2017

Biography of a City: Art, Urbanization, and Shifting Structures of Power in Carrion de los Condes, 1050-1200

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Abstract
One of the central narratives in the study of Spanish Romanesque art is that of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, the medieval pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James. While the Camino has been conceptualized primarily as a conduit of people and ideas, the monuments of the pilgrimage city of Carrion de los Condes demonstrate an intra-referentiality that challenges this unilateral construct. Pilgrimage must be understood as a binary phenomenon, comprised of not only the moving, transitory parties, but also the infrastructure that at once supports and is supported by them. This dissertation examines the three extant medieval monuments built during Carrion's period of greatest growth and prominence, ca. 1050-1200: the monastery of San Zoilo and the parish churches of Santa Maria and Santiago. Each addresses distinct audiences corresponding to its particular moment in Carrion's development and position within the city. Reframing the pilgrimage city as a crucial site of social and economic interaction, this dissertation situates the three monuments in relation to one another within a single, evolving urban fabric, one that had to negotiate and address multiple audiences—transient and enduring—through its artistic production.

Degree Type
Dissertation

Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Graduate Group
History of Art

First Advisor
Larry Silver

Subject Categories
History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology

This dissertation is available at ScholarlyCommons: https://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/2411
BIOGRAPHY OF A CITY: ART, URBANIZATION, AND SHIFTING STRUCTURES OF POWER IN CARRIÓN DE LOS CONDES, 1050-1200

Elizabeth A. Lastra

A DISSERTATION

in

History of Art

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2017

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BIOGRAPHY OF A CITY: ART, URBANIZATION, AND SHIFTING STRUCTURES OF POWER IN CARRIÓN DE LOS CONDES, 1050-1200

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Elizabeth Lastra
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the ideas, feedback, and support of many terrific people as well as the benefaction of several institutions. Fellowships from the University of Pennsylvania, the Fulbright Program, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Casa de Velázquez enabled the research and writing of this text.

Tremendous thanks are due to my advisors and committee members. I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my advisors Larry Silver and Robert Maxwell. Larry, thank you for your tireless, always prompt reading and continued advice, and for opening my eyes to Early Modern Spain. Robert, your thoughtful counsel throughout my writing as well as across my graduate career has been invaluable to the shaping of this text. To Renata Holod, I have ever appreciated your energetic mentorship and your encouragement of the digital component of my work. I also want to thank Sarah Guérin, both for your helpful comments on the project and for your valuable guidance as I look to the future beyond the dissertation.

For their indispensable aid and warmth during my first year of research in Spain, special thanks are owed to Javier Martínez de Aguirre, Carlos Villanueva, and Julio J. Gómez Otero of Carrión. I also want to express my gratitude to the Department of Medieval Art and the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, particularly to Chuck Little and Griff Mann. Not only did my time at the Metropolitan significantly advance my dissertation, but my work in the museum also inspired future projects. Pamela Patton,
Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, Manuel Castiñeiras, and Glaire Anderson all contributed insightful ideas and suggestions that furthered the research.

I also want to thank my friends at the University of Pennsylvania and the Met. Starting the PhD, I never expected to meet such a wonderful a group of likeminded medievalists: thank you for reading drafts, listening to conference papers, and an always eventful Kalamazoo.

Lastly, the greatest thanks are due to my family. My interests in both art and technology—as opposite as they might at first seem—were inspired by my multitalented parents. Your support and enthusiasm underlie any achievements I have made. Toby, the most well-traveled dog I know, deserves mention here too, for many transatlantic flights and endless comfort. Brennan, you have been the constant in this process. I could never have completed this project without your love, adventurousness (in spending years abroad), and all too many late nights reading or discussing Carrión de los Condes. This dissertation is dedicated to you, my husband the accidental art historian.
ABSTRACT

BIOGRAPHY OF A CITY: ART, URBANIZATION, AND SHIFTING STRUCTURES OF POWER IN CARRIÓN DE LOS CONDES, 1050-1200

Elizabeth Lastra
Larry Silver

One of the central narratives in the study of Spanish Romanesque art is that of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, the medieval pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James. While the Camino has been conceptualized primarily as a conduit of people and ideas, the monuments of the pilgrimage city of Carrión de los Condes demonstrate an intra-referentiality that challenges this unilateral construct. Pilgrimage must be understood as a binary phenomenon, comprised of not only the moving, transitory parties, but also the infrastructure that at once supports and is supported by them. This dissertation examines the three extant medieval monuments built during Carrión’s period of greatest growth and prominence, ca. 1050-1200: the monastery of San Zoilo and the parish churches of Santa María and Santiago. Each addresses distinct audiences corresponding to its particular moment in Carrión’s development and position within the city. Reframing the pilgrimage city as a crucial site of social and economic interaction, this dissertation situates the three monuments in relation to one another within a single, evolving urban fabric, one that had to negotiate and address multiple audiences—transient and enduring—through its artistic production.
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2. Archivolt, Santiago, Carrión
“We can reach yesterday as easily—neither more nor less—as we can a thousand years past.”

From the *Proverbios Morales*, Rabbi Santob of Carrión, 1345

In the fading light of a February evening, a crowd of excited children, tightly trussed in coats, scarves, and hats, gathers in the plaza of the convent of Santa Clara on the outskirts of Carrión de los Condes. For a brief moment, the idyllic scene could represent any number of northern Spanish towns in mid-winter; but then the bundled children brandish plump, ripe oranges—and, on the signal—launch the bright fruits across the cold gray stones in front of the church (fig. 1).

Each February third, on the day of Saint Blaise, the children reenact a Carrionese legend. This particular story tells of how the famous knight the Cid visited Carrión, bringing oranges from Valencia as presents for his daughters, who, according to the famous epic poem *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, were married to the heirs of the counts of Carrión. Failing to find his daughters in the city, the Cid flew into a rage, screaming and hurling the precious Andalusian fruit, and eventually lost his voice from his angry cries. As he left the city, he stopped at the church of Santa Clara and kissed the relic of Saint Blaise. Immediately, his throat was cured. Though the legend does not correspond to

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historical possibility and is popularly recognized as fictitious, the people of Carrión continue to celebrate the story. The Cid’s connections to the counts of Carrión were likely originally devised by the Cantar’s author to leverage the well-known reputation of Carrión and its counts among his courtly audience. Ironically, centuries later, it is the epic poem that introduces many to medieval Carrión.

The imaginative elaboration of Carrión’s legends and their energetic reenactment offer a glimpse into Carrión’s post-medieval and contemporary identities, both of which were greatly influenced by the city’s high medieval past. While neither Carrión nor its history is particularly widely known outside the city, its citizens continue to uphold the medieval centrality it once enjoyed. This text hopes to widen (and deepen) the perception of Carrión’s medieval importance that has been maintained actively by its citizens and endurably by its stone monuments.

I first came upon Carrión with no preconceptions. I had been walking the medieval pilgrimage the Camino de Santiago for around two weeks, en route to the tomb of the apostle James in Santiago de Compostela along with hordes of other summer pilgrims. Upon entry to the city, I immediately secured a bed at the albergue attached to the convent of Santa Clara (fig. 2), the institution celebrated by Carrión’s citizens for delivering the miraculous cure to the Cid. Located on the eastern edge of the city, Santa Clara has been welcoming pilgrims for many centuries. After reaching their stop for the night, most pilgrims disperse and divide organically into groups. Some lie down in their beds or procure food and drink, while others, overwhelmed by curiosity or spiritual thirst,
drag their tired bodies across the town to explore, stopping to admire the impressive, ornamented stone churches, oftentimes entering to pray or attend mass.³

After dropping my things on a bunk at Santa Clara, I followed suit and set off past Carrión’s ruined walls into the city center. My experience of the city inspired this dissertation. Spending the remainder of the day engrossed in looking, I became fascinated with pictorial correspondences among the extant medieval monuments. The interactions between Carrión’s churches attest to the presence of a local consciousness within an urbanity playing constant host to transient visitors: studied collectively and examined from a local lens, we find that Carrión’s impressive monuments participate in a story about the city’s people—those who have inspired, shaped, and consumed Carrión’s artistic production, as well as those who live with it in the present. Carrión’s relationship with its medieval past and the enduring faces of its stone monuments echo the words of the city’s own poet Santob: the past and yesterday are equally far, and equally close.

³ In 2016, forty-eight percent of pilgrims reported that they undertook the pilgrimage for both religious and cultural reasons, forty-four percent for solely religious reasons, and eight percent for solely cultural reasons. Medieval pilgrims undoubtedly had varied motivations as well; although surely less forthrightly than today, some likely used the opportunity as a means to feed their curiosity in a society in which general tourism did not exist. La Oficina de Acogida al Peregrino, “Estadísticas,” 2016, https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas/.
INTRODUCTION

Two finely dressed noblemen hold a cloth taut between them (fig. 3). From the cerement extends a small, winged, bust-length figure, who clutches a book tightly to his chest. The bracketing men—their bodies forming a parenthesis encircling and accentuating the eidolon—point upward emphatically; each extends an index finger toward a lion’s mask above. While the gestures of the scene’s characters are assertive, the overall mood feels serene.

In another image, the crowning lion’s maw stands ajar and vicious (fig. 4). Two men below again flank a central figure; however, here, the character at the center no longer calmly holds a book. The small eidolon, robbed of his wings, opens wide his mouth in a terrifying and almost audible scream. The peripheral figures take the action one step further than their counterparts; instead of pointing, the men extend their hands into the jaws of the beast, perhaps prying open its menacing mouth to receive the screaming man in their clutches. While following the same structure as the first, this scene has become imminently threatening.

The initial image adorns a capital carved in the last years of the eleventh century at the Cluniac monastery of San Zoilo. The second describes the exterior face of a capital completed in the 1170s, pertaining to a parish church dedicated to Santiago. Both institutions and images belong to the city of Carrión de los Condes in northern Spain. The imagery on the parish church’s capital clearly derives from the original iconography devised by the Carrionese monastery; however, nearly a century later—addressing a
different audience and occupying a public location—Santiago’s sinister interpretation imparts a wholly distinct message.

A ring of thirty-seven individual characters surrounds a round-arched church door (fig. 5). The figures radiate outward from the portal, contributing to a dynamic viewing experience for the entrant into the basilica. Among the motley inhabitants of the figural archivolt appear an ape, a demonic scribe, and a man tugging his bifurcated beard (e.g. fig. 106). Just above, an expansive frieze extends across the façade. Contrasting with the small, lively individuals of the archivolt, large, legible characters enacting a biblical story occupy the surmounting frieze. Busyness characterizes the space around the door, while emblematism and clarity are prioritized above.

Also disposed radially, a second band of characters wraps around another portal (fig. 6). Here, a tailor, a minter, and a shoemaker ply their trades within the orbicular span (e.g. fig. 211). Similarly active and dynamic, these figures engage in activities more grounded in everyday life. Christ in Majesty and the apostolate occupy an imposing frieze that unfolds overhead, contrasting sharply with the small tradesmen focused upon their tasks. The atmosphere of activity that invests the small figures with visual interest is reversed in the entablature; stillness imbues the Heavenly Court with its gravitas and power.

Both sculptural ensembles decorate parish churches in Carrión. The first, completed in the mid-twelfth century, corresponds to the church of Santa María del Camino, which stands just inside Carrión’s eastern gate and greets entrants to the city
with its façade directly facing the main road. Carved only two to three decades later, the second ornaments the church of Santiago, and belongs to the same program of sculpture as the foreboding capital with the open lion’s maw. The latter church borrows the composition of the former. The same organizing technique has been employed, which categorizes earthly and heavenly, modest and monumental by architectural place; within these frames, however, shifts in the content bespeak different goals and potentially different viewership.

The two vignettes sketched above illustrate a pictorial interplay among the extant monuments of Carrión de los Condes. A capital from an eleventh-century Carrionese monastery is reinterpreted at a parish church in the center of the city. Simultaneously, this same parish church adopts the façade composition of another parish church, only steps away. Both cases indicate local emulation of original compositions, one iconographical and one organizational; in neither case, however, is the meaning left unaltered. Although located within the same city, each of these three elaborately ornamented institutions addresses specific audiences, representative of its place and role in Carrión and of its particular historical moment.

The monastery and two parish churches—San Zoilo, Santa María, and Santiago (figs. 6-8)—have each been cited independently as exemplifying the appearance in the region of notable Romanesque stylistic or iconographic trends. This overwhelming application of an externally-focused method of inquiry stems from Carrión’s position along the Camino de Santiago, the medieval pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James. Similar
to other towns and monuments along the route, Carrión’s situation as a stop on the popular apostolic pilgrimage has colored the ways in which scholars have approached their work on the city. Excerpting Carrión’s monuments from their local and civic context, these methods have precluded consideration of what the institutions reveal about each other, and neglected their significant connections to the city’s social and economic history. This dissertation examines the institutions of San Zoilo, Santa María, and Santiago in relation to one another within the context of the evolving city of Carrión, reframing the pilgrimage urbanity as a crucial site of social and economic interaction, which had to negotiate and address multiple audiences through its artistic production.

Carrión and the Permutations of History

Today Carrión is a mid-size meseta town of around two thousand inhabitants, with quiet life centered around a small plaza. As a stop on the Camino de Santiago, or Way of Saint James, the summer months are marked by troves of pilgrims passing transiently through the downtown, conspicuous in their traveling gear. Roughly halfway between Burgos and León, Carrión now appears much more similar to the smaller communities along the pilgrimage than these two major cities. Nonetheless, Carrión’s modern anonymity belies a distinguished past, only disclosed by the faces of its proud stone monuments and many legends.

By the early thirteenth century, the terminus of the period covered by this study, Carrión claimed ten churches that are securely attested by medieval sources, and

potentially several more (map 5). A 1345 census of the diocese of Palencia, of which Carrión was the largest archdeaconry, lists an additional four churches that may or may not have existed in previous centuries. Carrión also boasted ninety-nine clergy members accountable to the bishop, plus those not recorded in the diocesan census such as friars. By the fifteenth century, fourteen hospitals are recorded in and around the city. It is reasonable to assume that at least four to six existed by the end of the twelfth.

The population figure often cited for medieval Carrión at its height is twelve thousand people, roughly six times the city’s size today. Though not a reliable figure, Carrión of the twelfth century—labeled in documents as a city or civitas (a noteworthy term which will be discussed in the next chapter)—seems to have been significantly larger than the contemporary town. Based on the number of churches and clergy members, I estimate a population of around six thousand citizens, which still triples that of the modern urbanity. Carrión certainly represented the most populous district of the larger region of Tierra de Campos. Literally meaning Land of Fields for its nearly unbroken flat topography, Tierra de Campos was one of northern Spain’s most

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7 Among others, see Antonio Ponz, Viage de España, vol. 11 (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, Hijos, y Compañía, 1787), 203; Martín Ramírez de Helguera, El libro de Carrión de los Condes (con su historia) (Reproduction Palencia: Establecimiento tipográfico de Abundio Z. Menéndez, 1896), 35; and José María Quadrado, Recuerdos y bellezas de España, vol. 1 (Madrid: 1861), 332. This number continues to be repeated by modern sources, but without support, for example, María Flora Cuadrado Lorenzo, “La iglesia de Santa María del Camino de Carrión de los Condes y su programa escultórico” (master’s thesis, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1984), 215.
8 For the term civitas applied to Carrión, see page 50 as well as notes 117 and 118.
historically powerful and profitable regions. The *Historia Silense* records that, in partitioning his kingdom, King Fernando I “set Alfonso, whom before all his children he held dear, over Tierra de Campos, and subjected to his authority all the kingdom of the Leonese.” His son Sancho received Castilla, and García, Galicia.\(^{10}\) Tierra de Campos was also the location of the first fairs granted in León-Castilla (one of which in Carrión) and of many of the realm’s most distinguished monasteries, suggesting a certain economic and religious centrality.\(^{11}\)

Today, few outside of Spain have heard of the city of Carrión de los Condes. The city’s relative obscurity, however, reflects an accident of history more than Carrión’s high medieval status. This dissertation chronicles Carrión’s period of greatest growth and prominence, from circa 1050 to 1200. By the thirteenth century, Carrión had begun a steady, and at times brutal, decline. The city’s eleventh and twelfth century prosperity is intimately tied to its particular moment: one in which the kingdoms of northern Spain were taking a firm hold of the north, before the focus of the monarchs moved southward during the progressing *Reconquista*. The maturation of the *Camino de Santiago*, of which Carrión constituted a prominent stop, also epitomizes the character of this historical moment. Although the Carrión of the late Middle Ages witnessed a waning in its fortunes

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\(^{10}\) *Historia Silense*, in English translation in Simon Barton and R. A. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 60. The name *Silense* comes from the text’s original attribution to the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, although most scholars now agree that the text was written at San Isidoro in León. Authorship by a monk from Sahagún in Tierra de Campos has also been suggested, so the narrative’s praise of the region should be used cautiously, see Patrick Henriet, “L’Historia Silensis, chronique écrite par un moine de Sahagún. Nouveaux arguments,” *e-Spania* 14 (2012), doi: 10.4000/e-spania.21655.

and importance, the city’s modern history nearly erased the comital capital from cultural record.

During the late eighteenth century, in his *Viage de España* (or Journey around Spain), the painter and writer Antonio Ponz estimates Carrión’s population as reduced to four hundred souls. This meager number suggests that Carrión had become a mere shadow of the former place, now a village within the bones of a medieval city. Nonetheless, the coming years would spell even more trouble, dealing the greatest blow to Carrión’s legacy. In the Napoleonic Wars, the Spanish resistance burned much of the historic center as a means of denying the invading French forces any strategic use of its buildings. Their actions, as well as those of the French troops, permanently transformed the face of Carrión. The flames wreaked irreparable damage on many of its monuments and eradicated nearly all archival documentation, posing a significant challenge to modern humanistic scholarship.

The convent of Santa Clara, briefly introduced in the prologue, reportedly weathered the Napoleonic occupation through a clever pact devised by its nuns. In exchange for leaving the sisters of Santa Clara in peace, the Clarisas offered to provide the French soldiers with daily chocolate, served as a rich, viscous drink, and accompanied by morsels of fried dough. Today, pilgrims continue to lodge at Santa Clara, sleeping in an albergue tucked into a side of the convent, and though unbeknownst to most visitors, the hospitality of the institution preserves the memory of a twelfth-century church and

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12 Ponz, *Viage de España*, 198.
14 “Historia de Carrión,” 47.
hospital. The house of canons regular of Sancti Spiritus once stood adjacent to Santa Clara, before falling out of use and into disrepair. It would have been this institution—marked by an oil lamp, perpetually burning for the Holy Spirit and Saint Blaise—that originally provided healing and spiritual care to visitors. While much of the former city is lost, and with it, Carrión’s once familiar and distinguished reputation, the urban plan, surviving monuments, and citizens themselves preserve pieces of medieval history that collectively disclose a lively and momentous narrative. This dissertation traces Carrión’s transition from a comital capital, dominated by noble and monastic authority, to a thriving mercantile city with a middle class beginning to recognize its own agency. Together, the history informs our understanding of the monuments, and in turn, through their enduring and expressive stone faces, the monuments communicate the story of the city.

Methods

Over a period of roughly a century and a half, Carrión experienced significant advances in its economic position, political centrality, and urban fabric, accompanied by shifts in the city’s social and power structures. Despite a paucity of surviving documents, most likely lost to the fires of 1811, leaving the most momentous period of the city’s history bereft of written record, Carrión preserves an endlessly mineable visual record. An understanding of the city’s surviving artistic production—much of it monumental

public art—is inseparable from that of the complex economic and social processes at work within the city and the people that inhabited it across these generations. The following investigation into Carrión and its monuments interrogates the civic and urban context within which these buildings are situated, the social shifts progressively dismantling an established hierarchy of authority, the sculpture’s address to and reception by diverse audiences, as well as the employment of established and original iconographic compositions.

Since the early twentieth century, a paradigm for examining pilgrimage and pilgrimage monuments has existed, which, while expanded and amended over time, still persists within our basic conception of the route. Following the early and extremely influential ideas of Emile Mâle and Arthur Kingsley Porter, among others, designating the Camino as a powerful conduit of people and ideas, scholars for much of the last century have continued to probe questions of style and chronology; for Carrión, issues of style remain central to most authors, although now major monuments off the roads are also included within these debates.\(^{16}\) In general, since the 1980s, methods of considering pilgrimage have shifted, most notably to examine the pilgrim’s experience and its relation to visual culture, from large-scale monuments to miniature pilgrim’s badges.\(^{17}\) While these newer approaches offer invaluable insights, pilgrimage continues to be conceptualized unilaterally. The cultural phenomenon has been reduced to only one of its halves—that of the pilgrim, the moving, transitory party. It is the itinerant artist who is an

\(^{16}\) See especially the section *A Century of Style*, starting on page 246.
agent for stylistic and iconographic transfer, and the pilgrim whose experience arouses our concern. However, as this dissertation argues, mass pilgrimage should be understood as a fundamentally binary phenomenon, a symbiotic partnership between the travelers and the infrastructure that at once supports and is supported by them. The rite is inseparable from the towns and cities in its path, which must be considered as individual spheres of activity, both related to the pilgrimage and autonomous communities in their own right.

External influences and pilgrim-oriented design comprise only a small component of a much more complex system of local urban development and artistic production. The interplay between Carrión’s monuments, expressed in the borrowing and reinterpretation of insular motifs, attests to their local focus: the civic domain proves equally important to that of the pilgrimage in the formulation of the monuments’ decorative programs. A significant contribution of this project is the consolidation of the monuments of a pilgrimage urbanity within a single study and theoretical framework, allowing for the examination of civic, social, and audience-related questions of monuments along the Camino.

Carrión’s surviving churches have never been examined within their ideological and physical context in the city.18 Likely because of Carrión’s size and position today, its

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medieval status as a *civitas* is largely overlooked, as are the implications of this urban context for its artistic production. This study considers the ways in which the monuments and their decoration were formed by and tailored to their location and role in the evolving city as well as acted upon it. The two parish churches in particular, configured for public consumption, bear site-specific messages that relate to their place within Carrión’s urban plan. For instance, as will be expounded in the third chapter, the church of Santa María’s location near an entrance to Carrión and along the *Camino* road proves fundamental to its carved frieze, which illustrates both a journey and a destination, its meanings tied to the city’s place on the pilgrimage and local civic identity. The church of Santiago, the subject of chapter four, stands in the center of town on a main street that likely also housed a medieval market. While Santiago’s meticulous depiction of tradesmen does not directly illustrate the contemporary reality of the city, the carved people engaged in quotidian tasks—some producing saleable wares, and others, coin—would have been particularly relevant and legible for members of the working middle class.¹⁹

Tied to its development into a prosperous city, eleventh- and twelfth-century Carrión experienced radical changes to the established hierarchy of power and social structure; this shifting social, political, and ecclesiastical landscape embodies the climate of the facture of Carrión’s monuments and must be explored along with them.²⁰ These

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centuries witnessed the waning in power of traditional authorities, namely the counts and monks, and the emergence of a previously silent majority as a sizeable middle class capable of affecting change. This study explores Carrión’s monuments through a critical lens attuned to the shifting conditions of its publics and simultaneously uses the monuments as a means to explore the contemporary social situation, complementing the limited documentation of events in Carrión.

One documentary source, the *Primera crónica anónima de Sahagún*, composed in the nearby town of Sahagún, bears written witness to the class conflict.²¹ Penned by a monk of the abbey, the *Crónica* narrates a one-sided version of events, in which theburghers of Sahagún violate the monastery’s property and attack the monks and abbot who attempt to maintain the established power structure, painted by the *Crónica* as idyllic for all in a history prefacing the current events.²² Just forty kilometers away, Carrión preserves monuments erected and decorated across this period of change. The imagery of the Carrionese churches complements the information that can be gleaned from the famous *Crónica*. The monuments enable an examination of the social climate through visual material, a means of expression distinct from that of the written word, and offer more than a single perspective illustrating and manifesting the contemporary changes to

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²² Chapters 1-15 of the *Crónica* provide an idealized history of the monastery. Prior to the conflict, under punishment of imprisonment, the citizens were not to infringe on the monastery’s territory and were required to pay an annual tax to the abbey, as well as an additional tax for the use of its ovens. During the rebellions, theburgers wrote their own customs in an attempt to achieve greater autonomy from the monastery. Puyol, *Las crónicas anónimas*, chs. 1-15, 27. See also Ryan Evan Schwarzrock, “Conflict and Chronicle in Twelfth-Century León-Castile: A Literary Study of the First Crónica Anónima of Sahagún” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2012), 55-58.
society. While the decoration of the first monument treated in this study, San Zoilo, typifies the established monastic and noble authority—which wielded significant intellectual, territorial, and political power over the common lay person—that of Carrión’s two twelfth-century parish churches evinces an ecclesiastical authority increasingly interested in appealing to an emerging middle class. Although certainly filtered through the objectives of the clerics, and ultimately meant to serve their goals, the elaborate ensembles of sculpture portrayed at Santa María and Santiago integrate secular content, including accessible images of lay people, with theological content. Santiago, the latest monument treated in this study, depicts a novel iconographical scheme that specifically visualizes and targets an urban working class.

Intertwined with the social context of eleventh- and twelfth-century Carrión are issues of audience and reception. The publics privy to San Zoilo’s images and spaces would have been limited, while Santa María and Santiago’s façade sculpture stood available for public consumption. In addition to their parishioners, a local Christian audience, the carved ensembles would also have been seen by a transitory pilgrimage audience, composed of a wide range of visitors united only by the circumstances of their journey, as well as by communities of Jews and Muslims living in the city. Santa María, for instance, employs distinct visual strategies to target different groups within its varied viewership. Its large, directional frieze, devoted to the Journey of the Magi, facilitates quick comprehension by a viewer moving from east to west—the direction of the pilgrimage road—and, in its subject, satisfies the needs and concerns of a spiritual traveler. Conversely, the carved archivolt, its figures ringing the portal, circumvents the telling of an easily legible narrative; instead, the space illustrates vices and everyday
actions dynamically and paratactically, designed to maintain a viewer’s interest across a lifetime of trips through the church door.

Previous studies of Carrión’s monuments have primarily examined questions of style and, to a lesser extent, iconography. This scholarship will be summarized in individual historiographic sections within each chapter, pursuant to the independent treatment of the monuments to date. A continued prioritization of questions of style promises few new insights, and in fact encourages the persisting discussion of the monuments outside their local context. Within the objectives of this study, iconography, however, remains a profitable method. The salvific capital from San Zoilo, briefly described at the beginning of the introduction—an original scheme that is related to but meaningfully alters the traditional iconography of the bearing of a soul—appears rewritten at Santiago. The subtle but significant shifts in the representation of the motif, traced from San Zoilo to Santiago and then across greater Palencia around 1200, provide insights into the intentions behind and meaning of the iconography in each instance.

This investigation provides a framework for studying the pilgrimage urbanity and its artistic production, considering pilgrimage as a function of not only the pilgrim, but also the permanent resident and the infrastructure that both supported and profited from the rite. The interrogation of questions of urban context, social history, audience, and iconography offers new perspectives into Carrión’s monuments, as well as the city as a whole. The thinking throughout has been much informed by digital tools and computer vision technologies, which complement the critical methods employed. These tools are the focus of the following section.
Tools: Digital Visualization for Medieval Art History

The discipline of art history, intrinsically visual, is naturally strongly tied to its visualization tools, which range from verbal description to photography. These devices suit different needs and provide varied information for the researcher and reader. Today, the rapid advance of technology is expanding the art historian’s toolkit. Digital media in many forms, constantly in a process of evolving and multiplying, provide new means of looking, augmenting the ways in which we view, present, and study medieval art.

 Fundamental to the present study and its methods are the varying forms of engagement with art works across multiple medieval audiences. Until very recently, attempts to simulate off-site the movement and complexity involved in viewing, or to represent the entire body of an object or sculptural ensemble, have been stymied by the limitations of available technologies. While continuing to leverage traditional art historical tools, this dissertation also benefits from the application of novel computer vision technologies in two and three dimensions. In the reading of this text, the reader is invited not only to use the plans, maps, and photographs included within the document, but also to explore the monuments through the gigapixel images and three-dimensional models provided on the companion web resource Romanesquespain.com.23

In this section, I will briefly discuss current art historical tools, particularly photography and its implications for method, as well as introduce the computer vision

23 Published by the author, the website (http://romanesquespain.com) provides access to monuments in northern Spain through digital media.
technologies employed in the research for this study. Traditional tools used by art historians include verbal description, drawing, architectural and site plans, mapping (both cartography and data mapping), and photography. Arguably the oldest of these devises, description provides an experience of a space and guides the audience’s attention to details of interest or those easily overlooked. Plans serve to distill spaces into two-dimensional schema, allowing for the representation of scaled features and presentation of measurements. Although today in near ubiquitous use, photographic technology revolutionized the discipline at its inception through the introduction of photo-real likenesses to the study of art. Over the twentieth century and continuing to the present, photography has captured the primary spot in the art historian’s arsenal.

Our methods naturally reflect the tools that we have available. The advent of photography fostered the development of approaches well-suited to it; for example, the art historian Heinrich Wölfflin’s famous comparative method, tracing the shifts in formal characteristics across the Renaissance and Baroque periods, cannot be divorced from his pairing of images using dual slide projectors. Among its benefits, photography enables this comparison of works across any distance as well as the ready examination of details and the photo-real illustration of an object under study. Photography captures its impressions by focusing reflected light through a lens and exposing light-sensitive material, or electronic photodetectors for digital photography, for an interval of time. The process produces two-dimensional images of a limited size, potentially necessitating and effecting significant cropping of a subject depending on its original size and dimensionality, as well as the magnification of the resulting image. For monumental sculpture and architecture, which are central to the field of medieval art and comprise the
primary media discussed in this dissertation, photography nearly always involves framing and cropping, constraining images to either a wide scene with limited detail or a tight but detailed view. Within sculpture studies, the latter type of image privileges the application of certain methods, principally those of style and iconography. The sweep of a robe, the contours of a face, the modeling of an ear: these stylistic features receive concerted interest when examined from a closely cropped viewpoint, or in comparison to another robe, face, or ear, perhaps similarly rendered. Photography can equally serve to frame a particular scene, one that can be identified and interpreted in relation to others, thus lending itself to iconographical study.

Some of the Camino de Santiago’s most influential early scholars were avid photographers, traveling widely and documenting sites along the pilgrimage’s many roads across France and Spain. The expansive reach of pilgrimage and the accumulative, comparative capacity of photographic technology seemingly go hand in hand. However, the continued reliance on this visualization technology may also be particularly limiting within pilgrimage studies, already predisposed to search for analogues across a broad geographical scope over interrogating local context. Photographs by nature excerpt images from their setting, both their immediate surroundings—a building, ensemble, or program—and their wider environment. Photographs of sites two hundred meters away bear no difference a priori from ones five

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hundred kilometers away, their subjects plucked neatly away from potentially very
different contexts. In this same vein, the scholarship on Carrión’s monuments has been
primarily stylistic, and secondarily iconographic.25

Photographs possess the defining characteristic of being photo-real, which should
not be confused with objective. The process of taking a photograph involves numerous
decisions made by the photographer; for example, the chosen subject, angle of capture,
and exposure. These decisions at once represent advantages and disadvantages of the
technology: the author is able to select the subject perhaps most relevant or compelling
for his or her audience. Likewise, the audience may only be exposed to the content
selected by the author. Photography suggests objectivity, when in fact the tool is highly
subjective.26 In following the details and views selected by an author, the reader may be
led also to adopt this author’s interpretation when a wider perspective of the subject
might have shifted the reader’s perception. The employment of new, complementary
visualization technologies largely resolves the problem of photography’s subjectivity
through the provision of a more contextualized viewing experience: the author can guide
a reader through his or her text or argument, and the audience may explore the subject
autonomously as well.

25 Scholarship on the monuments of León and Santiago de Compostela are notable exceptions to the
primarily externally-looking methods often applied to pilgrimage urbanities. See Abou-El-Haj, “Santiago
de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez”; Mathews, “Reading Romanesque Sculpture”; and Therese
Martin, Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain (Boston: Brill,
2006).
26 See the canonical works on photography by Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag, Roland Barthes, Camera
Lucida: Reflections on Photography (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981); and Susan Sontag, On
With advances in technology, humanistic scholarship is gaining countless new aids for research, enough so that a new discipline—digital humanities—emerged and has grown tremendously in recent years. Within the specific field of medieval art history, extensive manuscript digitization projects have provided unprecedented access to manuscripts worldwide. For specialists of sculpture, however, new technological developments have been slower to catch on, perhaps because of their greater perceived complexity or technical inaccessibility. While new media will undoubtedly continue to emerge over the coming years, currently, two technologies in particular—gigapixel imaging and three-dimensional modeling—expand traditional capabilities for viewing and critically examining medieval sculpture, and should serve as a complement to traditional photography. Each tool increases visualization over a wider expanse than had been previously accessible off-site: a viewer can contextualize sculptural details within a larger space or program through the use of gigapixel imaging, and across multiple sides of an object with three-dimensional modeling.

28 When I began working with computer vision for art history in 2012, I found few projects that documented sculptural subjects; notable exceptions include: CENOBIUM (http://cenobium.isti.cnr.it/) and Mapping Gothic France (http://mappinggothic.org/). Five years later in 2017, the number of projects has expanded significantly (see, for example, Clunypedia and Moissac 3D (http://www.clunypedia.com/about.html); The Creation of Gothic Architecture Project (http://www.creationofgothic.org/); The Portal Project (http://www.fabricae.org/PP/PHP/PP.php?proj=PP); and the 3D models published by the British Museum (https://sketchfab.com/britishmuseum) and the Smithsonian (https://3d.si.edu/), and I believe we are at the beginning of an exponential rise. Gigapixel imaging technology may be familiar to the reader from the Google Art Project, which offers access to thousands of art works in collections across the world through these ultra-high resolution images.
Gigapixel photography represents, quite literally, an extension of traditional photography.\textsuperscript{29} Technically defined as over one billion pixels in size, a gigapixel image implies an ultra-high resolution image; with few exceptions, they must be composed of a large set of photographs.\textsuperscript{30} To contextualize the scope of one billion pixels, a typical photograph ranges from 5 to 25 megapixels (one million pixels), depending on the camera employed.\textsuperscript{31} To create a gigapixel image, a series (often hundreds) of individual photographs are taken spanning a defined area or subject, generally using a motorized pan-tilt platform to ensure consistency and comprehensiveness; subsequently, with a computer program, the photographs are stitched together into a single, ultra-high resolution, explorable image.\textsuperscript{32} The computer layers and blends the individual photographs to form a composite. The resulting image is two-dimensional (either a planar or spherical projection) and enables seamless and undetectable panning between the original photographs.

Gigapixel images offer a distinct and greatly advantageous means of viewing. These large-scale, high resolution composites allow a remote audience not only to see an entire building in a single frame, but also to zoom and examine equally clear, high

\textsuperscript{29} A question about the ability to publish gigapixel images (and 3D models, another technology discussed in this section) will undoubtedly arise from this discussion. These computer-based technologies could be made available through links or disks with print publications and are easily embedded into online publications. Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide is one art historical journal currently encouraging submissions that include digital components.

\textsuperscript{30} The term panorama can also apply to gigapixel images, although the designation gigapixel image is more specific, implying an image of ultra-high resolution, while a panorama can define any image with an elongated field of view. Of the few cameras that have the capacity to capture an image of this size, most are used for astronomy.

\textsuperscript{31} For example, an iPhone 7 (2016) can capture an image of 12 megapixels and the Canon DSLR camera used to shoot many of the photographs in this dissertation (an EOS 5D Mark III), 22 megapixels.

\textsuperscript{32} Programs for stitching gigapixel images include: GigaPan, PT Gui, and Kolor Autopan Giga.
resolution details. The primary functional advantage of gigapixel photography is
precisely this ability to toggle between macro and micro views: a viewer can acquire an
overall sense of the composition and character of the façade of a building and easily
zoom in to study its ensemble of sculpture in detail. The technology is best suited to
capturing a large-scale work that can then be thoughtfully explored. For instance, across
the elaborate west façade of San Vicente de Ávila, the viewer can compare figural scenes
with the undulating vegetation and running patterns that encircle them, perhaps finding
formal comparisons among seemingly disparate elements united by their character as
architectural ornament. The viewer can allow his or her eye to follow the contours of
the building and its decoration, moving in the direction that feels most natural and
pausing on features of interest.

In its focus on individual features and potential for side-by-side comparison,
traditional photography encourages stylistic and iconographic questions, while gigapixel
imaging furthers different types of inquiries. The value of contextualization cannot be
overstated. As will be demonstrated in the chapter on Santiago de Carrión, the church’s
west façade sculpture forms a program in which the sculptural ensemble is meant to be
read as a whole. The miniature carved official on the ninth voussoir from the left points
upward with his index finger. The gigapixel image enables a viewer to follow his gesture
actively, tracing its trajectory to the monumental Christ in Majesty on the frieze above.

33 For a gigapixel image of the west façade of San Vicente de Ávila, see
34 I am not implying that photography cannot be used with other methods, it certainly has been for many
decades, but that the medium encourages certain types of questions.
35 For the gigapixel image of Santiago’s west façade, go to: http://www.romanesquespain.com/santiago.
In this way, the large-format explorable image provides the means to view and read across an expanded field, connecting the separate architectonic parts of frieze and archivolt. Through the potential for a more holistic, contextualized viewing experience, gigapixel images, relative to traditional photography, lend themselves to questions of audience and viewing patterns. How was a monument experienced by its various medieval observers? Across ensembles of monumental public sculpture, are consistent strategies employed to address specific audiences? In a pilgrimage urbanity like Carrión, for example, can we find conventions of compositional schema relating to the expected patterns of movement of itinerant pilgrims versus permanent residents? A gigapixel image allows the researcher or reader to navigate actively across these larger spaces, a process significantly more conducive to the formulation and consideration of these questions than scrolling through a set of photographs.

The second computer vision technology employed in the course of this project, also with wider applications for art history, is three-dimensional modeling. Today, many technologies exist for the creation of 3D models, among them laser scanning, structured light, and image-based structure-from-motion, each suited to specific applications. The latter, image-based structure-from-motion modeling produces 3D models of extant objects from a set of 2D photographs. In its direct use of photographs, this type of modeling is distinct in technical process and function from virtual rendering, which, in being hand-drawn, allows for the visualization of non-extant subjects.

36 Programs to create 3D models using SfM include Autodesk 123D Catch, Acute 3D, and Agisoft PhotoScan.
Structure-from-motion (SfM) modeling is a relatively recent technological development, based on the ability of a computer to identify correspondence points within a group of photographs and calibrate the camera used to capture them. The term photogrammetry, defined as the science of taking measurements from photographs, can also be used to describe the technology, but it offers less precision as a descriptor. An SfM model is generated from a set of photographs (in the range of thirty to several hundred depending on the requisite or desired complexity) taken of a single subject. The computer then finds correspondence points—the same feature of the subject across multiple photographs—and using these, determines the position of the camera at which each photograph was taken. The resulting product is a textured and to scale model that can be explored through a viewing application or printed as a physical object.

Although many art historians study objects and monuments—fundamentally three-dimensional subjects—the scholar’s primary visualization tools have remained two-dimensional throughout the history of the discipline. Undoubtedly, the technological limitations of two-dimensional photography, prints, and sketches privilege subjects that can be more comprehensively depicted; in transferring a 3D object onto a single plane,

37 Camera calibration involves determining the position and orientation of a camera (camera extrinsics), characteristics of the camera (camera intrinsics), and lens distortion.
38 Photogrammetry dates to the beginning of photography and can be employed for a variety of uses from simply taking measurements to cartography to modeling. In the early practice of this technology, photogrammeters would place markers (as simple as a sheet of paper with a target) and make measurements using the markers as correspondences between the images.
39 The product is a mesh composed of polygons, of which the density—and often quality—is determined by the amount of data collected (a combination of the number of photographs and how comprehensively all sides of the object have been captured). The object will not be the same physical size as the original unless printed with the same dimensions, however its features are to scale. Also, by placing an object of known size in the scene (for example, a ruler), a mesh with accurate dimensions can be produced.
something will always be lost. What new potential arises for the study of sculptural and architectural media with representational tools more suited to their form?

For the first time, SfM models rival the potential actualized by the photograph among two-dimensional arts for sculptural media. Unlike stereoscopic technology, which provides an illusion of dimension, these models are volumetric, allowing a viewer to move about an object actively. Moreover, the viewer is able to control his or her experience by navigating autonomously. Free to rotate around a model in any course or direction, he or she might begin by exploring the subject similarly to how one would in person; for a smaller object, this involves a process similar to turning the object in one’s hands across many axes, or for a larger piece, the viewer might orbit the model along a single horizontal plane as in circumambulation. Next, the viewer might try a different mode of viewing, exploring the object in a way not possible before; for example, a capital could be inverted, revealing details or marks that had previously gone unnoticed. The viewer can also zoom in and out to examine details, as if moving towards and away from the material object. These possibilities offer an entirely new level of access. For small, precious objects, the opportunities (or time allotted) to hold an object are often limited, while for larger or engaged pieces, their physical properties prohibit movement. Both boundaries are eliminated with the 3D model. The action of rotating the object in space may lead a viewer to move differently and look in places he or she otherwise might not have.

Three-dimensional models also accommodate objects that are particularly physically unsuited to representation in two-dimensions. Certain subjects, from hand-held
spherical pyxides to large baptismal fonts, carry detail across curved surfaces.\textsuperscript{40} For this category of object, which until now has eluded satisfactory representation, SfM modeling provides a visualization tool that does not fragment the form or decoration of the object.

Above all, these two technologies, structure-from-motion modeling and gigapixel imaging, transform and democratize access to art objects and monuments as well as correct the decontextualization and truncation previously inevitable for large, complicated, or three-dimensional subjects. The two technologies complement each other. With the use of a 3D model, a viewer can navigate across surfaces, able to follow a narrative or make formal comparisons; however, a 3D model of a large monument can easily become unwieldy and imprecise, at least with current technology. Inversely, gigapixel images are able to document large subjects—facades, sculptural programs, environments, etc.—and make them navigable, but only from a single viewpoint. The façade of San Cornelio y San Cipriano in Revilla de Santullán provides a representative example: the archivolt features carving flush with the façade, while the capitals, projecting outward from the door, display sculpture on two sides.\textsuperscript{41} A gigapixel image of the façade in combination with models of the capitals provides a means to view and explore all details.

These technologies offer significantly greater user-interactivity along with significantly less author intervention, though they should by no means be considered a substitute or replacement for on-site viewing. The most frequently voiced criticisms of

\textsuperscript{40} See, for example, the model of a thirteenth-century baptismal font in Abía de las Torres, Palencia: http://www.romanesquespain.com/abia-de-las-torres.

\textsuperscript{41} See the gigapixel image and 3D models of the west portal of the church of San Cornelio y San Cipriano in Revilla de Santullán, Palencia: http://www.romanesquespain.com/revilla-de-santullan.
computer vision technology among art historians center around this issue—that the new media will replace site visits and fail to accurately replicate a human interaction with the piece or monument. As composites of many images, gigapixel images and 3D models might include photographs of aspects of a program difficult or even impossible to see with the unaided human eye. However, there is no reason to conclude that these media will replace direct visual experience; rather, computer vision tools complement first person viewing along with the rest of the art historian’s toolkit.

Dynamic scholarship necessitates an array of tools that fulfill many functions. These new technologies, with wide-ranging applications for art history, only serve to increase the possibilities for research and publication. Digital visualization expands and diversifies our means of looking, analyzing, and presenting, paving the way for new methodologies and new conclusions. In the research and development of the text to follow, the use of gigapixel photography and 3D modeling—as well as the making of these media—complement the critical methods employed.

Along with the photographs, plans, and maps cited in the text, I encourage readers to explore my gigapixel images and 3D models of the monuments of Carrión, published on the website RomanesqueSpain.com. From the homepage, simply select the city of Carrión de los Condes; from there, one may navigate to individual site pages for San Zoilo, Santa María, and Santiago.42 While the photographs cited in the text direct the reader’s attention to discrete details and views that align with my own interpretation and

42 To access the Carrión de los Condes page, go to: http://www.romanesquespain.com/carrion-de-los-condes. The homepage http://romanesquespain.com hosts digital media of monuments across Palencia, and can be used while reading this text to explore comparative material.
analysis, the digital media offer a self-directed means of exploring the monuments, enabling the reader to zoom and pan to features of personal interest, encouraging additional critical study. In this way, the reader is invited to explore Carrión’s monuments through the narrative of the city told below, as well as through his or her own questions and curiosity.
CHAPTER 1: HISTORY AND URBAN FABRIC OF CARRIÓN

Carrión and the Camino

Any study of Carrión must acknowledge and consider the medieval pilgrimage the *Camino de Santiago*, on which Carrión was and still is a prominent stop. In doing so, however, this dissertation aims also to reorient the traditional means of viewing and studying communities along major pilgrimage routes. The pilgrimage culminates at the tomb of the apostle James the Greater, located in Santiago de Compostela on the north-western tip of the Iberian Peninsula (map 1). After the tomb’s discovery in the ninth century, the site became a frequented destination, which grew especially popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Following the discovery of the tomb of the second apostle in the West—after Saint Peter in Rome—pilgrimage to the site began in a slow trickle; by the period of this study, the traffic had become a deluge.43

To reach Compostela, devotees from France and northern Europe originally had to travel along Spain’s northern coast, traversing a difficult route crossing mountains and rivers. As Christian sovereigns gained purchase farther south, establishing capitals in León and Pamplona (as did nearly equally powerful counts, in sites like Carrión), the primary route shifted, now following much more passable stretches of Roman road, roughly corresponding to today’s *Camino Francés*, or French Way. This process, however, was not entirely organic, nor was it for the sole benefit of the pilgrim. Along

with its role as conduit to the tomb of the apostle, the *Camino de Santiago* should be understood as a tool for consolidation, internationalization, and Christianization.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries in Western Europe represent a great age of pilgrimage, in which many people embarked on long and short spiritual journeys for the benefit of their souls, and perhaps freedom of their spirits. Nonetheless, the enormous success and popularity of the *Camino* was contingent upon a particular set of circumstances that crystalized in these centuries within Christian Spain. For one, the Christian-occupied north was comprised of a belt of realms with shifting borders and allegiances. In the early years of the eleventh century, the ambitious and savvy king of Navarra Sancho III (el Mayor) succeeded in uniting much of these lands under his rule.\(^{44}\) The *Historia Silense* credits the self-titled King of the Spains with causing “…the way of St James to run without the hindrance of deviation…”\(^{45}\) Sancho likely worked to ensure a safer journey, but he also shifted the route’s trajectory to serve his own purposes, modifying its course to bypass Alava and thus remain within his territories. As would many ambitious leaders, Sancho understood the importance of a connecting, navigable roadway and used the developing *Camino* as a tool to unify his wide kingdoms. Two generations later, his grandson’s first act on obtaining the throne of an integrated north—having added Castilla and Galicia to his previously held León—would be to abolish a toll that plagued travelers crossing the Valcarce mountain pass, near Ponferrada. By eliminating the tax collected at the castle of Santa María de Autares, King Alfonso VI of 

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\(^{44}\) For a detailed discussion of the history of the route and its original trajectory through Palencia, see Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Santiago Francia Lorenzo, *De Itero de la Vega a San Nicolás del Real Camino: piedra y vida* (Palencia: Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1994).

\(^{45}\) English translation from Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, 41.
León-Castilla facilitated the passage of pilgrims and merchants along the Camino. The act, and its priority in his new role, demonstrates both the needs of his citizens and the importance within the realm of facilitating passage on this traversing roadway, which was not only a pilgrimage, but also a great expedient of communication, as important for spiritual travel as for commerce and statecraft.

In addition to the Camino’s utility as a tool for unification and consolidation, many powerful figures on both sides of the Pyrenees recognized its potential as a conduit between Spain and greater Western Europe. The abbots of the great monastic order of Cluny, for instance, established Cluny’s first, and most important, daughter houses in the Iberian Peninsula along the route; among them was the monastery of San Zoilo in Carrión. The Spanish monarchs nurtured such outward looking relationships and their potential, consorting with the Cluniac abbots and contracting marriages with foreign aristocracy. On a broader level, the Camino served as a pipeline of people and ideas across the Pyrenees. This aspect has spurred one of the most notorious debates in medieval art historical scholarship, in which scholars vehemently argue for one or the other direction of ideas and influence. Without entering into this century-old,

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acrimonious controversy, the process seems to have worked more organically and less
directionally, and as most art historians agree today, influence, especially in terms of the
Camino, is a problematic and complicated concept. Rather, the route Europeanized the
Iberian Peninsula by facilitating and encouraging the passage of craftsmen, merchants,
settlers, and, of course, pilgrims.

Lastly, the pilgrimage served as a symbol and tool of Christianization. Crossing
the entire northern width of the peninsula, and thus spanning the relatively newly
established Christian kingdoms, the pilgrimage to Saint James’s tomb physically and
metaphysically marked the land. Churches, small and large, simple and opulent, cropped
up across the landscape; a belt of church towers loomed high, bells pealed to mark the
Christian hours for prayer, and people traveled to the Saint, moving perpetually across
the terrain like a line of ants. The Umayyad general al-Mansur’s sack of Santiago de
Compostela in 997 demonstrates his understanding, too, of the cult’s symbolic power.
When the Muslim general razed the cathedral, he famously stole its bells, and on
returning to Córdoba, had the bells melted down and repurposed as lamps for the Great
Mosque, transposing and reinventing their power.\textsuperscript{49} The Camino de Santiago, with its a
vast and visible network of Christian institutions, is integrally tied to these centuries in
Spanish history. The city of Carrión, which gained particular importance during this
period (that it would not see again), belongs to this historical moment, not in its

\textsuperscript{49} Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, ed., \textit{Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain} (New York: Metropolitan Museum of
Art, 1992), 18.
dependence on foreign influence or on an influx of pilgrims, as many have argued, but
rather in its more complex relationship to a pilgrimage system indivisible from Spain’s
push for Europeanization and Christianization, as well as its participation in the economic
success and concomitant social mobility experienced in many northern Spanish cities.

Settlements along the Camino developed together with the route and became
some of the most successful and populous urbanities of the moment. For instance,
Ángel Vaca Lorenzo demonstrates that, within a region roughly corresponding to the
modern province of Palencia, the areas of highest population density were clustered
around the road. Along with the economic stimulus directly offered by larger volumes
of visitors and pilgrimage-related business, the trafficked roadway encouraged and
facilitated mercantilism. Carrión represents one of the municipalities whose fortunes
most aligned with those of the Camino. This link reflects not simply a dependence on the
pilgrimage itself, but rather that the particular set of circumstances which contributed to
the development of the roadway also benefitted Carrión.

Carrión had two primary points of ingress for pilgrims and long-distance travelers
coming from the eastern road (maps 2 & 3). Most likely, they would have stopped
previously in Frómista, a large town with at least five churches by the time of the
diocesan census in 1345, and located less than a day’s walk from Carrión (which was a

50 See Carlos Laliena Corbera, ed., El camino de Santiago y la articulación del espacio hispánico
(Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1994), especially the essay by Pascual Martínez Sopena, “El camino de
Santiago y la articulación del espacio en Tierra de Campos y León,” 185-211; and Fernando López Alsina,
significantly larger urbanity, with twelve churches listed in the same census).\textsuperscript{52} One path accessed Carrión from the north, and the other, which corresponds to the modern trajectory of the 	extit{Camino}, from the east. On entering from the city’s northern side, a traveler’s first view would be the castle and adjacent church of Santa María del Castillo, both perched atop Carrión’s highest point. As its name suggests, Tierra de Campos, or Land of Fields, is an expansive, flat plain, little broken by variations in the landscape. Similar to today, the soil was planted predominantly with grains, primarily wheat and barley.\textsuperscript{53} Perpetually ruffled by frequent gusts passing across the plains, the land would have seemed an expanse of shimmering gold. The castle and church, occupying a point overlooking the countryside (figs. 9 & 12), would therefore have risen conspicuously above the flat amber fields and cluster of development at its feet. Arriving from a southerly direction, the eastern road takes a circuitous path to enter the city on its northern flank. This configuration would bring the visitor past the commanding hilltop castle, likely in a conscious profession of strength that became less and less important with increased political stability. Almost certainly, a hospital also greeted the entrant along this road. According to Santiago Peral Villafruela, hospitals near the gates to the city were essential in helping the poorest pilgrims pay an access tax.\textsuperscript{54}

Alternately, travelers could enter from the eastern side of Carrión. On the outskirts of the city, the twelfth-century visitor would first pass the church and hospital of

\textsuperscript{52} San Martín Payo, “La más antigua estadística,” 21-22; Martínez Díez, 	extit{De Itero de la Vega}, 42-52. In the thirteenth century, the town of Villalcázar de Sirga between Frómista and Carrión also became a prominent stop owing to the growing popularity of the cult of the miracle-working Virgin of Villa-Sirga.
\textsuperscript{53} Julio Antonio Pérez Celada, 	extit{El Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión: formación, estructura y decurso histórico de un señorío castellano-leonés (siglos XI al XVI)} (Burgos: Universidad de Burgos, 1997), 47.
\textsuperscript{54} Peral Villafruela, 	extit{De Aquitania a Carrión}, 153.
Sancti Spiritus, the site marked today by the convent of Santa Clara. Progressing forward, Carrión’s walls would soon come into view. Jutting above the rubble and masonry fortifications, the crossing tower of the church of Santa Maríá would have announced the city’s grandeur from this side (fig. 69). Immediately past the gate, an elaborately sculpted, and once brightly colored façade could not have failed to capture the visitors’ attention (fig. 5), actualizing the image of an important, reputable city already projected from afar.

The two paths met in the center of Carrión, where stood the church of Santiago (elaborately decorated in the late twelfth century) and likely a market, at which pilgrims could purchase supplies or trifles (fig. 6). Visitors bound westward towards Compostela then crossed a bridge spanning the Carrión River, built by the counts of Carrión in the mid-eleventh century (fig. 20). For use of the bridge, travelers needed to pay another tax. Fifteenth-century documents record donations by wealthy individuals who explicitly directed their contributions to assist pilgrims in paying this toll. On the opposite flank of the river was the Barrio (neighborhood or district) of San Zoilo, named after the monastery that constituted its heart (fig. 7). San Zoilo offered another hospital, already in

55 The tower was destroyed in the fires of the early nineteenth century, but is known from documentation and an aquatint by Valentín Carderera. See Lorena García García, “Evolución del patrimonio religioso en Carrión de los Condes, Palencia, desde la baja edad media a nuestros días” (PhD diss., University of Valladolid, 2012), 870-871; and note 370 below.
57 For example, in 1421, Francisco Pérez gave 20 maravedís for poor pilgrims to cross the bridge, and in 1435, Juan Martínez gave 100 cornados for the crossing of 100 pilgrims. Peral Villafruela, Los hospitales de Carrión, 110.
use in the mid-eleventh century and founded by the monastery’s patroness, and countess of Carrión, Teresa.58

This brief tour of the city as a visitor assumes an east-west direction of movement, towards Santiago de Compostela. Today pilgrimage has become a one-way activity, with pilgrims walking perhaps weeks to the apostle’s tomb, a journey that culminates in a euphoric, relief-filled experience, before each hires a car or boards a plane to return home. Medieval pilgrimage would have involved two journeys (to the tomb, and back), resulting in a parallel stream of movement from west to east, nearly doubling the traffic supported by Carrión and its institutions. Mercantile and other travel would function similarly. Alternately, some pilgrims may have stopped and remained permanently in towns along the route. For example, a document in the collection of the abbey of Benevívere, located just outside of Carrión, records a sale to Dominga, “the wife of a pilgrim of Carrión.”59

While many studies aim to treat the implications of pilgrimage, these often conceive of the phenomenon as a system largely characterized by movement and transience. By necessity, however, pilgrimage must also be grounded. In its reliance on an auxiliary infrastructure, pilgrimage likewise involves non-travelers to varying degrees, encompassing those who directly provide services, benefit from the concomitant economic or spiritual stimulation, or merely witness the rite. Jonathan Sumption calls the Camino the busiest major roadway in Christendom, and Conrad Rudolph estimates that in

58 Teresa’s epitaph credits her for founding a hospital for pilgrims. See note 175.
the Central Middle Ages, up to a half-million pilgrims may have traversed the *Camino* annually.⁶⁰ Even if we assume smaller numbers than Rudolph’s estimate of a half-million pilgrims a year, Carrión would have had far more than a fledgling tourism industry. In the *Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, an early twelfth-century guide for pilgrims and overview of the roads to Santiago de Compostela, included in the *Codex Calixtinus*, Carrión is described as a “a well-managed and industrious town, abundant in bread, wine, meat, and all kinds of produce.”⁶¹ Within a chapter listing the towns and cities along the route, Carrión represents one of only five stops along the pilgrimage that elicits a short description from the author.⁶²

Pilgrims would have been purposefully distinguished by their dress, set apart from permanent residents of the communities through which they passed. Today’s brightly colored sporting equipment had its own medieval equivalent. Pilgrims bore a scrip (a small leather pouch) and staff, with which they might have been ceremonially vested on occasion of their embarkation.⁶³ From at least the eleventh century, the scallop shell

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⁶² The passage falls within the short third chapter entitled *On the Names of Towns on this Road*. The author finishes the chapter, primarily a list of town names that offers modest descriptions like Carrión’s for only Estella, Sahagún, León, and Santiago de Compostela, with the qualification: “If I have sparingly enumerated the above towns and days’ journey, it was in order that the pilgrims who depart for Santiago, having listened to all this, may try to anticipate the expenses necessary for their travel.” Melczer, The Pilgrim’s Guide, 87.

became the ubiquitous symbol of the route to the tomb of Saint James. As is shown in many sculptural examples, at Autun, Silos, and Santa Marta de Tera, among others, the shell would have been pinned onto many pilgrims’ scrips as a charged indicator of their status (fig. 10). Pilgrims found value in defining and distinguishing themselves, a process that we generally understand; the shells, for instance, were important enough to find their way into many a medieval grave. The effect of the sign system on people comprising the other half of the pilgrimage phenomenon remains much more nebulous.

While citizens went about their ceaseless, quotidian occupations—which, for some, included providing services for pilgrims—those on pilgrimage pursued a labor of a higher order, paying homage to the apostle James. In turn, these marked and conspicuous travelers received the favor of the apostle, along with healing of their ills and remission of their sins. For the citizens of Carrión and other Camino towns and cities, the pilgrimage likely had certain psychological and pious effects, albeit quite different from those experienced by the pilgrim, and to which comparatively negligible scholarly attention has been paid. This text will consider medieval Carrión’s monuments within the context of the city’s role as a pilgrimage stop, while remaining mindful of the variety of potential ties of its citizens to the Camino (economic, psychological, spiritual).

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64 Many pilgrims’ graves contain scallop shells. Melczer cites the cluster of pilgrims’ graves outside the Camino church of Santa María de Eunate, where many shells were found. Melczer, The Pilgrim’s Guide, 59.

In recent years, the pilgrimage has experienced a sharp uptick, with some quarter-million pilgrims traveling to Compostela per year.\(^6^6\) The contemporary renewal in intellectual and popular interest in the *Camino* marks the ideal moment for an investigation of a city along the route, establishing a methodology for examining these urbanities both within and outside the pilgrimage paradigm.

*The Making of a City*

Pre-Roman remains found on and around Carrión’s highest point, the location of the church of Nuestra Señora de Belén today, attest to a long-standing history of settlement.\(^6^7\) Historians have associated Carrión with the ancient city of *Lacobriga*, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy and listed in the Antonine Itinerary that surveys the roads of the Empire, including their extensive network in Hispania.\(^6^8\) Carrión’s ancient inhabitants likely favored the location for similar reasons as its later medieval residents. Situated within a vast expanse of plains, the site combines the defensive potential of a small hill with access to water in its contiguity to a river. Roman roads connected *Lacobriga* in all directions, with many of the roads reused in the Middle Ages. One, from

\(^{66}\) The Oficina del Peregrino in Santiago de Compostela collects information and publishes statistics on the modern *Camino de Santiago*, see the “Estadísticas” page on their website https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas/. In 2016, the pilgrim’s office received 277,854 pilgrims, in 2015, 262,459, and in 2014, 237,886.


Burdigala (Bordeaux) to Asturica Augusta (Astorga), became a major artery of the Camino that roughly corresponds to the course of the Camino Francés.⁶⁹

Little more is known about the site before the tenth century, when Carrión pertained to the territories ruled by the counts of the Banu-Gómez line. The comital family, referred to as banu or ‘sons of’ the Gómez, for their primogenitor, is first recorded in 933 by the chronicler Ibn Hayyan.⁷⁰ In this era, counts in northern Spain were nearly as powerful as kings, and before the end of the century a count of the Banu-Gómez family would briefly hold the Leonese throne.⁷¹ The nobles ruled over a large domain that encompassed San Román de Entrepeñas, Saldaña, and Carrión.⁷² Most narratives allude to a repopulation during the ninth and tenth centuries, although this should not be taken to mean that the northern meseta had been empty across the centuries of Muslim rule. More likely, small towns had persisted that then grew as a result of the stability and privileges offered by new rulers.⁷³ Medieval Carrión housed a significant enough Muslim

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⁷¹ See page 67 below.


population to merit reference in a royal charter; potentially the origin of this community dates to Carrión’s lesser-known centuries.74

During the period covered by this study, the urbanity was alternately referred to as Santa María (Sancta Maria), Carrión (spelled Carrione or Karrione), or Santa María de Carrión (Sancta Maria de Carrione); none of these includes the epithet ‘de los Condes’ used to describe the city today. In the tenth century, the urbanity seems to have been called Santa María de Carrión, with Santa María referring to the town, and Carrión, the territory, before Carrión also became an alternate appellation for the city.75 By the eleventh century, both names were in use; for example, in 1077, San Zoilo is described as “built next to the city of Santa María that is called Carrión” (“constructum juxta urbem Sancte Marie que dicitur carrionensis”).76 The designation Santa María has led to significant confusion. After Fernando I’s death, his sons fought brutally over his divided kingdom, and the Crónica Najerense records that Alfonso VI—at that point, king of León (and Tierra de Campos)—took refuge from his brother Sancho in “Sancta Maria de Carrione.” Already in the thirteenth century, the bishop and historian Lucas of Tuy misinterprets the place of his asylum as within the church of Sancta Maria de Carrione.

74 Document 83 in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300), 141-143. See note 107 below.
75 See reference to ‘Sancta Maria de Carrione’ in a 916 charter from King Ordoño II delimiting the diocese of León; and to ‘Sancta Maria in Carrion’ in a 955 charter from King Ordoño III, documents 7 & 28 in Gregorio del Ser Quijano, Documentación de la catedral de León (siglos IX-X) (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1981), 54, 97.
76 Document 8 in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300), 19. Álvaro Carvajal Castro argues that the name Santa María was employed by members of the Banu-Gómez family starting in the eleventh century to assert their control and jurisdiction over the city (substituting the name Carrión used by the royals), and that, with the devolution of the countship, the name becomes obsolete. However, he does not acknowledge the uses of the name Santa María in the tenth century. Álvaro Carvajal Castro, “In territorio de Carrión in valle de Quoza: representación del espacio, identidad y conflicto político en el territorio de Carrión (siglos X-XII),” Edad Media: revista de historia 15 (2014): 217-243.
rather than within the city in general. The understandable error has been repeated by several modern historians and thus led to the application of an early date to the church of Santa María del Camino. Others have assumed that the name of the city, Santa María, meant that there must have been an earlier church on the site prior to construction of the extant basilica; however, a Marian cult could have equally been based at the site of Santa María del Castillo on the castle hill, the original center of settlement. In chapter three, I reconsider the connections of the city’s name to its churches, but maintain that currently there is no substantive evidence for the existence of Santa María del Camino before its mid-twelfth century construction. Lucas of Tuy’s misnomer also suggests that, by the time he wrote the *Chronicon Mundi* in the 1230s, Santa María had fallen out of use as an appellation of the city.

The epithet ‘de los Condes’ did not become appended to the name Carrión until much later. Although ‘of the Counts’ would seem to refer to the famous counts of Carrión, the Banu-Gómez family—who, as a result of their status, are even written into the epic *El Cantar de Mio Cid*—this qualifier was not added until much later. The name references a pact contracted between the counts of Osorno, Castañeda, and Treviño in 1462, and first appears in a sixteenth-century will.

The Carrión of the tenth and eleventh centuries consisted of a castle overlooking the landscape, a walled center at its feet, and a monastery neighborhood on the opposite

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77 Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 213 (note 9).
78 For example, Quadrado, *Recuerdos y bellezas*, 329; and Salvador Andrés Ordax, *Carrión de los Condes: Iglesia de Santa María del Camino* (Palencia: Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1994), 8 & 41. Andrés Ordax mentions the error, but still assumes that there was an earlier church on the site.
bank of the river. The eponymous Carrión River stood to the west of the castle and down a steep embankment. Thus, the western side, and the bridge into the city, could be effectively defended from the strategically-perched fortress above. The city center, surrounded by around two kilometers of wall (map 4), developed on the east bank of the river at the base of the castle hill. A stretch of medieval wall survives today along Avenida Historiador Ramírez (fig. 11). Two factors suggest a relatively established town by the eleventh century. First, the monastery of San Zoilo enjoyed the patronage of the counts in the mid-eleventh century and entered into the orbit of Cluny a few decades following; nonetheless, the nucleus of Carrión stands on the opposite side of the Carrión River despite the early prominence of the monastery. For comparison, the nearby town of Sahagún was also home to a major abbey, Santos Facundo y Primitivo, but grew around the monastery. Second, the shape of Carrión’s center is roughly circular, distinct from the more linear plans characteristic of towns that developed in tandem with the Camino. By the eleventh century, Carrión seems already to have been an established town. 80

Across the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the period examined by this study, Carrión experienced its greatest growth, expanding both within and outside of its walls. The city was composed of four neighborhoods or barrios (maps 5 & 6). The Barrio de los Francos was the most spatially central, located on the east bank of the Carrión River and flanked to the north, east, and west by the other three. 81 Directly translated as neighborhood of the Franks, the name had a broader meaning in Old Spanish, with

80 Sáinz Guerra, “El Urbanismo medieval en Palencia,” 217.
81 The name Barrio de Francos is referenced in a 1234 document, 97 in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300), 186.
Francos denoting foreigners in general.\(^8^2\) Both of the extant parish churches discussed in this study, Santiago and Santa María, stand within this area, along with the church of San Julián. Santiago is located in the very center of Carrión today, obliquely opposite the plaza mayor (fig. 161). When Santiago was constructed in the early twelfth century, the most densely populated part of the city may have been slightly farther north, near the castle. Later in the century, at the time of—and perhaps itself engendering—the addition of an elaborate new screen façade, the population seems to have been steadily increasing in the Barrio de los Francos.\(^8^3\) Santa María, constructed mid-twelfth century, stands very nearby. Around two hundred meters to the south-east, the church of Santa María greets entrants to the city by the eastern gate: its heavily sculpted south portal directly faces the road into Carrión (figs. 5 & 8). San Julián, today marked by a seventeenth-century church on the site, existed by 1100 when it is mentioned in a document dictated by the bishop of Palencia.\(^8^4\) Additionally, two other medieval churches were also located in this neighborhood that no longer survive. The 1345 diocesan census documents a San Juan and San Bartolomé.\(^8^5\) These were both located farther south in the barrio. Today, eponymous streets preserve their relative locations, and remains of the renovated San Juan have been built into a house.

\(^8^2\) Todesca, “What Touches All,” 176.

\(^8^3\) Based on the known dates of Carrión’s monuments and the name of Barrio de los Francos, it seems that city grew southward from an original nucleus surrounding the castle and the bridge. Some of the earliest documented institutions, San Pedro, San Julián, and the castle, are located in this area. The construction and elaboration of the two churches of Santa María and Santiago seem to support wealthy population growth in the Barrio de los Francos farther south. Moreover, the name—neighborhood of the foreigners—attests to population increases from outside.


\(^8^5\) San Martín Payo, “La más antigua estadística,” 12.
The southern section of the Barrio de los Francos demonstrates conscious urban planning, as opposed to the organic spread characteristic of many medieval towns and cities. The streets of San Bartolomé and Pedro Gil stand parallel to each other, with five smaller streets crossing horizontally in between, forming a ladder-like imposition on the plan (map 7). José Luis Sáinz Guerra has suggested that this area was designed to be parceled out to settlers. The name acquired by the barrio, de los Francos, seems to support his point. The two parish churches, San Juan and San Bartolomé, may have been founded as the area was being settled to serve the increasingly populous section of the barrio. At some point during its medieval history, San Juan gained the sobriquet San Juan del Mercado. The name, combined with the preservation of an adjacent plaza (which often mark the places of medieval markets), attest to the presence of a market on or near the site.

Outside the walls to the east of the Barrio de los Francos stood the Barrio de Santa María. This neighborhood extended away from the gate of Santa María in a south-easterly direction, shaped by the presence of a now-dry lake. At least three medieval churches were located in the barrio. Today the convent of Santa Clara preserves the memory of two medieval foundations. Abutting the monastery of Santa Clara, originally

86 Sáinz Guerra compares the plan of the founded town of Miranda de Castañar in Salamanca, see Sáinz Guerra “El Urbanismo medieval en Palencia,” 220.
87 See above, note 83.
88 The sobriquet San Juan del Mercado appears in fifteenth-century documents. Amparo Bejarano Rubio and Ángel Luis Molina Molina, El Monasterio de San Zoilo (Carrión de los Condes), a fines de la Edad Media: propiedades y rentas (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999), 101.
89 The epithet ‘del Mercado’ (of the market) is usually associated with the Mercado Viejo (or old market) in Plaza Piña Merino; however, the two sites are not located particularly close to each other; perhaps the original market space that gives San Juan its epithet was instead the plaza adjacent to the church.
stood the priory and hospital of Sancti Spiritus, dedicated to the Holy Spirit and Saint Blaise. Patronized by the wealthy Carrionese couple Rodrigo Rodríguez Girón and Agnes Pérez, the house of Augustinian canons regular was the only priory outside of Aquitaine of its order, that of Saint-Romain-de-Blaye. Santiago Peral Villafruela has argued that Rodrigo Girón may have accompanied the envoy that met Alfonso VIII’s new bride Eleanor of England in Bordeaux to accompany her to Burgos, and that the 1170 journey could have engendered connections between Castilian and French nobles, leading to the foundation of this satellite house of the Aquitanian order. The earliest extant document from Sancti Spiritus, a grant from Rodrigo and Agnes, dates to 1174. In 1255, Queen Mencía López de Haro of Portugal founded the convent of Santa Clara next to Sancti Spiritus. Already in the mid-thirteenth century, the priory of canons was struggling to maintain itself, and within ten years the Clarisas took over the nearby church.

A Franciscan church founded in the early thirteenth century also served the Barrio de Santa María. Ruins of the church (rebuilt in the sixteenth century) stand in Plaza Marcelino Champagnat, slightly to the south-west of Santa Clara and Sancti Spiritus. San Francisco’s gabled bell tower is now perpetually topped by large storks’ nests. The

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90 A 1190 letter from Pope Clement III confirms the rights and properties of Saint-Romain and lists the only priory in Castilla last, that of Sancti Spiritus de Carrión. Peral Villafruela, De Aquitania a Carrión, 34-35.
91 Peral Villafruela, De Aquitania a Carrión, 40-44.
92 Archivo de Santa Clara de Carrión de los Condes (ASCC), leg. 9, 592. Peral Villafruela, De Aquitania a Carrión, 40.
93 By 1272, Sancti Spiritus was all but out of use and was maintained by a single chaplain. Peral Villafruela, De Aquitania a Carrión, 127. The diocesan census records the same status in 1345: San Martín Payo, “La más antigua estadística,” 11.
95 San Francisco endured numerous construction programs since its original foundation in the thirteenth century. For a detailed discussion of San Francisco and its history, see García García, “Evolución del patrimonio,” 723-807.
precise date of the friary’s foundation has been much debated. Lucas Wadding, the
famous chronicler of Franciscan history, recorded that the Carrionese house was
established in 1218.\textsuperscript{96} This date would make Carrión’s Franciscan community one of the
first in Spain; however, without corresponding medieval documentation, the date and its
preeminence cannot be advanced with certainty. Juan Cisneros y Tagle, a contemporary
of Wadding, puts forth the foundation date of 1236.\textsuperscript{97}

Another barrio, Dentro de Castro, literally meaning within or inside the castle,
occupied the northern part of the city. Carrión’s castle was built on the city’s highest
point, and the corresponding neighborhood developed around it. Today the original site
of the castle is occupied by the church of Nuestra Señora de Belén (fig. 9), a building
constructed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although generally the original
foundation of this church is only dated as far back as the 1345 census, in which it is
referred to as Sancta Maria de Beldehem, a church dedicated to Mary has stood on or
near the site since the early thirteenth century, if not before. Two documents from the
1220s refer to a Santa María of the castle of Carrión.\textsuperscript{98} Consequently, in the period
treated by this study, there was likely a Marian church located on the hill above Carrión

\textsuperscript{96} Lucas Wadding, \textit{Annales minorum, in quibus res omnes trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum ex
fide ponderosius asseruntur, columniae refelluntur, praecellara quaeque monumenta ab oblivione

\textsuperscript{97} Juan de Cisneros y Tagle, \textit{Grandezas y antigüedades de Carrión de los Condes}, transcription Juan
Manuel Blanco Rojas (Carrión de los Condes, 1629), 248. Peral Villafruela suggests that perhaps Cisneros
y Tagle’s date instead records the consecration of San Francisco’s church or another significant event,
allowing both Wadding’s and Cisneros y Tagle’s dates to be accurate records. Peral Villafruela, “San
Francisco,” 332-333.

\textsuperscript{98} Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Madrid, Section Clero-Secular-Regular, carpeta (folder)
1718, 5; and D. Francisco Simón y Nieto, \textit{Los antiguos campos góticos: excursiones histórico-artísticas a
la Tierra de Campos} (Madrid: Agustín Avrial, 1895), 133 (note 1).
and adjacent to the castle. At least three other medieval churches also served the Barrio de Dentro Castro. The church of San Pedro has the oldest documented history, but the least secure location. San Pedro is included as part of a 1094 donation to Santa María de Valladolid by Count Pedro Ansúrez (of the Banu-Gómez family) and his wife Eilo (“et infra ciuitate Sancte Marie, ecclesia Sancti Petri”), thus attesting to its existence already in the eleventh century. Calle Arzobispo Cantero, at the far north of the city, was originally called Calle San Pedro, which perhaps recalls the church’s location. Very nearby stood the church of Santa Eulalia (at least from 1345, when it is included in the diocesan census), whose civic memory is also sustained by street names. Santa Eulalia was later incorporated into the nearby San Andrés, which provides additional support for this relative original location.

The fourth church located in Dentro de Castro is San Andrés. The imposing seventeenth-century basilica of San Andrés—often called ‘el catedral de Carrión’—stands on the site today, located just south of Santa María del Castillo (or El Belén). Its foundation, however, can be traced back to the 1345 census, and perhaps even earlier. In a document from 1221, which records the sale of vineyards on the border of San Mamés (a small town four kilometers from Carrión) to the church of Santa María de

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99 If not already completed and in use, the church may also have been under construction in this period. Since the documents from the 1220s constitute the earliest known surviving references, we can only speculate as to Santa María’s earlier history.

100 Document 16 in Abajo Martín, Documentación de la Catedral de Palencia, 44.

101 Martínez Díez, De Itero de la Vega, 78.


103 The current edifice of San Andrés is primarily a building of the seventeenth century, with an earlier chapel dating to the sixteenth century and a nineteenth-century tower, rebuilt after the Napoleonic Wars. García García, “Evolución del patrimonio,” 1023-1099.

Castillo, we find the signature of a certain “Miguel abbat de sancti andree” as witness.  

Besides the abbot of San Mamés, the other signatories on the document all seem to be from Carrión; moreover, the two churches stand only one hundred meters from each other, making the rector of San Andrés a natural witness to a document pertaining to Santa María. Nonetheless, his designation as abbot leaves considerable uncertainty as to whether these are the same institutions, since by the diocesan census San Andés is a parish church.

Another church may have been located farther north on the edge of the city. When Carrión’s modern cemetery was constructed, developers found a pattern of human remains that suggests the presence of a cemetery (and likely a churchyard). Several authors have associated this site with the church of Santa Catalina, although there was also a confraternity of Santa Catalina in the Barrio of San Zoilo, which could be the source of a documented Santa Catalina in Carrión. Regardless of its dedication, a church seems to have been located at the northern edge of Dentro Castro, along the road that led into the city. The Barrio of Dentro Castro may also have housed the largest concentration of Jews in Carrión, although in general, religious groups do not seem to have been strictly confined to separate neighborhoods of the city.  

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105 AHN, Clero, carp. 1718, 5.  
106 Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, Teatro clerical, apostólico, y secular de las iglesias catedrales de España (Madrid: 1679), 35, 101, 145; and Martínez Díez, De Itero de la Vega, 77-79. For references to the confraternity of Santa Catalina, see Bejarano Rubio, El monasterio de San Zoilo, 158, 170, 179.  
107 For example, in 1220, we have documentation of a population of Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Barrio of San Zoilo, see note 126. Later, a privilege granted by Alfonso X (and reconfirmed by many of his successors) extends a tax exemption to all the Christians of Carrión except those of the barrios of San Zoilo, Santa María, and Dentro Castro. The specification of Christians along with various barrios implies that religious groups were spread throughout the city, see document 219 in Julio Antonio Pérez Celada, Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1301-1400) (Burgos: Ediciones J.M. Garrido Garrido, 1987), 102-103.
medieval synagogue (fig. 13), today the Ermita de la Vera Cruz, survive between the castle (and Santa María de Castillo) and San Andrés.\(^{108}\)

The fourth district of Carrión is the Barrio of San Zoilo, located on the west bank of the Carrión River. The neighborhood developed around the monastery from which it takes its name, and maintained a close relationship with the prominent priory. San Zoilo not only employed twenty-five lay brothers, but also served as a parish (the only one recorded on the west side of the river): in one way or another, many of the barrio’s inhabitants would thus have been involved with the monastery.\(^{109}\) Relative to the center of the city, the Barrio of San Zoilo seems to have been royally favored by virtue of its ties to San Zoilo. In 1142, Alfonso VII reconfirmed *fueros* granted to the neighborhood, first by his grandfather Alfonso VI and again by his mother Urraca, conferring immunity and protection.\(^{110}\) In 1169, Alfonso VIII accorded to the barrio the profitable privilege of hosting an annual fair—in this, he very explicitly separates San Zoilo from the city of Carrión across the river.\(^{111}\) And in 1220, the neighborhood’s citizens received a tax exemption because of the aid given by San Zoilo’s prior to Fernando III in securing his marriage.\(^{112}\) Though only separated by a bridge, the inhabitants of the barrio likely identified more with their own smaller community than as citizens of greater Carrión.


\(^{110}\) Document 33 in Pérez Celada, *Documentación* (1047-1300), 56-57.

\(^{111}\) Document 41 in Pérez Celada, *Documentación* (1047-1300), 64-66.

\(^{112}\) Document 83 in Pérez Celada, *Documentación* (1047-1300), 141-143.
At least two other medieval foundations appear in documentation, but have left no further material or nominal remnants. The 1345 census records a church of San Vicente in Carrión. Several authors suggest that the church was located just north of the castle where today a large water tower imposes upon the landscape, although none cite evidence for this claim.\footnote{San Martín Payo, “La más antigua estadística,” 11; Martínez Diez, De Itero de la Vega, 78.} A Carrionese monastery dedicated to Saint Michael is also recorded, included among the possessions of the abbey of San Salvador de Nogal de las Huertas. In 1093, along with San Salvador (a monastery that stands around eight kilometers north of Carrión), its assets are transferred to the abbey of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagún. Of St. Michael, the document reads: “…in the city of Carrión, the monastery of Saint Michael, that is inside the castrum, with its possessions.”\footnote{My translation from “...in ciuitate Karrione monasterium Sancti Michaelis, que est intus castrum cum sua hereditate.” Document 126 in Romualdo Escalona, Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún (reprint, León: Leonesas, 1982), 492. Two versions of this document (912) are transcribed in Marta Herrero de la Fuente, Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Sahagún: 857-1230, vol. 3 (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1988), 233-234, 237.} This line unambiguously locates St. Michael within the walled city of Carrión in the eleventh century, yet we know nothing more about this foundation.

During its medieval history, Carrión was referred to by multiple designations: civitas, urbs, and villa. In the two documents recording San Zoilo’s donation to Cluny, dated to 1076 and 1077, Carrión is termed an urbs: “…hunc locum esse scitum in urbe Sancte Marie…” and “…constructum juxta urbem Sancte Marie que dicitur carrionensis…”\footnote{Documents 3492 and 3507 in Alexandre Bruel, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1888), 604-607 & 622-625; and documents 7-8 (1076 & 1077) in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300), 16, 19.} The term villa is used to label Carrión frequently from the fourteenth
century onward. In the period under consideration in this study, *civitas* seems to have been the most common designation employed to describe Carrión. In what may be the most demonstrative example, Alfonso’s 1169 privilege conferring a fair to San Zoilo expressly divides the neighborhood surrounding San Zoilo and central Carrión: San Zoilo is termed a *villa* while Carrión is labeled a *civitas*. Alfonso specifies:

“…no one from the town (*villa*) of San Zoilo is to be taken in either by myself or anyone else in the whole city (*civitas*) of Carrión as a vassal or servant. And in order that this decree of mine may have greater force and validity, I set as the boundary the river between the city of Carrión and the town of San Zoilo.”

In Western Europe, the term *civitas* is typically reserved for the seats of bishops or archbishops, and Carrión was neither. However, within northern Spain these terms seem to have been applied with considerably more flexibility. *Civitas* described episcopal seats, as well as frequently denominated bases of political power. Many comital seats were initially labeled *civitates*, though since these did not develop significant urban populations, they should not be thought of as cities in the modern sense. Carrión may have gained its designation as a *civitas* based on its association with the counts of

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116 *Villa* appears in many documents written in Old Spanish beginning around 1300, e.g. document 165 from 1302, Pérez Celada, *Documentación (1301-1400)*, 5.
117 For *civitas*, see document 615, Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Sahagún*, vol. 2, 315, and document 912 in volume 3; and document 16 in Abajo Martín, *Documentación de la Catedral de Palencia*, 44. See also the city’s description by al-Idrisi (twelfth century): “… Carrion ciudad bien poblada, de amplitud media, rodeada de terrenos fértiles y bien cultivados…” Quoted in Spanish in José Maiso González and Juan Ramón Lagunilla Alonso, *La Judería de Carrión* (Palencia: Gráficas Zamart, 2007), 15.
118 My translation from “…nullus de villa de Sancto Zoilo a me vel ab alio in tota civitate de Carrione pro vassalo vel collazo recipiatur. Et ut hoc meum stabilimentum maiorem fortitudinem et roborem habeat, rivum de Carrione inter civitatem et villam de Sancto Zoilo limitem constituo.” Document 41, Pérez Celada, *Documentación (1047-1300)*, 65.
120 For example, Saldaña, Monzón, Castrojeriz, Lara, and Cerezo were comital seats that could not be considered urban, but were termed *civitates*. See Félix Benito Martín, *La formación de la ciudad medieval: la red urbana en Castilla y León* (Valladolid: Casa Duero, 2000), 64-65.
Carrión, but soon grew into an entity that could properly be defined as a small city.\textsuperscript{121} Around 1200, Carrión had four barrios, upwards of ten churches, and in the mid-fourteenth century, when we have our first comprehensive documentation, over 100 clergy members.

\textit{Pluralistic Carrión}

Along with the majority population of Christian citizens, significant communities of Jews and Muslims also lived in Carrión. The \textit{padrón de Huete}, a 1290 document that records Jewish taxes to the crown, registers that Carrión’s Jews paid a total of 73,480 \textit{maravedís} per annum. This high number suggests that Carrión’s \textit{judería} may have been one of the largest in northern Spain, with only the cites of Burgos and Valladolid contributing similarly large sums.\textsuperscript{122} Such tax records, however, can give only a relative sense of population as the very high number could be reflective of prosperity as well.\textsuperscript{123}

Fewer Muslims seem to have lived across greater Palencia, with Muslim populations documented in only four cities: Cervera, Aguilar de Campo, Palencia, and

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\textsuperscript{121} On the differences between terms used for medieval settlements (\textit{civitas, urbs, villa, burgo}), see Carlos Estepa Diez, “Problemas de terminología en la vida urbana de León en la Edad Media,” \textit{Archivos Leoneses: revista de estudios y documentación de los Reinos Hispano-Occidentales} 52 (1972): 99-124; César González Mínguez, “Palencia, centro de poder en la Edad Media,” \textit{Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses} 74 (2003), 130-131; and Benito Martín, \textit{La formación de la ciudad medieval}, 64-69.
\textsuperscript{122} These numbers do not seem to represent just the cities, but also the regions around them. Of Carrión and Valladolid, the census specifies that these totals are “con los lugares que pechan con ellos,” suggesting that the sum paid by each (73,480 \textit{maravedís} for Carrión and 69,520 \textit{maravedís} for Valladolid) includes nearby towns that paid taxes with these cities (for Carrión, this included Saldaña and Monzón). Carlos Carrete Parrondo, “El repartimiento de Huete de 1290,” \textit{Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes} 36, no. 1 (1976): 126-132.
\end{flushright}
Carrión.\footnote{Julio Valdeón Baruque, “Judíos y mudéjares en tierras palentinas (siglos XIII-XV),” \textit{Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Palencia}, vol. 2 (1990), 369.} I should caution that this scarcity could also be due in part to external factors. Compared to the Christians and Jews, there is considerably less documentation on northern Spanish Muslims as well as a relative deficiency in scholarship. Brian Catlos estimates that Muslims comprised just five percent of the total population living on the \textit{meseta}.\footnote{Brian Catlos, \textit{Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050 – 1614} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 42.} Nevertheless, cities likely would have had higher concentrations than rural towns, and given documentary references to Carrionese Muslims, we can assume that the community constituted at least a sizable presence in Carrión.

Although the city’s minority populations clustered in certain barrios, there was no strict separation, with the three religious groups spread across the city. In a document from 1220, Fernando III grants an exemption from royal tax to the barrio of San Zoilo as a signal of his gratitude for the prior’s help in arranging his marriage to Beatrice of Swabia. Excluding an annual tribute of 100 \textit{maravedís}, the king frees all inhabitants of the barrio, “as much Christians as Jews or Muslims” (“tam christianos quam iudeos siue sarracenos”), from any further royal taxation.\footnote{Privilege granted in Valladolid on January 6, 1220, see document 83 in Pérez Celada, \textit{Documentación (1047-1300)}, 141-142.} This specification, which includes all three religious groups equally in the privilege, informs us that each had at least a significant presence in the district. Though from this statement we can assume that these three groups did not live in segregated areas, concentrated populations of Jews and Muslims inhabited two particular Carrionese neighborhoods. These confessional groups would have required communal facilities to serve religious and cultural needs different...
from those of the majority population of Christians, which would have encouraged close living. For instance, essential institutions would have included: a place for religious worship and community gathering (synagogue or mosque), specialized butchers to accommodate dietary differences, baths, and cemeteries.

A Muslim community inhabited the barrio of Santa María, located just outside a gate of the same name (fig. 8). On the northern side of Carrión, a Jewish community populated the neighborhood of Dentro Castro. Although more almost certainly existed given Carrión’s large Jewish population, we know for certain of one synagogue in the barrio. Beside today’s Callejon Belén, a much-rebuilt structure originally called the Sinagoga de los Herreros (of the Blacksmiths) is now the Ermita de la Vera Cruz (figs. 12-13). The surviving building is an L-shape, with the remains of the original synagogue making up one arm of the L and the ‘ermita’ or hermitage the other; the latter was likely originally built as an addition. The earliest part of the synagogue has been dated to the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{127} The addition may have been constructed in the early fourteenth century, when a Jew from the district named Doña Mira donated a nearby house. Another reference is given by the poet Samuel ibn Sasón, who was tasked with writing inscriptions to decorate the walls of the expanded building. He conveys the year of the placing of the tebá (a receptacle which held the rolls of the Torah) in the expanded

\textsuperscript{127} Maiso González and Lagunilla Alonso, \textit{La Judería}; and Ayuntamiento de Carrión de los Condes, “Ermita de la Vera Cruz,” last modified December 2014, \url{http://www.carriondeloscondes.org/conoce-carrion/monumentos/}. None of these sources cite evidence for the twelfth-century date, leaving the synagogue’s early dating uncertain; however, we know that the synagogue was in existence by 1338.
synagogue as 1338. Human remains on an adjacent hill could indicate the presence of a Jewish cemetery.

Medieval Christian opinions on synagogues were mixed. The Spanish monarchs of Castilla and Aragón did not discourage synagogue building, and in fact they ceded reconquered mosques for the Jews to repurpose as houses of prayer. However, the prevailing attitude of the Church stood in opposition, discouraging synagogue building, especially of those that were particularly grand or luxurious. For example, in 1221 Pope Honorius II mandated that synagogues taller than churches should be destroyed. Though constructed of poor materials, largely bulky uncut stones and mud, Carrión’s surviving synagogue is relatively large.

The situation of the main Jewish barrio around Carrión’s castle adheres to a frequent settlement pattern in medieval Spain. In 1170, Sancho VI of Navarra moved the Jewish community of Tudela into the city’s fortifications, agreeing to maintain the repair of the walls if the Jews in turn would defend the fortress against enemy attacks. However, Sancho also granted the Jews permission to use the castle to resist attacks from within, enabling the Jews the means to defend themselves against violence from other citizens. Similarly, in Toledo, Burgos, and Monzón in Palencia, Jews also occupied castle precincts. These living situations are not surprising in light of Jews’ status as

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129 Maiso González and Lagunilla Alonso, *La Judería*, 44.
possessions of noble or royal powers. A Jew’s wergild, or “man price,” paid as restitution for death or injury, went to a count or king, as opposed to that of a Christian, which would be paid to his or her family. The value of a Jew’s wergild was also often higher than a Christian’s. A royal charter in Nájera, for example, established that a Jewish wergild could be no more than that of a knight or priest; this mandate implies that, first, Jews were worth quite a lot—akin to the more honorable order of knights and priests—and, second, since this issue had to be regulated, that their value might have been set still higher.  

During the civil war of the early twelfth century, which will be discussed in chapter three, Carrionese burghers violently rebelled against both political and ecclesiastical authority figures. Along with destroying royal property, the rebelling citizens murdered Jews. The attacks against Jews during a class-based revolt and their inclusion in a royal pardon demonstrate this people’s status as valued possessions of the crown. An 1176 fuero from Teruel explicitly states a similar condition in the kingdom of Aragón: “The Jews are the slaves of the crown and belong exclusively to the royal treasury.” On the other hand, the violence towards Carrionese Jews perpetuated by their fellow citizens also attests to existing tensions between the communities. Varied images of Jews appear on the façade of the church of Santiago; while one carved figure is

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*Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, 55-57. Soifer Irish and Baer differ in opinion on what was implied by “castles” inhabited by Jews in medieval Spain. Soifer Irish argues that these may have been fortified *juderías*, while Baer associates these with the main castles of towns and cities.

shown engaging in a quotidian profession, another is depicted being violently torn apart by hyenas. Chapter four will return to this discussion of the relationships among Carrión’s religious groups in context of the both mundane and violently pejorative images of Jews carved on the church of Santiago.
CHAPTER 2: SAN ZOILO

In 1993, while in the process of transforming a disbanded monastery into a luxury hotel, workers unearthed a long-concealed medieval portal. Three years earlier, the businessman Amador Alonso Fraile had bought San Zoilo’s monastic buildings from the bishopric of Palencia, which retained ownership of the church and cloister. The idea was to create something similar to the famous Paradores: boutique hotels built in historic monuments, including palaces, fortresses, and of course, monasteries. Visitors would be able to experience the ambiance of a long running monastic house, with privileged entrance into an impressive Renaissance cloister (fig. 14). The proprietors got more than they bargained for. While documentation preserved the institution’s medieval preeminence, there remained little material evidence, only a sliver of exterior wall, banded with characteristically Romanesque billeting, juxtaposed incongruously beside a lavish baroque entrance (figs. 15-17). Then, unexpectedly, during renovation restorers discovered a much more significant piece of the medieval basilica.

Walled in during a later building phase and covered in a dusting of lime stood a round-arched portal with four elegantly carved capitals (figs. 18-19). Well preserved after their hiatus within the walls, these capitals are a find of immeasurable value for the art historian. San Zoilo ranked as one of the most important monasteries on the Iberian Peninsula, often serving as the seat of the camerarius Hispaniae, the representative of Cluny in Spain. Moreover, within its home city, across the eleventh and twelfth centuries the monastery reigned as a premier religious and political institution, patronized by the Banu-Gómez comital family and favored by royals. Even after the counts’ replacement
by appointed administrators, the abbey maintained enormous influence within Carrión. The sculpture enables the situation and examination of the monastery’s artistic presence, both within a larger narrative of medieval art and within the city. The earliest extant monument in the city—one with a long-shadow—San Zoilo serves as the foundation and departure point for an examination of medieval Carrión.

The unearthed interior western portal immediately raised questions about the door’s use, meaning, and reading. The ornamented portal sat at a significant juncture in the basilica, connecting the narthex, or entryway of the church, to its main body, the nave. At San Zoilo, the outer chamber housed the tombs of the noble founders and benefactors. The door, therefore, united very distinct spaces: monastic and noble, liturgical and funerary. Its balanced and refined form, with sophisticatedly carved capitals, served the needs of two audiences: monks who read the work for specifically monastic messages, and nobles, keyed into themes of salvation.

A Noble Monastery

San Zoilo, originally dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, is the oldest extant institution in the city of Carrión, and therefore begins our study. Predating the Romanesque church, which will be the focus of this chapter, an earlier monastery occupied the site. Little is known about this original foundation, except its name and location. Nonetheless, the dedication to St. John endured in institutional memory. Over a century after its reconsecration to Zoilo, an annual fair convened around the Baptist’s

136 Documents 2, 8, etc., Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300).
feast day.\textsuperscript{137} And many centuries later, in the early modern era, the monks added two inscriptions around the west portal, both referring to their first patron saint.

Two documents may have been produced in a scriptorium at the original monastery of St. John the Baptist, and thus have the potential to enhance our knowledge of the institution’s early history. The first is a Visigothic-Mozarabic antiphonary fragment, bound into a codex of monastic documents; the second is the so-called \textit{Libro de Concilios} (948 CE). The antiphonary was preserved as the back flyleaf of a twelfth-century codex produced at San Zoilo.\textsuperscript{138} Despite text losses and trimmed edges, enough remains of the page to make comparisons and speculate on date and provenance. Dom Louis Brou and José Janini liken the leaf to the antiphonary of León, and from the manuscripts’ similarities they deduce that the two manuscripts were produced in the same general context; both authors suggest that the antiphonary was produced in Carrión in the tenth century.\textsuperscript{139} A counterargument, formulated by Jaime Moll, contends that the antiphonary was brought to Carrión from Córdoba along with the relics of Saints Zoilo, Félix, and Agapio acquired in the late eleventh century.\textsuperscript{140} The second possible tenth-century text connected to San Zoilo is no longer extant. Ambrosio de Morales, the famous sixteenth-century chronicler, documents a parchment written in 948 in Carrión,

\textsuperscript{137} Document 41 in Pérez Celada, \textit{Documentación (1047-1300)}, 64-66.
\textsuperscript{138} Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) MS 11556. See figures VI & VII in Brou for the antiphonary. Dom L. Brou, “Notes de paléographie musical mozárabe,” \textit{Anuario Musical} 7 (1952): 51-76. The manuscript’s front flyleaf (a missal) provides another example of an early document that could have been produced at San Zoilo; however, significant damage to the page restricts our ability to discern much about its style or make comparisons.
which he calls the *Libro de Concilios.*\(^{141}\) However, beyond Morales’s reference to this manuscript and its affiliation with Carrión, both repeated by later scholars, no other evidence of the book’s origins or existence survives.\(^{142}\)

Paleographical analysis of the cartulary of San Zoilo may also provide clues to the presence of an earlier monastery on the site.\(^{143}\) María Luisa Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, author of a monograph on the monastery and a transcription of its archive, attributes the characteristics of the scribal hand of San Zoilo’s documents mostly to French monks, comparing the style with contemporary Cluniac documents. However, she indicates the presence of certain characteristics that also suggest the influence of Visigothic letter morphology on the style of the scribe. In a document from 1077, she notes two versions of the letter \(g\).\(^{144}\) One is a Carolingian \(g\), much like the modern lowercase \(g\) with two eyes, and the second, a \(g\) with a straight descender, is a Visigothic letter form.\(^{145}\) This remnant from an earlier Spanish script within a mostly French monastic style supports the


\(^{142}\) Yepes, *Crónica General*, 49. Ramírez de Helguera presents the *Libro de Concilios* as clear evidence that there was a tenth-century monastery on the site, when it is more accurately one fragmentary clue. Ramírez de Helguera, *El libro*, 32. His certainty is reiterated by other scholars, including within some of the most recent publications on San Zoilo, for example, García García, “Evolución del patrimonio,” 259-60; and Lorena García García, *Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes: arte e historia de un hito cluniacense* (Palencia: Asociación de Amigos del Camino de Santiago de Palencia, 2014). A third tenth-century manuscript fragment was found in the north tower stairwell when it was cleaned and cleared of rubble in 1998, although its provenance remains unstudied. Zoilo Perrino Díez, “Estudio histórico-constructivo y patológico del conjunto iglesia-claustrto del Real Monasterio De San Zoilo de Carrión De Los Condes (Palencia)” (Universidad de Extremadura, 2015).

\(^{143}\) Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, *San Zoil*, 251-300.

\(^{144}\) AHN, Clero, carp. 1700, no. 8. The 1077 document analyzed by Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo is the earliest original document from the monastery (excluding the flyleaves mentioned above). Earlier documents (those from 1047-1077) only survive as later copies.

\(^{145}\) Palacio Sanchez-Izquierdo, *San Zoil*, 252.
possibility that the monastery of St. John the Baptist, rebuilt and reformed in the late eleventh century, had already existed for some time with an active scriptorium, autochthonous in style before the arrival of the Cluniacs.

Alone, none of these pieces of philological or epigraphic evidence prove the existence of an earlier monastery. However, together, these oddments—the antiphonary palimpsest, the attested but non-extant Libro de Concilios, and the late eleventh-century Caroline miniscule dotted with Visigothic letter forms—suggest that a scriptorium was active at the house of St. John the Baptist in the tenth century, indicating in turn the existence of an established monastery before the documented patronage of the Banu-Gómez family.

The monastery’s better-known history begins in the mid-eleventh century, when the house becomes associated with the count Gómez Díaz and countess Teresa of the Banu-Gómez line, and, subsequently, with the monastic order of Cluny. Our first document recording benefaction by members of the comital family ostensibly dates to 1047. However, many scholars, starting with Henrique Flórez in the mid-eighteenth century, have questioned the text’s reliability. The record that survives was penned in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and while some scholars maintain the document’s legitimacy, most now agree that it must either record an earlier version with

147 Henrique Flórez, España Sagrada, teatro geográfico-histórico de la iglesia de España, vol. 10 (Madrid: 1775), 318.
interpolations, or is entirely false.\textsuperscript{148} In the text, the count of Carrión Gómez Díaz and his wife Teresa give to the monastery an earlier hospital that they had built, the hospital of Santos Facundo, Primitivo, Cristóbal, and Todos los Santos in Arconada, a town east of Carrión. The writer refers to the abbey as “ecclesiæ Sancti Iohannis Babtiste et Sanctorum Zoyli atque Felicis,” titling the institution by both its original dedication to John the Baptist and by its later saintly proprietors Zoilo and Félix. The relics of the latter saints, Zoilo and Félix, were not brought to Carrión until decades after the purported date of the document. Additionally, the scribe cites the “monachis ordinis cluniacensis” or Cluniac monks as beneficiaries of the donation. Both details—the abbey’s dedication and the address to Cluniac monks—are anachronisms. These elements must be either added modifications or else signal an entirely fictitious document, forged to elevate the priory’s position at a later moment.\textsuperscript{149}

Our second document, dating from four years later, to 1051, also cannot be treated as a completely reliable source. We only know of the charter and its contents from secondary sources, including a detailed index of monastic documents written and bound in the nineteenth century and today held in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de

\textsuperscript{148} Most early scholars as well as many writing recently take this document as legitimate. See, for example, Justo Pérez de Urbel, \textit{Los monjes espanoles en la edad media}, vol. 2 (Madrid: E. Maestre, 1934), 425-426; M. Álamo, “Carrión (San Zoil de Carrión de los Condes),” \textit{Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques} 11 (1949), cols. 1137-1138; Andrés Ordax, \textit{Iglesia de Santa María}, 8, 32; and Peral Villafruela, \textit{De Aquitania a Carrión}, 147-148. Peral Villafruela suggests that the document may give evidence of an earlier informal relationship to Cluny. Others argue that the problems with the document imply its later facture, whether it represents a copy with interpolations or a new document, see Charles Julian Bishko, “Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny,” \textit{Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History} (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980); Pérez Celada, \textit{Documentación (1047-1300)}, 5; and Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, \textit{San Zoil}, 13-15.

\textsuperscript{149} Flórez notes that even the date of document is insupportable. March Ides that year fell on a Sunday not a weekday as stated in the date. Flórez, \textit{España Sagrada}, vol. 10, 318.
Palencia. The text records an agreement between Gómez Díaz and Teresa and Don Miro, the bishop of Palencia, on the division of tithes, part of which the count cedes to St. John the Baptist. In referring to the abbey while maintaining the original dedication to St. John, the document further substantiates the problems with the 1047 text. For different reasons, neither of our earliest documents is completely secure, though we begin to build a picture of the counts’ involvement with the monastery from the mid-eleventh century.

Count Gómez Díaz descended from a long line of nobility, as did his wife Teresa. Their family’s reputation was such that around a century later the author of the famous epic poem *El Cantar de Mio Cid* characterizes members of the family as “heirs of the grand counts of Carrión” and “by birth the purest blood in Spain!” Although the poet paints the heirs, Fernando and Diego, extremely negatively, potentially showing his distaste for the political leanings of contemporary Carrión, his choice of these figures as fictitious major characters demonstrates that for his audience the family would have been well-known, recognizable nobles from the time of Alfonso VI.

The first securely documented count of the line is a certain Diego Muñoz, who lived in the first half of the tenth century. Scholars have proposed two theories on the

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150 *Indice de San Zoilo*, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Palencia (AHPP); see also references to this document in Julio González, *Historia de Palencia*, vol. 1 (Palencia: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Palencia, 1984), 178 & 183; Ramírez de Helguera, *El libro*, 172; Martín Ramírez de Helguera, *El Real Monasterio de San Zoilo de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Carrión de los Condes ante la historia y el arte* (Palencia: Gutierrez, Liter y Herrero, 1900), 24-25; and Pérez Celada, *Documentación* (1047-1300), xxxiv-xxxv.

151 Document 2 in Pérez Celada, *Documentación* (1047-1300), 5-6.


153 Fernando and Diego are two of Gómez Díaz and Teresa’s actual children. However, historical evidence suggests that they were never married to the Cid’s daughters and are recorded as having different wives. José Maiso González and Juan Ramón Laguillilla Alonso, “Carrión de los Condes en el Cantar de Mío Cid,” *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses* 78 (2007): 343-368.
origins of the family, one tracing the line to Liébana and the other to Saldaña. The task is made particularly confusing by the existence of two relatively contemporary historical figures named Diego Muñoz. Margarita Torres and Julia Montenegro have concluded that the Diego Muñoz of the Banu-Gómez family derives from origins in Saldaña.\footnote{Margarita Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, \textit{Linajes nobiliarios en León y Castilla: siglos IX-XIII} (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1999), 236-238; Montenegro Valentín, “La administración territorial”; and Julia Montenegro Valentín, “En torno a los orígenes familiares de Diego Muñoz, el primer conde de Saldaña,” \textit{Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Palencia}, vol. 2 (1987): 339-352.}

Count Diego Muñoz (of Saldaña) left a particularly fascinating historical legacy. A contemporary of count Fernán González of Castilla and caliph of Córdoba Abd al-Rahman III, Diego is one of the most important political figures of the tenth century. His countship stretched across much of the modern province of Palencia and part of Cantabria. The Carrión River formed the axis of the territory, with the count ruling over San Román de Entrepeñas in the north, Saldaña in the center, and Carrión to the south. In the tenth century, the Leonese monarchs maintained only a weak hold on the north and depended on support from the counts to maintain control, especially against incursions from the more powerful Islamic south.\footnote{Montenegro, “La administración territorial.”} The counts were thus able to become quite formidable. Enough so that in later years the monarchy would slowly eliminate the position of count in favor of royally-appointed offices as a means of ensuring exclusive royal control.\footnote{King Fernando I of León was born into the countship of Castilla, and rose to kingship after marrying the \textit{infanta} Sancha of León and defeating her brother King Vermudo III. He clearly realized the power held by counts and stopped granting the office, never naming a successor to his position as count of Castilla. Martínez Díez, “La familia condal,” 551-604.}

\citenum{155} Montenegro, “La administración territorial.”
\citenum{156} King Fernando I of León was born into the countship of Castilla, and rose to kingship after marrying the \textit{infanta} Sancha of León and defeating her brother King Vermudo III. He clearly realized the power held by counts and stopped granting the office, never naming a successor to his position as count of Castilla. Martínez Díez, “La familia condal,” 551-604.
Starting with Diego, if not before, the Banu-Gómez participated actively, and influentially, in royal politics. In 931, King Alfonso IV of León, “el Monje,” abdicated the throne after the untimely death of his wife Onega. He left the kingdom to his brother Ramiro and retired to the monastery of Sahagún, planning to live out the rest of his life as a monk, inspiring his moniker. This decision would prove disastrous, since the former king quickly regretted his decision and attempted to regain power from his brother. The Muslim chronicler Ibn Hayyan records the count of the Banu-Gómez (Diego) as a major participant in the ultimately unsuccessful quest to re-take León. The name Banu-Gómez, or “sons of” Gómez, can be traced to Diego’s father Munio Gómez, or possibly farther back to his grandfather Gómez.

Later in the tenth century, the grandson of Diego, García Gómez, played a still more significant role in Iberian politics. During an invasion by Almanzor, the king of León Vermudo II—unflatteringly dubbed “el Gotoso” or “the Gouty”—was forced to flee the city, leaving the capital in the hands of rebel leader Gonzalo Vermúdez, count of Luna. Dissatisfied with Vermudo’s policies, Gonzalo Vermúdez and count García Gómez of the Banu-Gómez family had staged a rebellion two years previously, and in 968 they supported Almanzor’s attack on the city. When Gonzalo Vermúdez was taken prisoner,

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157 The chronicle refers to the Banu-Gómez count, but does not mention Diego by name; however, his role can be inferred since we know that he was the count at that time. The chronicler seems to have sided with Alfonso’s cause, referring to Ramiro as a tyrant and barbarian. Martínez Díez, “La familia condal de Carrión,” 554; Ibn Hayyan, Crónica del Califa Abderramán III, 244.

158 Torres identifies Gómez as primogenitor of the line. According to the author, Gómez lived in the late ninth century and was lord of Mixancas (Álava). His son Munio Gómez sired Diego Muñoz, the first count of Saldaña. Although Torres’s identification of the line’s patriarch as Gómez of Álava is by no means certain, it links the family already with Córdoba, explaining their close connections in the time of Diego Muñoz. Torres, Linajes nobiliarios, 238-39.
García Gómez, count of Carrión, Saldaña, and San Román de Entrepeñas, became de facto ruler of León under the suzerainty of the Muslim general. In the first documentary reference from 990 the count is titled as “ruling” in the capital (*Imperantem Garcea Comize in Legione*). García collaborated with Almanzor until 995, when, according to Ibn Khaldun, the general-turned-ruler rose against García, capturing the family’s capital, Carrión. Although significantly predating any documentation of the family’s patronage of the abbey of St. John the Baptist, this early history underpins our understanding of the noble family that would soon adopt and rebuild Carrión’s monastery. Around the year 1000, the Banu-Gómez family was one of the most powerful Christian lines in Iberia. Their authority rivaled that of royalty, as the family ruled their territories essentially autonomously and communicated directly with the Islamic south.

García’s brother sired Gómez Díaz, the heir who would become a transformative patron for the monastery. Count Gómez Díaz’s wife, Teresa Peláez, represents an equally, if not more, significant champion in San Zoilo’s history. She too descends from a noble and distinguished heritage. Two of her great-grandfathers were Leonese monarchs: one, Ramiro III; the other, Vermudo II, the king who briefly lost power to her husband Gómez’s ancestor, count García Gómez. From at least the mid-eleventh century the counts Teresa and Gómez patronized Carrión’s monastery.

With Carrión the capital of the countship, the counts’ patronage of the local monastery was natural. In the culture of Spanish Christian royals and nobles, serving as

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159 Martínez Díez, “La familia condal,” 568-570.
160 Ramírez de Helguera, El libro, 36-37.
benefactors for an abbey, which might then also function as a familial burial place, was common practice. For instance, concurrently with Teresa and Gómez's support of San Zoilo, the Leonese rulers Fernando I and Sancha patronized the double monastery of San Pelayo and San Juan Bautista in León, re-consecrating it as San Isidoro. In both cases, the women of the family were the most instrumental benefactors. 161

Gómez died in 1057. He is considered a founding patron of the abbey, although it remains unclear whether any of the Romanesque rebuilding occurred during his lifetime. 162 He seems to have executed other Carrionese projects, but died before the largest endeavor—the ambitious rebuilding of the abbey—began in full. 163 Of his patronage, the most significant executed initiative was a project in civic infrastructure. The monastery sat across the Carrión River to the west of the city center. Gómez and Teresa constructed a bridge traversing the river (fig. 20), which, along with provisioning the monks by connecting their monastery to central Carrión, also served many other parties, including the inhabitants of the barrio of San Zoilo, the citizens of central

161 There are many similar examples; for instance, on the royal monastery of San Isidoro in León, see Martin, Queen as King.
162 In a document from San Zoilo’s cartulary, Teresa credits Gómez with starting the building while he was still alive: “Gomiz Didaz, vir meus, hedificavit adhuc vivens, ex maxima parte, et ego cum ipsis filiis meis post obitum ejus quo minus fuerat complevi.” Document 8 in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300), 19-21. The Libro misceláneo, written at San Zoilo, also names Gómez as a founder. Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, “Colección diplomática,” vol. 2, 637-638. Architectural and stylistic evidence suggests otherwise, as will be discussed later in the chapter. Moreover, in the Chronicon Regum Legionensium, Teresa is credited with building the church. Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (attrib.), Chronicon Regum Legionensium, in Barton and Fletcher, The World of El Cid, 77.
163 According to the Libro misceláneo (my translation): “…and much of it being done, wanting the Lord to remunerate his holy desires and pious works, the call of his miserable age preoccupied him with death, and not able to continue the work begun, he begged his wife the countess to finish it all.” (“…e estando mucha parte dello hecho queriendo el Senhor remunerar sus sanctos deseos e pius obras, llamole deste miserable siglo de manera que preoccupado de la muerte e non podiendo proseguir las obras comencadas rogo a la condesa su muger que lo acabase todo.”) Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, “Colección diplomática,” vol. 2, 637-638.
Carrión, and travelers along the *Camino Francés*, pilgrims and merchants alike. The municipal project demonstrates the nobles’ drive to improve the communications with their city.¹⁶⁴ Serving similar goals, Gómez and Teresa founded a hospital in Arconada, roughly ten kilometers from Carrión. Like a bridge, a hospital enables travel to, from, and through a city—critical for both pilgrimage and mercantilism.

Teresa outlived her husband by over three decades, continuing and adding to the work that the two started together. In 1076, she donated the monastery to the order of Cluny, at that time under the leadership of the powerful and ambitious abbot Hugh of Semur, known for growing the abbey’s political connections and network of possessions.¹⁶⁵ The donation to Cluny marks one of the most significant events in the monastery’s history. The Carrionese abbey’s association with Cluny, and the authority vested in the priory by the mother house, would transform San Zoilo into one of the most important institutions on the Iberian Peninsula. Moreover, Cluniac practices and institutional ideology would affect everything from the design of the building to everyday monastic life, to even the monastery’s self-valuation.

Around the same time, the old institution San Juan Bautista received a new dedication to Iberian martyrs. The Carrionese monastery acquired the relics of three saints: Zoilo, Félix, and Agapio. In the 1076 dedication document, Teresa confers to Cluny the “locum nominatum Sancti Johannis Baptistae, et Sancti Zoili atque Felicis martirum,” labeling the house by both its original dedicatee and the new saintly

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¹⁶⁴ The document of 1077 donating San Zoilo to Cluny refers to the bridge they built together. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) cop. 283-6g, document 3507 in Bruel, *Recueil*, vol. 4, 622-625.
patrons. Another document from 1077 recording a donation of private property in part to the monastery, refers to the house as only San Zoilo.

The late medieval *Libro misceláneo*—a miscellany composed at San Zoilo, which includes a history of sorts written by the monks—records that Gómez and Teresa’s son, Fernando, brought the relics from Córdoba, labeling the Carrionese knight as “divinely inspired, according to belief.” In the *Libro*’s likely embellished, approbatory account, the firstborn of the counts, Fernando, traveled to Córdoba, at that time a tenuously held taifa state, and served the king or “ray moro de Cordoua.” Impressed with his service, the ruler offered Fernando gold and silver, which the Carrionese knight directly declined, instead asking for the body of San Zoilo buried in Córdoba. His request was granted, and “then the said Don Fernando Gómez disinterred [the relics], wrapped them in clean and decent cloths, and brought them to this monastery with much happiness where they are honorably held in an arca of silver on the high altar.” Written centuries later, and with the ulterior motive of aggrandizing the monastery and comital family, the *Libro* cannot be considered an accurate historical source, leading the events recorded therein to be questioned by scholars. However, the less-referenced vita, translation, and miracles of

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170 The attribution of the relic’s translation to Fernando is questioned because Fernando is not credited with such in his short epitaph. Martínez Díez, for example, suggests that Fernando was only an adolescent at the
San Zoilo, written by the monk Raoul in the 1130s, much closer in date to the historical event of Zoilo’s translation, also makes reference to Fernando. The author Raoul credits “quidam miles Ferrandus nomine,” or “a certain knight of the name of Fernando,” with bringing the relics of Zoilo from Córdoba to Carrión. He also names the nobles Gómez and Teresa as Fernando’s parents.171

By the mid- to late-eleventh century, the monastery also possessed the relics of Saints Félix and Agapio.172 These remains may have been translated by Fernando, along with those of Zoilo, because they potentially all come from the same cemetery in Córdoba, but we have even less evidence for Félix and Agapio than for the monastery’s patron saint. The author of the Libro admits that already in the late Middle Ages the monks no longer knew how their house obtained the relics of Agapio and Félix, so he only guesses at their procuration by Fernando.173

Now housing Cluniac monks, celebrating the Roman rite, and dedicated to a newly-acquired patron saint, the Carrionese monastery—in the midst of a transformation...

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172 Agapio was a sixth-century bishop who had a vision telling him where Zoilo was interred. He orchestrated the translation of the saint’s relics to a church, which he later made into a monastery dedicated to Zoilo. On his death, Agapio was buried in the same cemetery. Félix could be one of several saints of the same name. The most likely candidate was a native of Alcalá, who, when preaching in Córdoba in 853, was nailed to a pike and burned to death, and whose ruins were thrown in the Guadalquivir River. A few burned bones were removed from the river and taken by his devotees to the Cordoban monastery of San Zoilo, founded by Agapio. Yepes, _Crónica General_, 52-53. Jacobus de Voragine, _The Golden Legend (Aurea Legenda)_ , trans. William Caxton (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1900), vols. 2, 4 & 5.

under the patronage of the noble Banu-Gómez family—naturally also necessitated a structural renovation. The previous building(s) of San Juan Bautista seem to have been much smaller, and likely could not accommodate the transposed Cluniac monks and their ritual practice nor convey the grandeur desired by the noble patrons.\textsuperscript{174} And though Teresa credits her husband Gómez with beginning the construction of a new cenobium, the particular plan and decoration of the rebuilt structure signal a later construction. Both architecturally and stylistically, San Zoilo seems to proceed from the final decades of the eleventh century, the building begun but not completed before Teresa’s death in 1093.\textsuperscript{175}

The dating of the new construction will be revisited in a later section of this chapter.

\textit{Medieval and Post-Medieval San Zoilo}

The eleventh and twelfth centuries represent the apex of the monastery’s power and status. In the eleventh century, San Zoilo benefitted from noble patronage and

\textsuperscript{174} The previous structure seems to have been significantly smaller, since sources record that the galilee of the new structure was built where San Juan Bautista once stood. The \textit{Libro misceláneo} also refers to the previous building as a hermitage. Nonetheless, all this information would have been passed down orally for centuries and may be just as much legend as truth. “Los señores acordaron de fundar este monasterio de Sant Zuyl en vna hermita de San Juan Baptist a fuera de la villa a honrra del mesmo sant Juan, la qual hermita estaba adonde agora esta la Galilea del monasterio e la puente...” \textit{Libro misceláneo}, Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, “Colección diplomática,” vol. 2, 637-638.

\textsuperscript{175} Teresa’s epitaph credits her for the building of the new church, along with the bridge and a pilgrim’s hospital: “FEMINA CHARA DEO iacet hoc tumulata sepulcro / quae comitissa fuit nomine Tarasia / HAEC MENSIS JUNII sub quinto transit idus / OMNIS EAM PLANGERE debet homo / AECCLESIA PONTEM peregrinis optima tecta / FECIT PARCA SIBI largaque paUPERIBUS / DONET ET REGNUM quod permanET OMNE PER ævum / QUI MANET ET trino regnat UBIQUE Deus / Era MCXXXI.” There are several versions of the epitaph transcribed by early historians. In the above version, José Luis Senra used the preserved tomb to validate the words in uppercase and reassembled the surrounding verses from the early modern sources. José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, “Mio Cid es de Bivar e nos de los Condes de Carrión: los Banu-Gómez de Carrión a la luz de sus epitáfios,” \textit{Quintana: revista de estudios del Departamento de Historia da Arte} 5 (2006): 240-241. For the early modern transcriptions see: \textit{Libro misceláneo}, Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, “Colección diplomática,” vol. 2, 641; Morales, \textit{La coronica general}, 354; Prudencio de Sandoval, \textit{Historia de los reyes de Castilla y de León} (Madrid: B. Cano, 1792), 203; and Yepes, \textit{Crónica General}, 56.
underwent a process of spiritual, ritual, and physical renovation. The monastery of the twelfth century was the exalted product of this efflorescence. Throughout the century, the priory frequently housed royal and high-ranking ecclesiastical visitors and hosted distinguished events. Alfonso VII held court at the monastery often during his reign. For instance, in 1133, within the impressively built and decorated house, the king had an audience with Diego Gelmírez, ambitious archbishop of Santiago de Compostela. In 1139, he met with Ramon Berenguer IV of Catalonia to discuss the partitioning of the kingdom of Navarra. Mid-century, the house hosted two royal weddings: in 1151, that of the infante Sancho (who became King Sancho III, though only for one year) to Blanca de Navarra; and in 1153, the wedding of Sancho VI, son of García Ramírez, king of Navarra, to the infanta Sancha, daughter of Alfonso VII. In the second half of the century, San Zoilo became a favored site of King Alfonso VIII, perhaps starting with the recognition of his age of majority and knighting there in 1169. On this occasion, the young king also granted to the monastery the privilege of holding a month-long annual fair. Alfonso continued to favor the priory, holding curia there in 1188 and 1192.

Besides San Zoilo’s noble and royal eminence, the monastery held a similarly weighty position within ecclesiastical circles. The abbot of Cluny named a camerarius, or chamberlain, in each nation who was responsible for collecting rents due to the mother

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177 Document 41 in Pérez Celada, *Documentación (1047-1300)*, 64-66.
house, as well as distributing alms. For much of the twelfth century, the house served as the seat of the *camerarius Hispaniae*, endowing San Zoilo with significant power within the Cluniac sphere and prestige throughout Cluny’s vast network of priories. In 1200, Pope Innocent III granted the institution the right to display the keys of St. Peter, symbolizing the priory’s protection under the papacy, a privilege reserved for Cluniac dependencies.

However, in the coming years, the attitude toward Cluny at San Zoilo began to shift, and the priory moved away from the leadership and practices of the mother house. In 1245, Cluny sent a delegation to reinstate Cluniac customs, restore monastic discipline, and ensure an acceptable management of resources. Their efforts must have been unsatisfactory, because in 1248, Pope Innocent IV issued a mandate ordering the Carrionese community to obey the Cluniac abbot William, confirming the primacy of Cluny. Across the second half of the century, San Zoilo’s administrative problems seem to have been compounded by economic failures. From mid-century onward, no acquisitions are recorded, and in 1276 we learn of the ruin of numerous monasteries within the orbit of San Zoilo. The decline continued in the fourteenth century, and by 1387, the population of the monastery had fallen to only fifteen monks.

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180 Documents 103 & 104 in Pérez Celada, *Documentación (1047-1300)*, 196-198.
In 1507, King Fernando II “el Católico” visited several dependencies of San Zoilo, and noting their poor state, he placed San Zoilo under the purview of the Congregación de Valladolid. Despite initial resistance from the monks, their fortunes steadily improved, and after two centuries of physical and economic decline, the sixteenth century would finally see a revitalization of the once great monastery. Its impressive Renaissance cloister, completely replacing the medieval original, was built from 1537 to 1604 (fig. 21). Soon after, the monks began to reconstruct their church, built from 1636 to 1693. The baroque edifice extends farther east than the Romanesque basilica, but otherwise much of the original structure remains intact, merely hidden beneath a layer of masonry. In the nineteenth century, the monastery was briefly abandoned, before becoming a Jesuit school in 1851. Currently, the monastic buildings serve as a luxury hotel, but one with considerable interest in its patrimony, sponsoring excavations and facilitating the ongoing rediscovery of San Zoilo’s medieval artistic heritage.  

A Monastery Apart

Most of the scholarship on San Zoilo is very different in character from that of the other monuments in the city. While studies on the parish churches of Santa María and Santiago are overwhelmingly art historical, investigating questions of style and iconography, until recently there was little medieval to see at the priory, let alone to analyze and debate. Instead San Zoilo left a rich history of its ties to nobility, royalty, and

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the illustrious monastic house of Cluny, attracting a long line of historians and philologists, starting with such figures as Ambrosio de Morales. Epitomizing the difference in scholarship, Miguel Ángel García Guinea—author of the sweeping foundational tome on Romanesque art in the province, *El arte románico en Palencia*—omits a segment on San Zoilo, citing the monastic compound’s current state as almost entirely rebuilt, while the parish churches of Santa María and Santiago each garner individual sections. Only recently has San Zoilo become a focus of art historical scholarship.

The telling of San Zoilo’s history has been a continuously evolving process, starting with the monks transcribing their own origins and then transitioning to a narrative written by external historians, many of whom were monks themselves. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the brothers of San Zoilo began a multipart book, today aptly titled the *Libro misceláneo*. This heterogeneous compilation includes the Rules of Saint Benedict, a martyrology, and a laudatory account of the priory’s past, among other content, written over the span of four centuries. Discovered in 1982 by José Antonio Perrino Díez, the *Libro* disappeared only several years later after being moved to the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Palencia. According to Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, one of the only scholars to study the book before its disappearance, the monks may have been motivated to start the codex by the declining fortune of their once great house, with

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184 García Guinea notes the lacuna, explaining that the monastery has been almost entirely rebuilt. García Guinea, *El arte románico*, ix.

the book designed to celebrate San Zoilo’s prestigious past.\textsuperscript{186} In this case, the \textit{Libro misceláneo} may not be a completely reliable historical source, but rather a glorified picture of events. In their self-conscious history—an institutional autobiography of sorts—the monks illustrate the abbey’s patronage by the counts and their descendants, exalting the family’s good deeds and close relation to the monastic house. The monks also record the epitaphs of the counts and their place of burial, the church’s \textit{galilaea}.\textsuperscript{187}

Overlapping with the composition of the \textit{Libro misceláneo}, external historians began writing about the institution, corresponding with a greater interest in ecclesiastical tradition and in the history of the somewhat newly consolidated Spanish nation. Mid-sixteenth century, on the orders of King Philip II, a notable patron of the arts, antiquarian and annalist Ambrosio de Morales traveled around Spain, chronicling the country’s history and documenting notable artifacts.\textsuperscript{188} He describes the monastery of San Zoilo and the relics and books that he sees on his visit, among these the \textit{Libro de Concilios}, the tenth-century book discussed above in the context of San Zoilo’s early history.\textsuperscript{189} In the early seventeenth century, bishop and historian Prudencio de Sandoval treats the history of the counts in his \textit{Historia de los Reyes}, a task he says he is “obliged” to do by their relationship with the Cid; he also includes transcriptions of their epitaphs.\textsuperscript{190} The cleric

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, \textit{San Zoilo}, 301-308.
\item Philip II named Morales royal chronicler in 1562. He took up the task of writing a multivolume official history of Spain, which had been begun by Florián de Ocampo. Morales, \textit{La corónica general}; Morales, \textit{Viage de España}; and Ambrosio de Morales, \textit{Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España que van nombradas en la Corónica, con la aueriguacion de sus sitios, y nobres antiguos} (Alcalá de Henares, 1575). For more information on Morales, see Katherine Elliot Van Liere, et al. \textit{Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 136-137.
\item Morales, \textit{Viage}, 29-33; and Morales, \textit{La corónica general}, 229, 351-354.
\item Sandoval, \textit{Historia de los Reyes}, 202-206.
\end{enumerate}
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and historian Fray Antonio de Yepes penned a significantly longer and more detailed account of the monastery in his *Crónica general de la Orden de San Benito*, a tome specifically treating peninsular Benedictine monasteries.\(^1\) Having been a monk at San Zoilo himself for a brief time, Yepes was something of an insider, well versed in the institution’s background and having a personal interest in the monastic house.

Concurrently, across the seventeenth century, the monks continued to chronicle their own events in the *Libro misceláneo*. They documented the translation of San Zoilo’s corporeal remains in 1600 and the creation of new reliquaries for saints Zoilo and Félix nearly a century later in 1695.\(^2\)

Enrique Flórez, a prolific ecclesiastical historian of the eighteenth century, proved to be a key figure in San Zoilo’s historiography. Across his lifetime, Flórez completed twenty-nine volumes of the work *España Sagrada, teatro geografico-historico de La Iglesia de España*, which was continued after his death and concluded at an impressive fifty-one volumes.\(^3\) Along with providing a brief discussion of San Zoilo, Flórez included an index, in which he transcribed documents on the monastery’s patron saint: Zoilo’s vita, translation, and twenty-one-story miracle collection. These would not be published again until the contemporary work of Patrick Henriet and José Carlos Martín-Iglesias over the past fifteen years.\(^4\) He also discerningly questions the validity of the

\(^{1}\) Yepes, *Crónica general*, 48.
\(^{3}\) Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada* (51 volumes published between 1747 and 1886).
1047 charter, a suspicion with which many later scholars would agree and further explore.

Up to this point, discussion of San Zoilo has comprised small sections in large format works of ecclesiastical history, many completed by ecclesiastics themselves. At the close of the nineteenth century, two non-specialist Palencian authors published more locally focused works. The physician and historian Francisco Simón y Nieto penned *Los antiguos Campos Góticos* on monuments in the region of the *Campi Gothorum*, modern day Tierra de Campos.195 Contemporaneously, Martín Ramírez de Helguera—a native of Carrión and mayor for a time—dedicated two monographs to the city, one aptly titled, *El Libro de Carrión de los Condes (con su historia)*, on the history of the city and its monuments, and the second, *El Real Monasterio de San Zoil de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Carrión de los Condes, ante la historia y el arte*, specifically on San Zoilo.196

Much has been written on the monastery in the twentieth century. María Luisa Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo and Julio Pérez Celada have both contributed incredibly valuable, thorough historical studies based around San Zoilo’s cartulary. Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo completed a two-part dissertation on San Zoilo’s history and extant documents, before publishing a related book. Her work adds a great deal to our understanding of the monastery’s economics—in her analysis of the different ways in which San Zoilo sustained itself (donations, wills, exchange)—and of the house’s scriptorium, through paleographical analysis of a selection of monastic documents. The

195 Simón y Nieto, *Los antiguos campos góticos*.
second volume of the dissertation comprises a documentary appendix, in which the
author has transcribed numerous documents, including the now missing *Libro
misceláneo*. Pérez Celada’s two-volume *Documentación del Monasterio San Zoilo de
Carrión* provides an annotated transcription of many of the abbey’s documents from the
mid-eleventh to the turn of the fifteenth century. The author also published a monograph
on the history of the monastery.197

Within the discipline of art history, the medieval monastery of San Zoilo
maintains a considerably shorter historiography, which began in earnest only in the
1990s, following the discovery of substantial Romanesque remains underneath the rebuilt
structure. The most significant contribution has been the work of José Luis Senra.198
After publishing the discovery of the portal in 1994, Senra has realized numerous studies
on San Zoilo, treating primarily its architecture and sculpture, as well as two Islamic
textiles discovered in the priory.199 Senra’s work provides the basis of our artistic
knowledge of San Zoilo, and this chapter benefits from his foundational scholarship.

Celada, *Documentación (1047-1300)*; Pérez Celada, *Documentación (1301-1400)*; and Pérez Celada, *El
Monasterio de San Zoilo.*
198 Recently Lorena García García published a monograph on San Zoilo, which is based on a section from
her broadly-conceived dissertation on artistic production in Carrión de los Condes. The book *Monasterio de
San Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes: Arte e historia de un hito Cluniacense* examines San Zoilo across its
long lifetime; as a result her work is more of a survey than an original contribution dealing with a specific
Zoilo.*
9-10; J. L. Senra, “Algunas notas sobre la desaparecida iglesia románica del priorato cluniacense de
“Nuevos hallazgos románicos en el Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes (Palencia),” *Archivo
Español de Arte* 74, no. 293 (2001): 88-95; J. L. Senra, “Dos telas islámicas encontradas en el monasterio
and J. L. Senra, “La puerta como dogma: a propósito de un nuevo descubrimiento de la iglesia románica de
san Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes (Palencia),” *Archivo Español de Arte* 81, no. 322 (2008): 139-150.
San Zoilo has inspired a particularly rich historiography among Carrión’s monuments due to its status as a major Cluniac priory and the survival of its ample documentation, although art historical scholarship on the monastery is only just emerging. The objective of this chapter within San Zoilo’s protracted scholarship is twofold: the chapter aims to (1) add to the relatively nascent art historical discussion, placing the sculpture within an artistic framework and exploring the meanings and uses of the iconography, and (2) examine the monastery within the context of the city’s urban development and subsequently-built medieval monuments.

San Zoilo in Art Historical Context

Though today mostly covered by a baroque skin, much of San Zoilo’s original Romanesque structure persists, reutilized by the early modern masons as a frame on which to build. The medieval basilica was designed with three aisles that terminated to the east in three round apses (fig. 22). On the west side, the church had a curious two-towered façade; the north tower was square and the south tower round. An antechamber, or narthex, preceded the western entrance to the church. The portal discovered in 1993 connects these two spaces (fig. 19).

The extant doorway conveys a sense of simple refinement. Two protruding cylindrical archivolts undulate with three flat archivolts, all constructed with undecorated masonry blocks. The five radiate outwards, framing a slim round-arched aperture. The archivolts channel into carved capitals that surmount multicolored marble columns of mottled bluish-green, red, and purple. From the left, the capitals depict a salvific image of a winged eidolon borne aloft by laymen (fig. 23), a host of coiled serpentine dragons (fig.
24), the biblical anecdote of Balaam and the Ass (fig. 25), and men tending grape vines (fig. 26). This portal and its sculpture will be discussed in depth below, in the section The West Portal and Its Viewers.

The marble columns, spoliated from a Roman building, likely dictated the height of the portal, though stacked bases add height. Attic in style, the bases include decorative orbs carved between the upper and lower tori. At lintel-height, a band of molding runs horizontally across the portal, just above the tops of the capitals. Zigzagging across the uneven profile of the archivolts, the modular sections of molding feature different vine scroll motifs. On a few corners, abstracted round fruits or buds hang from curled fronds.

Following the discovery of the narthex portal, excavators unearthed additional sculpture, most no longer in situ. Today a number of detached capitals, and an assortment of fragments, stand on display in the former narthex beside the portal (figs. 29-34). Two capitals have also been exhumed from the walls of the nave. On its front, a capital on the south wall depicts a tower of beasts (fig. 27). Two lions form the base, their toothy mouths held open in threatening rictuses by men on the corners. On the backs of the lions balance birds, whose gathered wings dip into the mouth of a central third lion, this one only a mask, crowning the basket in the place of the fleuron of a Corinthian capital.200 The other surviving nave capital, located on the north wall, exhibits a pattern of thick interwoven vines (fig. 28).

The displaced capitals display many profiles: one single capital, one double capital and one quadruple capital, all carved in the round, and three capitals attached to

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200 Senra provides a longer description of this capital, Senra, “Nuevos hallazgos,” 89-95.
masonry on one or more sides. The structural differences demonstrate that the capitals would have been utilized in different architectural contexts, some perhaps originally inset into the Romanesque cloister. The single capital is adorned with four men and four beasts distributed across its sides (fig. 29). On each of its four faces a man squats low to the ground, feet balanced on the abacus and hips tucked between his calves. His position is echoed by the four bipeds disposed on the corners. Missing their heads, the beasts are difficult to identify, but they may have been birds, or apes, shown with only their front feet.

The double capital is entirely vegetal, adorned with coiled vine scrolls tucked underneath chiastic tendrils (fig. 30). Another tier of vines crowns the motif, imitating the curled volutes of a Corinthian capital; an incised leaf replaces the fleuron. The quadruple capital houses eight elegantly carved lions, two on each astragal (fig. 31). Distributed evenly around the capital, their bodies create a rhythm of vertical limbs and sloped horizontal backs.

Of the non-freestanding capitals, one depicts a pair of musicians (fig. 32) and the other two, solely flora (figs. 33-34). One of these is much more sophisticated; three sides display tendrils that sweep upwards from the astragal and droop forward under the weight of heavy, ripe, round fruits. Their shape—bent around the globular fruit—is echoed by curling volutes above.

The style of San Zoilo’s sculpture enables us to place its facture within a wider stylistic current that includes the cathedral of Jaca, the church of San Pedro in the castle
complex of Loarre, and San Isidoro in León. As Senra has observed, small details, like the orbs tucked in between the tori of the column bases, find analogues in the west portal of Jaca cathedral. Many of the capitals also resemble sculpture from these monuments in both subject and manner of depiction. For instance, at both Jaca and León, we find representations of the story of Balaam and the Ass (figs. 35-36). Jaca’s Balaam capital is particularly similar in composition to that of San Zoilo; the angel stands and brandishes his sword in much the same way—a specific configuration that Moralejo connects to antique models—and thick stalks protrude from between the figures.

Jaca, Loarre, León, and San Zoilo all include capitals populated with crouching figures. A capital from Jaca (today in the cathedral museum) and one at San Isidoro in León depict squatting bird-man hybrids (fig. 37), resembling San Zoilo’s displaced capital with crouching men and beasts. Another, inset in the southern portal at Loarre, demonstrates a similar illustration of crouched figures, though Loarre’s appear to be apes (fig. 38).

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201 These monuments date to the last decades of the eleventh century. For a comprehensive discussion of the dating of Jaca as well as the challenges to obtaining a precise chronology for Jaca and related monuments, including Loarre and Frómista, see Javier Martínez de Aguirre, “Arquitectura y soberanía: la catedral de Jaca y otras empresas constructivas de Sancho Ramírez.” Anales de Historia del Arte 2 (2011), 213-222. For Loarre, see Marta Poza Yagüe, “Fortaleza militar y refugio de fe: proceso constructivo y relaciones estilísticas del conjunto de Loarre,” in Siete maravillas del románico español, ed. Pedro Luis Huerta Huerta (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María La Real, 2009), 71-72; and, for León, refer to note 215 below.

202 Senra points out the similarity of San Zoilo’s column bases to those of Jaca, Senra, “La portada occidental,” 61.


204 The Leonese capital corresponds to the first phase of construction on the Romanesque church, executed around the 1090s. Martin, Queen as King, 90. More squatting beasts are carved on capitals surrounding the Puerta del Cordero.
The enigmatic tower of interlocking animals on San Zoilo’s extant nave capital represents one of the closest parallels between the imagery at the Carrionese monastery and that at the Aragonese monuments of Jaca and Loarre, and, to a lesser extent, at León. We find capitals with the exact same distinctive motif—lions with their mouths pulled open, bearing birds, whose wings dip into the mouths of a central lion mask—at both sites (figs. 39-40).205 At León and nearby San Martín de Frómista, capitals include depictions of lion mouth-pulling, lion masks, and stacked animals (fig. 41), but not in the particular configuration we find repeated nearly identically at Carrión, Jaca, and Loarre.

One of the most salient characteristics of the stylistic current is its imaginative reinvention of classical features.206 The acanthus, volutes, and fleuron of the traditional Corinthian capital serve as inspiration for all manner of playful vegetal and figural substitutions. Characteristic of the style are fat, almost conical stalks, which project from capital corners (see, for instance, the Balaam capitals at Jaca, fig. 35, and San Zoilo, fig. 25); weighty globular fruits weigh down thick fronds, and the fleuron is replaced by either low relief or incised leaves, or heads. The style is one of roundness and voluminousness, which shows in both the vegetation—its thick fronds and bulbous,

205 Senra suggests these comparisons and also includes a capital at Santa María del Popólo in Pavía. Senra, “Nuevos hallazgos.”
206 Moralejo emphasizes the importance for art historians of the classicism in the sculptural style of Jaca and Frómista. He attributes this classicism to inspiration from the Roman Husillos sarcophagus (in Palencia at least from the sixteenth century when described by Morales and now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid). From this, he argues a chronology putting Frómista before Jaca. Moralejo, “Sobre la formación del estilo escultórico de Frómista y Jaca.” Stefan Trinks builds on Moralejo’s contribution, arguing that the artists at Jaca’s used at least three antique sarcophagi as inspiration. Stefan Trinks, “Hac in sculptura, lector, si gnoscere cura” Bemerkungen zur Antikenrezeption der Skulptur in Jaca, Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike 1 (1999): 35-52; see also Stefan Trinks, Antike und Avantgarde. Skulptur am Jakobsweg im 11. Jahrhundert: Jaca – León – Santiago (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012).
succulent fruits—and the figures, with wide, plump faces and heavily modeled drapery. Specific features of the drapery also demonstrate a nod to classical compositions. At all of these sites, mantles fall in weighty parabolic curves across the chest of their wearers. The artist at San Zoilo has even borrowed the classical technique of utilizing an exaggerated arc of fabric to emphasize a figure. The small winged eidolon on the northernmost capital of the narthex portal is highlighted by the curved parenthesis of drapery that falls below him (fig. 23c).

This wider group of monuments stylistically comparable to San Zoilo—Jaca, Loarre, and León—is usually discussed in the context of a different Palencian monument, the church of San Martín de Frómista (fig. 42-44). San Martín—located on the pilgrimage route, less than twenty kilometers southeast of Carrión—has become a representative of Spanish Romanesque art, repeatedly called a joya or jewel of the Romanesque, though the church’s near perfect appearance derives from an overenthusiastic renovation at the turn of the twentieth century. Luciano Huidobro, for example, cites the basilica as having a “perfection of architecture” and “richness of

207 This is also a characteristic of the style of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, which has also frequently compared to Jaca and León. For an overview of the historiography relating to the Spain-Toulouse question, see Mann, “Romantic Identity.”


209 José Pijoán states the opposite opinion, that the inhabitants of the town of Frómista “…mourn the extreme rigor of the hurricane restorer” (“se lamentaba el extremado rigor del huracán restaurador”). José Pijoán, Summa artis, historia general del arte (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1931), 119. José Luis Hernando Garrido, San Martín de Frómista ¿paradigma o historicismo?: actas de las jornadas celebradas en Frómista los días 17 y 18 de septiembre de 2004 (Valladolid: Fundación del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, 2005), 119.
sculpture.”

Given Frómista’s illusion of near-flawlessness, the church has been accorded a disproportionate degree of significance; Frómista should be considered only a highly accessible example of a greater trend occurring in late eleventh-century Palencia. Four monastic churches—San Zoilo, San Martín de Frómista, San Salvador de Nogal de las Huertas, and San Isidoro de Dueñas—share a number of architectural and stylistic characteristics. Frómista’s particular pride of place in the historiography seems to stem more from an accident of preservation (and its considerable restoration) than actual historical preeminence.

The other abbeys in this group are today far less celebrated by the public and survive in vastly differing states. San Salvador de Nogal de las Huertas stands on the outskirts of Carrión, roughly eight kilometers from the city center and alone in a thicket (fig. 45). Grasses and weeds have overgrown the ruined abbey. Metal grates have been placed over the doors and windows keeping out indefatigable trespassing teenagers. Within the roofless San Salvador, small details of sculpted ornamentation remain, including most notably two intricately carved capitals (fig. 48). Lastly, the third in the group, the abbey of San Isidoro de Dueñas (fig. 46), has faced the post-medieval fate most analogous to that of San Zoilo. Around fifty kilometers south of Carrión, the San Isidoro that stands today is nearly entirely early modern, with the exception of its western

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210 “Dada la perfección de la arquitectura y la riqueza de la escultura del templo que se adelanta a su época...” Luciano Huidobro y Serna, Las peregrinaciones jacobeanas, vol. 2 (Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto de España: 1950), 498.
211 Despite the town’s best efforts, on one of my visits a group of neighborhood kids had still managed to get into the ruined church.
portal. The monastery was rebuilt in the late sixteenth century, with most of the Romanesque structure either covered by the new edifice or completely replaced.\(^{212}\)

In both sculptural style and architectural configuration (for all but Nogal, which was later rebuilt) these monuments form a related group. While the stylistic comparisons among the wider set of monuments demonstrates communication between sites and an exchange of ideas, likely brought about by the movement of some craftsmen, these geographically close Palencian monastery-churches almost certainly shared teams of masons. San Zoilo, Dueñas, and Frómista all exhibit two-towered west facades, which were new to the region. And analogous to San Zoilo, Frómista likely had a narthex that projected west past the towers.\(^{213}\) We also find numerous stylistic correspondences across the churches. At Dueñas, for example, two of the capitals on the surviving west portal are nearly identical to one of the detached capitals excavated at San Zoilo (figs. 34 & 47). The same type of shrub is carved that appears many times at the cathedral of Jaca, with wide leaves and heavy fruit, but the execution between the two Palencian sites is much closer. Several other vegetal motifs are shared across the sites. Akin to those also popular at Jaca, thick, hooked stalks adorn the corners of capitals (e.g. fig. 48). Tightly coiled patternlike vines nearly dominate the entire basket of capitals at Nogal and Frómista, and appear below larger chiastic fronds at San Zoilo (figs. 30 & 48-49).

All of these monuments—the wider, cross-Iberian group of Jaca, Loarre, and León, and the Palencian group of San Zoilo, Frómista, Nogal, and Dueñas—were long

\(^{212}\) San Isidoro was renovated around 1592, though the choir of the original church had already been altered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. García Guinea, *El arte románico*, 94.

dated to the mid-eleventh century, mostly based on tangential documentary evidence. Though the study of San Zoilo fell more under the purview of historians than art historians, the priory was similarly dated. Scholars related the Romanesque building to a period of documented noble patronage, namely that of Gómez and Teresa together at mid-century and the now-questionable 1047 charter. John William’s archeological study of León and Serafin Moralejo’s stylistic work on Jaca and Frómista pioneered the now-widely-accepted re-dating of this group of monuments to the years around 1100. A funerary monument—the sarcophagus of a young noble named Alfonso Peréz, termed the tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez—suggested in conjunction with the group by Moralejo, provides a firm date to shore up the later chronology further (figs. 50-51). Alfonso’s death in 1093, inscribed clearly on his tomb, sets a *terminus post quem* for the monument, and in its stylistic connection to the other works provides a relative period of decoration.

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214 Of the Palencian group, Frómista, was initially thought to be built circa 1066. This date corresponds to the will of Doña Mayor, countess of Castilla and widow of King Sancho III el Mayor. Nogal de las Huertas was dated similarly; two dedication stones record *Elvira Sanses hoc fecit* and the date 1063. For Dueñas, Francisco Antón related the construction to a 1053 privilege granted by Fernando I and then its donation to Cluny in 1073, arguing for a period of building in the third quarter of the century. See Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El arte románico español* (Madrid: Blass, 1934); García Guinea, *El arte románico*, 87-89, 91-92; Pijoán, *Summa artis*, 119-12; and Francisco Antón, “San Isidoro de Dueñas,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 98 (1952): 138-139. Many scholars have since agreed with and built upon the later chronology proposed by Moralejo and Williams, which places the construction of the group closer to 1100 (Moralejo, “Sobre la formación del estilo escultórico de Frómista y Jaca”; John Williams, “San Isidoro in Leon: Evidence for a New History,” *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973), 171-184); see, for example, Martin, *Queen as King*; Senra, “La portada occidental.” Senra has more recently argued for shifting the church of San Martín de Frómista’s dating still later, to the years following 1118, when Queen Urraca donated San Martín to San Zoilo. José Luis Senra, “Rebellion, Reconciliation, and a Romanesque Church in León-Castilla (c. 1109-1120),” *Speculum* 87, no. 2 (2012): 376-412; see also note 225.

215 San Isidoro was constructed in multiple phases; the one corresponding to this stylistic current would have been carried out at the end of the eleventh century, see Williams, “San Isidoro in Leon: Evidence for a New History”; Serafin Moralejo Álvarez, “La sculpture romane de la cathédrale de Jaca. Etat des questions,” *Cahiers Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 10 (1979): 79-106; Serafin Moralejo Álvarez, “The Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez: Its Place and the Role of Sahagún in the Beginnings of Spanish Romanesque Sculpture,” in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: the reception of the Roman liturgy in León-Castile in 1080* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 76-77; and Moralejo, “Sobre la formación del estilo escultórico de Frómista y Jaca.”
for the group. When Moralejo was writing, San Zoilo’s sculpture had yet to be unearthed. The sculpture of the major monastery of San Zoilo serves as a crucial connecting link between the larger cross-Iberian group and the dated funerary monument.

Alfonso was a member of the Banu-Gómez family, son of Pedro Ansúrez, the last count of Carrión. After his death in 1093, the young noble was interred in the royal mausoleum of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagún. Today the sumptuously carved lid of his tomb (the casket itself is no longer extant) resides in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, after a brief time in Boston at the Fogg Art Museum. Relief decoration covers the slab, notable for a sarcophagus of eleventh-century date. A motif depicting the deceased surrounded by angels ornaments the tented lid. The figures are characterized by wide faces with fleshy chins and round, bulging eyes. Each has oversized hands and feet, and many gesture emphatically with

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216 Moralejo, “Alfonso Ansúrez.” Gómez-Moreno related the style of the sculpture to San Isidoro in León, calling it “deformed” but with an air of classical modeling reminiscent of León. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, Catálogo monumental de España: provincia de León (Madrid: Ministerio de instrucción pública y bellas artes, 1925), 348-349. Since Alfonso died young his tomb would have been commissioned and completed after his death. In scholarship, the tomb is referred to as of Alfonso Ansúrez, according to modern naming conventions. The noble’s name was Alfonso Peréz (Peréz being a patronymic from Pedro).

217 Pedro Ansúrez is the nephew of Gómez Díaz, one of Gómez’s brother Ansur’s children. Pedro was a prominent member in the court of King Alfonso VI and is considered the founder of Valladolid. For more information on Pedro Ansúrez, see Andrés Barón Faraldo, El conde Pedro Ansúrez: poder y dominio aristocrático en León y Castilla durante los siglos xi y xii (Valladolid: Glyphos, 2013). On the sarcophagus, see Moralejo, “Alfonso Ansúrez”; and Debra Hassig, “He Will Make Alive Your Mortal Bodies: Cluniac Spirituality and the Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez,” Gesta 30, no. 2 (1991): 140-153.

218 When the monastery was abandoned the lid was removed from the church and used to mark a recent grave in the cemetery of Sahagún. In 1926, an antiquarian from Madrid purchased the lid and then sold the piece to Harvard’s Fogg Art Museum. The tomb lid remained in the collection of the Fogg for only a few years before it was returned to Spain in exchange for several Iron Age bronzes. Arthur Kingsley Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, vol. 1 (Florence: Pantheon, 1928), 59.

219 By comparison the tombs of the noble family members buried at San Zoilo are undecorated, save inscriptions, until much later. For more on the Carrionese sarcophagi, see Clementina Julia Ara Gil, “Un grupo de sepulcros palentinos del siglo XIII: los primeros talleres de Carrión de los Condes. Pedro Pintor y Roi Martínez de Burueva,” Alfonso VIII y su época: seminario (1992): 21-52.
raised index fingers. The garments also demonstrate the carver’s style; the carved figures’
tunics fall in parallel pleats that resemble cylinders of drapery, terminating in a sort of
accordion fold.

Although Moralejo originally associates the style of the Ansúrez sarcophagus
with the sculpture at Frómista, which remains accurate, the tomb lid resembles carving at
San Zoilo much more closely. The Balaam capital at the Carriónese monastery (fig. 25)
provides the best opportunity to explore the stylistic correspondences between the
monuments in that we can directly compare the means of depiction of like subjects, since
angels are featured in both. On the Balaam capital’s lateral face, the angel stands with
feet firmly planted on the astragal, obstructing the prophet’s path. Both of the angel’s
arms are bent upwards at forty-five-degree angles; one hand points emphatically towards
Balaam with index finger extended and the other hoists a sword. On the tomb, four of the
angels gesticulate nearly identically—their arms are bent in the same distinctive position,
one hand points, index finger outstretched, and the other holds an object. The angels’
wings across the two sites have been executed nearly identically: projecting from the
seraphs’ backs in an inverted L-shape, the wings are segmented into vertical bands and
then divided again by horizontal lines, illustrating feathers. Finally, the style of dress
depicted across the two monuments demonstrates numerous correspondences. Most
notable are the exaggerated cylindrical folds that appear on many of the figures and are
especially characteristic of the sculptor’s style, along with the wide striated cuffs, and the
rendering of mantles that fall across the chest of their wearer in a pendent parabola. With
this close stylistic relationship, the tomb’s date of 1093 becomes fundamental for a study
of San Zoilo. The degree of similarity between the two monuments suggests facture by
the same artist.\textsuperscript{220} It would have been natural for an artist to move between the nearby monasteries of Carrión and Sahagún; not only are the sites fewer than forty kilometers or a long day’s walk apart, but the Carrionese monastery and tomb at Sahagún were both patronized by members of the Banu-Gómez family. The Ansúrez tomb will be discussed more extensively in the section on San Zoilo’s narthex portal: along with their stylistic affinity, the monuments share thematic correspondences that call for their examination together, enabling a deeper understanding of each through consideration of the other.\textsuperscript{221}

Early historians placed the construction of San Zoilo in the mid-eleventh century during the lifetime of count Gómez Díaz, based on the monastery’s own self-conscious telling of its history.\textsuperscript{222} However, if Gómez took part in a building campaign on the Carrionese house, it is more likely to have been a different construction, a smaller interim building, rather than the Romanesque structure surviving today. Teresa outlived her husband by over three decades. Unlike Gómez, she seems to have been involved in the construction project, credited with building the \textit{aecclesia pontem peregrinis optima tecta} (“the church, bridge, and accommodation for pilgrims”) in her epitaph.\textsuperscript{223} Senra suggests that only after Teresa donated the monastery to Cluny on the impetus of the Cluniac

\textsuperscript{220} Porter remarks that the style and iconography are like nothing he has seen, proving that “there existed at Sahagún at the end of the XI century a flourishing and autochthonous school of sculpture.” Many scholars argue that the style should be compared to that at Jaca, Loarre, Frómista, and León, but Porter’s comment helps illustrate the particular distinctiveness of the monument (in both style and iconography), that now, with the discovery of the sculpture at San Zoilo, is easily recognized at nearby Carrión. Porter, \textit{Spanish Romanesque Sculpture}, 60. Senra also suggests that the works are by the same artist, Senra, “La portada occidental,” 64-66.

\textsuperscript{221} Further discussion of the sarcophagus can be found beginning on page 127 below.

\textsuperscript{222} When Teresa donates San Zoilo to Cluny she credits her husband with beginning construction. The later \textit{Libro misceláneo} echoes the same sentiment. See notes 162 & 163 above. For example, Ramírez de Helguera, \textit{El libro}, 33.

\textsuperscript{223} See note 175.
monks, did construction of the much larger, more ambitious monastery begin, a suggestion borne out by several potentially nonnative variations in the architectural plan, one of which sources from San Zoilo describe using the Cluniac term.224 Moreover, based on comparison of the church’s sculpture with the dated Ansúrez sarcophagus, we can position the church’s decoration more concretely within the years around 1100. The monastery that stands today, partly hidden by the early modern reconstruction, therefore seems to have been built in the last quarter of the century.

If its sculpture had never been covered, San Zoilo would almost certainly have been considered a major monument by art historians, included in the oft-discussed current of “early Romanesque” buildings, comprised by the cathedrals of Jaca and Santiago de Compostela, San Martín de Frómista, San Isidoro de León, and Saint-Sernin de Toulouse. Conversely, Frómista’s role and importance in the narrative of Spanish Romanesque art may have been overemphasized. In 1118, Queen Urraca donated San Martín to the Cluniac monks of San Zoilo, making the abbey a daughter house of the more powerful Carrionese cenobium. Senra even argues that Frómista’s construction occurs in the wake of this significant donation, with San Zoilo and its monks a major driving force of the new artistic campaign.225 Historically, San Zoilo was already known to be an extremely significant monument, housing one of the preeminent monastic

\[\text{Senra, “La puerta como dogma.”}\]
\[\text{Senra, “Rebellion, Reconciliation, and a Romanesque Church”;}\]
communities on the Iberian Peninsula. Now, with high quality sculpture recovered, and more potentially locked within its baroque walls, San Zoilo emerges as a major artistic site. Sharing an artist with a securely dated monument, but offering significantly more material for comparison, the Carrionese monastery of San Zoilo becomes a linchpin in the narrative of northern Spanish (and possibly trans-Pyrenean) Romanesque art.

_Cluniac Monasticism and the Space for Salvation_

Teresa and her children donated San Zoilo to the order of Cluny in 1076. The arrival of Cluniac monks and the adoption of the order’s customs had an enormous impact on the house, likely stimulating a rebuilding of the monastic church and concurrently impacting its form. The building’s plan reveals both autochthonous and exogenous architectural currents—featuring elements native to the Iberian Peninsula as well as those tailored to Cluniac liturgical practice—although in many cases the two cannot be cleanly divided.  

The monastic church is quite large, befitting its growing importance. Though the Romanesque structure has been rebuilt, the later church remained mostly faithful to the original in size, employing the Romanesque structure as a building framework. The width corresponds to that of the original, measuring 15.8 meters. The length has been extended towards the east, and today’s church terminates in a single square apse, dominated by an expansive retable. The original would have spanned 36 meters. Its three aisles culminated

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226 Senra proposes these two currents and argues that they both influenced the plan of San Zoilo, Senra, “Aproximación a los espacios.”
in three round apses, with the central apse slightly larger, befitting the larger width of the nave.

Three entrances, distributed around the perimeter of the church, provided access for different purposes and to a variety of users. The north portal would have served as the primary entrance, offering entry to non-members of the community: lay brothers, parishioners for Sunday mass, and esteemed visitors alike. Mirroring its use as the exterior face of the monastery, this door likely would have been decorated. Today fragments of the north wall remain on the exterior, but nothing is left of the portal, completely replaced with an overlarge baroque façade (fig. 15). The pilgrimage road, leading across the bridge from central Carrión in the direction of Compostela, passes directly in front of this doorway. Any decoration adorning the portal would therefore have been seen by the audience of transient pilgrims, likely representing the esteemed monastery in their minds, especially for those who never stepped inside.

On the south wall, a second door connects the basilica to the cloister. Replaced in the later reconstruction, this entryway stands farther forward in the church, allowing access directly into the privileged space of the choir from the restricted enclosure of the cloister. This door would have been for the exclusive use of monks: a passage between two solely monastic spaces. Ornamentation original to this door thus served the gaze of the brothers. Though likely less elaborate than the north portal, the sculpture would have

\[227\] San Zoilo was also a parish encompassing the neighborhood surrounding the priory, located across the river to the west of the city center.
been interpreted by a monastic audience, and presumably would have been designed with this in mind.

Another door, this one extant, exemplifies a portal especially conceived for the sole use of the monastic community. Unlike the others discussed here, this door does not pierce the exterior but serves to link, and to separate, another privileged space of the church. A small aperture at the north-east corner of the basilica leads to a spiral staircase, which ultimately guides the entrant up through the north tower (fig. 52). However, midway into the ascent, the walker comes upon a small space, fitted into the square span of the tower (fig. 53); the staircase then continues out the right side. Within the span of the tower stands a very small longitudinal chapel. While the south tower (now destroyed) would have been round, accommodating only a spiral staircase for the monks to climb its elevation and access the bells, the builders constructed the north tower as a wider square to permit the inclusion of its secluded chamber. This elevated chapel consists of a single apse and a modest body. Stone vaulting curls overhead, enclosing the room’s user in a private, concealed space, both within the church and set apart. The chapel’s partitioning indicates its intended use. Separate rites could have taken place inside this space without conflicting with the reading of the Divine Office inside the main body of the church.228

The third main portal to pierce the basilica leads to an antechamber, or narthex, attached to the west end. Directly across from this door, on the opposite side of the two-

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bay space, another portal, now completely gone, would have opened to the exterior. In the early modern reconstruction, the original narthex was converted into a chapel dedicated to St. John, the original patron saint of the monastery. An inscription painted onto one of the archivolts of the Romanesque portal likely dates to the reconfiguration of the space.\textsuperscript{229} At some point, the portal was covered; its rediscovery represents the main find of the 1993 restorations. Today the space has been converted into a passageway, extending longitudinally across the western side of the monastery, running the length of the cloister, and now connecting to the hotel.

The form of the antechamber has origins in native Iberian building traditions as well as within many Cluniac monastic churches, and its employment here can be difficult to trace cleanly. Basilicas of the Asturian Kingdom—the small outpost of Christian-ruled territory that survived after the eighth-century Muslim conquest—included vestibules, separate from, but leading into, the nave. In general, the plans of these churches incorporated partitioned subdivisions distinct from the openness desired in later Romanesque constructions. For instance, a room precedes the nave in San Julián de los Prados and San Salvador de Valdediós (fig. 55), both ninth-century Asturian constructions. A subdivided aesthetic can be traced earlier, and in Spain it may originate from the style of church building practiced by the Visigoths.\textsuperscript{230} In establishing the

\textsuperscript{229} Senra, “La portada occidental,” 60-61.
\textsuperscript{230} This is a contested point. Some scholars trace the impetus for Asturian church design to the Carolingian tradition: see, for instance, Jean Hubert, \textit{L’art prêroman} (Paris: Éditions d’art et d’histoire, 1938); and Jerrilyn Denise Dodds, \textit{Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain} (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990). As cited in the text, Bango Torviso makes a compelling case for a generally autochthonous development. Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, \textit{Alta edad media: de la tradición hispanogoda al románico} (Madrid: Silex, 1989), 13-40; I. G. Bango Torviso, “El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española,” \textit{Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del}
Asturian Kingdom in the mountains and in a far corner of the peninsula, the monarchs fashioned themselves as the inheritors of the Visigoths, in turn attempting to claim the authority and grandeur associated with the Christian sovereigns who had ruled all of Hispania. Similarly, their church plans may have embodied this ideology by abstractly borrowing from Visigothic precedents.²³¹

The decrees of the sixth-century Council of Braga prohibited interment inside of churches as adverse to the respect due to the bodies of martyrs.²³² Nonetheless, burial ad sanctos, or in proximity to the saints, afforded numerous enticing advantages—namely the prestige, protection, and redemptive benefits offered by holy bodies—and occurred, despite the prohibition, in various ways across the medieval West.²³³ In Spain, interment moved inside over a period of centuries, with Iberian churches settling on adjoining western spaces as an intermediary. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the deceased were

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²³¹ Antecedent Visigothic churches were even more partitioned than those of the Asturian Kingdom and did not allow clean sight lines.


laid to rest in a courtyard area ringing the church. Isidro Bango Torviso hypothesizes that the distribution of gravesites may have been hierarchized, with more important individuals buried close to the church, and the most high-ranking situated just beside the west doors. This process would locate these figures closest to the entry to Paradise, and thus make them the first to be called in the Resurrection. More practically, if their graves were marked, the memorials closest to the door would be seen most frequently, viewed by the congregation on entry into the church.

This burial practice seems to have coalesced with the existence of a western antechamber or chambers. From the Crónica de Alfonso III we learn that Alfonso II (783-842) built a church dedicated to Santa María in his capital of Oviedo, with a space at the west end for the mortal remains of kings. Other Asturian churches demonstrate a similar pattern, such as the church of Santiago de Peñalba, in which its founder was interred in an appended western apse. When the capital of the kingdom moved to León, the same tradition continued. As documented by the chronicler Sampiro, King Ramiro II (931-51) built a royal mausoleum, or panteón real, in the Leonese monastery of San

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235 Arnold Angenendt argues that the location of medieval burials with respect to the church reproduced the topography of heaven, the place of the body on earth reflecting the place of the soul in heaven. Interment directly outside the doors was often associated with penitence. Angenendt, “In porticu ecclesiae sepultus,” 71-73.
Salvador founded by his daughter Elvira. Along with his remains, those of his successors Ordoño III and Sancho “el Gordo” or “the Fat” were also interred there. Bango Torviso aptly summarizes the development of the practice of burying in a western apse or contra ábside: “…the western apse was the architectural formula that allowed for the creation of an autonomous space, intimately related to the interior of the church, but adapting to the precept of the Council of Braga that prohibited burying inside churches.”

Royal mausolea continued to be built and became a fixture of Spanish tradition. The most famous was constructed many centuries later, inside the royal monastery of El Escorial. Though subterranean (more aligned with the interment practice for saintly bodies) and no longer at the west end of the church, the Escorial’s panteón contains the remains of a growing list of monarchs, beginning with Charles V and continuing to today—serving as the final resting place for contemporary royals. Starting with Ramiro in the tenth century, the tradition solidified in the budding capital of León. Eleventh- and twelfth-century monarchs patronized exclusive burial spaces for their families; this practice shaped that of the nobles of the realm, including counts of the Banu-Gómez family. Though written decades after the fact, the Historia Silense provides information

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238 The standard term panteón real would not have been employed at this point to describe these spaces, and suggests a mausoleum that would hold generations of kings, more like the later panteón de los reyes at the Escorial. Instead the texts would have used terms like regum cimiterio, however this is much less precise and could refer to any type of funerary structure. Rose Walker suggests conceiving of high medieval panteones as households, holding family members that resided together and subordinate members of the royal family. Kings who ruled for significant periods of time founded their own new mausolea. Rose Walker, “Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial in Northern Spain, c. 950 - c. 1250,” in Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300, ed. Elisabeth Maria Cornelia Van Houts (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001), 160.


about the burials of the Leonese sovereigns King Fernando I (1037-1065) and Queen Sancha (d. 1067), and of the queen’s forbearers:\textsuperscript{241}

…because her father Prince Alfonso [V], of worthy memory, and her brother Vermudo [III], most serene king, rested in Christ in the royal cemetery in León, Queen Sancha worked with all her might so that she and her husband would also rest with them after death. The king acceding, then, to the petition of his most faithful wife, sent stone workers to work assiduously on such a worthy labor.\textsuperscript{242}

Originally thought to describe the vaulted and painted Romanesque chamber attached to the west end of San Isidoro, the new construction referred to in the \textit{Historia Silense} is an earlier structure, likely dating to around 1055 (and certainly before Fernando’s death in 1065), as compellingly argued by John Williams and Therese Martin. The building of the extant Romanesque \textit{panteón} should be fixed in the decade of the 1080s.\textsuperscript{243} Fernando and Sancha constructed their church and burial space on the site of the double monastery of San Juan Bautista and San Pelayo. Excavations revealed a plan similar to those of Asturian churches, for instance, Gómez-Moreno cites its close relationship to the form of San Salvador de Valdediós.\textsuperscript{244} This comparison again demonstrates a relative continuity with native building traditions to serve ideological goals. Only a few decades later, circa 1080, their daughter Urraca (d. 1101) began an expansive rebuilding of the monastic complex (now dedicated to San Isidoro), beginning with the construction of a square two-

\textsuperscript{241} On the origins of the \textit{Historia Silense}, see note 10 above. The earliest surviving manuscript is from the fifteenth century, BNE MS 1181. Barton and Fletcher, “Historia Silense,” \textit{The World of El Cid}, 12-16.
\textsuperscript{243} \textit{Queen as King}, 44. Williams, “San Isidoro in Leon: Evidence for a New History.”
\textsuperscript{244} Gómez-Moreno, \textit{Catalogo monumental: León}, 180. This aligns with Sancha’s objective to forge a connection for herself and her Castilian husband to the Astur-Leonese line, which is carefully traced back to Visigothic progenitors in the \textit{Historia Silense}. Though not Visigothic in physical form, this ninth-century church plan—two hundred years old at this point—might have ideologically felt Visigothic.
storied structure attached to the west end of her parents’ church and adjusted to its dimensions (fig. 56). Though in general far from Asturian precedent, instead reflecting new and ultra-Pyreanean architectural design, Urraca’s complex maintained the sitting of the palatine space at the western end of the church. Therese Martin, author of a monograph on San Isidoro, cautions against the assumption that the lower room was always a funerary space, as it later definitively became. The earliest burials found date to the mid-twelfth century.\(^{245}\) Whether or not Urraca’s so-called panteón followed the pattern of western funereal chamber in its initial conception will have to remain an open question. Nonetheless, relatively contemporarily, Urraca’s brother King Alfonso VI founded his own burial chapel outside León at the monastery of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagún, located on the western end of the monastic church (fig. 57). While most of the complex has disappeared, the western burial pantheon, known as the chapel of San Mancio, survived. The king was interred here along with four of his wives. In addition to the royals, Alfonso’s funerary chapel also received the bodies of members of his court. Among these were the last count of Carrión Pedro Ansúrez and his son Alfonso Ansúrez.

These panteones were not confined to the patronage of royals. Instead it seems as if the kingly examples inspired nobles to build their own mausolea, looking to exploit the royal paradigm to reinforce their authority and rank. Moreover, nobles likely considered these royal exemplars the premier manner of burial, extremely important in insuring the

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\(^{245}\) For an in-depth discussion of the space, assessing the validity of the assumption of its function as a pantheon, see Martin, *Queen as King*, 62-95.
future of one’s soul and those of the family. The tenth-century count of Castilla Fernán González—made legendary by the later Poema de Fernán González—arranged to be interred at the Castilian monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, one of the potential entombment sites considered by Fernando I, as told by the Historia Silense. The seventeenth-century historian Prudencio de Sandoval discloses further that he was buried “at the foot of the church… following the custom of the time.” Similar to the infamous Castilian count, the Banu-Gómez family held significant power, and the Carrionese nobles also fashioned themselves in the image of kings. One count of the line García Gómez even briefly held León.

Though the strength of the countship was already declining by the late eleventh century, with the Leonese monarchs working to centralize and consolidate power, Gómez Díaz and Teresa doubtless viewed themselves as heads of a formidable noble family with close connections to royalty. Their patronage of the monastery of San Zoilo, and then its bequest to Cluny suggest a desire to emulate royal practice; the counts’ construction of a panteón, a funerary space specifically built for their line, within the nobles’ proprietary monastery, further illuminates this picture of the Banu-Gómez family’s interests. The counts seem to have utilized the iconography of the space itself—borne from a long

246 Chapter 94 of the Historia Silense, translation in Martin, Queen as King, 39, or Barton and Fletcher, World of El Cid, 55.
247 Rose Walker, “Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial,” 156. Though potentially informative, Sandoval’s account, written many centuries after the interment, cannot be taken as definitive.
248 Fernán González was the autonomous ruler of Castilla despite being a count rather than a king. Although not quite at this level of power, the Banu-Gómez family ruled the region of Tierra de Campos nearly independently until the mid-eleventh century when the Leonese monarchs began to limit the power of their counts. The family would have still seen themselves as nearly royalty and likely worked to maintain this image.
peninsular tradition—to associate themselves with royalty. Moreover, likely the best way to ensure a safe future of one’s soul and perpetual memoria would have been that chosen by royals, and it stands to reason that the Carrionese counts considered the tradition practiced in the capital ideal.

Despite the seemingly clear origins recounted above, the derivation and precise intended meaning of San Zoilo’s narthex remains indistinct, on account of a potentially complementary architectural tradition observed at Cluny, one that brings with it another set of associations. Across the Pyrenees, a second model for a western space appended to the church and associated with death had developed, albeit with a ritual rather than funerary use. At the mother house of Cluny and across many of its dependencies, the church plan included a narthex, termed a galilaea or galilee, that preceded the nave (figs. 59-60). In the case of San Zoilo, the Hispanic panteón and Cluniac galilaea appear nearly indistinguishable. For the Carrionse monastery, newly reconstructed after its donation to Cluny, the two traditions seem to have been fused strategically, so the patrons and designers could appropriate the meanings and functions of both.

249 In Krautheimer’s famous article on the iconography of architecture, the author argues that a primary concern of medieval construction was a structure’s ability to convey meaning beyond physical form. The familiar configuration of the western panteón would have brought with it longstanding royal associations for the noble or courtly viewer. Richard Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture’,” Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942): 1-33.

The order of Cluny was deeply involved in the “medieval economy of salvation,” a designation coined by Frederick Paxton, who employs this term to convey the complexity and magnitude of the enterprise surrounding eternal salvation in the Middle Ages.\(^{251}\) Much of Cluny’s success and weight in the social order came from its ability to harness this ever-booming demand as well as satisfy a deeply felt societal need. Inside the monastery itself, monks took extreme care to ensure the successful transition of a soul from this world to the next. After a brother’s death, an equally important duty commenced: the community was then responsible for perpetual prayer for his soul. Along with regular liturgical practice (the Mass and the Divine Office), separate masses for the dead represented one of the central activities in the life of a Cluniac monk.

Rodulfus Glaber divulges that Cluniac masses for the dead had the power to tear souls directly from the clutches of the devil.\(^{252}\) This believed efficacy, coupled with rapacious demand, created a substantial and ever-growing responsibility for the monks, albeit a profitable one. Prosperous lay people sought Cluniac prayer and its benefits. Such universal appeal expanded the mother house of Cluny and its network of dependencies exponentially. The surest way to secure a positive future for one’s soul was to garner the prayers of someone of consequence, and in the market of salvation that was a Cluniac monk. For inclusion within the spiritual protectorate of Cluny, lay people needed to establish personal and familial relationships to the order, generally by means of donation.

\(^{251}\) Frederick S. Paxton and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages = Le rituel de la mort à Cluny au Moyen Âge central* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 16.

another, these gifts were part of a mutually beneficial commerce, centering on *cura animarum*, or the care of souls.

Many affluent families gave gifts of people, bequeathing a non-inheriting child to a Cluniac house. Later the child oblate would pray for his own family. Wealthy laymen also donated land, churches, and to a lesser extent money. However, to what degree these donations entitled donors to commemoration at Cluny remains an open question. The highest-ranking benefactors earned abundant spiritual rewards. King Fernando I and his son and successor King Alfonso VI serve as the most extravagant examples. Fernando pledged an annual 1000 dinars to be used to clothe the monks. Although already an enormous donation, Alfonso doubled his father’s gift, the additional thousand intended to feed the monks. Along with Queen Sancha—Fernando’s wife and a formidable patron in her own right—the three monarchs were elevated to the level of Cluny’s own abbots. But the Leonese royals are the exception. Considerable donations may or may not have earned the benefactors inclusion in the Cluniac necrology, and thus perpetual commemoration at Cluny.

253 Paxton, *Death Ritual at Cluny*, 16-17.
254 See Bishko for a detailed discussion of the Leonese monarch’s relationship with Cluny and the services exchanged on both sides. Charles Julian Bishko, “Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León,” *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961): 53-76; and Bishko, “Fernando I and the Origins.”
255 There has been considerable debate over this question. A team from the University of Münster organized by Joachim Wollasch completed a survey of nine extant necrologies from priories of Cluny (The necrology from the mother abbey has not survived.), Joachim Wollasch and Wolf-Dieter Heim, *Synopse der Cluniacensischen Necrologien* (Munich: W. Fink, 1982). Several scholars argue that lay benefactors would have been commemorated in the necrologies (and were perhaps even given the title of monk); see, for example, Herbert Edward John Cowdrey, “Unions and Confraternity with Cluny,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16 (1965): 152-62; and Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000-1150* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 65-68. Others argue that lay people were very rarely included in necrologies, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 35-43.
The list of the deceased for whom masses needed to be held was ever expanding. For every monk at Cluny or one of its daughter houses, thirty masses were to be said on the thirty days following the monk’s passing. Then in perpetuity, every year on the anniversary of the death, monks said a mass and gave a meal to one of the poor in honor of the deceased. Increasingly taxing the resources of the monastery, the practice profoundly shaped monastic life, and at a certain point, became unsustainable. In the twelfth century, regardless of how many deceased were to be commemorated each day, Abbot Peter the Venerable capped the total number of poor to be fed at fifty.  

Nonetheless, during the abbacies of Odilo and Hugh—the peak of Cluny’s growth and accomplishment—the inverse appeared to be true, that the monastery and monastic buildings were slowly shifting to accommodate this demand, which stood as a central part of Cluniac belief and success.

José Luis Senra and Kristina Krüger hypothesize that the narthex—a double-storied space of two or three bays attached to the west end of a church and common within Cluniac churches—developed to accommodate particular ritual practices specific to Cluniac houses and related to the order’s views on death. From the late eighth century, a Sunday procession commemorating the Resurrection of Christ took place.

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257 For example, Paxton discusses the spaces in the monastery used for the sick and dying. Distinct from the design of Cluny II, that of Cluny III moved the infirmary to a completely separate part of the complex. See figs. 59-60.
within many monasteries. In 1111, Rupert of Deutz, a monk installed at Saint-Laurent in Liège, a newly-affiliated Cluniac abbey, records a variation on the procession, in which the participants pause in front of the doors to the church and enact the meeting of the Resurrected Christ with his disciples. Rupert terms the site of this event the galilee.259

The word galilee or *galilaea* in reference to an architectural space first appears in the *Liber tramitis*, a Cluniac customary written between 1027 and 1048, under the abbacy of Odilo.260 In regular use, Galilee refers to a biblical place—most significantly, the home of Christ and location of much of his preaching. However, Krüger observes that in medieval exegetical thought, the location and word galilee became closely associated with a specific event: the Resurrected Christ’s meeting with his disciples.261 In this context and through the writings of theologians from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Bede to the twelfth-century Rupert of Deutz, *Galilaea* took on the meaning of the *transition from death to eternal life*. This significance, in combination with the word’s application to the Cluniac narthex, adds a layer of meaning to the western space that aligns closely with Cluny’s particular needs and objectives. In addition to the appropriate performance of the meeting of the apostles with the Resurrected Christ, the narthex also constitutes a space inside the church but physically separated from the choir. Within a chapel nested in the galilee’s second story, a celebrant could recite the Office of the Dead without interrupting the liturgy of the hours and daily monastic life. Altars at east and


west thus allowed for the simultaneous saying of masses, accommodating the nearly perpetual prayer for the growing numbers of deceased; fittingly, the western altar occupied the symbolically charged space of the galilee.

The Carrionese monastery of San Zoilo, reconstructed on a grand scale soon after its donation to Cluny, appropriated trans-Pyrenean architectural features in line with the priory’s newly implemented Cluniac customs. Two aspects in particular of the western antechamber signal filiation from architectural traditions associated with the arrival of Cluniac monks: first, internal sources refer to San Zoilo’s narthex as a galilee, employing the term used at Cluny; and second, the upper story incorporates a small, autonomous chapel (fig. 53). The plans of many monastic churches include similar chapels, often dedicated to St. Michael and located on the second-story of the church. Within Cluniac priories, such oratories seem to have been particularly common, serving the order’s need for a dedicated space to hold quotidian commemorative masses for the dead. In its appropriation of this architectural model, the small, second-story chapel of San Zoilo, too, very likely would have been dedicated to the archangel Michael, weigher of souls, as

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264 See Senra, “La puerta como dogma,” 149; and Sazama, “Le rôle de la tribune de Vézelay.” Although Sazama does not discuss the relationship of these chapels to Cluny, her argument centers on Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay, which was a Cluniac priory (though only periodically). Michel Lauwers cites Saint-Trond as an example of a priory with a chapel within a tower (like San Zoilo), in which commemorative masses were held, see Lauwers, La mémoire des ancêtres, 133.
well as provided a space for monks to observe commemorative masses away from the main altar. Just below the chapel lay the tombs of the noble patrons. Within the proprietary monastery of a long-established Spanish noble family, the placement of the cemetery in the western antechamber aligns with an existing Iberian burial pattern. San Zoilo’s narthex therefore seems to be an amalgamation of native and trans-Pyrenean monastic traditions, potentially employed together for a stronger, synergistic result. The theological concept of the galilee/narthex as an architectural space renders interment inside—already a feature of Spanish tradition with royal associations—increasingly more appealing, with one’s body resting in a place liturgically associated with Resurrection and the meeting with Christ at the end of time.

The sculpture in the narthex must be considered within this spatial and conceptual context. The carved decoration of two portals survives from within the multistoried space. First, that of the doorway connecting the narthex to the church discovered in 1993 (fig. 19), and second, a small tympanum surmounting a door that leads to the north tower and St. Michael chapel (fig. 54). The tower door opens directly onto the spiral staircase, from which branches the chapel one floor above. Its tympanum is simple in comparison to the narthex portal’s figural capitals. Carved in relief, a circular chrismon fits into the center of the semi-circular tympanum like the pupil of a wide-open eye; vine scrolls fill

265 Senra cites Notre-Dame de Payerne as an example of a Cluniac priory with burials located in the narthex; however, outside of Spain, Notre-Dame may form the exception rather than the rule, with little sustained evidence for the practice of inhumation in the Cluniac galilee. Senra, “Aproximación a los espacios,” 124-126. Moreover, an opposite process seems to have taken place at the mother house of Cluny, in which the dying and dead were decisively separated from the main church. Paxton illustrates that one of the main changes between the plan of Cluny II and Cluny III is the addition of a separate complex (with its own church) for sick and dying monks, and while burials had been clustered around the apse of Cluny II, none were located in this same place at Cluny III. Paxton, Death Ritual at Cluny, 30-33.
the sclera. The imagery of both portals similarly relates to the architectural setting, a space originating from trans-Pyrenean monastic and Hispanic royal traditions, but their difference—the sophisticatedly rendered figural capitals contrasting with the straightforward christogram—tells us about their viewership and purpose. The round arched portal between narthex and church would have been used and viewed by nobles, monks, and high-ranking visitors. Only members of the monastic community would have passed through the smaller door.

The chrismon is a common emblem, dating to early Christianity. Formed by the intertwined letters X and P at its most basic, the monogram of Christ gained details across centuries of use. Hundreds of northern Spanish and southern French churches feature carved or painted chrismons in their decoration.266 Most Romanesque examples incorporate the Alpha and Omega suspended from spines of the rota, and among these, an S often wraps around the bottom descender. San Zoilo’s chrismon includes all of these features. The monastery’s medallion is composed of six spokes.267 The lines of the central X are distributed equidistantly, and a plumb stem bisects the top and bottom


267 According to Olañeta’s typology of chrismons, San Zoilo’s would be closest to the ‘simple Trinitarian’ type, characterized by six spokes and its obedience to the classic Paleochristian chrismon with the addition of the S; although San Zoilo’s chrismon varies slightly in its inversion of the Alpha and Omega. See Olañeta’s classification of chrismons in Juan Antonio Olañeta Molina, “Los crismones románicos alaveses en el contexto de una iconografía Navarro-Aragonesa,” Estudios históricos del Condado de Treviño, eds. Roberto González de Viñaspre and Ricardo Garay Osma (Condado de Treviño: Ayuntamiento Condado de Treviño, 2012), 333-334.
quadrants. A small loop extends to the right of the vertical ascender forming the P. In a reversal from the common configuration of the pictogram, the letter ω hangs on the left, and α on the right. Typically, the Alpha would come first, following the order of the alphabet and in line with the letter’s Christological meaning, symbolizing the beginning. An S, curling around the straight descender like a serpent, completes the chrismon.

A myriad of examples survives from the regions of Aragón and Navarra, the most famous being the chrismon that adorns the west portal of Jaca Cathedral (fig. 61). Chrismons seem to have been less popular in León and Castilla, but two in particular appear close in conception to the one at San Zoilo: those at San Isidoro de León and San Martín de Frómista (figs. 62-63). In general, the distinctions between chrismons are small—varying in factors like spoke number and placement. However, while fairly similar in their pictorial components, these three christograms can be further distinguished from other examples by their locations within the church plan.

269 While the added S on many Spanish and southern French examples has been interpreted in many ways (for example, as standing for Jesus Hominum Salvator, Sol Invictus, or Christi Passio Salus), most likely, the S was simply a component of the monogram, representing the S in XPistuS. Kendall, “The Verse Inscriptions of the Tympanum of Jaca and the Pax Anagram,” 406. Chrismons illustrated on several of San Zoilo’s documents place the S just after the monogram, seemingly supporting this suggestion, see note 284.
Like San Zoilo’s, Frómista’s chrismon adorns a small door that provides access to the northwest tower. Although today the church of San Martín presents a neat, freestanding west façade, before the considerable restoration work, auxiliary structures were appended to its west side (figs. 44 & 58). An 1878 plan, sketched by Andrés Martínez Canut, who developed a design for reconstruction that was never put it into action, illustrates three rooms at the west end of the church. Moreover, the eventual restorer, Aníbal Álvarez, working in the first years of the twentieth century, notes that:

…no traces or signs have been encountered in other parts of the building, more than this façade, that could indicate a connection between the church and the monastery, from which we deduce that the cited façade would have been hidden to outsiders by the buildings of the monastery.

In favor of a clean and refined product, the restoration team removed all traces of additional construction west of the towers, consequently preempting any archeological recovery of earlier building. Álvarez also trimmed the width of the western wall to match that of the rest of the church. Senra observes that the original wall thickness, similar to that of the overlarge western walls at San Zoilo and San Isidoro de Dueñas, suggests that the two towers may have connected to a tribune gallery. Without secure

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272 My translation from: “…no se encuentran vestigios ni señales en otra parte del edificio, más que en esta fachada, que puedan indicar enlace de la iglesia con el convento, de donde deducimos que la citada fachada debía estar oculta a los extranjos por construcciones del convento.” M. A. Álvarez, quoted in Senra, “Aproximación a los espacios,” 136.
273 The same can be said of burials inside and outside the church. The restorers moved any graves without keeping reports, leaving us bereft of any knowledge about burial practice at Frómista. José Luis Senra, “La realidad material de la iglesia de San Martín de Frómista en el siglo XII: de 1066 a 1904,” in *San Martín de Frómista ¿paradigma o historicismo?: actas de las jornadas celebradas en Frómista los días 17 y 18 de septiembre de 2004*, ed. José Luis Hernando Garrido (Valladolid: Fundación del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, 2005), 48-50.
274 Senra, “La realidad material,” 47.
archeological evidence, we cannot definitively establish Frómista’s western
configuration; however, through the brief accounts of restorers combined with
comparative material, we can at least presume that San Martín included some form of
narthex or galilee.

León’s chrismon similarly crowns a door on the western side of the church. Like
the other two, this christogram takes the form of a roundel inscribed by a small
tympanum. Two portals stand side by side on the west wall (fig. 64): one, larger,
horseshoe-shaped, and capped by a polylobed arch; the other, small—almost appearing
diminutive beside the larger door—surmounted by a chrismon-adorned tympanum. A
splash of red polychromy remains on the latter. According to Martin, the imposing
polylobed door provided the main entrance to the palatial rooms to the west of the
church. She argues that the typically Visigothic form and Islamic ornamentation, the
horseshoe arch and radiating semicircular apertures, respectively, served to evoke for the
viewer the recent conquest of Toledo, and to associate this triumph and dominion with
the monarchs that used the door.²⁷⁵ Nothing remains of the rooms behind the chrismon-
marked portal. Martin argues that the smaller door would have served as a private
entrance to the palace.²⁷⁶ With two distinct semiotic schemes, effected by a combination
of size, scale and culturally-charged imagery, the portals visually indicate their intended
users.

²⁷⁵ She is specifically referring to Queen Urraca, who might have utilized these forms to unite herself with
her father Alfonso VI’s momentous conquest of Toledo. Martin, Queen as King, 134.
²⁷⁶ Martin, Queen as King, 134.
The chrismons of San Zoilo, San Martín, and San Isidoro are not unusual in their architectonic placement, as chrismons are commonly located above portals; rather, their distinctiveness derives from the particular function of the adorned doors within the monastic churches. In their frequent placement on church portals, chrismons seem to have served as a means of marking the sacred space of the church. However, unlike the majority of chrismon portals in which the symbol adorns the western door preceding the nave, the carved christogram in these three instances surmounts a door leading the opposite direction, into a western structure.

San Zoilo’s St. Michael chapel, tucked into the span of the north tower, could accommodate only a few monks at one time and would not have been seen by other parties. Likely at Frómista, a dependency of San Zoilo from 1118, the chrismon portal opened upon a similar chapel. The use of San Isidoro’s chrismon door remains the least clear, but given the great contrast between its two contiguous doors, a monastic use seems much more likely than a royal one, with the designers intending the larger,

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277 More than half of the chrismons surveyed in the French catalogue directed by Favreau are located either on a tympanum or lintel above a church portal. Favreau, *Corpus des inscriptions*, 9.
278 Although chrismons were employed (and adjusted across sites) with many potential meanings in mind, they seem to have more generally functioned as markers of sacred space. Vincent Debiais aptly summarizes: “Placed in the tympana of church doors, the chrismon is an image of sacredness projected on the outside of the building that designates its function, in the same way as liturgical dedication ceremony and crosses on the church walls do.” Debiais, “From Christ’s Monogram to God’s Presence,” 146.
279 On the western portal, this marker has also been associated with penitence and penitential rituals performed before the entrance into the church, but in its location at San Zoilo, instead preceding the tower and small second-story chapel, the symbol should not be interpreted in this context. On the chrismon at Jaca and its potential penitential role, see Havens Caldwell, “Penance, Baptism, Apocalypse.”
280 If San Zoilo followed Cluniac custom in organizing commemorative masses for the dead, for which this space was used, monks would be assigned different days and times to be responsible for the service. The procedure seems meant so that a mass is never missed. See Krüger, “Architecture and Liturgical Practice,” 152.
281 Construction may have occurred before San Martin’s donation to San Zoilo in 1118, but could also have taken place during or after, see note 225.
triumphant door specifically for royalty and their guests, and the smaller Christological
door for San Isidoro’s community of monks. The chrism mon symbol in these three
monasteries therefore seems to designate spaces exclusively for monastic use. Much
more common in the Pyrenean region, the carved chrism mon might have acquired a
specifically monastic connotation in its appropriation in Tierra de Campos and León.282

At San Zoilo, the chapel marked by Christ’s monogram was dedicated to the
observance of commemorative masses for the dead. In its particular position, the sign
thus may have bestowed a singular authority to the ritual and the monks who carried it
out. Another common usage of the chrism symbol reinforces this interpretation. In a
practice dating to the Merovingian dynasty and, on the Iberian Peninsula, to the reign of
Sancho Garcés III (r. 1004-1035), chrismos were sometimes drawn just before a
document’s incipit.283 The earliest surviving documents from San Zoilo adhere to this
tradition, bearing a small chrism mon before the first line, *In Dei nomine et indiuidue Sancte
Trinitatis, Pater et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*284 In both its documentary and carved
representations, the symbol functions as a *signum* of Christ and the Trinity. Peter Scott
Brown argues that the juxtaposition of His sign and His name could even operate

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282 San Zoilo and Frómista’s chrismos are the only two surviving chrismos in Palencia, and San Isidoro’s
is the sole example in the province of León. For comparison, almost 140 examples survive in the province
of Huesca, Aragón. The popularity of chrismos around 1100 seems connected to the introduction of the
Roman rite and implementation of the Gregorian Reforms. As Dulce Ocón demonstrates, ecclesiastics were
particularly concerned with dogmatic precision in this period of change. Dulce María Ocón Alonso,
“Problemática del Crismón Trinitario,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 56, no. 223 (1983): 251. Likely at these
three monasteries, the Trinitarian symbol would also have borne associations with doctrinal correctness and
the early Roman church. See also Senra, “La puerta como dogma,” 147-148.
283 Olañeta Molina, “Los crismones románicos alaveses,” 341-342; and Peter Scott Brown, “Portal,
Sculpture and Audience of the Romanesque Cathedral of Sainte-Marie d’Oloron,” (PhD diss., Yale
University, 2004), 237-238.
284 AHN, Clero, carp. 1700 8, 9, 12, from the years 1077, 1089, and 1097.
analogously to the *signi* of witnesses that endorse a document. The chrismon seems therefore to confer authority to the document’s contents; similarly, in its monumental form, the sign may lend force to the actions behind it.

San Zoilo’s chrismon also demonstrates a slight but perhaps significant alteration that might adapt the chrismon specifically to the use of this chapel. At San Zoilo (and San Isidoro), the Omega precedes the Alpha on the monogram, inverting the traditional order. Scanned from left to right, the synecdochic letters would read: “I am the end and the beginning.” This arrangement accords primacy to the end, potentially evoking eschatological connotations for the viewer. Senra proposes that the letter reversal might have been contrived to enable an easier reading of the word PAX, formed by the upper P, the large X, and the Alpha (to the right of the P). As Robert Maxwell notes, the word PAX—frequently repeated in the *viaticum*, a last rite necessary for entry into heaven and spoken by Christ announcing his Resurrection to his apostles—might have provoked natural associations with death and funerary rituals among a medieval

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286 A reversal of the phrase “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end,” from Revelation 1:8 and 1:17-18 (D-R). Ocón notes the intermittent inversion of the letters and suggests that it could reflect an error made by Merovingian coin makers that was then copied, although she also indicates that in funerary contexts the reversal may have been intentional. Ocón Alonso, “Problemática del Crismón Trinitario,” 244-245.
287 Senra, “La puerta como dogma,” 144. Calvin Kendall first identifies the PAX anagram in chrismons and argues that it imparts a penitential significance that would have been recognized by supplicants passing beneath the chrismon-marked portals. Calvin B. Kendall, “The Verse Inscriptions of the Tympanum of Jaca and the Pax Anagram,” *Mediaevalia* 19 (1996): 405-434. The reversal of the Alpha and Omega is not limited to the chrismons of San Zoilo and San Isidoro, and appears also at San Pedro de la Rúa in Estella, Sainte-Engrâce in Sainte-Engrâce, San Nicolás de Bari in El Frago, and on the Puerta de las Platerías at Santiago de Compostela. PAX is also inscribed separately on multiple chrismons, for example, Saint-Orens in Bostens and Saint-Avit in Landes, see Favreau, *Corpus des inscriptions*, table 1. A few chrismons (Santa María in Eusa and Saint-Pierre in Cazeux) also include additional letters spelling VOBIS, implying the phrase *pax vobis*. 
Already, the chrismon marked the space as sacred, but perhaps for the monks, this particular chrismon variation conveyed more specific associations with death and Resurrection, lending increased weight to the monks’ fervent prayers for souls.

Similar to the chrismon marked door, the second portal within San Isidoro’s galilee would have held meaning related to Cluniac beliefs about death and the order’s associated ritual practice. However, unlike the small tower door, the western portal connecting narthex to nave served many audiences. The particular power of the chrismon door is intimately linked to its exclusivity. The larger door, instead, would have had to speak to a range of viewers and perform in multiple contexts. This design succeeds in its mutability. Even generations later, the portal’s sculpture will continue to be shaped and re-worked in the minds of its varied viewers.

The West Portal and Its Viewers

The narthex portal forms a ligature between antechamber and church. Its rippling arches encircle the supplicant who passes beneath; at the doorway’s conception and in its initial use, this person would likely fall into one of several categories. With the north portal located adjacent to the Camino and designated for the general public, the interior west portal primarily served the privileged audience of monks and nobles. Within the countless types of interactions of these viewers, three stand out: (1) a ritual use by the

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monks, specifically related to the concept of galilee; (2) a burial and memorial space for
the comital family; and (3) the everyday life of the monks, passing through their priory.

On initial observation, the four capitals seem absolutely disparate. Their
subjects—the bearing of an eidolon, a bevy of anguiform dragons, Balaam and the Ass,
and vine tending—not only do not form a cohesive narrative or ostensibly cohere under a
single theme, but they also each function entirely differently: one tells a biblical story,
another depicts a quotidian action, and one is ornamented with writhing beasts, disposed
patternlike across the capital. The capitals do not cohere thematically to form a program,
and in fact, they display characteristics that ostensibly seem to suggest the opposite, that
the capitals were not conceived together or for this space. Most notably, each has been
carved on three faces; however, the configuration of the door allows only two to be seen.
While the decoration on the front sides visibly terminates in a plain stone edge, next to
the inner wall the carving continues, with the third sides’ features tucked away, nearly
completely hidden. On each, only small details, like the fluttering edge of a robe, can be
detected by even the most discerning viewer. These third faces thus appear to be wasted
work for the sculptor—the portal would remain the same to the unfamiliar gaze with or
without them.

Given such disparate subjects and an apparent formal incongruousness with the
portal, one could argue that the capitals were initially carved without a specific
destination in mind, either onsite at the monastery in a generalized production of
decorative sculpture or at a quarry and shipped. However, regional precedent and certain
formal characteristics counteract such thinking. Sites within the same stylistic milieu—
both nearby, San Martín de Frómista and San Isidoro de Dueñas, and farther afield, San
Pedro de Jaca and Saint-Sernin de Toulouse—demonstrate similar technical practice: their artists have also carved an obscured third side onto capitals inset into exterior doorways. Moreover, San Zoilo’s narthex portal presents a subtle but effective visual play among the capitals. The lines of one mimic those of its pendant, drawing the eye first to make formal comparisons, and then eventually to draw conceptual comparisons. The serpents on the second capital from the left extend vertically with a slight inflection, echoing the slanting bodies of the two men on the capital adjacent. Across the door, a vine-tender bends in backbreaking labor; his bowed posture (and bearing) mirrors the ass from the story of Balaam. Concluding that the sculptor, the artist who also completed the Ansúrez sarcophagus, did intend these pieces for their terminus in the portal, we are presented with one more question. What does it mean if sculpture is not seen? If the forms and bodies are pressed permanently into the stone wall rather than meeting the gaze of its audience? Teresa’s tomb eternally proclaims of its occupant that she made this church, *fecit aecclesia*. The portal’s existence—its fine workmanship evidencing status and munificence—might, for the noble benefactors, have been equally or more important than the content of specific scenes, the sculpture prized for its ability to mark the space as one of consequence.

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291 See note 175.
The capital on the far left is crucial not only within our examination of San Zoilo’s narthex, but also for our larger investigation of artistic production in Carrión. Without known iconographical precedent, it will be reinterpreted on the façade of Santiago de Carrión, and again on several churches in greater Palencia. At San Zoilo, the capital’s two faces are nearly identical. On the front, two men dressed in fine livery bear aloft a small winged being (fig. 23a). The men face inward, forming parentheses around the central figure. Each reaches down with his outer arm to hold a textile sustaining the eidolon. The cloth is stretched taut and carefully detailed with an incised pattern of warp and weft; the loose material drapes below in a U-shape, drawing further attention to the small figure (fig. 23c). Just visible on the underside of the litter is a bit of red pigment. With their inner arms—bent close to their bodies—the men point upwards, index fingers raised in an emphatic gesture. The sculptor has carved both pairs of hands as massively oversized, increasing the importance given to the simultaneous actions being enacted: holding aloft the winged figure and signaling up. He depicts their faces as doughy with wide, round chins and full lips, and their hair as highly textured, with masses of tight curls. Their large feet cup the astragal.

While in physical features the men follow the sculptor’s distinctive style, he characterized his protagonists through dress. The two men wear fine vestments with embellishments at wrist and collar. Mantles drape across their elbows; that of the right figure continues around the corner, connecting to the wrap worn by the pair’s counterparts on the capital’s opposite face. Horizontal damp folds cross their chests. Their short tunics end at the knee in an array of cylindrical folds, another feature characteristic of the artist.
The two bracketing men bend around their charge, drawing attention to the central figure. The whole composition cleverly guides the viewer’s eye inward through a play of concentric shapes. Around the small figure, the men’s pointing arms and inner legs form a lozenge-shape, which is then circumscribed by a second diamond comprised by their tilting heads and outer legs. The arc of the loose fabric below extends towards the surmounting volutes, creating a circumscribing triangle, which echoes the basket form of the capital itself. The center point falls on the eidolon. Represented only from the torso up, the small figure clutches a book to his chest, and wings extend from his shoulders; his face is nearly completely worn away. Above, between the volute scrolls, a lion’s head replaces the fleuron of a traditional Corinthian capital.

The inner face of the capital is nearly identical, with only small variations (fig. 23b). Again we see a similar configuration: two men sustain a small winged figure below curled volutes and a lion’s head. The men, however, stand slightly differently. They are positioned closer together, causing the scene to lose some of the complex framing created by the front image. Their forearms also point directly up. Moreover, while their index fingers seem to have extended upward originally—similar to their counterparts on the obverse—at some point the digits broke, altering significantly the appearance of the gesture. This contrast will prove interesting in our discussion of the related capital on the parish church of Santiago. Finally, the men’s tunics extend to their ankles, emphasizing the sculptor’s characteristic columnar drapery.

Like the first, the second capital from the left features four large characters disposed across the two faces (figs. 24a-b). With long snouts, bared sharp teeth, wings,
forearms, and curling tails, these creatures appear to be dragons.\textsuperscript{292} Their bodies are positioned vertically, and their serpentine tails coil down the lower half of the capital. Though the two faces are fairly similar, on the lateral side the dragons throw their heads backwards, detached from the stone. This extension likely explains the greater damage to the inner face, with the heads in higher relief being more vulnerable to injury.

The adjacent capital, the second from the right, depicts a recognizable story: the Old Testament anecdote of Balaam and the Ass (Numbers 22).\textsuperscript{293} Of the group, this capital is the only one that relates a biblical story. The artist distributed the characters over the two exterior faces, with the main action—their confrontation—taking place across the corner. On the front, we see Balaam perched atop his donkey (fig. 25a). As is recounted in Numbers, Balaam is setting off on an errand to curse the Jews, of which God disapproves. As Balaam rides, an angel, shown on the lateral face, blocks his way, because God has decided that the prophet should not complete his mission (fig. 25b). Seeing the angel, Balaam’s donkey moves off the path, but the man, unaware, wants to continue and beats the disobeying ass for her continued refusal. “Forthwith the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam,” so he sees the angel before him, visible to the donkey all

\textsuperscript{292} Castán Lanaspa also identifies the creatures as dragons, Castán Lanaspa, “Una portada románica,” 308. Maiso González and Lagunilla Alonso instead label the beasts as serpents. José Maiso González and Juan Ramón Lagunilla Alonso, San Zoilo de Carrión en el origen del románico pleno: el románico de las domnas (Carrión de los Condes, 2010), 27.

The angel then informs the astonished man that he would have died if not for his faithful beast.

On the capital, Balaam has not yet recognized the divine. He still sits atop his donkey, directing, even urging her ahead with an outstretched right hand. Around the corner, the angel perches atop the astragal—his feet are firmly planted, emphasizing his immobility. He points his left index finger toward Balaam, as if in warning, and in his right hand, sustains a now-broken sword. The angel is clothed in similar vestments to those worn by the men on the first capital. He wears a short tunic that ends in a bevy of partially flattened cylindrical folds; horizontal pleats cross his chest and a long mantle drapes over his arms, fanning out at his sides. His wings, carefully worked with discrete feathers, extend from his shoulders. The angel’s placement situates his gesture as facing out not only to Balaam, but also to the viewer.

The story’s three principal characters occupy the capital’s two visible faces. Nevertheless, like the other portal capitals, this one too has a third carved side tucked against the inner wall. An animal peeks out from the crevice between wall and capital. Its front feet—claws, rather—clutch the astragal beside those of the angel. Textured feathers detail the front of its body, and we can just make out the base of its right wing. These qualities suggest an avian being, either simply a bird or potentially a hybrid, like a griffin. In either case, the creature does not belong to the biblical story.

Like the rest of the group, volute scrolls ornament the apex of the Balaam capital. Between the volutes on each, the sculptor has creatively replaced the central fleuron of a

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294 Numbers 22:31 (D-R).
Corinthian capital. Here the characters’ heads fulfill this role, extending to the top of the capital and anchored to the molding above.

The final capital (first from the right) depicts men laboring over grape vines. On the front face, a man, clothed only from the waist down in a skirt-like garment, bends at a ninety-degree angle (fig. 26a). He cuts at a vine shoot with an adze. Unlike the inhabitants of the nearby capitals, his dress is decidedly basic. His posture denotes arduous labor, back deeply bent and feet firmly planted. The vine on which he works twists up from the ground, with its bundles of ripe grapes weighing down the stalks. Above his head, the artist has again played with the compositional opportunity of the fleuron, placing an androgynous head between the volute scrolls. Despite embodying a completely different quality from the laboring figure below, the upper being interacts with the scene. One of his or her hands reaches down and grabs part of the climbing vine; the other remains outside the peasant’s sphere, holding onto the volute.

Around the corner the depiction changes only slightly (fig. 26b). Though again bent over his work, this man performs a different viticultural task. He has his hands wrapped near the base of a vine—this one lacking grapes—and one of his feet is planted on the stalk. The bodiless figure above holds onto two lengths of vine, both of which meld into the coiled volutes. On the edge of the third side, another plant laden with clusters of grapes can just be glimpsed.

Given their place in the narthex, these capitals would have been viewed, at least in part, in context of the monastic rituals surrounding death and Resurrection that occurred there. Despite limited documentation on how thoroughly the Carrionese monks adopted Cluniac ritual practice, the terming of the space as galilaea and its design, incorporating a
small separate chapel on the second floor, suggests an intent to follow the doctrine of the mother house. In Cluniac tradition, during Sunday procession, the community of monks likely would have paused in front of the narthex portal and acted out the resurrected Christ’s meeting with his disciples, before continuing on with the ceremony and moving forward into the church. Consciously or not, for the participants, the capitals would have become a constant in this frequent but spiritually charged routine. In the secluded adytum above, masses were regularly said for the souls of their brothers and familiares, further marking the space with rites centering on death.

In accordance with the use of the narthex, Senra proposes that the portal displays imagery chosen for its eschatological significance. He argues that the two capitals on the viewer’s left illustrate the ascension of a soul paired with the threat of evil. Those on the right portray the weakness of faith, personified by Balaam, and the Second Coming of Christ symbolized by the men cultivating grapes. The sculpture relates to the space, and undoubtedly would have been viewed in this context often; nonetheless, I am not convinced that the capitals form a thematically unified program. Instead, if the capitals are programmatic, it is in their appropriateness to the narthex and placement on the entryway into the nave, rather than their collective thematic cohesion. Each employs a distinct pictorial mode to illustrate a subject significant to the monastic or noble audience.

297 Senra, “Mio Cid,” 236. Senra cites Revelation 14:14-20 (D-R) as a reference for the vine tenders. The most relevant verse (Rev 14:18-19) follows: “Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vineyard of the earth; because the grapes thereof are ripe. And the angel thrust in his sharp sickle into the earth, and gathered the vineyard of the earth, and cast it into the great press of the wrath of God.”
that would be passing through the narthex. The rightmost two in particular seem unrelated to death and judgment, instead addressing monastic discipline, daily life, and ritual. The capitals on the viewer’s left could each represent a subject related to the battle for souls, although only the leftmost conveys a direct eschatological message. Even so, this capital’s carved scenes modify the traditional iconographical formula for the depiction of a soul’s ascension.

Drawing on imagery from Roman sarcophagi, which often illustrate the deceased as a bust within a clipeus borne by winged beings, Romanesque artists developed an iconographical formula for representing the soul’s ascent to heaven. Typically, a small, androgynous or childlike being symbolized the soul, and two flanking angels lifted the eidolon aloft. The sarcophagus of Doña Sancha (d. 1097) from Santa Cruz de los Serós provides a relatively contemporary example (fig. 65).

The subject, Sancha, is depicted nude and sexless, inscribed within a mandorla held by angels. She is clearly deceased, in contrast to an adjacent depiction of her in life and flanked by companions. However, in both of our sculptor’s extant instances of depicting the defunct—the leftmost capital of the narthex portal at San Zoilo and the sarcophagus of Alfonso Ansúrez at Sahagún—he creates his own paradigm.

299 Although most literature identifies this figure as Sancha (ca. 1045–1097), daughter of Ramiro I of Aragón, David Simon cautions that the tomb’s association with Sancha (and thus her identification as subject) is uncertain. Simon, “Le sarcophage de Doña Sancha,” 110.
If a soul’s ascension is meant at San Zoilo, the narthex capital inverts the expected iconography. The bearers of the “soul” lack the traditional wings of an angel; instead, wings emerge from the back of the small eidolon. On the sarcophagus, the artist similarly flouts developing trends for depicting the deceased. He carved Alfonso Ansúrez, the young deceased noble, as almost alive—eyes wide, body raised, as if conscious, and fully dressed (fig. 51). Alfonso appears far from the otherworldly depiction of a soul, and much more like a living young man. Though both pieces represent unique iconographies, neither work has been satisfactorily explained. Given their very close origins and themes, I will explore the two in concert, beginning with the tomb monument, which by nature includes more detail, sculpted and inscribed, than could be built into a portal capital.

Carved in relief, the tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez is exceptional for its early date of facture. Around 1100, most sarcophagi were plain or reused Roman pieces. Carved sarcophagi became much more common across the span of the twelfth century, and in the later Middle Ages they became almost ubiquitous for the elite. For example, though multiple sarcophagi survive from San Zoilo, only those from the thirteenth century include figural carving; the earlier pieces are either plain hewn stone or bear simple inscriptions. The decorated Ansúrez sarcophagus’ early date likewise suggests that the

300 Javier Castán Lanaspa first suggests the capital’s identification as the ascension of a soul, Castán Lanaspa “Una portada románica,” 308; Senra, “Mio Cid,” 236; Poza Yagüe repeats this identification and suggests another, that the capital illustrates Balaam prophesying the coming of the messiah, Poza Yagüe, “Las portadas de los prioratos cluniacenses”; Senra also previously suggested that the winged figure represented John the Baptist, the previous dedicatee of the monastery, Senra, “Portada occidental”; Jesús Herrero Marcos, Arquitectura y simbolismo del románico palentino (Palencia: Ayuntamiento de Palencia, 1994).
artist was not working within a fully formed iconographical tradition. At this moment, funerary imagery was actively developing, and the sarcophagus and San Zoilo’s capital represent experiments within this evolving iconography.

The sarcophagus lid is divided into two longitudinal planes of decoration, each consisting of relief carving along a slightly canted side. An inscription that runs along the center reads: “In the year MCXXXI, sixth day of the Ides of December, Alfonso Pérez died, beloved son of count Pedro Ansúrez and of the countess Eilo.”\(^{301}\) A number of additional, very literal inscriptions label the carved figures distributed across the lid.

An inscription reading "Anfusū defunctū” leaves no ambiguity as to the identity of the man pictured.\(^ {302}\) Alfonso—the largest figure on the tomb—lies down partially, but is not shown in full repose. Instead he peels his upper body up off the ground, raising his arms either to gesture in supplication or else to reach for something in front of him. In a direct line before his extended arms, a single hand extends from outside the frame, seemingly emitting some sort of magnetic pull to which the body of Alfonso responds. This hand—two fingers raised in a blessing gesture—is inscribed “dextra xpi benedict,” specifying for the viewer that this is the blessing right hand of Christ rather than the generically depicted hand of God.

To the right of the lifelike Alfonso, the eagle of John is represented before two angels, identified by inscription as the archangel Michael and angel Gabriel, respectively.

\(^{301}\) IN ERA MCXXXI VI ID(VS) DEC(EM)BR(IS) OBIIT AN(FOS PETRI ASSVREZ COMITIS) ET EYLONIS COMITISSE CARVS FILIVS. Prudencio de Sandoval, Primera parte de las fundaciones de los monasterios del glorioso Padre San Benito (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1601), 73v-74; English translation from Hassig, “Cluniac Spirituality,” note 11.

\(^{302}\) “Alfonsu(s) defunctu(s)”
Michael’s torso faces directly out at the viewer; his legs extend sideways in flight. He points towards Alfonso with one hand and with the other elevates a cross. Next to him, Gabriel waves a censer, his action potentially triggering a more encompassing sensory experience for the viewer. The sweet, heady scent of burning incense almost perceptibly wafts from the swinging carved thurible. With his free hand, Gabriel points across the lid at Alfonso. The composition of the opposite side is more structured and, as a result, it feels less dynamic. Four winged beings—in similar poses to that of Michael—surround a central chalice. Like all the figures on the tomb, the chalice has been diligently labeled, simply “calix.” The winged men, inscribed from the left as angel Raphael and evangelists Mark, Luke, and Matthew, all hold a book in one hand and point towards the center with the other, ostensibly at the chalice.303

Serafín Moralejo and Debra Hassig have both proposed compelling arguments to explain the meaning of this enigmatic sarcophagus.304 Moralejo primarily aims to locate the sarcophagus within its stylistic context, performing, in his words, a “stylistic ‘replacement’ of the tomb in its new chronological frame,” though he also suggests an iconographical reading for the piece.305 He argues that the unusual representation of the corporeal Alfonso illustrates the deceased’s last breath, while simultaneously foreshadowing his rising at the Second Coming. He explains the odd addition—and prominence—of the chalice as symbolizing the sacraments that should be performed by

303 Given the purpose of this chapter, the discussion of the sarcophagus must be abbreviated. For a fuller account see Hassig, “Cluniac Spirituality”; Moralejo, “Alfonso Ansúrez”; Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, “En torno a la lauda sepulcral del conde Pedro Ansúrez,” Boletín de Seminario de Estudios de Arte y de Arqueología 27 (1961): 337-342; and Gómez-Moreno, Catálogo monumental: León, 348-49.
the good Christian to achieve eternal life. In a 1991 *Gesta* article, Hassig proposes another potential interpretation for the curious depiction of Alfonso. She argues that following Cluniac ideas on death and the hereafter, the dressed and sentient Alfonso signifies the deceased on the Last Day during his physical resurrection, an element of Cluniac belief; the hand represents the moment of Alfonso being led into the Heavenly Jerusalem.306

Alfonso’s eyes are open, his head erect; his upper body rises slightly off the ground. The subtle hint of a smile even seems to grace his countenance. Both Moralejo and Hassig interpret his animate appearance as signifying a resurrected individual, Alfonso after the Second Coming. Moralejo suggests a rendering of a heavenly mass, and Hassig highlights the importance of the Cluniac context. I would like to revisit their interpretations, considering both the liturgy and Cluniac beliefs, but focusing more precisely on Cluniac ritual practice surrounding death. In our attempt to understand the unusual salvific imagery at San Zoilo this context is also extremely important.

Cluniac monks took great care not only around the commemoration of souls after death, as is most commonly discussed, but also in the ferrying of souls from life to death. With the aim of ensuring a successful passage—for in transition, the soul was particularly susceptible to harm—the monks undertook fastidious rituals for their own.307 In an ideal

306 Hassig connects the sculpture to the *Deus apud cui vivunt* recited during the Cluniac Office of the Dead, which expresses Cluniac beliefs of what occurs after death. According to the prayer the deceased goes through two stages: directly after death the soul is assumed into the Bosom of Abraham, then at the day of Revelation the physical body is resurrected to reside in Heavenly Jerusalem. Hassig, “Cluniac Spirituality,” 148.

307 The Cluniacs recorded many tales of the souls of restless dead, beseeching the monks of Cluny for their efficacious prayers. See Peter the Venerable, *Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas, De miraculis libri duo* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988). Two of the miracles recorded by Peter are translated in Scott G. Bruce, *The Penguin Book*
circumstance, a monk would sense his impending passing and confess his sins in daily
chapter before retiring to the infirmary. There, he would undergo a final anointing, and a
continuous vigil was held until his death, with servants or a brother standing guard at his
bedside at all times: it was imperative not to miss the passing. Then, when the dying
monk was nearing his last moments, the whole community—likely alerted by individuals
on vigil—came together over his bedside. An officiant administered the last rites, in an
elaborate ceremony specific to Cluny, and the monks chanted and prayed continuously to
guide his passage. Even after death, the ritual continued. The soul was still not safely in
its place of rest. The brothers persisted in praying for the deceased while he was
washed and laid out in the church. A monk kept watch over the body, reciting the psalms
through the night, until the funeral service took place after high Mass the following
day.

A customary recorded in the last quarter of the eleventh century by Bernard, a
monk of the mother house of Cluny, provides a description of the procedure for last rites
at Cluny. If we momentarily leave behind Alfonso’s lay status, the most peculiar

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Of the Undead: Fifteen Hundred Years of Supernatural Encounters (New York: Penguin Books, 2016),
111-118.
308 A soul waited in an in-between place before bodily resurrection at the end of time. In the eleventh
century, this was conceptualized as the Bosom of Abraham. Philippe Ariès, Western Attitudes Toward
Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); and
Jérôme Baschet, Le sein du père: Abraham et la paternité dans l’Occident médiéval (Paris: Gallimard,
2000). This later became a concrete place, purgatory, but the concept had not developed around 1100.
309 Frederick Paxton and Isabelle Cochelin’s book The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages is
a fantastic resource and details the practice surrounding death, along with providing a Latin transcription
and English and French translations of the death ritual as recorded in the Customary of Bernard.
310 Customary of Bernard, BNF, Paris, lat. 13875, chapter 26, De obitu fratris, et sepulchra, fols. 47v-55v.
Paxton believes that Bernard was the armarius or armarian of the community, who would have been in
charge of the monastic library and liturgical direction. Paxton, Death Ritual at Cluny, 48.

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In the text, Bernard details the procedure to be followed in a monk’s dying moments, ideally with the entire community in attendance at his bedside. After the officiating priest first forgives one by one the sins of the senses (and of the feet and loins), each followed by the recitation of a psalm, certain verses from collects are read over the dying monk that sound particularly close to the images visualized on the sarcophagus. The priest intones: “stretch forth [your hand] over this your servant, so that, every constraint of bodily illness having been removed, the perfected grace of former health may be renewed in him; through Jesus Christ our Lord.” Further in the prayer he continues, “Heal his wounds. Extend your health giving hand over him lying here. Let not your church be wasted of a portion of its body.”

The image that these words provoke is one of the dying monk, but with his former health restored. Before him stretches the life-giving hand of Christ.

If he is able to receive communion, the dying man gives a last, brief confession. In unison, the entire community of monks responds, ending their rejoinder with: “may Jesus Christ the son of the living God lead us together into eternal Life.”

This final line again seems to manifest the carved image: the hand clearly marked “dextra xpi” reaches

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311 Hassig argues for a connection between the carved imagery of the tomb and Cluniac liturgy but does not directly connect the death ritual. Hassig, “Cluniac Spirituality.”
313 The entire phrase reads: “May God omnipotent have mercy on you and forgive all of your sins; may he deliver you from all evil and confirm you in all good works; and may Jesus Christ the son of the living God lead us together into eternal Life.” Then, the priest alone says, “May the omnipotent and merciful Lord grant you indulgence and remission of all your sins,” before the dying monk takes communion. Paxton, *Death Ritual at Cluny*, 91.
for the outstretched arms of the ready Alfonso. Directly following these statements, the monk takes communion, described by Bernard as follows:

The body of the Lord itself is dipped into the mixture of water and wine. After the monk has swallowed it, he also drinks the mixture from the chalice and, if possible, the water from washing the priest’s fingers, and that from [washing] the chalice as well. If he is unable to do so, someone else does. Then the priest brings him a cross so that he may adore it and kiss it.

Bernard also carefully details the preparation for the man’s final communion. Moments earlier, the priest, accompanied by the armarian, would have returned to the church and collected a chalice, making sure first to wash his hands, before approaching the altar. The priest would then have prepared the altar by censing, before gathering the host and breaking it over the top of the chalice. Thereafter, the armarian covered the chalice with a “very clean linen cloth,” and the two returned to the dying man’s bedside.

The cross, the censer, and the chalice are standard liturgical items. What is unusual is the particular attention paid to these items in the fastidiously recorded rite and on the sarcophagus. The carved chalice appears alone at the center of one side of the tomb lid, seemingly a cynosure for the flanking evangelist-angels, whose extended index fingers incline in its direction. On the opposite side, the angels point towards Alfonso and seemingly also to the hand of Christ. The first behind the dying noble raises a cross, and the second, vigorously thurifies the abstract space in which the ritual occurs. The tomb visualizes the group of angels administering the dying Alfonso’s last rites. We see that their actions ultimately succeed, as the young noble reaches towards the hand of Christ,

316 Bernard writes also that after death the monk in charge of the thurible should cense the body without stopping. Paxton, *Death Ritual at Cluny*, 111.
“every constraint of bodily illness having been removed,” ready to be led into eternal life.\(^{317}\)

In the context of examining this animation of a Cluniac ritual, it bears noting that Cluniac monks envisioned themselves as angels.\(^{318}\) The carved image could represent a synthesis of the two—human praxis merged with divine mediation—inspired by the monks’ near-status as heavenly beings and the perceived efficacy of their ritual and prayer. From early in Cluny’s history, its abbots and monks aspired to imitate and embody heavenly beings, formulating their practice to this end.\(^{319}\) The second abbot of Cluny, Saint Odo, wrote of his brothers, “from heaven above they have been called the Lord’s own voice in as much as they worthily imitate the angelic hosts upon high, namely by leading, while still in their physical bodies, the life of the angels.”\(^{320}\) Cluny’s singular customs developed within this mimetic ambition. The order enjoined particularly rigorous behavioral principles, implemented a schedule of nearly ceaseless liturgical activity, eliminated most physical labor (leaving terrestrial maintenance to servants and lay brothers), and became sought-after authorities in the care of souls. Cluniac monks gained an otherworldly reputation outside the abbey as well. Contemporary writers record

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317 Moralejo proposes that the sculpture simultaneously illustrates Alfonso’s last breath and the resurrected Alfonso. This idea agrees with what we learn from the ritual, that a successful transition of the soul, helped along by the monastic community, leads to corporeal resurrection at the end of time. Moralejo, “Alfonso Ansúrez.”


319 Beginning with the foundational charter, the monastery took on a special character. In addition to establishing the monastery with its notable autonomy, the founder Duke William specifically instructed the monks to “to seek and desire with full commitment and order the heavenly way of life.” Document 112, Bruel, Recueil, vol. 1, 124-128. Translation from Scott G. Bruce, Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition c. 900-1200 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5.

320 The English translation is from Bruce, Silence, 22; Odo of Cluny, Odonis Abbatis Cluniacensis Occupatio (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900), lines 547-549.
such impressions: Rodulfus Glaber praises the masses of the dead as of such piety and
decorum that one would believe they were held by angels, and Peter Damien compares
abbot Hugh to an archangel overseeing celestial life in the abbey.\footnote{321}

Though the tomb monument memorializes a noble, someone who would not
receive a ceremony precisely equivalent to the rites received by monks, the context of its
facture corresponds to that of the text. Modeled after Cluny and run by French abbots
installed directly from the mother house, Santos Facundo y Primitivo of Sahagún very
likely followed similar customs, especially in the treatment of the deceased, a matter of
grave importance in Cluniac belief, which had garnered the order such preeminence.\footnote{322}
In the last decades of the eleventh century, Sahagún represented the center of Cluniac
activity on the Iberian Peninsula. Surpassing his father’s already significant generosity
towards Cluny, Alfonso demonstrated his commitment to and involvement with the house
in 1077 by doubling his father’s annual census. Abbot Hugh of Cluny responded in kind
by awarding Alfonso and his parents intercessory prayers at the level of Cluny’s own
abbots.\footnote{323} The following year, the king installed Robert, a monk from Cluny, as abbot of
Sahagún, and in 1083, the monastery was endowed with an autonomy matching that of
Cluny.\footnote{324} Alfonso chose and groomed the house of Santos Facundo y Primitivo of

\footnote{322} The abbey of Santos Facundo y Primitivo of Sahagún has a long history with Cluny. In 1083, the abbot
Bernard, a Cluniac himself, and Pope Gregory VII drafted a bull that established the monastery’s rights and
independence, along with its modeling after the mother house. An excerpt from the bull reads: “Thus like
Cluny in France, Sahagún may be illustrious in Spain for its prerogative of liberty. As by the grace of God
it will be its peer in religion, so let it be its equal in the confirmation of its rights by the Apostolic See.”
Sahagún was to be the Cluny of Spain, following its customs and practices but without the ties binding the
Spanish monastery to the French abbey. Hassig provides a longer summary of Sahagún’s ties to Cluny, see
Hassig, “Cluniac Spirituality,” 144-146.
\footnote{323} Bishko, “Liturgical Intercession.”
\footnote{324} See note 322 above.
Sahagún to be a powerful bastion of this fashionable, efficacious monasticism, and also to be the final resting place of his mortal remains (demonstrating his trust, in particular, in the abbey’s care of souls). As a member of Alfonso’s court, and closely associated with the king, Count Pedro Ansúrez followed Alfonso’s lead, donating properties in exchange for his family’s right to burial there. Like the king, the count almost surely admired the attention and aplomb with which the Cluniacs approached death and wanted himself and his family to benefit.

The count’s son died a young man. While we can only speculate at the circumstances of Alfonso’s passing in the prime of his life, his death may have been sudden, without the warning of declining health. The imagery on the tomb suggests this potentiality. Last rites—specially prescribed and emphasized in Cluniac practice—can only take place with forewarning. Perhaps the image ensures the transition of Alfonso’s soul through a heavenly, perpetual ceremony, fixed in stone and led by the archangel Michael himself. The sculpture actualizes the event that may never have taken place.

San Zoilo’s leftmost capital seemingly expresses the same theme, that of the transition of the soul (fig. 23). However, as with his carving on the sarcophagus lid, the artist did not directly illustrate a soul’s ascension, choosing to conceptualize this process differently. On each of the capital’s faces, two men lift a central winged being, and with

325 Alfonso was likely born sometime between the 1070s and c. 1080. His younger brother’s signature appears on a document from 1095, suggesting that Pedro and Eilo’s second born, Fernando Pérez, would have reached his age of majority by this time. See document 6 in Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor (hoy Metropolitana) de Valladolid, siglos XI-XIII, vol. 1 (Valladolid: Imp. Castellana, 1917), 24-29. See also Barón Faraldo, El conde, 162, note 29; Pascual Martínez Sopena, “El conde Pedro Ansúrez,” Conocer Valladolid 2012: VI curso de patrimonio cultural (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2013); and Simon Barton, The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 275.
their free hands point upwards. These men are not angels. As seen at both Sahagún and San Zoilo, when our artist’s subject requires a celestial being, the artist emphatically differentiates this entity from the accompanying terrestrial characters. On the Balaam capital, the angel’s conspicuous wings, luxurious with individually worked feathers, arc over his shoulders; the heavenly figure is depicted in stark contrast to Balaam, who is unquestionably a man. The same remains true for the sculptor’s work on the sarcophagus. He illustrates six heavenly beings—all with finely feathered wings, and four clutching books—that contrast with the very human image of the deceased. Looking at his other work validates that the artist indeed intended the supporting figures of San Zoilo’s leftmost capital to be human rather than divine, reversing the standard iconography. With book and extended wings, it is the inner figure that represents the heavenly, transcendent being.

What was our artist’s or patron(s) goal with this reversal? Once again, looking to his characteristic methods of depiction across both monuments helps us interpret the capital. The artist consistently employs gesture as a tool to enable figures to speak. At least for the monastic viewer, this method of communication may have been familiar and instinctual. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, monasticism had come to espouse silence as a means to avoid worldly distraction and to enable an unmitigated focus on God. At Cluny, this observance became a central part of monastic discipline, far surpassing its role in other orders. Scott Bruce provides a summary of the evolution of silence within monastic practice and details Cluny’s much more stringent perspective than its predecessors or contemporaries. According to Bruce, Cluny’s rules for silence were so strict that contemporaries criticized the order for misinterpreting and deviating from the Rule of St. Benedict. Bruce also suggests that the Cluniac use of sign language may have enabled
of themselves and their spiritual and eschatological purpose. Their angelic mimesis conflicted with mundane human speech; silence more closely mirrored the comportment of angels. This practice almost certainly added to the perceived efficacy of their actions. The mute monks in fine black robes would have radiated an otherworldliness, appealing to outsiders concerned with the future of their souls. To serve these ends, monks developed means of communication that forswore words. At Cluny, novices were required to learn a lexicon of signs before their ordination as monks. Of the neophyte, the customaries of Bernard and Ulrich record: “It is also necessary that he learn with diligence the signs by which he may communicate in a certain manner while remaining silent, because after he has entered the monastery, he is rarely permitted to talk.” Although the capital sculpture and the tomb do not directly adopt signs from the Cluniac lexicon, the carving employs a dactylological system to “speak” to its viewers. Like monastic sign language, the capital sculpture uses the hands to enable silent communication, with the artist illustrating the transition of information from both figure to figure and figure to viewer in this way. The artist’s style exhibits a preference for simplicity, with limited figures and uncrowded compositions, distinctively combined with a desire to communicate. He carves emblematic objects, utilizes body language to

communication between monks with different vernaculars. With the new influx of French Cluniac monks at the Leonese monastery of San Zoilo, we can imagine that a visual language may have been useful in communication. Bruce, *Silence*, xvii & 79.

Bruce, *Silence*, 2-12.

328 Bruce, *Silence*, 66-67. The customaries written by Bernard and Ulrich (Bernard, *De notitia signorum*, and Ulrich, *De signis loquendi*) both included identical manuals on communication with a sign lexicon. Bruce suggests that these initially came from a single source. The manuals include 118 hand signs, mostly representing nouns. Lacking verbs and connecting words, the lexicon seems purposefully limited, enabling the user to express simple concepts but not engage in regular communication like modern sign language. See also Walter Jarecki, *Signa loquendi. Die cluniacensischen Signa-Listen* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1981).
convey mood and purpose, and employs oversized hands to direct the viewer’s attention. We can imagine that within lifestyles limited in speech, Cluniac monks would have been particularly primed to read the silent, somatic mode of communication employed on the capitals.

The figures on the leftmost (or northernmost) capital point emphatically upwards with outstretched index fingers, speaking to the viewer through their gestures. One might interpret their signal as directed toward the lion mask (and, in fact, viewers a century later do exactly this); however, in its initial conception, the crowning lion seems decorative, meant as a lively replacement of the fleuron on a Corinthian capital. We find the same aesthetic convention observed on a capital discovered within the interior walls of the church (fig. 27) and at Loarre and Jaca (figs. 39-40). Instead, we must look farther, extending the trajectory of their gesture higher above the capital. In this case, not only does the upward motion imply ascension abstractly, but also quite literally: overhead, on the northern side of the galilee, stands the St. Michael chapel, devoted to masses for the dead. Unlike similar scenes in which the figures’ attributes are inverted (i.e., an eidolon borne aloft by angels), this capital does not represent the ascension of a single soul. Rather, the artist or patron depicts the concept of ascension, which for this priory, connects inextricably to the actions taking place in the chapel above. The flanking men display the small being with reverence, reminiscent of the presentation of a saint’s


330 If the lion has meaning here, it likely derives from the beast’s associations with resurrection. Lions were thought to be born dead and had to be brought to life by their parents after three days. See chapter 4 for a later interpretation of this image at Santiago de Carrión.
reliquary atop a palanquin. With a book clutched tightly to its chest—the Word—and prominent wings projecting from its back, the avatar signifies the spiritual agency of Cluniac belief, strong enough to lift and save souls.331

Read in concert with this image, the adjacent capital could contribute to the theme developed on the leftmost capital, whether or not the two capitals were carved with this intention (fig. 24). Formal similarities draw the viewer to compare (or contrast) the two scenes. The four men on the leftmost capital find parallels in the four sinuous dragons distributed across the faces of that to the right.332 The rendering of dragons in this unusual vertical stance likens the two compositions. Moreover, dragons are commonly depicted paired with St. Michael, who vanquishes the beast. At its most basic, the widespread vignette represents the triumph of good over evil. For monks—well versed in scripture and encountering these carved images repeatedly across their lifetimes—the dragons would no doubt evoke the apocalyptic battle with Michael. More specifically, for the Cluniac monks of San Zoilo, the image might call to mind the battle for souls, led by the archangel and fought with prayer in their own house, directly overhead in the St. Michael chapel, as indicated by the four neighboring, gesticulating men on the left capital.333

331 Sazama proposes a similar idea—a carved visualization of the power of monastic prayer—in her article on two capitals in the St. Michael chapel of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay, Sazama, “Le rôle de la tribune de Vézelay.”
332 The long, sinuous depiction of dragons recalls the portrayal of these monsters in Beatus manuscripts. This particular style of representation may in part derive from the description of the dragon in Revelation: “And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan…” Revelation 12:9 (D-R).
333 Cluniac monks seem to have seen themselves as milites christi, following the archangel. Cassagnes-Brouquet, “Cluny et les anges,” 23.
Medieval bestiaries describe the dragon as the king of all serpents. His strength comes from his tail, rather than his teeth, explaining the sculptor’s depiction, which emphasizes the thick curled tails. The dragon was also thought to fly propelled by his venom and to ensnare his prey through the use of his powerful coils. As told in Revelation, and repeated in the bestiaries, this monstrous creature was synonymous with the devil. Whether the capitals were initially designed to be interpreted together or not, the monastic viewer could have read them in concert: warned by the diabolical, threatening beasts, but reassured by the power of his community’s spiritual work.

Across the doorway, the opposite capitals embody very different moods. The inner capital, second from the right, depicts the biblical story of Balaam and the Ass (fig. 25). This capital is the only one of the four that utilizes narrative, and in fact, represents the only story-telling carving discovered thus far in the monastery. Similarly composed, the Balaam parable also appears at Jaca cathedral and San Isidoro de León, sites in the same artistic milieu as San Zoilo (figs. 35-36). From a perspective of intent, the subject was likely selected at least in part for its familiarity to the artist, who may have visited or

334 See, for example, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, Book 12, 4:4-5. Medieval bestiaries record that the dragon’s enemy is the elephant. Hugo de Folieto writes that the dragon attacks pure, chaste creatures, the elephant most of all. This characteristic of the dragon offers another potential interpretation of the capital. The monks might see the sinuous, coiling dragons as a symbol of the threat to monastic chastity, which must be protected at all costs. Hugo de Folieto, British Library MS Sloane 278. George C. Druce, “The Elephant in Medieval Legend and Art,” *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute* 76 (1919): 30.


336 Though these two are the closest to the depiction at San Zoilo, the story of Balaam and the Ass appears in numerous sculpted examples. Others include: San Martín de Berzosa in Soria, St-Lazare in Autun, the cathedral of Aix-en-Provence, Saint-Georges in La Rochepot, Saint-Trophime in Arles, Saint-Andoche in Saulieu, and San Leonardo in Foggia. For the Burgundian examples and an exploration of the theme in a monastic context, see Ilene H. Forsyth, “L’Ane parlante: The Ass of Balaam in Burgundian Romanesque Sculpture,” *Gesta* 20, no. 1 (1981): 59-65.
worked in an atelier at one of these churches. Still, in a monastic context, the story would have held a special significance for the professed brothers who viewed it daily.

Similar to his work on the north capital, the sculptor skillfully employs gesture; however, in this instance, the language of bodies and hands functions as a narrative tool. The resulting image is a more sophisticated illustration of the story than those found at Jaca and León. On the front face, Balaam lifts his right hand perpendicular to his body in a gesture that suggests movement forward. His left arm reaches behind him, but has broken off from the elbow down. As at Jaca, Balaam’s left hand may once have held a staff, with which, according to the story, he hit his jennet three times, violently urging her forward. Around the corner the angel takes a resolute stance, feet firmly planted on the astragal, barring Balaam’s way both on his scriptural journey and physically into the church of San Zoilo. With his right hand, the angel raises the sword detailed in the story, and with his left, he points emphatically. Carved on the inner face of the capital, the winged emissary stands at a right angle to the approaching viewer or entrant to the church; the direction of his raised index finger thus points straight outward. His is the only hand in the portal to motion at the viewer directly. The pronounced gesture serves simultaneously to signal Balaam and to warn the viewer against similar pride and disobedience.

This particular section of Balaam’s larger story in Numbers imparts several morals to the reader. Obstinate Balaam elects to disregard God’s wishes; the donkey, too, 

337 On the capital at San Isidoro the Balaam story is accompanied by an image of Moses. Rose Walker interprets these images as designed to protect the panteón from evil. Rose Walker, “The Wall Paintings in the Panteón de los Reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession,” The Art Bulletin 82, no. 2 (2000), 205-207.
disobeys, but only to comply with the command of an angel. This humble animal can recognize divinity, while Balaam is still too prideful to listen. These lessons mirror central tenets of monastic discipline. In a collection of sermons, composed to be read during chapter at the Cluniac priory of Vézelay, the author Julian implores the monks to be “like the she-ass of Balaam.” He instructs the community to be obedient at all times, except if it conflicts with a command from God. Julian’s words accompany a larger discourse on the Benedictine Rule and the monastic vows therein. In the contrast of Balaam’s actions—fueled by greed and worldly ambition—with those of the jennet, humility represents another chief virtue extolled by the story. In the eleventh century, pride was considered the greatest sin, especially for monks who were expected to cast off all worldly airs, titles, and possessions on entering the convent. The sculpted ass reminds the monk to remain humble. She might also emblematize the obedient avowed brother who can see and interpret the word of God.

To the right of the illustration of Balaam, the southernmost capital depicts two men laboring on grapevines (fig. 26). Of all the subjects portrayed on the portal, this one is perhaps the most multivalent, and could have been intended and read in a variety of ways. As a ubiquitous commodity with Christological meaning, wine—and its source,

340 Castán Lanaspa suggests that the feathered animal on the third side of the capital may be an eagle, Castán Lanaspa, “Una portada románica,” 308. Eagles were known primarily for their eyesight. This beast could serve as a foil for Balaam who through his pride could not see. For an alternate interpretation of the Balaam story on the Iberian Peninsula see Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, “Origini del programma iconografico dei portali nel romanico spagnolo,” in Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell’Europa romanica, ed. Rolando Bussi (Modena: Panini, 1989): 35-51.
grapevines—served as a frequent, loaded metaphor in medieval society. Among numerous rhetorical applications, viticulture could recall communion, express the health of society, symbolize God’s favor, evoke both virtue and vice, or mark the seasons.

The capital’s carved inhabitants engage in two different but related actions. On the front, a bowed peasant prunes a vine with an adze; although the artist illustrated the vine laden with full bunches of grapes, the man’s activity would actually have taken place between winter and spring, when the vines stand bare. This depiction of pruning often represented the month of March in series of the Labors of the Months (although generally with bare, post-winter shoots). His companion on the lateral face of the capital clutches the stem of a vine. Manuel Castiñeiras identifies the second man’s action as the aeration of the vines, which also occurs in late winter/early spring. He treats San Zoilo’s capital within an argument that locates a trend of calendar imagery arriving in Spain from France around 1100. The Carriónese carving seems inspired by medieval

341 Several sources detail the calendar for wine growing. Among the major sources are Columella’s De re rustica (a first century AD text frequently recopied in the Middle Ages), the thirteenth-century Bolognese lawyer Pietro de’ Crescenzi’s Ruralia commode (several copies include illustrations), and, for Spain, the sixteenth-century Obra de Agricultura penned by the Castilian priest Gabriel Alonso de Herrera. These sources agree on March as the month for vine pruning, September for harvesting, and October for wine making. A similar calendar is followed today. See Juan Piqueras Haba, “La cultura del vino en la España antigua y medieval,” Oleana 26 (2011): 110-153.


343 Manuel Castiñeiras, “El “labora”: los trabajos y los días en la iconografía románica,” in Vida y muerte en el monasterio románico, ed. José Angel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María La Real, 2004), 63-84.
agricultural calendars, though without the rest of the months, its iconography suggests a different complex of meanings.

On viewing the plump grapes, the monks’ first thought might have related to the wine’s uses within the monastery and significant place in their lives. In daily communion observed in the main church, accessed through this portal, wine served a spiritually-charged role. The drink also represented a ubiquitous—yet highly regulated—substance within the priory; in a section of statutes to be followed by the monks of San Zoilo, the Libro misceláneo mentions wine many times, carefully dictating the occasions in which the monks could or could not imbibe.344

With wine’s central importance in Southern European life, grapevines were often seen as a barometer of the health of society or as an indicator of God’s disposition.345 For example, the Crónica anónima of Sahagún presages the coming turmoil of civil war by describing the decimation of ripe grapes by a fall frost; the few that survived made only insalubrious batches of wine.346 To understand the significance of grapes in medieval

344 For example, one passage reads as follows: “Primeramente que los días que son de trabajo corporal, salido el conuento de visperas vayan se iuntos al refectorio e ende el que quisiere beber beba salvo si antes de uisperas obiere bebido ca el tal no pueda beber fasta la cena vino pero podra beber vna vez de agua.” Libro misceláneo, Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, “Colección diplomática,” 649-653. San Zoilo also owned numerous vineyards, Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, San Zoil de Carrión, 110-111.

345 Wine was consumed by most groups in society, and comprised a central part of the monastic diet. There are different estimates on how much wine medievals imbibed, but it seems to have been much more than today. Estimates range from around a third of a liter per day to the equivalent of one modern bottle (3/4 of a liter). This would certainly vary depending on access to wine and socio-economic status. Ecclesiastics seem to have consumed on the high end of the range and still do today. The Vatican has the world’s highest wine consumption per capita. See Susan Rose, The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000-1500 (London: Continuum, 2011); Piqueras Haba, “La cultura del vino”; Andrew Soergel, “Which country drinks the most booze?” US News & World Report, October 2, 2014, http://www.usnews.com/news/blogs/data-mine/2014/10/02/drinking-data-shows-us-at-the-top-by-volume-but-europe-dominates-per-capita.

346 Puyol, Las crónicas anónimas, chs. 17, 36. See page 178 below.
Iberia, we might turn to a modern American equivalent: corn. With its economic importance for growing America—and its role in daily dining—corn became a symbol of abundance and prosperity. Much like San Zoilo’s lush clusters of grapes, ears of corn displaced acanthus leaves on several Neoclassical American public buildings (fig. 66), including the US capitol.

On the Carrionese capital, androgynous faces peer over the vines, seeming to watch over the vigneron’s actions. These supernal beings subtly intercede in the essential activity of vine tending. Unknown to the laboring peasants, the mystical figures grasp the upper shoots with disembodied hands. Their observation or intervention in the labor below may suggest a godly presence over the events of the land. Alternately, these figures may simply demonstrate artistic play by the sculptor, experimenting in his interpretation of the calendar image.

The stooped vine-pruner finds formal parallel with the she-ass on the adjacent capital. Over repeated viewings, the echoing lines of the pronated figure and the quadruped, distinct from the vertical inflection of the north capitals, might lead the observant monk to compare the two. Like the obedient jennet, a humble vine pruner, too—removing the damaged growth and sharp spines from the fertile vines—is virtuous.

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347 Zora Neale Hurston writes about a land so rich that ears of corn grow overnight. Exhibits of corn were featured in the World’s Fairs of Philadelphia and Chicago, 1876 and 1893, respectively, and even today several museums and collections are dedicated to corn. Cornfields serve as the subject for ample artwork, including paintings by Winslow Homer and Andrew Wyeth, see David Scofield Wilson and Angus K Gillespie, *Rooted in America: Foodlore of Popular Fruits and Vegetables* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 50-53.

348 See, for example, the US capitol building in Washington DC, Smith Hall at the University of North Carolina (now Playmaker’s Theatre), the Merchant’s Exchange in Philadelphia, and Litchfield Villa in Brooklyn, New York.

349 With no comparative images to examine (to my knowledge), the intent behind the intervening figures may have to remain obscure.
recalling the ecclesiastic’s work cleansing the church from heresy.\textsuperscript{350} The image of backbreaking labor (with divine guidance) analogizes the monks’ spiritual labor for the Lord.\textsuperscript{351} Peter the Venerable directly compares Christianity to a vineyard laden with ripe fruit. In the abbot of Cluny’s analogy, the vineyard represents Christendom, nurtured by God the Father. He emphasizes his order’s role, stressing that Cluny “is by no means a lowly limb in the vineyard as a whole.”\textsuperscript{352}

Numbers tells us that Balaam's angel stood in a vineyard.\textsuperscript{353} For the knowledgeable monk, this small detail may have forged a theologically exploitable connection between the two capitals. Similar details and formal parallels contribute to the portal’s endless hermeneutical potential. For many viewers, however, the capitals would have been read independently, encapsulating a self-contained significance. And, especially for a noble audience, the capitals would have been appreciated collectively for their aesthetic richness, standing as testament to the spiritual preeminence of the institution that housed the remains of the Banu-Gómez family.

\textit{San Zoilo's Sculpture in Communal and Civic Memory}

The polysemy offered by the portal continued to inspire interest, curiosity, and admiration in its viewers a generation and even a century later. We cannot know many of the ways that the sculpture was seen, interpreted, and reinterpreted; however, in two

\textsuperscript{350} Castiñeiras, “El labora,” 68.
\textsuperscript{351} This concept evokes scripture. See for example Matthew 9:37 (D-R): “Then He said to His disciples, ‘The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few.’”
\textsuperscript{352} Bruce, \textit{Book of the Undead}, 114.
\textsuperscript{353} Numbers 22:24 (D-R).
particular instances later medieval literary and artistic production provides a glimpse into
the operation of these images on different audiences.

Compared to in modern society, the number of visual stimuli to which medieval
people were exposed was very limited. For cloistered monks, this scope would be smaller
still and more restricted to images that they created themselves: the words on a page,
enhanced by marginal notation and colored or illustrated initials, or the fantastical beasts
of the cloister—the filthy apes, the fierce lions, and the monstrous centaurs so reviled by
Bernard of Clairvaux.\textsuperscript{354} In daily life, the images that a person experiences become a part
of his or her memory and personal unconscious. Of perceived stimuli, “imagery seems
less richly conscious” than most phenomena processed by the human mind.\textsuperscript{355} In an
experiment conducted by John Pani, participants were asked to memorize a set of abstract
shapes and then assigned a discrimination task in which they had to match a shape with
one of two that came closest. With more practice, the form of the shapes became
incrementally less conscious to the subject. However, when asked to perform a more
difficult discrimination task, the memorized shape resurfaced into consciousness. This
result suggests that while visual images become habituated into an unconscious state,
they can still be actively employed in mental processes.\textsuperscript{356}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{354} Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia 29, translated in Conrad Rudolph, \textit{The “Things of Greater
Importance”: Bernard of Clairvaux’s Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art} (Philadelphia:
University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 283.
\textsuperscript{355} Quoted text from Baars, Bernard J. Baars, \textit{A Cognitive Theory of Consciousness} (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1993), 28. See also Robert L. Solso, \textit{Cognition and the Visual Arts}
(Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994); and on the storage of images, Stephen M. Kosslyn, “Mental Images
\textsuperscript{356} John R. Pani, “A functionalist approach to mental imagery,” presented at the twenty-third annual
meeting of the Psychonomic Society, Baltimore, MD (1982), summarized in Baars, \textit{A Cognitive Theory},
25-27; and Max Velmans, ed., \textit{The Science of Consciousness} (New York: Routledge, 1993), 70. There has
been significant recent research on consciousness, after behaviorism generally dominated psychological
\end{footnotesize}
At San Zoilo, a monk’s primary set of regular visual experiences would come from the celebration of the liturgy, interaction with his brothers, his particular tasks in the monastery (for the majority, tending the garden entailed the most physical and external undertaking), and the decoration of the spaces around him. Carved images would thus form a relatively central part of his visual experience. Applying Pani’s findings, along with recent psychological scholarship on consciousness, we can imagine that the images became stored in his unconscious over time but could also be called to use when needed or triggered.

In the 1130s, roughly a generation after the decoration of San Zoilo, a monk Raoul penned a collection of twenty-one miracles for the monastery. These stories, centering on happenings at the priory or in the city of Carrión, likely derive from oral legend, communicated and nurtured within the monastic community. Several of the stories share vivid images with those illuminated on the capitals. For the brothers, the written anecdotes record real events—the figures in stone almost certainly did not directly inspire the stories. However, in the limited visual repertoire of a Carrionese monk, expressive sculpture would have held an enduring place in the unconscious.

Creative processes depend on an unconscious stage (termed incubation), and draw from study across the middle decades of the twentieth century. Among others, see Merlin Donald, A Mind So Rare: The Evolution of Human Consciousness (New York: Norton, 2001); and D. C. Dennett, Consciousness Explained (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1991).

unconscious experience.\textsuperscript{358} For many a monk, the carved images would have been an integral component of this unconscious creative arsenal, coming to mind as part of the creative process. Perhaps unsurprisingly, some of the more unusual stories find correspondences with the imagery adorning the convent.

One of the accounts narrates a miracle that occurred during the translation of the relics of Zoilo: as the bearers of the saint’s relics (led by the comital heir Fernando) approached city walls, locked gates flew open to accommodate the passage of the saint. The visual image conjured by the story finds close parallel in the finely dressed laymen carrying a bust-length winged figure on the northernmost capital. The strangest story of the collection tells of a woman, “incautiously sleeping,” who let a snake enter her body. Brought to the church of San Zoilo crying and praying, she vomited out the serpent through the salvific power of the martyr. In another, the donkey of a crippled pilgrim died suddenly, just after crossing the bridge over the river Carrión. The bereft pilgrim was left directly in front of San Zoilo, where he was miraculously healed. Two other miracles center on the garden plots carefully worked by the monks. When intruded upon by townspeople, the plots are defended by Zoilo.\textsuperscript{359} Like the story of the journey of the saint, those of the serpent-inhabited woman, the crippled pilgrim and his donkey, and the divinely-protected garden find visual correlation with the images worked on the carved capitals (serpentine beasts, Balaam and the Ass, and omniscient faces surmounting

\textsuperscript{358} Unconscious work may play an important role in creativity, Baars, \textit{A Cognitive Theory}, 177-181; and Ronald A. Finke, “Imagery, Creativity, and Emergent Structure,” \textit{Consciousness and Cognition} 5 (1996): 381-393, see specifically the creative invention experiment described on pages 383 to 385.

\textsuperscript{359} Miracles 2, 4, 1, 6, & 7 in Flórez, \textit{España Sagrada}, vol. 10, 508-550; also in Henriet and Martín-Iglesias, “Le dossier hagiographique,” 449-455. The miracle numbering corresponds to that used in Flórez’s transcription.
horticulture). This ornamentation comprised part of the larger repertoire of images and ideas within the experience of the monastic community. During the years after their facture, the images seem to have indirectly shaped the germination and evolution of the cenobium’s stories.

Decades later, now almost a century after the original conception of the portal, its sculpture would again inspire creative production. The imagery on San Zoilo’s leftmost capital appears on the leftmost capital of another Carrionese church, the parish church of Santiago, decorated in the 1170s. While in this instance the iconography is altered to suit a new purpose, its reappearance demonstrates that San Zoilo’s sculpture captivated viewers outside the priory as well as within. In another iteration, filtered through the interpretive eye of Santiago’s designer, the iconography appears on several churches in the wider region of Palencia around the year 1200.

The monastery owes its grand reconstruction and ascent as an ecclesiastical power to the patronage of the counts, a function of its siting in their capital city, Carrión de los Condes. We shall see in the chapters that follow that the monastery likewise plays an equally formative role in the development of the city and the shaping of its monuments.
CHAPTER 3: SANTA MARÍA

Entering the walled city of Carrión from the east, the traveler or citizen encounters Santa María immediately (fig. 8). Its tall crossing tower, now destroyed, would have signaled the presence of an impressive church (and city) from beyond the walls and along the road into Carrión. Just after passing through a gate piercing the city’s masonry ramparts, the church of Santa María comes into full view on the walker’s right, with its amply decorated south portal greeting those traversing this thoroughfare into the city (figs. 5 & 67), including pilgrims en route to Santiago de Compostela. Also referred to by the sobriquets Santa María del Camino and Santa María de la Victoria, the parish church exhibits a panoply of carved figures. Once likely painted in bright colors, the sculpture would have been a visual feast, contrasting with the dusty terrain of the meseta and the city’s stark sand-colored walls.

Today the church’s porch serves as a frequent stop for pilgrims. The shady portico provides a respite from the intense sun, as its large stones maintain a surprising coolness within the covered space. Temporarily abandoned walking sticks lean against stone buttresses while their owners sit in the shade or discuss the carved images. However, where once the images may have been easily decoded, today they seem obscure and enigmatic, challenging modern viewers.

One popular explanation identifies the portal’s imagery as representing the dramatic legend of “las Cien Doncellas” or the Hundred Maidens. In exchange for help reclaiming the throne of Asturias, an eighth-century king, Mauregato, promised the caliph of Córdoba an annual tribute of one hundred virgins, four of whom were to come from
the city of Carrión. One year, as the exchange was about to take place on the site of Santa María, the Virgin intervened, miraculously driving a herd of bulls against the Muslims, thus freeing the women and ending the tribute. Several writers have attributed the church’s decoration to this legend, encouraged by a tetrad of bull protomes adorning the door and two capitals depicting enigmatic figure groups, including curious, exotically vested individuals. Martín Ramírez de Helguera even says of the sculpture’s ties to the story, “…otherwise, if it does not explain the cause of this façade, [the imagery] would be ridiculous and mocking on a Christian church.”

Nonetheless, as a number of other scholars have articulated, the sculpture likely has nothing to do with the legend, since the narrative and the city’s related Cien Doncellas festivities considerably postdate the construction of the church. Figures that appeared to Ramírez de Helguera as “ridiculous” and “mocking” held contemporary meaning, fitting within a visual lexicon that has only become idiosyncratic centuries later.

This chapter will examine the particular civic, social, and historical context within which Santa María should be considered, exploring the church’s complex sculptural ensemble as a product of local concerns and interests. At the entrance to Carrión’s walled urban center, Santa María addressed the dual audiences of citizens and pilgrims with

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360 The legend is recounted with slight variations in multiple sources. Ponz, Viage de España, 200-201; Ramírez de Helguera, El libro, 25-26.
361 My translation from: “…de otro modo á más de no explicarse la causa de dicho frontis, sería ridículo y escarnecedor aquel labrado en un templo cristiano.” Ramírez de Helguera, El libro, 25-26.
362 The city celebrates the miraculous tribute of the hundred maidens annually, as a part of the festivities accompanying the feast day of St. James on July 25. Citizens and visitors dress as medieval Christians and Muslims and gather in the Plaza de Santa María to participate in reenacting the legendary tribute or watch the performances. At night the revelers gather for a dinner at the monastery, and now hotel, San Zoilo. See H. Requena, “Los toros eximen un año más a Carrión del Tributo de la Cien Doncellas,” 20 Minutos, July 23, 2007.
varying goals. Carved around the door of the parish church, a host of recognizable figures from everyday life and popular legend seems targeted to a viewership composed of lay denizens, with the figures’ positioning around the entranceway, and angled to face the aperture, meant to encourage and ensure frequent viewing. A larger Epiphany frieze above—oriented directly towards the street—would have spoken to both audiences: resident and transient. For locals, the frieze emblematized the church and city through its image of Mary as focus and culmination of the narrative; concurrently, a pilgrimage audience could find themselves and their spiritual journey reflected in the image of the Magi and their biblical journey.

Construction History

Unlike San Zoilo, the majority of what we see today of Santa María is still the original Romanesque fabric (fig. 68). The body of the basilica is large and harmonious. Engaged pilasters sweep upwards, connecting thick piers to barrel vaults. Exterior windows let in glimpses of bright light, which travels between the aisles through arcades, leaving a patchwork of light and shadow on the stone floor. Small details on the molding—floral patterns and billeting—break up heavy masonry walls. The arches, though mostly rounded, betray slight peaks at their apices, evincing the architect’s exploration of the potential of pointed arches. Along with those of the monastery of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagún, Santa María’s are some of the earliest pointed arches. The use of pilasters instead of columns on the piers is a characteristic detail of this church. Cuadrado suggests that this may connect the church to Aragón, comparing the similarly designed church of San Pedro de Huesca. Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 221.
arches in the region. The architects’ design, however, was not entirely sound, and at some point the structure of the building started to shift. This can be seen most plainly in the south aisle (fig. 70). The walls have bowed outwards considerably, and the barrel vault had begun to buckle before a later buttressing project bolstered the exterior walls. Without further reinforcement, the church would have collapsed.

The original buttresses are engaged shafts that project only slightly from the exterior walls. These proved inadequate to support an excess of weight channeling outward from the original nave vaults, and during a later construction program thick flying buttresses and a porch were added to shore up the south side. An aquatint by Valentín Carderera y Solano demonstrates that comparable buttresses once supported the northern wall as well (fig. 69).\(^364\) These have been replaced by auxiliary structures that in addition to providing more space, continue to serve a structural purpose. From the west, the half-arc of a large buttress is still visible, built into the extended west façade.

The church has a basilical plan with a non-projecting transept (fig. 71). A slightly wider and taller central nave is flanked on either side by a single aisle, each terminating in semi-circular apses. Both of the side apses are original, though the south apse remains the truest to its initial form. In the seventeenth century, a projecting chapel was added to the north apse, piercing the profile of the original space. The remains of polychromy can be seen just above this door.\(^365\) Of the original central apse, nothing survives. From 1682-83 Felipe Berrojo constructed a new larger central chapel, which projects several meters

\(^364\) The aquatint belongs to the collection of the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (Fondo Carderera 09138).
\(^365\) The polychromy that remains seems to be from a later program of painting.
past the span of the original Romanesque apse.\textsuperscript{366} The vaulting of the nave has also been rebuilt and raised. From the state of the side aisles, we can discern that the original nave vault may have collapsed or been close to collapsing, necessitating the rebuilding. María Cuadrado Lorenzo suggests that the new nave vaults and exterior buttressing may have been part of the same campaign.\textsuperscript{367}

The later changes make reconstructing the exact measurements of the Romanesque basilica difficult. Nonetheless, it is clear that the church was quite large, especially for a parish church; the comparable regional examples, San Zoilo, San Martín de Frómista, and San Isidoro de Dueñas, are all monastic.\textsuperscript{368} While Santa María’s width has remained static across the centuries, at 16.3 meters, its length could have been anywhere from 32 to 36 meters. The side aisles at 32 meters long form the low end of that range, but the central apse—wider than its counterparts—likely extended farther in length. These dimensions correspond almost exactly with those of the nearby monastery church of San Zoilo, which measures 15.8 by 36 meters. Santa María’s height is difficult to estimate; the side aisles extend to around eight meters, but since the nave has been raised and re-vaulted, we cannot be sure of its original elevation.

Santa María originally had a crossing tower, which stood until the nineteenth century. The tower, projecting over the expansive city and visible above the walls, would have signaled the presence of an impressive church. During the Spanish War of

\textsuperscript{366} García García, “Evolución del patrimonio,” 863.
\textsuperscript{367} Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 220.
\textsuperscript{368} Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 221. Maiso González and Lagunilla Alonso compare Santa María’s size to the old cathedrals of Salamanca and Zamora. Maiso González and Lagunilla Alonso, “Carrión de los Condes en el Cantar de Mío Cid,” 353.
Independence, a fire decimated the tower, lit perhaps as a preventive measure to keep the structure from being used by the invading Napoleonic troops. In 1812, the remains were removed, but a new belfry was never erected. Carderera’s aquatint may enable us to visualize the original crossing tower; the print depicts a quadrangular tower with four windows on each side, arranged in two tiers. The image shows some sort of decoration around the windows, likely billeting, but the details are only suggested by the print maker.

The majority of Santa María’s sculptural decoration adorns the basilica’s south side. A company of figures radiates outwards from the portal, embellishing all types of architectonic features, from an archivolt just around the door to a row of corbels abutting the roofline above. The decorated area would have originally extended around 6 meters in width. Compared to regional examples from the mid-twelfth century, the sculptural ensemble is particularly expansive and complex. However, the addition of a porch and large buttresses—cropping the space around the portal to 4.8 meters—necessitated likewise an intervention to the architectural sculpture. To accommodate the new supports, the later builders clipped the spandrel figures and had to reset parts of the frieze.

While the south portal is clearly the focus, the west façade, a cruciform basilica’s traditional main entry point, displays modest sculptural decoration (fig. 72). The west portal has three plain masonry archivolts, each bordered by a row of billeting. The central

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370 Valentin Carderera y Solano was born in 1796, and thus almost certainly would not have been able to sketch Santa María before its tower was destroyed in 1811. He may have been working from an earlier drawing or invented how he imagined the tower would look. Because of the possibility of the latter, the print must be used with caution.
archivolt, which contrasts with the others in its projecting torus shape, channels into two columns topped by figural capitals. A pair of lions decorates the left capital (fig. 74). The animals’ bodies cross the capital’s faces to meet on the corner, where their two heads press together. Their paws perch on the astragal, and vegetation curves out over them. On the viewer’s right, a pair of harpies ornament the second capital (fig. 75). These fantastical creatures suit the shape of the capital: the women’s wings sweep out across its faces, and their claws perch on the astragal below. Though her outlines are still visible, the harpy on the inner face has been almost completely effaced by weathering. The portal’s decorative molding faced a similar fate. Remains of patterned molding above both capitals likely would have been part of a longer stretch of decorative molding crossing the portal horizontally, which must have deteriorated and has since been replaced.

Above the west portal, a niche housing a statue of the Virgin and Child adds further interest to this façade. Until the 1970s, a thirteenth-century wood Virgin and Child stood in the niche (fig. 73). Today she has been moved inside the church, likely to protect the already-worn wood, and has been replaced by a modern plaster copy. The thirteenth-century Sedes Sapientiae, or Throne of Wisdom, statue now resides in a window niche in the north apse.

Originally, carved corbels wrapped around much of the church’s roofline. Many of those that remain are simple, decorated with patterns, scrolls, and flowers, while several house people and animals. Unfortunately, the majority have been lost in the different iterations and construction campaigns of the building.
Contrasting with the nearby church of Santiago—a palimpsest of building phases capped with an intricate, well-preserved Romanesque façade—Santa María maintains its impressive Romanesque body, but its sculpture has not fared so well. The sculptors must have used a soft carving stone, which deteriorated significantly over time. The introduction of the porch likely saved the ornate south façade from reaching the degree of weathering that we see on the west. Regardless, the sculpture is much more difficult to read and understand than it would have once been. Faces have lost the definition of their features, and objects have become unrecognizable shapes that tease and evade identification.

One of the greatest challenges in studying Santa María is the lack of documentation. The earliest surviving documents date from the fourteenth century, over two hundred years after the initial construction of the church; its dating, therefore, must be based on other methods. The nineteenth-century historian Ramírez de Helguera placed the construction of the church in the early eleventh century. More recent scholars have settled on a date in the mid-twelfth century. García Guinea followed stylistic considerations to reach his mid-twelfth-century date. In her monographic thesis on Santa María, María Cuadrado Lorenzo proposes a similar, though slightly earlier date. Looking at historical probability, she suggests that the church most likely would have been constructed during the prosperous reign of Alfonso VII, sometime in the

371 AHN, Clero, carp. 1718.
372 Ramírez de Helguera, El libro, 25.
373 García Guinea, El arte románico, 118-119.
years 1127-57.\textsuperscript{374} I also advocate a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century: Santa María follows trends popular in southern France and northern Spain from circa 1115 to mid-century, but the church building would likely not have been initiated until the social and political situation in Carrión stabilized around 1126/27. Most likely, construction commenced around 1130, following the conclusion of the civil war and popular rebellions that had plagued the city, with the façade sculpture realized shortly thereafter, circa 1140-50.

“\textit{Primitivismo}”

Santa María has engendered considerably less scholarship than the two other monuments profiled in this study, despite maintaining in large part its original Romanesque fabric. The monastery of San Zoilo attracts substantial interest due to its connection to the illustrious monastic house of Cluny. Moreover, its large surviving archive serves to engage scholars in the related disciplines of history and philology. Likewise, nearby Santiago’s naturalistic, classical style has been the parish church’s particular draw. Striking a stark contrast with the oft exalted fluid, classical style of Santiago, García Guinea employs the term ‘primitivism’ to describe the impression of Santa María’s sculpture.\textsuperscript{375} Though unintentional, his comment feels pejorative, and epitomizes the lack of focused attention devoted to this church.

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\textsuperscript{374} Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 215. García García also dates the church to this historical moment, García García, “Evolución del patrimonio,”862.
\textsuperscript{375} García Guinea, \textit{El arte románico}, 121.
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Most discussion of Santa María is limited to a page or two of survey information within a larger work. In the late eighteenth century, the painter Antonio Ponz included a brief mention of the church in his *Viage de España*. Written at the behest of the Count of Campomanes, the book surveys art across Spain and purports to “give news of the most significant things worthy of knowing in [the country].”

Quadrado, writing mid-nineteenth century, spends more time describing the church, but offers little analysis, admitting that he cannot decipher most of the carved images. In his 1896 *Libro de Carrión de los Condes*, Ramírez de Helguera also treats the history and design of the church. For this author, the church was built to commemorate the miracle of the Cien Doncellas, and its sculpture is the ‘transcript’ to prove it. He adds little to the discussion of the church’s sculpture, as most of his overview is directly excerpted from Quadrado.

Writing mid-twentieth century, Luciano Huidobro corrects an earlier misidentification in the south portal’s sculpture, but again his contribution constitutes a few pages within a much larger work. Like many earlier authors, he continues to support the Doncellas legend as the source for much of the portal’s iconography.

García Guinea’s discussion—despite again comprising only a section in a larger survey—contributes much original and useful information, a feat this author manages to

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376 My translation from “en que se da noticia de las cosas más apreciables, y dignas de saberse, que hay en ella.” Ponz, *Viage de España*, cover page and 200-201.
380 Similarly in Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, and Uría Riu’s *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, Santa María, labeled “fuerte y ruda,” receives only a brief mention, the authors stating that the sculpture was long connected by popular tradition to the Cien Doncellas (though seeming to imply that the identification is unfounded). Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Riu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, vol. 2 (Madrid: CSIC, 1945), 213-214.
accomplish for countless churches in the province of Palencia. García Guinea argues against the common attribution of the sculpture to the Cien Doncellas legend. His explanation of the iconography is cautious, admitting that in many cases he cannot offer an identification. He sees a clear dependence on Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, both sculpturally and architecturally. However, he says that the influence is not direct and has been mixed with other French and Spanish artistic currents. He compares the south portal to Saint-Sernin’s famous portal of Miègeville, noting what strikes him as an extreme similarity in the decoration of the moldings. For García Guinea, Santa María represents a ‘pilgrimage church’ built from memory of Saint-Sernin.381

María Cuadrado Lorenzo and Salvador Andrés Ordax wrote the only two monographs on Santa María. Cuadrado completed a master’s thesis on the church in 1984, which provides by far the most critical, detailed, and comprehensive study devoted to this church.382 In addition to the thesis, she published an article that specifically focuses on the partial zodiac cycle depicted on the church’s metopes.383 She also wrote a more general article for Huerta’s edited volume Palencia en los siglos del románico, synthesizing in it the information gathered for her monograph.384 In 1994, Andrés Ordax published a book on Santa María, entitled Carrión de los Condes: Iglesia de Santa María

381 García Guinea, El arte románico, 116-118.
382 Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María.”
**The South Façade**

Contrasting with the clean, simple grandeur of the rest of the church, carved decoration crowds the south portal, demanding the viewer’s attention (fig. 5). Nearly every architectural feature has been adorned or fits into the decorative scheme in some way. The portal, the entryway into the church, forms the center of the composition. Five archivolts surround the door. Plain masonry blocks alternate with varying shapes and carved designs, creating a harmonious play of patterns and contours.

Working from the door outwards, the first archivolt is a plain round arch. A band of billeting around the outer border ornaments the row of basic masonry voussoirs. Though also unadorned, the stones of the second and next archivolt have been rounded, forming a cylindrical, tubelike arch. The shapes of these two contrast, their different rhythms reflected in their terminals. The cylindrical arch channels into a round column and the plain ends, directing its weight into the heavy stone wall. A thin band of dentil-

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385 Andrés Ordax, *Iglesia de Santa María.*
like patterning frames the outer edge of the second archivolt before another band of billetting.

Like the first archivolt, the third is flat. However, large blocks placed parallel to the curve of the arch supplant the trapezoidal voussoirs of the first. Necessitating fewer joins, the large stones provide space for decoration, which has been filled with a pattern of low relief vegetal interlace. The artists excised the twisting vines only slightly, maintaining the generally flat profile of this arch. Again, billetting serves as an outer border. Of the five, the fourth and next archivolt is the only one with figural decoration. Thirty-seven humans, hybrids, and animals inhabit the arch. Each voussoir houses a single figure. From afar, these meld into another pattern maintaining the overall style and cohesion of the portal. Most of the figures’ knees project outward in space, creating a raised ring and playing with the alternation of flat and elevated elements. Like the second archivolt, this one, too, terminates in a column. A final archivolt of flat unadorned voussoirs banded with billetting completes the scheme. Concentric half-circles draw the viewer’s eye from the street onto the door of the church; the overall impression is one of bulk and immensity tempered by a geometric harmony.

A row of carved molding—decorated with flowers enclosed in vine scrolls—cuts the archivols at lintel height. Further emphasizing horizontality, four bull protomes jut into the open space of the door flush with the molding (figs. 76-77). Two identical horned heads are positioned on each side, facing directly in to the doorway. The bulls have been one of the most remarked upon elements of the portal, used to support the Cien Doncellas identification of the imagery. However, features of this sort are common. For example, animal protomes ornament the exteriors of both portals of the church of San Isidoro in
León. On the Puerta del Cordero or “door of the lamb,” carved rams decorate either side of the door, and from the adjacent Puerta del Perdón or “door of pardon,” a lion and a humorous demon gape down at the viewer. Moreover, at the church of San Vicente in Ávila, along with a pair of lions, two bulls are placed in this space (fig. 78), except in Ávila’s case there is no accompanying legend. These animal protomes seem to have been a relatively common feature of portal decoration, and bulls were simply one of the many animals depicted.

Just below, carved capitals top the portal’s four columns. Their basket shape serves as the transition between the greater width of the archivolts and the thinner cylindrical columns. For the modern viewer, the capitals do not elicit straightforward identifications. Starting from the viewer’s right, the first capital depicts a man riding a lion (fig. 79). He grips the lion’s open mouth with both hands. Each of the capital’s faces depicts this nearly identical scene, though the front side incorporates a slight variation (fig. 79a). A heavily worn, bearded countenance peeks out from behind the lion-rider. To my knowledge, no work on Santa María has mentioned this additional character, who both complicates and advances our understanding of this image.

The most obvious identification for the figures is Samson. Not only are the men shown wrestling lions, the most common Samson iconography, but they also have exceedingly long hair. Stretching across the width of the capital in a gathered bundle, the hair of the figure on the front face almost appears plaited. Several depictions of Samson in northern Palencia represent the hero with a similar plait. On capitals from Santa María la Real de Aguilar de Campoo (now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, fig. 80), Santa Cecilia de Vallespinoso de Aguilar, Santos Julián and Basilisa de Rebolledo de
la Torre (fig. 81), and Santa María la Real de Henestrosas de las Quintanillas, Samson’s hair flows backward in a long bundle, but it is more clearly braided or tied. Though all carved decades later, these examples give us a sense of the direction of the development of this regional image-type.

García Guinea argues that the capital should not be identified as Samson because of the repetition of the figure. This author instead labels the two lion riders as women. More generally, Kirk Ambrose cautions against the indiscriminate identification of lion wrestlers as Samson. Nevertheless, in this case, we can identify the figures as this biblical character with some certainty. First, the figure is bearded, invalidating the case for a female identity. In regard to García Guinea’s problem of the doubled motif, Cuadrado suggests several other examples of this practice in Romanesque sculpture. Lastly, the hair, and a plethora of similar regional examples, strongly indicates an identification as Samson.

In Palencia, in the late twelfth century, Samson’s image gains some curious variations, perhaps in conjunction with the development of a local legend. Numerous very similar iterations of Samson appear on capitals carved in the final two decades of the century in a small geographical radius roughly surrounding Aguilar de Campoo. These scenes include one or two additional extra-biblical characters, who seem to be depicted

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386 Today Rebolledo de la Torre is classified as in the province of Burgos, but the site is only a few kilometers from the Palencian border.
387 These examples and a group of representations of similar Samsons in Palencia all date to the final decades of the twelfth century.
390 Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 228.
attacking the lion. Though the Carrionese sculpture predates the other regional Samsons by at least three decades and differs considerably from this iconographically and geographically close group, Santa María’s version includes an enigmatic extra character as well, shown peeking over the hero’s shoulder. Carrión’s curious depiction of Samson and a supplementary figure likely suggests additional content added to the story, which may have developed further over the following years, perhaps even inspired by Carrión’s sculpture. \(^{391}\)

The next capital to the left also depicts parallel scenes on the inner and outer faces (fig. 82). Each side is carved with two griffins locked in interlacing knotted vines. \(^{392}\) The fantastical beasts stand back to back balancing on a single hind leg, all the while twisting their upper bodies to face each other. Their contortion creates a visually appealing play of interlocking wings, limbs, and weaving vines. The motif appears quite similar to common Islamic textile patterns, like that of the twelfth-century griffin silk made in Almería and today in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 83). \(^{393}\) Either directly or indirectly, the artist could have been inspired by Islamic textile motifs. \(^{394}\) In this particular scene, the griffins are depicted biting their own wings. This artistic choice highlights the bestial, boorish nature of these creatures for the viewer. The viewer might

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\(^{391}\) At this point, the degree of connection of Santa María’s capital to the other examples is difficult to define. However, sculpture in northern Palencia in the last decades of the twelfth century was certainly heavily influenced by sculpture in the city of Carrión, and it is likely that many of these late twelfth-century sculptors would have seen Carrión’s monuments.

\(^{392}\) Griffins are commonly depicted creatures in Romanesque art. Many similar examples to this one can be found, for example at Santo Domingo de Silos, Santa Cecilia de Vallespinoso de Aguilar, and Santa Eugenia de Dehesa de Romanos. Both García Guinea and Cuadrado mention the comparison to Silos, García Guinea, El arte románico, 121; and Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 227.

\(^{393}\) Griffin Silk, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1952.152.

\(^{394}\) We have examples of medieval Islamic textiles in Carrión de los Condes. Two patterned silks (one with a fantastical creature similar to a griffin) survive in the monastery of San Zoilo.
even draw a connection between this capital and that adjacent. On one, part-lion creatures
bite at each other crudely, while on the other, the hero Samson defeats the lion,
overcoming man’s animalistic nature.

The two capitals on the viewer’s left pose a considerable challenge for the art
historian. No closely-related iconography remains or has been identified. Beginning with
the outer face of the leftmost capital (fig. 84a), three side by side figures perch on the
astragal. They are similarly dressed, wearing belted bliauts that cascade in large folds
across their legs. The middle figure and possibly the left one as well retain traces of facial
hair, characterizing these individuals as male. The two bearded men have strange shapes
projecting from the sides of their heads. This is one of the most curious details of the
capital; on first glance, these excrescences appear to be large ears, but their outlines are
detailed with incised lines, which instead seem to denote either ornate hairstyles or
headdresses. The three also appear to have their arms locked together in front of the
middle figure, a gesture similar to that portrayed on a capital at San Martín de
Frómista.395

On the inner face of the capital stand two additional figures (fig. 84b). On the left
a similarly dressed man tugs on his bifurcated beard. To his right a second man holds his
hand aloft, palm facing out in a gesture that generally signifies receiving and acceptance.
Between the two groups, a rabbit or a hare perches head down, projecting from the corner
of the capital. Its small ears and elongated body recall several regional examples carved

395 This parallel is also cited by Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 226.
on corbels (figs. 86-87). Of these, many include enlarged pudenda, which likely allude to the rabbit’s reputation for fecundity, and by association, lust.

Four figures, two to a side, inhabit the capital to the right (fig. 85). The left figure on the front face appears to be female. Atop her bliaut she wears a mantle that cascades behind her. Her hair or headdress follows the same trajectory, streaming out at her back. Her companion may be a woman as well, but this figure is more worn and difficult to decipher. Together the two carry an object, most likely an open book. The figures on the capital’s lateral face also bear an object between them. Long and horned at one end, this may be an oliphant. The left figure rests his arm on a grotesque mask with gaping mouth that, like the rabbit, adorns the capital’s corner.

Scholars have posed several possibilities to explain the imagery of these two unusually illustrated capitals. Along with the bull protomes, the capitals have been related to the Doncellas legend because of their depiction of exotic looking peoples and women, taken to represent the Muslims collecting their tribute and the maidens offered to them, saved by the Virgin’s intervention. In the late eighteenth century, Antonio Ponz proposed that the direction of inspiration could have moved the other way, with the sculpture instead substantiating the legend. While numerous scholars after Ponz will

396 Similar rabbits or hares appear at San Juan Evangelista in Arroyo de la Encomienda, San Juan Bautista in Nogales de Pisueraga, San Juan Bautista in Villanueva de la Nía, San Esteban in Lomilla de Aguilar, Santos Julián and Basílica in Rebollo de la Torre, San Cornelio y San Cipriano in Revilla de Santullán, and San Clemente in Huidobro.
397 According to Pliny: “There is also a species of hare, in Spain, which is called the rabbit; it is extremely prolific, and produces famine in the Balearic Islands, by destroying the harvests.” Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. John Bostock and Henry T. Riley (London: G. Bell, 1890), book 8, ch. 81.
399 Ponz, *Viaje de España*, 200-201.
continue to identify the sculpture as an illustration of the Carrionese miracle of the Cien Doncellas, his suggestion remains the most compelling: rather than serving as a recording of the event, the sculpture instead contributed to the development of Carrión’s role in the legend.

The earliest written sources referencing the tribute appear in the late twelfth century, postdating the construction of Santa María. Moreover, the legend does not become a miracle story until the late fifteenth century, in a history written by García de Salazar, and, even in this case, the miracle has nothing to do with the Virgin intervening with bulls or the city of Carrión. It seems more probable that the imagery of the two capitals has an entirely different source and significance, and only aligns with the Doncellas legend much later. Perhaps when the story was gaining popularity and ubiquity across northern Spain, the meaning of the two figured capitals had become obsolete, and the curious sculpture inspired a Carrión-specific version of the story, allowing the city to draw upon and prosper from its more glorious medieval past.

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400 The tribute is mentioned in the Chronicon mundi (1236) by Lucas of Tuy and the Historia de rebus Hispanie (1243) by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Emily C. Francomano, “The Legend of the Tributo de las Cien Doncellas: Women as Warweavers and the Coin of Salvation,” Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos 32, no. 1 (2007), 11.

401 In García de Salazar’s version, while walking south to the kingdom of the Moors, one woman, inspired by God, removes all of her clothing. Though beseeched by the men escorting the 100 women, she does not put her clothing back on until they reach Moorish territory. She says that only here need she feel ashamed because there are no men in the Christian kingdom. Inspired by this, King Ramiro and his knights decide to fight the Moors and end the tribute. Lope García de Salazar, Las bienandanzas e fortunas; códice del siglo XV, ed. A. Rodríguez Herrero (Bilbao: Diputación Provincial de Vizcaya, 1955), book 14. Francomano, “The Legend,” 13-14.

402 I am envisioning a process similar to that argued by Amy Remensnyder in which legend and inventive memory have the power to transcribe new meaning onto objects, see Amy G. Remensnyder, “ Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory,” Speculum 71, no. 4 (1996): 884-906.
Huidobro proposes that the one of these capitals depicts Abraham receiving the
angel, but does not identify which nor provide any explanation for his suggestion.403
García Guinea argues against the Doncelas identification, but hesitates to propose
another interpretation and defers to future studies.404 Cuadrado keeps her explanation the
simplest and as such is the most successful in proposing a possible original intention. She
concludes that the two capitals may depict some sort of ceremony, religious or lay, that
over time lost its significance. The figures carrying objects bear these items for use in the
ceremony or action that will take place.405 Of the various identifications posed,
Cuadrado’s suggestion seems the most plausible. However, there exists a distinct
possibility that the two capitals were simply never intended to constitute a narrative,
instead having more in common with the figural archivolts around the door and carved
corbels punctuating the roof line.

The groups of figures on the portal’s left capitals could comprise individual
vignettes, with the viewer meant to internalize different ideas from separate figures or
groupings.406 For example, the three figures locking arms, the man pulling his beard, and
the man raising his hand in a gesture of acceptance may represent three separate
concepts, rather than a single theme as has typically been assumed. The addition of the

403 Huidobro, Las peregrinaciones jacobeas, 528.
404 García Guinea, El arte románico, 121.
406 David Simon and Julia Perratore use the word vignettes to describe small independent scenes on carved
archivolts, see David L. Simon, “La Escultura de San Miguel y Santa María de Uncastillo: historietas de la
vida cotidiana,” in La escultura románica: encuentro transpirenaico sobre patrimonio histórico artístico
(Uncastillo: Fundación Uncastillo, 2007), 87; and Julia Perratore, “Laity, Community, and Architectural
Sculpture in Romanesque Aragon: Santa María de Uncastillo” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania,
2012), 171.
animals at the corner of each capital further supports the case for this type of imagery. The curled rabbit on the left capital and the beastlike mask on the right make for odd interlopers in a narrative scene, while they fit in easily with the company inhabiting the archivolt above, where a bird, an ape, and a horned demon intermingle with the many people visualized on the radiating voussoirs.

The strange hairstyle worn by the two figures on the leftmost capital’s outer face appears in other examples of voussoir decoration. At San Pedro de Echano in Olóriz, many of the individuals decorating the church’s portal wear their hair arranged in similar side curls (fig. 88). Seven archivolts project dramatically from the north portal of the small church. Among a bevy of decorative archivolts, one houses an assortment of human figures, primarily musicians or hair and beard pullers, many of whom have coils of hair attached to either side of the head. Another example of this style can be seen at the French church of Notre-Dame d’Avy in Charente (fig. 89). Almost all the figures in one of the church’s archivolts wear their hair in two curls projecting from the head. Similar to San Pedro de Echano, the majority are musicians or beard pullers. While the appearance of this hairstyle at Santa María cannot definitively identify the curious imagery, it may tell us something about the figures visualized. The distinctive coiffure does not seem to be used for mainstream, working lay folk; instead, it is often employed in depictions of a marginal people, such as entertainers.

In this case, perhaps the subject of these capitals remains elusive because a single subject does not exist. Instead, the two may contain an assortment of smaller scenes meant to be digested individually, similar to the figural archivolt above. Santa María’s south portal appears to be the result of its designers experimenting with sculpting on
different architectonic parts. The sculptors clearly followed compositional norms for how to decorate particular architectural features, but they seem to have created their own schema as well. While the randomized quality of the archivolt was and remained more common, that of the capitals appears more puzzling to the modern viewer because this space generally houses a single (or clearly partitioned) subject.

Above the radiating archivolts, the portal is crowned by a historiated frieze directly abutting a series of interlocking corbels and metopes, together creating a visually crowded upper space. Originally the frieze would have extended farther in width, but was cropped by the addition of the later buttresses. Today the frieze’s two ends have been inset into the buttresses on either side, so that these can only be seen from within the semi-enclosed space between the thick supports, altering the original viewing experience (once, the whole ornamented plane would have been easily visible from the road). The Virgin and Child occupy the far left, forming the culmination of an extended Journey of the Magi. Across the space the viewer sees the Magi visit Herod, travel to Bethlehem, and finally adore the Christ Child. We will return in detail to the frieze in a later section of this chapter.

Directly above, projecting corbels alternate with low relief-carved metopes. Like the frieze, these have also been disturbed by the renovation project. Several are missing and those that remain may not be in their original places. Eight carved metopes survive today; originally there would have been two to four more. Cuadrado identified the plaques as depicting an abbreviated zodiac cycle. Of the corbels, nine are inset above

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407 See Cuadrado, “Un posible zodiaco.”
the frieze space and an additional two have been attached to the exterior roof line of the
porch, the latter almost certainly displaced by the addition of the buttresses and
subsequently re-attached to the porch. With our current knowledge, no original order or
organization of these carved features can be established.

Two large spandrel figures complete the south portal’s sculptural ensemble. On
the viewer’s right an equestrian faces inward toward the door (fig. 90). His horse’s front
hoof rests atop the head of a small kneeling figure. Facing him from across the door, his
pendant rides a lion (fig. 91). Today bulky buttresses, postdating the sculpture, arc over
the two riders, cropping one and obstructing a direct view of both.

The lion rider at left is nude from the waist up. He seems to be twisting in action,
as the sculptor represents the torsion of the man’s bare torso using several parallel lines.
The buttress cuts the carved block just at the man’s shoulder line. Consequently, his head
and arms are missing, and we can only speculate as to their original state. Corresponding
to the traditional iconography of a lion rider or lion fighter—also seen on one of the
portal’s capitals—the man likely originally grasped the lion’s open mouth with his two
hands. The stone also faced significant further losses. A horizontal break crosses the
lower third of the block at leg height, and from this damage one of the lion’s legs and the
man’s two lower legs are lost.

The horseman on the right has fared slightly better. Despite missing the rider’s
head and that of his horse, the sculpture still retains much of its original detail. The man
is richly dressed in a garment that falls in pleats to his shins. An intricately detailed
border attests to the richness of his clothing. The pillion crossing the horse’s back is still
more opulent, stitched with an allover geometric pattern. Moreover, the rider carries a
sword, clearly marking his knightly status. A diminutive man kneels under the right foreleg of the horse; his position is a typical portrayal of the vanquished and adds to the characterization of this figure as a victorious knight or noble.

Both spandrel figures may communicate polysemous rather than definitive identifications. The horseman and the lion wrestler each evoke several biblical, mythical, or historical personalities. Santa María’s victorious equestrian has been identified as Constantine, Santiago, or a fusion of the two. Despite the appeal of finding early representations of Santiago Matamoros—Santiago in his role as Moor-Slayer—there is no evidence that this figure was conceptualized as such initially. It is likely only in later centuries, when Matamoros evolved into a common and popular avatar of the apostle, that viewers began to see his image in Santa María’s vanquishing horseman. The horseman is a popular iconographic type that appears on numerous Romanesque churches, upwards of fifty, most clustered in the Poitou-Charentes region of France and northern Spain; several of these examples are paired with a lion rider. An ample historiography surrounds the equestrian figure-type. Many studies conclude that the horseman is Constantine, the first Christian emperor, although others warn against a single, blanket identification. Similarly, the lion rider or lion wrestler could evoke

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408 Porter identifies the figure as Constantine, though he is also receptive to the possibility that the horsemen at Carrión and Armentía are Santiago. Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, vol. 1, 192. Apraiz argues that the figure is Santiago, but that the iconography originated from the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome, held to be Constantine in the Middle Ages, Ángel de Apraiz, “La representación del caballero en las iglesias de los Caminos de Santiago,” Archivo Español de Arte 14, no. 46 (1941): 384-396. García Guinea suggests that the iconography could be associated with both: the image of Constantine being appropriated as Santiago Matamoros over time. García Guinea, El arte románico, 123-124.

several personages, namely Samson, David, and Hercules. His depiction as bare-chested, particularly in contrast to the fine vestments worn by his pendant, the equestrian, seems to preclude his possible identification as David, and instead suggests a character like Samson, or potentially Hercules. Nonetheless, the Samson figure on the capital below, more securely identified by comparison to Palencian examples, is shown fully dressed, with his cloak billowing behind him, while mythical Hercules would make an odd choice for one of the largest figures on the church façade. Like the horseman, the lion wrestler resists straightforward identification.

Given the non-programmatic approach to the design of this façade, it seems as if these figures may have been used more as stock motifs than with deliberate biblical or historical significance. The viewer could have found many historical, biblical, legendary, or courtly characters in the large, regal figures (much like the modern art historian). Their inclusion, and relative size, serves to immediately draw the viewer’s attention to the façade, and lends a certain cachet to the parish church, greeting the citizen or traveler on entrance into the city.

An Appeal to the People

The realm of León-Castilla underwent a well-known, tumultuous start to the twelfth century. In 1109, the Leonese Queen Urraca married King Alfonso I ‘el
Batallador’ (‘the fighter’) of Aragón.\textsuperscript{410} “It was then the time of the grape harvest,” writes the author of the \textit{Primera crónica anónima de Sahagún}, “the vines abundant in grapes and already mature for picking. In that night of the damned and cursed consummation [of the marriage], such a great ice fell that the great abundance of wine that was already ripe, largely spoiled… and even that little which remained… twisted the bowels, not without a great harm to health…”\textsuperscript{411} Symbolized by the writer’s ill-omened frost—in his text detailing the conflicted history of this period—the union of Urraca and Alfonso proved disastrous for the realms of León and Castilla. Their marriage and its speedy dissolution precipitated a decades-long civil war, the tumult of which also unearthed mounting tensions in the kingdom, sparking a cascade of popular rebellions.\textsuperscript{412} The city of Carrión in particular played a central role in the conflict, one that would affect a permanent change upon the city and its people.

By the second quarter of the twelfth century and the resolution of the war, Carrión had changed allegiances several times and housed factions supporting both parties. Irrevocable shifts had occurred in the constitution of the city. Royally appointed

\textsuperscript{410} Reilly gives an account of arrangement of this marriage and dates the actual marriage in Monzón to early October, 1109. Bernard F. Reilly, \textit{The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982): 51-59.
\textsuperscript{411} My translation from: “Era entonçes tienpo de las bendimias, e como fuese en las, viñas gran abastança de vbas e fuesen ya maduras para bendimiar, en aquella noche de aquel maldito e escomulgado ayuntamiento, tan gran helada cayo, que la gran abastança del vino que ya paresçia, boluiose en mui gran mengua, e aun aquello poco que quedo del vino, tornose en no se que tal açedo sabor, el qual beuido retorçia las entrañas e purgaualas, no sin gran daño de la salud…” Puyol, \textit{Las crónicas anónimas}, ch. 17, 36. I translated ‘ayuntamiento’ here, which usually refers to government (city or town council or hall), to its less common meaning consummation. The author sets the scene as the grape harvest, which like the marriage, occurred in September-October.
\textsuperscript{412} Along with the \textit{Primera crónica anónima de Sahagún}, the \textit{Historia Compostelana} is another contemporary historical source that records the conflict. See Emma Falque Rey, \textit{Historia Compostelana} (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1994).
governors replaced the line of hereditary counts previously in power, the ecclesiastical authority had been challenged, and the townspeople, for maybe the first time, realized the power of their collective agency. Santa María was constructed in the wake of these new developments, and its sculptural ensemble reflects the Carrión of mid-century.

On the main entrance to the church a single figural archivolt houses thirty-seven carved individuals (fig. 5). Much too small to be read from the road, the characters only disclose their dispositions and actions from a close vantage point. To observe and interpret the carved figures, a viewer must be standing directly in front of the portal, and at times must also walk below it, looking from different angles. Several meters away, the jumble of slim bodies instead reads as more ornamental and pattern-like than representational. Moreover, the paratactic voussoirs do not tell a biblical story—nor any kind of cohesive narrative—and thus can be difficult to read and interpret in a single viewing. The size, position, and idiosyncrasy of the carved characters privilege a viewer entering multiple times, able to apprehend different parts of the sculpture on repeated trips into the parish church.

The archivolt decoration contrasts markedly with that of the frieze. Where the latter tells a clear story through the use of large, legible figures, the former defies traditional representational conceits with its heterogeneous, disorderly company of characters. Santa María’s portal marks the first appearance of this type of figural archivolt in the region, though this mode of representation is not entirely new, appearing in a similar form in Béarn, Aragón, and Navarra.

Multiple half-circular moldings surrounding an arch—or archivolts—were a common feature of Romanesque architecture. Numerous examples lack decoration,
articulating the door through the strong geometry of contiguous circles; others display running designs of a vegetal, fantastic, or geometric nature; and still others house companies of people and animals. This final type encompasses still more varieties. Figures may be repeated identically—for instance, the woman in a cauldron at Parthenay-le-Vieux—or nearly identically, with small variations like the seated array of men at Notre-Dame d’Avy. Conversely, the band of inhabitants might tell a narrative, frequently the life of Christ, such as that seen at San Esteban de Moradillo de Sedano, or else form a thematically unified sequence or group, as in representations of the Labors of the Months or Elders of the Apocalypse. Santa María’s archivolt falls into a third category: a non-narrative, non-sequential series of distinct figures. The archivolt serves as a vitrine for people, animals, and sometimes hybrids and monsters to display a variety of dispositions and engage in an assortment of actions. For the purposes of this discussion, I will refer to this particular type of carved archivolt as heterogeneous figural.

For more on portals decorated with carved archivolts, see Mickey Abel, Open Access: Contextualizing the Archivolted Portals of Northern Spain and Western France within the Theology and Politics of Entry (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).


Tcherikover and Myrielle Boss-Favre both provide different means of categorizing voussoir sculpture (though limited to French examples). Tcherikover divides voussoirs into only two categories ‘metope’ and ‘modular’ (see above note 414). Boss-Favre contributes the most comprehensive categorization, covering and providing photographs for a myriad of examples. However, her groupings, which include thirteen categories of voussoir, each with multiple sub-groups, can also become overly pedantic when attempting to interpret and understand the meanings behind the design and reception of voussoir sculpture. She focuses on formal divisions that may not have equated to differences in meaning or intent. Neither provides a term that adequately describes the Béarnais, Aragonese, and Navarrese group discussed here. Myrielle Boss-Favre, La sculpture figurée des arcs romans de France (Zurich: Éditions du Grand Midi, 2000); and Tcherikover, High Romanesque sculpture.
The closest predecessors to Santa María’s archivolt come from the regions of Béarn, Aragón, and Navarra. The Béarnais churches of Sainte-Marie d’Oloron, Sainte-Foy de Morlaàs and Saint-Pierre de Sévignacq-Thèze, the Aragonese churches of Santa María and San Miguel de Uncastillo, and the Navarrese church of San Salvador de Leyre all display one or more archivolts housing a miscellany of carved figures. Santa María’s voussoirs most certainly develop out of this group, although they lack a clear origin in any single region, instead drawing on elements from multiple.

The Béarnais church of Sainte-Marie d’Oloron seems to have been decorated first; its portal likely dates to 1115-1135 (fig. 92). The impressive, though also highly restored, portal has two figurally carved archivolts inset between smaller decorative ones. The outer arch depicts the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse—a common theme for this space, fitting easily into the category of a thematically-unified group—while the inner, decorated with a group of men engaging in various occupations, proves much more singular. Many of its figures seem to belong to small series, illustrated in the manner of a twentieth-century film reel with the protagonist frozen in various stages of continuous action. For example, four frames depict the act of fish mongering: a man scales a large fish, carries his catch to the market, removes its head, then sells its meat by weight (fig. 93). Similar town-centric professions fill the archivolt, including barrel

417 Most of the damage to the archivolts is limited to heads and extremities. Around half of the figures on the inner archivolt depicting peasants laboring have nineteenth-century features. Some of the Elders of the Apocalypse also received similar restorations. The two tympana and Deposition scene above are entirely modern. Brown, “As Excrement to Sacrament,” 573.
making, boar hunting and selling, and bread making. Peter Scott Brown cautions, however, that Oloron’s considerable modern restorations may have contributed to this impression of consistency, manifesting the restorers’ desire for narrative and coherence rather than the original intent.

The nearby church of Sainte-Foy in Morlaàs (figs. 94-95), would have boasted a similar portal to Oloron’s. However, in the nineteenth century the church underwent an over-enthusiastic program of restoration that obliterated almost all remains of the original twelfth-century sculpture. Today the entire west façade reflects the nineteenth-century campaign, causing the church’s exclusion from much art historical discourse; however, archival photographs provide a view of the original carved façade and establish Morlaàs’s place in the present discussion. Like that of Sainte-Marie d’Oloron, Sainte-Foy’s portal composed of multiple archivolts includes a row of the Elders of the Apocalypse and a band of regular townsfolk, within several ornamental arches.

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418 Ruth Bartal observes that the professions depicted on Sainte-Marie d’Oloron’s archivolt are all occupations that would have taken place in towns, distinct from both the pastoral occupations represented in Labors of the Months cycles and the wholly urban professions depicted at nearby Santiago de Carrión. Ruth Bartal, “The Early Representations of Urban Society in Romanesque Sculpture; The Formulation of a New Iconography,” *Studi Medievali* 33 (1992): 109-144.


422 A few pieces from the original sculptural ensemble are conserved in the local municipal museum. Photographs of these pieces are included in Lacoste, *Morlaàs*; and Durliat, “Morlaàs.”
Much smaller than Sainte-Marie and Sainte-Foy, a third Béarnais church—Saint-Pierre in Sévignacq-Thèze—also belongs in this group (fig. 96). A portal composed of radiating archivolts surrounding a tympanum is inset into the church’s south side. The outermost archivolt encompasses eleven seated figures that rest on a cylindrical beam, close in execution to the corresponding archivolt at Morlaàs. Where at Oloron we observed a row of people working, performing daily commercial tasks, the figures at Sévignacq—and possibly also Morlaàs—are decidedly less coordinated and constructive. Lacoste identifies a number of unsavory characters: a monk or cleric being seduced (fig. 97), exhibitionists, gluttons, and a drunk, along with a beard puller and jongleur. Of the Béarnais examples, these figures, with their thin profiles and somewhat random organization, are the closest in character to those at Santa María.

Crossing the Pyrenees, the Aragonese and Navarrese examples show a multiplication of the heterogeneous figural archivolt. The expansive, richly decorated portal of San Salvador de Leyre in Navarra exhibits three such archivolts, populated with people involved in various actions, numerous animals, and even oversized objects, creating the impression of a teeming mass of action, enlivening the stone façade (figs. 98-

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424 Lacoste, Sevignac-Thèze, 8. The exhibitionists (voussoirs 3 and 4, from left) have been plastered over in the modern era and now the woman’s skirts, originally open to reveal herself, and man’s exposed phallus have been covered. Brown indicates that these figures must have originally been acceptable, or else they would have been defaced long-ago, whereas for modern viewers—especially in their position on a church façade—they cross a boundary into the obscene. Brown, “Scoundrels and Scurrilitas.”
Two churches in the Aragonese city of Uncastillo, Santa María and San Miguel, create a similar impression. With three heterogeneous figural archivolts each, the image-rich portals saturate the viewer’s field of vision.

Through documentary evidence, Santa María de Uncastillo can be dated to the years between 1135 and 1155 (fig. 100). Several construction dates have been suggested for San Miguel (fig. 102), but the chronology advanced by David Simon and Julia Perratore, aligning the sculptural campaign of San Miguel with that of Santa María, seems the most plausible. Both authors argue that the two were built and decorated relatively concurrently and may have shared workshops. For Perratore the churches are the product of the collaboration of Béarnais and Aragonese teams of sculptors, each


426 The year 1135 marks a donation by Ramiro II to support work on the church, demonstrating that construction had already started or would soon, and the second is a consecration date, which if not a terminus ante quem tells us that after a period of twenty years the work was likely almost finished. Jacques Lacoste, Les maîtres de la sculpture romane dans l’Espagne du pèlerinage à Compostelle (Bordeaux; Éditions du Sud-Ouest, 2006), 75; and Perratore, “Laity, Community, and Architectural Sculpture,” 45.

427 Today, San Miguel de Uncastillo’s portal is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (28.32). The earliest document we have from the church dates to 1214. Another document from 1249 records donations for the consecration of the church and led Porter and Francisco Abbad Ríos to date the entire church to the thirteenth century. Perratore provides a discussion of the various dates proposed, Perratore, “Laity, Community, and Architectural Sculpture,” 50-57 & 123-126; see also, Simon, “La Escultura de San Miguel y Santa María,” 76-79.
A number of different figure-types adorn the archivolts. For instance, at Santa María we find a tooth puller, a man butchering an animal (fig. 101), and merchants selling wares, and at San Miguel, a man being eaten by a lion and a Bowman, arrow at the ready (fig. 103). On both portals, numerous jongleurs, animals, hair and mouth pullers commingle across the expanse of archivolts. Simon and Perratore argue that the voussoirs do not constitute a program in a traditional sense—in that the individual figures are not unified by a common theme or narrative—but instead form a network of vignettes from which many subtle connections and meanings may be derived.

The origin story of the heterogeneous figural archivolt seems to take us from Béarn across the Pyrenees to Navarra and Aragón, and then farther west, past the mountains, to the central meseta, resulting in the appearance of this sculptural type in Carrión mid-century. Due to historical circumstance, Aragón has been favored as the model and conduit for the figural archivolt’s appearance in León-Castilla. Since Carrión was occupied by the Aragonese for much of the second and third decades of the twelfth century, following Queen Urraca’s marriage to Alfonso, the theory has been proposed that architectural and sculptural models from Aragón were chosen for ideological reasons, the parish of Santa María thus aligning itself with the kingdom of Aragón over León. However, the ornamented portal itself belies such a tidy, straightforward account of its origin.

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428 For Santa María, she argues that the Aragonese atelier was responsible for the portal and its carved archivolts but with ample inspiration from their Béarnais peers. Perratore, “Laity, Community, and Architectural Sculpture,” 126-128.

Ideas from Aragón likely played a role in Santa María’s design, but artistic knowledge from western France certainly did as well. The Carrionese church represents an amalgam, the product of inspiration from various territories connected to the city, which resulted in the creation of something new. This monumental artistic departure in Palencia would go on to have a huge impact on regional sculpture later in the century.

While Aragón became connected to Carrión somewhat abruptly, through Urraca’s tempestuous marriage, the French presence in the city was more constant and developed gradually. Carrión’s central barrio, the neighborhood encompassing the parishes of both Santa María and Santiago, was termed the Barrio de los Francos, reflecting the many immigrants, French and otherwise, living in the quarter.430 This designation was in use by at least 1234, when it appears in a document recording a certain Juan Galindo’s donation of a number of houses to the monastery of San Zoilo, two of which were in the Barrio de los Francos.431 The presence of French immigrants in the neighborhood—central and within the walls—suggests at least a moderate status and level of success for these émigrés in the city of Carrión. Additionally, a number of Francophone names are recorded in high profile civic positions. For example, in a document from 1185 four Carrionese magistrates seem to have been French: Don Guillermus Petit, Don Uidal, Don Amigot, and Don Nicolas.432 More generally, the laws of the greater kingdom encouraged French immigration by exempting all French settlers from taxes.433

430 The term ‘Francos’ can refer to immigrants in general, and was not limited to those of French origin. Todesca, “What Touches All,” 176.
431 Document 97 in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300), 185-86.
433 Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, MS 9/537. Peral Villafruela, De Aquitania a Carrión, 91.
Certain aspects of Santa María’s façade suggest a complex heritage, including western French features that may be tied to the significant and high-ranking French population in the city. First, the portal lacks a tympanum. The examples of heterogeneous figural archivolts discussed previously, from Aragón, Navarra, and Béarn, all include tympana; and, although today the south portal of Santa María in Uncastillo appears to lack this feature, the sculptural ensemble originally incorporated a tympanum that was removed during an eighteenth-century renovation.\textsuperscript{434} In contrast, Carrión’s portal presents an open profile, as its archivolts surge directly from the round-arched door. The tympanum-less Carrionese portal configuration has more in common with that of churches farther north, in greater Aquitaine and Poitou-Charentes, such as the portals of Notre-Dame d’Avy and Sainte-Radegonde de Talmont, among others. Santa María’s voussoir figures, too, resemble the Aquitanian aesthetic, with thin, elongated bodies. Finally, the two spandrel figures, horseman and lion-wrestler, contribute to the western French impression of the façade. Although oversimplifying the genealogy and design process of the Carrionese church, in a broad sense, Santa María seems to borrow from the French tradition in form, while in content, it draws from the heterogeneous figural archivolts in southern France and the Spanish Pyrenees.\textsuperscript{435}

The construction and decoration of Santa María, almost certainly led by non-local workmen combining a host of compositional and iconographic ideas, marks a significant moment in the evolution—and later success—of Palencian ecclesiastical art. After the

\textsuperscript{434} Perratore, “Laity, Community, and Architectural Sculpture,” 100.
\textsuperscript{435} The façade’s carved metopes also recall many Spanish examples such as those of San Pedro de Tejada and San Quirce, as well as the metopes of San Isidoro de León, which similarly depict a zodiac cycle.
construction of San Zoilo around 1100 and San Martín de Frómista in the early years of the twelfth century, few masonry churches were erected in the region until the last third of the century. The known extant exception, San Miguel de Brañosera, consecrated in 1118, is a small, undecorated single-nave church. Santa María therefore represents the largest and only highly decorated example of Palencian monumental artistry in the middle years of the century. For a commission unique in the region, and one that was presumably quite expensive, there would have been considerable weight behind the decisions involved. First, what prompted the construction of this large parish church, endowed with an ample decorative program? Were there particular meanings and forms sought by the patrons and requested from the carvers who traveled to Carrión? And what elicited this choice of a heterogeneous figural archivolt on such an important, symbolic building for the parish? A few decades later Santa María’s singularity led to nearby Santiago’s exploitation of certain design ideas. These forms, filtered through the eyes of the church of Santiago’s artists, then went on to multiply and evolve, re-envisioned on numerous monuments across greater Palencia.

When Santa María was constructed, Carrión had recently emerged from civil war and a period of tumultuous rebellion. The events of the early decades of the century

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436 García Guinea, *El arte románico*, 27; and José Luis Hernando Garrido and Marfa Dolores Fajardo Yuste, “Brañosera” in *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León: Palencia*, vol. 1, ed. Miguel Ángel García Guinea (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María La Real, 2009), 261. Santa Eugenia de Cordovilla de Aguilar was also consecrated in 1118, but does not survive. García Guinea included San Andres de Frontada in this group, which he dated by inscription to 1143. However, the inscriptions have been more recently reinterpreted, now dating the church to 1175. José Manuel Rodríguez Montañéz and Jaime Nuño González, “Frontada” in *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, 312-313. The original construction of nearby Santiago also almost fits into this group, but is slightly early, built in the early years of the twelfth century.
would have been in the minds of the patrons and designers of the parish church, conceivably impacting everything from their choice and opportunity to build, to the smallest figures on the south façade. The Crónica anónima’s author begins his narrative with a frost across the land that destroys the year’s wine harvest. While less divine, the truth was yet more enduringly influential.

Urraca, queen of León-Castilla on her father’s death in 1109, married Alfonso I of Aragón that same year at her father’s antemortem directive. The following year, 1110, a papal edict condemned the marriage, and Urraca, likely unhappy about the union from before its outset, agreed to separate from her new husband. Alfonso responded in 1111, and from Carrión he declared himself king, “regnante me dei gratia in toleto, legione, castella er aragone,” before traveling to and then occupying Toledo. This move led to war, drawing the monarchs across the realm as they either assailed or evaded the forces of the other. Carrión played a key part in the conflict, though the city itself would have also been divided. While Alfonso must have found many within the city receptive to his cause—declaring his kingship from there and retreating to Carrión in a later battle—the prior of San Zoilo, Stephen, traveled with Urraca, supporting her claim instead. Count Pedro Ansúrez, the last count of the Banu-Gómez family, also seems to have backed the queen, confirming one of her charters in 1113. It seems as if Carrión’s political and ecclesiastical heavyweights, namely prior Stephen and count Pedro, supported the

437 Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 72.
Leonese queen, while Alfonso found his base in the burghers and lesser officials of Carrión.  

The situation in the nearby city of Sahagúน appears to have been quite similar, with the monastery staunchly supporting Urraca and many of the citizens championing Alfonso. Though far from an impartial history, the Crónica anónima, written by a monk of the monastery of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagúн, provides a glimpse into the conflict as it unfolded within the city. Given the pardons later decreed for the citizens of Carrión, we can imagine that events within Carrión—also torn between authority and commoners—paralleled those in Sahagúн. Before launching into wartime events, the author details the evolution of the city, composed of “burgueses de muchos e diuersos oficios… herreros, carpinteros, xastres, pelliteros, capateros, escutarios e omes enseñados en muchas e dibersas artes e oficios, e otrosi personas de diuersas e estrañas prouingias e rreinos.” When the king established a market, the author tells us, the citizens became very rich and engaged in wealthy delights; with the multiplication of temporal things, people became arrogant and proud. The monastic author describes the transformations experienced by a town enjoying commercial success, changes mirroring those across the realm that for the monk ring negative. In the disorder caused by the conflict among sovereigns, the burghers had a chance to express frustrations at a system that no longer worked. Alfonso played on the unrest felt by these newly moneyed communities, and

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438 Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 87-118.
439 Puyol, Las crónicas anónimas, ch. 13, 32. I have left the original old Spanish in the text to best convey the specific trades. My English translation is included here: “…burgers of many and diverse offices… smiths, carpenters, tailors, furriers, shoemakers, shield-makers all learned in many and diverse arts and professions, and other people from diverse and strange provinces and kingdoms.”
440 Puyol, Las crónicas anónimas, ch. 13, 33.
popular rebellions took hold across the embattled territory, most powerfully in the cities of Sahagún, Nájera, Burgos, and Carrión.

Speaking of Sahagún, the Crónica’s author records:

“They rose then in the manner of ferocious beasts, making great riots against their lords and superiors, and against their priests, administrators and servants, pursuing and driving them off through the fields and hills, destroying and burning royal palaces, nobles’ houses, bishops’ churches and the farms and possessions of monasteries, also wasting bread and wine and all things necessary for life, killing the Jews that they found; and rejecting the taxes and tributes and tillage owed to their lords, and if someone by chance demanded it from them, they killed him.”

On assuming the throne, Urraca’s successor Alfonso VII pardoned Carrión’s citizens for similar offenses, allowing us to surmise that for Carrión’s nobles and religious, the conflict felt much the same as that described in Sahagún. The ideological result would have been twofold: those in control realized their tenuous and narrowly-held power, and the townspeople discovered an agency not possible before.

The war for sovereignty raged for nearly two decades, often centering on Carrión. After Urraca besieged Alfonso in the city in 1112, the two monarchs reached a brief reconciliation, also in Carrión. The peace was short-lived, and the Leonese queen promptly set out to regain her lost territory. In August of 1113, a document records that count Pedro Ansúrez held Carrión, indicating that the city was back under Urraca’s

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441 My translation from: “Leuantaronse entonçes a manera de bestias fieras, façiendo grandes asonadas contra sus señores e mayores, e contra sus bicarios, mayordomos e façedores, por los valles e collados perseyendolos e afoyentandolos, rrompiendo e quebrantando los palacios de los reyes, las casas de los nobles, las iglesias de los obispos e las granxas e obediencias de los abbades, e otrosi gastando el pan e vino e todas las cosas necesarias al mantenimiento, matando los judíos que fallauan; e negauan los portalgos e tributos e labranças a sus sennores, e si alguno por abentura se lo demandaua, luego lo matauan...” Puyol, Las crónicas anónimas, ch. 19, 38-39. In the conflict, the monks compare themselves to unarmed lambs before wolves, “ansi como corderos desarmados enmedio de los louos.” Puyol, op. cit., ch. 27, 52.

442 For Alfonso VII’s pardon, refer to page 301 below.
control. Nonetheless, the rebellions seem to have continued, as Carrionese burghers reputedly attacked Diego Gelmírez, the famously ambitious bishop of Santiago de Compostela, while he was traveling across the realm. In 1116, Alfonso issued *fueros* in which he titled himself ruler of Carrión, Sahagún, and Toledo, and by 1117 it seems as if the two monarchs came to something of an armistice, with Urraca accepting Alfonso’s cousin, count Beltrán, as governor in Carrión, overseeing the city for his kinsman. Beltrán appears to have governed until 1127, despite Carrión’s effective return to Leonese dominion in 1126, following the queen’s death and her son Alfonso VII’s consolidation of power over his territories. Although the civil war was over, major changes had taken place. The social and psychological attitudes formed over two decades of instability and rebellion would have deeply affected the generation responsible for Santa María’s creation.

The ambitious building project began once Carrión was politically and socially stable, though still in the wake of upheaval. The antecedent years had proven Carrión’s burghers capable of affecting change, and now they could not be so easily discounted by civic and ecclesiastical authority figures. Parallel to the events described in Sahagún, many members of the Carrionese elite may have faced violence or robbery, and certainly experienced fear. The choice of decorating the portal with a heterogeneous figural archivolt—which unlike many other common ornamental schema, featured a panoply of accessible figures and motifs—seems particularly apropos and intentional. Whichever

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443 Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca*, 91, note 11.
444 Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca*, 94.
445 Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca*, 119-204.
side of the conflict Santa María’s patrons and designers may have endorsed, the logical end result was to utilize part of the monumental visual platform to address the local audience.

Santa María’s portal conveys a sense of busyness and animation, crowded with thirty-seven small figures that can only be discerned individually by a viewer standing close to the door. The carved people represent a range of behaviors, from calm contemplation or prayer to various forms of debauchery. Their lay appeal lies not in an elevation of the common citizen, close to what we see years later on the façade of Santiago, but in the miniature characters’ relevance, legibility, and perhaps humor for repeated lay viewing. Unfortunately, due to severe weathering, the identities of the voussoir figures have become quite difficult to discern today. Cuadrado offers the only comprehensive discussion of the archivolt, proposing or attempting identifications for each figure.\textsuperscript{446} In many cases I agree with her suggestions, although the following identifications also diverge on certain figures.

Working across the archivolt clockwise from the viewers’ left, the first voussoir (diag. 1; voussoir 1, fig. 104) houses an animal or fantastical beast. Its body recalls that of the harpy on the west façade, indicating that the creature may be a bird or part-bird. Its two legs terminate in claws, and breaks on either of its sides may have once been projecting wings. An anthropomorphic head with wide eyes and thick projecting brows completes the creature. To the left of this avian hybrid sits a heavily damaged man (2, fig. 105). Like many of the individuals on the archivolt, he has large, deeply incised eyes.

\textsuperscript{446} Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 229-239.
The man wears a belted bliaut, its folds delineated by horizontal lines across his lower legs. His arms are missing, but they seem originally to have sustained an object before his chest, which has left indistinct traces. This man may have been a musician given their relative prevalence on the archivolt, but we cannot make this identification with any certainty. The next figure (3, fig. 106)—a beard puller—is well-preserved and much easier to decipher. He tugs on his bifurcated beard with two hands, similar to one of the figures on the farthest-left capital. Contrasting with the heavy featured, thick-mustached beard puller, a round, soft chin and beardless face signals the next man’s youth (4, fig. 107). A musician, this man cradles a viol on his left shoulder. Another beardless figure (5, fig. 108) sits to his left. This man may be another musician, as he holds an object across his lap; however, like the second voussoir figure, he is quite damaged and thus not clearly identifiable. He wears similar dress to the row of men before him, a bliaut that crosses his lower legs in layers of fabric.

A man hefting a hatchet (6, fig. 109) comes next on the archivolt. He holds both arms over his right shoulder, sustaining the tool emblematically. A very close parallel can be found at Sainte-Marie-d’Oloron in Béarn, where a peasant hefts a similar hatchet; but, in the Béarnais example, the carved figure is shown actively felling a boar. At Carrión, the action is suggested rather than played out.

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449 Cuadrado mentions that part of the hatchet has been restored, though she does not cite a source and visually a restoration is not evident, Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 231.
The following two figures may be meant to be read or considered together. The first wears a garment slightly different from those seen on the archivolt up to this point (7, fig. 110). The bottom drapes similarly across the seated figure’s lower legs, but from the arms long bell sleeves hang down to the ground. Open, hanging sleeves were a feature of twelfth-century female fashion, and here characterize this figure as a woman. Her right hand is placed straight in front of her on her knee. Her opposite arm is missing, but may have done the same. Beside her sits an orant male (8, fig. 111). His elbows are held at right angles to his sides, with both oversized palms facing out at head height. He is bearded—but with a clean short beard as compared to figure three—and wears clothing slightly differentiated from the rest. Groups of parallel lines at the upper arms, wrists, and diaphragm seem to denote a more detailed, rich textile. Though it is unclear if this meaning has been retained here, in the early Christian period, the orant pose denoted a person in prayer. These two figures, the orant male and woman to his right, may signify people of higher status in calm acceptance or prayer, contrasting with the activity and movement associated with music and entertainers. Alternatively, the orant figure may be a stock motif detached from its original meaning.

After the orant figure sits a man with a large rectangular object dominating his lap (9, fig. 112). Raised vertical lines cross the object vertically, possibly representing the strings of a musical instrument. Furthermore, the man’s hand position resembles that of a psaltery player. Similar to illuminations of these musicians in the Cantigas de Santa

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450 Alberto Carnicero Cáceres, “Guía de indumentaria medieval femenina: mujeres de los reinos hispanos (1170-1230),” (2010): 20-22. Cuadrado also notes the long sleeves and their likely indication of a female figure; however, she mentions in a footnote (note 20) that the figure could also be a man in female dress, Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 231.
*María*, the man’s right hand holds the instrument and his left hand perches at the upper left corner to strum. Nonetheless if this object is a psaltery or similar instrument, the strings have been depicted incorrectly, and instead should span the body of the instrument horizontally. Either the sculptor was unfamiliar with these instruments or else considered the details inconsequential to his or her overall goals.

The musician and the following figure (10, fig. 113) wear caps, contrasting with the bare heads of the previous figures. The musician’s hat is plain at the cranium with a border detail by his forehead. His companion’s cap, composed of ridges tucked under a band, could be more telling. Twelfth-century sculptors working in northern Spain and southern France seem to have utilized this particular ridged hat or turban to represent Jews.451 Two carved figures on the west façade of the nearby church of Santiago wear the same type of hat. The fourth chapter of this work discusses Jews in detail, along with their possible identification by this sartorial cue. The man’s hair extends below his cap, and he wears a thick beard. Missing both of his arms, the man provides few further clues about his actions or societal role, though Cuadrado suggests that he may have been tugging at his open mouth, in the commonly depicted form of a mouth puller.452

For the next figure (11, fig. 114), Cuadrado proposes a very specific action and implication. She suggests that this bareheaded, bearded man carries a Roman balance (a

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452 Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 232-233. Mouth pullers are common on similar portals, for example, at Santa María and San Miguel de Uncastillo and San Salvador de Leyre.
The voussoir is heavily damaged; the man’s left arm is missing completely, and his right arm bends up at the elbow to grab or hold a round object in front of his chest. A wide strap can be seen running across his less deteriorated right shoulder, possibly supporting the object. What Cuadrado interprets as a balance, appears to me to be a sack strapped around the man’s neck that he clutches with his left hand. The bag bulges as if full of coins. Although neither identification can be made conclusively, both denote vice.

Like the avaricious man, the next figure (12, fig. 115), too, seems to have something suspended from his neck. He is tonsured, clearly identifying him as a monk or cleric, and he rests both hands on his lap. A strap across his left shoulder retains traces of incised decoration, and from it hangs a small pouch. With his richly ornamented strap sustaining what may be another—though smaller—bag of coins, the monk also denotes affluence and seems to function as a second personification of avarice. The adjacent voussoirs play off each other and seemingly warn against different variations on this sin that became increasingly rife in the twelfth century.454

A number of the following figures have endured significant damage that makes their identities difficult to reconstruct. The first (13, fig. 116) is a bearded man with large head and pronounced features. He raises his left arm to chest height and holds his right slightly lower with his elbow bent at a right angle. His activity or pose cannot be determined further. He retains traces of black paint, outlining his right eye and eyebrow.

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453 Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 233. As she herself admits the identification of a Roman balance in somewhat problematic in that scales with two plates are much more common in Romanesque art. The parallel she suggests (from Santa María de Yermo in Cantabria) is a two-plate balance.

454 Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice.”
The next two figures are equally difficult to reconstruct, since both have lost their arms and anything they might have held. The first (14, fig. 117) is bearded and wears a cap similar to that of figure nine. The second (15, fig. 118) wears his or her hair loose and, like figure thirteen, preserves vestiges of black paint around the eyes. To their left, the following figure (16, fig. 119) is similarly effaced, but betrays traces of having held a large object that distinguishes him or her from the previous two individuals. A large break runs vertically down this figure’s abdomen and onto his or her lap. Perhaps this person played a harp, which would have crossed the body and been tucked between the knees for support.

An animal protome (17, fig. 120), much wider than its compatriots, stands out from the archivolt. In comparison to the surrounding figures its head is enormous, and its body stretches across the whole width of its voussoir stone. Though only carved with two legs, this beast appears very close to other Romanesque representations of apes. A number of northern Spanish examples show these simians with similar oversized heads, pronounced, rounded snouts, and legs perched to either side of wide bodies. Santa María’s anthropoid, for example, is akin to the eight identical apes ornamenting a double capital from the first construction campaign at Santo Domingo de Silos. The related examples—Silos, Loarre, Frómista, etc.—illustrate apes squatting. Santa María’s sculpture has replicated the pose, but has simplified the creature, an alteration similar in aspect to the incorrectly-positioned psalterist’s strings. The sculptor’s primary concern

455 For more on the apes at Silos, see Valdez del Álamo, *Palace of the Mind*, 69-71.
seems to have been making his meaning clear through schematic representations with little interest in naturalism.

Beside the ape, another figure gives us clues as to his identity but again is heavily worn (18, fig. 121). His left hand holds a long stick that reaches from the ground to his head. His right arm is broken; however, remains of a speech-bubble shaped object to the right of his head signal that he would have originally sustained something in this hand. Cuadrado identifies the object as an oliphant. A horn-blower would not be out of context with the assortment of figures here, similar to that at Olóriz (fig. 88), yet a couple details do not fully align with this identification. Attached to the bottom of the mysterious object on the right, a rod tucks behind the man’s back. Therefore, the figure holds two staffs, one long, in his left hand, and another supporting the object on his right. Similarly, a medieval pilgrim would have outfitted himself with two sticks: a long staff for walking and a stick to hold his scrip or bag. Compare, for example, the pilgrim on a voussoir at San Lorenzo in Vallejo de Mena in Burgos (fig. 141). Beyond these suggestions—horn-blower or pilgrim—a definitive identification seems unattainable given the current state of the stone.

The next figure (19, fig. 122) is heavily damaged. This person holds an object on his or her lap, but little else can be discerned. The following individual (20, fig. 123), although also quite worn, is more legible, and seems to be shown in the guise of the Good Shepherd, a popular image of Christ in the Early Christian period. In the traditional

\[\text{Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 235. At Santa María de Uncastillo there is a figure with a small sword and oliphant.} \]

\[\text{Cuadrado identifies the figure as male, but even this I hesitate to do given the state of preservation.} \]

\[\text{Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 235.} \]
iconography, Christ is depicted with a sheep draped over his shoulders. The sculptor
copies the pose, but his intention remains unclear. Did the sculptor choose to show Christ
in this role, sacrificing himself for his sheep—humanity—or, alternately, parody the
biblical representation with a different central character? Juxtaposed with a half-human
neighbor on the left, the inhabitant of the twentieth voussoir seems more likely to have
been meant with a playful or critical intent. A similar figure can be seen at Santa María
de Uncastillo beside such figures as hair and mouth pullers, as well as a vignette of tooth
extraction.

Curving to the left, the shepherd’s neighbor (21, fig. 124) strikes an odd profile. Though seated, like his companions on the archivolt, he appears unstable. His legs are
crossed one over the other, and they may terminate in hooves rather than feet. His upper
body is composed of a thick torso attached to his head without an intermediate neck.
Long hair flows in unkempt tendrils from under a cap. His strange features suggest an
identity of a man-beast hybrid. Beside him, sits another difficult to identify figure (22,
fig. 125). He seems to be bearded and wearing a garment that crosses his chest and
fastens across his shoulders.

Next the viewer encounters one of the most striking figures on the archivolt. A
horned demon (23, fig. 126) sits with a lap desk and quill before him in the guise of a
scribe. His features and action combine jarringly. The lap desk and stylus are common
scribal attributes, designating this skilled profession that was often performed by monks


but also increasingly undertaken by trained lay practitioners.\textsuperscript{460} However, from beneath the desk protrude thick, swollen legs terminating in clawed feet. A grotesque countenance and horns serve to further characterize the figure. Like several other individuals on the archivolt, the monstrous scribe retains traces of black paint outlining his eyes and eyebrows.

Another—albeit less jarring—hybrid (24, fig. 127) sits beside the scribe. This man-beast plays a long horn that he holds between his legs. His lower body appears indistinguishable from the majority of the carved men: he is seated with a bliaut falling across his legs and slightly pointed shoes project from underneath his garment. Nonetheless, his face betrays his strangeness. A large mustache curves upwards much past his mouth, extending above his head. He may also have small horns. Cuadrado, moreover notes that his pointed beard appears goat-like.\textsuperscript{461}

The next two figures (25-26) are both significantly worn, leaving few clues to their original actions or identities. The first (25, fig. 128) is bearded, wears a skullcap, and retains traces of paint lining his eyes. His arms cross his body, creating an x-shape with his slightly in turned knees. An object—now difficult to identify—can be discerned sitting to the left of his legs. Also bearded, his neighbor (26, fig. 129) leaves his hair exposed, detailed by the sculptor as thick strands falling to chin length. He holds something on his lap, which again evades identification.

\textsuperscript{460} For example, a lay scribe is portrayed on the archivolt of the nearby church of Santiago (fig. 207).
\textsuperscript{461} Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 236.
To the left sits a bearded man with a barrel on his lap (27, fig. 130). His bald forehead and crown, from which wavy tendrils fall on either side of his head, characterize this man as older than many of his companions. The barrel likely suggests a sinning behavior: either gluttony or intemperance. The following man (28, fig. 131) may simply have his hands on his knees. His left arm is placed squarely in front on his left knee, and his broken right arm likely replicated the gesture. His static pose resembles that of the woman on voussoir seven. The man’s beard is gathered into a point. To his left is yet another highly damaged and thus puzzling figure (29, fig. 132). The individual wears a headdress or cap, and his or her entire arms are worn away, preserving no hints as to the person’s original intended identity.

The next figure (30, fig. 133) wears a garment with long bell sleeves and a veil covering her hair. Akin to those on figure seven, the distinctive sleeves (and veil) likely designate her as a woman. She would have sustained something in her lap that has since been lost, though the shape of the break suggests that the object may have been an open book. Her neighbor on the left, another woman, is one of the archivolt’s more unusual carved figures. This individual (31, fig. 134) appears to be pregnant, holding her swollen belly with both hands. With the exception of the Visitation, in which the Virgin visits Saint Elizabeth, both of them pregnant, illustrations of enceinte women are rare in Romanesque art. Eve represents another example, shown clutching her round stomach at Santa María del Azogue in Benavente (fig. 142). Alternately, the voussoir could depict gluttony, representing a victim of this sin, clutching a stomach distended from overindulging. However, given the subject’s pronounced breasts, a pregnant woman
remains the most likely identification. She wears a veil covering her hair, and her eyes are heavily lined in black paint.\footnote{Cuadrado identifies this figure and the following (32) as men. For Cuadrado that means the first is a depiction of gluttony and the second is a man in women’s clothing. Her identifications stem from seeing beards on both figures, something I cannot confirm. Their faces are significantly damaged, leaving the question difficult to answer. I am basing their female identities on the remaining details. Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 237-238.}

Like the figure before last, the next individual (32, fig. 135) again wears wide bell sleeves that drape at her sides down to the backing stone. Her dress suggests her identification as a female; however, similar to the two preceding figures, the carved individual’s sex is not absolutely clear. The figure’s hair is short and uncovered, and Cuadrado writes that she sees traces of a beard, though from personal observation, I disagree with the latter point.\footnote{See above, note 462.} Given her gendered clothing, the following discussion treats this figure as female, but with the caveat that the identification is by no means certain.

Atop her lap sits a large jug, on which she rests both hands. A thin neck tops the round vessel. Its shape recalls the later medieval so-called ‘olive jars,’ but it could be either ceramic or animal skin, and could hold anything from wine to various foods. For Cuadrado, the figure represents gluttony. In relation to the preceding voussoir (31), the woman may also suggest another possible reading. A corbel from the south façade of San Martín de Artáiz in Navarra conflates the likenesses depicted on voussoirs thirty-one and thirty-two (fig. 143). At Artáiz, a pregnant woman gives birth to a small figure between her legs.\footnote{Javier Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz, “Artáiz,” in Enciclopedia del románico en Navarra, 242.} In her right hand she holds a wide, round vessel, similar to the one at Santa
María. The paralleling of pregnancy and pot or cask, at Santa María in adjacent voussoirs and at Artáiz in a single figure, could reference the idea of woman as vessel, employing an everyday object as metaphor for a central part of lay life.

A musician playing a curious instrument (33, fig. 136) comes next on the arch. Bearded with shoulder-length, loose hair, he appears to be male. He plays a pipe that stretches from his mouth to his lap. The body of the instrument is cylindrical, terminating in a bulbous, zoomorphic bell, with its lower opening corresponding to the maw of the beast. This appears to be an embellished alboka, a popular wind instrument made of wood and horn. Alboka players appear in sculpture on other relatively-contemporary portals, such as Santa María de Uncastillo, San Martín de Artáiz, and Santiago de Agüero, and in the illuminations of the Cantigas de Santa María.465 Wind instruments were commonly thought of as of a lower class than certain string instruments (the harp and psaltery, for example), appropriate in the hands of jongleurs. In twelfth-century imagery, the alboka seems to have fit this distinction, as its players are shown paired with bending dancers at Santiago de Agüero and San Nicolás de Bari.466 Here at Santa María, the instrument terminates in a ferocious beast’s head, lending the image a certain grotesqueness that associates the image with light-hearted or crude lay music.

Beside the musician sits a figure with a long thick beard and uncovered hair (34, fig. 137). Above his lap he holds a cube-shaped object in both hands. This could be a box or container of some kind. The next figure (35, fig. 138) also sustains a vessel, but this

one—with its wide base and small round neck—is easily read as a jug. With one hand lifting the base, and the other holding the middle, the man appears poised to raise the vessel to his mouth for a drink. Perhaps, in this case, the carafe holds wine or spirits and the man’s action suggests intemperance.

One of the most damaged figures on the archivolt follows (36, fig. 139). His whole lower body has been broken off at the waist. He is missing his legs, which would have been bent like those of his companions; the figure only maintains traces of his feet perched on the bottom of the voussoir stone. His lower arm crosses his chest, possibly sustaining an object. Nothing more can be gleaned about the broken figure’s action or profession. The final figure (37, fig. 140) is also highly damaged, but he preserves clues to his original action. He held a long object across his left shoulder, which seems to have crossed the lower left side of his face. Given the current state of the carving, any identification must be speculative, though he may have been a musician playing some kind of stringed instrument like a viol. These figures are common on related archivolts and are generally shown holding the instrument in this characteristic position, resting under the chin and across the shoulder. This last enigmatic figure, possibly a musician, closes the heavily populated archivolt.

A number of thematic groups emerges from Santa María’s seemingly random series of voussoirs. The most frequent figure types represented are animals or animal-human hybrids, musicians, vices, and daily occupations. Beginning with animals, an anthropomorphic-avian creature perches on the lower-leftmost voussoir, and at the apex

467 For instance, the viol player at nearby Santiago de Carrión (fig. 216) and at Santa María de Uncastillo.
of the arch sits a series of animals and hybrid-beasts. Some of the archivolt’s most visually-striking figures belong to this group. With wider bodies than their counterparts, the ape (17) and the demonic scribe (23) immediately draw the onlooker’s attention, and both convey meanings relevant for the wider reading of the ensemble.

The squatting ape interposes himself between two sitting humans (fig. 120). He both fits in and stands out from his counterparts: a characteristic central to his meaning. The Cambridge Bestiary states that the animal’s Latin name, *simia*, derives from the beasts’ similitude to humans.  

Medieval visual examples, too, manifest this idea, paralleling apes with men. Two capitals from the Pyrenean monastery of San Miguel de Cuxa, now in The Cloisters branch of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, depict squatting apes alternating with similarly posed men (fig. 144). The semi-crouched bipeds pull the simians up by their arms, in a movement that Thomas Dale argues symbolizes man’s struggle with his bestial nature. Equally, apes unaccompanied can represent man dominated by his baser instincts. According to the twelfth-century poet Bernardus Silvestris, when we, as humans, follow our bodily, bestial impulses, “we sink to the level of the ape, human in form but laughable and contemptible in all our actions.”

At Santa María, the grotesque squatting ape encourages the viewer to find parallels among the  

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469 Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.120.617 and 25.120.634. One of the displaced capitals from San Zoilo may also depict apes squatting beside men, although the capital is significantly damaged, and the animals could also be birds (fig. 29).

crowd of people around him, within the ring of stone figures as well as the viewer’s human counterparts. The cluster of hybrids nearby may function in a similar way; both humorous and frightening, these humanoid creatures signal the closeness between beast and man.

Certain voussoirs also more directly visualize man succumbing to the desires of the flesh, through the depiction of vices. A man with a barrel on his lap (27, fig. 130) and another man poised to drink from a large jug (35, fig. 138) likely signify intemperance, gluttony, or both. In a similar vein, the pregnant woman (31, fig. 134) could be taken to represent lust, her breasts pronounced and exposed, in contrast to the two appropriately dressed women beside her. The woman to her right (32, fig. 135) rests her hands atop a jug in her lap, parodying the gesture of her pregnant neighbor, hands atop protruding belly. The pair of figures visually associate woman and womb with vessel, though the analogy’s intent is unclear. Is vice implied or do the figures simply humorously illustrate a feature of life?

Across the archivolt two figures embody another sin (figs. 114-115), one that became a significant spiritual concern of the twelfth century. A layman (11) tugs at a bag looped around his neck, while beside him a tonsured monk (12) sits still, a small sack hanging from his neck by embroidered strap. The pair represents avarice in two forms, reminding viewers that people of all kinds may fall victim to this behavior. In the Crónica anónima, the author notes the changing economic fortunes of Sahagún’s citizens and names their newfound prosperity as one of the causes of the conflict, saying that from...
monetary success, “the heart of said burghers began to swell and stir with pride.” The monk’s comments epitomize contemporary attitudes within twelfth-century society, which began to consider avarice the worst ill plaguing society. In the wake of the rebellions, a message implicating both ecclesiastics and lay people in the practice of this sin might productively reconcile parties that saw one or the other as primarily guilty.

A third figure (10, fig. 113) may also relate to the two misers to his right, or gain additional meaning when visually grouped together with them. Though not branded with a bag around his neck, the man may be read as avaricious through his position on the archivolt combined with his perceived societal role. His distinctive hat, covered in ridges that run from his hairline over the crown of his head, identifies the man as a Jew. Because of their ability to handle money without the compunctions of Christian doctrine against usury, many Jews worked in financial professions, paradoxically often employed by Christians who themselves spiritually decried lending and money exchange but still engaged with it from a practical standpoint. During their revolts against the crown and the city’s administration, along with burning palaces and razing fields, Carrionese rebels murdered Jewish citizens. This fact informs us not solely about religious or class tensions present in the city, but more importantly suggests that the Jews served a purpose for the royals, nobles, and gentry against whom the burghers were rebelling, likely one

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471 “El coracon de los dichos burgueses comencose a crescer e leuantarse en soberuia.” Puyol, Las crónicas anónimas, ch. 13, 33.
472 The sin of avarice and its perception in the twelfth century will be treated in greater detail in the fourth chapter. See also Little, “Pride goes before Avarice”; and Lester K. Little, Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978).
473 Alfonso VII’s pardon of the residents of Saldaña, Carrión, Cea, and Cisneros on taking the throne exonerates these citizens for the killing of Jews, see pardon from 1127 in English and Latin on page 301, and note 652.
involving money. Though each carved figure sits independently, hemmed in by his own voussoir, the three enhance the meanings of their counterparts. While the otherwise nondescript Jew gains a prehensile connotation from his avaricious neighbors, conversely his association with them may warn the viewer of the dangers of consortin
g with Jews.

Another recurrent figure type on Santa María’s archivolt is the musician. Dispersed across the arch, men play the viol, psaltery, alboka, and possibly harp, creating the sense of a troupe of musicians and onslaught of sound. Musicians appear frequently on archivolts, and are expected and unremarkable in their inclusion here; nonetheless, it is precisely this frequency that reveals their importance and suitability to the space. The musicians undoubtedly participated in the viewer’s experience of the portal, informing and playing off of the figures around them.

The musicians depicted all actively play their instruments, enabling the viewer to picture the performance and engage in something of a multi-sensory experience. Jonathan Alexander refers to an image triggering a deluge of other images in the viewers’ mind—images from varied contexts and with different connotations—terming this optic-mental mechanism ‘intervisuality.’\textsuperscript{474} Perhaps the musicians participate in a similar process, generating an inter-sensorial experience for the onlooker.

At Santa María, this simulated experience seems to have been one of popular entertainment, rather than of music performed in a sacred context. For one, these instrumentalists’ closest comparanda often accompany female dancers, as at Santa María

de Uncastillo and nearby Santiago in Carrión’s city center.\textsuperscript{475} Moreover, some of the figures themselves, in their depictions and choice of instruments, would be highly unfit for participation in the liturgy. The man playing a long pipe held between his knees (24, fig. 127) appears disturbingly goat-like with large mustache, pointed beard, and what could be small horns. While nearby, the alboka player’s (33, fig. 136) instrument features a fearsome beast’s head as its bell, the melody he plays emanating from the mouth of the animal. These figures are entertainers, jongleurs, depicted in ways that could range from condemnation to comical. We can imagine the motley band of musicians moving—bobbing and tapping, vigorously plucking, strumming, and blowing their instruments—in tempo with the rhythm of the composition. In front of the still, stone portal, the viewer participates in a lively, kinetic experience that would have been further enhanced by the real performers who likely plied their trade in front of or near the church.

Excessive motion, however, could be seen as unfavorable for the spirit. Certain figures on the archivolt convey a sense of stillness, contrasting with the imagined activity of the musicians. Two figures (7 & 28, figs. 110 & 131), with their hands resting on their knees, exhibit a restraint or control over the body. Similarly, an orant man (8, fig. 111), possibly engaged in prayer, holds his arms fixed and upright. The volatility conveyed by the musicians is balanced by these controlled bodies. “Just as inconstancy of mind brings forth irregular motions of the body,” writes the twelfth-century theologian Hugh of St. Victor, “so also the mind is strengthened and made constant when the body is restrained

\textsuperscript{475} Santiago de Agüero provides another example: men playing the psaltery and alboka are each paired with a female dancer.
through the process of discipline.” He continues, “the perfection of virtue is attained
when the members of the body are governed and ordered through the inner custody of the
mind.”476 Through straight posture, discreet movements, and general exterior decorum,
man could control and improve the state of his spirit.

This training and syncing of the body and spirit was directly compared to music.
In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, music had become an accepted allegory for the state
of the pneuma and its physical vessel. Drawing on Greek musical theory, primarily
transmitted through Boethius, medieval writers explored music’s ability to govern the
soul. Theologians applied the metaphor of ‘tuning,’ as in the adjustment of a musical
instrument to the correct pitch, to the synchronization of body and soul. This harmony of
parts was termed *musica humana*, one of the three types of music expounded by
Boethius, along with *musica mundana* and *musica instrumentalis.*477 The third, *musica
instrumentalis*—music produced by instruments, what we think of as music today—could
affect the state of this balance. As described by an eleventh-century poet, “the musical
temper now softens, now makes harsh, now pacifies the mind's emotions.”478 A capital at
Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay expresses this concept visually (fig. 145). On the
front face a man plays a pipe, with a viol also slung across his shoulder. Directly in front
of him, seemingly engaged in the music, a demon—hair disarrayed and standing on

Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of
478 From “Quid suum virtutis” or “The Nature of Virtue,” an eleventh-century poem, possibly written for
end—reaches around the side of the capital to cup the breast of a nude woman.\textsuperscript{479} If this was not sufficiently condemnatory, a snake, curled around his leg, simultaneously bites the demon’s genitals. With little subtlety, the capital implies that the music played incites monstrous lust. Santa María illustrates no such direct link. The moralizing content ingrains itself within a more palatable, kaleidoscopic ensemble, in which the viewer might on occasion connect music to lewd and undesirable behavior, re-imagine a heard piece of music, or laugh with a companion over a half-man, half-beast pipe player.

As easily the most common type of figure depicted on heterogeneous figural archivolts (as well as on carved corbels), the musician may embody an additional meaning. Musicians implied a sensory experience. Unlike today, when music can be divorced from its makers, music in the pre-modern era would have always been both visual and auditory; its players rollicking with the song’s cadence and the physical effort of manning an instrument, in addition to the intrinsic aural element. Laying aside its positive or negative connotations, at a basic level, music represented sheer entertainment. Perhaps the omnipresent carved musicians serve the sculpture indexically. In sculptural contexts in which entertainment seems to have been of top priority, musicians are the most common inhabitants, embodying the visual experience of entertainment that the public sculpture sought to create.

Today the majority of us interact with images differently than a medieval person might have. We are inundated with images—flashing advertisements, colorful signs,

\textsuperscript{479} Reinhold Hammerstein, \textit{Diabolus in musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter} (Bern: Francke, 1974), pl. 62. This capital is also described in Ambrose, \textit{The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay}, 89.
television, internet—that exponentially diminish the time and value dedicated to each. We may stop looking at images we see every day, or find no reason to interrogate them once we have seen them once or twice. With fewer images in the environment or in circulation, the medieval viewer would likely have held a more sustained interest in those that he or she had, potentially re-interpreting the visual content across a lifetime. Santa María’s archivolt encourages and inspires this type of looking. It offers no sense of program or unifying message that can be grasped in a single viewing, its array of paratactic figures instead affords a dynamism ideal for repeated and extended consideration.

Santa María’s façade sculpture may indicate its intended audience through its form. The thirty-seven voussoir figures hug the door, their small profiles indistinct from the street. As such, these figures seem to be designed more for the repeat viewer—namely, the Carrionese citizen—than for members of the visiting court or passing pilgrims. Within the city, the church would have served as a backdrop for civic life, the site of countless conversations, exchanges, entertainments, and of course devotion. For the parish clergy and church patrons, the local lay viewer becomes a crucial audience post-rebellion. Santa María’s voussoirs, integrating humor, farce, warning, and social commentary, work within a particular visual arrangement designed to have a lasting ability to engage its public.

Santa María: Patroness of Carrión

While Santa María’s archivolt was intended primarily for the visual consumption of a local audience, the church’s frieze had a different function, reflected in its distinct
form (fig. 146). The frieze’s figures are immediately noticeable, encouraging the viewer to examine this space almost before any other aspect of the portal. A row of large, deeply-cut people, walking or riding horses, extends across the top of the church. Excluding three forward-facing figures, the majority move westward, the direction of the pilgrimage to Compostela. Their progress, highlighted by emphatic gesture and pointing, invests the frieze with a pronounced directionality, and communicates to the viewer the intended manner of reading. The trajectory of the carved figures exactly corresponds to that of the road into the city. Pilgrims would have followed this track into Carrión along with citizens coming from outside the walls into the urban center.

The story told from right to left illustrates the Journey of the Magi and the Epiphany, with the wise men first visiting Herod and ending their peregrination offering gifts at the feet of the Virgin. Mary’s position at the far left represents a marked displacement from a traditional Epiphany, which would place the holy pair, the Virgin and Child, at center. Instead, Carrión’s arrangement encourages the peripatetic viewer to associate with the Magi, shown walking to and reaching Mary as they themselves enter the city. Unlike the archivolt, the frieze is easily read at a slight distance. Around seven meters from the ground, the scene actually better suits a wide angle of viewing; the sculptor(s) further accommodate viewing from this vantage point with large figures, exaggerated gestures, and deep carving. Where the archivolt singly addressed a local and recurring audience, the biblical frieze expands its potential viewership. Visualizing a spiritual journey, the church sculpture speaks to the transitory pilgrimage audience passing through Carrión en route to Santiago de Compostela. Simultaneously, in its convergence on the Virgin Mary, the frieze serves as an embodiment and symbol of the
city for citizens. To appeal (and be relevant) to dual audiences, the directional carved Epiphany functions on multiple levels: tropological for pilgrims, emblematic for townspeople.

Today the frieze stretches across the space between two post-medieval buttresses, at a length of 4.8 meters. Though comprising a continuous narrative, the frieze consists of a number of stone panels that were carved individually. Extra panels of sculpture, displaced by the reinforcement of the church, were inset into the buttresses’ interior walls. Originally the frieze would have lain flat, likely spanning the entire section of projecting wall into which the portal is set, measuring 6 meters in length. Despite the later modification due to necessary structural work, the decoration seems to be displayed in its original order.480

Though today tucked into the inner left corner, only visible from inside the buttressed space, Mary represents the conceptual center of the composition (fig. 147). Barring the inclusion of any lost panels, she would have sat at the farthest left of the band of decoration, and forms the culmination of the visualized narrative. Looking eminently regal, she occupies a wide throne. Lines of patterned decoration ornament the seat, and two large pillars define its limits. From behind her emerge stylized flora. Twisting slightly, the two stalks betray their organic nature in contrast with the straight columns of

480 Despite placing Mary on the side rather than in the center (which will be explained below), the current order seems to be the most logical arrangement. The nine figures of the Magi all move in the same direction (west), a feature that could not be changed without inverting the stones. Cuadrado proposes two alternate arrangements for the panels, only one of which with Mary in the center. Both suggestions pose compositional or narrative problems, neither functioning better than the current layout. See Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 257-258.
the throne. One flower opens to the viewer, disclosing rows of abstracted petals, while the other faces away, presenting the viewer with its veined back.

Flowers, especially the rose and the lily, are common Marian symbols. This pair resembles roses, with the right flower’s petals expanding concentrically from its center. Given the context of the image, a concept offered by Rabanus Maurus may accord with their appearance here. He writes, “…she made the Savior blossom forth, like a rose growing out of a bush of her human body…” Summarizing earlier theologians, Maurus compares Mary to the Rod of Aaron with a similar denotation: “Others think that this staff, which brought forth a flower, without the presence of moisture, is the Virgin Mary, who bore the word of God without intercourse.” Under these schemata, the flower in fact represents Christ, begat by his virginal mother Mary. Rigidly frontal, crowned, and dressed in fine vestments, the Virgin holds the infant Christ on her lap. He faces sideways, turning inward onto the frieze to acknowledge the wise men. He raises his right arm likely in a blessing gesture directed to the first Magus. With Mary depicted here as Sedes Sapientiae, or Throne of Wisdom, the flowers or roses sprouting from her throne seem to gloss the new mother as bearer of Divine Wisdom.

481 This excerpt comes from a passage in which Maurus is comparing Mary to the burning bush in Exodus (Ex 3:2), see larger passage in Luigi Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages: The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians, trans. Thomas Buffer (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), ch. 7.
482 Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, ch. 7. Ambrose, St. Ephrem, and Gregory the Great, among others, compared Mary to the Rod of Aaron, see Donal Anthony Foley, Marian Apparitions, the Bible, and the Modern World (Leominster: Gracewing, 2002), 196.
Two of the Magi kneel before Mary, also today inset on the interior of the buttress. The third Magus follows on the south wall. In line with the traditional iconography, the sculptor has depicted the kings in various states of kneeling. The first bows the lowest, with his left leg almost touching the ground. The front two hold pyxides, representing their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh; the third likely did as well, but has lost his arms. Each is individualized through a different treatment of hair and headgear.

Just behind the genuflecting Magi, these same men recur, though now astride horses bedecked in fine fabrics and festooned bridles (figs. 148-149). Representing an earlier episode, the Magi are shown traveling towards Bethlehem to find and pay homage to the newborn Christ. The first Magus points forwards, directing the trio. According to the Gospels his gesture would indicate the star they followed to reach Christ. However, the sculptor chose to omit the star, leaving this aspect of the story to the viewer’s imagination. The two other Magi ride forward in answer to the leader’s directive, each with his right arm poised on his horse’s neck.

Working backwards, we come to an earlier scene. An enthroned king turns slightly left to attend to three figures facing him: the third iteration of the Magi (figs. 150-151). In this episode of the narrative, the Magi have come to Jerusalem after seeing a star alerting them to the birth of the King of the Jews. Hearing this weighty news, Herod, king of Judea, called the wise men to him, inquiring about the story and sending them to Bethlehem to gather information on the child. Santa María’s carved Herod occupies an

484 Matthew 2 (D-R).
ornamental throne and wears kingly regalia, his attire consisting of a bejeweled crown and fine garments, detailed with numerous small pleats. Two avian bodies interlock to form the seat of his throne. The animals’ heads serve as the arms, one the expected physiognomy of a bird, the other distinctly feline, signaling some sort of hybrid creature. For the eye of the attentive viewer, the sculpture visually compares Herod with the beasts upholding him. His pleated clothing is almost indistinguishable from their scaled or feathered bodies. Moreover, the beasts also form a marked contrast with the expected kingly throne support, lions. Deriving from the biblical description of Solomon’s throne, lions often served as throne legs, symbolically associating their occupants with the ideal kingship of Solomon. For example, many of the monarchs of León and Castilla, as well as of the preceding Asturian kingdom, were depicted in leonine thrones. Within this cultural context, Herod’s seat might have provoked the opposite impression; in their contrast with the Solomonic lions, the hybrid creatures betray their occupant’s malevolence.

In his right hand, King Herod holds a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lis. His left rests upon the zoomorphic arm of his throne as he turns to the first of the wise men. While today the fleur-de-lis is generally associated with French heraldry, in the twelfth century, the stylized flower had much broader associations with sovereignty, and

485 1 Kings 10:18-20 (D-R)
486 See, for example, images of kings Fruela II, Bermudo II, Alfonso V, Alfonso VI, and Alfonso VII in the Tumbo A manuscript in the archive of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (these illuminations are from the first phase of the manuscript’s creation, in the second quarter of the twelfth century, relatively contemporary to Santa María).
487 Cuadrado points out this detail, Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 255.
appeared in the regalia of kings across Western Europe.\textsuperscript{488} The \textit{Libro de las Estampas}, a royal cartulary produced at the end of the twelfth century, depicts many Iberian monarchs holding scepters topped with fleurs-de-lis.\textsuperscript{489} In this way, Herod’s attribute may have subtly associated him with contemporary rulers, or may have been included simply as a recognizable sign of kingship. Opposite Herod, the first Magus kneels, pointing forwards as he recounts his story. Behind him, the other Magi are shown in different states of movement, both holding walking sticks. The second from Herod seems to have just paused, knees locked together, while the third is caught mid-stride. Together the trio illustrate an ongoing stretch of the narrative, their journey to Jerusalem and their subsequent audience with the king.

In this meeting, Herod orders the travelers to bring him word of the child on their return voyage. However, listening to a warning in a dream, the trio never returns, taking an alternate route home and leaving Herod feeling deceived and angry. He then commands the slaughter of all infants in Bethlehem, initiating the infamous biblical episode of the Massacre of the Innocents. On Santa María’s frieze, to the right of the Magi’s audience with Herod, sits a second king, whom Cuadrado has suggested may represent Herod giving the order for the massacre (fig. 152).\textsuperscript{490} This monarch also wears rich clothing and a large crown, albeit different from that of the first. He occupies a simple throne within an arched space. His left arm rests on the arch, and his right sustains

\textsuperscript{488} Michel Pastoureau and Julia Bucci, \textit{Una historia simbólica de la Edad Media occidental} (Buenos Aires: Katz, 2006), 107-121.
\textsuperscript{489} See the \textit{Libro de las Estampas} in León Catedral. The illumination of Alfonso V from the \textit{Tumbo A} manuscript also represents this king with a fleur-de-lis topped staff.
\textsuperscript{490} Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa María,” 256.
an upturned sword that lies across his shoulder. Surrounding him, the microarchitecture bears patterns similar to those adorning Mary’s throne (motifs of repeated circles and U-shapes), and one of its columns is helical like the columns thought to have adorned the Temple of Solomon.

Finally, a last relief panel—displaced during the reinforcement project—is inset into the interior of the right buttress (fig. 153). The most damaged of the group, the panel today discloses only the rough bodies of two figures, having lost any characterizing details. Cuadrado suggests that this final fragment of the frieze may have depicted the Massacre of the Innocents, in accordance with her identification of both kings as versions of Herod, the second enthroned king Herod giving the deadly order. Under this explanation, the Journey of the Magi would occupy the majority of the frieze, while the negative chapter of the story also played out opposite.

Despite their faithfulness to the narrative told in Matthew 2, it is unclear if the final two reliefs do in fact depict Herod’s directive and the subsequent enforcement of the Massacre. Across the carved repetitions of the Magi, the artist(s) maintained the particular individualization of each figure.\(^{491}\) The kings, however, appear deliberately differentiated; not only in variable features, like throne and raiment, but also in more constant physical characteristics, like facial hair and posture. Perhaps this distinction serves to enhance pictorial interest and Cuadrado’s suggestion stands.\(^{492}\) Instead, the

\(^{491}\) Though these figures are damaged, it is possible to discern certain details repeated across the frieze. For example, the first Magus seems distinguished by his long beard and the third wears a turban under his crown.

\(^{492}\) The reliefs could also have been carved on the ground separately, accounting for variations in carving across periods of work or completion by different artists. Nevertheless, each Magus’ appearance seems to
king enclosed by the fanciful microarchitecture could signify a different, unidentified figure. In the latter case, a distinction may be implied about the character of the two sovereigns through their outward appearance. Herod, with hybrid throne, and garments that reflect these beasts, represents an archetype of the bad king, while the other may convey a more positive or neutral depiction of a ruler. Either way, Mary and the Christ Child at the far left, the culmination of the main narrative, embody ideal sovereignty. This contrast of kingship would have been particularly relevant to the viewers, having recently experienced their own turmoil under battling monarchs. For the historically conditioned audience, the frieze suggests a hierarchy, enforcing ecclesiastical leadership over lay rulership. The sculpture thus warns its viewer to be wary of allegiance to false kings and instead to devote oneself to following the church.

The subject of the Adoration of the Magi is quite common in Romanesque art. In monumental sculpture, the theme appears frequently on tympana and capitals. Multiple Spanish tympana illustrate the scene with the Virgin and Child at center and the Magi (and sometimes Joseph or a prophet) positioned around them to suit the semi-circular have been consciously kept consistent, still leaving the question unanswered of why the two Herod’s would be so differently characterized.

493 Cuadrado mentions that Alfonso I was referred to as ‘otro Herodes burlado por los magos’ (‘another Herod mocked by the Magi’) in the Historia Compostelana (book 1, ch. 73). Cuadrado, “La iglesia de Santa Maria,” 261. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo proposes a similarly politicized reading of Adoration of the Magi scenes in Castilla, arguing that for viewers who lived through the fraught infancy of Alfonso VIII, the scene of kings kneeling at the feet of the Christ Child might evoke Alfonso’s triumph and successful kingship. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, “Homage to the Child King: The Adoration of the Magi in Twelfth Century Castilian Portals,” in Mittelalterliche Bauskulptur in Frankreich und Spanien: Im Spannungsfeld des Chartreser Königsportals und des Pórtico de la Gloria in Santiago de Compostela, eds. Claudia Rückert and Jochen Staebel (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2010): 251-266.

494 The story also appears on baptismal fonts, for example those of Renedo de Valdavia and Valcobero (today in the Museo Diocesano de Palencia).
carving space. On capitals, the biblical episode often accompanies other scenes from the Infancy of Christ, each occupying a side. For example, a cloister capital from the Navarrese church of San Pedro de la Rúa in Estella includes the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 154), along with the Annunciation, Visitation, and Adoration of the Shepherds. An adjacent capital depicts the Massacre of the Innocents, including the Magi’s visit to Herod (fig. 155).

The designers of Santa María chose a tympanum-less composition for the façade, instead developing the narrative surrounding the Magi in panels arranged above the portal. The longitudinal space afforded by a frieze enabled an extended—and meaningfully arranged—telling of the biblical story. The Magi appear three times, each iteration illustrating a part of their journey. They are shown first walking to Jerusalem, then on horseback en route to Bethlehem, before finally reaching their destination at the feet of Mary. This particular and deliberate arrangement places focus on the Magi and their travels. Moreover, the unfolding scenes demonstrate a pronounced directionality, with each stage of the voyage following the same trajectory from right to left, and east to west. Directly in front of the south portal runs a street eponymously named Calle Santa María. Starting on the east at the one of the main city gates—one of the two entrances taken by pilgrims bound for Santiago de Compostela—the street runs into the Barrio de

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495 See, for example, the tympanum set into the west façade at Santa María de Uncastillo, and those at Santiago de Agüero (Aragón), La Asunción de Achedo de Butron (Burgos), Santa María la Antigua de Corticela (Galicia), and Santiago de Compostela (the Portada de Platerías). A tympanum at San Pedro in Huesca (Aragón) also depicts the scene, but the figures are arranged to fit a large lintel-like band rather than the whole semi-circular space.

496 This is a common capital subject; among others, the scene is depicted on a porch capital at La Asunción de Duratón (Segovia), a cloister capital at San Juan de la Peña (Aragón), and inside the churches of San Martín de Frómista and Santa María de Piasca (both Palencia).
los Francos and ends in the city center. Continuing on a track slightly north-west, the walker will eventually cross the river, and pass through the Barrio de San Zoilo, before exiting the city again, on the western road in the direction of Santiago de Compostela.

The westward course traveled by the wise men on the façade runs parallel with Calle Santa María and the larger *Camino de Santiago*.

As the portal came into view after passing through the eastern gate, pilgrims would quickly notice the large, gesticulating characters on the frieze, the figures moving in the same direction as they were themselves. Two of the Magi hold walking sticks, a traditional attribute of the pilgrim. Farther ahead on the frieze, the three are shown traveling on horseback. Both versions would appeal to factions of the diverse body of pilgrims aiming to reach Compostela, some traveling on foot aided by the ubiquitous walking stick, others mounted. The Magi—nine in total, across the scenes—almost seem a diverse group of pilgrims themselves. However, in finding their image in the carved frieze, the pilgrims also witnessed a more powerful, charged image of pilgrimage. In traveling to and adoring Christ, the Magi provided the exemplar of spiritual traveler, to be followed later by pilgrims to Jerusalem, Rome, and Compostela, as well as incalculable more minor destinations.

The pilgrimage audience would have been quite different from that of the locals. Though Carrión housed a diverse citizenry—composed of immigrants and multiple religious groups—the pilgrimage garnered a distinct diversity. Travelers came from a wider range of places, from France clearly, but also from Germany, England, Italy, and as
far off as Scandinavia. Some had left behind everything to undertake the journey for the voluntary salvation of his or her soul, others to beg healing from the saint, for themselves or family members, and still others as ordered penance for a grievous sin; not to mention those traveling out of curiosity or restlessness. Their viewing experiences would thus come from a range of different contexts and engage distinct emotions. While for the local viewer, Santa María’s sculpture was a regularly experienced facet of quotidian life, for the pilgrim, engagement with the images was a transitory encounter. Moreover, this ephemeral viewing experience would have been charged by the spiritual and physical circumstances of travel.

Victor and Edith Turner, in their seminal and oft-cited work on the anthropological aspects of pilgrimage, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, characterize pilgrims during their journey as ‘vulnerable’ to visual stimuli. For the many who embarked on the voyage for salvific, redemptive, and/or healing considerations, Christian imagery would be particularly powerful. The long-distance spiritual travelers to Compostela would be actively looking for divine signs, for connection to God. And for all travelers, regardless of intent, the journey was physically

taxing.499 The multitudes on foot, especially, arrived at intermediary destinations like Carrión, nursing minor injuries and relieved for the respite offered by a town. Even today with modern footwear—outfitted with specialized gait-targeting insoles, ample padding, and ankle support—the route is littered with walkers tending sore and blistered feet, besides the many aches, sprains, and rheumatisms that afflict the rest of the body. The physical intensity of such an extended journey made entry into towns and cities a hard-earned reprieve. The images present on church facades, what Willibald Sauerländer calls ‘posters in stone’ would be seen under these conditions.500

Finally, unlike today, the journey could be life-threatening, as the anonymous author of the Pilgrim’s Guide warns his readers repeatedly. The pilgrim could perish from drinking bad water or eating tainted fish in Galicia.501 Or, more frightening, he or she might fall victim to various ill-intentioned opportunists preying on the naive traveler. For instance, in the village of Saint-Jean-des-Sorde in Gascony, the pilgrim must ford two rivers to continue on his or her journey. The Guide’s author warns that not only are the boatmen known to extort money for their services, but they purposefully overfill the boats, which then capsize and drown the pilgrims, allowing the nefarious ferrymen to steal the possessions of the dead.502 At the Cize pass in the Pyrenees—already a

499 The common perception is that medieval pilgrimage was motivated by spiritual concerns, namely the salvific or healing benefits of visiting a shrine. However, realistically many pilgrims embarked on the journey as a means of escaping their current situation since pilgrimage was one of the only culturally-sanctioned opportunities for travel. See Sumption, The Age of Pilgrimage, 5-20.
501 For example, he says, “Should you anywhere in Spain or in Galicia eat either the fish vulgarly called barbo, or the one those of Poitou call alose and the Italians clipia, or even the eel or the tenca, you will no doubt die shortly thereafter or at least fall sick.” William Melczer, The Pilgrim’s Guide, ch. 6, 89.
physically trying crossing—vicious toll-collectors overcharge the traveler, and, the author adds, “if some traveler refuses to hand over the money at their request, they beat him with the sticks and snatch away the toll money while cursing him and searching even through his breeches.” Similar to the concerns expounded in the *Pilgrim’s Guide*, the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa María* focuses heavily on the dangers of pilgrimage. Travelers on the route would undoubtedly worry that returning home was not a definite eventuality. The exhilarating and terrifying uncertainty of pilgrimage, coupled with the intense physical exertion required and a spiritual openness, expounded by the Turners, colored most pilgrims’ interaction with images. Thus, these travelers constituted a uniquely receptive audience, hungering to find comfort and spiritual reassurance, far from home and familiar existence. For a pilgrim with blistered feet and aching limbs, staring up at Santa María after entering the city, the carved image of the paradigmatic Journey of the Magi gained additional potency.

Traveling in the same direction as the pilgrims were themselves, the Magi analogously complete a spiritual journey. The design of the frieze allows viewers to interpret the parallelism in many ways, comparing or uniting elements of the carving with contemporary reality. From Mary’s lap, Christ faces east. He seems to have been raising his right hand, blessing the Magi before him. Equally, his gesture could extend to the pilgrims below, blessing the other spiritual travelers arriving from the same direction.

The first Magus emphatically affirms the correct direction by pointed finger. In line with the Gospel text, he points at the star they follow to reach Bethlehem. Despite the detailed nature of the frieze, the sculptor chose to omit the star. The star’s absence allows the Magus to point at a star in the actual sky, shared with the viewer. The frieze thus successfully collapses time, making the Journey of the Magi current and allowing pilgrims to align their own passage with the quest of their spiritual predecessors. This analogy is further supported by the church’s dedication to Santa María. Here pilgrims find themselves literally walking to and reaching Mary, a micropilgrimage during their longer journey to the tomb of the apostle at Compostela.

The Marian dualism would have held additional meaning for the twelfth-century viewer. Although today we refer to the Palencian city as Carrión or Carrión de los Condes, the city was originally also called Santa María. In documents from the tenth through the twelfth centuries, both names, Carrión and Santa María, are used, before Carrión becomes the sole appellation in the thirteenth century. Thus, for the road-worn traveler, the visualization of the Magi reaching Mary would metaphorically signal not only his or her arrival at the church of Santa María, but entrance into the well-known, prosperous city of Santa María/Carrión, one of the few Spanish cities on the Camino to which the Pilgrim’s Guide draws attention.

The parallelism of the Sedes Sapientiae, the church of Santa María, and the greater city would no doubt appeal to the townspeople as well. Where the large,  

505 See the overview of the city’s name in the introduction, page 40.  
506 Most stops are simply listed, but the author adds a bit of detail about a few cities: Estella, Carrión, Sahagún, León, and Santiago de Compostela. Melczer, The Pilgrim’s Guide, ch. 3, 86-87. The author refers to the city as Carrión.
emphatic, directional figures of the frieze serve to catch the attention of the transitory pilgrim, for the Carrionese citizen, their monumentality emblematizes the church and city. Unlike the rest of the sculptural ensemble, meant to be read in parts, and having little to do with this particular church, the frieze specially constructs biblical narrative to make a site-specific statement. The artist(s) organized the common scene to draw attention to the Journey of the Magi and to their destination: the Virgin and Child.

Like the city’s name, Santa María, which for the medieval viewer added a layer of meaning that has been lost today, the urban plan too may relate to the sculpture and its reading. The church of Santa María comes into view just after entry into the city center (its tower in sight from a distance). Beside the eastern gate—also called Santa María—the basilica marks one point of access into Carrión. A second main route taken by pilgrims and travelers into the city descends from the north. Today the Camino has become a fairly set route; many sections are paved, and all are abundantly signposted with shells and arrows. To arrive in Carrión, pilgrims progress from the town of Villalcázar de Sirga, located around six kilometers southeast, through the eastern entrance to the city (map 2). However, in the twelfth century, following Frómista, most pilgrims passed through the slightly more northern town of Arconada, accommodated by a hospital founded in 1047 by counts Gómez Diaz and Teresa and dedicated to Santos Facundo, Primitivo, Cristóbal, and Todos los Santos.507 Villalcázar only later became a frequented destination, as a result of a conscious program of self-promotion.

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507 The hospital is mentioned in documents 1, 7, & 8 in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300).
After Arconada, at least two more hospitals dotted the ten-kilometer stretch leading to Carrión. Then, before arriving in the large city, the medieval route split, one path entering Carrión from the north, passing by the medieval castle and through the northern Barrio de Dentro Castro, and the other, close to today’s Camino, crossing through the extra-mural Barrio of Santa María and entering via the gate of Santa María to land in front of the parish church (map 3). The two routes then converged in the city center, the Barrio de los Francos.

While the eastern route remains marked by the church of Santa María (and retains a steady flow of pilgrimage traffic), the northern route has lost its medieval monuments and its particular utility, and consequently, its original position of importance in the medieval urban fabric. Today the early modern church of Nuestra Señora de Belén (“Our Lady of Bethlehem”) stands at the northern edge of Carrión, on the city’s highest point (fig. 9). Though of late construction, the church marks a significant urban site, the location of both the medieval castle and a previous church dedicated to Santa María. The view of these likely imposing buildings prominently positioned on the city’s highest point would have greeted the traveler entering from the north, as did Santa María on the east.

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508 One hospital called San Cristóbal pertained to the property of Rodrigo Rodríguez Girón, likely dating its foundation to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Another, called Villamartín, was founded in 1196 by the magnate Tello Pérez to function as a leper colony and hospital; however, likely in answer to demand, the hospital soon catered to pilgrims. In a 1231 donation document only the maintenance of pilgrims is mentioned. Peral Villafruela, De Aquitania a Carrión, 148-151.

509 With the changing position of hospitals (and the growing popularity of Villalcázar de Sirga), the northern route seems to have gone out of use, while the eastern one became standard.

510 The castle was demolished in the fifteenth century.
That there stood an earlier church on the site of El Belén is known from the 1345 census, referring to a Santa María de Beldehem; however, little else has been written about the medieval foundation. It seems as if scholars have either ignored the church or else assumed that it was a Gothic construction, built after the height of Carrión’s architectural and civic development. Nonetheless, we can date the church to at least the early thirteenth century, if not earlier. Two documents, one from 1221 and one from 1227, refer to a Prior Martin of Sancte Marie de Castello de Carrione and Santa María de Dentro Castro, respectively. The historian Francisco Simón y Nieto, who catalogued these documents in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, notes the reference to Santa María del Castillo but confuses it with Santa María del Camino, the eastern church and focus of this chapter. Instead, the references to “de Castello” and “Dentro Castro” identify Prior Martin as the head of a second dedication to Santa María, located in the northern barrio of Dentro Castro and adjacent to the castle. Thus, we can conclude that a church consecrated to the Virgin stood on or close to today’s site of El Belén from at least the early thirteenth century, if not before.

Identifying this second dedication to Santa María allows us to propose two related premises. The city valued and embraced its early associations with Santa María, to the point of shaping its design and urban plan, while simultaneously producing a sculptural illustration of this relationship, a directional frieze culminating at the Virgin and Child.

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511 San Martín Payo, La más antigua estadística, 12.
512 AHN, Clero, carp. 1718, 5; and Simón y Nieto, Los antiguos campos góticos, 133 (note 1). Simón y Nieto never cites his source for the document transcribed. He calls the church ‘Santa María de Dentro Castro’ though likely the donation document would have recorded a Latin name similar to that used in the 1221 document.
This spatial and artistic evidence suggests that Carrionese citizens saw the Virgin mother as the patron of their city. The two Marian churches stand strategically at entrances. One dedication to Santa María greets the traveler on the eastern road, the other, on the approach from the north. These are deliberate and shrewd placements, enabling the Virgin both to serve as the protector of the city, divinely guarding the gates, and as a symbol and patron of the city, with her churches heralding her presence for locals and visitors. Mary has long been associated with gates and protection. In patristic thought, Mary is called a “closed gate,” in reference to her pure and unbroken body, untouched by carnal relations. Medieval theologians expanded the metaphor. For example, the thirteenth-century Castilian poet Gonzalo de Berceo writes evocatively: “She is called the Port to which we all hasten, and the Gate through which we all await entrance. She is called the Closed Gate; for us She is open, to give us entrance…She rightfully is called Zion, for she is our Watchtower, our Defense.” Moreover, suiting her role as patron, these churches would likely have been very visible from both within and outside Carrión. Santa María del Camino sits on a slight incline; its crossing tower must have been seen during the flat eastern approach. Santa María del Castillo occupied the highest point in

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513 Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 75. Byzantine writers particularly expounded this metaphor, for example in the seventh-century Akathístos hymn, the Virgin is hailed the “impregnable wall of the kingdom.” Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London: Routledge, 1994), 149-158. She was treated as a patron of Constantinople and protected the walls and gates by her image, which was both affixed to and processed around the walls. Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 50-51. Although it is unclear when the Carrión-specific legend of the Cien Doncellas developed, the Virgin is the protagonist (and protector), saving the Doncellas by sending bulls to attack the Muslims.

the city. This church would have overlooked both the northern and western roads into the city, striking above the city and the Río Carrión.515

Santa María’s frieze should be understood in this context, within a city patronized and symbolized by the Virgin. While pilgrims could see themselves in the traveling Magi moving across the façade, the townspeople understood that the Virgin—the frieze’s culmination—emblematized their city, a valuable destination in its own right. Her sculpted image reifies her presence, already implicit in the name of the city and its cardinal churches.

The construction of Carrión’s basilica dedicated to Santa María marks a turning point for the city. After decades of civil strife, the patrons of the church capitalized on a moment of peace, building one of the only great Palencian monuments of the period. In the wake of war and rebellion, Santa María’s patrons knew that the church had no certain hold upon its parishioners. The sculpture thus serves as a monumental signpost, with voussoirs warning and entertaining the townspeople and frieze unifying the city under the patroness Mary.

The church sat at an entrance to the city, and in addition to its local audience, also targeted a transitory viewership. Pilgrims, uniquely affected by the physical and psychological conditions of the route, and thus particularly susceptible to visual stimuli, were able to see themselves in the monumental Magi. The peripatetic wise men progress

515 The current El Belén gives a sense of the church’s presence in the city’s topography.
directionally, ending their journey triumphantly at the feet of Mary. For both locals and foreigners, the façade declares the church of Santa María and the city itself as the worthy destination of a spiritual journey, emblematized and patronized by the Virgin Mary herself.
CHAPTER 4: SANTIAGO

All we who live and stand upright,
even if we are in prison or bedridden,
are pilgrims walking down the road.
Saint Peter says so—we prove it to you through him.
As long as we live here, we dwell in a foreign land;
the everlasting dwelling place we await on high.
Our pilgrimage, then, we finish
when we send our souls to Paradise.516

From the Milagros de Nuestra Señora, Gonzalo de Berceo, ca. 1260

A massive stone Christ gazes over the plaza mayor of modern Carrión de los Condes. For the viewers below, his is an image of supreme authority, heightened by the rows of sage apostles that fan out on either side of him. Despite a marked difference in scale, a band of small figures—assiduously engaged in daily tasks—rings the circular portal and also draws the onlooker’s attention. A shoemaker fashions a boot, a tailor passes his needle through the neck of a tunic, and a coin-minter carefully places a round of metal into a die. While Christ and his holy brethren invoke feelings of awe, these miniature laborers engage the viewer more prosaically, inspiring a process of personal identification and practical association.

After San Martín de Frómista, Santiago de Carrión’s sculpted façade might be the most photographed and published work of Palencian Romanesque art (fig. 6). However, the layered imagery of Santiago cannot be fully understood without examining its local

516 Gonzalo de Berceo, Milagros de Nuestra Señora, 23.
artistic and historical milieu. The first of its kind, this study explores the sculpture of Santiago in the context of Carrión’s civic development and concomitant artistic production. This chapter will examine the parish church within the investigative framework of an urbanizing Carrión, focusing on three central discourses: (1) Santiago’s local roots and its role in civic and regional identity formation; (2) the parish church as a mirror of social change and middle class concerns; and (3) the church’s relation to its diverse, multi-confessional community.

Construction History

The parish church of Santiago, dedicated to Saint James the Great, is a veritable palimpsest of building phases. The structure that remains today incongruously combines exceptionally high quality elements with strange or jarring ones. The façade, for example, is striking—remarkable in its sculptural combination of classical weightiness and meticulous detail. However, on closer look, much of the large frieze’s right side reveals carving of a subtly different texture. The right’s microarchitecture—including columns, capitals, arches, and towers—is almost entirely modern reconstruction. On entering the church, the viewer encounters an even greater pastiche. Originally designed with three aisles and apses, the body of the church was transformed into a single, wide nave, which was subsequently destroyed by fire. Today, under an industrial steel canopy, the interior is a skeleton with broken gothic ribs, terminating in three rebuilt Romanesque apses (figs. 156-157).

The earliest construction of the current basilica seems to have taken place at the beginning of the twelfth century. Two capitals, excavated from below the church floor in
1975, date from the first building phase (figs. 158-159). The capitals are carved on three sides with coarse vegetal decoration. Their large size and rough-hewn quality suggest that they were originally placed high up in the church, possibly on the triumphal arch. On one, a pattern of fronds cupping round fruits runs in two tiers across the capital, and on the other, stalks bear oblong shapes that appear to be pine cones. The design of the first, with curving leaves weighed down by ripe fruits, is reminiscent of one of the displaced capitals found during San Zoilo’s excavation (as well as several others carved in the region around 1100, figs. 34 & 47). Santiago’s capital displays the same motif, but with less precision and finesse; the motif has become less organic and more stylized. Most likely the first church was built by a team of masons without any dedicated, specialized sculptors.

No extant documents reference the first church, and very few remain from the church in general. The nineteenth-century fire that left the building’s body ragged also destroyed its archive. Matching the stylistic evidence from the early capitals, archeological and historical evidence also suggests that the first construction phase took place in the early twelfth century. During a 1989 excavation, archeologists Roberto Ruiz Salces and Javier Peñil Mínguez dated the first church to the years just after 1100.518

517 I also suggest the capitals’ original positioning on the triumphal arch because there are just two extant. This would have been the privileged location in the church if only two capitals were to receive decoration. However, it is also possible that additional capitals were carved during the ca. 1100 campaign that do not survive.

518 Roberto D. Ruiz Salces and Javier Peñil Mínguez, “La excavación de la iglesia románica de Santiago: aportaciones al urbanismo medieval de Carrión de los Condes (Palencia),” in Crónica del XX Congreso Arqueológico Nacional (Zaragoza: Secretaría General de los Congresos Arqueológicos Nacionales, 1991), 483. While the study provides useful archeological information, certain details of the article are incorrect. For example, the authors cite a mention of a prior of Santiago in the Historia Compostelana—interpreting this reference as describing a prior of Santiago de Carrión and employing it as support for their argument that Santiago was a monastery—when in fact the reference is to Santiago de Compostela and the prior is
Within this timeframe we can restrict the dates still further, presuming a *terminus ante quem* of 1109. As with the dating of the nearby church of Santa María, we can likely dismiss the dates after Queen Urraca’s marriage to Alfonso I of Aragón because of the civil war that erupted in the wake of the union and rebellion that broke out within Carrión.

A number of scholars have identified Santiago as a Templar church. However, as Jacques Lacoste indicates, there is no factual basis for this identification. It seems as if the mystery shrouding Santiago—stemming from its dearth of documentation and curious appearance—has led to a certain inventiveness in interpretation. Arguing against its Templar origins, Ruiz Salces and Peñil Mínguez claim that Santiago was instead a monastery. They cite the vestiges of surrounding buildings as evidence of a monastic complex. However, like the Templar theory, there is equally insufficient evidence that Santiago was a monastery. In contrast, I will argue that Santiago was a parish church with regular clergy.

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the nephew of Diego Gelmiřez; thus, I am treating their study as a source to be used with caution. See the *Historia Compostelana*, Flórez, *España Sagrada*, vol. 20, 266.


521 The Templars seem to have held a mystery and appeal for scholars (and no doubt the general public) and have been associated with many more institutions than history supports. For example, the similarly architecturally puzzling church of Santo Sepulcro in Torres del Río was long identified with the Templars without factual basis. On Santo Sepulcro, see Javier Martínez de Aguirre, *Torres del Río, Iglesia del Santo Sepulcro* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2004).

522 Ruiz Salces and Peñil Mínguez, “La excavación,” 484; see also note 518 above.
Santiago is shaped like a trapezoid, with a significantly larger east than west end (with a difference in width of almost 5 meters). The irregularity of the plan suggests that, when first built, Santiago had to be fit within a space delineated by preexisting buildings; if part of a monastic complex, the subsidiary buildings would have been added contemporaneously or later. The only structure that seems clearly related to Santiago is its hospital (fig. 160), appended to the south wall. Hospitals were common not only to monasteries, but also to medieval parish churches, especially ones accommodating pilgrim traffic in addition to regular parishioners. Moreover, the diocesan survey of 1345 attests to Santiago’s status as a parish church with a regular clergy. In the survey, Santiago is recorded as one of ten parish churches in Carrión, with an annual ingreso listed for its clergy. San Zoilo, which also served a parish, received no ingreso because of its status as a monastery.

The second construction phase, Santiago’s most famous and the focus of the present study, occurred during the late twelfth century. This project consisted of the addition of an impressive, highly decorated screen façade onto the already-constructed but sparsely decorated basilica. The new west façade had no architectonic purpose. It was added with solely aesthetic and ideologic intent, to which we will return.

Santiago was reconstructed as a single aisle church in a later construction program; although, similar to the church’s medieval construction, documentation does not survive of the renovations, the new configuration appears to date from the sixteenth century.

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523 Ruiz Salces and Peñil Mínguez argue that this wall is built on an earlier city rampart. Ruiz Salces and Peñil Mínguez, “La excavación,” 483.
century. Massive gothic ribs broke up the building, endowing the structure with a new horizontality. This reconstruction and reconceptualization allowed for numerous small chapels or arcosolia to be added to each lateral wall. Based on the particular structure of these niches, Lorena García García proposes a more precise date around 1525.526

The tumultuous political situation of the nineteenth century led to Santiago’s near-total destruction. In 1811, the Spanish resistance fighter Santos Padilla purposefully set the church ablaze to deny its use to the incoming French troops. The tower was reconstructed in 1835 by the Carlists, but not the rest of the church; this partial rebuilding again was likely motivated by the wartime potential of Santiago’s tower. The nave was rebuilt in 1849.527

The West Façade

The screen façade of Santiago is just short of eleven and a half meters in width. A row of apostles centered on Christ in Majesty extends across its entire breadth and essentially dominates the façade, especially for a viewer looking from a distance.528

526 García García, “Evolución de patrimonio,” 939; see García García for more on Santiago’s later renovation projects, 940-947.
528 Two rows of unfilled putlog holes still visible today below the apostolado likely served as sockets for the beams of a temporary wooden scaffold, erected to facilitate the realization of the monumental figures crowning the façade. The sockets could also indicate the presence of an attached wooden porch; however, their placement suggests otherwise. Unlike basilicas with known porches such as Strasbourg Cathedral, on which the consoles that supported its attached roof ran above the portal and its sculpture, Santiago’s putlog holes appear at the level of the portal. Any projecting roof would have obscured the top of the figural archivolt and obstructed all but a far-off view of the apostolado. On Strasbourg and its porch, see Bernd Nicolai, “Orders in Stone: Social Reality and Artistic Approach. The Case of the Strasbourg South Portal,” Gesta 41, no. 2 (2001): 112-113.
Below the frieze, the portal is also decorated, but on a much smaller scale; in its size and orientation, this sculpture seems more directed to a viewer standing just in front of the church or walking through the portal. Figural voussoirs encircle the top of the door, above a pair of carved capitals and columns.

The frieze forms a detached band across the top of the façade, right up to the molding.\textsuperscript{529} Directly above the portal, Christ sits in the very center of the frieze (fig. 165). He is set within a slightly concave decorative mandorla—shaped by wavelike clouds and ornamented with flowers—surrounded by the evangelist symbols. Clockwise from top left, we see Matthew as winged man, Luke as winged lion, Mark as winged ox, and John as eagle. Each of the evangelists turns toward Christ, even at the expense of his body. Their twisted or encircling postures create the feeling of a powerful magnetism emanating from the Savior.

Christ is rigidly frontal. His face, with perfectly straight nose, wide eyes, and slightly open lips, points directly out across the square (figs. 166-167). Long wavy hair curls into loose ringlets on either side of his head. His right arm is raised in what was likely a blessing gesture (though the hand has since been broken off), and his left holds a book, lightly balanced on his knee. Below his finely wrought robes, Christ’s body has

\textsuperscript{529} The term frieze generally describes a band of continuous decoration, often with narrative content. Although the figures at Santiago are separated by individual bays of an arcade, through their particular configuration on the façade, I assert that they can also be categorized as constituting a frieze, a term I will employ throughout the text. A useful study on friezes is the Deborah Kahn edited volume \textit{The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator}; in the introduction, Kahn notes the variety of existing frieze types, one is a frieze over a portal like that of Loarre castle. The Loarre frieze, regrettably partially destroyed, also encloses some of its figures in arcades. Deborah Kahn, ed., \textit{The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator}, \textit{The Lincoln Symposium Papers} (London: H. Miller Publishers, 1992), 12.
considerable volume, endowing the figure with naturalism and presence. His splayed knees project outward from his body, allowing the stone ‘fabric’ to fall between his legs.

This drapery is one of the most masterfully carved aspects of the program, and one of the characteristics most extensively discussed by scholars. The sculptor has managed to reveal a body of volume and substance underneath the folds, while also maintaining an element of lightness and whimsy to the cloth. Projecting body parts like the chest and knees shift the drapery, and the material cascades naturally—if also excessively—into hollows. Christ’s mantle dips diagonally across his abdomen in a bundle of heavy pleats. Contrastingly, just above his feet—his toes slightly curled as if perching on the cloud-mandorla—some of the accordion folds of his robe curve or tilt upward; these lighter folds are activated by an otherwise invisible wind. Perhaps most whimsically, instead of being stretched taught, the cloth crossing his right knee is twisted into a spiral. The sculptor has also added pattern and detail to the robes. A strip of stone embroidery runs down the center of Christ’s chest in a pattern of ovals and diamonds, and the edges of his mantle are finely incised with a decorative geometric border.

One of the most notable characteristics of the sculptor’s handling of cloth is his blending of traditions. The drapery’s adherence to the shape of Christ’s body and its heavy folds falling across his chest seem closely modeled on classical sculpture, while the fanciful pickup of the fabric’s edges and the coil on his knee remind the connoisseur of Burgundy.\textsuperscript{530}

\textsuperscript{530} The drapery carving is one of the main features Lacoste connects to the sculpture of classical antiquity. For example, he compares a Diana from the Palatine Museum in Rome to the Christ of Santiago. Lacoste, “El maestro,” 160. Huidobro, Lacoste, and Rico Camps, among others, compare the sculpture to Burgundy, see pages 250-252 below.
To either side of Christ, a line of apostles unfolds. While the central Christ in Majesty stretches across the entire height of the frieze, the figures of the twelve apostles are slightly smaller in scale, housed within a detailed microarchitecture (figs. 168-173). Each apostle is enclosed within one bay of an arcade, separated by columns complete with carved capitals. The polylobed arches that curve above them then support a secondary arcade: a veritable city of miniature colonnades and windowed towers. The apostle’s names would have been incised on each arch. These designations are still faintly legible above Peter, James, and Andrew (see fig. 169).

Many of the other arches of the arcade are products of a modern restoration undertaken on the church in the 1970s and thus lack their original inscriptions (figs. 162-164). The entire right micro-gallery above the re-inset twelfth-century apostles has been reconstructed, modeled upon the surviving left arcade. Below, the rightmost four columns and capitals are modern, while the three closest to Christ were salvaged from the medieval ensemble. On the opposite side, most of the left arcade is original save two trefoil arches, the leftmost and the third-from-left.

The façade is comprised of three distinct architectural schemes coupled together. The initial level is the church itself, a true architectural space into which the viewer can actively enter. The second is the arcade that houses the apostles. The sculptor scaled this ‘edifice’ to the carved apostolado, or apostolate, even creating a convincing contemporary space with carved columns and capitals; one of the capitals Corinthian, another depicting a lion-rider, etc. This figure-scale architecture then supports and intermingles with a smaller, more symbolic one, the third level, which consists of the array of miniature galleries and turrets punctuating the apostle-framing arcade.
Like Christ, each apostle exhibits a certain weight and presence. Swirling robes enwrap their bodies, and under the heavy, almost wet folds and pleats, a volumetric physical form can be easily discerned. On Peter, for example, directly to Christ’s right and identifiable by his omnipresent keys, the sculptor has detailed a layer of fabric pulled taut across the apostle’s leg; Peter’s thigh creates tension in the carved cloth and forms small tight creases (fig. 171). In the space between his legs, his robes fall in a vertical cascade. Another length of fabric is wrapped around Peter’s mid-section and balanced over his left shoulder. The drooping cross-body folds and heavy vertical furrows, also on Christ, are markedly classical in character.

However, just above Peter’s classically draped mantle, a series of highly stylized semi-circular folds traces an armor-like pattern across the apostle’s chest. This drapery ‘breastplate’ is a hallmark of the sculptor’s style, along with the trapezoidal pleat-folds that form the terminals of his robes. This plate-like fabric style is another characteristically Burgundian trait. Onto Peter’s right knee, like Christ’s, the sculptor has carved a small spiral, a detail clearly unnatural to the interaction of textile and gravity but not to the period imagination.

Not all of the apostles in the frieze resemble the description I have just given of Peter. The apostles on either end, occupying the bays of the arcade farthest from the center, vary from the program’s dominant style. The apostle on the viewer’s far left wears robes much less animated and voluminous than his counterparts (fig. 168); the folds across his legs are merely suggested by thin, stylized lines. This artist seems to have been more interested in the decorative quality of the apostle’s garments—adding delicate rows
of beading to the borders—than their dynamism. This apostle’s eyes are also drilled, a stylistic trait not practiced by the artist of the majority of the apostles.  

The apostle on the viewer’s far right is also stylistically different from the group (fig. 173), and not necessarily by the same hand as the one on the left. His drapery, too, deviates from the classicism of the rest. His garment is made up of numerous, equidistant plate-folds, and the body underneath lacks convincing anatomical accuracy. His eyes may have also been drilled, but the deterioration of his head makes it difficult to be certain. Jacques Lacoste suggests that the ‘master’ carved the majority of the apostolado, along with the central Christ, but left the peripheral tasks to apprentice or less-advanced sculptors.

Below the massive, commanding frieze, all sculptural attention is concentrated on the portal. Three archivolts surround the round-arched door; the first and third terminate in plain jambs, while the central archivolt channels into thin, carved columns topped by figural capitals. A fourth faux-archivolt, carved into a curving grapevine, surrounds the whole. Forming a horizontal sill below the arch, an intricate molding of vegetal interlace winding its way around birds and human busts accentuates the door-frame.

Plain radiating stone blocks comprise the bare inner and outer archivolts, framing the contrastingly decorative central arc. Within this central span are twenty-four

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531 Though I have not found sufficient formal parallels to support this assertion, it has been suggested that this artist also worked on Santa María de Carrión. Colum P. Hourihane, ed., The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 548.
532 Lacoste, “El maestro,” 157. We also cannot be positive that the apostles are arranged as they originally were. Because of the damage to the church and subsequent sculptural reconstruction, the apostles could have been arranged to modern tastes: placing the classicizing figures towards the center and the two ‘mismatched’ apostles on the edges.
individual figures, all carved in high relief on independent voussoir stones (fig. 174, diag. 2). At the springing of either side of the arch, a lion twists its head backwards and upwards. Their two sets of jaws face the twenty-two human figures in between, most of whom engage in some sort of craft or occupation. Coin-minters, a shoemaker, and a scribe all ply their trades from various points on the arch. Though a few also illustrate a less profitable part of diurnal life; for instance, two men dueling and a (likely related) woman crying appear on the viewer’s right. All of the figures sit in front of a low-relief decorative background, formed by a leaf-like frame that skirts each body. The artist(s) has also used drilling to decorate each block further.

A pair of carved columns and capitals supports the archivolt. The columns are decorated with a zigzag pattern of raised ridges alternating with flower-adorned furrows. The top third of each column is additionally embellished with a low-relief angel (figs. 175-176). Small details distinguish the two. Though executed in lower relief, the angel on the viewer’s left wears the same type of plate drapery as Christ and the center apostles. On the right column, the angel’s robes fall across his legs in a pattern of parallel folds, closer in character to the drapery of the far left apostle. The two halos provide the clearest distinction and make a strong argument for their completion by different sculptors; one is simply a raised circle, while the other is circumscribed by an incised border.

Beatriz Mariño argues that the woman is related to the two dueling men. She hypothesizes that the woman is the wife of one of the men and has had an affair with the other, making this a scandalous duel over adultery. Beatriz Mariño López, “‘In Palencia non ha batalla pro nulla re’. El duelo de villanos en la iconográfica románica del Camino de Santiago,” *Compostellanum* XXXI (1986): 349-364.

The “judge,” voussoir fourteen, is missing both the leaf-like framing device and drilling on the block.
Just above, two figurally carved capitals top the columns. The capital on the viewer’s left bears two scenes, one on each face, capped by curling volute scrolls (fig. 177). Beast-like masks replace the fleuron that would ornament a traditional Corinthian capital. Below, the front face is carved with four figures engaged in a single scene. Three touch or hold a small, central being, whose mouth is open in an ongoing scream. Though less one figure, the scene on the lateral side is formally similar but distinct in meaning. Small variations affect a decidedly different sentiment between the two.

The capital on the right has less evenly divided faces and a different framing device than the first capital (fig. 178). A beaded molding runs across the top, and just below, acanthus leaves curl over the figures beneath. The scene on the lateral face—a man being devoured by dogs—extends around the corner, meeting the depiction of a man placing a corpse into a sarcophagus. The beaded molding resembles the beaded border of the robes worn by the apostle on the far left.

_A Century of Style_

The style of the late twelfth century screen façade is easily the most discussed aspect of the church of Santiago. The sculptures are particularly striking in their artful blend of classical weightiness and grandeur with a clear attention to detail. The façade’s style—especially evident in the large volumetric bodies of Christ and the apostles, swathed in deeply cut robes—has captured the interest of numerous scholars. Though realized only a few decades after its neighbor Santa María, Santiago’s carved program is of an entirely different style, one that appears vastly more sophisticated to scholars looking to see an evolution towards naturalism. Santiago’s façade also gives the
impression of being preserved remarkably well, especially in comparison to the weathered program of the earlier church.

Contrary to the typical praising verses on Santiago, José María Quadrado, a nineteenth-century historian and traveler on the Camino, wrote of the façade: “fortunately, the fire respected its façade, which although low and modest in itself and disagreeably accompanied by a neither old nor elegant brick tower, offers curious examples for the study of Byzantine sculpture.” Writing in 1861, he saw something somewhat different from what we see today (figs. 161-163). Since the microarchitecture of the right had been destroyed, these apostles (all but one missing their heads) were inset directly beside one another, likely leading to his designation of the program as “low and modest.” He calls the sculpture Byzantine and dates it to the eleventh century. Although it is easy for a modern scholar to quickly dismantle his claims as misguided, equally problematic is scholarship that ignores the modern reconstruction. Neither what he saw nor what we see is entirely representative of the twelfth-century program.

Santiago de Carrión’s position along the Camino de Santiago has encouraged the nearly exclusive application of a stylistic methodology to the church and its sculpture. Émile Mâle and Arthur Kingsley Porter, early twentieth-century progenitors of medieval art history, both credited the Camino with a free-flow of ideas and a flourishing of artistic

535 My translation from: “por fortuna el fuego respetó su fachada, que aunque baja y modesta en sí y mal acompañada de una torre de ladrillo ni antigua ni elegante, ofrece ejemplos curiosos para el estudio de la escultura bizantina.” Quadrado, Recuerdos y bellezas, 334.
536 Quadrado, Recuerdos y bellezas, 129-130. His designation of the sculpture as Byzantine would not have been out of place when he was writing in the mid-nineteenth century; other scholars also used the term Byzantine to describe what we would categorize as Romanesque buildings and sculpture. See John Williams, “El románico en España: diversas perspectivas,” Seminario, Alfonso VIII y su época: II Curso de Cultura Medieval (1992): 9.
creation in the Central Middle Ages. In an article published in 1920, incorporated into his book *Religious Art in France, The Twelfth Century*, Mâle ascribed the genesis of much Spanish Romanesque sculpture to the pilgrimage, describing the entry into Spain thus:

Descending into Spain from the Somport pass, we find capitals in the style of Toulouse at San Juan de la Peña and Jaca; going by Roncevaux, we find them at Pamplona. The two roads come together at Puente la Reina, where we see again the influence of French art. It is there at almost every stop: in ‘the beautiful reliefs of the church of Estella, in the capitals of Frómista, on the facade of Carrión de los Condes...’

He goes on to say, “civilization came into Spain along the Way of St. James.” While the pilgrimage was highly generative for Romanesque art—artists moving as pilgrims along the routes—for Mâle, the majority of original creation occurred on the French side of the Pyrenees.

Porter, an American not swayed by European nationalism, took issue with Mâle’s conceptualization of medieval art emanating directionally from French centers to border regions. He championed a more fluid, synergistic development of art, though similarly naming pilgrimage a main conduit for artistic innovation. For Porter, “the Pilgrimage to Santiago formed a sort of melting-pot in which artists from all over Europe met and exchanged ideas.”

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Although less mythologized in the historiography, Georgiana Goddard King also proposed pilgrimage, specifically the *Camino de Santiago*, as a means of transmission of ideas and thus as a catalyst for Romanesque sculptural production. Writing in 1915, before both Mâle and Porter, she states:

…during the whole period of church-building, travellers were crowding along the Way: the professional pilgrim, the man who went for a vow, and the workman on the tramp with his sack of tools over his shoulder. There must have been among these many stone-cutters and architects, for theirs is a wandering craft.  

Under this theoretical construct—of an itinerant pilgrim-artist transporting new styles—the perspectives of these historians converge.

Along with an interest in the movement of artists and ideas along the routes to Compostela, scholars sought out certain identifiable masters, and their corresponding influence on artistic production. The ‘master’ of Santiago de Carrión becomes the focus of much of this effort. According to certain scholars, his hand is found also in the sculpture of Santo Domingo de Silos (fig. 179), San Vicente de Ávila (fig. 180), and Santa María de Aguilar de Campoo (fig. 181).  

Dating Santiago’s façade to the years around 1165, Porter is the first to make the connection between Santiago de Carrión and sculptor was inspired by a reliquary châsse, specifically the arca of Santo Domingo de Silos which he may have seen in Silos, and borrowed the polylobed arches directly from the lintel of Cahors. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 251-253. Janice Mann highlights the quoted passage from Porter in her insightful synthesis of the debate between Porter and Mâle, see Mann, “Romantic Identity.”

Georgiana Goddard King, “French Figure Sculpture on Some Early Spanish Churches,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 19, no. 3 (1915): 251. Despite proposing similar ideas, King does not reach the same canonical status as art historians like Mâle and Porter. See Caviness, “Seeking modernity through the Romanesque.”

the late sculpture at Silos.\textsuperscript{542} Werner Goldschmidt then relates both of these works to San Vicente de Ávila, to the sculpture of the west portal and the cenotaph inside.\textsuperscript{543} The Spanish art historian (briefly director of the Prado Museum) José Manuel Pita Andrade indicates the close similarities between Santiago and San Vicente, and proposes the Burgundian master Fruchel as responsible for San Vicente.\textsuperscript{544} The name comes from a charter of 1192 in which Fruchel, titled ‘Master of the Works’ at Ávila, bequeaths lands to Alfonso VIII. With the appearance of a named master associated with Ávila, a body of work is assigned to the hand of this enigmatic artist.\textsuperscript{545}

Luciano Huidobro, a Spanish historian writing mid-century, dates Santiago’s portal to the early thirteenth century, citing a number of French sources. For one, he notes the “serenity and pleasantness” of Amiens in the Christ of Carrión.\textsuperscript{546} He also suggests that, in crafting the monumental frieze, the artist elegantly blended two main French artistic currents that were traveling along the \textit{Camino}: first, the theophanic portals of Vézelay, Moissac, and Conques; and second, the lines of carved figures popular in Poitou-Charentes, at sites such as Angoulême, Pons, and Poitiers.\textsuperscript{547}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{542} Porter, \textit{Spanish Romanesque Sculpture}, vol. 2, 27.
\item \textsuperscript{543} Goldschmidt, “The West Portal of San Vicente,” 119-123.
\item \textsuperscript{544} José Manuel Pita Andrade, \textit{Escultura románica en España: los maestros de Oviedo y Ávila} (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1955), 16, 25. Serafín Moralejo also comments on Santiago de Carrión’s relationship with Ávila, but says that each have their own stylistic personality. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, “Esculturas compostelanas del último tercio del siglo XII,” \textit{Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos} XXVIII (1973): 306.
\item \textsuperscript{545} “Ávila: Cathedral,” \textit{The Grove Encyclopedia}, 213-14. García Guinea also takes up the question of Fruchel and proposes a hypothetical route he may have followed in Palencia, possibly working at multiple sites in the region, including Aguilar de Campoo, Carrión, and Moarves de Ojeda. García Guinea, “Las huellas de Fruchel.”
\item \textsuperscript{546} Huidobro, \textit{Las Peregrinaciones jacobeanas}, 534.
\item \textsuperscript{547} Huidobro, \textit{Las Peregrinaciones jacobeanas}, 531-536.
\end{itemize}
Although also interested in style and dating, García Guinea’s analysis of Santiago is built on a different body of evidence. In his seminal study of monuments in Palencia *El arte románico en Palencia*, García Guinea surveys the Romanesque art of the region, seeking trends and shaping a general ‘family tree’ for art of the province. Through his analysis of local monuments, this author crafts the most compelling argument for Santiago’s dating. He uses the fixed date of a pair of capitals from Santa María de Lebanza—inscribed with the year 1185—and works backwards (figs. 182-183). The church San Juan Bautista in Moarves de Ojeda, around fifty kilometers from Carrión, exhibits a carved Christ in Majesty and apostolado based on the design of Santiago (fig. 184). The author likens the figure style of the apostles of Moarves to the dated capitals of Lebanza, going so far as to attribute the sculpture to the same workshop and relative timeframe. Thus, in line with the secure date of Lebanza, García Guinea dates Moarves to the 1180s. The author places the construction and decoration of the façade of Santiago just before this moment, in the decade of the 1170s. Like previous scholars, he places Santiago in the realm of the late Silos Master and the master of San Vicente de Ávila.

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548 García Guinea, *El arte románico*.
550 García Guinea explains his chronology (placing Santiago de Carrión earlier than Moarves) by noting that the Moarves sculpture includes characteristics of the regionally popular, and pervasive, ‘San Andres de Arroyo school’ from the 1180s, which are not yet present in the sculpture at Carrión. García Guinea, *El arte románico*, 167. Porter had also previously argued that the program of Moarves was derived from Carrión. Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 27.
551 García Guinea, *El arte románico*, 167. Though in another work he dates Santiago later, to the years between 1180 and 1185, based on the hypothetical travels of the sculptor Fruchel. For me, his dating in *El arte románico de Palencia*—based on the dated Lebanza capitals and Santiago’s antecedence to Moarves—remains more compelling. For the later dating, see García Guinea, “Las huellas de Fruchel,” 166.
Recent scholarship has continued to reconsider and refine the stylistic designations of earlier authors. Jacques Lacoste and Daniel Rico Camps both agree with previous assertions that Burgundian influence was a significant part of the artistic formation of the master of Carrión.\textsuperscript{552} Like Huidobro and Guinea, Lacoste argues that the master likely had seen and was affected by Burgundian sculpture, but the master’s primary inspiration was classical antiquity. In this author’s formulation, the most compelling aspect of Burgundian carving for the master of Carrión is its indebtedness to antique art.\textsuperscript{553} Labeling the style “Burgundian” or “Hispano-Burgundian,” Rico Camps suggests that the Hispanic sculptors trained in workshops in Burgundy, but once on the Iberian Peninsula they were further inspired by Roman sculpture, visible in their mature works. These authors also continue to champion the stylistic similarities of a group of comparable works—Santiago de Carrión, San Vicente, Aguilar de Campoo, Silos, Santiago de Compostela, and Lugo—but unlike their predecessors, neither considers Santiago and San Vicente to be the work of the same master.

William Wixom and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo have noted the similarities between the style of Santiago and the illuminated Beatus of Cardeña.\textsuperscript{554} Valdez del Álamo locates the Beatus and the carved façade within a current of artistic production


\textsuperscript{553} Lacoste, “El maestro,” 157-162.

tied to the arrival of Leonor Plantagenet, the daughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, who traveled from Bordeaux to Castilla in 1170 to marry Alfonso VIII.

Beatriz Mariño, writing several works on Santiago de Carrión, steers away from style in her analysis of the church. She follows an iconographical methodology, deciphering the identities of the figures on the façade and suggesting spiritual and cultural meanings that the sculpture might have held for its twelfth-century audience. Two of her articles focus on the overall program, and two others tackle specific motifs: one, the cycle of coin-minters on the left arc of the archivolt; and the other, the dueling figures on the far right. At many points this chapter will draw on Mariño’s well-researched identifications. Lacoste, too, treats iconography, but his analyses are heavily influenced by his methodology of style. He argues that the master saw similar iconographical motifs in western France (mostly from Béarn and the Ile-de-France) and synthesized and recreated these on the portal of Santiago.

As this brief review of scholarship illustrates, study of the sculpture of Santiago has been nearly completely stylistic. Santiago’s position along the pilgrimage to Compostela has rendered the church particularly germane to dialogue on its foreign or imported influences, generally in terms of style, but sometimes content as well. However, building from the previous sections on San Zoilo and Santa María, this chapter examines

Santiago from a local and social perspective, investigating the productive quality of the opposite side of the binary phenomenon of pilgrimage: the local infrastructure.

_A Local Monument_

The quest for an understanding of the church of Santiago has tended to search farther afield than is perhaps necessary. The church is a montage of local referents. The façade was designed with the same composition as the nearby Santa María—a frieze above figural voussoirs—and one of the capitals portrays a re-worked motif from San Zoilo. Though scholarship has tended to favor the influence of foreign trends, Santiago should also, if not predominantly, be seen as a product of local forces. Moreover, through the intermediary of Santiago, these reworked features are taken up on numerous churches across the region in subsequent decades.

The style of Santiago, so distinct from its local predecessors, instigated a century-long search for possible imported models for the church. Though the sculptors embraced classicizing techniques and elements of French sculpture, they or the designers borrowed and re-conceptualized the composition of the façade from Santa María (fig. 5). As discussed in the third chapter, the program of the earlier church consists of a long frieze above a portal, with only one of its archivolts figurally carved; each voussoir is dedicated to a single figure. This organization is strikingly similar to the program espoused by Santiago two to three decades later. Despite the clear compositional similarities, Santiago has been seldom linked to its nearby neighbor, a neglect perhaps resulting from Santa María’s relatively poor state of conservation and distinct style of carving. However, Santa María provides the only precedent for the particular façade composition of Santiago—a
combination of a carved frieze above a figural archivolt—and the two churches stand just two hundred meters apart.

The church of Santiago already stood on its site when construction began on Santa María around mid-century. Through much of the twelfth century, Santiago was a strangely shaped, relatively undecorated three-aisle basilica. At a length of 29 meters, width of around 13.5 meters (an average of the varying nave widths), and height of 9 meters, the structure should not be considered particularly small or inconsequential, but neither was it comparable to the churches being built in the realm’s major cities. Just steps away, the new church of Santa María was built larger, taller, and grander overall (fig. 8). These two both served the same central neighborhood, the Barrio de los Francos. The addition of a new, elaborately decorated west façade enabled Santiago to re-invent itself.

Beyond an initial formal likeness, the neighboring parish churches utilize their analogous compositional features to house related content. The south façade of Santa María is organized into two separate zones: heavenly above earthly. The frieze, crowning the program, narrates the story of the Magi’s journey to Bethlehem to present themselves before the son of God (fig. 146). With Mary at the far left (fig. 147), Christ in her lap, and the Magi processing in stages towards the pair, the frieze creates a pictorial metaphor for the pilgrim’s journey. The image can be understood on two levels: (1) general: the Journey of the Magi as a biblical precedent for spiritual travel; and (2) site-specific: given

557 The dimensions should not be considered exact. The churches has undergone such significant rebuilding throughout its history that the original dimensions of ca. 1100 might have been slightly different.
the church’s dedication to Mary, the image provides a direct parallel for pilgrims or visitors traveling to and reaching Santa María del Camino. The subject and its expanded, directional depiction are both self-conscious choices to represent the desired, carefully crafted identity of the church.

Below Santa María’s frieze, the sculpture is distinctly terrestrial. The voussoirs radiating outwards from the portal greet the viewer on entering the church. These images—people engaging in mundane actions and various sinning behaviors alongside an assortment of creatures—are located in the viewer’s space, a less exalted position than the crowning frieze. This organization is not rigid, but establishes a general hierarchy of subjects within the façade’s decorative spaces. Correspondingly, Santiago completes the adopted organizational scheme with parallel content. The frieze houses a heavenly subject, above a ménage of earthly figures surrounding the door.

Because of the similarity in content and organization between the two neighboring churches, the major modification made at Santiago appears all the more evident and deliberate. The frieze space is again utilized to house a heavenly and exalted subject, but the common theme of the Epiphany has been replaced by an entirely novel scene. Though the representation will soon become quite popular, this appears to be the first time an apostolado has been depicted in this way. For Santa María, the Epiphany, in its unusual arrangement, held a particular and specialized meaning. Though the designers of Santiago chose to appropriate the general façade composition, they needed to select a new crowning subject for their church. Moreover, in doing so, they devised a scheme that—like Santa María’s—would hold specialized meaning for their church.
Santiago is dedicated to the apostle James; Iago, a derivation of the Latin Iacobus. Across the course of the Middle Ages, Saint James arguably became Spain’s most important, and emblematic, saint. Associations of James with the Iberian Peninsula were first propagated in the seventh century, and by the ninth, his tomb had been miraculously discovered in Galicia. From this point forward, James transitioned into a symbolic figure for the Spanish Christian kingdoms, with pilgrimage to his tomb actively promoted by noble and ecclesiastical powers in the Central Middle Ages. Through a centuries-long development process, Spain attained compelling claim to an apostle, where previously access to such sanctity could only be found in Rome or Jerusalem and the East.

Given the city of Carrión’s position on the popular Camino Francés, an ecclesiastical dedication to Saint James is quite natural. The church’s siting, its west-end facing one of the main axes of the Camino through the city, further reinforces the suitability of this dedication. However, Saint James is not solely relevant at his tomb and along its roads; he is equally eminent as the apostle to larger Hispania. Popular seventh-century texts, the Brevarium Apostolorum and De ortu et orbitu partum, the second purportedly written by Isidore of Seville, both list the saint as having preached on the peninsula. Drawing on one of these texts, the monk Beatus of Liébana included a list of the apostles and the regions where they preached in his renowned Commentary on the Apocalypse, known from a number of sumptuously illustrated copies. An illumination

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558 Fletcher, St. James’s Catapult, 54-57.
559 For example, churches in Puente la Reina and Sangüesa (both on the Camino Francés) are dedicated to Santiago. However, James became a popular saint in general and many churches across greater Spain were dedicated to the apostle, for example, Santiago del Burgo (Zamora), Santiago de Ribadavia (Ourense), and Santiago de Agüero (Huesca).
560 Fletcher, Saint James’s Catapult, 54-56.
from the Girona Beatus, for example, labels the depiction of St. James (Iacobus) with ‘Spania,’ alongside other apostolic classifications like Petrus, Roma and Ioannes, Asia.\textsuperscript{561}

Moreover, Saint James may have held additional, special importance for the citizens of Carrión. The \textit{Historia Compostelana} records that Mauricio, Bishop of Coimbra and Braga, fled Jerusalem with James’s head and placed the relic in San Zoilo (‘…oportet enim ut ubi est hujus Apostoli corpus, ibi sit et capus ejus. Quod M. Episcopus audiens intellexit famulo Dei fuisse reyelatum a Spiritu S. hoc quod fecerat… Tandem veniens in Hispaniam collocavit venerabiliter reliquias illas Carrione apud S. Zoylum’).\textsuperscript{562} According to the \textit{Compostelana}, the relic remained at the monastery until the revolts and civil war of the early twelfth century, when Queen Urraca, fearing for the head’s safety, transferred the relic to San Isidoro in Leon. She later returned the head to the see of Compostela. If the citizens of Carrión believed that the head of Saint James the Greater was housed in their city, even for a finite period, such a conviction would have only added to the already-elevated position held by James in a Spanish town along the \textit{Camino}.

In searching for a new subject for Santiago’s frieze space, replacing the site-specific imagery of Santa María’s frieze, the idea of a visualization of apostolic power and immediacy is a natural choice. The particular conditions of the formal space, a

\textsuperscript{561} Girona Beatus, ca. 975, Girona, Museu de la Catedral, MS Num. Inv. 7 (11): f. 52v-53r.
\textsuperscript{562} \textit{Historia Compostelana}, Henrique Flórez, \textit{España Sagrada}, vol. 20, book 1, ch. cxii, 222-223. There is some confusion here because the \textit{Veneranda Dies} sermon in the \textit{Codex Calixtinus} asserts that James’s body was translated whole to its tomb in Galicia. Find the sermon in English translation in Thomas F. Coffey, Linda K. Davidson, and Maryjane Dunn, \textit{The Miracles of Saint James} (New York: Italica Press, 1996), 9. This is a commonplace occurrence with relics, that multiple sites lay claim to the same parts of a saint’s body.
narrow, longitudinal block, paired with the thematic relevance of Saint James and the apostles as spiritual intercessors, found artistic expression at Santiago as an *apostolado*. *Apostolado*, in its literal translation, is the Spanish word for the apostolate. Though unlike the English term, which generally refers simply to the office of an apostle, the Spanish word is multivalent, replete with significances in various contexts. 563 Within the field of art history, *apostolado* has become a specialized term referring to a depiction of a line or set of the apostles. But, more broadly, *apostolado* can even refer to certain types of devotional personal action. The charged nature of the Spanish term speaks to the spiritual weight of apostolic authority and intercession in Spain and, for art historians, to the predominance of the theme in Spanish art.

In general, the apostles have been a common artistic subject since the early Christian period; in sculpture, they are often depicted on the long sides of Roman sarcophagi. 564 In the Central Middle Ages, artists and patrons frequently featured apostles in narrative and non-narrative contexts. 565 When the apostles are illustrated as a whole group, the scene is often a narrative; otherwise, when depicted iconically, the apostles are

563 Definition of apostolate from Dictionary.com (Random House Unabridged Dictionary): 1. The dignity or office of an apostle. 2. Roman Catholic Church: (a) the dignity and office of the pope as head of the Apostolic See; (b) the mission of bishops in their dioceses; (c) an organization of the laity devoted to the mission of the Church.

564 See, for example, sarcophagi depicting the apostles in the collections of the Museo Pio Cristiano (Vatican 31529) and the Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse (Ra 507), as well as the sarcophagus of Stilicone in the Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, Milan.

565 Forsyth draws attention to the use of groups of apostles in narrative imagery as exempla for monks of the vita apostolica, see Ilene H. Forsyth, “The Vita Apostolica and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations,” *Gesta* 25, no. 1 (1986): 75-82. Some examples of non-narrative uses of apostles are the first Romanesque churches of Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines (1019-20) and Saint-André-de-Sorède (ca. 1030), and in the narthex of Vézelay.
generally accompanied by angels and/or prophets or shown in small groups. In the latter type of depiction, the few apostles function metonymically, often symbolizing the larger apostolic group within a greater visualization of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

To my knowledge, Santiago is the first church to place an iconic, non-narrative line of the apostles in a frieze space. The closest earlier and contemporary parallels—that also treat the apostles as stand-alone figures—employ the apostles across a facade or as column or jamb figures. The west façade of Notre-Dame-la-Grande in Poitiers incorporates apostles within niches into an expansive ensemble of sculpture. Similarly to Santiago, the apostles occupy individual arches of a gallery, but they are distributed into two rows and accompanied by two saints. While Santiago’s apostles are depicted in niches, not a traditional continuous frieze, their placement diverges from Notre-Dame-la-Grande in that the arcade, extending across the top of the façade, replicates a frieze. The classically carved churches of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard and Saint-Trôphime-d’Arles in southern France also both seem to include full lines of apostles on their portals, although as column figures (figs. 185-187). The appearance of Carrión’s apostolado frieze can

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566 The Ascension is a common subject that includes depictions of the apostles as a group. See Lech Kalinowski’s discussion of the apostles within an Ascension scene at Malmesbury Abbey. The author also discusses ‘frieze-like’ groups of apostles, but he may be unaware of the Spanish examples, as those discussed, Malmesbury and Chartres, are much less frieze-like than Santiago (and later Palencian apostolados). Lech Kalinowski, “The ‘Frieze’ at Malmesbury,” in The Romanesque frieze and its Spectator: The Lincoln Symposium Papers, 85-96.

567 On the use of the term frieze, see note 529; and Kahn, The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator, 12.

568 On the façade of Notre-Dame-la-Grande, see Tcherikover, High Romanesque Sculpture, 115-117.

569 The dating of these churches is highly debated. Hartmann-Virnich dated Saint-Gilles to the 1170s-80s, which would make the sculpture roughly contemporary to that of Santiago de Carrión. Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, “La Façade de L’Abbatiale de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard,” Cahiers de l’Archéologie Français 157 (1999): 271-292. However, most previous scholars place the church’s construction and decoration much earlier. Meyer Schapiro dates the church to ca. 1129 based on a dated manuscript that he argues is connected to inscriptions in the crypt. Meyer Schapiro, “New Documents on Saint-Gilles I & II,” Romanesque Art: Selected Papers (New York: George Braziller, 1977). Stoddard argues that the façade sculpture should be dated to the mid-1140s, in the context of the historical controversy of heretic Pierre of
be traced to a combination of circumstances: the prior existence of a long-standing theme of the apostles; the specific importance of apostolic intercession—especially by Saint James—at this particular church; and, a local impetus, the sculptors’ or designers’ search for a relevant spiritual theme to fit the longitudinal frieze space. This germinal moment proves to be extremely influential, as *apostolados*, based on that of Santiago, become popular subjects across regional churches in subsequent decades.

In Santiago’s *apostolado*, James, the church’s patron saint, may have been allotted special weight within the group through his artistic depiction (fig. 170). James’s face is one of smooth, strong lines, centered on a straight nose pierced by teardrop nostrils. His beard flows off his face in thick, almost-wet, wavy tendrils, smoothly connected to his flesh as if an extension of his cheek. His carved facial characteristics are quite similar to those of the central Christ (fig. 167). Although heads only remain on four of the apostles (one of which certainly by a different sculptor), the other two are fairly distinct from Christ’s (and James’s). One reason for the likeness is a perceived familial relationship that over time had developed between Christ and James. In the Middle Ages, brothers James and John began to be regarded as cousins of Christ because of their intimacy with the son of God. Both were present for important scriptural events, such as

Bruys. Whitney S. Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles du Gard* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973). Similarly, multiple dates across the twelfth century have been proposed for the sculpture at Saint-Trôphime. Some scholars date the program to the mid-twelfth century, see for example Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 298. More recent work tends to date the sculpture later. For one such argument see Alan Borg, who dates the sculpture between 1160 and 1178, the year Frederick Barbarossa was crowned king of Burgundy in the cathedral. Alan Borg, *Architectural Sculpture in Romanesque Provence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 107-109.
the Transfiguration and the Agony in the Garden.\textsuperscript{570} This understanding of the three as cousins impacted trends in iconography. Artists were able to individualize James with brown hair and beard like that of Christ. However, even without polychromy, the resemblance between the two at Santiago is striking. The sculptor may have been making a subtle point glorifying the patron James through a visual likeness to the Savior.

As mentioned, the closest earlier or contemporary parallels to the apostolado at Santiago are from southern France. One detail, which both connects and separates Santiago from these Provençal churches, merits mention. The apostle Paul stands to Christ’s left on the Carrionese frieze (fig. 172). From his left hand hangs an open scroll (fig. 188). The words, “Gracia Dei sum id q…” can just be discerned from the worn stone. The phrase is taken from First Corinthians (15:10), Paul’s letter to the Corinthians.\textsuperscript{571} The complete Latin phrase would read “Gratia Dei sum id quod sum,” and can be translated as “by the grace of God, I am what I am.” However, at Santiago, the final letters disappear into the furled end of the scroll, our sculptor leaving the phrase’s closing to the viewer’s memory or imagination. This same excerpt is also inscribed on Paul’s scroll at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (fig. 189), with slight variations. At Saint-Gilles, the scroll reads, “Gra Dei sum id qd sum.”\textsuperscript{572} Though abbreviated, the Saint-Gilles inscription seems to remain faithful to the Latin original, while at Santiago, gratia has

\textsuperscript{571} 1 Corinthians 15:10 (D-R).
\textsuperscript{572} Arthur Gardner transcribes the inscription from Saint-Gilles, see Arthur Gardner, Medieval Sculpture in France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), 166. On an eleventh-century ivory plaque by the Echternach master today in the Cluny Museum, St. Paul also holds a scroll with this inscription (see fig. 190a-b below). Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, vol. 1, 324-5. On the ivory, the T in ‘Gratia’ is clearly visible.
become *gracia*, a change that could be attributed to the influx of Old Spanish. I have little doubt that traditional methodologies would utilize the presence of these inscriptions to signify a French heritage for the Spanish pilgrimage-road sculpture. However, wherever the artistic concept originated, from my perspective two more significant points should be observed: first, these images likely fit into a larger iconography, both sculptural and painted, of depictions of Paul identified by this scroll inscription; and second, the use of *gracia* informs us that there is without doubt a Castilian factor in the design. Either the sculptor himself is Spanish, or a Spanish designer or patron had a hand in crafting the inscriptions.

The sculptors or designers of Santiago certainly looked to Santa María in their overall plan for the façade, but their inspiration was not limited to the nearby parish church. Santiago’s local roots are deeper still, with the sculpture also referencing the older, and eminent, monastery of San Zoilo. On Santiago’s portal, a capital to the viewer’s left of the door houses a dramatic scene heralding both salvation and damnation (fig. 177). The capital, composed of paired scenes, each with larger figures holding a small figure between them, only has a single iconographical precedent: a capital from nearby San Zoilo (fig. 23). Although the priory capital, also with similarly organized paired scenes, provides the model, at Santiago, the content has been slightly altered to impart a more threatening, sinister, and pointed message.

Two primary motives may have inspired the capital’s replication and re-conceptualization at Santiago: first, in a desire to outdo the city’s other monuments, its
patrons may have subtly competed with the prominent monastery through its imitation; and second, they may have taken advantage of the local availability of a model for depicting the theme of salvation, one that would already be familiar within the community. And, like the composition of Santa María, reproduced and reinvented at Santiago before spreading throughout the region, the transmuted capital, too, will go on to have an active afterlife in greater Palencia.

The relevant capital at San Zoilo is first of the four inset into the narthex portal (fig. 19). On entering the body of the church, it is located on the viewer’s far left. The capital’s structure is modified Corinthian; although dominated by figural carving, the tops of both sides are crowned by volute scrolls. Between these decorative volutes, where usually a fleuron would be, instead a lion’s head appears. Below, the majority of the capital space is dominated by two mirrored figures. These nearly identical men stand balanced on the rounded astragal, forming parentheses for a small central figure. The two each use their outer arms to support the small figure between them, and they raise their inner arms aloft, index fingers pointing upward, seemingly in the direction of the lion above. Cradled within a knit cloth, the small central figure holds a book to his chest, and textured wings sprout from his back.

The inner face displays the same general scene with only small variations. The men are wearing ankle-length robes instead of knee-length, and their raised hands are

573 This capital was described in detail in the second chapter, in the section The West Portal and Its Viewers.
held fully upright. Their index fingers would have once pointed upwards, like those of the pair on the outer face, but these men’s digits have since broken.

The leftmost capital at Santiago closely replicates many of the skeletal characteristics of the San Zoilo sculpture, while also incorporating slight but significant alterations. Like that of the monastery, the capital’s structure is modified Corinthian, with the scene taking place below vine scrolls and a lion’s head fleuron. Again two parenthetical figures hold a small inner figure. However, as the outer arms of the pair reach down to grasp the hands of the central figure, their inner arms actually extend into the open jaws of the lion’s mouth. The small figure is again bust-length, but where at San Zoilo his torso had been cropped by the cloth cradling him, here, his lower half disappears below the astragal. His mouth hangs wide open, as if emitting a strident scream. Santiago’s artist has also added an additional character to the scene. Albeit today missing head and neck, this fourth person can be seen with his hands atop the central figure’s head, fingers resting—or pushing—upon the small being’s tightly curled hair.

Unlike the capital at San Zoilo, in which the two faces are near-perfect replicas, the lateral face at Santiago remains compositionally similar to the obverse, but portrays an entirely different mood. Again two mirrored, standing figures frame the scene. However, a subtle modification to their poses contributes to a vast difference in overall meaning. Their inner arms once more extend upward, but instead of reaching into the beast’s open jaws—which here are shut tight—their hands close into fists. Their lower arms cradle the central figure within a draped cloth, closely referencing San Zoilo. The lateral depiction of the small figure is a complete contrast to that of his counterpart on the outer face. Even with his head missing, his posture betrays a much more serene
disposition; we can imagine that if his head had survived, it would not be dominated by the wide-open mouth. He clasps a book tightly to his left side, and from his right hand, his extended index finger points upward.

From this comparison we can make a few initial observations. First, the two capitals are clearly iconographically related. Though many scenes of souls borne by flanking figures exist, there is no precedent for Santiago nearly as close—either iconographically or physically—as San Zoilo. Generally the characters are shown inversely: the bearers are winged (designating them as angels) and the eidolon is not (ex. fig. 191). The Carrionese capitals share numerous elements that are missing from possible comparanda: the book, the pointing fingers, the overhead lion masks, and more generally, an overall compositional likeness. However, while both sides of San Zoilo’s capital are the same, imparting a serene salvific message, that of Santiago contrasts a like vision on its lateral face with a manipulated, ominous version on its public-facing side. In light of the clear relationship between the two works, the question follows: why did Santiago’s sculptors or designers choose to emulate a capital from the nearby monastery, carved generations earlier? And in doing so, why then alter and expand its meaning?

San Zoilo, constructed around a century before Santiago’s new façade, did not maintain a simple relationship with the city across the river. On one hand, the powerful Cluniac monastery brought prestige and royal attention to Carrión, while on the other, the

574 For examples of the more traditional iconography of winged figures bearing a nude soul, see the sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera and sarcophagus of Doña Sancha from Santa Cruz de los Serós, now in the Real Monasterio de las Benedictinas in Jaca (figs. 191 and 65 below); and for this iconography on architectural sculpture, see the leftmost capital on the south portal of Santa María de Uncastillo and the martyrdom of Saint Trôphime on the eponymous church’s west façade in Arles.
monastery received a certain favoritism and preferential treatment not lavished on the city proper. Within San Zoilo’s walls two weddings of royal infantes took place mid-century: the nuptials of the infante Don Sancho (later Sancho III) to Blanca of Navarra in 1151 and those of the infanta Doña Sancha, daughter of Alfonso VII, to Sancho VI, son of García Ramírez, king of Navarra, in 1153. More importantly, in 1169, the king of Castilla, Alfonso VIII, was knighted and recognized as of age in the company of powerful nobles and ecclesiastics, including his uncle, Don Raimundo, bishop of Palencia, also inside the Cluniac house. The young king would continue to favor Carrión throughout his lifetime, convening other notable events at San Zoilo.\(^{575}\)

Such proceedings undoubtedly brought importance and renown to Carrión as a whole, but the prestige of San Zoilo prompted a certain separatism as well. The priory and its surrounding barrio received privileges and exemptions not granted to the town proper. In 1169, the young Alfonso VIII granted San Zoilo the right to hold an annual, month-long fair around the feast day of John the Baptist, the monastery’s original patron saint. According to the privilege, the fair was to begin fifteen days before the feast day and conclude fifteen days after. All taxes collected at the fair were to be split equally between the king and the monastery. In the document the ‘villa Sancti Zoyli’ and the ‘civitate de Carrione’ are clearly distinguished entities.\(^{576}\) The convening of this fair represents a significant moment in the life of the city to which I will return.

\(^{575}\) Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII*, 112-120. The most well-known later events are the royal curia held in San Zoilo in 1188, documented by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and in the *Crónica Latina*.

\(^{576}\) Document 41 from 1169 in Pérez Celada, *Documentación (1047-1300)*, 64-66.
Despite being in essence a single city, Carrión’s administration was frequently split between two parties during the twelfth century. Following the death of the last official count of Carrión, Pedro Ansúrez, the king appointed *merinos* and *tenentes* as governors, though often only of ‘media Carrión,’ or a certain half of the urbanity.\(^{577}\) A document from 1292 reinforces the separation enjoyed by the monastery and its barrio: “Those of that barrio of San Zoilo are neither of their town council [that of Carrión] nor pay any tax with them… they are vassals of the chamberlain separately and the privileged ones of the kings.”\(^{578}\)

At the time of Santiago’s decoration, the parish church seems to have had little connection to San Zoilo (being administratively a thoroughly separate entity), but like any ambitious city institution, the church would have had to contend with the monastery’s venerable and pervasive presence. In this context, choosing to borrow a salvific image is a multivalent act, encompassing motives of both emulation and rivalry. Santiago’s artists demonstrate an evident admiration for the decades-old sculpture;

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\(^{577}\) There is not a clear moment of transition between administration by counts and administration by *merinos* and *tenentes*. Before Pedro Ansúrez’s death in 1118, Beltrán de Risnel was named count of media Carrión in 1117 (as recorded by the seventeenth-century historian Salazar y Castro). Largo Muñoyerro hypothesizes that this title could have been conflicted and inconsistent in the early years of the twelfth century due to the civil wars between Urraca and Alfonso I. José A. Largo Muñoyerro, “De la Nobleza Condal al poder delegado: época de Doña Urraca y el emperador en Saldaña-Carrión,” *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Palencia*, vol. 2 (1989): 429-440. A good overview of what we know of the administration of Carrión in this period can be found in Montenegro Valentín, “La administración territorial.”

\(^{578}\) My translation from “los de aquel varrio de Sanct Çoles non son de su co(n)ceio nin pechan con ellos en ningun pecho… son vasallos del camarero apartadamente e priuilegiados de los reyes.” Document 156 from Pérez Celada, *Documentación* (1047-1300), 258-259; also cited in Julio Antonio Pérez Celada, “Monasterios románicos en los espacios urbanos de Castilla y León,” in *Monasterios románicos y producción artística*, ed. García de Cortázár (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María La Real, 2003).
however, the particular choice of theme and relationship between city and priory also suggest a certain one-upmanship.

Lacoste, writing soon after the 1993 discovery of San Zoilo’s portal, also notes the similarity between the two capitals, remarking that this imitation “...confirms the predilection of the sculptor of Santiago for antique models or for their Romanesque derivations”579 In my opinion, too, San Zoilo’s works inspired an artistic interest and reverence in Santiago’s twelfth century sculptors. Certain stylistic elements present in Santiago’s sculptural ensemble could be in part inspired by the late eleventh-century carving. For example, features such as the characteristic plate folds of the main sculptor or the beaded roundel borders of another are both found in the priory’s deft carvings. Perhaps as training, Santiago’s team of sculptors visited and studied the local monuments, a possibility that also accords with our observations on Santa María. Nevertheless, it would be a great oversimplification to limit our interpretation of the reuse and reconceptualization of San Zoilo’s capital to solely a process of stylistic imitation.

The idea of salvation is a complex theme—and one that will run throughout our discussion of Santiago. Along with the drive to emulate art from the nearby powerhouse monastery, the selection of this particular theme (rather than any of the other subjects masterfully carved at San Zoilo) partly suggests a competitive maneuver. As is evident from the history, the city and priory did not maintain an easy relationship. In electing to replicate an image of salvation from the powerful monastery on their new elaborate church façade, the designers of Santiago make a visual claim to offer similar benefits.

At San Zoilo the pertinent capital is located indoors, decorating a portal separating the narthex from the body of the church (fig. 19). As discussed in the second chapter, the primary audiences of the narthex sculpture would have been nobles and monastics. Beyond these two principal publics, the capital would likely have had limited visibility. Neighborhood parishioners could see the sculpture from time to time, while other citizens may only have been able to glimpse the image on Zoilo’s annual feast day.\footnote{The saint’s miracles, some of which befell locals from the country, suggest that people from the surrounding area came to the monastery for feast days. For the miracle collection, see appendix IV in Flórez, 
*España Sagrada*, vol. 10, 496-507; and Henriet and Martín-Iglesias, “Le dossier hagiographique.”} Contrastingly, Santiago’s version of the image is carved on its west façade, directly facing one of the city’s main streets (figs. 6 & 161).\footnote{The street passing in front of Santiago, today called José Antonio, was once just referred to as Rúa, literally meaning street. The over-general designation suggests that the road was a main thoroughfare of the city. Martínez Díez, 
*De Itero de la Vega*, 73. This name in combination with the position of the plaza mayor indicates that the street may also have been the location of a market.} Located outside, this capital is available for any individual’s interest or consumption, even the population’s non-Christian citizens. Moreover, the capital is designed and inset in a way that further increases its message and site-specificity. The threatening side of the capital faces outward, communicating a warning to onlookers, but on passing through the portal that leads into the church, viewers are met with the salvific face, as if their entry to the church and participation in its liturgy will bring about their own spiritual deliverance. Santiago re-presents a familiar theme from the powerful monastery across the river, but to a wider audience in the center of town, advertising benefits that can be gained at the newly revitalized parish church.
The soteriological content of Santiago’s portal is not limited to this single capital. The façade’s second capital, too, demonstrates a related concern, salvation’s logical pendant: damnation (fig. 178). From above, the massive Christ in Majesty towers over the program and the viewer, serving as eternal judge. In addition to the emulative and competitive drive towards the successful rival monastery just expounded, the designers of Santiago chose to replicate this particular capital from San Zoilo because the earlier imagery fell in line with their desired message. For certain members of the community, the monastery’s depiction of salvation would already be familiar. With the monastery’s version of the salvific image as a known and ‘legible’ starting point, the designers could then modify the iconography as needed to update and specialize the meaning.

As will be explored in more detail in the following sections, judgment is a central theme of the portal. Together the two capitals illustrate a spectrum of salvation and damnation. And in altering the obverse of San Zoilo’s capital, the designers are able to introduce a complexity to the traditional eschatological dichotomy. Where at San Zoilo the lion’s head capping both capital faces served as a serene addition—most likely a decorative embellishment that may have also evoked salvific connotations—at Santiago, the beast is newly conceived as an arbiter or gatekeeper. His jaws are shown open on one side and closed on the other, with the characters on the front face interacting with his gaping mouth.

Mariño argues that the overall message of the program is about judgment, see Mariño, “In Palencia non ha batalla pro nulla re.” I will return to this argument below.
Santiago’s reinvention of a nearly century-old capital would soon inspire an iconographical type in the larger region of Palencia. Around the turn of the twelfth century, other provincial capitals display derivations of the theme, including San Pelayo of Arenillas de San Pelayo (fig. 192), Nuestra Señora of Padilla de Abajo (fig. 193), and a displaced Palencian piece today in the Walters Art Museum (fig. 194). Santiago as intermediary has given an afterlife to an image originally conceived at San Zoilo. A similar process occurred around the compositional features of Santa María; after the archivolt and frieze were reworked on the façade of Santiago, regional churches energetically embraced these sculptural elements. This local process of borrowing and reinvention, originally within the city of Carrión, resulted in a profusion of ‘Carrionese’ innovations across greater Palencia.

A Monument to Social Change

The city described in the second chapter had vastly changed by the late twelfth century. When the monastery across the river was built, noble and monastic power dominated the budding city. A century later, governing officials were nominated by the king, and a number of independent citizens wielded considerable influence. A large bourgeoisie had developed, one that had already proven its power and capacity to affect its goals in the revolts of the early twelfth century. The citizens practiced numerous

specialized professions, including carpentry, masonry, iron and silver smithy, leather working, and apothecary.\textsuperscript{584}

The designers of the parish church of Santiago chose to decorate its portal with a row of highly naturalistic people, most engaging in a profession or task. While the figural archivolt resembles that of nearby Santa María, the earlier program presented a composite archivolt, made up of a diverse cast of characters, in which a shepherd abuts a curious ungulate-man hybrid; at Santiago, a hierarchy of identifiable trades has taken their place. Before Santiago, similar archivolts were either heterogeneous and paratactically-organized like Santa María’s or primarily pastoral like that of Sainte-Marie-d’Oloron and earlier cycles of the Labors of the Months. For the first time, on the late twelfth-century façade of Santiago, the depicted trades are entirely urban.\textsuperscript{585} The façade’s designers placed these quotidian occupations into a larger program of salvation, with Christ in Majesty at top and damnation on the capitals below. Within the growing city of Carrión, the parish church is advertising itself as offering an accessible, contemporary spirituality, one meant to accommodate and appeal to the increasingly large and prominent urban middle class.

\textsuperscript{584} Peral Villafruela,\textit{ De Aquitania a Carrión}, 90-91.
\textsuperscript{585} Bartal draws a further distinction between the type of figures depicted on Sainte-Marie-d’Oloron’s archivolt and Labors of the Months cycles. She traces the origin of the Béarnais program to earlier French calendar cycles, but she notes that certain tasks commonly portrayed in the highly pastoral depictions of the Labors of the Months are omitted; for example, Oloron’s archivolt includes bread making and butchering, but not sowing, harvesting, or vine tending. Bartal, “Representations of Urban Society.” For examples of calendar cycles, see San Isidoro in León, Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Vézelay, Saint-Lazare in Autun, and a carved pillar from Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul in Souvigny, now in the Musée de Souvigny.
Carrión participated in greater trends taking place across northern Spain and, more broadly, across Western Europe.⁵⁸⁶ As Christian kings consolidated power over the northern Iberian Peninsula, conquering traditionally Muslim-held lands and establishing relatively stable territorial divisions among themselves, mercantile activity and long-distance trade flourished. Within this newfound security and related commercialization, communities restructured and urban settlements developed, outgrowing castral walls. Carrión, already an important comital capital, experienced large-scale growth in the twelfth century, accompanied by a change and diversification in its social makeup. With the expansion of city life and the development of a money economy came a host of new secondary and tertiary trades—artisanal, industrial, mercantile, and professional—constituting an emergent middle class.⁵⁸⁷

Previously, society had been loosely conceptualized as composed of those who work, those who pray, and those who fight. An English monk Aelfric, formulated the

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triad as such: “It is well known that in this world there are three orders, set in unity: these are laboratores, oratores, bellatores… Now the farmer works to provide our food, and the worldly warrior must fight against our foes, and the servant of God must always pray for us.”

As Aelfric states, this formulation conceives of those who work as farmers. In an agriculturally dominated civilization, jobs are tied to the land. People not working with food production engage in related crafts, such as tool-making. Society is then completed by the remaining, more exclusive classes of the religious and the knightly. With the rise in commercialism and urban living, the formulation would become much more complex. Lester Little identified two other distinct categories of ‘those who work’: first, artisans and industrial workers, meaning people who make things, such as bakers, textile workers, and blacksmiths; and second, those engaged in services and monetary exchange, such as merchants, bankers, and professionals.

As a sizeable medieval city, Carrión would have maintained numerous specialized professions. Just within the field of leatherwork, the city employed tanners, thrashers, trimmers, cordwainers, clog makers, scabbard makers, and flask makers.

Located at the crux of two major axes of trade, medieval Carrión served as a principal center of exchange in León-Castilla. Before its transition to a popular

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590 I estimate Carrión’s medieval population (twelfth to thirteenth century) as six thousand people, three times the population of modern Carrión, see page 5.
591 Peral Villafruela, De Aquitania a Carrión, 90-91.
pilgrimage route, much of the *Camino Francés* was already a well-traversed roadway, connecting the French city of Bordeaux to Astorga in north-western Spain. The growth in the *Camino* and its corresponding infrastructure development only served further to solidify this route as a major east-west axis of trade.⁵⁹² Carrión also sat at the mid-point of a second major trade route, this one north-south, linking the northern city of Aguilar de Campoo to Palencia and Dueñas.⁵⁹³

At the time of Santiago’s decoration, its archivolt was unique. Santiago’s inhabited arch derives from the heterogeneous figural archivolt type discussed in the third chapter, but diverges significantly in organization and coherence. For example, both Santa María de Carrión’s and Santa María de Uncastillo’s imagery seems designed to appeal to an urban lay public, but without a single organized system; instead the images are arrayed in single scenes or digestible vignettes that might be humorous, relatable, or apotropaic.⁵⁹⁴ Santiago de Carrión departs from its forbearers in the wholly urban nature of its subjects, along with their naturalistic depictions and organization into a systematic, hierarchical whole.

The archivolt is populated with twenty-four figures. Excluding two lions that bracket the arch (diag. 2; voussoirs 1 & 24, figs. 196-197), all engage in some sort of task or profession. After the opening lion voussoir, the first figure (2, fig. 198)—bearded and

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⁵⁹² The rulers of northern Spain encouraged travel on the *Camino* by reducing tolls and imparting safety measures, see page 29. Knightly orders also patrolled various dangerous stretches of the route and/or accompanied pilgrims.


⁵⁹⁴ See note 406.
wearing a distinctive cap—holds a length of fabric across his lap. Mariño identifies the man as a draper, although with his arms missing it is difficult to assert a specific profession with certitude.\textsuperscript{595} He could equally be engaged in another textile-based occupation. His hat may characterize him further. Bunched cloth is gathered in a central band around the skull, denoting something of a hybrid cap or turban.\textsuperscript{596} We will return to this detail and its connotations below.

Following the cloth-worker, the archivolt’s next eight figures form a group. Each man occupies an individual task within an extended—and unprecedented—cycle of coin minting.\textsuperscript{597} The first (3, fig. 199), bareheaded and beardless, hammers a length of metal into a sheet. With his left hand he steadies an ingot across an anvil between his legs and with his right, he raises a hammer to his shoulder, captured by the sculptor in the moment before striking. To his left, a youthful-looking man lifts a teapot-shaped vessel (4, fig. 200). This man is likely bleaching or cleaning the metal before minting, though his right arm, and therefore anything else he might have held, are missing.

Holding a large pair of shears over a shallow basin, the third figure in the series (5, fig. 201)—bearded and wearing an ornamented mantle—cuts the sheet of metal fashioned by his counterparts into blanks, the small discs that will become coins. Then the fourth minter places one of these blanks into a die (6, fig. 202). This man, also

\textsuperscript{595} I am indebted to Beatriz Mariño for her careful, well researched identifications. I draw heavily on Mariño’s identifications, but also propose a number of revisions. For this figure Mariño indicates that she sees an \textit{alma} or measuring stick beside the figure’s missing right arm, the grounds for her identification of the man as a draper. If the measure is present, the figure can be compared to a measuring draper shown at Santa María in Tudela. Mariño, “La portada de Santiago,” 51-53.
\textsuperscript{596} This type of cap often denotes a Jew, see note 451.
\textsuperscript{597} Mariño, “Testimonios iconográficos,” 499-501.
wearing an embellished mantle, is the *monedero* or *monetarius*, responsible for stamping the coin’s design onto a plain round of metal. The die itself has been carefully illustrated: the top is a slightly concave cylinder, curved from repeated strikes of the hammer, while the bottom includes a lip for stability above the spine that anchors into the anvil. Using a different kind of tool, what appears to be a second *monedero* works to the left of the first (7, fig. 203). Above an anvil, he holds a set of pincers with a die attached or inserted in between. This type of hand-held die could have offered a greater degree of precision, since the action of stamping was completed by physical pressure rather than by the blows of a hammer.\(^{598}\) Meticulously and accurately representing the coin minters’ tools, the sculptor demonstrates a clear interest in naturalism.

Of the final three minters, two are founders (8 & 10, figs. 204 & 206). The first holds a pan of coins over a fire, possibly annealing the coins or testing the purity of the metal. The second founder actively inflates a set of bellows to stoke a fire. Between them is the only man in the minting series not taking an active role in the manufacture of coin (9, fig. 205). Instead, this figure, more lavishly dressed than his companions, appears to be an official or superior giving orders. He points with his index figure outside of the archivolt, connecting the laborers to the rest of the carved program.\(^{599}\)

Continuing across the archivolt, the following two figures are both engaging with codices, but have been carefully differentiated by the artist. The first is a secular scribe (11, fig. 207). What appears to be a quire is balanced on a lap writing desk. With stylus

\(^{598}\) Mariño provides more detail on this second type of die. It has also been suggested that this tool was used by coin falsifiers. Mariño, “Testimonios iconográficos,” 501.

\(^{599}\) Lacoste also draws our attention to this figure, see Lacoste, “El maestro,” 178-179.
and penknife in hand, he carefully works across the open folio. To his right, a monk forms his pendant and contrast (12, fig. 208). Characterized by a habit and tonsure, the monk reads from a finished codex.

On the monk’s opposite side is the first of only three women on the archivolt (13, fig. 209). In contrast to the other two female figures situated farther down to the right, her image radiates serenity. Her head—hair uncovered and falling in long, loose waves—steadies the harp-psaltery she strums with both hands. Long uncovered hair often suggests lasciviousness and temptation, but in the context of this image, the psaltery players’ flowing locks may denote innocence and youth. Conspicuously differentiated from the portal’s other women, she represents a virginal maiden and ideal of womanhood. The harp-psaltery produces a soft, sweet sound. The instrument would have been appropriate for a courtly setting—accordingly, it is often shown in the hands of David—but would have been unsuited to festivals and public entertainment. Carlos Villanueva notes that this refined instrument is often given preferential place near the keystone of an arch, much like its positioning at Santiago.

The man on the following voussoir subtly serves as the serene musician’s counterpart (14, fig. 210), conveying wisdom and order. With his left hand he grasps his long beard as if in thought, while with his right, he sustains a weighty mace. He seems to be a judge or official, hefting the mace as a symbol of power and justice. Medieval law

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600 This instrument, termed a harp-psaltery, is a type of triangular plucked psaltery. Two Elders of the Apocalypse on the Pórtico de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela play this instrument: see figures 5 and 18 in Villanueva, El Pórtico de la Gloria, 102-103. See also Elfrén Borrajo Dacruz, El arpa en el Camino de Santiago y su entorno socio-cultural (Madrid: Arlu, 1999), 214.

courts often convened in front of churches. The judge, along with the duelers farther down the archivolt, could reference trials that took place in the square directly in front of Santiago. At Santa María, one of the voussoir figures is depicted holding a hatchet over his left shoulder (fig. 109); likely the earlier figure would have been read simply as a hunter or butcher, but it is also possible that the images function similarly, both alluding to power and the dispensing of justice.

Beside the judge sit three artisans. The first, a shoemaker, works the leather upper of a boot held between his legs (15, fig. 211). Another craftsman fashions a key atop an anvil (16, fig. 212); with his right hand he files the tines of the large key he holds in his left. The action of the following man, wearing a Phrygian cap, is more difficult to discern (17, fig. 213). He may be making a lock, but since he is missing both forearms, his profession cannot be identified with certainty.

A group of three related figures follows the artisans (18-20, figs. 214-215). Two men face each other from their individual voussoirs. Subtly individualized through facial features and gear, each raises his mace to strike while holding a shield aloft to protect himself. A veiled woman cries on the stone to their right. She clutches at her cheeks in a gesture of agony and desperation. This set of three figures appears in other local programs—at Arenillas de San Pelayo, Perazancas de Ojeda, and on the pair of Palencian capitals in the Walters Art Museum—allowing us to conclude that they do in fact

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602 Mariño suggests this possibility. Mariño, “La portada de Santiago.” There are many references to trials taking place in front of other churches, for example on Saint-Trôphime in Arles, see Meyer Schapiro, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 192; and on the cathedrals of León and Strasbourg, see Beatriz Mariño López. “Iconografía del trabajo urbano en el arte medieval hispánico” (PhD diss., University of Santiago de Compostela, 1990): 293.
comprise a unified group. Writing about the Walters capitals, Dorothy Glass suggests that the duel could be meant to prove or disprove the woman’s honor, motivated by a charge of adultery.⁶⁰³ Mariño builds upon this idea. She demonstrates that adultery, as a crime of the highest severity, would have been brought to a mayor and likely decided in a Judgment of God. King Alfonso X’s (1252-1284) Siete Partidas (or “Seven-Part Code”), written in the later thirteenth century, describes this practice, stating that God, rather than physical prowess, would decide the rightful victor of the ordeal. During the twelfth century, this brutal method of justice fell out of favor, and trials by duel were actively prohibited by numerous sanctions. Alfonso VII banned duels with shield and stick, and the bishop of Palencia repeated the prohibition in 1181.⁶⁰⁴ Given these proscriptions, Mariño argues that the image carries a negative connotation: the participants are guilty for both their salacious crimes and their uncivilized method of attaining justice.

The next two figures might also convey unfavorable associations. A man plays a viol (21, fig. 216), while on the voussoir next to him, a woman twists her body into a convex arch (22, fig. 217).⁶⁰⁵ The woman performs some sort of dance or acrobatics, likely to the sound of the jongleur’s music. Her knees are bent at ninety degrees with torso flung wildly backwards, her hair fanning out dramatically across the stone. Musicians were not unanimously condemned by the church, but were divided into categories; distinguished from the psaltery player at the apex of the arch, this musician,

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⁶⁰⁵ Villanueva, El Pórtico de la Gloria, 84-88. Also called a fidula ovale, this is a five-stringed version of the instrument, compare to Elders 2, 6, 23, and 24 on the Pórtico de la Gloria of Santiago de Compostela.
accompanied by an upturned female acrobat, suggests the disordered, cacophonous music that would incite lust.\textsuperscript{606}

Before a lion closes out the cycle (24, fig. 197), a tailor completes the arc of urban professions (23, fig. 218). Although missing his head, the figure otherwise remains intact. Across his lap drapes a tunic; holding the garment’s neck in his left hand, he delicately manipulates a needle through the fabric with his right. Like the first tradesman on the archivolt, the final man, too, is a cloth-worker.

These carved laborers at Santiago are not the first manifestation of the changing nature of work in Carrión. A collection of miracles composed at San Zoilo serves as one of our best sources to explore the contemporary social climate. Written into the miracles is a clear discomfort with the growing authority of the working class and the citizens’ independence from—and possible indifference towards—the Benedictine monastic house. In many respects, the miracle stories celebrating the patron saint, Zoilo, adhere to the typical tropes of the genre: they herald the powers of the saint and advertise the benefits of visiting his shrine. For example, the first miracle in the collection tells of a horribly disfigured cripple from Gascony who decides to go on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, hoping to receive healing from the apostle. Just as he is traversing the bridge across the Carrión River, his donkey dies, and, in anguish, he stops to pray at the monastery. Immediately, the crippled pilgrim is healed by Zoilo. Out of twenty-one

miracles in the collection, this miracle is the only one granted to a pilgrim. The intended audience of the corpus feels distinctly closer to home.

Of the stories that provide an explicit origin for the beneficiary, a larger percentage is local than foreign. Seven of the anecdotes specifically mention Carriñense citizens, while only five make reference to a different origin for the miracle recipients. Moreover, just three of these five definitively point to a foreign background. One is the Gascon referenced above, and the other two are a Basque and a Norman. The remaining two come from places called Fons Monionis and Calzata. The first name I have been unable to locate, but the second, Calzata, likely refers to the nearby Calzada de los Molinos, a town less than five kilometers from the center of Carrión. This miracle, then, can be loosely classified as local. Eight others provide no information about the origins of the recipient. Though unspecified, the text of two of these strongly suggests that the subjects may also have been from Carrión or its environs. Consequently, roughly half of the miracles in San Zoilo’s collection seem to be directed towards a local population.

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608 BNE, MS 11556. The Latin text of these miracles has been transcribed in Flórez, *España Sagrada*, vol. 10; and in Henriet and Martín-Iglesias, “Le dossier hagiographique.” The miracles that specifically refer to local beneficiaries are numbers: 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, and 21. Those that list other place names for the miracle recipients are: 1, 3, 8, 10, and 15. The miracle numbering in this and the following notes corresponds to the numbering used in Flórez’s transcription.
609 Miracles 1, 8, and 10, respectively (the miracles are numbered according to Flórez’s transcription).
610 Miracle 2 is not included in this overall count. Though the beneficiaries are local (one is an heir of the counts of Carrión), the miracle deals with the translation of the relics and in content is an outlier of the collection (the miracles are numbered according to Flórez’s transcription).
611 Miracles 14 and 17 (the miracles are numbered according to Flórez’s transcription).
612 Ten of twenty, leaving miracle 2 out of the count, see notes 610 & 613 (the miracles are numbered according to Flórez’s transcription).
In evaluating the collection, equally important to note is the type of miracle performed by Zoilo. Two primary categories can be distinguished within the corpus: the first, healing, the most commonly performed miracle by medieval saints; and the second, admonition, the more interesting for our purposes. The others, just three of the group, deal with some non-health related form of aid provided by the saint.\textsuperscript{613}

The second category, admonitory miracles, comprises a third of the collection. In these seven stories, the saint reprimands the subject for certain unsavory behaviors—or at least behaviors deemed as such by the authors—and the subject, awed by the saint’s power, repents. For example, the third miracle of the collection tells of a rural-dwelling peasant, “quaedam rustica,” living near Calzata (modern-day Calzada de los Molinos mentioned above). On the feast day of San Zoilo, instead of stopping her work to venerate the saint, the peasant makes a joke of the anniversary and starts a typical day at her spinning wheel. Suddenly, the hand that she was using to spin whips behind her and attaches itself firmly to her back. In that moment, she realizes her error and fervently repents to Zoilo. In response to her newfound reverence, the saint reverses the damage, returning her deformed and useless arm to perfect health.\textsuperscript{614}

\textsuperscript{613} Miracles 2, 16, and 18. The second miracle is the general outlier of the group, dealing with the translation of Zoilo’s relics. Miracle 16 records Zoilo calming a harsh and destructive storm at the prayers of the monks and 18 treats a soldier’s salvation in battle (the miracles are numbered according to Flórez’s transcription).

\textsuperscript{614} Miracle 3, transcribed in Flórez, \textit{España Sagrada}, vol. 10, 497-498; as well as in Henriet and Martín-Iglesias, “Le dossier hagiographique,” 450. Excerpt from Flórez, “Statim vero Dei judicio monstruoso supplicio multata est; nam dextera, qua fussum volvevat ad dorsum retorta totum officium operandi perdidit. Tantum corporis dispendium misera sentiens, se ream, se offensam, se in S. Martyrem graviter peccase, magnis fletibus confitebatur. A suis ad S. Zoylum adducta est, quem omnes deprecabantur, ut tantas miserae culpas parceret. Statim voto promisso, totius corporis resumens salute, tota dextera ad formam pristianam restituta est.”
Another story tells of a Carrionese artisan who similarly fails to celebrate the saint’s feast day. The craftsman does not believe that the saint’s body was actually translated to Carrión, arguing that, since the relics are still in Córdoba, he should continue working rather than laying aside his craft to venerate the saint along with the other citizens. As the unbelieving man affixes a handle to a sickle that he is fashioning, he bores directly into the palm of his hand instead of the piece. Horribly injured, he radically amends his attitude, professing, “I confess! Zoilo is worthy of veneration; deserving of the feast day and celebration of all, now. I feel the saint present in this land, whom I thought was far away.”

In both accounts, the saint chooses to punish the subject by striking at his or her hands, the part of the body actively used in work. The woman’s right arm becomes affixed to her back; the artisan bores into his own hand; and, in another story, a reaping farmer—again laboring on the saint’s feast day—watches his two hands monstrously twist and fuse together, forcing him immediately to cease his actions.

The subtext of these miracles informs us about the contemporary historical and social situation in the city of Carrión. Written in the 1130s by a monk Raoul for the brothers of San Zoilo, the collection features repeated themes that provide perspective into the goals and attitudes of Carrión’s monastic community. The trope of painful and

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617 The scribe of the collection, Raoul, records that he wrote the stories during the time of a prior Peter. A prior named Peter is only attested once, in a document from January 1136. See document 30 in Pérez
bizarre injuries to the hands, physically halting any possible continuation of use—and thus, work—attest to a certain tension between the monks and Carrión’s working population.

Though followers of the Benedictine Rule, which prescribes a combination of prayer and manual labor in the daily life of monks, the brothers of San Zoilo, like many others of the Cluniac Order, seem to have done little manual labor themselves. In place, the house employed twenty-five vassals from the surrounding barrio to complete needed tasks, including cooking, leatherworking, carpentry, milling, and gardening. Monks of the Cluniac Order dedicated the majority of their time to prayer, to the celebration of the liturgy and reading of Scripture. Within the Cluniac ideology, prayer, or spiritual labor ranked more highly than physical labor. The stories’ documentation of multiple lay people ignoring the saint’s feast day and choosing to go about their daily work demonstrates that there was a considerable difference in priorities between the monastery and the larger community. Many lay people must have failed to honor the saint—consequently, also failing to defer to his monkish protectors—instead favoring their work and its practical value over the spiritual value of prayer and supplication.

Related themes also run through the collection of miracle stories. One of the main recurring motifs is the community’s recognition of the saint’s eminence and power. The exorcism of a local woman provides one of the best examples. Bleating like a sheep,
barking like a dog, and imitating the song of birds, a woman, possessed by the devil, was tied and carried by three men to the monastery on the saint’s day. Raoul, the narrator, emphasizes that the whole town gathered for the festival (“ad festum sancti martyris omnis regionis populo congregato”) and that the entire community prayed for her; the more the devil wracked her body, the more the people prayed. After being placed beside the saint’s relics, the woman was restored to full health.

In another, a farmer, after being punished for working on Zoilo’s feast day by the dramatic death of one of his cattle, brings an offering to the monastery and pledges his service and an annual tribute in the future. Through the development of this narrative, the author manages not only to alter the man’s beliefs radically, but also to secure the promise of future services.

Though the miracle stories are one-sided accounts, representing only the monks’ point of view, their wishes for the community enable us to flesh out our picture of Carrión’s social situation in the first half of the twelfth century. Unlike the previous half-century—and despite its continued importance among the nobility and Cluniac Order—the monastery no longer held an unchallenged position of authority in the city. Merinos

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620 Miracle 17, Flórez, España Sagrada, vol. 10, 505; also Henriet and Martín-Iglesias, “Le dossier hagiographique,” 454. Excerpt from Flórez, “Statim suam culpam recognoscens, se miserum, se reum, se in Martyrem Christi male peccasse coram omnibus coepit confiteri. Cum oblationibus quasi pro culpa satisfaciens ad locum Reliquiarum pervenit, promittens, si hoc sibi neglectum condonaretur, de cetero in S. Zoyli servitio se permansurum, et quod quotannis reddere tributum.”
and tenentes were appointed by the king, replacing the hereditary line of counts who, together with patronizing San Zoilo, had previously administered the territory. Across the span of the twelfth century, the developing money economy led to the growth of independent wealth and a dispersal of affluence. More citizens had disposable capital and assets to leave behind, giving rise to a wider variety of patronized institutions.\(^{621}\) The prevalence of work-related moralizing tropes in the corpus illustrates an established power structure in the process of shifting. Beneath the saint’s dramatic warnings, we can detect the monks’ anxiety towards the inevitable leveling of authority across the community.

Events later in the twelfth century continue to suggest possible strain between Carrión’s distinct barrios and institutions; the tension was again based around work and commercialism. In November of 1169, just before—or possibly even cotemporaneous to—the portal’s design and realization, Alfonso VIII granted permission to San Zoilo to hold an annual fair. At this point, fairs were relatively new to the kingdom of León-Castilla. Excluding the fair granted to Belorado, by Alfonso of Aragón in 1116, the earliest fairs took place in the region of Tierra de Campos around mid-century.\(^{622}\) Fairs were granted to Sahagún and Valladolid in 1155, with San Zoilo’s fair established shortly

\(^{621}\) For example, in the eleventh century, San Zoilo received eight donations, all from the Banu-Gómez family, but just in the first half of the twelfth the monastery received fourteen recorded donations from otherwise wealthy individuals. Palacio Sánchez-Izquierdo, *San Zoil*, 54-56.

\(^{622}\) Ladero Quesada, *Las ferias*, 20-21. The documentation on the Belorado fair is questionable, rendering the fair’s existence and dating uncertain.
afterwards, in 1169. Not until decades later would the convening of fairs become more widespread, with Alfonso VIII granting several around the year 1200.

A medieval fair signified an event quite different from a market. While a market would usually be held once a week, attracting locals and peasants, a fair was a special event that might last as long as a month, enabling significantly greater commercial activity. Specialized vendors and buyers could travel from farther abroad, resulting in greater profits for both those involved and for the hosting entity, which would collect taxes.

The presence of three fairs concentrated in Tierra de Campos demonstrates that the region was not only already appreciably commercially successful, but that its central location would lend itself to successful fairs and future gain. Wool, one of the main goods of the high medieval economy, was produced in the north and northeast (particularly in the province of Burgos) and traded along routes heading to Cantabria on the northern coast, and to the south and Extremadura. With Carrión situated on the main axes of north-south and east-west trade, the fair granted to San Zoilo ensured that the barrio would become an important—and profitable—point of exchange for wool and numerous other goods.

In the charter authorizing the monastery’s fair, Alfonso VIII meticulously sets out its conditions. These regulate the proceedings not only in the barrio housing the fair but

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623 The year Sahagún is granted a fair is known from a later confirmation of the fair by Alfonso X in 1255. Valladolid’s could have been granted any year between 1152 and 1156, though Ladero Quesada argues that 1155 is the most likely date due to the presence in the city of the papal legate Cardinal Hyacinth. Ladero Quesada, Las ferias, 22-23.
also within greater Carrión.\textsuperscript{625} First, the king specifies that the taxes collected from the fair will be shared equally between him and the brothers and prior of San Zoilo (the office, and that of camerarius Hispaniae, was held at that time by a certain Humberto).\textsuperscript{626} He even stipulates that his merino should collect nothing, except directly from the hands of prior Humberto or one of his attendants. The king also offers protection to anyone traveling to the fair, declaring that any offending party will be judged as harshly as a traitor or murderer. This person must not be taken in by anyone “in tota civitate de Carrione.” Lastly, Alfonso explicitly separates the civitas from the ‘villa Sancti Zoyli’ where the fair will be held.\textsuperscript{627} He establishes the Carrión River as the fixed boundary between the two.

Granting a month-long fair to San Zoilo conferred upon the monastery and barrio a distinct privilege. The opposite could be said for the civitas, officially separated from the hosting community by the king. While the monastery would be receiving half the total tax, and the neighborhood would profit from the crowds of visitors, eager to be fed and entertained, Carrión’s own weekly markets would suffer (if held at all).

One of these city markets very likely convened directly in front of the church of Santiago—the site of the new, elaborate sculptural program. The thoroughfare running parallel to the west façade, today named Calle José Antonio, used to be termed only Rúa, literally meaning street; this designation often connoted a major artery of a town, similar

\textsuperscript{625} Document 41 in Pérez Celada, Documentación (1047-1300), 64-66.
\textsuperscript{626} On prior Humberto, see Bishko, “El abad Radulfo.”
\textsuperscript{627} For this passage, refer to page 50 and note 118.
Moreover, the city’s plaza mayor sits obliquely opposite the carved façade of the church of Santiago and its array of stone tradesmen. In many Spanish towns and cities, the modern plaza mayor, or main square, spatially preserves the original place of the medieval market, and this likely was the case in Carrión.

The second half of the twelfth century should be understood as an era of overwhelming successes for local industry and mercantilism. Beyond the three regional fairs, nearby Sahagún, located only around a day’s walk from Carrión, was granted the privilege to mint coin in 1116 by Queen Urraca. The queen vested the abbot with considerable authority to run the mint as he saw fit, specifying that the abbot could employ minters from either the town of Sahagún or elsewhere, providing that they were appointed by his hand. Nonetheless, not a single coin can be associated with Sahagún’s mint. On the other hand, surviving coins marked with CA and C have not been securely associated with a place of facture. The specie inscribed with the initials CA, likely produced under Alfonso VII, has been linked by scholars with Zamora or Zaragoza, and that marked simply C, a product of the realm of Alfonso VIII, with Calahorra. Perhaps, instead, these unidentified coins stand for Carrión. It is possible that Sahagún’s abbot

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628 Martínez Díez, De Itero de la Vega, 73. This name persisted into the nineteenth century; see, for example, the 1852 map by Francisco Coello in his Atlas de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar (map 8).
629 Benito Martín, La formación de la ciudad medieval, 22-23.
630 Escalona, Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún, 512-513; and Herrero de la Fuente, Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Sahagún, vol. 4, 47-49.
took advantage of the flexibility of his royal grant and chose to employ minters—or even run the enterprise—from the nearby civitas of Carrión.\textsuperscript{632}

Whether or not the portal implies the existence of a local mint, we can understand something of its inspiration by considering the overall economic climate of the period, which was marked by flourishing trade and strong currency, much of which made its way into the coffers of the Church. In 1175, Alfonso VIII began minting gold \textit{morabetinos} after the death of the last Almohad king, Muhammad ibn Mardanis or ‘el Rey Lobo.’ The use of gold coin implies a thriving economy and exceptionally ambitious monetary policy.\textsuperscript{633} León and Castilla far outpaced other European kingdoms in this respect; Florence and Genoa minted their first gold specie in 1252, and the gold currency of French and English kings failed until the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{634} The program of trades—including an extensive cycle of coin minters—that encircles Santiago’s entrance portal might have been in part a statement asserting Carrión’s place in the kingdom’s prosperity, referencing the city’s many tradesmen and the market that likely took place along the adjacent street.

The carved individuals, mainly from an urban middle class, would be recognizable and relatable to Santiago’s parishioners. From artisans, whose wares might be sold at the market, to entertainers performing for pilgrims and residents alike, to the judge and duelers, representing the courts that might be held in front of the church,


\textsuperscript{633} Todesca, “What Touches All,” 407-419.

\textsuperscript{634} Little, \textit{Religious Poverty}, 16-17.
viewers could find familiar characters from their bustling medieval city. Compared to the admonitory stories from San Zoilo’s miracle collection, the laborers on the archivolt are treated with greater acceptance and favor. However, even at Santiago these urban citizens are placed into a hierarchy, one that is situated within a larger program of salvation. Above the tradesmen, Christ in Majesty and the apostolate look down from Heavenly Jerusalem, while below, the figures on the capitals herald the inevitability of impending salvation or damnation. The urban people in between represent a panorama of temporary terrestrial life that will soon be judged.

The first and last figures on the archivolt set the viewing tone, guiding the audience in how to read the portal (figs. 196-197). The lions bracketing the row of urban laborers are not purely decorative. These commonly depicted animals, replete with symbolic meanings, including strength, power, and guardianship, in this position seem to indicate a very specific meaning. Medieval trials were said to occur inter leones. Directly translated as ‘between the lions,’ the term denoted the site of a hearing and judgment.635 Already inset in a larger salvific composition, with Christ above and his divine reckoning below, the twenty-two human figures on the archivolt stand inter leones. Through this compositional, symbolic trial, the viewer is cued to evaluate these people at their daily work, understanding from the program the fate to be anticipated for urban citizens like him or herself.

635 Schapiro, Romanesque Architectural Sculpture, 192; and Verzar-Bornstein, Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State, 40.
Inside the bounding lions, the archivolt opens and closes with textile-workers. Certain medieval professions were considered unclean or unsavory, cloth-workers among them. Fulling, dying, and laundering were held in especially low esteem.\(^{636}\) The figure on the viewer’s far left (fig. 198) could be involved in any textile-based trade, since in his current state of preservation, the bolt of cloth draped across his lap is all that remains to characterize the man’s profession. However, his distinctive melon cap may identify him as a Jew. Though today missing his head, his pendant, the final figure on the archivolt (fig. 218), may have once been similarly classified. As he guides a needle through a nearly finished garment, this figure can be identified with more certainty as a tailor. In medieval Spain, tailoring, draping, and clothing-selling were all common Jewish urban professions. Cloth professions carried certain stigmas, likely intensified by attitudes towards Jews as greedy and unscrupulous. For instance, tailors were accused of charging their customers for more cloth than was actually used in crafting a garment, or for purposefully selling cloth in a dark shop.\(^{637}\)

The two textile-workers, placed in the lowest positions of the arch, seem to be contrasted with the three craftsmen on the upper right, voussoirs fifteen through seventeen (figs. 211-213).\(^{638}\) These men are all artisans, actively creating items, and two


\(^{638}\) Though a tailor could technically be seen as actively creating as well, the profession was not viewed with the same prestige. Mariño suggests that perhaps tailoring was thought to require less technical skill or was associated with women and the home, “Iconografía del trabajo,” 140-143.
of the three work with metal. Medieval popular opinion considered creative trades among the noblest, because their action, creation, was modeled after God’s work. Metalwork, in particular, fits this description since the craft could be seen as generating something of value from nothing. Unlike the two textile-workers relegated to the bottom of the arch, these three men provided a contrasting positive example of secular labor for the community. Contrary to the derogatory tone of the monastery’s miracle collection, the parish church’s sculpture celebrates the generative quality of work performed with the hands.

The cycle of coin minters—unprecedented in its extensiveness and detail—also depicts engagement with artisanal work (figs. 199-206). The designer has chosen to personify money through its creation, possibly rendering capital and its use more neutrally than through the image of the merchant. While mercantilism and standardized currency were both linked to commercialization and economic success, merchants endured particular vilification. For example, Gratian’s Decretum specifies that Christians should eschew this trade, as sin is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid in commercial transactions. However, as Mariño argues, the actual minting of coin received the opposite opinion; this profession was considered prestigious because the craft required great technical skill, and mints had to be royally sanctioned.

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640 Other examples of the imagery of coin making can be found on capitals at Saint-Georges de Boscherville, Souvigny, and Santa Maria de Salamanca, but in a much more abbreviated form than Santiago’s eight-person cycle.
The second-to-last figure in the cycle could help guide the viewer in interpreting the coin minters (fig. 205). This man, the only one in the series not engaged in a particular labor, wears the finest clothing of the group: a chainse, bliaut, and long mantle overtop. While looking over his right shoulder at the men engaged in their tasks, he unfurls a scroll over the opposite shoulder, simultaneously pointing with the same hand. Another scroll edge can be seen beside his left leg. He seems to be an official overseeing the minting process, perhaps even a royally-appointed one, in light of his dress. Along with directing the group, the figure serves a second purpose. With outstretched index finger, the official points upward, connecting the laborers around him to Christ and the apostolate above. He is signaling his fellow workers, and the viewer, to remember God’s ubiquitous presence and the constant judgment of our actions. This representation illustrates a multifaceted view of money, and trade in general; the program connects currency to its royally-authorized creation by hand, but, with the inclusion of the official signaling Christ, also warns against its misuse.

Out of twenty-two people, only three are women. Each is endowed with a distinct attitude or disposition. The woman at the apex of the arch (fig. 209) and the woman at the lower right (fig. 217) both have free-flowing, long, wavy hair, a detail that leads the viewer to compare the two. Both engage with music: the first gracefully strums her psaltery, and the second weaves and twirls to the tune played by her male companion (fig. 216). The upper figure exudes serenity and tranquility. The viewer—senses

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644 Lacoste also notes the gesture of this figure and argues that he is the key to understanding the program. For Lacoste the archivolt shows a world menaced by evil, this man is trying to keep the others from their actions and save their souls. Lacoste, “El maestro,” 178-179.
engaged—can almost hear the gentle harmony floating off her strings. In contrast, from the lower pair pulses a frenetic beat, to which the woman launches her body, at once vulgarly and tantalizingly. Torso upturned, her pose is overtly suggestive, with knees spread and skirts parting.

Likely the audience of both sexes would see the two poles of femininity as just what they were, extremes. The virginal maiden crowning the archivolt represents an ideal of womanhood, and the dancer, alluring and repulsive, warns both men and women of the dangers of luxuria, or lust. Unlike the most common depiction of this sin, a woman with frogs or snakes biting her breasts, the individual represented at Santiago would be familiar to the townspeople.\textsuperscript{645} She is not an abstract symbol, but rather a naturalistic visualization of the type of prostitution common along pilgrimage routes and in urban areas; both settings in which people might have money to spend and were keen to amuse themselves.\textsuperscript{646}

As the viewer’s eyes move down the arch, the disposition of the women shifts from serene to extremely agitated. The third woman, situated on the middle-to-lower right, falls between these two poles (fig. 215). Her body language is also disturbed—as she anxiously clenches her upper body and clutches her face—but without the dancer’s

\textsuperscript{645} There are many examples of the depiction of luxuria with snakes or frogs biting her breasts. One of the most famous examples appears on the porch of Saint-Pierre in Moissac. A Palencian example can be found on the baptismal font of the church of El Salvador in Rebanal de las Llantas.

\textsuperscript{646} For example, the Veneranda Dies sermon condemns prostitutes who attempt to attract pilgrims and threatens that they will be excommunicated and their noses will be cut off. The text mentions a particular stretch of road where prostitutes wait in the woods and approach lone pilgrims. An English translation of the sermon can be found in Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, \textit{The Miracles of Saint James}, 36. For prostitution in urban areas, see Leah Lydia Otis, \textit{Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 15-20.
freneticism. While the virginal musician at the apex provides an ideal to strive for, and the dancer, a life to avoid, this veiled middle woman is likely the most relatable by the everyday townsperson. She, too, has a negative connotation; whether she is an adulterer, as Glass and Mariño have suggested, or else the wife of a man dueling for his life, her social position is precarious. She provides another warning for the urban audience: to stay on the right side of both Christian and civil law.

Unlike Santa María’s sculpture, which is dedicated to both a pilgrimage and local audience, Santiago’s program more exclusively targets the local lay community. Though the patrons and designers doubtless intended the church’s new grandiosity to impress visitors, including pilgrims and the peripatetic court, they crafted its salvific message primarily to appeal to Carrión’s growing middle class. Salvation would have been a concern for the common lay citizen, unable to dedicate his or her life to prayer like the monks across the river or to abandon livelihood and family to go on pilgrimage. Especially in a city along a major pilgrimage route, the inhabitants would daily confront other lay people in the process of securing greater religious favor.

The Commercial Revolution—particularly as it dynamically transformed the region of Tierra de Campos—altered the established social structure and traditional ways of life through professional specialization and the development of cities. With these considerable societal changes, religious practice was driven to evolve as well. Teofilo Ruiz argues in his book *From Heaven to Earth*, which surveys medieval wills, that the mendicant orders of the thirteenth century were able to catch on as quickly as they did
because there had been a spiritual void during the twelfth century. Where monks were reticent to embrace these changes, the parish church attempted to adapt, decades prior to the advent of the mendicants.

Designing the new west façade, facing the main street of the city center, the patrons and artists of Santiago had a new spirituality in mind, one that focused on urban people and everyday life. The portal places familiar urban character-types *inter leones*, on trial, in a sense, before the viewer. Between Christ in Majesty at top, and above a reminder of impending judgment below, an array of people engage in their typifying actions. The sculptural program highlights the salvific possibilities of living a principled everyday life, while also warning against the dangers of certain less savory actions and professions. Within the context of changing attitudes towards work, Santiago enables regular people to reach salvation through quotidian experience.

*Visual Polyglot: Addressing Carrión’s Diverse Communities*

As we have come to see, medieval Carrión was a diverse, bustling city. Its diversity, however, should not be understood as limited to an assortment of trades and social classes. Three major religions coexisted within the urbanity. Together with the sculptural message directed to Christian parishioners, the portal of Santiago also addresses the city’s marginal audiences. The imagery references other faiths and certain

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classes explicitly and implicitly, at once damning and beseeching the church’s secondary publics.

A pluralistic population of Christians, Jews, and Muslims lived, worked, and interacted in medieval Carrión. As discussed in the introduction, Carrión’s religious groups clustered in certain barrios (the Jews in Dentro Castro and Muslims in Santa María), but were not formally segregated and seem to have lived across the city along with the majority population of Christians. While we know less about Carrión’s Muslim population and that of the region in general, the city housed a large Jewish community. The 1290 tax census, the padrón de Huete, records that Carrión’s Jews contributed the fifth largest amount in taxes in the realm, behind only Almoguera, Hita, Toledo, and Burgos, and the second largest in the north. The 73,480 maravedís paid by Carrión’s Jews might partly reflect relative prosperity, but this large sum equally suggests a very significant Jewish population.

Carrión’s confessional groups likely interacted frequently, with many dealings uneventful and amicable; however, medieval documentation also records several instances of conflict, one in particular exceedingly violent. In the revolts of the early twelfth century, along with robbing royal possessions and destroying royal palaces and

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649 Carrete Parrondo, “El repartimiento de Huete.”
650 Vastly different estimates have been given for the actual number of Jews in Carrión. Yitzhak Baer estimated that there were 100 Jewish families in Carrión. On the other end, Gregorio Ruiz González estimated 1,633 Jewish families in Carrión; José Maiso and Juan Ramón Lagunilla put the number between 450 and 900 based on the plan of the barrio. Because of these vastly different estimates I suggest we think of the Jewish population as a relative number; large as considered to other cities in the realm. Baer, *A History of the Jews*: Maiso González and Lagunilla Alonso, *La Judería.*
651 For example, documents from the fifteenth-century *Libro de Apeos* record normal business dealings among Carrión’s Christians, Muslims, and Jews, see Bejarano Rubio, *El monasterio de San Zoilo*, 87, 101.
hunting grounds, the rebels struck out at the monarch by murdering Jews. After Queen Urraca’s death, her son and heir Alfonso VII, proclaimed his exoneration of these deeds on taking the throne:

… to these men, aforementioned [the citizens of Saldaña, Carrión, Cea, Cisneros], I give a letter of pardon from the death of the king Alfonso VI, my grandfather, until now, for the malice that you have done to the Jews, who you killed and robbed, and against my palaces that you destroyed and to those that robbed bread and wine, gold and silver, and many other things, and against my mountains that you have burned and extinguished the hunt.  

From Alfonso’s pardon, we know that Carrión’s rebelling bourgeoisie murdered and robbed Jews. A miracle story from San Zoilo also betrays tension between the city’s Jewish population and the monastery. In one story, servants of some knights let their horses graze in the monastery’s garden plots. Despite repeated reprimands from the monks, the servants continued bringing their animals onto the priory grounds. In response, Zoilo struck down four of the horses, at once punishing the disregarding servants and championing the monks.  
The next miracle in the collection maintains the same theme, but shifts the moral’s focus to transgressing, unbelieving Jews. After the saint’s miraculous admonition of the servants, all the citizens—or at least all those of sound mind (“cunctis enim sanae mentis”)—feared and revered Zoilo. However, some of the Jews, labeled by the author as insane, denied that the saint had actually caused the deaths, daring one of their number to graze his own livestock in the plots and test the

652 My translation from the 1127 pardon: “Ad istos homines supra dictos facio hanc cartam perdonationis, de norte Ildefonsi regis mei auui usque hodie, de malis que fecistis in iudeos quos occidistis et accepistis suum auere, et in meos palazios quos dextruxistis et panem et vinum que inde accepistis et aurum et argentum et alia omnia multa, et meos montes quos comburastis et abscondistis et extinguistis uenatu.” The document is included in an appendix in León Tello, “Los judíos de Palencia,” 37.
saint’s power. After feeding for a few minutes, the Jew’s mule is struck down and the man flees the plot.

The parish church of Santiago, too, proclaims a message about the Jewish population of Carrión. Through sartorial clues, the artist has distinguished Jews, whom his pluralistic audience would have been able to identify within the program. The capital on the viewer’s right clearly identifies two Jews, while the left may suggest a related but more ambiguous message (figs. 177-178).

A scene with two men is carved onto the front face of the right capital (fig. 178a). A bearded man bends deeply at the waist, carefully laying another figure into a small sarcophagus. Both men wear distinctive headgear: the bowed, bearded man wears an ornamented conical hat, and the deceased, being lowered into his tomb, seems to be wearing a melon cap like that worn by the textile-worker laboring on the leftmost end of the archivolt (fig. 198). Unlike the opposite capital, this stone has not been cleanly divided into two separate scenes. Instead the content of the inner face (fig. 178b) extends across that of the outer, putting the two in visual parallel. From the lateral face the flanks of an animal jut around the capital’s corner, nearly touching the bowed man’s head. The juxtaposition of the quadruped’s twisted rear with the man’s awkwardly stooped body leads the viewer to connect the two, likening man with beast.

As the animal’s backside is visually associated with the bent man, the small supine figure in the sarcophagus finds his pendant in the nude, recumbent man stretched

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655 Miracle 7, transcribed in Flórez, España Sagrada, vol. 10, 500; the miracle is also transcribed in Henriet and Martín-Iglesias, “Le dossier hagiographique,” 440-441.
across the inner face of the capital. This man, emaciated, with clearly visible ribs, is viciously attacked by wiry four-legged beasts. One sinks its jaws deep into his knee and the other—the beast whose body stretches onto the front face—clamps onto his head. This animal’s claw is wrapped around the man’s skull; his pained grimace renders their attack palpable for the viewing audience. Their bodies curl and ripple with strength over his weak one.

These two quadrupeds are usually identified as dogs or wolves. Mariño compellingly suggests that the image could relate to David’s entreaty in Psalm 21:

“Deliver, O God, my soul from the sword: my only one from the hand of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth; and my lowness from the horns of the unicorns.”

Nonetheless, in the context of the surrounding imagery, the beasts might more likely be classified as hyenas.

Within the taxonomy of the medieval bestiary, hyenas were known for digging up graves and feeding on the dead. In a sermon given by Anthony of Padua, the saint specifies further, informing his audience that the creatures “may be said to devour the corpses of sinners.”

Many images of hyenas depict the animals arcing over corpses, often pulling a body straight from its sarcophagus (figs. 219-221). Given the formal unification of the capital’s two scenes, the splayed, eviscerated nude seems meant to

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656 Psalms 21: 21-22 (D-R) and Mariño, “In Palencia non ha batalla pro nulla re,” 357; García Guinea, for example, identifies the figure as a sinful soul caught by dogs. García Guinea, El arte románico, 128.
657 Lacoste has suggested both that the animals are dogs or wolves and that they are hyenas; he identifies the beasts as dogs in his article “El maestro” and as hyenas in his book Les maîtres de la sculpture romane.
evoke the adjacent cadaver, which is now in the process of being entombed, and will soon be wrenched from his resting place. The animals’ feet are also exceedingly claw-like, further substantiating their identification as hyenas.

The two figures on the capital’s front face, both the deceased and his inhumor, wear identifying headgear. The bearded man’s pointed cap is a headpiece commonly associated with Jews. Conical caps of many forms, from inverted funnel-type hats to peaked caps with knobs, mark Jews across medieval European imagery. The man being buried seems to be wearing a melon cap, which although a less standardized sartorial diagnostic, also served as a Jewish identifier in medieval Spain and southern France. This hat, denoted by ridges running across the crown of the head, almost in the fashion of a modern bicycle helmet, appears in a number of twelfth-century examples. In biblical imagery, certain artists, for instance the sculptors of Saint-Trôphime in Arles and Santa María in Aguilar de Campoo, depicted the Jewish figures of Saint Joseph and Joseph of Arimathea wearing such a cap. The artists of San Vicente in Ávila, a workshop that, like Aguilar’s, is stylistically associated with Santiago, utilized the melon cap for an even more targeted, identificatory purpose.

The church of San Vicente is dedicated to three Abulense saints, San Vicente and his two sisters Cristeta and Sabina. A cenotaph, housed inside the basilica and carved around the same time as its west façade, narrates the sibling’s brutal martyrdom in an

659 Debra Higgs Strickland, Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 105. For a contemporary example, merchants on the south portal of Santa María de Uncastillo are characterized as Jews by their conical hats (fig. 195).

660 In his notes Meyer Schapiro also identifies a Jew wearing the cap at Moissac, see Meyer Schapiro, Meyer Schapiro Abroad: Letters to Lillian and Travel Notebooks, ed. Daniel Esterman (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), 229.
extensive program. A Jew plays an active role in the tomb’s imagery, and is depicted in an identifying melon cap in his three scenes (figs. 222-223). Originally the martyrdom did not include this figure, with the Jewish character added to the story in the sixth or seventh century in the context of anti-Semitic Visigothic rule. However, where the Visigothic Passio had described the Jew as merely walking past the execution, Ávila’s program renders him an active participant. The narrative depicted on the cenotaph implicates the character to the greatest degree, demonstrating a marked tension toward Jews within the Abulense Christian community.

Commanded by a Roman consul to kill the siblings, two soldiers have succeeded in capturing and torturing the Christians when the Jew joins in to help them finish the work (fig. 222). After the three violently crush the saints’ heads between wood planks, the bodies are left unburied and exposed. A serpent, come to guard the martyrs’ defunct bodies, suddenly grasps the Jewish accomplice, who had lingered at the site of the execution. In his desperation, held tightly in the snake’s smothering embrace, the Jew converts to Christianity and is immediately released. To show his reverence for his newfound faith, he carves tombs for the three martyrs (fig. 223). The message presented by the Jew’s role on the cenotaph is twofold: Jews are evil (the Jew joins in the

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662 The text is provided in Latin and Spanish translation in Pilar Riesco Chueca, Pasionario Hispánico: Introducción, Edición Crítica, y Traducción (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1995), 214-225. In the Passio the Jew only approaches after the execution is finished and the saints have died. This revision in the carved version vilifies the Jew further.
663 The narrative told above is that illustrated on the carved sarcophagus, the written hagiography is slightly different, see note 662.
execution maliciously), but, more importantly, they have the potential to be converted.

While not accompanied by a narrative, Santiago’s sculpture explores similar themes.

Having identified Carrión’s capital figures as Jews by their distinctive headgear, we are able to explicate its scenes more fully. One Jew is shown burying another, whose deceased body is at risk of being exhumed and devoured by hyenas. The presence of these particular beasts reinforces the viewer’s reading of the subjects as Jews on multiple levels. Besides the association of hyenas with corpse-eating (especially of sinners), the bestiary also commonly describes the animals as hermaphroditic. Hyenas’ dual-sex nature—sometimes graphically depicted—was compared to the duplicitous character of Jews, the latter having turned from the true God to worshipping idols. For example, in Bodley MS 764, a hyena devours an ashen body in front of an ornate church (fig. 220). The accompanying text directly compares the beast to a Jew and the Synagogue to an unclean animal.664

The right capital incorporates themes of death, punishment, and damnation, as well as a related, coded image of Jewry. Though not always the case in Romanesque architectural sculpture, the opposite capital here seems to display complementary subject matter (fig. 177). As discussed earlier in this chapter, the capital on the viewer’s left is a modified version of a capital carved for San Zoilo nearly a century before (fig. 23). Santiago’s sculptor has made slight alterations to transform its meaning on the face of the parish church. The inner face portrays a distinctly positive scene, contrasting with the fate

of the Jews on the right. Carved with a small figure pointing upwards with his right hand, this face clearly denotes salvation.

The front side of the left capital is more complex. On first glance, the image feels threatening. The small figure, serene on the adjacent face, here appears to be screaming, as if in pain or fear. His lower body disappears beneath the astragal, as opposed to that of the neighboring figure, gently cradled in the arms of his bearers. As depicted on both faces of the prototype capital at San Zoilo, the lion mask above the ‘saved’ figure keeps its jaws closed. However, on the capital’s front face, above the screaming wraith, its jaws are menacingly parted, transforming the image from peaceful to ominous.

After the carving of this capital at Santiago, other artists in the region replicated and further transformed its content. The later iterations and contemporary interpretations of this scene can aid us in understanding the imagery, particularly the use of the lion’s mouth motif. About thirty kilometers north of Carrión, the town of Arenillas de San Pelayo preserves a related capital (fig. 192). The church, eponymously dedicated to San Pelayo, was likely decorated in the 1170s or 80s, following its adoption of the Premonstratensian Order in 1168.665 The amply carved south façade almost certainly postdates the sculpture of Santiago de Carrión. In addition to the similarities between the capitals, the content of the archivolt also draws closely on that of the Carrionese church. The façade includes a single figural archivolt, populated with a familiar, albeit slightly abbreviated, cycle of urban figures.666

666 The program of Arenillas clearly draws on Santiago rather than the inverse. Arenillas’ cycle of urban figures was not completed in one campaign. The sculptor of the lower voussoir figures was considerably
The relevant capital is the first full size capital on the viewer’s left of the door. As at Santiago, and San Zoilo previously, a lion mask occupies the place of the fleuron of a traditional Corinthian capital. In the San Pelayo scenes, too, carved people below interact with the lion’s jaws. On the front face of the capital two figures sustain a third small, central figure (fig. 192a). Depicted upside down, this homunculus hangs from the ferocious open jaws of the lion above. However, turning to the lateral face, he has nearly—if not entirely—disappeared (fig. 192b). The two larger figures insert their hands into the lion’s open jaws; their fingers just pinching what might be a small remaining visible bit of his body. However, the San Pelayo capital may add more questions to the discussion than it answers. What is the direction of reading? Is the soul being pushed into or pulled from the lion’s bared jaws? And, perhaps most importantly for our purposes, what exactly does the lion’s mouth symbolize?

A few other regional capitals form a related group, but alter the motif yet further. A capital from the church of Nuestra Señora del Torreón in Padilla de Abajo depicts our now-familiar formula of two figures interacting with a lion’s mask (fig. 193). The town is located at the extreme west of the modern region of Burgos, less than forty kilometers from Carrión, and just five from today’s Palencian border. Compared to the three previous examples, Padilla’s capital appears simplified in both style and composition. The figures are modestly-carved with large, lightbulb shaped heads, and excess decoration has been omitted from the scene. The work seems to have been carved slightly more skilled than the artist of the upper figures. It seems as if the design was to generally follow the structure of Santiago’s archivolt, but the work could not be completed. A different sculptor(s) finished executing the design after the ‘master’ left or died.
later than the Santiago and San Pelayo capitals, in the first years of the thirteenth century. On the front face, two figures hold onto something protruding from the parted lion’s jaws (fig. 193a). On the lateral face, the beast’s mouth is firmly shut (fig. 193b). Below his closed jaws—almost smiling within a now serene countenance—one figure grasps the other’s arm, which holds an object, likely a book.

Another similar capital, closest in fact to the Padilla capital, belongs to the collection of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (fig. 194). Stylistically, the Walters capital appears to date slightly earlier, to the final years of the twelfth century. Of the capitals in this iconographic group, the Walters piece is the only one carved on three sides. What was likely the front face in situ displays an image nearly analogous to the front of the Padilla capital: two figures reach their hands into the lion’s open jaws touching something that protrudes slightly (fig. 194a). To the right, two figures clutch each other’s hands in a configuration also similar to Padilla, but on the Walters capital there is no object in their hands or repetition of the lion’s mask (fig. 194b). The leftmost face is occupied by a man and veiled woman (fig. 194c).

In interpreting the Walters capital, Dorothy Glass argues that the image depicts a legend made popular by the Bocca della Verità on the porch of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome, in which the mask’s open mouth served as a sort of ancient polygraph. If an

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667 Pedro Luis Huerta Huerta, “Padilla de Abajo,” Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León: Burgos, 357-359.
668 A second capital from the same site is also in the Walter’s collection, for descriptions of both, see Glass, “The Walters Art Gallery,” 111-112.
669 Glass places the capital in the context of the dated Santa María de Lebanza capitals, see note 549 above. Glass, “The Walters Art Gallery,” 111.
670 Excluding the capital from San Zoilo, which had a third side that was never visible.
oath-taker, extending his hand into the mouth, spoke dishonestly, the stone mask would activate and close on the perjurer’s hand. Under this interpretation, the men on the Walters capital insert their hands into the mouth in the process of making an oath. Following Glass, scholars have related other images in this iconographical group to the Bocca della Verità. However this explanation can only be applied to some of the images, excluding completely the variant on the church of San Pelayo that shows a small person half-in and half-out of the lion’s jaws. Even on the Walters and Padilla capitals, this interpretation cannot account for the entity protruding from the mask’s open mouth. Looking at these images as a group, it becomes clear that the final two capitals, the Walters and Padilla, only suggest the action that is threatened at Santiago and fully underway at San Pelayo.

In the context of the present study, examining the group as a whole and its iconographical trajectory could inform our understanding of how the left capital at Santiago was read and interpreted. At Santiago, the small central figure is never shown inside the lion’s mouth. The image threatens a potential fate rather than enacting it. Just a few years later—at San Pelayo—the public and artistic imagination has shifted the figure, now portraying him firmly held within the ominous lion’s jaws. His fate is sealed. But what exactly did the lion’s mouth signify for its twelfth century Palencian audience?

One final regional example could offer a solution to this question. The Romanesque sculpted gallery of San Julián and Santa Basilisa in Rebolledo de la Torre (the church has since been rebuilt) belongs within the larger group of monuments

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constructed in Palencia and northern Burgos during the final decades of the twelfth century. The sculpture from Rebolledo is securely dateable by an inscription, which provides the year, 1186, and names the sculptor, Juan de Piasca. On a porch capital illustrating the vice of avarice (fig. 224), a particular detail clarifies the lion’s role and meaning within this particular place and time. Following the typical iconographical representation of this sin, a man is shown with a large moneybag suspended from his neck (fig. 224b). Beside him stands a cackling, rooster-headed demon. The key variant to this iconography appears on the capital’s opposite face. Here, the avaricious man lies on his deathbed (fig. 224a). At its head his wife sorrowfully tears at her face, and opposite, the becombed demon stands at its foot. The deceased’s soul is suspended above, and while the demon clutches one of its arms, a lion, too, holds onto the small being, restraining or leading the soul by a chain round its neck. Two additional lions crouch under the bed. Their purpose seems twofold: first, they recall the decorative lion bases that supported expensive furnishings, evoking the man’s excessive wealth; and second, in combination with the lion above, they contribute to the sinister nature of the scene.

In this particular place and historical moment, the lion seems to signify a sort of gate-keeper figure: an intermediary between physical and eternal life. In the bestiary, lions were described as sleeping with their eyes open, making these animals ideal guardian figures. Lions were also inherently associated with death and resurrection: their cubs were thought to be born dead and then, after three days, brought to life by one of

672 Given the sculptor’s name, he may have trained or worked at Piasca in the 1170s in the workshop responsible for Santa María de Piasca. The monuments closest in style to Rebolledo are Santa Cecilia de Vallespinoso de Aguilar and Santa María de Becerril del Carpio. See also José Manuel Rodríguez Montañez, “Rebolledo de la Torre” Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León: Burgos, 443-456.
their parents. Though the Rebolledo image does not belong within the group of lion mask representations, Juan de Piasca (or a sculptor in his workshop) employed the beastly gatekeeper in a related manner. Chained to the doomed soul, holding or leading him, the lion at Rebolledo again serves as a hellish intermediary, similar to the beast’s iconographic function and meaning on the contemporary group of capitals.

In Palencia, the lion—and its jaws—developed a particular symbolism through a string of artistic representations, centering on a process of local artistic transmutation within the city of Carrión. In the first example—the late eleventh century capital from San Zoilo, located in the church’s galilee—the lion mask was either entirely decorative or evoked subtle salvific connotations. Capping a scene of a small winged figure held by two men pointing upward, the lion might recall the beast’s associations with resurrection, the eventual destiny of saved souls. The lion becomes considerably less benevolent in its reimagining a century later at Santiago. The beast’s head is envisaged as a symbolic gate, his jaws serving as the portcullis that opens or closes based on the soul’s destination. For the saved, his jaws remain shut, but for the wicked, they are menacingly parted. And, at San Pelayo, the soul has passed the point of no return, already halfway through the condemning gateway. The key moments in this iconographical development occur in Carrión de los Condes: San Zoilo’s artists devised the late eleventh-century original and, nearly a century later, Santiago’s designers expanded and nuanced the sentiment of their model. These changes reflect the way the twelfth-century public read the prototype and the designers’ goals for the image’s meaning in its new setting. From its prominent place

673 Hassig, *The Mark of the Beast*, 4-5.
on Santiago’s elaborate façade, the image was then copied on churches across greater Palencia, its precise depiction and significance continuing to shift according to the wants of new artists and audiences.

The Santiago capital represents the most complex image of its group. The front side, the scene in which the lion’s jaws are open, encompasses a number of significant variations omitted from all of the related works, including the later dependent capitals. The most conspicuous deviation is the inclusion of an additional character. Though unfortunately very damaged, a third person presses on the head of the small central figure. The artist has also made another possibly significant modification, this one to our central figure. Cropped by the astragal, only his upper body is shown. Rather than cradling him, as seen at San Zoilo or on this capital’s lateral face, the outer figures almost appear to be immersing the smaller individual. With the inclusion of these details, this particular scene evokes common iconography of baptism and confirmation. Instead of choosing to depict a literal baptism, the artist has conflated the eschatological imagery from San Zoilo with subtle baptismal signifiers, guiding the viewer to understand that salvation, visually adjacent, is accessible through this Christian rite.

The two variations to the image-type shown at Santiago are both iconographic characteristics commonly included in baptismal scenes. The first, the presence of an additional figure placing his hands on the central character, closely resembles a gesture enacted during this sacrament. Biblical precedent, both Old and New Testament, establishes the laying on of hands as a means of endowing a person with the Holy Spirit. For example, in Acts, when Peter and John travel to Samaria to convert the inhabitants to whom Philip had been preaching, “… [Peter and John] laid their hands upon them: and
they [the Samarians] received the Holy Ghost.” Similar practices occur in the Old Testament. In Deuteronomy we are told that “…Josue the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom, because Moses had laid his hands upon him.”

The gesture of laying hands upon a subject to endow him or her with the Holy Spirit is frequently shown in images of baptism, suggesting to us that this act was relatively common practice in actual medieval baptisms. Multiple examples, across centuries, serve to illustrate this tradition. A ninth-century ivory, today held in the Musée de Picardie in Amiens, depicts the celebrated conversion and baptism of King Clovis (fig. 225). Two saints (one Remigius, on whom the larger ivory plaque centers) take part in baptizing the king. One saintly cleric lays his right hand flat across the king’s forehead, while above, a dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit bears an ampulla with anointing oil. Immersed in a font, Clovis is only depicted from the waist up. In another example, a tenth-century German manuscript illustrates the saintly Bishop Kilian baptizing a man submerged in a barrel. Kilian lays his right hand across the neophyte’s forehead (fig. 226). Centuries later, an image in the Bible of Matthew Paris shows something much the same. Performing a baptism, Saint Antiochus is depicted precisely in the moment of the laying on of hands (fig. 227).

The designers of Santiago added to their soteriological capital both gestures and subtle compositional choices that would evoke the act of baptism for the medieval viewer. Baptism was considered the most important sacrament of the church, erasing the

675 Deuteronomy 34:9 (D-R).
676 There are numerous examples across media; for instance, on the famous bronze font by Rainer of Huy, John lays his hand across Christ’s forehead during the baptism in the Jordan River.
subject’s Original Sin and allowing him or her to be reborn into the church. In the Gospel of John, Christ explicitly states: “…unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”677 Although medieval writers argue whether there are certain exceptions, in general, upon death any unbaptized individual, even a child, faces eternal damnation.678 Given the strict prescripts, detailed for instance by Augustine in his De Baptismo, Christians were eager to perform the rite early in an individual’s life; consequently, in the Middle Ages, the rite shifted from being performed on adults to infants.679 The sacrament also becomes integrally tied to the parish church. Previously, a bishop would perform baptisms, but as this became increasingly less possible, parish priests took over the role.

Baptismal imagery is appropriate and synergistic here on many levels. First, on the most practical plane, the rite falls into the category of a parish offering, specifically speaking to a fundamental service provided by the clergy of Santiago. On a second, theological level, baptism is closely related to death, judgment, and resurrection—themes that unite the varied imagery of the portal. In Gertrud Schiller’s classic reference work on Christian iconography, she summarizes the interconnectedness of the rite as such: “…sacramental baptism has this eschatological connexion in two respects. It is as though the Judgment were anticipated in the Baptism and the person baptized thereby freed from

677 John 3:5 (D-R).
sin to participate in advance in eternal bliss." Though seemingly unrelated at first, images of Christ’s baptism in the Jordan are included in two Beatus manuscripts directly beside the first passages of Revelation 14. These represent a contemporary Spanish example of the purposeful thematic conflation of baptism and judgment/resurrection.

Moreover, early Christian and medieval theologians connected baptism, specifically the gesture of laying on of hands, to a seal or stamp, a biblical and exegetical relationship that may be suggested in our sculpture as well. One possible intention in including the original, extended series of coin minters—two of whom are shown actively stamping coins in dies (figs. 202-203)—could be the baptismal and eschatological connotations of the act of sealing or die-casting. Unlike much of the portal, this layer of meaning would likely only be accessible to the educated viewer.

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681 This imagery is included in the Girona Beatus, possibly produced in León in the tenth century, and the Turin Beatus, produced in or near Girona in the twelfth century. The second manuscript was likely completed after the first was brought to the cathedral, and copies from the earlier manuscript. Patton points out these two images (and notes their relation to each other) in a discussion of the typology of birth and baptism suggested by their overlapping iconography. See Pamela A. Patton, “Et Partu Fontis Exceptum: The Typology of Birth and Baptism in an Unusual Spanish Image of Jesus Baptized in a Font,” Gesta 33, no. 2 (1994): 79-92.
682 There could also be a more direct text connection linking these two elements (the baptism image and passages from Revelation). John 1:29 reads: “The next day, John saw Jesus coming to him; and he saith: Behold the Lamb of God. Behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.” Two chapters away are some of the most illustrative passages about baptism (John 3). Revelation 14 begins by also describing a vision of a lamb. The lamb in both symbolizes the sacrifice made by Christ enabling us to erase Original Sin, what is enacted in the ritual of baptism (D-R).
The word for a seal or stamp is *signaculum* in Latin and *sphragis* in Greek. Multiple biblical references use this same word to refer to a mark of Christians. For example in Second Timothy, Paul specifies that, “having this seal (*signaculum*): the Lord knoweth who are his,” saying, “let every one depart from iniquity who nameth the name of the Lord.”\(^\text{685}\) Then in Revelation, John records, “…I saw another angel ascending from the rising of the sun, having the sign of the living God. And he cried with a loud voice… Hurt not the earth nor the sea nor the trees, *till we sign the servants of our God in their foreheads*.”\(^\text{686}\) Medieval commentators further explored and elaborated this confluence of word and meaning. In an 1172 sermon, Gilbert de Hoiland begs his audience: “Imprint yourself to him [God] so that his image may be expressed in you, make yourself conform to his seal.”\(^\text{687}\) And Peter Lombard, commenting on the Epistles of Paul, interprets man as pliable wax impressed with an image from the Holy Spirit, an action that was recreated through the sacrament of baptism.\(^\text{688}\) Numerous other medieval exegetes argued similar sentiments.\(^\text{689}\) The cycle of coin minters, located directly above the relevant capital, depict a type of sealing—albeit in metal not wax—that might enhance the learned viewer’s experience of the portal.

\(^{685}\) II Timothy 2:19 (D-R). “Sed firmum fundamentum Dei stetit habens signaculum hoc cognovit Dominus qui sunt eius et discedat ab iniquitate omnis qui nominat nomen Domini.”

\(^{686}\) Revelation 7:2-3 (D-R).


\(^{688}\) Bedos-Rezak, “From Ego to Imago,” 162.

\(^{689}\) Including Abelard, Rupert of Deutz, and Alan of Lille, see Bedos-Rezak, “From Ego to Imago,” 161-163.
Finally, the left capital’s baptismal signifiers cohere with Santiago’s sculptural ensemble on one additional level: conversion. The Jews on the opposite capital are shown in a scene of death and burial, while the contiguous hyenas simultaneously reveal the Jews’ beastly nature and threaten the security of their corpses. The capital on the viewer’s left could be offering the requisite conversion that would preclude the negative consequences shown on the right.

This complex capital represents two possible futures for a soul. The torturous image—the subject’s mouth wide open in an almost audible scream—denotes the possibility of punishment, but the figure is not inexorably doomed. On the edge of damnation, the subject can still be saved by the Church. Unlike at San Pelayo, where the action is nearly completed, denoted by a body midway through the lion’s jaws, at Santiago the subject is at the juncture between two outcomes. The intricate interlace molding, primarily housing foliage and animals, further substantiates the message and duality. Intertwined in the vines of the molding, a winged bust peers out from a roundel directly above the threatening image on the capital’s obverse (fig. 177a). The figure may have originally had an adjacent pendant, of which now only a wing remains. In this location, the winged bust may symbolize a saved soul, the positive potential outcome of the eschatological struggle on the body of the capital below.

In graphically displaying these alternatives, salvation or damnation, the parish church addresses the entire community, while also specifically targeting sinners, whether

690 Hassig points out a similar conflation of a hyena eating a corpse with baptism (the tomb is shaped like a baptismal font) in British Library MS 11283, f. 5. See figure 221 below. Like the pairing of our capitals, this composite manuscript image is connected to Jewish conversion. Debra Hassig, Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 153-154, and Hassig fig. 159.
they be practitioners of different faiths or Christians succumbing to vice. As I discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the figural archivolt constructed a loose hierarchy of common urban societal roles. This sculptural ensemble presents a multivalent view of work, situating regular lay citizens within a plan of salvation. The hierarchy seems to approve certain professions while criticizing others; the duelers and entertainers on the lower right serve to caution the viewer, just as the virginal maiden and judge-administrator operate as exemplars, personifying virtuous behaviors like temperance and justice. Stretching across high and low zones of the arch, the eight-person cycle of coin minters is less easily classified. A viewer could interpret the minters in a variety of ways. He or she might consider the positive and negative associations of coin, or perhaps the educated viewer would find in the image of the monedero a link to the biblical concept of sealing. In the context of this section on Carrión’s varied viewing communities, I would like to introduce an additional reading of the coin minters, this one targeted to the city’s less principled Christian public.

As Lester Little compellingly demonstrates, the twelfth century saw a shift in the perception of the vices, specifically regarding the weight given to each. In previous centuries, pride had been considered the chief sin. However, as society changed—through the development of cities, growth of a money economy, etc.—so too did the weighting of the vices. Although the exchange of money became by necessity common practice, the church had no official standards on correct use and was unequipped to reconcile this major societal change spiritually. Avarice and usury thus became upmost in Church
The coin minting cycle at Santiago occupies a third of the archivolt, stretching from nearly the bottom of the haunch to near the crown. Charged by its position within Santiago’s salvation dichotomy, the coin-focused imagery reminds viewers of money’s dangers and related sins.

The German theologian Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169) in his *De quarta vigilia noctis* (On the Fourth Night Watch) formulated a four-part Christian history that named the most significant ordeals of each period. While the corruption of morals was the primary ill of the third era, the chief affliction of his day was avarice. Denouncing money as the root of evil, Peter Damien advised: “first of all, get rid of all money, for Christ and money do not go well together in the same place.” Avarice also became a common subject for medieval artists. The most typical depiction of this sin is a person with a moneybag around his neck, one example being the capital from Rebolledo de la Torre, discussed previously. Other Spanish carved examples can be found at San Salvador de Leyre, Santa María de Sangüesa, and Santa María de Tudela.

This depiction of avarice—bag around neck—appears as well on one of the voussoirs of the neighboring church of Santa María de Carrión. Where the earlier church’s voussoirs are more symbolic and straightforward, the designers of Santiago transformed the common symbols into naturalistic depictions that carry greater nuance. Both churches warn their parishioners against vice, but Santiago does so with a degree of ambiguity, its naturalistic hierarchy enabling the viewer to see both the positive and

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691 Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice”; and Little, *Religious Poverty.*
692 Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice,” 22-23.
negative in everyday actions. The coin minters illustrate this dichotomy. The minters are involved in creation—a virtuous, constructive activity—but their ultimate product is coin, a dangerous temptation for Christians and the root of the grave sins of avarice and usury.

Like avarice, the problem of usury was also greatly amplified by the economic and social shift of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.\textsuperscript{694} Contrasting with today’s definition of usury, the lending of money at an exorbitant or inappropriate interest rate, the medieval definition was simply the collecting of interest. In fact, the term ‘interest’ was first used in the thirteenth century to justify the action.\textsuperscript{695} As Thomas Aquinas explains, “to take usury for money lent is unjust in itself, because this is to sell what does not exist, and this evidently leads to inequality which is contrary to justice.”\textsuperscript{696}

Since Christians were prohibited from lending money (though they still did), Jews—exempt from these spiritual proscriptions—often served as creditors.\textsuperscript{697} Able to take part in money-related business transactions without the religious scruples of Christians, they were extremely valuable to kings and nobles, and in general within the new money society. However despite their utility and assimilation, Jews were also vilified. Lester Little explains that though Jews could have only made up a small portion of the money lending occurring in medieval society, they were blamed nonetheless.

\textsuperscript{694} Though condemned in the bible (Exodus 22:25, Leviticus 25:35-38, Deuteronomy 23:19-21, Luke 6:35 (D-R)), few texts treat usury until the practice becomes common in the Central Middle Ages, at which point the topic turns into one of frequent debate.
\textsuperscript{695} Little, \textit{Religious Poverty}, 180.
\textsuperscript{697} Characteristic of the prevailing mentality, in the epic poem \textit{The Song of the Cid}, the Cid goes to Jews for a loan. Knowing he needs this loan, the Cid says, “I’ll do what I dislike” (6). In contrast, the Jews are characterized as money-obsessed: “Raguel and Vidas were together, as he knew they would, weighing and counting gold and silver” (9). Raffel, \textit{The Song of the Cid}, 9-16.
Christians implicated the Jewish population as a way of displacing and mitigating their
guilt at their own participation; he states:

Christians hated Jews because they saw in Jews the same calculating for profit in
which they themselves were deeply and, in their own view, unjustifiably involved. It
was above all the guilt for this involvement that they projected on to the Jews. The
Jews functioned as a scapegoat for Christian failure to adapt successfully to
the profit economy.  

Although later than our period, documentation survives confirming Jewish
lending in Carrión. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the monastery of
San Zoilo had fallen into steep debt, the institution borrowed from Carriónese Jews. Prior
Juan de Lodosa rented out the entire barrio of San Martín (a daughter house) in Frómista
to his creditors. In the deal, the prior requested advance payment in the amount of ten
years of rent in order to settle the monastery’s past debts and reclaim precious objects
already in the possession of Jews as loan collateral. The latter point suggests an
ongoing pattern of Jewish-Christian lending and, likely too, certain tensions over the
arrangement. Precious monastic objects—which could have been gold, silver, or enamel
(materials recorded in the church’s inventory) and had liturgical function—would have
been painful safeguards, stripped of their religious value in the hands of the Jews.

Santiago’s portal addresses its whole community, from its most principled
parishioners to less scrupulous Christians to local Jews. The sculpture may also address
the resident Muslim community, though indirectly. In crafting an elaborate new

Celada,  *Documentación (1301-1400)*, 47-52.
700 For an inventory of the treasury of San Zoilo recorded at the end of the twelfth century, see Palacio
Sánchez Izquierdo, “Colección diplomática,” vol. 2, no. 47.
sculptural ensemble to face a main street of the city center, the designers incorporated a host of messages or potential readings directed across Carrión’s pluralistic citizenry. Based on the viewer’s relationship to the parish church, the imagery might approve of certain actions, caution against others, or, for the most unsavory, threaten an imminent and grievous fate.

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Although the majority of scholarship on Santiago has sought external influences for its sumptuous carved façade, local Carrionese monuments provided equal, if not greater, inspiration. Santiago’s versions of this sculpture in turn went on to affect regional artistic production. Moreover, Santiago’s sculptural ensemble addressed a primarily local audience, comprised of dutiful parishioners, other faiths, and the city’s less diligent Christians. Within a shifting social and economic landscape, the elaborate late twelfth-century façade epitomizes the Carrión of its generation: a diverse and growing urban center, simultaneously characterized by great prosperity and an uncertain soteriology.
“… He lay captive in Carrión in heavy irons and chains, for he had committed a crime for which he must die. … the Queen of Heaven appeared to him with a great host of angels whom She brought with Her. She took him by the hand and quickly freed him from the irons and said at once: ‘leave this dark prison.’ … he awoke to find himself in Villa-Sirga and was certain that the Virgin, whose goodness is perpetual, had done it.” 701

From the _Cantigas de Santa Maria_, King Alfonso X (1252-1284)

The poem tells the story of a miracle granted by the Virgin of Villa-Sirga, one of many such miracles in King Alfonso X’s _Cantigas de Santa Maria_. A squire was imprisoned in Carrión, and soon learned he was sentenced to death for his crime. On hearing his fate, the wretched man cried to the Virgin—to whom he had always been a faithful supplicant—begging her forgiveness and mercy. She appeared to the squire, freed him of his heavy bonds, and led him away from the prison. Afterwards, he awoke a free man in Villa-Sirga: he had suddenly appeared in front of the altar of the Virgin’s church, broken iron chains in hand, and the congregation celebrated the miracle. _Cantiga 301_ serves as a fitting end to our story, although it simultaneously introduces a myriad of related questions. At once, the supremacy of the Virgin of Villa-Sirga illustrates the waning of Carrión, while her church—in its monumental realization of this Virgin in stone—attest to the afterlife of Carrión’s Romanesque monuments and epitomizes the

regional trend of looking to and working from a Carrionese artistic prototype, which had peaked in the decades prior.

Alfonso X’s *Cantigas* devote fourteen stories to the miraculous works of the Virgin of Villa-Sirga whose cult became very popular during the thirteenth century, in part due to the king’s patronage.\(^{702}\) Today called Villalcázar de Sirga, and previously Villasirga or La Sirga, the town originally stood around half a kilometer off the main route of the *Camino*. As the Virgin’s cult grew in popularity, the route shifted to pass through Villalcázar, making it the stop immediately before Carrión, which lies only six kilometers to the west. In the squire’s story, the protagonist is locked in Carrión’s jail; however, rather than being saved by a Carrionese Marian intercessor, the Virgin of Santa María del Camino or Santa María de Castillo, he prays to and is attended by the patroness of a small, previously inconsequential, neighboring town. In this way, the story forms a fitting bookend to our narrative—Carrión’s center of gravity is moving both culturally and artistically.

Construction on the church of Santa María in Villalcázar de Sirga began at the end of the twelfth century and continued throughout the thirteenth (fig. 228). Its south portal sculpture at once reproduces and modifies a convention established in nearby Carrión. Above a portal decorated with five figural archivolts, a curious double arcade adorns the church (fig. 229). Cropped by a sixteenth-century porch, the two-storied band would have originally extended much wider than the portal, drawing attention to the

\(^{702}\) The songs devoted to the Virgin of Villa-Sirga are 31, 217, 218, 227, 229, 232, 234, 243, 253, 268, 278, 301, 313, 355, Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*. 
church from a distance. Two rows of figures inhabit parallel galleries: each stands within his or her own bay of a fanciful arcade; above their heads unfold endless arches and turrets that illustrate an abstract city. Within the upper gallery, Christ in Majesty sits enthroned at center, and by his sides, the apostles each inhabit a single arch. Unlike their Romanesque predecessors, the apostles subtly engage with one another across their individual bays of the arcade. Although the style is squarely Gothic—a change seen in their interaction as well as in the subjects’ mellow faces, soft drapery, and gently curving postures—the upper register takes its inspiration from the frieze of Santiago de Carrión. Within the same microarchitecture, the figures of the lower gallery expand upon the earlier motif. Directly below Christ sits Mary, the patroness of the church. Like him, she is also enthroned. Common Marian scenes occupy the arcade to her sides, the Epiphany on her right and Joseph and the Annunciation opposite.

As discussed in the fourth chapter, the designers of Santiago may have been inspired in their façade design by nearby Santa María del Camino. In adhering to their church’s dedication, an apostolic subject replaced the Marian frieze in Santiago’s circa 1170s construction project. Several generations later, at Villalcázar, we find the scheme again rewritten, paying homage to a patroness that, in the thirteenth century, far surpassed Marian devotion in the neighboring city of Carrión. In using the apostolado as model, Villalcázar demonstrates the centrality of Carrión to greater Palencia; however, unlike

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703 Many slight shifts alter the Romanesque prototype. At Santiago de Carrión the apostles seem to address the viewer from their individual arches, while at Villalcázar, the apostles seem more intent on conversation amongst themselves; the heavenly space is more self-contained than outward looking. Also at Villalcázar the apostles are individualized by their attributes, rather than labeled by inscriptions as they are at Santiago and San Juan Bautista in Moarves de Ojeda.
many churches built in the years closely following Santiago’s construction, the thirteenth-century church moves much farther away from the prototype.

Santa María of Villalcázar represents the conclusion of a trend. By the middle of the thirteenth century, Carrión could still be considered a relatively populous urbanity, but it was already losing the political and cultural importance it had held in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, very briefly, between the construction of Santiago, which concludes this dissertation, and the realization of Villalcázar’s south portal, Carrión played a decisive part in one of the most extraordinary moments of building and carving in the history of Romanesque art—Villalcázar simply serves as the coda to a much more complicated story. This dissertation provides a view into Carrión and the dynamics that surrounded the creation and possible reception of its monuments.

Following our story, in the wake of the construction of the church of Santiago, a wave of church building took place across an area roughly corresponding to modern Palencia. A constellation of elaborately carved churches dots the countryside, stretching from the plains of Tierra de Campos to the Cantabrian mountains. Within a period of around thirty years, Palencia nurtured an incredible profusion of artistic creation, making the region one of the richest in Romanesque art in Europe.\(^{704}\) There is perhaps no greater evidence for Carrión’s medieval centrality nor its artistic consequence than the churches of wider Palencia. These monuments provoke their own set of questions, absolutely integral to the

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\(^{704}\) I am using the designation of the province of Palencia broadly. This area roughly corresponds to modern Palencia, but should not be thought to obey modern borders. For example, the church of Saints Julián and Basilisa in Rebolledo de la Torre fits squarely into this ‘Palencia group’ in its style and iconography, although the town today is a few kilometers outside the border of Palencia and belongs to the region of Burgos.
Before Santa María de Villalcázar takes up the model of Carrión’s *apostolado* and modifies the scheme to serve its growing Marian cult, other Palencian churches employed the inspiration more directly. Around fifty kilometers north-east of Carrión, in the town of Moarves de Ojeda, a monumental frieze crowns the south façade of the church of San Juan Bautista (figs. 184 & 230). In a now-familiar design, Christ sits regally at the center, while around him apostles occupy a gallery detailed with seemingly infinite arcades and towers. Though the carving style is more rigid—with even and patternlike drapery folds, distinct from the ease and whimsy of the garments at Santiago—in most respects the artist has produced a studied version of Carrión’s frieze. Compare, for instance, Christ’s legs in both (figs. 165 & 231): his left knee is covered by a swathe of fabric, part of the mantle that crosses his lap, while his right presses against his garment. At Santiago, a spiral forms in the fabric above Christ’s kneecap. This whimsical touch is consistent with the treatment given his raiment, which behaves as if subtly ruffled by a wind unbound by nature’s laws. Moarves’ artist reproduced the swirl, although once it is transposed into his methodical carving style, the whimsical detail fits much less cleanly. Its tight, even folds produce a coil that appears more knotted cord than playfully billowing drapery.

Inside the church of San Juan Bautista, a baptismal font repeats the scheme of the frieze (fig. 232). Christ in Majesty adorns the front of the font, and the apostles (thirteen in number rather than twelve) wrap around its body. The massive, imposing frieze seems to have taken on a sort of iconicity and symbolic power. Transposed onto the baptismal font, the familiar program of Christ and *apostolado* represents the church, both the wider
Christian Church—to which the supplicant would soon be admitted through the sacrament of baptism—and, in the font’s crude faithfulness to the façade, Moarves itself.

Other regional churches participated in this trend and, like Moarves, erected carved apostolados that closely adhered to the Carrionese model. San Lorenzo in Zorita del Páramo preserves twelve free-standing apostles carved around 1200 (fig. 233). Originally, these figures almost certainly formed a linear apostolado across the façade, but they have since been re-inset into a seventeenth-century porch. Less than five kilometers outside of Carrión, the church of Santa María de Benevívere also once displayed an apostolado and Christ in Majesty above its portal.705 Founded in 1169 and under construction across the last decades of the century, the church may have been decorated with sculpture very closely related to the nearby Santiago, carved in the 1170s.706 Unfortunately, nearly all of the abbey of Benevívere was destroyed in the nineteenth century, along with most of its sculpture save two sarcophagi, and is primarily known from descriptions and prints (fig. 234).707

Similarly, other elements first introduced to the area and developed in Carrión also appear at regional churches. The figural archivolt, which between its realization at Santa María and Santiago takes on a slightly different subject matter with a more mundane cast of characters, becomes a popularly employed scheme on Palencian

705 Ponz provides a brief description of the apostolado before its destruction, Ponz, *Viaje de España*, 189.
706 We can only speculate about the sculpture of Benevívere, but given the abbey’s proximity in both location and construction date to Santiago, along with the erection of an apostolado above its portal, similar sculpture to Santiago seems to be a reasonable possibility.
707 Along with fig. 234, see also additional prints by Valentín Carderera y Solano in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid. The churches of La Asunción in Pisón de Castrejón and La Transfiguración in Traspeña de la Peña obliquely belong in this group. These churches display monumental apostolado friezes, but of much later facture.
churches. At La Asunción in Perazancas de Ojeda and Santa María in Piasca, various people engage in quotidian actions within the confines of figural archivolts. We find many characters that are already familiar from Santiago’s archivolt, such as the duelers and crying woman, although new entries to the cohort also appear. For instance, at both churches, the scribe is now attended by an angel who may divinely inspire his writing (fig. 235), and versions of a paired man and woman (potentially a married couple) join the group (fig. 236). On the west façade of Santa María de Piasca, two apostles augment the sculptural ensemble. Placed above one of its decorated portals, the free-standing figures of Peter and Paul, ensconced within tri-lobed arches, may have originally formed an abbreviated *apostolado*, exhibiting the combination *apostolado/*figural archivolt façade composition of Santiago.708

Around thirty kilometers due north of Carrión, the church of San Pelayo in Arenillas de San Pelayo exhibits the archivolt closest to a Carrionese prototype. San Pelayo’s south façade features a figural archivolt that includes many of the individuals present at Santiago. Six coin minters enact various tasks within the process of minting (fig. 237). Additionally, the familiar figures of duelers, a scribe, and a paired acrobat and musician join their company. Just below the archivolt, one of the church’s capitals borrows and modifies yet another Carrionese theme (fig. 192). The first full capital to the viewer’s left of the door depicts a version of the lion mask capital conceived at San Zoilo and reworked at Santiago. The artist of San Pelayo looks to Santiago’s version as model,

708 The church of Santa María has been heavily rebuilt, and the sculpture reworked. Ruth Bartal suggested that the figures of Peter and Paul originally flanked a Christ in Majesty that has since been removed and lost. They now accompany a Gothic Virgin and Child. Ruth Bartal, “The Iconographic Programs of Santa María in Piasca: An Image of the Contemporary Reality,” *Arte medievale* 6, no. 2, (1992): 1-13.
likely unaware of the original at San Zoilo, and modifies the scene further. The image has become more darkly portentous than either precedent, showing a person being pushed into an open lion’s maw. Like the figural archivolt and apostolado, versions of this originally Carrionese capital proliferate, and survive from at least two other late twelfth-century Palencian institutions.\textsuperscript{709}

This historical moment is particularly fascinating, as much for its brilliance as for its brevity. While monumental building occurred sporadically in Palencia both before and after, the years roughly 1180 to 1210 saw an incredible profusion of sophisticated projects that present a number of questions. First, what processes (social, economic, political, spiritual, etc.) were taking place in the region around 1200 to spur this kind of monumental construction? How did they inspire and guide the particular means of expression selected? And, conversely, how can this artistic creation inform our understanding of these Palencian communities? As briefly sketched above, artists widely employed Carrionese motifs as modular and modifiable prototypes. How should we understand this relationship between city and region? Is this connection primarily practical, in that workshops dispersed after completing projects in Carrión and moved to other centers? Or, did Carrión’s imagery endure based on the appeal of its concepts or the ideological centrality of the city? Finally, within the set of images originally introduced in Carrionese buildings and reworked in the region (often in many iterations), what shifts in meaning have taken place?

\begin{footnote}
709 This scene is found on the leftmost capital of the south portal of Nuestra Señora del Torreón in Padilla de Abajo as well as a displaced capital in the Walters Art Museum (27.305), almost certainly from Palencia.
\end{footnote}
Currently, greater Palencia falls outside of mainstream art historical discourse. As one of the regions most saturated with monumental sculpture, Palencia—with Carrión at its heart—has much to offer our understanding of art and society in northern Spain. The general exclusion of the region, save the highly-reconstructed Frómista and ruined Sahagún, reflects the contingencies of modern history more than the quality and originality of Palencia’s artistic corpus. This dissertation tells one story: that of Carrión in its moment of greatest prominence, stitched through its extant monuments. Along with providing a critical framework for studying the urbanization and artistic production of a pilgrimage town, this investigation of Carrión establishes the foundation for a deeper understanding of the medieval art of the region.
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Map 1. The *Camino de Santiago de Compostela* (Image: “Carte des Chemins de Saint Jacques de Compostelle” by Daniel Derveaux, 1648)

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(Note: the maps by the author were drawn using Google Maps. Streets on the base maps reflect their contemporary configuration. Many of the streets in the medieval center of Carrión remain faithful to the medieval plan.)
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Diagram 2. Archivolt, Santiago, Carrión