

The Archival Sources of the Batalha Monastery (Portugal): Unique Collections for the Study of the Monument's Restoration Work in the 19th Century

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Abstract. The Monastery of Batalha is one of the most important Gothic monuments in Portugal. In the 19th century, between 1840 and 1900, it underwent extensive restoration work which significantly altered its features, as well as the memories of past monastic experiences. Despite the magnitude of the intervention, the work that transformed the former Dominican monastery into a historical monument of the Nation, was, however, subject to an exemplary, scrupulous and detailed work and management methodology. This was reflected in the production of an unprecedented documentary collection (textual, iconographic, object-based), mainly archived within the monument itself, thus allowing for a highly accurate reconstruction of the work conducted and an understanding of the criteria followed. By means of an integrated perspective, this study seeks to highlight these important historical sources, with particular emphasis on: their unique character in the context of the archives of Portuguese monuments; their role in the study of the restoration work on the Monastery of Batalha and in the history of monument restoration in Portugal in general; and the potential for interdisciplinary research that can be derived thereof, involving the latest technological trends.

Keywords: Batalha Monastery; monument restoration; XIX century; historical archives; documentary photography.

[es] Las fuentes archivísticas del Monasterio de Batalha (Portugal): colecciones únicas para el estudio de las obras de restauración del monumento llevadas a cabo en el siglo XIX

Resumen. El Monasterio de Batalha es uno de los monumentos góticos más importantes de Portugal. Entre 1840 y 1900 fue objeto de una restauración de gran calado que modificó notablemente su fisonomía, así como las huellas de la vida monástica que estuvo en su origen. A pesar de la profundidad de esa intervención, la obra que transformó el antiguo monasterio dominicano en uno de los monumentos históricos de la nación se guió por una metodología de trabajo y gestión ejemplar, escrupulosa y detallada que quedó registrada en un conjunto inédito de documentos textuales e iconográficos, además de diversos objetos. Estos fueron, en su mayoría, depositados en el propio monumento, lo cual permite reconstituir con gran exactitud los trabajos realizados y, de esa forma, comprender mejor los criterios adoptados.

Este estudio pretende poner en valor esas fuentes históricas a través de una visión integrada de las mismas, realzando así su carácter único en el contexto de los archivos de los monumentos portugueses; su papel en el estudio de la restauración del Monasterio de Batalha y, por ende, para la historia de la

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restauración monumental en Portugal; así como su potencial para el tratamiento interdisciplinar de su investigación, donde también cabe el recurso a las más modernas tecnologías.

Palabras clave: Monasterio de Batalha; restauración de monumentos; siglo XIX; fuentes históricas; fotografía documental.

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1. Introduction

The Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitoria (better known as Batalha Monastery) is located in the Portuguese town of Batalha, in the centre of the country, approximately 120 kilometres north of Lisbon, Portugal's capital city.

Its construction was commissioned by King John I in 1385 and subsequently donated to the religious order of São Domingos, which inhabited the monastery until the extinction of the religious orders in Portugal in 1834. The building later attained the status of royal pantheon upon its reception in the *Capela do Fundador* [Founder's Chapel] and the *Capelas Imperfeitas* [Unfinished Chapels] of the funerary monuments of King John I, his wife Queen Philippa of Lancaster, as well as their children and grandchildren, as far as King Manuel I (fig. 1).

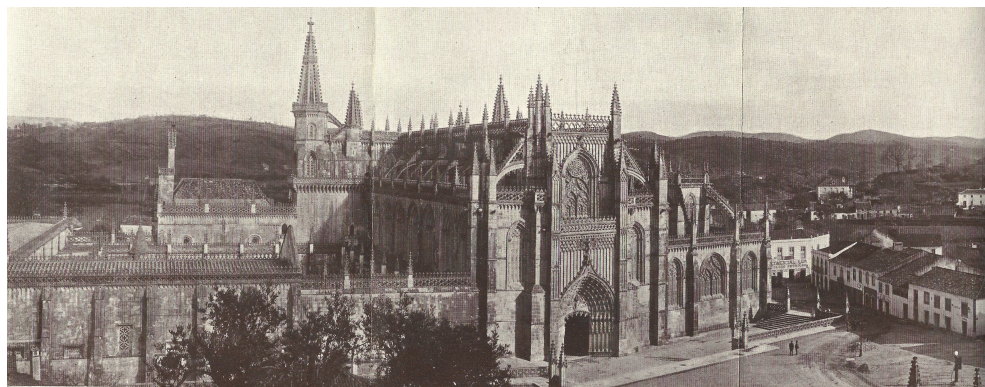


Figure 1. General view of the west facade of the Batalha Monastery (circa 1930). Photo published in Correia, V. (1931)

Classified as a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1983, the Batalha Monastery is one of the best examples of Portuguese and European Gothic architecture.

However, the main reason for choosing this case study is related less to the historical and artistic importance of the monument and more to the relevance and singularity of its historical archives, particularly that which testifies the building's restoration works in the XIX century. Through this vast and detailed historical documentation, it is possible to understand the changes to which the monastery was subject between the extinction of the religious orders and the end of the 19th century, within the scope of the nationalist affirmation policies in place throughout Europe at that time².

The restoration work carried out on the building in the 19th century has already been the object of several studies³. However, the aim of this study is to give greater prominence to the available set of archival sources. Thus, emphasis is given to the privileged position of the Batalha Monastery in this context, with its extraordinary documentary collection, most of it stored within the monument itself. Although there are no collections of projects (plans and other working drawings), as in several studied monuments in Spain and France, it contains very detailed written documentation that allows for the works to which the building was subject in the 19th century to be studied in great detail, and a better understanding of the respective context. As highlighted by many authors⁴, documentary collections are fundamental for studies on the restoration of monuments, while the greatest challenge is frequently their quantity, as stated by Jean Michel Leniaud⁵. It is, therefore, crucial to create good methodological practices for their systematization and subsequent analysis.

In addition to the historical documents, the monument also has a set of material sources, namely an important collection of 15th century sculptural pieces that were replaced during the restoration works. The monument also houses the work tools used by stonemasons and masons in the 19th century, making the case study of the Batalha Monastery even more interesting.

With the required distance from the initial studies on the monument's restoration works, this research adopts a critical approach, providing a thorough national assessment of the case study, without forgetting the necessary international context.

What is the nature of the existing historical documents? What other monuments in Portugal have such a rich and diverse historical archive as the Batalha Monastery, stored within the monuments themselves? What are the potentials of this documentation? What contributions have these historical documents made to the knowledge and dissemination of the monument?

This study seeks to respond to the above-mentioned and other related questions by re-visiting and re-reading the historical documents and conducting updated bib-

² Choay, F. (1996). *L'Allégorie du Patrimoine*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

³ Neto, M. J. (1991). O Restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória de 1840 a 1900. *Cadernos de História da Arte* (1), 217-247. Neto, M. J. (1997). *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XIX*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa; Soares, C. M. (2001). *O Restauro do Mosteiro da Batalha: Pedreiras Históricas, Estaleiro de Obras e Mestres Canteiros*. Leiria: Magno Edições.

⁴ E.g., González-Varas, I. (1993). *La Catedral de León. Historia y Restauración (1859-1901)*. León: Universidad de León. Secretariado de Publicaciones, 15; González-Varas, I. (1994). *La Catedral de Sevilla (1881-1900). El debate sobre la Restauración Monumental*, Sevilla: Diputación Provincial, 25; Ordieres Díez, I. (1995) *Historia de la Restauración Monumental en España (1835-1936)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 19; Timbert, A. (2005). *Viollet-le-Duc: le chantier de restauration de la Madeleine de Vézelay (Yonne): correspondance, 1840-1841*. Auxerre: Société des Fouilles archéologiques et des Monuments historiques de l'Yonne.

⁵ Leniaud, J.-M. (1993). *Les cathédrales au XX^e siècle*. Paris: Economica, 24.

liographical research from a critical and analytical perspective. More specifically, its main objectives are to demonstrate the usefulness of the available archival documents and other historical sources for the restoration of the monument carried out in the 19th century; to highlight the unique character of the monument's historical archive produced during the restoration work of that period; and to reinforce the importance of studying restoration work (combining documentary sources with the analysis of the monument itself) in order to understand the changes to which historic buildings are subject across time.

2. Restoration of the monument (1840-1900): brief context and summary of the works

The restoration work on the Batalha Monastery began in November 1840, giving rise to the first case of monument restoration in Portugal⁶. The pioneering nature of this intervention, both nationally and internationally⁷, was due to a set of particular circumstances, among which the following are particularly noteworthy:

- monastery's historical connection to Portugal's independence from Spain in the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385), exalted in the context of the emergence of nationalistic narratives by some Portuguese writers, such as Almeida Garrett and Alexandre Herculano⁸;
- significance of the Batalha monument for English scholars and architects: since they believed that a significant part of the Batalha Monastery was designed by an English architect (probably David Hacket); and the building is, at the same time, the pantheon where the body of King Edward of England's granddaughter (Queen Philippa of Lancaster) is entombed;
- extensive architectural survey of the monument, carried out by Irish architect James Murphy (1760-1814) in the late 18th century⁹;
- active role of the king consort D. Fernando II (a German prince of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha-Koháry), husband of Portuguese Queen Maria II, as patron and protector of the fine arts. In view of this, following a visit to the monument in 1836, the king managed to obtain a budget from the Portuguese government for works on a monument towards which he admitted having «a kind of fanaticism»¹⁰. Thus, he actively contributed to the government's decision to launch a program to restore the former monastery.

⁶ Neto, M. J. (1997) op. cit.

⁷ It should be noted that it was in 1840 that Viollet-le-Duc was commissioned to restore the Church of Madeleine de Vézelay, the first French monument restoration conducted in light of the new restoration unity of style theory. Timbert, A. (2005). *Viollet-le-Duc: le chantier de restauration de la Madeleine de Vézelay (Yonne): correspondance, 1840-1841*. Auxerre: Société des Fouilles archéologiques et des Monuments historiques de l'Yonne.

⁸ Rosas, L. (1995). *Monumentos pátrios: a arquitetura religiosa medieval: património e restauro: 1835-1928* (Doctoral thesis). Faculdade de Letras – Universidade do Porto, Porto, 15-37. Retrieved from: <https://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/handle/10216/25664?locale=pt> [Consulted: 31 May 2022]; Neto, M. J. (1997) op. cit., 52-59.

⁹ Murphy, J. (1795). *Plans, elevations, sections and views of the Church of Batalha, in the Province of Estremadura in Portugal*. London: printed for I. & J. Taylor, High Holborn.

¹⁰ Letter from D. Fernando II to Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, Leiria, 19.IV.1852 (col. Almarjão). Apud Teixeira, J. (1986). *D. Fernando II – Rei Artista, Artista Rei*. Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 291.

During a highly troubled period for Portuguese finances, the commencement of work on the Batalha building can only be understood in light of the combination of exceptional circumstances, such as those mentioned above.

The military engineer and general inspector of Public Works, Luís da Silva Mousinho de Albuquerque (1792-1846), was responsible for its commencement. He was a learned and technically experienced man, with an important political career, and highly familiar with the French reality, since he had been exiled there twice (1820-1823; 1836-1838). Despite his short period presiding over the work on the Batalha Monastery (between 1840-1843), he played a pivotal role in the establishment of the intervention criteria adopted up to the completion of the works, which reflect some of the main ideas of the renowned French architect and restorer Viollet-le-Duc¹¹. Since no restoration project had been planned, the works were scheduled while they were being carried out. Simultaneously, Mousinho de Albuquerque adopted a methodology for managing the work tasks and drafted key documents, such as detailed work reports and the *Memória Inédita acerca do edifício monumental da Batalha* [Unpublished Memoir of the monumental building of Batalha] (published posthumously, in 1854), that served to successfully guide their successors until completion of the work. Furthermore, the involvement of the king consort D. Fernando II throughout the entire process was certainly a guarantee of continuity of Mousinho de Albuquerque's intentions for the monument. The appointment of architect Lucas José dos Santos Pereira (1802-1884) to oversee the restoration work of the Batalha Monastery is an important testimony to this. It was the first time for the restoration of the building to be overseen by an architect, but his orientation did not stray too far from the principles established at the outset¹². Lucas Pereira was in charge of the work for over 30 years, between 1852 and 1884, the year of his death. From Mousinho's departure in 1843 until 1852, the work on the monument was supervised by Joaquim Rebello Palhares, a military who had been involved in the works since their commencement, thus reinforcing the idea of continuity of the criteria and principles followed.

In the initial phase, the work was mainly carried out on the exterior of the building, namely: the restoration and consolidation of the roofs and terraces; the recovery of the window tracery; and the replacement of stained glass. It was crucial to block the entry of water into the building, which was responsible for its run-down state. The building's spires and upper trims (plat bands, gratings, gargoyles), buttresses and sculptural pieces of the various portals were also reconstructed, with a view to restoring the monument's decorative unity. The vaults and pillars were re-established, the floors were tiled, the stonework on the walls was cleaned and repaired, the two medieval cloisters (Royal Cloister and Cloister of D. Afonso V) were landscaped. At the same time, restoration works on other facilities, annexed to the Cloister of D. Afonso V, continued, and several 16th-century convent outbuildings were

¹¹ Soares, C. M. (2001) op. cit., 199.

¹² The architect Lucas Pereira, referring to the interventions in the Monastery of Batalha, admitted "There have been [...] works and restorations [...] but in all of them over which I have presided I have always followed the principle that the restorer is not allowed to alter or introduce strange ideas or conceptions to the work he is restoring, this means that he is only a copyist and a faithful imitator". Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), t. III, em 8^o, doc. 1017, 1870. Apud Martins, A. C. (2003). *Possidónio da Silva 1808-1896 e o Elogio da Memória. Um percurso na Arqueologia de Oitocentos*. Lisboa: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, 142.

demolished (namely the Cloister of the Portaria, the Cloister of Botica and the *Via Sacra* corridor, which connected the church to the convent facilities¹³) (fig. 2).

Finally, a new churchyard was designed around the monument. To this end, several demolitions and excavations were carried out, aimed at enhancing the building, and the main church portal was restored. These works lasted more than twenty years¹⁴.

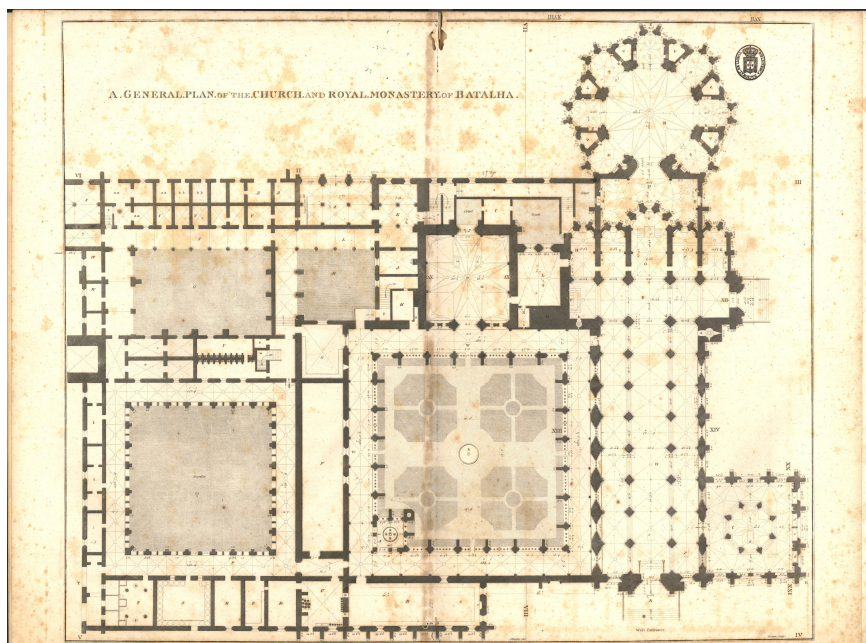


Figure 2. James Murphy, A General Plan of the Church and Royal Monastery of Batalha, 1795. Drawing published in Murphy, J. (1795)

As previously mentioned, the restoration works on the Batalha monastery come very close to some of the «unity of style» principles, advocated in France by the architect Viollet-le-Duc. As a result, in an attitude of rejection for everything that was not Gothic, in order to bring the building back to a more original state, and simultaneously in a demonstration of great anticlericalism, several convent out-buildings added in later times were demolished, also abolishing the Mannerist and Baroque memories of the monument. With the same intention of rejecting the vestiges of conventual experience, and of reinforcing the monumental and nationalist dimension of the monument, altars, carved altarpieces and religious imagery were also removed.

However, as expressed by the engineer Mousinho de Albuquerque, the architectural survey carried out in 1795 by Irish architect James Murphy, on the features

¹³ Redol, P. and Vieira, N. (2016). Dois claustros desconhecidos do Mosteiro da Batalha. In G. R. Vairo and J. R. Melo (Coord.), *Encontro internacional sobre claustros no mundo mediterrânico (séculos X-XVIII)* (pp.221-236). Coimbra: Edições Almedina.

¹⁴ Neto, M. J. (1997) op. cit., 109.

of Gothic architecture, was a very significant document. It should be noted that in England no monument at that time had an identical architectural survey¹⁵. Thus, the Murphy's work was used as a guide for the restoration works on the Batalha monastery, mainly as a pointer of aesthetic solutions for stylistic unity.

Mousinho de Albuquerque, guided by historical restoration criteria, based his historical knowledge of the monument on the graphic work of James Murphy and on other bibliographic and archival resources cited in his *Memória inédita...* (namely *História de S. Domingos* by Friar Luís de Sousa, 1623; *Memoria historica sobre as obras do real mosteiro de Santa Maria da Batalha vulgarmente chamado da Batalha*, by Friar Francisco de São Luís, 1827). This information reveals the importance of the historical sources from the outset in the process of conducting the restoration works on the Batalha monument – a kind of «scientific» attitude adopted by Mousinho de Albuquerque, based on a historicist research method. However, it should be noted that this is a working methodology that would only be theorized in the late 19th century by Milanese architect Luca Beltrami, within the scope of the «historic restoration»¹⁶.

3. The Historical Archive of the Batalha Monastery¹⁷: nature and potential of the sources

The methodological accuracy placed by the military engineer in the knowledge of the history and architecture of the Batalha monument, as well as in the planning of its restoration works was passed on to the management of the restoration project. As a result, it led to the production of an exhaustive and detailed documental archive related to the various dynamics of the work (professionals, materials, expenses, organization, etc.), which does not exist for any other monument in Portugal. This exceptional circumstance allows for global and detailed knowledge of the entire intervention, namely with regard to the criteria adopted and the options followed¹⁸. Despite being eminently an administrative archive, following the bureaucratic procedures in vigour at the Ministry of Public Works, Mousinho left his personal “mark” on it, enriching the documentary collection with excellent reports, which reflect his extraordinary theoretical knowledge on the major issues involving the management of monuments¹⁹. Furthermore, no other monument in Portugal has such an organized and concentrated archive, stored in the monument itself. This circumstance was

¹⁵ Neto, M. J. (2008). *James Murphy. Arquitectura Gótica. Desenhos do Mosteiro da Batalha. Reedição do álbum de 1795. Gothic Architecture. Designs of the Monastery of Batalha. 1795 album reprint*. Lisboa: Alêtheia Editores, 35-37.

¹⁶ Rivera Blanco, J. (2001). *De Varia Restauratione. Teoría e Historia de la Restauración Arquitectónica*. Madrid/Valladolid: R&R- Restauración & Rehabilitación. *Revista Internacional del Patrimonio Histórico*, 130-134.

¹⁷ Document indexes and summaries of the Historical Archive of the Monastery available online at http://www.mosteirobatalha.gov.pt/pt/index.php?s=white&pid=215&identificador=bt32_pt [Consulted: 30 May 2022].

¹⁸ This documentation was studied for the first time in 1988, in the scope of the Master's thesis of Maria João Neto, published a few years later with the following title *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XIX*. Neto, M. J. (1997) op. cit. Subsequently, a new study of the documentation was carried out in Soares, C. M. (2001) op. cit.

¹⁹ Albuquerque, L. S. M. *Discurso. Diário da Câmara dos Deputados*, sessão de 8 de Abril de 1943. Apud Neto, M. J. (1997) op. cit, 68-69.

mainly due to the technical, financial and administrative autonomy attributed to the restoration works of the monastery of Batalha, for the main reason of not being located in the country's capital.

By creating the monument's archive, intentionally or not, Mousinho was also contributing to the preservation of the monument, as well as to its study. This would turn out to be a completely innovative attitude in Portugal, documented from the 1840s onwards in the restoration works of the Monastery of Batalha, and should be duly emphasized²⁰. It was from the administrative documentation that the monument's archive began to take shape throughout the 19th century, being simultaneously enriched with the stonework replaced in the monument, as well as with the work tools.

Within the scope of theory and practice in monument restoration, it would be the responsibility of Italian architect Camillo Boito, in the 1880s, to give such importance to the monument's archive, in order to avoid misunderstandings about the restorations carried out on them²¹. In particular, he considers as fundamental the following principles that, in the scope of our study, it is important to emphasize: «Exhibition of removed old parts, next to the monument» (Article 4), and «description and photographs of the different periods of the work, [must be] placed in the building or in a place close to it...» (Article 7)²². This scientific awareness is reflected in the contents of the Italian *Carta del Restauro* [known as Charter of Conservation] (1883) which went on to have a great international impact²³. Without pretending to claim that Camillo Boito's principles were anticipated in Portugal, one cannot fail to state that in Batalha the first steps in this direction had actually been taken in an absolutely experimental and empirical attitude carried out by Mousinho and by his successors. The consolidation of the process occurs, however, as the 19th century progresses and Boito's theories begin to arrive in Portugal through the writings of the Portuguese historian Gabriel Pereira.

3.1. Written documents

The written documentation on the restoration of the Batalha Monastery in the 19th century that belongs to the monument's archive covers, without major gaps, the period from 1840 to 1900, i.e. the period during which the main works were carried out.

Among the different types of documents in the archive, the following are worthy of mention:

²⁰ Internationally, there are some important examples of archives of monuments that make it possible to study their restorations, such as that of the Cologne Cathedral (<https://www.koelner-dombauhuetten.de/forschung/dombauarchiv>), but the general tendency was to concentrate all documentation in central archives.

²¹ E.g. Crova, C. (2006). Camillo Boito Al Santo. Progettista o Restauratore? *Il Santo. Revista Francescana di Storia Dottrina Arte*, XLVI (3), 399-426. Freitas, P. M. (2020). A importância da documentação arquitetónica para a restauração: a experiência de Camillo Boito. *Revista Jatobá*, 2, 1-31. <https://doi.org/10.54686/revjat.v2i.65425>

²² Boito, C. (1893). *Questioni pratiche di Belli Arti*. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 24.

²³ Jokilehto, J. (1986). *A History of Architectural Conservation. The Contribution of English, French, German and Italian Thought towards an International Approach to the Conservation of Cultural Property* (Doctoral thesis). The University of York, York, 464. Retrieved from: <https://www.iccom.org/publication/history-architectural-conservation> [Consulted: 7 January 2022]; Rivera Blanco, J. (2001) op. cit., 135, 138.

- *Folhas de resumos semanais, mensais e anuais de obras realizadas* [Weekly, monthly and annual summary sheets of completed works]. These documents present summaries of the works carried out on the various parts of the monument, identifying the different crafts (specialized workers: stonemasons, masons, carpenters and glaziers; and non-specialized workers: workers, boys, servants and women), in which the respective costs for each are mentioned. They are essential documents for monitoring the work and its chronological evolution (fig. 3).
- *Cadernos de resumos diários de obras realizadas* [Notebooks of daily summaries of works performed]. These documents refer to the work carried out daily by the workers in the various trades. Although more detailed than the documents mentioned above, there are only two books relating to the years 1867 to 1870.
- *Folhas de jornais vencidos pelos operários* [Work and pay log]. These documents record, on a weekly or fortnightly basis, the names of the workers, their crafts, their daily salary and how much they earned at the end of the week or fortnight. These sources provide information on those who worked on the monument's restorations and in what period, their activity and daily salary. The work performed is also sometimes mentioned. It is worth noting the repetition of surnames within the same trade (e.g. the *Patrocínios* as stonemasons; the *Sousas* as masons; the *Céus* as glaziers; the *Paulas* as carpenters), thus inferring a possible family tradition.
- *Requisições, editais e recibos de pagamentos de materiais* [Material requisitions, notices and payment receipts]. These documents reveal how the materials were purchased, their origin and cost, as well as the main suppliers. The *Contratos de Arrematação de Cantaria Desbastada* [Contracts for the auction of thin masonry] are particularly important for knowledge of the quarries that provided the restoration work.
- *Livros de contas-correntes anuais com os diversos lanços: Requisições e despesa* [Annual current account books with the various items: Requisitions and expenses]. These are ledgers for financial years. These books record the annual funds allocated by the Portuguese government to the restoration of the monument, from which all expenses are deducted.
- *Ofícios* [missives]. This is correspondence from the Inspeção-Geral de Obras Públicas do Centro [General Inspectorate of Public Works of the Centre Region], the body responsible for the monument's restoration works. Its contents provide information on how the work was organized.

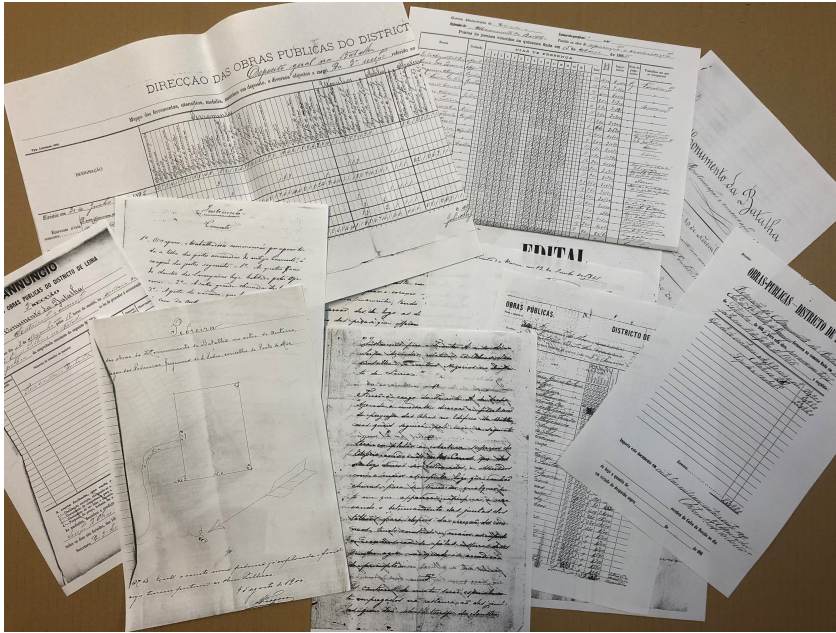


Figure 3.- Reproduction of several documents belonging to the Archive of the Monastery of Batalha. Photograph: Clara Moura Soares (2022)

It was necessary to systematize and synthesize the information contained in all the aforementioned document types, comprising several thousands of documents, into tables and graphs so that it could be properly analysed and conclusions could be drawn. This task made it possible to cross the data between the various types of documents, thus enhancing their analysis.

The technical reports and the publication *Memória Inédita acerca do Edifício Monumental da Batalha* by engineer Mousinho de Albuquerque²⁴ must also be added to the afore-mentioned documents. They contain many of the contexts that help to better understand the options taken during the course of the restoration work, as well as the corresponding criteria. The last one, however, is probably the only Portuguese text of the mid-19th century of this nature, written by the person who coordinated the restoration itself²⁵. None of his successors left any relevant written documents. However, this does not suggest that their work was widely recognized at national and international levels, as was the case of architect Lucas Pereira²⁶.

²⁴ Mousinho de Albuquerque, L. da S. (1854). *Memória Inédita acerca do Edifício Monumental da Batalha*. Leiria: Typographia Leiriense.

²⁵ Several editions of this work were published throughout the 19th century (1867, 1881, 1897), which testifies to its importance not only for the restoration of the Monastery of Batalha, but also for the restoration of monuments in general.

²⁶ The renowned Portuguese architect Joaquim Possidónio da Silva, then president of the National Monuments Commission, gave the architect Lucas Pereira the highest national and international praise. In this context, Possidónio da Silva publicized the work of the architect in the restoration of the Monastery of Batalha both within the Royal Institute of British Architects and at the Société Centrale des Architectes Français [Central Society of French Architects]. Possidónio da Silva, J. (1884). Necrologia. *Boletim da Real Associação dos Architectos Civis e Archeologos Portugueses*, 2ª série, tomo IV (8), 127-128.

In other Portuguese historical archives (e.g. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Obras Públicas; Arquivo da Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais) it is possible to find additional documentation; however, much of the information on the restoration of the Batalha Monastery is concentrated in the monument's archive.

3.2. Original sculptures removed from the monument

To a considerable extent, the restoration works on the Monastery of Batalha served as an example, even a model to be followed. In this regard, it is worth noting the praiseworthy attitude of the restorers of keeping a large part of the carved pieces that were replaced during the works in the monument itself (figs. 4, 5 and 6). The intention appears to have been to create a «Work Museum»²⁷, where work tools were also displayed, perhaps similar to what was done in Italy with regard to the work on the Cathedral of Siena, at Museo dell'Opera (founded in 1869)²⁸, or possibly from the Duomo of Florence, the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo [Museum of the Works of the Cathedral], which opened in 1891²⁹.

In France, due to the destruction of historical heritage caused by the French Revolution, Alexandre Lenoir founded and directed the Museum of French Monuments, in the convent of Petits Augustins, but the intention was quite different from that of Batalha. In this case, a historical and chronological museum of French sculpture was created from different periods, with pieces from different churches and convents, with the aim of protecting them from revolutionary vandalism³⁰. The Museum of Comparative Sculptures, designed by Viollet-le-Duc in 1879, in the old Trocadero Palace, also differs from the museum that was intended to be created in the Monastery of Batalha. In Paris, the intention was to create a museum consisting of life-size plaster models (glyptothek) of parts of several buildings that would help to publicize and recognize French medieval architecture³¹.

In Batalha, a collection of the original pieces of the monument was formed; since they were in a state of decay, they were replaced in the 19th century restoration works.

Whether intentional or not, this procedure followed the principle defended by Italian architect-restorer Camillo Boito and the followers of the «philological restoration» theory from the 1880s onwards, namely the «[e]xhibition of removed old pieces, housed next to the monument» (Article 4), already mentioned above³². The tradition of the stonemason's school linked to the monument since the 15th century certainly

²⁷ Correia, V. (1931) *Monumentos de Portugal. Batalha – II. Estudo Histórico-Artístico da Escultura do Mosteiro da Batalha*. Porto: Litografia Nacional-Edições, 52.

²⁸ Cattedrale di Siena. Museo dell'Opera. Retrieved from <https://operaduomo.siena.it/it/luoghi/museo/> [Consulted: 7 January 2022].

²⁹ Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. Retrieved from <https://duomo.firenze.it/en/59/opera-duomo-museum>. [Consulted: 7 January 2022].

³⁰ Le musée des Monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir, histoire et collections. Retrieved from <https://agorha.inha.fr/ark:/54721/45> [Consulted: 12 January 2022].

³¹ <https://www.citedelarchitecture.fr/fr/article/histoire-du-musee>. [Consulted: 12 January 2022].

³² It was at the III Congress of Architects and Civil Engineers, Rome and Milan (1883) that Camillo Boito presented a set of eight principles that restorers should take into account. Boito, C. (1893). *Questioni pratiche di Belli Arti*. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 24; Jokilehto, J. (1986) op. cit., 335.

contributed to this³³. This had most likely been the initiative of architect Lucas Pereira who was aware of the importance of models in the training of artists. The creation in the Batalha building of «a class to teach ornate design to apprentices working in restoration», aimed at preparing specialized craftsmen, was his initiative³⁴.

In the *Memória Inédita...* by Mousinho de Albuquerque, there is no perceptible intention to keep the original pieces removed from the building due to their advanced state of decay. However, the value seen by the military engineer in what was old and original in the monument and his intention for the stonemasons to make faithful copies of the existing pieces in the new parts, may have been at the origin of the collection of original pieces.



Figure 4. Set of eleven original Apostles from the main portal of the church. Photograph: Clara Moura Soares (1999)

Thus, the pieces removed from the building enabled the maintenance of the practice of carving stonework in the Gothic style, that is, respecting the original style of the building.

In addition, the monument's national and international tourist attraction would perhaps justify a museum of this type. The monument could, thus, distinguish itself in its tourist offer, with an unprecedented museum in Portugal, the «Museum of Work», which projected the image of the historic stonecutting school of the monument, housed in the Cloister of D. Afonso V.

Whether influenced by the theory of Italian architect Camillo Boito or not, several pieces and fragments from various parts of the monument have survived to the present day. Among these, those belonging to the main portal of the church may be

³³ Soares, C. M. (2001) op. cit., 231-245.

³⁴ Possidónio da Silva, J. (1884) op. cit., 128. It is not known whether Lucas Pereira had direct contact with Camillo Boito or with his restoration theory.

highlighted³⁵: the statues of eleven of the Apostles, eleven of their respective bases³⁶ and the same number of support corbels³⁷; several canopies and corbels of the statues of the archivolts (some whole others merely fragments); four seraphim; two angel musicians; a Prophet; two figures of kings of Judah and a holy pope that belonged to the archivolts; two tympanum evangelists representing Saint Luke and Saint Mark; and the canopy of the Virgin's Coronation of the double tympanum.

Also noteworthy are the frontals of the tombs of the Infantes D. Henrique, D. Fernando and D. João, the reading pulpit from the refectory, various pieces of the side portal (baldachins, royal coat of arms), gargoyles, chapiters, corbels, pendants, pinnacles, and various decorative fragments, in a total of around one hundred and fifty pieces and fragments³⁸. Most of these pieces were, however, exposed to the weather in the Cloister of D. Afonso V until the 1990s, when they were housed in the so-called *Adega dos Frades* and in the *Sala de Reserva da Pedra* [Stone Storage Room]. Since 2012, some of the best pieces have been part of the Interpretation Centre of the Monastery of Batalha³⁹.



Figure 5. Prophet belonging to the original sculptural pieces of the main portal of the church. Photograph: Clara Moura Soares (1999)



Figure 6. Coat of arms belonging to the original sculptural pieces of the south portal. Photograph: Clara Moura Soares (1999)

³⁵ Maria João Neto recently identified the set of pieces belonging to the original portal which were removed during the restoration work in the 1980s of the 19th century. Neto, M. J. (2019). A canopy from the Portuguese Medieval Monastery of Batalha: a singular example of micro-architecture in the Cloisters Collection. *ARTis ON*, 9, 181-191. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.37935/aion.v0i9.250>.

³⁶ The second Apostle on the left side is missing from the set, which was already badly damaged and headless before the restoration.

³⁷ The missing corbel supported the fifth Apostle on the left and represented a crowned female figure.

³⁸ See: Arquivo do Mosteiro da Batalha, *Livro de inventário geral do Museu do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória*, written and organized by Nuno Silva Fernandes in 1990 (manuscript).

³⁹ AA.VV (2014). *Mosteiro da Batalha. Centro de Interpretação, catálogo de exposição*. Lisboa: DGPC.

The survival of the monument's original pieces is an advantage, enabling the study of 15th century sculptures, but also raising awareness of the parts of the monument that were effectively replaced by the restorers. If, in addition to this practice, one takes into account the exhaustive documentation of the works carried out and their archiving in the monument, as was done in Batalha, the possibility of considering original what was carried out in the 19th century is significantly reduced.

In this regard, as mentioned by Jukka Jokilehto, Boito liked to remember an old Chinese saying: «A shame to mislead contemporaries, an even greater shame to mislead posterity»⁴⁰. The technicians responsible for the restoration of the Monastery of Batalha did not want to take these risks.

3.3. Construction tools

The approach to the objects that constitute important material sources for the study of the restoration of the monument is concluded with the collection of work tools that are part of the museum collection of the Monastery of Batalha (figs. 7 and 8)⁴¹.

The monument houses a considerable number of work tools, most of which are in storage. Many of them are linked to the stonemason craft and were used in the restoration works in the 19th century. They constitute an interesting and unusual collection that allows for a better understanding of the *modus operandi* in the works of the monument. At the same time, these objects testify the activity of the stonemason's school that was established and remained there after the restoration works had been completed. Among the objects are iron squares, mallets, chisels, points, hammers. There are also wooden and brass pulleys, stone block suspension elements, iron wedges and masonry trowels, in a set of more than fifty objects

In addition to a broader study of the monument restoration sites, the existence of these tools, so frequently undervalued in the context of museums, makes it possible, to compare them with images from the medieval period, namely with some illumination drawings. Thus, it may be noted, for example, that the tools used in the 19th century are very similar to those that would have been used by medieval masters. Other studies on the practice of other trades, such as masons, carpenters and glaziers, can also be developed based on these objects.

⁴⁰ Jokilehto, J. (1986) op. cit., 337.

⁴¹ See. Arquivo do Mosteiro da Batalha, *Livro de inventário geral do Museu do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória*, written and organized by Nuno Silva Fernandes, 1990 (manuscript).

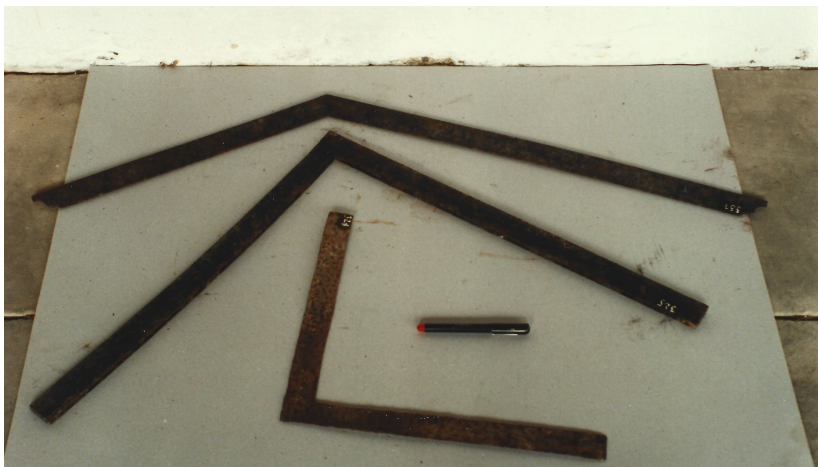


Figure 7. Iron squares, 19th century, Monastery of Batalha. Inventory nos. 325, 328 and 331. Photograph: Clara Moura Soares (1999)



Figure 8. Stone masonry tools (picks and mattocks), 19th century, Monastery of Batalha. Inventory nos. 360, 297 and 296. Photograph: Clara Moura Soares (1999)

4. Other archival sources and the importance of cross-referencing the data

4.1. Iconographical documents: a unique report on the Batalha monument

It is imperative to begin by mentioning that, unlike the written documents referred to above (in 3.1), these iconographical documents (prints, drawings, photographs) were not produced specifically in the context of the restoration works. Notwithstanding, considerable graphic material was used and produced over the several decades of

duration of the work on the Batalha Monastery. Some of this material, such as several engravings and James Murphy's graphic album (1795), were brought together during the works, in order to guide and support decisions. Additionally, a set of over one hundred photographs by English photographer Charles Thurston Thompson dating back to 1867, approximately four dozen photographs by the Frenchman Jean Laurent dating back to 1869 and the photographs of Portuguese photographer Carlos Relvas from 1868 onwards, were taken while the works were in progress, for unrelated reasons. They are, however, undoubtedly fundamental historical sources, whose graphic nature makes it possible to complete the information provided by the written documents.

The engravings and drawings require careful analysis without ignoring the possible creativity of their authors. Photographs, on the other hand, provide evidence of the exact characteristics of objects at any given time.

The iconographic sets referred to below, clearly reflecting the monument's international impact, contribute decisively to the case study of the Batalha Monastery, and are also unique also in terms of this source typology.

Thus, it is possible to add to an unusual written documentary collection, an extraordinary iconographic *corpus*, dominated by the benefits of the still recent photographic revolution, allowing for a clearer perception of the modifications imposed on the monument by the nineteenth century restorers.

4.1.1. The monumental album by James Murphy (1792-1795)

The monumental and luxurious album of drawings of the Batalha Monastery by Irish architect James Cavanagh Murphy resulted from his trip to Portugal in 1789, with the financial support of William Conyngham, a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London⁴².

In a context of revival of the Gothic style in England from the mid-1700s, James Murphy came with the mission to study the Gothic Monastery of Batalha. He remained in the monument for thirteen weeks in order to study a building where some influences from English Gothic models were recognized. During this period, he sought to understand the architectural structure that made up the monumental Dominican monastery, carrying out a thorough survey of the building and its details, with a view to its publication. This work was published in London, from 1792 to 1795, in the form of five fascicles with several pages of text (between four and sixteen pages) and, each, with around four to five pages of prints (a total of twenty-seven plates dedicated to the architectural survey of the Batalha Monastery and general elements of Gothic architecture).

Entitled *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha, in the province of Estremadura in Portugal with the history and description by Frei Luis de Sousa; with remarques to which is prefixed an introductory discourse on the principles of gothic architecture* (fig. 9), the publication includes: a dedication to the patron who made possible the trip to Portugal, William Conyngham; various con-

⁴² Murphy's album of drawings was reprinted in 2008, in a smaller edition and with a critical introduction. See Neto, M. J. (2008). *James Murphy. Arquitectura Gótica. Desenhos do Mosteiro da Batalha. Reedição do álbum de 1795. Gothic Architecture. Designs of the Monastery of Batalha. 1795 album reprint*. Lisboa: Alêtheia Editores.

siderations on Gothic architecture, illustrated with some prints; a description of the monastery of Batalha based on the translation of the text by Friar Luís de Sousa, chronicler of the Dominican Order, included in the work *História de S. Domingos* [*History of São Domingos*]; and an architectural survey of the building, with plans, elevations, sections and decorative details (figs. 10 and 11).

Among these, there are plans indicating monastic parts which have since disappeared, such as the 16th century cloisters of Botica and Portaria and other monastic premises, subsequently deemed worthless by the 19th century restorers⁴³.

During the weeks James Murphy remained at the monument, he took all the notes he considered essential, made sketches and drawings of the main parts of the building, as well as some decorative details, and took all the necessary measurements⁴⁴. Back in Dublin, based on the elements collected *in situ*, the Irish architect made the final drawings, endowing them with great detail and plastic beauty. There are considerable differences in detail between the sketches and the final engravings. These variations are more evident in the pyramidal crowning of the Founder's Chapel, which was not included in the sketch, and in the proposed finishing for the *Capelas Imperfeitas*, although, in the latter case, the reader is duly alerted to the fact that it is a proposal, without correspondence to reality. It was thus possible to see that James Murphy, in the final drawings, succumbed to the temptation of graphically «restoring» them, completing their unfinished or missing parts.

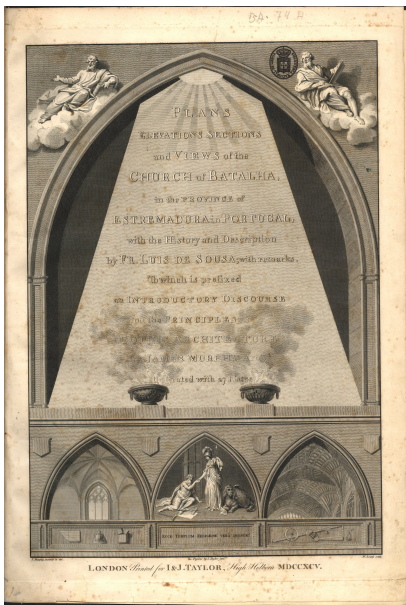


Figure 9. Cover Sheet of James Murphy's Drawing Album (1795)



Figure 10. James Murphy, *Columns, Ornaments, and Hieroglyphicks, in the Mausoleum of King Emanuel*. Drawing published in Murphy, J. (1795)

⁴³ Redol, P. (2011). *Batalha - Viagem a um Mosteiro desaparecido com James Murphy e William Beckford*. Batalha: CEPAE – Centro do Património da Estremadura.

⁴⁴ The notebook that accompanied Murphy on his trip to Portugal can be found at the Society of Antiquaries of London, which contains all the notes, drawings and sketches made by the architect in over seventy sheets. Society of Antiquaries of London, Sketches of Batalha, ms. 260.

Hence, while it is true that the work of James Murphy allows, to some extent, for a «return to the past»⁴⁵, by documenting the monument at a stage prior to the restorations that promoted so many alterations and severances, it is no less true that this was, in part, responsible for the inclusion of elements that had never existed in the building.

Seeking to fill his insufficiencies in artistic knowledge, Mousinho de Albuquerque followed the work of James Murphy as a kind of «guide to imitation», since he considered it a trusted source of great fidelity to the monument, conceived at a time when it was in a state of far less disrepair than when the restoration work began.

As a result, some architectural and decorative elements that had completely disappeared were added by the restorers, lending a somewhat «English feel» to the building, namely in some of the decorative tracery crowning the side chapels and the *Capelas Imperfeitas*. In addition to being a «guide to imitation» for restorers, according to several authors, James Murphy's book also contributed not only to the international dissemination of the Batalha monument, but also to the neo-Gothic production in England⁴⁶.

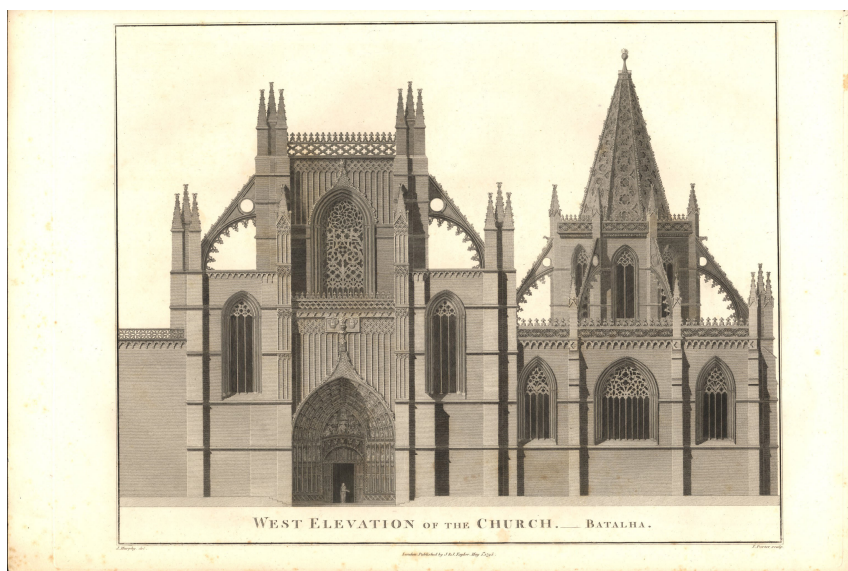


Figure 11. James Murphy, *West Elevation of the Church. Batalha*.
Drawing published in Murphy, J. (1795)

4.1.2. Photographs by Charles Thurston Thompson (1867-1868)

The set of over a hundred photographs taken by English photographer Charles Thurston Thompson (1816-1868) in 1867, constitutes a fundamental collection for

⁴⁵ Redol, P. (2014). O Mosteiro desaparecido: a reforma joanina. In P. Redol et al. (Coord.) (2014). *Mosteiro da Batalha: Centro de Interpretação: catálogo da exposição* (p. 96). Lisboa: Direção Geral do Património Cultural.

⁴⁶ McCarthy, M. (1987). *The Origins of the Gothic Revival*. London: Yale University Press, 146. Neto, M. J. (2008) op. cit., 35-50.

assessing the state of the works on the Batalha building at that time. Twenty-seven years had elapsed since the launch of the works and many tasks had either already been carried out or were in progress. On the other hand, work on the main portal of the church had not yet begun, allowing its condition to be documented before the extensive restoration works that changed its height and replaced a notable part of the sculptural pieces.

Thompson was the official photographer of the South Kensington Museum, in London (now the Victoria & Albert Museum), and he came to Portugal with the purpose of enriching the photographic collection of that museum with photographs of works of art from different periods and from different countries.

The collection of photographs was intended to support the development of artistic training in England⁴⁷. Thompson took several photographs in Portugal (of monuments and works of art), and the list of objects to be photographed was indicated by John Charles Robinson, a recognized curator and art referee of the South Kensington Museum⁴⁸.

In relation to the particular case of the Monastery of Batalha, this mission resulted in the publication of a work, in 1868, entitled *The Sculptured Ornament of the Monastery of Batalha in Portugal* (fig. 12). It was sponsored by the *Arundel Society for promoting the Knowledge of Art*, a private institution created in 1848, which included, for example, the writer John Ruskin, who had a close connection with the South Kensington Museum.

However, several photographs can be viewed in the archive of the current Victoria & Albert Museum (fig. 16), of which the best twenty were most likely selected for the aforementioned publication, accompanied by a brief note on the history of the Batalha building. Through the lens of the English photographer, various perspectives of the exterior of the monument were documented, namely the main façade of the church, the Founder's Chapel and the *Capelas Imperfeitas*, the Royal Cloister and the Cloister of D. Afonso V, the interior of the church and the tombs of the Founder's Chapel.

⁴⁷ Fontanella, L. (1997). *Charles Thurston Thompson e o proxecto fotográfico Iberico*. Coruña: Centro Galego de Artes da Imaxe – Xunta de Galicia.

⁴⁸ Robinson had been in Portugal in 1865, at the service of the South Kensington Museum with the intention of acquiring works of art on the Portuguese market. Mariz, V. (2018). «A magnificent work». O entusiasmo da Inglaterra Vitoriana em torno do São Pedro da Sé de Viseu, obra-prima do Grão Vasco. *Artis – Revista de História da Arte e Ciências do Património*, 5, 120-129; Mariz, V. (2020). From Portugal to England: John Charles Robinson's purchases in the Portuguese art market. *Journal of the History of Collections* 32 (1), 91-102. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhy057>; Xavier, H. (2018). *O Marquês de Sousa Holstein e a formação da Galeria Nacional de Pintura da Academia de Belas Artes de Lisboa*. Casal de Cambra/Lisboa: Caleidoscópio/Direção-Geral do Património Cultural, 100-101.

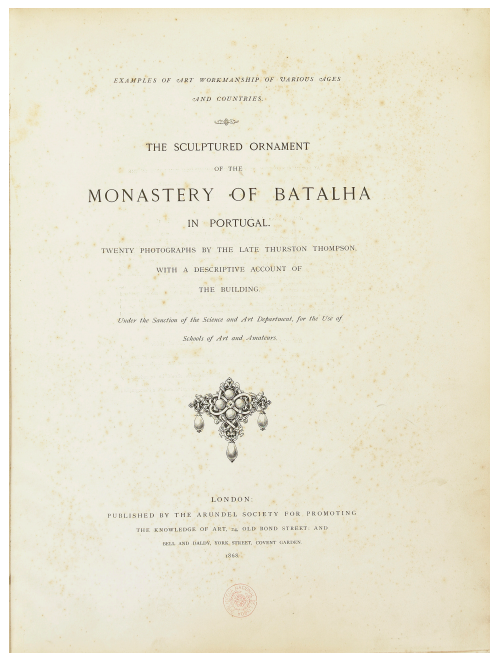


Figure 12. Cover Sheet of Charles Thurston Thompson's Book (1868)



Figure 13. Charles Thurston Thompson, *The North Side of the Cloisters*. Photo published in Thompson, C. T. (1868), photo 9

As for the decorative details, the *Capelas Imperfeitas*, displaying works characterised by a late-Gothic aesthetic profile (identified in Portugal as the Manueline style) and dating back to the reign of King Manuel I, were Thompson's main focus. Also noteworthy is the presence of two Renaissance portals in the Royal Cloister, which were later demolished (figs. 13 and 14), and the restoration of the tracery of one of the arches of the same cloister (fig. 15). The detail of the presence of several wooden boards next to the roof of the same Royal Cloister testify that the works on the monument were in progress.

As already mentioned, the photographic report, as well as the quality of the images, represent an unprecedented circumstance in the context of the documentation of monuments in Portugal, and even beyond the Portuguese border.

The coincidence of the mission assigned to the English photographer was fortunate, with the publication of the work *The Sculptured Ornament of the Monastery of Batalha in Portugal*⁴⁹ allowing for a more effective dissemination of the images.

⁴⁹ Thompson, C. T. (1868). *The Sculptured Ornament of the Monastery of Batalha in Portugal: twenty photographs by Thurston Thompson with a descriptive account of the building*. London: The Arundel Society for Promoting the Knowledge of Art.



Figure 14. Charles Thurston Thompson, *The Cloisters; Showing the entrance to the Chapter House*. Photo published in Thompson, C. T. (1868), photo 10



Figure 15. Charles Thurston Thompson, *General view of the Cloister and the Church seen from the North-west*. Photo published in Thompson, C. T. (1868), photo 4



Figure 16. Charles Thurston Thompson, *General view of the South Facade of the Monastery of Batalha*, 1867. Victoria & Albert Museum Collections, photo 46241. Retrieved from: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1326441/photograph/>

4.1.3. Jean Laurent's photographic set (1869)

The Photographic Library of IPCE-Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España [Spanish Cultural Heritage Institute, Ministry of Culture and Sports], houses around 40 photographs of the Monastery of Batalha, taken by French photographer Jean Laurent (1816-1886)⁵⁰. Laurent developed most of his professional activity in Spain, where he began his profession as photographer in 1856 by opening a portrait gallery⁵¹. For his services to Queen Isabel II of Spain⁵² he held the title of «Fotógrafo de Su Majestad la Reina» [The Queen's Photographer], between 1861 and 1868.

The renowned photographer came to Portugal in 1869⁵³ with the aim of expanding his «precious photographic archives» of reproductions of monuments and works of art from the Iberian Peninsula, intended to be sold by his photographic house, the firm J. Laurent & Cie. By publishing catalogues with lists of available images, the firm sold its works at the Madrid headquarters, at the Paris branch and in many other outlets such as in Lisbon, Porto, London, Stuttgart, Vienna, Brussels and Rome. It was also possible to purchase the images by mail⁵⁴.

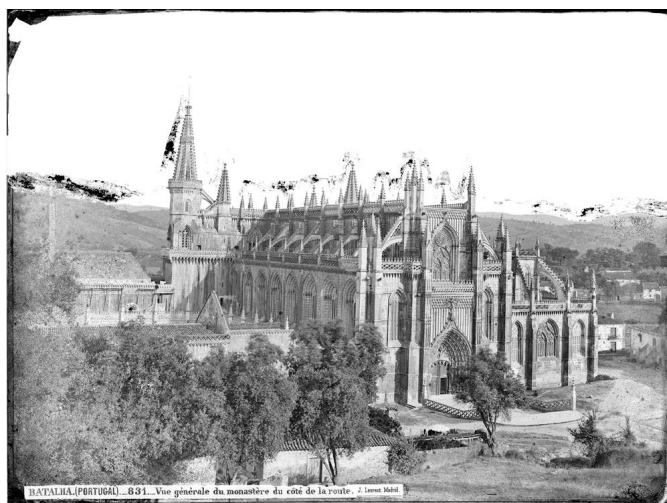


Figure 17. Jean Laurent, Batalha. Portugal, *General view of the Monastery from the side of the road*, 1869. Fototeca del Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España. Archivo Ruiz Vernacci, VN-06609. Retrieved from <http://catalogos.mecd.es/IPCE/cgi-ipce/ipcefototeca/O13406/IDbf686856/NT14>

⁵⁰ Some of the images are stereoscopic photographs, repeating perspectives recorded through another format.

⁵¹ Teixidor-Cadenas, C. (2020). The Stereoscopic negatives by J. Laurent. Portugal views in the year of 1869. *International Journal on Stereo & Immersive Media*, 4 (1), 30.

⁵² Soares, C. M. (2021). *Fotografia de Obras de Arte. José de Figueiredo na formação do pioneiro Arquivo Fotográfico do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*. Lisboa: Scribe, 19; García Ruipérez, M. Juan Laurent (1857-1885). Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20160313041203/http://ayto-toledo.org/archivo/imagenes/fotos/laurent/laurent.asp> (Consulted: 8 January 2022). Jean Laurent's collection of photographs, consisting of over 12,000 images, was acquired by the Spanish government in 1975. Araújo, N. (2010). A singular viagem do fotógrafo Jean Laurent a Portugal, em 1869. *CEM-Cultura, Espaço e Memória*, 1, 106. Retrieved from: <https://ojs.lettras.up.pt/index.php/CITCEM/article/view/4871>

⁵³ Araújo, A. (2010) op. cit., 87-108.

⁵⁴ Teixidor-Cadenas, C. (2020) op. cit., 34.

The images taken in Portugal are mentioned for the first time in the catalogue of 1872⁵⁵, however it was in the catalogue of 1879⁵⁶ that the images of the country acquired greater visibility, including 150 views of cities and monumental buildings⁵⁷. This later publication is far more than a simple catalogue of images. It is a travel guide through the Iberian Peninsula, with a text written by Alfonso Roswag, one of Jean Laurent's collaborators, supplemented by a map of Portugal and Spain containing the respective railway networks. The publication also includes the catalogue, with more than five-thousand images of works of art from the collections of the two countries, as well as views of various locations and historic buildings. It is, therefore, an insightful way of combining the development of tourism, fostered by the convenience of travelling on the recent railroad network, with the commercial component of its firm⁵⁸.



Figure 18. Jean Laurent, Batalha. Portugal, *Main portal of the monastery*, 1869. Fototeca del Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de Españã. Archivo Ruiz Vernacci, VN-05165. Retrieved from <http://catalogos.mecd.es/IPCE/cgi-ipce/ipcefototeca/O13492/IDe4b91e14/NT14>

⁵⁵ Laurent, J. (1872). *L'Espagne et le Portugal au point de vue artistique, monumental et pittoresque*. Catalogue de la collection photographique Laurent. Paris: A. Chaix et Cie., 165-168.

⁵⁶ Roswag, A. (1879). *Nouveau guide du touriste en Espagne et Portugal. Itinéraire artistique*. Madrid, Paris: J. Laurent et Cie.. Retrieved from: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000000199&page=1> [Consulted: 5 January 2022].

⁵⁷ Araújo, A. (2010) op. cit., 104-105.

⁵⁸ Araújo, A. (2010) op. cit., 105.

The town of Batalha was included in Jean Laurent's trip to Portugal, during which period the set of photographs presented in this study was produced. In the 1879 catalogue, the Batalha Monastery is one of the most documented Portuguese monuments. Eighteen images are listed, which include general views of the monument (fig. 17), details of the church portals (fig. 18), perspectives of the Royal Cloister and also of the *Capelas Imperfeitas*. In addition to their undeniable aesthetic and technical value, these images have considerable historical and documentary value.

In relation to the photographs taken by Charles Thurston Thompson, Laurent presents some images of the monument that are complementary: this is the case of the detail of the south side portal of the church and the respective window (prior to the restoration work), the exterior facade of the Sacristy, and the different perspectives of the Royal Cloister and the exterior of the Founder's Chapel.

The photographs taken by the Englishman include more decorative details (the clerestory over the western arch of the *Capelas Imperfeitas*; the fountain in the corner of the Royal Cloister; the tracery in the archways of the Royal Cloister; the entrance of the Chapter House; the views of the spires; the eastern roofing of the transept), and comprise parts of the monument that Laurent did not photograph, such as the interior of the Founder's Chapel, the nave of the church and the Cloister of D. Afonso V.



Figure 19. Jean Laurent, Batalha. Portugal, *View of the Monastery from the side of the square*, 1869. Fototeca del Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España. Archivo Ruiz Vernacci, VN-05168. Retrieved from <http://catalogos.mecd.es/IPCE/cgi-ipce/ipcefototeca/O13492/IDe4b91e14/NT14>

Taken just two years after Thompson's photographs, no significant advances in restoration work are evident in Laurent's photographs. However, some details should be noted, such as: the presence of a wooden walkway between the cover of the church's collateral chapels and the vault of the «atrium» of the *Capelas Imperfei-*

tas; the presence of a scaffolding set up to restore the tracery of one of the windows of the Founder's Chapel (fig. 19); the entrance door of the *Capelas Imperfeitas* and the four steps of access (built in May 1868); and the windows of the same *Capelas Imperfeitas*, still without glass, covered with wooden battens.

4.1.4. Photographs of Carlos Relvas (c. 1868-1875)

At the Casa-Estúdio Carlos Relvas, in Alpiarça⁵⁹, around four dozen, mainly stereoscopic photographs were identified, which allow the Monastery of Batalha to be documented from different perspectives. They were taken by photographer Carlos Relvas (1838-1894), between 1868 and 1875. Access to this set is recent, and therefore its existence remains almost unknown to most researchers.

Carlos Relvas was one of the Portuguese photographers who had previously dedicated his time and talent to photographing monuments and works of art. His images were intended to be sold individually, to promote the artistic beauty of the country, or to accommodate specific private or public orders. Thus, several images in the photographic set of the Monastery of Batalha include people who had chosen to be photographed with a part of the monument as a background (fig. 20).

This collection of photographs highlights general perspectives of the monastery's main façade; the south façade; the exterior of the *Capelas Imperfeitas*; the interior of the Founder's Chapel and the respective tombs; the central nave and the chancel of the church; the aisles of the Royal Cloister (where the Renaissance portal can still be seen near the entrance to the Chapter House and where the tracery of the arches has already been restored); the Cloister of D. Afonso V (ornated on the upper floor with stone vases on the parapet, between each pillar, a detail that is not yet visible in Thompson's photograph) (fig. 21); and the inside of the *Capelas Imperfeitas*.



Figure 20. Carlos Relvas, *Portrait of a man on the roof of the Monastery of Batalha*, 1862-1875, inventory no. 0057-000-016. Arquivo de Fotografia da Casa Relvas

⁵⁹ Carlos Relvas, *Stereo Raisonné*. Retrieved from: <https://carlosrelvascatalogue.pt> [Consulted: 10 January 2022].

Details of the tracery of Coruchéu da Cegonha [Cegonha's Spire] serving as a kind of frame for the surrounding landscape, the tombs of the Infantes and of D. João I and D. Philippa of Lancaster in the Founder's Chapel, the fountain of the Royal Cloister, the unfinished turrets of the *Capelas Imperfeitas*, the terraces and the flying buttresses of the church's right side nave, the stairs leading to the Coruchéu da Cegonha, the colonnettes of the arches of the Royal Cloister, the running ornament with *fleurs-delis* on the top of the building (the latter applied after the restoration work), from the main portal of the church (prior to the restoration work), or from the portal of the *Capelas Imperfeitas* (interior).



Figure 21. Carlos Relvas, *Cloister of D. Afonso V. Batalha Monastery*, 1862-1875, inventor no. 0031-000-007. Arquivo de Fotografia da Casa Relvas

It should be noted that there is also a human and artistic dimension in the photographs of Carlos Relvas that distinguishes them from the photographs of the other sets referred to in this study. In addition to different perspectives including people (individually, in groups, at a fair next to the monastery's south facade), giving a sense of scale, the artist's vision is also perceptible in the different angles chosen for the photographic records. The inclusion of some of Carlos Relvas' photographs of the Monastery of Batalha in the exhibition dedicated to the Portuguese photographer at the Sociedade Promotora das Belas-Artes em Portugal [Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Portugal] in 1868, is proof of this⁶⁰.

Considering the various images of the Monastery of Batalha made by the Portuguese photographer, and taking into account their chronology, they do not significantly add to the knowledge of the monument achieved through the photographic collections of Thompson and Laurent. However, they shed light on the fact that, in general, the works on the building are more advanced, with most of the decorative elements of the windows and arches and with the running ornament on the top of the building already completed.

⁶⁰ Sociedade Promotora das Bellas-Artes (1868). Sétima exposição. Lisboa, Typographia Universal.

5. Beyond the sources: on the basis of important interdisciplinary studies

In the previous sections of this study, the different sources available for the study of the restoration work of the Monastery of Batalha, in the 19th century have been analysed. Their potential has also been discussed, in particular, for the knowledge of the transformations that the monument underwent at that time. These are the results directly extracted from the documentary sources, whose cross-check with the building makes it possible not only to better understand the content of the sources, but also to generate new questions and new research perspectives.

Thus, based on archival sources, several interesting studies have been promoted on the Monastery of Batalha, in which interdisciplinarity has been decisive. They adopt different approaches, involving an important dynamic between art and science, with highly positive results in expanding knowledge about the monument. In this context, three projects will be briefly mentioned as examples: the study of the historic quarries and the conservation of the stone materials of the monument; the virtual reconstitution of the disappeared convent outbuildings; and the study and reconstitution of the polychromy of the Founder's Chapel.

In the first project, developed in the late 1990s⁶¹, the main objective was to identify the historical quarries responsible for the stone supplies during the period of the monument's restoration. This task was facilitated by the existence of stonework supply contracts, which contain the names of the quarries from which the material came. Such knowledge allowed geologists to extract several samples of material from the quarries, which made it possible to: characterize the materials used in the monument; anticipate decay processes; and establish measures for their conservation. In the event of further restorations, it will also contribute to the use of materials from the quarries identified in the documentation, thus ensuring the historical credibility of the intervention and its compatibility.

Knowing today the petrographic characteristics of the two interventions (construction and restoration), it was possible to ascertain that, despite the fact that limestone from the region was used in both contexts, a better-quality stone (from the parish of Reguengo do Fetal) was used in the construction, while in the restoration works, a softer stone (from the Porto de Mós region) was chosen, whose poor quality is clearly evident today in many of the elements replaced in the 19th century.

In the second project, historical sources were fundamental in providing data on the missing parts of the monastery, namely on the buildings that were demolished during the restoration works of the 19th century. The testimonies left by Irish architect James Murphy are of particular relevance, namely the listed plans and the detailed drawings he made at the end of the 18th century, as well as other sources, such as engravings and photographs, including those made by the Englishman Charles Thompson⁶².

Historical sources combined with geophysical surveys on the ground made by Georadar⁶³ (2009) and the results of the archaeological monitoring of the rehabilita-

⁶¹ This project was coordinated by the ARTIS – Art History Institute, University of Lisbon, Portugal and developed in partnership with the Mineralogy and Petrology Laboratory of Instituto Superior Técnico. See Neto, M. J., Soares, C. M. and Aires-Barros, L. (2000). Batalha Monastery (Portugal): Interdisciplinary Survey of Historic-Quarries and Restoration Works. In U. Zezza (Ed.), *Proceedings of the International Congress Quarry-Laboratory-Monument*, vol. I (pp. 449-454). Pavia: La Goliardica Pavese.

⁶² Redol, P. and Vieira, N. (2016) op. cit., 221-236.

⁶³ The geophysical surveys were carried out by the Department of Geosciences at the University of Aveiro. Matias,

tion of the monastery's surroundings (2013), which confirmed the existence of several foundations, gave rise to some interesting proposals for the graphic reconstitution of these parts, through the vector drawing program *Vectorworks* (fig. 22).

The interest aroused by more in-depth knowledge of the missing parts, in an exercise in the crypto-history of art⁶⁴, led to other historical documents. These, in turn, contributed to substantiating the architectural value of the demolished parts, integrating them into an ambitious sixteenth-century project for the enlargement and exaltation of the Dominican monastery.

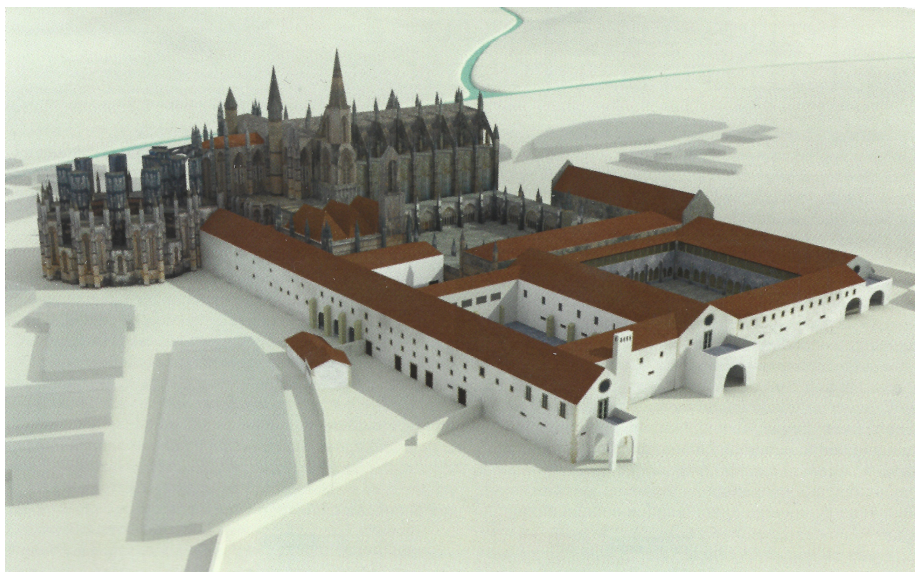


Figure 22. Virtual reconstruction with the missing conventual parts, namely the Cloister of the Portaria and the Cloister of the Botica. Image published in AAVV. (2014), 98. © Tech-limits, Lda

With this information, the arguments of the 19th century restorers that led to the demolition of these parts of the Batalha building have been questioned. At the same time, efforts have been made to disseminate the research results through the available technological resources. Hence, those who visit the monument today are able to appreciate the changes the monastery underwent over the centuries of its existence.

In the third project, developed in 2016-2017, the aim was to study the original polychromy of the 15th century Founder's Chapel at the Monastery of Batalha, the royal pantheon established by King João I⁶⁵. Within the scope of this project, the archival documentation is not as relevant as in the two afore-mentioned projects, not even in identifying the time when most of the chapel's polychrome was removed⁶⁶.

M. S. et al. (2017). *Anatomia de um mosteiro: estudo geofísico do Mosteiro da Batalha*. Batalha: Município da Batalha.

⁶⁴ Serrão, V. (2001). *A Cripto-História de Arte: análise de obras de arte inexistentes*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.

⁶⁵ Monumental Polychromy. Revealing Medieval Colours at Batalha, project website: <https://monumentalpolychromybatalha.weebly.com/>. This project was coordinated by the History of Art Institute, NOVA University, Lisbon, Portugal.

⁶⁶ Perhaps the polychromy of the Founder's Chapel was removed before the restoration work started in 1840.

In this case, the analysis through X-ray fluorescence of the remaining traces of polychromy, although difficult to access (in small interstices of the stone) and not very evident to the naked eye, made it possible to identify the pigments used. In addition, through the use of laser scan technology and 3D photogrammetry, three-dimensional models of the Founder's Chapel and of the respective tombs were created, and various virtual colour application exercises were performed, based on the pigments identified by the laboratory technicians (fig. 23)⁶⁷.



Figure 23. Virtual simulation of the colours of the Founder's Chapel tombs. Photograph by António Luís Campos. Retrieved from: <https://nationalgeographic.pt/historia/grandes-reportagens/1744-a-cor-da-capela-do-fundador>. © National Geographic Portugal

The virtual simulations of colour are intended to be made available in the chapel, by means of a large interactive screen (multimedia experience), with the image of the room virtually coloured, as it would have been originally. Visitors will be able to interact with the touchscreen display at the Founder's Chapel, as well as to access all the information on pigments, the techniques used and the symbolic meanings of colour on their smartphones. Future goals include the use of video mapping technology, allowing for the recreation of the polychrome of the Founder's Chapel on a more ambitious scale. The polychromy studies are also expected to be extended to other parts of the monument.

As shown in this study, the archival documentation proved to be a fundamental starting point, above all, for the first two projects mentioned. Its combination with interdisciplinary methodologies, based on laboratory studies and new digital technological resources, has, additionally made it possible to enhance information from

⁶⁷ Rodrigues, P. M. M. (2018). *O poder da cor na Idade Média: policromia na Capela do Fundador do Mosteiro da Batalha* (Doctoral thesis). Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa.

historical sources and produce knowledge of great use for understanding the monument, its management and its conservation.

6. Discussion and final remarks

The Monastery of Batalha is, as shown herein, an exceptional case in terms of the quantity and quality of historical sources available for its study. In this paper, the sources that make it possible to exhaustively document the changes to which it was subject throughout the 19th century have been discussed.

It is important, however, to mention that the documental sources that enabled the study of the construction of the building in the 15th century are also of value⁶⁸. Despite being less abundant and diversified than those mentioned in this study, they are still highly relevant when compared to other buildings from the same period. In fact, the importance the monument has attained, both nationally and internationally, largely justifies its exceptional situation, only comparable to the Monastery of Santa Maria de Belém (commonly known as the Jerónimos Monastery), a construction promoted by King Manuel I, and one of the most important monuments in the country. In the case of the Jerónimos Monastery, the documentation relating to the restoration works of the monument in the 19th century is abundant, with numerous projects and hundreds of written documents⁶⁹. However, the archival documents produced during the progress of the work, despite their abundance, have neither the systematization nor the detail that can be found for the restoration works of the Monastery of Batalha. Moreover, they are not centralized in a single archive, as is the case of the latter.

However, as has been shown, the historical sources for the study of the restoration of the Batalha Monastery are not only distinguished by their centralization in the monument.

The monastery was the focus of a unique collection of historical documents and testimonies (writings, iconography, objects) that make it an exceptional case study on a national, but also international scale. No other monument, even in England, had an album like the one designed by James Murphy, which was of crucial importance for restoration works. In addition to this album, there is a very significant set of photographic collections, made by notable national and foreign photographers, complemented by an exceptional written documentary collection, by a set of sculptural pieces taken from the monument, and by various working tools. This exceptional circumstance, in the early years of the 20th century, gave rise to the idea of creating a «Work Museum» in the monument, like the Italian «Museo dell'Opera». Perhaps something comparable to an «interpretive center» of the monument. An idea that would end up being lost, probably due to the new orientations on the restorations carried out in the 20th century on the Batalha monument, but also to the general and

⁶⁸ Gomes, S. A. (1990). *O Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XV*. Coimbra: Instituto de História da Arte – Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra; Silva, J. C. V. da (2007). Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória – a fundação, o programa, os arquitectos, as fontes de influência. *Revista de História da Arte*. Instituto de História da Arte - Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 4, 335-353; Ferreira, A. L. (2015). *O mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XVI. As Capelas Imperfeitas e o Renascimento em Portugal*. Batalha: Câmara Municipal da Batalha.

⁶⁹ Soares, C. M. (2019). *O culto a Camões e o Mosteiro dos Jerónimos. O restauro do monumento no século XIX*. Lisboa: Scribe.

growing tendency to give less prominence to the restoration work of the monuments and more emphasis on the original parts.

Despite that, the Monastery of Batalha was the first case of monumental restoration in Portugal, in the 19th century, where the first practical trials were carried out, and from which theoretical formulations on the subject emerged. The *Memória Inédita...* written by Mousinho de Albuquerque is a clear example of this, having certainly been used as theoretical support for other interventions in monuments during the 19th century in Portugal (e.g., church of São Miguel do Castelo in Guimarães, the Old Cathedral of Coimbra, the Cathedral of Guarda, etc.⁷⁰), as the practical options taken appear to suggest. The various reprints of the aforementioned publication throughout the 19th century also serve to reinforce this idea.

For the reasons mentioned, it is a fact that, for many years, the documentation of work from such recent times (19th and 20th centuries) was not highly valued by researchers in the field of art history. The studies on the restoration of monuments which began in Portugal in the late 1980s, gave visibility to these types of sources, encouraging their organization and cataloguing. This was also the case with the documentation of the Monastery of Batalha.

Nowadays, the importance of studies on the restoration of monuments is unquestionable. As stated by Pedro Navascués Palacio several decades ago, «the history of architecture is, definitively, the history of restored architecture»⁷¹. It is through this diachronic approach to monuments, which takes into account their evolution over time, that the buildings of bygone eras (Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque and other) can really be known and better understood. Analysing a historical monument without considering the various modifications it has undergone over the centuries presupposes that, with some ease, that which may not be original may be wrongly deemed so. This circumstance will produce serious misunderstandings⁷².

The practices associated with the «unity of style», which had followers in beyond the mid-20th century, maintained the restoration options that sought to imitate the original models (*mimesis*) and to reintegrate the buildings according to a dominant artistic style. Analysing a historical monument without considering the various changes it has undergone over the centuries is to foster an amputated view of its history; it is to continue to practice a kind of theoretical “unity of style”, encouraging misreading and misinterpretations of monuments. Studying the historical sources on the restoration of monuments and other historical documentation is also a means to promote new interdisciplinary research, which nowadays has new and modern technologies at its disposal. This can be very useful in the daily management of monuments, but also in critical circumstances, such as in the recovery of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, after being ravaged by a fire in April 2019. With greater or fewer technological resources, the main objectives of research should always be the same: to become more familiar with the monuments, without ever compromising scientific rigour, and placing this knowledge at the service of all.

⁷⁰ Rosas, L. (2005). The Restoration of Historic Buildings Between 1835 and 1929: The Portuguese Taste. *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 3(1), 2-3. Retrieved from: https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue5/pdf/lrosas.pdf [Consulted: 6 January 2022].

⁷¹ Navascués Palacio, P. (1995). La Restauración de Monumentos en España: aproximación Bibliográfica (1954-1994). In *Historiografía del Arte Español en los siglos XIX y XX - VII Jornadas de Arte* (p. 77). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, CSIC.

⁷² Navascués Palacio, P. (1995) op. cit., 80.

7. Conflict of interests

None

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