

THE ABBOT OF BAÇAL AND ROCK-ART STUDIES IN PORTUGAL

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SUMMARY

During his long life, Francisco Manuel Alves (Abbot of Baçal) published dozens of notes on rock-art that lay mainly in the district of Bragança. In this article, these references are organized in a table that shows that most of the rocks mentioned have cup-marks or "crosses". For Alves, in most cases, these crosses marked territorial divisions or borders. It is notable that even if he did not publish engravings known today as of Palaeolithic style, he was convinced that early art should exist in the area, as now proven by the complexes of the Côa and Douro valleys.

RIASSUNTO

Nel corso della sua lunga vita, Francisco Manuel Alves (Abate di Baçal) ha pubblicato decine di note sull'arte rupestre del distretto di Bragança. L'articolo fornisce una schematica tabella che raccoglie le sue segnalazioni da cui si evince che molte delle rocce individuate erano incise con coppelle o 'croci'. Secondo l'interpretazione di Alves la maggior parte delle croci erano segni confinari. L'abate pur non avendo pubblicato incisioni di 'stile paleolitico' ne aveva ipotizzato la presenza nelle aree indagate, intuizione confermata dalle scoperte della valle del Côa e Douro nei decenni successivi.

The year 2015 commemorates a hundred and fifty years since the birth of Francisco Manuel Alves (1934–1938), one of the most important rock-art researchers in Portugal who was better known as the *Abade de Baçal* (Abbot of Baçal). He was a very charismatic figure, both from the human and scientific point of view. The amount of work and information he produced is still surprising and forms an invaluable legacy.

Alves was born in 1865 in the little village of Baçal, north of the city of Bragança in Portugal's northeast region of Trás-os-Montes. His family were modest farmers who must have been pleased when he went on to become one of the most important researchers of his generation in fields such as archaeology, history, ethnology, linguistics, anthropology and even Jewish studies.

The academic life of Alves started late because his home village used to be so remote that he only went to school when he was ten years old. His bright young mind was evidently noticed, because he was sent to seminary to become priest in Chaves (in the district of Vila Real).

After spending seven years in Mairós, a village near the seminary, Alves returned to his birthplace to serve as the parish priest. From this period comes his nickname, "Rosbpierre" or "Robs" as he was called by close friends and even he himself. He stayed in his home village until his death in 1947. Parishioners spoke of him as "o grande" (the big one) due his height or simply, "Sr. Padre" (Father). The title "Abade", by which he is now known, was his position in the church hierarchy.

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This paper was based on some work carried out for my in doctoral thesis in 2012.

descriptions of towns and villages, as in “*por terras de Mirandesas*” (ALVES 1938, pp. 810–812). Other details are disseminated in works like “*Chaves – Apontamentos arqueológicos*” (1931) and “*Vimioso, Notas Monográficas*” with Adrião Martins Amado, published posthumously (1968).

Except for sporadic references to localities in the nearby district of Vila Real, nearly all the sites published are in the district of Bragança. He visited most of the sites, so we have a direct account of his findings. Sometimes, he returns years later and fails to rediscover sites. This leads him to conclude that they were destroyed in the intervening period, which is not always the case. Alves occasionally reproduces information provided by other people, mainly his enormous network of colleagues. Knowing his interests, other priests in the area become an invaluable source of information and the vehicle for the transmission of legends, tales and stories.

Most of the information is about engravings or “*insculturas*”, as Alves called them, a term he liked to use for cup-marks. Nevertheless, he also dedicated some pages to paintings, mainly those of Cachão da Rapa in Carrazeda de Ansiães (ALVES 1934, pp. 666–675). He recounts, in “*Chaves – Apontamentos arqueológicos*” (ALVES 1931, p. 43), that he saw several paintings of animals in a cave while he was a young seminarist at Chaves. Years later, Santos Jr., following notes Alves gave him, looked for *Buraco de Jac-mi-Jorge* in the parish of Mairós, near the stream of Ribeira de Soutilha; however, he could not find anything and concluded they must have been flooded and destroyed (SANTOS 1942, p. 332).

Alves had no doubt that paintings or engravings like those in the Franco-cantabric zone might exist in the area of Trás-os-Montes. Strangely, he does not refer to several Palaeolithic-style figures known in the area today. So the horse and other zoomorphs of Mazouco (Freixo de Espada-à-Cinta), the aurochs and horses on the margins of river Sabor at Ribeira da Sardinha (Torre de Moncorvo), or Sampaio and Pousadoro (Bragança) are not mentioned in his texts. He

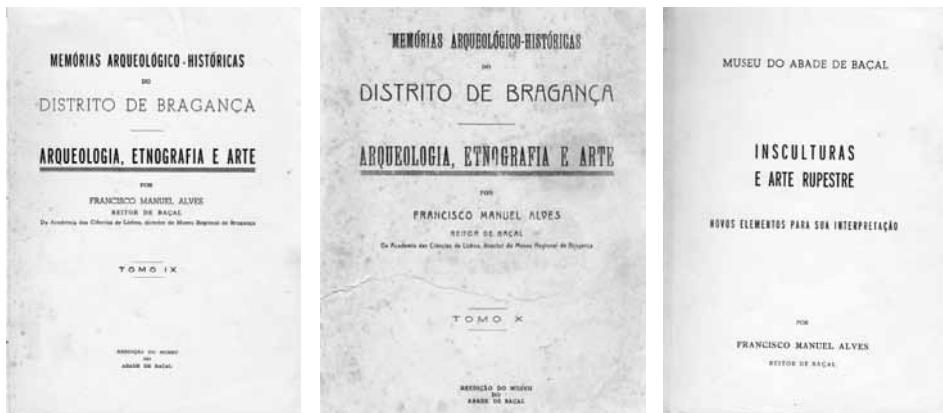


Fig. 2 - Covers of volumes IX, X, XI of “*Memórias Arqueológico-Históricas do Distrito de Bragança*” (ALVES 1934, 1938, and 1948).

Nº	Name	Where	What	Bibliography
1	Aguieiras Modorra Quinta do Casario	Mirandela	Cup-marks, grooves, "Letras" ²	ALVES 1934, p. 611
2	Agrochão	Vinhais	Engravings?	ALVES 1938
3	Aldeia Nova	Miranda do Douro	Footprint "of a mule" ³	ALVES 1934, pp. 611-612 CARDOSO 1747
4	Algosinho "Pedra Balouçada"	Mogadouro	Crosses	ALVES 1934, p. 613
5	Assares "Cova da Moura" or Poço	Vila Flor ⁴	Star with ten radiat- ing lines, P ⁵	ALVES 1934, p. 613
6	Babe	Bragança	"Ferradura" ⁶	ALVES 1934, p. 613
7	Baçal - Fonte do Pacio	Bragança	Cup-marks, X	ALVES 1934, p. 613
8	Belver "Fraga das Ferraduras"	Carrazeda de Ansiães	"Ferraduras", crosses, circles	ALVES 1934, pp. 613-614
9	Bousende - Berço Serro da Pena Mourisca	Macedo de Cavaleiros	Cup-marks, grooves ⁷ (?) G	ALVES 1934, p. 615 ALVES 1938, p. 823 LOPO 1903, p. 250
10	Bragança - Cabeço da Cidade	Bragança	"Ferradura"	ALVES 1934, p. 617 LOPO 1902, p. 15
11	Buraco de Jac-mi-Jorge	Chaves	Animals? P ⁸	ALVES 1931, p. 43
12	Cabeça Boa	Bragança	Footprint with the toes	ALVES 1934, p. 617
13	Cachão da Rapa	Carrazeda de Ansiães	Squares, lines, points, ovals, "Let- ras" ⁹ . PT	ALVES 1934, pp. 666-675 ARGOTE 1734
14	Carocedo - Capela de Nossa Senhora da As- sunção	Bragança	Footprints, cup- marks and others...	ALVES 1934, p. 615 LOPO 1903, p. 72
15	Carrazedo - Rio de Mar- tim	Bragança	One "ferradura"	ALVES 1934, p. 619
16	Carviças - Cabeço do Sarilho	Torre de Mon- corvo	Greek cross or 4 points star? ¹⁰	ALVES 1934, p. 619
17	Carviças Cigadonha	Torre de Mon- corvo	Inscriptions?	SANTOS jr. 1929 ALVES 1934, p. 147
18	Casares "Fraga da Falgueira Rúbia"	Vinhais, Montouto	Crosses, squares "ferraduras"	ALVES 1938, p. 823
19	Cedães	Mirandela	One "ferradura"	ALVES 1934, p. 619
20	Cércio, "Gravatos"	Miranda do Douro, Duas Igrejas	Engravings?	ALVES 1934, p. 619

2 "Letras", meaning inscriptions, letters or writing.

3 Entry "Aldeia nova"

4 The rock belongs to the council of Alfândega da Fé (see ABREU 2005).

5 Letter of Santos Jr. 3.10.1932

6 "Ferraduras" "U" shape sign.

7 "Figurações animalescas" animal figures

8 Never found again

9 Letters

10 These figures are called "sarilho" by Baçal

Nº	Name	Where	What	Bibliography
21	Cerdedo "Fraga das Ferraduras"	Vinhais Montouto	Several "ferraduras"	ALVES 1934, p. 620 ALVES 1938, pp. 824-825
22	Dine "Pena Escrita"	Vinhais	Engravings?	ALVES 1934, p. 577
23	Espinhosela - Fraga da Ramada	Bragança	Cup-marks and grooves	ALVES 1934, pp. 621-622
24	Estevais - Prado do Junco	Mogadouro	Serpentiform? Grooves	ALVES 1934, pp. 622-624
25	Freixel - Castelo- "Fraga dos Mouros"; "Patadas de Cavalo"	Vila Flor	Hand and arm (?) Cup-marks, "ferradura", footprints, shoes, shields (?)	ALVES 1934, p. 626
26	Fornos - "Fraga do Gato"	Freixo de Espada à Cinta	Quadruped (large). Cat? ¹¹ "Ferradura"	ALVES 1934, p. 627 SANTOS jr. 1929, p. 13
27	Fragas da "Boa-Vista"	Vinhais, Montouto	Crosses, cup-marks, spirals, flag (?)	ALVES 1938, p. 824
28	Ifanes - Rodelas	Miranda do Douro	3 footprints	ALVES 1934, pp. 627-628
29	Ifanes - Curvaceira	Miranda do Douro	"Ferradura"	ALVES 1934, p. 628
30	Gondesende "Lombeiro de Maquieiros"	Bragança Rio Baceiro	Cup-marks, "ferraduras" linhas, zig-zag, circles (?)	ALVES 1938, pp. 825-826
31	Labiados - Cabeço da Velha	Bragança	Crosses and cup-marks, "Ferraduras" Horse? ¹² 4 rocks. X	ALVES 1934, pp. 628-630
32	Lagarelhos	Vinhais	Footprint of a cow	ALVES 1934, p. 633
33	Lamalonga, Lagar dos Mouros	Bragança Rio Baceiro	Footprint, square "Lagar"	ALVES 1938, p. 826
34	Lamas de Orelhão	Mirandela	"Ferradura" and sword ¹³	ALVES 1934, p. 634
35	Lamoso	Mogadouro	Church and still others figures ¹⁴	ALVES 1934, p. 634
36	Linhares	Carrazeda de Ansiães	Cup-marks "Ferraduras" & "letters"	ALVES 1910, p. 137 SANTOS jr. 1933 ALVES 1934, p. 634
37	Luzelos "Pedra do Sapato"	Carrazeda de Ansiães	Footprint? "Shoes"? ¹⁵	ALVES 1934, p. 635
38	Macedinho do Mato	?	"Ferradura"? ¹⁶	ALVES 1934, p. 636
39	Marcedo do Pêso - Zamborinho "Serra do Gato"	Mogadouro	"Cat"? ¹⁷	ALVES 1934, p. 636

11 The cat is looking to a treasure.

12 "Letras". Not found a figure of the horse.

13 "of a Moor..."

14 Recent?

15 not rock-art .

16 Ear say.

17 "a cat looking to a treasury" (destroy).

Nº	Name	Where	What	Bibliography
40	Malhadas – Trás-da-Torre “Cortina do Poço”	Miranda do Douro	“Ferraduras”; cup-marks, geometric figures. G	ALVES 1934, pp. 636-637
41	Malhadas – Lameira do Mular	Miranda do Douro	Circle ¹⁸ G	ALVES 1934, p. 637
42	Malhadas, Penhalta – Pizo do Mouro	Miranda do Douro	Big triangular shape ¹⁹	ALVES 1934, p. 637
43	Malhadas – Lombas	Miranda do Douro	Cup-marks ²⁰ G	ALVES 1934, pp. 637-638
44	Moimenta – Ponte “Pegada do Mouro	Vinhais	Deep cup-marks, oval shape	ALVES 1934, pp. 639-640
45	Mofreira Pena Escrita	Vinhais	Engravings?	ALVES 1934, p. 640
46	Moncorvo – Aveleira	Torre de Moncorvo	Engravings? ²¹	ALVES 1934, p. 640
47	Moncorvo – Castro ²² Baldoeiro, Penedo do Cobrão	Torre de Moncorvo	Several Serpentine forms	CABRAL 1910, p. 60 SANTOS jr. 1929 ALVES 1934, p. 640
48	Montesinho – Lama das Onzelhas “Fraga Medideira” ²³	Bragança, França	Crosses, cup-marks	ALVES 1934, p. 641
49	Montesinho – Onzelhas Castro Curisco ²⁴	Bragança, França	Crosses, cup-marks	ALVES 1934, p. 641
50	Montesinho – Fraga Bulideira	Bragança, França	Crosses, cup-marks	ALVES 1934, p. 641
51	Montesinho “Barreiras Branca”	Bragança, França	Circle, triangle	ALVES 1938, pp. 827-828
52	Murçós – Escrita	Macedo de Cavaleiros	Engravings?	ALVES 1934, pp. 641-642
53	Nozede de Cima Quinta [Malgas]	Valpaços Nozede de Cima	5 cup-marks or “malguinhas” ²⁵	ALVES 1938, p. 828
54	Oleirinhos “Patada do Mouro”	Bragança	Footprint ²⁶	ALVES 1934, p. 642
55	Ousilhão – Fraga da Vela or da Ferradura	Vinhais	“Ferradura” ²⁷	ALVES 1934, p. 643
56	Outeiro – “Vinha do Judeu”	Bragança	Engravings? ²⁸	ALVES 1934, p. 643

18 Ferraduras Donkey of the Holy Mother

19 This is more a “Pia” than an engraving because of the dimensions and depth. Not an engraved

20 Remove from the original place and lost

21 Not found by SANTOS Jr (1932)

22 There is a bit of confusion on this description. In fact there is a rock with more than a 100 crosses - Fraga Medideira, Bulideira or da Porca and several gently sloping rocks with cup-marks (ABREU *et al.* 1993 and 1995a).

23 See note 8

24 See note 8

25 Little bowls

26 Footprint of a Moor. DESTROYED 1920

27 “Abre-te fraga bendita, que o mundo ficarás escrita” (Open blessed boulder, that the world you will be written)

28 “Letras e rabiscos” (letters and scribbles)

Nº	Name	Where	What	Bibliography
57	Paço de Vinhais	Vinhais	Engravings?	ALVES 1934, p. 643
58	Paradinha Nova - Escrita ou Fraga Escrevida	Bragança	Crosses, "cruzeiros" ²⁹ One auroch	ALVES 1934, pp. 643-644
59	Paradinha Nova Fraga das Ferraduras - Mata Mouros	Bragança	"Ferraduras", cup-marks, footprints	ALVES 1934, p. 645
60	Parambos "Fraga das Ferraduras"	Carrazeda de Ansiães	"Ferraduras"	ALVES 1934, p. 653
61	Picote	Mogadouro	Footprint, grooves	ALVES 1938, pp. 817-818
62	Pinhal do Douro	Carrazeda de Ansiães	"Ferraduras"	ALVES 1934, p. 653
63	Pinheiro Novo - Fraga do Sarilho	Vinhais	Star with 4 points or Greek cross	ALVES 1934, pp. 646-647
64	Pinheiro Novo - Capela de S. Rufina, Trás da Calçada	Vinhais	One "ferradura"	ALVES 1934, pp. 646-647
65	Póvoa - Teliques "Pé da Moura"	Miranda do Douro	Footprint (right)	ALVES 1934, pp. 646-647 ALVES 1938, p. 811
66	Póvoa - Teliques Poça do Galo	Miranda do Douro	Footprint (left)	ALVES 1938, p. 811
67	Póvoa - Pachicos "Fraga"	Miranda do Douro	Cup-marks	ALVES 1938, p. 811
68	Póvoa - "Fraga do Cavalo"	Miranda do Douro	Horse?	ALVES 1938, pp. 811-812
69	Rebordainhos "Fraga do Gato"	Bragança	Grooves (Cat?)	ALVES 1934, p. 647
70	Rebordões "Fonte da Senhora"	Bragança	3 "Ferraduras"	ALVES 1934, p. 648
71	Rebordelo "Fonte da Virgem" Fraga das Ferraduras	Vinhais	Several "Ferraduras" and grooves	ALVES 1934, pp. 648-649
72	Ribalonga "Ferraduras e Eira da Codeceira"	Carrazeda de Ansiães	"Ferraduras"	ALVES 1934, p. 653
73	Ride Vides "Pedra Escrita"	Alfândega da Fé	"Ferraduras", cup-marks, weapons, grooves	ALVES 1934, pp. 649-652
74	Rodelo	Miranda do Douro	"Glasses" ³⁰	ALVES 1938, p. 810
75	Saldanha "Fraga do Gato"	Mogadouro	Cat and "Letras"	ALVES 1934, p. 652

29 On this rock, overlapped by many crosses and cruzeiros or calvaries, are two Palaeolithic style figures, most probably aurochs.

30 Óculos = in the original in Portuguese; in fact, the engraving represents two circles united by a curved line that resembles old-style glasses.

Nº	Name	Where	What	Bibliography
76	Samil - Castrilhão "Salvage"	Bragança Samil	Footprint	LOPO 1900, p. 16 ALVES 1938, p. 828
77	Samorinho "Capela da Senhora da Graça"	Carrazeda de Ansiães	"Ferraduras" (14)	ALVES 1934, p. 652
78	Sampaio - Fraga das Cruzes	Mogadouro	4/5 crosses	ALVES 1934, p. 652
79	Santa Combinha - Capela da Senhora da Graça	Macedo de Cavaleiros	Footprint	ALVES 1934, p. 652
80	Seixo de Anciães - Calça- da	Carrazeda de Ansiães	"Ferraduras", crosses	ALVES 1934, p. 653
81	Sendim - Edral "Fraga da Estrela"	Vinhais	Star (?) bovine (?) lizard (?)	ALVES 1934, pp. 653-654
82	Sendim - Edral "Fraga da Mula"	Vinhais	Animal (mule?)	ALVES 1934, p. 654
83	Serapicos Fonte dos Engenhos	Bragança	Letters, dates (1797) ³¹ X	ALVES 1934, pp. 655-655
84	Sobreiró "Pedras Brancas"	Vinhais	Cup-marks	ALVES 1934, p. 657
85	Sortes "Pena Escrita"	Bragança	Polissoir, weapons, lines	ALVES 1934, pp. 657-659
86	Tó "Fraga da Moura"	Mogadouro	Footprint, " <i>ferradura</i> "	ALVES 1934, p. 658
87	Travanca "Fraga das Ferraduras"	Vinhais	"Ferraduras", cup- marks X	ALVES 1910, p. 142 ALVES 1934, pp. 658-659 FERREIRA 1932, p. 74
88	Travanca "Fraga das Patinhas da Burrinha"	Vinhais	Crosses, cup-marks, footprints ³²	ALVES 1934, pp. 660-661
89	Travanca "Marcão" 1 & 2	Vinhais	Crosses, stars, squares, cup-marks	ALVES 1934, pp. 662-663
90	Travanca - Nozedo de Cima	Vinhais	5 cup-marks <i>Mal- guinhas</i> ³³	ALVES 1938, p. 828
91	Travanca - Nozedo de Cima "Malgas"	Vinhais	2 cup-marks 2 footprint	ALVES 1934, pp. 661-662
92	Travanca "Pegada do Burro"	Vinhais	"Ferraduras"	ALVES 1934, pp. 658-663
93	Travanca "Peredo do Galego"	Vinhais	"Ferraduras"?	ALVES 1934, p. 663
94	Tomelar Urrós	Modagouro	Footprint	ALVES 1934, p. 663
95	Vale Frechoso "Fragas da Pena do Corvo"	Vila Flor	"Fox" (?)	ALVES 1934, p. 663
96	Vale Frechoso	Vila Flor	One " <i>Ferradura</i> "	ALVES 1934, p. 663

31 Not rock-art.

32 "Fraga das Patinhas da Burrinha" - Boulder of the little dunk little paws.

33 Small bowl.

Nº	Name	Where	What	Bibliography
97	Vale de Lamas	Bragança	Footprints of "wolves", "cat" and high heelsshoes(?) ³⁴	ALVES 1934, p. 663
98	Varge	Bragança	"Ferradura"	ALVES 1934, p. 664
99	Valverde	?	"Ferradura"?	ALVES 1934, p. 664
100	Vila de Ala	Mogadouro	Circle	ALVES 1934, p. 664
101	Vila Boa de Carçãosinho Crasto	Bragança	"Ferradura"	ALVES 1934, p. 664
102	Vila Meão	Bragança	Footprint	ALVES 1934, p. 664
103	Vila Verde Eira do Outeiro "Cara do Gato"	Vinhais	Footprint of a cow (?), cup-marks ³⁵	ALVES 1934, p. 664
104	Vilar de Ossos "Lombo da Escrita"	Vinhais	"Ferradura"	ALVES 1934, pp. 662, 666
105	Vilarinho da Castanheira Tavares	Mogadouro	Engravings?	ALVES 1934, p. 666 VASCONCELOS 1917, p. 197
106	Vilarinho de Galegos	Mogadouro	Animal (Cat?)	ALVES 1934, p. 666

published the rock of *Fraga Escrevida* at Paradinha Nova, Bragança and drew many of its crosses; remarkably, he does not notice the large figure of an aurochs (ALVES 1934, pp. 643-645; ALVES 1977, pp. 65-67).

I compiled the information written by Francisco Manuel Alves in all his publications (ALVES 1910, 1931, 1934, 1938, 1948 and ALVES, AMADO 1968) in an alphabetical list. Out of 106 published references to rock-art, not all can clearly be identified as rock-art sites. Some descriptions differ slightly from reality. I had an opportunity to survey the area of Montesinho (ALVES 1934, p. 641) with Ludwig Jaffe and the "*Gravado no Tempo*" team and found his description of *Fraga Medideira* (n. 48) corresponded to a wobbling rock, *Fraga Bulideira* (n. 50); to avoid confusion, this appears in the "*Corpus*" under the name, "*Fraga da Porca*" (n. 133). Castro Curisco (Baçal n. 49) does not have figures of crosses, but does have more than 20 gently sloping rocks with dozens of cup-marks ("*Corpus*" n. 134) (ABREU, JAFFE 1995).

In several cases, Baçal reports cases where engravings were destroyed by local people looking for gold or hiding treasures. Such was the site of Pena Vela-deira: tales spoke of an engraved raven that pointed towards a treasure, but the figure has vanished (ALVES 1934, p. 633).

The cat is very much the most common animal associated with gold and treasure, which is the case at Fornos (n. 27), Marcedo do Pêso (n. 73), Saldonha (n. 79) and Vilarinho da Castanheira (n. 111). In Vale Frechoso, the "cat" is substituted by a fox (ALVES 1934, p. 663). I looked for this during the 1990s, but could not find any engravings in the area and the inhabitants have no memory of it.

³⁴ Footprints.

³⁵ "Cara de um gato..." face of a cat.

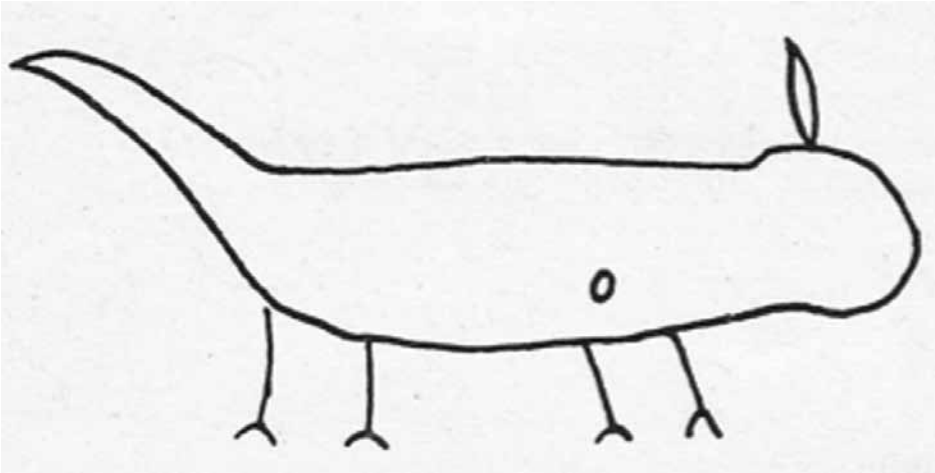


Fig. 3 - Drawing of a cat “looking at a treasure” at Fornos, Freixo de Espada-à-Cinta, according to Baçal, the figure is 44cm long, excluding its tail. (ALVES 1934, p. 627).

As for the meaning of the engravings, Francisco Manuel Alves likes to quote ancient documents. He presents a strong case that many of the crosses (*cruzes*) and cup-marks (*covinhas*) could be property marks, “*marras*”, between different territories, and said the following:

“Segundo temos observado, a maior parte das estações de arte rupestre estão em sítios marginais dos termos de povoações confinantes ou mui perto deles a servir de divisória aos mesmo ou a direitos de compáscuo entre vários povos, demarcando mesmo propriedade particulares ou bens adjacentes a igrejas e capelas nos povoados” (ALVES, AMADO 1968, p. 391)³⁶

Alves is ambiguous in his distinction between rocks with crosses or cup-marks that are “*marras*” and those that are rock-art sites. Do all engraved rocks act as territorial divisions? Alves does not claim this, but that generally seems to be his view. Here, I consider “*marras*” to be rocks with marks that documents show as territorial divisions and made a separate list for them, which aims to stay close to indications in the different texts of Alves. A clear distinction between rocks with crosses or cup-marks only used in historical periods and rocks with similar prehistoric engravings is almost impossible. As Alves quite rightly thinks, engravings belong to a tradition that could have started in prehistoric times and continued until now.

In a text about the village of Vimioso written in last months of his life, Alves (ALVES, AMADO 1968) dedicates several pages to “*covinhas*”, which is the Portuguese term for cup-marks. In his home village, he says people used to “*alfar*” or “*ir alfar*”, meaning to make cup-marks or enhance existing ones. At Soutelo

³⁶ “As we have observed, the majority of rock-art sites are in marginal places on nearby village boundaries, or very close by, serving as division of the rights of pasture between different people, demarcating private properties and goods close to churches and chapels in the villages” [my translation].

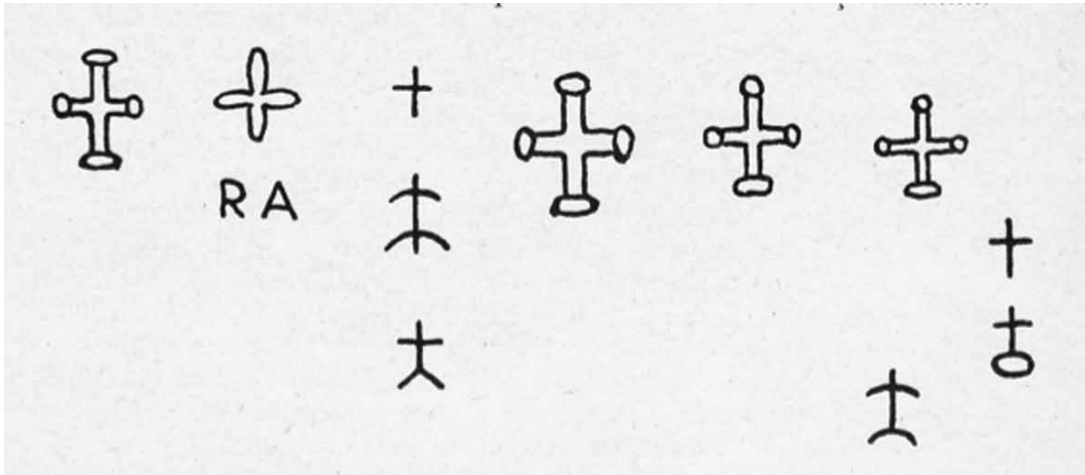


Fig. 4 - Drawing of the Marra do Alto da Barreiras marking the division between Caçarelhos and Vimioso, district of Bragança (ALVES 1934, p. 584).

Mourioco in the council of Macedo de Cavaleiros, the term was “*alisar as covinhas*” (smooth the cup-marks) and in Bragança, “*limpar as pocinhas*” (to clean the little holes) (ALVES, AMADO 1968, p. 390). Redoing or cleaning could be the reason why some, like the *Fraga das Ferraduras* of Alfândega da Fé (ABREU 2005), seem so recent. Retouching gives engravings a lighter patina and look as if they have just been made.

These divisions may have had sacred aspects and Alves thought cup-marks could have been venerated as representations of *Termo* or *Terminus*³⁷, the Roman god. As such, Alves says the cup-marks had to be cared for, “*limpa*” (cleaned) and remade by hand:

“o povo limpa, alisa aperfeiçoa à mão as pocinhas com todo o carinho do acto liturgico, mantendo-lhe a tradição de arca tratada com limpeza asseio, aliada à veneração de um deus tão prestigioso” (ALVES, AMADO 1968, p. 394)³⁸

Alves notes that many of the engravings are very similar to traditional shapes used for branding cattle and other livestock (horses, goats, sheep). They are also resemble the mason marks one finds on the stones of Romanesque and Gothic churches and other buildings.

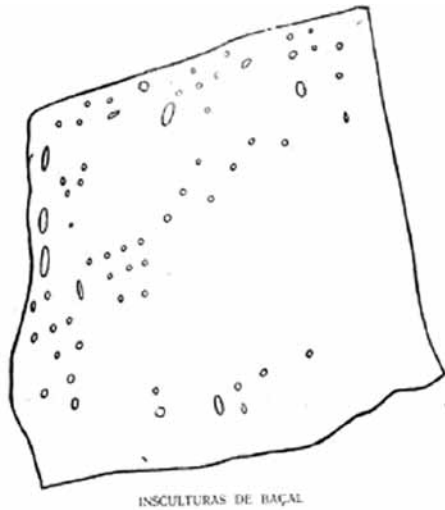
Concerning chronology, Alves was quite open-minded and thinks, due to similitude with material published by Obermaier (1925, p. 169), that the engravings of Freixel (Vila Flor) could even be Palaeolithic... (ALVES 1934, p. 626). He also sees similitude between the petroglyphs of Bragança and the paintings of Mas d’Azil, in France (ALVES, AMADO 1968, p. 391).

³⁷ *TERMINUS* was the protective god of boundaries of Rome and was represented by a large stone. This god could have an Indo-European origin (DUMÉZIL 1996, pp. 200–203).

³⁸ “people clean, perfect by hand, the cup-marks, with all the care of a liturgical act, retaining the tradition of the arc kept spotlessly clean, allied with the veneration of such a prestigious god”.



Fig. 5 - Fonte do Pacio, rock with engravings located near Alves's house in the little village of Baçal, Bragança (Photo Projecto "Gravado no Tempo"). (B) Alves's drawing of the cup-marks, or *insculturas* as he used to call them, engraved in the rock of Fonte do Pacio (ALVES 34, pp. 614).



In brief, in consonance with the idea that crosses, cup-marks and *ferraduras* could all be territorial marks, their chronology could range from the Palaeolithic period to the present-day a living tradition crossing millennia.

Alves was very well known in his epoch and today, more than seventy years after his death, his writings are still a very important source of information for anyone that wishes to study the rock-art of Trás-os-Montes or the north of Portugal.

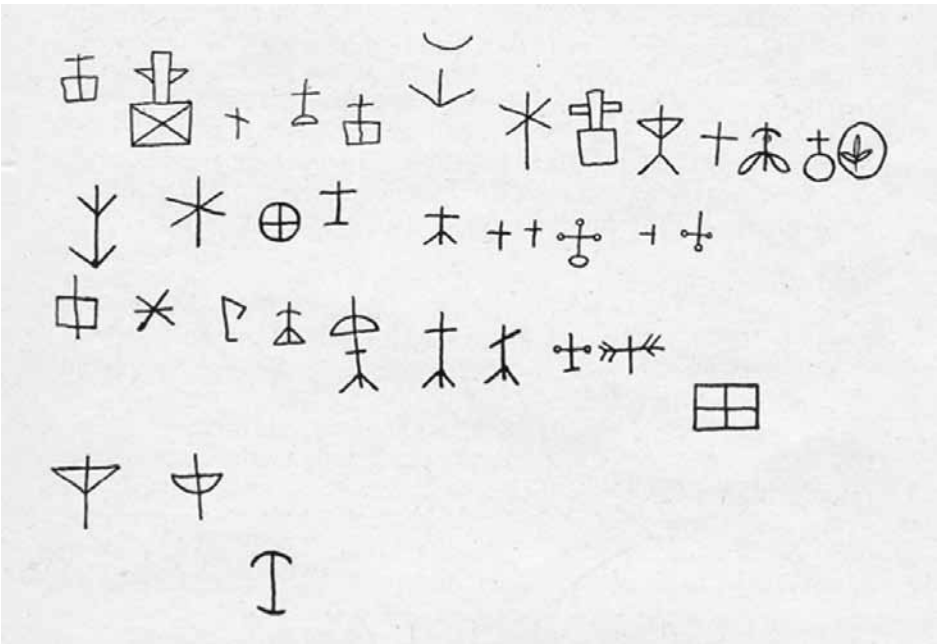


Fig. 6 - (A) Fraga Escrevida, Paradinha Nova, Bragança, under the many engravings of crosses and calvaries, one large deep engraved figure of an aurochs in Palaeolithic style (Photo Projecto "Gravado no Tempo"). (B) Drawing of crosses and calvaries of Fraga Escrevida published by Abbot Baçal, who did not see the large aurochs (ALVES 1977, p. 66).

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