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## ABSTRACT

"Afaruda – Anchor identities" concerns the expressions of religious and cultural identity of the fishing community of Afurada, which belongs to the Union of Parishes of Santa Marinha and São Pedro da Afurada (Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal). The historical roots of the fishing community of Afurada can be perceived through both cultural events and their traces of imagination and people's identity, and the traditional way of life attached to the Douro River and fishing. One of its most emblematic manifestations can be observed at the annually and always very crowded festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada. For the people of Afurada, this event is an anchor of identity. Although an urban parish, Afurada has always been linked to the fishing industry on account of its geographical location at the mouth of the Douro River. Since this activity is associated to many risks, people take refuge in their faith. This is how the festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada appeared. The great devotion that this population has for St. Peter (S. Pedro) becomes a soaring celebration, a big thank you for the protection and the graces bestowed upon its people throughout the year, culminating in the procession carried out in honor of this saint, which will be highlighted in this presentation.

## KEYWORDS

Afurada, intangible heritage, culture, St. Peter

# AFURADA – ANCHOR IDENTITIES

## THE FESTIVITIES OF S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

### THE FISHING COMMUNITY OF S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

The work that is outlined in this paper has been developed as part of the Master course in Portuguese Art History at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto<sup>1</sup>, and complemented with an internship at the Interpretive Center of the Heritage of Alfaruda (CIPA – Centro Interpretativo do Património da Afurada), which aims to study the fishing community of S. Pedro da Afurada. This exploratory study is still in progress, but its potential has already been recognized. In it, we propose a multidisciplinary approach by crossing sources and supporting our findings through a methodology based on interviews, without pre-prepared script and essentially conducted among people of the Afurada fishing community.<sup>2</sup>

The path we outlined for the study of S. Pedro de Afurada is the result of a personal interest in intangible cultural heritage issues and how they are related to a specific community, in order to understand its formation, how it develops and designs its future. Recognizing the heritage value of S. Pedro da Afurada, we consider that its protection, through the festivities in honor of the patron saint, gives a greater dignity to the story that belongs to its people and to the memory of this place.

### S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

As a first step we should get familiarized with the region of Afurada<sup>3</sup>, belonging to the council of Vila Nova de Gaia and located on the left side of Douro River, very close to its mouth. We should also know that this region is situated between Póvoa do Varzim and Aveiro, two important centers of fishing activity. These two locations were essential to the development of Afurada. For natural reasons, given its proximity to both the river and the seashore, the village stayed rather isolated from the rest of the council. Attention should be given to the fact that S. Pedro da Afurada is divided into three parts – Chãs, Afurada de Cima and Afurada de Baixo – with our survey mainly focused on the riverside for social and cultural reasons we are going to address.

Afurada's location, facing the estuary of the river on one end and the cliffs on the other, meant that the Douro River was seen as the main artery of communication with the world. With respect to its origin, the site has a long history with references that are not always clear. Only in the 13th century – more specifically in the year of 1255, with the *Foral* of Gaia granted by King Afonso III (r. 1248–1279), and again, in the year of 1288, by King Dinis (r. 1279–1325) and Queen Isabel (1270–1336) – appear the first solid references regarding the activity of this place, explicitly relating it to the exploitation of marine resources. Later, in 1518, the *Foral* of King Manuel I (r. 1495–1521) settled matters of concession and social rights (Filgueiras 1934).

<sup>1</sup> Under the guidance of Professor Maria Leonor Botelho.

<sup>2</sup> These interviews are characterized by two distinct levels. On the one hand, they seek to establish a dialogue with other researchers, such as Dr. Teresa Soeiro, and draw parallels with other coastal communities in Portugal; and on the other, it is the community of S. Pedro da Afurada who carries the intangible heritage that we wish to inventory. Some of the interviews here referred to are cataloged at the CIPA.

<sup>3</sup> The toponym Afurada, or "Furada", or "Afforada" probably derives from its particular location, since it means "land pierced by sea or river". Cf. Araújo 1992, 4.

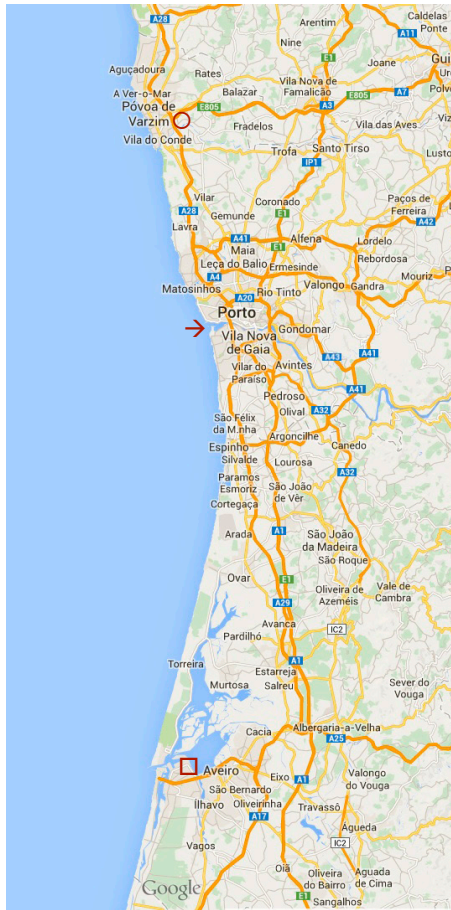


Figure 1 – Location of S. Pedro da Afurada → Póvoa do Varzim ○ and Aveiro □

This description of the village's historical context does not address a series of questions, arising from a number of documents that we did not have the opportunity to investigate, which we must leave to the interpretation of other authors. One of the biggest uncertainties has to do with the settlement's location on the sandy shores of the Douro River. Extraction activities are known to have taken place on this land, yet we do not know if the majority of the fishermen had a fixed residence. Another gap we faced was the lack of references to local housing. Marta Oliveira, in her study on Afurada, offers some hypotheses with regard to this question (Oliveira 2002, 4). In terms of development, this fishing community shares some characteristics with other similar locations, thus allowing for an analogy between this place and the reality of other identified areas, such as Aveiro (Soeiro 1999, 40), making it plausible that by the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries there were small constructions of straw and wood that served as shelter to people and their possessions.

Since we believe that this community came into being through the migration of fishermen from various parts of the coast – such as Ílhavo, Aveiro, Murtosa, and Espinho, among others –, we consider the possibility that some ways of living, working and socializing had been imported from these areas. We do not think that the fishermen from Afurada had the economic capacity or the need to build more sophisticated houses, because this initially would have been a place of seasonal occupation. According to Fr. Joaquim de Araújo, only in the 19th century, and given the extensive area of sandy beach and the abundance of fish, did some fishermen, such as António Pinto Pinhal, José António da Silva do Mar, Francisco Gomes Remelgado, and António Gomes Ferreirinha, ask the City Council of Vila Nova de Gaia to allow them to settle under a system of land tenure, initially in wood houses and then, after the intervention on the sandbanks of the Douro River and the armoring of the shore lines, in houses built of stone (Araújo 1992, 12). The presence of the fishing community, occupying the downstream areas of the river, gives a specific identity to the riverside of this town.

This is the moment when we will start to describe a community focused on fishing, which triggers a series of professional, social and economic needs and activities. The fact that many people came from other parts of the Portuguese coast should be looked upon as a benefit, because it provided Afurada's inhabitants with different means of empowerment.

According to António Baldaque da Silva (Silva 1891), in 1866, as result of an increasing activity, Afurada had 234 boats and 480 people employed in fishing. This community had the largest fishing fleet in the area, with a share of about 57%, and gave work to 40% of the fishermen in the estuary of the Douro River.

The geographic location and the livelihood of its people placed Afurada under great risk. Its location at the mouth of the Douro River and its sandbank was of advantage to the city of Oporto, where it played an

important role in the latter's defense. Not only were there appearing observation and defense posts, but also means to control epidemics from Brazil, such as the installation of a lazaretto<sup>4</sup>.

As many other places at the Portuguese coast, this community went through times of misery and sorrow, devastated by various shipwrecks that left a large number of orphans and widows on the shore. The 27th of February 1892 was one of the most devastating shipwrecks, slaying some well-known figures of the time, such as José António da Silva do Mar and Mestre Remelgado, who were among the first men to obtain land on this shore (Araújo 1992, 14).

These vicissitudes, to which nature exposes the people of the sea, are at the basis of a fervent religiosity. Celeste Malpique reports that the year of 1898 sees the beginning of a religious cult, linked to a chapel built on the riverside by João José de Almeida (Malpique 1984, 124). We believe that the construction of the chapel could have been intended as a strong anchor to keep human settlement at this location, which is the reason why the chapel was built at the dynamic village of Afurada, to which all roads converged. Religious matters play a fundamental role in social contexts. Therefore, a profound change occurred when a new religious temple was built outside of the dynamic center: the actual church of S. Pedro da Afurada.

The 20th century witnessed a constantly changing Afurada. José Maria Pina Cabral (1955), in a medical and social study of this parish, alerted to the situation of extreme poverty, which was due to the irregular income from the fishing activity. The living conditions were poor or characterized by unsanitary conditions or promiscuity, with families of seven people, aged over eleven years, sharing rooms of rather small dimensions (Malpique 1984, 121).

A direct consequence of these conditions was one of the highest infant mortality rate of the country; in 1953, 258 children per 1,000 live births died, while the national average was 94.5 (Malpique 1984, 124). Although these families had connections with other fishing villages in the north and south of the country, a tendency to endogamous marriages was prevalent, as in many other littoral communities.

As a working group, men were always very predominant in this craft, although there are reports of women defying the sea. We might think that their presence was not easily accepted; however, it was in the northern part of Portugal that this practice was more rapidly introduced (Malpique 1984, 124). Along with other researchers, we think that the early death of men, possibly by shipwreck, caused women to take up their work.

Throughout our research, between conversations and readings, we also came to realize that the fishwives from Afurada held a monopoly on the sale of fish in Oporto. Due to the unpredictability associated with fishing, the profit from the sales of fish was often not enough for them to subsist, which is why they adopted a system for washing clothes that was probably similar to other regions. Taking advantage of the stream that ran alongside



Figure 2 – Fishermen from Afurada. Photo donated by Mrs Carminda

<sup>4</sup> A lazaretto is a quarantine station, an isolated building intended for disinfecting people and objects coming from places with high probability of infectious diseases.



the village, the women gathered to wash the clothes of husbands and customers alike to ensure they could gain some extra money for their household budget. In this region, many other activities emerged, giving employment to different groups of people, not at least because fishing communities were well provided with taverns and other commercial establishments. Similar to other places on the coast, there were also the canning factories (1942–88), the Fábrica da Seca do Bacalhau (cod-drying factory) (1948–1990), and others related to ceramics.

To this description of Afurada's economic potential, we can add the fact that this was a part of the country that most benefited from the Estado Novo (New State) (1926–74). In mid-20th century, the corporate state took measures to develop its policy on fisheries and maritime transport, which resulted in new urban plans and organisms related to the fishing activity. Of special importance were the Casas dos Pescadores (Houses of Fishermen), whose main task was to provide medical and social assistance to its members, both fishermen and their families.

In face of an undeniable population growth, Afurada started to demand civil and religious independence from the parish of Santa Marinha. In 1952, Decree-law no. 38637 (Government Diary no. 30, series I) established the Civil Parish of S. Pedro da Afurada, and on 2 February 1952, its religious counterpart (Araújo 1992, 89–102). We fully support the point of view expressed by M. Espírito Santo that the cohesion of a parish results from the fact that it is a community of families, work relations, culture and religiosity, supported by the practice of living together (Espírito Santo 1980, 216). This was a period of great development for the region, not only concerning affairs linked to the Estado Novo, but also because of the thoughtful intervention that priest Joaquim de Araújo had in social and religious matters.

### THE FESTIVITIES OF S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

The festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada, which are closely related to the cultural and religious identity of the fishing community belonging to the Union of Parishes of Santa Marinha and S. Pedro da Afurada (since 2013), play an important role in the community's collective memory, noticeable in the way they are involved in these manifestations of the sacred.

The methodology we used in this investigation is based on the intersection of documentary sources with oral sources, through interviews without a previously elaborated script. Thus, the community of S. Pedro da Afurada was, from the beginning, our main source of information. Fishing communities retain a great wealth of living heritage, based on historical dynamics and striking spiritual practices, whose significant intangible components, handed down from generation to generation, are in danger of fading away.

For this reason, we think that the inventory of the festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada is important for the preservation and valorization of this community and its memories.

The festivity dates back to the early 20th century, or eventually to the late 19th century. When we compare Afurada with the fishing community of Poveira (Costa 2003, 117), we find that in the latter religious processions have been under way since the first half of the 19th century, testifying to their rather belated introduction in Afurada. As far as faith is concerned, the foundation of Afurada's first chapel, in 1908, marks a moment of strong identity affirmation for the fishing community, who sought independence from the opposite bank and from the parish of Santa Maria by extolling its devotion to St. Peter. This devotion is recurrent at the northern coast of Portugal where the saint is patron to more than 30 churches between the Douro and Mondego rivers, and to about 100 across the country, as for example in Espinho and Póvoa do Varzim (Costa 2003, 117). There are two explanations for this veneration: on the one hand is St. Peter, the Apostle, who God named the "fisher of men" and to whom He entrusted his church; and on the other Bl. Peter González, a medieval Dominican preacher who is invoked as patron saint of Spanish and Portuguese sailors (Carneiro 2006).

For the purpose of the construction of the chapel in Afurada, it was foreseen to establish the St. Peter Brotherhood. However, due to the death of João de Almeida, this never happened and an Administrative Commission of the Chapel was set up instead. The religious temple in focus had a long construction period, which was not surprising given the economic reality of the Portuguese fishing communities (Araújo 1992, 21–23). By analyzing the minutes that the Administrative Commission of the Chapel produced of its meetings, we realize that much of the monetary resources for the construction of the chapel were achieved through donations and public money collection, appealing to the faith that the fishermen had in St. Peter. We know of a proposal to ask each fisherman who brought in a boat full of *mexoalho*<sup>5</sup> to give a *rapichel*<sup>6</sup> for the construction work. It was also asked from each *arraís*<sup>7</sup> to make a one-time contribution of at least one thousand réis<sup>8</sup>, according to their devotion. These attempts to raise money were accompanied by public money collection at people's homes, which was carried out occasionally. It is known that in 1902 Alexandre Pereira Janguido offered 45,000 réis in gratitude to St. Peter because his child did not drown (Araújo 1992, 26). Similar procedures can still be observed today, in the way how the Commission raises the funds for the organization of the festivities.

The chapel was concluded in 1908. This was also the year when the first festivities were held in a temple of which St. Peter was the patron saint. However, this statement is based solely on the monograph written by Joaquim de Araújo, who at the time was the priest of Afurada, and not confirmed by other sources. Interestingly though, when we did a search in the newspaper *O Grilo de Gaya*, we found the following reference in its edition of 26 July 1891: "(...) the Saint and holder of the keys to Heaven was very much celebrated in this place, leaving his fellow Apostle St John behind".

<sup>5</sup> *Mexoalho*: Heap of rotting crabs or marine plants to produce land fertilizers.

<sup>6</sup> *Rapichel*: Net of round shape, held by a wire, used by fishermen of the Portuguese province of Beira Litoral to catch, in the water, sardines escaping from the large fishing net.

<sup>7</sup> *Arrais*: Professional in command of a fishing boat, a figure equivalent to a boat master.

<sup>8</sup> Portuguese unit of currency from around 1430 until 1911.

With this disclosure we consider the hypothesis that a great devotion to St. Peter existed in Afurada, and eventually in Santa Marinha, even before the chapel construction. After 1908, which is the year with the first direct references to the S. Pedro da Afurada festivities, its highlight was the rite of the Holy Communion, celebrated in his honor by the parish priest. During the first time, the procession left the church of Santa Marinha, at the time both parish and city council. The floats were transported in boats, downstream, to the disembarkation pier. With regard to the sacred images, we are still unable to gather enough information to be able to tell which other figures, apart from St. Peter, were represented inside the temple. We do know that the image of St. Peter was sculpted by José Maria de Moura Coutinho Abreu Lima and offered to the Commission, though there is no description or reference to its iconography. In the year of 1907, in a minute from the 10 August meeting, the President of the Commission informed the other members that the decoration of a chapel, disaffected from worship and belonging to the Quinta do Vale dos Amores, was entrusted to Eduardo José Barreto who intended to offer an almost full-size image of St. Peter.

The figure of St. Peter used during the procession was in service until 1925, when the question of the existence of two images (Araújo 1992, 26–31) was raised. The Commission determined the adaption of one figure to St. Paul, of whom there was none. This, of course, led to the question of which of the two should be subject to adulteration. On the one hand it was alleged that the sculpture which came from Massarelos had a higher artistic value in comparison to the other made by an amateur, but on the other there were people who thought that the first image that was introduced into the new temple must have been made on purpose for the patron of Afurada. No one was able to counter this statement and the image from Massarelos was adapted to St. Paul (Araújo 1992, 31).

The festivities continued to be held on an annual basis, under the responsibility of the Chapel's Administrative Commission. In the mid-1940s, more specifically in 1944, on account of a disagreement with the bishop Dom Agostinho de Jesus e Sousa (ep. 1942–52), the Commission decided to emphasize the profane aspects of the festivities, and to disregard the cult's religious aspects as way to demonstrate their disagreement with the position of the Church.

There were other parishes of the diocese where the profane aspects of the festivities became dominant, because they too disagreed with the impositions made by the bishopric. In the specific case of Afurada, the profane character of festivities lasted for two years, until the harvest of sardines fell deeply, making people believe that this was a "punishment" by the patron saint for not being worshipped. Thus, a Commission of ship operators and masters

was formed in order to get the permission to organize a procession of penance, carrying the Saint through the streets of Afurada and down to the pier so that the boats and the sea could be blessed. Then and there it

was alleged that, in the future, the festivities would be dedicated to the patron saint, to the detriment of the Afurada festivities (Araújo 1992, 42).

Later, in 1973, the festivity program was revised under the direction of priest Joaquim de Araújo, then president of the Festivities Committee (p. 1973–76) (Araújo 1992, 42). In our opinion, his career as chairman of the committee cannot be in any way separated from the other positions he occupied in the community, creating a situation in which the same person represented both the religious and profane aspects of the festivities. During the days of festivity, this was quite noticeable in the distribution of tasks he reserved on specific days for each of the two components. We believe that this presidency proved to be a valuable asset to the development and enhancement of the festivities, because it was during these years that the number of visitors began to increase, generating better income for Afurada and its local traders, in addition to turning the festivity into one of the most important regional events. This was also due to the aesthetically improved decoration of the public space, based on the first experimentations with aerial frames, replacing the wax bowls that formerly lined the streets.



Figure 3 – Religious procession of S. Pedro da Afurada. Photo donated by Mr Cristiano Marques

In the same year, the route of the procession was changed, which first passed through the fishermen's quarter up on the hill and then descended to the lower parts of the parish. Reports on the religious procession describe it as a solemn spectacle of great aesthetic and human value, in which the whole community took part. Generally, processions and festivities help us to better understand some aspects of popular religiosity as well as their anthropological value. In these moments, the faithful can experience sacredness much closer to their ordinary life (Carneiro 2006). Contrary to their daily habits, the faithful do not come to church where the devoted images are kept, but the images come to their streets in an attempt to convert the urban secular space into something sacred.

In communities related to the fishing activity, the place of anchorage is frequently regarded as the most important space for the act of consecration, because it is there where the protection of the patron saint is invoked.

Celeste Malpique, after direct observation of the festivities, states that in 1984 the procession did not only reflect good taste, but also great economic power (Malpique 1984, 140). In addition to the strong devotion, in which everybody wished to excel, this was also due to the contributions of local immigrants whose growing economic power added to the splendor of the traditional festivals.<sup>9</sup> These processions usually culminated with a sermon at the fishing harbor, where a mixed crowd of locals and visitors was gathering to bless the boats. Then, under the chairmanship of parish priest Joaquim de Araújo, collecting tins were distributed to all vessels, shops and groups of fishwives.

In the last 20 years or so, the organization of the procession has been in the hands of Dona Ana do Mar. The presence of a family with the

<sup>9</sup> The information presented here results from a series of dialogues with various inhabitants of S. Pedro da Afurada, with ages up to 70 years.

surname “do Mar” (from the sea) dates back to the establishment of the village. Here we recall that José António da Silva do Mar was one of the first citizens to buy land and settle on the left side of the Douro River (Araújo 1992, 42). Although the Festivity Commission recognizes that this should be the task of the parish priest, he himself deposits complete confidence in Dona Ana. It is her responsibility to do the hiring, logistics and organization of each part of the religious parade.

There is a concern to maintain a logical order in the arrangement of the floats. This planning mainly focuses on the way how sacred figures related to each other according to the Gospels.<sup>10</sup> As long as there are transportation facilities, all images that are kept in the church of Afurada take part in the procession. However, there are other images that necessarily belong to the parade, such as the Estrela do Mar (Sea Star)<sup>11</sup>, usually the responsibility of the codfish fishermen, the image of the Senhor dos Aflitos (Our Lord of the Afflicted)<sup>12</sup>, and the image of St. Peter (Araújo 1992, 46). Although floats are the key element of the procession, since they carry the sacred images, there are a number of other elements that complement and enrich the parade.

It begins with the presentation of the National Guard on horseback, followed by the brass band of the Volunteer Firefighters from Coimbrões, which will melodically enrich the route. The floats that appear next are set up according to a previously organized layout, interspersed with celebratory banners of the sacred images they refer to, and children, exhibiting robes that are matching different saints, and others who received Communion that year. The procession is formed in the churchyard, from where it heads onto the streets and is joined by the adorned floats. The float of St. Peter always comes last and is preceded by properly dressed children securing a fishing net. Finally, the parish priest appears under the canopy, supported by men who play a lesser role according to the donations table. While the procession moves through the streets, the houses with windows or balconies that allow for a look on the passing parade are decorated with colorful sheets, while its inhabitants are using the available space for the dropping of flower petals. The families of Afurada are often willing to shoulder the floats, and when the procession passes in front of their homes, they make a half-turn in order to stand in front of the house where they are celebrated with flower petals as a form of devotion and thanksgiving.

The procession ends with all floats facing the river, while the guest minister gives his sermon, praising the virtues of St. Peter, himself a fisherman. Directed to the fishermen of Afurada, he exalts the qualities of the men at sea, their difficult lives, facing days of hardship and danger while seeking to support their families. Finally, the priest of Afurada blesses the boats and the thousands of people who are attending the ceremony. In the sky, dozens of fireworks burst at the same time and the trawlers set off the sirens. This is the moment when the images are taken back to the church or, in some cases, to the private homes where they belong, and where they are protected until next year's celebration.



Figure 4 – Shouldered sacred image in front of the carriers' family home. Photo by Cátia Oliveira



Over the years, the procession and the fireworks were regarded as the highlight of the festivities. In the early 1980s, however, a parade of samba schools was a very appreciated novelty, made possible thanks to the receptivity that the Festivities Committee encountered among the people of Ovar. The collaboration lasted for several years, but the participation of samba schools was suspended after some time. This was due to the pressure that the former parish priest of Afurada applied, motivated by his difficulties in convincing the Vicar General of the Diocese of the groundlessness of the complaints coming from a small sector of the population, who invoked that samba degraded the festivities, which should be clearly religious (Araújo 1992, 47). The introduction of recurrent traditions from other parts of the country, or even from foreign countries, showed that the Commission of the Festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada was aware of what was going on at other festivities, particularly at the ones that took place in coastal regions. We can ask ourselves whether the fact that these processions are so similar to each other is the result of copying or adapting already established practices, even if for functional reasons.

During the next 20 years, the event has been marked by regularity, without any outstanding occurrences that would make their reference worthwhile for this study. The fact that it has gained a greater visibility in recent years is probably due to the creation of a Special Events Committee, which already dates back to the first festivities under the auspices of the Administrative Commission of the Chapel, but which only in 2006 was legally recognized (Araújo 1992, 48).



Figure 5 – Image depicting female costumes in the procession of St. Peter. Photo donated by Lurdes Rola

The festivities have been the subject of much praise because of the event's magnitude, achieved through the work and commitment of many people and organizations, but its success can never be dissociated from the fishing community of Afurada. In this community, important socialization processes take place outdoors, where the feminine part of the population spends much of its day. Through our field work and direct observation we learned that a series of daily tasks are performed in these locations, such as the preparation of food and meals. This is clearly confirmed on the day when the community honors its patron. Interspersed with several restaurants, Afurada's public space gains new devices, used to prepare and sell food at the doorstep. Typical stoves are to be seen in the streets, as well as tables where families are taking their meals. This habit is not looked upon as something that pollutes the space; on the contrary, it is seen as a way to take outdoors a get-together that is appreciated and shared among family members and open to the *rabelos*<sup>13</sup> (foreigners) who come to visit Afurada. This neighborly feeling is not only accepted by visitors, but is one of the enchanting factors of the festivities.

The sustained development, added to by the visibility and picturesque nature of the festivities allowed for their integration into larger-scale projects. This was the case of the Festival do Norte (Northern Festival) in 2012, where the project *Rede* (Net) by plastic artist Joana Vasconcelos

<sup>13</sup> *Rabelos*: Term used by the people from Afurada (*Afuradenses*) to characterize strangers.

was presented. This project was especially planned for the S. Pedro da Afurada festivities, involving the participation of four local fishermen who traveled to Lisbon and stayed for two days at the artist's studio in order to prepare the installation of a fishing net in collaboration with the artist's team. The "Net" symbolizes the wealth of the river mouth that sustains the inhabitants of Afurada and is decorated with the iconographic image of St. Peter, the Apostle.

Currently, there are some factors that may condition the continuity of the festivities in the way they have happened in the past. On the one hand, there is the newly created Union of the Parishes of S. Pedro da Afurada and Santa Marinha, with the latter now being head of the council, and on the other we find the fishing sector increasingly affected by the economic crisis, which threatens the future financial support for the festivities. In fact, people related to fishing activities have been declining in Afurada, which may also put the festivities at risk. In case the festivity should lose its direct roots and cultural identity, it might end up as a tourist attraction, disconnected from its origin.

After examining the village of S. Pedro da Afurada and its community, we think that it is important to reinforce the identity values that characterize them. In the future, we intend to focus on the St. Peter festivities, not primarily for their importance as tourist attraction, but for their being the result of a cultural process, closely linked to the memory of this population and the cultural features that characterize their everyday lives. We believe that the inclusion of the festivities in the National Inventory of Cultural Heritage would be of advantage for this community and an asset for a country that is strong in religious traditions.

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