THE REFORM OF SAMOS ABBEY BETWEEN 1491 AND 1637: UNCOVERING THE LOGIC OF THE ARCHITECTURAL CHANGES

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Date of receipt: 2nd of August, 2015

Final date of acceptance: 6th of October, 2016

ABSTRACT

Based on several archival sources and new graphic approaches, this article seeks to examine the first major changes that were made on the medieval architecture of Samos Abbey (Lugo-Spain) during the period that ranged from the beginning of the religious orders' reform, in the late 15th century, to the 1630s. On the one hand, the detailed analysis of some historical documentary sources let us understand the reasons for the spatial changes. On the other hand, we are able to know if the new rules that were established to reform the spiritual life also caused some transformations on the existing monastic complex in order to shape a new one.¹

KEYWORDS

Monasticism, Religious Architecture, Reform, Archival Sources, Graphic Recreation.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Monachismus, Architectura Religiosa, Reformatio, Fontes Archivorum, Recreatio Graphica.

1. Introduction

The apogee lived by the Galician Benedictine monasticism in the Early Middle Ages began to show signs of certain deterioration from the mid-14th century onwards. These signs persisted and increased until the end of the following century, when they achieved an unsustainable level that made evident the need of a reform in the religious life.

The scholars who studied this period agree that three factors were the main ones that led to a situation they describe as confused, anarchic, critical, and decayed in the last stage.² The first factor was the unstable social environment that, in general, prevailed over the course of this historical period. It lasted a long time and it was one of the effects of the Black Death (1348-1349), the war and some revolts. That tense social environment had a significant influence on the life of the religious communities. The number of monks decreased, even more than it was by that time, as a result of the Black Death and the anarchic, violent atmosphere that many different conflicts caused.³

The rise of the invasions committed by Galician nobles inside the monastic possessions was the second factor.⁴ The hegemony achieved by monasteries as great landowners, placed them under the eye of the secular nobility. This group began to be aware of the fact that they could only grow if they took over the monastic possessions.⁵ As a result, many Galician nobles started to invade the property that belonged to the monks. They occupied their pieces of land, little towns and villages. At the same time, they took the vassals who lived there and they stripped them of the money, their houses and the products of their land as if they were the real owners. This was a common problem in the majority of the Galician monasteries since the mid-14th century. It caused serious losses, because not only were the monastic farmland and buildings seized, but also the economic and material profits that the monastic orders used to achieve from the stolen possessions were lost.

1. This article was partially financed by the University of A Coruña (Pre-doctoral Fellowship 2011-2012) and by the Xunta de Galicia (Pre-doctoral Fellowship of Research, Innovation and Development Galician Plan 2011-2015-IC2 Plan), co-funded by the Social European Fund-European Regional Development Fund (FSE-FEDER). It is a part of the first chapter of my PhD Dissertation entitled *San Julián de Samos-Lugo, estudio e interpretación del diseño monástico y su evolución* ("The Monastery of San Julián de Samos (Lugo-Spain), A Study and Interpretation of the Monastic Space and Its Evolution"). Used abbreviations: AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Spain).

2. Among the main studies about the religious Spanish reform in the 15th century we want to highlight the ones published by: Colombás, Garsías de Cisneros María (Benet). *Un reformador benedictino en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. García Jiménez de Cisneros. *Abad de Montserrat*. Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1955: 3-6, 18-29, 73-76; Azcona, Tarsicio de. *La elección y reforma del episcopado español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto P. Enrique Flórez, 1960; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos españoles en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969: 17-62.

3. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 20-21, 45-49.

4. Azcona, Tarsicio de. *La elección y reforma...*: 45; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 45-47.

5. García Oro, José. *Galicia en los siglos XIV y XV*. A Coruña: Instituto Padre Sarmiento de Estudios Gallegos-Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1987: I, 118-121.

Consequently, chaos descended on monasteries little by little, because they were not able to resist the invaders.

Thirdly, the Church itself, the institutions and its members were in a deep crisis all around Europe, because of the Western Schism (1378-1429) and the appearance of some revolutionary individuals, among other reasons.⁶ That crisis affected the different estates of clergy, from the high one, which was formed by a decayed papacy, to the lower layers, where there were some examples of abbots with perpetual positions who lived surrounded by luxury while they wasted the Church resources. Moreover, there also were some monks who lived without following the strict observance of the Rule of Saint Benedict and they were steep in immorality.

The author García Oro points out that although *la vida religiosa se mantenía en lo sustancial (...) las transgresiones y los escándalos aparecían con relativa frecuencia* and, despite the fact that *estos ejemplos no fueran los más ordinarios, su carácter excepcional los hizo llamativos*.⁷ Something similar is emphasized by Colombás, who calls this situation as *la última escena de disgregación de la Edad Media*,⁸ but he also recognizes that during this epoch *entre las tinieblas (...) no faltaron oasis de luz*,⁹ because the first voices in favour of the reform were heard within this unstable environment.

With the last aim of bringing to an end the spiritual and material declining period that most monasteries were suffering, Catholic Kings promoted a reform of the religious orders in the Crown of Castile since the mid-15th century. Taking as an example the Galician case of Samos Abbey, and as chronological limits the years 1491 —when the Castilian reform began in Samos— and 1637 —when the abbot Mauro de Vega ended his mandate—; in this work we will examine what steps were taken to make possible the reform, what factors caused the changes and, above all, what consequences they produced on the medieval spaces. With this approach, we seek to determine to what extent the new rules that were established to reform the spiritual life, had also an influence on the transformation and definition of a new monastic architectural complex from the existing one.

2. Towards the reform of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid

Some steps had been already taken to cope with the reform of the religious orders in the territory of the Castile Crown before the beginning of the Catholic Kings' reign in 1479. Particularly, with that goal King John I founded the monastery

6. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 4.

7. "these examples were not the most ordinary ones; they became noteworthy because of their exceptional nature". García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 21.

8. "the last disintegration scene of the Middle Ages". Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 3-4.

9. "there was some oasis of light (...) in the darkness". Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 6.

of San Benito de Valladolid in 1390. Its community was known because of following an exemplary lifestyle. It was based on a strict observance of the Rule of Saint Benedict.¹⁰ They caught the attention of other monasteries that joined them soon due to the appealing, deep reform these Castilian monks proposed.¹¹

The decay of the Galician monastic life came to kings' attention. They travelled to this area of their kingdom in 1486 so as to see in first person what the real situation was. After confirming the bad conditions of most monasteries, they decided to write to the Holy See in order to ask for their authorisation to begin the reform.¹² Initially, the Pope was reluctant to undertake any change when these pieces of news arrived in Rome. However, he finally allowed the beginning of some advance towards the reform after the insistence of Catholic Kings.

In this sense, firstly we have to highlight the bull *Quanta in Dei Ecclesia* granted in 1487,¹³ when the prior of San Benito de Valladolid was the brother Juan de Soria.¹⁴ In this document, Pope Innocent III explained the urgent need of the reform in the Galician territory. In addition to this, he gave authority to four Castilian prelates to introduce the reform in the Benedict, Cistercian and Regular Canons of Saint Augustine orders. The chosen prelates were allowed to suppress or join monasteries, they could correct and punish the abbots and the monks who had an improper behaviour, they could establish new rules, they were able to recover the possessions that belonged to the monasteries as well as introducing the strict observance of the Rule inside them.¹⁵

The visit and reform of the Galician monasteries was delegated to Alfonso Carrillo, who was the bishop of Catania.¹⁶ We know that he was in Samos in 1491, where he left some reformed monks from Castile and he appointed the brother Juan de Estella the new head of the community, who was formed in the monastery of San Juan de Burgos.¹⁷

However, the former abbot and the few monks who lived in Samos at that time, refused the brother Juan de Estella as the new superior of the community. This fact forced Alonso Carrillo to ask the Galician Governor for help. There is evidence of this event through the title of a document that was written in 1491 and transcribed by Arias:

10. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 19-20.

11. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 19-20; Fernández Cortizo, Camilo. "La orden de San Benito en la Galicia de la Época Moderna: La reforma de la Congregación de Castilla y las visitas generales", *Opus Monasticorum. Patrimonio, arte, historia y orden*, José Manuel López Vázquez, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2005: 23-26.

12. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 49.

13. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 78; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 49-51.

14. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Abadologio del monasterio de San Benito el Real de Valladolid (1390-1835)". *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea*, 23 (2003): 211.

15. Fernández Cortizo, Camilo. "La orden de San Benito...": 26.

16. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 50.

17. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real Monasterio de Samos*. Santiago de Compostela: Imprenta, Librería y Encuadernación Seminario Conciliar, 1950: 171.

*Provisión de D. Alfonso Carrilo de Albornoz, Juez apostólico diputado para la Reforma de S. Benito de Valladolid, en que da comisión al Virrey de Galicia para que obligue a los Monjes de Samos admitan a Fr. Juan de Estella nombrado por el Presidente de este Monasterio, al cual no querían admitir los monjes, por cuyo motivo dio auto de prisión contra ellos obligándolos por la fuerza.*¹⁸

The difficulties to introduce the reform in the monastery of Samos are also gathered in another document that dates from 1497. It was written by the new head of the community, the brother Juan de Estella, where he explained that *quitaronse unos ençensarios que don Carlos tenya enpeñados por XU que le debíamos de su salario, que cuando él por vos me metyó en este monasterio a manu armata con más de XL de a caballo syn los peones.*¹⁹

When the reforming monks arrived, the abbot of Samos was the brother Fernando de Castelo. In 1498, the prior of San Benito de Valladolid, who was the brother Rodrigo de Valencia, charged him with rebellion, disobedience and immorality, among others offences, and the court finally found him guilty in 1499. As a result, the former abbot of Samos was expelled from the monastery and, in this way, the path for the final introduction of the strict observance was opened.²⁰

Bringing reforming monks from Castile and leaving them in Samos had the purpose of charging them the responsibility of training the monks who lived at the abbey. The new head was the guide of all the community; that is the brother Juan de Estella. Among his duties, all the following were included: the establishment and consolidation of the strict observance, the economic restructuring of the monastic resources, and the creation of a group of monks with a proper training so as to strengthen the development of a monastic lifestyle according to the model that was previously established in Valladolid.

After reaching the consolidation of the reformed monastic life, a request to the Holy See was done to join Samos Abbey to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid. This fact took place when Pope Julius II issued the bull called *Cathedram praeminentiae pastoralis* on 27th May 1505.²¹ The brother Juan de Estella was appointed the new triennial abbot on 29th November 1505; that is some months later.²²

18. "The order of Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz, who is the apostolic judge in charge of the reform of San Benito de Valladolid, where he gave commission to the viceroy of Galicia to force the monks of Samos to accept the brother Juan de Estella, who was named by him as the new head of the community, but the monks did not want to admit him. Consequently, he granted an order of committal to custody against them as well as compelling them by force". Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 169-170.

19. "Some censers that Mr. Charles pawned for XU we owed him from his salary were removed, when this man on behalf of you help me to come into this monastery during an armed action with more than XL men on horseback without taking into account the foot soldiers". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)". *Diversarum Rerum*, 5 (2010): 67.

20. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Proceso de reforma contra el abad de Samos y Monforte (1498-1499)". *Estudios mindonienses: Anuario de estudios histórico-teológicos de la diócesis de Mondoñedo-Ferrol*, 16 (2000): 421-465.

21. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 171-172; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio de San Julián de Samos*. Samos: Monasterio de Samos-Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1992: 191.

22. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192.

3. The medieval architecture of Samos: an approaching to a former physical reality

In the previous sections we have set the starting point of the religious reform as well as the reasons that led to it. The next question to be solved is to know how the monastic complex of Samos was in the late 15th century; that is how the monastic plan or sacred topography²³ was just before the beginning of this particular case of spiritual and physical reform we analyze here. We tackle this aspect because our main, last goal is to understand the consequences that the ecclesiastical renewal caused in the monastic buildings there were in Samos at that time, the ones that had been built over the course of the previous centuries. Therefore, in this new section we make a written and graphic approach to the appearance of a group of medieval buildings, which are almost completely disappeared at the present, before we cope with the study of the transformation undergone by them. In addition to this, we also aim to know which rules have an influence on the definition of that architecture if there were any.

The Chapel of the Cypress or the Chapel of San Salvador is the most ancient, extant building from the primitive abbey. It was built at the end of the 9th century or at the beginning of the 10th century.²⁴ It is located roughly one hundred meters from the present monastery. This architectural remain shows that there was a former monastery in Samos before the building of the Romanesque one. Although its original function is still unknown, the nearness of this building to the present monastery is the key to deduce that the early medieval complex was placed around it. The monastic location changed at a certain point in time due to the need of a bigger area, the limit of the nearby river, or the initial double condition of the monastery. Consequently, the monastic space was extended towards the south area, where some Romanesque remains are extant at present.

In addition to the Chapel of the Cypress, some historical documents let us know that a Romanesque church was built in Samos between the late 12th century and

23. Sacred topography or planned topography are terms used by Carrero to refer to the exterior and interior organization of the medieval religious complexes, as well as the rooms and different buildings of the monasteries and cathedrals. Carrero, Eduardo. "Observaciones sobre la topografía sacra y cementerial de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, en Burgos, y su materialización arquitectónica", *La clausura femenina en España: actas del simposium*, Francisco Javier Campos, ed. San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2004: 695-716; Carrero, Eduardo. "La arquitectura medieval al servicio de las necesidades litúrgicas. Los conjuntos de iglesias". *Anales de Historia del Arte*, Volumen extra 1 (2009): 61-97.

24. Different studies carried out the analysis of the Chapel of the Cypress, see: Villaamil, José. "La capillita monacal de Samos y la de San Miguel de Celanova y la iglesia de Santa Comba de Bande". *Galicia Histórica*, 11 (1903): 697-719; Gómez Moreno, Manuel. *Iglesias mozárabes. Arte español de los siglos IX a XI*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919: 93-96; Núñez, Manuel. *Arquitectura prerrománica*. Santiago de Compostela: Colexio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia, 1978: 227-236; Portilla, Pedro de la. "La capilla del Salvador o del Ciprés, templo mozárabe de Samos", *Monasticum*. Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Lápicos, 2006: 83-107; Casal, Carolina. "O século X en Samos: a capela do Salvador, un programa ideolóxico singular", *Rudesindus: A cultura europea do século X*, Carla Fernández-Refoxo, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2007: 249-261.

the early 13th century.²⁵ Although the demolition of this religious building took place in 1746 to finish the construction of the present monastic church,²⁶ some remains are extant today. Despite the fact that they are not numerous, they allow us to recreate the original appearance of that former Romanesque church.²⁷ We also suppose that there was a cloister joined together with the church through a simple, extant Romanesque portal, like it happened in other monasteries. The cloister was formed by different rooms where a religious community of forty members lived.²⁸ Nevertheless, no remains from the cloister are extant at present, unlike in the case of the church.

The cloister was probably located on the south side of the church, where the extant Romanesque portal is at present. As usual, it could be a quadrilateral enclosure surrounded by four covered passages that were opened to the central cloister courtyard, as we can see in many examples of the same typology and period we preserved nowadays or have been studied. In addition to the Romanesque portal, the best evidence for the existence of a medieval cloister in Samos in the late Middle Ages is the fire that the monastic rooms suffered some years later, in the early 16th century.²⁹

Besides the Chapel of the Cypress, the Romanesque church and the attached cloister, through some archival documents we also know that at least another medieval building belonged to the monastic complex at that time.³⁰ It was an independent construction and it was allocated to the guest quarters. The date of its erection is unknown, but we do know that it existed as early as the 11th century,

25. In a document of 1167 that belongs to the Tumbo de Samos the intention of building a church by the community is mentioned. This is the document number 51, which was transcribed by: Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII-XII). Estudio introductorio. Edición diplomática. Apéndices e índices*. Santiago de Compostela: Publicaciones de la obra social Caixa Galicia, 1986: 149-152. Some years later, in 1228, another document contains more data in regard to the new church. In this new case, an express mention to the building works is done, so we can deduce that it was close the end of the construction, see: Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio gallego". *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense*, 4/82 (1912): 114-115; Portilla, Pedro de la. *El Monasterio de Samos*. Leon: Ediciones Leonesas, 1984: 19; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 160; Yzquierdo, Ramón. "El arte medieval en el arciprestazgo de Samos", *Miscelánea samonense: homenaje al P. Maximino Arias O.S.B.* Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo-Servicio de Publicaciones, 2001: 59.

26. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio gallego". *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense*, 4/83 (1912): 137-140.

27. López Salas, Estefanía. "Propuesta metodológica para la restitución de la planimetría de una arquitectura medieval desaparecida: la iglesia románica del monasterio de San Julián de Samos (Lugo)". *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 10 (2013): 1-19.

28. This is the number of the community members according to the document of 1167 in which the intention of building a new church was mentioned. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 142.

29. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 118; Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 174.

30. Besides the guest quarters, other independent buildings could form part of the medieval monastery of Samos. We point out this fact because in a document written by the generals who came from Valladolid to visit the monastery in December 1563, not only did they refer to the guest quarters but also to an infirmary, although its location and the date of its construction are unknown. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 111.

because it appears in a document of the Tumbo de Samos from that period.³¹ Moreover, another document of 1815, where a text of 1619 was copied, inform us that the medieval guest quarters burned around 1419, but they were rebuilt later in the same way as the former ones.³² Regarding the situation, we can confirm that this building for the guests was located on the east side of the complex, next to the river, because it was demolished when the construction of the present Big Cloister, also known as the Brother Feijoo's Cloister, began through the building of the southeast covered passage, which is right beside the river, in the late 17th century.

Following this brief approach to the different places of the medieval monastery of Samos (Illustration 1), we will intend to understand what needs this sacred topography met, because as Carrero rightly points out *aunque parezca una obviedad, (...) el principal ascendente a la hora de interpretar funcionalmente la arquitectura religiosa no es otro que el de la liturgia para la que fue construida*³³ and, in the case of a monastery, we also have to consider the Rule that regulated the community's life we study here.

The first, written reference to the fact that the monks of Samos followed the Rule of Saint Benedict was found in a document dated from 960.³⁴ That is a really early time within the introduction of this way of monastic life in the Iberian Peninsula. The expansion and acceptance of these new precepts by the peninsular monasteries implied to give up the former rules of living communally and, as a result, the process was slow.³⁵ In fact, in the case of Samos, we do not find another document in which the Rule of Saint Benedict was mentioned until 1070. However, the references to these monastic precepts³⁶ are constant in the archival sources from the late 12th century onwards.

31. This is the document number 15 of the Tumbo de Samos in which the following is said: *ut deserviat ipsa villa hic in Samanos in locum predictum ibi in hospitalarium ad hospitibus et peregrinis et servis Dei advenientium pro remedium anime mee*. Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El tumbo de San Julián...*: 90-93.

32. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6490, f. 95 ("Índice nuevo de forales de Freituxe. Tomo 2"). Available at: Portal de Archivos Españoles. "Índice nuevo de forales de Freituxe. Tomo 2". Archivo Histórico Nacional, CLERO-SECULAR-REGULAR, L. 6490". *Portal de Archivos Españoles*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 9 November 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=4&txt_accion_origen=2&txt_id_desc_ud=3526106>.

33. "although it might seem obvious, (...) the main factor to interpret the religious architecture in a functional sense is taking into account the liturgy to which it was built". Carrero, Eduardo. "La arquitectura medieval...": 89.

34. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 75.

35. Among all the works devoted to the spread of the Rule of Saint Benedict, see, for example: Linage, Antonio. *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Patronato José María Quadrado, 1973: I, II, III; Linage, Antonio. "Orixe e primeiros pasos do monacato galego", *Monacato galego. Sexquimilenario de San Bieito. Actas do primeiro coloquio Ourense 1981*. Ourense: Museo Arqueolóxico Provincial, 1986: 27-51; Andrade, José Miguel. *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia Medieval (siglos X al XIII)*. A Coruña: Seminario de Estudos Galegos-Edicións do Castro, 1997: 28, 29, 37, 46.

36. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 118.

ILLUSTRATION 1. MAP OF THE MEDIEVAL MONASTERY OF SAN JULIÁN DE SAMOS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY, JUST BEFORE THE REFORM OF THE CONGREGATION OF SAN BENITO DE VALLADOLID. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATION 2. VIRTUAL RECREATION OF THE MEDIEVAL MONASTERY OF SAN JULIÁN DE SAMOS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY, JUST BEFORE THE REFORM OF THE CONGREGATION OF SAN BENITO DE VALLADOLID. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

The Rule of Saint Benedict is not very specific in regard to how the architecture of a monastery must be. As a matter of fact, it only refers to this issue in a very few cases. Nevertheless, as Sicart points out, the analysis of these scarce allusions is important, because when the Rule describes in detail the monks' lifestyle, in some sense it also establishes what spaces are necessary and how they should be organized.³⁷

The first indirect reference to architecture in the Rule of Saint Benedict is in chapter XXII, where it is explained how the monks are to sleep, as follows: *Todos dormirán (si fuere posible) en una pieza: y si la multitud no lo permitiere; dormirán a diez, o a veinte con sus ancianos, que tengan cuidado de ellos.*³⁸ Therefore, in the case of the earlier monasteries, the monastic bedrooms were communal.

According to the Rule of Saint Benedict, another mention to a needed place inside the monastery is written in chapter XXXV, as the next excerpt shows: *Sírvanse unos a otros los monjes, de manera, que ninguno se escape de servir en la cocina, sino por enfermedad o por estar ocupado en cosas de importancia.*³⁹ In addition to the kitchen, the monastery should have a place for the refectory, where the monks ate together, while one of them read. That fact is pointed out in chapter XXXVIII:

*Mientras comen los monjes a la mesa, no debe faltar lectura (...) Haya mientras se come, un silencio tan exacto, que no se perciba allí voz, ni susurro, sino de solo el que lee. Ministren los servidores mutuamente a los que están comiendo, y bebiendo, cuanto sea necesario, con tal diligencia, que nadie necesite pedir cosa.*⁴⁰

When the Rule deals with the issue of those who offend in lighter matters, in chapter XLVI, it also refers to other places with a function that is connected to the kitchen and the refectory, as follows:

Si alguno trabajando en cualquiera labor, en la cocina, en la despensa, en su ministerio, en la panadería, en la huerta, o en otra obra, si en cualquier lugar, sea donde fuere, delinque,

37. Sicart, Ángel. "Los siglos de aprendizaje. Imaginar arte y arquitectura monástica", *Opus Monasticorum VII. De nombres y otras*, Carme López Calderón, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Andavira Editora, 2014: 193-195.

38. "If it be possible, let them all sleep in one place; but if the number do not allow of this, let them repose by tens or twenties in one place with their seniors who have care of them". Mocolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito: en latín y romance con secciones mayores, y menores que para el uso de los que la profession en Hespaña ofrece Fray Diego Mocolaeta*. Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1751: 45. Available at: Mocolaeta, Diego. "Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito: en latín y romance con secciones mayores, y menores que para el uso de los que la profession en Hespaña ofrece Fray Diego Mocolaeta". *Biblioteca Digital de Castilla y León*. 1 July 2016 <<http://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=6374>>.

39. "The brethren are so to serve each other, that no one be excused from the office of the kitchen, unless he be hindered by sickness or other business of more profit". Mocolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 56-57.

40. "Reading ought not to cease while the brethren eat at table (...) The greatest silence shall be kept at table, so that no muttering, or voice, shall be heard there, except the voice of the reader". Mocolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 60.

*quiebra, o excede en algo, y quanto antes no se presenta al Abad, y convento a confesar voluntariamente su culpa (...) désele más grave castigo.*⁴¹

Moreover, in chapter XXXVI is showed the following precept in regard to the sick brethren: *Haya para los monjes enfermos un aposento separado, y un enfermero timorato, diligente, y solícito, and Siempre que convenga, se ofrecerán baños a los enfermos: pero concédanse rara vez a los sanos, y en especial si son mozos.*⁴² In other words, this precept leads to the need of an independent building to allocate the infirmary or a place inside the cloister for that purpose, but properly isolated from the other monastic rooms.

The indirect mentions to other necessary places regarding the proper development of a certain monastic lifestyle also appear in chapters XLVIII, LIII and LVII. In chapter XLVIII the need of a library is indicated when the Rule points that *Al principio de Cuaresma se ha de dar a cada uno de los monjes un libro de la librería común, el cual leerá seguida, y enteramente de principio a fin.*⁴³

In chapter LIII another precept indicates the following: *Sean recibidos cuantos huéspedes llegaren al monasterio (...) Haya cocina separada para el Abad, y huéspedes: para que si llegaren a deshora, pues nunca suelen faltar en los conventos, no incomoden a los religiosos*⁴⁴ Regarding how guests are to be received, the Rule also orders them to do the next: *Encárguese a un religioso timorato el cuidado de la hospedería, en que estén las camas con decencia, para que la casa de Dios sea sabiamente administrada.*⁴⁵ A similar allusion is done in chapter LVI, when it is pointed that:

*La mesa del Abad esté siempre con huéspedes, y peregrinos. Cuando no hubiere huéspedes, tendrá arbitrio de llamar los que quisiere de sus monjes. Pero procure que siempre quede uno, o dos ancianos en la mesa común, atendiendo a la disciplina regular.*⁴⁶

41. "If any one, while engaged in labour, either in the kitchen or the cellar, or in the service of others, in the bakehouse, the garden, or in any other occupation, shall do anything amiss, or break or lose anything, or offend in any other way, and do not come presently before the abbot or community, and of his own accord confess and make satisfaction of his offence (...) he shall be more severely punished". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 70.

42. "Let a separate cell be set apart for their use and an attendant that is God-fearing, diligent, and careful"; "As often as it shall be expedient, let the use of baths be allowed the sick; but to such as are in health, and especially to the young, let it be seldom granted". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 59.

43. "In these days of lent, each one shall take a book from the library, and read it all through in order. The books must be given at the beginning of lent". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 73.

44. "Let all guests who come to the monastery be entertained like Christ Himself, (...) Let the kitchen for the abbot and the guests stand apart, in order that the latter, who are never wanting in a monastery, may not disquiet the brethren by their untimely arrivals". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 77-79.

45. "Let the care of the guest-room be entrusted to a brother, whose soul the fear of God possesses. Let there be a sufficient number of beds there, and let the house of God be by wise men discreetly governed". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 79.

46. "The abbot shall always take his meals with the guests and strangers. But as often as there are few guests, it shall be in his power to invite any of the brethren he may choose. Let him take care, however,

In order to obey all these matters, it was necessary to build an independent construction for the guests, poor, and strangers, which is known as the guest-room or guest quarters, as well as a second kitchen and refectory for the use of the abbot and the guests. These second kitchen and refectory must be apart from the main communal rooms that were used by all the monks.

Another indirect influence of the Rule of Saint Benedict on the way that a monastery was designed appears in chapter LXVI. This chapter is about the porter of the monastery and it is explained that *Debe tener el Portero celda cerca de la portería, para que los que llegan de fuera hallen siempre presente quien responda*. It is also indicated that:

*Debe fundarse el monasterio, si fuere posible, de modo, que dentro de él haya todo lo necesario: esto es, agua, molino, huerta, panadería, y otras artes, y manufacturas, para que los monjes no tengan necesidad de salir de sus cercas, por ser totalmente dañoso a sus almas.*⁴⁷

Perhaps, this last point is the most specific concerning the relation between the Rule and the resulting architecture, because it clearly shows that the construction must have all the needed rooms to develop a certain monastic life and the place where the monastery is located must offer natural resources enough, water and pieces of land to be farmed so as to allow the monks to be self-sustaining.

Although the Rule is not about how a monastery must be constructed, it clearly sets the monks' lifestyle as well as the spiritual and physical duties. Therefore, the Rule indirectly demands a certain organization of the places inside the monastery as well as a suitable planning of the architecture in order to allow the monks to develop all their duties. All in all, the master who designed the monastery must meet the needs that the Rule establishes. It did not design the architecture at random. On the contrary, it must follow a set of precepts to create a functional space with a series of places that must also be organized in accordance with the physical features of the area where the monastery is located. That means taking into account the available materials for the construction, the special topographic features of the place, and so on, as well as the needs that come from a communal life and the requirements of the liturgical rites.

All the previous data let us imagine how the monastery of Samos was planned before the reform that Catholic Kings began in the late 15th century. That is, before a deep transformation of the existing medieval buildings took place (Illustration 2).

that one or two seniors be always left with the brethren, for the sake of discipline". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 83.

47. "He ought to have his cell close to the gate so that those who come may always find someone there from whom they can get an answer"; "The monastery ought to be so organized, if it can possibly be done, that all necessities, that is, water, a mill-house, a garden and various crafts may be forthcoming within the monastery, so that there may be no necessity for the monks to go beyond the gates, because that is by no means expedient for their souls". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 100.

4. The first changes in the medieval monastic architecture as a consequence of the Castilian reform

A new golden age began in Samos Abbey when the Castilian reform was introduced. This also made way for a new process of renewal, not only in the spiritual sphere, but also in the physical one, that was consolidated during Charles V's reign. One of the key issues of the reform was the economic restructuring of the monastic resources, because if they assured their incomes, which mainly came from leasing their possessions, they also achieved the necessary solvency to undertake the renewal, the repair, the reconstruction or the extension of the existing medieval monastery.⁴⁸

Moreover, the constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid recognized that the monastic buildings were the main part of the religious estate. However, they also remarked that the majority of their incomes were allocated to their maintenance. For that reason, the constitutions forbade the beginning of any building work if the monastic community had debts and they put a restriction on the amount of money they could spend even when they achieved the needed solvency to face new works.

The Pope Julius II's bull in which Samos was joined to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid informed about the fact that the monastic buildings in Samos were in a ruinous state⁴⁹ and the community was too small because it was formed only by six members.⁵⁰ On the other hand, in the above-mentioned bull it was pointed that the changes made as a consequence of the reform had caused their first results in the period that ranged from the arrival of the reforming monks in 1491 and the union to Valladolid in 1505. That is, during a period of fourteen years the community grew to twelve or fifteen members and the

48. Regarding the reform undergone in Samos after it was joined to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid, see: Goy, Ana E. "Los claustros benedictinos tras la reforma de los reyes católicos: noticias sobre su construcción y sus programas decorativos", *Humanitas: Estudios en homenaje ó Prof. Carlos Alonso del Real*, Antón A. Rodríguez, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1996: II, 877-897; Goy, Ana E. "A formulación da arquitectura benedictina logo da incorporación á Congregación. O mosteiro de San Xulián de Samos", *San Xulián de Samos: Historia e arte nun mosteiro. Opus Monasticorum III*, María del Carmen Folgar, Ana E. Goy, eds. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2008: 129-148.

49. This is pointed by Pope Julius II in the bull issued on 27th May 1505, where he referred to the condition of Samos Abbey at the moment of the introduction of the Castilian reform in 1491. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192. Another document that was granted on 5th June 1505 also mentioned the state of destruction and ruin of Samos Abbey. This second document is about the final request made to Pope Julius II to allow the union of Samos to San Benito de Valladolid. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 70-72.

50. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192. Six monks are mentioned in a deed of *foro* granted on 24th October 1491. Two of them leased the property and the other four ones played as witnesses. However, only three or four monks are mentioned in Pope Julius II's bull. Perhaps, as Maximino Arias said, they were the only ones who stayed at Samos after the introduction of the reform.

monastic buildings were reformed or rebuilt.⁵¹ Both facts were consequences of the introduction of the religious reform.

The extant pieces of news concerning the building works that were developed during that period are scarce. In fact, besides the Pope Julius II's bull and another previous document regarding how Samos joined the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid,⁵² only another archival document is preserved in which more detailed data were gathered in regard to the reform or rebuilding of the existing monastic complex. However, this information is only related to the first years of the period between 1491 and 1505. I refer to the document entitled *Relación de cuentas de los monasterios de Samos y Santa Cristina entre 1491 y 1497 dadas por el presidente observante de estos dos monasterios, fray Juan de Estella, en 1497*.⁵³

Through the reading of this document we know that a part of the monastic incomes were invested in *muchas obras e buenas, las quales fueron un syngular dormitorio hecho de los çimientos e refectorio e capítulo e sacristya e reparar toda la iglesia e la enluzir e cantar*.⁵⁴ Therefore, firstly, the monks focused their work on improving three places of the cloister: the bedroom, which was built new again; the refectory and the chapter room; as well as reforming the church through the building of a new sacristy and different works of maintenance.

The next works were carried out in 1494. The brother Juan de Estella points that in this year *se fizieron dos paños de sobre-claustra e se acabaron los corredores que dejó començados del dormitorio e se encalaron e tanbién se fiso e encaleó la cosyna del refytorio, que vale tanto como una enfermerya*.⁵⁵ However, this was not the last stage of the building works. In 1495, *se fiso otra parte de sobreclaustra e se cubrió la sacristía de buena madera çerrada. E se fisieron unos buenos órganos. E se fizo suprymir de la iglesia toda de fojas pintadas*.⁵⁶

51. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 171-172; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 191-192.

52. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 70-72.

53. "The list of expenses and incomes of the monasteries of Samos and Santa Cristina between 1491 and 1497, which was made by the abbot of these monasteries, who was the brother Juan de Estella, in 1497". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 66-70.

54. "a lot of good works, that were a unique bedroom, of which the foundation was made firstly, as well as a refectory, a chapter room and a sacristy, and they repaired, plastered and edged all the church". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 66.

55. "two sides of the first floor of the cloister were built, the walkways of the bedroom that I have previously begun were finished and plastered, and we also built and whitewashed the kitchen of the refectory, which is as valuable as an infirmary". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 67.

56. "another part of the first floor of the cloister was built and we roofed the sacristy with good wood. Some worthy organs were made. All the interior painting of the church was removed". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 68.

When the reform of the cloister ended, the monks undertook the improvement of the church, especially the interior space. In this way, in 1496:

...se traxeron panes de oro e colores e tomó pintores e entabladores e se comenzó el retablo mayor e se fysieron çinco cortynas pintadas e historiadas de la vocación de cada capilla de las çinco. E se fysieron çinco frontales para cada altar el suyo, e se trajeron CLXXX carros de cal e arena e varro e se fisieron sin los fundamentos e nibelados en toda la iglesia e claustros e entradas del monasterio.⁵⁷

The last piece of news that was gathered in this document was concerning the works carried out in 1497, when they went on the improvement of the interior space of the Romanesque church and they made three fountains:

...se han traydo otros muchos panes de oro e colores, e tengo comenzadas las tallas de los retablos muy syngulares. E tomé otros pintores muy mejores que los primeros que pintarán el coro de la manera que es dicha a vuestra paternidad. En los retablos han pintado e pintan ni los puedo despedir fasta tanto que los acaben. E ansymesmo de lo de la cosecha deste año de XCVII se asen tres las fuentes, que están ya sentados con los demás florines destas cobranças. E se han de asentar los otros más de en quinientos florines. E tampoco puedo despedir los maestros e costas de las dichas fuentes, lo cual todo o lo más dello se despidyrá e acabará con la cosecha deste año de XCVII...⁵⁸

The previous excerpts let us know that the new abbot focus his first efforts on rebuilding a group of monastic places inside the cloister, such as the bedroom, the chapter room, the refectory and the kitchen. All of them were deeply dilapidated as the Pope Julius II's bull and the descriptions made by the previous document pointed. That fact led the monks to build these places again (Illustration 3). Moreover, we know that the medieval cloister of Samos had not only a ground floor, but also a first one. The previous existence of this first floor is unknown, but we can confirm that it existed at the end of the 15th century, because three sides of it were built.⁵⁹ Unlike the cloister,

57. "...some gold leaves and colour leaves were brought as well as painters and carpenters to begin the main altarpiece. Five painted curtains were made to tell the history to what each altarpiece is dedicated. We also made five alpendiums for each and everyone altar and we brought one hundred and eighty carts with lime, sand and clay to level the floor around the church, cloister and entrances to the monastery". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 68.

58. "...we brought more gold leaves and colour leaves and I have already begun the unique sculptures of the altarpieces. I hired other painters who were better than the first ones and they will paint the choir as you consider. They have painted and they are painting the altarpieces so I cannot dismiss them until they finish. Besides, we are building three fountains, which are already laid down, with the profits from the harvest of this year, which is 1497. And we will spend more than five hundred florins in their building. I cannot also dismiss the master builders of these fountains, but I will do it when the harvest of this year, which is 1497, ends...". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 68-69.

59. The existence of a first floor in the cloister of Samos in the 15th and 16th centuries is also mentioned in a letter of attorney that belongs to the document entitled *Apeos Viejos* of 1537. This letter of attorney was written on 19th March 1537 and the following excerpt comes from it: *todos monjes profesos de dichos monasterio estando juntos en nuestro capítulo por son de campana tañida en la sobre claustro del dicho monasterio*

the Romanesque church was not built again. It was only repaired in the interior and exterior space and it also was built a sacristy, which was probably a new building.

To sum up, we can say that the first stage of the reform on the existing monastic complex was carried out from the arrival of the reforming monks until the union of Samos to Valladolid and it went on during the first decades of the 16th century; although no documents are extant, concerning the works that the monks developed from 1497 onwards. Above all, this renewal process was possible because of an improvement of the monastic economy of which we know that was stable when the brother Juan de Estella died in 1525.⁶⁰

The end of this first stage took place in 1534 as a consequence of an unexpected event, which was a raging fire that *redujo a cenizas casi todo el archivo y la mayor parte de la casa*.⁶¹ Firstly, the abbot, who was the brother Lope de la Barrera, decided to repair the buildings that were damaged in order to have a place where the twelve members of the community could live (Illustration 4).⁶²

That works can be considered the second stage of the renewal process carried out by the monks since its union to Valladolid. They probably restored the most necessary rooms little by little according to the resources they had. Therefore, this second stage aimed to meet an urgent need. That is, it was an essential work to allow the monks to go on their monastic life.⁶³

The third stage of the reform began in the 1560s, when the religious community was financially stable, as we pointed out previously, and it also had the needed resources

según lo habemos de uso y de costumbre... ("all the monks of this monastery are together in the chapter room, which is in the first floor of the referred monastery, as they usually do..."). Through this reference we know that the first floor of the cloister still existed after the fire of 1534 and the chapter room was placed in it. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6509, f. 1r ("Apeos viejos"). Available at: Portal de Archivos Españoles. "Apeos viejos. Archivo Histórico Nacional, CLERO-SECULAR_REGULAR, L. 6509". Portal de Archivos Españoles. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 9 November 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=46&txt_accion_origen=26&txt_id_desc_ud=3525860>.

60. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 201.

61. "destroyed the archive and a great part of the religious house". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 118.

62. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 175.

63. The building of a new entrance or gate-house in 1541 is the only reference we could find in archival documentation to all the works that were carried out in this second stage. On the top of this new entrance or gate-house it was placed a stone known as *Regium Coenobium* in which the following text was written: *Este Real Monasterio de San Julián y compañeros mártires lo fundó el rey Fruela I, dotándolo espléndidamente, lo cual confirmó después Alfonso el Casto. Encontrándolo destruido, lo erigió de nuevo y amplió el rey Ordoño II el año 922. Por fin, los Reyes Católicos Don Fernando V y Doña Isabel, patronos nuestros, lo reformaron introduciendo en él la observancia regular el día 28 de Septiembre de 1491, siendo el primer abad el P. Fray Juan de Estella, que descansó en el Señor el 24 de Enero de 1525, y esto lo construyó el abad Fr. Lope de la Barrera en el año 1541* ("This Royal Monastery of San Julián de Samos and companions in martyrdom was founded by King Fruela I, who generously supply it. Then, King Alfonso el Casto confirmed that fact. King Ordoño II found it destroyed and he built and extended it again in 922. Finally, Catholic Kings, that is Fernando V and Isabel, who are our protectors, reformed it through the introduction of the regular observance on 28th September 1491. At that moment the abbot was the brother Juan de Estella, who died on 24th January 1525. This was built by the abbot Lope de la Barrera in 1541"). Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía de San Julián de Samos: estudio histórico-arqueológico*. Madrid: without publisher, 1947: 29.

to build a new cloister, which is the one called the Gothic Cloister⁶⁴ or the Cloister of the Nereids at present (Illustration 5). The author Durán says that the abbot Lope de la Barrera *a pesar de los cuantiosos gastos que tuvo que hacer para recobrar la hacienda, procuró reparar la casa dando principio a la fábrica de los Claustros Viejos, que dejó bastante adelantada, obra muy costosa para aquellos tiempos*.⁶⁵ The works started in 1562, as it is written in one of the keystones of the ribbed vaults that are located in front of the door to enter the refectory. However, the significance and the high cost of the project caused halts and restarts in several occasions.⁶⁶

The final boost to the building of this new cloister took place during the visit made by the monks Hernando de Medina and Juan de Corcuera, who were generals of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid, in December 1563 (Illustration 6). In regard to this visit they wrote a report that was sent to Madrid afterwards. The generals referred to the building works that the community of Samos was doing at that moment, as follows:

*...vieron el estado de el monasterio y cotejáronle con el que se avía llevado a Madrid y se a visto en el ayuntamiento, el qual se halló cierto, y tras esto hizieron proveer algunas cosas de la manera que las constituciones lo mandan y disponen, así en la iglesia y sacristía como en la enfermería i ospedería. Y lo que hubo lugar de proveerse de presente se proveyó y lo que avía menester más tiempo o no se podía hazer por no aver posibilidad lo dexaron mandado dando el término y tiempo para hazerlo que les pareció ser neçesario conbenible y el que se podía sufrir, conforme a la facultad que la casa tenía por entonçes. Házese la casa de nuevo y aplicaron y señalaron para la obra della lo que se determinó en Madrid, quedando lo demás de la renta de la cassa para la substentación de 19 monges que de presente tenía...*⁶⁷

64. It is called with this name because of the ribbed vaults that cover the ground floor of the passages that are opened to the interior courtyard. However, this name is not a consequence of a classification according to a certain style in art or art movement.

65. “despite the fact that he spent a big amount of money in recovering the monastic possessions, he also tried to repair the monastery through the beginning of the construction of the Old Cloisters. This work was far along when his mandate ended, although it was a really expensive project at that time”. Durán quoted a former chronicler of the monastery, that is the one who probably wrote *Relación sucinta de los sucesos principales...* (“The brief list of the main events that...”). Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...*: 18.

66. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 118.

67. “...they saw the state of the monastery, they compared it with the one that had been previously sent to Madrid and they considered it right. Then they ordered the monks to do some things according to the rules and regulations of the constitutions in the church and the sacristy, as well as in the infirmary and the guest quarters. Those things that could be supplied at that moment, were supplied. On the contrary, those ones they could not supply at that moment, because there was no time and possibility enough, were not supplied and they set a deadline to supply them according to what they thought it was necessary to achieve them and the main goal that the community had at that time; that is, they were building their house again. They also set the amount of money that could be invested in these works according to the total sum that had been set in Madrid. The rest of the money that came from the incomes of the monastery was allocated to the sustenance of the nineteen monks that the community had at that moment...”. A similar excerpt of this report was published by Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 207-208. The whole report that was written by the generals who visited the Galician monasteries was transcribed by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentación inédita sobre la reforma de la Congregación de Valladolid (1560-1567)”. *Studia Monastica*, 43/1 (2001): 154-160.

As a result of the previous visit, another document was written on 29th June 1564 to inform the General Inquisitor about the Galician monasteries. It contains some more information about the works that the monks were doing in Samos in the mid of December 1563:

*En Samos nos recibieron con toda voluntad (...) En Samos ay edificio porque de nuevo se hazen claustros y dormitorio y otras pieçaz y aposentos anexos a esto, y hallamos buen conçierto así en la obra como en lo demás espiritual y temporal. Aplicóse para la obra lo que antes estava, que es conforme a lo que se determinó en Madrid en el estado de Samos (...) Y hecho todo esto, salimos de allí a los 21 de enero...*⁶⁸

Through these two excerpts we confirm that the building of the Gothic Cloister had already begun. Besides, we know that it lasted until 1582, as we can see in one of the keystones of the ribbed vaults that are placed next to the last position of the southwest side, in which is written the following: *Acabose el año 1582* ("It was finished in 1582") (Illustration 7).

5. The reasons and the rules for the architectural renewal through the constitutions of the order

The monastic community that lived in Samos grew from 1491, when it hardly had six monks, to the beginning of the Gothic Cloister, when nineteen monks lived in the monastery. However, it was not a numerous community and the lack of space inside the existing medieval buildings cannot be considered a significant reason to extend the monastery. In this sense, it is enough to point out that in 1167, that is only a few years before the beginning of the Romanesque church, the number of monks was forty, which was a higher figure. The monastic medieval rooms that still stood in the second half of the 16th century were designed to host them. Therefore, the lack of space inside the monastery due to the growth of the community cannot be considered a major reason to undertake these new works.

We also believe that the inadequate state of conservation of the old medieval cloister could not be a reason to support that decision either, because the buildings were already repaired or rebuilt in the late 15th century and, again, they were restored after the fire of the 1530s. Therefore, all these previous works allowed the continuation of the monastic life as well as the suitable maintenance and conservation of the monastery. Thus, what was the main reason to undertake that ambitious project?

68. "In Samos we were welcomed (...) In Samos there is a building because they are erecting the cloister, bedroom and other annexed places and rooms again. We saw harmony in these works as well as coherence in the spiritual sphere. We repeated the orders that were previously given in Madrid in regard to that works (...) Then, we departed from here on 21st January...". This document was completely transcribed by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentación inédita sobre la reforma de la Congregación de Valladolid (1560-1567)...": 146-149.

ILLUSTRATION 3. THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CASTILIAN REFORM ON THE EXISTING ARCHITECTURE: THE REBUILDING OF THE CLOISTER OF SAMOS. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATION 4. THE FIRE OF THE CLOISTER IN 1534 AND THE AREA THAT WAS RESTORED AFTERWARDS: THE SECOND STAGE OF THE REFORM AFTER THE UNION TO THE CONGREGATION OF SAN BENITO DE VALLADOLID. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATION 5. THE BEGINNING OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF A NEW CLOISTER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

The decision aimed to meet the need of compliance with some pre-established rules. Since Samos joined the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid, it was forced to submit the decisions reached in the general chapters,⁶⁹ the suggestions that were given by the generals of the congregation during the visits to the monastery⁷⁰ and, above all, the monks were forced to submit the rules imposed by the constitution of

69. The minutes of the general chapters that were held by the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid in the 16th century were published by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I. 1503-1538". *Studia Monastica*, 47/1 (2005): 81-156; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II. (1541-1552)". *Studia Monastica*, 47/2 (2005): 291-366; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). III. 1553- 1565". *Studia Monastica*, 48/1 (2006): 165-258; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV. 1568-1587". *Studia Monastica*, 48/2 (2006): 325-427; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (siglo XVI). V. 1589-1598". *Studia Monastica*, 49/1 (2007): 107-201.

70. Unlike the minutes of the general chapters and the books of the congregation constitutions, the amount of extant reports or minutes concerning the visits made by the Castilian generals to Samos Abbey during the 16th century are really scarce. In fact, only the one that was developed on December 1563 is extant. We have previously referred to it.

order,⁷¹ in matters of economic administration, the election of the abbot, the system of visits, the monks' lifestyle and so on.

When we read the books of the constitutions we find what we undoubtedly consider the major reason to justify the building of a new cloister in Samos. In particular, the fourth book of constitutions that was written in 1525 ordered the communities to build cells for their monks inside each monastery of the congregation in chapter 45, as the next excerpt shows:

*Por el reposo de los monjes: y porque más fácilmente puedan vacar a lección, meditación, oración, mandamos: que en cualquier monasterio de nuestra congregación en que sin gran daño se pudiere hacer: se hagan cellas para los monjes: con tal que todos juntos duerman en dormitorio (como manda la Regla) Salvo si por ventura en el monasterio no hubiere lugar de tener dormitorio común. Que ninguno pueda entrar en celda de otro: aunque esté por huésped en aquel monasterio sin licencia del prelado: y así lo mandamos en virtud de santa obediencia.*⁷²

As we pointed out before, the Rule of Saint Benedict established that bedrooms for the monks should be communal. However, the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid imposed as a new rule the building of individual cells in order to make more comfortable the monastic life. Nevertheless, this new order directly affected the interior organization of the monastery. The replacement of the communal bedrooms, which were typical from the medieval period, by individual cells led to the need of a bigger place to host his function and it forced the monks to modify the former architecture. This change could not be done inside the old medieval rooms where the community still lived. Therefore, the compliance of this new rule became into a mandatory bootstrap to build a new cloister in accordance with the new monastic lifestyle that was established.

The constitutions that regulated the congregation were modified many times over the course of the 16th century so as to include all the changes that were approved in the general chapters of the order. The first regulation in regard to the way of building the monasteries is in the minutes of the general chapter that took place

71. A brief study of the different constitutions that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid published was carried out by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Las constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (1500-1835)". *Studium Ovetense*, 33-34 (2005-2006): 339-358.

72. "For the rest of the monks and in order to make their study, meditation and prayer easier, we order them to build cells for the monks in any monastery of our congregation if it could be done without so much damage. All of the monks must sleep together in a dormitory, as it is ordered in the Rule, but an exception could be made for those monasteries where a communal bedroom cannot exist. Nobody can come into cell of another without the permission of the prelate, even if it is a guest in the monastery. And we order this in accordance to the holy obedience". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales: hasta el Año de 1525 inclusive: por la dicha Congregación celebrados 1525*. Barcelona: Maestre Joan Rosembach, 1528, f. 46r. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales: hasta el Año de 1525 inclusive: por la dicha Congregación celebrados 1525". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=8&forma=ficha&id=877>.

in 1518. At that moment, *mandaron que las casas que están adeudadas no hagan tantas obras y paguen las deudas, y provean al Convento de las cosas necesarias*.⁷³ In the general chapter of 1532, they were a bit more specific concerning this issue, because they gave the next order:

Que en las obras de ymportancia que en los monasterios de nuestra congregación se hubieren de hacer, no se hagan sin dar parte dellas a nuestro muy Rdo. Padre, porque su Reverenda Paternidad vaya o embie las personas que le pareciere para que las vean, tracen e ygualen, y se hagan al modo de nuestra Congregación y cómo convenga.⁷⁴

All these matters about the way of undertaking a construction that appeared in the general chapters became into a real set of rules when the constitutions were written along the following years. This way, when the community of Samos began the building of the Gothic Cloister in 1562, the fifth and sixth constitutions had been already published in 1546 and 1563, respectively, and some wider, stricter regulations were gathered in them. Thus, these were the constitutions that regulated the construction of the new cloister.

The duty of building individual cells for the monks in all the monasteries of the congregation appeared in chapter 47 of the constitutions written in 1546, as it was previously reflected in 1525. In that later case, it was added that *las obras que se hicieren en nuestra congregación se hagan más conformes a nuestra manera de vivir: y más a provecho de los monasterios*.⁷⁵ It was also compulsory to apply for the permission of the general abbot, *para que antes que se comience: vaya o envíe personas: que sepan dar orden en cómo se acierte la obra que se quiere hacer: y no se gasten dineros en balde*.⁷⁶

Moreover, the constitutions of 1546 laid down criteria for the procedure to be followed when a community wanted to construct a new building. Taking into account their former experience, they realized that big amounts of money were invested in building works. In some cases, these works did not benefit the community. In other

73. "they ordered the monastic communities not to undertake so many constructions if they are in debt and, in those cases, they also ordered them to pay its debts as well as providing the monastery with the needed things". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I...": 104.

74. "When it was necessary to undertake an important construction in a monastery of the congregation, they must advise the general abbot before its beginning. This way, the general abbot can go or he can send the suitable people to be onsite, design and check the work progress. Everything must be done in accordance with the lifestyle of our congregation and the most advisable solution for us". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I...": 146.

75. "the building works in our congregation must be done in accordance with our lifestyle and in order to be useful for the monasteries". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546*. Salamanca: Juan de Junta, 1546, f. 58v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=6 &forma=ficha&id=877>.

76. "before the beginning, so he can go or he can send some people to give the right orders in regard to the way of doing the construction they want to do as well as avoiding an unnecessary waste of money". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546*...: f. 58v.

cases, the outcome building was not suitable due to the way they used to build in the past, through different pieces that followed the opinion of successive abbots. That fact caused a lack of assembly between the different sections. Each prelate tried to build its favourite design, even if that fact implied that the newest buildings have to be demolished.

As a result of these reasons, they established a new rule for those abbots that needed to build an important construction in their monasteries, before the beginning of the work:

...hagan traza o modelo de todo lo que se ha de labrar en aquella casa: y sin la dicha traza o modelo hecho por buenos oficiales y visto por el Padre Abad de la congregación (como dicho es) no comiencen la dicha obra so pena de excomuni6n. Y so lo misma pena mandamos: que ning6n prelado que sucediere en cualquiera de las dichas casas: pueda salir de la dicha traza sin expresa licencia del padre Abad de la congregaci6n. Y mandamos: que la dicha traza est6 siempre en el dep6sito: o en otra parte a buen recaudo: donde se vea siempre lo que se hace: y lo que falta por hacer en la obra.⁷⁷

Some similar concerns were expressed in the general chapter that took place in 1550.⁷⁸ They recognized the need of building new cloisters in the monasteries of the order and they established more rules to follow when the works were in progress. Among them, the most important one in regard to the procedure was the following:

Se defini6 que para que mexor se hagan las obras, se haga modelo para cada casa que se huviere de edificar consultando primero maestros y por traza dellos y con parecer de monges que tengan bien entendido lo que se requiere en un monasterio cumplido para nuestra manera de vivir. Y los sepan dar a entender a los maestros de arquitectura. Y los modelos sean todos de una forma, diferenci6ndolos seg6n m6s o menos en la cantidad de la magnitud que unos monasterios han menester m6s que otros.⁷⁹

In other words, not only did they remember the duty to ask good master builders for the design of the project before the beginning of the construction,

77. "...they must design a project or model for everything that is going to be done in that monastery. The building works cannot begin without this project or model, which must be drawn by good master builders and it must be seen by the abbot of the congregation, as we said before. On the contrary, they could be excommunicated. We also ordered any prelate that succeeds another not to be able to change the project without the permission of the general abbot. The same penalty will be for the offenders. Besides, we order them to save the project in the archive or inside another safe place where it can be checked what work is in progress and what work is still pending". *Constituciones de la Congregaci6n de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546...* f. 59r.

78. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los cap6tulos generales de la Congregaci6n de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...": 321-357.

79. "In order to achieve better results in the new buildings, we order the monks to design a project for each new cloister. In this project they must take into account the opinion and design of the master builders as well as the assessment of the monks that deeply know what is necessary in a monastery to satisfy our lifestyle. And they must explain their assessment to the master builders. All the projects must follow the same architectural model and they will be only some differences as a consequence of the bigger size that some monasteries require in comparison to others". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los cap6tulos generales de la Congregaci6n de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...": 349.

as it was ordered in the constitutions of 1546; but they also highlighted the need to design a building that meet the requirements of their monastic lifestyle. They also pointed out the importance of following the same plan or building model to solve the design of the different monasteries. Both matters will have a significance influence on the future constructions of this religious order.

A new book of constitutions was published in the early years of the construction of the Gothic Cloister in Samos. I refer to the regulations of 1563 that replaced the previous ones. They went deeply into the definition of the rules concerning the buildings works, the new cloisters and the master builders from page 49 to 50. They also maintained the duty to apply for the permission of the general abbot before the beginning of any work. Besides, they imposed the duty to continue with the works and design that were in progress by the abbot who succeeded a former one:

El abad que sucediere habiendo en el monasterio, posibilidad para lo proseguir sea obligado a continuar la tal obra so la dicha pena y que el Abad no pueda comenzar obra de diez a veinte o treinta ducados según la cualidad de la casa sin parecer de los padres del consejo y de allí arriba sin consentimiento de la mayor parte del convento, y que si lo comenzare incurra en pena de suspensión de su cargo por un mes, y el mayordomo ninguna obra pueda comenzar sin licencia de su prelado y el Abad en las dichas obras guarde el orden y traza que le está dada, o se le diere por el general guardando en esto de las obras lo que en materia de estados está tratado y ordenado.⁸⁰

Finally, there must be a monk, who also was a master builder, in charge of the works in each monastery where a major construction was being done, in order to control the expenses and watch the workers.⁸¹

The last constitutions that regulated the building of the new Gothic Cloister were published in 1575, that is six years before the end of the works. In this new document, they insisted that the religious communities must follow a set of rules

80. "The abbot who succeeds a former one in a monastery must go on the building that is in progress if it were possible. On the contrary, he will be punished. The abbot cannot begin a construction that costs between twenty and thirty ducats according to the condition of the monastery without the opinion of the brethren that belong to the board. If the construction costs a bigger amount of money, the abbot cannot begin it without the most monks' approval. If the abbot starts it, he will be punished by losing his position during a month. The religious administrator cannot begin any work without the permission of his prelate. The abbot must respect the design and plan he received or the one that the general of the congregation gives to him. He must obey all the previous orders in regard to this issue". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563*. Alcalá de Henares: Casa de Pedro de Robles y Francisco de Cormellas, 1563, f. 49v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563".. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=46&forma=ficha&id=877>.

81. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...* ff. 49v-50r.

that were already gathered in the previous constitutions, although now they explained them deeply.

The study of the constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid let us garner an understanding of why and how the monastery of Samos, and other abbeys of the order, began and developed the extension of their former cloisters in the period that ranged between 1550 and 1600. In addition to that, in the books of the constitutions written in 1563 and 1575 we even find specific pieces of news regarding the works we analyse here.

In the constitutions of 1563 it is said about Samos the following:

Que se reduzcan los monjes de los prioratos al monasterio, en el cual haya diecinueve monjes, y gaste, trescientos mil maravedíes cada año en obras como hasta aquí, las cuales acabadas sustente treinta y cinco monjes, y tenga estudio conventual, en que haya dos lecciones cada día, para los mancebos, y para los clérigos que sirven sus beneficios, y que den cada año cien fanegas de pan en limosna más de las que dan, que son por todas trescientas distribuidas con el parecer de los ancianos del consejo, y en las partes y lugares donde la casa más obligación tenga y más necesidad haya, y entiendese que lo del estudio que aquí dice que ha de haber conventual, y en todas las otras casas donde habla de estudio fuera de los colegios ha de ser de artes y Theología sin que por esto dejen de seguir todos los actos conventuales, y oras del coro de noche, y de día.⁸²

The previous orders were completed in the Constitution of 1575, as follows:

Que en la casa de San Julián de Samos, haya y sustente treinta y cinco monjes, acabadas las obras, y por ahora entretanto que duran, sustente, 19, y gaste en las obras 300.000 maravedíes cada año.

Que en esta casa haya colegio formado como los de Irache San Esteban de Ribas de Sil excepto que eligen su prelado así por abad como por procurador para capítulo general.

Que en cada un año allende de la limosna que da de cien fanegas distribuidas con el parecer de los del consejo y en las partes y lugares donde más obligación tenga y más necesidad haya.

Que en esta casa haya siempre en el depósito y archivo de ella censuras graves para que los prelados de aquella casa no puedan hacer ciertos foros que se harían con gran daño de ella.⁸³

82. "The monks who lived in the priories must come back to the monastery. In the monastery there must be nineteen monks and they can spend three hundred thousand old Spanish coins in building works as they have been doing up to now. The monastery must host thirty-five monks when they finish the building works and there must be a monastic college with two lessons per day to the youngsters and the priests who work in the monastic properties. They must also give one hundred bushels of wheat more than they currently do to charity. On the whole they give three hundred bushels of wheat that are distributed in accordance with the opinion of the elderly who belong to the board, especially in the places where the community has a bigger responsibility and the necessity is also higher. The above-referred college must be monastic and in the monasteries where the college is outside, this must be a college of arts and theology, but here they must also follow all the monastic ceremonies as well as the liturgy during the day and at night". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...*: f. 73r-v.

83. "In the monastery of San Julián de Samos, there must be thirty-five monks when they finish the building works. Meanwhile, there must host nineteen monks and they must spend 300,000 old Spanish coins in the building works per year. There must be a college as well as there is in Irache and Esteban

ILLUSTRATION 6. THE CONTINUATION OF THE WORKS OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

The two previous excerpts confirm the second main reason to build the new cloister; that is a prediction about the growth of the community. Although there were nineteen monks living in Samos during the building works, the new cloister was designed to have space for thirty-five monks (Illustration 8).

de Ribas de Sil, although not only the abbot but also the attorney choose their prelate for the general chapter. They must give one hundred bushels of wheat more than they actually give to the charity and this amount of money must be distributed in accordance with the elderly who belong to the board, especially in the places where the community has a bigger responsibility and the necessity is also higher. There must be a store and an archive in the monastery. Serious prohibitions for the prelates must be saved there in order not to let them lease some possessions that will cause a big damage to the monastery". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, 1575*. Barcelona: Casa de Pedro Malo, 1575, f. 184r-v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, 1575". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=56&forma=fi&id=877>.

6. One lifestyle, one place, one architecture

We have just seen how the need to have individual cells instead of the former communal bedrooms was the major reason to begin the building of a new cloister. These cells were placed in the first and second floors of the Gothic Cloister that were built some years later the end of the ground floor. However, the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid also established other rules in regard to the other places there must be inside a monastery.

ILLUSTRATION 7. THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER IN 1582: THE END OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE REFORM. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

Firstly, the existence of a library was compulsory. In fact, in the general chapter of 1550 it was ordered the following:

...en todas las cassas de la Congregación se dé orden que de aquí adelante aya librería, assí de libros disputativos como de doctores graves puestos en sus vancos con sus cadenas, y

*donde no huviere tanta posibilidad aya a lo menos una celda con libros que vasten para un predicador.*⁸⁴

That issue was also mentioned in the constitution of 1563, as follows:

*en las casas de nuestra congregación donde no hubiere copia de libros se compren cada año 40 o 50 ducados de ellos hasta que haya cumplida librería y se dispute una pieza para ella, y si no se cumpliera así el general y visitadores castiguen a los prelados como culpa grave.*⁸⁵

In the case of Samos, the library was placed in the southeast side of the new cloister, that is the one that is on the bank of the river, and it is still there today.

Another needed place in the monks' life was the refectory, where they ate with the total prohibition of talking while one of them read in a pulpit. As a result of that fact, the refectory became into an important place of communal prayer and, thus, it must be designed with a large interior space which reflected its significance.

In the case of Samos, a new refectory was built in the southwest side of the cloister, where it is still at present, although the architecture suffered some changes afterwards, not only in the interior space but also in the exterior facades.

Other places in the monastery were the kitchen, which was probably connected to the refectory, as well as a cellar, a granary and some storerooms, which could be in the southwest side, right after the refectory and along the north side of the cloister.

As it happened in the medieval cloister, another needed place in the monastery of that period was the archive, where the community saved deeds and different types of documents. In the general chapter that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid held in 1568, they mentioned the archive of Samos, as follows: *se definió que en la casa de San Julián de Samos aya siempre en el depósito y archivo della censuras graves para que los perlados de aquella casa no puedan hacer ciertos foros que se harían en gran daño della....*⁸⁶

The new cloister was attached to the south wall of the old church in order to achieve a direct connection with it through the Romanesque portal (Illustration

84. "...we order the monks to have a library inside all our monasteries from now on with books in bookshelves with chains. When this was not possible, at least there must be a room with books enough for a preacher". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...": 348.

85. "forty or fifty ducats must be spent in books per year in the monasteries where they do not copy books and they must have a place for the library. If this order is not obeyed, the general and the monks who visit the monastery will consider it as a serious offence and they will punish the prelates". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...* f. 40v.

86. "they ordered the monks of Samos to save the ecclesiastical punishments in the archive in order to avoid the leasing of certain monastic properties by the prelates. This fact will cause an important damage in the monastery...". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...": 338-339.

9). Besides, it occupied an important part of the area where the former cloister was placed. Because of this reason, the medieval monastic rooms located towards the southwest had to be demolished. On the contrary, we believe that the other half of the former cloister was preserved and it was probably used by the monks during the twenty years that the building of the new Gothic Cloister lasted. Nevertheless, not only were the size and location of the new cloister determined by the former cloister, but the Romanesque church also was a limit in the north and east sides. Moreover, the major physical boundary was the river, because it represented a clear border to a possible extension towards the southeast area at that moment and in the future.

When the building works ended, the monastic complex in Samos was formed by the Romanesque church, the new cloister and some remains of the former cloister which was rebuilt at the end of the 15th century and reformed after the fire of the early 16th century. Besides, there were some independent buildings such as the medieval quarters and the infirmary. We know that the guest quarters were placed at the north of the monastic complex nearby the river, because this building was demolished in the 17th century when the monks began the construction of a third cloister,⁸⁷ that is the Big Cloister, as we previously mentioned (Illustration 10).

Another place inside the monastery of the late 16th century was the monastic college. The constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid ordered the communities to have that college in all the monasteries that belonged to their religious order, *so los monjes aprendan a cantar. E donde sin mucho daño se puede hacer, sean enseñados en las ciencias primitivas o a lo menos en gramática*.⁸⁸

The first mention to the intention of opening a college of arts and theology in Samos appears in the constitutions written in 1563, when they order the monks *tenga estudio conventual, en que haya dos lecciones cada día, para los mancebos, y para los clérigos que sirven sus beneficios*.⁸⁹ Zaragoza points out that the above-referred college was placed in Samos as a result of the fire that the monastery of San Esteban de Ribas de Sil suffered around 1562.⁹⁰ That fact was ordered in the general chapter that the congregation held that year:

87. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 222; Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...*: 18.

88. "the monks can learn to sign. Besides, science or, at least, grammar must be taught in the college if this can be built without so much damage for the monastery". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiadas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales. 1538*. Burgos: Casa de Juan de Junta, 1538, f. 33v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiadas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales. 1538". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=7&forma=ficha&id=877>.

89. "to have a monastic college where two lessons are taught per day for the youngsters and the priests who work in the monastic properties". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...*: f. 73r-v.

90. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Los estudios y colegios monásticos españoles (siglos XV-XIX)". *Memoria ecclesiae*, 13 (1998): 389; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Profesores de los colegios benedictinos de San Julián de Samos y San

...se definió que pues en el monasterio de San Estevan no puede al presente aver collegio por averse quemado muy gran parte de la casa, que los collegiales que en el dicho monasterio estaban se pasen al monasterio de Samos, vayan los quatro monges que en la dicha casa de San Estevan han de residir sin que embien otros monges al dicho monasterio de Samos más de los dichos collegiales.⁹¹

Regarding the type of college, the constitutions of 1575 mentioned that the college of Samos must be like the ones there were in Nuestra Señora la Real de Irache and San Esteban de Ribas de Sil; that is a college with twelve students. That fact objectified the order that was established in the general chapter of 1571.⁹² Zaragoza indicates that the college of Samos was closed in the general chapter of 1580;⁹³ however, another order established the opposite some years later and, as a result, the college was opened again in 1589.⁹⁴ That fact probably took place as a consequence of an order that was given in the general chapter of the same year. In the minutes of that general chapter it was gathered the regulation to found a new college of arts and the general prior was given the authority to choose the most suitable monastery for it, among the ones that belonged to the Castilian monks.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the presence of teachers and students in Samos led to some problems to develop their monastic life with complete calm. As a consequence,⁹⁶ the college of Samos was definitely closed through an order given by the general chapter of 1613,⁹⁷ although it continued opened until the beginning of Cristóbal de Aresti's mandate (1621-1625).⁹⁸ Finally, there is no information about the place where the college was located.

Esteban de Ribas de Sil (Siglos XVI-XIX)". *Estudios mindonienses: Anuario de estudios histórico-teológicos de la diócesis de Mondoñedo-Ferrol*, 21 (2005): 772, 774.

91. "...due to the fact that, at present, there cannot be a college in the monastery of San Estevan because a fire destroyed a significant part of the building, we order the four students of San Estevan to go to the monastery of Samos. Only these students must go to Samos, but nobody else". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). III...": 231.

92. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...": 352.

93. In the general chapter that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid held in 1580, it was established that *no aya más de dos collegios de artes y que estos sean Hirache y S. Esteban de Ribas de Sil* ("there must not be more than two colleges of art and these colleges must be Hirache and S. Esteban de Ribas de Sil"). Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...": 381.

94. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Profesores de los colegios benedictinos...": 772.

95. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (siglo XVI). V...": 127.

96. Other reasons are pointed out by: Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...: 196-199.*

97. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Profesores de los colegios benedictinos...": 772.

98. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...: 214.*

ILLUSTRATION 8. VIRTUAL RECREATION OF SAMOS ABBEY IN THE LATE 16TH CENTURY, AFTER THE BUILDING OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATION 9. THE SOUTHWEST SIDE OF THE GOTHIC CLOISTER, ALSO KNOWN AS THE CLOISTER OF THE NEREIDS, AT PRESENT. AT THE BACK OF THE PHOTOGRAPH, WE CAN SEE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH AND THE NEW CLOISTER. PHOTOGRAPHY BY THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATION 10. THE LIMITS THAT DEFINED THE MEASURE AND LOCATION OF THE NEW CLOISTER: THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH, THE FORMER CLOISTER AND THE RIVER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

7. The reform of the Romanesque church

After the end of the ground floor of the new cloister, the next work of the monks was the reform of the monastic church. It can be considered the fourth stage of the renewal process we analyse here. The major reasons to undertake this work were two. The first one was the need to adapt the old church to the new rules that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid followed concerning the liturgy. The second reason was the inadequate state of conservation that the old building showed after more than four centuries of life, especially in the most ancient area of the church, that was the east end. If we do not take into account the building of a new sacristy, the works that the monks developed at the end of the 15th century only implied the maintenance of the exterior facades and an improvement of the interior space.

The celebration of the Divine Office at night is one of the precepts that the Rule of Saint Benedict gathered. This precept was maintained in the constitutions of the Castilian monks and it implied that not only were the Brethren committed to go to the church during the day, but also at night along the year. The monks of Samos, like other monastic communities, decided to build a choir over the end of the central nave in order to make easier their night prayers. That way, they would

achieve a direct connection between the church and the cells of the monks when these last ones were built in the first floor of the Gothic Cloister some years later.

The date when the new choir was built is unknown, although we suppose it was at the late 16th century. In a document of 1588 it is said that Aymon Ponchelet, who was a Flemish sculptor, was doing the choir stalls for the new choir of Samos at that moment.⁹⁹ This fact implies that the choir already existed and it had been probably built over the last aisle of the central nave.¹⁰⁰ This was the reason to build the new choir stalls.

When the monks ended the improvement of the interior space of the church, the next step was the rebuilding of the main chapel. A bad state of conservation probably was the reason for that works and they also wanted to extend the original size of the chapel.¹⁰¹ With that aim, the abbot Claudio Tenorio (1601-1604) signed a contract with Juan González and Alonso Rodríguez, who were two master builders, on 25th September 1601. In this document, they promised to *azer la capilla mayor de la iglesia desta dicha cassa y conbento* for a sum of four thousand ducats and it must be 22 feet wide, 31 feet long, 5.5 feet thickness and 25 feet height.¹⁰²

However, this new main chapel was not begun until the mandate of the abbot Francisco del Castillo (1604-1607). We do not know why it was postponed, although a possible reason could be the lack of money. The abbot signed a new contract with the same master builders on 14th January 1606 to build the main chapel. We supposed that it was designed with a rectangular ground plan as it was usual at that moment, and *conforme a las dicha hescrituras y trazas por que el dicho convento les de y pague la cuantía de mil reales*. Despite the fact that the size of the new main chapel was previously set in the contract of 1601; in that second document *su voluntad hes que en altura y hueco y anchura de la ducha capilla mayor se ensanche, alargue y alze el arco de la dicha capilla corresponda con el arco del coro*.¹⁰³

The new chapel was probably as wide as the former one, because the space where it was built was surrounded by two lateral chapels, which were the Virgin's chapel

99. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 195; Pérez Costanti, Pablo. *Diccionario de artistas que florecieron en Galicia durante los siglos XVI y XVII*. Santiago de Compostela: Imprenta y Librería del Seminario Conciliar Central, 1930: 446-447.

100. Another interpretation is possible in regard to these works. They could make a high level in the existing choir instead of building a new one over the end of the central nave.

101. The reason can also make reference to the need for more space to establish a larger choir for the monks at ground level of the Romanesque church.

102. "they promised to build the main chapel of the monastic church". Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 220-221.

103. "in accordance with the deeds and the project that the monks will give to them, and the religious community will pay one thousand reals for these building works"; "they are willing to build a higher, wider chapel, in such a way that the arch of the chapel coincides with the arch of the choir". AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 3452, ff. 16-17 ("Contrato entre el monasterio de Samos y los canteros Juan González y Alonso Rodríguez para que construyan la capilla mayor de la iglesia abacial, por un importe que será determinado por el sistema de tasación ajena"). This document was published by: Folgar, María del Carmen; Goy, Ana E., eds. *San Xulián de Samos: Historia e arte nun mosteiro. Opus Monasticorum III*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2008: Apéndice documental (CD-ROM).

and the Saint Benedict's chapel. On the contrary, in accordance with the contract of 1601, the height was bigger as well as the depth. Therefore, the new main chapel was 22 Carolingian feet or 7.08 meters wide,¹⁰⁴ like the former one. The height was increased until 28 Carolingian feet, which are equal to 9 meters, and it was 31 feet or 9.98 meters long.

The next important work was the building of a new sacristy due to the abbot Francisco del Castillo's wish. This event took place during his second mandate (1610-1613).¹⁰⁵ Based on a former chronicler of the monastery, the author Castro says that the sacristy the monks built at that moment was a *pieza admirable para aquellos tiempos*.¹⁰⁶ However, these main chapel and sacristy do not remain nowadays, because they were demolished when the Big Cloister or the Brother Feijoo's Cloister was finished at the mid-18th century.

The following concern of the monks who lived at Samos was to improve the interior of the Romanesque church. With that aim, the abbot Cristóbal de Aresti (1613-1617) entrusted Francisco de Moure, who was a Galician sculptor, a high altar for the new main chapel.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, they tried to complete and extend the furniture inside the sacristy through the end of a new altarpiece, a new cupboard made of walnut and new doors.¹⁰⁸ These works went on during the mandate of the abbot Miguel Sánchez (1617-1621). According to the author Castro, in that period *se hicieron los retablos colaterales de San Juan y Santa Catalina y los de Nuestra Señora y Nuestro Padre San Benito, diseñados por Francisco de Moure*.¹⁰⁹ At the present, only the Virgin's altarpiece and the Saint Benedict's altarpiece are completely extant, but with some later changes. They were moved from the Romanesque church to the new one that was built in the 18th century, where they are nowadays. The improvement of the interior space was completed during the second mandate of the abbot Cristóbal de Aresti (1621-1628), when they made *las rejas de la iglesia, los púlpitos y el órgano grande*.¹¹⁰

However, the reform of the church did not end then. The next step was developed on the facade. They made some changes in one of the original towers in 1621.¹¹¹ The end of the fourth stage of this long renewal process was undertaken by the abbot Mauro de Vega (1633-1637). He ordered the building of *la media naranja de la iglesia, una torre (...) y el órgano pequeño*.¹¹² The new dome was built over the central area of

104. One Carolingian feet equals 0.3219 meters as it is explained by: Merino, José Miguel. *Metrología y composición en las catedrales españolas*. Avila: Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa-Instituto de Arquitectura Juan de Herrera, 2000: 53.

105. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 205.

106. "a remarkable piece in those days". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 116-117.

107. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 116-117.

108. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 209-210.

109. "Francisco de Moure made the lateral altarpieces of Saint John, Saint Catherine, the Virgin and Saint Benedict". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 117.

110. "the screen, the pulpits and the big organ". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 117.

111. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 223.

112. "a dome, a tower (...) and the little organ". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 117.

the transept. According to Portilla, it was built there because this part of the church was in danger of collapse.¹¹³ Moreover, the monks made some changes in the tower that had not been reformed in 1621. In this way, they completed the exterior and interior renewal process of the Romanesque church (Illustration 11).

ILLUSTRATION 11. THE REFORM OF THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH BETWEEN 1580 AND 1637: THE FOURTH STAGE OF THE RENEWAL PROCESS. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

8. Going on the building of the new cloister

The monastic community of Samos began to build the first floor of the Gothic Cloister more than fifty years later the end of the ground floor. A certain number of cells for the monks were placed inside it. These works were developed during the mandate of the abbot Mauro de Vega (1633-1637), when the number of monks had not already grown. Therefore, building this first floor was not an urgent matter, but it really was necessary to provide the monastery with the cells that the constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid ordered since the first books published a hundred years ago.

Arias mentions that the abbot Mauro de Vega built *dos lienzos del piso superior del claustro viejo*.¹¹⁴ The same fact is pointed out by Durán, who says that this abbot built

113. Portilla, Pedro de la. "San Julián de Samos", *Monasterios de España*. Madrid: Editorial Everest, 1988: 53.

114. "two walls of the high floor of the old cloister". Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 222.

dos paños del claustro alto viejo.¹¹⁵ Base on this information that both authors read in a document written by a former chronicler of the monastery, other scholars of Samos Abbey, such as Portilla¹¹⁶ and Arias,¹¹⁷ considered that the first and second floors of the Gothic Cloister were built at that moment. However, we believe that it was not like this. The author Folgar de la Calle¹¹⁸ recently suggested that the expressions *dos lienzos* ("two walls") and *dos paños* ("two wall sections") should be understood as the two sides of the first floor of the cloister and they should not be considered like the two high floors. In our opinion, the two sides of the first floor that were built in that period were the northwest and southwest ones, that is the sides that were directly connected to the only stairs there is inside this cloister. They probably began to build the stairs at the same time of the ground floor and they went on building this part in this new stage of the project (Illustration 12).

The construction of a part of the first floor involved making higher the buttresses of the ground floor with its different sizes. A stretch of wall was defined between every two buttresses and its length coincides with the one that the vaulted section has under it. Two linteled windows were built in each stretch of wall, in the upper part of a smooth window sill that was ended in a simple molding. This molding was extended along the buttresses to connect evenly the different elements of the facade. Moreover, some helical oculus were opened on top of each window like transom windows or skylights. This level of the facade was finished with a noticeable cornice that was extended along the walls like in the case of the above-referred molding. This way, it connects the stretches of walls with the buttresses and it breaks the marked vertical direction that the massive buttresses show in these interior facades (Illustration 13).

All the windows that were opened towards the interior courtyard of the cloister aim to light up the wide covered passages that define the common space to enter the individual cells. On the contrary, the new cells for the monks are oriented towards the exterior land that surround the abbey. The exterior walls of the cloister were solved with more simplicity and austerity than the interior ones. They are masonry walls in which two linteled windows with different sizes were opened per cell.

Regarding the stairs, the one that was built at that moment does not remain nowadays because it was destroyed by the fire of 1951. However, we know how it was through some historical photographs (Illustration 14). From the ground floor to the first one, the stairs of the Gothic Cloister had three flights which were solved with long granite steps as well as granite banisters. The stairs ended in the first floor under a semicircular arch, which was supported by two columns. Two more arches defined the space that the staircase occupied towards the nearby walls of the Romanesque church. This way, there was a series of three arches in the landing of

115. "two wall sections of the high, old cloister". Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...*: 18.

116. Portilla, Pedro de la. "San Julián...": 53.

117. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 223.

118. Folgar, María del Carmen. "A construción do gran mosteiro de San Xulián de Samos. Cen anos de transformacións arquitectónicas", *Arte beneditina nos camiños de Santiago*, Enrique Fernández Castiñeiras, Juan M. Monterroso, eds. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2006: 212.

the first floor. The flights that go from the first floor to the second one would start from the central arch when they were built some years later.

The design of the first floor of the Gothic Cloister should be defined when the community began the ground floor in 1562. However, some changes could be done in the original project when it was finally built.

9. Conclusions

As a summary, we can say that following the orders the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid established—which specified the decisions that were previously made in the general chapters—, caused the need to begin a set of building works to reform, restore or rebuild the existing monastic complex. As a result, the medieval monastery suffered a significant transformation in order to adapt it to some new requirements. We can easily recognize this fact if we compare the appearance of the monastic complex in the late 15th century with the abbey of the early 17th century.

Moreover, the constitutions not only gathered a set of rules in regard to monks' lifestyle, but they also indicated what places there must be inside the monastery to the suitable development of their daily life; what features should have those places, how the monks must deal with the reform or renewal processes of the existing monastic buildings to achieve a proper adaptation, or which steps they must follow to face the construction of the new buildings, in those cases where the existing ones could not be maintained.

All in all, in the constitutions of this religious order we find the reasons that led to the changes. On the other hand, the written and graphic analysis we develop in this study allow us to garner a more thorough knowledge of the changes made on the existing medieval architecture. As a result, a deep process of transformation began and, in some cases, it was lost a significant part of the medieval monastery in order to define a new one which was like a palimpsest. That is, it was the consequence of the different works we have analysed up to now.

Nevertheless, the aim of providing the monastery of Samos with cells enough for thirty-five monks was not a reality even in the 1630s, where this study ends; despite the fact that it was one of the major reasons to build the new Gothic Cloister. We do not know why the two floors of the Gothic cloister were not built, because the need that the constitutions established will be met with them. It seems to be right the thought that the number of monks at Samos did not grow since the late 16th century and this matter could have an influence on that fact. If there were nineteen monks at Samos during the building of the ground floor of the Gothic Cloister; only two more monks belonged to the community in 1660.¹¹⁹ However, it is also true

119. Through a letter of attorney written in 1660, we know that the number of monks in Samos was twenty-one at that moment. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6513, f. 10v. ("Apeos de la feligresía de Samos"). Available at: Portal de Archivos Españoles. "Apeos de la feligresía de Samos". *Portal de Archivos Españoles*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España.

that it was difficult to grow, if they did not have space enough to do so; that is more individual cells to host new members.

The wish of extending the monastery of Samos was not felt again by the Brethren until the 18th century, when they began the most ambitious project they had done since their union to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid. That project was the construction of a third cloister and a new church. That decision caused a new process of transformation on the existing architecture, which was based on more specific rules. Besides, it also led to new losses and changes in the extant, medieval architecture. The analysis of those works could be the goal of a future study.

ILLUSTRATION 12. VIRTUAL RECREATION OF THE MONASTERY OF SAN JULIÁN DE SAMOS IN THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY, WHERE WE CAN SEE THE PLAN OF TWO SIDES OF THE FIRST FLOOR AS WELL AS THE MEDIEVAL REMAINS IN RED. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

9 November 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=46&txt_accion_origen=26&txt_id_desc_ud=3525995>.

ILLUSTRATION 13. THE COURTYARD INSIDE THE NEW CLOISTER WHERE WE CAN SEE THE INTERIOR FACADE OF THE NORTHWEST SIDE, WHICH WAS BUILT BETWEEN 1633 AND 1637. PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATION 14. AN IMAGE OF THE STAIRS AT THE FIRST FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER BEFORE THE FIRE OF 1951. ARCHIVO MONASTERIO SAMOS. MATERIAL FOTOGRÁFICO, SAMOS, 1951.

ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.