SANTIAGO, SAINT-DENIS, AND SAINT PETER

The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León–Castile in 1080

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The Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez (+1093): Its Place and the Role of Sahagún in the Beginnings of Spanish Romanesque Sculpture

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A work of art is but the place it occupies—or the gap its disappearance leaves—in that framework of events we know as History of Art. It is well known how monuments change their meaning and value—indeed, their essence—in accordance with the displacements in time or space to which they are submitted by archaeologists and connoisseurs. In our present case, it is not the work that moved; it remains as firmly attached as ever to its epigraphical date, December 1093,¹ which constitutes one of the few unanimously accepted milestones in the origins of Spanish Romanesque sculpture. It is, rather, the whole stylistic context in which the monument in question is involved that has experienced substantial changes in the past two decades. As a consequence, the significance of this point of reference is no longer the same.

There are three facts defining this new set of relationships. First of all, we have the breakdown of the documentary basis apparently allowing us to place the sculptural program of Jaca Cathedral, in Aragon, in the seventh decade of the eleventh century.² Evidence of artistic interchange between the Aragonese workshop and that of Bernardus Geldinus, which was responsible for the decoration of the sanctuary and transept tribunes of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, serves as confirmation of the relative contemporaneity of both campaigns at a date around 1096.³ Secondly, there is the new archaeological reading proposed by John Williams for the ensemble of the church of San Isidoro in León.⁴ According to his conclusions, the porch or Panteón Real may now be placed within the chronological limits once attributed to the church—say, between 1072 and
1101—and this appears as a work of the first half, and mainly of the first quarter, of the twelfth century. Finally, we have a valuable index for the establishment of a relative chronology within the development of the Jaca sculptural tradition along the route to Santiago: the clear traces it reveals of the influence of the Roman sarcophagus of Husillos.\(^5\) Given the fact that the place where this piece comes from is no more than fifteen miles from Frómista—where its impact is, by the way, more evident—we can reasonably assume that sculptors working there were the first to know and benefit from that model, whose influence was subsequently to reach the more ambitious programs of Jaca, Toulouse, Santiago, and León. In sum, the sculpture we call “jaquesa” seems to have attained its stylistical definition at Frómista, in western Castile, before experiencing the splendor it later achieved in Aragón.

On the basis of these new facts, the early—and certain—date of the tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez and its western, Leonese origin are indications requiring profound revision and revaluation. For those scholars assuming that the sculpture in Jaca and León could have been created by the ten-sixties,\(^6\) a date fixed thirty years later (like that of the piece we are dealing with) furnished but a subsidiary—if important—proof of the persistence and vulgarization of a style. On the contrary, those who upheld (as Georges Gaillard did\(^7\)) later, more prudent dates seem to have felt a little disturbed by the precocity of our monument, whose importance they tried to minimize by emphasizing its supposed traditional, even pre-Romanesque character. By regarding it as a last link with Visigothic and Asturian traditions that could have constituted the raw material of a particular Spanish mood in Romanesque sculpture, Georges Gaillard came to a partial and exceptional agreement on this point with his most frequent scholarly opponents,\(^8\) Manuel Gómez-Moreno and Arthur Kingsley Porter. Both had previously pointed to Mozarabic art as the main source for the imagery and design of the Leonese tomb.\(^9\)

The place where the piece comes from, the abbey church of San Benito de Sahagún, does not look, at first sight, to be the most likely to propitiate its supposed Hispanic autochthonism. It is well known that Sahagún played the main role in the Cluniac reform during the reign of Alfonso VI and was in fact the central focus of the francophile cultural policies carried out by this monarch.\(^10\) It is very important for our purpose to remember that this Cluny of the Leonese kingdom was, at the same time, its ephemeral Saint-Denis. From 1080, Alfonso VI had chosen its church as the royal pantheon. Four of his wives, one of his mistresses, his only son, and, finally, himself were buried there between 1078 and 1109.\(^11\) Im-
portant consequences in the artistic realm, mostly in funerary art, can be easily imagined, but subsequent restorations and the almost total destruction of the abbey in the nineteenth century hardly allow us to go beyond conjecture.\textsuperscript{12}

The prospect of a royal burial place must surely have attracted, as in San Juan de la Peña in Aragon, the noblemen of the kingdom. This was just the case of the youth for whom our monument was carved: Alfonso Ansúrez, the son of Count Pedro Ansúrez, seneschal of Alfonso VI and one of the personages who most influenced his political activity.\textsuperscript{13} It is worth noting with regard to our area of research that his name or those of members of his family—the powerful Beni Gómez—appear repeatedly associated with the history of Sahagún and with the progress of the Cluniac hegemony in León.\textsuperscript{14}

Although the main purpose of this paper is the stylistical "replacement" of the tomb in its new chronological frame, we have first to attempt its typological and iconographical characterization, which will furnish us with more reliable references than the possibly subjective impressions taken from a mere formal consideration. Besides this, reckoning with the scarcity of specimens of funerary sculpture in this epoch, an iconographical analysis can be justified on its own—even if I have to give warning of the provisional character of many of the conclusions, as a consequence of that same scarcity of examples. Lacking close parallels or precedents for our piece, we cannot disregard the testimony of the distant or indirect ones, as vague or casual as their resemblances to it may look.

Our monument (Fig. 1) is a trapezoid-shaped marble slab, carved in a double gentle slope, whose vertex, articulated by a plate molding, provides the space for the epitaph. This structural type of funerary monument, with a strict rectangular shape, is documented in Spain from early Christian times, by the lid of the sarcophagus of Ithacius, in Oviedo, a piece whose relative exceptional character in its epoch contrasts with the large number of Spanish medieval tombs reproducing more or less faithfully its architecture and its scroll decoration.\textsuperscript{15} This same ornamental pattern—"buenos follages"—was surprisingly attributed to Ansúrez' tomb by Ambrosio de Morales,\textsuperscript{16} in the sixteenth century: a confusion that may betray the existence at Sahagún, by that time, of other funerary monuments closer to the Oviedo archetype.

Some partial and scattered European parallels seem to indicate, however, that medieval Spain did not monopolize that sepulchral typology.\textsuperscript{17} The lid of the sarcophagus of Bernward of Hildesheim seems particularly suggestive for our subject (Fig. 2). It presents not only the same kind of
structure, with the double gentle slope and a part of the inscription running on its vertex, but, what is by far more important, a figurative program which is not perhaps completely foreign to the genealogy of our monument.\textsuperscript{18} Two groups of busts of angels compose there the number of the celestial hierarchies, according to an ambitious iconographical scheme which integrated the funerary complex of Bernward in the symbolic program of his church.\textsuperscript{19} But it is only the compositional aspect that interests us. One of the slopes of the Leonese tomb also presents four angelic figures which, even setting aside the possible German precedent, seem to betray their derivation from a model where they would appear as busts or half-length figures. In fact, the relative correctness in design and modeling of the upper parts of their bodies, shown in frontal view, contrasts strongly with the disproportionate and over-simplified appendices to which their legs, viewed in profile, are reduced.

Despite those inconsistencies, the group as a whole is informed by a sense of equilibrium and a desire for coherence with the field it occupies, which are absolutely absent on the other slope of the lid. The angel holding a cross, repeating the uncomfortable posture we have commented on, is the only surviving trace there of a possible symmetrically-organized model like the one suggested by the German lid. For his neighbor, holding a censer, the sculptor has managed to find a more specific and functional attitude, which breaks in a decided fashion the presumed order of the prototype, as do the Hand of God, the portrait of the deceased, and the eagle of John.

The possibility that these subjects, so ill-adapted to the structure of the lid, are intruders in the hypothetical model we have proposed finds additional support in the fact that some of their parallels have to be gathered, as we shall see, in iconographical traditions other than those suited to sarcophagi covers. The exceptional nature of our monument can be, in sum, partially explained as a product of a cross between at least two different funerary typologies.

That is what the representation of Heaven by means of a circular segment placed at the top of the piece seems to indicate—and, by saying the “top” we have already introduced a structural concept originally alien to sarcophagi lids, for it conflicts with their frequent biaxial symmetry or, in any case, with the horizontal display in latitude they usually offer to spectators.\textsuperscript{20} That motif, implying a vertical reading for the contexts where it commonly appears, seems to be more at home on tomb slabs, always conceived as “standing” despite their more frequent horizontal position. Another German funerary monument, the tomb slab of St. Reinhold, in
Riesenbeck (Westphalia), dated around 1130, serves to illustrate this point.\textsuperscript{21}

The motif we are discussing there sets the scene for the angel that descends from Heaven to carry off the soul of the saint. One of the winged figures represented on our monument appears, also descending from the celestial area, but it plays only a secondary part in the retinue. The protagonistic role accorded the angel on the Westphalian slab pertains, on the Leonese lid, to the Hand of God or rather, as the inscription reads, to the Hand of Christ—a motif that seems to appear here for the first time in medieval funerary art.\textsuperscript{22}

Notwithstanding this primacy, the parallels I know in sepulchral imagery lead us once more to tomb slabs, where the motif could first have been introduced. A significant, if reduced, number of German and Flemish slabs, dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, present the divine hand at the top, occasionally appearing as on the Sahagún lid from behind a circular segment.\textsuperscript{23} Another smaller group of parallels is constituted by the singular funerary monuments which Raymond de Bianya signed in Roussillon.\textsuperscript{24}

But unlike those examples from beyond the Pyrenees, the Hand of Christ of the Leonese monument does not confine itself to the role of mere attribute or symbol of bliss over the head of the deceased; with him it composes a dialogue, an actual dramatic scene which, as far as I know, is unparalleled in medieval sepulchral sculpture. In fact, the effigy of the deceased seems to defy any attempt at classification inside the more common framework of funerary portraiture (Fig. 3). Raising his hands toward the blessing Hand of Christ, in a gesture which parallels the feudal rite of the \textit{commendatio}, he is apparently shown at the moment he sits up to take his last breath. In a not unlike manner, we can see St. Stephen giving up his soul on a fresco painting from Boi\textsuperscript{25} or imagine the death of the hero as it is described in the \textit{Chanson de Roland}: "Juntes ses mains est alet a sa fin."\textsuperscript{26} On the lid of the sepulcher of Santa Froila, a work of clear Burgundian pedigree in the Cathedral of Lugo, the Hand of God also appears blessing the effigy of the deceased, whose raised, joined hands are held by an angel.\textsuperscript{27} But the nudity of the figure and the angels who transport it on a cloth indicate that it is intended as her soul, and thus the whole scene refers to the \textit{elevatio animae}.\textsuperscript{28} The image of the young Ansúrez remains, on the contrary, fully corporeal. But contrasting with his living, even lively, appearance, the inscription strangely depicts him as deceased: \textit{Dextra xp(istani) benedictit anfsvym denvncivm}. We may, therefore, guess that what appears as a portrayal of the young man's last ex-
piration contains at the same time some kind of allusion to his expected bodily resurrection on the Last Day.\textsuperscript{29}

As a matter of fact, the closer, if casual, parallels for our scene are provided by the imagery of thaumaturgical or mystical resurrections, as is shown by one of the ivory plaques of the San Millán shrine\textsuperscript{30} or, even better, by the image illustrating Psalm 3:5 in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter at Boulogne-sur-Mer (Fig. 4). The text this miniature refers to ("I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the Lord sustained me") could not be more fitting to our context.\textsuperscript{31}

Setting aside this problematic anticipation of the resurrection, we have to consider a local, unexpected parallel which is furnished by one of the vignettes illustrating a charter of the Monastery of San Salvador de Villacete.\textsuperscript{32} The donor, Ovecó Munnoz, is shown there in an attitude which differs from Ansúrez only in the measure of the shape of their respective frames (Fig. 5). Like him, he raises his hands emphatically toward the blessing Hand of Christ, visible in this case, and is likewise barefoot—a feature which can stand in both cases as a sign of penance.\textsuperscript{33} The importance of these coincidences lies in the fact that the Villacete miniature is also, in its own way, a "funerary monument," for it was created some years after the donor's death. I would not dare to insinuate that it reproduces the actual sepulchral monument of Ovecó Munnoz, even if there is a German parallel for the transposition of a gravestone into a miniature portrait of a donor;\textsuperscript{34} but, in more general terms, both the imagery and the composition of the vignette, with the donor's name inscribed on the frame as is habitual on tomb slabs, could reflect the same funerary repertory in which the lid of Ansúrez' sarcophagus seems to have originated.\textsuperscript{35} For, what seems to be certain, as Consuelo Gutierrez Arroyo has shown on paleographical grounds, is that we are dealing with a product of the Sahagún scriptorium of around 1100.\textsuperscript{36} That statement, in my opinion, is largely confirmed by the style of the miniatures, related to the so-called "Misal de San Facundo,"\textsuperscript{37} and too advanced for the date 1060 proposed by Manuel Gómez-Moreno.\textsuperscript{38}

We shall comment later on the eagle, the symbol of John, which appears behind the figure of the deceased. An angel, identified as Michael, flies toward the Evangelist's symbol, holding a cross in his left hand and pointing with the finger of his right—an gesture repeated by all the angelic figures we are to consider. Gabriel follows him holding a censer, and the number of the canonical archangels is completed, on the other slope of the lid, by Raphael who holds a book as his attribute. They are then shown in the strict hierarchical order in which they are invoked in litanies. Both in-
scriptions and attributes stress the same hierarchism: only Michael is named "archangelus," the other inscriptions read simply "angelus," and as the prince of the celestial armies he is accorded the most relevant device, the cross.  

The presence of this angelic retinue, one of the most frequent themes in funerary art, does not need justification. But what is quite exceptional is that the angels overcome their habitual anonymity and appear identified as archangels, a particularity which our piece shares with two no less singular early medieval monuments: St. Cuthbert's coffin at Durham and one of the slabs found in the Hypogée des Dunes at Poitiers. Liturgical texts, hagiographical records, and even secular literature also provide a large amount of evidence for that specialization of roles. The archangels, Michael and Gabriel in particular, were granted a special eschatological protagonism as the intercessors for, guides of, and bearers of the soul on its last journey. Raphael was not excluded from these commissions, as proved by an altar frontal attributed to the Lluçà Master at Barcelona, where he is shown as ψυχαγωγός with Gabriel.  

The three archangels appear then on Ansúrez' tomb as coming to meet the deceased, as they used to be invoked in the ordines commendationis animae. The attributes they hold specify their function in terms of a liturgical performance. The cross, the censer, and the book constitute, indeed, an almost undetachable unit of liturgical objects characterizing funeral or burial scenes in contemporary art. The antependium of Montgrony and a relief at Nonantola can be cited, among many other examples. The sepulchral iconography did not ignore the existence of that kind of scene, as the much-debated sarcophagus of Doña Sancho shows. But, unlike his Aragonese colleague, the Sahagún sculptor preferred to transpose the funeral obsequies onto a celestial plane. Once more exceptional in its time, our monument thus constitutes a remarkable precedent for that "Mass of the Dead performed in Heaven" (to quote Panofsky's formula) which would attain its full development only in Gothic funerary imagery.  

The three other winged figures near Raphael share with him the same attributes—books, an identical gesture, pointing fingers—and even a similar corporeal pattern; but the strict congruence that the whole group presents as a formal unit contrasts with its inconsistency on a conceptual level. For the three apparent angels are in reality, according to the inscriptions, three Evangelists: Luke, Mark, and Matthew. At first sight, one could think of a monumental erratum, of some strange disconnection between the sculptor's and the epigrapher's work, but the considerable number of
more or less close parallels which can be exhibited invites us to discard this accidental and, in fact, naïve explanation.\textsuperscript{46}

The earliest precedent I know seems symptomatic because of its Leonese origin: the Bible of 920 portrays three of the Evangelists—the same ones, by the way, as those shown on our monument—in the guise of winged figures with the corresponding symbolic animal emerging from behind their shoulders.\textsuperscript{47} Later, Romanesque examples show the presumed winged Evangelists holding their symbols in theophanic contexts. Two different, if possibly interrelated, groups can be distinguished: a Castilian one, constituted by the tympana of Moradillo de Sedano, Santo Domingo in Soria, and Berlanga de Duero,\textsuperscript{48} all deriving from the second workshop of the Silos cloister; a more widespread and stylistically variegated series comprehends pictorial and sculptural monuments placed on both sides of the eastern and central Pyrenees: mural paintings at Taüll, Engolasters, Fenouillar, and Ruesta, and stone carvings at Saint-Aventin and Roda de Isábena comprise this group.\textsuperscript{49}

One can reasonably doubt whether all those examples represent actual winged Evangelists, holding their respective symbols as a kind of device, or whether they were intended rather as simple angels carrying the symbolic animals. As for the Pyrenean examples, I fear that even some of the artists responsible for their execution would probably share our perplexity. A chronological ranging of the whole series seems in fact to reveal that a gradual process of misinterpretation, ending in an eventual supplanting of identities, actually took place: angels carrying the Evangelists' symbols, as they appear at Taüll or Engolasters, thus became the winged Evangelists holding the masks of their respective animals that we can see at Roda de Isábena or at Saint-Aventin.\textsuperscript{50}

A Gospel Book in the archives of the Cathedral of Vich, dating from the middle of the eleventh century, testifies to a possible local tradition which seems to account for the remote starting point of that process. Each of the Gospels is introduced there by two angels flanking the corresponding symbol, the calf of Luke being moreover enclosed in a clipeus as it appears at Taüll and Engolasters.\textsuperscript{51} For the culmination of the process of assimilation, we are given clear evidence by the tympanum of Valcabrère, a pillar of the cloister of Saint-Bertrand in Comminges, and the altar frontal of Benavent de la Conca, where the Evangelists holding their symbols have already abandoned their wings as if this attribute were felt to be the product of a usurpation.\textsuperscript{52} That iconographical adjustment is the best proof that the winged types they derive from were actually interpreted as Evangelists. A similar process can be guessed at for the Castilian examples.\textsuperscript{53}
If our conclusions are correct, both the Pyrenean and the Castilian series of winged Evangelists would have originated as relatively local phenomena, fully independent of the precedent furnished by the León Bible of 920. The possibility of considering the Evangelists' portraits in this manuscript as the head of a Spanish tradition, within reach of the Sahagún sculptor, thus appears to be seriously weakened. Moreover, in all the examples we have cited, the winged Evangelists were recognizable as such on the condition that they appeared holding their animal devices, which is not the case of the ones shown on Ansúrez' tomb. If we have given some attention to those examples, it was just to underline, by discarding them, the clear isolation of our monument at a point where a large number of parallels seemed to attest its supposed Hispanicism.

The actual parallels of our winged Evangelists are in reality to be looked for far beyond the Pyrenees, in Auvergne and Rouergue or in Anglo-Saxon illumination. Capitals at Mozart, Volvic, Clermont-Ferrand, Brioude, Maringues, and Conques show groups of winged figures displaying scrolls or open books with the names of the Evangelists or the incipit of their respective texts. The question can be raised once more whether we are dealing with actual, winged Evangelists or rather with angels holding the Gospels for, as in the case of the Pyrenean examples we have just considered, a tradition of Gospel illustration existed where each one of the texts was introduced by a pair of angels holding books or tablets with the corresponding incipit. But even admitting some kind of dependence on those models, an eventual reinterpretation of the angels as winged Evangelists seems to be more than possible. In an Anglo-Saxon Gospel Book at Oxford, the usual pairs of angels are reduced to a sole, multi-winged figure holding a scroll, substituting the corresponding Evangelist's portrait. The doubts we may have about the identity of these figures—whether they are angels or winged Evangelists—seem to vanish completely in the case of the similar multi-winged personages framed by the Canon Tables of another Anglo-Saxon manuscript, at Boulogne-sur-Mer. As if the artist wanted to avoid any ambiguity, he portrayed the multi-winged beings as bearded, which excludes the possibility that they were intended as angels.

We have to consider now the double eccentricity constituted by the Evangelist John who is represented by his symbolic animal, not as a winged man, and separated from his companions, neighboring the effigy of the deceased. I think we have to discard, in principle, such explanations as lack of space or a possible oversight which the carver had to amend at the last minute. I include myself among art historians who like to think
of Romanesque sculptors as not altogether stupid people. There must have been, then, an important iconographical reason which compelled the carver to sacrifice the formal coherence of his work, and this reason seems to me to account at the same time for both of the anomalies we have pointed out, as if they were inextricably involved with each other.

I think we have to invoke, in this regard, the important role played by the eagle in sepulchral symbolism. A well-known agent in pagan apotheoses, the eagle became an allegory of the Ascension of Christ, according to the christological interpretation of the tetramorph. Apart from this, on the basis of Psalm 103:5 ("thy youth is renewed like the eagle's") the eagle was at the same time intended as a symbol of the resurrection promised to the Christian. Some Coptic funerary steles bear witness to the iconographic echo of that symbolism, which also reached Western sepulchral art throughout the Middle Ages.

In the particular case of our monument, it could be argued that a funerary interpretation would be incompatible with the role of the symbol of John which the eagle evidently plays. But to a medieval mind, accustomed to distinguish four levels of meaning even in Holy Writ, there was no contradiction at all between those two roles. As for the symbolic animals in particular, it is a common mistake to restrict their meaning to that of mere hieroglyphs of the four Evangelists or to show this function as excluding other alternatives like the christological one. As a matter of fact, the four animals are the symbols of the Evangelists only by reason of their ability to embody particular aspects of the natures of Christ, or of Christian doctrine, as they were reflected by the respective Gospels. But even in the field of sepulchral art, a Spanish Aragonese parallel, some twenty or thirty years later, confirms the absolutely complementary character of both meanings. The eagles flanking the elevatio animae on the front of the sarcophagus of Doña Sanche have been justly recognized as the descendants of antique apotheosis motifs aiming at the Christian idea of assumption. But what seems not to have been realized is that both eagles appear each holding a book in its claws. It is then evident that, notwithstanding their function as funerary symbols, the pair of birds was also intended as a duplicate version, for reasons of symmetry, of the symbol of John.

Besides this, the whole group of the Evangelists, or their symbols, were a not unusual theme in early medieval sepulchral art. The coffin of St. Cuthbert and one of the slabs at the Hypogée des Dunes in Poitiers are once more worthy of notice, for both monuments join Evangelists' symbols and archangels in a single funerary program as our piece does. The
FIG. 1. Tomb of Alfonso Amírez. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Archivo Mas, Barcelona).
Fig. 2. Lid of the sarcophagus of Bernward, Hildesheim, St. Michael.
FIG. 3. Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez. Portrait of the deceased (Archivo Mas, Barcelona).

Fig. 5. Charter of San Salvador de Villacete, detail. Madrid. Archivo Histórico Nacional.
Fig. 6. Capital from Sahagún, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

Fig. 7. Corbel of the main apse, San Martín in Frómista (Gaillard, Les Débuts).
Fig. 8. Left: Corbel at the main apse of San Martín in Frómista, detail (Gaillard, *Les Débuts*). Right: Detail of Fig. 3.

Fig. 9. Capital on the northern pier of the crossing of San Martín in Frómista, detail.
FIG. 10. Capital surmounting the northern engaged column of the western wall of the Cathedral of Jaca, detail.

books displayed by Luke, Mark, and Matthew on the Leonese tomb suggest that they are shown as witnesses or trustees of the promise of salvation. Flanking the chalice, which they point to with their fingers, they seem indeed to show us the very symbol of deliverance and eternal bliss: the "calix salutis perpetuae" as it is called in the canon of the Mass. The sermon of Christ at the synagogue of Capharnaum is even more explicit in accounting for the presence of a chalice in a context which seems to be informed by the idea of resurrection: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (John 6:54). It is thus to be intended as the viaticum which shall justify the deceased in his last journey.

Our iconographical analysis has amply confirmed the previous impression of singularity produced by Ansúrez' tomb, suggesting at the same time a possible explanation for it. If that piece appears as relatively exceptional and isolated in its time, it is not only perhaps because its closer sources or parallels had disappeared. Even its intrinsic characters seem to outline it as an original and heterodox result of the cross between diverse sepulchral traditions, mostly sarcophagi lids and tomb slabs, which is not surprising at a moment of renewal and experimentation in the history of funerary sculpture. But despite the diversity of its possible sources our monument reveals a remarkable coherence in its iconographical planning. As in a kind of boustrophedonic writing, beginning with the Hand of Christ and ending with the Evangelist Matthew, a congruent symbolic narrative is unfolded whose doctrinal content seems to be informed by faith in the resurrection promised to the Christian by virtue of his sacramental participation in the Passion of Christ. What one could miss is, perhaps, a wiser accordance between that order of thought and the pure formal order required by the structure of the monument. The Sahagún sculptor did not manage to find the right compositional formula which could confer on the whole the clearness and conciseness of a diagram.

As concerns the placing of the monument in the history of art, the vagueness, diversity, and dispersion of the parallels we have considered do not allow us to come to a firm conclusion. But it seems, in any case, that the Hispanicism almost unanimously attributed to it appears, after an iconographical approach, more than questionable. Except in the case of the architectural pattern of the piece, all the significant parallels we have seen were foreign or, if Spanish, they belonged to a consolidated, even mature, type of Romanesque art. Furthermore, we have clear evidence that a sculptured sepulchral monument was, in late eleventh-century Spain, a
recent and revolutionary acquisition. So, even in the case that some of the motifs appearing on our piece could be traced back to Spanish Pre-Romanesque traditions, the monument as a whole is hardly imaginable as independent of similar and contemporary experiments carried out beyond the Pyrenees.

The invertebrate, square-bodied angels of the Sahagún lid, apparently reminiscent of those carved on the Visigothic reliefs of Quintanilla de las Viñas or of like figures in Beatus manuscripts, seem to provide the main evidence for the autochthonist thesis. But similar mollusk-like flying bodies could be pointed out in the figural art of several times and places as a generic indication of primitivism or marginality. Lack of organicity, deficiency of articulation, or roughness in design constitute by themselves not a style, but merely premisses, conditions which a style has to surpass, assimilate, or elaborate in its specific poetics. On such general and purely negative features, it is very hazardous to establish a precise stylistical connection.

Moreover, one of the archangels shown on the Sahagún tomb, Michael, furnishes us with a valuable piece of evidence, half-way between iconography and style, which explicitly denies its supposed early Spanish pedigree. Where we could expect a broad-footed cross, of the so-called Visigothic or Asturian type, we find one whose arms present nearly parallel outlines, after a model recently introduced in Spain. It is noteworthy that only the illustrators of the Beatus manuscripts of Turin and San Millán in its Romanesque section, both dating from around 1100 and lacking any traces of Mozarabic morphology, were the first to give up the traditional type for the "seal of the living God."

Neither can we disregard the testimony furnished by the epigraphy of our monument, in which no trace of Visigothic script remains. It is true that inscriptions and images are not necessarily by the same hand and that paleographic and figurative styles do not always develop at the same rate. But the rule is that writing, as a more strict and inveterate code, falls behind images. The charter of San Salvador de Villacete previously mentioned shows us that Visigothic script survived at the scrittorium of Sahagún when a French Romanesque style of illumination had already been adopted. A similar style, related to Moissac, can be recognized in the so-called "Misal de San Facundo," a probable product of the same scrittorium. No precise stylistical connection can be established between these miniatures and our monument, but in any case they bear witness to the existence at Sahagún, at around the same dates, of a figural design that is absolutely detached from early Spanish traditions.
The Sahagún tomb does not, however, lack stylistic parallels in contemporary Spanish book illustration. I am referring particularly to the Romanesque Beatus of Burgo de Osma, dating from 1086. Similar elementary solutions for drapery, used for the depiction of not unlike garments, can be pointed out in both the manuscript and the sarcophagus lid. But it is not my purpose to discuss here those coincidences which, in any case, could be explained in terms of a wide regional and chronological community. Moreover, comparisons with miniatures could make us miss what is most specific and innovating about our monument: that it is a sculptural work at the very beginnings of the rebirth of Spanish monumental sculpture. The sarcophagus of Dume, a piece which Helmut Schlunk has convincingly replaced in the late eleventh century, serves to illustrate this point. Strongly inspired by book illustration, even of a Romanesque style close to the Osma Beatus, it still remains a Pre-Romanesque work, as regards its plastic conceptualization. Unlike his almost-contemporary colleague at Sahagún, the sculptor of Dume does not feel form as a function of volume nor composition as a function of the architectural support of the figuration; carving is for him a mere means to obtain lines and strokes of shadow, and his purely calligraphic forms float against the background as on a blank page of parchment.

According to Georges Gaillard, that revolutionary volumetrical quality of the Sahagún lid would constitute the main trait of a specifically Spanish genus and genius in Romanesque sculpture, which he tried to trace back to the Pre-Romanesque Asturian tradition of stone carving. It is quite true that Asturian sculptors timidly attempted to reflect bodily shapes by making the edges of the figures round. But they got no further than obtaining flat, heavy, and shapeless silhouettes whose background, being a mere byproduct of a spare carving, lacks any plastic entity. The baptismal font of San Isidoro in León, the reliefs of Toques and Camba in Galicia, or the capitals of Teverga in Asturias are the actual products of this technical tradition at the very threshold of Spanish Romanesque sculpture. They represent but a marginal, vernacular, even domestic trend which could be traced back to the provincial Roman substratum of those regions and whose only continuation must be sought in folk-art.

As Henri Focillon used to say, a style is the result of the threefold interplay of traditions, influences, and experimentation. In this particular case, it seems that the innovating plastic qualities of Alfonso Ansúrez’ tomb can be accounted for only by the last of those three components: by the monumental experiments carried out along the Way to Santiago in the late eleventh century. Our monument belongs concretely in the stylistical
trend represented by the chevet of San Martín in Frómista, the Cathedral of Jaca, some pieces of the destroyed North portal of the Cathedral of Santiago, and the portal of the Lamb at San Isidoro in León. Manuel Gómez-Moreno considered it as just a reflection of the Leonese stage of that tradition, a statement which today is untenable according to the chronological evidence pointed out by John Williams. A stylistical comparison accounts sufficiently for a gap of some twenty years between the Ansúrez tomb and the Leonese portal. The almost picturesque effect attained by the Leonese reliefs, with their motley composition and the richly descriptive qualities of their design and modeling, contrasts sharply with the neat, compact masses and the tense blank spaces that integrate the elementary composition of the Sahagún lid. This piece is not only archaistic in the sense that it may reveal a certain vulgarization of a style of a higher level; it is genuinely archaic as compared with its intended Leonese sources. A capital coming from Sahagún, now at the Archaeological Museum of Madrid, is a clear testimony to the fact that artists trained in León did work for that abbey (Fig. 6). But, if we compare the angel who appears on one of its faces with those shown on Ansúrez' tomb, we must conclude once more that our piece has chronological precedence.

We must therefore go back to an earlier stage in the development of that same tradition, which does not entail covering a long distance. Only a day's march on the Pilgrimage Road separated Sahagún from Frómista where the very sources of our monument, and in fact of the whole stylistical trend we are analyzing, can be found.

Two corbels of the main apse at San Martín (Figs. 7–8) exhibit a characteristic facial type which can be recognized as the model followed by the Sahagún sculptor, especially for the effigy of the young Ansúrez. The three heads present the same low forehead, invaded by a too-low hairline; similar bony sockets framing enormous bubble-like eyes, whose protuberance and the lack of the iris give the faces an expression as vehement as it is vacuous; comparable high, straight noses with low, large nostrils; fleshy, inflated cheeks flanking similar archlike mouths, whose modeling is almost reduced to the protruding, thick lower lips, projected from strong, high jaws. Let us point out, in short, the common plastic conception underlying the three pieces, whose strongly-protuberant effect rests not only on their actual quantitative volume, but on the roundish, tense, and compact qualities of their surface modeling.

Further comparisons could be developed for the simple garments and drapery systems which appear both on the capitals of Frómista (Fig. 9) and on the Ansúrez tomb, but I think we already have enough evidence
to conclude that the sculptor of Sahagún got his training at Frómista at the time when the decoration of the chevet was in progress. As a consequence, the date of our monument furnishes us with a *terminus ante quem* for at least the earliest parts of that Castilian church. We can then infer that some time before 1093 or 1094, and I would not dare to say how much, the sculptural style we commonly know as “jaqués” was defined at the main apse of San Martín in Frómista.

An earlier chronology for the Castilian church was apparently supported by the will of Doña Mayor, dated in 1066, but this document refers to a “monasterium,” a term which does not necessarily mean the church we are discussing. The epigraphic date, 1063, furnished by one of the inscriptions at the small church of San Salvador in Nogal would supposedly confirm the precocity presumed for Frómista. But what has not been said about the Nogal inscriptions is that they were re-employed in parts of the church which everybody agrees date from the late twelfth century. If those epigraphs do not serve to date the architectural context where they are embedded, how could we accept that they allow us to date the parts of the building in which they are not found?

We do not lack, however, reliable indications to establish the chronology of the Nogal apse and to confirm, by implication, the one we have proposed for Frómista. Another epigraph, embedded in the north wall of the chapel, records the death of King Alfonso VI in 1109, which provides a sure *terminus ante quem* for the earliest part of the building. A very possible *terminus post quem* is suggested by the new era that began for the small community of Nogal in 1093, when it became a dependency of Sahagún after an obscure period in its documentation. It seems, then, more than probable that this event marks the beginning of an architectural campaign whose decorative and figural sculpture can be related both to the capitals of Frómista and to Ansúrez’ tomb. Dependence on Sahagún meant, in the Spain of 1093, entering into the wide cultural traffic which promoted, throughout Europe, the birth and expansion of Romanesque sculpture.

It seems, then, that the events of 1080, the introduction of the Roman rite in León—Castile and, mainly, the appointment of the Cluniac monk Bernard de la Sauvetat as the abbot of Sahagún, were not unfruitful in the artistic realm. The immediate appearance at Sahagún of a style of illumination closely dependent on Moissac is significant enough on account of the previous priorship of Bernard at Saint-Orens in Auch, a Gascon monastery which had just received the Cluniac reform from Moissac.
concerns the sculpture, the connections are not so clear. The influence exercised by the sarcophagus of Husillos on the Frómista–Jaca tradition seems to characterize the latter, at first sight, as a local, almost explosive phenomenon, whose earlier traces and sources fade away behind the strong impact of that model. As a matter of fact, related works on the other side of the Pyrenees are occasionally referred to as "Spanish," even by French scholars, and considered as derivative products of the Jaca workshop.95

There are, however, two important exceptions which, in my opinion, may bear witness to direct connections between Frómista and southern France. I am referring to the productions of the "Spanish" workshop of Saint-Gaudens where the hand of a Frómista sculptor, absent in Jaca, has been recognized,94 and to the two earliest capitals of Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Saint-Mont, which parallel the main style of the Castilian church, in a stage apparently unaware of later Aragonese developments.95 Whether these pieces, usually dated in the late eleventh century, reflect or foreshadow the productions of the Frómista workshop is not a question to be discussed here. In any case, they give additional support to the independence of Frómista from Jaca, and eventually to its priority, by suggesting channels of stylistic diffusion other than the "natural" ones provided by the Aragonese frontier position.96

Both monuments, especially Saint-Mont, lead us once more to the Gascon–Cluniac milieu in which Bernard was born and had spent a part of his career, and open, as a consequence, a field of speculation on the possible role played by Sahagún in those artistic interchanges.97 I am aware that Gascony can hardly be credited with a main contribution to early phases of Romanesque sculpture. In fact, the same historical forces which explain the emergence of the western Spanish kingdoms as major centers in Romanesque art—the pilgrimage to Santiago and the Cluniac expansion—have to be invoked to account for much lesser Gascon achievements.98 But I think of the origins of any tradition of Romanesque sculpture not as a fact taking place at once, at a fixed date, and in a definite region privileged by a solid artistic background; rather as a long process in time and space, some of whose decisive events could have happened in the most circumstantial and unsuspected places (as was precisely the case of the impact of the Husillos sarcophagus).

In this regard, I should like to call attention to two other "Gascon symptoms" in the Frómista–Jaca tradition, which deserve further consideration. The first one involves once more the hypothetical and elusive part of Sahagún: some exceptional iconographic features in the rendering
of the Sacrifice of Abraham, in the Pantheon of San Isidoro in León and in the Cathedral of Jaca, seem to suggest that sculptors working there—belonging to two different generations—were more or less directly acquainted with an early Christian sarcophagus now in Toulouse, which was re-employed as the tomb of Saint Clair at Saint-Orens in Auch where Bernard, as we have seen, had been a prior.99 We are not perhaps mistaken in guessing that ties established through him or through his entourage may account for such connections which, in the case of Jaca, can be extended to stylistic aspects.

The second point concerns the Beatus of Saint-Sever or, rather, the rich tradition of Gascon or French meridional illumination to which it bears witness. Its relationship to Spanish book illustration from Fernandine times is well known,100 and I have insisted on its wide morphological community with the ivories from the shrine of San Felices, at San Millán de la Cogolla, and with the marbles of Bernard Gilduin at Toulouse.101 Though mainly deriving from classical sculptural sources, the art of Frómista and Jaca seems to have been not altogether foreign to the same style of design, as shown by the comparison between the image of the Whore of Babylon, in the Gascon manuscript, and the enigmatic woman who appears on one of the capitals of the interior of Jaca cathedral: both figures (Figs. 10–11) wear the same unusual kind of veil as a head-dress, rendered after a very similar pattern, and the lion neighboring the woman on the Jaca capital can be compared with the Apocalyptic Beast of the Gascon miniature.102

With regard to the traditional alternative—"Spain or Toulouse"—which underlies so many discussions on the origins of Spanish Romanesque sculpture, my contribution may seem decidedly inclined toward the French side. I have to say, however, that Kingsley Porter's was not, in my opinion, the right question. The part taken by Spain in the rebirth of monumental sculpture has to be sought not only in the presumed Spanish roots which some works may betray, nor does the rejection of those native sources necessarily mean a merely receptive role on the part of Spain. This was an approach more appropriate to biology than to cultural history. That artistic development undoubtedly parallels, and can be partially accounted for by, the contemporary institutional processes this book commemorates. But it would be a mistake to think of Romanesque sculpture as a foreign importation, as the Roman liturgy or the Cluniac monastic rules were. When Romanesque art began to reach Spain, it was still being forged. What Spain received was not a definite stylistical product but its raw
NOTES

* I am indebted to professors Marcel Durliat (Toulouse) and John Williams (Pittsburgh) for their critical reading of a first version of this paper, mainly focused on the Aragonese connections of the piece, which was delivered at the Primer Coloquio de Arte Aragonés, held at Teruel in 1978. I have also to thank professors Martín Almagro (Madrid), Xavier Barral (Paris), and Peter Klein (Bamberg) for their kind assistance in filling in some bibliographical lacunae, and the University of Santiago de Compostela for the grant that allowed me to take part in the "Spain in Europe" symposium.

1. For the history and description of the piece see Juan Agapito y Revilla, "Restos del sepulcro del hijo del Conde Assúrez, en Sahagúın," Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones, 16 (1918), 49–55; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, Catálogo monumental de España: Provincia de León (1906–1908) (Madrid, 1925), pp. 348–49; Laude o cubierta de mármol del sepulcro de Alfonso, hijo del Conde Pedro Ansúrez, procedente de Sahagúín, entregada a España por el Fogg Art Museum de la Universidad de Harvard, Cambridge, Massachusetts (Madrid, 1932); M. Fernández y Rodríguez, "La lauda sepul- cral del Infante Alfonso Ansúrez," Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología (Univ. de Valladolid), 2 (1932–1933), 140–43. A date "antes de 1112" or "hacia el 1112," which is given in some non-specialist literature (see Enciclopedia Universal [Bilbao, 1926], II:1273; Historia de España [Barcelona, 1935], II:585), has no ground but a misunderstanding of the unnecessary terminus ante quem pointed out by Agapito y Revilla, "Restos del sepulcro," 52 and 55: the date of the death of Countess Eilo, mother of the young Ansúrez, who is referred to in the epitaph. With the assistance of Prudencio de Sandoval, regarding its damaged section, the epitaph can be read as follows: + IN ERA MCXXXI VI IDVS DEC(EM)BR(IS) OBIIT AN[Fos Petri Assurez comitis] ET EILONIS COMITISSE CARVS FILIVS + (Las fundaciones de los monas- terios del glorioso padre san Benito [Madrid, 1601], fols. 73v–74; GómezMoreno, Catálogo monumental, p. 349). For further references to the piece in its original emplacement, see Ambrosio de Morales, Viaje, ed. Enrique Flórez (Madrid, 1765), p. 37, and Romualdo Escalona, Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagúín (Madrid, 1782), p. 236.


6. See mainly Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El arte románico español* (Madrid, 1934), whose chronology has been the most influential one among Spanish scholars.


fied as "el hito terminal de un desarrollo de la escultura española que, hundiendo sus raíces en la Alta Edad Media... continúa una corriente iniciada antes de la Era Cristiana," contrasting with "el arte de origen e influencia extranjeros" represented by the sculptured columns of San Pelayo de Antelaltars (Santiago), one of which was offered in exchange, among other pieces, to the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard (see Lause, p. 4).


11. For the royal pantheon of Sahagún see Morales, Viage, pp. 36-37; Sandoval, Fundaciones de los monasterios, fols. 61r and 73-74; Escalona, Historia de Sahagún, pp. 235-37; Juan Eloy Díaz-Jiménez and Elías Gago, "Autenticidad de los restos mortales de Alfonso VI y de sus cuatro mujeres: Inés, Constanza, Zayda y Berta," BRAH, 58 (1911), 40-45; Ricardo del Arco, Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Castilla (Madrid, 1954), pp. 89-92 and 189-98.

12. It is noteworthy that the sepulcher of Queen Constanza, who died in the same year as Alfonso Ansúrez, is described by Sandoval, fol. 73, as decorated with "algunos passos de la muerte desta Reyna, y gran sentimiento de los suyos"—a description which could perfectly fit the deathbed and mourning scenes of later funerary monuments such as the Doña Blanca sepulcher in Nájera (see María Jesús Alvarez-Coca, La escultura románica en piedra en la Rioja Alta [Logroño, 1978], pp. 27-39, Figs. p. 33) or Gothic tombs in León and Tierra de Campos dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries (see Gómez-Moreno, Catálogo, Fig. 468; Clementina-Julia Ara Gil, Escultura gótica en Valladolid y su provincia [Valladolid, 1977], pp. 8ff., Pis. IV-XX). Taking into account these last parallels, not far removed from Sahagún, and the reference of Morales (p. 37) to the same monument as a "tumba alta de piedra con vulto"—which probably means a gisant—the most prudent course of action seems to be to attribute it to the rearrangements car-
ried out in the pantheon during the reign of Sancho IV (1284–1295). Prior to these reforms, the tomb of Alfonso VI was vaguely described by a contemporary—the "anónimo de Sahagún"—as a "sepultura labrada de precioso mármol" (Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 303). The same material was employed in the (supposedly) only surviving piece from the ensemble: the sarcophagus of Queen Ínés, which lacks any decoration (Díaz-Jiménez and Gago, "Autenticidad de los restos," 52–53). A sculptured tomb, showing Christ and the twelve Apostles, is reported by Sandoval as being the sepulcher of Elvira, daughter of Alfonso VI (ibid., 502). The upper part of the tomb of Blanca de Navarra († 1156), referred to above, could furnish a parallel for imagining its possible appearance. As for the architectural enterprises at Sahagún, see the description of the church by Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, pp. 230–35, the plan and elevation published by Díaz-Jiménez and Gago, "Los restos mortales," and Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo*, pp. 344–48; id., *El arte*, pp. 157–61; Walter M. Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 208–209.

13. Several references to him and to his family, in Menéndez Pidal, passim. J. Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966) was not available to me.

14. The cartulary of Sahagún records the marriage contract of Ansur Gómez and Mumma Dona in 1034 (Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 451, charter LXXXIII) and the will of Pedro Ansúrez and his wife Eilo, in 1101, ordering their burial in that abbey (ibid., p. 501, charter CXXXIV)—a wish which seems not to have been fulfilled. Relatives of the Count appear as the donors of the monastery of San Zoilo in Carrión to Cluny in 1077, and his stepmother, Doña Justa, entered soon after the Cluniac priory of Marcigny-sur-Loire as a nun (Bishko, *Fernando I y Cluny*, I:72; Menéndez Pidal, *España del Cid*, I:241). Property given by this lady to Cluny was acquired by Pedro Ansúrez from the Abbot Hugues in 1085 (Bishko, *Fernando I y Cluny*, I:65n 107).

15. See Helmut Schlunk, *Ars Hispaniae*, II (Madrid, 1947), 240, Fig. 241; id., "Sarcófagos paleocristianos labrados en Hispania," *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana. Barcelona 1969* (Vatican–Barcelona, 1972), pp. 215–16, Fig. 39; id., *Hispania Antiqua: Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit* (Mainz, 1978), pp. 138–39, Pl. 30. The geographic distribution of the medieval—mostly Romanesque—parallels seems to confirm their more or less direct derivation from the Oviedo prototype. There are two examples in this city: the sepulcher of Doña Ontrod († 1186) and a slab at the Cámara Santa. Marilde Escortell Ponsada, *Guía-catalogo del Museo Arqueológico Provincial* (Oviedo, 1979), p. 104, Pl. 100; Maximiliano Arboleya Martínez, *Cámara Santa de la Catedral de Oviedo* (Barcelona, n.d.), Pl. 48. In neighboring Cantabria, the collegiate churches of Santillana del Mar and San Martín in Elines furnish, respectively, two and three specimens, two of them dated, in 1124 in Santillana, and in 1182 in
Elines. Miguel Angel García Guinea, *El románico en Santander* (Santander, 1979), II: 224–30, 554, and Figs. 343, 345, and 1152–57. The earliest examples are in Burgos: the lid of the sarcophagus of Sancho de Navarra, in Covarrubias (Antonio García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* [Madrid, 1949], Pls. 230–31), and a probably Mozarabic sarcophagus lid from Varellánicas (Basilio Osaba y Ruiz de Erenchu and José Luis Uribarri Angulo, "Estela mozárabe inédita del Museo Arqueológico de Burgos," *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 49 [1976], 197–99, Fig. 1); another example, at Vivanco, bears the date 1188 (José Pérez Carmona, *Arquitectura y escultura románicas en la provincia de Burgos* [Burgos, 1959], p. 138, Pl. 6). The same typology reached Portugal—as shown by the tomb of Egas Moniz in Paço de Sousa, dated 1144 (Gudiol Ricart and Gaya Nuño, *Ars Hispaniae*, Fig. 525)—and Aragon, where its presence, at San Juan de la Peña (see Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de Aragón*, Pl. II), may be interpreted in the light of the eastward direction of artistic influences (from León–Castile to Aragón) which is maintained in this paper.

16. Viage, p. 37. The same words—"follages harto buenos"—are just used by Morales to describe the lid of the Ithacius sarcophagus (ibid., p. 89). One could guess that Morales' account refers to the lost sarcophagus of Ansúrez, but this is reported by Sandoval as a stone piece—Escalonà speaks of marble—with no particular reference to its decoration (se above, n. 1).

17. Schlunk cites a series of Merovingian examples, in Chartres, Poitiers, Bourges, Paris, and Saint-Denis, which present a roughly similar structure (*Ars Hispaniae*, II: 240; "Sarcófagos," p. 215n83); see some of them in Jean Hubert, *L'Art pré-roman* (Chartres, 1974), p. 154, Fig. 174 and Pl. XXVII f; Edouard Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, II. *Les sépultures* (Paris, 1952), p. 103, Fig. 55; p. 107, Fig. 58. As concerns the decoration, no significant parallel can be pointed out, but not dissimilar compositional patterns—setting aside the particular motifs—occur in funerary monuments other than sarcophagi lids, as the front of the Theodlechtis tomb in Jouarre (Hubert, *L'Art pré-roman*, Pls. XXXVI–XXXVII), the cover of the Saint-Dizier *loculus* (Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, Pl. VI, 3), the tomb slab of Gundrada at St. John the Baptist's in Lewes, Sussex (Georg Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture: Lead Fonts of the Twelfth Century* [New York, 1973], p. 76), and the sepulcher of Aldabero († 989) in Reims (Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims* [Paris, 1963], Pl. 4). A dating of the latter in the late twelfth century, against Reinhardt's attribution of it to the time of Aldabero's death, has recently been proposed by Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin–New York, 1976), p. 312n86, following a suggestion of W. Sauerländer. For a chronological revision of the Jouarre and Saint-Dizier sepulchral ensembles, see Richard Hammann-McLean, "Merowingisch oder frühromanisch?: Zur Stilbestimmung der frühmittelalterlichen primitiven Steinskulptur und zur Ge-
schichte des Grabmals im frühen Mittelalter," Jahrbuch des Römisch-germa-

18. Porter had already pointed out a "vaga semejanza" between these two
pieces, but he seems to reject an actual connection in favor of native sources
(La escultura, I:76). See also Bauch, Mittelalterliches Grabbild, p. 312n96, who
seems to have misunderstood Porter's remark.

19. See Ulrich Teuscher, "Das ikonologische Programm der Grabanlage
Bernwards," Bernward und Godehard von Hildesheim: Ihr Leben und Wirken,

20. Trapezoid-shaped lids constitute a frequent and obvious exception to
this rule, but this is only general in the case of the flat ones, which may in fact
be considered as a reflection of steles or tomb slabs (see several examples in
Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, Figs. 95, 97, 103, and 106).

21. Hermann Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland* (Leipzig,
59, Fig. 257; Bauch, Mittelalterliches Grabbild, p. 283, Fig. 422, and pp. 282-
84, Fig. 421, for a mutilated similar piece in the cathedral of Münster. For
other examples see below, n. 23.

22. See Henriette s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral
Sculpture* (Leiden, 1954), p. 112. Such an assertion contrasts with Panofsky's
reference to the "very archaic motif of the Hand of God," in discussing one of
the monuments cited below, n. 24, and "other Spanish examples" (*Tomb
Sculpture*, p. 61n3). It is true that the Hand of God as an agent of the "receptio
in caelum" can be traced back as early as the fourth century, on account of
both literary and iconographic sources, but not in a benedictory gesture toward
the deceased's effigy, as it appears on our piece (see Martin Kirigin, *La mano
divina nell'iconografia cristiana* (Vatican, 1976), p. 124 and nn. 31-43; s'Jacob,
Idealism and Realism, pp. 111-12).

23. See the tomb slabs of Udo, in Hildesheim—dating from around 1114
(Realexicon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, VI [Munich, 1973], col. 544,
Fig. 17); Bertha († 1151), in Biburg (Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur*, p.
90, Pl. 45 b; Bauch, Mittelalterliches Grabbild, p. 284, Fig. 423), Bodo (†
1228), in Barsinghausen (Bauch, Mittelalterliches Grabbild, pp. 284-85, Fig.
424), and Saint Piat, in Séclin near Lille (Bauch, Mittelalterliches Grabbild,
pp. 288-89, Fig. 433; further examples, in the Ardenne and Liège regions, are
referred to by s'Jacob, Idealism and Realism, p. 111). Circular segments repre-
senting Heaven occur on the slabs of Udo and Bodo, in the latter case en-
framing a star. It looks very improbable that this motif or the multi-starred
sky of the Sahagún lid have any direct connection, as s'Jacob suggests, with
early or even pre-Christian astral funerary symbolism (*Idealism and Realism,
p. 167). Starred segments accompany the Hand of God, in narrative contexts
other than the sepulchral, from as early as the sixth century (Kirigin, *La
mano divina*, pp. 218-19), and they seem to have been intended originally as
merely topographic notations. A later reinterpretation, as an evocation of the
"lux perpetua," is nonetheless possible in the case of our monument. As for
the concentric bands constituting the motif, a relation with the zodiacal zones
has been suggested (ibid., p. 21).

24. S'Jacob, Idealism and Realism, p. 111; Marcel Durliat, La sculpture
romane en Roussillon, II, 4th ed. (Perpignan, 1965), 57-62; id., "Raymond
de Biaya ou R. de Via," Les Cabiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa, 4 (1973), 131-
34. In accordance with the inscription on the Sahagún lid—Dextra XP(ISI)—
the motif in question appears in these cases superposed onto a cross. Notwith-
standing the scarcity of examples pointed out by Kirigin, La mano divina, pp.
77-78 and 191-93, it seems that, in funerary contexts at least, the divine hand
must be generally intended as the Hand of Christ.

25. See Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer, Early Medieval Art in Spain (Lon-
don, 1967), Pl. 22. Further examples of martyrdom or expiration scenes
where the Hand of God appears may be found in Kirigin, La mano divina, pp.
125-29 and 191-93.

26. Laisse 176, v. 2392. I owe this suggestion to professor Marcel Durliat.

27. See Porter, La escultura, II, Pl. 148; Francisco Vázquez Saco, La Catedral
de Lugo (Santiago, 1953), Pl. 13.

28. See s’Jacob, Idealism and Realism, p. 119. As concerns the rather
exceptional presence of the Hand of Christ on a sarcophagus lid, the parallel
provided by this piece is no less deceitful, for, as in the case of the Sahagún
monument, a contamination of traditions may be guessed at. Emile Bertaux
was surely right in suggesting a Limoges reliquary as the model for the un-
usual composition of the Lugo sepulcher ("La sculpture chrétienne en Espagne
II.1, p. 242). Its stylistical affiliation, however, is Burgundian via Avila, as
the same author recognizes (ibid., pp. 243-44). It must be attributed to the
workshop which was responsible for the decoration of the north doorway and
for some capitals of the inner north wall of the Galician cathedral.

29. Even a purely physiognomical reading of the scene, without taking into
account the inscription, has brought Bauch to speak of an "Erweckung" (Mit-
telalterliches Grabbild, p. 312-396), which is in any case a more accurate
description than qualifying the Ansúrez effigy as "la más antigua escultura
sepulcral yacente" (Gómez-Moreno, Laude, p. 4), or supposing that the youth
"asciende a Gloria representada por un manto de estrellas" (José Pijoán, Sum-
ma Artis, IX [Madrid, 1944], 127). An individual resurrection, besides some
representations of the Last Judgment, however, is a very late subject in funer-
ary art (see s’Jacob, Idealism and Realism, pp. 128-29).

30. Adolph Goldschmidt, Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen
Zeit, XI.-XIII. Jahrhundert, IV (Berlin, 1926), Pl. XXVI, Fig. 84 h; Joaquín
31. See its reproduction and commentary in Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, III (Gütersloh, 1971), 70, 381, and Fig. 184. It is noteworthy that this psalm headed the series of those prescribed by the Hispanic ritual for the "Ordo in finem hominis diei" (Juan Llopis Sarrió, "La Sagrada Escritura, fuente de inspiración de la liturgia de difuntos del antiguo rito hispánico," HS, 17 [1964], 366). The Latin text is even more suggestive for our subject: "Ego dormivi, et soporatus sum: et exsurrexi, quia Dominus suscipit me."


33. For the iconography of Penance in Spain see Moralejo, "La sculpture romane," 94–97. In 1117, a council held in Burgos obliged the seditious burghers of Sahagún to ask the abbot for mercy "viniendo los pies descalzos" (Escalona, *Historia de Sahagún*, p. 349).

34. See the tomb slab of Plectrudis, at St. Maria im Kapitol in Cologne, and its reflection on a Salzburg Graduale from around 1200, in Bauch, *Mittelalterliches Grabbild*, pp. 27–28, Figs. 23 and 25.

35. The Villacete miniature can be compared with the relief decorating the *ensel* of Bego († 1107) in Conques, where the abbot is introduced by St. Fides to a blessing Christ (Bauch, *Mittelalterliches Grabbild*, p. 48, Fig. 61; Christoph Bernouilli, *Die Skulpturen der Abtei Conques-en-Rouergue* [Basel, 1956], Pl. 23), and with later German epitaphs representing couples in a praying attitude (Bauch, *Mittelalterliches Grabbild*, pp. 198–99, Figs. 310–11). For a bust of a blessing Christ at the top of a funerary monument, see the tomb slab of Bruno († 1194) in Hildesheim (Bauch, *Mittelalterliches Grabbild*, p. 286, Fig. 425). Another vignette on the Villacete charter, representing abbot Gregorius (see above, n. 32 for its reproduction), reveals similar connections with funerary or at least "prospective" (in Panofsky's sense of the term) imagery: the abbot also appears barefoot and is haloed, as is Durand in his memorial portrait at Moissac.

36. See above, n. 32. This author proposes the period 1080–1117, and more precisely between 1104 and 1117, for the copy of the charter.

37. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS vitr. 20–8. See reproductions in J. Domínguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination* (Florence and Paris, 1930), I, Pls. 47 and 51 a; Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos españoles* (Madrid, 1930), I, Pl. XXIII. Compare the lean facial type of the crucified Christ illustrating the "Te igitur" page (fol. 2) with those shown on the Villacete vignettes, especially to that of Oveco Monniz. The edges of the draperies, drawn with thick, tense, and drastic outlines, also present very similar patterns, with a rougher—undoubtedly derivative—character in the case of the charter miniatures. The manuscript, wrongly and vaguely dated by Domínguez Bordona in the twelfth or thirteenth century, has been placed by A. Mundó in the last
quarter of the eleventh and tentatively ascribed either to Limoges or Burgundy or to a French hand working at Sahagún (see José Janini and José Serrano, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de la Biblioteca Nacional* [Madrid, 1969], pp. 248–49). Internal and historical evidence, connecting it both to Sahagún and to Toledo (ibid.), as well as the stylistical relations I have pointed out seem to attest the latter possibility. We are probably dealing with a manuscript brought to Toledo by archbishop Bernard himself, who was the abbot of Sahagún between 1080 and 1086. For this personage and further connections of the manuscript, see below, nn. 74 and 92.


40. For St. Cuthbert's coffin see Ernst Kitzinger, "The Coffin-Reliquary," *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscome (Durham, 1956), pp. 202ff., Pl. vii. For the Poitiers slab, frequently related to the former, Hubert, *L'Art pré-romain*, p. 158, Fig. 179; Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, p. 47, Fig. 13; Victor H. Elbern, "Neue Aspekte frühmittelalterlicher Skulptur in Gallien," *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur* (Heidelberg 1970), ed. V. Milojevic (Mainz, 1971), II:14, Pl. 18, Fig. 5. See also ibid., Pl. 18, Fig. 4, for the remaining fragments of a similar slab showing two angels. Both slabs, each displaying series of half-length angels and Evangelists on a trapezoid field and with inscriptions running parallel to the major edges, may bear some support for the hypothetical typology we have proposed as a model for the Sahagún lid.

41. See the *ordinis* edited by Migne, PL 61.921ff.; K. Escher, "Die Engel am französischen Grabmal des Mittelalters und ihre Beziehungen zur Liturgie," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 35 (1912), 97–112; Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie*, I.2 (Paris, 1924), cols. 2121–30, sv. "anges"; Aurelia Stapert, *L'ange roman dans la pensée et dans l'art* (Paris, 1975), pp. 233–35 and 380–81; Llopis Sarrió, "Sagrada Escritura," 381–85. It is therefore very striking that E. Lucchesi-Palli should qualify as a rarity the presence of the archangels on a funerary monument, in discussing the Poitiers slab referred to above (*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum [Rome and Freiburg, 1968], I, col. 677). Norwithstanding the absence of confirmative inscriptions, s'Jacob is undoubtedly right in identifying the angels appearing alone in expiration or funeral scenes as Michael, and the more frequent pairs of angels as Michael and Gabriel (*Idealism and Realism*, pp. 117–18). Mere reasons of compositional symmetry suffice in such cases to account for the reduction of the number of archangels. Only a rich narrative such as that displayed on the Santa Froila sepulcher (see above, n. 27) allowed the inclusion of the triad.

43. See Walter W. S. Cook and José Gúdiol Ricart, *Ars Hispaniae, VI* (Madrid, 1950), Fig. 174, for the Montgrony *antependium* (the censer held by the personage to the left of St. Martin's body is almost completely efaced); Roberto Salvini, *Wiligelmo e le origini della scultura romanica* (Milan, 1956), Fig. 146, for the Nonantola relief showing the obsequies of Pope Hadrian. The abundance of parallels, mostly in hagiographical imagery, makes further references unnecessary. For the cross and the censer in Spanish funerary liturgy see Gonzalo Menéndez-Pidal, "El lábaro primitivo de la Reconquista," *BRAH*, 136 (1955), 293–95.


46. As far as I know, there exists no specific and comprehensive literature dealing with this strange iconographic peculiarity, whose discussion has been almost exclusively confined to monographic or regional studies concerning the monuments where it appears (see below, nn. 41–49 and 54). General reference works accord it scarce attention. Louis Réau refers briefly to some of the Auvergnate winged Evangelists we are later to consider (Iconographie de l'art chrétien, III.1 [Paris, 1958], p. 478), and two German examples—in the Bernward Gospels and on the back cover of the Lindau Gospels, restored in the sixteenth century—are the only ones reported by U. Nilgen in Kirschbaum's *Lexicon*, I, col. 709. Wider and more useful information was provided me by the files of the Princeton Index of Christian Art (see below, nn. 56–57). The Spanish and southern French examples we are to deal with first were briefly discussed by René Crozet, "Les quatre évangelistes et leurs symboles: Assimilations et adaptations," *Les Cahiers Techniques de l'Art*, 4 (1962), 9–12. None of the sources referred to mentions our monument.


49. Crozet, "Quatre évangelistes," 9–10 and 17–18; Marcel Durliat and Victor Allègre, *Pyrénées romanes* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1978), p. 62, Fig. 26 (for Saint-Aventin); pp. 167, 176, and Fig. 26 (for Engolasters); Durliat,
Roussillon roman (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1964), pp. 106–107, Figs. 32 and 35 (for Fenouillar); Gonzalo Borrás Gualis and Manuel García Guatas, La pintura románica en Aragón (Zaragoza, 1978), p. 166, Pls. 135–36 (for Ruesta); Cook and Gudiol Ricart, Ars Hispaniae, Figs. 11 and 13 (for Taüll), and Fig. 357 (for the tomb of San Ramón at Roda de Isábena). See also a fragment from the apsidal decoration of Sant Romà de les Bons, now in Barcelona (Durliat and Allègre, Pyrénées romanes, Fig. 71), which allows one to imagine a composition similar to the one from Engolasters. A 13th-century capital at the Cathedral of Borgo San Donino, pointed out by Crozet, "Quatre évangelistes," 10–11, constitutes the only exception to the Castilian or Pyrenean diffusion of this iconographic formula.

50. The sense of their evolution reveals in fact a tendency to a narrower connection between the winged figure and the symbolic animal, as if to constitute an inseparable whole, which is accompanied by a progressive shift of emphasis from the latter to the former: the full-length animals of Taüll and Engolasters, clearly delimited by a clipeus, are reduced to προσωπαί in Fenouillar and Ruesta, and become mere emblematic heads at Roda and Saint-Aventin. Fenouillar seems to have been a crucial point in the reinterpretation process: the winged figures are there accorded a book, an attribute that confirms their new iconographical status.

51. See reproductions in Josep Gudiol i Cunill, Els primitius: La miniatura catalana (Barcelona, 1955), pp. 126–27, Figs. 124, 127, and 128; Wilhelm Neuss, Die katalanische Bibel-Illustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei (Bonn–Leipzig, 1922), Pl. 52, Fig. 152. See ibid., pp. 128, 133–34, and Pl. 52, Figs. 149–50, for other Catalan examples, from the Ripoll Bible, showing the Evangelists’ symbols enclosed in clipei.

52. Crozet, "Quatre évangelistes," 10 and 16; Durliat and Allègre, Pyrénées romanes, pp. 154, 160, Figs. 57 and 61. For the antependium of Benavent de la Conca, Cook and Gudiol Ricart, Ars Hispaniae, Fig. 332. The value of the testimony afforded by these examples is increased by the fact that they belong together, in the same stylistical tradition, with those previously referred to at Saint-Aventin and Roda de Isábena as showing winged Evangelists (see above, n. 49). The dependence of the latter—the sepulcher of San Ramón at the Roda cathedral—on the workshops of the Garonne basin is confirmed by its close formal similarities with a recently-discovered relief at Saint-Gaudens (see its reproduction in Marcel Durliat, "Découverte d’une sculpture romane à Saint-Gaudens," Bulletin Monumental, 135 [1977], 151–56, Fig. 1).

53. The tympanum of the Pórtico de la Gloria at the cathedral of Santiago—a work related to this stylistical tradition—offers an alternate formula which parallels, in a certain way, that of Saint-Bertrand and Valcabrère: the Evangelists, without wings and shown as scribes, join their symbols, which is unusual in monumental theophanic visions.


57. See, on this manuscript, Temple, ibid., pp. 66–67, No. 44; A. Boutemy, "Un monument capital de l'enluminure anglo-saxonne: Le manuscrit 11 de Boulogne-sur-Mer," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 1 (1958), 179–82. None of these authors, however, reproduces the folios concerning our subject, which are known to me thanks to the files of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton.

58. Many other cases may be pointed out where the figure or the symbol of John are accorded a particular treatment that distinguishes them from the other Evangelists. In the Leonese Bible of 920, referred to above, n. 47, the portrayal of Matthew, Luke, and Mark as winged figures—the two latter surmounted by their symbols—contrasts with the purely animal appearance of John (illustrated by Peter Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14–1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid* [Hildesheim-New York, 1976], II, Pl. 222). The fact that a similar diversification occurs in the almost contemporary silver casket of Astorga—the eagle of John and a therianthropic Luke are preserved (Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art*, Pl. 40)—does not permit one to guess at a specifically Spanish tradition leading to the Sahagún lid, for exactly the same contrasting characterization is found on an 11th-century stone cross at Durham (Crozet, "Quatre évangelistes," 10). The opposite solution—a therianthropic John contrasting with normal symbols for the other Evangelists—appears on the apse of Santa Eulalia de Estahón (Crozet, "Quatre évangelistes," 17; Cook and Gudiol Ricart, *Ars Hispaniae*, Fig. 40). Both formal and theological reasons—the anatomical difficulty of matching the eagle to the other symbols and the mystical excellence accorded the fourth Gospel on the synoptics—may account for these diversities in treatment, as in other cases of particularism in the representation of the symbol of John discussed by Meyer Schapiro, "Two Romanesque Drawings in Auxerre and Some Iconographic Problems," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 331–38 (*Romanesque Art*, pp. 306–10).

the Hispanic ordines for the dying (Llopis Sarrió, "Sagrada Escritura," p. 373) and that most of the pericopes read in funeral Masses, in both Spanish and Roman liturgy, were borrowed from passages of St. John's Gospel with a particular stress on the idea of Resurrection. It is true that the most widespread exegesis of the tetramorph—that of St. Jerome—accords the eagle the symbolization of the Ascension, which in any case involves the Resurrection generally alluded to by the lion; but for St. Ambrose the Resurrection was in fact the idea embodied by the symbol of John.


61. The verses appearing on the frontispiece page of the Sainte-Chapelle Gospels (Paris, B.N., Ms. lat. 8851, fol. iv) seem to be explicit enough in this sense: "Quatuor haec Dominum signant animalia Christum / Nec minus hos scribas animalia et ipsa figurant." See its reproduction in Louis Grodecki, El siglo del año 1000 (Madrid, 1973), Fig. 124.

62. Friedrich Gerke, Der Tischaltar des Bernard Gilduin in Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der geist- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 8 (1958), 481; Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, p. 59, Fig. 236; Wehrhahn-Stauch, "Aquila—Resurrectio," 113–16. For further information on this piece see above, n. 44.

63. San Vicente notes also the characterization of the eagles as a "référence probable à saint Jean," but tries to explain it in connection with a nonexistent apocalyptic context (Aragón roman, p. 236 and Figs. 82–83). I know of two other instances in which eagles portrayed as isolated triumphal motifs adopt the characterization of the symbol of John by appearing holding a book or a scroll in their claws: a Flemish ivory carving in Florence, dating from around 1100 (Schiller, Ikonographie, III: 126, Fig. 404), and a Limoges cross in the Treasury of the Cologne Cathedral (ibid., p. 144, Fig. 446, with the improbable identification of the book as the sepulcher of Christ). A parallel case is offered by the zodiacal series of San Isidoro in León (an ensemble belonging, by the way, to the same tradition of the Sahagún lid): the astral lion, which is there allegorically assimilated into the Christ conquering death, appears characterized as the symbol of Mark (see Moralejo, "Pour l'interprétation," p. 162, Fig. 6).

64. See s'Jacob, Idealism and Realism, pp. 27–28, who interprets them as symbols of protection. A considerable number of examples, most of them referred to here, may be cited before 1200: the tomb slabs of Udo (see above, n. 23) and Bernward in Hildesheim (Teuscher, Ikonologisches Programm, Pl. 1), the sarcophagus of Angilbert in Jouarre (Hubert, L'Art pré-roman, Pl. XXXVIII a), the sarcophagus lid of Dume (see below, n. 76), the sarcophagus lid of Doña Blanca in Nájera (above, n. 12), the tomb of an abbot in Vivanco (above, n. 15) and the piers supporting the sepulcher of San Ramón in Roda de Isábena (above, n. 49).

65. See above, n. 40.
66. This text, still read in the daily Masses of the dead, offers a supplementary justification for the presence of the Hand of Christ—"ego resuscitabo eum" are words of Jesus—instead of the supposedly more frequent Hand of God the Father (see above, n. 24). Its eucharistic meaning moreover was discussed in connection with the Resurrection symbolism accorded the eagle, which is also present in our piece (Wehrhahn-Stauch, "Aquila—Resurrectio," 124). The whole composition, with the chalice serving as the axis of two symmetrically disposed groups, seems to be vaguely reminiscent of early Christian funerary programs showing eucharistic vases flanked by symmetric, mostly animal, motifs (see s’Jacob, Idealism and Realism, pp. 161–62). But, as far as I know, the tradition of this formula in sepulchral art can hardly be traced beyond such pre-Romanesque pieces as the Teodota sarcophagus in Pavia (see Arthur Haseloff, Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy [Florence and New York, 1930], Pl. 44), even if the opposite or correlative case—chalices or other liturgical objects with eschatological texts and imagery—continued to be very frequent (Wehrhahn-Stauch, "Aquila—Resurrectio," 123–27; Victor H. Elbernd, "Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter," Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunswissenschaft, 17 [1963], 122ff.). Chalices shown on medieval funerary monuments—like the ones in lead sometimes found inside the sepulchers—generally make reference to the sacerdotal office held by the deceased (s’Jacob, Idealism and Realism, p. 20)—a possibility that we have to discard in our case both on historical and on iconographic grounds: it seems that the young Alfonso was the only male child of Count Pedro Ansúrez, who was in fact succeeded by a daughter, which renders the former’s dedication to an ecclesiastical career very improbable, and the garment he wears—a brial or bliaut—is clearly that of a layman (see Carmen Bernís Madrazo, Indumentaria medieval española [Madrid, 1956], p. 15, Fig. 31). The presence of the chalice, despite its medieval morphology, could thus be considered in the light of the antiquarianism characterizing both the Frómista–Jaca tradition and the revivalistic background promoted by the Gregorian reform. Chalices flanked by winged figures holding books are also shown at the top of two of the marble columns of the Platerías doorway at the Cathedral of Santiago (Gómez- Moreno, El arte, Pl. CLXXXIX, below).

67. It is fairly symptomatic that the extensive sepulchral series of the Leonese pantheon and that of the cathedral of Santiago do not provide any parallel. For a barely earlier, and no less exceptional, example in Portugal, see below, n. 76.

68. See above, nn. 8–9.

69. In this sense, it would be more convincing, though far from constituting evidence because of the chronological gap, to compare the formulae used on the Sahagún lid for the rendering of wings and feathers with those characterizing one of the hands in the Gerona Beatus (see Williams, Early Spanish, Pls. 27 and 29).
70. Note also the absence of the central disk characterizing early medieval Spanish crosses. As for the outlines, the closest parallels are provided by the cover of the Queen Felicia Gospels—originally from Jaca and now in New York (Goldschmidt, Elfenskulpturen, IV, Pl. xxxviii, No. 110), the so-called Crucifix of Nicodemus, in Oviedo (ibid., Pl. xxix, No. 93), and a cross incised on one of the piers of the Moissac cloister (Marguerite Vidal, Querct roman, 2nd ed. [La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1969], Fig. 53).

71. Both miniatures are reproduced by Wilhelm Neuss, Die Apokalypse des heiligen Johannes in der altspanischen Bibel-Illustration (Münster i. W., 1931), Pls. lxxiii–lxxxv.

72. Even the staunchest supporters in Spain of the autochthonous character of the piece recognize the inscriptions as done in "letras mayúsculas francesas del siglo XI" (Gómez-Moreno, Catálogo, p. 349; Laude, p. 9), which makes Kingsley Porter's claim for Spanish precedence in this field more striking ("Leonesque Romanesque," 243–44). For comparison with native contemporary epigraphy, see José Vives, "Inscripciones de León anteriores al siglo XIII," AL, 20 (1966), 139–54.

73. See Gutiérrez Arroyo, cited above, n. 32.

74. See above, n. 37. The possibility of connecting this manuscript to Moissac had already been suggested by Schapiro, who compared the P decorating one of the folios reproduced by Domínguez Bordona, Spanish Illumination, I, Pl. 51 a, with similar motifs in two Moissac manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale: lat. 52, fol. 1, and lat. 1656A, fol. 16 ("From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," The Art Bulletin, 21 [1939], 363n161; Romanesque Art, p. 92n161). The same folio can also be compared with the MSS lat. 2154, fol. 65v; lat. 1797, fol. 2; and lat. 1656A, fol. 5, all reproduced by Jean Dufour, La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac (Geneva and Paris, 1972), Pls. lii, lxi, and xlxx. As for the crucifixion illustrating the "Te igitur" page (Domínguez Bordona, Spanish Illumination, I, Pl. 47), it is the "incipit" of the Gospel of Matthew in a New Testament attributed to the region of Agen–Moissac (B.N. Ms. lat. 254, fol. 10; Vidal, Fig. 63) that offers us the closest stylistical parallels: note the common metallic quality of draperies, which is the result of the stiffness of the outlines and of the dry, graphic system of modeling.

75. See Timoteo Rojo, "El 'Beato' de la Catedral de Osma," Art Studies, 8 (1931), 103–56, Figs. 7, 10, 15, 17, 23, and 25, reproducing the folios in which the parallels I refer to are found. The most recent literature attributes this manuscript to the Burgos or Oña region on paleographical grounds (Manuel Díaz y Díaz, "La tradición del texto de los comentarios al Apocalipsis," Actas del simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana, I [Madrid, 1978], 173), but this would not be the first occasion on which images and script reveal diverse origins in the same manuscript. For, even setting aside the problematic evidence furnished by the so-
journ of the codex at Carracedo, the Sahagún parallel I have pointed out—confirmed by comparisons with pieces in Frómista which we are to consider later—and other stylistic and iconographic connections, coincide in attesting a western, Leonese origin for the miniatures. This is what seems to indicate the Mappa mundi, with its concern about, and exceptional acquaintance with, Galician landmarks: the Roman lighthouse of Corunna is shown there with even a certain "archaeological" accuracy (see Theodor Hauschild, "Der römische Leuchtturm von La Coruña," Madrider Mitteilungen, 17 [1976], 253 and 256, Fig. 5), and the church of St. James appears as the most important religious center in the world (see Carlos Cid, "Santiago el Mayor en el texto y miniaturas de los códices del Beato," Compostellanum, 10 [1965], 620–21 and n. 45). The comparison proposed by Janine Wittstein between the angel of the Annunciation to the shepherds at the pantheon of San Isidoro in León and the angels emptying the vials of the Osma Beatus (La fresque romane: La route de Saint-Jacques, de Tours à León [Geneva and Paris, 1978], p. 134, Pl. XIV) deserves also to be taken into consideration, even if the respective dates and qualities of the works make it very difficult to pinpoint the direction of the influences. A monumental, mural inspiration—as Joaquín Yarza points out (Arte y arquitectura en España, 500–1200 [Madrid, 1979], p. 206)—is in any case evident in fol. 74 of the Osma manuscript, which may be compared with another of the vaults of the Leonese pantheon (cf. Gómez-Moreno, El arte, Pl. XII, and Yarza, Arte y arquitectura, p. 204). Less problematic relationships can be established between the blessing Christ of the Villacete charter, produced at Sahagún, and similar motifs in the Osma Beatus (cf. Gómez-Moreno, Catálogo, Pls. X and XII; Palol and Hirmer, Early Medieval Art, Pl. 82), or between the facial types of the latter and those of the Liber Testamentorum of Oviedo (cf. Palol and Hirmer, Early Medieval Art, Pls. XV and XXII). A last, but not least, Westernizing symptom for a Leonese ascription of the Osma miniatures is provided by the traces left on the sarcophagus of Dume by a manuscript of a very similar style, as Helmut Schlunk has shown (see below, n. 76).


77. See above, n. 8.

78. The terms in which Hammann-McLean, "Merowingisch oder frühromanisch?", 161–70, defines the contrast between early medieval and Romanesque techniques of carving could not be better exemplified than by the comparison between our piece and its supposedly Asturian precedents.

79. See, for the San Isidoro font, Antonio Viñayo, Leon roman (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1972), Pls. 13–14; for the reliefs of Camba, Porter, La escultura, 1,
Pl. 42 a; for Teverga, Helmut Schlunk and Joaquín Manzanares, "La iglesia de San Pedro de Teverga y los comienzos del arte románico en el Reino de Asturias y León," *Archivo Español de Arte*, 24 (1951), 277–305.
82. See above, n. 4.
83. The other face of this capital, virtually unpublished, is illustrated in *Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Guías de los Museos de España*, II (Madrid, 1954).
84. Illustrated in Gaillard, *Les débuts*, Pl. LXXV.
85. Note the similar and elementary solution in contrasting the monotonous U-shaped folds of the cloaks with the straight tubular arrangement of the tunics. As a standing figure, of a type repeated on a capital at Nogal (see below on this church, n. 87), the personage illustrated in our Fig. 9 constitutes a much better element for stylistical comparison with the miniatures of the Osma Beatus than the gliding angels of the Sahagún lid (see above, n. 75). Compare him especially with the angel rising from the sun on fol. 91 of that manuscript (Rojo, Fig. 25; Neuss, *Die Apokalypse*, Pl. LXXV, 110).
86. Antonio de Yepes, *Crónica general de la Orden de San Benito*, VI (Valladolid, 1617), fols. 460v–461; Gómez-Moreno, *El arte*, pp. 84ff.; Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque*, pp. 194–98; Miguel Angel García Guinea, *El arte románico en Palencia* (Palencia, 1961), pp. 35 and 91–92; Abundio Rodríguez and Luis María de Lojendio, *Castille romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1966), I: 333–34. The validity of this testimony has already been questioned by Vicente Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española* (Madrid and Barcelona, 1930), II:28, and decidedly rejected by Georgiana G. King, *The Way of Saint James* (New York, 1920), II:78; Gaillard, *Les débuts*, p. 145; and Marcel Durliat, *El arte románico en España* (Barcelona, 1964), p. 20. A dating of the church in the twelfth century, as proposed by these authors, is untenable, however, on account of its necessary precedence over Jaca (see above, n. 5). Durliat is certainly right in arguing that some of the corbels of Frómista strongly recall those of the Porte Miègeville at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse ("Les origines de la sculpture romane à Jaca," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l’année 1978* [Paris, 1978], p. 395); but this only means a further testimony to the contribution of the Castilian–Aragonese workshop to the development of the later Saint-Sernin style, as is proved by the presence, in the same ensemble, of some reminiscences of the Husillos sarcophagus. Besides the nude youth holding a cloth on the Adam and Eve capital, whose derivation of the above-mentioned model is recognized even by Durliat himself ("Toulouse et Jaca," cited above, n. 3), there are two symmetrically disposed squatting figures on the St. James relief that can be related to a series of Compostelan motifs undoubtedly inspired by the slave shown on the sarcophagus of Husillos (see Bernhard Rupprecht, *Romanische
Skulptur in Frankreich [Munich, 1975], Pl. 20, for the Toulousan relief; Moralejo, "Sobre la formación," Fig. 3; id., "La primitiva fachada norte de la Catedral de Santiago," Compostellum, 14 [1969], Pl. 18, for the Spanish parallels).


88. Simón y Nieto, "San Salvador," 362–63; García Guiné, Arte románico, p. 89 and Fig. 15.

89. Escalona, Historia de Sahagún, pp. 251 and 491–93, charter cxxvi.

90. According to Simón y Nieto, "San Salvador," 359, the years following this event, under the priorship of a certain Bernard (1095–1110), were the most prosperous for Nogal, which was later involved in the troubles of the minority and early years of the reign of Alfonso VII. A charter of this king, dated 1127, restored the church to Sahagún (Escalona, Historia de Sahagún, p. 520, charter cliv). In the charter of 1193, however, Nogal is referred to as neighboring on a royal palace and as a former property of Queen Constanza, deceased that year, which allows one to consider the possibility of a slightly earlier date for the rebuilding of the church, under royal patronage. It is worth noting, in this connection, that a palace, a bath, and a church in Sahagún granted to its abbey by Alfonso VI in the same year had been built by Queen Constanza (Historia de Sahagún, p. 493, charter cxxvii). Anyhow, the date of Nogal does not necessarily mean, as that of the Sahagún lid does, a terminus ante quem for Frómista, for the sole assistance of a stylistical analysis does not permit one to decide whether the sculpture of the former constitutes a reflection or an earlier stage—as Lyman hints ("The Pilgrimage," 42)—of that of the latter. What is beyond doubt is a close relationship between the decorative programs of both buildings, only denied by Gaillard in his unnecessary attempt to obviate the problematic evidence furnished by the earliest inscriptions of Nogal (Les débuts, pp. 145–46).

91. See above, n. 74.

92. See David, Études, pp. 419ff. One of the French churchmen brought by Bernard, Géraud, precentor of Toledo and archbishop of Braga, was a monk from Moissac. For Bernard see also Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, El arzobispo de Toledo Don Bernardo de Cluny (1080–1124) (Rome, 1962), and the general literature referred to above, n. 10.

93. See below, nn. 94–95.


95. See, on this church, Jean Cabanot, "L’église Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Mont," Congrès archéologique de France, 128 (1970), Gascogne (Paris,
1970), pp. 80–90, Figs. 3–4; id., *Gascogne romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1978), pp. 229–33 and Figs. 92–93 for the capitals in question. Cabanot compares them with exemplars in Iguácel and Jaca, but the closest parallels—to lead one to conclude the existence of a community of workshop tradition—are found in Frómista: see, for the vegetal motifs, Gómez-Moreno, *El arte*, Pl. cxi, 2, and M. V. Calleja González, *Guía del Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Palencia* (Palencia, 1975), Pl. 50, above; for the heads of lions shown in Cabanot, *Gascogne*, Pl. 92, see Gómez-Moreno, *El Arte*, Pl. cix, 4, and García Guinea, *Arte románico*, Pls. 57–59. A Samson fighting the lion on the same Gascón capital follows a formula later adopted in Jaca (see Moralejo, “La sculpture romane,” Fig. 9).

96. The resulting picture in this paper for the early developments of Spanish Romanesque sculpture is symptomatically foreshadowed, and eventually supported, by the whole process of penetration of French ecclesiastical influences in Spain, as has been reconstructed by Bishko (see above, n. 10). According to this author, the alliance of Fernando I and Alfonso VI with Cluny was not so much the routine development of an inheritance shared by all the successors of Sancho el Mayor, as a specific Leonese phenomenon, whose original and most active context (what Bishko calls the “praeparatio clunia-censis”) was placed in the privileged Mesopotamia delimited by the rivers Cea and Pisuerga—precisely the region in which the artistic centers discussed here (Sahagún, Nogal, and Frómista) are found. It is true that San Martín in Frómista did not enter the Cluniac orbit until 1118, when it was subjected to San Zoil in Carrión by Queen Urraca (Yepes, *Crónica general*, VI, charter xviii), but its foundation by Doña Mayor and its inclusion in the royal patrimony related this monastery to the same francophile milieu. The extant traces of the Romanesque church of San Zoil reveal in fact an architectural design very close to Frómista and, according to the witness of a lost epitaph, could be dated before 1093 (see Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uriá Riu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid, 1949), II: 215–16). Reluctance to accept a later chronology for the Aragonese sculpture undoubtedly has something to do with the inherited and apparently suitable image of an art starting off in a closer connection with southern French centers and progressing westward along the “natural” way of the Pilgrimage Road. Bishko’s inquiry, together with archaeological evidence, teaches us, however, that the paths opened by history can be shorter or more direct than those of geography. Anyhow, we cannot forget that the earliest examples of Spanish Romanesque sculpture—in the first campaigns of Santiago and León—are also found in the Leonese kingdom.

97. It is worth noting that the anonymous chronicler of Sahagún refers to Gascons as the most important group among the foreign inhabitants of the town (*Escalona, Historia de Sahagún*, p. 301).

99. I have pointed out the possible influence of this sarcophagus in León and Jaca in "Pour l'interprétation," 138-39, and "La sculpture," 105-106, Fig. 27. My conclusions—reached independently by John Williams as concerns León—are accepted by Durliat, "Les origines," 394-95, Fig. 23.

100. See the very convincing comparisons proposed by Gómez-Moreno, *El arte*, pp. 17-18. The direction of the influences, however, must be the opposite of what he suggests, as was widely shown by Schapiro, *Romanesque*, pp. 306ff. See also David M. Robb, "The Capitals of the Panteón de los Reyes, San Isidoro de León," *The Art Bulletin*, 27 (1945), 168-72.


102. A dancer wearing a similar veil is shown on an 11th-century troper from Toulouse, now at the British Library (Harley MS 4951, fol. 298v; illustrated by Schapiro, "From Mozarabic," Fig. 18), which is closely related to another troper attributed to the region of Auch (Paris, B.N. Ms. lat. 1118; Jean Porcher, *L'Enluminure française* [Paris, 1959], p. 26, Pl. xvi). Other concordances would have to be defined in the looser, but not less significant, terms of mood, temperament, taste or mentality, as reflected in the choice and elaboration of a peculiar and relatively akin imagery. The Stephanus Garsia who illustrated the Saint-Sever manuscript shares with the sculptors of Frómista and Jaca a like eagerness for antique sources, which they "recycle" in a parallel eccentric way. O. K. Werckmeister has shown his acquaintance with classical battle motifs ("Pain and Death in the Beatus of Saint-Sever," *Studi Medievales*, 14 [1973], 65 and Pls. xviii-xix), a repertory from which he may have borrowed a type of falling nude strangely reminiscent of the Aegisthus shown on the Husillos sarcophagus (see ibid., Pls. vi and xx, fols. 148v and 201 of the MS; for the sarcophagus, see above, n. 5). Another trait in common is their surprisingly realistic and apparently gratuitous approach to animal portraiture, which in the case of lions and camels could surely be traced back to similar repertories of models (see Mireille Mentré, "Le Beatus de Saint-Sever et l'enluminure limousine: La question des rapports stylistiques," 103° *Congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Limoges 1977 [Paris, n.d.], pp. 112ff., Fig. 10, for Saint-Sever, and Durliat, "Les origines," 369-70, Figs. 2-3, for Jaca). Related to it, there is finally a common fondness for fabulistic lore and imagery, whose inspiration seems to share parallel humor and sources: a capital in Frómista telling the story of the crow and the fox presents also, on the lateral faces, two apes and another fox, which seem to have something to do—both in argumentational and morphological terms—with the "simius" and "vulpis" shown in fol. 14 of the Gascon manuscript. See H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape-
lore in the Middle-Ages and Renaissance (London, 1952), pp. 37–38, 63n3
and Pl. IV a; Porter, La escultura, I, Pl. 25 a; Gómez-Moreno, El arte, Pls. IX
and CXI; Rodríguez and Lojendio, Castille romane, I, Fig. 48; Moralejo, “La
sculpture romane,” p. 99.

103. See, in this connection, the wise remarks of Schapiro, “From Mozara-
bic,” 49–50, which still constitutes the best survey on the historical conditions
that gave rise to Spanish Romanesque art.