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NOSSA SENHORA DA CONCEIÇÃO DA PRAIA and the JOANINE STYLE IN BRAZIL

ROBERT C. SMITH

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY Basilica of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia in Salvador (Fig. 1) is one of the very few monumental buildings ever erected in Brazil. It is the largest and richest example of a colonial building for which all of the stone was cut in Portugal before shipment to America. It is also the first and finest example in Brazil of the style of John V of Portugal,¹ called the estilo joanino or Joanine style, which introduced the use of Roman fullbaroque ornament to Portugal and its empire. Furthermore, the Conceição da Praia clearly anticipates the school of Minas Gerais, considered to have been the most fully developed expression of the eighteenth-century colonial art of Brazil.² It is fortunate therefore, that documents have recently been discovered at the National Library in Rio de Janeiro which tell the history of the construction of this church and the authorship of its plan, its high altar and the ceiling painting of its nave.³

The present building owes its origin to a chapel which is said to have been erected by Tomé de Sousa shortly after 1549 when he founded Salvador,⁴ capital of the state of Bahia and until 1763 the vice-regal capital of Brazil. Dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, this chapel stood upon the waterfront or Praia,⁵ hence the name Conceição da Praia. The parish prospered so that at some time after 1645⁶ the church was rebuilt upon a larger scale. This building ⁷ was by 1736 found inadequate and the two lay brotherhoods that controlled the administration of the parish resolved to erect a new structure on the same site which should be "more worthy of the worship of God and of so rich and populous a Parish." ⁸

Plans for the new church were obtained from a Portuguese military engineer, Manuel Cardoso de Saldanha, according to a custom frequently followed for major constructions in colonial Brazil, where military engineers were the men best trained in civil architecture.⁹ Once approved, these plans were sent to Manuel Vicente, master of a large quarry outside Lisbon, who was then exporting for Brazilian buildings ¹⁰ cut *pedra lioz*, a cream-colored pseudo-

ROBERT C. SMITH teaches the history of fine arts at the University of Pennsylvania. He is Fellow in Brazilian and Portuguese Studies of the Library of Congress. marble enlivened with veins of rose. The Lisbon mason Eugênio da Mota was engaged to superintend the preparation of the stone work and to bring the first shipment to Bahia. He was also to take charge of the construction in Salvador.¹¹

The Rio de Janeiro documents relate that the stone was shipped free of charge as an offering to the Blessed Virgin and was hauled by the crews themselves the short distance from the wharf to the site, where building was begun in 1739. It continued with royal assistance until 1765 when the still unfinished church was dedicated by the Archbishop of Bahia, D. Frei Manuel de Sta. Inez.¹² Eugênio da Mota, aged and nearly blind, returned to Lisbon in 1769. He was replaced by four other Portuguese masons who acted as successive clerks of the work before in 1820 the central section and left wing of the church were finally completed.¹³ The right wing and the stair before the building were not finished until after 1850.¹⁴

In deciding to import the stone from Lisbon, the Portuguese merchants who dominated the governing boards of the Conceição's brotherhoods followed a tradition which had begun in the sixteenth century, when door and window frames and other architectural details began to be sent to Brazil as ballast in the ships of the Portuguese fleets.

The pedra lioz, or "stone of the kingdom," was particularly prized at Bahia where it continued to be employed until the late nineteenth century in preference to the coarse dark sandstone of the quarries of Salvador.¹⁵ The first entire structure to be erected of imported Lisbon stone seems to have been the Jesuit church of that city, now the cathedral, constructed between 1657 and 1672. It is the finest example in Brazil of the style of the great Mannerist churches of Portugal and Portuguese India and the building which a Bahian author writing in 1847 correctly linked with the Conceição da Praia as two of the greatest colonial churches of all South America.¹⁶ The latter is somewhat larger, for it measures approximately 185 by 144 feet as against the 190 by 87 feet of the former Jesuit church, neither being comparable in scale to the major churches of Spanish America.

The Conceição da Praia is also the first and most com-

plete expression in Brazil of the new baroque style that succeeded Mannerism in Portugal in the early years of John V's reign. This monarch employed in 1717 the Roman-trained German architect Johan Friedrich Ludwig, known in Portugal as João Frederico Ludovice, to design the palace and convent of Mafra.¹⁷ The year before, 1716, he had begun the library of the University of Coimbra, planned and decorated in large measure, I believe, by the



FIG. 3. Mafra. (Author)

French sculptor Claude de Laprade, who appears to have been familiar with Versailles.¹⁸ These men, together with Filippo Juvara, Antonio Canevari and other foreign architects, developed at the time in Portugal a taste for the dynamic ornament of Francesco Borromini¹⁹ and in particular arched lintels and curved hoods, flared pediments and bombé steeples, which are characteristic of Joanine architecture between 1720 and 1750.

FIG. 1. Salvador. N. S. da Conceição da Praia. (Author)

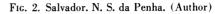




FIG. 4. Mafra. Side elevation. (From a drawing in the Academia Nacional de Belas Artes, Lisbon)





In Brazil, with the inevitable time-lag of colonial expression, the estilo joanino became current in simplified form only in the 1740's. At Rio de Janeiro the military engineer José Fernandes Pinto Alpoim seems first to have employed it in the curved hoods of the doors and windows of the old governors' palace which he completed in 1743.20 Similar forms also appear there in the Benedictine cloister which Alpoim began in 1743.²¹ At the same time he was introducing the new style to the interior region of Minas Gerais through the residence he designed for the governors in the old town of Ouro Preto in 1742.22 At Salvador in that same year the newly arrived archbishop had erected his chapel of N. S. da Penha²³ with curved lintels and hoods on the doors and windows and arched cornices on the tower and atop the pedimental screen (Fig. 2). These offer a strong contrast with the severe Serlian rectilinearity of the church façades that immediately preceded this small building.24

By comparison with the Conceição da Praia, however, the ornament of the Penha seems crude. Like the other early examples of the *estilo joanino* just cited, it represents an extreme simplification of a highly refined metropolitan style. The same vernacular version can be found in a number of contemporary buildings in the provinces of Portugal²⁵ and in Angola.²⁶ The Conceição da Praia, on the other hand, is a very close approximation to the true Lisbon manner. When it is remembered that the plans for this church were approved before its beginning in 1739, the real extent of its significance becomes at once apparent. It is unquestionably the first full demonstration of the new style in Brazil, designed on a scale and with a degree of authenticity never again achieved in that country.

Of its author, Manuel Cardoso de Saldanha, little is known save that from 1749 until his death in 1767 he was the major engineer of the fortified port of Salvador²⁷ where he taught civil architecture to José Antônio Caldas and other engineers and architects of the future.²⁸ No other building by him has survived and a solitary drawing for a school of the Jesuits which I have attributed to him bears no real relation to the Conceição da Praia.²⁹ It is known, however, that he was Portuguese and it can be assumed that he was trained in Lisbon, where undoubtedly he knew the monument of Mafra (Fig. 3) which seems to have been used as a point of departure for the design of the façade of the Conceição da Praia.

From that source appears to have come the placing of the two-towered façade between imposing wings, housing in several stories a series of sacristies and administrative apartments that make the Conceição da Praia the most complex religious building of its time in Brazil. From the church of Mafra could also have come the severe triangular pediment of the Bahian church and the neo-Palladian form of the main doorway, very similar to one of the side entrances to the palace of Mafra (Fig. 4). Ultimately the façade design of both the Portuguese and the Brazilian building goes back to Borromini's seventeenth-century church of Sta. Agnese in Rome ³⁰ which has a similar doorway and pediment and also incorporates palace structures at both of its extremities. The form and spacing of some of the windows are identical in the façades of Mafra and

FIG. 5. Rome. Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori. (Author)

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FIG. 6. Minas Gerais. S. João do Morro Grande. The parish church. (Author)



the Conceição da Praia and the unusual fretwork of the steeple balustrade of the latter is found also in the courtyard windows at Mafra.³¹

The diagonal placement of the towers of the Conceição da Praia differs, however, from the position of the towers at Mafra; nor is there any precedent for it in the contemporary architecture of Portugal. This unusual arrangement goes back once again to Borromini, this time to his unfinished façade of the Roman chapel of Sta. Maria dei Sette Dolori, begun in 1652 (Fig. 5).³² Here the disposition of the tower-like motifs on either side of the characteristically Joanine doorway is practically identical with the placing of the towers of the Conceição da Praia. In another part of the façade there is a circular window framed like those of the towers of the Brazilian church.

There is no evidence that Saldanha ever visited Italy but he could have known the Sette Dolori façade through prints or sketches which Ludovice might have shown him. Even without knowledge of this particular façade, however, Saldanha might have devised the tower arrangement through the study of other more famous buildings by Borromini, for the principle of salient verticals like those at the center of these towers is a constantly repeated motif in his architecture.³³ There is even an approximation to this effect in the curving walls of the towers at Mafra which emphasize the vertical ridges at the angles. Whatever the origin of the towers of the Conceição da Praia may be, they are the most original aspect of the façade of the church and they provide a suggestion of baroque movement (though with no subtlety of coordination) in an otherwise static façade.

This arrangement found favor in the Portuguese world for it was later repeated in literal form in the church of N. S. da Piedade, built at Elvas in Portugal about 1756,34 and in the lower stage of the towers of the parish church of S. João do Morro Grande in Minas Gerais in Brazil (Fig. 6). Begun in 1764, the latter is attributed to Aleijadinho,35 the immortal late-eighteenth-century sculptor and architect of that interior region. He subsequently refined the disposition in the polygonal towers of his church for the Carmelite Tertiaries at Ouro Preto (1770) and the round ones of the churches he designed for the Third Order of St. Francis in Ouro Preto and S. João d'El-Rei, which date from the period 1766-1774.36 Although no concrete proof of influence can be laid down, it is logical to suppose some connection between the towers of the Conceição da Praia, which are unique in the coastal area, and the refinements of Aleijadinho in Minas Gerais.

In his choice of an octagonal plan for the Conceição da Praia, Manuel Cardoso de Saldanha followed a formula used in Portugal in the early eighteenth century. The irregular octagon of the nave (Fig. 7),³⁷ for which there is Italian precedent in a number of Borromini's buildings³⁸ and in Francesco Lanfranchi's church of S. Rocco at Turin of 1667,³⁹ had been used in the royally financed church of Menino Deus, begun in Lisbon in 1711 (Fig. 8). That building was probably designed by João Antunes, the paramount Portuguese architect of the early eighteenth

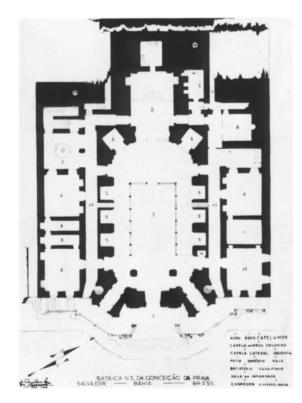


FIG. 7. Salvador. Conceição da Praia. Plan.

FIG. 8. Lisbon, Menino Deus, Interior. (Author)



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century, who on several occasions experimented with octagonal plans.⁴⁰ The same form of nave is also found in another Joanine show building, the parish church of Campo Maior in eastern Portugal. Since the first of these churches was dedicated in 1737 and the second was begun in 1734,41 at just the time that Saldanha was designing his church in Bahia, there is reason to suppose that he took the irregular octagonal plan from these Portuguese buildings. From this source also came the deep rectangular chancel of the Conceição da Praia which is the traditional capela-mor of Portugal. The long lateral corridors, archtypical of Lusitanian churches, had long been in use in Brazil. Again it is interesting to note a connection with Minas Gerais because the plan of the great Joanine structure in Salvador was repeated with minor variations in Aleijadinho's church of S. Francisco de Assis at Ouro Preto (Fig. 9), where the short sides have convex walls, as at Borromini's cloister of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane.⁴²

The nave of the Conceição da Praia has a simple design which derives its handsome effect in large measure from its ample proportions and the radiant coloring of the imported stone (Fig. 10). The colossal order of pilasters framing the arches of the chapels and chancel goes back to the sixteenth-century Mannerist churches of the Jesuits in Lisbon⁴³ and Évora and is an essential part of the interiors of the Menino Deus and S. João Baptista at Campo Maior. In the Brazilian church the only baroque decoration of the interior stonework is found in the Italianate portals⁴⁴ leading from the nave and chancel to the lateral corridors, while the triforium openings are ornamented after a Luso-Brazilian custom with elaborately carved valances of gilded wood called sane fas. These continue the brilliant effect of the woodcarved altarpieces in the shallow chapels of the nave, one of which is known to have been made by the Bahian sculptor Lourenço Rodrigues Lancarote in 1765.45

These retables are overshadowed by the magnificent high altar of gilded and polychromed cedar (Fig. 11) which was carved by João Moreira do Espírito Santo⁴⁶ between 1765 and 1773 when, together with the others, it



FIG. 10. Salvador. Conceição da Praia. Interior. (Author)

was gilded by Domingos Luiz Soares. The high altar, which belongs to a series executed at Salvador between 1755 and 1775,47 presents a number of decorative devices of Italian origin typical of the baroque altarpieces of the Joanine style.⁴⁸ These are the partially striated Solomonic columns with garlands of flowers and acanthus cresting derived from Bernini's baldaquin of St. Peter's, the graceful herm figures that frame the interior niche or tribuna, and the gesticulating angels of the uppermost area. The latter in almost all the retables of this group incorporates a crown-like canopy which suggests the great crowns used in the funeral monuments erected to the memory of John V in 1750-1751 in cathedrals all over the Portuguese world. Several of these crowns, like the one in the Portuguese church in Rome, were handsomely engraved.⁴⁹ A similar mausoleum is known to have been set up by the architect Paulo Franco da Silva in the old cathedral of Bahia⁵⁰ and this may account for the flattened crown motif at the top of the high altar of the Conceição da Praia. The central

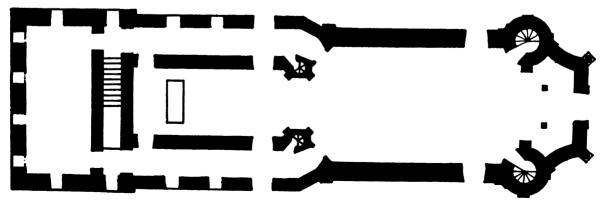


FIG. 9. Ouro Preto. S. Francisco de Assis. Plan.

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niche contains a feature peculiar to all Portuguese and Brazilian major retables of the eighteenth century. This is the so-called "throne," or pyramid of shelves built to contain candelabra and vases, on top of which the Most Blessed Sacrament is occasionally displayed. In the decoration of this area wave-like passages of rococo ornament suggest the influence, through French pattern books and church silver, of Meissonier and Oppenord.⁵¹

The high altar of N. S. da Conceição da Praia, one of the masterpieces of Italianate baroque art in Brazil and a fitting corollary to the style of the façade, therefore shows evidence of the transition to the new vogue of the rococo. This style reached its most perfect expression in the altars of Aleijadinho's churches in Minas Gerais which date from the 1790's.⁵² These represent, with the addition of new ornament, a studied attenuation of the Joanine model which had been introduced to that region from Rio de Janeiro by the Portuguese woodcarver Francisco Xavier de Brito in the 1740's.⁵³

The final glory of the church of the Conceição da Praia is the huge painting of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception executed by José Joaquim da Rocha in 1773 upon the boards of the simulated vault of the nave (Fig. 12). In style the painting belongs to the seventeenth-century Italian tradition of illusionistic architectural perspective

FIG. 12. Salvador. Conceição da Praia. Painted ceiling of the nave. (Voltaire Fraga)



FIG. 11. Salvador. Conceição da Praia. High altar. (Author)

painting which Vincenzo Baccarelli had brought to Lisbon before 1710⁵⁴ and which the Portuguese João Nunes de Abreu had employed on the ceiling of the Menino Deus,⁵⁵ the Lisbon church so closely related to the Conceição da Praia. The manner seems to have been carried to Salvador by Antônio Simões Ribeiro, whom I am inclined to identify with the painter of the same name who helped decorate the ceilings of the royal library at Coimbra in 1723.56 He is known to have worked in the old capital of Brazil from 1735 until his death in 1755 and he may have taught the style to José Joaquim da Rocha.57 The ceiling of the Conceição da Praia is the largest and grandest of a number of similarly composed paintings attributed to Rocha and his pupils.⁵⁸ These works all have a huge architectural frame incorporating balconies, arches, vaults and exedras with lozenge-paned windows. Clearly apparent is the influence of Father Pozzo's book on perspective and of Bibiena's designs for stage settings, both of which were extensively used in Portugal.59

These great provincial baroque ceilings, unique in the Americas, were again the point of departure for a more delicate rococo restatement of the theme in the early nineteenth-century art of Minas Gerais. The apotheosis of Our Lady of the Angels painted by Manuel da Costa Atiaíde in 1810 on the ceiling of the nave of Aleijadinho's



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church of S. Francisco at Ouro Preto ⁶⁰ has essentially the same composition, although with a different color scheme and motifs of decoration that recall Venetian ceilings and those of Central Europe. Thus the great coastal church of N. S. da Conceição da Praia played to a certain degree the role of a way station in the importation of new ideas in architecture, sculpture and painting from Europe to the interior of Brazil.

This is perhaps the most important aspect of that building—its demonstration of the character of the *estilo joanino*. And since that style is in large measure an accommodation of the manner of Francesco Borromini to Lusitanian traditions of materials and design, it was the style of the Roman baroque that the Conceição da Praia transmitted, not only to the architects and artists of Minas Gerais, but also to those of the Brazilian coast who were to continue to use it until the end of the colonial period. In this respect the *estilo joanino* and its continuation are without parallel in either Spanish or British America, for

1. John V of Bragança, born in 1689, reigned 1706-1750, was the greatest patron of architecture among the sovereigns of Portugal after Manuel I (1495-1521).

2. J. B. Bury, "Estilo Aleijadinho and the Churches of Eighteenth Century Brazil," Architectural Review, CXI (1953), 93-100: "The Borrominesque Churches of Colonial Brazil," Art Bulletin, XXXVII (1955), 27-53; Pál Kelemen, Baroque and Rococo in Latin America (New York, 1951), Chapter 14; R. C. Smith, "Colonial Architecture of Minas Gerais in Brazil," Art Bulletin, XXI (1939), 111-159.

3. The manuscript (Codex II 33, 26, 13) entitled Memórias e mais papeis pertencentes ás irmandades do SS. Sacramento, e de N. S. da Conceição da Praia da Bahia was compiled by João José Lopes Braga in 1847 from minute and expense books of the lay brotherhoods of the church, the present whereabouts of which are unknown. The manuscript was called to my attention by the archivist of Salvador, D. Marieta Alves, who has published some of the information (Igreja de N. S. da Conceição da Praia [Salvador, 1954]). See the present writer's forthcoming book on the subject.

4. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado descriptivo do Brasil em 1587*, 3a. ed. (São Paulo, 1938), p. 140. The original building appears in a view of Salvador of about 1629 in the Rijks-Archief at The Hague (No. 2167).

5. The expression Praia or Praia Grande, literally beach, was applied to harbors all over the Portuguese world.

6. In this year the charter of the first lay brotherhood was granted (Frei Agostinho de Santa Maria, *Santuário mariano* [Lisboa, 1722], IX, 90). It seems unlikely that the new building was erected before this date because the funds for such undertakings were usually raised by the lay brothers.

7. A reference in the Santuário mariano to chapels "in the body of the church" (op. cit., IX, 92) suggests that the nave had side chapels connected by a lateral passage. This was the so-called Jesuit plan much used in Portugal in the seventeenth century and applied to certain great churches of Salvador in the period 1650– 1720.

8. Memórias... da C. da P. See also Sta. Maria, op. cit., IX, 90, and LeGentil de la Barbinais, Nouveau voyage autour du monde (Amsterdam, 1731), p. 129.

9. For a discussion of this subject see the author's "Jesuit Buildings in Brazil," Art Bulletin, XXX (1948), Appendix I, 207-211.

never was the ornament of the Roman baroque so consistently employed in the architecture of those colonial regions as it was in Brazil. The way in which these Italianate influences was transmitted is in itself unique. The Conceição da Praia was imported almost ready-made from Lisbon. Although the plans are thought to have been drawn in Brazil, they were the work of a Portuguese. As a result it is possible to speak of the Conceição da Praia as a legitimate example of Portuguese architecture in America in a sense unknown in the rest of the colonial architecture of the Americas, as it was also in the other parts of the Portuguese empire. This great imported building can, therefore, be considered one of the most interesting colonial structures of Latin America, not only for its intrinsic distinction, but because of the method of its construction and the nature of the influences which it received and transmitted to the rest of the Portuguese colony of Brazil.

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10. Manuel Vicente was succeeded by his brother Felício Vicente, who died in 1771 and was replaced by a nephew Joaquim Vicente, who continued the work until his death in 1778. His place was taken by his son Manuel Vicente Ferreira, active until 1794. The last shipments were sent by Antônio Joaquim de Faria (Memórias . . . da C. da P.).

11. Paid at the rate of 1200 *reis* per day, he was provided with 16\$000 *rs*. for the expense of the journey and promised the same amount to return (*ibid*.).

12. Bishop of Angola, then Archbishop of Bahia (1763-71). In 1753 a Royal Provision of Joseph I granted the sum of 12:000\$000 *rs.* from taxes for the construction of the chancel. A view of Salvador made in 1758 by José Antônio Caldas under the direction of Manuel Saldanha now in the municipal archive of Salvador shows the church terminated except for the pediment, upper towers and right wing (*Noticia geral de toda esta capitania da Bahia, desde o seu descobrimento até o presente ano de 1759* [Bahia. 1951], ed. fac.).

13. The panorama accompanying the letters of Luiz dos Santos Vilhena of 1800–1801 in the Biblioteca Nacional at Rio shows the church with pediment and Gospel tower complete. The upper part of the other tower and the right wing were still lacking (Vilhena, Recopilação de noticias soteropolitanas e brasílicas contidas em XX cartas [Bahia, 1921], 1). A drawing of 1813 signed "Sales" in the church archive shows both towers apparently completed.

14. The terrace before the Conceição da Praia seems to have been set up around 1849 and work on the right wing of the church was under way in 1851. Acording to the documents, this was completed under the direction of the engineers Francisco Lavigne and André Przewodowski. They also give the cost of the work up to 1820 as 208:238\$855 *rs.* The church became a Minor Basilica on October 8, 1946.

15. The significance of this building is discussed in R. C. Smith, *As artes na Bahia* (Salvador, 1944), I, 33–35, 51–54.

16. João José Lopes Braga in Memórias . . . da C. da P.

17. Born in Swabia in 1670 and trained in Rome, he came to Portugal in 1701, where he remained until his death in 1752. For a discussion of his work see the writer's "João Frederico Ludovice," *Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 273-370.

18. He was active in Portugal from before 1699 until after 1729. I have analyzed his early style in my "Early works of Claude de

Laprade and the style Louis XIV in Portugal," Gazette des beauxarts, VI pér., XLIV (1954), 163–190. The evidence for his activity at the library in Coimbra will be offered in a second article soon to be published in the same journal. For views of the building see Vergílio Correia & António Nogueira Gonçalves, Inventário artístico de Portugal, II, Cidade de Coimbra (Lisboa, 1947), Figs. XVII, XX.

19. Francesco Borromini (b. Bissone, N. Italy, 1599; d. Rome, 1667).

20. Manuel Duarte Moreira de Azevedo, *Rio de Janeiro* (Rio, 1877), I, 6-14. Later the imperial palace and now the post office of Rio, the old building has been mercilessly mutilated.

21. D. Clemente Maria da Silva-Nigra, Construtores e artistas do mosteiro de S. Bento do Rio de Janeiro (Salvador, 1950), pp. 103–04, Fig. 169. One of the handsomest cloisters in South America, it has survived almost without alteration.

22. Artur de Cerqueira Falcão, Relíquias da terra do ouro (S. Paulo, 1946), Figs. 214-216.

23. D. José Botelho de Matos, Archbishop of Bahia (1741-60), who resigned in distress at the suppression of the Company of Jesus in 1759 and died in his residence beside the Penha chapel in 1767.

24. Typical are the churches of S. Francisco (façade dated 1720) and the SS. Sacramento da Rua do Passo, which the master mason João Antunes dos Reis contracted to build in 1736. Both are illustrated in Falcão, *Relíquias da Bahia* (S. Paulo, 1940), Figs. 223, 253.

25. Many examples figure in the *Inventário artístico de Portugal*, of which five volumes have been published by the Academia Nacional de Belas Artes.

26. Fernando Batalha, A igreja de nossa senhora do pópulo da cidade de Benguela (Luanda, 1950.).

27. For a summary of the documents concerning him see the writer's "Jesuit buildings in Brazil," p. 210. Among these documents is the Royal Order dated October 23, 1749, appointing Saldanha to the post at Salvador for eight years with the rank of *sargento-mor*. Since this was thirteen years after the decision to rebuild the Conceição da Praia and because there was no proof that Saldanha had been in Brazil before 1749 I have advanced the document as an argument against his authorship of the church (*ibid.*). The information contained in the Rio manuscript is, however, so positive that it appears to remove all doubt that Saldanha designed the church. He must therefore have been in Salvador in 1736, or whenever his plans were made, before construction was begun in 1739.

28. For the biography of Caldas see *ibid.*, Appendix II, pp. 211-13.29. *Ibid.*, Fig. 1.

30. Begun in 1653. Eberhart Hempel, Francesco Borromini (Wien, 1924), Chap. 4, Plates 87 et al.

31. These resemblances are listed in detail in my forthcoming book on the Conceição da Praia.

32. Ibid., p. 122.

33. Examples are illustrated *ibid.*, Figs. 9, 49, 55, 98.

34. Guia de Portugal (Lisboa, n. d.), II, 446.

35. Antônio Francisco Lisbôa (1730?-1814), a Mulatto of Ouro Preto called Aleijadinho (little cripple) because of the loss of both fingers and toes. See Kelemen, *op. cit.*, Chap. 14; José Mariano, *A. F. Lisbôa* (Rio, 1945).

36. The plan of N. S. do Carmo at Ouro Preto is illustrated in Paulo Santos, Arquitetura religiosa em Ouro Preto (Rio, 1951), Fig. 96.

37. The plan can also be described as a rectangle with intercepted or canted angles.

38. The nave of Sta. Maria dei Sette Dolori (Hempel, op. cit., Plates 80-81) and the sacristy of Sta. Agnese (*ibid.*, Fig. 52) are complete irregular octagons. The cloister of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane has the same plan with convex walls on the short sides (*ibid.*, Fig. 5). The nave of the Lateran, which Borromini rearranged for the jubilee year of 1650, has a polygonal entrance end (*ibid.*, Fig. 25). 39. Vincenzo Golzio, *1l seicento e il settecento* (Torino, 1950), illus., p. 159.

40. Matos Sequeira, "Igreja de Menino Deus," Belas Artes (1951), pp. 24-26.

41. Keil, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

42. The nave of N. S. do Carmo in Ouro Preto is also related because of the polygonal entrance end (Santos, op. cit., Fig. 96).

43. Santos, O barroco e o jesuítico na arquitetura do Brasil (Rio, 1951), Fig. 47.

44. Two doors in the chancel have unusual arches formed of volutes set on Ionic pilasters. These are similar to those of the side porch of the cathedral of Oporto which seem to be contemporary (Manuel Monteiro, As igrejas medievas do Pôrto [Pôrto, 1954] Pl. 9).

45. In the chapel of the Crucifixion. Lançarote, born in Salvador, was the son of the sculptor Antônio Rodrigues Lançarote who is mentioned several times between 1730 and 1748 as a carver of "targes, panels and cornices" in the church of the Carmelite Third Order at Salvador (Archive of the Diretoria do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional [DPHAN], Salvador).

46. Nothing further is known about this woodcarver.

47. Among them are the anonymously designed altars of Sts. Ignatius and Francis Xavier installed in the transepts of the former Jesuit church before 1759 (R. C. Smith, "Baroque Architecture in Brazil," *Portugal and Brazil* [London, 1953], Fig. XX), the high altars of N. S. da Lapa (1755) by Antônio Mendes da Silva (M. Alves, *Convento da Lapa* [Salvador, 1951], p. 16, illus. p. 12) and the high altar of the Sta. Casa (1774) by Antônio Rodrigues Mendes (Alves, *Sta. Casa da Misericórdia* [Salvador, 1952], p. 12).

48. R. C. Smith, "Portuguese woodcarved retable," *Belas Artes* (1950), pp. 27-33.

49. Castrum doloris erectum in templo S. Antonij nationis lusitanicae in funere Joannis regis fidelissimi. Anno 1751. Engraved by Giuseppe Vasi on designs by Manuel Rodrigues dos Santos.

50. João Borges de Barros, Relação panegyrica das honras funeraes, que às memorias do muito alto, e muito poderoso senhor rey fidelissimo D. João V, consagrou a cidade da Bahia (Lisboa, 1753), p. 10.

51. The history of the French rococo in Portugal has never been properly studied. It seems to have reached its climax in the reign of John V's son and successor Joseph I (1750–1777) who employed the French silversmiths Thomas and Auguste Germain to make over a thousand pieces, many of which are preserved in the museums of Lisbon. Rococo designs can be seen on Portuguese coins as early as 1726 when French painters and engravers, attracted by the magnificence of John V, began to settle in Portugal.

52. Especially the high altars of the Tertiaries of St. Francis in S. João d'El-Rei and Ouro Preto which are part of designs for the entire chancel made by the master himself (Falcão, *Relíquias da terra do ouro*, Figs. 141-43, 321-22).

53. Ibid., Figs. 110, 112, 113, 308.

54. He painted the ceiling of the *portaria* or entrance hall of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon (Emilio Lavagnino, *Gli artisti italiani in Portogallo* [Roma, 1940], Fig. 132).

55. Cirilo V. Machado, *Collecção de memórias* (Lisboa, 1823), p. 183.

56. Correia & Gonçalves, op. cit., Figs. 148, 149.

57. Archive of DPHAN. Rocha is said to have been a native of Minas Gerais.

58. The similar ceiling of the nave of N. S. da Lapa seems to date from as early as 1750–1759 (Alves, *Convento da Lapa*, p. 20 and illus, p. 22).

59. Andrea Pozzo, S. J., Perspectivae pictorum atque architectorum (Roma, 1693); Ferdinando Bibiena, Architettura civile (Parma, 1711).

60. R. C. Smith, "Baroque Architecture in Brazil," p. 363.