

I - Overview



The Art Library at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation contains a series of studies dedicated to the "Images of Saints in Tiles". These studies are largely unpublished and only a selection has been incorporated into João Miguel dos Santos Simões' publications.

Santos Simões had planned to publish a monograph entitled "Registos de Santos em Azulejo [Images of Saints in Tiles]" as a supplement to *Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa* [Corpus of Portuguese Tiles] since at least as early as 1958. This is made evident, for instance,

in one of his texts, currently in the care of the Art Library of the Gulbenkian Foundation, which reads: "the monographs on hagiographical panels (images) are currently in preparation for immediate publication".² This monograph was to be followed by a series of studies on "Frontais de Altar [Antependia]" and other topics, all of which have been analysed within the framework of the DigiTile Library project.³

¹ A preliminary version of this article was presented at the Colloquium "The DigiTile and Robbiana Projects: Researching and disseminating tiles and ceramics", held at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation on 18 and 19 April 2013. Álvaro Tição is a Senior Technician at the Lisbon Municipal Council; Fernando M. Peixoto Lopes and Margarida Almeida Bastos are Senior History Technicians at the Lisbon City Museum. The English translation of this text was produced and revised by Hanna Pięta and John Elliott, respectively, under the DigiTile Library project (PTDC/117315/2010).

² The original reads: "para publicação imediata estão em preparação as monografias sobre Painéis Hagiográficos (Registos)".

³ Cf. Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa", 30.XII.1958. EMD00.1.218



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

Santos Simões' plans for the publication of "Registos de Santos em Azulejo [Images of Saints in Tiles]" were also revealed in a preface to *Azulejaria Portuguesa nos Açores e na Madeira [Portuguese Tiles in the Azores and in Madeira]*, dated 1963. This preface, written by Azeredo Perdigão, at that time the President of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, refers to a research conducted between 20 July 1955 and 31 December 1959.⁴ According to the information provided in this text, the publication of *Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa* [Corpus of Portuguese Tiles] would consist of two stages: the publication of *Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa* as such and the subsequent publication of the abovementioned series of monographs, including a volume dedicated to "Devotional Tile Images [Registos de Azulejos]".⁵ The work on this volume is said to have been at an advanced stage of completion.

The matter was discussed again in Santos Simões' preface to *Azulejaria em Portugal nos Séculos XV e XVI* [*Tiles in 15th and 16th-century Portugal*]. There, he announces his intention to publish the already mentioned studies – which he now calls "Painéis (Registos) Devocionais em Azulejo [Devotional Tile Panels (Images)]" – as a part of "Estudos Temáticos Complementares [Complementary Studies in Tiles]". The latter work was also intended to cover topics related to the iconography of Lisbon in tiles, heraldry, 18th-century master tile painters, baroque ornamental grammar in Portuguese tiles and figurative themes in Portuguese tiles. The author also revealed that, whenever this was possible and thematically and chronologically appropriate, the publication of the

⁴ This report is based on "Plano do Corpus [The Plan of the Corpus]". To our knowledge the only existing version of this document dates from 1960. Cf. Arquivo da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, "Corpus do Azulejo Português organizado pela Brigada de Estudos de Azulejaria, subsidiada pela Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian dirigida por J. M. dos Santos Simões", 26 de Fevereiro de 1960.

⁵ Cf. João Miguel dos SANTOS SIMÕES, Azeredo PERDIGÃO [Prefácio], *Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa – Azulejaria Portuguesa nos Açores e na Madeira,* Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1963, p. X.



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis - IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

monographs referred to in 1963 would accompany the "generic" volumes of the Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa.6

New information on Santos Simões' plans with regard to Portuguese tiles was published in a document dated 31 March 1969, which is now kept in the Art Library, entitled "Proposta quanto à reestruturação da Brigada de Estudos de Azulejaria [Proposal for the restructuring of the Brigade for the Study of Tiles]". The ninth position in the list of volumes intended for publication, included in the section entitled "Publicações Complementares do Corpus [Complementary Publications to the Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa]", was occupied by "Registos Devocionais em Azulejo [Devotional Tile Images]", an illustrated volume to be published in November 1969.⁷

An interesting feature of the documentation under analysis here is its diversified nomenclature. For this reason, the present paper gives preference to the title "Registos de Santos em Azulejos [Images of Saints in Tiles]". It should be borne in mind, however, that in 1958 the documentation was entitled "Painéis Hagiográficos (Registos) [Hagiographical Panels (Devotional Images)]", in 1960 "Registos Hagiográficos [Hagiographical Images]", in 1963 "Registos de Azulejos [Devotional Tile Images]", in 1969 "Painéis (Registos) Devocionais em Azulejo [Devotional Tile Panels (Images)]" and in 1971, in a volume on 18th-century Portuguese tile work, "Painéis Hagiográficos integrados na parte referente a Azulejos Figurativos (Painéis) [Hagiographical Panels included in a section on Figurative Devotional Tiles (Panels)].8 Accordingly, it can be argued that Santos

⁶ Cf. João Miguel dos SANTOS SIMÕES, Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa - Azulejaria Portuguesa nos Séculos XV e XVI, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1969, pp. 12-14.

⁷ Arquivo da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, *Arquivo da Brigada de Estudos de Azulejaria*, 31 de Março de 1969.

⁸ Cf. João Miguel dos SANTOS SIMÕES, Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVII, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1971 [1ª ed.], pp.201-209.



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

Simões' efforts to choose the most adequate terminology bear witness to his great concern with scientific rigour.

This valuable collection of documents was produced between 1958 and 1969. As regards the topic under analysis, namely the "Images of Saints in Tiles", sixteen portfolios were considered. These were organised into eight distinct groups. For the sake of chronological and thematic coherence, a different letter designated each group. These groups will now be studied in more detail.

A - "Azulejos Portugueses-Proposta [Portuguese Tiles - Proposal]"

The first document worth mentioning is a proposal for the cover, similar in all respects to the one used in the subsequent volumes of "Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa", from 1963 onwards. This document corresponds to two foolscap paper sheets folded in four and featuring the main title ("Azulejos Portugueses – Volume I – Painéis Hagiográficos ("Registos") [Portuguese Tiles – Volume I – Hagiographical Panels (Devotional Images)])⁹ and subtitles ("Prefácio [Preface]" and "Introdução [Introduction]"). Significantly enough, the publication date on the cover is 1959. This, in turn, confirms the author's advanced plans to continue to publish on this subject.

B – "Elenco dos 'Registos' de Azulejo de Lisboa [The inventory of Lisbon 'Devotional Tile Images']"

The second document worth mentioning is entitled "Elenco dos 'Registos' de Azulejo de Lisboa [The inventory of Lisbon 'Devotional Tile Images']" and corresponds to a single sheet of A4 with information on the book's structure and

⁹ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Azulejos Portugueses – I Painéis Hagiográficos ("Registos")", [1959], EMD001.370.



a summary.¹⁰ A close analysis of this document suggests that the structure of the work was already clearly defined and included the following topics: the definition and applicability of the concept of the devotional image, its sources of inspiration, private collectors and Santos Simões' proposals for systematisation, and, finally, matters relating to its conservation and safeguarding. The document also includes a table of contents and a list of figures.

C – "Azulejos Portugueses – Sumário e plano da obra [Portuguese Tiles – Summary and plan of the work]"

A different shelf mark has been attributed to a document with a proposal for the publication of "Azulejos Portugueses – Painéis Hagiográficos [Portuguese Tiles – Hagiographical Panels]". 11 This proposal is more comprehensive than the one mentioned above and includes a number of examples not only from Lisbon but from all over Portugal, as pointed out in B. The document consists of the following items: a) Covers, Title page, Acknowledgements, etc., b) Frontispiece, c) Preface, d) Introduction, e) Inventory, f) Table of contents, and g) Table of figures.

¹⁰ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, Coleção Santos Simões, "Elenco dos "Registos" de Azulejo de Lisboa: plano e sumário da obra", [1958] EMD001.368 and EMD001.368.2

¹¹Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões,* "Azulejos Portugueses – I Painéis Hagiográficos (Registos)", EMD001.369 and EMD001.369.2





D – "Registos de Azulejos – Introdução[Devotional Tile Images – Introduction]"

This group of documents includes the introduction to the study of "Devotional Tile Images", with handwritten annotations, and can therefore be considered as the core of the book. 12 In this documentation, Santos Simões revisits the concept of devotional images, explaining that he is particularly interested in "those with a votive or pious function, featuring hagiographies of popular

devotion and displayed on the exterior of buildings and in workplaces". ¹³ He also makes an attempt to distinguish between devotional images and ex-votos. ¹⁴ Furthermore, he establishes 1835, the date of one of the images that he managed to identify in the district of Loures, as the final date covered by his study and reflects on different formats, decorations and chromatic scales. It is important to consider, however, that here the typologies seem somewhat diluted, especially when compared to the systematisation proposed in the volume on "Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVII [Tiles in Portugal in the 17th-century]", where he classifies tiles into three main categories: emblematic, hagiographical and narrative. ¹⁵

As to its format, the documentation consists of eight dossier sheets (seven sheets of A4 and one sheet of perforated lined paper of non-standard size).

¹² Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Registos de Azulejos", EMD001.371 and EMD001.3090

¹³ The original reads: "são os de intenção votiva ou piedosa, com hagiografia de devoção popular para aplicações em exteriores e locais de trabalho".

. Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Registos de Azulejos", EMD001.371

¹⁵ Cf. João Miguel dos SANTOS ŚIMÕES, "Azulejos Figurativos (Painéis)" in *A Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVII* – Tomo I, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1971, pp. 201-209.



E – "Registos de Azulejo de Lisboa – Elenco [Lisbon Devotional Tile Images – Inventory]"

This documentation includes different versions of the inventory of "Devotional Tile Images". The first one consists of a typescript with handwritten annotations, including 87 dossier sheets of perforated lined paper with information on "Registos de Azulejo de Lisboa [Lisbon Devotional Tile Images]". ¹⁶ The second version of the inventory of Portuguese tiles, including those from Lisbon, has been termed "intermediate" for the purposes of this study and consists of a typescript with a series of collages, handwritten annotations and typewritten notes numbered in pencil from the ninth item onwards. ¹⁷ The typescript is composed of 111 dossier sheets of perforated lined paper.

The third version, which Santos Simões considered to be the final one, is a typescript of 111 dossier sheets of perforated lined paper. ¹⁸ It includes handwritten annotations and collages, as well as typewritten notes numbered in pencil from 9 to 120.

F - "Elenco dos Registos de Lisboa – Quadro / Sinopse [The inventory of Lisbon Devotional Images – Chart/Synopsis]"

This inventory is composed of three documents, each with different annotations. There appears to be no final version, possibly due to the dispersed nature of this documentary collection. ¹⁹ The inventory is formalised in a synoptic

¹⁶ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, Coleção Santos Simões, "Registos de Azulejos de Lisboa" EMD001.3091

¹⁷ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Registos de Azulejos", EMD001.3090a

 ¹⁸ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Registos de Azulejos", EMD001.371a
¹⁹ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Elenco dos Registos de Lisboa (Cidade)", EMD001.373; "Elenco dos Registos de Lisboa (Cidade)", EMD001.3092 and "Elenco dos Registos de Lisboa (Cidade)", EMD001.3093



chart with items organised into five columns: location (in alphabetic order); polychrome scale; type/size; chronological period or date and a brief description. It consists of a typescript with 13 A4 sheets of white paper, with a landscape orientation and handwritten annotations. The first page features a footnote explaining the abbreviations used in the column entitled "type/size".

G – "Registos: Lista de Registos de Azulejos [Devotional Images: A List of Devotional Tile Images]"

This group of documents was offered by Anastácio Gonçalves and contains information on tiles from the Lisbon district. ²⁰ It consists of a typescript containing 30 carbon-copied A4 sheets of plain paper, with a portrait orientation. Some of these sheets have text printed on the reverse, with entries listed in alphabetical order. The front page features a title (written in ballpoint pen) and contains the following elements: the postal address and brief notes about, for example, the exact location of the tiles inside a building, their polychrome work and their date. Some of the subsections (designated by a different letter in the inventory) end with an item called "Miscellanea", which usually considers a different type of tiles.

H – Referências bibliográficas: Registos de Azulejos [Bibliographical References: Devotional Tile Images]

The final bibliographical references consist of simple handwritten notes with references to Luís Chaves' articles, used as a starting point for the preparation of a summary on prints (in particular "Nos domínios da Etnografia e do Folclore" in "O Ocidente", vol. XIX, 1943, p. 462; and "Registos de Santos e

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²⁰ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, Coleção Santos Simões, "Lista de "Registos de Azulejos" oferecida pelo Snr. Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves", EMD001.372



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

Registos de Santos de Lisboa e Cercanias" in "O Ocidente", Vol. XXII, 1944, p. 46).²¹

It should be emphasised that this group of documents also includes a bibliographical file entitled "Em defesa dos registos de Azulejos [In defence of devotional tile images]", with observations on Amílcar de Melo's work published in "Olisipo" (Ano XIII, Outubro, 1950, nº 52, pp. 176-7).²²

II - Literature review

Before Santos Simões, a number of authors had focused on devotional tile images. A first example of this is the work *Cerâmica Portuguesa* [*Portuguese Ceramics*]²³ by José Queiroz, which includes a list of more than 20 "devotional images", with an approximate or exact date of production (covering, in this case, the period between 1747 and 1819).

Equally important is the second edition of *Azulejos Datados [Dated Tiles]*, published in 1922 and written by Vergílio Correia, which briefly describes selected devotional images from the neighbourhood of Penha de França, paying special attention to a tile panel evoking the 1755 earthquake. ²⁴

²¹ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Registos de azulejos: bibliografia", EMD001.375

²² Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, Coleção Santos Simões, "Em defesa dos registos de Azulejos", EMD001.374

²³ José QUEIROZ, *Cerâmica Portuguesa*, Aveiro, José Ribeiro e Estante Editora, 2ª ed., I vol., 1987, pp.282-295.

²⁴ Cf. Vergílio CORREIA, *Azulejos Datados*, Lisboa, Imprensa Libânio da Silva, 2ª ed., 1ª Série, 1922.



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Also significant in terms of systematisation is the study published in 1937 by an art and literature scholar Nuno Catharino Cardoso, who proposed a threefold classification of devotional images. The first group, called "Alguns Registos de Azulejos datados existentes em Lisboa e arredores, por ordem de datas [A selection of dated tile images from Lisbon and the surrounding areas, ordered chronologically]", includes 22 examples of tiles dated between 1628 and 1801.²⁵ The second group, called "Alguns Registos de Azulejos datados existentes nos arredores de Lisboa, por ordem de datas [A selection of dated tile images from the outskirts of Lisbon, ordered chronologically]" consists of six



examples produced between 1758 and 1799. Finally, the third group, called "Alguns Registos de Azulejos antigos não datados existentes em Lisboa e arredores [A selection of ancient undated tile images from Lisbon and its surrounding area]" contains 60 examples of devotional tile images. An important feature of this work is that it provides relevant information on, for example, the location, iconographic description and chromatic range of selected tile

images. Equally important is the author's introduction, with additional information on captions (or the lack thereof), polychrome frames, state of conservation, etc.

In 1943, the journal *Ocidente* published an article by Luís Chaves, entitled "Registos de Azulejos nas casas [Devotional Tile Images in Households]", with a small section dedicated to the subject under analysis here.²⁶ In this article,

²⁵ Cf. Nuno Catharino CARDOSO, «Registos de Azulejos e Lápides Brasonadas», in *Arte Portuguesa*, Tomo V – XX/XXI, Lisboa, Edição de autor, 1937, pp. 1-15.

²⁶ Cf. Luís CHAVES, "Nos domínios da Etnografia e do Folclore", in *Ocidente*, vol. XIX, Lisbon, 1943, pp.459-464.



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Chaves presented for the first time an anthropological perspective on the reasons behind the use of these kinds of tiles in Lisbon. In this context, he also focused on the aspects related to the function of these tiles, as well as on the most frequently depicted saints. At the very same time, he proposed a typology to classify tiles not only according to their theme and the hierarchical representation of devotional images, but also in terms of their size and contextualisation.

A few years later, namely in 1957, Reynaldo dos Santos dedicated a small part of his book entitled *O Azulejo em Portugal* [Tiles in Portugal] to "devotional tile images", suggesting that they are "an excellent starting point for the study of the evolution of styles".²⁷ He also mentioned José Queiroz' work and underlined the importance of the collection owned by Commander Ernesto de Vilhena, which he considered "noteworthy and highly interesting".²⁸ Furthermore, he was the first to use a critical approach towards the dating of tile drawings in Queiroz' work, which he applied to the study of the above-mentioned collection. ²⁹

For the period between the 1940s and the 1970s, it is worth mentioning two highly relevant contributions towards the study and systematisation of devotional tile images. These are the files gathered by Amílcar de Melo and the inventory produced by Anastácio Gonçalves, which Santos Simões himself considered as "two contributions of the greatest importance, which [he] has been kindly offered". ³⁰

Amílcar de Melo was a civil engineer and a geographer, who, for approximately three decades, had photographed hagiographical tiles in Lisbon.

²⁷ The original reads: excelente base para o estudo da evolução dos estilos.

²⁸ The original reads: *notável e do maior interesse*.

²⁹ Cf. Reynaldo dos SANTOS, *O Azulejo em Portugal*, Lisbon, Editorial Sul Limitada, 1957, pp.150-151.

³⁰ The original reads: "duas achegas da maior importância que [lhe] foram gentilmente dadas". Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Lista de "Registos de Azulejos" oferecida pelo Snr. Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves" EMD001.372



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The information he assembled was organised into a series called "Ficheiro dos Registos de Azulejos [File on Devotional Tile Images]" and included the following criteria: address, location, date when the image was collected, type (ancient or modern), colours, notes, description, state of conservation and related bibliography.³¹ All this bears witness to his pioneering concern with the systematisation and analysis of data. Incidentally, in 1950, Amílcar de Melo also



wrote the already mentioned short article entitled "Em defesa dos Registos de Azulejos [In defence of devotional tile images]", in which he expressed his awareness of the need to safeguard this kind of art.³²

As far as Anastácio Gonçalves is concerned, his research had been carried out during a shorter period of time, in particular between 1940 and 1960. It yielded three similar inventories, currently housed at the Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves House-Museum, the Portuguese National Tile Museum and the Art

Library of the Gulbenkian Foundation. These inventories include a list of Lisbon tiles, with their exact location in alphabetical order. Some of the examples are described in a fairly unsystematic manner, with comments on their aesthetic or factual aspects (e.g. date or chromatic range). It should also be added that the

³¹ Cf. Arquivo do Grupo dos Amigos de Lisboa, Amílcar César Gomes de MELO, *Ficheiro dos Registos de Azulejos,* 1940-1970.

³² Cf. Amílcar César Gomes de MELO, «Em defesa dos Registos de Azulejos», in *Olisipo*, Lisbon, Amigos de Lisboa, Ano XIII, nº52, 1950, pp.176-177.

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inventories are fairly extensive, as they include information on around 340 images.³³

In 1959, Santos Simões produced a document entitled "Registos de Azulejo [Devotional Tile Images]", which underlined his intention to publish a book on this subject. In this document, which has never been published and is housed at the Art Library of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Santos Simões focused on the typology of tiles, as well as on its application in the above-mentioned inventories.³⁴

It should be emphasised that, in addition to the photographic collection of the Art Library of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the collection of the Lisbon Municipal Photographic Archive, containing over 500 photographs of 280 Lisbon tile images, provided an important source for the collection of data. The pictures in the latter collection were taken between approximately 1898 and the 1970s by photographers who specialised in this field, as is the case, for instance, of Eduardo Portugal, whose photographic collection was mentioned by Santos Simões himself.

In 1971, Santos Simões published the first volume of *Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVII [Tiles in 17th-century Portugal]*, the third chapter of which was dedicated to "Azulejos Figurativos (Painéis) [Figurative Tiles (Panels)]". There he proposed the following definition of devotional tile images: "an autonomous 'panel' featuring a human or emblematic figure as its main motif,

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³³ The authors are grateful to José Alberto Ribeiro and Ana Anjos Mântua from the Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves House-Museum and to Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos from the Portuguese National Tile Museum for their help in obtaining these inventories. Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Lista de "Registos de Azulejos" oferecida pelo Snr. Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves",

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³⁴ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Registos de Azulejos: elenco", EMD001.371; "Registos de Azulejos de Lisboa", EMD001.3091, "Registos de Azulejos: elenco" EMD001.3090a, "Registos de Azulejos: elenco", EMD001.371a



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deliberately designed to form a "painting" perfectly bordered by a frame"³⁵. Furthermore, he limited the chronology of devotional tile images to the final years of the first quarter of the 17th century, considering the period between 1645 and 1670 as the golden age of iconographic "panels". Finally, he classified tile images into three categories: emblematic, hagiographical and narrative.³⁶ As already mentioned, when compared with the unpublished text from the Art Library, this documentation seems more focused on the issues relating to the typology of tile images and therefore pays less attention to their definition and anthropological context.

The sixth chapter of Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVIII [Tiles in Portugal in the 18th century],³⁷ published posthumously in 1979, includes a list of 133 dated tile images from all over Portugal, ordered chronologically from 1968 to 1867.³⁸ This list was incorporated into the already mentioned "Inventory"

Following Santos Simões' work, other authors researched into devotional tile images. In 1989, in his work *O Azulejo em Portugal* [*Tiles in Portugal*], José Meco dedicated to this subject a part of a chapter entitled "Elementos Soltos [Sundry items]". He defined these as "loose compositions, less dependent on the architectural support to which they are fixed",³⁹ and made a distinction between devotional tile images, wayside shrines and crosses.

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³⁵ The original reads: "o «Painel» independente, tendo como motivo principal uma figuração humana ou emblemática, concebido propositadamente como um «quadro» perfeitamente limitado com a sua moldura".

³⁶ Cf. João Miguel dos SANTOS SIMÕES, *A Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVII*, Tomo I, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1971, pp. 201-209.

³⁷ Cf. João Miguel dos SANTOS SIMÕES, *A Azulejaria em Portugal no século XVIII,* Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1979, pp. 77-81.

³⁸ Biblioteca de Arte da FCG, *Coleção Santos Simões*, "Registos de Azulejos: elenco", EMD001.371a

³⁹ Cf. José MECO, O Azulejo em Portugal, Lisbon, Publicações Alfa, 1989, pp. 173-176.



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

At approximately the same time, the Lisbon Municipal Council commissioned Barros Veloso and Isabel Almasqué to compile a *Levantamento de Azulejaria semi-industrial e industrial* [Survey of Semi-industrial and Industrial Tiles] in an attempt to avoid the extinction and degradation of this part of the Portuguese heritage. This inventory included, among others, two fields designated "other items" and "notes", with brief descriptions of different types of tiles, including those featuring devotional images.⁴⁰

In 1991, the two above-mentioned authors published *Azulejaria de Exterior em Portugal* [Outdoor Tiles in Portugal], with a chapter dedicated to devotional images, wayside shrines and crosses."⁴¹.



Subsequently, in 1995, in an exhibition catalogue entitled *O Santo do Menino Jesus – Santo António – Arte e História* [The Saint holding the Child Jesus – Saint Anthony – Art and History], José Meco wrote an entry on "Iconografia Antoniana no azulejo

português [The iconography of Saint Anthony in Portuguese tiles]". At the beginning of this study he gave prominence to Santos Simões' *Corpus da Azulejaria Portuguesa*, pointing out that it lists the majority of tile images depicting Saint Anthony. He also considered "images embedded in facades" and

⁴⁰ Cf. Documentary collection of Museu da Cidade, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa [Lisbon City Museum], Barros VELOSO and Isabel ALMASQUÉ, *Levantamento de Azulejaria semi-industrial e industrial, de fachada,* 1988-1989.

⁴¹ A. J. Barros VELOSO and Isabel ALMÁSQUÉ, *Azulejaria de Exterior em Portugal*, Lisbon, INAPA, 1991, pp. 31-39.



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

highlighted their importance in establishing the stylistic and chronological periodisation of tiles.⁴²

In 2000, in the journal *Arqueologia e História*, João Chaby, Tiago Marques and Paulo Pinto published an article entitled "Registos de Santos em Azulejos: Inventário e Abordagem, Religiosidade e Urbanismo [Images of Saints in Tiles: An Inventory and an Approach, Religiousness and Urbanism]". Drawing on data about 147 tiles, the authors produced a list of saints and estimated the frequency with which they had been depicted in tile compositions. These statistics were then used to analyse the iconography of Saint Martial.⁴³

In 2004, in an article published in *Monumentos* and entitled "Azulejaria de interior na Baixa Pombalina: um contributo para o seu estudo [Interior Tiles of the Lisbon Baixa district: A contribution towards their study]", Ana Paula Correia and Carolina Nunes da Silva underlined the importance of the few remaining devotional images still to be found inside the buildings of the Lisbon Baixa district. They also argued that these images are essential for the study of narrative programmes.⁴⁴

Also in 2004, the authors of the present study published in the *Olisipo* newsletter an article entitled "Registos de Santos em Azulejo do Município de Lisboa: algumas considerações [Images of Saints in Tiles in the Lisbon

⁴³ João Pedro CHABY; Tiago Pires MARQUES; Paulo Mendes PINTO, «Registos de Santos em Azulejos: inventário e abordagem: Religiosidade e Urbanismo», in *Arqueologia e História*, 52, Lisbon: Colibri, 2000, pp. 147-154.

⁴² Cf. José MECO, «Iconografia Antoniana no azulejo português», in *O Santo do Menino Jesus – Santo António, Arte e História*, exhibition catalogue [José Luís PORFÍRIO et al, coord.], Lisbon, IPM and ICEP, pp. 47-58.

⁴⁴ Cf. Ana Paula CORREIA and Carolina Nunes da SILVA, «Azulejaria de interior na Baixa Pombalina: um contributo para o seu estudo», in *Monumentos*, 21. Lisbon, Direção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos de Lisboa, 2004, pp. 184-195.



Municipality: Some Considerations]", which focused on contemporary devotional tile images and their functions.⁴⁵

In 2007, the Lisbon Municipal Council organised the first small-scale exhibition exclusively dedicated to tiles depicting images of Saint Anthony.⁴⁶ Various researchers contributed to this study, including Alexandre Pais, Joana Campelo and the authors of the present study. The aim of this exhibition was to analyse, in an urban context, the popular religiosity inherent in these tile compositions, as well as to increase public awareness of the need to safeguard these items.⁴⁷

In 2010, Joana Campelo completed the first master's degree thesis on this topic, focusing on the sources that influenced hagiographical tiles between circa 1700 and 1830. This study, which also listed and classified the decorative solutions used in tile frames, contributed to a better understanding of the creative processes involved in painting images on tiles.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Cf. Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES and Margarida Almeida BASTOS, «Registos de Santos em Azulejo do Município de Lisboa: algumas considerações», in *Olisipo*, Lisbon, Amigos de Lisboa, II Série, 20/21, 2004, pp. 95-105.

⁴⁶ The exhibition took place at the central building of the Lisbon Municipal Council (located at Campo Grande, 25) on 30 September 2007.

⁴⁷ Cf. Alexandre PAIS; Joana CAMPELO, «A religiosidade e a cidade», and Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, «A Salvaguarda do Património Azulejar de Lisboa: O exemplo dos Registos de Santos», in *Santo António: Exposição de Registos*, exhibition catalogue [Paula LEVY, Rui LOURIDO, Teresa VILAVERDE, coord.], Lisbon, CML, 2007, pp. 19-22 and 25-31.

⁴⁸ Cf. Maria Joana CAMPELO, *Registos de Santos em Azulejo (c.1700 a 1830): Fontes gravadas e distribuição em Lisboa*, 2 vols., Tese de Mestrado em Artes Decorativas, Universidade Católica Portuguesa (Porto) Escola das Artes, Lisbon, 2010.



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.



In 2012, the Portuguese National Tile Museum organised an exhibition entitled *Um* gosto Português – o uso do azulejo no século XVII [A Portuguese Taste – the Use of Tiles in the 18th Century]. Some of the chapters of the exhibition catalogue classified tiles into "hagiographical", "narrative" and "emblematic", thereby following Santos Simões' typology. In the case of the first group, João Pedro Monteiro analysed the way in which they were influenced by European engravings, giving prominence to the tiles housed

at the above-mentioned museum.⁴⁹ The third group of tiles, in turn, was analysed by Alexandre Pais in a catalogue entry entitled "Símbolos e Emblemas [Symbols and Emblems]" and focused on the iconological analysis of transubstantiation, ecclesiastical heraldry and the representations of flower vases.⁵⁰

At present, there are a number of research projects being undertaken under the auspices of the Lisbon Municipal Council. ⁵¹ As far as the Lisbon City Museum is concerned, for a few years a team of researchers has systematically collected and processed historical, artistic and anthropological data. These data have been organised into a database, which has proved to be instrumental in

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⁴⁹ Cf. João Pedro MONTEIRO, «Registos Hagiográficos e Painéis Narrativos», in *Um gosto Português – o uso do azulejo no século XVII*, exhibition catalogue [Maria Antónia Pintos de MATOS, coord.], Lisbon, Babel and MNAz, 2012, pp. 264-271.

⁵⁰ Cf. Alexandre Nobre PAIS, «Símbolos e Emblemas», in *Um gosto Português – o uso do azulejo no século XVII*, exhibition catalogue [Maria Antónia Pintos de MATOS, coord.], Lisbon, Babel and MNAz, 2012, pp. 272-281.

⁵¹ Nonetheless, it should be borne in mind that, in the 1970s, Irisalva Moita, in her capacity as Chief Curator, set up a department dedicated to tilework at the Lisbon City Museum, which played a significant role in the collection and safeguarding of tiles until the end of the 2000s. In this way, a number of historically and artistically significant sets of tiles were incorporated into this museum's collection.



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studying and safeguarding the type of tiles under analysis here. Currently, the database includes 1550 entries on tiles produced from the 18th century to the present day.

More recently, under the scope of PISAL – Programa de Investigação e Salvaguarda do Azulejo em Lisboa [Programme for Researching and Safeguarding Tiles in Lisbon], there has been a systematic collection of data on Lisbon facades and, among other aspects, their hagiographical elements.⁵²

Finally, in May 2013, the Lisbon City Museum held an exhibition entitled "Devoções populares – Registos em azulejo [Popular Devotions – Images of Saints in Tiles]", which gave special prominence to the most prominent anthropological factors operating from the 18th century to date. The catalogue of this exhibition pays special attention to iconology.

III - Safeguarding

With regard to safeguarding measures, it is important to highlight the initiatives promoted, among others, by the already mentioned PISAL – Programa de Investigação e Salvaguarda do Azulejo em Lisboa [Programme for Researching and Safeguarding Tiles in Lisbon] and the Project SOS Azulejo [SOS Tile] running at the Museum of Criminal Police.

In this respect, it is important to mention some of the measures that can be implemented or optimised with a view to avoiding the destruction of the Portuguese tile heritage. These measures include:

- establishing a comprehensive and thorough classification of hagiographical tiles;
- completing the inventory of Lisbon devotional images;

⁵² These data were collected under the supervision of Maria Teresa Bispo of the Department of Culture at Lisbon Municipal Council.



- digitalising this inventory and supplying it to the various departments of Lisbon Municipal Council, so that they can implement common surveillance policies;
- identifying weaknesses, patterns and tendencies in order to propose the necessary preventive measures;
- cooperating with public and private entities from the cultural heritage sector;
- raising the awareness of private builders and tile owners to the importance of safeguarding the national heritage;
- informing the general public by means of training courses and materials underlining the value of these kinds of ceramic panels.

Moreover, highly important information for the safeguarding of tiles is provided by the Instituto Superior da Polícia Judiciária e Ciências Criminais [Higher Institute of the Judiciary Police and Criminal Sciences], which has made it possible to establish the *modus operandi* of tile criminals, such as "neglect and ignorance" or "vandalism and theft".

In the first case, the tiles are typically found either in old damaged buildings, often subject to demolition, or buildings undergoing restoration.

In the second case, such behaviour often characterises petty offenders, looking for a quick profit, but unaware of the exact value of the tiles that they steal. This practice is often associated with voluntary or involuntary destruction. The latter is often due to ignorance and the inappropriate techniques used during the removal of tiles. This category of offences also includes cases of tiles stolen by professional thieves. Below are some examples of the above-mentioned situations.



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

The first example relates to a tile composition in Alto do Varejão, the deterioration of which was caused by careless maintenance, which also affected the entire complex where the tiles were found. This situation, typical of old housing estates, reflects the ignorance of the cultural importance of tile work of this sort, reminiscent of rural Lisbon, the memory of which should be preserved.

Another example of neglect



can be



found inside a building located in Rua dos Douradores in Lisbon. This incomplete

composition represents one of the few remaining examples of tiles that were made for a specific location. It is therefore part of a larger pre-defined composition, typical of post-earthquake constructions, and differs from autonomous panels, which can be placed in any location.



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As far as the theft of tiles is concerned, a telling example relates to the disappearance of the tympanum of an arch giving access to the staircase of a



building situated in Rua da Prata. According to the only resident of this building, largely occupied by offices, the devotional tile image was removed



overnight. The offence is all the more serious considering that it led to the loss of a high-quality artwork and one of the few remaining examples of such panels in the hallways of buildings situated in the Lisbon Baixa district.

A telling example of tile thieves' fearlessness is the case where a tile panel was meticulously removed in broad daylight from Largo de São Rafael. When approached by eyewitnesses, the offenders falsely claimed to be employees of Lisbon Municipal Council.

It should be made clear that in the case of buildings scheduled for demolition or in a poor state of conservation, or where the tile compositions themselves are poorly preserved, their transfer to museums and similar institutions is considered to be an important safeguarding measure. An illustrative example of this is the case of three magnificent tile images, originally found in an



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old building in Rua das Amoreiras and transferred to the Lisbon City Museum before the building was knocked down.

Another significant example is the case of a panel at risk of theft or damage, originally placed in the pediment of a wall surrounding a property in Travessa do Calado (and subsequently inserted into the façade of this same property), which was transferred in the 1980s to the Lisbon City Museum and replaced by a copy. Lastly, one should mention the illustrative example of a tile composition originally found in Largo das Olarias, which was first incorporated into a private collection of Commander Ernesto Vilhena and then later purchased by the Berardo Foundation. The original location of this tile work was discovered during a research study into the photographic collection of the Lisbon Municipal Photographic Archive, which further attests to the already mentioned importance of collections of this kind.

Curiously enough, about a quarter of the total of 500 Lisbon tile images produced between the 17th and 18th century and identified in the Lisbon City Museum database still remain in their original location. Furthermore, the whereabouts is also known of several tile compositions transferred to other locations, which altogether amount to one third of the above-mentioned total. Finally, the whereabouts of the remaining part of this collection is, regrettably, unknown.



Álvaro TIÇÃO; Fernando M. Peixoto LOPES; Margarida Almeida BASTOS, "Images of Saints in Tiles" in *DigiTile Library: Tiles and Ceramics online*, Susana Varela FLOR (coord.), Artis – IHA/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa/ Biblioteca de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia within the framework of the R&D project [PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010], Lisbon, 2015.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it can be inferred from the literature review presented here that, even before Santos Simões began his work, various efforts had already been made to identify, analyse and, to a certain extent, safeguard devotional tile images. These images are part of the Portuguese heritage and have always been considered as endangered. Santos Simões, who regarded himself as the heir to this legacy, broadened the scope of the inventories, files and data provided by private collectors. At the same time, he created his own methodology for defining, classifying and comparing devotional tile images with artefacts at their original location. Finally, he produced an inventory that is now available for consultation in the Digital Library of the Art Library of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum.