jesus Christ, the foundation of the Convent of Serra de Ossa, and main rebuilding campaigns

According to the ancient authors, the convent had four different foundations through the centuries, since a group of anchorites built the first monastery in 315 (Damásio 1793: I-103), with the authorization of Aurino, Bishop of Évora, as well as other edifices, all in the Valley of St Lazarus. Later, in 1182 during the reign of the King D. Sancho I (1154-1211) and under the protection and pontificate of Pope Urban III (1185-87), a second construction begun over the ruins of the first one, through the initiative of Fernão Anes, Knight of the first portuguese King D. Afonso Henriques (c.1109-1189), in a place called *Valadeira*.

In 1400, halfway up the mountain's slope, an healthier place was chosen for the third foundation, supervised by the administrator João Fernandes (Damásio 1793: II-473-474), and many royal or papal protection measures took place, until 1578, when a Bull of Gregorio XIII (1572-1585) sanctioned the Congregation, granting them the same privileges of the Mendicant Orders. Started then the fourth foundation that would, in his turn, undergo important rebuilding works, which resulted in the buildings we can see today (Fig. 1). In 1577 King D. Sebastião (1554-1578) visited the convent, just before leaving for the battle of Alcácer Quibir, where he died without succession. Dating from late 16th century, remain the *Refectory*, the *De Profundis*, and the *Election Room of General Fathers* (still covered with rib-vault ceilings). The author of its architecture is unknown (just like remain unknown those who were responsible for the

successive interventions), but the great protection and benefits granted to the convent by the House of Braganza allows us to think that the architects Nicolau de Frias (? -1610), and Pêro Vaz Pereira (1570-1644) had some responsibility on this works. Nicolau de Frias accompanied King D. Sebastião to the Alcacer Quibir battle in northern Africa. Later he became Cardinal Henriques' architect (1512-1580), being responsible for important works in the Braganzas' Ducal Palace at Vila Viçosa, for what he had been paid the huge amount of 50,000 *reis* for “drawing plans of things that his His Excellency commanded” (Teixeira 1981: 71-72). Pêro Vaz Pereira succeeded him, and became responsible for a number of works ordered by the House of Braganza in Alentejo (Serrão 2002: 269-270)

58.



Fig. 2. Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa, “D. Sebastião visiting the Convent in 1577”, oil on canvas, in Arruda and Coelho 2004: 22.



Fig. 3. Church of the Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa. Photograph by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

In the anonymous painting *D. Sebastião visiting the Convent in 1577*⁵⁹ (Fig. 2), we can see, on the right, a well decorated fountain in a place that corresponds to the “galharda arquitectura” (meaning “elegant architecture”), in the middle of a garden surrounded by benches, and full of scented flowers like jasmines, as Carvalho da Costa

⁵⁸ Documented evidences of his work can be found in the chancel of Elvas Cathedral, in the Monastery of Cartuxa in Évora, and in St Mary of Machede's Church. In the palace of Vila Viçosa he designed for Duke D. Teodósio II the alabaster chimney.

⁵⁹ This painting belongs to the *Foundation Henrique Leotte*, owner of the Convent.

describes it in 1708 (Costa 1708: II, 458) ⁶⁰ (and later transformed in a *New Hall*). Having designed the fountains of the Ducal Vila Viçosa (1620) and Elvas (1622), as well as the church of the convent that this congregation owned at Portel (Serrão 2002: 269-270), where we can find several similarities with Serra de Ossa, all this strengthens the possibility of being Pêro Vaz Pereira the architect of this period building works.

Both this painting and an engraving of Francisco Xavier Freire published in Volume I of the *Chronicle of the Hermits of Serra de Ossa*, written in 1744 by Father Henrique de Santo António (António 1745: I), show that despite all the renewal works, the exterior features of the convent were maintained – even today (Fig. 3), the church façade keeps the same composition and sobriety, without any decorative elements, showing the persistence of a vernacular and original style, based on a Portuguese and military tradition, baptized by Kubler with the expression “Plain Architecture” (Kubler 1972).

In the end of the 17th century, during the reign of King D. Pedro II (1648-1706), began an important renewal work (that may be related to the fact that one of his sons, Fr. António de S. João was buried there (Damásio 1793: II, 477), or related with the visit of his sister Queen Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705) in 1699, namely in the church, sacristy, staircase leading to the dormitories, cloister and gardens. These works were undertaken throughout the 18th century, when the convent received an exquisite *azulejo* decoration.

The extinction of the Religious Orders in 1834, contributed to a considerable decay of the whole site - the way the Church looks today is a very good document of all the different work campaigns, including the destruction caused by this extinction (Fig. 4): a rich

⁶⁰ “...No fim deste dormitorio, junto à porta por onde se sahe para a cerca, tem huma fonte de jaspe com galharda architectura (...) esta no meyo de hum espaçoso taboleiro com seos assentos, & alegrettes em circuito, continuandose hum bastante passeio para a parte do sul, cheio de jasmineiros, & de todo o género de odoríferas flores, que fazem aquelle lugar sobremodo vistoso, & aprazível, junto do qual està hum fermoso tanque de sessenta & três palmos de comprido, e quarenta de largo, aonde se recolhem todas as aguas da fonte, que vindo por canos subterraneos cahem nelle pela boca de hum Leaõ de pedra...” (Costa 1708: II, 458).

azulejo decoration testifies the different campaigns, and in the main chapel a fresco painting represents an altarpiece composed by Solomon columns in a typical Portuguese composition of the late 17th century, called “national style”. Several holes in the wall (and around the arch of this chapel) attest the existence of a later gilded woodcarving decoration from late 18th century, that does not exist anymore (it was removed after 1834).



Fig. 4. Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa, Church (main Chapel, and painted altarpiece). Photograph by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

In 1870 the Convent was bought by the family of the actual owner, Henrique Coutinho Leotte Tavares, that turned it into an exquisite hotel⁶¹.

⁶¹ In 1982 the Convent was classified as a *Building of Public Interest* (Decree No 28/82, dated February 26th), and on February 29th was established the Foundation Henrique Leotte.

The Magnificent Cloister

Named after the mountain where the convent is situated, near St Gens peak, surrounded by a profuse forest of various plants, several water springs made also possible the existence of different gardens (in the northern façade is still visible part of the hydraulic system that provided the water to the building and gardens, Fig. 5), famous for their fruits and aromatic plants.



Fig. 5. Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa, hydraulic system near the northern façade. Photograph by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

The description made by Carvalho da Costa in 1708, is still the one that better equals the sensation we have today when visiting the place, “... however the mountain is not a sad one, despite such huge and coarse fields, because in between them have very fertile valleys which, in the coolness and the shadow of the trees, wild as they may be, become very nice and alluring, especially in summer, because here and then spout a great number of fountains that sing in unison with the birds and produce such gentle consonances that engross the passers by...” (Costa 1708: 447-49; Arruda and Coelho 2004: 15).

Geography played an important role when choosing the place for the motherhouse of an eremitic congregation: a landscape that invites both to the introspection and contemplation required by seclusion life.

Omnipresent, in its multiple aspects (Figs. 6 and 7) Nature invades the interior of the building, not only spontaneous and almost wild,

through the windows, but also “domesticated” by man’s hands, in the cloister and different gardens, or in the iconography of the rich *azulejo* decoration (Fig. 8).



Figs. 6 and 7 – Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa, southern and northern view. Photographs by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

Woods, fences, flowerbeds, fountains and a large diversity of vegetal species, in combination with the multiple senses they stimulate (through the murmuring waters, or the delicate perfumes) reinforce the rhetoric that defends the virtues of an eremitic life.



Fig. 8 – Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa: importance of the Nature as a scenery, as it is represented in the *azulejos* of the New Hall. Photograph by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

According to the description made by Carvalho da Costa “a masterpiece and a credit to magnificence” (Costa 1708: II, 454), the cloister was already finished in 1708: “the cloister is today newly finished, with its verandas, all surrounded by iron gates...”.



Figs. 9 and 10. *Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa*, Cloister and one of the niches of the cloister with a terracota sculpture. Photographs by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

This description corresponds to what we can see today (Fig.9), except for the iron gates that no longer exist – square-shaped, composed by five semi-circular arches at each side of the ground floor, they are covered by terraces at the first one, showing a strong similarity with the one that the Congregation held at Portel. The text, when referring “newly finished” leaves no doubt that it was rebuilt by then, replacing an old one. Dating of that period are also the terracotta sculptures of the corner niches (Fig. 10), with episodes of St Paul’s life, already mentioned in the description quoted above. Lost are the altar pieces, probably settled between 1740 and 1743, according to the inventory made in 1743⁶².

In the middle of the cloister four eight sided staircases lead to an octagonal fountain, surrounded by four flower beds, with different plant species, crowned by a nude boy (maybe a cupid). This terrace stands as the place, in the whole convent, where Nature is more restrained. Its aspect suggests more a palace ambiance (that can be find in all the convent’s decoration of the 18th century), rather than

⁶² Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Convento of S. Paulo da Serra de Ossa*, Book 14.

the *poor life* defended by an hermit congregation, and reminds us of the fountain that the 3rd Count of Ericeira asked Bernini to make for his palace's garden in Lisbon, immortalized in a drawing by João Reis (Reis 1687).⁶³

Carvalho da Costa does not describe neither the fountain, nor the flower beds, but as referential and symbolic elements of any cloister, they should already exist; documents show that the fountain was later refurbished, in 1767.

The architecture obeys to a model and sobriety largely used in that period: semicircular arches are framed into rectangular panels, limited by granitic tuscan pilasters that finish in a continuous cornice at the terraces' border.

The Novitiate and an “ingeniously arranged garden”

We had already emphasized the palace ambience present in the whole Convent, certainly due to the devotion of the House of Braganza (with several of its members visiting it through the centuries).

When the Court of Braganza moved to Lisbon, after 1640, this devotion was extended to the convent that the Congregation established at Calçada do Combro. Sponsored by King D. João IV (1604-1656), it was founded by Father Master Francisco Rodrigo da Ponte who had to fight all the opposition and reasons invoked by the Motherhouse against this foundation, which probably reveals the fear of losing their status as the head of the Congregation. This also may explain why Serra de Ossa began such important renewal works, with a non less erudite aesthetic.

The Braganza protection also promoted the presence of a group of the best Royal artists working for the Congregation, such as Pêro Vaz Pereira, or the *azulejos* painters such as Gabriel del Barco, P.M.P., António de Oliveira Bernardes and the court painter

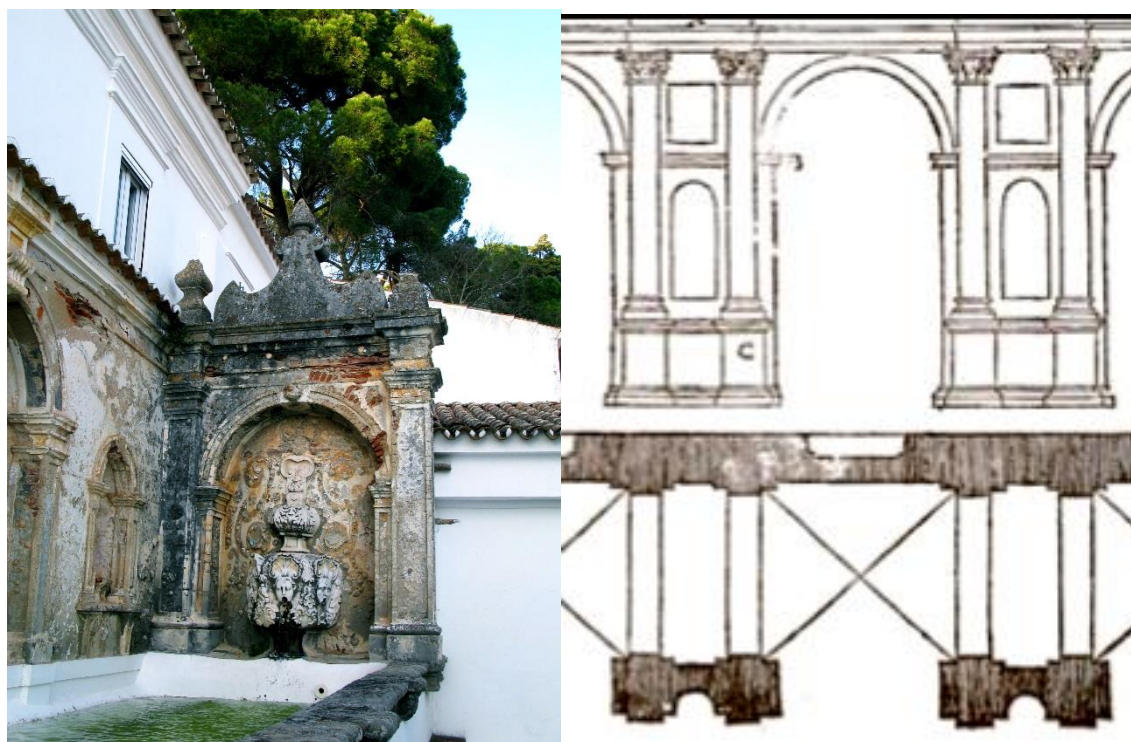
⁶³ The album documents the celebration of the marriage of King D. Pedro II with the Queen Maria Sofia de Neuburg. The drawing shows the reproduction of the Earl's garden, then erected in the middle of Terreiro do Paço.

Francisco Vieira Lusitano whose erudite and singular works can still be seen today in both convents.



Figs. 11 and 12. *Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa*, view of the Novitiate Garden taken from the Garden of Carreira and Tank of the Novitiate Garden. Photographs by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

Among the convent's gardens, the Novitiate Garden (Figs. 11 to 13) has a prominent place, whose composition is already emphasized by Carvalho da Costa "*On the side of the choir of the Chapel of the Virgin of Mercy there is another door that leads to the garden, imaginatively and ingeniously composed in ordered parts (...) and in the first part has a tank with fishes and permanently running water surrounded by benches and flower beds, that invites those who went there to stay permanently*" (Costa 1708: II, 455).



Figs. 13 and 14. Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa, Tank of the Novitiate Garden and Bramante's Belvedere, according to Serlio (detail). Photographs by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

Besides the endless appeal of the senses (colours and fragrance of flowers and fruits, mainly jasmine and citrus ones, coolness and sound of the waters), present in all the baroque art, this garden also astonishes us by the design of the tank's wall, whose remarkable scenography is directly inspired in the *Belvedere* that Bramante had projected for Pope Julius II's garden (Fig. 14). Published by Serlio (1475-1554) in his *Third Book* (Chapter IV) ⁶⁴, this author describes the rich ornament, strength, and proportionality of the *Belvedere*,

⁶⁴ First published in Venice, in 1540, by F. Marcolini.

referring to Bramante as the one that had resuscitated the perfect architecture (it is no by coincidence that the Bramante's project proceeds immediately the examples that Serlio chooses from Antiquity).

The tank's wall, like the Belvedere's, is composed by five large niches in between six smaller ones. However, we may find some differences: in Bramante's Belvedere "*the smaller niches are enclosed by Corinthian columns that stand on high pedestals and are separated from upper square spans by a continuous cornice that connects the abutments of the major arches. In the Novice's Tank there is neither such a cornice, nor Corinthian columns, and the square spans are replaced by charts decorated with shells – the inscriptions are today illegible – that correspond to the six windows of the dormitory wall*" (Arruda and Coelho 2004: 99).



Figs. 15 and 16. Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa, large niche of the tank of the Novitiate Garden and small niche of the tank of the Novitiate Garden. Photographs by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

The anonymous architect of this scenography imaginatively combined an erudite reference with a local tradition, when using materials such as cork, shell, or even terracotta for the sculptures that ornament the niches (Figs. 15 and 16).

We may wonder how this model arrived here. Probably brought by a royal architect that was working for the friars, but we also may consider that the Father General knew what he was ordering, like it happened in Lisbon with Francisco Vieira Lusitano paintings, as we will explain further on. Although we don't know nothing about Serra de Ossa Library, we know that the one of the Lisbon's Convent had some important art books.

Around 1730 Father General Henrique de Santo António (author of *Chronica dos Eremitas da Serra d'Ossa*) ordered Francisco Lusitano (1699-1783) to make sixteen paintings for the Lisbon's Convent, inspired in the book *Sylva anachoretica Aegypti et Palaestinae*, with drawings of Abraham Blommaert, and engraved by Boetio Adam Bolswert (Saldanha 2007: 14-15)⁶⁵. The painter and writer, Cirillo Volkmar Machado refers that Lusitano himself confirms he used this book and annotated it (Machado 1797: 25; Saldanha 2007: 15).

Fray Henrique de Santo António surely knew very well the content of that book and what he was ordering: when studying the *azulejo* panels that cover the walls of the *General Father's Dormitory* we were able to bring to the conclusion that they were also directly inspired in the female eremites of these engravings⁶⁶ proving, once more, that erudite references were leading all the campaigns.

Carvalho da Costa says nothing about the sculptures of the niches. They "*show a surprising aesthetic quality, sophisticated execution, knowledge of the human body and classic proportions. As suggested by Carlos Moura, there is evidence of the influence of the demeanour and pathos of Laocoon (...) After consultation with different Portuguese baroque sculpture experts, we may date this work back to the late 17th century, early 18th century.*" (Arruda and Coelho 2004: 101), and obey to the dynamic forms and *pathos* present in all the baroque sculpture.

These sculptures may have been made by a local Estremoz terracotta sculpture school, or even in the Convent itself, as the huge kitchen's chimney may suggest. Whatever are their origins, they are

⁶⁵ A first edition was made in Antwerp in 1612, and a second one in 1619, by Henrick Aertsens, enlarged with 27 new engravings, including the female eremites.

⁶⁶ We are now studying this subject in more detail, with Luísa Arruda. In her paper she will also refer to it.

the result of the work of a very good artist or school, reminding us that terracotta sculpture has an important tradition, namely in the Alcobaça Monastery terracotta school that the cloister sculptures can be related to.

In the large niches of the Noviciate Garden we may still see *St Onuphrius*, *St Jerome* and *St Mary Magdalene* (Figs. 17 and 18). In the central one once was *St Paul* (today inside the Convent).

The sculpture of *St Mary Magdalene* (sometimes also referred as *St Mary of Egypt*) surprises us with her expression and movement. Regarding pos-tridentine iconography (Alves 2012: 31), the skull and the hair represent the penitent Magdalene, all alone in the desert. In view of this, her long and beautiful hair, once symbol of vanity and of a sinful life is now covering her nudity, had turned into a symbol of holiness.



Figs. 17 and 18. *Convent of St Paul of Serra de Ossa*, Kitchen's chimney and St Onuphrius of the Tank of the Noviciate Garden. Photographs by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

Those who visit the convent/hotel today can still enjoy both the same exquisite ambiance that chronicles had described through the ages, and the remarkable tranquillity, where Nature stimulates our senses and invites to meditation.

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THE CONVENT OF SAINT PAUL AT SERRA DE OSSA (OSSA MOUNTAINS). BAROQUE GARDENS

Luísa Arruda⁶⁷

Baroque Gardens is the state of the question (here the gardens) of an ongoing research project on the *Convent of St. Paul of Serra de Ossa* than began years ago with the research for a book (Arruda and Coelho 2004).



Fig. 1. Convent of St. Paul of Serra de Ossa, principal staircase (c. 1710). Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

From 1700 to 1750, the building of the Convent of Saint Paul at *Serra de Ossa* registered important work campaigns in order to enhance its status as head of The Jesus Christ of The Poor Life Friars, a Portuguese Congregation within the Pauline Order (Azevedo 2000:

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149-154). At these times this convent at *Ossa* Mountains, situated at the *Alentejo* province, far from the Court, had to compete with the Lisbon new building of the same Congregation, in order to maintain his status and the attention of the Crown. King D. Pedro II (Lisbon, 1648-1706) and his son King D. João V (Lisbon, 1706-1750) were receiving large quantities of gold from recently discovered gold mines of the Brazil colony. From its beginnings this convent was protected by the Dukes of Braganza, the noble family recently enthroned, founders of the Braganza Dynasty that ruled from 1640 to 1910 (Delaforce 2002).

For this purpose the friars had to transform the Convent, mainly from 1700, with palatial references, restructuring the building as to be more spacious and splendid. It was decided to create a sort of route that led the visitors from the Church or from the convent Hall (spaces newly reformed) to the different rooms that characterize a convent, as the central double storey *Cloister*, the *Refectory*, the *De Profundis* and the *Chapter*, those rooms remaining as examples of woks of the seventeenth century.



Fig. 2. Azulejos Master P.M.P. Detail of *Life of John the Baptist* (c. 1710). Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

The key item for the baroque transformation was a palatial staircase, in marble, leading to the first floor (the noble floor in a palace). In

this floor, spacious and long corridors lead to the friars' dormitories and the choir of the church, and the infirmary dormitories. Continuing the route, another staircase permits to reach the library and the Father General of The Pauline Congregation lodgings. Cobalt Blue and white figurative *azulejos* decorate the walls of this route, creating a strong visual unity, flowing from the church to the new added or transformed spaces. The *Life of Saint Paul the First Hermit* and the one of *St. Anthony (Antonius) the Great*, that are intimately related, are depicted in *azulejos* especially in the Church, where one can see also *The Four Evangelists* and a wall decorated from bottom to top with *Symbolic and Allegoric references to Catholic Church*, all depicted in Cobalt Blue and white *azulejos*. Unfortunately, the gilded altars and statues are missing in the church, and the painted ceilings needing full restoration.



Fig. 3. *Azulejos Anonymous Female Anchorite* from an Boetius Adams Bolswert engraving on Abraham Blommaert drawing (c. 1740). Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

The painted iconography on the walls all over the convent spaces was carefully supervised by the friars who instructed the *azulejo*

painters, the very best in Lisbon's manufactures, to depict scenes of *Saint Paul's the Anchorite life* and all the most celebrated anchorites, and eremites, using specially books of engravings they had probably in their library: *Sylva anachoretic Aegypti et Palaestinae*, with drawings of Abraham Blommaert, and engraved by Boetius Adams Bolswert; *Oraculum Anachoreticum*, a series of plates engraved by R. and J. Sadeler after Maarten de Vos in 1600; and also *Solitudo sive Viatae Foemirarum Anachoritarum*, also after Maarten de Vos. In fact, feminine eremites were to be also represented at the *azulejos* of one corridor of the Father General of the Pauline Order lodgings.



Fig. 4. Azulejos Anonymous *Jesus in the Desert* from an Boetius Adams Bolswert engraving on Abraham Blommaert drawing (c. 1730-40). Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

All this plates show fabulous landscapes of wilderness, sometimes with a view of a distant city, and the shelters each eremite uses, depicting the flourish of Flemish landscape painting and engraving, theme not much used in Portuguese art. The feminine eremite's outfits are also careful designed, and in some ladies hats form are absolutely of Flemish fashion. This use of engravings is common on

the art of *azulejos*, and some easel painters of this period did the same, borrowing from European model. Our research discovered in the album quoted above the sources for the representation of the Anchorites and Eremites in the *azulejos* which are rigorously copied from the *Sylva anachoretica Aegypti et Palaestinae*, with drawings of Abraham Blommaert, and engraved by Boetio Adam Bolswert.

This album was also used to paint sixteen feminine Anchorites' for Lisbon's St. Paul Congregation Convent. These are works in oil on canvas by Francisco Vieira Lusitano (1699-1783), circa 1730, as instructed by Fray Henrique de Santo António, Father General of the Congregation and the writer of *The congregation memoirs* (Saldanha 2007: 14-15). Cirillo Volkmar Machado refers that Lusitano himself confirms he used this book and annotated it (Machado 1797: 25; Saldanha 2007: 15).

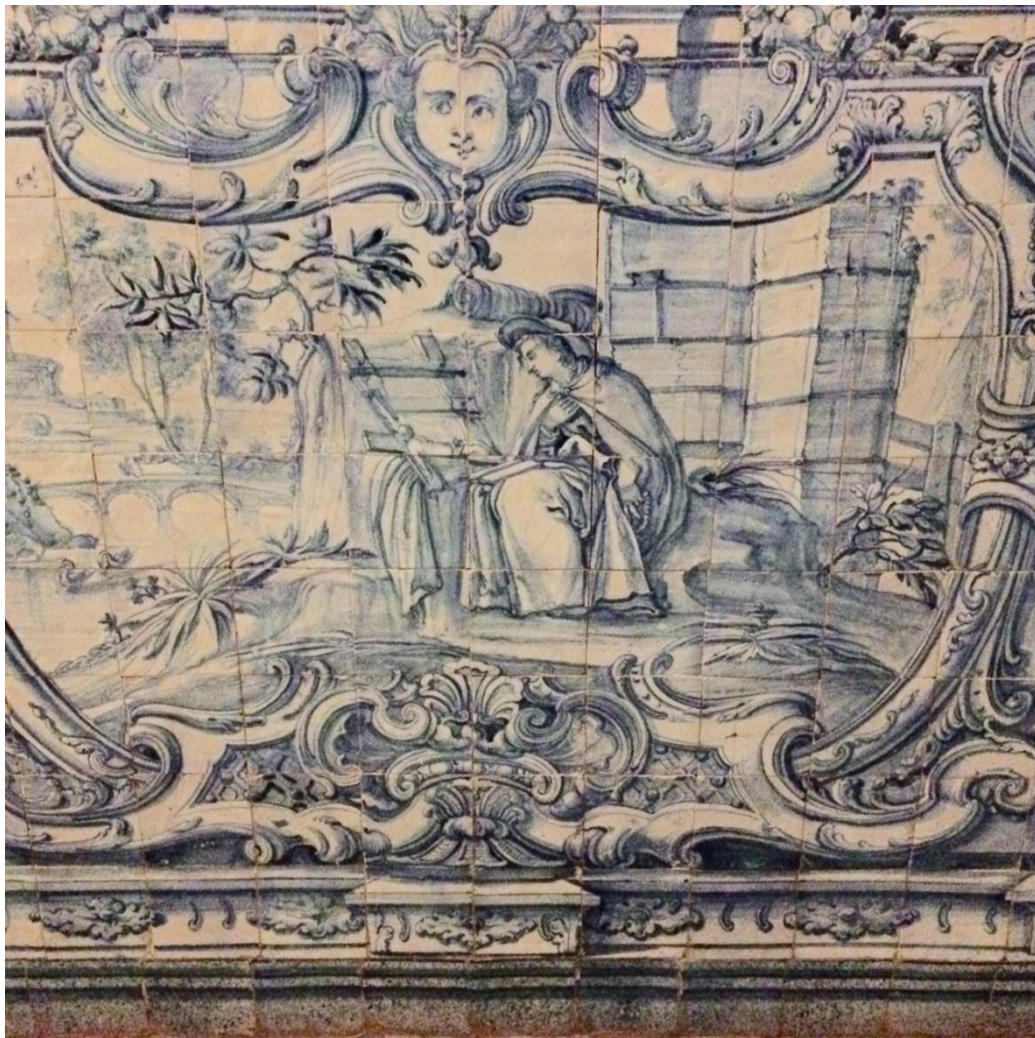


Fig. 5. *Azulejos* Anonymous *Female Anchorite* from an Boetius Adams Bolswert engraving on Abraham Blommaert drawing (c. 1740). Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

The adaptation of the engravings images to the wall's dimensions, the designs' exploding in scale, the personages and landscapes acquiring a strong presence in the rooms is out most interesting in the *azulejos* at Serra de Ossa. The convent hall where people were to be received, is a counterpart of this prints use. The painter had to adapt his skills to represent some of the Portuguese Congregation Friars which had a fame of Holiness or even Saints. He had to use mainly text sources, namely *Agiólogo Lusitano*, a book on Portuguese Saints (Cardoso 1652: 42; Cardoso 1653: 21; Cardoso 1657: 599 - 600). Other religious themes were depicted on *azulejos*, such as episodes of *Saint John The Baptist's* life and of *Saint John The Evangelist* that are presented in each wall of the palatial staircase, dated circa 1710. This design can be interpreted as a tribute to *John*, the name of the King who made possible the works of the first half of the eighteenth century. On the large corridors, we can see scenes of the *Old Testament* and of the *New Testament* as imaged bibles (from engraved bibles and other engraved sources) in large scale, theatrical staged in baroque frame settings designed in cobalt blue and white *azulejos*. Those images witness the travel of models and forms through Europe, as one can witness in *Saint Joseph of Egypt and Potiphar's wife*, (anonymous, circa 1740-50, cobalt blue and white painting over *azulejos*) on the principal friar's dormitory; Antonio Tempesta's (1555-1630) *Saint Joseph of Egypt and Potiphar's wife* (etching of 1600 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, filename d08-17), a strong image on the woman's sexual aggressiveness. Rembrandt (1606-1669) probably uses that Tempesta's etching for his *Saint Joseph of Egypt and Potiphar's wife* (Bartch: 39) of 1630, where the human emotions are enhanced by Joseph averting looking to the nude woman. Furthermore, *Potiphar's wife* sexual appetite, grabbing Joseph's clothes, are incomparably represented.

The Water's room and the General Father's gardens

In the noble level of the convent we encounter three baroque gardens. One called *Beautiful Veranda* we shall see further on. The

other two are related with the Father General of the St. Paul Congregation lodgings and can be reached by a beautifully designed door, used only by the Father General and special visitors.



Fig. 6. The water's room. Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

In fact the door (*Portaria nova*) opens to an interior cubic space designed as a garden, centred by a Grand fountain in Portuguese white marble, the basin being a large carved shell, the water pouring from the mouth of a carved mask surrounded by dauphins and shells. This fountain possibly exists because the convent was built on a slope with abundant waters that are directly conducted, by gravity to the mask. Around the room was accommodated a continuous marble bench and the flooring in black and white marble pattern.

The *Azulejos* decoration of the room represents anchorites beginning with *Jesus Christ in the Desert tempted by a demon*, and *John the Baptist in the Desert*, and others like *Saint Onuphrius*, all borrowed from the engraved album of Blomaert drawings quoted above. This interior garden, the New Hall (*Portaria Nova*) designation used in documents of the eighteenth century is presently known as the water's room (*Casa da Água*).



Fig. 7. Azulejos Anonymous *John the Baptist* from an Boetius Adams Bolswert engraving on Abraham Blommaert drawing (c. 1730-40). Photograph by Luísa Arruda.



Fig. 8. Fountain with Mask and Dauphins. Photograph by Maria de Freitas.

The Grand fountain was partly an external garden converted in an interior space of the convent. We have an early description of the convent that shows us in vivid words the fountain and the gardens

around. And by this description we understand that the author shows us one garden, which was converted into two different spaces in the eighteenth century works. We can actually see the *jasper fountain of gallant architecture* (being jasper another word for marble by then) over a large board (the black and white chequered marble floor) with benches around. The *New Hall* or the *Water's room* was roofed, windowed with a thermal window, decorated with *azulejos*, and closed by the convent door in the 1730s. Thus, it was transformed in a new hall for the General Father quarters, an inside garden for visitors awaiting to be received by The Father General, or friars resting and learning or meditating from the *azulejos'* images. Outside this door, another garden facing south shows a large pool (now a swimming pool) decorated by a carved lion, a limestone sculpture in *The General Father's garden*. The lion sculpture was a support to an arched tomb dating from early Christian times, and the twin sculpture of this lost tomb was also used as a fountain at the entrance of the convent. The garden's plans described below are lost, remaining a French *parterre*, with encircling flower beds that can date from the original garden.

At the end of this dormitory, near by the door to the convent grounds we have a jasper fountain of gallant architecture, and its running water excellent and highly profitable for those who suffer from stone kidney pains: it's in the middle of a large board with benches and flower beds in circuits, continued with an enough length for a stroll, for the South part, full of jasmine bushes and all kinds of scented flowers that make this place most agreeable and dressy, and nearby a beautiful pool of sixty three palms length and forty palms width, where are collected all the waters from the source, gathered by underground pipes, falling on the pool through the mouth of a lion carved in stone. In this pool are living a lot of fishes of a noticeable size, provided daily by the friars care, in order to refine this lodgings as more delectable (authors' translation of Costa 1712: 453).

This garden is clearly a garden designed to appeal to the five senses: to enjoy the freshness of waters, to scent the plants' perfume and the

loveliness of the flowers, to look at the large fishes in movement in the pool, to listen to the chants of the birds, to walk along the pleasure garden, located near the General Fathers lodgings. The reuse of the carved lion sculpture, understood as an *antique*, shows the good taste and elegance of this garden design.

The Beautiful Veranda, the Dragon Fountain and Tobias Story



Fig. 9. *Beautiful Veranda* , door facing west. Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

The other baroque garden is situated at the end of the principal dormitory in the infirmary zone. There is a Beautiful Veranda described in a Serra de Ossa Convent manuscript: *...on the infirmary a beautiful veranda, over the stable and cellars that were needed, were built two marble staircases and also two iron gates weighing more than 32 pounds (Serra de Ossa Inventory, Book 14, from 1707 onwards; authors translation).*

The meaning of veranda or balcony supposes an outdoor space that one can reach from the interior for landscape sightseeing. In the

infirmary zone there's a space like an interior garden or balcony decorated with *azulejos* and marble benches around. The large window opens to a marvellous landscape, with a vista over kilometres and kilometres of the convent's land and far beyond. This space is an interior garden, such as the one we mentioned before, with benches and cobalt blue and white *azulejos* depicting scenes of the *The Massacre of the Innocents*, a theme of the European tradition. Prints such as the *Massacre of the Innocents* by Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-1534), a prolific engraver who used various sources such as Raphael's (1483-1504) drawings, were the principal model for this subject but *The Massacre of the Innocents* by Dirck Volckertz Coornhert (1522-1590) is probably the source for these narrative images painted on cobalt blue and white.



Fig. 9. Beautiful Veranda : The Dragon's fountain. Photograph by Teresa de Campos Coelho.

Regarding the description above we can look to another garden constructed and leaned to the Northern convent wall, a sort of closure of the infirmary dormitory, an outdoor room more than a

courtyard or patio, as the proportions of this garden are of an intimate, almost private outdoors space. The landscape around is the opposite of the plain landscape viewed from the other interior garden. Here the surroundings are the wildness of the mountains of the Serra de Ossa, and its forest, embodies a natural menacing presence, and this garden pretends to be at the same time a refuge, and a space to meditate. Somehow in this garden one cannot deny a similarity with the eremites' grottoes, the humble protection from wildness' perils. Nevertheless this cubic shaped space is very elegantly designed, the walls arched on the top and framed with marble, crowned by bust sculptures of the four seasons, and by flamboyant vases at the corners. Three portals also framed with marble and decorated with carved shells communicate with the surroundings and the convent interiors. The flooring in black and white marble and benches around resembles the other gardens paces already described, but this case shows an architectonic structure, an open air sitting room, following Mediterranean gardens tradition (Carita 1998: 113; Carapinha 2014).

We think that this open air room is the described *Beautiful Veranda*, although there is no panorama, it is a poetic name for a garden that has no plants, like a balcony. In the description the reference for two iron gates suits this *Beautiful Veranda*, as having two doors opening to the mountains and forests, and the gates should be closed at night preventing wild animals to enter the convent grounds.

Occupying the central space of the *Beautiful Veranda* stands the *Fountain of the Dragon* carved in sparkling white marble. The beast wrestling with dolphins and maritime creatures surmounted by a horrific mask stands as a complex fountain sculpture decorated in baroque-rococo taste. In the literature related to the eremitic life. The Dragon represents the demon and its presence prefigure evil temptations, thou the dragon takes the most desirable and fanciful forms in the eremitic imagination conveyed by eremitic life's literature. This fountain leads us to the Italian or Italian style dragon's grottoes and dragons' fountains of the mannerist and baroque gardens, as initiatory journeys, based on the renowned

work by Francesco Colonna, whose pictures and texts were an important inspiration for the great European Gardens (Colonna 1499).

The Beautiful Veranda (Varanda Formosa) was named *Four Seasons Garden* (Simões 1970: 418) due to the carved four seasons busts located on top of the garden walls, following the description of the convent, previously discovered and published by us (Arruda and Coelho 2004: 85-91).



Fig. 10. *Beautiful Veranda* : *The Dragon's fountain*. Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

We preferred to use this more poetic designation as it covers all the messages and interpretations offered by this extraordinary garden. Besides the described Dragon Fountain, this *Beautiful Veranda* presents another subject of great relevance and rather scarcely used in religious architecture: *The History of Tobias*, from the Old Testament Apocrypha. The anonymous *azulejos* painter of the 1730s narrated the story (as if he was writing a novel) in eight cobalt blue and white panels, staging each step of the story in baroque frames

limited by pilasters surmounted by vases.

The saga of the young Hebrew Tobias travel from Ninive to Ragès is told in eight principal *azulejos* pannels and eight secondary ones. The principal facts described, or spots of the narrative are: *the father of Tobias named Tobit, being blinded by the excrements of a bird; Tobit sending his son in a trip to get borrowed money due to him, the young Tobias and his dog being accompanied by a young man called Azarias; the capture of the miraculous fish; both arrive to Ecbátana; the marriage of Tobias and Sara; Tobias and Azarias burn fish viscera and free Sara from Asmodeus a Demon that killed all her past husbands; getting back and healing the blindness of Tobit with another part of the miraculous fish, and finally the revelation of Azarias identity as The Archangel Rafael, and the Guardian Angel.*



Fig. 11. Anonymous, *The archangel Saint Michael expelling the Devil from Sara's house*, c. 1740. Photograph by Luísa Arruda.

In Coimbra, there is an important *History of Tobias* painted in eight boards, dated from late sixteenth, early seventeenth century by Mateus Coronado a Spanish artist in the service of the Bishop and Count D. Afonso de Castelo-Branco, who offered the paintings to the Coimbra Jesuits Church (SERRÃO 2007: 151-179; PIMENTEL 2006). The sources of these paintings are the engravings by Dirk Volkerst (1522-1590) based on drawings by Maarten Van Heemskenns (1498-1574) as stated by Vitor Serrão (SERRÃO 2007: 151-179). Probably these are the oldest images on the History of Tobias in Portugal ordered by a Portuguese patron.

The saga of the young Hebrew Tobias is painted in eight episodes that illustrate the eight steps in which there is a principal representation and a secondary one, to be read from left to right and sequentially (Pimentel 2006). The History of Tobias was a theme also staged in *azulejos pannels* by the Spanish painter Gabriel del Barco (1648-c.1703). This artist was a decorative painter specialized in *grotteschi* and become *azulejos* painter after coming to Portugal with a Spanish embassy (1669) and living and working in this country to his dead (Simões, 1970: 19-24; Carvalho 2012: 118-154). Another History of Tobias by his hand and probably also by António Pereira (?-1712) can be seen at the Almada Seminary, dating from 1700 and integrated in this Seminary after Lisbon's Cathedral (Carvalho 2012: 144). In this case we can see four scenes: *Tobias and the Angel*, *Tobias and the miraculous fish*, *the cure of Tobit blindness*, and finally *the revelation of the true identity of Archangel Rafael* (Simões 1970: 365). At Faro's Cathedral there is another Life of Tobias influenced by Barco and perhaps designed by António Pereira. We have to underline that these two series of the *Life of Tobias* were designed for Portuguese cathedrals, and therefore under high patronage.

One interesting hypothesis is that the *azulejos* painters working at Lisbon's and Faro's cathedrals knew the Coimbra paintings, and were influence by them and this influence might have reached the Beautiful Veranda *azulejos*. The same presupposes are found at the very end of the infirmary dormitory: The memory, the circulation of images, being the model the drawings by Maarten Van

Heemskenns, engraved by Dirk Volkerst, and a moral history to be interpreted in meditation by the friars of Serra de Ossa Convent. The Tobias History conveys more the idea of Life as a journey that must be lived under Christian valour's and under the guidance and protection of the Guardian Angel, The Archangel Rafael, known as the God's Doctor or the Medicine of God, rather than the idea of Christian virtues.



Fig. 12. Paula Rego, Study for Crivelli's Garden, Pen, ink and watercolour on paper, 1990. Inv. CHPR D 80 DEP.

The Beautiful Veranda presents an architectural Mediterranean garden typology, an elegant open air structured room, decorated with the symbolic *Dragon Fountain*, *Four Seasons* carved Busts and cobalt blue and white *azulejos* narrating the History of Tobias, as a complex and cultural combination of messages and meanings to be interpreted and lived by the friars of Saint Paul the Anchorite Convent.

The Portuguese painter Paula Rego (1935-), shows in her *Crivelli's Garden* (London, 1990, National Gallery, Cafeteria) what is her idea of a Portuguese garden: an open air space between walls with figurative painted *azulejos*, fountains, Bible heroes and Christian Saints, Friars and Nuns, children playing, which clearly recall us the *Beautiful Veranda*.

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