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Summary

Editorial

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e-mail: revistasvmma.ircvm@ub.edu

A little over a year ago, an initiative was launched with the aim of bringing together all of the IRCVM projects and researchers working on the subject of women in the Middle Ages and establishing synergies between us. Under the name *Women in the Middle Ages: power, creation and territory*, the group was presented at a round table at the 24th IRCVM Conference on Medieval Cultures. The group's first activity was the creation of a permanent seminar to publicise our research and reach out to people with the same research interests.

In recent months, these initiatives have taken the shape, firstly, of joining the Local Time Machine, under the title *Women, Power and Territory in the Middle Ages*. The aim of this platform is to collectively generate "big data" on European history. Our contribution consists of a virtual reconstruction and mapping of spaces of female patronage, of women's networks of monastic and spiritual practice, and of preserved and documented works of art by women from the Middle Ages.

Finally, at the beginning of summer, the Spanish Foundation for Science and Technology (FECYT) approved the project titled *Reality and Fiction of Medieval Women* (FCT-21-17194), which aims to carry out a series of activities to raise awareness regarding medieval women. The intention of this project is to make the female medieval past better known to the general, non-specialised public and to secondary school pupils. Support for the project will take the form of the creation of a website that will allow all the planned activities to be visualised in the form of podcasts on different topics related to medieval women, dramatizations on life in the monasteries, audiovisual productions, aimed especially at showing the complex relationship between medieval women and their literary portraits, information capsules on female ageing in the Middle Ages, videos and workshops on Barcelona's female residents in the year 1000 and, finally, a travelling exhibition or didactic toolkit that will bring together all the thematic axes of the project and make them available to the public.

Without a doubt, many challenges - and a lot of work - await us, but behind all these actions lies the will to communicate the reality of medieval women and to deepen our knowledge of the past. If you would like to find out more about what we will be doing, just follow the IRCVM's communication channels.

Mireia Comas Via

THIRD ARCHAEOLOGICAL PORTRAIT OF A VANISHED CHURCH: VILA-REAL, 1417-1464

Jacobo Vidal Franquet

IRCVM-Universitat de Barcelona

jacobovidal@ub.edu

ORCID: 0000-0003-4638-0937

Resum

En aquest text s'intenten explicar les primeres fases de l'obra de l'església de Sant Jaume de Vila-real, concretament en el període 1417-1464. Es reprenen els estudis anteriors de J. M. Doñate (1981), A. Zaragozá i M. Gómez-Ferrer (2007), es documenten nous mestres i problemes i es desfà l'equívoc que, en bona mesura a partir de la documentació d'aquest edifici, identificava les figures dels mestres d'obra Pere Compte i Pere de Campos

Paraules clau:
arquitectura gòtica, Corona d'Aragó Medieval, Vila-real, Pere Compte

Abstract

In this text, we attempt to describe the initial phases of the construction of the parish church of Sant Jaume in Vila-real, specifically in the period of 1417-1464. The previous studies of J. M. Doñate (1981), A. Zaragozá and M. Gómez-Ferrer (2007) are resumed, and new master builders and problems are documented. In addition, an error that occurred in the analysis of the building's documentation identifying the master masons Pere Compte and Pere de Campos as the same person is amended.

Keywords:
Gothic Architecture, Medieval Crown of Aragon, Vila-real, Pere Compte

Some forty years ago, a pioneering article about the Gothic church in Vila-real appeared in the pages of the *BSCC*. It was signed by the renowned archivist José María Doñate (1981) and began to cover a gap in our knowledge that may never be completely filled, since the disappearance of the medieval temple to make way for its 18th century replacement will forever deprive us of the possibility of directly analysing the 15th century structure.[1] However, Doñate's study was a very solid contribution, far surpassing those of previous authors, and it inserted the parish of Sant Jaume, albeit somewhat timidly, within the history of Valencian Gothic architecture. Despite being based entirely on written documents, it was titled *Retrato arqueológico de una iglesia desaparecida* (An Archaeological Portrait of a Vanished Church). The archivist understood archaeology to be the study of ancient monuments, but, above all, as the analysis of things lost and invisible that can nevertheless be brought to light again.

Twenty-six years later, in a monographic volume on the activity of master builder Pere Compte, Arturo Zaragozá and Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer (2007: 154-158 and associated doc.) resumed the study of the construction process of the church, in a necessarily more concise way.[2] In addition to adding new information to that published by Doñate, and offering a more nuanced reading of previously known documents, these authors did something that seems very important to me. They highlighted and contextualised the key role played by the master builders who were involved in the construction of the church during the 15th century: «Antoni Dalmau, Joan de Caritat, Joan de Xulbe, Jaume Pérez, Francesc Baldomar and Pere Compte, at one time or another, had something to say regarding the church».[3] By doing this, they also definitively put the building on the map of medieval Valencian architecture; restoring some, if not all, of the rights that had been denied to it by its physical disappearance and documentary obscurity.[4] This "second portrait", therefore, served to establish the profile of the church even more deeply.

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1. For information on the modern-era church, see Traver 1909: 277-291; Bautista 1996-1997; Gil 2004: 344-349.

2. Part of their study is advanced in Gómez-Ferrer 1997-1998.

3. In the original Spanish: «Antoni Dalmau, Joan de Caritat, Joan de Xulbe, Jaume Pérez, Francesc Baldomar o Pere Compte, en un momento u otro, tuvieron algo que decir con respecto a la iglesia».

4. In the last thirty years, much has been written, and well written, regarding medieval Valencian architecture. See the individual panoramic visions, from different points of view, in Zaragozá 2000; Serra 2011 and 2012. Regarding construction in the specific context of Vila-real, see Aparici 1996: passim, especially 49-60 and 66-67.

Just as the fourteenth-century church was built over a previously existing structure, the third portrait I am offering here is built on the two preceding ones. First of all, it aims to be a recognition of the work of these precursors: hence the choice of the title, despite the fact that this work is based, like its predecessors, on documentary evidence rather than material remains. But secondly, it must necessarily be a review in which new nuances and ideas are raised and in which clarifications and certain informative contributions are made. The aim is to achieve a slightly clearer image of the missing monument and to show that it is an exemplary case of a Gothic church that replaced a previous temple. To this end, I will limit myself to its genesis and the construction of the chevet and the first aisle, conditioned by the restrictions imposed by the currently available documentation and the context of pandemic in which the study was written.

A parish church like the one in Castelló (1417-1418)

Although the documents do not state it explicitly, the authorities of Vila-real must have witnessed with envy the rise of the church of Santa Maria de Castelló. Work on the latter church began between 1403 and 1409, while work on the church in Vila-real was initiated around 1417. In addition, both constructions must be framed in terms of a common problem, which we could define as "from old work/new work". This was a very common approach applied to large-scale construction projects in the late Middle Ages, as well as in the early modern period.[5]

Beyond financial and technical issues and problems relating to materials, the construction processes of churches built on previously-existing churches could present highly complex challenges, due to the pre-existing architecture and the need to occupy public, and often also private, space in order to build the extensions. Notwithstanding, we could say that a classic or standard process came into existence in order to carry out this type of construction work. At the end of the 13th, 14th, 15th and even the 16th centuries, the work on new Gothic construction would begin with the chevet, which enveloped the apse of the original church, usually Romanesque or even older, and which was replaced section by section. We could say that, in this way, the past was gradually replaced by the present, with the aim of reaching into the future. While not straying too far from our cultural context, we may recall that, in Catalonia, this process occurred in the construction of many notable churches, including a number of cathedrals, such as those in Girona, Barcelona, Tortosa and Elne. In the latter, construction of the new chevet was started on two occasions, in the 14th and 15th centuries, but was never completed, so even today we can observe

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5. This expression is taken from Domenge 2012, which is a good example of a study of the process of replacing an older construction with a newer one. For details regarding the preparations needed to begin construction work, see Bernardi 2010.

the rows of the perimeter walls of the Gothic structure beginning to encircle the Romanesque original.[6]

In the Kingdom of Valencia, this procedure was also common, despite the fact that, in chronological terms, it did not involve the disappearance of Romanesque architecture in favour of Gothic structures. In this case, what tended to happen is that buildings with cross vaults, even when they consisted of one nave with side chapels rather than three naves, replaced churches of the type that historians have dubbed "reconquest" in style, that is, simple, functional churches built with diaphragm arches and two-sided roofs, especially during the 13th and early 14th centuries. A paradigmatic example of this can be found in Sant Mateu del Maestrat where, as in Elne, evidence of these transformations can still be clearly observed: only a section of the entrance remains of the original 13th century building, including the door with its sculptural decoration, while the nave and chevet were replaced by a spectacular 14th century construction, which, due to the economic crisis of the mid-fifteenth century, was left unfinished. The contrast between the small gallery of western side and the large Gothic nave underlines the sheer audacity of the transformation.[7]

A little further south, in the region of La Plana, these processes may have arrived a little later, in the 15th century. In Castelló, there was a church that, in 1403, was considered small and «*sotil*», that is to say, of little value, over which the Council decided to build a more «beautiful one, such that it would honour Our Lord and this community».[8] With this dual aim (to pay tribute to God and to give prestige to the municipality) in 1409, the authorities of Castelló sent Guillem Joan, who had been appointed administrator of the works, to Valencia. Joan had to get Pere Balaguer, who was at that time the most important master builder in Valencia, to determine what type of construction was required, but when faced with his refusal to travel, Guillem Joan was forced to take on the services of another stonemason. He selected Miquel Garcia, who was then working on the Valldecrist monastery and had very good references, both from Balaguer and from a third architect, Pere Bonarès. In collaboration with the latter, Garcia projected Castelló's new work, and he did so using the structures of the old church. But it seems that it was Master Garcia alone who, with only a few absences to attend to other business, directed the works

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6. It is worth pointing out that there were many exceptions to this procedure, which we refer to here as the "classical" process. Instead of completely replacing a single-nave building, side aisles or chapels were sometimes added, leaving the old nave standing. The total replacement of the old church was another option, but following procedures different from the one mentioned, such as building the new church in another location more or less close to the original structure. These other building systems were used to construct Sant Llorenç de Lleida (with added lateral naves), and the Barcelona parish churches of Santa Maria del Mar and Sants Just i Pastor (where the new church was constructed in a nearby location). See, among others, Lladonosa 1972; Borau 2003: 370-392; Vidal, Fumanal, Duran 2021.

7. Regarding Sant Mateu del Maestrat, see ZARAGOZÁ 2005; on "reconquest" churches and, in general, diaphragm arch architecture in this geographical context, ZARAGOZÁ 2003: passim.

8. In the original Catalan: «bell, e tal que sie honor de Nostre Senyor e de aquesta comunitat».

at Castelló de la Plana. The work was carried out without major setbacks until the church was ready to hold liturgical services. Around 1416, on the recommendation of another important master builder from Valencia, Joan del Poyo, a temporary wooden enclosure was put up around the chevet, while the construction of the nave was being carried out, at least until well into the 1430s. The church was definitively consecrated in 1594.[9]

At that time (1417) the authorities of Vila-real expressed their desire to expand the old temple, which, according to Viciana (1884: 334), had been standing since 1298. As we mentioned above, the original structure must have had naves made up of diaphragm arches and a two-sided roof; we do not know if it had a plain chevet or a more complex structure. These simple churches were sometimes rebuilt with side chapels covered with a vault, while their wooden trusses could be replaced by stone or brick crosses. But the structures with diaphragm arches could also be completely renovated, as happened in Castelló and Vila-real. In this sense, Doñate (1981: 123) warned that, in 1417, «a master builder whose name is not on record requests the first rights for 15 years to build the chevet, that is, the apse of the church».[10] While, with this information, it could already be deduced that this architect was Miquel Garcia, some hitherto unknown documents certify it: the attempt to start work in Vila-real was taken very seriously and, apart from the conversations that took place with him in Castelló,[11] the architect travelled to the town on two occasions «to see and inspect the church of the nearby town, which they wanted to have work done on, and to decorate the said church». Likewise, he made a trip «to the quarry, with the cart driver».[12] The documentation also shows that the local council appointed administrators for the construction work (Bartomeu Galceran and Marco de Calaceit), and paid for two hundred and one *sous* in «tools for the purpose of said work, this is, a lever, picks, stone cutter's hammers and other things».[13]

Therefore, in the period 1417-1418, Vila-real had already begun preparations to build a church to replace the previous one. The floor plans had been laid out, the site had been inspected, tools had been acquired, the acquisition of construction materials had been planned through visits to the quarry, and the digging may have already begun on the foundations around the old apse and at least the wall perimeter had already been marked out. But perhaps the most important thing of all is that

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9. Regarding the parish church of Castelló de la Plana, see Peyrat 1894; Sanz de Bremond 1947; Traver 1958: 228-249; Monsonís 1997. On the remodeling of the temple in the modern era, see Gil 2004: 278-281 and, regarding its ornamentation, see the documentation collected by Olucha 2011.

10. In the original Spanish: «un maestro de obras cuyo nombre no consta pide los derechos de la primicia a 15 años para obrar *lo cap*, es decir, el ábside de la iglesia».

11. Arxiu Municipal de Vila-real (AMVlr), 243, f. 30v (ed. Doñate 1981: doc. IV) and f. 32r.

12. AMVlr, 243, f. 44v. In the original Catalan: «a la pedrera ab lo carreter».

13. AMVlr, 243, f. 47r. In the original Catalan: «ferramentes e artelleries a obs de la dita obra, ço és, un perpal, pichs, scodes e altres».

the master builder and, implicitly, the model had already been chosen: was it the desire to emulate Castelló that prompted the local authorities of Vila-Real to make the decision to build a new church? The municipal agreements of that year are missing and, therefore, we are unable to confirm this hypothesis on a documentary basis, if indeed the idea was ever expressed explicitly. Despite this, the notion does seem entirely probable. The medieval practice of taking an already completed work as a model prevailed; this was a very common practice in the visual arts, as well as in architecture.[14] With the intention of ensuring the success of the enterprise, a master builder who had worked nearby for a decade and had demonstrated his executive ability was chosen. In addition, Santa Maria de Castelló was also chosen as a model, either to match it or, indeed, to surpass it. The choice was logical, but the work did not prosper, and, for now, we do not know why.

A new attempt in two consecutive stages

In 1441, Pere Mateu, an architect from the city of Valencia, came to Vila-real «to see the work that said town wanted on the chevet of the church». In addition to making the trip; he «drew and painted the chevet» and even travelled with a representative of the town to nearby Onda «to see the work on the church».[15] At the beginning of the 1440s, therefore, renovation of the church of Sant Jaume, which in 1438 was still being extended with the addition of a private chapel,[16] was once again being considered [AMVlr, 19, f. 13 v. (ed. Doñate 1981: doc. V)], in this case, under the command of a master builder from Valencia who paid an inspection visit to Onda.

Unfortunately, the "*notaments*" or municipal agreements of Vila-Real for that year have not been preserved and we are unable to ascertain the details of the operation. The payments refer to a meeting of the Council held on 7 April 1441, but the minutes are missing: we dispose of those of 1439-1440 and 1442-1443, but not those of 1440-1441. Despite this information gap, it is clear that the project was resumed, and that attention was now focused on the capital of the kingdom. The reference to Onda, on the other hand, is less clear, since the documented visit to the building site must refer to the main church, which was practically destroyed in a fire in 1467 and later replaced by a Baroque building; in other words, this is a very little-known building.[17] What kind of interesting work was being carried out there in 1441 before

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14. Many examples of this in the Catalan-Aragonese geographical context can be found in Domenge, Vidal 2013 and 2017.

15. AMVlr, 253, f. 12v, 13r (ed. Doñate 1981: doc. VI).

16. AMVlr, 19, f. 13v (ed. Doñate 1981: doc. V).

17. The fire is described in the *Crònica i dietari del capellà d'Alfons el Magnànim* (Chronicle and diary of the priest of Alfonso the Magnanimous) (Rodrigo 2011: 32 5) (Here I wish to thank Professor V. Garcia Edo for the clarification). For information regarding modern era churches replacing medieval ones, see Gil 2004: 327-329.

the works started at the parish church of Sant Jaume? We do not know. In fact, it would have been more logical if the visit had been to the church of Santa Margalida, also known as *de la Sang* since it is another "reconquest" temple, like the one in Vila-real at that time, and if the city council of Onda had wanted to replace it or had been replacing it precisely in this chronology, it would have been a parallel process to those of Castelló and Vila-real, and for that very reason, it would have been quite reasonable for them to share their experiences and knowledge. But that does not seem to be the case, since the 13th century church still stands in Onda.

Having traced the outline, visited a work in progress and studied the architectural problem, Pere Mateu did not undertake the construction work in Vila-real. We do not know the details nor the motivations that frustrated the enterprise. Shortly before the deals with Mateu were struck, in the summer of 1440, Antoni Dalmau, the master builder of the cathedral of Valencia, and Simó Bonfill, another stonemason from that same city, had taken charge of the work on the wayside cross of the Raval de Sant Miquel and Santa Llúcia.[18] Was this work the reason why the Vila-real officials ended up commissioning the team made up of Dalmau and Bonfill or was it the other way around and did those master masons take on the construction of the wayside cross because they already had the intention of building the new parish church? We have no way of knowing, but the fact is that this work had put the town authorities in contact with the Valencian architects before they took care of renovating the parish church, which is what they ended up doing once Mateu disappeared from the municipal documentation of Vila-real. During the spring of 1442, the two builders travelled from Valencia to La Plana «to see the work on the chevet of the church of said town, and draw and paint it»,[19] an expression equivalent to the one used in the documents referring to Pere Mateu and Miquel Garcia. In addition, with the two builders in the same room, the Council deliberated on the price of the work and agreed to assign 12,600 *sous* to it.[20]

On this occasion, the work progressed rapidly and, apparently, smoothly. In January 1443, the «master builders of the chevet of the church» were working in the town,[21] as the councillors had commissioned them to build «five tiles and one small, iron pole", in addition to «four needles to be used to finish the clock».[22] According to a document from the Chapter Archives of Valencia made public by A. Zaragozá

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18. AMVlr, 253, f. 13v, 14r-v (ed. Doñate 1966, n. 10).

19. In the original Catalan: «per veu-re la obra del cap de la ecclésia de la dita vila, e traçar e pintar aquella».

20. Council meeting of 28 May 1442, AMVlr, 21, f. 5v (ed. Doñate 1981: doc. VII); Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: 155. This fact was advanced by Traver 1909: 263.

21. In the original Catalan: «mestres de la obra del cap de la ecclésia»

22. Council meeting of 11 January 1441, AMVlr, 21, f. 23r (cit. Aparici 1986: 167). In the original Catalan: «cinch ragolles e I perpalet de ferre» and «quatre agulles e o vergues qui foren dels ferres del guarniment del seny».

and M. Gómez Ferrer (2007: 250), the architectural structure was apparently completed as early as December 1443.[23] For that reason, in the following years, efforts were focused on decorating it: throughout 1446, rods and pulleys were bought in Valencia to hang decorative fabrics and the painter Nadal Renau was in charge of creating the "painted curtains, made to ennoble the chevet of the church».[24] In all probability, the altarpiece that Llorenç Saragossà had painted around 1375 for the old temple was reused for the high altar, and this work would not be relocated until the 16th century, when Paolo de San Leocadio left his mark on the town.[25]

What was the appearance of this chevet, which was built in the 1440s? We cannot know for sure. In any case, the damage to some properties linked to the old temple suggests that, as is quite logical, it was a wider and higher structure than its predecessor and enveloped the old building.[26] This also suggests that it was necessary to carry on with the work as soon as possible. As we will see below, the important difference in height between the new and old structure raised doubts and problems, as it did everywhere these construction processes took place.[27] The documents that refer to the first section of the nave raise another question regarding the chevet, though we cannot answer it with any degree of certainty: with what technique and with what material was it covered? The most likely answer is with a tile vault.

The first gallery: an accursed work

Although for some years there is no news about the work on the church, the will to undertake its first section certainly existed. Doñate (1981: doc. IX and X) states that, on December 22, 1457, Joan de Caritat, a French builder related to Antoni Dalmau, took charge of «the aisle following the chevet of the curch» and the sacristy.[28] This is attested in a previous document, from May of the same year, according to which the authorities of Castelló had allowed the officials in Vila-real to cut stone in their municipal area. However, it is very likely that the prospecting to start the building work began earlier. According to the documents from 1446 regarding the decoration of the chevet, it was necessary to "ennoble" the church, since that meant beautifying and dignifying the town.   In line with that aim, it would not have been considered

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23. Chapter Archives of Valencia, Sig. 1480 (ed. Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: p. 250).
24. AMVlr, 254, f. 19r (purchase of poles and painted curtains) and 23r (ed. Doñate 1981: doc.VIII) (painting of curtains). In the original Catalan: «cortines de pinzell que són estades fetes per ennoblir lo cap de la esgleya».
25. These altarpieces were documented by Traver 1909: 265; Doñate 1958 and 1959.
26. AMVlr, 254, f. 20r.
27. For example, in the cathedral of Tortosa, the concern of the canons and the city for the stability of the new nave, together with the small Romanesque nave, is recorded in documents dating from 1463 and 1483, according to Vidal 2002: 175 and 2005: 409.
28. In the original Catalan: "the aisle following the chevet of the curch".

honourable to leave an oversized chevet in relation to the nave for many years: that would have to be a purely provisional situation. In view of the above, it must be taken into account that, in 1455, although work was not yet being carried out on the nave of the building, work had begun on the church's silver cross, following a design that had been sent to Valencia, concretely to the workshop of the silversmith Berenguer Alegre, while, at the same time, Master Tomàs, a skilled scribe, created two processionals for the church. As often happens, architecture and the making of liturgical objects progressed almost in parallel.[29]

In the same way, in 1440, Antoni Dalmau and Simó Bonfill, just before taking charge of the chevet of the parish church, appeared in the Vila-real documents making a wayside cross, and, in April and September of 1456, it is recorded that the mason Pere de Savoia was making the capital of a wayside cross: he was, in fact, completing the work that the aforementioned Dalmau and Bonfill had begun fifteen years earlier.[30] Recently, this mason (Pere de Savoia) has been identified with Pere Garçó of Savoia, the chief master builder of Tortosa cathedral from 1459, who was also active in the construction of Montalegre monastery: Master Pere was therefore an important builder (Vidal, in press). In La Plana, was he limited to carving «the button» of a pre-existing cross, or perhaps his visit also served to carry out a visit to the parish church of Sant Jaume? Could that have even been the motivation for his stay in the town, since it occurred at the very same moment the work was to be continued? We cannot know since we have no documentary evidence that Pere Garçó had carried out work of this nature. But neither can we rule it out, since a few months after this mention of his visit to the town we find that another big name in 14th century Valencian architecture came to inspect the church: in March 1457, Francesc Baldomar came to inspect «the works or the nave that has to be constructed in our church».[31] It seems obvious, therefore, that there was the intention to continue the project before Joan de Caritat took control of it in December 1457, and the status of the architects whose presence was documented in the town on these dates makes it clear that it was it was intended to be a work of some standing.

The document published by Doñate (1981: doc. X) according to which the town of Castelló ceded stone for the construction of the Vila-real church came from the Castelló municipal archive and had been donated by another meritorious

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29. The documentation on the making of the silver cross, made known only partially by Doñate 1969, is very interesting, and includes the payment of five sous to a messenger named Joan Igual "per portar la forma de la creu a València, per ço si·s porie fer de tal forma com la mostra ere ("to bring the shape of the cross to Valencia, so that it could be made in such a way as the sample was"). Documents on these matters appear in AMVlr, 261, f. 14v, 15r, 17r; 262, f. 15r; 263, f. 10r, 13r, 17v, n. 263.65, n. 263.68, 263.85; 24, f. 26r-v.

30. For more information regarding wayside corsses, see Doñate 1966: n. 11; Zaragozá, Gómez Ferrer: 154-156.

31. AMVlr, 262, f. 15v.

archivist, Lluís Revest. The documentary sources in Vila-real confirm this fact and add others: the search for stone not only took place in Castelló, but also in Onda and Llucena.[32] Speaking of medieval construction in the town, Aparici (1996: 56) had already drawn attention to the fact that «the town did not have its own quarry for stone extraction», and for that reason it was necessary to ask for permission from the surrounding towns. The need to obtain construction material was finally resolved, and, nine months after the visits by Baldomar, Joan de Caritat began work on «the first nave after the chevet of the church of the said town, with the sacristy and choir of the priests»,[33] for a price of 7700 *sous*, of which he had been paid 2,556 *sous* and 3 *diners* by 1458.[34]

In April of the following year (1459), Joan de Xulbi, the master of Tortosa cathedral, also travelled to Vila-real «to see and inspect the new work on the nave of the church that was in progress under master Johan de Caritat».[35] These historical reports do not explain why these inspections were carried out, but it seems clear that the building work was ongoing and that, as was customary, it was a matter of consulting a prestigious master on an issue that, as it did not appear detailed in the documents, evades us now.[36] On the other hand, the various visits that are documented in the following years (1460 and 1461) are related to a problem that arose suddenly: Joan de Xulbi died shortly after having made his inspection of the church of Sant Jaume, as did the master builder in charge of the project, Joan de Caritat. A payment made in 1460 indicates that he and his guarantors were paid 1,229 *sous* and six *diners*, which must be added to the 2,556 *sous* and 3 *diners* that he had been paid two years earlier. However, as we mentioned earlier, the master builder had died some time the previous year.[37]

While he lived, Joan de Caritat did manage to leave some traces of his activities in the town, since he did not limit himself to working on the church, but did other jobs, working specifically on the Bridge of the Royal Way of Valencia, the Bridge of *la Sequiola* and the *Sequia Roja*.[38] But in January 1460, the Council had to agree that master builders should be sought to assess the work on the first section of the nave of the church, both the part already built by the deceased master builder, «whom

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32. AMVlr, 263, f. 5r (licence to quarry stone in Castellón), f. 7v (licence to quarry stone in Onda), n. 263.66 (licence to quarry stone granted by Pedro d'Urrea, a noble of Llucena).

33. In the original Catalan: "la primera navada aprés lo cap de la ecclésia de la dita vila, ab la secrestia e cor dels preveres".

34. AMVlr, 263, f. 7v (ed. Doñate 1981: doc. X), n. 263.105, n. 263.126.

35. Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: 156. The documents in AMVlr, 264, f. 7v and n. 264.60. In the original Catalan: "per veure e regonèxer la obra nova de la navada de la església que tenia a estall mestre Johan de Caritat".

36. On the issue of architectural inspections in the medieval Crown of Aragon, see Domenge, Vidal 2017.

37. AMVlr, 264, f. 22v, n. 265.45.

38. AMVlr, 263, 14v, n. 263.90 264, f. 12r.

God forgives» and what remained to be done. At the same time, it was agreed to collect the amounts left as guarantee. The problem was that, as was perhaps more common than we tend to imagine, the work had been paid by the piece. In other words, it had been commissioned in the same way as the chevet of the church: for a fixed price, an agreed amount. Although one cannot generalize, master builders tried to get paid by the day, thereby ensuring themselves a regular salary for the duration of the project, while the promoters usually preferred to establish a fixed price per project, since this allowed them to set clear deadline and lock in the costs.[39]

The master builders who were commissioned with the valuation of the work were Jaume Pérez, a stonemason from Valencia, on behalf of the town, and Joan de Sogorb, of the same profession, on the part of the guarantors, named Joan Borradà and Mateu Tolsa. Despite the fact that we do not have written minutes for that occasion - the Council's notes certify that they existed, and this must also have been more common than we suspect - we can deduct from the municipal documentation what the experts concluded that Joan de Caritat had done three quarters of the work and that only the last quarter of the work remained to be completed. According to the guarantors, however, the master builder had worked for a value that exceeded by 22 *lliures* the price that had been agreed, while, in accordance with the opinion of the Council, he had been paid more than what corresponded to the work he had done and, consequently, it was requested that the guarantors return the excess amount. Notwithstanding these problems, the project had to be finished. Therefore, in March 1460, it was decided that the work was to be entrusted to the master builder Pere de Campos. He was to be paid 200 florins of Valencian royal currency for what remained to be built, with the exception of the painting of the bosses, among a few other minor elements.[40]

Jaume Pérez and Joan de Sogorb exceeded their duties and did not limit themselves to assessing the value of what had been done and what remained to be built. From a municipal agreement of May 1460, we can deduce that they also warned the Council that the large «*tou*», that is, the large hole, the large expanse of empty space, that there was between the chevet and the nave that was being built, on the one hand, and the pre-existing church, on the other, could be «very dangerous and perilous»,[41] to the point that the new church, which was covered «with odd tiles and plaster», could «weaken and deteriorate» in the future.[42] These technical challenges meant that «for the *laguiy* - that is, the injury or disturbance - and major expenses

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39. A very clear case of this type of negotiation can be seen in the construction of the water mills at Xerta-Tivenys weir, in the 1560s. SEE Vidal 2010.

40. AMVlr, 24, f. 22v, 24v, 25r-26r, 28r; 264, f. 16v, 17r, 18r, 22v, n. 264.45, n. 264.53, n. 264.55, n. 264.56, n. 264.66, n. 264.68. Campos' mastership was documented in Traver 1909: 263 and Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: 156 and doc. A.7.

41. In the original Catalan: "molt dapnós e perilós"

42. In the original Catalan: ""de rajola senar ab aljepz", "fluxar" and "venir a menys".

involved in said work», Master Campos was offered twelve additional florins, apart from the 200 that had been agreed upon in the contract.[43]

This short document, which was drawn up by the notary of the Vila-real Council in a hasty and somewhat confusing manner, is of great interest and helps us to understand more vividly the difficulties that arose when choosing to replace small churches with larger works in the same location. The text, which was written, let us remember, in May 1460, also tells us something about the material used to cover the new building: tiles. In fact, the document only refers to the part that Pere de Campos had to build, that is to say, to the first section of the nave, but it is very likely that this architectural decision was made considering what had already been had done in the presbytery, which had been erected twenty years earlier. And it is also logical to think that in the continuation of the works, twenty years later, the same decision was made. In the kingdom of Valencia, it was common to build vaults made of bricks rather than stone.[44]

With the inspections done, the tug-of-war with the guarantors underway and the appointment of Pere de Campos as master builder, it must have seemed to the Vila-real authorities that the problems to be overcome to complete the first bay of the church had ended. But it was not to be. And for us the difficulties are not over either since, once again, we are missing the municipal agreements that would provide us a better understanding of what occurred in 1460 and 1461, especially if we take into account that the municipal ledgers do not follow a strict chronological order, preventing us from tracing a completely certain sequence of events.

Be that as it may, the documented payments indicate that, on August 17, 1460, Joan d'Alcanyís, town foreman, agreed with the Council that he would finish the first vault for 95 *lliures*.[45] Pere de Campos, therefore, seems to have abandoned the work, at the outset we do not know at what moment or for what reason. As for Joan d'Alcanyís, in October 1460, it was also necessary to seek hum out in Valencia to show him an order from the governor ordering him to take charge of the project once again.[46] In March 1461, history was repeating itself yet again, and the Council sent messengers to Joan d'Alcanyís and "Master Baldonamar", whom Arturo Zaragozá and Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer identified, I think correctly, as Francesc Baldomar, in Valencia in order to speak with them «about the work on the church».[47] It is difficult to understand what could have happened for there to be so much back and forth, so many discussions and, ultimately, so many problems. It is certain that the construction difficulties, added to the interests of the master builders and the

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43. AMVlr, 24, f. 28r.

44. For more information regarding tile vaults in the kingdom of Valencia, see, among others, Zaragozá 2003: passim and 2012.

45. AMVlr, 265, f. 8v-9r (ed. Doñate, doc. XI).

46. AMVlr, 265, f. 11v, 16r.

47. AMVlr, 265, f. 18v (cit. Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: 250).

financial wranglings, turned the completion of this first bay into an unappealing undertaking.

In case the Gordian knot was not already tied in a complicated enough way, some ledger entries that are found later in the same memorial book of the local representative Joan Blasco - that is, documents that appear after the entries of 1460 and 1461 that we have just mentioned, but which, in my opinion, refer to payments related to work that had been carried out much earlier, indicate that in 1460, perhaps before the summer, he had gone to seek out Pere de Campos in Vilafermosa, so that he could resume work on the church, a job that had been commissioned that same spring (from 1460).

Unfortunately, in this annotation there is a blank space and the date of the municipal agreement to which the payment is related is not indicated, as is often the case.[48] If all the disbursements recorded in the book of the trustee Blasco of 1461 had been made at the time of writing that, then my dating would be wrong, but I believe it to be correct since an even later entry in the same register indicates that, in a meeting of the Council in September 1460, and here the date is clearly noted, it had been agreed to act «against the wife and heirs of Master Pere de Campos, deceased» (Fig. 1) in 1461, therefore, he could not have been working in Vilafermosa.[49]
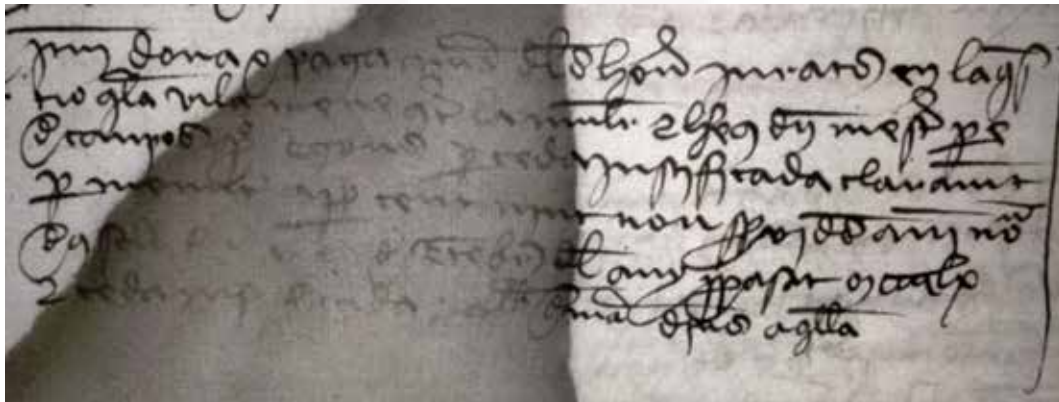

Figure 1. AMVlr, 265, f. 18r.

To summarize this very dark affair in a few lines, and if the sequence I propose is correct, things would have gone as follows: Campos would have taken charge of the work at the end of the winter of 1460, following the death of Joan de Caritat; he would have left it to go – perhaps among other places – to Vilafermosa just before the summer and would have died during this time. Therefore, in August 1460, a

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48. AMVlr, 265, f. 16v. Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer: 156, 250 and doc. A.9 date the document to April 1461, and this is probably the date on which the entry was recorded. However, as mentioned, the heading refers to a past municipal agreement, but when writing the date, the notary left a blank space. In my opinion, this meeting of the Council must have taken place in the late spring or summer of 1460.
49. AMVlr, 265, f. 18r. In the original Catalan: "contra la muler e hereus d'en mestre Pere de Campos, quòndam"

new master was chosen, namely Joan d'Alcanyís, who would also have abandoned the work halfway through but who, finally, after the injunctions of October 1460 and March 1461, was forced to resume and conclude it.

We could therefore say that the work on the first bay of the Church of Sant Jaume was cursed: both the master who had begun to build it and his replacement died in the attempt, joining one of its first inspectors, Joan de Xulbi, in the afterlife. Joan Alcanyís, whether voluntarily or by obligation, completed the work before April 1464, when the Council agreed to pay him 372 sous.[50] After this date, silence falls once again on the work on the church: in the ledgers, only mechanical repairs appear and, just after the structural work on the nave was finished, a work linked to the liturgical furniture is documented. This is an invoice by the carpenters Joan Cortès, who also died while working on the project, and Andreu Vallès.[51] The next episode in the story of the construction of the church does not begin until the 1480s, when the team led by Pere Compte took charge of its completion.[52]

A final note: Pere de Campos is not Pere Compte

The report of September 1460 according to which Pere de Campos had died, if it is accurate, has a series of implications that should be of interest beyond the construction process of the church in Vila-real. The fact is that the document in which this death is mentioned does not specify that the deceased is the stonemason in charge of the works on the church. However, it does clearly seem to refer to him, since he is the only mason by the name of Pere de Campos who appears in the municipal documentation of Vila-real in this chronology and, moreover, his death helps to explain the rapid interchange of master masons from 1460 to 1461.

If we accept that as fact, the implication is that, if Campos died in 1460, he cannot be the same person as Pere Compte, the master «very subtle in the art of stone» as described in the *Crònica i dietari del capellà d'Alfons el Magnànim* (Rodrigo 2011: 134), who dominated the world of construction in the kingdom of Valencia during the last quarter of the 15th century until his death in 1506, a master who often directed works at a distance and who was in charge of completing the work on Sant Jaume de Vila-real from 1480, as we have said.

The hypothesis that Campos could be the same person as Compte, had been raised by Arturo Zaragozá and Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer (2007: passim, especially 42-44) in their study on the architect from Girona. It must be said that their hypothesis was based on a series of very solid arguments, which, to a large extent, I share. Des-

50. AMVlr, 26, f. 28r (cit. Aparici 1996: 150).

51. AMVlr, 267, f. 6v, 7r.

52. Traver 1909: 264; Doñate 1981: 125-127 and related documents; Aparici 1996: passim; Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: 157-158 and related documents.

pite this, given the circumstances, it will be necessary to give them another reading or develop them in another way.[53] Based on this possibility, Victòria Almuni (2007: passim, especially 486-488), held that Pere Compte was the master mason who had signed a contract as master of the cathedral of Tortosa in the autumn of 1459, since, at that very moment, Pere de Campos, the Valencian master mason who immediately afterwards took charge of the works in Vila-real, had done so.

The theory, then, had become an axiom. All in all, reluctance had been expressed, both actively and, above all, passively, to accept that all the documents in which Pere Compte, Pere de Campos and Pere Gironès, another possible alias, appear, referred to the same person. No one doubts, of course, the extraordinary breadth or the unusual quality of Compte's architectural production. It is simply necessary to continue revising, or at least refining, certain ideas regarding his activity.

In fact, based on another document from Vila-real, this time linked to the works on the dam, the possibility has been raised that Compte "returned" to being in charge of the work on the cathedral in Tortosa in 1478, following the death of Pere Garçó (c. 1476).[54] Certainly, the document may say "master builder of the see of Tortosa" or the "master builder of the see of Valencia" (Fig. 2), since after the indication of the name of the architect - unmistakably it is Pere Compte - there there is a rewritten word, upon which the doubt may arise: on which cathedral was this stonemason directing the building work? Having read and re-read the document, it seems to me that the annotation considers him to be the master builder of the cathedral of Valencia, a position he held since 1477, and not of Tortosa, a position he may never have held before 1490[55] I may, of course, be mistaken, both in this reading and in the interpretation of the death of Pere de Campos. My error could be the seed of another paper.
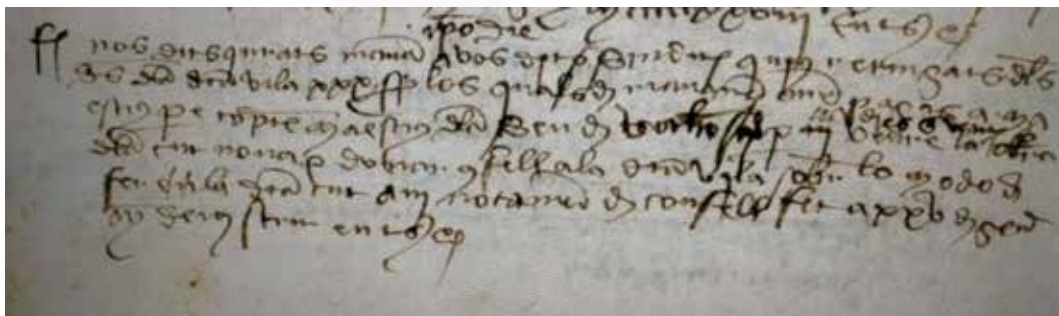
Figure 2. AMVlr, 34, f. 28v

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53. In addition to the arguments they present, these authors make public a document from 1488 (Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: doc. B.8) in which the defunct Petrus del Campo confirms the existence of a 12-year-old son, named Francesc, with the silversmith Ausias Manresa. Logically, then, an architect with that name was alive at the end of the 15th century. In my opinion, it should be interpreted that this Peter is the son of the mason who died in 1460, and that Francesc must have been his grandson.

54. Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: 157 and doc. A. 26 (AMVlr, 34, f. 28v).

55. Regarding his mastership in Valencia, see Zaragozá, Gómez-Ferrer 2007: 70-75; the mastership at Tortosa was documented for the first time in Vidal 2005.

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MONASTICISM IN THE KINGDOMS OF LEON AND CASTILE (NINTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES): AN APPROACH TO ITS SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente
Universidad de Valladolid
carlosmanuel.reglero@uva.es
ORCID: orcid.org/0000-0002-3361-1815

Resumen

El desarrollo de los estudios sobre el monacato en la Corona de Castilla en el último medio siglo ha renovado nuestra visión del mismo con la incorporación de nuevos temas y la reconsideración de los anteriores. El análisis de los dominios monásticos, la relación entre monasterios y sociedad, la creación y gestión de la memoria, el monacato femenino o las formas de vida monástica y las reglas y costumbres han atraído la atención de los historiadores. Ello ha permitido mejorar nuestro conoci-miento de la economía, de la sociedad o de la cultura en general, así como de los monasterios y las comunidades que los ocupaban.

Palabras clave:
monacato, Castilla, León, Edad Media.

Abstract

The development of studies concerning monasticism in the Kingdom of Castile over the last half century has changed our perception of monasticism through the in-corporation of new topics and a reconsideration of the old ones. The analysis of monastic domains, the relation between monasteries and society, the creation and management of memory, female monasticism and other forms of monastic life, and its rules and customs have all attracted the interest of historians. This has improved our knowledge of the economy, the society and the culture of the time, both in ge-neral and with regard to the monasteries and their communities.

Key words:
monasticism, Castile, Leon, Middle Ages.

The historiography of the monasteries of the western Iberian kingdoms has made great strides in recent decades, taking advantage of the fact that a very important part of the documentation up to the 13th century is of monastic origin[1]. This paper aims to offer a summary of the state of the art, recapitulate the main achievements made with regard to the Kingdoms of Leon and Castile and provide an overview of the perspectives of analysis that are opening up in this field[2]. Our knowledge of medieval monasticism in Leon and Castile, along with our understanding of its economic dimension, its overlapping with society, its relationship with the different powers and the implantation of the different religious orders, has improved considerably in recent decades. However, there are still many pending issues and new perspectives for analysis are opening up along the lines of the recent syntheses at the Western European level (Vanderputten 2020; Beach, Cochelin 2020). The dimensions of this article necessarily limit the number of bibliographical references and narrow its scope to the 8th to 13th centuries, without addressing the late Middle Ages. To a large extent, it is a reflection that is based on a previous, more extensive synthesis (Reglero 2021).

Early medieval monasticism (8th-11th centuries)

Documentation dating from the 9th-11th centuries mentions a very large number of monasteries, for which data barely exist. This lack of data has led to the belief that they were in fact churches, self-styled as monasteries to elude the power of the bishop. In the second half of the 7th century, the *Regla Común (*Common Rule) denounced the proliferation of false monasteries, founded by rich owners, peasants or clergy, who sought to obtain alms from the faithful and other economic or legal advantages (Díaz Martínez 1987, 2011). Beyond the issue of the devotional sincerity of these monks and nuns, small monastic communities predominated, communities whose existence lasted not more than one or two generations, coinciding with the lives of their promotors. This fact did not preclude the existence of relatively large monasteries, including San Millán de Suso in La Rioja, the Monastery of Cardeña in Castile, the monasteries of Samos and Celanova in Galicia and that of Sahagún in Leon, all of which boasted major patrimonies and maintained their activity over centuries (García de Cortázar 2007b).

Historians of the 1970s and 1980s paid particular attention to the domains of the main monasteries of this period. Following the model of José Ángel García de

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2. This state of the art summary has been carried out at the request of the ARDIT-Cultures Medievals association, the organizer of the virtual seminar "Església, Litúrgia i religiositat a l'edat mitjana" (Church, Liturgy and religiosity in the Middle Ages) (2021).

Cortázar for San Millán de la Cogolla (García de Cortázar 1969), the monastery was used as a vantage point from which early medieval economy and society could be observed (Reglero 2010). This is how monastic "repopulation" was studied, referring to the exploitation of the territory by or under the direction of monastic communities, which exerted or directed these land seizures (García de Cortázar 2007a). The accumulation of estates in the hands of the great monasteries, mainly through donations, but also through purchases and exchanges, provided insight into the development of large extensions of property, with domains that were mainly made up of farmland, vineyards, pastures and mountains, but also included mills and orchards. On the other hand, a spatial analysis of domains such as that of Sahagún suggested the development of transhumance routes from the Cantabrian mountain range to the River Duero (Mínguez 1980). Finally, the increase in monastic power over the peasants was linked to the genesis of feudalism in the western kingdoms of the peninsula (García de Cortázar 1989).

In the following decades the focus shifted to the relations between monasteries and society. Kings, counts, and other members of the aristocracy founded monasteries over which they exercised close control for generations. These are known as family or family-owned monasteries, whose property was transmitted through hereditary distributions, like other types of property. The "heirs" had the right to be buried in the cemeteries of said monasteries, to profess in their communities before dying, to be cared for in their old age or poverty, and to eat and stay there with their retinues. In addition, they managed the properties of the monastery, which gave them the ability to dispose of their assets and income in case of need (Martínez Sopena 1991, 2003, 2007).

Some aristocratic women, especially after being widowed, consecrated themselves to God as a "servant of Christ" or *Deo vota*. Without professing in a monastery as nuns, they governed the family monasteries both economically and socially (Montenegro, Castillo 2011). The prominent role played by these women contrasts with the scarcity of actual female monasteries, although several of these family monasteries, along with other small monasteries, had a dual character, or, at least, allowed some women to live together with them, under the guidance of the abbot (Reglero 2021: 113-124).

Not all monasteries belonged to the aristocracy; some large monasteries governed themselves under the protection of the King of Leon or the Count of Castile, while others, smaller in size, were linked to peasant communities or depended on a bishop. This did not prevent them from being immersed in a web of social relations that linked them to both the powerful and the local population, regardless of their wealth (García Cacho 2017).

The conciliar canons, and specifically those of the Visigothic Church, placed the monasteries under the jurisdiction of the bishops, while protecting the monks and their properties from episcopal abuses and giving them autonomy in the economic

field (Díaz Martínez 1987: 53-60). Few studies have analysed these relationships in the Early Middle Ages, and those that have been carried out focus on the fact that the monasteries of the time, unlike the churches, were not subject to episcopal administration. Notwithstanding, it must be emphasized that this did not prevent the monks from turning to these prelates for the consecration of their churches and abbots, for their profession as monks, converts or confessors, or for the resolution of disputes that confronted them with other clerics or monasteries (Carbajo Serrano 1988: 93-97). On the other hand, the bishops were also owners of some monasteries, the numbers of which increased throughout the 11th century. Despite the scarcity of sources, this is a topic that merits more attention.

The separation between the secular and regular clergy was not as great as it would be after the Gregorian Reforms. It was by no means uncommon that a bishop should previously have been the abbot of a monastery, as had happened in the Visigothic period. In the 11th century, the Navarrese dynasty promoted the system of bishop-abbots in Navarre and Castile: the king promoted an abbot to a nearby episcopal seat, which he governed without abandoning his previous office, taking advantage of the economic resources of the monastery (Fortún 2013). In some sees, the cathedral clergy were able to live in a community under a rule or the bishop organized the parishes –understood as the ancient parish, which comprised numerous locations and was the equivalent of later archdeaconships or archpriestships, rather than the classical parish – under the government of abbots, who governed the monk-clerics, as described by the Council of Coyanza of 1055, which prescribed the rule of Saint Benedict or Saint Isidoro (García Gallo 1951; Isla 2006: 93-130). In addition, it seems that the monasteries and their monks were able to take responsibility for the pastoral care of nearby local communities.

Early medieval monasteries in the kingdom of Leon did not follow a single rule nor were there dominant customs. Two themes have especially attracted the attention of scholars: pact-based monasticism and the diffusion – or rather, the non-implementation – of the Benedictine rule. The monastic Pact, which remained attached to the Common Rule, entailed the acceptance of the authority of the abbot by the monks, but also the limitation of this authority through the establishment of appeal mechanisms for grievances. Monks were able to protest or question an abbot's decisions both within the monastery (to the deans or provosts) and externally (to the assembly of local abbots led by the bishop who lived "under the rule" or even to a count) (Isla 1992: 32-35). This exceptional measure is documented in some covenants from Galicia, with an earlier chronology, and from Castile, dating from somewhat later. However, most monastic covenants are simply documents in which the monks accepted the authority of the abbot, which was a necessary requirement for their consecration by the bishop. The monastic pact has been linked to the survival of a more locally-based social organisation, with "egalitarian" peasant societies, which are thought to have been disappearing in these centuries in the face of increasing hierarchisation (Bishko 1984; Isla 1992: 17-40).

The problem of the diffusion of the Rule of Saint Benedict derives from a comparison with the Carolingian world, including Catalonia, where, according to the traditional view, since the reform of Benedict of Aniane, the rule had been followed in a general way and in accordance with the prescriptions of the Carolingian councils. This is in contrast to Asturian-Leonese monasticism, where it would not have been established until the arrival of the Cluniacs in the last quarter of the 11th century (Linage 1973a). This view has been nuanced in recent years. On the one hand, the diversity within Carolingian and post-Carolingian monasticism has been highlighted, which has been interpreted in different ways, challenging the image of a common Benedictine ideal. On the other hand, our growing knowledge regarding Benedictine rule in the western lands of Hispania, mainly in Rioja and Castile, but also in Leon and Galicia, has also been influential. From the middle of the 10th century, mentions of this rule multiply, and a rule for a monastery of nuns is even preserved, based on that of Saint Benedict, as well as commentaries on it by Abbot Esmaragdo (Linage 1973b). This does not mean that the Carolingian interpretation of the rule was followed, much less the Cluniac one, but it does mean that the Benedictine rule had already acquired considerable prestige and that some of its provisions were accepted (Reglero 2018).

Life in the monastery was marked by what is called the mixed rule, i.e. by rules taken from different texts of the monastic tradition. The abbot could rely on a code in which various rules or writings on monastic life were copied, and he consulted them to solve the problems that arose in everyday life (Velázquez Soriano 2006). Reference is also made to the rule that the abbot had to present to the bishop upon his consecration. This subject merits attention, since it is possible that it was a pact of acceptance by the monks of the monastery or brief extracts from different rules or pious texts that the community undertook to follow.

The role of monasteries as centres of written culture is a cliché in historiography and, as such, there is some truth in it, but also an element of exaggeration. The most important monasteries undoubtedly hosted prominent libraries. These libraries could hold dozens of books, mostly liturgical, but there were also some works of literature, theology, law and history. Virgil's *Aeneid*, which is mentioned in some donations, and other texts by classical authors, such as Horace or Cicero, were copied to improve the Latin grammar that had been learnt from the manuals of Donatus and Priscian. Collections of canons, such as the *Collectio Hispana*, which contained the ecumenical councils, those of Toledo and others from Gaul and Africa, as well as the *Liber Iudiciorum* (Book of Judgments), a compilation of the laws of the Visigothic monarchy, were kept for practical purposes, although they were sometimes copied in rich, illuminated, prestigious codices, such as the *Albeldense* and the *Emilianense*. The works of the great ecclesiastical scholars of the kingdom of Toledo, such as Isidore of Seville or Ildefonso of Toledo, constituted the fundamental part of the non-liturgical collections, together with works from the Latin monastic tradition,

such as the *Moralia* or commentaries on the *Book of Job* and the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, or the texts of John Cassian, Augustine of Hippo or Smaragdus, all of which were included among the so-called "spiritual" books, as they were intended for monks to read and meditate on in order to deepen in their Christian and ascetic life (Díaz y Díaz 1983, 2007).

As far as the copying of books in the monastery's *scriptoria* was concerned, this was a task aimed at supplying both the monastery's own library and that of other monasteries or cathedrals, including commissions from travellers. It was a difficult task, in which the master worked with his disciple, with the support of the person in charge of preparing the parchments, as shown in a miniature of the *Beato de Tábara* (Yarza Luaces 2003: 193-194). These were not large copying workshops with dozens of monks at work, but rather a highly specialised task for which few were trained (Fernández Flórez 2016: 32-38). Nor were monks renowned for the production of original works. Even the best known of these works, the *Commentaries on the Apocalypse* by Beatus of Liébana, is, for the most part, a compilation of earlier texts (González Echegaray 1995). A study of the codices of this period provides the best insight into the monastic culture of the period.

The arrival of the large religious orders

The introduction of Benedictine monasticism of Cluniac inspiration took place starting in the second quarter of the 11th century, thanks to the support of Sancho III the Great of Navarre. This shift entailed profound changes both in the liturgy and in attire. Intercessory prayer for the deceased was also reinforced. The initial expansion, which was based on the adaptation of Cluny customs by Abbot Paterno of San Juan de la Peña, eventually reached the lands of La Rioja and Castile (Reglero 2018). Later, Alfonso VI donated the monastery of San Isidro de Dueñas to Cluny (1073), which was the first of a small network of Cluniac priories in the Kingdom of Leon that were formed over the following decades thanks to the support of the royal family and part of the aristocracy (Reglero 2008). Other abbeys, though not being subordinate to Cluny, gradually accepted its customs and, with them, its way of understanding Benedictine monasticism. This process culminated in the mid-12th century, when the penetration of Cistercian monasticism led the Benedictines to opt for one or another model of interpreting the rule. At that time, in Leon and Castile, both the original customs of Cluny and those adapted in Sahagún began to spread (Mattoso 1968: 120-129; Reglero 2012: 144-146).

Cistercian expansion also had the support of the royal family and, in particular, of certain aristocratic families, including the Traba and Haro families. It was the Traba family who donated Sobrado to Clairvaux (1142), the first Hispanic Cistercian monastery (Alonso Álvarez 2007a). Over the following decades, the Cistercian Order gradually took over former family monasteries belonging to the aristocracy,

where its monks settled, as well as founding new monasteries. In addition, there were groups of Benedictine monks or ascetic communities who accepted Cistercian customs, such as those at Valparaíso and Carracedo. At the end of the 13th century, there were almost forty male Cistercian monasteries in the Kingdom of Castile, which testifies to the extension of the spread of this order (Cocheril 1964; Pérez Embid 1986; Baury 2019). It should be noted, however, that many of these monasteries were founded or affiliated from the end of the 12th century onwards, when the Order had foregone the most extreme manifestations of its initial asceticism.

The Premonstratensian order, which followed the Augustinian rule but shared organisational and ascetic characteristics with the Cistercians, was less widespread and many of its monasteries were of little importance. In this case, it was the Counts of Urgel and the Lara family who gave them the most support. The rule of Saint Augustine was followed, with varying degrees of severity, by very different groups of clerics: monasteries or canon houses affiliated to congregations such as Saint Rufus of Avignon or the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, some cathedral councils and collegiate churches - although the majority tended to secularise - and clerics who assisted at hospitals (Claustro 2009; Calvo Gómez 2016). Among these, the abbey and hospital of Benevívere stands out for its originality, looking to Augustinian and Cistercian elements when drawing up its own book of customs (1179), a text that merits careful study (Fernández 1962).

During the 12th century, especially in its second half, there was an initial expansion of female monasticism. This mostly followed the Benedictine rule, but, while traditional monasticism dominated in Galicia with the nuns of the "*negra toca*" (black headdress), in the Duero valley and La Rioja, a Cistercian-inspired monasticism prevailed, often under the leadership of the Monastery of las Huelgas in Burgos, which ended up being accepted in the Order (Coelho 2006; Baury 2012; Pérez Rodríguez 2019). At the end of the 13th century, there were as many female as male Cistercian monasteries in the Kingdom of Castile, adding those of the black nuns, those dependent on the military orders and some pre-monstratensian monasteries of lesser importance and duration (Mujeres 2017).

During the 13th century, and especially in its first half, the establishment of Cistercian monasteries, both male and female, continued, but the mendicant orders accounted for most of the new foundations. As in other kingdoms, the convents of the Franciscan Friars Minor or Franciscans were more numerous than those of the Preachers or Dominicans, tripling them in the case of the male friars. The success of the Franciscans is reflected in the creation of three provinces in Spain in 1239, two of them (Castile and Santiago) in the Crown of Castile; although the Dominicans did not separate Aragon from Castile until around 1300 (Rucquoi 1996, García Serrano 1997; García Oro 2006). On the other hand, almost all the female mendicant convents in the 13th century were communities of Damianite, Minorite or Poor Clare nuns, due to the reluctance of the Dominicans to take charge of their care

(Graña 1994, 2013, 2014). It was precisely the incorporation into the Dominicans of the Monastery of the Dueñas of Zamora that caused a major scandal, illustrating the internal tensions in the community between the philodominic and the philoepiscopal factions (Linehan 1999). In fact, a significant number of the first female mendicant monasteries emerged from pre-existing communities of women, who accepted or were induced to live under such rules.

The scarcity of reliable information on male mendicants in the first half of the 13th century, due to their refusal to own property, comes to an end in the middle of the century. Papal privileges and the construction of new monasteries in more central locations led to conflicts with the secular clergy or with the already-established canons and monks: the long-standing dispute between the canons of the cathedral and the Dominicans in Burgos is a good example of this (Linehan 1992). By then, they had become a fundamental part of urban life, having seen their initial radical poverty reduced and having gained the support of the powerful, ranging from the royal family to the urban oligarchy.

As happened with the early Middle Ages, those monastic domains attracted a great deal of attention for almost two decades. The process of formation of the great Benedictine domains was studied, which made it possible to observe the differences between the Black Monks and the Cistercians. The chronology of the expansion of the former occupied the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century; while from that time onwards, donations went mainly to the latter and, to a lesser extent, to the Premonstratensians. On the other hand, Benedictines of Cluniac influence benefited from the donation of a large number of churches (the source of long and bitter conflicts with the bishops over the payment of tithes, the appointment of clergy and ecclesiastical jurisdiction), as well as rights over the men in the corresponding villages and some towns (Sahagún, Oña, Santo Domingo de Silos), mirroring the lordships of the nobility. In contrast, the Cistercians created extensive farms (Pérez Embid 1986; Andrade 1997; Reglero 2010). Although all the historical studies on this period dealt with management and administration systems in greater or lesser depth, information regarding this field is scarce and heterogeneous: the system of obediences and offices in the Benedictine monasteries varies from one monastery to another, and the accounts of the holdings are missing. Perhaps new studies of the monasteries of an order or region as a whole will shed light on this aspect. In any case, the Benedictine domains of the Black Monks were already showing clear signs of crisis in the second half of the 13th century, when the Cistercians were still holding their own (Reglero 2010).

Our knowledge of the monastic community of the time is still deficient. Beyond the names and economic activity of the abbots and monastery officials, little is known about the monks themselves (Edades 2019). Occasionally a member of a prominent noble family appears as a monk or friar, but this is not the norm. There are also few reports regarding the observance of the rule and customs, apart from

visits by the Cluniac priories at the end of the 13th century, which denounce the relaxation of cloister discipline (Pérez Celada 1998; Reglero 2014: 205-213). The lists of witnesses show the presence around the monks of groups of clerics and chaplains, servants of different ranks and lay people linked to the monastery through economic and spiritual ties. At times, the monastery was in dispute with the councils and the bishop over these *familiares*, discussing whether or not they were affected by the interdict, whether they should be taxed or exempt, and, ultimately, to what extent they were part of the monastic community (Reglero 2008: 438-455, 553-558). This is another subject pending systematic research.

The study of the relationship between the monastery and the laity has focused on the aristocracy. The foundation of a monastery or its handing over to a religious order, the donations made by a noble family over several generations, the disputes and agreements about the possession of villages and estates, the choice of its cemetery as a burial place and agreements regarding prayers for the souls of the deceased are recurrent issues (Martínez Sopena 2003, 2007; Monasterios 2014). The theme of aristocratic patronage has highlighted the role of female devotees in the administration and protection of family monasteries. The *Deo votae* of the High Middle Ages became, in the 11th-13th centuries, the *dominae* of the *Infantado* of Leon or the *ladies* of the Cistercian monasteries, whether they were the *infantas* of the Huelgas de Burgos or the women of the Haro family in their respective foundations (Martin 2006; Baury 2012; Cayrol 2014, Reglero 2016). In any case, ties of patronage were often diluted (Baury 2012: 109-111), either due to the desire of the monks to maintain their freedom, or because of the tendency of kings and rich men to found their own monastery for their burial, so that family pantheons are scarce and used more by the secondary members of the family than by the main ones, sometimes called "heads of the lineage". The choice of monasteries as burial places, whether in the cemetery, the cloister or the church, has attracted considerable attention, especially from art historians concerned both with the artistic value of the tombs and the funerary chapels or churches built to house them (Senra 2006; Alonso Álvarez 2007b; Monasterios 2014). However, although the formation of family "pantheons" and their limits is a well-known subject with respect to the royal family, this aspect requires systematisation in the case of the aristocracy (Alonso Álvarez 2012; Baury 2012: 77-80, 99-100).

Other evidence of the "memory" of the deceased, and of their liturgical commemoration, are the inscriptions in necrologies and obituaries, which are scarcer in monasteries than in cathedrals, which is why there are fewer studies available. Nevertheless, there are examples, such as those the monasteries of San Zoilo of Carrión or San Isidoro of Leon, where both the monks or canons and the benefactors and familiars of the monastery are listed (Neiske, Reglero 2007; Reglero 2020, 2022). The aim of these codices was to preserve the memory of the deceased for the purpose of intercessory prayer, which gradually became the focus of those who

founded an anniversary or chaplaincy, especially from the end of the 12th century onwards. Endowment documents usually specify the type and frequency of the liturgy requested or agreed upon with the monks, as well as the properties or rents that would fund it. These donations gave rise to important disputes regarding the burial of some of the deceased between the monasteries of monks, nuns and friars on the one hand, and the cathedrals and parish churches on the other. Specific cases have been studied (LINEHAN 1992), but a more systematic overview is lacking.

These conflicts, which spread throughout Latin Christendom, ended up being resolved by the papacy and his delegated judges, on the basis of specific privileges granted to the orders or monasteries and conciliar provisions. The relationship between the monasteries of Leon and the papacy began with the granting of "Roman liberty" by Gregory VII to Sahagún (1083). Over the next two centuries, this and another small group of monasteries obtained various privileges, especially exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, as well as indulgences in their favour. Cluniacs, Cistercians and Mendicants enjoyed similar privileges, which they tried to apply to their monasteries. Research on the Galician Cistercians has shown the limits of such exemptions and the maintenance, in many cases, of episcopal power (RENZI 2014).

The relationship with the papacy intensified during the 13th century. From the IV Lateran Council (1215), the system of Benedictine congregations and visits to monasteries were promoted. These congregations were created in the Kingdom of Castile, as was the case in the provinces of Toledo and Santiago, but they had an ephemeral and rather inactive existence (ZARAGOZA 1997; PÉREZ RODRÍGUEZ 2019: 241-245). The Pope and his delegates commissioned visits, even to the exempt monasteries, but the monasteries resisted losing their independence. These relations are not as well known as those between the Pope and his delegates and the bishops and cathedrals.

In the cultural sphere, the attention paid to the creation of historical accounts by the great Benedictine monasteries such as San Millán de la Cogolla, Cardeña, Sahagún or Arlanza is particularly noteworthy. The creation of pseudo-historical legends linking each monastery to a king, count or hero (the Cid in Cardeña) aimed to attract royal protection when the shift of devotion towards the new orders, aristocratic aggressiveness and falling incomes threatened their status (GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR 2003a, 2003b). There are also many monastic chronicles, such as those of the monastery of Sahagún, which provide their view of the conflict with the town's bourgeoisie (GARCÍA, REGLERO 2014). Another, more traditional strategy was the development of hagiography, writings on the lives and miracles of their patron saints, both to serve as an example to their monks and to attract alms from the faithful (PÉREZ EMBID 2002; GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR 2016). The image of Saint Dominic of Silos as liberator of the Christians held captive by the Muslims in the 13th century is a good example of the latter.

The writing of these texts may have been the work of clerics or monks from outside the original community, as exemplified by Gonzalo de Berceo, who wrote the lives, in romance, of Saint Millán and Saint Domingo de Silos. This cleric from La Rioja had grown up in San Millán de la Cogolla, but was not a monk (Baños 1997: xxix-xxxv). In contrast, it was Pero Marín, a monk at Santo Domingo de Silos, who compiled the miracles of the monastery's patron saint (Antón 1988). Authorship and patronage are difficult to disentangle.

The appearance of the mendicant orders also generated academic interest. These friars dominated the cultural panorama of the 13th century at monastic centres, creating their own network of teaching, coordinated with university studies. This relegated monasteries such as San Isidoro of Leon to a secondary role, despite it having been an important centre in the 12th and first third of the 13th century, associated with figures such as Martinino of Leon (Santo Martinino 1987) and Lucas de Tuy, and, very probably, the author (Ordoño Sisnándiz?) of the *Historia Legionense*, otherwise known as *Silense* (Martin 2018).

Finally, it should be noted that studies from the field of Art History usually gather documentary information on the monasteries before focusing on artistic aspects (architecture, sculpture, painting). Their chronology is usually broad, as can be seen in the books on the Premonstratensians of Castile and León (López 1997) or the Cistercians of Valladolid (García Flores 2010). In recent years, special attention has been paid to the relationship between the materiality of the monastery and the liturgy, as in the case of a recent thesis on Dominican convents, although the 13th century in Castile is poorly documented (Pérez Vidal 2021).

Thus, although the last few decades have seen a surge in the study of monasteries and monasticism in the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, there remain many unresolved issues. It is necessary to go deeper into themes such as their relationship with the bishops and the papacy, female monasticism, the codices linked to these monasteries, their liturgy, and small early medieval non-aristocratic monasteries. It would also be interesting to compare regional realities or the monasteries of different orders to identify similarities and differences in different fields, beyond their institutional affiliation. Finally, it would also be worthwhile to explore urban monasticism before the mendicants, and compare it with the latter, expand our knowledge of the administration of monastic patrimony, and that of the familiars and "brothers" who were linked to the monastery in life and death.

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

Marcello Angheben

Université de Poitiers

marcello.angheben@univ-poitiers.fr

ORCID: 0000-0002-7522-1815

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 inciensan 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

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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. Amonng these quotations are those in Adrian I, *Epistolae*, XII, ed. Dümmler 1899: 20; and Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinorum 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 choirs[7]. 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

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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. Pichery 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

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8. Amalarius of Metz, *Canonis missae interpretatio*, 1-8; and *Liber officialis*, III, 21, 8, ed. Hanssens 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. Vogüé 1980: 202-203.

11. Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis*, III, 26, 1, Hanssens 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]

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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 font 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.

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17. Amalarius of Metz, *Missae expositionis geminus codex. Codex alter*, 5, ed. Hanssens 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 Esterri 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 íncipit 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]

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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 divinorum 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 Clarvaux, *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

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26. Amalarius o Metz, *Canonis missae interpretatio*, 40, ed. Hanssens 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. Hanssens 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 *Te 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

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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

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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

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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 Guerric 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 Nicolaism. 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,

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39. JOHN CRYSOSTOM, *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]

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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

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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.

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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).

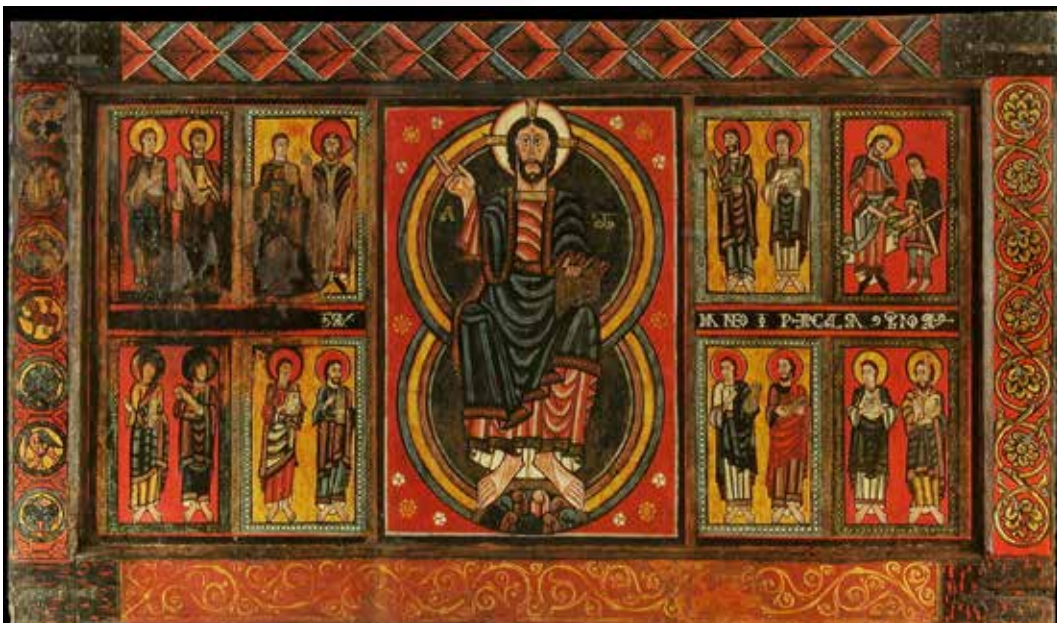Fig. 9. Watercolour by Carlo Annoni, paintings from the Galliano apse.

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).

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

THE ICONOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF HELL AS A SOUL-DEVOURER IN MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY

Marta Bermúdez Cordero
Dpto. Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad de Sevilla
e-mail: mabercor@hotmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-5311-025X

Álvaro Gómez Peña
Dpto. Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad de Sevilla
e-mail: agomez19@us.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-2926-5243

Resumen

Entre las creencias escatológicas del cristianismo medieval europeo destaca la imagen del infierno como un monstruo de grandes fauces que engulle las almas de los condenados. En estrecha relación con este tema, en ocasiones los difuntos fueron representados siendo cocinados en grandes calderos como parte de su martirio. Para tratar de explicar el porqué de esta iconografía, algunos autores han comparado estas imágenes con las referencias veterotestamentarias acerca de Leviatán y también del *She'ol* hebreo como ente que se alimenta de los pecadores. Junto a esta propuesta, otra parte de los investigadores ha hecho lo propio tomando como referentes a varios seres híbridos documentados durante la Antigüedad en diferentes tradiciones religiosas mediterráneas y próximo-orientales. En la presente publicación se pone de relieve que tanto las referencias hebreas como las del resto del ámbito mediterráneo son expresiones religiosas de una misma idea ampliamente extendida: la muerte como entidad devoradora de amplias fauces, añadiéndose nuevos ejemplos iconográficos anteriores al cambio de era.

Palabras clave:
iconografía, simbolismo religioso, arqueología mediterránea, cristianismo medieval, seres híbridos, infierno

Abstract

In Medieval Europe, Hell was usually represented as a devouring monster. Also, the souls of the deceased were represented as being cooked in large cauldrons, to be later ingested by the devil and his assistants. In order to explain the origin of this view, some authors have compared these images with the Old Testament references to the Leviathan and the Hebrew *She'ol* as a place that devours dead people. Along with this proposal, other researchers have done the same considering several hybrid beings documented during Antiquity in different Mediterranean and Near Eastern religious traditions that engulfed the deceased. This publication emphasizes that both the Hebrew references and those of the rest of the Mediterranean area are religious expressions of the same idea: death as a devouring entity with vast jaws, including new iconographic elements dated to before the Christian era.

Keywords:
iconography, religious symbolism, Mediterranean archaeology, Medieval Christianism, hybrid beings, hell

1. Introduction

From the Middle Ages to the present day, Christian eschatology has frequently depicted the image of hell as a zoomorphic beast with hybrid features, whose function was to devour the souls of the damned. The first iconographic examples of this theme emerged in Britain following the monastic reformation of the 10th century, although they were initially restricted to the private domain. Due to the chronological proximity of these artistic productions with the turn of the millennium, several authors have proposed that the emergence of the 'mouth of hell' could be due to a Western preoccupation with millenarianism and the apocalyptic consequences associated with this event (GULDAN 1969).

Despite this early appearance, it was not until the 13th century, in connection with profound reforms of the European religious mentality, that the image of this devouring hell became more complex. From this time onwards, the vision began to spread throughout the West, entering public spaces for devotional purposes (Schmidt 1995: 13-14, 85-87). For this purpose, a multi-headed underworld was sometimes depicted in which the souls of the deceased were subjected to a variety of punishments and torments, depending on the gravity of the sins for which they had been damned (SCHMIDT 1995: 13-14; BASCHET 1983: 29; RODRÍGUEZ BARRAL 2010: 15; QUÍRICO 2011: 134-135).

Although these new iconographic elements may be related to scenes and images of the underworld that predate the change of era, more presentist proposals have attempted to relate hell as a fiery, smoky place with metal torture tools and constant condemnation of humans to the incipient iron and steel industry of the time, and the negative view that was held of it in more traditionalist circles (GARDINER 1993: 28-29). To these situations must be added the use of its iconography in pagan contexts from the Renaissance period onwards, sometimes with an ironic overtone (SCHMIDT 1995: 179-187).

Finally, since the end of the 19th century, researchers have been increasingly interested in the iconographic origin of the mouth of hell. In some cases, they have tried to link it to biblical references, while on other occasions they have tried to go beyond these limitations and connect it with the religious imagery of other religious traditions of the same period or even predating the Hebrew tradition itself.

Within the first trend, some of the earliest hypotheses sought to link the devouring figure to passages in the Gospel of Nicodemus (WILDRIDGE 1899) and to the serpent in the Apocalypse of John (WALL 1904), while more recent proposals have attempted to do the same by drawing on Old Testament references to the Hebrew *She'ol* as the place that engulfs the deceased, together with other devouring beasts mentioned in biblical passages, such as the Leviathan, the lion, and the Great Fish of Jonah (*vid.* SCHMIDT 1995: 32-39; GÓMEZ 2016: 407).

Alongside these ideas, attention has been drawn to a wide range of hybrid creatures known from the Near East to the western Mediterranean that played the role

of devourers of the dead. Among the most frequently cited are the Egyptian beast Ammit, the Canaanite god of the underworld Mot, the Greek gorgoneion, and various beasts in Islamic literature. (*vid.* Le Goff 1981: 33; Baltrušaitis 1994: 45-46; Link 1995: 91; Gómez 2016: 55; García Arranz 2019: 53).

In view of the different hypotheses put forward in the historiographical debate regarding the iconographic origin of the mouth of hell, the path taken by pre-Christian archaeology can clarify some ideas and provide new data concerning its beginnings. To this end, in the following sections, a comparison will be made between the details represented in medieval scenes and those of the near-eastern and Mediterranean worlds in pre-Christian times, from Mesopotamia to the Iberian Peninsula.

2. The image of devouring hell in medieval christianity and its associated elements

The variety of representations of hell in medieval times has been analysed on several occasions in recent decades (*vid.* Schmidt 1995; Gómez 2009; García Arranz 2019; Barratt, Soltes, Tchitcherine, Zakula, Ziolkowski 2022). From a historiographical point of view, Schmidt's (1995) study is noteworthy for its clarification of its iconographic evolution. It is clear from their analysis that the image of hell gained in complexity and nuances since its textual origin as a pit through the acquisition of zoomorphic features, its assimilation with Satan as a devouring being and its association with a cauldron, all the way to its visualisation as a multi-headed devouring entity. For the purposes of this section, it is not only the appearance of Hell as a monster with an insatiable appetite that will be relevant, but also the details of its anatomy and the elements that accompany its figure, as many of these were already common in the representations of the infernal monsters that devour the souls of the deceased in various parts of the Mediterranean in pre-Christian times.

As has just been pointed out, due to the voracious character attributed to the underworld in this period, its image was assimilated with that of a beast with zoomorphic features typical of real or imaginary creatures with a great capacity to devour, such as lions, serpents and dragons (*vid.* Durliat 1984: 75; Schmidt 1995: 32-39; Gómez 2009: 274; 2016: 407; Di Sciacca 2019: 56). There is evidence of this both in the iconographic and extra-biblical textual parallels, analysed in the following section, and in several biblical passages to which we will return later. This is the case of the Psalms (21,13-14) and the first Epistle of St. Peter (5,8) (Durliat 1984: 75). It is also found with numerous heads (Le Don 1979: 363; Baschet 1983: 16; Schmidt 1995: 79). On the other hand, it is possible to observe the devourer of souls both horizontally, with the damned heading towards it on foot, and vertically, with the deceased on this occasion falling into its maw (Schmidt 1995: 127-130; Gómez 2009: 275; García Arranz 2019: 55).

Meanwhile, when it appears contextualised, Hell as a devouring entity is usually inserted into iconographies of the Last Judgement. This occurs especially in the sculptural programmes depicted in the tympanums of the main European cathedrals throughout the Romanesque period. In this case, the monster is normally placed with its jaws open in the lower part of the ensemble, which is where the damned usually head towards, accompanied by demons who inflict various punishments and tortures on them (Fig. 1) (Gilabert 2009: 327; Gonzalez 2015: 280; García Arranz 2019: 63). Similar redemptive scenes can also be found in religious books and altarpieces. In the first case, the scene in the *Bedford Book of Hours* (ca. 1410-1430), where the souls of the saved, who are ascending, are separated from those of the damned, who are pushed by grotesque beings towards the mouth of hell, located in the lower register of the image, is particularly well known. (Ward and Steeds 2007: 141) (Fig. 2). Another example can be found in the Zaragoza altarpiece of *The Resurrection of the Holy Sepulchre* (14th century), where Christ, accompanied by the angels, can again be seen extending his arm towards the mouth of hell, trying to save various characters from the Old Testament, while several monsters try to close the entrance to the underworld with chains and by applying their own weight onto the upper jaw of the beast (Fig. 3).

The mouth of hell inside the Earth, the farthest place from the celestial spheres, and therefore the most imperfect of all, is also, though less frequently, featured in general cosmographic schemes (Kappler 1986: 33; García Arranz 2019: 74). An example of this can be found in the *Image du Monde* by Gossuin de Metz (13th century), where we can see how the mouth of hell is located in the centre, while the *Maiestas Domini* presides over the image in the upper part of the register (Fig. 4).

On other occasions, the ravenous monster, with its gaping maw, is not meant to represent the entrance to hell, but rather dwells within it, either alone or in the company of other hybrid creatures that help it or feed alongside it. While this has caused some authors to question the identity of the main character as a "devouring hell" (García Arranz 2019: 55-61) (Fig. 5), the data provided in later sections allow us to confirm this identification, since both the Old Testament parallels and those from other peoples of the Mediterranean and the Near East during Antiquity bear clear parallels with the medieval images.

Around the 15th century, the image of the mouth of hell underwent a process of complexification which led to the introduction of Satan (Baschet 1983: 33-36). In some cases, the inclusion of this figure in Christian iconography did not imply the suppression/substitution of the mouth. Instead, Satan acted as another castigator in the underworld alongside the devouring monster (Schmidt 1995: 88-89) (Fig. 6). In other examples, however, it is the satanic figure itself that dominates the scene, devouring the deceased in what appears to be an attribution of the mouth's functions ("eating the damned") and characteristics ("multiple faces") by the demon (Wards y Steeds 2007: 10).

Another element that appears in the medieval period that is related to the mouth of hell is the cauldron, interpreted by some authors as the inclusion of everyday elements in the geography of the afterlife (García Arranz 2019: 56), and which must be understood as the survival of the representation of objects of torture that already appeared in the iconography of the underworld in pre-Christian times. In general, this object is portrayed as being heated by the flames of hell and containing the souls of the damned within it (Fig. 7).

The role of doors, locks and keys should also be highlighted (Le Don 1979: 363; Baschet 1983: 16). These can be seen depicted, among other places, in the Winchester Psalter (13th century), where several kings and ecclesiastics who have been condemned undergo suffering while the archangel Michael attempts to open the gates of hell (Fig. 8).

Finally, in addition to these manifestations, mention should also be made of the Tarasque, a mythological creature who, according to tradition, lived in Tarascon (Provence, France). Its physical appearance consisted of a lion-like head with the ears of a horse, the torso of an ox, a scaly carapace and a tail ending in the shape of a scorpion's sting. Legend has it that it was a devastating creature, which is why the king of Tarascon had tried unsuccessfully to kill it. However, the presence of Saint Martha in the area meant that the animal was finally tamed by her after she cast an incantation on it through her prayers. Despite having tamed the beast, the neighbours did not trust it, so they ended up killing it at night. When Saint Martha heard what had happened, she preached a sermon that prompted many of the inhabitants of the region to convert to Christianity. Beyond this narrative, the Tarasque has enjoyed enormous popularity in the western Mediterranean region, being carried in procession during the Corpus Christi festival from medieval times to the present day. Despite the different forms that this figure has taken, the hybrid aspect has been a constant theme, a characteristic that has often been accompanied by the representation of breasts under her belly, as well as the image of monstrous beings that seem to be assisting her (Fig. 9). Likewise, under her front legs and between her jaws we can see the heads and legs of victims whom she devours as punishment. Finally, to complete the link with the legend of Saint Martha, the figure of this holy woman is sometimes seen on the beast as a sign of domination, although in other cases other characters are depicted on her back.

3. Main hypotheses on the origin of the image of devouring hell

Researchers who have sought pre-Christian antecedents to the iconography of the devouring hell have been divided between those who accept exclusively Old Testament influences and those who do likewise and add to these a wide array of devouring monsters that inhabited the underworld throughout the Mediterranean.

Although it is true that the two proposals are not contradictory, this study has opted to maintain the separation between these two approaches for the sake of clarifying the historiographical review.

3. 1. Biblical References

Attention has traditionally been drawn to a number of devouring beasts mentioned in biblical passages, such as the lion, the dragon, the Great Fish of Jonah, Leviathan and even the personification of *She'ol*. All of these have been proposed as Old Testament references for the shaping of the medieval image of the mouth of hell, although the last two are the most closely connected to the iconographic details visible in medieval times, as will be seen below.

3. 1.1 Lion

The image of the lion was clearly an ambivalent one in the ancient world. Its physical power and fierce character have served both to link it with the protection of the dead, appearing for example as a guardian in tombs and funerary monuments throughout the Mediterranean, and to associate it with the dangers of death. The latter possibility includes the biblical allusions to his harmful and devouring character: "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, like a roaring lion, prowls around seeking whom he may devour". (1 PETER:5,8). For that reason, his figure has been linked to the medieval iconography of the mouth of hell (DURLIAT 1984: 75; SCHMIDT 1995: 32-39; GÓMEZ 2009: 274; 2016: 407; GONZALEZ 2015: 22; DI SCIACCA 2019: 56).

3. 1.2 Dragon

As in the case of the lion, a possible dragon influence has also been noted (SCHMIDT 1995: 41-42, 32; GÓMEZ 2009: 274; 2016: 407; GARCÍA ARRANZ 2019: 51). This relationship is once again based on a number of biblical passages that allude to its evil nature:

> And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her son was caught up unto God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared by God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days. And there was a great battle in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon and his angels fought, but they prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth; and his angels were cast out with him.
> (Revelation. 12:5-9).

Similarly, there are other notable non-Old Testament references, such as the Vision of Saint Perpetua (3rd century), which mentions the existence of a dragon under the stairs leading to heaven, which in contrast to the latter could represent hell (Schmidt 1995: 42); and the Homilies of Macarius, in which a dragon that devours souls is mentioned (Di Sciacca 2019: 81).

3.1.3 The great fish of Jonah[1]

On the other hand, the image of the Great Fish in the biblical account of Jonah has been cited as a possible influence on the medieval devouring hell (Jonah. 1-2), associating its belly with hell as damnation (Gilabert 2009: 327; Gómez 2009: 274; 2016: 407). This is supported by the relationship established by ancient authors such as Cyprian and Tertullian between the mouth of a great fish and the gateway to hell (*vid.* Schmidt 1995: 52-53; Gonzalez 2015: 280).[2]

3.1.4 Leviathan

The Leviathan shares a similar appearance and function as other mythological creatures, such as Rahab, Tiamat and Lotan (*vid.* Gutmann 1968: 224; Díez Macho 1984: 132; Chevalier 1986: 642; Uehlinger 1999: 512; Gilabert 2009: 327; Santos Carretero 2014: 123-125; García Arranz 2019: 47-48), all of which are sea creatures with the form of a reptile. It is precisely from the latter that its name and meaning seem to be derived. Hence, while Lotan is first mentioned in an Ugaritic text as *ltn*, meaning "twisted" (Uehlinger 1999: 511), Leviathan is connected with the Hebrew word *liwyatha*, meaning "coiled", and its figure is therefore often associated with the image of a snake (Wikander 2017: 116-117; García Arranz 2019: 48). Regarding the presence of this monster in the Old Testament, there are several passages in which it is mentioned (Job 3:8; Job 41:1-22; Psalm 74:14; Psalm 104:26; Isaiah 27:1):

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1. We are grateful to one of the proofreaders for the following clarification, which we expressly collect in this footnote: "While it is true that in the collective imagination the creature that appears in Chapters 1 and 2 of Jonah has been associated with a whale, the Hebrew text never specifically identifies it as this animal, the word for which in modern Hebrew is precisely וְתִיוּל ("leviathan"). The biblical text refers to the creature as גדולדג /dag gadol/ big fish".

2. We would once again like to refer to the information provided by another of the evaluators on the medieval resonance that the Great Fish, this time in the form of a whale, had as a symbol of soul-devouring hell: "For consideration, the moral interpretation of the whale/cetus in the *Physiologus* and bestiaries might be of interest. There, its open mouth attracts fishes/sinners to it through a desirable sweet smell; while it is a different scene and context altogether, some texts do contain a comparison to the Devil's mouth and jaw of hell: the poem *The Whale* in the 10th cent. Exeter Book, a fragment of an Old English *Physiologus*: "Then he [the Devil] attacks those who have listened to him in life / And taken his teachings eagerly to heart. / After the life- slaughter, he snaps shut/ His grim jaws, the gates of hell. / No one inside can ever escape— / No exit, no return. Just like small fish, / Such seafarers cannot escape from the whale's maw." (*The Whale,* vv. 82-88 in Craig Williamson transl., *The Complete Old English Poems,* 2017: 511)".

Will you draw out the leviathan with a hook, or with a rope will you hold his tongue? Who will strip him of the outside of his garment? Who will penetrate his double armour? Who will open the doors of his jaws? The rows of his teeth are frightening. The glory of his clothing is rows of strong shields, closely sealed. One is joined to the other, so that the wind cannot enter between them. Glued one to the other; they are locked together and cannot be separated. Their sneezes give flashes of light, and their eyes are like the eyelids of dawn. Out of their mouths come flames; sparks of fire leap forth. From their nostrils comes smoke, as from a boiling pot or cauldron. His breath kindles the coals, and out of his mouth go forth flames. In his neck is strength, and despondency is before him.
(Job 41:1-22).

Taken together, these biblical passages depict Leviathan as a sea monster with enormous jaws that embodies the dangers of hell by spewing fire from its cauldron-like mouth. Based on the details described in these passages, many researchers have suggested that the origin of the medieval Mouth of Hell may lie in the figure of Leviathan (*vid.* Sheingorn 1985: 28; Schmidt 1995: 32; Barral 2003: 202; Ward y Steeds 2007: 91; Gilabert 2009: 327; Ruíz Gallegos 2010: 218; García García 2011: 7; Quírico 2011: 5; García Arranz 2019: 51). This hypothesis is also supported in part by the parallels established in medieval times by authors such as St. Jerome and St. Gregory the Great, who assimilated this mythological being with the figure of the devil and by analogy with hell (Sheingorn 1992: 6; García Arranz 2019: 46-50).

3.1.5 She'ol

Finally, several authors have proposed a link between the mouth of hell and the Old Testament underworld (Le Goff 1981: 40; Bernstein 1993: 140-145; Schmidt 1995: 32; Gilabert 2009: 327; Gómez 2016: 54). The expression most commonly used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to him is *She'ol*, šĕʾ ôl, a term for which there is no consensus concerning its translation (*vid.* Tromp 1969: 22; Podella 1991: 145; Johnston 2002: 73-79). This is a proper noun of feminine gender that is mentioned sixty-six times in the Old Testament and was even used as a linguistic borrowing in other Semitic languages such as Syriac and Ethiopian (Barstad 1999: 768). Although it is frequently used in the Bible, its use is restricted to the description of particular eschatological beliefs, and consequently it does not appear in legal texts of an institutional character (Johnston 2002: 71-72).

Its meaning possesses a broad semantic range. Among the many references to its character, *She'ol* is described on numerous occasions as a chthonic devouring entity (Ex 15:12; Numbers 16:30-33; Numbers 26:10; Deut 11:6; Isaiah 5:14; Isaiah, 28:15; Hab 2:5; Psalm 106:17; Psalm 141:7; Prov 1:12), but also as the region where the corpses of the deceased are found (Gen 37:35; Prov 5:5), as a refuge or resting place (Job 3:17-18; Job 14:13), as a place of transition at times connected to primordial

waters (Gen 1:6; Amos 9:2; Jon 2:2-3; I Sam 2:6; II Sam, 22:5-6; Psalm 139:8) and as a place of exclusion from which God cannot be praised (Psalm 6:5; Isa 38:18) (*vid.* Tromp 1969; Spronk 1986; Podella 1991: 148-150; Johnston 2002: 69-124; Gómez 2016: 54-57).

3.2. Extra-biblical references

In parallel to the hypotheses concerning the biblical influences on the iconography of the medieval Mouth of Hell, there are also numerous authors who have associated its figure with that of a group of devouring monsters with enormous jaws that inhabit the underworld and that exist in various cultures contemporaneous to the Hebraic tradition. A review of their physical and contextual characteristics shows that the features associated with Leviathan and She'ol, among others, are by no means exclusive to the Old Testament tradition, but are the result of a set of beliefs that were present for centuries in the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean (*vid.* Gómez Peña, Bermúdez Cordero 2022).[3] Due to the close relationships that are visible between all these figures of "devouring death", it is not presumptuous to suggest that we are dealing with homologous manifestations (branches) of the same eschatology (common trunk) that probably has its origins (roots) at least in the recent prehistory of the Mediterranean.

3.2.1. Devouring death in Ancient Egypt

Of all the traditions, the most extensively analysed by certain medievalists has been the Egyptian (García Arranz 2019: 53; Link 1995: 90; Gómez 2009: 274; 2016: 55; Le Goff 1981: 33; Gonzalez 2015: 36-37). This interest is probably largely due to the importance and renown of Ancient Egypt outside academic Egyptological circles, as well as the large number of iconographic references to its eschatological beliefs. Although on some occasions attempts have been made to highlight the links between the devouring inferno and the figures of Apophis and Sekhmet (*vid.* Gómez 2016: 182), the closest link can be made with the figure of Ammit, *'m-mwt*, "the devourer of the dead". This is a hybrid monster commonly depicted throughout the first centuries with the head of a crocodile, the body of a feline and the hindquarters of a hippopotamus, whose function was to devour the souls of the departed who had not been righteous in thought and demeanour during their lifetime.

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3. In addition to the extra-biblical references analysed here, some authors have drawn attention to possible influences on this theme in the diffusion through Alexandria to the West of the Chinese *T'ao-t'ieh* masks and in the Indian sculptures of *Kirttimukha* (Link 1995: 91), in Norse mythology through the monstrous figure with enormous jaws that the wolf Fenrir sometimes presents after the Christian invasions of Anglo-Saxon territories in the 10th century (Sheingorn 1992: 7; Quírico 2011: 5; García Arranz 2019: 53) and in the Muslim literature in circulation in this same century (Gómez 2009: 407; Rodríguez Barral 2010: 8).

The oldest references attesting to the existence of this devouring beast are found in a series of funerary formulas compiled by Lepsius in 1842 under the title 'The Book of the Dead'. (*vid.* Allen 1974; Hornung 1999; Smith 2009; Taylor 2010). Within this mythological compendium we must highlight the famous Chapter 125, which narrates how in the Hall of the Two Truths the heart of the deceased was weighed on a scale together with a feather from Maat. If the two were in balance, the deceased could continue his journey to the afterlife, but if the feather weighed more than the heart, the deceased would disappear forever and be swallowed up by a hybrid creature.

As mentioned above, this hybrid being was known in Egyptian texts as 'the devourer of the dead', emphasising its voracious and deadly nature, both towards the deceased and towards injustice itself. The latter was especially recurrent from the Greco-Roman period onwards, since Ammit was considered to be able to liberate the deceased from the evil deeds they had committed in life by feeding on the negative aspects of their existence (Seeber 1976: 168-170).

Regarding its iconographic characteristics, the devourer is usually represented as depicted in papyrus BM 9901 or as drawn in TT341 (Dynasty XIX, *ca.* 1295-1186 B.C.) (Seeber 1976: 163-164): with a crocodile head, feline forequarters and hippopotamus hindquarters (Fig. 10). In all instances, these animals were greatly feared in the Nilotic world due to their ability to kill. Over the course of time, from the 21st Dynasty until the Greco-Roman period (*vid.* Seeber 1976; Smith 2009; Venit 2016), the image of the devourer evolved, taking on multiple forms and variants. In most cases, Ammit was depicted as a proto-feline, nearly always with an open jaw and a protruding tongue, painted in golden or yellowish tones, perched on her hindquarters, and with a tail sometimes like that of a lioness and at other times like that of a pachyderm. On the other hand, in order to emphasise her feminine character, she was depicted from the 21st Dynasty onwards with breasts on her belly. With regard to her attributes, she can be seen with feathers or knives in her forelegs, as well as with the heads of the dead in her claws (Seeber 1976: 164-171). Other elements present in medieval Christian iconography can also be seen in the scenes in which Ammit is depicted. This is the case of the scales for weighing the deeds of the dead and, in the Greco-Roman period, keys, which probably allowed the tomb to be secured against evil spirits or to open the gates of heaven for the deceased (Figs. 11-12).

3.2.2 Devouring Death in the Mesopotamian Tradition

A devouring beast similar to the Egyptian Ammit is also found in other literary references from the Near East, such as the so-called *Underworld vision of an Assyrian Prince* (ZA 43) (Von Soden 1936; Livingstone 1989: 71-74). This story tells of the dreamt descent into the underworld of prince Kummay or Kummâ and his introduction to the rulers of the region, Nergal and Namtartu. Of interest is the description in this account of various hybrid beings, most of which have tripartite divisions,

displaying the heads, arms and legs of different animals. Mentions include an evil genie, *alluhappu* (?), a defender of evil, *Humuṭ-tabal* the boatman, a ghost, an evil spirit, Šulak (?), profanity, *Nedu* as the gatekeeper to the underworld, complete evil and *Muhra* (?), among others. The fact that they all inhabit the underworld makes it easy to draw parallels with Egyptian eschatology. These characters are in the company of Death, *mu-ú-ˈtu* (ZA 43 r3), a term that shares the same root as *ʿm-mwt*. Death is described as having a dragon's head and human hands. The shape of its feet is unknown, since no such fragment has been preserved, although it is possible to establish a formal parallel with the amulets of *Had*ā*tu*, which may have displayed scorpions on its lower limbs.

3.2.3 Devouring death in Canaanite eschatology

Canaanite literary tradition, both in the Ugaritic period (Tromp 1969: 6-19; Xella 1991) and in the Phoenician-Punic period (Ribichini 1991), provides us with a relatively in-depth analysis of its religious eschatology. An example of this can be found in the tablets from Ras Shamra (Syria) (*vid.* Olmo Lete 1995: 45-222), on which the god of the underworld, Mot or Mōtu (*vid.* Healey 1999), is mentioned, the root of which is directly related to the Egyptian term for death, *mwt*, to the Akkadian *mu-ú-ˈtu*, and to equivalent terms used in Hebrew and Aramaic. There are also accounts of Mot in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* by Eusebius of Cesarea from *ca.* 314-324 AD, in which the Phoenicians are said to refer to him as Death and Pluto (*PE* 1.10.34). The god Mot, like Baal, was one of the sons of 'Ilu, the 'father of mankind'. As the deity of death and of the barrenness of the earth, he reigned in the underworld.

> So, then, set your faces / towards his city 'Muddy', / (for) a pool is the throne of his seat, / a mire the land of his possession. / And take heed, heralds divine: / do not come (too) close to the divine Mot, / lest he put you like a lamb in his mouth, / like a suckling pig at the opening of his oesophagus for you be shredded. (KTU 1.4 VIII 10-20; based on a translation by Olmo Lete 1998: 91).

This deity is often depicted as having large jaws, a voracious appetite and lips that reach from the earth to the heavens (a detail often associated with devouring death in the Hebrew tradition), from which Anath had to rescue his brother Baal in the Underworld:

> Message from the divine Mot, / Word from His beloved, the Adalid: / - My appetite, yes, is the appetite of the steppe lion, / or, if you like, the shark's (dwelling) desire in the sea; / or (the craving for) the waterhole sought by the wild bulls, / (from) the spring (that craves), yes, the herd of does. / Or, (stated) bluntly, / my appetite devours in droves. / And it is true that with two hands I devour / and that there are seven servings on my plate / and that my glass mixes (wine) in abundance. / So invite

me, Ba'al, together with my brothers and sisters, / convoke me, Hadad, together with my kinsmen / to eat viands with my brothers / and to drink wine with my kindred. / Have you perhaps forgotten, Baal, / that I am truly going to destroy you, / that I am [going to crush (?)]you? / Though you crushed [Leviathan, the fleeing serpent], / you put an end [to the torturous snake], / the [seven-headed] Tyrant, / (and) shrivelled (and) [loosened the heavens] / [as the girdle of] your [tunic], / [I will devour you by the handful, / in two cubit lengths. / Come, then, descend into the jaws of the divine Mot, / to the mouth of His beloved, the Adalide!] (KTU 1.5 I 13-35; based on the translation by Olmo Lete 1998: 102-103).

[When Mot shall put one lip to the earth and one to heaven, / [when he shall extend] [his] tongue to the stars, / [Baal] shall enter into his bowels, / into his mouth he shall fall when the olive tree is withered, / the produce of the earth and the fruit of the trees. (KTU 1.5 II 2-6; based on the translation by Olmo Lete 1998: 104).

Closely related to the Canaanite world are the above-mentioned amulets of Hadātu. These are two pieces dated by palaeographic criteria to around the 7th-6th centuries BC (*vid.* López Pardo 2009: 49-51, with associated bibliography) and found in northern Syria, a region conquered by the Assyrians in the 9th century BC. The first (Fig. 13) is an example of a figure with a human body, a dragon's head and scorpion's feet, similar to the character previously described by Kummay. This figure is devouring an individual, of whom only the legs can be seen, and next to whom there is an inscription referring to ocular attributes, which has been interpreted as a possible spell against the evil eye. The second amulet (Fig. 14) is a plaque measuring 8.5 x 7 cm on which two hybrid monsters are depicted, together with inscriptions in Aramaic that are difficult to interpret. In the lower part there is a hybrid being engulfing a figure of whom only the legs are visible, with a dragon's head and a scorpion's tail, the latter being identified by its segments and sting. The upper part of the figure is engraved with a sphinx with outstretched wings. Meanwhile, on the verso, an anthropomorphic figure is depicted with attributes that link it to warrior gods/monarchs.

3.2.4 Devouring death in the Celtic world

Given that the iconography of devouring hell in medieval Christian eschatology is concentrated mainly in Europe, research into the origin of this figure has focused on possible Indo-European precedents. The figure known as the tarasque of Noves has been particularly prominent in this regard. This is a sculpture dating from around the 2nd century BC that depicts a beast sitting on its hind legs while devouring a man. For this reason, some specialists have suggested that this mythological hybrid might be the precedent of the large-jawed Avernus that has been depicted in medieval Christian art (Didron 1907: 115; Durliat 1984: 77).

In addition to focusing on this mythological being, protohistorical studies associated with the Celtic tradition have, since the 19th century, drawn attention to a series of texts and items of Indo-European origin in which a devouring monster inhabiting the underworld can be observed. In general, its iconography has tended to be linked to that of a wolf, though other authors have drawn attention to its possible identification with lions, bears and wild boars, whose function is to devour the dead (Reinach 1904: 221-224; MacCulloch 1911: 218; Benoit 1946; 1948a; 1948b: 182-183; 1955; Renard 1949: 257-258; Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 2011: 55).

Examples of this androphagous predator can be found in a number of locations on the European regions in which the Celtic tradition was prevalent. Among other items, this figure can be found in the Archaeological Museum of Arlon (France), where the figure of a she-wolf, whose breasts denote a feminine nature and which is devouring the figure of a human, has been preserved in an ashlar (Fig. 15, 1). Parallels can also be drawn with the tarasque of Noves (Fig. 15, 2), a bronze figure in Oxford (England) (Fig. 15, 3), that of Fouqueure (France) (Fig. 15, 4), and one of the plaques on a vase in Gundestrup (Denmark), which depicts a multi-headed mythological creature preparing to devour a human by pouncing on it (Fig. 15, 5).

3.2.5 The devourer in Greek tradition

As in previous examples, the Greek tradition has been proposed as an eschatological precedent for the mouth of hell in medieval Christianity through the case of the Gorgoneion (López de Ocariz y Alzola 1992: 260; Link 1995: 90; Baltrušaitis 1994: 45-46; Gómez 2009: 275; Gonzalez 2015: 293; García Arranz 2019: 53). This is a representation of the head of a Gorgon, a mythological being linked to the infernal world and noted for its fearsome attributes, such as a large mouth and sharp teeth (Aguirre 1998: 22-23). This figure of the Gorgoneion has been associated in particular with images depicting a multi-headed devouring inferno. Baltrušaitis (1994: 45) established its origin in the iconography of a scarab from Tharros (4th century BC), which depicts a large mouth formed by the union of two faces. The iconography of the Greek Gorgoneion may therefore have been familiar to medieval Western culture and may have influenced the creation of the iconography of the Mouth of Hell through Greco-Roman glyptics. This is not the only possibility, however, given that its image may also have been transmitted from inventories such as the one carried out by Matthieu Paris at the abbey of Saint Albans (Baltrušaitis 1994: 45-46; Gómez 2009: 275). Likewise, in the case of the triple-headed devouring hell, authors such as Guldan (1969) and Gómez (2016: 55) agree in drawing parallels with the figure of Cerberus, the dog that guards the entrance to Hell according to Greek mythology and which has three heads; finally, it should be noted that parallels have also been drawn within the classical world to the figure of *Ketos*, a sea monster with the body of a serpent (Di Sciacca 2019: 53), and to the Roman anthropophagus Orcus (Gómez 2009: 274; 2016: 182 and 407).

Beyond these proposals, the only reference within the Greek sphere that can be equated on the basis of its characteristics with the devouring monster described in the preceding sections is to be found in the depiction provided by Pausanias (2nd century AD) of the representation of Hades created by Polygnotus (5th century BC) in the city of Delphi. In it, the following is said of Eurynomus, *Εὐρύνομο*:

> "*The second painting: Odysseus' descent into Hades. The Paidosos of Catane. Examples of piety towards the gods. The demon Eurynomus.*
>
> In Polygnotus' painting, next to the man who mistreated his father and therefore endures suffering in Hades, there is another man who is being punished for having committed sacrilege. The woman who punishes him knows, among other things, about poisons, much to the misfortune of men.
>
> Men still had an extraordinary interest in the piety of the gods, as the Athenians clearly demonstrated when they seized the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse without removing any of the offerings and leaving the Syracusan priest as their guardian. The Mede Datis also demonstrated it by the words he spoke to the Delians, and by his deeds since, having found an image of Apollo on a Phoenician ship, he returned it to the Tanagra people at Delium. Such was the honour given to deities by all those of that time, and for that reason Polygnotus painted the one who had committed sacrilege.
>
> Above what I have already spoken about, there is Eurynomus. The Delphic guides say that Eurynomus is a demon of Hades and that he eats the flesh of corpses, leaving only their bones. Homer's poem about Odysseus, the so-called *Miniad* and the *Nostos,* while citing Hades and the horrors there, do not mention any demon named Eurynomus. Nevertheless, I will describe what Eurynomus looked like and what figure he was painted as: his skin is between blue and black, like that of flies resting on flesh, he bares his teeth, he is seated and a vulture's skin is spread out beneath him". (Paus. X, 28, 7; translation based on Herrero Ingelmo 2008: 430-431).

The information provided by Pausanias in this fragment is revealing, since the appearance of this demon is completely unknown to him, and he had to turn to the guides at Delphi to explain its function. The strangeness of his figure probably led him to consult other references to Hades in Greek tradition without success. Despite the scant information provided, the characteristics attributed to other previous devourers and their spheres of action make it possible to connect them to Eurynomus. Among other details, Polygnotus depicts the figure in Hades with the punished individuals, and Pausanias describes it as having teeth (a sign that its jaws are open), as being seated (probably on its hindquarters), as being black to blue in colour (perhaps he cannot identify it with any known animal because of its hybrid character) and as feeding on the flesh of the dead until only their bones are left.

On the basis of this description, some specialists on protohistory have tried to relate it to the depiction of the Celtic she-wolf, especially given the colours attributed

to her and the Greco-Roman tradition in which the text of Pausanias is inserted (Almagro-Gorbea, Lorrio 2011: 57).

3.2.6 The devourer in pre-Roman and Roman-Republican Iberia

With regard to the presence of the devourer in the protohistory of the Iberian Peninsula, several publications since the mid-20th century have attempted to relate this figure to various Ibero-Roman sculptures. In all cases, this profile has been linked to the androphagous wolves of the Indo-European tradition mentioned earlier. However, despite this convergence of criteria, there have been nuances regarding the interpretation of the reason for these representations.

These parallels were first posited by French promo-historians such as Renard and Benoit (Renard 1947; Benoit 1948a; 1948b; 1949; 1955), for whom there was a heterogeneous group of sculptures that could be linked to such animals as wolves and lions. These include examples such as the 'bear' of Porcuna (Cordoba), as well as the 'monsters' of Cordoba, Baena (Cordoba), Balazote (Albacete) and Bocairente (Valencia). These are beasts that tend to be female, have hybrid features, and a negative character linked to the afterlife, which is reflected in the eating of the deceased to symbolise their passage to the afterworld. Moreover, since some of these sculptures have human heads clutched in their claws, both researchers linked these sculptural ensembles to the Celtic tradition of the *têtes coupées* (Renard 1947: 312-317; Benoit 1949: 139-145; 1955). More recently, authors such as Blanco Freijeiro (1960: 40-42), Chapa (1986: 181-183), Olmos (2004: 62-64), and Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio (2011: 55-57) have also established parallels between diverse sculptures from the south of the Iberian Peninsula and the Celtic and Indo-European world by denoting their shared devouring nature.

In addition to these sculptures, the 'banquet relief' belonging to a funerary monument at Pozo Moro (Chinchilla de Montearagón, Albacete) (5th century BC) is also worth mentioning. It was discovered by chance in 1971 by a farmer, and the owner of the land informed the National Archaeological Museum of the findings, and it was subsequently excavated in 1973. Since its first reports, Pozo Moro has become one of the most important archaeological sites of the protohistory of the Iberian Peninsula, being interpreted at first by Almagro-Gorbea as the tomb of an Iberian monarch whose *bustum* and funerary offerings were found at the site (Almagro-Gorbea 1976; 1978; 1983).

With regard to its symbolic interpretation, Almagro-Gorbea has proposed from the first interpretations that the tower-like monument represented the *nefesh* of the deceased, who would have continued to be present among the living (Almagro-Gorbea 1983: 189). In relation to this idea, the iconography of the friezes at Pozo Moro might reflect scenes from a cult of sacred kingship. However, the apparent variety and complexity of the reliefs, as well as their fragmented state, made it difficult to clearly relate some scenes to others from a single literary parallel, be it Mediter-

ranean or Near Eastern (Almagro-Gorbea 1978: 267). In line with this hypothetical cult of sacred kingship, Blázquez attempted to discern specific scenes from the myth of Gilgamesh and the Baal cycle in the friezes (Blázquez 1979). Olmos took the same line, considering that Pozo Moro reflected the legitimisation of the ruling dynasty, visible through the cult of an ancestor heroised after his death (Olmos 1996). This hypothesis, among the many that could be mentioned here, was followed by that of López Pardo, who also interpreted the monument from a funerary point of view, but on this occasion in a Canaanite sense (López Pardo 2006).

Concerning the scene of the 'banquet relief' (Fig. 16), its surface depicts several monstrous beings, among which the one on the far left stands out in terms of its size and physical characteristics. The fact that the figure is enthroned, has two heads and a voracious appetite and is about to devour a human being closely connects it to the devouring beings analysed previously, and more specifically with the information provided regarding Mot. In the section dedicated to this Canaanite divinity, it was stated that he reigned in a swamp and his throne stood in a pool of water (KTU 1.4 VIII 10-20; and KTU 1.6 VI 23-32) and devoured its victims with two hands (KTU 1.5 I 13-35). These details are consistent with those shown in Pozo Moro. On the one hand, a double-headed monster is devouring humans and boars with both hands, while on the other he is seated on a throne perched on a floor of aquatic plants, which would denote the marshy nature of the setting. Finally, the appearance of cauldrons over flames to torture the deceased, who, by the way, are considerably smaller than Mot and his servants, is of particular interest due to the subject matter analysed in previous sections.

4. By way of conclusion

The preceding sections have analysed the iconography of hell as a devouring entity in medieval Europe and its possible precedents in the Mediterranean in the pre-Christian period. As regards the first of these two issues, the underworld was depicted as a huge devouring head aided by demons who sometimes trapped the souls of the dead inside and at other times cooked them in large cauldrons. In other cases, Satan was also depicted, although not necessarily as a substitute for these monstrous jaws. As to the second issue, researchers have been debating for decades over whether the iconography of the medieval hellmouth is exclusively biblical or extra-biblical in inspiration. In the case of the former, the most likely figures are those of Leviathan and the Hebrew *She'ol* as the place that devours the dead, or a mixture of both, as found in the Old Testament. In the case of the latter, antecedents should be sought both within and outwith biblical passages, with Egyptian, Near Eastern and even Indo-European devourers being proposed as direct precedents.

With this information in mind, the commonalities that closely connect biblical and extra-biblical monsters have been analysed in depth. This review, based on

Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Canaanite, Hebrew and Greek texts, as well as Nilotic, Assyrian, Celtic and Iberian iconographies, allows us to propose that, in pre-Christian times, an eschatological *koine* existed between the Mediterranean and the Mesopotamian world that held a belief in a devouring hybrid that engulfed the souls of the deceased who had been wicked during their lifetimes. The linguistic root *mt* that some of these monsters share in their names, the fusion of various animals clearly pernicious to humans, the bodies of the damned being swallowed, the proximity of the cauldrons used to torment the dead and the representations of demonic helpers torturing their souls are transversal elements that make up a common iconographic language for the majority of the regions studied here. Most importantly for the present analysis, these characteristics allow us to draw clear parallels with medieval representations of devouring hell.

Bearing in mind both proposals, this paper posits that medieval Christian imagery iconographically adapted many of the details and elements of the She'ol and, especially, the Leviathan. Nevertheless, it is no less true that the Hebrew references in pre-Christian times were based on devouring monsters typical of Mediterranean and near-eastern regions, and more closely on Phoenician-Punic eschatology. In support of this idea, numerous Old Testament passages allude to the express prohibition of the observance of the cults and beliefs of neighbouring populations, especially those of Canaanite origin. This is visible, for example, in the exhortations made by the Hebrew leaders to (1) destroy the Canaanite cults by demolishing their altars, cutting down the *asherim*, tearing down the *maṣebot*, and burning the carvings of their gods (Hosea. 13:1-3; Deut. 7:5; Deut. 16:21-22; 1Kings 14:22-23) (Gómez Peña 2018); (2) to end the practice of public and private lacerations to mourn the death of the deceased, with explicit mention of the Phoenicians among other peoples (Lev. 19:28; 21:5; Deut. 14:1; 1Kings 18:17-40) (Escacena Carrasco, Gómez Peña 2015); and (3) put an end to the custom of performing rituals such as the opening of the mouth to purify cult images, allowing the essence of the deities to be expressed through them (Jer. 10:1-15; Hab. 2:17-20; Psalms. 115:2-9; 135:13-21) (Gómez Peña, Carranza Peco 2020; 2021).

To all these ties with Canaanite religious traditions, we should add the image of a devouring hell that has close parallels with the two monsters *par excellence* in the Phoenician imaginary. On the one hand, Mot, the personification of evil linked to the earth and the abyss and, on the other, Lotan, the embodiment of the dangers of the sea in the form of an underwater beast. Both creatures have clear parallels with the figures of Behemoth (Job 40:15-24) and Leviathan (Job 41: 1-22), beings created by God to demonstrate his omnipotence and his ability to capture them single-handedly, but at the same time for which he seeks a hero who can tame them and thus demonstrate his superhuman status (as Baal precisely attempts to do by seeking to demonstrate that he is a match for the gods in the Baalic mythical cycle by fighting against Lotan and Mot, killing the former while having to flee from the

latter). Much has been written about Leviathan, highlighting the fact that he shares a consonant root and attributions with Lotan. As for Behemoth, his enormous size, his voracious appetite, his relationship with shadow and damp earth, and his physical characteristics place him remarkably close to the Canaanite Mot (*vid.* supra), so much so that on occasions the doubts generated by his identification with a specific animal (*vid.* Day 1985: 75-87) have led some authors to see in him a hybrid being, a quality from which the term 'beast', *bĕhēmot* (plural of *bĕhēmâ*) may well derive, although all of the references to Behemoth in these biblical passages refer to him in the masculine singular given his individual character (*vid.* Batto 1999: 165-169).

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Ilustraciones

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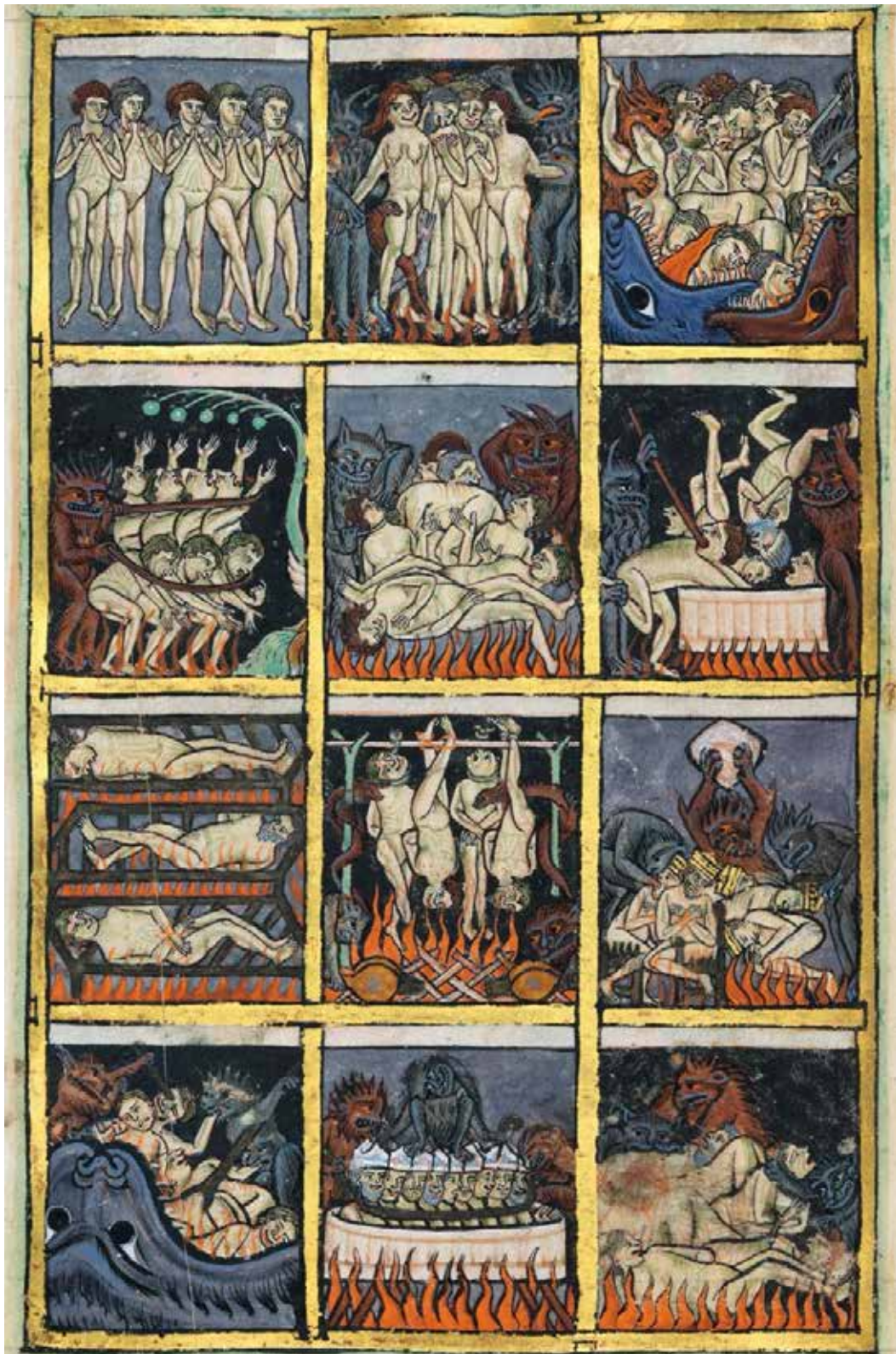
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Fig. 10 - Classical depiction of Ammit in a scene of the weighing of the heart. Ani Papyrus (Dyn. XIX) ca. 1275 BC (British Museum, EA 10470/3) (Taylor 2010: 221).

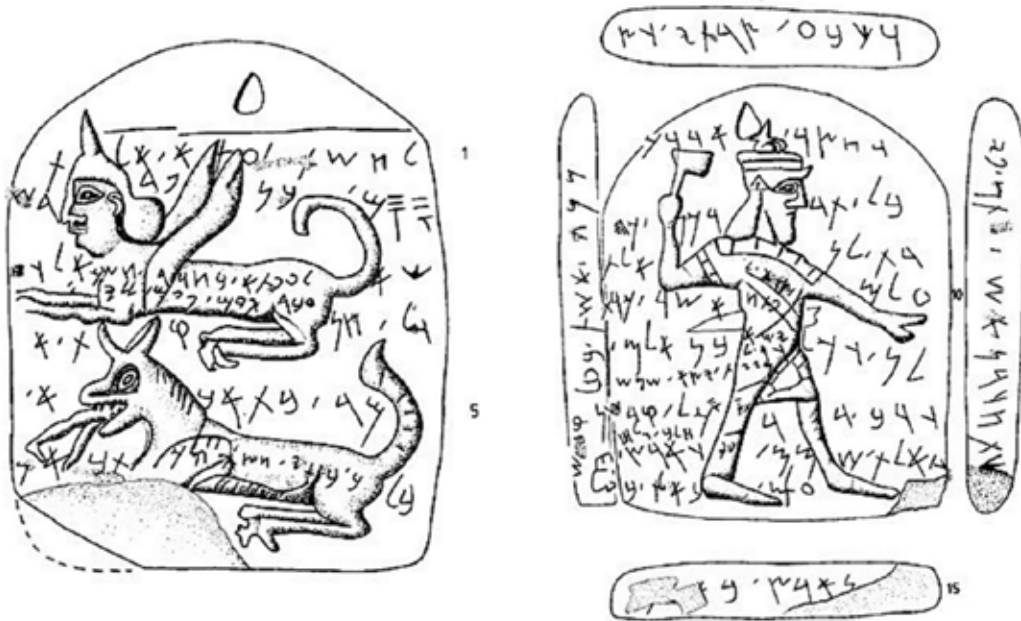Fig. 11 - Amulet no. 1 from Arslan Tash (7th-6th century BC) (López Pardo 2009: 52).

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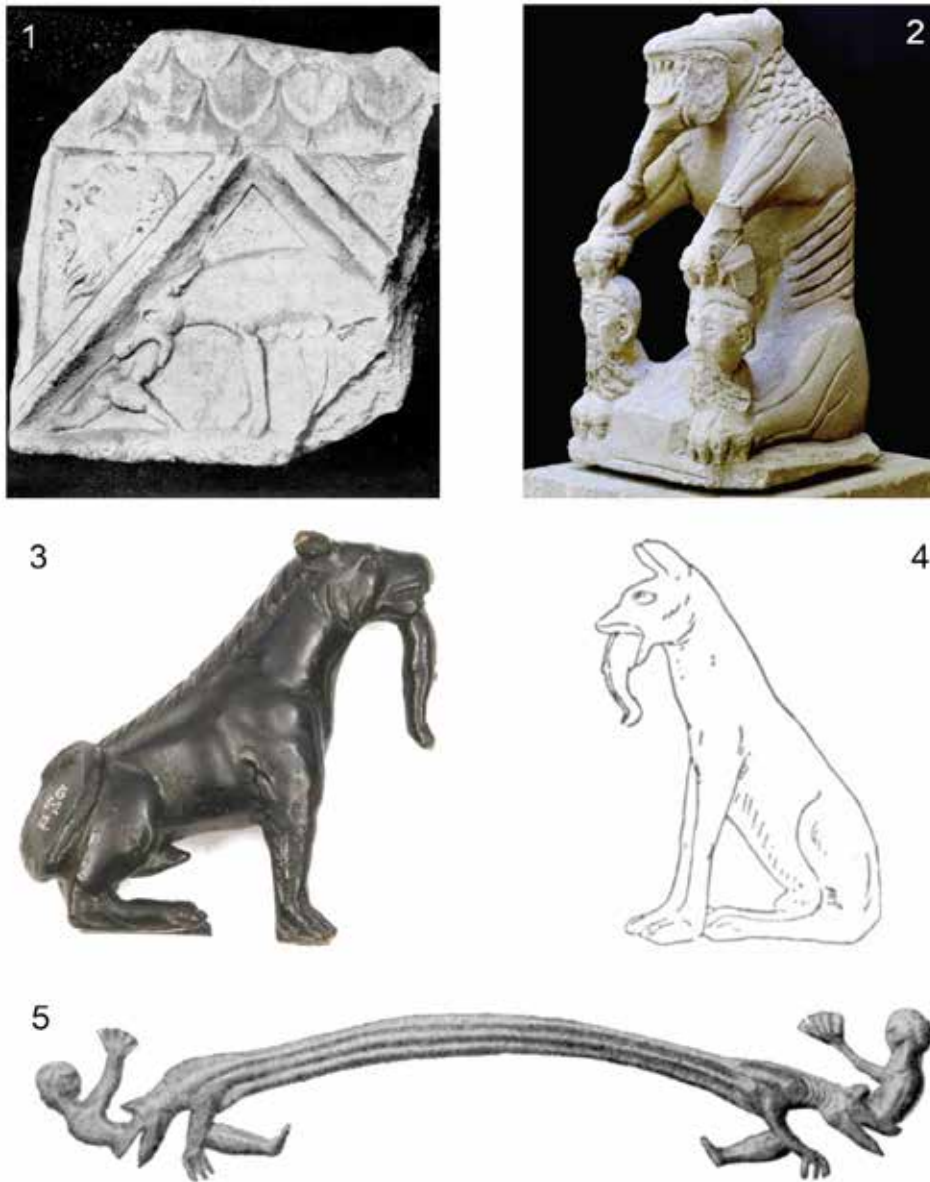
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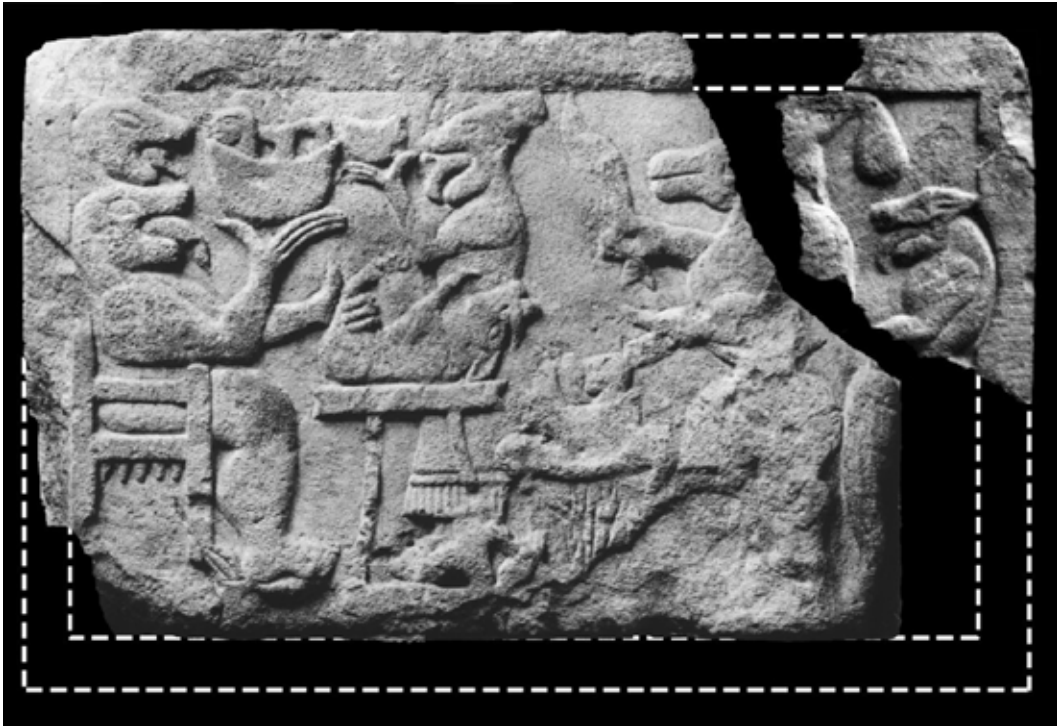
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Reviews

Badawi, Mostafa, 2021
Spiritual Significance in Islamic Architecture
London: IV Publishing

Review by Valerie Gonzalez. SOAS, University of London

Spiritual Significance in Islamic Architecture is the latest book by the prolific and renowned author and architectural practitioner, Mostafa Badawi. Packed with luxurious illustrations, including numerous full-page colour plates, and embellished with gilded page edges, this sumptuous book firstly constitutes an aesthetic homage to historic Islamic architecture. Secondly, it gathers the author's own views and knowledge regarding this splendid cultural heritage, which today is the object of intense research and countless publications worldwide. However, the book does not follow the typical academic model specialized in one particular production, from one particular geopolitical space, at a specific period within the long history of Islamic civilization. Instead, *Spiritual Significance in Islamic Architecture* proposes an all-embracing meditative reflection on the material, contrasting its past and contemporary productions. As such, it presents the interesting feature of expanding the discussions and arguments beyond archaeology and hermeneutics. By contradistinction with purely scientific research, it also expresses Badawi's affections and idiosyncrasies based on his personal experience as both a faithful Muslim beholder of Islamic architecture and a knowledgeable architect concerned with the pragmatics of his practice in relation to the habits and needs of the Muslim community at large. Readers must therefore approach this book accordingly. While naturally keeping their expectations of scientific rigor at the highest level, they must also be prepared to confront Badawi's decision to communicate freely his opinions and judgments. He stipulates his epistemic position in the following way in the introduction:

In my opinion, as a user and not as an expert, the evidence is overwhelming in fa-vour of the existence of many forms of art unified by the spirit of Islam. My primary aim in this study is not to attempt to prove this, but rather to concentrate on the us-er's point of view, which is what he is able to perceive, while carrying out his ordinary devotional activities, as spiritual meanings within architectural forms. (p. 11)

A proper understanding of this subjectivity is essential to grasp the contents of this book and to benefit from it whether in a scholarly way or otherwise. Above all, it does not mean that these contents possess a lesser degree of truthfulness in relation to the reality of the things being observed. Subjectivity, in this case, only indicates the empirical nature of some of the readings of these things by an observer from within Islamic culture. The flaws or shortcomings these readings may contain from a strictly scholarly viewpoint do not diminish their hermeneutic and epistemic value in the sense that they provide highly valuable humanistic insights otherwise inacces-sible through the sole objective act of collecting factual historical data. If only from this epistemological perspective, it is necessary to listen carefully to what Muslim believers in general, and Badawi in particular, have to say idiosyncratically about their own artistic culture. It nevertheless remains true that this empirical form of knowledge, which we may call 'the Muslim idiosyncratic discourse on Islamic art and architecture', stems from the most complex region of representationalism inter-twined with the psyche's biases and shaped by the infinitely varied forces of local life conditions and socio-cultural contexts. In this respect, Badawi's discourse definitely reflects his own background.

In fact, in the name of sacrosanct scientific objectivity, for many historians of Islamic art and architecture educated in the West, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, idiosyncratic discourse has little scholarly value. To them, the validation of any her-meneutic proposition depends on historical facts and affect-free rational reasoning. Adding to that the weight on this mainstream scholarship of the post-Enlighten-ment Eurocentric tradition of separating the religious from the cultural, it is not far-fetched to say that this book would hardly attract these scholars' interest. In the face of this situation, this review intends to give *Spiritual Significance in Islamic Architecture* the visibility it deserves, as its unapologetic empirical character provides precisely access to those elusive aspects of Islamic architecture whose elucidation proves dif-ficult with the sole use of the fact-based traditional art history method, namely the aesthetic workings, underpinnings and meaning of the buildings' forms.

The introduction presents three fundamental points that Badawi endeavors to demonstrate in thematic essays regrouped in three main parts.

The first point asserts the spiritual nature of Islamic architecture, rooted in Quranic metaphysics. This very idea, one must bear in mind, is far from being unan-imously supported, owing to the highly problematic persistence of the Eurocentric view held by the mainstream of scholarship in the West that, in Islam like elsewhere,

human activities are divided between the religious and the secular or the sacred and the profane spheres. As Badawi puts it: 'Western authors speak of 'sacred architecture' in a manner which is entirely absent from classical Muslim literature' (p. 23).

The second point focuses on the conceptual unity of Islamic architecture beyond the rich diversity of its manifestations informed by the local cultures of the vast geopolitical space of the Muslim world whether historical and/or contemporary. Badawi writes: 'Underlying the different designs of buildings continent apart there exists a single unity of conceptualization, a single spirit at work' (p. 10). Again, this is a contentious idea that said scholarship considers to be essentializing, ignoring that Muslim scholars past and present have consistently claimed it. I recently produced a firm critique regarding this stifling attitude in Valerie Gonzalez, 'The Religious Plot in Museums or the Lack Thereof: The Case of Islamic Art Display' in *Religions* 13, 2022: 281, and 'Debunking the Regionalistic Myth in the Discourse on Islamic Ornament' in *Deconstructing the Myths of Islamic Art*, edited by Sam Bowker, Xenia Gazi and Onur Ozturk, Chapter 3 (London, New York: Routledge, 2022).

The third and last point concerns the notion of ambience that Badawi pertinently considers to be a key feature of Islamic architecture. While we may talk about ambience, or the lack of thereof for that matter, regarding any type of building, he emphasizes that ambience characterises not only Islamic interior design, but that it also brings with it a strong sense of spirituality. However, acknowledging the difficulty of explaining how this Islamic spiritual ambience is actually generated by the architecture and how it operates, he rightly remarks: 'Our ancestors, the builders of old, were obviously masters at producing ambience, although the precise manner of achieving this remains a secret to this day' (p. 12).

I do subscribe to these three points as a scholar convinced of the religious nature of Islamic art and architecture, regardless of its context of use and function. Following his cogent exposé of these points, Badawi unfortunately embarks on a lengthy generalisation on art and artists that not only is unnecessary, but also relies irrelevantly and irreverently on the history of Western art. Taking issue with this art, which he perceives of as too materialistic, he pronounces ill-grounded judgments such as the following misappreciation of an impressionist painting by Renoir, 'more normal and aesthetically pleasant, but betraying a superficial view of reality.' (p. 18) Although the author has told us that this book reflects his personal inner thoughts, the last thing we need today is reductive ill-informed apprehension, by whomever from whatever cultural extraction, regarding the culture of 'Others', whoever those 'others' may be. Such an apprehension is sadly no different from the decried Orientalist misperception of non-Western cultures. Moreover, it clashes with the most welcome recent movement of decolonisation of cultural practices by scholars, critics, curators and artists at large. Readers might just want to skip that part and continue with the, more sensible, rest of the introduction in which Badawi expounds the theological foundations of Islam and the essential principles of Islamic thought that he believes shape Islamic art and

aesthetics.

Finally, one must bear in mind the following key statement containing clues which, I think, are extremely useful for addressing the aforementioned unresolved question regarding the most elusive aspects of Islamic architecture: 'Our goal as users is quite different from that of the art historian, for as users we are concerned with enriching our moments by opening the gateways to spiritual meditation and remembrance' (p. 31). 'While sitting in a mosque, I would be entirely disinterested in the stages of development of a particular decorative element, but solely in how gazing at it can help me concentrate on the higher worlds and draw nearer to God' (p. 32).

In my view, these introductory pages of the book (minus the misstep regarding Western art) offer fundamental ideas to ponder on and develop in-depth for anyone who wishes to pursue critical research on this material. The chief condition for that, however, is the use of an up-to-date expansive interdisciplinary methodology. The book's three parts aims to carry out this research through the lens of the Muslim faithful.

Part I pertinently deals with Islamic intellectual heritage, both canonical and Sufi. Badawi deliberately addresses the foundational components of this heritage, which are shared by all Muslims, while excluding a description of the Sunni-Shi'a divide in order to demonstrate his chief idea of a unity beyond diversity in Islamic artistic culture. The point is clearly and convincingly made that there exists a common metaphysical core linking all the global instances of Islamic architecture, both past and present. He thereby legitimates the investigation of art and architecture through this core and, in the process, invalidates the rather overused and abused objection of essentialization. Among the wealth of material and thought provided in this rich part of the text, one superlative element stands out: the concept of analogy that articulates the seen and the unseen in a harmonious whole. A hermeneutics seeking to elucidate the role of this concept in the functioning of Islamic art and architecture will significantly advance our knowledge of these matters.

In contrast, Part II appears surprisingly thin in terms of ideas. It consists of photos of buildings and architectural designs, with just a few text boxes here and there that do not suffice to form a third portion of the book. The content of these boxes could have been inserted in Part II and the plates gathered in the form a nice text-free album placed between it and Part I. The text mainly expresses the author's frustration with contemporary Islamic architecture, a view that not everyone will share, and which would, in any case, require a more thorough critique to constitute something more than an impressionistic comment.

Finally, Part III analyses one by one the generic elements of Islamic architecture and design, mainly mosques, but also houses and palaces. Badawi explains the functioning of windows, light, domes, minarets, mihrabs, minbars etc., in focusing on unravelling their spiritual meaning as he knows and perceives it. His art historical knowledge is solid, but for this very reason, it also conveys the problems of terminology and methodology that affect this art history such as the misuse of the aesthetic

concepts of symbolisation and abstraction. It is, however, not expected from an architect to address these issues. On the other hand, what this part brings forth very persuasively is the spiritual dimension of these elements.

In sum, even though, like the existing publications which endeavour to uncover and explain this dimension of Islamic architecture, *Spiritual Significance in Islamic Architecture* is not flawless, it nevertheless makes very important points to be heeded in future research. For this reason, it truly is an inspirational book both to read and to look at.

Billen, Claire (et al.), 2021
Faire société au Moyen Âge. *Histoire urbaine des anciens Pays-Bas (1100-1600)*
Paris: Classiques Garnier

Review by Pau Vives Xiol. University of Barcelona

The Parisian publisher Classiques Garnier is releasing a new French language version of this collective work on the urban history of what was formerly known as the Low Countries, which originally appeared in Flemish in 2016. This work focuses on the genesis and evolution of the urbanised system that developed in the territory of the former Low Countries: the Seventeen Provinces that extended over regions including Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zeeland, the Artois and Luxembourg, which today belonged to the states of Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and parts of northern France, and which, in the late Middle Ages, were grouped together under the dominion of the Dukes of Burgundy.

This group of cities in the former Low Countries, which includes important centres such as Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Yeper, Brussels, Arras and Amsterdam, is one of the most successful historical examples of economic and urban development in Europe, which began in the late Middle Ages and continued to thrive throughout the early modern period. Historiography has traditionally held it in high regard as a model for the emergence and consolidation of complex, self-organised urban communities, not far from the case of the cities of central and northern Italy. It can be argued that these two examples of urban development constituted, following classical lines of argument put forward by Henri Pirenne and Max Weber, paradigmatic examples of cities dedicated to commerce and pioneers in the achievement of political autonomy. However, this publication goes beyond a specific interest in its geographical area and raises some interesting points for those doing research on the early Middle Ages, a period characterised by change and the appearance of diverse forms that created a radically new reality that foreshadowed what was to follow.

First of all, the collective nature of the proposal should be highlighted. All the articles in the book are written by academics from Flemish universities. The four editors of this volume (Claire Billen, Bruno Blondé, Marc Boone and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene) belong to the universities of Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent, as do most of the authors, although professors from other universities, such as Leiden and Leuven, also contribute. Secondly, the work provides a general and, indeed, complex vision of urban issues. A multi-causal and multi-faceted approach to the development of cities and the multidisciplinary nature of their analysis is reflected in the choice of a set of highly diverse but coherently interlinked issues which, to a greater or lesser extent, are found in all the cities of the European landscape in the late Middle Ages. In this way, the work is receptive to uncommon but highly explanatory approaches to urban reality, such as its spatial dimension and the process

of shaping urban identity. The awareness of the universality of urban development, though manifested in different ways and in contrasting political contexts, makes it possible to make constant comparisons between the case they are proposing and other realities that are far removed from the medieval Netherlands.

These two characteristics lead us to situate the work in the same line as the influential *Histoire de la Europe urbaine*, published in 2003 by Seuil and edited in its second edition by Patrick Boucheron, Denis Menjot and Marc Boone himself, a work that constituted a major rethinking of medieval urban historical studies. These collective initiatives, which combine efforts in order to overcome the symptoms of merely local erudition, a frequent malady in urban studies, to find common trends through the shared work of multidisciplinary authors who are capable of looking beyond the limitations of their own vision, are truly stimulating and suggestive. The multi-causal nature of the urban phenomenon is very consciously demonstrated in this book in the choice of subject matter for the different chapters.

In the introduction, Bruno Blondé, Marc Boone and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene review the figures that highlight the high rate of urbanisation of these territories in medieval times, which the authors immediately associate with their social and political dynamism. In this way, the authors position themselves as both a continuation and a challenge to the strong historiographical tradition that had previously characterised the study of the region.

The economic development of the former Netherlands is addressed by Blockmans, Munck and Stabel in the first chapter. Commercial dynamism has always been a central theme in historiography, which has often treated it as a necessary and sufficient condition to explain urban development, especially following the work of Henri Pirenne, whose mark is still very much alive among Belgian academics. In conjunction with general explanatory arguments (such as the strength and diversification of the rural economy and the development of intense long-distance trade), the authors highlight a specific feature of the territory under study: its capricious physical geography, in particular its hydrography, as a differentiating factor. Numerous waterways with interconnected branches favoured exceptional communications and gave rise to busy economic networks between the numerous cities in the area, which have been sustained over time and have created multiple hegemonies, such as that of Bruges in the 14th and 15th centuries, that of Antwerp in the 16th century and that of Amsterdam in the 17th century.

The second chapter focuses on social relations within the city, a highly significant issue for understanding the complexity of the urban phenomenon. Blondé, Hanus, Stabel himself, Buylaert and Dumolyn emphasise the contrast, in the various cities, between a reality characterised by extreme social fragmentation and the efforts to build a united community, which can be traced particularly in political texts. However, the authors nuance this social polarisation in the urban societies of the former Low Countries, showing how the concentration of power and wealth among

the merchants (well established from the 12ᵗʰ century onwards) is countered, from the early 14ᵗʰ century onwards, by the activities of the guilds of artisans, who manage to form a kind of thriving middle class that succeeded in their struggle for political rights and which became a distinctive feature of these territories.

Boone and Haemers go on to show how the permanent political tensions in this emerging urban system of power, opposed to but connivant with those of the Dukes of Burgundy, sought to be addressed with a body of rules which, under the guise of the common good, tended to regulate conflicts and promote social peace, order and the maintenance of economic prosperity, very much in line with what happened in the political formations of cities all over Europe in the late Middle Ages.

In addition to addressing the relationship between the new urban institutions and ecclesiastical power, a subject often neglected by historiography and often open to reductionist interpretations, Van Bruaene and Marnef focus on urban rituals and celebrations, which constituted a veritable civic religion bringing citizens together around the idea of community. The consideration of a relationship of connective or symbiotic features between the new civic and religious powers allows us to characterise the urban community in a satisfying way and to better understand the legitimising aims of the communal institutions, while at the same time allowing us to approach the remarkable irruption of Protestantism in these cities from a new perspective.

For their part, Billen and Deligne present an interesting history of the urban environment (with an approach based firmly on the function of public works) and show how the architecture and town planning initiated by municipal institutions, especially in a territory that has been so intensely developed as this one, especially with hydraulic works, serve the dual purpose of providing public goods to the citizens and, on the other hand, legitimising and giving prestige to institutionalised urban power.

In the penultimate chapter, which takes the form of a history of late medieval everyday life in these cities, Baatsen, Blondé, De Groot and Sturtewagen examine an original topic in the field of urban studies, namely the consumption of material goods. The authors show how diversification in craftsmanship enabled the emergence of a new material culture, embodied in the consumption of luxury goods and in the emulation of these behaviours by the artisanal middle class.

De Munck and De Ridder-Symoens emphasise another pillar of late medieval urban power: the emerging educational institutions that managed to breach ecclesiastical monopoly. The diversity of schools was another of the distinguishing features of the former Low Countries, serving a large part of the population and making it possible to consolidate an ideal of community in a heterogeneous society.

In summary, in the thriving urbanised heartland of the former Low Countries, a sustained social and political history developed from the 12ᵗʰ century onwards, characterised, broadly speaking, by the pre-eminence of wealthy merchants and accompanied by a strong representation of intermediate social groups, who played a decisive role in the shaping of cohesive, self-conscious urban communities. This

complex community, united by various civic institutions of very different hues (political, cultural, educational, religious, etc.) serves, as the editors explain in the epilogue, to explain the political mood of later political formations in these same territories and constitutes, moreover, a paradigmatic example approach to the multitude of European urban communities that developed during the late Middle Ages.

Brugués, Irene, **Jornet-Benito**, Núria, **Boada**, Coloma, **Muntaner**,
Carme, **Casals**, Jordi, **2019**
Diplomatari de la col·lecció de pergamins del monestir
de Santa Clara de Barcelona (1039-1241)
Barcelona: Fundació Noguera

Review by Eudald Blanché Collet. University of Barcelona

This book, published in 2019, is the 78th volume of the *Col·lecció Diplomataris* of the Fundació Noguera. This publication is the result of an initiative of the Archives Service of the Catalan Federation of Benedictine Nuns. The book contains the transcription and edition of the collection of parchments of the monastery of Santa Clara in Barcelona, from the first one known to exist (year 1039) to the year 1241. In total, 322 documents. However, the first hundred or so pages are devoted to the historical and archival context of this collection and of the monastery in which it has been conserved. This book can be freely consulted and downloaded in PDF format from the Fundació Noguera website.

The first part of the book (pp. 9-111) describes the historical and archival context of this collection of diplomatic documents. The second part (pp. 113-540) contains the transcriptions of the parchments; each transcription is accompanied by date, regest, documentary tradition and notes, if applicable. Finally, the third part of the book (pp. 541-594) contains an index of anthroponyms and toponyms, arranged in alphabetical order. Each entry indicates the number of the parchment in which this content can be found.

It is important to note that most of these parchments were not produced by the monastery of Santa Clara, as this monastery was founded between 1233/34 and 1236, but rather are parchments that are or were preserved in this monastery, but do not make reference to it, since the monastery did not exist at that time. The chronological period of the monastery covered by this diplomatic document collection therefore spans only five years, between 1236 (the first parchment referring to the Poor Clares of Barcelona) and 1241, the year of the death of Pope Gregory IX and Bishop Berenguer de Palou of Barcelona.

Of the 322 documents in the collection, only 109 date from after the year of the foundation of Santa Clara of Barcelona, and of these, only nine reference the monastery. Of the 322 transcriptions, 114 are from parchments that are now lost, but which were in existence at the beginning of the 20th century, and thanks to the fact that they were transcribed at that time, they are now known and it has been possible to include them in this document collection.

If the majority of this diplomat's parchments were not produced by the monastery, then who produced them, and how did they end up at Santa Clara? Many of these scrolls came to the monastery through endowments made by nuns, property

purchases, or bequests by the faithful. A very important part of the parchments came from two people in the second half of the 13th century: Berenguer de Ferran (a knight) and Pere de Forn (a merchant and moneylender), who generated a great deal of documentation related to their private activity, which was incorporated into the monastery at the time when the two of them became the community's trustees. It is thanks to these incorporations of private documents that in this collection we can find documents that are so unusual in a monastic collection, such as contracts for maritime transport of goods, or documents dating from a long time before the monastery was founded.

Meanwhile, the extensive contextual analysis that accompanies the edition of the collection introduces us to the founding legend of the monastery of Saint Clare of Barcelona, handed down through oral tradition and recorded in writing in the 17th century, according to which the monastery was founded when two disciples and relatives of Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Peranda and Clare of Janua, arrived in Barcelona in a small boat without oars or sails. The two of them are said to have founded the monastery in 1233-1234, although the earliest document refers to 1236 (in document number 213 of the collection). However, it is said that there was a proto-history of the monastery: prior to its foundation in the 1230s, there was already a first nucleus or informal community of religious women with a profile close to that of the Beguines, who identified with the teachings of Saint Clare and the Damianites, and were named after the chapel of San Damiano de Assis.

The monastery was located in the Ribera district, on the easternmost side of Barcelona's "*quarter de la Mar*". As the city grew, this area became more urbanised and the monastery became more central. The monastery building was one of the largest in Barcelona and was an example of Catalan Gothic architecture, with a cloister and three galleries. The real estate that the monastery accumulated was located mainly in this area of Barcelona, in the vicinity of the monastery. The community of Poor Clare nuns existed as such until the beginning of the 16th century, when it became a Benedictine community sometime between 1513 and 1519. The end of the monastery building came when, after the War of Succession, part of the Ribera neighbourhood was destroyed, and the monastery, which had been badly damaged during the siege and the war, was demolished. The place where the monastery once stood now lies within the modern-day Parc de la Ciutadella.

In 1718, the community of nuns settled in a part of the Royal Palace, which had been ceded by Philip V as a new monastery. This community remained there until 1936, when the nuns went into exile in Italy. After the war, the community of Santa Clara de Barcelona joined the community of Sant Benet de Mataró, which had been established since 1940 in Santa Cecilia de Montserrat, owned by the monastery of Montserrat. That is where the community of nuns of Santa Clara went in 1952, creating the new community of Sant Benet de Montserrat. It is this community, therefore, which is preserved in the historical archive of Santa Clara de Barcelona, as its successor.

At present, 2,958 parchments (dating from 1045 to 1827, spanning 782 years) make up the collection of parchments of the monastery of Santa Clara in Barcelona. The vast majority of the parchments in this collection have not yet been published.

This diplomatic archive, in addition to offering us the edition of the first 322 parchments in the collection, gives us, through its preliminary study, an insight into the history of the monastery, especially its origins: how it was created in the context of the expansion of Franciscanism in the 13th century; how the monastery acquired property and power in the city of Barcelona; how the monastery was organised and functioned, and also, and especially, how the monastery's archive was built up over the decades and centuries, and the archival activities that have been carried out by those in charge of the archive over time, right up to the present day, when the work of those currently in charge of the monastery's archive has resulted in the publication of the present book.

Canyelles Vilar, Núria, 2020
Un camí que porta a l'origen del Vendrell medieval
Vilafranca del Penedès: Institut d'Estudis Penedesencs

Review by Marçal *Díaz Ros*. IRCVM-University of Barcelona

Núria Canyelles' book takes as its starting point the exceptional nature of a specific document: a letter that King Peter III the Ceremonious sent to the *veguer* of Vilafranca del Penedès in 1342 asking the residents of Vendrell to reconstruct the original course of the Royal Road from Barcelona to Tarragona. According to the complaints of the neighbours of Arboç, the inhabitants of El Vendrell had disabled a section of the road and had opened a new branch that made it necessary for travellers to cross the town of El Vendrell. The importance of this letter lies in the fact that it documents a type of historical event of which we often have no record, namely the transformation of the road network. Although it is usually considered an immutable territorial element, this network is also subject to changes and transformations of various kinds. As Núria Canyelles points out, this letter from Peter III is evidence of the existence of a structured and organised society in Vendrell which, in the middle of the 14th century, had the capability and the means necessary to divert the route of one of the most important thoroughfares of the period. The author takes this episode as a starting point for understanding the historical background of El Vendrell or, in other words, the medieval origins of the town.

Canyelles shuns a chronological structuring of contents and opts to use a narrative thread of her own, in which time shifts are commonplace. This aspect, which some may find disconcerting, is complemented by a broad and continuous contextualisation of the events presented, which gives the book a comprehensive character and demonstrates her clear command of the period. This also gives the work an informative character and makes it perfectly accessible to members of the general public interested in medieval Catalonia. The author also demonstrates a sound knowledge of her sources and does not shy away from quoting a number of specialised bibliographical titles, which allows her to contextualise her narrative in a more substantial manner. With regard to documentary sources, the author mainly uses the Cartulary of Sant Cugat del Vallès edited by Josep Rius, which is reasonable, bearing in mind that the monastery was the local authority in the area.

A meticulous analysis of this documentation allows Canyelles to examine the territorial organisation of the Vendrell area during the feudal period, as well as its demographic frameworks. The author studies the role that different churches and fortresses may have played in the configuration of the Vendrell area and considers the reasons that led to their construction. In this sense, Canyelles adopts the thesis put forward by Josep Maria Bosch (2017) and considers that most churches were probably built in spaces that were already inhabited, thus avoiding the transfer

of population groups to new areas. However, the degree, chronology and tempo of population concentration around these sites remains uncertain. With regard to Vendrell, the author considers that one of the first documentary evidences of the consolidation of the population around the church of Santa Anna corresponds to a request made in 1306 for this church to become the parish church, to the detriment of the church of Sant Salvador, which was much further away closer to the coast.

On the other hand, mention should be made of the hypotheses regarding the location of various territorial landmarks, such as the castle of Calders and the castle of Sant Vicenç, which are put forward in the book. This is always a thorny issue, especially in areas as heavily transformed urbanistically as coastal regions. In this respect, the interesting restitution of the possible routes of the disputed Royal Road in 1342 is particularly noteworthy. It would be presumptuous to claim that this is a definitive hypothesis, although it must be acknowledged that it has been firmly established through a combined study of documentary and cartographic sources, as well as by fieldwork. As has been mentioned, this work focuses much of its analysis on the territorial planning of the current area of El Vendrell between the 10th and 12th centuries. However, it is in the last chapter in which the origins of El Vendrell as a population centre, which arose mainly in the 13th century, are discussed. Perhaps at this point a minor criticism can be levelled at the author, as this final, interesting section may be too short. Surely a more in-depth approach to the consolidation of El Vendrell as a town and its first urban layout in the 13th and 14th centuries could have been provided. It is true that, at the beginning of the book, the emergence of its municipal government during the 14th century is contextualised, as well as the increase in population which ensued. However, the final section of the book would have been a good place to resume this thread and link it to the consolidation of El Vendrell as a population centre, in order to understand more fully the reasons behind its emergence. This would be a way to place the beginning and the end of the book at the same point: at the time of the letter that Peter III the Ceremonious sent to limit the actions of the people of Vendrell, who were increasingly showing signs that their village was gaining more and more weight and importance in the territory.

Hirel, Sophie, Thieulin-Pardo, Hélène (coords.), 2021
La Leche Polifónica. Estudios sobre las nodrizas en la península ibérica (siglos XIII-XVI)
Madrid: La Ergástula Ediciones

Review by Helena Casas Perpinyà. University of Barcelona

The medieval history of motherhood began to attract interest among European historians and historians in the English-speaking world in the 1970s in the context of the rise of women's history. Since then, motherhood and the female experiences that derive from it have been categorised as merely another aspect of the so-called history of everyday life, especially within medieval studies in the Iberian Peninsula.

This volume, which was coordinated by Sophie Hirel and Hélène Thieulin-Pardo, is at the same time a risky and successful venture, as it succeeds in presenting the history of motherhood between the 13th and 16th centuries in the historiographical context of the peninsula from a critical perspective.

Although the title of the study evokes the story of wet-nurses in particular, all the researchers involved share a transversal gendered gaze, which enables them to present a more complex account of the history of motherhood.

Breastfeeding has been considered a lesser historical experience as a result of the ideological construction of patriarchal discourse. In this sense, the interdisciplinary nature of this study makes it possible to subvert the patriarchal narrative in order to understand the experience of motherhood in all its diversity. A diversity which, as the title of this study suggests, is only possible thanks to a compilation from a wide range of documents ranging from medical, legal and religious literature to notarial documentation, among other sources.

From a feminist perspective, the researchers insist on the male monopoly over the wet-nurse trade and the prominence of men as the fiscal subjects of the contracts. The documentation reveals that in many cases, according to María Jesús Fuente, "hiring wet nurses was a male preserve" and that the desire of mothers to breastfeed and raise their own babies was a patent reality, especially among the nobility.

Similarly, it becomes clear, once again, that the historically male tendency to categorise women's behaviour in well-known medieval manuals and treatises is not in any way transferable to everyday experience. In this sense, the sources show us that the prohibition of interreligious breastfeeding was only a question of status and that, according to Silvia Nora Arroñada, in line with Klapisch-Zuber's study, the morals and ethics of the wet nurse were not a particularly relevant element for the bourgeoisie when it came to choosing who would breastfeed their baby. The theory of the treaties was therefore not fulfilled in practice, as the experience of motherhood exceeded its limits, as Victoria Béguelin-Argimón, Cécile Codet and Sarah Pech-Pelletier argue.

In her turn, Ximena Illanes Zubieta weaves an interweaving of maternal experiences through the breastfeeding networks of the children of the Hospital de la Santa

Creu of Barcelona, a striking example of how motherhood occupied all spheres of life and social structures, even in medieval times.

Finally, literary milk and symbolic milk conclude this volume with an evocation of the medieval imaginary of motherhood through fictional narratives and the bodily senses of female mystical experimentation, following the well-known line of research pursued by Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida.

Newman, Barbara, 2021
The Permeable Self. Five Medieval Relationships
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press

Review by Adrián Arjona Fernández. University of Barcelona

Barbara Newman, who had focused on medieval spirituality and the definition of the medieval self in her previous works, here draws on her previous research and takes a further step in her research endeavours. Although, in her previous publications, Newman had attempted to define the medieval self through analysis and intertextual comparisons of courtly literature, hagiography, epistles between lovers and other genres, in this work she examines all of these sources in a new light. In *The Permeable Self*, she conceives of the medieval self as a permeable self, which self-modifies and self-defines in relation to the other. This is why, on this occasion, she does not seek to investigate the self individually, but rather to analyse the relationship of two or more selves, whereby the individuals who configure it modify their identities, exchange them, and even lose their own identity in order to become a complete reflection of the other. The text is divided into five separate chapters, though all of them are derived from a common theme to which Newman devotes her attention in this work: "coinherence". It is this theme that unites, according to Newman, various generic relations and that enables the comparison of one with the other, in order to elicit information regarding the permeability of the medieval self. Given the difficulty of the concept itself, Barbara Newman offers a much-needed introduction, in which she defines and contextualises the term and the sense in which she will employ it in the rest of the book. It is a theological term, referring to the essence of the Trinity; each of the members of the Trinity shares its essence with the others and, although they are multiple, they are the same person. Strictly speaking, the term can only be applied to this relationship, but the theologian, novelist and poet Charles Williams refocused the use of the term, applying it to human relationships. The concept therefore refers not only to the theological principle of the relationship between the member of the Trinity, but also to the principle of *substituted love*, based on spiritual discipline and the practice of prayer. These are practices in which a reciprocal interpersonal relationship is so reciprocal that there is a real psychological and emotional exchange, whereby the *self* is united with the *other*. This is the sense in which Barbara Newman uses the term, and employs it to analyse the permeability of selves in relationships. After this introduction, the work per se begins; each chapter analyses a generic or archetypal relationship and its development in examples throughout the Middle Ages. The chapters follow each other progressively, according to the intensity of the coinherence that the archetypal relationship presents. Hence, the first chapter is devoted to the teacher-pupil relationship, the second to that of the saint and the sinner, the third to the relationship between lovers,

the fourth to the relationship between mother and child and, finally, the fifth to that which is established between the earthly and the spiritual, between God or demons on the one hand and human beings on the other through total possession.

Newman's exhaustive analyses of specific relationships may sometimes confuse the reader and cause them to lose sight of the main theme of the work, namely coinherence. They may even fail to understand why one relationship has a higher degree of coinherence than another, thereby losing focus on the structural order of the work that the author is proposing. It is therefore important to analyse in each case what their specific coinherence is based on. In the first of the relationships, the coinherence lies in the influence that the teacher exerts on the pupil, and vice versa. It is clear that a teacher, in educating his pupil, moulds their personality, in such a way that the pupil's self is affected by the teaching; the teacher, observing the enthusiasm with which his pupil learns, becomes intoxicated by this enthusiasm and rediscovers in himself what he already knew. In this way, the teacher-pupil relationship transforms the personality of both. Added to this, as Newman rightly points out, is the fact that the most widespread model of education in medieval times was the *charismatic model* of education, in which the teacher becomes the model for the pupil to imitate, through the discipline of *mores et litteras.* The second chapter deals with the relationship between the saint and the sinner and, more specifically, with the saint's mystical ability to read the sinner's thoughts. In this case, coinherence is unidirectional, in that the saint is able to learn the sinner's thoughts, but the sinner remains ignorant of the thoughts of the saint. It is coinherence in so far as the saint employs his ability to transform the sinner's behaviour, and thus the sinner's personality, for a redemptive purpose. In addition, this chapter studies certain relationships of friendship between beguines, who are spiritually united in the Mind of God, which is the intermediary that enables them to share their thoughts. A closer and more intimate relationship than the latter is the relationship between lovers, and this is the subject of the third chapter. The mutual influence that the lovers exert on each other's personalities is evident; however, the chapter focuses on the literary motif of the exchange of hearts. Accordingly, this section uses sources from a wide range of literary genres: lovers' letters, which Barbara Newman had already explored in an earlier work, poetry and the courtly novel and, finally, hagiography and the *vitae*, in which virgins exchange their hearts with Jesus Christ. The sanctification of a previously secular motive is therefore involved here. Coinherence arises from the fact that the exchange of hearts also involves an exchange of identities, whereby the personality of one influences the personality of the other so much that it ends up becoming identified with the other. The fourth chapter focuses on the relationship between a mother and her child, which is the most intimate relationship that can occur. In other relationships, coinherence implies a transformation of spirit and personality, but in this one there is an absolute transformation, as the infant is gestated within the mother and is moulded by this bond, both spiritually and

physically. In this chapter, in addition to the relationship between mother and child, the vision of God as the eternally pregnant mother of the world is also explored, implying not only coinherence between two individuals, who clearly influence each other, but also a union between God and his creation. Finally, the relationship examined in the fifth chapter involves such an extreme influence on the personality of others that it can hardly be regarded as a relationship of coinherence. This is the relationship between God or demons and human beings. More precisely, the topic of obsessions and demonic possessions is studied. It is not possible to speak of coinherence in this case, as the influence exerted on the personality of the other does not lead to a mutual transformation of the personalities, but to the complete loss of personality. Examples of this are for Barbara Newman the *anihilation*, as understood by Margarita Porete, and the *diabolophanias*, all of which are studied in this chapter. Through the study of these five archetypal relationships, Barbara Newman succeeds in showing that the medieval self is permeable and is modified through its interaction with the *other*. *The Permeable Self* is therefore the culmination of Newman's research into the medieval self and spirituality.

Pujol, Josep (edition, introduction and notes), 2021
Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*
Barcelona: Barcino (Imprescindibles, Biblioteca de Clàssics Catalans 1)

Review by Enric Casas Reig. IRCVM-University of Barcelona

Editorial Barcino is launching a new collection named *Imprescindibles*, bringing us in its first volume one of the best European novels of the 15th century and a true classic of Catalan literature, *Tirant lo Blanc* by Joanot Martorell (c. 1460-1464), in a new edition edited by Josep Pujol, professor of medieval Catalan literature at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. This new edition is presented to us in the shape of a carefully produced, high quality volume, bound in hardback with cloth covers, and with fabric stitching that facilitates the handling of a large-format book of 1,400 pages.

The volume opens with a number of preliminary sections aimed at contextualising Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc* within its time while setting the genesis and subsequent reception of this novel in the midst of both Catalan and world literature. The preface (pp. 7-12) analyses the literary tradition of the novel from its first publications (Valencia 1490, Barcelona 1497) to the present day, paying special attention to the assessment that the Catalan cleric Antoni de Bastero made of Joanot Martorell's novel in his first volume of *La Crusca provenzale* (1724), deeming it to be "the *Decameron* of the Catalans".

Following the decline of cultured literature in Catalan at the beginning of the 16th century, *Tirant lo Blanc* was forgotten until the 19th century, with only a few scholarly Italian and Spanish translations breaking the silence. The starting point for the modern acceptance of *Tirant lo Blanc* in Catalonia can be traced back to a five-volume edition by J. M. Capdevila starting with the second volume of the collection "*Nuestros Clásicos*" (Our Classics) published by Barcino (Capdevila, Josep. Joanot Martorell, Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant*, 5 vols., Barcelona: Barcino), but the definitive impulse would be given by Martí de Riquer through successive editions that would reach a public in need of the construction of a national Catalan literary canon (Riquer, Martí de, 1979. Joanot Martorell, Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc i altres escrits de Joanot Martorell*, Barcelona: Ariel, reprinted in 1990; also noteworthy are his following works: 1990. *Aproximació al «Tirant lo Blanc»*, Barcelona: Quaderns Crema; 1992. *«Tirant lo Blanc», novela de historia y de ficción*, Barcelona: Sirmio). From this point onwards, new translations into other modern languages consolidated Joanot Martorell's novel as a recovered classic that was recognised on the international scene, and research and studies of *Tirant lo Blanc* were encouraged in specialised conferences and scientific publications that particularly emphasised its realism, positioning *Tirant* as a paradigm of the "chivalric novel" of the 15th century, differentiated from the fabled "knightly novels" based on the Matter of Britain

and Arthurian motifs which had predominated in the 12th and 13th centuries. In this context we should also mention the first and only critical edition to be published, by Albert Hauf (Hauf, Albert, 1990. Joanot Martorell (and Martí Joan de Galba), *Tirant lo Blanch*, 2 vols., Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, republished in 2004 by the *Tirant lo Blanch* publishing house), since the only other critical edition in existence, a dissertation by Joan Perera (1995), is currently unpublished. Of note is a recent edition by Màrius Serra, who adapted Martorell's novel in its entirety into modern Catalan (Serra, Màrius. 2020. Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*, Badalona: Proa).

In this way we have arrived at this recent Barcino edition by Josep Pujol, who has sought to take a middle route: offering an edition that combines the philological rigour required by specialist scholars with what is required for popularisation among a wider, more general readership. With this aim in mind, Josep Pujol has prefaced the text with a rigorous introduction (pp. 13-61) in which he places *Tirant lo Blanc* in its time and in the context of the chivalric novel in the 15th-century Crown of Aragon; he analyses its plot structure, marked by a tension at the narrative level based on the duality between scenes of war and chivalry and the courtly or love episodes, which are charged with sentimentality and comedy; it establishes the mimic quality of *Tirant lo Blanc* with respect to the contemporary reality of Joanot Martorell, which lends an historiographical aspect to a book that is still a work of fiction; it highlights the messianic features of the hero of the novel; it works on its rhetoric and the most notable literary models that the bibliography has been able to establish; and it closes with a summarised commentary on the first print editions of *Tirant* and its subsequent translations.

The introductory section is followed by a chronology with biographical snippets of Joanot Martorell's life taken from conserved archive documents (pp. 63-73), and a selective bibliographical list of editions and specialised works (pp. 75-85), which serves as a guide for the reader who wishes to delve deeper into the subject.

The edition of the text (p. 87-1348) then follows. Josep Pujol has relied on the version by Martí de Riquer (1979), who himself used the copy of the Hispanic Society of America of New York, corresponding to the first edition printed in Valencia in 1490. The edition by Riquer, who corrected errors in the manuscript and modernised its spelling, was informative, so this new edition by Pujol is still uncritical, although he revises Riquer's edition using the editions and critical apparatus provided by Hauf (1990-2004) and Perera (1995) and has consulted the facsimiles of the preserved copies of the two older editions of 1490 and 1497. An appendix containing variants and corrections has not been included, nor are they justified in the footnotes, which serve as a more informative point of reference for the non-specialist reader, together with the table at the end of the volume (p. 1371-1394) containing all the chapters and titles of this extensive novel. The editor presents a punctuated, orthographically corrected text according to the criteria defined by the current normative system. Graphical and phonetic features are rendered unhesitatingly with a

preference for the most modern graphic forms, without affecting the idiosyncrasy of the text, because the nominal and verbal morphology and the syntax of the text transmitted by the incunabula have been preserved.

At the end of the volume, there are a number of resources to help clarify concepts for the general public: a glossary (pp. 1351-1366), and a brief commentary on the plate armour used by 15th century knights, together with a number of illustrations (pp. 1367-1369).

In conclusion, this is an informative edition aimed at a reader who is less versed in reading medieval prose and who is not a specialist in medieval literature. This is why the text, despite maintaining its original linguistic forms, offers a graphic and phonetic regularisation that facilitates its reading. However, while awaiting a veritable critical edition that updates Hauf's edition, this edition by Josep Pujol published by Barcino, albeit not definitive, may well become the standard edition used in the coming years both by the general public and by a more specialised reader or scholar of the subject who does not have strictly philological concerns.

Review by Esther Dorado Ladera. University of Barcelona

The book I propose to review here, *La casa medieval en Mallorca y el Mediterráneo. Elementos constructivos y decorativos*, is a collective volume edited by Tina Sabater based on the papers presented at a scientific seminar held in October 2020, which concluded the research project *La casa medieval. Materiales para su estudio en Mallorca* (HAR2016-77032-P). The sixteen chapters include the presentation of some of the final conclusions of the project and the contributions of the guest speakers. The contributions of the different authors are grouped around three main blocs concerning residential Gothic architecture: the study of material remains; a typological, functional and urbanistic analysis; and monographs of three buildings.

Joan Domenge begins the first section with an introduction to the tradition of the round doorway, that is, a round arched doorway, in the civil architecture of all the economic spheres of the Catalan-speaking countries until the end of the modern age. It includes a study of its typological consolidation and its use from the 14th to the 16th century, based on preserved material remains. The author highlights the lack of historiographical interest in this subject and calls for a systematic search for these elements, despite the difficulties posed by the lack of documentary traces of private architecture.

Next, Elvira González takes a look at graffiti on walls from the late medieval period that have been documented in Mallorca. These are epigraphic and figurative examples preserved mostly in important buildings such as the cathedral and the *llotja*, but also in other religious and residential constructions. These elements are very difficult to date, particularly when they are figurative, and are a traditionally controversial subject, but the author argues for their validity as a historical source.

Following this contribution, Antònia Juan Vicens examines the arches and decorated portals of Mallorcan Gothic houses. It provides a comprehensive list of preserved examples, either in their original location or relocated, and proposes a typological classification. Special attention is paid to the so-called "*portals d'estudi*" (study portals), both for their presence in numerous inventories of goods and for the uniqueness of their ornamental compositions, the interest of their iconography and the significant number of preserved specimens.

Tina Sabater concludes the first section with an analysis of non-figurative wall paintings in medieval Mallorcan houses based on preserved examples and representations in the miniatures of the period, with proposed chronologies ranging from the 13th to the 14th century. A formal classification is proposed in eight typologies that are placed within the European, Hispanic and Catalan-Aragonese contexts.

Among the characteristics of these typologies, the persistence of the Hispano-Mus-lim tradition, the adaptation of motifs from other building techniques, and religious architecture as a model for civil construction all stand out.

The second section begins with an essay by Magdalena Cerdà Garriga on Gothic devotional sculpture in Mallorcan houses in the 15th and 16th centuries, with notarial inventories as her main source. She examines the iconography, in which Christological and Marian sculptures are particularly noteworthy; the materials, with the most popular and cheapest being plaster pieces made from moulds; and the location, which was mainly in the living room, dining room, bedroom or chapel. It can be concluded that this was a widespread practice among all social groups and that production was mainly local, notwithstanding the existence of imported pieces.

This bloc continues with a study by Teresa Izquierdo Aranda of the provision of furniture in the palace of the Generalitat de Valencia in the 15th century. In addition to an introduction to the origins of the furniture industry in Valencia and its evolution, there is a review of the styles, materials and techniques used in the building of the Generalitat, as well as an identification of the master carpenters. The article is a first approximation to the subject, but it demonstrates the importance of the study of furniture for understanding everyday life in late medieval interiors and the functioning of the carpenter's workshops of the time.

In the following chapter, Maria Barceló Crespí describes the ground floors of the houses in the City of Mallorca based on a selection of post mortem inventories carried out between 1412 and 1516. This is an extension of her previous work, to which she contributes new data on nomenclature, typology and function. Attention is also paid to the circumstances that led to important differences in the uses of these spaces, such as the social group to which the owners belonged, the presence of shops and workshops, and the presence of servants and slaves.

In the following article, Aymat Catafau presents a synthesis of his work on the houses built between the 13th and 15th centuries in the Perpignan districts of Sant Mateu and Sant Jaume. Based on archaeological surveys and documentation preserved in the archives, he proposes reconstructions of housing typologies in terms of construction techniques, the distribution and use of space, and the relationship between the different dwellings. The subsequent evolution of the houses is also explained, in particular the common subdivisions from the 14th century onwards and the improvement works carried out in the following centuries.

Subsequently, Marta Fernández Siria analyses the representative spaces belonging to the Mallorcan monarchy, dispersed throughout the territory due to the itinerant nature of the court, with special emphasis on the grand halls of the castles of Perpignan and Mallorca. She focuses on the layout and diversity of functions of these spaces, as well as the resources used to emphasise their importance. These include mural painting, the installation of large windows, the furnishings, and above all the use of diaphragm arches and wooden roofs with pictorial decorations.

Juan Vicente García Marsilla then goes on to compare the lifestyle of nobles and merchants in the city of Valencia in the 14th and 15th centuries on the basis of fifty property inventories. His comparison is based on the characteristics of the dwellings and he utilises parameters such as their location in the city, the prices and dimensions of each type of property, the layouts and uses of the different rooms, the presence of domestic servants, and the movable goods that were to be found in them.

After this, Federico Iborra Bernad offers an overview of Valencian residential architecture in the 14th century, a field of study conditioned by the continuous reforms carried out in later periods and by the difficulty in dating common constructions. The origin and typological evolution of single- and double-bay dwellings and of square fortified houses is presented here. This chapter ends with a brief study of the now vanished Royal Palace of Valencia and the Ducal Palace of Gandia.

Meanwhile, Marcello Schirru analyses the civil architecture of Alghero in the 15th and 16th centuries within the context of the late Mediterranean Gothic period, with a particular focus on the residences of the urban nobility. Based on the surviving elements, he provides an architectural and iconographic description of the mansions of Ferrera, Carcassona, Guillot and Machin, explaining the architectural model behind the mansions being built in this region at this time.

Jacobo Vidal Franquet concludes this second section with an overview of the Gothic houses of Tortosa, covering the dimensions and distribution of the dwellings of the different social strata, as well as the construction techniques and decorative elements employed. His study is constrained by a lack of housing contracts and the scarcity of material remains, and is therefore based on historical photographs, ruins uncovered by recent building work, literary sources, comparative analyses with other civil works of the period and, above all, property inventories.

The last three chapters of the book are monographs on three residential buildings. In the first, Marco Rosario Nobile examines the circumstances surrounding the construction of Palazzo Bonet in Palermo at the end of the 15th century, which serves to illustrate the social ascent of its promoter, Gaspare Bonet, a merchant from Barcelona. It also offers a description of the original appearance of the palace, which has been profoundly altered by later modifications.

In second monograph, Tina Sabater Rebassa, Magdalena Cerdà Garriga and Antònia Juan Vicens analyse the origins and characteristics of Can Balaguer, a residential building in Palma, and the urban area in which it is located. The study is based on the preserved medieval rooms, archival documents, urban planning changes and graphic sources from the 17th century, and serves as a starting point for the study of the evolution of this type of building in early modern times.

To conclude, Francesca Tugores and Miquel Àngel Capellà reconstruct the medieval configuration of the 15th century Ca n'Oleo from the grouping of pre-existing buildings and their subsequent evolution, using it as a paradigmatic example of the process of the monumentalisation of the houses in the city during the 15th century.

They pay special attention to the monumental staircase in the courtyard, one of the icons of medieval civil architecture in the city of Palma. The main sources of the study are the archaeological and archive work carried out between 1997 and 2011 by Dr. José Morata, among others.

In conclusion, this collection constitutes a choral approach to late medieval domestic architecture in terms of its technical aspects, functionality and use, in the context of the Kingdom of Mallorca and its area of cultural relations. It is worth highlighting the challenge posed by this line of research due to the marked scarcity of material remains and documentary evidence, which make the reconstruction and dating of these buildings very difficult.

However, this limitation opens up the use of sources that have traditionally been neglected by historians, but which provide valuable information and, beyond confirming or completing theories derived from traditional sources, can lead to conclusive propositions.

Moreover, the quality of the results of this set of articles, together with their variety, confirms both the fruitfulness and the great interest of the residential spaces of different social groups as a subject of study, and the need to explore this type of work more deeply in order to achieve the closest possible picture of medieval society.

Tarradellas, Cristina, 2020
Sant Miquel d'Engolasters. L'arcàngel de les muntanyes
Barcelona: Ars Picta - Universitat de Barcelona (Pirineus romànics. Monografies 2)

Ressenya de Marta Fernández Lahosa. Universitat de Barcelona

Sant Miquel d'Engolasters. L'arcàngel de les muntanyes by Cristina Tarradellas is the second volume in the collection *Pirineu romànic monografies*, which is a channel for the diffusion of the work being carried out by the Ars Picta reseach group at the University of Barcelona. The contents of this brief study are derived from the author's doctoral thesis titled *L'art romànic del Principat d'Andorra. La pintura mural en el seu context.*

The volume unfolds in just over 100 pages, a succinct space in which a comprehensive, contextualised overview of the church of Engolasters is presented in a didactic, grounded fashion. In each of the chapters, Tarradellas presents a summarised state of the issue that helps the reader to discern between older historiographical approaches and the new contributions and revisions that the author presents here in a clear and comprehensible way. In this sense, the footnotes are particularly useful, since they allow novice readers to orientate themselves in the subject, while at the same time providing critical material for a more in-depth reading of the concepts presented in the text.

Following a very brief prologue (by Jaume Serra i Serra) and a short introduction, Tarradellas begins with four chapters that present information in the form of an itinerary that progresses from more general to more specific hypotheses. This approach helps the reader to contextualise the architectural ensemble and paintings in both space and time and provides a better understanding of the interpretative details.

The first chapter, titled *El paratge d'Engolasters i l'església de Sant Miquel al llarg de la història*, analyses the setting of Engolasters as a geographical location, the resources of the territory and its transport routes, taking into account both those of the present day and, above all, those of the Middle Ages. The historical context of the region and the enclave in which the building is located is also briefly provided. At this point, it should be noted that there is no archaeological or documentary evidence to clearly place a town or settlement with the name of Engolasters to which the church being studied could be linked. The building, therefore, was erected in a solitary location, but the researcher insists on the importance of the region as a crossing point of various roads that connected the two sides of the Pyrenees, especially the road that led to La Seu d'Urgell, roads that carried both people and influences. A concept that should be taken into account, since beyond the prejudices, whether founded or unfounded among certain historiographical trends that tend to see the isolation of certain mediaeval territories as being disconnected areas, these new perspectives stress that inhospitable does not necessarily mean isolated.

After a brief outline of the history of the ensemble, which helps to understand how it has come down to the present day, this chapter concludes with a methodical account of the discovery, removal and subsequent conservation of the paintings, focusing in particular on the problem of the multiple removals that led to the loss of some of the fragments of these pieces at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The second chapter presents a thoughtful description of the architectural features of the building, the bell tower (one of the tallest in the country) and its sculptural decoration. The author describes the problems associated with the quality of the workmanship and the dating of the various parts of the ensemble. She also states that the construction of the building and the tower were the work of an unskilled team that, nevertheless, followed the basic tenets of Lombard architecture. The peculiar height of the bell tower is also highlighted; despite its size, it does not compromise the harmony of the proportions of the overall ensemble. In order to carry out an architectural analysis, both in terms of techniques and style, Tarradellas presents a comparison with other constructions of the period, both in the Principality itself and in other Pyrenean regions. In fact, this comparative approach is a constant practice that extends throughout the book and helps readers to contextualise the phenomena analysed and allows them to verify for themselves, through observation, the hypotheses put forward.

In the third chapter, which is the core of the study, the author describes and interprets the pictorial remains preserved in the church of Engolasters, which are mainly concentrated in the apsidal basin, in the apsidal vault, and in the soffits and the presbyteral arch. These are now on display among the Romanesque painting collections of the MNAC in Barcelona. The decoration of the triumphal arch was preserved until 1937, when it was lost in the context of the transfer of several pieces from the MNAC to Paris.

In her analysis of the iconography of the preserved remains, Tarradellas points to several anomalies in the decoration of the apsidal basin, which has the image of Christ in majesty at its centre. Both affect the representation of the living creatures: on the one hand, there is an exchange of positions between the symbols of the Evangelists Luke and Mark. On the other hand, there is a representation of the figure of the Archangel Michael replacing the symbol of the man associated with Matthew. The author observes that the first anomaly is perceptible in other churches within the bishopric of Urgell and suggests that it is the result of an application not following the usual pattern, but applying older models, since, as the chapter points out, the order of the living creatures became widespread in the West from the 11th century onwards and this characteristic would become a common feature of the region.

In order to explain the iconographic anomaly of the replacement of Matthew by the Archangel Michael, which is the most notable, the author sets aside an entire subsection in this third chapter. She begins with a brief, but concise, historiographical overview of the interpretation of this figure in the Engolasters ensemble. The

author eschews readings that identify this substitution as an error or as a partial vision of the advocate angels and suggests that it was a conscious decision made by the creator of the iconographic programme with the aim of highlighting the figure of the church's patron saint. For reasons of space, the man of the living creatures would have been assimilated with the archangel, a logical substitution, since both figures have very similar profiles and can be interpreted in an ambivalent way. The presence of Michael inside the apse allows for a more complex reading, one that is more integrated with the overall iconography of the ensemble. Accordingly, Tarradellas, in relation to the text of John (Rev 12:7-10), proposes that in the apse Michael is shown as the leader of the angelic army defeating the beast, an action that would permit the appearance of the figure of Christ the Judge (represented in the *Maiestas Dominio*) and the redemption of mankind from original sin. Saint Michael thus becomes the protector of mankind, but also of the building and, by extension, of the community that inhabits it.

This reading is completed with the following two subsections of the same chapter dedicated to the decoration of the apse chamber and the presbyteral area. In the chamber the author sees an apostolate represented by six figures headed by Peter and Paul, representing the universal Church and the new covenant. In the soffit of the triumphal arch, the four half-length figures (two bearded and two beardless) should be interpreted as saints, since identifying them as the missing apostles is ruled. These figures would therefore be intermediaries, unnamed saints, who would embody a general vision of the community, of the believers, of the chosen ones who follow Michael's leadership. All the different strata would be integrated into this eschatological vision that proposes a hope of salvation that was meant to serve as an inspiration for clergy and parishioners. Furthermore, as the author points out, these figures are architecturally located in a transitional space between the apse and the body of the nave, adding Eucharistic significance to the images.

Tarradellas concludes the third chapter with an interesting summary of the state of the issue regarding the existence of the figure of the Master of Santa Coloma, his production and influences (traditionally related to the circle of Pedret and Taüll). In the body of work of this figure or workshop, the historiographical tradition includes several Andorran churches, including the group that is the subject of this study. In these lines, the author attempts to dismantle the clichés that have been reiterated in the different approaches to the subject. Warning of the problem of creating the figure of a "master", she proposes instead a common style for the group of Andorran paintings, but not one created by the same hand, and argues that this production should no longer be seen as a marginal and isolated phenomenon, stressing, once again, its connection with the diocese of Seu d'Urgell

The book concludes with a brief final chapter providing a general overview of the cult of the Archangel Michael by examining its associated issues, locations and main centres, highlighting the protective function of this figure and the relation-

ship of his sanctuaries with mountains and elevated areas. This final note helps the author to establish the link between the meaning and readings of the iconography and the Engolasters ensemble and the site in which it is located. It is in these lines that the reasons for the evocative subtitle of the volume, the archangel of the mountains, become clear.

With this book, Cristina Tarradellas fills a vacuum that needed to be addressed by providing a scientific approach to Andorra's Romanesque heritage, a task she had already begun in her thesis, which is presented in this monograph in an informative and entertaining format, a clear and condensed formula that is accessible to all types of reader.

Biblioteca/Library

This section collects the scientific production of the Institut de Recerca en Cultures Medievals regarding the publishing of books and the presentation of doctoral thesis.

Publications

Gimeno Betí, Lluís; Cifuentes i Comamala, Lluís;
Garcia Edo, Vicent (eds.), 2022
Llibre de Menescalia de Morella (c. 1320/30-1340)
Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I - Fundació Germà Colón (Lanval, 2).

Resum

Edició i estudi d'un llibre de menescalia anònim en català procedent de Morella que es conserva en una còpia del segon quart del segle XIV, a la Societat Castellonenca de Cultura (Castelló de la Plana). L'obra és important per ser tan primerenca (l'original d'aquesta còpia potser és de finals del segle XIII) i per a entendre l'elaboració autòctona de manuals de menescalia en català, adaptats a les necessitats dels usuaris de les cavalleries del país. L'edició s'acompanya d'un estudi codicològic, historicocultural i lingüístic, i d'un índex del vocabulari tècnic.

Paraules clau:

textos catalans medievals, veterinària (menescalia), manuals tècnics, lèxic especialitzat, edició

Abstract

Edition and study of an anonymous veterinary medicine (marshalcy) handbook in Catalan from Morella that is extant in a copy from the second quarter of the 14th century, at the Societat Castellonenca de Cultura (Castelló de la Plana). Its early date (the original of the extant copy might date back to the end of the 13th century) makes it an important work, crucial to understanding the process of elaborating marshalcy handbooks in Catalan, adapted to the needs of the local horse users. The edition is accompanied by a codicological, historical-cultural and linguistic study, and an index of technical vocabulary.

Costa Badia, Xavier, 2022
Poder, religió i territori. Una nova mirada als orígens del monacat al Ripollès (segles IX-X), **Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.**

Resum

Vers l'any 880, el comte Guifré el Pelós va promoure la fundació dels monestirs de Santa Maria de Ripoll i Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Dues generacions més tard, el seu net Guifré II de Besalú va fer el mateix amb el de Sant Pere de Camprodon. Per quin motiu es van fundar tres cenobis en una regió tan petita com és el Ripollès? Quin impacte tingueren sobre el paisatge preexistent? Per què van evolucionar de manera desigual? A *Poder, religió i territori* s'estudien els orígens d'aquests tres monestirs des d'una perspectiva de conjunt innovadora que permet donar resposta a totes aquestes preguntes i moltes altres. Al mateix temps, s'hi planteja una profunda reflexió sobre com van contribuir a estructurar el Ripollès en els àmbits social, polític, econòmic i religiós al llarg de l'Alta Edat Mitjana. Finalment, s'hi analitzen les estretes relacions que establiren amb el poder comtal, encarnat en terres ripolleses pel Casal de Barcelona, ja que en ben pocs territoris es veu amb tanta claredat la interacció entre ambdues institucions.

Abstract

Around the year 880, Count Guifré el Pelós founded the monasteries of Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Two generations later, his grandson Guifré II of Besalú did the same with that of Sant Pere de Camprodon. Why were three monasteries established in a region as small as Ripollès? What impact did they have on the pre-existing landscape? Why did they evolve unevenly? In *Power, Religion and Territory,* the origins of these three monasteries are studied from an innovative overall perspective that allows us to answer all these questions and many more. At the same time, there is a deep reflection on how they contributed to structuring Ripollès in the social, political, economic and religious spheres throughout the Early Middle Ages. Finally, it analyses the relations they established with the local counts, embodied in the lands of Ripollès by the House of Barcelona, since in very few territories the interaction between both institutions is seen so clearly.

Castell Granados, Pau, 2022

La cacera de bruixes a Catalunya. Estudis i documents (1830-2020)

Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

Resum

Catalunya és un territori privilegiat pel que fa a l'estudi de l'anomenada "cacera de bruixes" europea (1450-1750). Les fonts disponibles ens permeten constatar la precocitat i la intensitat del fenomen en terres catalanes, un fet que contrasta amb el desconeixement d'aquesta realitat històrica per part dels especialistes i del gran públic. Aquest treball pretén contribuir a fer visible i a posar en valor la tradició d'estudis dedicats al fenomen antibruixesc a Catalunya. L'obra posa també a disposició un conjunt de material arxivístic, recollit per l'autor al llarg dels darrers quinze anys, relatiu a les accions antibruixesques desenvolupades a Catalunya, amb l'objectiu que serveixi de base per a futurs estudis sobre aquest complex fenomen històric. Després d'un primer capítol dedicat als estudis d'àmbit internacional, es repassen les principals aportacions realitzades per historiadors i folkloristes catalans, per ofe-

rir, a continuació, un primer cens de les persones jutjades per bruixeria a Catalunya en època medieval i moderna (1420-1800). L'obra es clou amb un extens recull bibliogràfic de més de 400 títols, classificats per època i per temàtica.

Paraules clau:

cacera de bruixes, historiografia, Catalunya, base de dades

Abstract

Catalonia is a privileged territory for the study of the so-called European "witch hunt" (1450-1750). The available sources allow us to ascertain the precocity and intensity of the phenomenon in Catalan lands, in contrast to the ignorance of this historical reality on the part of specialists and the general public. This work aims to highlight the tradition of studies dedicated to the anti-witchcraft phenomenon in Catalonia. The work also provides a set of archival material, collected by the author over the last fifteen years, related to the anti-witchcraft actions developed in Catalonia, with the aim of serving as a basis for future studies on this complex phenomenon. historical. After a first chapter dedicated to international studies, the main contributions made by Catalan historians and folklorists are reviewed, to offer, then, a first census of people tried for witchcraft in Catalonia in medieval and early modern times (1420 -1800). The work concludes with an extensive bibliographic collection of more than 400 titles, classified by period and subject.

Keywords:

Historiography, Witch Hunt Studies, Catalonia, Database

Related links:

https://www.diba.cat/web/el-diari/-/presentaci%C3%B3-del-llibre-la-cacera-de-bruixes-a-catalunya.-estudis-i-documents-1830-2020-

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Riera Melis, Antoni, 2021
Alimentación, sociedad, cultura y política en el Occidente Medieval
Gijón, Trea.

Resum

Conjunt d'articles i capítols de llibres publicats entre 1991 i 2018. El llibre està estructurat en quatre apartats: "Alimentos i condimentos" on s'analitza el paper conflictiu que va jugar la carn a les taules cristianes medievals, la difusió del conreu de la vinya i del consum de vi a Catalunya, la producció i el consum de figues a la Corona d'Aragó, i la funció de les espècies en les cuines medievals. Al capítol "Alimentación

e identidad social" s'estudien els sistemes alimentaris creats pels diversos estaments socials i la seva funció identitària. "Alimentación y ascetismo" és un capítol reservat a l'anàlisi de l'important paper assignat al règim alimentari en els principals ordes monàstics. Per últim, a "Políticas públicas de aprovisionamiento de alimentos" l'autor examina la política desenvolupada pels governs de les ciutats catalanes per combatre les seqüeles provocades per les caresties i fams, així com els seus costos. El llibre s'obre amb un pròleg del Prof. Massimo Montanari que analitza l'aportació de l'autor al camp de la recerca en Història de l'alimentació.

Paraules clau:

Cereals, pa, carn, vi, figues, espècies, pebre, alimentacions camperoles, alimentacions urbanes, dietètica monàstica, vegetarianisme, dejuni, abstinència, caresties, fams, emmagatzematge, mercats, polítiques de proveïment

Abstract

Set of articles and chapters of books, published between 1991 and 2018.The book is structured in four sections: "Foods and seasonings", which analyzes the conflicting role that meat played in medieval Christian tables, the diffusion of the cultivation of the vineyard and the wine consumption in Catalonia, the production and consumption of figs in the Crown of Aragon, and the function of spices in medieval kitchens. The chapter "Food and social identity" focuses on food systems created by different social strata and their function in terms of identity. "Food and asceticism" is a chapter reserved for the analysis of the important roles assigned to the diet in the main monastic orders. Finally, "Public polices for the supply of foods" examines the policy developed by the councils of Catalan cities to combat the consequences of scarcities and famines, as well as their costs. The book opens with a prologue written by Prof Massimo Montanari who analyzes the author's contribution in the field of Food History.

Keywords:

Cereals, Bread, Meat, Wine, Figs, Spices, Pepper, Peasant Foods, Urban Foods, Monastic Diet, Vegetarianism, Fasting, Abstinence, Scarcities, Famines, Shortages, Market, Food Supply

Doctoral Disertations

Autor: **Arnau Vives Piñas**
Títol: **La metàfora lul·liana de l'*amic* i l'*amat*: amància i literatura en l'obra de Ramon Llull**
Directors: **Albert Soler Llopart (UB) - Lola Badia Pàmies (UB)**
Data de lectura: **Universitat de Barcelona, 15 de desembre de 2021**

Resum

Aquest treball estudia el significat i l'evolució de la imatge de l'*amic* i l'*amat*, una expressió paradigmàtica de la literatura de Ramon Llull. Les obres que desenvolupen aquesta imatge defineixen una art d'estimar Déu, l'amància, alhora que són un manual de contemplació amb una dimensió específicament literària, en què la comunicació estètica serveix com a eina intel·lectual per a la transformació espiritual. L'*amic* hi representa simbòlicament l'artista exitós; la seva història és la de la realització de l'ésser humà que segueix el camí de l'Art lul·liana, de tal manera que esdevé exemple literari de l'aplicació del mètode artístic. Les obres amatives presenten, així, una associació recíproca entre literatura i art de contemplació.

L'evolució de la imatge s'analitza a partir de les 3.029 sentències sobre l'*amic* i l'*amat* identificades en l'obra catalana de l'autor, que s'han sistematitzat en el Corpus Digital d'Amic i Amat (CDAIA), una eina de consulta electrònica que conté l'antologia completa dels textos amatius i la seva organització temàtica i artística, que s'ha fet aplicant-hi un etiquetatge semàntic. A partir d'això, s'ha construït una anàlisi hermenèutica del corpus per explicar els valors de la imatge. A l'inici de la producció del beat es constitueix la *metàfora* literària —l'amistat entre l'*amic*, l'home devot contemplatiu, i l'*amat*, Déu—. Progressivament s'hi agreguen nous camps semàntics, contextos i personatges, que van formant la peripècia bàsica d'un esquema d'amistat crística entre l'ésser humà i Déu. D'aquesta manera es construeix el *tema* literari —un relat, la història d'una aventura espiritual—, en el qual, finalment, aquella imatge original es revesteix de qualitats simbòliques i arquetipals. Aquestes tres dimensions (metàfora, tema i símbol) demostren la complexitat de la imatge de l'*amic* com a recurs estètic i de coneixement en la literatura lul·liana. L'anàlisi ha permès extreure les línies temàtiques, artístiques i formals del corpus, i veure l'evolució de l'Art i les formes d'escriptura en cada obra, i ha revelat quatre fases en la seva evolució: des de la primera formulació de la metàfora al *Llibre de contemplació*, la definició del tema al *Llibre d'amic e amat*, la sistematització del mètode de contemplació a l'*Art amativa*, i la combinació del manual pedagògic del mètode i del relat en l'*Arbre de filosofia d'amor*, en què el tema culmina narrativament.

Aquest treball fa èmfasi en la literarietat de la imatge i la seva funció simbòlica, i matisa, en canvi, la visió biogràfica i mística que tradicionalment s'havia projectat

sobre algunes obres amatives. És una aportació a la comprensió dels escrits de Llull lligats sempre al paper de l'Art, i ofereix un nou marc interpretatiu per revalorar la concepció autobiogràfica, mística i de l'amistat de Crist associada a l'*amic*. Presentem, així, una nova lectura d'un motiu que revela la singular formulació de la literatura vernacla que va assajar Llull, en què el lector podia reordenar la seva cognició, voluntat i acció gràcies a l'Art i la comprensió de la literatura plantejada com a pràctica espiritual, i així assolir la plenitud de les seves facultats i conèixer i estimar Déu.

Paraules clau:

Ramon Llull, literatura vernacla, amic i amat, mística, art de contemplació, Art lul·liana, amància

Abstract

This doctoral thesis studies the meaning and the unfolding of the image pertaining to the Lover (Cat. *amic*) and the Beloved (Cat. *amat*), an emblematic expression of the literature produced by Ramon Llull. The works which deploy this image delineate an art of loving God, namely, *amància*, while also constituting a vademecum for contemplatives, itself endowed with a specifically literary dimension, a dimension wherein aesthetic communication serves as an intellectual tool aimed at securing spiritual transformation. Within this context, the Lover symbolically represents the successful practitioner of Llull's Art; the narrative in which the Lover is involved consists in that of the fulfilment of those human beings who follow the path laid out by the Lullian Art, in such a way that this Lover becomes a literary exemplification of the application of the Artistic method. The works pertaining to *amància* thus reveal a reciprocal link between literature and the art of contemplation.

Our analysis of the image's unfolding is performed by using as its starting point the 3,029 sentences regarding the Lover and the Beloved that have been identified within Ramon Llull's Catalan oeuvre. These sentences have been systematically compiled within the Digital Corpus of the Lover and the Beloved (*Corpus Digital d'Amic i Amat* or CDAIA), an electronic reference tool containing a complete anthology of the relevant "amative" texts, organised thematically and artistically, all of which has been achieved via the application thereto of semantic tags. On the above basis, a hermeneutical analysis of the corpus has been formulated in order to define the meanings attributable to the image. At the very beginning of Llull's writerly production, the literary *metaphor* is forged, namely, that of the friendship between the Lover, i.e., the devout contemplative, and the Beloved (or God Himself). To this metaphor, new semantic fields, contexts and characters are progressively added, all of which lend increasing shape to the leitmotif operative within a schema of Christic friendship obtaining between human beings and God. In this way is the literary *theme* – an account, that is, the story of a spiritual adventure – built up, a theme wherein that original image ultimately assumes symbolic and archetypal characteristics.

These three dimensions (metaphor, theme and symbol) reveal the complexity pertaining to the image of the Lover as a literary and epistemological device within Llull's literary production. Our analysis has enabled us to elicit the thematic, Artistic and formal components of the corpus, as well as to discern the evolution of the Art and the forms of writing employed in each work. In so doing, it has revealed four phases associated with the unfolding of the image. These phases consist of: a) the earliest formulation of the metaphor in the *Llibre de contemplació* (Book of Contemplation); b) the definition of the theme in the *Llibre d'amic e amat* (Book of the Lover and the Beloved); c) the systematisation of the method of contemplation in the *Art amativa* (Amative Art); and d) the combination of the pedagogical vademecum pertaining to the method in question with the account narrated in relation to the Lover, a combination encountered in the *Arbre de filosofia d'amor* (Tree of the Philosophy of Love), a work wherein the theme reaches its narrative conclusion.

This thesis lays stress upon the literary nature of the image as well as upon the symbolic function thereof, while modifying the biographical and mystical perspective that has traditionally been adopted towards a number of "amative" works. The present study contributes towards our understanding of Llull's writings, writings invariably linked to the role of his Art, and it presents a novel interpretative framework whereby to reappraise the autobiographical and mystical conception – as well as that pertaining to the friendship (or *amistat*) of Christ – associated with the Lover (or *amic*). We thus venture a new reading of a motif which lays bare the unique formulation of vernacular literature undertaken by Llull, a formulation wherein it was made possible for his readers, by virtue of the Art and their understanding of literature considered as a spiritual practice, to reintroduce order into their powers of cognition, will and agency, and thus to achieve the fullness of their faculties, as well as to know and love God.

Keywords:

Ramon Llull, Vernacular Literature, Lover and Beloved, Mysticism, Art of Contemplation, Lullian Art, "Amància"

URL:

https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/673696

Autora: **Neus Serra Vives**
Títol: **El consum de ceràmica a la Ciutat de Mallorca a través de la cultura material (segles XIII i XIV)**
Directors: **Dra. Marta Sancho Planas i Dr. Miquel Àngel Capellà Galmés**
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Resum

L'edat mitjana a Mallorca es troba fortament condicionada per la conquesta cristiana de Jaume I, un esdeveniment decisiu que va suposar l'erradicació del llegat islàmic anterior i la irrupció d'una realitat cultural i material noves. D'entre els vestigis d'aquesta darrera, destaca per la seva humilitat, abundància i potencial informador, la ceràmica.

La tesi analitza, des d'un punt de vista interdisciplinari, distints conjunts ceràmics inèdits procedents de jaciments urbans que abasten el període comprès entre el segon terç del segle XIII i la primera meitat del segle XIV.

La convivència de les distintes produccions, els solapaments, substitucions, continuïtats i canvis testimonien un fenomen d'adopció de la ceràmica a gran escala i s'integren dins una dinàmica en què aquesta passarà de ser un mer objecte útil a erigir-se, en determinats casos, en una mostra de la cultura popular medieval, així com un potent vehicle transmissor d'una cultura visual compartida entre les distintes manifestacions artístiques del moment.

Paraules clau:

ceràmica cristiana, edat mitjana, Ciutat de Mallorca, cultura material, cultura visual, segles XIII i XIV.

Abstract

The Middle Ages in Mallorca are strongly conditioned by the Christian conquest of Jaume I, a decisive event that meant the eradication of the previous Islamic legacy and the irruption of a new cultural and material reality. Among the vestiges of the latter, pottery stands out for its humility, abundance and informative potential.

The thesis examines, from an interdisciplinary point of view, different unpublished ceramic assemblages from urban deposits that span the period between the second third of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century.

The coexistence of the different productions, the overlaps, substitutions, continuities and changes witness a large-scale phenomenon of adoption of ceramic vessels and are integrated into a larger dynamic in which pottery goes from being a mere useful object to become, in certain cases, a sample of medieval popular culture as well as a powerful conveyer of the visual culture shared between the different art media of the moment.

Keywords:

Christian pottery, Middle Ages, *Ciutat de Mallorca*, Material Culture, Visual Culture, 13th and 14th centuries.

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