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Architecture as Historical Witness:
Eleventh-Century Northern Spain

A. Allen Robertson

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
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ABSTRACT

Architecture as Historical Witness:
Eleventh Century Northern Spain

A. Allen Robertson

The surviving architecture of eleventh-century northern Spain is related to its contemporary culture and history. The most significant political movement in Spain in that age was the establishment of Leon-Castile as the principal agent of the drive for reconquest of Moorish Spain and of the colonization of both empty and reconquered land. The political ideology was Neo-Gothicism - the assumed legitimacy of the Leonese rulers as inheritors of a bygone Pan-Iberian Visigothic empire. The religious movements were: a flourishing monasticism, the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, Cluniac reform, and the reconciliation of the Hispanic (Mozarabic) Church with the Church of Rome. A social trend was that the appreciable influence of Islamic culture and art gave way to a pervading Europeanization as convivencia became reconquest and then crusade.

The architecture, exclusively ecclesiastical, is shown to be witness to all these movements, as well as being testimony to a characteristic Hispanic conservative resistance to most of them. The study supports the idea that the art and architecture of the time was an eclectic and sometimes innovative synthesis of many influences and was not, as is often stated, an expression of French dominance

under the direction of the Cluniac Benedictines. The several operative influences, indigenous and foreign, are explored to the extent that they are revealed in the architecture.

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FOREWORD

This thesis provides an exploration of the extent to which the architecture surviving from eleventh-century Spain can be identified with the history of that time. The presentation is as follows.

The Introduction provides an outline of the relevant historical setting based on a survey of secondary sources. The main body of the thesis (The Historical Witness) relates the existence and the features of the architecture ascribed to that period and to the contemporary historical conditions and events. Further commentary and a summary are provided in chapters entitled The Sequel and Concluding Remarks.

Basic information is provided in appendices that include a table, several illustrations, two maps, and an inventory of the eleventh-century architecture. Two further appendices provide a glossary and a brief outline of the relevant historiography.

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INTRODUCTION

The cathedrals and churches that populate the meseta and sierras of northern Spain are the heritage of a turbulent history. Among the earlier examples are the ninth-century chapels that are to be found in the remoteness of the mountains of Asturias which was the last redoubt of Christian Spain after the Moors invaded in the eighth century. The most magnificent of later monuments are the archetypal Gothic cathedral of León and the flamboyant Santa María of Burgos, both built in the thirteenth century after the success of the reconquista seemed assured. It is however the churches built in the intervening period of Moorish confrontation that are to be considered in this thesis.

The second half of the eleventh century saw the beginning of an era of church-building that for intensity must have few parallels. Reasons for this activity are not hard to find. Many of the churches were built along the road to Santiago de Compostela to accommodate or promote the pilgrimage that was then bringing throngs of travellers from all over Europe. Others were established on land regained from the Moors as Christian Spain expanded. Both the pilgrimage and the reconquest, together with the general

Western European monastic expansion of that time, stimulated extensive church-building that continued well into the thirteenth century. But it was in the eleventh century that it all began.

The character of the time is often seen as being determined by the Faith that prompted both crusade and pilgrimage, but that is far from being the whole story. Politically, unity of purpose and action was difficult to achieve. For much of the century northern Spain was fragmented by dialect or language, custom, and allegiance, into regions - Galicia, Asturias, León, Castile, Navarre, and Aragón - whose diversity and independence could only be reduced by force of arms or by shifting alliances. In each, there were struggles for jurisdictional and territorial advantage among monarchs, prelates, and nobles, and problems of dynastic succession were always present. Twice in the century, a major confederation was dissolved by division amongst a monarch's heirs. Perhaps this conflict was not unique in the medieval world but Spain was different in other ways. Long isolation, due to the Moorish occupation and accommodation to it, had resulted in a cultural divergence from the rest of Europe. No authority over the Hispanic Church was exercised from Rome and the Church had developed its own independent character. Feudalism had a different face and social mobility was easier. The proximity of an active military frontier and the presence of habitable

empty land had its effects and helped mould the character of the society.

The churches and other architecture from the eleventh century are products of a particular time and culture. How do they reflect the times? What can they tell us of the history of events and the conditions of society in medieval Spain? It will be the purpose of this essay to attempt an answer to these questions and to examine how the interacting roles of State, Church, Society, and events are revealed or suggested by the church architecture - an enquiry into the interrelation of culture and power, and its architectural expression.

THE POLITICAL SETTING¹

The scene is in northern Spain - but with the focus only on a part of it. Catalonia, to the east, is excluded from the story because of its cultural, geographical, and political separation from the other Spanish lands and because, in the matters under consideration, it pursued a

¹ This section is compiled principally from the following sources:

A. MacKay, Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire 1000-1500 (London: Macmillan, 1977);

B.F. Reilly, The Kingdom of Leon-Castile under King Alfonso VI (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); and

J.F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).

different course².

In terms of kingdoms and principalities, the eleventh century twice brought substantial unification of disparate groups. In the first part of the century, Sancho (the Great) III Garcés established a hegemony, based on Navarre, that reached across northern Spain and across the Pyrenees, but which was to be broken up at his death (1035). Later, at mid-century, Asturias, León and Castile were united under one of his sons, Fernando I, and León-Castile became the ascendant power. But it, too, fragmented among heirs in 1065. It was later reunited by Alfonso VI and flourished again, adding more territories to the west, east and south at the expense of Galicia, Navarre, and the Moors. Aragón and Navarre were for a while relatively minor states, pursuing more or less independent political courses, but they were united during the last quarter of the century to achieve a growing stature under Sancho Ramirez and Pedro I of Aragón. The places of these four most influential rulers, Sancho the Great, Fernando I, Alfonso VI, and Sancho Ramirez, in the monarchical succession are shown in the accompanying scheme³. It was principally under these monarchs that the churches were built.

² For a history of Catalonia see, for example, Henry J. Chaytor, A History of Aragón and Catalonia (London: Methuen, 1933; repr. New York, 1969, 1978).

³ Appendix I.

The ideology underlying the policies of this succession of monarchs and states was based on the reestablishment of the Visigothic regime that had dominated Iberia before the Moorish conquest⁴. This Neo-Gothicism⁵ required, first of all, legitimization of the monarch as the successor of Visigothic rulers and the creation of a state with the required viability and purpose. The reconquest that began in the eleventh century was then ideologically fed by the spirit of Neo-Gothicism but it was, at first, satisfied with gaining power and tribute from the fragmented remains of the collapsed Islamic Caliphate⁶. The faith, law and customs of Muslim vassals were respected. But as time went on, the reconquest became progressively less a mere imposition of suzerainty, and more a Christian crusade or holy war as Rome

⁴ J.F. Stephens, Church Reform, Reconquest, and Christian Society in Castile-Leon, at the Time of the Gregorian Reform (1050-1135) (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, SUNY, Binghamton, New York, 1977), chap II "The Socio-Economic and Political Structure of the Castilian-Leonese Church-State System (711-1130)."

⁵ Neo-Gothicism describes the ideology that combines the objective of the reconquest - the liberation of the Iberian peninsula from Islamic domination - with the restoration of a Hispanic Christian empire that would recreate the pre-occupation Visigothic regime. The term has been adopted from:

C.J. Bishko, Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980) and from Stephens, op. cit.

⁶ The major taifas or independent Moslem kingdoms were Seville, Granada, Badajoz, Toledo, and Zaragoza but there were as many as 23. The Caliphate had ended with the deposition of the last Caliph in 1031.

and Europeanization became more influential. During this time, military action primarily to exact tribute was replaced by crusade, occupation, and colonization: convivencia gave way to religious intolerance and conquest.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTING⁷

The church in Spain survived the Moorish occupation in isolation from Rome. In unoccupied Asturias the presumptive heirs of the Visigoths maintained a church establishment, built churches in a provincial style and liberally established monasteries⁸ until the beginning of the eleventh century when the devastating northern raids of the Moors under Almanzor (976-1002) destroyed many of the churches. In occupied Moorish Spain before this time, Christianity had been tolerated to a degree and some sort of diocesan structure was maintained.⁹ Accounts of Councils

⁷ Sources for this section were C.J. Bishko, op. cit.; J.F. Stephens, op. cit.; and J. Perez de Urbel, Los Monjes Españoles (2nd ed., Madrid, 1933-4).

⁸ Pérez de Urbel, J., op. cit.. An extended-family-based monasticism developed into a wide-spread proprietary church system based on seigniorial or patrimonial monasteries differing in kind from the proprietary churches found in feudal Europe. In addition monasteries were founded conforming to the rules of the indigenous Saints Isidoro and Fructuoso.

⁹ The New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967) vol 13, p 496 indicates that 29 of 77 Visigothic bishoprics survived in occupied Spain.

exist, and a few churches were built despite interdictions.¹⁰ However, with time, the rites and liturgy had been affected and Visigothic, Hispano-Roman, and Islamic influences combined to create a distinct Mozarabic Christian Church. The memory or tradition of the antique or classical bishoprics and archdioceses were not lost; as territory was won back with the Reconquest these episcopal sees were selectively restored while others were newly established.¹¹

The separation from Rome had eliminated the authority of the Papacy and in the early eleventh century the Church was customarily controlled by the monarch, who appointed the bishops and adjudicated the disputes. Lay proprietorship was widespread. In the second half of the century, things began to change. Fernando I established relations with the

¹⁰ J.D. Dodds, Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990) has described the two that have survived: Sta María de Melque and Bobastro.

An account of church history during the Moorish period before the 11 C is provided by Dodds and by H.V. Livermore, The Origins of Spain and Portugal (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974).

A somewhat different account is to be found in Blai Bonet, El Movimiento Románico en España, (Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafa. 1967).

¹¹ By the middle of the eleventh century, the established bishoprics in León-Castile were León, Oca (Burgos), Palencia, Astorga, Lugo, Santiago, Oviedo, Mondoñeda, Oporto, and Orense. With the Reconquest there were bishoprics established or re-established in Lamego, Braga, Tuy, Coimbra, Osma, Sigüenza, Segovia, Valencia, Salamanca, Zamora, and Toledo. Sees in Aragón-Navarre included Calahorra, Pamplona, Jaca, Roda, and later Huesca.

reformed Benedictine Order of Cluny and provided substantial annual censes to that order. The attachment grew with the succession of Alfonso VI (1072) who not only contributed substantially to the funding of Cluny and ceded several churches and monasteries, but also established personal and marital ties between the Leonese-Castilian dynasty and Burgundy and Aquitaine which in turn had their own close ties with Cluny. Abbot Hugh the Great of Cluny was actively involved in the affairs of Spain. In Navarre, Cluniac reform and influence had been introduced as early as 1020¹².

Relations with Rome were reestablished slowly, especially in León-Castile. Alfonso VI was able to prolong effective control of policy and appointments by negotiating papal approval of his own initiatives and of his adjudication of disputes. Nonetheless, the Church came increasingly under the authority of Rome with the adoption of the Roman ritual over the Mozarabic rites and the growing influence of Cluniac clergy. The acceptance of papal authority came earlier in Navarre and Aragón but remained incomplete in León-Castile at the end of the century.

In addition to the growth of Cluniac and papal influence, the eleventh century ecclesiastical changes were the multiplication of monastic foundations, the

¹² A short account of the interaction of Cluny with Spain is John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," Gesta 27:1&2 (1988), 93-101.

reestablishment of episcopal sees, and the spectacular growth of pilgrimage.

THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL SETTING¹³

The eleventh century brought transforming processes to Christian Spain. A primarily family-oriented economy of subsistence farming, pastoralism and barter with a sparse population and a primitive-democratic social structure was acted on by a variety of influences and imperatives.

The rural pastoral way of life, the guerilla warfare, the frontier and empty land, as well as the material incentives, social mobility and personal freedom that characterized the early reconquest and repopulation, all of these acted against the development of feudalism and seigniorial oppression. There were nobility and prelates with power and wealth, but villanos (freemen) and hombres de behetria (small proprietors) formed the bulk of the population¹⁴.

The development of pilgrimage and crusade brought several consequences. Europeans arrived in northern Spain as pilgrims, ecclesiastics, merchants, crusaders, and artisans

¹³ Stephens's thesis op. cit. provides a valuable survey of the topics addressed in this section as do the first few chapters of MacKay, op. cit..

¹⁴ The levels of freedom and obligation are discussed by Elena Laurie, "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain," Past and Present, 36 (1966) pp 54-76.

while, at the same time, Mozarabs, Mudéjar, and Moriscos¹⁵, including clergy and artisans, migrated north or came enslaved or liberated by the reconquest. Europeanization and Arabicization were thus concurrent influences. As the century progressed, there was a trend toward large almost feudal estates, while a market economy, and urbanization were simultaneously developing. As the plough replaced the hoe, and the water-wheel increased productivity, there were glimpses of increased productivity and prosperity.

In calendar, script, and religious rites, Spain differed from Europe until toward the end of the century¹⁶. There were cultural dialectics at work: a continuing Christian-Islamic interaction was mediated by the Mozarabs, while Spanish-European acculturation was promoted through the agency of Cluny. But the course was well-established: Christian Spain finally turned its back on Africa and the East and looked toward Europe.

¹⁵ A glossary of Spanish and architectural terms appears as Appendix II.

¹⁶ The script was officially changed from Visigothic to Carolingian at the Council of León (1090) and the liturgy from Mozarabic to Roman at the Council of Burgos (1080).

THE ARCHITECTURE¹⁷

Eleventh century architecture that survives is almost totally ecclesiastical. The fortresses, palaces, and civic buildings of this period have almost completely disappeared. Much has been lost. For example, of the eleven major churches known to have existed along the main pilgrimage route in León-Castile, only four survive in a state to provide historical evidence beyond an archaeological location.¹⁸ Of the eleventh-century cathedrals in northern Spain only two, Jaca and Santiago de Compostela, survive. In all, there are barely three-score monuments from this time - monastery and parochial churches mainly - to be considered as evidence of the life and times of the eleventh century in northern Spain.

Appendix IV¹⁹ lists most of the surviving monuments that have an eleventh-century origin attributed to them and, of these, perhaps two dozen have documentation that appears

¹⁷ Illustrations of some of the historical remains are provided in Appendix III.

¹⁸ Walter Muir Whitehill, Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century (London: Oxford UP, 1968). p 209.

¹⁹ The major sources include Whitehill, op. cit. and the following:
Fernando Chueca Goitia, Historia de la arquitectura española. Edad antigua y edad media (Madrid: Editorial Dossat, 1965).

José María Gudiol Ricart, and J.A. Gaya Nuño, Ars Hispaniae. Vol. V. Arquitectura y Escultura Románicas (Madrid: Editions Plus Ultra, 1948).

Pedro de Palol, and Max Hirmer, Early Medieval Art in Spain (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967).

to date them with some certainty²⁰. Questions of authenticity arise but cannot be authoritatively decided here. The very survival of these monuments must often be evidence of renovation, modification, or reconstruction that ensured the continued existence of a building on the site.

Dating and sequence commonly raise arguments when they seem to be in conflict with conclusions based on style evolution.²¹ Emphasis on evolutionary change of architecture or sculpture has some dangers. There is first the anomaly that an assumed steady evolution implies continuous simultaneous conformity and innovation. There is lack of consideration of variability due to interruption, misinterpretation, coincidences, capricious selection or felicitous inspiration, as well as of the constraints or opportunities presented by materials, available time, or site. The second point is that concentration on evolution neglects any paths of development that have been followed

²⁰ This certainty is relative. The documented date may ambiguously relate to the commencement, consecration, or completion of the church, or of a part of it.

²¹ Differences arise between Gomez Moreno, Porter, Conant, and Caldwell on the one hand, and Deschamps, Salet, Focillon on the other with Gaillard somewhere in between. The main argument is stylistic versus documentary dating, and the conviction with which early dating can be accepted. At the root are chauvinistic claims for the priority of French romanesque art and architecture over earlier-dated Spanish examples.

Marcel Durliat, a proponent of dating by style, currently has the last word in La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques de Conques à Compostelle (Mont-de Marsan: C.E.H.A.G., 1990).

for a distance and then abandoned, thus neglecting evidence of equal relevance to the interpretation of the history of the time. A territory is not only discovered from the throughway but from the byways and cul-de-sacs.

With only one or two exceptions, there is little church architecture of any kind attributed to the first five decades of the eleventh century. Almost all the churches in the Asturian, Mozarabic, or Visigothic styles predate the millennium and there is an apparent gap in the record before the arrival of the mature Romanesque in the sixth or seventh decade. Then architecture seems to have been reborn and quickly flourished. Jaca Cathedral, San Salvadore de Leyre, and San Martin de Frómista are among the major examples dating from this time of renewed building and all are on the presumed pilgrimage route. Many other pilgrimage churches are known to have been built more or less concurrently; major churches in Nájera, San Millán, Astorga, León, Burgos, and Sahagún have however disappeared.

The surviving early pilgrim churches seem to represent the relatively abrupt appearance of a developed Romanesque architecture in Spain. This was to be the style of subsequent building for a century and a half and was to extend over the northern half of the peninsula. Most of the buildings to be considered have a general conformity to Romanesque style but they differ greatly in size, facilities and function. They were built to promote pilgrimage,

reconquest, colonization, and imperial ambitions and to accommodate parish congregations, pilgrims, monks, crusaders, and colonists. The circumstances of the adoption, modification, and continuation of the Romanesque style are a component of the history of the time. The buildings are a witness to it.

THE HISTORICAL WITNESS

LOCATION: PILGRIMAGE AND RECONQUEST

The distribution of the churches surviving from the eleventh century is shown on the appended map²² and provides an indication of the extent of Christian Spain and of the frontier of settlement early in the reign of Alfonso VI (1072+) of León-Castile. The simple fact of location is enough to say something of the progress of the reconquest and repopulation, of pilgrimage, and of the establishment or shift of seats of authority and power.

A line on the map joining the most southerly indicated locations would run from just north of Huesca in the east, diagonally south-west to Ávila, then north-west to include Zamora toward Santiago. This can only be a rough indication of the limits of consolidated reconquest. The frontier thus suggested is however consistent with the continued Moorish occupation of Huesca and the taifa of Zaragoza in the east until the end of the century, and with the southward drive of the Reconquest from León-Castile to the Rio Tajo (Tagus). There is however no surviving architectural evidence of a

²² Appendix V. Two maps are provided: a modern map for general orientation, and the map showing the distribution of monuments.

like kind to show the furthest occupation - that of Toledo by Alfonso VI (1085), or the conquest of Valencia by Rodrigo Diaz (El Cid) in 1094. Loarre²³ is the supreme example of a church in a militarily strategic site while the group of churches around Sepúlveda²⁴ is typical of frontier colonist churches with square defense towers. The church of San Andrés at Ávila may be the most southerly of eleventh-century reconquest churches remaining in central Spain.

In a more detailed study, Crozet has correlated the concurrence of church-building in Navarre and Aragón with the progress of the Reconquest under Sancho the Great, Ramiro I, and Sancho Ramirez in the eleventh century.²⁵ The foundation, consecration, and function of churches is related to historical events, though mainly by documentation rather than by physical evidence. Existing churches, however, provide evidence of the roles of the frontier and reconquest in their siting and building.

Another major role in promoting the building of churches

²³ Appendix III, Plate 1.

²⁴ These are San Miguel de Neila, the first (1087); San Salvador de Sepúlveda, the model (1093); and San Miguel de San Esteban de Gormaz, El Rivero de San Esteban de Gormaz, and San Frutos (1100) as copies.

²⁵ René Crozet, "L'Art en Navarre et en Aragón: conditions historiques" Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 5, (1962) pp 35-61. "On a assez rarement l'occasion d'éclairer de pareille manière l'histoire de l'art par l'histoire des faits et vice versa." p 58.

was played by the pilgrimage to the relics of St. James the Greater at Santiago de Compostela²⁶.

The traditional medieval pilgrimage route is indicated in the twelfth-century guide²⁷ that forms part of the Liber Sancti Jacobi or Codex Calixtinus. It should be possible to confirm its conformity to the earlier eleventh-century route by the identification and location of eleventh-century pilgrimage churches. However, of the monuments we have listed, the ones on the traditional route are limited to Jaca, Santa Cruz de Serós, Leyre, Frómista, Nogal de las Huertes, León, Corullón, San Antolin de Toques, and Santiago de Compostela and even then, not all of them can necessarily be assumed to have been built primarily to serve pilgrimage. Other churches or hospices known by tradition or documentation to have existed on the same route have left little or no physical trace: Nájera (1056), San Millán de la Cogolla (1067), Burgos (1096), Sahagún (1099), Carrión de los Condes (1076, 1095), and Astorga (1069), so that much of the architectural evidence is missing.

Other listed monuments are close enough to the route to

²⁶ The origins of the cult of Santiago have been examined by Pérez de Urbel op. cit. and recounted in H.V. Livermore, A History of Spain. London, 1958.

²⁷ It was written about 1140 and has been translated by Jeanne Vielliard, as Le guide du pèlerin de St.-Jacques de Compostelle (3rd ed., Macon: Imprimerie Protat Frères, 1963).

be sought out as secondary pilgrimage objectives by pilgrims on the main route or as the focus of local pilgrimage. These include Iguacel, Santo Domingo de Silos, and Arlanza. Perhaps these and others may have served alternative routes and Oña, for example, may indicate a logical alternative route from Pamplona to Burgos via Vitoria. The cluster of eleventh-century monuments around Oviedo may have both explanations. The Camara Santa (802+), now incorporated in the Oviedo Cathedral complex, was an objective of pilgrimage in itself, and Oviedo was on a probable coastal pilgrimage route to Santiago from Bayonne or intermediate ports.

Thus some generalizations can be made that indicate a linkage of the distribution of churches to the two principal movements of eleventh-century Spain: the Santiago pilgrimage and the reconquest. It cannot however be concluded that all the monuments were primarily built merely to promote pilgrimage²⁸ or to advance the cause of reconquest and settlement.

LOCATION: CENTRES OF POWER

Cathedrals, the seats of bishops, were for the most part built on traditional sites. Often the locations were

²⁸ Although Arthur Kingsley Porter, The Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrim Roads (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1969) p 169, extravagantly states "It was from the pilgrimages that the art was born; it was by the pilgrimages that it lived; and it was only in the pilgrimage churches that it really flourished."

determined by conditions predating the Moorish invasion and reflected earlier population distribution, political division, or ecclesiastical organization. However the only two surviving eleventh-century cathedrals - Jaca and Santiago de Compostela - are sited on the pilgrimage route and they represent new sees, the latter being attributable mainly to pilgrimage²⁹. The surviving cathedrals of traditional bishoprics off the route are all of later construction. It would be possible only by extending the time-frame of this essay into the twelfth century, to demonstrate that the building of some churches was primarily in response to episcopal organizational needs or to the recovery of traditional sees.

Monasticism in the eleventh century in Europe and in Spain can also be imagined to provide two bases for the selection of sites. As with cathedrals, one was the existence of monasteries from older times that provided preferred locations for the building or replacement of churches and abbeys. Several of the monuments have such histories: Leyre, León, Arlanza, Serós, Silos, Oña, and Sahagún. The other aspect was, of course, the great monastic movement across Europe at that time that led to the proliferation of monasteries, some under the influence of Cluny, but also some that embraced other cenobitic rules

²⁹ Compostela, however, replaced the traditional neighbouring See of Iria Flavia de facto in the 9 C and de jure in 1095.

including those of Augustinian canons and the indigenous Spanish rules of San Isidoro or San Frutoso. New locations were sought out to fill contemporary needs, such as pilgrimage, resettlement, or in response to local donations or sponsorship. Frómista and San Isidoro de Dueñas were examples of new foundations on the pilgrimage route.

Of the monuments for which the location was historically significant, several were royal establishments. San Salvador de Leyre, whose crypt incorporates the pantheon of the ancient kings of Navarre, at one time was additionally and simultaneously a monastery, see, and royal court. San Juan de la Peña was a pantheon of the kings of Aragón. Jaca became a bishopric after the selection of the town as a royal capital by Ramiro I. San Isidoro of León and the Panteón de los Reyes were built as a consequence of the selection of León as a royal capital and pantheon by Fernando I of Navarre and Castile³⁰.

The royal churches' role must be considered to extend beyond any purely religious function. They were instruments of the demonstration of temporal power and legitimization. From Sancho the Great of Navarre (Rex hispanorum regnum), through Fernando I who assumed the Leonese throne as rex

³⁰ John Williams, "San Isidor in Leon. Evidence for a New History," Arts Bulletin 55:2 (1973): 171-84, discusses the political considerations in Fernando choosing León over Oña (Navarre) and the Castilian site of Arlanza.

imperator with a Visigothic ordination ceremony³¹, to Alfonso VI (Imperator totius hispaniae)³², the ambition to reestablish an Iberian imperium was clearly expressed and pursued by both direct and devious policies³³. The requirements for imperial succession included not only identification with the church but also its control. Power requires legitimization.³⁴

The search for legitimization then joins pilgrimage and crusade in motivating the building and determining the location and form of eleventh-century architecture. The legitimization applies not only to the monarch, but also extends to the Church itself, and its abbots and bishops. Church-building is intended by the patron, whether secular or ecclesiastical, as a symbol of identity with spiritual authority, strength, and permanence. This symbolism pervades the siting, erection, architecture, decoration, and function.

³¹ Historia Silense 197; 202-3. cited by Stephens, op. cit..

³² Bishko, op. cit., p 71.

³³ The notion of imperium and Neo-Gothicism might be traced back at least to Alfonso II in the 9 C who received an imperial ordination in Oviedo and assiduously promoted the cult of Saint James.

³⁴ Monarchs claimed to reign as rex gratia Dei but did not claim theocratic kingship, with divine power as in France or England.

PURPOSE: NEO-GOTHICISM AND LEGITIMIZATION

The justification of claims to sovereignty commonly depends upon establishing lineage from a classical past. In medieval Europe the appeal was to continuity with the authority of the Roman Empire with Charlemagne as a preeminent exemplar of the strength and implementation of this principle.

In eleventh-century northern Spain the claim of succession to past authority was identified with the Visigothic empire that preceded the eighth-century Moorish occupation. Two of the elements of this patrimony were the significance of Toledo as the traditional seat of power, and the patronage of San Isidoro and San Leandro of Seville. Neo-Gothicism derived from the historicist myth of ecclesiastical-political continuity from the Visigothic era to the eleventh century. The Neo-Gothic imperial ideology was thus a political expression of a powerful synthesis of traditional beliefs and values.³⁵

Legitimization of the monarch also required authoritative recognition which, in that age, meant recognition by the Church or, preferably, identification with it, if this could be accomplished without surrendering effective sovereignty. Here, Alfonso VI achieved the

³⁵ The lineage from the Roman Empire is thus removed one step. The succession claimed in Spain had none of the universality of the contemporary claims of the German emperors or of the Papal Holy See.

tolerant protection of the Abbey of Cluny and the grudging acquiescence of Rome while he retained effective control of the state-church hierarchy, and managed the efforts at reconquest as a Neo-Gothic movement, and not as a Catholic Crusade. Accommodation and lack of confrontation among monarchy, papacy, episcopacy, and monasticism were achieved while avoiding the bitter conflicts that occurred elsewhere in Europe.³⁶

A third element in establishing legitimacy was the amassing of the trappings of inheritance and recognition. This is a major element in accounting for the architecture of eleventh-century Spain and its witness.

The evidence of the Panteón de los Reyes in León is pertinent here. Its location in León rather than in his inherited kingdom of Castile is an expression of Fernando's resolve to establish himself as more than a provincial monarch. León was the traditional site of authority and the centre in which Neo-Gothicism was formulated in the tenth century. The acquisition and enshrinement of the relics of San Isidoro de Seville in Fernando's pantheon (1063) provided a symbolic link to the Visigothic empire that Fernando claimed as inheritance. This was further reinforced

³⁶ Reilly, op. cit., chap 18. When Pope Gregory VII asserted suzerainty over the Iberian peninsula, Alfonso responded by adopting the title of Imperator totius hispaniae in 1079. He was able to do this without the confrontation and conflicts experienced by Henry IV in Germany or William I in England vis-à-vis Rome.

by the reburial - from Oña - of Sancho the Great³⁷, and of San Vicente de Avila³⁸. The Panteón, at the same time, is said to afford the earliest (1054-67) examples of true Romanesque sculpture in Spain³⁹.

The continued promotion of Santiago (St. James) as a patron saint, and the building of the present cathedral over his relics at Compostela, are not so clearly an effort to legitimize any monarch or succession⁴⁰. His recruitment as rallying point in the ninth century and his developing legendary role as matamoros (Moor-slayer) helped to inspire the Reconquest, while the Apostolic presence strengthened the Church. The building of Santiago de Compostela in the

³⁷ Bishko op. cit. p 70.

³⁸ David M. Robb, "The Capitals of the Panteón de los Reyes, San Isidoro de León," Art Bulletin 27 (1945): 165.

³⁹ Robb, op. cit. p 174 accepts and supports the traditional dates and has assembled the documentary and artistic evidence. He writes ". . . there is no comparable body of sculpture which can be so specifically and unequivocally assigned to so early a date in France, in Italy, or elsewhere in Spain."

Williams (1973) op. cit., on the other hand, has questioned the traditional date of the Pantheon of 1063, and argued on the basis of architectural investigation, that it was after 1072.

⁴⁰ A case might be made that Alfonso V of León (999-1027) built Compostela II and established his capital at León as legitimizing moves. But his church was replaced by Compostela III, the present cathedral, and so cannot now bear witness to the history of that time.

late eleventh century legitimized the Galician episcopacy⁴¹ rather than any temporal monarch and it may even have been a rival to the eminence of Fernando, Alfonso VI, and the court of Leon. San Salvadore de Leyre, San Juan de la Pena, and Jaca are better examples of the identification of buildings with monarchical legitimacy.

Legitimization is often effected by evoking or perpetuating the past by continuing older forms.⁴² Architecture can play a major role whether it be designed to establish the legitimacy of the monarch or of the Church itself, or both. One can then investigate the selection of architectural forms for their relevant symbolism and implication. Bandmann⁴³ and Carlsson⁴⁴, among others, have interpreted the symbolism and significance of building form and of decorative architectural elements.

⁴¹ R.A. Fletcher, St. James' Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Ramirez of Santiago of Compostela (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

⁴² Reilly op. cit. p 376. "In that age, and perhaps in any age, the legitimization of change required that it be presented as former norm rather than present novelty."

⁴³ Günter Bandmann, Mittlealterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1951) has elaborated a thesis attributing the choice, by patrons, of the form of medieval art and architecture to considerations of legitimization by identification with ancient and classic sources. The inherited symbolism of building form and of structural and artistic elements is detailed.

⁴⁴ Frans Carlsson, The Iconology of Tectonics in Romanesque Art (Hässleholm: AM-Tryck, 1976).

SELECTION

In Spain, the idea of Neo-Gothicism was predicated on continuity from the pre-invasion Visigothic state and it might have been expected that any legitimizing architecture would harken back to that tradition. But architectural or decorative elements from Islamic sources, which must be considered counter-traditional, accompany identifiable Visigothic or Asturian themes in eleventh-century monuments. While both these Moorish and Iberian traits are important and significant, it must also be recognized that the typical Spanish Romanesque church of the eleventh century is also kin, whether sibling, offspring, or parent, to the contemporary Romanesque in France, Catalonia, Lombardy, and Italy.

The surviving prototypes of Spanish Romanesque (León, Jaca, Loarre, and Frómista) are all of royal foundation and are presumably expressions of royal will and intention.⁴⁵ The design of Loarre is subject to constraints of site but the remaining three, with the addition of their sequels of Arlanza⁴⁶ and Oña, have a common general plan of nave with two side aisles and with three corresponding semi-cylindrical apses beyond a crossing formed by truncated

⁴⁵ Santiago de Compostela must be considered separately since its similarity of plan to Tours, Limoges, Conques, and Toulouse implies a consensus without independent local decision except for the acceptance of conformity.

⁴⁶ Appendix III, Plate 2.

transepts⁴⁷. These conform to a traditional linear pattern of procession from western door through several successive barrel vaulted bays, the nave higher than the aisles, to the crossing, the altar, and the chevet at the east end. The symbolism of entry and progress along a celestial way in the holy city or other interpretation is as appropriate here as in Bandmann's or Carlsson's European examples although Spanish Romanesque lends itself more to interpretation as ecclesia militans rather than ecclesia celestis⁴⁸.

Although triple naves and triple apses were found in various forms in Asturian or Visigothic traditions, eleventh-century Romanesque cannot be considered to have been designed to evoke traditional Iberian church architecture but to have used past experience sparingly and selectively, and adopted forms already in use in Lombardy, Catalonia and France.

The authority and influence of the monarch in relation to the Spanish church has been assumed to be paramount, but the symbols of this identification are less evident than in other states. True, certain churches housed royal pantheons

⁴⁷ Whitehill, op. cit. pp 197, 201, 203.

⁴⁸ The absence of cruciform plans is notable. Although in certain churches (most significantly in Santiago de Compostela), there are transepts that extend north and south of the nave to form a cross; in some others the transepts are truncated and, although forming a crossing, do not extend beyond the aisles. In a majority of the listed eleventh-century churches there is neither transept nor crossing. Thus even the most widely-recognized architectural symbolism was often not adopted.

and legitimizing relics but there was nothing in eleventh-century Spain to correspond to the secular westwerke or the royal tribune found in Carolingian or Ottonian architecture⁴⁹.

Architecture then does not seem to have been selected to establish the legitimacy of the monarch by the replication of Visigothic or other antecedent architectural forms but rather to have asserted royal and Church identity by solid, enduring monuments of surpassing artistic merit erected and decorated by the best available contemporary talent⁵⁰. The elements symbolizing strength, emphasised by Carlsson, are however all here and incorporated in the tectonic elements and decoration⁵¹.

The patrons of eleventh-century monuments included royalty, nobility,⁵² and monastic orders. The preponderant number built by royalty by donations or by royal

⁴⁹ Bandmann, op. cit. However, there are tribunes above the León pantheon and the west porch of the archaic San Pedro de Teverga.

⁵⁰ MacKay, op. cit., chap. 18, suggests that choice in architectural matters rested with the nobility or clergy, abbot, bishop or dean, rather than royalty.

⁵¹ Carlsson, op. cit. notes the following symbolic carvings among many others that convey the idea of strength: lions (Loarre, Frómista, Leyre); ram (León); bear (Jaca); griffin (Silos); ox (Avila).

⁵² Whitehill, op. cit., pp 194-241, notes the following: Arlanza (1081), Count Fernan Gonzales; Frómista (1066), Dona Mayor, widow of Sancho the Great; Seros (1095), the three daughters of Ramiro I; and Iguacel (1072), Count don Sancho and Dona Urraca.

foundations, compared to the number built by nobles is attributed to the lack of landlord wealth under the conditions of undeveloped feudalism⁵³. It was the king who rebuilt monasteries destroyed by war and established others as instruments of social stability and economic progress.⁵⁴

Women frequently appear as patrons of church building as a consequence of their inheritance of monasteries⁵⁵, or of their own foundation of monastic properties. They played significant or major roles in founding or building San Isidoro de León, Frómista, Nogal de las Huertas, Compostela, Iguacel, and Santa Cruz de la Serós. The same motivations of faith, legitimacy and power may be presumed in this architectural selection as elsewhere.

The architectural design, presumably chosen or approved by a patron, would have been from the contemporary store of available designs and resources. What were these? and what

⁵³ Chueco Goita, op. cit., chap. 8.

⁵⁴ Pérez de Urbel op. cit. pp 337 ff.

Bernard Reilly in his study of Alfonso VI op. cit. has found in some 184 charters, donations, and confirmations, little evidence that pilgrimage was manipulated or encouraged by the king and there was no special consideration in charters to Santiago. The route was maintained by nobles, and ecclesiastics, perhaps with royal assistance. On the other hand, Stephens, op. cit. maintains that the King took personal charge of the pilgrimage trade, urban development, immigration, and agro-commercial growth, and used Cluniac institutions to implement his policies.

⁵⁵ Williams op. cit. p 179 notes that upon Fernando's death for example, the royal monasteries were bequeathed to his daughters Urraca and Elvira while the sons inherited kingdoms.

was the historically significant basis of choice?

In a modern consideration of these questions, concrete evidence of the limits of choice is based only on those prior monuments that have survived to the present day. But in the eleventh century, the population of surviving earlier works must have been very much greater, and there must have been much Roman, Visigothic, Mozarabic, and Asturian architecture of which we now know little or nothing. To that larger existing domestic store of architectural inspiration and expertise must be added the knowledge of contemporary or traditional forms and techniques that were then practised abroad. The role of itinerant artisans or of missions to or from distant centres of expertise is difficult to imagine for those times that preceded the formal organization of guilds. It is clear that the evidence of contemporary Peninsular, European, and Oriental sources has diminished with the centuries and our reconstruction of the treasure and genius that then existed must be derived from the minority evidence that has survived.

SOURCES: VISIGOTHIC, ASTURIAN, MOZARABIC, AND ISLAMIC

The Spanish church-builders of the eleventh century did not lack indigenous sources of style and tradition that predated the Romanesque. These comprised the Visigothic, which developed into Asturian and Mozarabic, and the contemporary Moorish and Mudéjar.

The Visigothic⁵⁶ style developed in the centuries preceding the invasion by the Moors in 711, incorporating or aping Byzantine and Roman elements by way of legitimization. The style continued to exist precariously under the occupation, and then to develop remarkably through the ninth and tenth centuries into distinctive pre-Romanesque forms, both Mozarabic and Asturian, in the unoccupied territories,⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ Dodds, op. cit., distinguishes the pre-invasion Visigothic and Hispano-Roman Churches and their architecture and interprets the two perceived architectural styles as evidence against the generally assumed fusion of the dominant Visigothic and indigenous Hispanic societies.

⁵⁷ Dodds, op.cit. chap.2, has noted a Carolingian influence in the Asturian architecture under Alfonso II (ninth century) and attributed it to a search for an ecclesiastical and ideological identity as an alternative to Toledo. The adoptionist heresy advocated in Toledo was opposed by the monk Beatus de Liébana in Asturias and by Alfonso. This distancing may have resulted both in the reception of the Carolingian influence, and in the creation of the cult of Santiago. The events are recounted in Livermore, op. cit.. The idea that Beatus promoted St. James (Santiago) as Spain's protector and that he anticipated the discovery of the relics is advanced by Kendrick's introduction to V. and H. Hell, The Great Pilgrimage of the Middle Ages: The Road to St James of Compostela (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1984) p 14, and this echoes H.J. Hüffer, Sant'Jago (Munich, 1957).

A second source was Moorish architecture, beginning with the mosque of Córdoba (780+), which itself had diverse sources, many of them Oriental and Byzantine, transmitted by Persian and African routes, but also incorporating Visigothic elements⁵⁸ such as the horseshoe arch and certain Roman features⁵⁹. Despite these disparate foreign contributions, it has been maintained that Moorish art evolved on Spanish soil and that more motifs were created than were imported⁶⁰. Moorish practices were brought North by captive or migrant Mudéjars and Muwallids and these had a large subsequent influence especially in the parochial churches in the rural areas⁶¹. A different synthesis resulted in the Mozarabic style. The Christians who had

Blai Bonet, op. cit., attributes great significance to the developments in Asturias, and sees the ninth-, and tenth-century architecture there as proto-romanesque, not pre-romanesque. The illuminated Tractatus de Apocalipsis of Beatus de Liébana (ca 776) is seen as a source of much of the subsequent Romanesque iconography.

⁵⁸ Palol & Hirmer op. cit. have noted that Visigothic columns and capitals in the mosque of Córdoba are from the earlier church of S Vincente on the same site.

⁵⁹ Chueco Goitia, op. cit., pp 80-126: chap IV. "La arquitectura bajo el gobierno de los Omeyes y durante las reinos de taifas."

⁶⁰ Charles Rudy, The Cathedrals of Northern Spain (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1908).

⁶¹ J. Sáinz Sáiz, El románico rural en Castilla y León (Leon: Ediciones Lancia, 1991).

lived under the Moors and who had migrated⁶² or had been freed, brought a style and techniques to Christian Spain that incorporated Hispano-Roman, Visigothic, and Islamic traditions. Thus, despite common Visigothic ancestry, the Mozarabic and the Asturian styles are distinctive developments⁶³.

In the eleventh century, although there is little present evidence of church-building for the first five decades, Asturian, Moorish, and Mozarabic traditions and examples, with their Roman and Oriental components, were still current when Neo-Gothicism, monasticism, pilgrimage, reconquest, colonization, acculturation, ecclesiastic reform, and Europeanization began to change the face of Spain.⁶⁴ These traditions are reflected and enshrined in

⁶² The great migration of the Mozarabs, and their repopulation of northern centres occurred in the latter half of the 9 C. The chronology as it relates to architecture is summarized by Fernandez Arenas, La Arquitectura Mozarabe (Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafa, 1972) p 30.

⁶³ Valuable photographic records of Asturian and Mozarabic churches have been provided by the following pair of books:
A. Bonet Correa, Spanish Pre-Romanesque Art: Architecture of the Churches of Asturias (Greenwich (Conn.): New York Graphic Soc., 1967).
José Fernandez Arenas, Mozarabic Architecture (Greenwich (Conn.): New York Graphic Soc., 1972).

⁶⁴ Dodds op. cit. provides an inventory and discussion of early monuments that may still be seen today. These include, as examples, pre-invasion churches of San Juan de Banos (Visigothic) and Santa María de Quintanilla de las Vinas (Hispano-Roman), post-invasion churches of San Salvador de Valdediós (Asturian) and San Miguel de Escalada (Mozarabic). There however seems to be no surviving Mudéjar monument in northern Spain predating San Mancia de Sahagún

the subsequent Spanish Romanesque and are witness to the history that produced them.

SOURCES: EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

Catalan architecture of the eleventh century is known as "First Romanesque"⁶⁵ and is recognized as related to Lombardic architecture with some Mozarabic influence. It is characterized by sparse decoration, almost limited to blind arches, pilaster strips, and Lombardic corbel tables. Square piers instead of columns and tall Italianate bell towers are also characteristic. Outside Catalonia, this typical style appears in Spain as a significant early Romanesque in Aragón and Navarre⁶⁶, but rarely farther west. Its early

(ca. 1100).

A notable contemporary monument must have been Alfonso V's Compostela II built ca. 1002 and co-existing at least in part during the construction of Compostela III until 1112. See Fletcher, op. cit..

⁶⁵ The terms "First" and "Second" Romanesque were introduced by Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Le premier art roman (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1928) and adopted by Whitehill, op. cit. chap 17.

⁶⁶ J.M. Gudiol Ricart, J.M., and J.A.Gaya Nuño, op. cit., Gudiol Ricart lists more than a dozen early monuments in Aragón and Navarre, several illustrated, that are identifiable as Mozarabic (including San Pedro de Larrede and San Salvador de Leyre) or as Lombard (including San Caprasio and San Miguel in Excelsis).

realization of Romanesque features planted the seed for the birth of the full Romanesque to come⁶⁷. The Second Romanesque that appeared in the rest of Spain and which was later reflected back to Catalonia, combines sculpture and architecture and the structural members are elaborated in form. Capitals, archivolts, tympana, and columns appear and bear sculptured motifs. Also typical are exterior carved corbels supporting the eaves, billet moulding, and engaged columns. The shift from rubble or fieldstone to cut stone and ashlar is also characteristic.

The appearance and development of a Romanesque architecture, mature in style and technology, in eleventh century northern Spain has been seen, chiefly by French commentators, as abrupt with an apparent paucity of immediate antecedents. Jaca, Frómista, and San Isidoro de León appeared as the auspicious first blooms of a burgeoning Spanish architecture after more than half a century seemingly devoid of architectural attempts. This appraisal overlooks the architectural initiatives of Sancho the Great III Garcés of Navarre and his successors, which include the Mozarabic and Lombard churches just mentioned and others

⁶⁷ J.F. Esteban Lorente, F. Galtier Marti, and M.Garcia Guatos, El nacimiento del arte románico en Aragón: Arquitectura (Zaragoza, 1982). There is a disapproving review by M. Durliat in Bulletin Monumental 141, (1983), 324-5.

such as Palencia Cathedral (1034)⁶⁸, San Millan de Yuso, Santa Maria de Najera (1052-56), Santa Maria de Roda, Calahorra Cathedral, San Esteban de Sos, and Santo Domingo's church at Silos, that have been replaced by later works or otherwise failed to survive as original monuments. In the absence of any substantial surviving evidence of these precursors, it has become widely accepted that the inspiration, creativity, and technology of the development of the mature Romanesque in the last third of the century was predominantly French and that Cluniac ideals and policies, which are credited with much of the motivation for the pilgrimage and crusade, also determined the architecture. The role of the Spanish rulers has often been regarded as rendering allegiance and support to Cluny, and Spanish artisans have been seen to follow foreign influences. These assumptions⁶⁹ require, and will be given, further examination below.

Certainly Compostela is regarded, in its broad concept and realization, as a member of the group of pilgrimage churches that unites it with Tours, Limoges, Conques, and

⁶⁸ The antecrypt survives. Gudiol Ricart op. cit. p 181.

⁶⁹ G. Jackson, The Making of Medieval Spain (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), and B. Bevan, History of Spanish Architecture (London: B.T. Batsford, 1938), among many others, are uncritical of these views.

Toulouse⁷⁰. The ancestry or contemporaneity in the relationship is less certain, and they have been debated without consensus. But it cannot be imagined that the sophistication and technique implicit in Compostela, and so similar to the French examples, emerged spontaneously from the barren soil of remote Galicia. At the other extreme, it cannot be maintained that the story of architecture in Spain is merely the acceptance of foreign models by an artistically sterile society. An examination of the architecture permits an estimate of the extent and nature of foreign influence, of the domestic cultural tradition and artistic potential, and the historical sources and significance of these.

SOURCES: THE ROLE OF CLUNY IN ELEVENTH CENTURY SPAIN

The common acceptance of the primary role of Cluny and therefore of Burgundian precedence in the development of Spanish Romanesque art now receives further comment. In fact there is little evidence to support it. Even if Cluny has been found to have had political and ecclesiastical power in Spain, it does not necessarily follow that this carried with it any determining artistic influence⁷¹.

⁷⁰ B. Gandiol-Coppin, "Les églises romanes de pèlerinage," Archeologia 211 (1986), 53-62.

⁷¹ Pérez de Urbel, op. cit. maintains that Cluny had no influence at all and G. Gaillard, "Cluny et l'Espagne dans l'art roman du 11e siècle," Bulletin hispanique 63 (1961) 154-160 states that there was no Cluniac influence

The potentially most influential Cluniac presence in Spain in the last two decades of the century was in Toledo where Archbishop, later Primate, Bernard de Séderac (an erstwhile Cluniac monk) arrogated power, challenging the traditional dominance of the monarchy, and distributing Cluniac bishops widespread across the sees of northern Spain. Yet the Romanesque did not reach Toledo then or ever - finally the cathedral that was erected in Toledo was Gothic.

The earlier ecclesiastical influence of Cluny in Aragón and Navarre, under Sancho Garcés III's royal auspices and benefiting by royal donations, does not seem then to have led to adoption of any common Romanesque style. San Juan de la Peña, a royal establishment, was left as an archaic monument, San Pedro de Larrede is of typical Mozarabic execution, and San Pedro de Siresa was erected in a Catalan style out of keeping with the contemporary Romanesque styles of Jaca and Loarre in the same part of the country. Jaca and Loarre, which created precedents for Spanish Romanesque were Augustinian and not Cluniac and may have had

until the twelfth century. The negligible contribution of Cluny to the pilgrimage route and its architecture in both France and Spain and reasons for it have recently been discussed by contributions of T. Lyman, K. Werckmeister, and J. Williams to a symposium on Cluny published in Gesta 27:1&2 (1988).

This is in contrast to the role attributed to the Cistercians, who in the twelfth century built their monasteries to a characteristic pattern (K.J. Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959) chap 5.

interactive influence with Toulouse which was in the custody of the regular canons of St. Augustine at the time⁷². Both monuments were foundations serving royal strategy. This argues against any idea of the early imposition of a Cluniac style identifiable with Spanish Romanesque. On the other hand, Frómista, Silos, and San Isidoro preceded and had the artistic potential to instruct Cluny III (begun 1088) and Moissac. While specific eleventh-century French inspiration may be difficult to demonstrate except in the plan of Compostela and the promotion of pilgrimage⁷³, a mutual artistic and technical interaction along the well-travelled pilgrimage route is to be expected.⁷⁴

It may thus be that Cluny had less influence in Spain

⁷² The inimical relations of Toulouse and Cluny are related by K. Werckmeister, "Cluny II and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela", Gesta 27:1&2 (1988). p 103-112.

⁷³ Chueco Goitia, op. cit., p 198, emphasizes the role of Cluny in the Compostelan pilgrimage.

⁷⁴ Conant, op.cit. p 196, has concluded that the eclecticism of Compostela indicated a Spanish architect but that the incorporated forms suggest sources in Languedoc, Auvergne, Moorish Spain, Poitou, Limousin, Le Puy, and Burgundy.

The inverse question of Spanish influence on Cluny and in France has been partially answered by Emile Male, Art et Artistes du Moyen Age (Paris: Armand Colin, 1927) who pointed out the large number of Spanish features in French Romanesque in general. Also K.J. Conant, in chap 9 "Reflex from the Pilgrimage" in op. cit. (1959) pp 104 ff and in Cluny: les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre (Macon: Protat Frères, 1968) p 80, noted the Spanish elements in Cluny III. On the other hand, John Williams in "Cluny and Spain" Gesta 27:1&2 (1988) 93-101, states bluntly that there was no influence at all.

than many historians assume⁷⁵. Cluny was dependent on, first, Fernando I and then on Alfonso VI for financing, and the building of the great third abbey of Cluny (now destroyed) owed much to Spanish censes. The royal donation of Spanish monasteries to Cluny does not seem to have subjected them to the Cluniac rule and the monarch usually retained the rights of proprietor and protector. The answer to the question of who was influencing whom might well be that it was the King that influenced the Abbot. Alfonso won recognition from Cluny for his claim to rex hispaniorum, support against Rome, and unprecedented intercessionary prayers in the liturgy at Cluny, while giving up very little in power and independence of action. An economically and ideologically integrated church-state hierarchy had been founded by Fernando I and was perpetuated by Alfonso VI.⁷⁶

The ambitions of Spanish rulers, especially Alfonso VI, were such as to make unthinkable any subservience or accommodation to Pope or Abbot except to serve imperial

⁷⁵ Bishko op. cit. discusses the question "Was the Leonese-Castilian kingdom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a vassal state of Cluny?" citing the opposite views of Castro and Albornoz (cf. discussion in Appendix VI). Noreen Hunt, drawing on Bishko, puts the question in a broader context in Cluny under St. Hugh 1049-1109 (London: Edward Arnold, 1967) pp 113-115.

⁷⁶ Stephens, op. cit. p 117.

ambition⁷⁷. One danger was the opening of avenues for appeal to external authority. That is to say, Alfonso VI's relations with Cluny and with Rome appear to have been submissive only to the extent that was required to advance a policy of balancing potential rivals for power⁷⁸. Cluny failed to impose its rule on nominally held monasteries in Spain; Alfonso retained royal rights of advocacy and protection; papal orders were ignored and papal legates were rebuffed; Alfonso appointed bishops, convoked councils, and settled church disputes. Nobles, monastic and ecclesiastical prelates, Cluny, and Rome appeared to have been successfully played off against one another to Alfonso's advantage.⁷⁹

Alfonso's censes to Cluny are to be viewed in the light of purchased legitimatization or investment in intercessionary efficacy.

How does this situation affect the architecture? How is it written in stone? The lack of Cluniac dominance in

⁷⁷ A contrary view has been expressed by Blai Bonet, op. cit. p 113, that Alfonso staunchly accepted apostolic authority from the beginning but was subverted to nationalism by Bishop Roberto of Sahagún.

⁷⁸ Bishko op. cit. p. 88, states that " [Alfonso used the Cluny connection in 1077]...as a weapon of imperial Neo-Gothicist unitarianism against Aragón's dangerously divisive sectionalist resort to Papal and French intervention in Iberian affairs."

⁷⁹ Stephens, op. cit. chaps III and IV, documents the mainly political interactions of Alfonso VI, Cluny, and the Papacy that led to the recognition of Alfonso's imperial title, his economically integrated church-state hierarchy, and his resistance to the authority of Rome.

church design and decorative style does not of course attest to a lack of Benedictine religious or temporal power in Spain, but it is consistent with it. The later presence of the Cistercians and the militant orders⁸⁰ is much more evident in their characteristic and identifiable monasteries and churches.

Even in Compostela, while the plan is undeniably French in its links to Toulouse, Tours, Limoges, and Conques, the controlling hands may have been Spanish as patron, bauherr, and artisan.⁸¹ The interruption of 12 years (1088-1100) in its construction is evident in the architecture and appears to be related to domestic policy. The discontinuity in structure and design between the choir and the transept corresponds to some alteration of plan in the interval between the dismissal of Diego Pelaez for treason against Alfonso VI and the arrival of Diego Gelmirez under whom the project was completed.⁸² The twelve-year interval of inaction was marked by royal support of the monastery of Sahagún that Alfonso conceived as a Spanish Cluny. All this

⁸⁰ Several significant 12 C churches, due to the Templars, draw inspiration from the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

⁸¹ Conant, op. cit. p 196,. Chueco Goitia, op. cit., p 200, on the other hand, suggests a Norman identity or influence in the initial design and early execution. An obvious Mozarabic touch is the lobulate arches above the Puerto de las Platerios.

⁸² M. Durliat, "The Pilgrimage Road Revisited?", Bulletin Monumental 129:2 (1971) 113-120.

suggests a Spanish reaction against growing French influence and Leonese action against the identification of Santiago de Compostela with Galician separatism⁸³. While Santiago was allowed to stagnate, other churches having greater legitimizing symbolism for the monarchy, notably San Isidoro de León, were completed.

All this is not to deny the probability of French patterns or influence in the concurrent synthesis of eleventh-century Spanish Romanesque. Chueco Goita⁸⁴ sees two branches of the same tree and finds the Spanish branch neither lagging or spurious. The idea of simultaneous developments north and south of the Pyrenees, their interaction and synthesis, has been developed by Lyman⁸⁵.

There are thus intimations of a medieval architectural internationalism of mutual inspiration and benefit but the controlling hand in Spain seems to have been Spanish. The mechanisms of any communication and exchange that occurred are not at all evident. The mobility of Italian artisans, magistri comacini, is known from Carolingian times but whether architects, masons, sculptors, or bauherren in general formed an international meritocracy or whether they

⁸³ Bernard F. Reilly, "Santiago and Saint Denis: The French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain," Catholic Historical Review 54 (1968) pp 467-483, argues for both these points.

⁸⁴ Chueca Goitia, op. cit., chap 8.

⁸⁵ T. W. Lyman, "The Pilgrimage Road Revisited," Gesta 8:2 (1969) 30-44.

represented talent captive to political or ecclesiastical power or institutions in the eleventh century is not known.

REALIZATION: SPANISH SYNTHESIS

A tentative chronological listing of surviving major Spanish Romanesque monuments might be Leyre, León, Jaca, Frómista, San Isidoro de Dueñas, Santiago de Compostela, Arlanza, Silos, Loarre, San Andrés de Avila and Santa María de Santa Cruz de Serós. Caldwell⁸⁶ sees in all these a commonality in their international eclectic tendencies. The preferred 3-naved basilica with non-projecting transept and with a semicircular apse or apses comes from Italy by way of Catalonia; the crossing dome derives from Islamic or Byzantine domes; the bell tower, previously unknown in Spain⁸⁷, came from Catalonia; the form of the pantheon in León may be French or Byzantine. Sculpture was already present in Visigothic, Mozarabic and Asturian architecture⁸⁸ in contrast to the bare Catalonian First

⁸⁶ Susan Havens Caldwell, The Introduction and Diffusion of the Projecting Single Portal Unit in Northern Spain (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Cornell, 1975) p. 84; (Diss. Abstr. 35 (7) 1975 p 4330).

⁸⁷ Ibid. p 87. Fernandez Arenas, op.cit., however, suggests that Mozarabic churches had separate campaniles, although none have survived.

⁸⁸ The churches of Quintanilla de las Viñas (late 7 C Asturian) and S Pedro de la Nave (691, Visigothic) are frequently cited, as in J.M. Pita Andrade, Treasures of Spain: From Altamira to the Catholic Kings (Geneva: Skira, 1967) pp 62-64 and plates 134-8; Blai Bonet, op. cit. pp 119 ff.; Dodds, op. cit. Pl 14; Bevan, op. cit. figs. 6,7, and

Romanesque. This constituted a pre-Romanesque or proto-Romanesque phase. However the Romanesque sculptured motifs often derived from more transportable sources such as ivories, illuminated manuscripts, diptychs, chalices, ritual paraphernalia, and textiles⁸⁹, and have origins in the Christian Middle East through Greece, Rome, and Byzantium; from the ancient middle East through Persia and Islam; or from central Eurasia by the Goths⁹⁰. From the Moorish sources come the characteristic vegetal and non-representational designs of Islam. A contemporary development was the appearance of sculpted eschatological and apocalyptic themes that seem to be heavily populated

12, Pl IV and X; and Palol & Hirmer, op. cit. Pl 4-10.

Mozarabic churches, paradoxically, possessed abundant fine ornamental carving but no representational sculpture despite the Visigothic heritage and concurrent representational manuscript illustration. Fernandez Arenas, op. cit., p 192.

⁸⁹ Textiles are said to have been exclusively Arabic or Byzantine in design. R.A. Altmira, A History of Spain (Princeton: van Nostrand, 1949) p 219.

⁹⁰ Sartell Prentice, The Voices of the Cathedral (New York: William Morrow, 1938). Prentice claims that Fuentes has a representation of Gilgamesh.

David M. Robb, "The Capitals of the Panteón de los Reyes, San Isidoro de León," Art Bulletin 27 (1945) pp 165-174, includes an excursus on "The León Ateliers of the Mid-Eleventh Century", on pp 168-70 that examines 7 contemporary masterpieces of "minor" arts (ivories, crucifix, caskets) for consistency of style, subject, and iconography with the capitals and even suggests that the ivory-carvers may have participated in the architectural sculpture. See also Palol and Hirmer, op. cit. Pl 66-69.

with beasts in combat and grotesqueries of many kinds.⁹¹ Many of these appear to have been derived from Islamic literary sources in their descriptions of the denizens and transients of Hell, Purgatory, Limbo, and Paradise⁹².

Thus, elements of Spanish pilgrimage Romanesque were already present or were introduced here and there with greater or lesser genius, but it is clear that they had been assembled in Spain before, for example, the completion of St. Sernin in Toulouse or the famed tympanum at Moissac. This throws into doubt the wide-spread assumption that the St. Sernin's Miègeville portal was a primary source of Romanesque style but rather that it represents a successor to Spanish themes.⁹³

⁹¹ Bonet, *op. cit.* notes that the transition from arabic botanic motifs to the iconography of heaven and hell occurred on the capitals of the Panteón de León.

Examples of the mythological creatures, harpies and eagle-lions, as represented on the capitals of the cloister at Santo Domingo de Silos are shown in Appendix III, Plates 4 and 5.

⁹² Francisco Iñiguez Almech, "La escatología musulmana en los capitales románicos," *Príncipe de Viana*, (Pamplona), 1967, pp 265-275. Many illustrations and examples are provided, and their literary sources and symbolism are discussed.

⁹³ Porter, *op. cit.*, chap 1, discusses the controversy concerning dating of early Romanesque art and, relying on documentary evidence, he concludes with the generalization that, despite singular unevenness in the production of Romanesque, Italy and Spain were abreast of the South of France, and that the latter was in advance of northern France, England, and Germany.

Jaca Cathedral (1054/1063)⁹⁴ has been regarded by many scholars⁹⁵ as the epitome of Spanish Romanesque - achieving excellent eclectic architecture and creating a school that taught direct sequels in Iguacel, Loarre⁹⁶, and San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca⁹⁷ and had further broad influence. Without precedent in size and structure, it was conceived and executed as a unified whole despite the varied derivation of its features. Attributions differ but classical Byzantine and Italian styles appear in the sculpture together with Mozarabic and Islamic elements. Although the building plan may owe much to the Lombardic, the structure is original in its proportions, disposition of columns, and synthesis of antecedent features.

The role of type churches, other than Jaca, may be discerned in the spread of Spanish Romanesque. Frómista, although related to Jaca, is another church with some independent influence, and the similarity of Oña (1074) and

⁹⁴ Williams, op. cit. has cited A. Ubieta Arteta "La catedral románica de Jaca. Problemas de cronología," Príncipe de Viana 30 (1964) pp 187 ff as questioning any documentation that dates Jaca before 1077.

⁹⁵ Conant, op. cit. p.192; Whitehill, op. cit. p 235; Chueco Goita, op. cit. p 188; Palol and Hirmer, op. cit. p 99.

⁹⁶ Gudiol Ricart op. cit. p 122.

⁹⁷ Caldwell op. cit. p. 168.

Arlanza (1080) are readily seen⁹⁸ while San Isidoro de León and San Isidoro de Duenas represent a Leonese school. Compostela and San Vincente de Avila as type churches, have their respective derivative sequels in the twelfth century.⁹⁹

Care must be taken here to recognize that the classification of monuments, either by style or by dating, may be based on architecture, or sculpture, or both. Two churches may have different architectural characteristics but have sculpture by the same school. San Esteban de Corullón, Santa Marta de Tera, and Santiago are related sculpturally but have quite different architectural styles¹⁰⁰. A further notable example is Nogal de las Huertas which has archaic architecture with pilgrimage sculpture that may have been added to the church¹⁰¹. Thus it is possible to hold the view that the Panteón de los Reyes is a sequel to St. Benoît-sur-Loire architecturally but, at the same time, to recognize that its sculpture is far ahead of any other contemporary church. In Santo Domingo

⁹⁸ Whitehill op.cit. p 200-205. Gudiol Ricart includes San Isidoro de Duenas. Frómista and Arlanza are pictured in Appendix III, Plates 1 and 2 respectively.

⁹⁹ Chueco Goitia, op. cit., p 210.

¹⁰⁰ Whitehill, op. cit., p 216-218.

¹⁰¹ Caldwell, op. cit., lists San Pedro de Arlanza, San Salvador de Leyre, and San Juan de Priorio as eleventh century romanesque churches with later additions of sculpted portals.

de Silos, the eleventh-century Romanesque church has left a few remains with inferior carving, but the magnificent early piers and capitals of the cloister are counted among the artistic glories of Spain¹⁰².

The introduction of the projecting portal, a Spanish innovation¹⁰³, provided a structure and surfaces demanding the decorative elements of sculpted columns, carved corbels supporting the tejaros, plaques set on the spandrels, and carved tympana and archivolt, leading not to evolution but to diversity. The first known Romanesque tympanum in western Europe (a chrismon) was at Jaca and it was followed by inferior copies in Santa Maria de Santa Cruz de Serós and San Pedro el Viejo de Huesca¹⁰⁴. The tympanum (the Cordera portal) of San Isidoro (León) has a different concept and execution. Loarre substituted a frieze for the tympanum. The treatment of spandrels with plaques and the statuary on either side of the archivolt, both features of León's Cordera portal, have their mature sequel in the twelfth

¹⁰² W.M. Whitehill, "The Destroyed Romanesque Church of Santa Domingo de Silos," Art Bulletin 14 (1932) 316-43. The history and plans of the church and cloister are discussed. Some of the features are illustrated in Appendix III, Plates 4 and 5.

¹⁰³ Caldwell, op. cit.

¹⁰⁴ Whitehill, op. cit., pp 235-41. Palol & Hirmer, op. cit., in their Plate 100 illustrate the Jaca and Huesca chrismons.

The three tympana are illustrated in this thesis in Appendix III, Plate 6.

century in the magnificent Miégevillie portal in Toulouse and the Platerias portal in Santiago de Compostela. Compostela introduced the idea of sculpted columns and historiated archivolts that appeared later on the west portal of Leyre (twelfth century). Similarly some of these churches exhibited both carved corbels and metopes, sculpted consoles and billet-trimmed cornices. This detailing of the diversity and prodigy of Spanish sculpture is to make the historical point of the early competence of Spanish architecture and art that need not take second place and need not be forced into a deterministic evolutionary pattern.

A vernacular architecture is suggested by a group of five¹⁰⁵ churches in Zamora surviving from the last decade of the century. They have the Visigothic elements of square apses and barrel vaulting but are combined with pilgrimage or Compostelan sculptured corbels, capitals, and mouldings. These parochial churches again demonstrate the independent acceptance of tectonic and decorative elements that combined tradition with contemporary practice.

REALIZATION: SPANISH ROMANESQUE

One development of widespread influence and application has been pointed out by Caldwell¹⁰⁶ - the hexagonal

¹⁰⁵ Santo Tomé de Zamora, San Cebrian, San Claudio de Olivares, Santiago el Viejo, and Santa María la Nueva.

¹⁰⁶ op. cit.

(shallow, box-like) protruding portal. Probably having its origin in the alfiz of Moorish building, it appears as a feature of many existing Spanish eleventh-century churches (Caldwell lists 14) including pilgrimage churches¹⁰⁷. This box framing of church entrances, without having a tectonic function, appears quite widely without pattern of distribution in Spain and later in France, to be superseded by the more elaborate facades of later monuments. These eleventh-century portals also are often related in their sculptural style, their Islamic eschatological iconography, their similar archivolt system, and by the royal patronage of the buildings that they enhance¹⁰⁸.

These portals do not seem to provide any direct allusion to antiquity, seemingly bearing little resemblance in appearance or intent to the Roman triumphal arch, for example. Rather, the lineage seems likely to be from the Portal San Esteban of the Mosque of Córdoba (855, by inscription), the first known projecting arch in Spain. The shape is consistent too with the Mozarabic partiality¹⁰⁹ for agglomerations of rectangular volumes.

The portal may act as symbolic passage from the outside world into the holy city . Its sculptured iconography

¹⁰⁷ Such portals frame the south entrances of Loarre and Frómista and can be seen in Appendix III, Plate 1.

¹⁰⁸ Caldwell, op. cit., p 30.

¹⁰⁹ Fernandez Arenas, op. cit., p 110.

conveyed further meaning however. Apocalyptic themes, apparently inspired by Islamic eschatological literature¹¹⁰, appear on these portals and in most eleventh-century Spanish churches beginning with the Pantéon de los Reyes. These are typically Spanish and they appear to have no possible antecedent in Europe. The themes of Hell, Limbo, and Purgatory with punishments, transmutation of souls to animal and avian forms, the antithesis of demons and angels, these had no currency in contemporary or antecedent Christianity. The later appearance of these themes in Europe, with inadequate interpretation or understanding, placed them among St. Bernard's ridiculous "drôlerie". Other portal sculpture is more obvious in interpretation. In some, the chrismon or lamb suggests Christ as the door and in others, Christ in judgement reminds the entrant of the uncertainty of salvation.

The cloister at Silos has double columns, round arches, and corner piers - an architectural grouping that appears only later in France and Italy.¹¹¹

Several features in Spanish Romanesque have been seen to be of Mozarabic origin. One of these is the frequent

¹¹⁰ According to Iniguez Almech, op.cit., the sources are Islamic hadices - legends and traditions - that he cites from Moslem literature of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. He illustrates his thesis with examples from León, Jaca, Loarre, Iguacel, Frómista, Compostela, and Sos del Rey Católico as well as later churches.

¹¹¹ Porter, op. cit., p 187. Appendix III, Plate 5.

emphasis placed on the south entrance to the church contrary to the usual European creation of a straight processional pathway from western portal to sanctuary. The emphasis is shown by the location of projecting portals on the south rather than the west or by their greater adornment. Even greater emphasis is shown in the regional style of repopulation churches centred on Sepúlveda such as San Martin de Rejas de San Esteban or El Rivero in San Esteban de Gormaz¹¹². Here there are arcade or colonnade porches sheltering, often elaborately, the south door. This typically Spanish feature goes back to earlier times and porches are discovered at San Salvador de Valdedeós (Asturian) and San Miguel de Escalada (Mozarabic)¹¹³. It became a fixture in many subsequent rural churches¹¹⁴ but it seems to have remained parochial.

The portal and the south porch are two Spanish innovations that share a common feature - they are not parts of the tectonic structure of the main building. Sometimes the apse can also be considered separate. Caldwell relates that Iguacel was modernized in 1072 by the addition of portal and apse to a rectangular building.¹¹⁵ Portal and

¹¹² Appendix III, Plate 3.

¹¹³ Jose Fernandez Arenas, op. cit., fig. 32.

¹¹⁴ Sáinz Sáiz, op. cit..

¹¹⁵ Caldwell, op. cit., p 16.

apse, as independent in function and iconography from the rest of the structure, has also been noted in Frómista and Jaca¹¹⁶. The portal is a site for nonintegrated sculpture and this extends even to Compostela¹¹⁷. All this is in conflict with Carlsson's dictum that "The totally dominating rule is that the Romanesque church-sculpture appears within the tectonic structure."¹¹⁸ The frequent departure from this rule thus significantly differentiates Spanish custom from the European Romanesque that Carlsson describes¹¹⁹.

Although the horseshoe arch is demonstrated as a fixture in Visigothic Spain, it was adopted and propagated in Al Andalus and was likely reintroduced from there¹²⁰. In addition, other Islamic elements, whether by origin or adoption, came with the Mozarabs or the Mudéjars to northern Spain. These include the sculptured eschatological themes already mentioned, the lobed arch, intersecting arches,

¹¹⁶ Chueco Goitia, op. cit., p 192; Caldwell, op. cit., p 16.

¹¹⁷ Lyman (1969), op. cit., p 33.

¹¹⁸ Carlsson, op. cit., p 156.

¹¹⁹ Robb, op. cit. p 167 has pointed out that the seminal sculpture of the León pantheon was created without any appearance of reinforcing or emphasizing the architectonic structure or function.

¹²⁰ Fernandez Arenas, op.cit., p 154, affirms "the horseshoe arch and the alfiz form the most remarkable characteristic, and even the symbol, of Mozarabic architecture."

rosette decoration, rolled brackets, carved roof corbels¹²¹, the alfiz or arraba, the circle-in-square motif, and building with brick and tile¹²².

Mozarabic and Asturian churches were for the most part compartmented¹²³ and the Mozarabic rite even required that the apse be curtained off during mass.¹²⁴ This tradition led easily to the Spanish development or adoption of the articulated space that is a characteristic feature of the Romanesque style. The Roman tradition based on a basilica plan, led easily to the creation of linear naves having several bays marked out by colonnades and transverse arches. But in Spain, tradition and resistance to reform led also to the frequent emphasis on the south portal and a restricted or indirect line of approach. Then too, as Bevan points out¹²⁵, it has been characteristic of Spanish churches that there is no choir associated with the apse, which serves as a sanctuary, and the choir and the capilla mayor appear in

¹²¹ Caldwell, op. cit., p 64-5.

¹²² This use of brick and tile is regarded as typically Mudéjar and the one eleventh century example is San Mancio de Sahagún - a Cluniac monastery!

¹²³ José Fernandez Arenas, op. cit., p 60. The principle of the Mozarabic floor plan was "the creation of rectangular planes with a tendency to squaring and closing, thus forming an organized whole in accordance with a definite labyrinthine significance."

¹²⁴ Fernandez Arenas, op. cit., pp 220 ff. discusses the Mozarabic liturgy and its ritual space.

¹²⁵ Bevan, op. cit., p 58.

the nave separated by screens and rejas.

The semicircular Romanesque apse, with its triumphal archway from the nave, crossing, or choir, replaced the rectangular Asturian-Mozarabic apse. The arch presumably had the same symbolism of passage to a holier space as had the portal. The early adoption of the semicircular apse in Jaca and Frómista, preceding the conversion from the Mozarabic to the Roman rite, may be attributed to artistic borrowing rather than to any liturgical requirement.

REALIZATION: FORM AND FUNCTION

The size and plan of the churches reflect the requirements foreseen by the patrons and builders, and testify to priorities at the time of conception or choice. The cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, and its location at the western end of the then-known world, magnificently witnesses the tremendous fervour of pilgrimage in medieval Europe. The size, architectural splendour, and superb sculptural decoration reflect the numbers, devotion and generosity of pilgrims and sponsors. The need for accommodation and circulation of large numbers of people encouraged the provision of galleries, the lengthening of the transept arms and their broadening to provide circulatory aisles. More innovatively, the ambulatory is a continuation of the nave aisles extending around the apse behind the high altar with multiple radial chapels and

altars. The ambulatory is appropriate for churches displaying relics to provide circulation past the reliquary. These attributes did not occur elsewhere in Spain at this time but were present and fulfilled similar requirements in the great contemporary pilgrimage churches in France¹²⁶.

Population centres that grew in the changing economic and cultural climate required more or larger churches. León and Compostela have their eleventh-century monuments but Astorga, Lugo, Oviedo, and Burgos¹²⁷ retain nothing to witness the history of this time. All the relevant architecture has disappeared or been replaced although large churches are known to have been built. The cluster of parochial churches in Zamora, represented by Santo Tomé¹²⁸, may illustrate a modest alternative response to urban growth off the principal pilgrimage route. If so, the conservative archaicism that is seen here in the architecture is similar to that of the rural Santa Marta de Tera, but all have

¹²⁶ The ambulatory is said to have tenth century antecedents in St. Martin de Tours and Notre Dame de Clermont-Ferrand. The multiple French examples emphasize the response of form to function, reinforcing the single eleventh-century Spanish example. The growth of the style, independent of Cluniac influence is related by T.W. Lyman, "The Politics of Selective Eclecticism: Monastic Architecture, Pilgrimage Churches, and 'Resistance to Cluny'", Gesta 27: 1&2. (1988).p 83-91.

¹²⁷ These centres are listed by Reilly, op. cit., p 152, as having eleventh-century populations above 1000.

¹²⁸ The others, S Cebrian, S Claudio de Olivares, Santiago el Viejo, and Sta María la Nueva have left more or less substantial remains.

pilgrimage sculpture of good quality.

The proximity to a frontier and a potentially active military enemy recommended provision of means of defence. This accounts for the square defensive towers to be found in the Sepúlveda repopulation churches and others and, of course, the siting of Santa Maria de Loarre within defensive walls¹²⁹. Towers also play the role of visible goal for the approaching traveller along the pilgrimage route and provide the audible voice of the belfry.

REALIZATION: ARCHAIC AND DEVIANT FORMS

Some eleventh-century churches built in the west conservatively, or even degenerately, continued the Mozarabic and Asturian styles, including Santa Marta de Tera, Santo Tomé de Zamora, and San Pedro de Teverga¹³⁰ all in Asturias, and San Antolin de Toques in Galicia. San Salvador de Fuentes (1023) (Oviédo) has been characterized as Asturian Romanesque.¹³¹ The persistence of modest older forms in Asturias suggests that the shift of royal power to

¹²⁹ The towered Santa María, Santa Cruz de la Serós is shown in Appendix III, Plate 2, and Santa María de Loarre in Plate 1. It may be noted that these churches have, with Frómista, the octagonal cupolas that so frequently appear on Spanish churches.

¹³⁰ Well illustrated in Bonet Correo, op. cit., pp 242 ff.

¹³¹ According to Gudiol Ricart. Bonet Correo finds it traditional rather than progressive; Whitehill says it is archaistic similar to S Salvador de Priesca (921); and Gomez-Moreno says it is twelfth century.

León failed to erase the ancient traditions of tenth century Oviedo. In the east, Siresa, Iguacel, and San Juan de la Pena seem to have older Mozarabic and Catalan traits. Elsewhere, some churches continued to be built with Visigothic rectangular apses, for example, Nogal de las Huertas and the Zamora churches previously mentioned. The hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga is a Mozarabic church of unique design¹³² without surviving antecedent or sequel.

Another local Romanesque began, around 1055, in the upper Gallego valley that includes San Pedro de Larrede and San Martin de Buil - little churches that are distinguished by such Mozarabic touches as horseshoe arches, apsidal arcatures, and minaret bell towers.¹³³

Still another deviation from the pilgrimage style are the examples of Catalan architecture in Navarre and farther west. The Catalan cathedral of Roda de Isábena and the church of Santa Maria de Ovarra became Navarrese through the historical annexation of the province of Ribagorza by Sancho the Great, but other buildings are the result of translated Catalan or Lombard influence rather than shifting political boundaries. These include San Caprasio, San Miguel de

¹³² Conant, op. cit., p 51.

¹³³ Chueco Goitia, op. cit., pp 183-4 includes but does not describe S Bartolome de Gavin, S Juan de Busa, and Susin.

See also Gudiol Ricart, op. cit., p 117, and Crozet, op. cit., p 45.

Excelsis and, more impressively, San Pedro de Siresa - a royal chapel of Sancho Ramirez contemporary with the Spanish Romanesque architecture of Jaca and Loarre.

Equally deviant are the eleventh-century hermitages or chapels of La Anunciada de Uruena¹³⁴ (Valladolid) which is pure Lombard Romanesque and San Pelayo de Peranzcas which has Lombard features but Mozarabic capitals.¹³⁵ Both are well separated from their apparent Catalan origins by boundaries and miles.

The existence of these deviant forms bears witness to artistic mobility, lack of conformity, persistence of traditional and regional forms, and the presence of viable local skills and initiatives in the absence of demonstrable foreign influences.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

The confrontation of eleventh-century Spain, simultaneously, with its Visigothic past, with a contemporary Islam, and with an European future, provided cultural choices and opportunities. There were possibilities of creativity by imitation, assimilation, and acculturation; or antithetically, of creativity under the stimulus of

¹³⁴ Sáinz Sáiz, op.cit., p 97.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p 52.

resistance or assertion of self-identity.¹³⁶

Meyer Schapiro¹³⁷ has documented the coexistence, in the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, of both Mozarabic and Romanesque traditions in the last part of the eleventh century. The former is almost wholly confined to the creation of manuscript illumination (a local copy of the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse) with some Romanesque details. The Romanesque cloister has magnificent carved capitals with a few Mozarabic touches. The two contemporary traditions are shared in an almost symbolic portal (the Portal of Virgins) that has a typically Mozarabic frame facing the cloister, and a Romanesque frame on the church side¹³⁸. The Mozarabic is sheltered and the Romanesque is in view. The contemporary struggle with Rome over the replacement of the Mozarabic rite has its reflection in Silos in the preferred position of St. Paul over St. Peter in carvings of the Doubting Thomas, of the Ascension, and of the Pentecost, on the carved piers of the cloister. Other indications of the times include a representation of Christ clothed as a Compostela pilgrim in a panel depicting the Road to Emmaus. The preponderance of secular over religious

¹³⁶ Dodds, op. cit., has a good discussion on this point.

¹³⁷ Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," The Art Bulletin 21 (1939) pp 312-374.

¹³⁸ The Mozarabic horseshoe arch is shown in Appendix III, Plate 5 along with the cloister.

images, Avarice replacing Pride as an emphasized vice, depiction of musicians and jongleurs in architectural settings, all these are interpreted in terms of increasing mercantilism and secularism in the contemporary society.

Of the 72 capitals in the lower (eleventh century) cloister of Silos there are some 25 that depict foliage, fruit, or purely decorative elements, while 29 represent fantastic beasts, harpies or the like, or birds and animals ensnared or in combat. Thirteen others are birds or animals in more peaceable attitudes and four are human (hunters, warriors, elders). Only two of the capitals have biblical themes¹³⁹, although all of the pier reliefs do.

The Panteón de los Reyes which Gómez Moreno calls "the birth certificate of Romanesque sculpture", also shows a preference for admonitory themes over celebratory ones although Bonet¹⁴⁰ finds the depiction of indulgent vices more pornographic than evocative of repugnance. Of the 32 carved capitals, 19 are vegetal (revised corinthian), eight depict combinations of men and beasts, and five are biblically historiated¹⁴¹. At any rate, the artistic maturity of the foliated capitals and the themes from bible,

¹³⁹ It has been suggested that birds are meant to represent souls in the hereafter, and monsters and animals are metamorphosed sinners in bondage or torment. The meaning may not have followed the themes in their reappearance north of the Pyrenees or indeed in Spanish parochial copying.

¹⁴⁰ Op. cit., p 147.

¹⁴¹ Robb, op. cit. p 167.

fable, and bestiary, spread to other regions and appears on other major Romanesque monuments.

The superb sculpture of Silos, León, and Jaca could however degenerate in inept hands¹⁴² and, before the end of the century, rustic derivatives appeared in the more modest remote churches of the frontier while at the same time, there was evidently no lack of genius in architectural solutions and innovation. Artistry and sophistication travelled the pilgrims' road more readily than they followed the colonizing trails.

Can the thematic content of buildings and of the decorative elements be evidence of the intellectual, cultural and social climate of the times?¹⁴³ Most striking to us perhaps is the concept of terror Dei in architecture¹⁴⁴ - the evocation of holiness and pious terror by the use of space, by progression through the localization of light, from the portal through a succession

¹⁴² "[in the] hands of inadequately educated men, Christian and Moorish, who were ignorant of hagiography, sacred symbolism, the apologues and pagan mythologies, so dear to all romaneseque sculptors." transl. from Gudiol Ricart, op. cit., p 296 (in reference to San Frutos de Dureton).

¹⁴³ Dodds, op. cit., in her introduction says "No part of a building, no matter how ensconced in technical habit, can be said to be without social meaning." However the difficulty of its interpretation is expressed by Prentice as "...a present lack of understanding of what was then obvious. We are blind to what then shone brightly."

¹⁴⁴ Bonet, op. cit., p 133.

of arched bays to the apse, and by the apocalyptic painting and sculpture.

In eleventh-century church sculpture the place of Christ is supreme, but primarily as Judge or Pantocrator. The themes of apocalypse, judgement, and terrors of the Last Day had place over representations of the living world or of present beauty. The optimism, faith, and hope, to be found in the succeeding twelfth and thirteenth centuries are absent.¹⁴⁵ Nor was there a preponderance of salvation and redemption themes as there had been in earlier Christian art where Lazarus, Daniel, Jonah, and the Hebrews delivered from the fiery furnace were prominent. Austere theology was not tempered by classical philosophy. Marianism had not yet created its cult and the idea of compassion was nowhere evident. There was the struggle to resist flesh, world, and devil until the time of judgement¹⁴⁶.

Anti-Islamic themes are surprisingly rare. One of the few has been pointed out by Williams. The Puerto de Cordera in León displays a carving of Hagar and Ishmael, Sarah and Isaac, with God rejecting the former pair.¹⁴⁷

The burdens imposed by the Fall, the search for

¹⁴⁵ Sartell Prentice, *op.cit.*, has provided a summary of the imagery of Romanesque decoration, its sources, and its meaning.

¹⁴⁶ Fernandez Arenas, *op. cit.*, p 220 has shown that these themes had also dominated prior Mozarabic attitudes.

¹⁴⁷ J. Williams, "Generaciones Abrahæ: Reconquest Iconography in León." *Gesta* 16:1&2 (1977) 3-14.

Salvation and the fear of its denial were motivation for the pilgrimages and crusades, for consecration to the monastic life, and for the veneration of relics. No doubt the related practices of purchasing indulgences or intercession played their role in building eleventh-century Spanish churches just as Alfonso VI's censes to Cluny financed the building of its third abbey.

The continuance of the Romanesque tradition¹⁴⁸ in Spain in the following centuries, well beyond the time at which transitional and Gothic architecture became established elsewhere, is an expression of a characteristic Spanish conservatism that earlier had retained Visigothic and Mozarabic elements and attitudes. It may well be that the traditional architecture was the tangible, self-defining symbol of the resistance to Islam during the occupation, and now remained a symbol of resistance to foreign European intrusions beyond their initial acceptance.

¹⁴⁸ Caldwell, op. cit., chap VIII, gives examples of the continued creation of block portals (inconsistent with the gothic style) to the turn of the 13 C and beyond, especially in rural churches.

THE SEQUEL

The end of the eleventh century brought down the curtain on the scene in the drama of Spanish history in which the themes of Neo-Gothicism or Pan-Hispanism, Europeanization, and Romanization became the determinants of what happened later. The dramatis personae were to change¹⁴⁹ and a new cast stood by in the wings. Although in changing circumstances, Romanesque architecture continued to flourish in the twelfth century, with the building of the cathedral monuments of Lugo (1129+), Pamplona (1127), Zamora (1151+), and Salamanca(1152+); such notable churches as the Collegiata de Santillana del Mar, Santa Maria la Real de Sanguesa and Torres del Rio; and the notable sculptural landmarks of Santo Domingo de Soria, the Portico de la Gloria in Santiago de Compostela, and the cloister of San Juan de la Pena.

However after some time, copying eliminated freshness and vigour and in many cases, somewhat degenerate Romanesque churches and sculpture resulted. Then reinvigoration came as the Cistercians began to build with a new reforming and

¹⁴⁹ The century ended with the deaths of the chief protagonists: Alfonso VI (1056-1109); Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1048-1109); Pope Urban II (1099), successor to Gregory VII (1085); Pedro I (1104), successor to Sancho Ramirez of Navarre (1094); and even El Cid (1099).

expansionist zeal.

The sequel churches remained basically Romanesque despite the transitional introduction of pointed vaults and arches . Massive walls, few windows and no buttresses respected the older tradition. The sobriety of Cistercian influence and the fortified aspect of the churches built by the military orders¹⁵⁰ had no small part in this. Both of these brought some renewal to the Spanish style . But it was the thirteenth century before the French Gothic forms reached Spain¹⁵¹ with such examples as the cathedrals of Toledo (begun 1227) and León (begun 1258) when the architectural patronage passed from the monastic orders to the secular bishops and a wave of foreign influence replaced the Romanesque. The architecture continued to change as Spain changed, in cycles of growth, glory, and degeneracy.

¹⁵⁰ The Templars and the Hospitallers arrived in the early twelfth century while the orders of Calatrava, Santiago, and Alcantara were established a few decades later. Laurie op. cit. p 67 points out that the militant orders' monasteries had similarities with earlier ribats, their Islamic counterpart.

¹⁵¹ Avila Cathedral (1157) has sometimes been classified as early Gothic.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The architecture of eleventh century northern Spain is witness to the birth of Spain's Europeanization. However, the adoption of the Romanesque was not a case of passive reception of foreign influence from Lombardy and France, but an active participation in artistic development with contributions from Spain's own heritage of Visigoth and Muslim, and from her own artistic genius and ethos. Though the overall effect in the eleventh century was European, one would not mistake a Romanesque Spanish church for a French one; the dialect was different. On the other hand the potential for developing a distinctive Peninsular architectural language based on an unique experience of oriental and African influence was not fulfilled at that time. The pilgrimage route architecture attests to a potent force for Europeanization. The eleventh-century search for salvation through pilgrimage and facilitation of it, brought people with skills and resources from across Europe along the road to Santiago. Here they contributed to the building of churches which can still be seen, and they took back to France and Germany Spanish architectural influences that then appeared in Cluny III and Vezelay.

A widely-held view that the Cluniac monastic reform

movement created and spread Romanesque art and architecture in the eleventh century does not appear to stand up to scrutiny. The Cluniac presence in Spain was insufficient to set the course of artistic development although Cluniac and other French influence later grew in the twelfth century and the pilgrimage route became the camino francés.

The resistance of the Spanish church and custom to foreign influences may be identified in the persistence of Visigothic or domestic elements such as the square apse, the projecting portal, the south entrance, compartmentalized interiors, and a preference for Arabic and traditional, rather than European, sculptural themes.

The architecture tells us too of the Neo-Gothic nature of the Reconquest in the eleventh century. The great churches are of royal establishment, serving imperial legitimization and intention; the smaller ones attest to territorial expansion, repopulation, and frontier defense. The effort was imperialistic but the imperium was not secured then, nor in the following century.

The development of innovative or monumental Spanish architecture was inhibited by the greater need for small frontier churches occasioned by repopulation, and by the lack of enabling feudal wealth and power.¹⁵² On the other hand, it benefitted by active monasticism, both domestic and imported.

¹⁵²

Chueco Goitia, op. cit., chap 8, p 213-4.

Demographic changes are revealed in the structure and detail of monuments. The Mozarabic and Mudéjar styles tell of the migration, liberation, or capture of artisans from the Moorish south. Their work is evidence of the degree of acculturation and Arabicization that was acceptable in the period of convivencia.

The social and cultural conditions find some revelation in the architecture both in the buildings and the embellishment and decoration. The dominant theme appears to be fearful piety, the striving for Salvation. Anticipation of Last Judgement and Apocalypse leaves no space for joy or even hope. The buildings remain heavy and solemn with only faint mystic light. The sculptured figures are often other-worldly, their almond eyes wide with awe and their figures wraith-like. The foliation themes of capitals and archivolts are usually peaceful enough, but animate themes are often monsters or beasts and birds in combat or servitude. Vices and punishments are depicted, not virtues and rewards. If life was hard, the people could scarcely find comfort in the contemplation of church art.

The intent of the message, the comprehension evoked, and the behavioral effect are however impossible to discern after nine centuries. Bonet observes:

"The real depth of the early Middle Ages will always be those mysterious outbursts in stone, half episcopal, half imperial, but in their context, the product of a faith whose eyes, heart,

and mentality have hardly anything to do with
us."¹⁵³

Though we may lack sufficient understanding of the spiritual and cultural context, still, the monuments of eleventh-century northern Spain remain major tangible evidence of the history of that place and time.

¹⁵³ Op. cit., p 130.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ELEVENTH CENTURY ROYAL SPANISH LINEAGE ¹

	Galicia	Leon	Castile	Navarre	Aragon
995	-	-	-	Garcia II Sanchez	-
999	-	Alfonso V	-	Garcia II Sanchez	-
1000	-	Alfonso V	-	Sancho III Garcés	-
1021	-	Alfonso V	-	Sancho III Garcés	-
1028	-	Bermudo III		<u>Sancho III Garcés</u>	
1029	-	Bermudo III		<u>Sancho III Garcés</u>	
1035	-	Bermuda III	Fernando I	Garcia Sanchez	Ramiro I
1037	-	<u>Fernando I</u>		Garcia Sanchez	Ramiro I
1054	-	<u>Fernando I</u>		Sancho IV	Ramiro I
1063	-	<u>Fernando I</u>		Sancho IV	Sancho Ramirez
1065	Garcia	Alfonso VI	Sancho II	Sancho IV	Sancho Ramirez
1072		<u>Alfonso VI</u>		Sancho IV	Sancho Ramirez
1076		<u>Alfonso VI</u>		<u>Sancho Ramirez</u>	
1094		<u>Alfonso VI</u>		<u>Pedro I</u>	
1104		<u>Alfonso VI</u>		<u>Alfonso I</u>	
1109		<u>Urraca</u>			

¹ Adapted from J.F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975). Charts 3 & 4.

APPENDIX II

GLOSSARY OF SPANISH AND ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

- acanthus, vegetal decoration on Corinthian capitals.
- ajaracas, brickwork in a trellis pattern.
- ajimez, two-light arched Moorish window divided by a slender column.
- alfiz, rectangular moulding often around a horseshoe arch.
- ambulatory, a semicircular aisle permitting circulation within the chevet and behind the altar.
- apse, a (usually) vaulted semi-circular, rectangular or polygonal eastern terminal to a chevet or chapel.
- arcature, a blind arcade; arches on a wall for decoration.
- archivolt, continuous moulding following the contour of the inner surface of an arch.
- arrabo, decorated rectangular frame of doors etc.
- ashlar, hewn stone, squared, with even faces.
- azulejo, glazed tile.
- bauherr(en), person, (or persons), responsible for the building process including design and contracting.
- billet moulding, moulding of alternate raised and depressed square elements.
- blind arch or arcade, arching applied to a wall, usually decorative rather than functional.
- caballeros villanos, "commoner knights"; men having some priveleges of nobility earned by mounted service.
- camino francés, the pilgrimage route to Santiago.
- capilla mayor, chancel containing the high altar.
- cartas de población, settlement charters.
- cenobio, monastery.

- censes, donations or tribute, esp. by Spanish kings to Cluny .
- chevet, east end of a church consisting of apse, with or without choir, ambulatory, or radiating chapels.
- chevron, zig-zag romanesque moulding.
- chrismon, a monogram of Christ formed from chi and rho, or an elaboration of it.
- console, ornamental bracket, corbel.
- conversos, converted Jews and descendants.
- convivencia, mutual tolerance of religion and custom by Moors and Christians.
- corbel, a projecting stone block in a wall to support a beam or other element, or for decoration.
- corbel table, a range of corbels as an adjunct to the eaves, cornice, sills, etc.
- cornice, projecting moulding at the roof-line of a building.
- coro, choir, in the center of the nave or preceding the apse.
- crucero, crossing of a church; transept.
- curia regis, the king's council.
- ermita, hermitage or chapel.
- fueros the charter containing the privileges and customs of a town or region or social grouping.
- hermandad, brotherhood, confederation or association.
- hildago, noble, including lesser nobility.
- hombres de behetria, small proprietors. .
- horseshoe arch, round arch with curvature exceeding a semi-circle.
- ladrillo, brick.

- metopes, alternating spaces in a frieze.
- modillion, bracket supporting a cornice or eaves.
- Morisco, Moor converted to Christianity.
- Mozarab, Christian but characterized by assimilation of Muslim habits and customs.
- Mudéjar, Muslim living under Christian rule.
- Muwallad (muladi), Spanish converts to Islam, speaking a Romance language - a majority.
- parias, tribute paid by Muslim rulers to Christian princes.
- pier, a pillar of square or composite cross-section.
- pilaster, a shallow pier or rectangular column projecting only slightly from a wall.
- reconquista, reconquest of Moorish Spain by Christians.
- reja, grill or screen.
- repartimiento, distribution of land among Christians after its reconquest.
- retablo, large altar-piece, sculptured, painted.
- rolled bracket, corbel with semi-circular elements in its cross-section.
- spandrel, triangular space between an arch and a real or imaginary rectangular frame around it.
- taifa, small 'party' states emerging after the breakdown of the Caliphate in the early eleventh century.
- tejaroz, tiling; lean-to roof over a portal; eave.
- transept, transverse arms of a cross-shaped church or a transverse crossing of aisles or vaulting in a rectangular church.
- tympanum, area between the lintel of a door and an arch above it.
- voussoirs, wedge-shaped stones forming an arch.

APPENDIX III

ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate 1. Upper. Santa María de Loarre from the east. The semi-circular apse, portal, and cupola are seen centre-left within the walls of the castle.

Lower. San Martín de Frómista from the east. The triple apse and the (slightly) projecting portal may be seen.

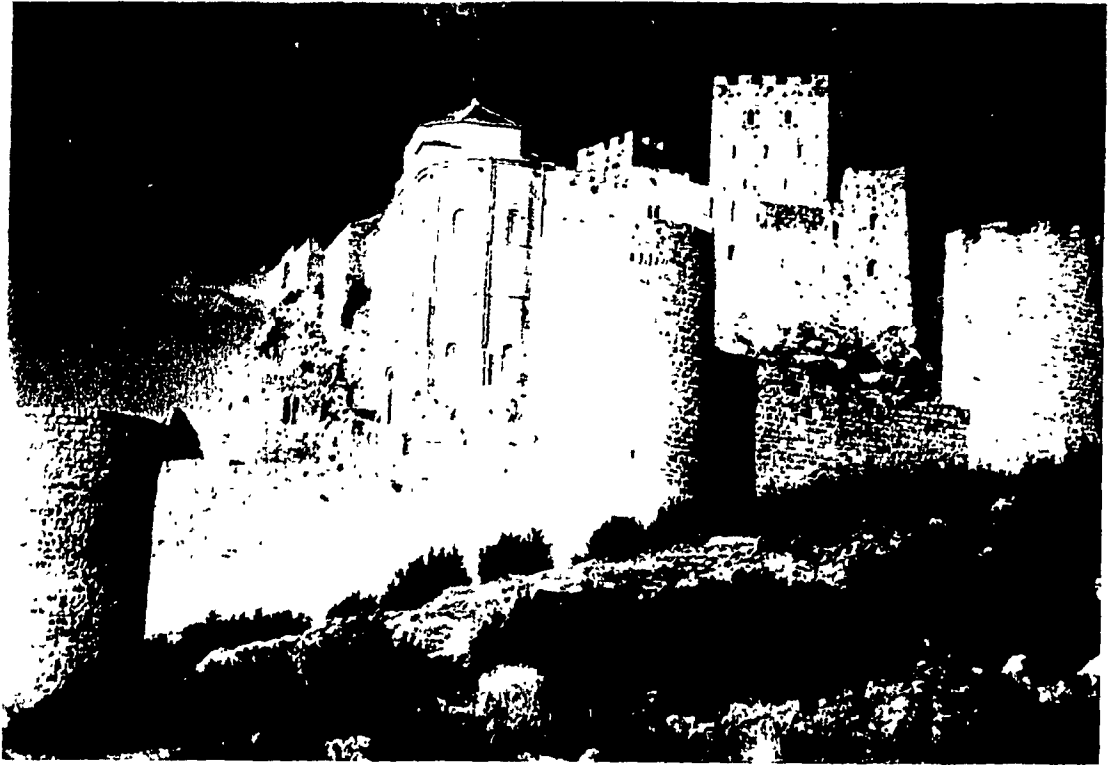


Plate 2. Left. San Pedro de Arlanza from the west. The remains of the eleventh-century monastery church show the triple apse and the disposition of the nave.

Right. Monastery church of Santa Maria in Santa Cruz de la Seros, from the east. The tower rises above the north transept.



Plate 3. Upper. El Rivero in San Esteban de Gormaz from the south-east. The belfrey and part of the nave are of more recent construction than the porch and the apse.

Lower. Carved capital in the arcature of the apse in Santa Maria de Loarre.

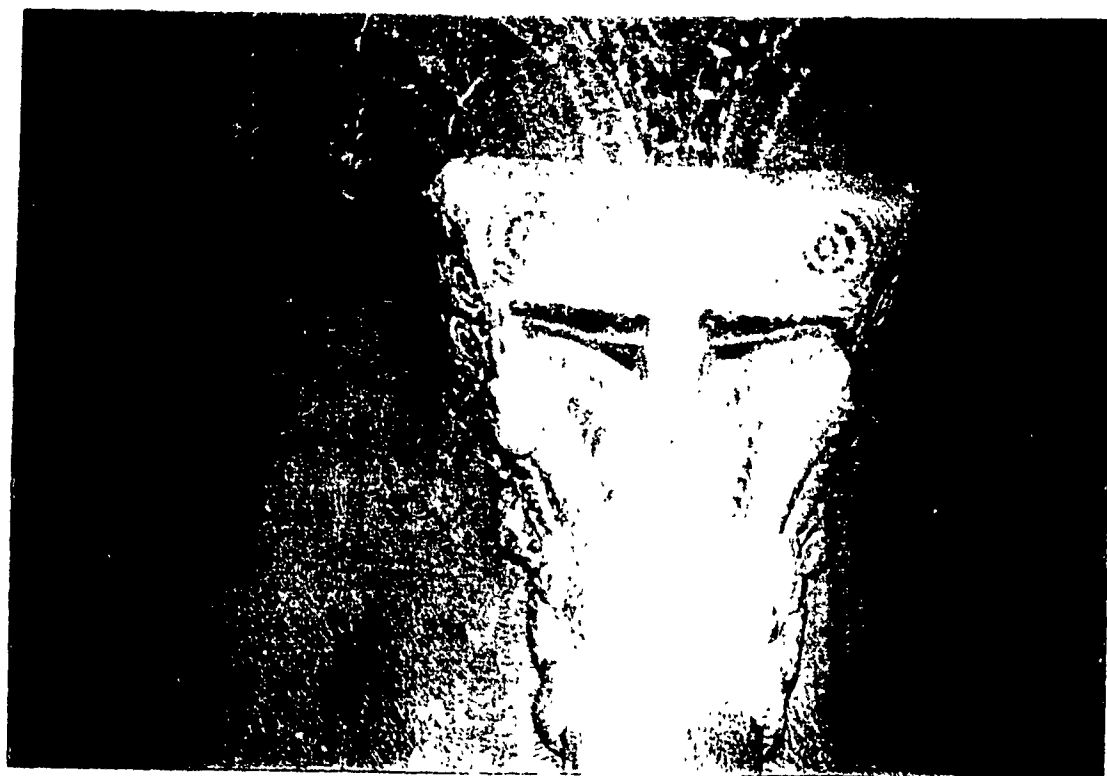


Plate 4. Left. Capital from the cathedral in Jaca. The subject is not identified.

Right. Capital from the lower cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos. The subject is harpies in confrontation.

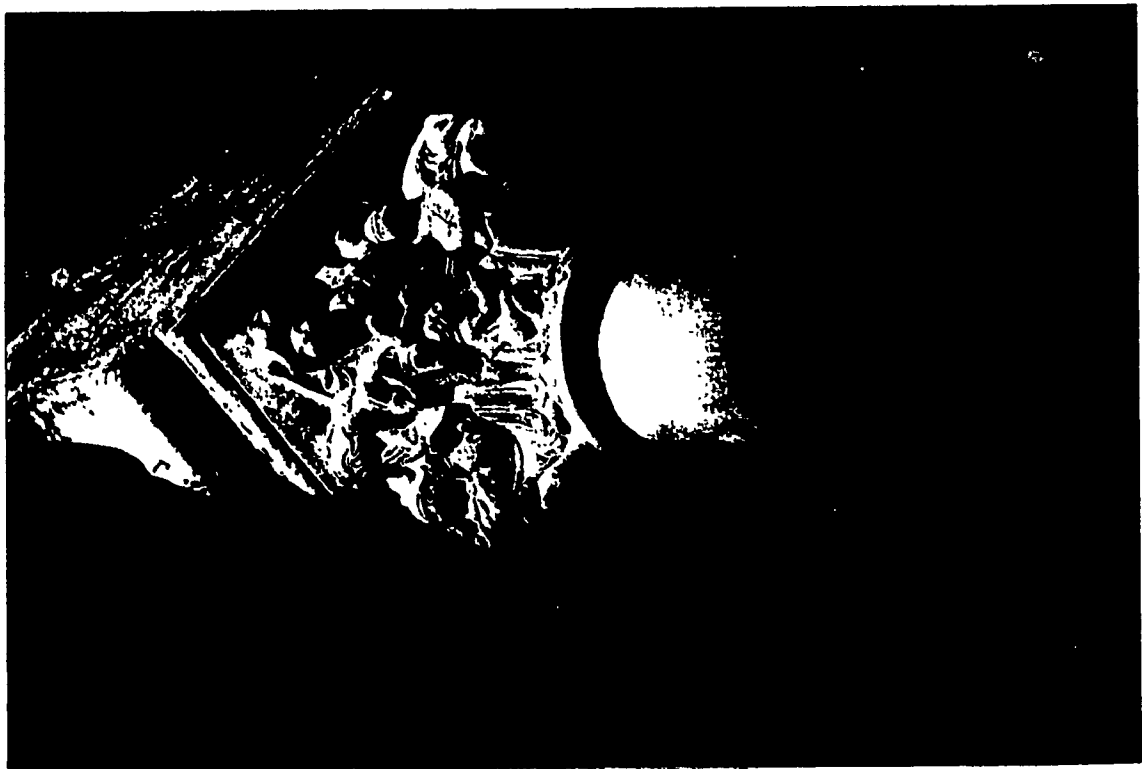
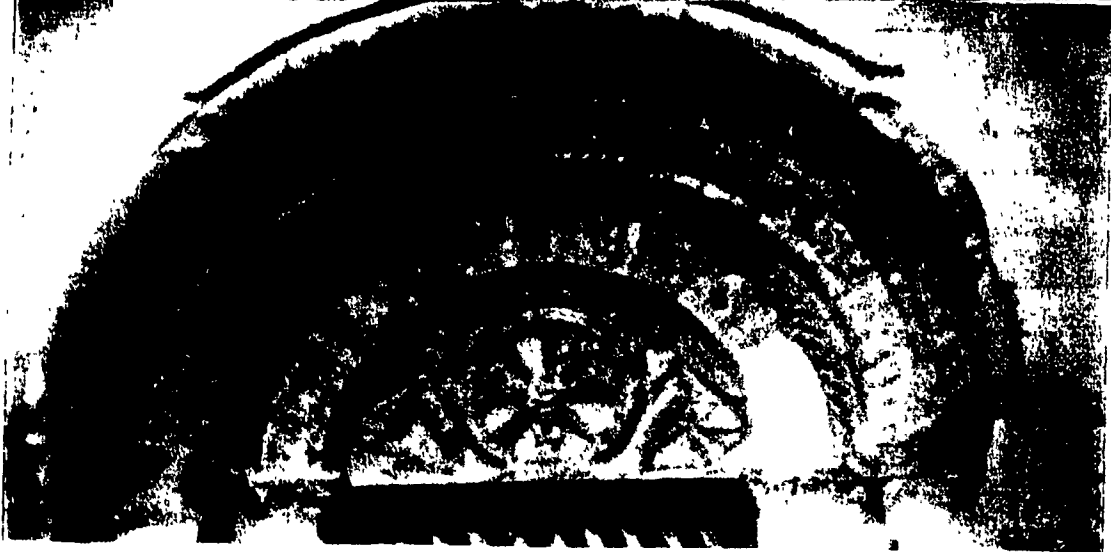
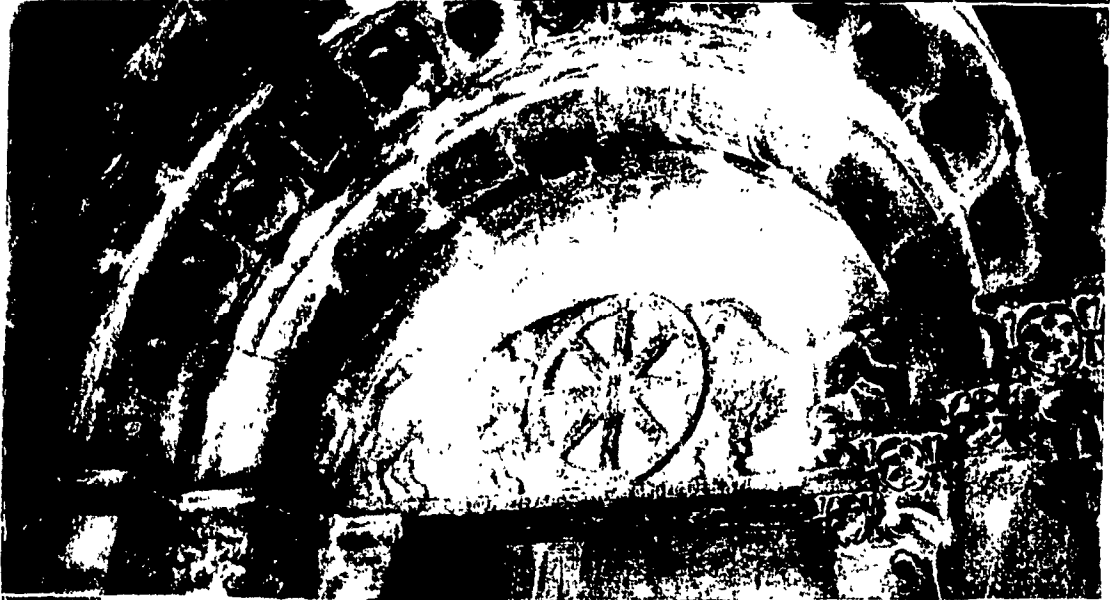


Plate. 5. Upper. Part of the lower cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos. The capitals show acanthus, acanthus with pine cones, eagle-lions, superposed lions, and superposed birds.

Lower. Puerta de las Virgenes, Santo Domingo de Silos.



Plate 6. Three examples of chrismons in tympana: from top to bottom, western portal of the cathedral in Jaca; western portal of Santa Maria de Santa Cruz de la Seros; and north door of San Pedro el Viejo de Huesca.



APPENDIX IV

INVENTORY OF ELEVENTH-CENTURY MONUMENTS¹

1. Aralar: San Miguel de Excelsis (Navarre)
(consecrated 1098)
Chueca Goitia: plan & elevation, p 186, fig 163.
2. Arlanza: San Pedro, monastery
(inscription 1081)
Gudiol Ricart: Pl 369-70; plan, fig 371.
3. Avila: Church of San Andrés (1089/90)
Chueca Goitia: plan & elevation, figs 190-1; Pl 92.
4. Berlanga: Church of San Baudel, 11C hermitage
Palol & Hirmer: plan, fig 39-41.
5. Buil: S Martin (Huesca prov)
Chueco Goitia: Pl 81.
6. Cantalejo (nr. Sepúlveda): San Frutos de Dureton Priory
(consecrated 1100)
Whitehill: pp 228 ff.
7. Compostela: Cathedral de Santiago (1077+)
Gudiol Ricart: plan, fig 337; Pl 335 -355.
8. Corullón: Church of San Esteban (Villafranca del Bierzo)
(inscription 1086; rebuilt 1093/1100)
Whitehill: plan, pp.216-8; Pl 87.
9. Coruña del Conde (Burgos)
Gudiol Ricart: fig 381.
10. Duenas: Monastery of San Isidoro (1060/75) (Palencia)
Chueco Goitia: plan, fig 177.
11. Duenas: San Pedro de las Duenas (León)
Gudiol Ricart: plan, fig 361; Pl 362-3.
12. Frómista: Monastery of San Martin (1066)

¹ Each entry includes the ascribed date (if any) and reference to one representative source of description or illustration (plates (Pl) or figures (fig)). Listing is by location.

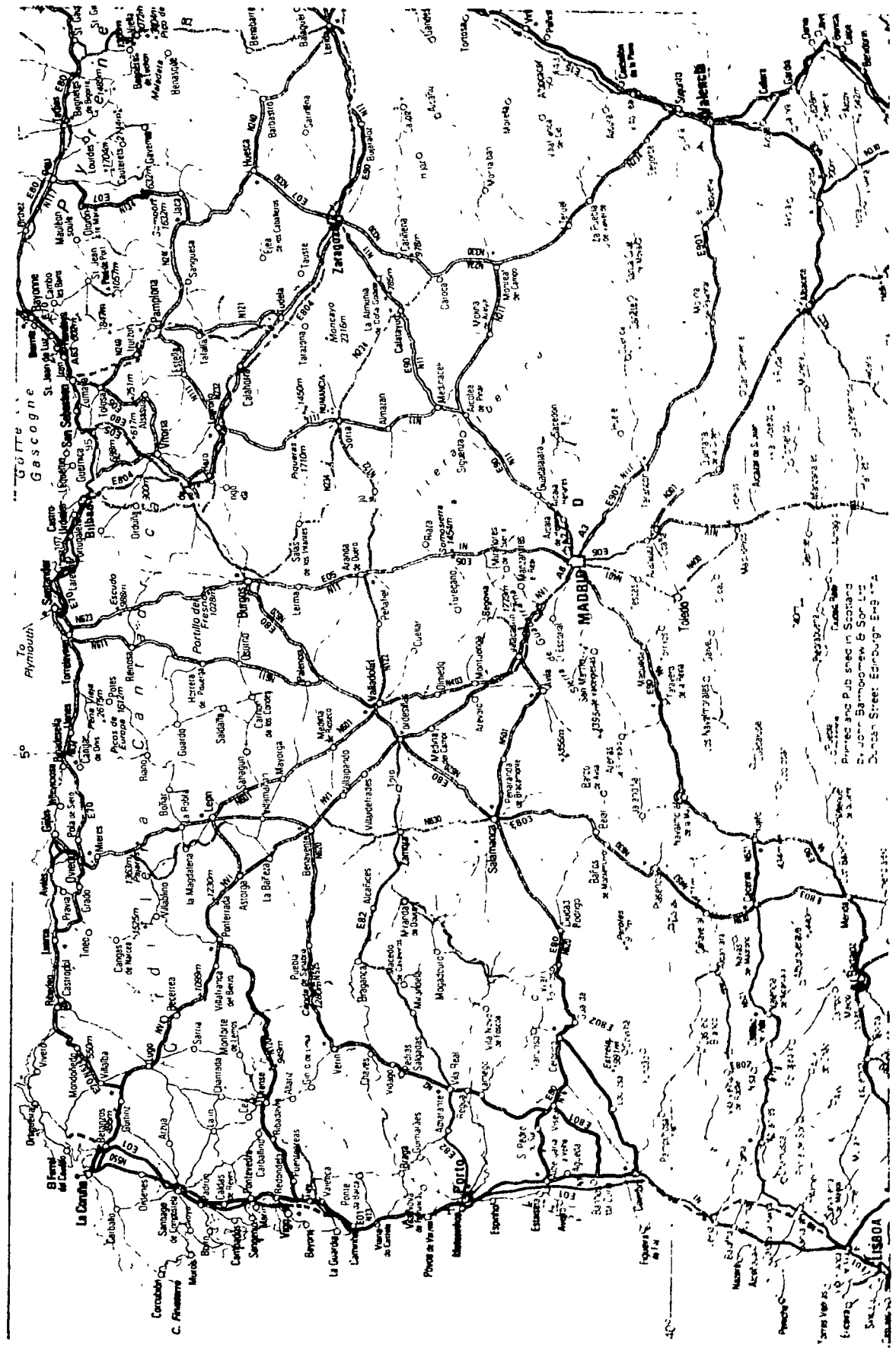
- Whitehill: plan, pp 194-98.
13. Fuentes: San Salvador (inscription 1023)
Bonet Correa: p 244.
 14. Gavin: San Bartolome
Gudiol Ricart: plan, fig 186.
 15. Huesca: Monastery of San Pedro el Viejo (1096)
Caldwell: p 168.
 16. Iguacel: Hermitage of Santa María (1063/72)
Whitehill: plan, pp 241-3 ff; Pl 96.
 17. Jaca: Cathedral of San Pedro
(consecrated 1063)
Chueca Goitia: plan, fig 166; Pl 82.
 18. Larrede: San Pedro 11C
Chueca Goitia: plan, fig 160; Pl 81.
 19. León: Panteón de los Reyes (1054/67); Colegiata de San
Isidoro
Gudiol Ricart: plan, figs 307,308; Pl 306-324.
 20. Leyre: San Salvador (1057/98)
Palol & Hirmer: plan, p 88; Pl 90-1.
 21. Loarre: Castillo de Loarre, Santa Maria (1089)
Chueca Goitia: plan & section, figs 167-8; Pl 83.
 22. Neila: San Miguel (inscription 1087)
Whitehill: Pl 89.
 23. Nogal de las Huertas: San Salvador (1058-63)
Chueca Goitia: fig 177; Pl 325.
 24. Ona: San Salvador (inscription 1080)
Chueca Goitia: Pl 224.
 25. Otero de Ponferrada
Sáinz Sáiz: Pl 37.
 26. Ovarra: Santa María
Palol & Hirmer: figs 112-4.
 27. Pena: Monastery of San Juan (1094, 1049)
Palol & Hirmer: plan, fig 89.
 28. Peranzacas: San Pelayo (inscription 1071)
Sáinz Sáiz: Pl 52.

29. Priorio: San Juan 11C
Gudiol Ricart: p 234.
30. Rejas de San Esteban: Church of San Martin (1093)
Sáinz Sáiz: Pl 85.
31. Roda d'Isavena Cathedral (1063-67)
Whitehill: plan, fig 32.
32. Sahagún: Santa Mancia (c 1100)
Chueca Goitia: fig 186; Pl 89.
33. San Esteban de Gormaz: El Rivero
Gudiol Ricart: p 298.
34. San Esteban de Gormaz: San Miguel
Gudiol Ricart: plan, fig 449; fig 454.
35. Santa Cruz de la Serós: San Caprasio (1086-)
Chueca Goitia: plan, fig 161.
36. Santa Cruz de la Serós: Monastery of Santa María (1095)
Chueca Goitia: plan & section, figs.169-70; Pl 81,83.
37. Sepúlveda: San Salvador (inscription 1093)
Chueca Goitia: plan, fig 188.
38. Silos: Monastery of Santo Domingo (1085/99)
Whitehill: plan Pl 76; Pl 61-77.
39. Siresa: San Pedro (1082)
Whitehill: plan, p 259; Pl 107-8.
40. Sos del Rey Católico: S. Esteben (1055+)
Chueca Goitia: Pl 104.
41. Tera: Monastery of Santa Marta (1100)
Gudiol Ricart: plan, fig.359; Pl 358.
42. Terverga: La Plaza San Pedro (1070)
Bonet Correa: Pl pp 242 ff.
43. Toques: San Antolin (1067)
Whitehill: Pl 110.
44. Uruena: Ermita de la Anunciada (in Valladolid prov.)
Sáinz Sáiz: Pl 97.
45. Zamora: Santo Tomé (1093+)
Gudiol Ricart: Pl 364-6.

APPENDIX V

MAPS

- A A Modern Map of Northern Spain.



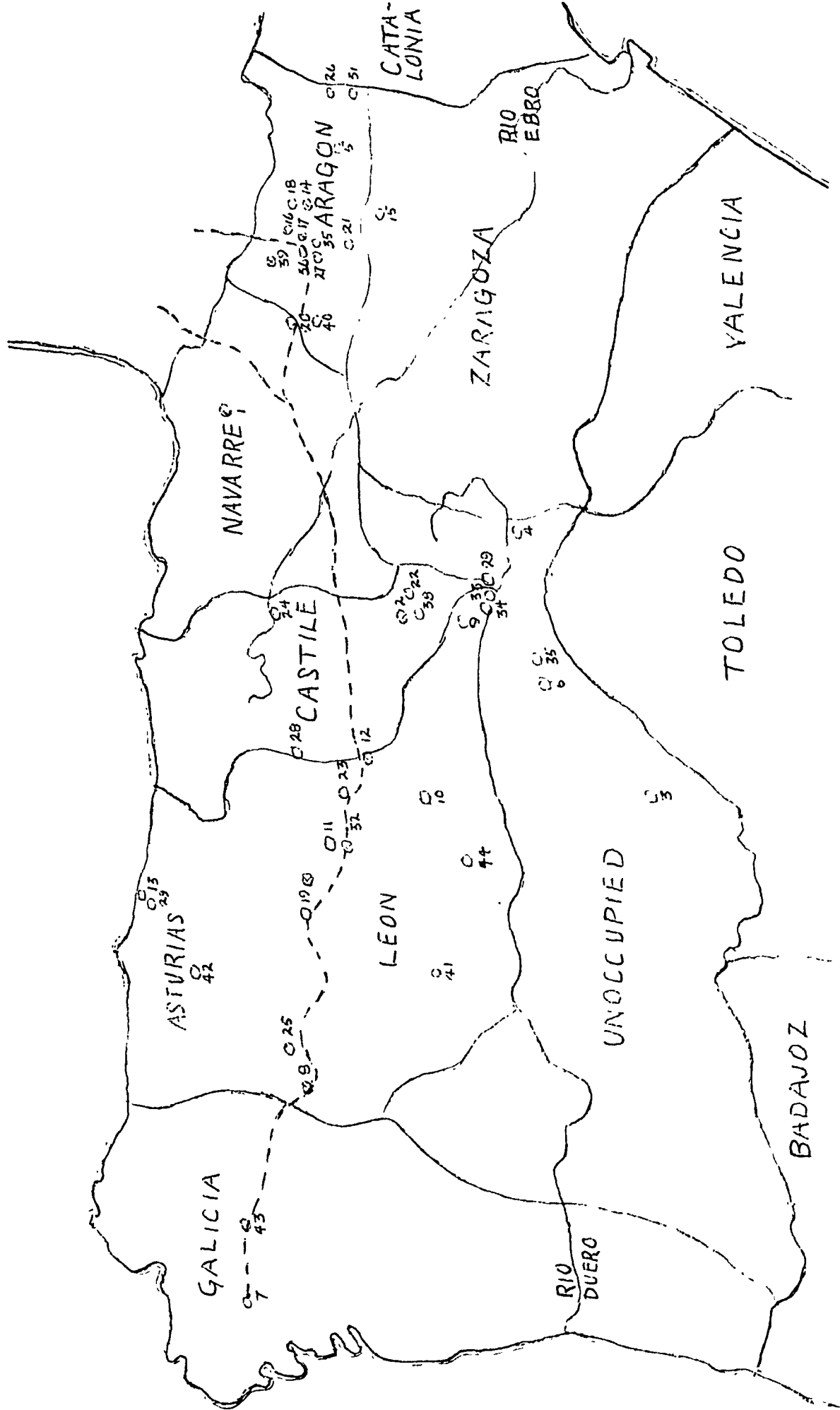
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B Distribution of Eleventh-Century Monuments

A map of northern Spain has been drawn to show the location of eleventh-century monuments. The numbered locations are keyed to Appendix IV (Inventory of Eleventh-Century Monuments).

The boundaries shown refer to those at the time of the accession of Alfonso VI to the throne of León-Castile in 1065. The dashed line indicates the approximate pilgrimage route.



APPENDIX VI

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ELEVENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Sources

The writing of history in Spain has early foundations, even preceding the period in which our interest is centred. San Isidoro de Sevilla (599-636) numbered among his many works, Chronica, a universal history, and Historia Gothorum based on earlier Hispanic chronicles. Chronicles continued to be written, usually by churchmen, during the occupation and the early reconquest, chief among them being Cronicon Albeldense¹ (881-976), Cronica de Alfonso III², Historia Silense³ (Silos, 1115), Liber Chronicorum (Oviedo, ca. 1120), and Chronica Najerense⁴ (Najera, 1160). The latter three consolidate earlier chronicles related to the eleventh century and these are supplemented with numerous local annals recording events as they occur. Historia Compostelana⁵ relates partially to the eleventh century but is centred on

¹ ed. E. Florez, Espana Sagrada 13 (Madrid, 1767): 417-466.

² ed. Z García Villada (Madrid, 1918).

³ ed. Justo Pérez de Urbel and A G Ruiz-Zorilla. Madrid. 1960

⁴ ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta. Valencia. 1966.

⁵ ed. E. Florez in España Sagrada 20, (Madrid, 1765): 1-598.

the life and acts of Diego Gelmirez. Reilly⁶ has surveyed some 220 official documents and a thousand private ones from the time of Alfonso VI of Leon-Castille (1065-1109). Evidence of the role of the Abbey of Cluny in eleventh-century Spain may be found in documents at Cluny⁷.

The twelfth-century epic Poema de Mio Cid⁸, although not historical writing in its conventional sense, is of great significance in Spain's perception of the history and the reality of the eleventh century⁹, and it must be numbered among the sources of subsequent written history. The same almost contemporary story of the Cid (Rodrigo Diaz) is told in Historia Roderici (1118).

General Histories

Encyclopedic histories were compiled in the nineteenth century, notably Eugene Rosseeuw Sainte-Hilaire (14 v. 1837-79) and Modesto Lafuente (30 v. 1850-67). The modern equivalent, still in the course of production, is the Historia de España Menéndez Pidal, directed by Jose María Jover Zamora (Madrid, 1935+), but it unfortunately still

⁶ Reilly, B.F., The Kingdom of León-Castile under King Alfonso VI (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988).

⁷ Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel 6 vol. (Paris, 1876-1903).

⁸ Menéndez Pidal, R., Cantar de mio Cid 3 vols. (Madrid 1908-1911). Text, grammar, and vocabulary.

⁹ This has continued to our time when Ramon Menéndez Pidal's impressive La España del Cid has almost preempted the writing of the history of that time.

lacks some of the volumes covering the eleventh century. Other less comprehensive histories such as R.B. Merriman's The Rise of the Spanish Empire and Luis García de Valdeavellano's Historia de España rather scant the eleventh century by treating it together with the twelfth century and concentrating on the latter. This is also a fault of other accounts as well, that there is not the requisite differentiation of eleventh-century beginnings from the twelfth-century sequels.

General Spanish histories are supplemented by regional histories of which Pérez de Urbel's Historia del Condado de Castilla¹⁰ and Vinayo Gonzalez's L'ancien royaume de Leon roman¹¹ are pertinent examples.

For many years the modern written history of the eleventh century has been dominated by Ramon Menéndez Pidal's masterful La España del Cid¹². The off-centre focus of this account of the exploits of Rodrigo Diaz has been increasingly challenged and corrected by recent scholarship¹³ and the central roles of Alfonso VI, Pope

¹⁰ 2nd ed., Madrid, 1969.

¹¹ Paris: Zodiaque, 1973.

¹² 7th ed. 2 vols. Madrid, 1968. Translated without footnotes, etc., by Harold Sutherland as The Cid and his Spain (London: Frank Cass, 1934).

¹³ Richard Fletcher has made a recent critical evaluation of the evidence in The Quest for El Cid (1989) and writes on p 204 "Menéndez Pidal had given the Spaniards the Cid they wanted".

Gregory VII, and St. Hugh of Cluny have been established. History writing has been broadened to include economic and social studies of the time, as A. MacKay's Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire but more comprehensively in Historia de España Menéndez Pidal tomo X "Los Reinos Christianos en los Siglos XI & XII" ¹⁴.

An American school of medieval Hispanists includes C.J. Bishko, Bernard F. Reilly, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan.

Historians have seen the struggle for Hispanic unity as a recurring driving force in Spanish history. A unified Iberia was achieved earlier by the Romans who maintained it for five centuries, then again after years of barbarism, by the Visigoths, and again later by Islam. In the eleventh century there grew, out of fragmentation and confrontation, a renewed struggle for reestablishment of a Christian Hispanic empire and this provides a basis and ideology for the interpretation of historical events of that time.

Controversy however is to be found among historians in the concept of a Spanish identity and character. The sequence of Iberians, Romans, and Visigoths created a Christian Spain that fell to the Moors; and then Christians,

¹⁴ Vol. 1 (1992), the only one to appear so far, comprises studies of "Economy, Society, and Institutions" by María del Carmen Carle and Reyna Pastor.

In MacKay, and Menéndez Pidal, as elsewhere, the eleventh and twelfth centuries are again discussed together with a scanting of the eleventh due perhaps to the relatively scarce data and to perceptions of relative significance.

Muslims and Jews populating Moorish Spain had the opportunity to interact. An early study of this interaction has been provided by Menéndez Pidal¹⁵. Sánchez Albornoz¹⁶, extremely stated, maintains that there is an immutability, or at least consistency, of Spanish character or temperament throughout history. On the other hand, Americo Castro¹⁷ polemically maintains the opposite view of interaction and synthesis. The former might suggest that the Hispano-Roman converted the Visigoth, survived the Moor, and went on to create the Golden Age. The latter emphasizes the impact of Islam and Jewry in determining the identity of the Spaniard of the Middle Ages and indeed attributes to them the realization of all of Spain's non-military accomplishments. Vicens Vives¹⁸ in Approaches to the History of Spain moderates these views.

The evidence for or against these theses may be sought in linguistic, ecclesiastic, legal, or other institutional

¹⁵ Menéndez Pidal, Ramon, The Spaniards in their History, trans. W. Starkie. (New York, 1950).

¹⁶ Sánchez Albornoz, C., España, un enigma histórico (Buenos Aires, 1957)

¹⁷ Castro, Americo. The Spaniards: An Introduction to their History trans. W.F King and S. Margaretten. (Berkeley, 1971).

¹⁸ Vicens Vives, Jaime, Approaches to the History of Spain trans. J.K.C. Ullman (Berkeley, 1970).

or cultural histories, and these have been written¹⁹. The historical study of art and architecture is also an approach that can contribute to a knowledge of the character and historical interaction of the peoples and principalities of Spain.

This relevance of art and architecture to the recording and interpretation of Spanish history has been sensed by a number of historians and standard or popular works such as Menéndes Pidal's Historia de Espana and Altamira's A History of Spain are abundantly supplied with illustrations of major monuments appropriately placed in their general historical context.

Of the historians of architecture and art, W.M. Whitehill first attracts attention because the focus of his major work, Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century, directly bears on the subject of this thesis. But, before Whitehill, the foundations of the study of Spanish Romanesque had already been firmly laid by two indefatigable preservationists, cataloguers, and critics: Josep Puig i

¹⁹ Valdeavellano, L.G.de, Curso de historia de la instituciones espanolas: De los origines al final de la Edad Media. (Madrid, 1968). and Garcia Villada, Z., Historia eclesiastica de Espana 5 vol.(Madrid 1929-1936). and Vicens Vives, Jaime. An Economic History of Spain trans. F.M. Lopez Morillas. (Princeton, 1969). are among these.

Cadafalch in Catalonia, and Manuel Gómez Moreno²⁰ (1870-1970) for the whole of Spain.²¹

These foundations were strengthened and built on by A.K. Porter (1923) (Whitehill's mentor at Harvard) and, in a wider context of Romanesque studies, by K.J. Conant.

Contemporary with these English language accounts, the interpretation of Spanish Romanesque architecture has been comprehensively treated by such Spanish scholars as J. Gudiol Ricart and J.A.Gaya Nuño, Fernando Chueca Goitia, and Pedro de Palol (with Max Hirmer). French scholarship began early with Emile Bertaux (1906) and continued with M. Georges Gaillard (1938), Marcel Durliat, Rene Crozet and Jean Cabanot. All these are excellent sources of the photographic evidence and all provide the appropriate narrative of persons and events relevant to the architecture, and all attempt some interpretations.

Recent revisionist writing has been provided by Thomas Lyman, S.M. Alvarez, and John Williams.

The concern of historians of art and architecture for evolutionary theory and the identification and dating of

²⁰ "Gómez Moreno, together with Menéndez Pidal, form a glorious pair, who by their studies of Spanish History and Archaeology have made them a venerated patriarchy..." Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, quoted by Jose Luis Martin, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (Valladolid: Sever-Cuesta, 1986). p.93

²¹ The encyclopaedic Lampérez y Romea Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española en la Edad Media has been superseded by Gómez Moreno. It was published first in 1908 and has not been revised, although reprinted in 1930.

works in conformity with it, creates a problem when one wishes, as in this thesis, to attribute the selection and execution of buildings and motifs to historical conditions and events. Any belief in methodical determinative artistic progress is inconsistent with choice of form in order to legitimize the patron, as maintained by Gunter Bandmann, or for the practical reasons of the accommodation and edification of pilgrims or colonists, or because of change of liturgy. Some French architecture historians, notably Paul Deschamps, Georges Gaillard (sometimes), Henri Focillon, and Marcel Durliat (1990) appear to prefer dating by style rather than by documentation and to ignore non-evolutionary forms resulting from innovation, selection, or necessity.

It is against this background of historical interpretation that attention is focussed on one region and a particular time to seek the evidence of architecture as witness to history.

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