

DEATH AND MEMORY AT THE MONASTERY: PRIVILEGED BURIALS AND THEIR PATRONS IN THE NEWLY FOUNDED KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL

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This paper aims to establish the artistic and symbolical context associated with the evolution of the architecturally structured burial spaces in the newly founded kingdom of Portugal, between the end of the 11th and the early years of the 13th centuries, with an emphasis on monastic institutes and the transport of its models from beyond the Pyrenees, crossing through the peninsular kingdoms and finally arriving to Portugal. The examples of the first galilee named as such – that of Cluny II – was followed by those of Romainmôtier, Tournus, León or Sahagún.

We successively approached the first type of pantheons identified in Portugal – that of the galilees which precede the temple, used by their founders – concentrating initially on the first royal pantheon of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and subsequently trying to understand how this model was used in a vast group of burial spaces sponsored by the noble landlords and patrons of the Church, following the territorial expansion of the kingdom but mainly concentrated on its northern territories, around major cities such as Braga or Guimarães, relevant towns like Amarante and Oporto, or closer to the borders as in Valença, over the river Minho. Two case studies will best show the use of this model on Portuguese rural Romanesque architecture, either associated to the Augustinians, as in São Pedro of Ferreira, or to the Benedictines, like in Sanfins of Friestas.

Key words: galilee/ante-church, pantheon, chapel, arcosolium, funerary, privileged burial, sarcophagus, monastery, memory, salvation

THE GALILEE IN ROMANESQUE BURIAL ARCHITECTURE: FROM BURGUNDY TO SPAIN

The cult of the dead and the idea of the afterlife is a central human obsession from the very first magical-religious practices to the institution of religious rites in Christian faith, aiming not only at the *permanence* of the immortal soul but also for the *Resurrection* in the end of times, following Judgement Day. The «overcoming of the idea of death through the triumph of memory over oblivion»¹ was from very early days related to a new kind of necropolis and *monuments*, which were associated to the Christian temples and bearing the symbols of the new faith.

The rise and expansion of the Christian «militia» – the monks and their monasteries – and in particular of the Benedictines (and amongst them of the Cluniac, from the 10th century on) – would give a new scope to these religious and symbolic practices. As true «praying factories», the monasteries turn the liturgy of the departed into a privileged form of communication between the living and the dead – in which the first dedicate their lives to prayer in order to obtain from the second their protection in return – with the monks acting as privileged «middlemen» in this bond, made real through the *ritual*, sometimes with near-magic features². The celebration of *memory* – and of the *monuments*, spaces and rituals related to it – was performed in function of the *mutual benefit* in the relationship between the living and the dead, mediated through ritual by its *agents* – the priests and monks – and by its *devices*, including all the scenography associated to the death ceremonial: «Memory is *praxis*, an

active, even interactive process. Monuments designed for the purpose of commemoration utilize many devices to trigger memory: vivid images that are both marvelous and active; strategically placed figurations or inscriptions which contextualize the site; and a kinetic relationship between the funerary monument and its visitors, often manifested in ritual acts involving movement around or in the monument. These memorial strategies established a dialogue between the living and the dead and articulated mutual benefits for both parties»³.

Associated to the temples and to the *locus sepulcralis* is the memory of their *founders* and of their *lineages*, buried as close as possible to these walls in order to emphasize the protection that they anticipated for the *salvation* of their souls, even before they managed to «conquer» the inner space of the churches for their privileged burials. In fact since 561 and up to the 13th century, complying with the decisions of the Council of Braga, the entombments inside the temples were not tolerated⁴, a fact that is going to constrain in particular the burial of the noblest and richest of the laymen *in the church*.

The option for their *privileged burials* will be to search the places nearest the church building, if possible on the outer arch of the chancel, as close as possible to the relics of the *martyrs* – *ad sanctus* – or under its eaves – *sub stillicidio*. When their condition and riches allow, the noblemen and/or the royalty seeks to have their burials in front of the main western door of the temple, the *Heaven's Gate*, in the space previously defined by the *churchedyard* – *ante limina ecclesiae* – a metaphor of the soul waiting for Judgement

¹ B. SOUSA, *D. Afonso IV (1291-1357)*, Lisboa, 2005, p. 260.

² J. MATTOSO, *O reino dos mortos na Idade Média Peninsular*, Lisboa, 1996, p. 101-102.

³ E. VALDEZ DEL ALAMO, C. PENDERGAST, *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, Farnham, 2000, p. 1.

⁴ See, amongst others, P. ARIÈS, *L'Homme devant la Mort*, Paris, 1977, p. 38; J. MACIEL, *Antiguidade tardia e paleocristianismo em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1996, p. 78; I. BANGO TORVISO, *El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española*, in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, IV, Madrid, 1992, p. 93-132, here p. 94; or X. DECTOT, *Les tombeaux des familles royales de la péninsule ibérique au Moyen Âge*, Turnhout, 2009, p. 141.



Fig. 1 – Romainmôtier, Switzerland, church and galilee

Day to be admitted into Paradise⁵, resting before its *door*⁶. It will be on this place that these men will build their funerary structures – the *galilees* – as the church-before-the-church, getting as close as possible to the Gate of Heaven without antagonizing the Church authorities and their ban of the burials inside the temples.

The exegesis of the word *Galilea/galilee* is first traced to the translations of the Hebrew names by Saint Jerome, from which Saint Augustin will draw up its *figurative sense*, later resumed from Gregory the Great by Rupert of Deutz in the 12th century: the funerary liturgy was then centered on the Sunday procession⁷. This *procession of the dead* is described in Portugal by Fray Leão of S. Tomás when he mentions the Benedictine monastery of Santo Tirso⁸, celebrating the *Resurrection of Christ* in the monastic churches since the 8th century: after crossing the cloister and the monastic buildings the procession stopped in a solemn *station* facing the western portal of the church before returning to the choir, with the abbot or the celebrant in the role of Christ, preceding the monks that followed him like the *Disciples*: «Pour résumer brièvement, on peut dire que l'hébreu *galilea*, que Jérôme traduit en latin par *transmigratio peracta*, désigne en premier

lieu l'endroit où Jésus avait prédit de rencontrer ses disciples après sa crucifixion et sa résurrection, épisode annoncé dans les évangiles de Marc et Matthieu, mais relaté seulement par Matthieu. Au sens figuré, *galilea* signifie la transition du judaïsme à la foi chrétienne. Mais, avant tout, il faut entendre par *galilea* la transition de la mort à la vie éternelle démontré par le Christ ressuscité (...) Enfin, en analogie directe avec la rencontre du Christ ressuscité et de ses disciples, *galilea* désigne le moment après la résurrection des morts à la fin du temps, où les bienheureux accéderont à la vie éternelle et se retrouveront en présence de Dieu (...). On peut donc conclure que la transposition du nom biblique *galilée* à un endroit précis de la topographie monastique, survenue entre le VIII^e et le XII^e siècle, ne s'est pas passé n'importe où ni n'importe quand, mais coïncide avec la construction du premier édifice appelé *galilée*, c'est-à-dire l'avant- nef de Cluny II, construite sous l'abbé Odilon au début du XI^e siècle⁹.

The word *galilee* applied to an architectural burial structure is therefore first found in the description of the building of the church of Cluny II¹⁰, as given by the *Liber tramitis*, the Cluniac customary, written in the time of Abbot Odilon, between the years of 1027 and 1048. This original galilee, with

⁵ A. DIERKENS, *Avant-corps, galilées, massifs occidentaux: quelques remarques méthodologiques en guise de conclusions*, in Ch. Sapin (dir.), *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV^e et le XII^e siècle*, Paris, 2002, p. 495-503, here p. 498.

⁶ Two were of the advantages of being buried in the *galilee* of the temple: the proximity of the Gate of Heaven and the exposure to the eyes and the compassion of the parayers entering the church precisely *through* this door, as and «expedient of social prestige and class pride», benefiting, in death, from the «prayers of the living», I. BANGO TORVISO, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 97 and X. DECTOT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 141-142.

⁷ K. KRÜGER, *Tournus et la fonction des Galilées en Bourgogne*, in Ch. Sapin (dir.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 414-423, at p. 420, says about the procession: «Au début du XII^e siècle, Rupert de Deutz donne une interprétation particulière de cette procession, qui emprunte clairement à exégèse du mot *galilée*. Il souligne que la station devant le portail de l'église se tient en mémoire de la rencontre des disciples avec le Ressuscité, comme le rapporte Matthieu (...). Ensuite, Rupert précise que l'endroit où la station a lieu est appelé par nous la *galilée*».

⁸ L.S. TOMÁS, *Benedictina Lusitana*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. [facsimile of the 1st ed. Lisboa, 1644-1651; edited by J. Mattoso], II, Lisboa, 1974, p. 43-44.

⁹ K. KRÜGER, *Architecture and Liturgical Practice: The Cluniac galilea*, in N. Hiscock (ed.), *The White Mantle of Churches. Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium*, Turnhout, 2003, p. 139-159, here p. 149-151.

¹⁰ N. HISCOCK, *The Ottonian Revival: Church Expansion and Monastic Reform*, in N. Hiscock (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 1-28, here p. 16-17.

three aisles and three bays, is the contemporary of the very first double storey galilees still surviving today, those of Romainmôtier and Tournus¹¹, with Cluny II being destroyed and replaced by the enormous expansion of the new church of Cluny III, consecrated in 1088.

In fact the Swiss abbey of Romainmôtier, consecrated in 1028, had its galilee added to the original church building in around 1060-1070, with a similar structure of three aisles, slightly narrower than the church but here longer than in Cluny II, with four bays covered with groin vaults (fig. 1). The upper storey is accessible through a small door and a spiral staircase that opens to the chapel emulating that of Cluny, dedicated to Saint Michael, the *psychopomp* Saint. Here, over the *crypt* – the place where the bodies would be put to rest inside their *monuments* – was performed the ritual of *salvation* and *elevation* of the souls, in a scheme inspired on the very *Trinitarian* experience of Christ – Crucifixion, Burial and Resurrection – a cycle implying a stage «en Galilée» before the final rise to the Heavens and the Celestial Jerusalem¹², in *memory* of the meeting with His Disciples: «While the ground floor was left unconsecrated, serving as a passage to the church and possibly being used for privileged burial, the individual Masses for the dead were celebrated at the altar of the apse in the upper storey»¹³.

Nevertheless, the best preserved Romanesque galilee in Burgundy is that of Saint Philibert de Tournus, originally dedicated to Saint Valéry, burnt down by the Hungarians in 937, and consumed by fire again between 1006 and 1008, rebuilt and consecrated on the 29th of August 1019¹⁴. Uncommon is the fact that the current galilee *preceded*, at around 1020¹⁵, the construction of the existing church, built between around 1030/1055 and 1100, when the central aisle was finally vaulted¹⁶. Clearly following the model of Cluny II, the abbey still features two crypts: a *subterranean* one, under the chancel, and destined to the relics of the Saints; and the one in the *galilee*, for the privileged burials of the local gentry and nobility (fig. 2). Over each one a chapel was built: one dedicated to Saint Philibert in the chancel and over the relics of the Saints, where the High-altar stood; and the other bearing Saint Michael as its patron Saint, on the upper floor of the galilee¹⁷.

The model implemented in Burgundy would arrive at the Iberian Peninsula with the Cluniac monks that would



Fig. 2 – Saint-Philibert de Tournus, Burgundy, France, interior of the galilee

settle in one of their first peninsular monasteries, that of San Facundo y Primitivo of Sahagún. Refounded by King Alfonso the 6th before 1080, in a place where he had already decided to be laid to rest in the galilee of the new church, rededicated now to Saint Benedict, the new monastery would become the main center from where the Gregorian reform would spread throughout Castile and León in the late 11th century, with the enthusiastic patronage of Alfonso the 6th, as one of the main benefactors of the Cluniac monks: «Elegí allí el lugar donde descansar tras mi muerte, de manera que lo que había amado extremadamente en vida, yo difunto, también fuese a más»¹⁸.

The galilee of Sahagún continued a Hispanic tradition whose closest parallel was the *pantheon* of Alfonso's father, Fernando the 1st at San Isidoro de León, rebuilt after the original construction, erected by Afonso the 5th was subjected to subsequent Romanesque transformations by Alfonso the 6th, Doña Urraca and Alfonso the 7th. Originally dedicated to San Juan Bautista and San Pelayo, San Isidoro de Sevilla would become its Patron Saint after the transference of his relics in 1062, with the new church, «de luto et latere» – of lath and plaster and brick – consecrated in 1063. This would be later replaced by the present building, and whilst the *Fernandine* church exhibited the same length and width of the *Afonsine* one, since it was built over the same foundations¹⁹, the 12th century construction is far longer and wider, as can still see be seen today. Only the *pantheon* preserved its

¹¹ K. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 419-420.

¹² Linked to the Paschal cycle – *depositio, elevatio e visitatio* – as stated by C. HEITZ, *A propos de quelques 'Galilées' bourguignonnes*, in J. Thirion (dir.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus. Histoire. Archéologie. Art*, Tournus, 1995, p. 253-272, here p. 267.

¹³ K. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 152, referring to Cluny II.

¹⁴ J. HENRIET, *Saint-Philibert de Tournus. Les campagnes de construction du XI^e siècle*, in J. Thirion (dir.), *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 177-203, here p. 179.

¹⁵ C. SAPIN, *Saint-Philibert et les débuts de l'architecture romane en Bourgogne*, in J. Thirion (dir.), *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 215-230, here p. 226.

¹⁶ W. BERRY, *Le système de voûtement de la nef de Saint-Philibert de Tournus dans son contexte régional*, in J. Thirion (dir.), *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 297-321, here p. 299; J. HENRIET, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 177, 193-194, 197; K. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 141.

¹⁷ Ch. SAPIN, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 216-217 and 225.

¹⁸ Founded over a «cella memoriae» where the relics of Saints Facundo and Primitivo, martyrs, where worshiped, it was the work of Abbot Bernardo de Sauvetat after its arrival from Cluny, in 1080, as one of the leading figures of the Gregorian reform in the Hispania: «Al igual que Cluny destaca en Francia, este monasterio sobrepasa a todos los de su orden en España», I. BANGO TORVISO, *El Camino de Santiago*, Madrid, 1993, p. 266; C. COSMEN ALONSO, M. HERRÁEZ ORTEGA, M. VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, *Alfonso VI y el monasterio de Sahagún. Nuevos testimonios sobre la construcción del templo monástico*, in *De Arte. Revista de Historia del Arte*, 5, León, 2006, p. 29-41.

¹⁹ X. DECTOT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 139; J. SENRA GABRIEL Y GALÁN, *Les massifs occidentaux des églises dans les royaumes du Nord-Ouest de la Péninsule Ibérique*, in Ch. Sapin (dir.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 336-350, here p. 338-339; G. BOTO VARELA, *Morfogénesis de las primeras arquitecturas de San Isidoro. Vestigios de la memoria dinástica leonesa*, in P.L. Huerta (org.), *Siete maravillas del románico español* (org.), Aguilar de Campoo, 2009, p. 153-191, namely p. 165-166 and 170-172.

original space, divided into 3 aisles and probably 3 bays (only 2 survive today), vaulted and decorated with 12th c. *fresco* paintings, with a new altar dedicated to Saint Catherine but preserving the upper storey, that could have had an *aulic* function like in Aquisgrana – an upper tribune connected to the nearby royal palace – or, most likely, a ritual function as *chapel of the dead*, like in Cluny II or Tournus²⁰.

THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL AND ITS FIRST ROYAL PANTHEON ON ITS FIRST CAPITAL-CITY: THE MONASTERY OF SANTA CRUZ OF COIMBRA

In Portugal, a County of Burgundian influence since the coming, as a noble without title and land – a true crusader – of Henry of Burgundy, the 4th son of the Duke of Burgundy but also great-grandson of Robert I of France, nephew of the Queen Constance of León and nephew-grandson of the Cluniac abbot Hugo of Sémur, the Burgundian influences – and namely those from Cluny – start with the foundation, near Oporto, of the Cluniac monastery of São Pedro de Rates by a group of monks from La Charité-sur-Loire in 1096, built on the site of a previous «countal» construction of controversial chronology²¹.

His son Afonso Henriques would become Afonso the 1st after the proclamation of the Kingdom of Portugal, in the aftermath of the victory over the Moors at the Battle of Ourique, around 1139, a title first recognized by King Afonso the 7th of Castile and León in the Conference of Zamora in 1143, and later confirmed *de jure* by Pope Alexander the 3rd through the Bula *Manifestis Probatum* of 1179²². Concerned with the preservation of his *memory* – that, at the time, was also the memory of the young kingdom – Afonso Henriques would be the first one to found a monastery with a burial structure associated, in what was then the capital-city of a realm that spread from the Minho river, on the border with the Leonese Galicia, and the Mondego river, that bathed the city in the Portuguese midlands, with the southern territories still in possession of the Muslims up to the conquest of Lisbon and the Tejo river, taking place only between 1147 and

1148²³, the final turning point on the war for the *reconquest*.

The monastery of Santa Cruz [Holy Cross] of Coimbra was founded thanks to a first donation of Afonso Henriques, dating from the 9th of December 1130, with the first stone laid in June the 28th 1131²⁴. Afonso Henriques will entrust the monastery to the Portuguese Augustinians, in an agreement made with D. Telo Odores, a cultivated and travelled man that had been to the Holy Land²⁵, although his first abbot will be D. Teotónio, which, after a controversial choice, will lead a community of 72 regular canons from the 24th of February 1132²⁶. D. Telo will die in 1136 but the monastery and the order will thrive in the newly founded kingdom with the inescapable support of the canon D. João Peculiar, future bishop of Oporto and Braga, undoubtedly one of the most prominent characters of the Portuguese church and politics at the time, up to his death in 1175, after a long and successful career that would lead him to the prestigious title of Primaz of the Spains, after occupying the Braga archbishopric in 1138.

From the very start, Santa Cruz of Coimbra would be closely linked to the monastery of Saint Rufus of Avignon, whose Augustinian rule and *customary* would inspire those of the Portuguese house²⁷. The church itself would take several years to complete, with the chancel probably finished by 1136²⁸, the side altar of the Holy Spirit consecrated by D. João Anaia around 1148 and the High altar consecrated around 1150 by the then already archbishop of Braga D. João Peculiar²⁹. Afonso Henriques would assume his role of protector and patron of the monastery between 1156 and 1157³⁰. The prestige of the Augustinian house will be greatly enhanced by the proclamation of the monarch as his *founder* in a letter sent to Pope Adrian the 4th, on this period, stating for the first time his desire to have his burial on its premises, but also that the prayers of the Augustinian canons would contribute for the *salvation* of his soul; in another letter, this time addressed to Pope Alexander the 3rd, he will place himself as the *eternal protector* of the monastery³¹.

The above mentioned donations, alongside the assumption of Afonso's foundational and protective roles had a double purpose: to ensure his burial – and that of

²⁰ I. BANGO TORVISO, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 104; M. VALDÉS FERNÁNDEZ, *El Panteón Real de la Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, in *Maravillas de la España medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, I, León, 2001, p. 73-84; C. ABAD CASTRO, *Espacios y capillas funerarias de carácter real*, in *Maravillas de la España medieval, op. cit.* (n. 20), I, p. 63-71, here p. 64; J. SENRA GABRIEL Y GALÁN, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 338-339; X. DECTOT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 123-124 e 126-128; G. BOTO VARELA, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 176-177.

²¹ M. REAL, *O Românico Condal em S. Pedro de Rates e as transformações beneditinas do séc. XII*, Póvoa de Varzim, 1982, p. 8-9 and 12, 1096 being the date of the act of consecration of the new church, built over the remains of a former temple founded by the earlier counts of Portucale, as shown by J. GOMES, D. CARNEIRO, *Escavações arqueológicas na área envolvente à igreja de S. Pedro de Rates 1997-1998*, in *Póvoa de Varzim. Boletim Cultural*, XXXVIII, Póvoa de Varzim, 2003, p. 205-292.

²² J. MATTOSO, *História de Portugal*, II, Lisboa, 1992-1994, p. 62; C. FERNANDES, *Efigie de um monarca (D. Afonso Henriques?)*, in *Construindo a Memória. As colecções do Museu Arqueológico do Carmo*, Lisboa, 2005, p. 338 and 340.

²³ J. MATTOSO *op. cit.* (n. 22), II, p. 75-76.

²⁴ S. GOMES, *Os Panteões Régios Monásticos Portugueses nos séculos XII e XIII*, in *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, vol. 4, Guimarães, 1996, p. 280-295, p. 153 and 284; A. GONÇALVES, *Estudos de História da Arte Medieval*, Coimbra, 1980, p. 161-168, namely p. 161.

²⁵ A. FRIAS, *O Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, génese e consolidação do projecto canonical*, in J. Costa (ed.), *Santa Cruz de Coimbra. A cultura portuguesa aberta á Europa na Idade Média*, Porto, 2001, p. 15-28, p. 15; A. CRUZ, *D. Teotónio, Prior de Santa Cruz. O primeiro Cruzado e primeiro Santo de Portugal*, in *Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Do século XI ao século XX*, Coimbra, 1984, p. 21-58, here p. 32.

²⁶ S. GOMES, *In Limine Conscriptio. Documentos, Chancelaria e Cultura no Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Séculos XII a XIV)*, Coimbra, 2007, p. 142-143.

²⁷ A. FRIAS, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 22; S. GOMES, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 158-159; A. GONÇALVES, *Novas hipóteses acerca da arquitectura românica de Coimbra*, Coimbra, 1938, p. 23-24.

²⁸ M. BARROCA, *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)*, II-1, Lisboa, 2000, p. 183-187.

²⁹ A. GONÇALVES *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 161; A. GONÇALVES, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 73-74.

³⁰ S. GOMES, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 155-156.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 156; R. SANTOS, *O Românico em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1955, p. 38.

his *lineage* – inside a *locus sanctus* that would preserve his eternal *memory*, a regal pantheon that mimicked those that Fernando the 1st and Afonso the 6th had built in León and Sahagún, as we've seen before, underlining his status as an *equal* to the kings from which he had been a dependent and subject; and, on the other hand, to assert the choice of the Augustinians in order to counterbalance the enormous influence of the Cluniac's on the court of Afonso the 7th and of the archbishoprics of Toledo and Santiago de Compostela, with the obvious purpose of ensuring a greater independence for the Portuguese Church in the Iberian context and before the Holy See.

The earliest burial performed at Santa Cruz, probably already at the monastery's *galilee*, was that of D. Matilde (or Mafalda), the first wife of Afonso Henriques, dead in 1157. In 1163 the first abbot Teotónio, dead in 18 February 1162, was canonized³², confirming the status of Santa Cruz as *locus sanctus* but also justifying the increasing afflux of pilgrims and other faithful to the church³³. The king himself died in 1185, and would be laid to rest in the same *galilee*, the first royal pantheon of the Portuguese monarchy, being followed in his example by his son king Sancho the 1st, dead in 1211. The latter would also rest alongside his family, a setting for which he would leave in his first testament, of 1188, an endowment of 400 silver marks for the «ornamentation of the church»³⁴, together with a solid gold cross, adorned with pearls and precious stones and carrying a piece of the Holy Cross³⁵. Several other infants and descendants of the royal family would find their burial place in this *galilee*, before the following kings decide to switch the royal pantheon to the new and imposing monastery that the Cistercians would finish by the middle of the 13th century: founded in 1153, it would only be completed about a century later in Alcobaca, where kings Afonso the 2nd and Afonso the 3rd, with their families, would be later buried, a token of the decreasing influence of Augustinians and Cluniacs and of the rise of the Cistercians of Saint Bernard.

The project of Santa Cruz of Coimbra, amongst the most monumental religious constructions in the young kingdom, was probably directed by the same Robert, of Auvergnate origin, that would also work in the Coimbra and Lisbon Cathedrals, here helped by Master Soeiro³⁶. Bringing from his birth region the idea of the *narthex* or *galilee* preceding the church – not necessarily of funerary use, as in Notre-Dame-du-Port in Clermont-Ferrand, or Saint-Pierre and Saint-Caprais of Mozac³⁷ – the affinities with the churches with *galilees* like Cluny II, Romainmôtier³⁸ or Tournus³⁹ were nevertheless undeniable.

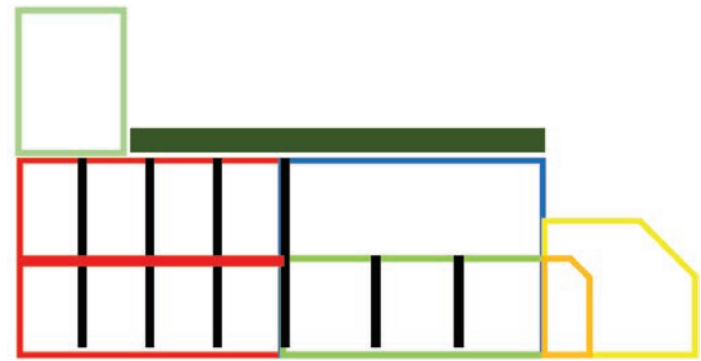


Fig. 3 – Santa Cruz of Coimbra, Portugal, graphic restitution of the volumes of the Romanesque church with, in yellow, the chancel and terminal chapels, in blue the main nave, in green the side chapels and the tower and in red the galilee

The 12th century church had a large central nave, covered by a barrel vault and having 3 chapels on each side, also covered by barrel vaults but placed transversally, as in the galilee of Tournus, communicating with the central nave through wide round arches and thus giving the sensation of a 3 aisles body, almost as long as wide. It was preceded by a *galilee* of the same length and width of the main nave, with three aisles and four bays, with the *crypt* for royal burials on the ground floor, and probably a chapel – of the dead – in the upper one, as in the Burgundian churches or San Isidoro de León; the chancel presented obvious similarities with that of Saint Rufus of Avignon⁴⁰. It is today difficult to fully assess the original plan of church and galilee, over which front a tower would rise (fig. 3), since it was replaced by a 16th century construction that, nevertheless, preserved the *original perimeter* of the architectonic ensemble, as the archaeological research developed throughout the 20th century clearly proved.

THE GALILEES IN THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL: SPREADING THE MODEL

This model was later followed in several 11th to early 13th centuries foundations throughout the northwest of Portugal, all simple single nave churches, mostly monastic, that mirror the limited scale of most religious constructions on these early stages of the kingdom's setting. Amongst them, we must point out the examples of:

- Santa Cristina [Saint Christine] of Serzedelo, near Guimarães, where the oldest epigraph carved into the exterior side walls of the temple relates to a Galindo Gonçalves, of the Riba-Cávado gentry, dated 1071 or 1072⁴¹, although the ensemble of the church and its *gali-*

³² M. BARROCA, *op. cit.* (n. 28), vol. II-1, p. 288-291; A. GONÇALVES *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 175.

³³ S. GOMES, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 41.

³⁴ S. GOMES, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 284-285; J. SILVA, *Da Galilé à Capela-mor: o percurso do espaço funerário na arquitectura gótica portuguesa*, in *O fascínio do fim*, Lisboa, 1997, p. 45-59, here p. 47.

³⁵ A. GONÇALVES, *Estudos de Ourivesaria*, Porto, 1984, p. 61-66; C. ALMEIDA *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*, 3, Lisboa, 1986, p. 174-175; A. MIRANDA, *Imagens do sagrado na iluminura e ourivesaria românicas em Portugal*, in J. Valle Pérez, J. Rodrigues (ed.), *Românico em Portugal e Galiza*, Lisboa/Corunha, 2001, p. 185-213, here p. 204 e M. BARROCA, *op. cit.* (n. 28), II-1, p. 667-670.

³⁶ A. GONÇALVES, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 151-156.

³⁷ A. GONÇALVES, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 191-205, here p. 202-205.

³⁸ M. REAL, *A organização do espaço arquitectónico entre Beneditinos e Agostinhos, no séc. XII*, in *Arqueologia* 6, Porto, 1982, p. 118-132, here p. 125; M. REAL, *O Convento Românico de S. Vicente de Fora*, in *Monumentos*, 2, Lisboa, 1995, p. 14-23, here p. 17.

³⁹ C. ALMEIDA, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 3, p. 115; C. ALMEIDA, *História da Arte em Portugal. 1 O Românico*, Lisboa, 2001, p. 131.

⁴⁰ A. GONÇALVES *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 169; M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 124-125; M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 19-21.

⁴¹ M. BARROCA, *op. cit.* (n. 28), II-1, p. 102-105.



Fig. 4 – Santa Cristina of Serzedelo, Guimarães, Portugal, church and galilee



Fig. 5 – São Salvador of Freixo de Baixo, Amarante, Portugal, church preceded by the space of the destroyed galilee

lee, with two arcosolia still preserved, on the northern inside wall, was not finished before the beginning of the 13th century (fig. 4);

- São Miguel [Saint Michael] of Vilarinho, in Santo Tirso, first mentioned in 1120 in the *Bula Officii Mei* by Pope Calixtus the 2nd as the «monasterium of Villarinho»; a funerary inscription dated 1168, and its ties to the Fafes gentry seem to place its construction between around 1170 and the early years of the following century⁴². The *galilee* is, on this case, also intact but bearing only one arcosolium, and presenting a southern wall that seems to have been rebuilt at a later stage;
- São Martinho [Saint Martin] of Mancelos, in the vicinities of Amarante, also an early 13th century building,

with a *galilee* preceding the nave having on its south side a tower that seems to have performed more than just a support for the bells, is in fact documented since the beginning of the previous century, as early as 1120 or 1131⁴³. Besides the burial space of the *galilee*, there is also another sarcophagus placed inside a separate arcosolium on the outer face of the church's southern wall, testifying to the importance of the *privileged* burials at this time in the young kingdom;

- Salvador [Saviour] of Freixo de Baixo, also in the Amarante area, alongside the road to Lixa, set in the lower part of the village and isolated from it, is all that's left of the ancient monastery, founded still on the 11th century, around 1090 or 1091⁴⁴, and apparently refounded in 1120⁴⁵. A temple of very simple build, dating from the late 12th or early 13th centuries, it still preserves – as in Mancelos – the strong corner «bell» tower on the south side, beside the space of the now open sort of «atrium», where the *galilee* once stood (fig. 5), as we can still infer reading the description in a document dated 1715, a «Mediçam da Igreja, Caza do Cura & mais pertença», that would roughly translate as the «Measurement of the House of the Priest and other assets», where is mentioned the «Galilê que está descuberta na emtrada» [*the galilee that is unroofed at the entrance*], something that the travelling chronicler Francisco Craesbeeck will confirm in 1726⁴⁶.

TWO CASE STUDIES: SÃO PEDRO OF FERREIRA AND SANFINS OF FRIESTAS

The most interesting of the rural churches preceded by a *galilee* – or what's left of it – are, nevertheless, those of São Pedro [Saint Peter] of Ferreira, in Paços de Ferreira, not far from Oporto, and the isolated monastic church of Sanfins of Friestas, near Valença, in the farther northern border of the country.

São Pedro [Saint Peter] of Ferreira, a former Augustinian monastery church, closely connected to the Chapter of the Oporto Cathedral since 1195, is a good example of a restoration work that did not go well. With a convulsed and controversial history, the foundation of the monastery was attributed by several authors to a military order such as the Templars or even the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre: the confusion seems to have its roots on a misreading of the *Inquirições* of Afonso the 3rd, dated 1258, where it is said that «interrogatus cujus est ipsum Monasterium, dixit quod est Militum et Divitum hominum»⁴⁷; the expression *Militum*,

⁴² www.csarmento.uminho.pt/amap_4139.asp; A. COSTA, *Corografia Portuguesa*, I, Braga (2^a ed.), 1868, p. 99.

⁴³ A. REUTER, *Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas. Documentos da Chancelaria de D. Afonso Henriques*, I, Coimbra, 1938, p. 48; B. SOUSA, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das origens a Trento - Guia Histórico*, Lisboa, 2005, p. 190.

⁴⁴ M. BARROCA, *op. cit.* (n. 28), vol. II-2, p. 1870.

⁴⁵ M. OLIVEIRA, *As Paróquias Rurais Portuguesas*, Lisboa, 1950, p. 190, quotes two documents, one dated 1091 and the other 1120 that mention the monastery, published respectively in P. M. H., *Diplomata et Chartae*, n. 746, and the *Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto*, Porto, 1924, p. 4, in accordance with the *Boletim da DGEMN - Igreja de Freixo de Baixo*, 92, Lisboa, 1958, p. 5, although here the Foundation is wrongly attributed to the Augustians.

⁴⁶ F. CRAESBEECK, *Memórias ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726*, I, Ponte de Lima, 1992, p. 359.

⁴⁷ *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica [P.M.H.] Inquisitiones*, vol. I, part. I, Olisipone, 1888, p. 562.



Fig. 6 – São Pedro of Ferreira, Paços de Ferreira, Portugal, aspect of the main portal

nevertheless, did not refer to the knights of a military order but to *any* laic knight, that is to say, to those that were bearers of arms and with social status to ride a horse⁴⁸. In 1182 its prelate bore already the title of Abbot, with the institution of a Collegiate at the church.

The chronology of the erection of the church of Ferreira is known with some precision, with a documented group of 20 masons – stonemasons and martlets – working in a continuous period between 1180-1182 and 1195, what helps to explain the quality and overall coherence of the architecture of a church that is probably the best built in all the Portuguese Romanesque. Although the *galilee* was only finished sometime later, it must have made part of the original plan

that involved three mason masters from Zamora, Coimbra and the Oporto region⁴⁹. Some influences from Galicia, not only in the architecture – with an unusually tall elevation of the church for the Portuguese Romanesque – but also in the sculpture, are clearly apparent, reminding us of buildings like Santa Eulalia de Donas, Santa Maria de Tomiño or San Salvador de Albeos.

With a main portal clearly influenced by that of «el Obispo» from Zamora cathedral⁵⁰ (fig. 6), but also related to those of the churches of San Tomé or Santiago del Burgo, also in Zamora⁵¹, the remaining decoration, and even the lost but partially rendered tympanum of said main portal, seem more related to the Romanesque architecture of the region of Braga, including that of its Cathedral and of the Saviour of Arnoso, or to the ornamentation of the nearby church of Unhão, bearing the motif of the inscribed cross⁵².

The restauration of 1937 failed to identify the original function of the unroofed space in front of the church's façade as the *ante-church* or *galilee* of funerary intention (fig. 7), as in Santa Cristina de Serzedelo, S. Miguel de Vilarinho or Freixo de Baixo. Preserved in its current fashion of a mid-height wall – with no parallel in any known example of the architecture of the period – it contributed to the false idea of a «fortified» temple that lasted until new research was conducted in recent years⁵³.

This *galilee*, which we can date from around 1232⁵⁴, today unroofed and with the walls totally disfigured, was formed of two consecutive segments: one shorter and narrower, but with much thicker walls, on the western side; and one longer and wider, with thinner walls and leading to the main portal



Fig. 7 - São Pedro of Ferreira, Paços de Ferreira, Portugal, church and the misinterpreted of the former galilee, unroofed

⁴⁸ M. REAL, *A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência artística*, Paços de Ferreira, 1986, p. 245-294, here p. 252 and 254; J. MATTOSO, *op. cit.* (n. 22), II, p. 174 also spelt *milites* or *miles*.

⁴⁹ M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 263-273 and 277-287 ss.

⁵⁰ M. BARREIROS, *A Igreja Românica de S. Pedro de Ferreira*, in *Ilustração Moderna* 19, Porto, 1928, p. 158-171 and n. 20, p. 28-35, here p. 34.

⁵¹ M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 264.

⁵² M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 263-265 and 273-274.

⁵³ M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 245-294; J. RODRIGUES, *Galilea, locus e memória. Panteões, estruturas funerárias e espaços religiosos associados em Portugal, do início do século XII a meados do século XIV: da formação do Reino à vitória no Salado*, Lisboa [PhD thesis], 2011, p. 162-187.

⁵⁴ M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 286, the date of the will of the clergyman Gonçalo Gonçalves from Guimarães.

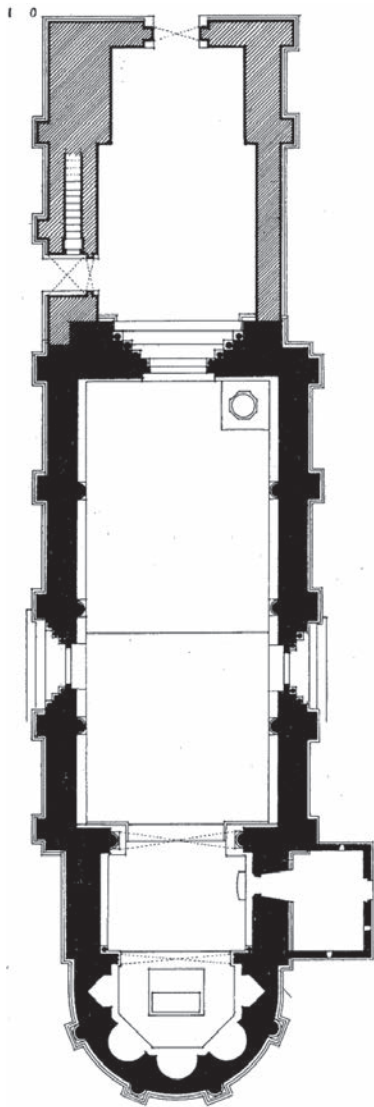


Fig. 8 - São Pedro of Ferreira, Paços de Ferreira, Portugal, plan of the church and galilee after restoration [after Boletim da DGEMN (1958), nº 92]

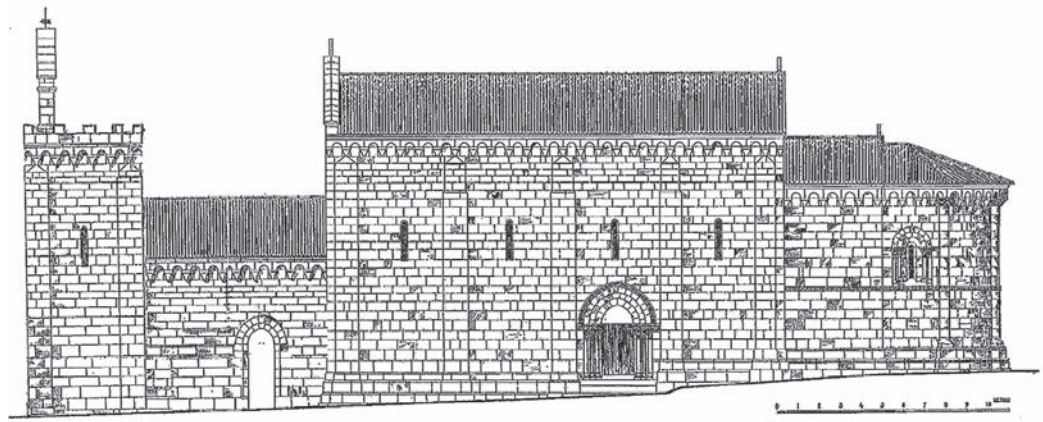


Fig. 9 - São Pedro of Ferreira, Paços de Ferreira, Portugal, graphic restitution of the elevation of the church and galilee [based on Boletim da DGEMN (1958), nº 92]



Fig. 10 - Sanfins de Friestas, Valença, Portugal, general view of the church today, deprived of the galilee

of the church that it then concealed. A staircase, hidden inside the wall and uncovered during the restoration works, lead to a now missing upper floor (fig. 8).

The combined thickening of the wall and the staircase that today «leads to nowhere», are not only a solution often found on the French Romanesque⁵⁵, but also one which gets us closer to the *prototype* of the model found in the original house of the Portuguese Augustinians, that of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. The original church presented a tower over the main façade, a solution probably adopted also in Ferreira, explaining not only the need for thicker walls but also for the staircase, leading to the upper level with, most likely, a chapel *of the dead* at its middle level, and a battlement – and probably the bells – on its top (fig. 9).

On a completely different location stands the monastery of Sanfins de Friestas, on the top of a hill dominating the

plane that spreads down to the banks of the river Minho, natural border between Portugal and Spain. Erected on an isolated place, it probably betrays its origins, standing over the foundations of a former eremitic community, an assumption based on its patron – San [Saint] Fins, or *Saint Fins the Old One*⁵⁶, from which the simplified *Sanfins* form will derive – but also on its secluded setting, making it hard to ensure the subsistence of the monastic community on such a rough environment, only justifiable by a symbolic need of occupation of such a *high* place, probably previously known for its pagan or heterodox rituals.

The establishment of the monastery, in the beginning of the 12th century, is due to Afonso Henriques, at around 1134⁵⁷ as a Benedictine foundation, followed by other benefits in 1172, confirmed in 1190 by Sancho the 1st and in 1221 by Afonso the 2nd⁵⁸. An epigraph engraved in two stone ashlar, now

⁵⁵ L. CABRERO-RAVEL, *Traitement et fonction des massifs de façade auvergnats*, in Ch. Sapin (dir.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 168-179, here p. 171-173; K. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 419.

⁵⁶ M. COSTA *História do Bispado e Cidade de Lamego II. Idade Média: paróquias e conventos*, Lamego, 1979, p. 152-154.

⁵⁷ R. Azevedo, A. Costa (ed.), *Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos particulares A.D. 1116-1123*, I.1, Lisboa, 1980, doc. 142, p. 165-166; A. REUTER, *op. cit.* (n. 43), I, p. 78-79.

⁵⁸ J. RODRIGUES, *O Mundo Românico*, in P. Pereira (dir.), *História da Arte Portuguesa*, I, Lisboa, 1995, p. 180-331, here p. 222.

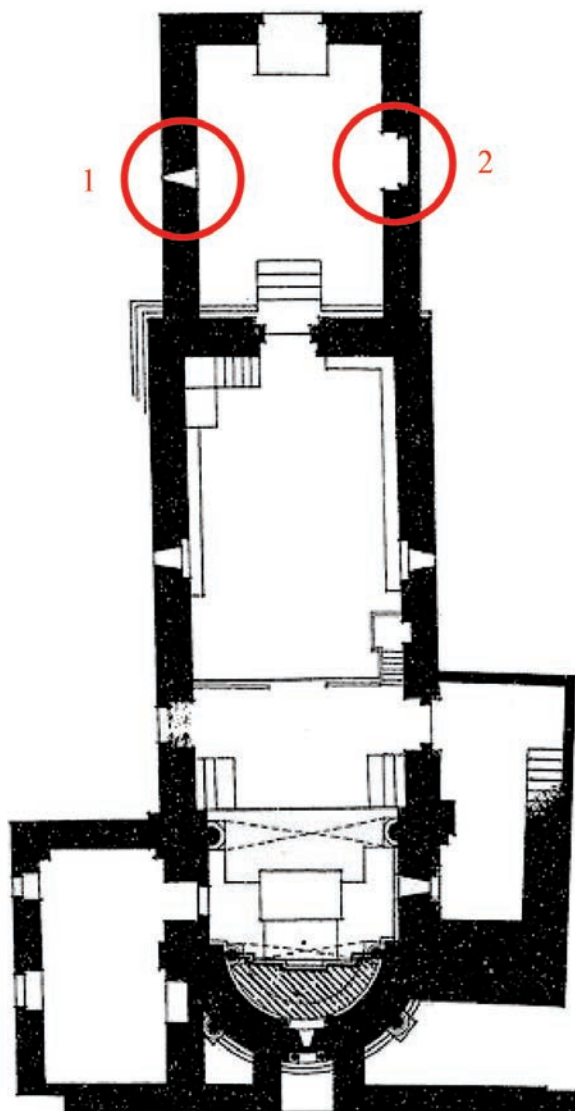


Fig. 12 - Sanfins de Friestas, Valença, Portugal, plan of the church and galilee with the lower (1) and arcosolium (2) signalled [based on *Boletim da DGEMN* (1938), nº 11]

lost⁵⁹, displayed the date of 1221, probably corresponding to the year of conclusion of the *galilee*⁶⁰, destroyed during the restoration works of the 1930's due to an error of interpretation that considered another memorial panel, showing the date of 1780, over the main door of said ante-church⁶¹.

The church has a single nave of uncommon height, with obvious Galician influences, as in Ferreira (fig. 10). The access to the temple is possible through three doors – axial, north and south – with some interesting sculptural elements, like the tympanum of the main portal, previously concealed by the *galilee* as in Ferreira, sporting an intricate incise ophidian ornamentation, that snakes between half-circles, zigzags, denticulate and wavy motifs, in a recollection of the former Iron Age decoration of the «Castreja» culture from the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula (fig. 11).

But it's mainly the *galilee* that we are interested in, with an obvious medieval construction of pseudo-isodic granite

⁵⁹ M. BARROCA, *op. cit.* (n. 28), vol. II-1, p. 703.

⁶⁰ M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p.129; C. ALMEIDA, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 3, p. 54.

⁶¹ *Boletim da DGEMN - S. Fins de Friestas*, 11, Lisboa, 1938, p. 21 and figs. 14 and 15; J. RODRIGUES, *A Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais e o restauro dos monumentos medievais durante o Estado Novo*, in *Caminhos do Património*, Lisboa, s.d. [1999], p. 69-82, here p. 76; M. REAL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 129-130, where the Author tries to prove a closer affinity to the model of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, including in what concerns the existence of an upper storey – a chapel of the dead – that is not totally apparent in the images available.



Fig. 11 - Sanfins de Friestas, Valença, Portugal, the tympanum of the main portal

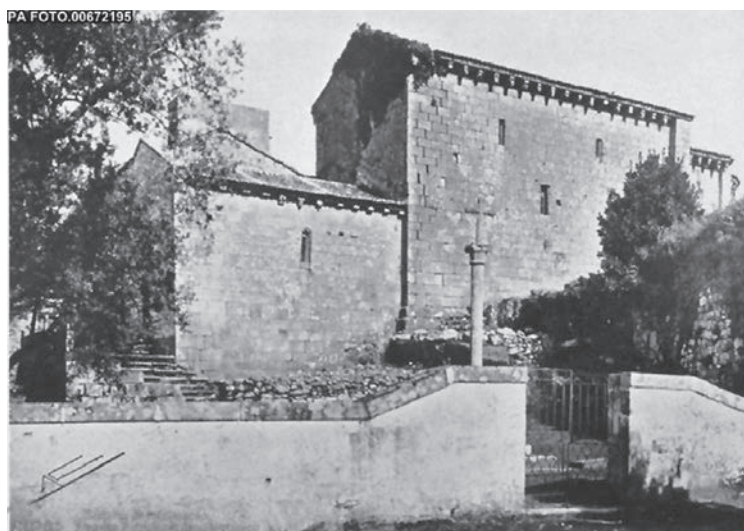


Fig. 13- Sanfins de Friestas, Valença, Portugal, view of the church and galilee before the destruction of the later in the 1930's [after *Boletim da DGEMN* (1938), nº 11]

ashlars, still sporting, at the time of its careless destruction, a narrow louver on the south wall and an arcosolium on the interior of the opposing wall, as in Serzedelo or Vilarinho, stating its obvious burial function (fig. 12). We know very little more about this construction that, judging by one of the few photographs available (fig. 13) presented an obvious accordance with the masonry of the church, with a single entrance on its western façade, here compensating for the uneven level of the ground in front of the temple, as in Vilarinho, by a flight of stairs.

FOR A CONCLUSION

We knew from the start that many of the architectonic structures still preserved, preceding the façade of many of the surviving Portuguese Romanesque temples, had been misinterpreted at the time of the restoration works performed mainly on the first half of the 20th century, which we

had already come across in several other occasions. Taking as starting point the example of the first regal pantheon of the Portuguese kingdom under formation – that of Santa Cruz of Coimbra – we then proceeded to explore its «lineage» in a dominion that remained, at the time, mainly rural and struggling to overcome the overwhelming presence of the Muslim occupation on most of its current territory. In places like Santa Cristina of Serzedelo, S. Miguel of Vilarinho or S. Martinho of Mancelos these medieval *galilees* are still kept more or less intact and *in situ*, but in many other places, like S. Pedro of Ferreira or Sanfins de Friestas, as we have just seen, the archaeological and architectonic evidence has been severely overshadowed, when not destroyed altogether; in other places, like in Salvador of Freixo de Baixo, they were ignored and «scenographically» arranged. Nevertheless, both in architectural as in symbolic terms, these structures are of primary importance, given the crucial role they played in the

evolution of the burial rites at the Portuguese monasteries during the 11th to early 13th centuries, echoing the same use and rituals performed at the other Peninsular kingdoms and beyond the Pyrenees. In addition, that was our main motivation to try to restore them to their former glory – even if, in many cases, only through a process of virtual recreation – always within the strict boundaries of the historical, archaeological and artistic data we are able to collect and confirm.

It became almost immediately apparent that the evolution of this specific kind of architecture was made according to the need, on the part of the buried, of a greater *symbolic liaison* but also some kind of *dependence* towards the churches to which these *galilees* are physically attached, seeking their patrons and promoters an obvious approach to the monastic temples, buried in clearly *privileged* spaces that established a radical contrast with the «common» burials, thus enhancing their main goal: the perpetual evocation of their *memory*.