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**CATALAN ROMANESQUE PAINTING AND THE
EUCCHARISTIC LITURGY: THEOPHANIES,
CRUCIFIXIONS AND DEPICTIONS
OF THE MADONNA AND CHILD**

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Resumen

Las pinturas murales románicas procedentes de la actual Cataluña y de sus márgenes septentrionales muestran una singular voluntad de resaltar la celebración de la Eucaristía y sus vínculos con la liturgia celestial. Se han establecido múltiples conexiones a través de temas generalmente interpretados en este sentido, como el Cordero y el Sacrificio de Abel, pero también a través de las tres imágenes divinas que pueden calificarse de canónicas. El Cristo entronizado ejerce su función de sumo sacerdote de esta liturgia celestial mientras su corte realiza gestos o acciones que entran en resonancia con la celebración de la misa: los serafines, los querubines y presumiblemente los Vivientes y los Ancianos del Apocalipsis cantan el *Sanctus*, los arcángeles abogados transmiten a Dios la oración del *Pater Noster*, otros ángeles incensan las oblatas que han sido colocadas en el altar durante el ofertorio y el serafín de Àneu da la comunión. Por su parte, la Crucifixión se refiere a la reiteración diaria del sacrificio de Cristo en la cruz y su cuerpo atormentado se corresponde con el pan y el vino consagrados, al igual que el Niño en brazos de su madre. Finalmente, a menudo la Virgen reviste una casulla para presentar a este Cuerpo divino o para sostener un cáliz, igual que el oficiante cuando eleva el pan y el vino consagrados, mientras los Magos se hacen eco de la procesión del ofertorio.

Palabras clave:

Románico, Pintura, España, Cataluña, liturgia, Eucaristía, teofanía, Crucifixión, la Virgen y el Niño, serafines, querubines

Abstract

Romanesque mural paintings from the current territory of Catalonia, including its northern margins, display a will to emphasize the celebration of the Eucharist and its relationship with the heavenly liturgy. Multiple connections have been established through themes generally interpreted in this sense, such as the Lamb and the Sacrifice of Abel, but also through the three divine images that can be qualified as canonical. The enthroned Christ exercises his function as high priest of this heavenly liturgy while his court performs gestures or actions echoing the celebration of the mass: the seraphim, the cherubim and presumably the living creatures and the Elders of the Apocalypse are singing the *Sanctus*, the advocate archangels transmit

to God the prayer of the Pater Noster, other angels incense the oblates that have been placed on the altar during the offertory and the seraphim of Àneu is giving communion. The Crucifixion refers to the daily reiteration of Christ's sacrifice on the cross and his tormented body corresponds to the consecrated bread and wine, as does the Child in his mother's lap. Finally, the Virgin often wears a chasuble to present this divine Body or to hold a chalice, as does the officiant when he raises the consecrated bread and wine, while the Magi echo the offertory procession.

Keywords:

Romanesque, Painting, Spain, Catalonia, Liturgy, Eucharist, Theophany, Crucifixion, Madonna and Child, Seraphs, Cherubs

Iconographic programmes in the Christian altar environment frequently include more or less explicit references to the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which is the main liturgical activity that took place in such spaces. Early Christian buildings in the West employed various themes, such as the Lamb and, most significantly, the three Old Testament paradigms mentioned in the *Supra quae* prayer: the sacrifices of Abel, Melchisedek and Abraham as depicted in the churches of San Vitale and San Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, and of Melchisedek in the eastern end of the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and, perhaps, in the apse of San Giovanni in Ravenna.¹ In the Byzantine churches erected after the iconoclastic crisis, the themes chosen to decorate the liturgical space established even more direct correspondences between the objects and the characters that formed part of the earthly rite: the communion of the apostles, the procession of the bishops and, above all, the *Melismos*, the Child lying on a paten placed on an altar, flanked by deacon angels bearing *flabellae*. (WALTER 1982; GERSTEL 1999; KONSTANTINIDI 2008; WHITE 2015). The first sacrament of the Church thus occupies a central role in the decoration of early Christian and Meso-Byzantine sanctuaries.

In Romanesque painting, references of this type are much rarer and often indirect. For reasons as yet unknown, Catalonia is an exception in this artistic panorama. The designers of the iconographic programmes made multiple allusions to the sacrifice of the altar, especially through the recurrent representation of the Lamb and the story of Cain and Abel, as was common in the churches of Late Antiquity, and also through three images that can be described as canonical: Christ in Majesty, the Crucifixion and the Virgin and Child. In an interpolation that appears in the letter of the Roman bishop St. Gregory the Great to Secundinus, the holy pontiff is attributed with the statement that Christ could be commemorated by images of one who was born, who underwent the Passion or who is seated on a throne, and that, in such forms, he should be worshipped, implying that these three types of representation of the divinity could serve as aids for his worship.² The canonicity of these three iconographic themes was then established by frequent quotations from this passage and, above all, by their preferential use on multiple supports in the most visible places in the sanctuaries.³

There are several reasons for this success. To begin with, the three canonical images evoke fundamental dogmas such as the dual nature of Christ, his Incarnation and his Redemption through his sacrifice on the cross. Their popularity can also be explained by their devotional use, as suggested by the interpolation of Gregory

1. For the liturgical interpretation of the early Christian programmes, see in particular SIMSON 1987; MICHAEL 2005; and FRESE 2013.

2. “*Illum adoramus quem per imaginem aut natum aut passum vel in throno sedentem recordamur*”. GREGORY THE GREAT, *Epistula ad Secundinum*, ed. NORBERG 1982, Appendix X: 1110-1111, lines 181-182.

3. Amongst these quotations are those in ADRIAN I, *Epistolae*, XII, ed. DÜMLER 1899: 20; and GUILLAUME DURAND, *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, I, 3, 6, ed. DAVRIL, THIBODEAU 1995: 37, lines 78-81.

the Great's epistle. This is confirmed by the few texts attesting to acts of devotion practised before monumental paintings and the numerous accounts of miracles performed involving crucifixes and statues of the Virgin and Child.⁴

Canonical images also illustrate the liturgical function of the sanctuaries. I have previously dealt with this question in a series of thematic and monographic studies. In this article, I present a synthesis of these studies, dealing successively with the three canonical images, with the aim of providing an overall vision that highlights the complementarity of the three themes and their interweaving in Catalan presbyteral programmes.

Theophanies

Most sanctuaries are decorated with a theophany composed of elements taken from the Apocalypse: the living creatures or *animalia*, the Elders and sometimes the seven lamps or candelabra (Fig. 1). These compositions have generally been interpreted as visions of the end times, thus implicitly suggesting that the presbyteral programmes had a dogmatic or moralising purpose, with no particular relation to the main liturgical function of the site. However, the Romanesque paintings of Catalonia show that these compositions refer, above all, to the liturgy of the mass, which is understandable if we consider the notion of the heavenly liturgy. According to the belief of the Church, during the canon or mass of the faithful, the heavenly Church is present in the sanctuary. In this way, the heavenly liturgy becomes the image and model of the acts and words performed in the earthly rites. The high priest of this parallel liturgy is Christ, seated at the heavenly altar: the angel of the Supplices - a prayer in the Canon - brings him the offerings previously deposited on the earthly altar, so that he can transform them into his own blood and flesh.⁵ In this way, Christ is both priest and victim, sacrificer and sacrificed.⁶

Christ the priest is accompanied by a heavenly court of angels. Just before the canon of the mass, the officiant recites the common preface, the *Vere dignum*, which recalls that the sacrifice is made to the Father through Christ, who is accompanied by angelic choirs⁷. Although the text only mentions five categories of angels, Amalarius of Metz stated that it is the nine angelic choirs that are present in the church

4. See, for example, SANSTERRE 1995; SANSTERRE 2011; and SANSTERRE 2020.

5. For the angel, *Supra quae*, see BOTTE 1929.

6. This interpretation has been formulated by many authors, especially in commentaries on the Mass: JOHN CASIAN, *Collationes*, XIV, 10, ed. PICHÉRY 1955: 196; AGUSTINE, *De Trinitate*, IV, 14, ed. MELLET, CAMELOT 1955: 386-388; BEDE, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, I, 1, *Patrologia latina* (P.L.) 93, 136 A; PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, *Expositio in Lamentationes Jeremiae*, II, P.L. 120, 1118 C; HERIGER OF LOBBES, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, P.L. 139, 187 B; and ALGER OF LIÈGE, *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Dominici*, I, 12, P.L. 180, 778 B-C.

7. *Sacramentario grégoriano*, *Ordo* I, 3, ed. DESHUSSES 1971: 86.

at the time of the sacrifice.⁸ As early as in the fourth century, Ambrose had stated that an angel was present when the altar was being incensed: “And may God grant that we too, when we incense the altars, when we present the sacrifices, may be assisted by the angel, or rather that the angel may be made visible! For there can be no doubt that the angel is there when Christ is sacrificed”.⁹ Gregory the Great went on to extend the presence of the angel to the whole canon: “During the sacrifice, the angels are really present: the highest is united with the lowest, the earthly and the heavenly meet, the visible and the invisible merge into one”.¹⁰

During the moment of the sacrifice, the earthly Church thus remains united with the heavenly Church, advancing the perfect union that will take place at the end of time, but without yet receiving the full beatific vision. For Amalarius and Honorius Augustodunensis, it is precisely at the moment of the chanting of the Sanctus that the two Churches are united.¹¹ It might therefore be argued that the monumental theophanies are intended to materialise the invisible presence of Christ and his heavenly court during the mass of the faithful. There are several indications of this purpose in Catalan painting, beginning with the seraphim and cherubim, which will be discussed first. This will be followed by a discussion of the archangels as advocates, Christ the priest, the living creatures and the Elders.

Seraphim and Cherubim

In a series of nine theophanies painted in Catalonia or its northern bordering area, Christ is surrounded by the four animalia, a seraph and a cherub, to which are added, in six cases, the archangels Michael and Gabriel (Fig. 2).¹² The seraphim and cherubim have a common appearance, merging their respective characteristics: they have the six wings of the seraphim of Isaiah’s vision (Isaiah 6:2-4) and eyes in four of them, like the quadripterous cherubim of Ezekiel’s vision (Ez 10:12) (Fig. 1, 4, 7 y 11). Thanks to the inscriptions, it is possible to distinguish between them.

The seraphim are located at the top of the angelic hierarchy, directly followed by the cherubim, though Catalan iconography has privileged the latter by placing them on the right hand side of Christ. Although this inversion of the hierarchy remains difficult to explain, it was clearly accepted by the designers and was repeated in several representations. Another important example is the inscription accompanying the cherub sculpted in the Saint-Sernin ambulatory in Toulouse, which

8. AMALARIUS OF METZ, *Canonis missae interpretatio*, 1-8; and *Liber officialis*, III, 21, 8, ed. HANSSSENS 1948, I: 291-293, et II: 326.

9. AMBROSIUS, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, I, 28, ed. TISSOT 1956: 61.

10. GREGORY THE GREAT, *Dialogi*, IV, 60, 2, ed. VOGŮÉ 1980: 202-203.

11. AMALARIUS OF METZ, *Liber officialis*, III, 26, 1, HANSSSENS 1948, I: 343-344; HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS, *Gemma animae*, I, 102, P.L. 172, 577 A.

12. ANGHEBEN 2008: 57-95. This hypothesis was adopted by GUARDIA, LORÉS 2020: 247-265.

specifies that it is located on the right of the divine figure - curiously described as the Father - and that, therefore, this arrangement is neither fortuitous nor devoid of a precise significance: “On the right of the Almighty Father stands the cherub. Subsequently, the seraph occupies the sacred left-hand side without end” (FAVREAU, MICHAUD, LEPLANT 1982: 32-34). The phylacteries worn by the two angels in Toulouse indicate that they are singing the triple *Sanctus* - “And they cry out: Holy, Holy, Holy” - as do the inscriptions on the apse of Santa Eulàlia d’Estaon (Figs. 2 and 8). In Isaiah’s vision, the seraphim surrounding the throne of the Lord sing the three-fold *Sanctus* to pay homage to him (Is 6,3). This chant was taken up again after some substantial alterations in the fourth chapter of the Apocalypse, where it is put into the mouths of the four animals (Rev 4:8), and in the liturgical *Sanctus*, which is sung between the Preface and the *Te igitur*, the first prayer of the canon. The Common Preface ends with the announcement of this chant sung by the aforementioned angels. As we have seen, Amalarius of Metz considers that the prayer concerns the nine angelic choirs, emphasising the cherubim who cannot be separated from the seraphim. He also links the chant of the seraphim and the chant of the Living with the liturgical *Sanctus*, despite the differences between these three hymns.

In sacramentaries and missals, the illustration of the Preface sometimes gives a prominent place to seraphim and cherubim, as in the Amalarius commentary. This is particularly the case in the sacramentary of Metz, a contemporary of the theologian.¹³ In the illustration of the Preface and the *Sanctus*, moreover, the two types of angels are fused, as they are in Catalan paintings, except that the six wings are filled with eyes. The same is true of the illustration of the Preface of the Sacramentary of Saint-Denis, which dates from the mid-11th century (Fig. 3).¹⁴ This exceptional composition also shows Christ, the choirs of angels and the living creatures gathered around a religious building, thus materialising the presence of the high priest and his angels at the moment of the celebration of the heavenly liturgy on the altar. In Romanesque painting, the apsidal theophanies share the same components, although seraphim and cherubim are rarer. Nevertheless, they have almost never been interpreted from a Eucharistic perspective, probably due to the absence of explicit visual or epigraphic cues.¹⁵ However, the situation is different in Catalonia, where seraphim and cherubim wave a censer in Sant Pau de Esterri de Cardós (Fig. 4). This motif is also present in Vals (Ariège), not far from the borders of historical Catalonia, and in Maderuelo, in the province of Segovia, whose paintings are very similar to those of Santa Maria de Taüll.¹⁶

13. Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1141, f° 5 et f° 6 (ca. 870), cf. MÜTHERICH 1972: 28.

14. Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9436, f° 15v.

15. Among the exceptions are SKUBISZEWSKI 2005; and FRANZÉ 2007.

16. For Maderuelo, see, in particular, PAGÈS I PARETAS 1997; ÁVILA JUAREZ 2005; and GUARDIA 2011: 177.

Hence, in Esterri de Cardós, the link with the Eucharist is confirmed by the presence of liturgical objects at the feet of the angels: chalices, censers and horns. The horns must have served as receptacles, since they were intended to be hung and their nozzles are covered and fitted with a ring, but their contents remain enigmatic: being, perhaps, chrism oil, relics? (NEUMAN DE VEGVAR 2003). The censers and chalices, on the other hand, clearly allude to the incensation of the offerings placed on the altar after the offertory. As the Ambrosian commentary mentioned above states, an angel is present at the incensation of the altar. His image also manifests in a very significant way the desire of the bishop of Milan to see this heavenly being.

This is even clearer in Catalonia, where the ritual of incensing the altar is depicted through two biblical themes. In the sanctuary of Sant Quirze de Pedret, on the left of the altar, a Christian altar is represented with a chalice and a bread or paten incensed by the angel of Revelation 8 (ANGHEBEN 2016a). Amalarius linked this episode to the first incensation of the altar, the one following the introit, which means that the creator of the image transferred it to the moment of the incensation of the Oblates.¹⁷

The second biblical theme is the appearance of the archangel Gabriel to Zechariah, which can be seen in the right hand nave of Santa Maria de Taüll and in the front of the northern apse at Sant Esteve in Andorra la Vella (Figs. 5-6).¹⁸ Since the priest Zechariah was entrusted with the responsibility of incensing the altar (Lk 1,5-20), he is often depicted with a censer in his hand, as in Andorra la Vella, though in Taüll this function was given to the archangel. From the end of the 10th century onwards, the text of the blessing of the incense sometimes refers to this episode, but to my knowledge there is no evidence of this in Catalonia.¹⁹ In both pictorial compositions, however, the Eucharistic meaning is confirmed by the presence of a chalice on the altar and, though only in Andorra la Vella, by a cross next to it and by the chasuble and manipule worn by the father of John the Baptist. In the light of these programmes, which attest to the exceptional importance attributed to this ritual in Catalan painting, it can be assumed that the incensation performed by the angels at Esterri de Cardós corresponds to that of the oblates, and it can be conjectured that the same is true of those at Vals and Maderuelo.

17. AMALARIUS OF METZ, *Missae expositionis geminus codex. Codex alter*, 5, ed. HANSENS 1948, I: 267. See, in this sense, SUNTRUP 1978: 437.

18. ANGHEBEN 2020a. For the paintings at Sant Esteve in Andorra la Vella, see ALCOY, PAGÈS I PARETAS 2012.

19. This blessing appears before 986 in Ratold de Corbie's *Vetus missa* (P.L. 78, 249 C), in the *Missa illyrica* composed in Minden around 1030, in Sées in the 11th century and in the ritual of the Holy Apostles of Cologne in the second half of the 12th century (ODENTHAL 1992). See also LE BRUN 1860: 242 (no. 26) and 294-296.

The advocate archangels

Six Catalan theophanies include the archangels Michael and Gabriel standing to the right and left of Christ respectively, this time in an arrangement that respects the angelic hierarchy (ANGHEBEN 2014). In these compositions, both archangels carry a banner and a rolled-up parchment in their hands. In Sant Pau de Esterrí de Cardós, Santa Eulàlia d'Estaon and Vals, as well as in the programmes of Santa Maria d'Àneu and Sant Pere de Burgal, these scrolls bear an inscription: PETICIUS on the left and POSTULACIUS on the right (Figs. 4, 7, 8 and 21) (BOUSQUET 1974; y WUNDERWALD 2010: 142-145). The archangels in this way appear to transmit the requests of the faithful to God, which has earned them the name of archangel advocates. This type of representation appears for the first time in the apse of the church of Galliano, where there is an atypical theophany in which Christ, standing on a mandorla, is flanked by two prophets, the archangels and two groups of saints (Fig. 9).²⁰ The inscriptions painted on the archangels' scrolls are slightly different: PETICI[O] for Michael and POSTULATIO for Gabriel. This theme reappears a few years later, probably between 1012 and 1032, on the tribune in the narthex of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura in Rome, with the difference that PETICIO appears on the right and PRECATIO instead of POSTULATIO (ACCONCI 2007; ACCONCI 2009). Moreover, the composition is similar to that of the Catalan paintings in the presence of two angels who combine the attributes of seraphim and cherubim, namely, the six wings of the former and the wheels of fire of the latter (Ezek 1:15-21). Both these and other analogies show that the Catalan painters were largely inspired by Italian models, and the stylistic similarities suggest an even closer relationship with Lombardy (ANGHEBEN 2021a).

In Roman law, the terms *petitio* and *postulatio* refer to two stages of a trial: the petition is the first submission which introduces the case and the postulation is a reasoned request made at the end of the trial. (BOUSQUET 1974: 9). From the third century onwards, illustrious theologians such as Tertullian, Cyprian and Jerome adapted this vocabulary to the *Pater Noster*, the prayer recited between the canon and communion. Ambrose developed this idea by comparing the approach of a Christian who offers this prayer to God to that of a lawyer attempting to sway a judge:

*“Prima ergo parte oratio laudem habere debet dei, secunda supplicationem, tertia postulationem, quarta gratiarum actionem. [...] Vnde et oratores isti sapientes hanc habent disciplinam ut iudicem fautorem sibi praestent, incipiunt a laudibus eius, ut beniuolum sibi faciant cognitorem. Deinde paulatim incipit rogare iudicem ut patienter dignetur audire, tertio postulationem suam depromere, quid petat exprimere. Quarto... quomodo coepit a laudibus dei, sic debet in dei laude et in gratiarum actione unusquisque nostrum desinere”.*²¹

20. For these paintings, see, in particular, ROSSI, BERETTA 2008.

21. “The first part of the prayer must contain praise to God, the second supplication, the third the petition (*postulationem*), the fourth thanksgiving. [...] Therefore, these skilful orators have this method

Augustine subdivided the *Pater Noster* into seven *petitiones*, but dropped the term *postulatio*, which apparently only reappeared in the 12th-13th centuries with Bernard of Clairvaux, Sicard of Cremona, Lothar of Segni and Guillaume Durand.²² It can therefore be assumed that Galliano's inscriptions were inspired by Ambrose's *De sacramentis* and that the formulas adopted in Catalonia are variants of it. In any case, it seems clear that they refer to Sunday prayer. It should also be noted that, for several authors, the fourth petition of the *Pater Noster*, the one concerning the daily bread, refers to the Eucharist. This is the case of Tertullian, Cyprian, Florus of Lyons and Remigius of Auxerre.²³ Like the seraphim and cherubim, the advocate archangels participate in the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy in a supporting role.

Christ the Priest, the Living and the Elders

Given that the seraphim, cherubim and archangels provide the basis for the Eucharistic interpretation of the Catalan presbyteral theophanies, we can deduce that the other components also participate in this celestial liturgy. From this standpoint, Christ fulfils his high priestly functions and the living creatures sing the Sanctus with the choir of seraphim and cherubim.

Christ's priestly function was only rarely expressed through images. On the stone altar of Cividale del Friuli, Jesus wears a liturgical stole and in several compositions displays a host: in the Sacramentary of Metz, the First Bible of Charles the Bald, the Missal of Maine and of Touraine and the mural paintings of Parçay-Meslay.²⁴ In the 13th century, Christ is depicted next to an altar on which a chalice has been placed, as in the missal of Saint-Vindicien du Mont Saint-Éloi (around 1250) and in the paintings of the baptismal font in the apse at Cournon (Puy-de-Dôme; 14th century).²⁵ And in the axial stained-glass window of the cathedral of Châlons-en-Champagne,

of making the judge favourable to them; they begin with his praise, in order to make him a benevolent arbiter. Then, little by little, they begin to pray that the judge deign to listen patiently. Thirdly, the object of the petition is expressed, the prayer is expressed (Fourthly..., just as we begin with praise to God, each one of us should end with praise to God and thanksgiving...)". AMBROSIUS, *De sacramentis*, VI, 22-23, ed. and trans. BOTTE 1961: 150-151.

22. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Expositio in orationem dominicam*, P.L. 184, 811 D-818 A; SICARD OF CREMONA, *Mitrale*, III, 6, ed. SARBAK, WEINRICH 2008: 200-203, lines 814-889; LOTHAR OF SEGNI (the future pope Innocent III), *De sacro altaris mysterio*, V, 16-36, P.L. 217, 897 C-905 B; and GUILLAUME DURAND, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, IV, 47, ed. DAVRIL, THIBODEAU 1995: 504-509.

23. TERTULIAN, *De oratione*, VI, 2, ed. BORLEFFS 1954: 261, lines 10-11; CYPRIAN, *Liber de oratione dominica*, 18, ed. HARTEL 1868: 280; FLORUS OF LYON, *Expositio missae*, 80, ed. DUC 1937: 151; REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE, *Expositio missae*, P.L. 101, 1267 B. See also BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Expositio in orationem dominicam*, 4, P.L. 184, 814 B-D.

24. CHINELLATO 2016. For the Carolingian manuscripts, see REYNOLDS 2013.

25. Sacramentary of Saint-Vindicien, Arras, médiathèque municipale, ms 38 (58), f° 105v-106r (ca. 1250). Along these lines, see the notes by Christine Descatoire and Marc Gil in DESCATOIRE, GIL 2013: 187-188. For the Cournon paintings, see CHARBONNEL 2012, II: 155-158.

the divine throne has been transformed into an altar on which a chalice collects the blood flowing from the wound in the side of the Crucified Christ (ANGHEBEN 2013: 362-363).

In Catalan frescoes, Christ is never accompanied by visual indications corresponding to his priestly functions. On the other hand, a front panel from Ix, which dates from the second quarter of the 12th century, shows Christ enthroned inside a double mandorla, in the midst of the apostles, displaying a small gold disc which probably corresponds to a host (Fig. 10). (CASTIÑEIRAS 2007: 122; and CASTIÑEIRAS 2008). We can therefore assert that in twelfth-century Catalonia there was an awareness that theophanies could evoke the priesthood of Christ.

Nor do the animals of the Apocalypse offer clear indications that they are singing the liturgical Sanctus; the same is true throughout the Romanesque world. In the East, in contrast, very early and frequently, epigraphy has attributed this function of singers of the *Sanctus* to these animals: around the 8th century, in the cave paintings of the Pantocrator near Heraclea of Latmos, and in the 11th and 12th centuries, in the churches of Cappadocia, the inscriptions take up the last words of the anaphora, the equivalent of the Preface, which announces the singing of the *Trisagion*: “Singing, shouting, crying aloud, and saying the triumphal hymn”. The living creatures are also flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel, who display the *Trisagion* on their banner and thus join the choir of the living creatures celebrating the heavenly liturgy (JOLIVET-LÉVY 1993: 337-340; SKUBISZEWSKI 2005: 327-328; FRESE 2013: 82-84, 120-133).

The parallels between these iconographic programmes and Catalan paintings are all the more disconcerting considering that some Cappadocian churches feature the Purification from the lips of Isaiah, which refers to communion. The same happens in Santa Maria d’Àneu, where we find the only representation of this theme in Romanesque mural painting depicted according to the Byzantine model (Fig. 11). It is therefore tempting to consider a direct or indirect influence of Cappadocia on Catalonia, especially as this iconographic kinship is accompanied by certain stylistic affinities (ALFANI 2006: 9-29). However, given the innumerable number of works that have disappeared in the Byzantine world and the highly generic nature of these stylistic similarities, it is difficult to reach a conclusion regarding this hypothesis (ANGHEBEN 2021a).

In the West, epigraphy cannot confirm the liturgical function of the living creatures. The liturgical Sanctus was unusually transposed in the presbyteral programme of the cathedral of Monreale, but it was associated with the choir of the seraphim and the cherubim. However, this interpretation can be supported by the commentaries on the mass. As we have seen above, Amalarius of Metz linked the chant of the living creatures both to that of the seraphim and to the liturgical Sanctus, and his

approach was widely adopted.²⁶ Moreover, the Carolingian liturgist associated the Elders with the singing of the *Sanctus*, although the Apocalypse does not give them this function as cantors.²⁷ These comments therefore allow us to interpret all the figures of the living creatures and the Elders, or at least those that are part of the liturgical space, from the same perspective. This interpretation is sometimes confirmed by visual clues or by the iconographic context.

While it is clear that the living creatures are never accompanied by iconographic elements referring to the Eucharist, the Elders regularly display a chalice, as in Castel Sant'Elia or Moissac. In Catalonia, the Elders appear in later compositions such as those at Sant Tomàs de Fluvià and Fontclara, but the chalices they show are not clearly liturgical objects. In contrast, at Saint-Polycarpe (Aude), the Elders surrounding the Lamb in the vault preceding the apse hold real chalices, distinguishable by the knot that sometimes separates the foot from the cup (fig. 12). The same is true of Saint-Martin de Fenollar (Pyrénées-Orientales), where Christ is worshipped while surrounded by the living creatures, painted on the barrel vault of the rectangular sanctuary.²⁸

These explicit examples therefore allow us to consider the other programmes in the same way. The syntactical clues arising from the omnipresence of the Eucharistic themes in and around the theophanies can be added to the visual clues emerging from the chalice-shaped vessels. Although it is not possible to substantiate this, it can be assumed, therefore, that Christ is fulfilling his functions as high priest of the heavenly liturgy and that the living creatures and the Elders are singing the *Sanctus* together in unison with the seraphim and cherubim.

The Crucifixion

The link between the second canonical image and the Eucharist is evident, but as the Crucifixion has a broad semantic and functional scope, it is not always clear that it intentionally refers to this sacrament.²⁹ From the semantic point of view, it evokes the historical episode at Calvary, the Redemption, the foundation of the Church and the Second Coming of Christ at the end of time, which will be preceded by the appearance of the sign of the Son of Man - that is, the cross - as indicated, for example, in an inscription on the now vanished Suger crucifix (VERDIER

26. AMALARIUS O METZ, *Canonis missae interpretatio*, 40, ed. HANSENS 1948, I: 307; RABANUS MAURUS, *De ecclesiastica disciplina*, P.L. 112, 1181 B-1182 B; REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE, *Expositio missae*, P.L. 101, 1255 C; LOTHAR OF SEGNI, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, II, 62, P.L. 217, 838 D.

27. AMALARIUS OF METZ, *Expositio missae "Dominus vobiscum"*, 20, ed. HANSENS 1948: 302; FLORUS OF LYON, *Expositio missae*, 37 et 35, ed. DUC 1937: 118, 111-117.

28. For the paintings at Fenollar, see, in particular, POISSON 1991; LETURQUE 2015; and BILBAO ZUBRI, VALLET, 2015.

29. The issues raised in this paragraph are explored in greater detail in ANGHEBEN 2021b.

1970). Functionally, the Crucifixion echoes the various commemorations of the Passion during the mass, offices and rites of Holy Week, and more particularly at the moment of the adoration of the cross on Good Friday, one of the most spectacular rituals of the liturgical year. It is also one of the main devotional motifs and many crucifixes were considered to be miraculous images, such as the *Santo Rostro* or *Volto Santo* of Lucca.³⁰

When placed in the context of the altar, the Crucifixion also refers to the Eucharistic sacrifice, without necessarily losing its other meanings and functions. Initially, the Crucifixion appeared in sacramentaries and missals as an illustration of the *Tè igitur* prayer that follows the Sanctus. Together with the theophany that illustrates the Preface and sometimes the Sanctus, it recalls that Christ is both the one who sacrifices and the one who is sacrificed, as expressed in an inscription on the portable altar in Augsburg which describes the Christ Crucified as *presul* and *hostia* (BUDDE 1998: 66-73 (No. 63)). In these manuscripts, the body nailed to the cross corresponds to the bread and wine transformed into the flesh and blood of the Saviour, long before the doctrine of the Real Presence was affirmed. In the Officiant books, iconographic clues referring to the sacrament were sometimes inserted, such as the chalice that collects the blood of the Crucified One, although this relationship was sufficiently established by the illustrated texts.

This meaning also applies to the crosses that were initially placed on the altar at the beginning of the Mass, before they were permanently installed there. However, the same cannot be said of all the Crucifixions depicted on the altar and on the walls of sanctuaries, crypts and chapels, except when supported by visual evidence or by the iconographic programmes in which they are inserted. This is the case, for example, of the wall paintings in the crypt of St. Maximin in Trier and the sanctuary of Saint-Pierre-les-Églises, where a chalice is painted at the foot of the cross.³¹ The same is true of the altar at Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, on the front of which a composition typical of sacramentaries was transposed, thus displaying for all to see the images that were reserved for the officiant: a *Maiestas Domini* on the left and a Crucifixion on the right. (BARRAL I ALTET, LAURANSON-ROSAZ 2004).

In Romanesque painting, in contrast, examples of this type are still extremely rare. The most remarkable programme from this point of view comes specifically from a Catalan ensemble: the nave of Sant Pere de Sorpe. A large Crucifixion, now in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, was painted on the second northern pillar, between the second and third sections preceding the apse, the latter of which has now disappeared (Fig. 13).³² It can be argued that this third bay was part of the apsidal liturgical space because it contained a liturgical cabinet, open on the eastern

30. See mainly BACCI 2002; and BACCI 2013.

31. For the crypt at Tréveris, see EXNER 1989.

32. For these paintings, see mainly MANCHO 2015; Y MANCHO 2016.

side of the second pillar (fig. 14). The cavity is still visible in situ and the paintings flanking it show two chalices of slightly different shapes, suggesting that liturgical objects were kept in this rudimentary cabinet. Given that the liturgical space encompassed this third section, it can be assumed that the Crucifixion was painted next to an altar of the cross, as in St. Peter's in Rome and probably also in Sant'Angelo in Formis.³³ In accordance with this hypothesis, the paintings could also have played a major role in the various rites of veneration of the cross, though this probably involved the use of a mobile crucifix or one permanently installed on the hypothetical altar of the cross: Good Friday worship, the feasts of the Discovery and Exaltation of the Cross and the commemoration of the *Passio imaginis Domini* on 9 November, a celebration that is attested to early on in Catalonia.

The Sorpe crucifix, however, must have been interpreted more broadly as referring to the recurrent celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice and the commemoration of the Passion that it represented. On the left, the Virgin wears a chasuble, like the Virgin priests discussed in the next section, and on the right, an angel in flight waves a censer in the direction of the Crucified Christ (Fig. 15). The latter also wears a stole on the right shoulder and a maniple: in medieval usage and in Romanesque representations, the deacon wears the stole on the left shoulder and the priest wears the maniple on the wrist, also on the left.³⁴ We know, however, that deacons could also wear a maniple, as the frontal panel from Sant Llorenç Dosmunts shows. Although the stole hangs from the wrong shoulder, this attribute shows that the thuriferous angel is assimilated to a deacon, just as with the flagelliferous angels of the Meso-Byzantine churches, except that the ritual act he performs is in keeping with the incensation of the oblates. This is all the more remarkable given that, as we have seen, Catalan painting usually evokes this ritual by means of two biblical themes, the Annunciation to Zechariah and the angel of Revelation 8, and the original motif of the thuriferous seraph and cherub. It can therefore be asserted that the deacon angel of Sorpe participates in the heavenly liturgy by duplicating in heaven a liturgical act performed by an earthly deacon.

This exceptionally eloquent programme allows us to cautiously transpose its Eucharistic interpretation to the other fourteen Crucifixions painted inside churches in Catalonia or its northern margins, especially when they are in the sanctuary or in a place that could correspond to the position of an altar of the cross. The example of the small Andorran church of Sant Joan de Caselles is particularly instructive in this respect, as the south wall of its nave harbours a painted Crucifixion in which Christ is depicted in stucco (Fig. 16). Despite the smallness of the space, the location of this motif suggests that there was originally an altar of the cross in the middle of the

33. TRONZO 1985. The presence of a grille next to the Crucifixion in Sant'Angelo in Formis is suggested by the hooks attached to the columns below this scene.

34. HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS, *Gemma animae*, I, 208 et 230, P.L. 172, 606 D-607 A et 613 C.

nave, as in Sorpe; the three-dimensionality of Christ, meanwhile, suggests that the image may have been the focal point for the adoration of the cross.

In this case, Christ also wears a long tunic with sleeves and a belt, like many wooden crucifixes or Catalan *Majestats*, for example, the famous *Majestat Batlló*. These works are similar to the Holy Face of Lucca, whose cult began to develop in the second half of the 11th century.³⁵ However, the success of this type of Crucifix with *tunica manicata* may have been due to the legend of the Beirut crucifix, whose cult spread rapidly through Italy and Catalonia, and which inspired the celebration of the feast of the *Passio imaginis Domini*.³⁶ Regardless of the model that gave rise to them, these crucifixes reveal the desire to reproduce a miraculous image, in the hope that those who venerated them could obtain similar benefits from them. It is therefore likely that the stucco Crucifixion of Sant Joan de Caselles was intended for both liturgy and devotion.

Madonna and Child and the Virgin as Priest

This dual function, which is both liturgical and devotional, can also be considered with regard to the painted representations of the Virgin and Child. In the mural paintings, Mary is enthroned in the centre of an Adoration of the Magi in the apsidal basin of three churches dedicated to her (those of Àneu, Taüll and Cap d'Aran), in the church of Sant Salvador in Polinyà del Vallès and on the eastern wall of the sanctuary of Notre-Dame de Vals. When the apsidal chamber is occupied by a theophany, the Adoration can also appear below, as in Barberà del Vallès, to the side, as in Saint-Plancard (on the borders of medieval Catalonia), or on a side wall, as in Sorpe and Casenoves.³⁷ From the second half of the 12th century onwards, this theme was used on frontispieces and, in particular, on metal or wooden statues.

The Virgin as Priest

Several textual and visual clues suggest that the Virgin and Child was conceived both as a devotional image and as a symbol of the officiating priest.³⁸ From this perspective, Mary appears to present the Child to the faithful and the clergy in the same way that the officiant displays the bread and wine transformed into his flesh and blood. The first mention of this priestly quality of the Virgin comes from Pseudo-Epiphanius

35. TRENS 1978; BASTARDES I PARERA 1978; DURLIAT p. 69-95; CAMPS I SÒRIA 2011a; CAMPS I SÒRIA 2011b: 86-92; and CAMPS I SÒRIA 2013. A recent radiocarbon analysis dated the Volto Santo materials to the 8th-9th centuries, see SIDELI 2020.

36. This is the hypothesis supported, with solid arguments, by BACCI 2014.

37. In relation to the paintings at Barberà del Vallès, see ARAD 2011. For the churches in the Northern Pyrenees, see PIANO 2010.

38. ANGHEBEN 2012; ANGHEBEN 2016b. See also CARDILE 1984.

of Salamis: “[he] calls the Virgin priest and altar as well; she who, bringing the table, gave us Christ, the heavenly bread, for the remission of sins” (Pseudo-Epiphanius of Salamis, pg. 4) (LAURENTIN 1952: 26). St. John Chrysostom established an even clearer correspondence between the Virgin and the priest holding the Child: “You do not see Him in a manger, but on the altar; it is not a woman who holds Him, but the priest who stands there”.³⁹ In the West, this idea was expressed through Eucharistic visions, starting with that of Paschasius Radbertus in which a priest sees the Child in the hands of the officiant and compares this image to that of Jesus writhing in his mother’s arms and being carried by Simeon.⁴⁰

For René Laurentin, the author of a landmark monograph on the subject, the priesthood of the Virgin was only established in the second half of the 12th century and, more specifically, in the work of Gueric of Igny (LAURENTIN 1952: 154-155). But, as he himself rightly pointed out, the analogy between the priest and the Virgin had already been expressed long before by Peter Damian, one of the most illustrious advocates of ecclesiastical reform and an opponent of Nicolaitism. From his point of view, it was intolerable that married or cohabiting priests should handle the body of Christ with their impure hands. When He lay in the manger, he said, Christ wanted to be held by pure hands, those of the Virgin, and in the present time, which is the time of His heavenly reign, He desires even more ardently that His body should be surrounded by purity.⁴¹ Once again, this is an analogy and not a direct assimilation of the Virgin to the priest, but this does not make the image proposed by Peter Damian any less striking.

The Virgin with a chalice

In the iconography, the Virgin only clearly acts in the manner of a priest from the 13th century onwards, as shown by the illustration of a miracle recounted by Gautier de Coincy in which Mary hands a consecrated host to a Jewish child.⁴² However, in a series of nine Catalan pictorial programmes, the Virgin had previously been represented as a priestly figure holding a chalice, namely in the apses of Sant Pere de Burgal, Sant Climent de Taüll, Santa Coloma de Andorra, Sant Cristòfol de Anyós, Sant Romà de les Bons, Santa Eulàlia d’Estaon, Santa Maria de Ginestarre de Cardós and Santa Eugènia de Argolell, and in the vault of the presbytery of Sant Andreu de Baltarga (Fig. 17) (AL-HAMDANI 1965; WUNDERWALD 2010: 145-152). In Burgal and Taüll, the object presented by the Virgin does not at first sight resemble a chalice,

39. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homiliae XLIV in Epistolam primam ad Corinthos*. *Homilia XXIV*, 5, *Patrologia Graeca*, 61, 204.

40. PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, XIV, ed. PAULUS 1969: 90, lines 138-142 and 146-148.

41. PETER DAMIAN, *Epistola 61*, ed. REINDEL 1983-1993, II: 214-216.

42. Besançon, BM, ms. 551. GAUTIER OF COINCI, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, fol. 31 v°.

but this reading is based on two observations. In Burgal, the knot is disproportionately large in relation to the foot and the bowl, but these forms are indeed those of a chalice. And, in Taüll, Mary hides the foot and the knot with a piece of her dress, so that only the bowl is visible.

In these compositions, significantly, the Virgin does not carry the Child, but instead displays a liturgical object, the chalice, which remains the prerogative of priests and which, at the same time, is one of the main attributes of the personification of the Church, collecting the blood that flows from Christ's side in the representations of the Crucifixion. In historiography, the assimilation of the representations of Mary with the Church is generally considered evident, but explicit examples are scarce, which is why the Catalan Virgins are of such great interest.⁴³

In addition to assimilating the Virgin to the Church, these Marian images clearly present her as the figure of the officiating priest. On the one hand, they attribute to her a chasuble recognisable by the absence of sleeves and the V- or U-shape it adopts when it falls between her legs. The intentional nature of these similarities with priestly vestments is well attested in the paintings of Santa Maria d'Àneu, in which Mary wears the same vestment as the priest - probably a donor - depicted at the foot of the apsidal basin (Fig. 18).⁴⁴ On the other hand, most of the Virgins with chalices appear behind the altar, so that the faithful and the clergy could spontaneously relate them to the priest dressed in the same way and raising the chalice, although the liturgical elevation is performed with both hands.

Therefore, although contemporary texts are relatively discreet regarding the priesthood of the Virgin, it is clear that the designers of the Catalan paintings affirmed the assimilation of Mary to the earthly officiant. Several compositions thus superimpose the image of the high priest of the heavenly liturgy surrounded by his court onto a complementary priestly figure, generally flanked by apostles and saints, which certainly represents the earthly Church and, more particularly, the local community.⁴⁵ Moreover, by substituting a chalice for the Child, it is also argued that the consecrated wine corresponds to the blood of the incarnate Son. It is true that the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacramental species was not formally defined as dogma until somewhat later, so it cannot be certain that the image of the Virgin with the chalice was intended to affirm or state this idea directly. However, the relevance of the concept of the Real Presence in the thinking of the time cannot be doubted, since it had permeated all discussions of the Eucharist from the mid-11th century onwards.⁴⁶

43. For the Virgin-Church, the reference is still THÉREL 1984. See also RUSSO 1996.

44. See, in particular, PAGÈS I PARETAS 1999.

45. For the figures surrounding the Virgin, see GARLAND 2014.

46. See, in particular, RAUWEL 2002.

Madonna and Child

In most of the Catalan depictions of the Madonna and Child, the Virgin also wears a chasuble: at Sant Pere de Sorpe, Santa Maria d'Àneu, Santa Maria de Taüll (Fig. 19), Sant Vicenç de Estamariu, Sant Pere de la Seu d'Urgell, Sant Vicenç de Cardona and Saint-Lizier (Couserans, also on the northern edge of historic Catalonia). Since it can be argued that the idea of the Marian priesthood was widely accepted in Romanesque Catalonia, we can assume that these representations of the Virgin and Child were also perceived as referring to this status.

This hypothesis is corroborated by the close links between these Marian images and the episode of the Adoration of the Magi, which refers to the offertory procession (NILGEN 1967; FORSYTH 1972). This idea was clearly confirmed by Honorius Augustodunensis, who compared the faithful who brought gold at the time of the offertory to the Magi.⁴⁷ In the iconography, this idea has been reflected by the assignment of a liturgical object to one or other of these three protagonists, as can be seen on an enamelled plaque from the Grandmont altar in the Musée National du Moyen Âge in Paris and on the reliquary of the Magi in Cologne. In this latter example, Emperor Otto IV himself is depicted following in the footsteps of the procession of the Magi and offering the gold for the construction of the frontal altarpiece.⁴⁸ In Catalonia, we might mention, for example, the Espinelves frontal (ca. 1186-1187), now in the Museu Episcopal de Vic, where the three kings hold a chalice in their veiled hands (BELTRÁN GONZÁLEZ 2012a; BELTRÁN GONZÁLEZ 2012b). However, Catalan mural paintings contain no such evidence and clearly predate these works.

The link with the offertory procession, on the other hand, is based on an important syntactical argument. In a notable series of programmes located in Catalonia and its surrounding regions, the designers sought to bring the procession of the Magi as close as possible to the axis of the sanctuary and, therefore, to the altar. This is the case in Saint-Martin de Fenollar and in Barberà del Vallès, where the episode is part of the continuity of the cycle; whilst in Saint-Lizier, the order of the scenes was even more significantly inverted in order to place the Adoration just to the left of the axial window (Fig. 20). In Casenoves, Les Cluses-Hautes and Saint-Plancard, the Adoration is not part of a narrative cycle, but the Magi are oriented in such a way that they point towards the centre of the apse. This arrangement was also applied in the case of the Maderuelo ensemble, whose close affinities with Catalan painting were mentioned previously.

The liturgical dimension of the Adoration of the Magi is also corroborated by certain associated themes. In the apses of the Marian churches of Àneu and Cap d'Aran, the Madonna and Child are associated with the archangel advocates, who

47. HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS, *Gemma animae*, I, 27, P.L. 172, 553 A-B.

48. See particularly CIRESI 2003; AND CIRESI 2005.

clearly transmit the petitions of the *Pater Noster* (fig. 21). Likewise, in Àneu, the apsidal basin is occupied by the theme of the Purification of Isaiah's lips, curiously depicted in two parts, evoking the communion (PÉTRIDES 1905: 362). At Saint-Martin de Fenollar, the Nativity scene on the north wall refers to the Eucharist through the forms of the crib, which rests on columns like an altar. The comparison is all the more obvious as the scene appears to the left of the stone altar of this small rectangular presbytery, like the altar of the martyrs in the paintings at Pedret.

If we accept the priestly significance of the Catalan Madonnas with Child, we can also interpret the position of her hands in the same sense. The limbs hold the Child symmetrically at the level of the thighs, suggesting that she is presenting him in the same way that the priest raises the oblates at the moment of the consecration (SUNTRUP 1978: 390-397). This hypothesis is corroborated by the lintel programme of one of the two tympanums preserved at La Charité-sur-Loire (Fig. 22) (ANGHEBEN 2020b: 307). In the Adoration of the Magi, the Virgin places her hands on the Child's thighs, as in her Catalan counterparts, while in the Presentation in the Temple, Mary raises the Child without changing position. In addition, she has exchanged the veil for the chasuble, which confirms her priestly function.

The paintings in the apse of Sant Martí del Brull, currently in the Episcopal Museum of Vic, significantly include a Presentation in the Temple of this type, together with an Adoration of the Magi. The original formula of the Mosoll frontal panel corroborates the liturgical interpretation of the theme, although it is a very late work, dating from the early 13th century (Fig. 22). In the Adoration, the Virgin's left hand, draped in a chasuble, is placed on Christ's shoulder and her right hand is holding a small disc, perhaps a host. In the Presentation in the Temple, the left hand remains in this position while the other hand is placed on the Child's thigh. In this composition, the link with the Eucharist is also clearly confirmed by the host bearing the monogram of Christ displayed on the altar. These arguments allow us to interpret the Romanesque Madonna and Child depictions as figures of the officiating priest and the procession of the Magi as the prototype of the offertory.

Final considerations

In the churches of Catalonia and its northern periphery, most of the presbyteral programmes refer to the celebration of the Eucharist. The high priest of the heavenly liturgy descends to the place of worship accompanied by his heavenly court, whose actions and words echo those of the officiants: seraphim, cherubim and probably also the living creatures, and the Elders sing the *Sanctus*, the archangels transmit the prayers of the *Pater Noster*, several angels incense the oblates after the offertory and the seraphim of Àneu give communion. The earthly Church is evoked through the apostles, the saints and the Virgin Mary, who represents the officiant raising the chalice and the body of Christ to which she herself gave birth. This body sacrificed

on the altar is also represented by the Lamb and Christ on the cross. The Offertory procession and the recitation of the *Supra quae* are followed by the Adoration of the Magi and the Sacrifice of Abel.

The exceptional coherence of these programmes does not, of course, preclude other levels of interpretation. The presence of the donors sometimes gives them a historical or even political or institutional dimension, as in the case of Burgal. The highlighting of the Eucharist might also be correlated with the dispute over the royal presence, the fight against heretics or, more broadly, the defence of the ecclesiastical institution, which had undergone profound changes since the mid-11th century, but these interpretations remain, in general, rather fragile.⁴⁹ The devotional reading, on the other hand, is more solid, as demonstrated by the stucco Crucifixion at Sant Joan de Caselles. Numerous textual and visual indications suggest that the three canonical images also served as a support for personal devotion. This new approach should therefore be considered for the entire Catalan corpus.

49. “Gregorian” interpretations has been put forward by WUNDERWALD 2010; and PIANO 2010.

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Figuras



Fig. 1. Sant Climent de Taüll, apse paintings in the MNAC, composite theophany (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 2. Santa Eulàlia d'Estaon, paintings from the apsidal chamber in the MNAC, composite theophany (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat)

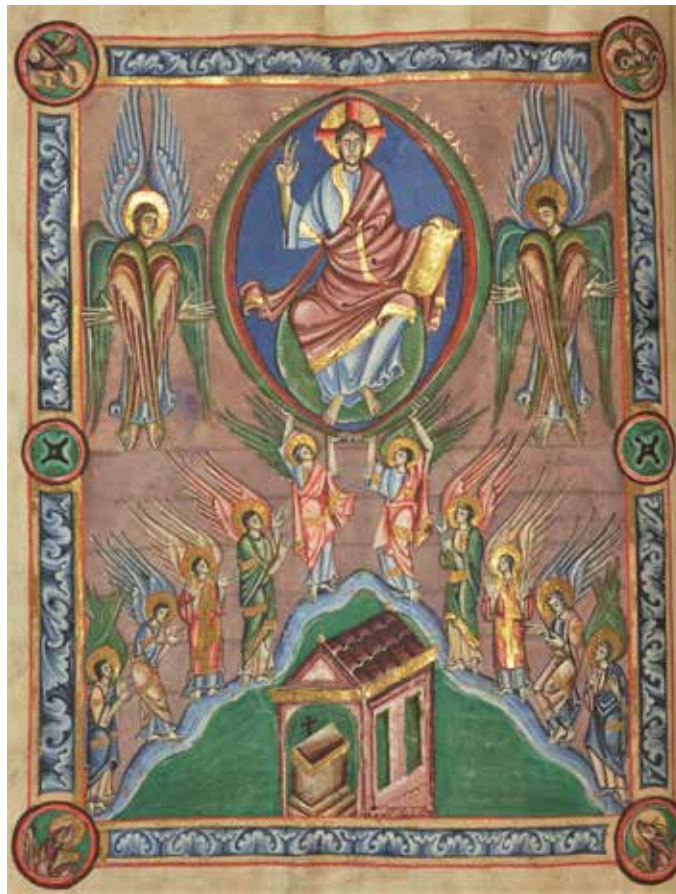


Fig. 3. Sacramentary of Saint-Denis, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9436, f° 15v., Christ in glory and the nine angelic choirs dominating an oratory (Gallica).



Fig. 4. Sant Pau d'Esterri de Cardós, paintings from the apsidal chamber conserved in the MNAC, thurifer seraphim and archangel Gabriel (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 5. Santa Maria de Taüll, paintings from the southern nave preserved in the MNAC, the Annunciation to Zacharias (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 6. Sant Esteve de Andorra la Vella, paintings from the northern apse kept in the MNAC, the Annunciation to Zacharias (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).

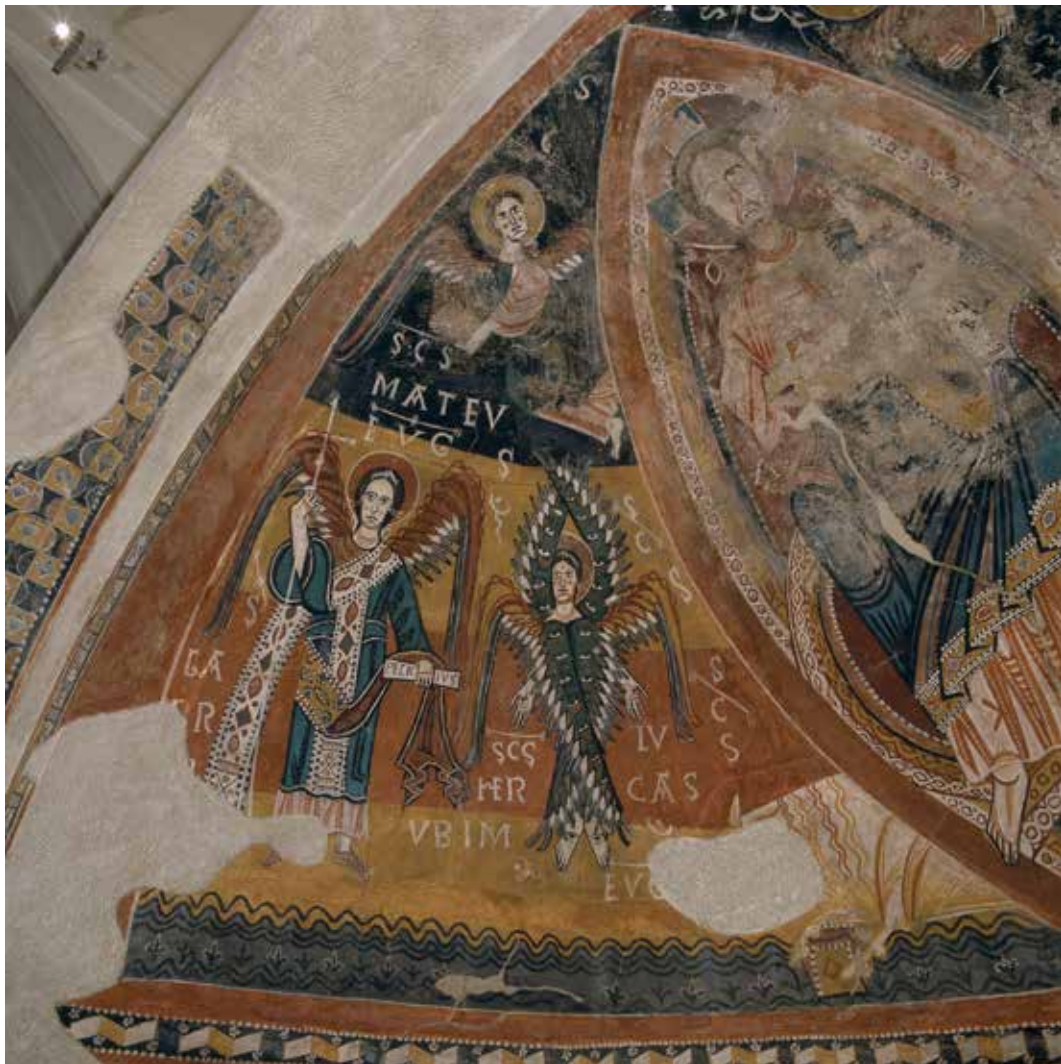


Fig. 7. Santa Eulàlia d'Estaon, paintings from the apsidal chamber in the MNAC, cherubim and archangel Gabriel (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 8. Sant Pere de Burgal, paintings from the apsidal chamber in the MNAC, the archangel Gabriel and a prophet (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 9. Watercolour by Carlo Annoni, paintings from the Galliano apse.



Fig. 10. Antependium from Ix, MNAC (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 11. Santa Maria d'Àneu, paintings from the apsidal chamber kept in the MNAC, the Purification of Isaiah's lips (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 12a. Saint-Polycarpe, paintings on the vault of the section preceding the apse, the Elders adoring the Lamb (photo by the author).



Fig. 12b. Saint-Polycarpe, paintings of the vault of the section preceding the apse, the Elders adoring the Lamb (photo by the author).



Fig. 13. Sant Pere de Sorpe, paintings from the north wall of the nave preserved in the MNAC, the Crucifixion (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya de Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 14. Sant Pere de Sorpe, paintings from the third northern arcade of the nave preserved in the MNAC, Saint Shepherd, two chalices and the sign of Cancer (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 15. Sant Pere de Sorpe, paintings on the northern wall of the nave preserved in the MNAC, thurifer angel (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 16. Sant Joan de Caselles, paintings and stuccoes of the southern wall, the Crucifixion (from the author's archive).



Fig. 17. Santa Maria de Ginestarre, paintings from the apse preserved in the MNAC, composite theophany, Virgin with chalice and apostles (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya de Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 18. Santa Maria d'Àneu, apse paintings in the MNAC, priest carrying a book (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 19. Santa Maria de Taüll, paintings from the apsidal chamber in the MNAC, Adoration of the Magi (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 20. Saint-Lizier Cathedral, apse paintings, apostles and cycle depicting Christ's Infancy (photography by Jean-Pierre Brouard/CESCM).



Fig. 21. Santa Maria d'Àneu, apse paintings in the MNAC, Adoration of the Magi and Purification of the Lips of Isaiah (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).



Fig. 22. La Charité-sur-Loire, deposited portal, Adoration of the Three Wise Men and Presentation in the Temple (photograph by Jean-François Amelot).



Fig. 23. Antependium of Mossol, MNAC (Website of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, www.museunacional.cat).