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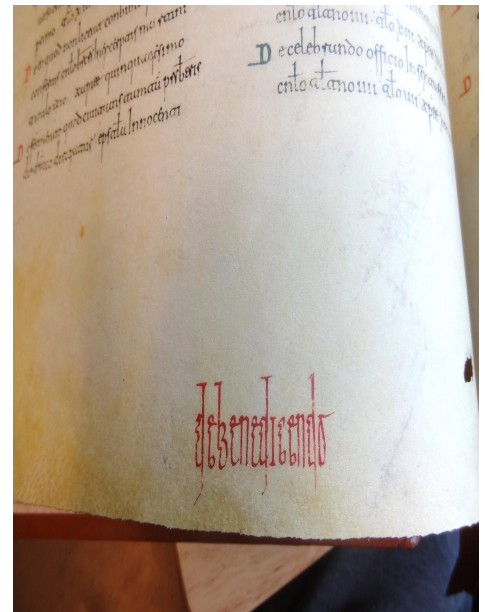
Templar Mansion of Bologna, and Ashley Elston incisively reviews a new volume in pilgrimage art in Southern Europe.

As part of our continuing series on ideas associated with teaching medieval art and architecture, we have an article that discusses the impact of digital humanities in terms of online databases of images and texts and a special article "Making More: the Medieval Electronic Scholarly Alliance as a Platform for Collaborative work with Medieval Manuscripts Online," by Matthew Evan Davis, who introduces the work of MESA bringing together varied databases.



renovation (again!) and is now part of Kenyon: Research, Scholarship, and Creative Exchange. Search by either typing in a key word or name in the Search box (e.g. Canterbury)

Welcome to the Spring 2014 issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*. It is with great pleasure that we present an issue that goes back to our roots with a focus on pilgrimage and pilgrimage art. Roger E. Reynolds presents "A Precious Ancient Souvenir Given to the First Pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela" which examines Bishop Godescalc's visit and how it impacted the manuscripts at Albelda in a very personal way. John K. Moore, Jr. also brings new critical attention to the imposing sculpture of St. James as a pilgrim in "Santiago's Sinister Hand: Hybrid Identity in the Statue of Saint James the Greater at Santa Marta de Tera." Virginia Brilliant explores how a frame with embedded relics enhanced and changed the meaning of the painting therein in her essay "A Framework for Devotion in Trecento Siena: a Reliquary Frame in the Cleveland Museum of Art." Giampiero Bagni posts a research query as to the function of a bowl associated with the



The Discoveries section in this issue, compiled by Amy Young, focuses on re-discovered treasures from the Viking era to the late Gothic), hitherto unknown buildings, and evidence for pilgrimage rituals.

And speaking of databases, the Photobank database continues to serve as a resource for scholars and teachers. Please note that our Photobank has undergone considerable

Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture, Vol. 4, Iss. 3 [2014]
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The Future

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: **Sarah Blick (editor)**.

Our grateful appreciation and thanks for partial funding provided by **Kenyon College**.
Programming and copy-editing: **John Pepple**.
Artistic Advising: **Karen Gerhart**.

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Vol. 3, Issue 2 (2011)

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Vol. 1, Issue 3 (2003) Vol. 1, Issue 2 (July 2002)

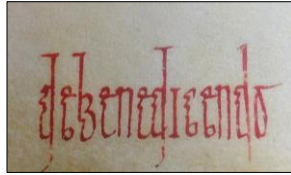
Vol. 1, Issue 1 (February 2002)

FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

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A Precious Ancient Souvenir Given to the First Pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela

By Roger E. Reynolds, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

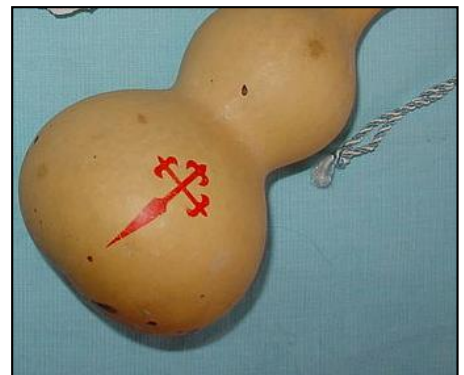
All of us who have made pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia in northwest Spain – three for me – are often reminded of their visits by the souvenirs they bring home. One may be a cockleshell with the cross of Santiago emblazoned on it.



Figure 1 Scallop shell from Santiago de Compostella. Photo: author.

Another may be a gourd, hollowed out as a water container.

Figure 2 Gourd water container from Santiago de Compostella. Photo: author.



Yet a third may be a tiny silver replica of the famous botafumiero, the gigantic thurible or censer swung on ropes by eight red-robed *tiraboleiros* through the transept of the basilica at Santiago belching incense and flames.



Figure 3 (left) Replica of botafumiero. Photo: author. **Figure 4** (right) Botafumiero, Santiago de Compostella. Photo: author.

Or it may be a book, such as a modern copy of the famous twelfth-century *Codex Callixtinus* describing the basilica, hostels and shrines along the Camino, and miracles.



Figure 5 Facsimile of *Codex Callixtinus*

Also important is a Camino passport with stamps of many of the stops one has made on the route demonstrating that one has walked at least 100 km. to Santiago.

Figure 6 Camino passport with stamps.
Photo: author.



All of these souvenirs are modern, but there still exists a precious souvenir of over 1,000 years old that one may hold in one's hands by going to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris and ordering MS Latin 2855.

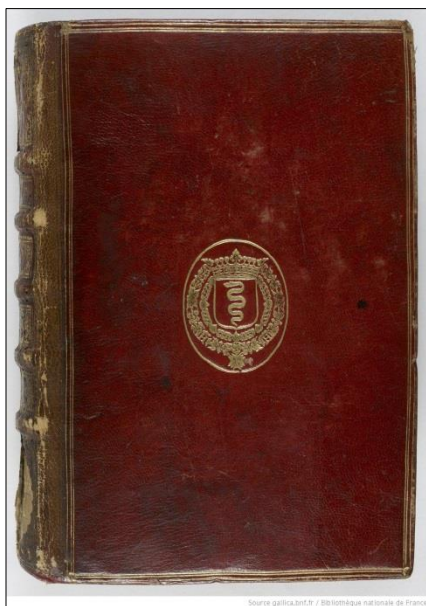


Figure 7 Paris BNF lat. 2855. Photo: Paris BNF.

This manuscript, as is now bound, is actually in three parts and only the third part is this souvenir. The first two sections have the works of Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie on the real presence of Christ in the host and an unusual

treatise on the making of Eucharistic hosts and their distribution on the altar.¹ The manuscript as a whole is widely known as the Godescalc manuscript, described as such on the first page of the manuscript as a whole.

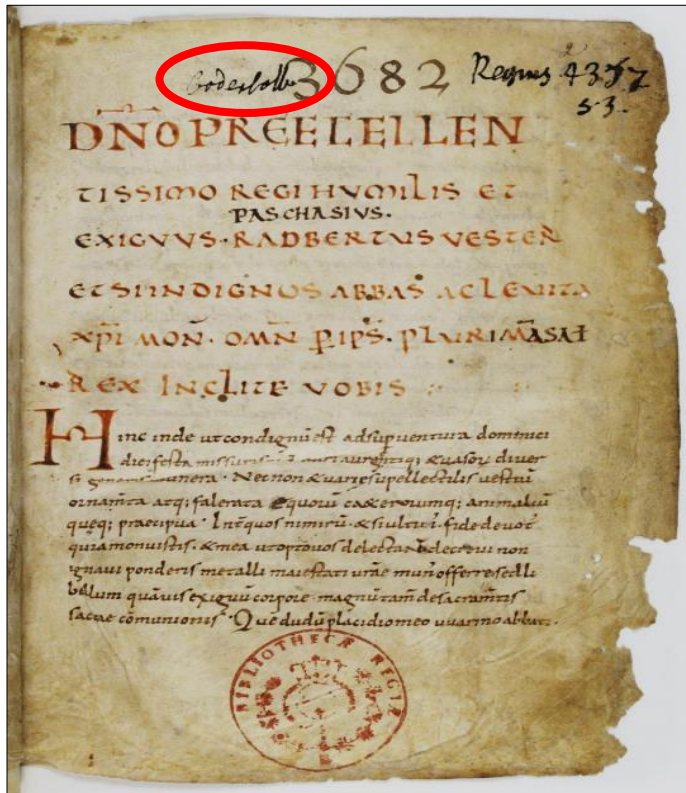


Figure 8 Paris BNF lat. 2855, fol. 1r. Photo: Paris BNF

This reference is to Bishop Godescalc of Le Puy, the first recorded pilgrim to Santiago, who on his way to Santiago in 950-951 made a detour in order to request and then pick up the manuscript from the abbey of San Martin de Albelda, south of Logroño.

Our story begins at Le Puy itself, now the starting point of one of four major pilgrimage roads in France, the so-called the Via Podiense. Prior to the arrival of Christianity an enormous dolmen, or single standing stone, stood atop the sacred hill in Le Puy. Sometime between the 3rd

¹ On this see my "Christ's Money: Eucharistic Azyme Hosts in the Ninth Century According to Bishop Eldefonsus of Spain: Observations on the Origin, Meaning, and Context of a Mysterious Revelation," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, 4.2 (2013) 25 f.

and 4th centuries AD, a local woman suffering from an incurable disease had visions of Mary who instructed her to climb Mt. Corneille, where she would be cured by sitting on the great stone. Doing this the woman was miraculously cured. The Virgin appeared to her a second time and gave her instructions that the local bishop should be contacted and told to build a church on the hill. According to legend, when the bishop climbed the hill, he found the ground covered in deep snow even though it was mid-summer, and saw a deer walking through the snow, tracing the ground plan of the cathedral that was to be built. The bishop, convinced by these miracles of the authenticity of Mary's wishes, completed the construction of the church. The great pagan dolmen was left standing in the center of the Christian sanctuary and was consecrated as the Throne of Mary. By the eighth century, however, the pagan stone, popularly known as the "stone of visions," was taken down and broken up. Its pieces were incorporated into the floor of a particular section of the church that came to be called the *Chambre Angelique*, or the "angels' chamber." Most of the early structures of the church have disappeared and were replaced by the



current basilica, a composite construction dating from the 5th to 12th centuries. While primarily an example of Romanesque architecture now, the massive cathedral of Notre Dame shows strong Arabic or Mozarabic influences in both its construction and decoration that are at times compared to the great mosque in Cordoba.

Figure 9 Notre Dame of Le Puy. Photo: author

As time passed this church and city became the most famous Marian shrine in France. Charlemagne visited

it twice, as did other important civil and ecclesiastical rulers, who have and continue to do so. As a Marian shrine, it was necessary to have all manner of artistic monuments to attract pilgrims, and one of these would have to be a liturgical office to use on Marian feast days – and perhaps on other days. What might be used? One could compose a liturgical office or look elsewhere for one already composed. Undoubtedly, the clerics of Le Puy had heard of such a text composed in the seventh century by a bishop of Toledo, Ildefonsus. How had these clerics heard of this? Likely through their contacts with Spain, because we know that numerous clerics (and laypeople) in Aquitaine were Visigoths who had come to the south of France to escape the encroachment of the Muslims in the eighth and ninth centuries.²

This text of Ildefonsus on Mary, entitled *De virginitate perpetua Mariae Virginis*, is an extraordinary one. So famous it was that Ildefonsus is called the first Spanish Mariologue, and it was cited in the histories of Spain and Toledo from the seventh century and beyond. Perhaps it was written before the tenth Council of Toledo (which Ildefonsus attended as a reporter) that instituted a feast for Mary on the 18th of December. The work is actually a polemical tract against two heretics and the Jews who rejected the idea of Mary's perpetual virginity. It is based on an earlier tract on the same by St. Jerome in the fourth century. The style of the tract, often called bombastic, has fascinated Latin literary specialists for years. It is a style not often employed by theologians – ornamental rhetoric, marked by a multiplication of synonyms and poetic pretensions. Ildefonsus utilizes Isidore's "synonymous method" (or *Synonyma Ciceronis*) for theological purposes, wherein he repeats every phrase several times in different, although

² On this see my "The Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne," in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte 80*; Mainz, 1997), 919-945.

purportedly identical, ways. But most important for us, the work is broken into six parts to be used in liturgies of the office, something the clerics of Le Puy may have known. So probably knowing about the existence of this Marian text, where could they find it? To this we shall return in a moment.

Now back to Le Puy and Bishop Godescalc. We know from a tenth-century source, to which we will return, that Godescalc was proud that it was on the day that Santiago ascended to heaven, that is, his heavenly birthday (presumably 25 July), that he also was born. And to make things even better, it was also on that day that he was made bishop of Le Puy. So what was more appropriate than to celebrate those facts by making a pilgrimage together with a sizable group of pilgrims (our source does not say how many, just many) to Santiago?

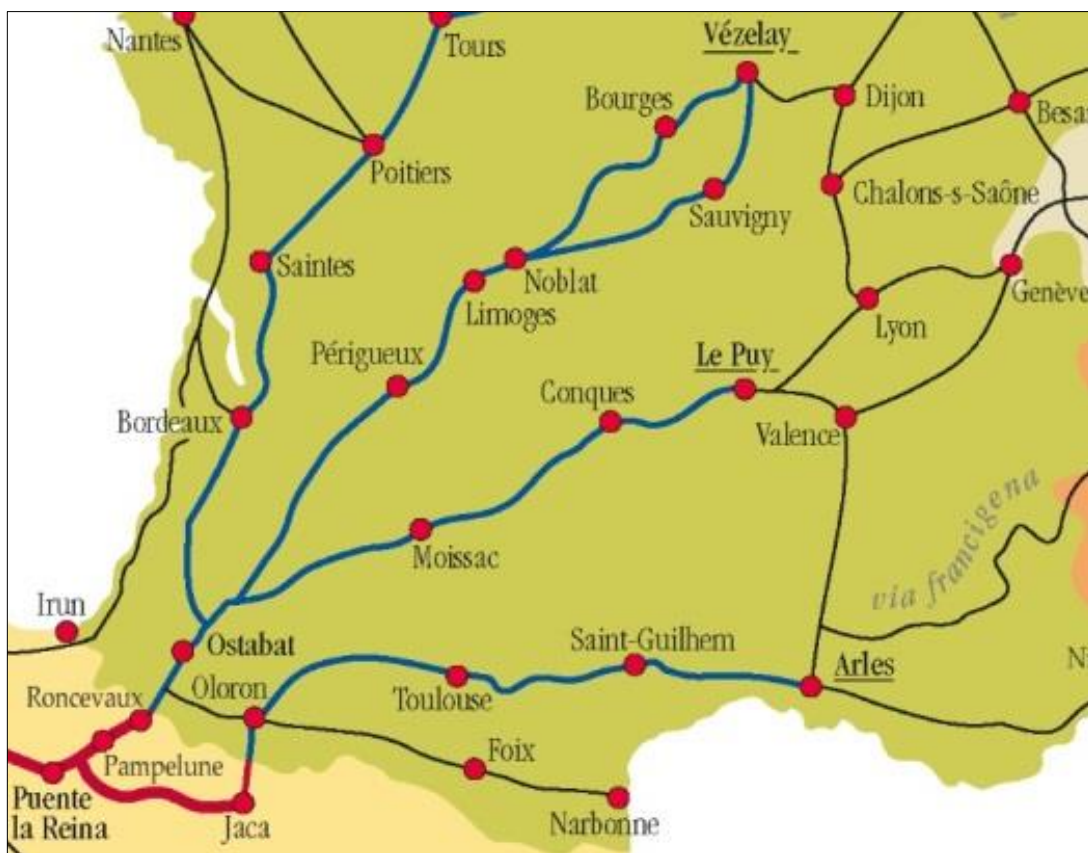


Figure 10 Map of pilgrimage routes. Map: author.

Along the way they would likely have stopped at such important sites as Conques, with the shrine of St. Foi, then the monastery of Moissac. Thereafter they had to pass over the Pyrenees mountains into the Iberian peninsula.



Figure 11 Map of Route from le Puy to Santiago de Compostela. Map: author.

Once there when they passed through Pamplona and on to Logroño, something unexpected happened. Rather than continuing westward toward Santiago, Bishop Godescalc and his entourage turned south taking a detour of some 15 km. along the Rio Iregua. As they proceeded, they passed a number of caves on the hills overlooking the valley of the Iregua.

What was in those caves? Recent excavations have found that many were inhabited since Visigothic times by hermits or small monastic communities. That this was the case is not



Figures 12-13 Monastic caves. Photo: author

surprising since there was a strong tradition in northern Spain of eremitic and rupestrian monasticism.³

One thinks, for example, of the famous cave monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, originally inhabited by the hermit St. Emilian that eventually grew into one of the most important monasteries in northern Spain. One can still visit the cave and the unusual church therein. Bishop Godescalc may not have been so interested in these caves along the Rio Iregua, but rather in a newly founded monastery in Albelda, which indeed was surmounted with caves.

This monastery was founded only in 924, that is, just a quarter century before Godescalc's visit. It is reported that by the time of Godescalc's visit in 950, there were 200 monks (perhaps an exaggeration), yet this is a remarkable number of monks in one monastery. Albelda had been a Muslim town called Albaida (white in Arabic – for the white cliffs around it).

³ A. González Blanco and T. Ramírez Martínez, "El Monasterio De San Martín De Albelda Y Sus Columbarios," *Los columbarios de La Rioja, Antig. Crist.* (Murcia) XVI, 1999, 179-185; Eugenio Riaño Pérez, "Eremitorios Rupestres Y Colonización Altomedieval, *Cave hermitages and colonization in the Early Middle Ages*," *Stud. hist., H.a mediev.* 13 (1995) 47-58; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Eremitical Life in Visigothic Spain," *Classical Folio* (1969) 209-227. Justiniano García Prado, "Las cuevas habitadas de Arnedo," *Berceo* 12 (1949) 341-364.



Figure 14 Landscape with cave churches marked. Photo: author

But in 924 Ordoño I (King of the Asturias) conquered the Muslim ruler, Muza, in the battle of Monte Laturce near Clavio, not far from Albelda. Odoño drove the Muslims out and wanted to restore the devastated town and repopulate the region with Christians. One of the best ways to do this was to found a monastery to attract Christians and supporting businesses and institutions for the monastery; this was done by Sancho Garcia I. But where does one find monks to found the monastery? From other monasteries not far from Albelda. It is thought that some monks came from Cardeña, and perhaps some came from trans-Pyrenean monasteries in Aquitaine.⁴ Perhaps that would explain the name given the monastery at Albelda – San Martin -- revered as the great founder of monasticism in the West who lived first as a hermit and then founded a monastery at Tours. Clearly some of his relics were brought to Albelda and were kept in the atrium of the monastery, according to a tenth-century source we will look at later. If relics of St. Martin were brought to Albelda, it is likely that some of the great manuscripts made at Tours in the late ninth century were also brought there. This is clear in three manuscripts, one

⁴ M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Escritores del monasterio de Albelda. Vigilán y Sarracino' in *Códice Albeldense*, 976: *Original Conservado en la Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (d.I.2) (Colección Scriptorium 15*; Madrid, 2002), 75.

from the ninth century and the others written in the mid-tenth century where the same Franco-Saxon interlace is used to decorate an initial.



Figure 15, 16, 17 (left) Second Bible of Charles the Bald, Paris BNF Lat. 2 (s.IX) fol. 8r; (center) Paris BNF Lat. 2855 (950) fol. 73v; Codex Vigilanus Escorial d.1.2 (976), fol. 23r. Photos: Paris BNF and author.

Hence, it is likely that some of the monks brought to Albelda were from the north, bringing the name of St. Martin, some of his relics, and some of the manuscripts made at Tours.

Another source of monks to populate the monastery of Albelda were the small monasteries and hermits who had survived under the Muslims in their caves near Albelda along the Rio Iregua. We know of one of the very small monasteries near Albelda which commended itself and its monks to Albelda. This was the monastery of St. Prudencio of Monte Laturce, and the commendation still exists. It is a remarkable document dated to 950 in the Diocesan Archive in nearby Logroño. In it the abbot and six monks commend themselves to San Martin de Albelda. “Ego Adica abba cum fratribus mei Christoforo, Furtunio, Sarracino, Dato, Stefano Rapinato ... tibi patri spirituali Dulquito abbati et fratribus tecum in amore Christ Albilde in cenobio Sancti Martini ... contradimus animas nostras simulque corpora ut vestris orationibus

adiuti adipiscamur vobiscum premia poli.”⁵ One of these six monks named is Sarracino, whom we will meet again at Albelda. The document is signed by a scribe named Vigila, who says at the conclusion of the document that he is adding his “signum” or sign (likely a cross). “Vigila scriba manu mea signum feci (t or †).” It is important to note that Vigila calls himself “scriba” or scribe – his “professional title.” But perhaps the most interesting thing about this parchment document is that Vigila wrote it in a strange style, called Visigothic longaria.⁶

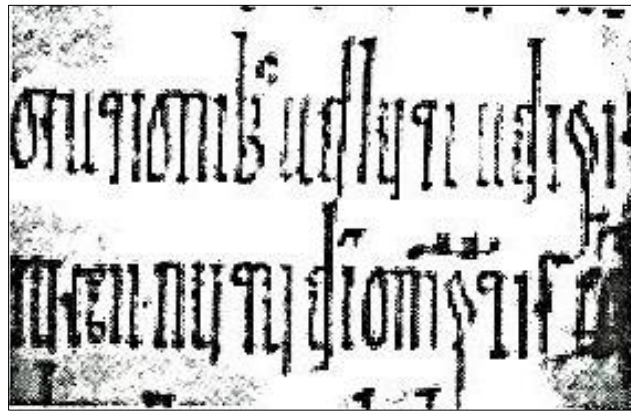


Figure 18 Logroño, Arch. Dioc. Pergaminos, núm 1, ter Original. Photo: Florez

This is precisely the style he used in one of the most famous manuscripts created in medieval Spain, the *Codex canonum Albeldense* (El Escorial d.I.2).

⁵ Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de Albelda* (Zaragoza, 1981) 28 f.

⁶ See José Antonio Fernández Flórez and Marta Herrero de la Fuente, “Copistas y colaboradores en el Monasterio de Albelda,” in *La collaboration dans la production de l’écrit médiéval, Actes du XIII^e colloque du Comité international de paléographie latine (Weingarten 22-25 septembre 2000)* (Paris 2003) 112, 119.

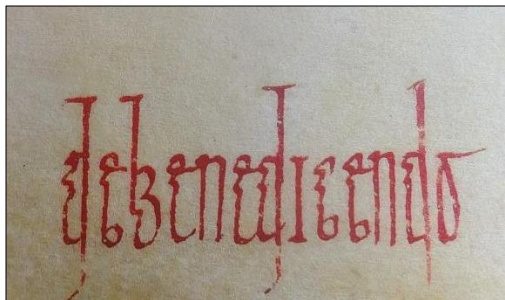


Figure 19 El Escorial d.I.2, fol. 44v. Photo: author

That brings us to this unbelievable legal manuscript made in Albelda, perhaps in planning or progress, as Godescalc arrived. Its creators were Vigila and Sarracino, both of whom we met in the document from San Prudencio. They were helped by a “discipulus” or disciple named Garcia, who may have cut and prepared the parchment. There exists a wonderful self-portrait of Vigila in his manuscript.



Figure 20 Self-portrait of Vigila, El Escorial d.I.2, facing fol. v. Photo: author

and another portrait of the three workers at the end of the manuscript.

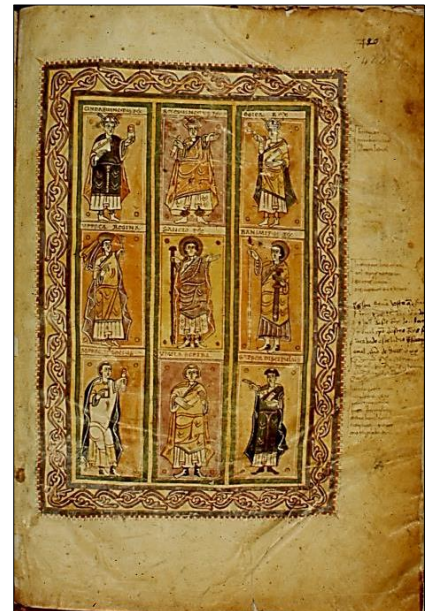
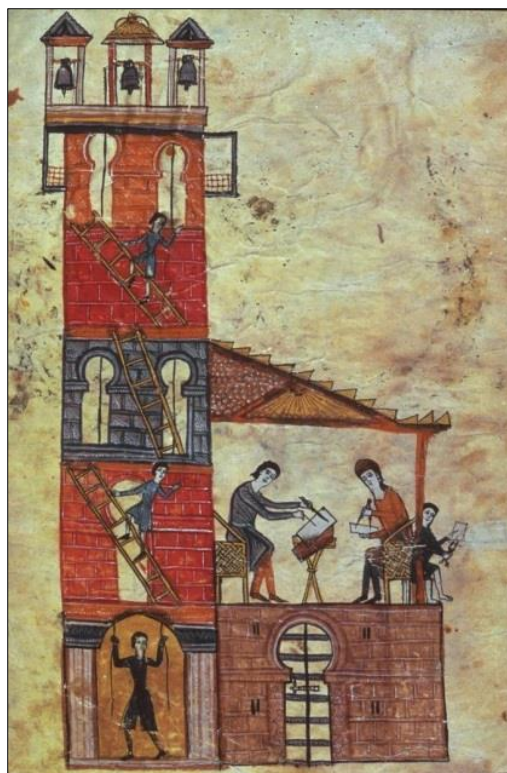
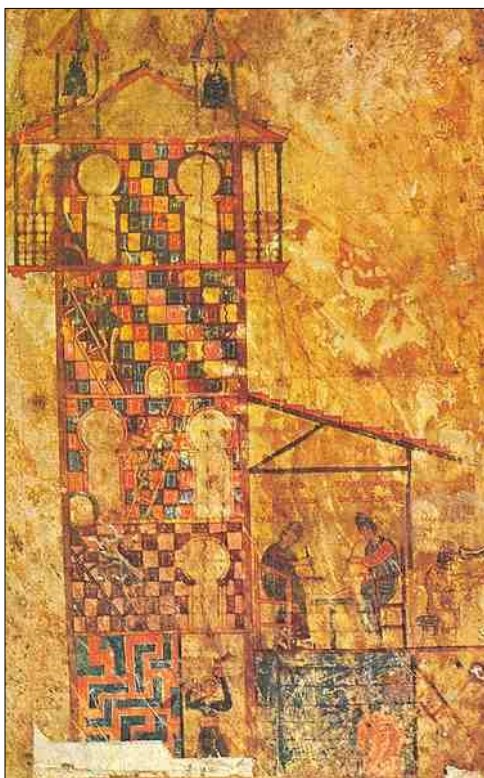


Figure 21 El Escorial d.I.2, fol. 420r. Photo: author

These three likely worked together in the monastic scriptorium, as can be seen in an illustration of a scriptorium in several Beatus manuscripts.



Figures 22-23
(left) Madrid
Archivo Histórico
Nacional. Ms
1097 B (1240)
fol. 169r; (right)
New York,
Pierpont Morgan
Library MS
M.429, fol. 183r.
Photos: author

The Codex Albeldense is a marvel of organization, illustrations, and information. It is an enormous codex of nearly 450 pages (24 x 48 inches and weighing nearly 45 pounds).



Figure 24 El Escorial d.I.2, Photo: author's copy

Both Vigila and Sarracino wrote and illustrated the manuscript. It contains all the laws of the church and secular rulers in early medieval Spain, and it is famous because it contains the first example of Arabic numbers known in the West, histories of Spain, poems by Vigila, and so forth.

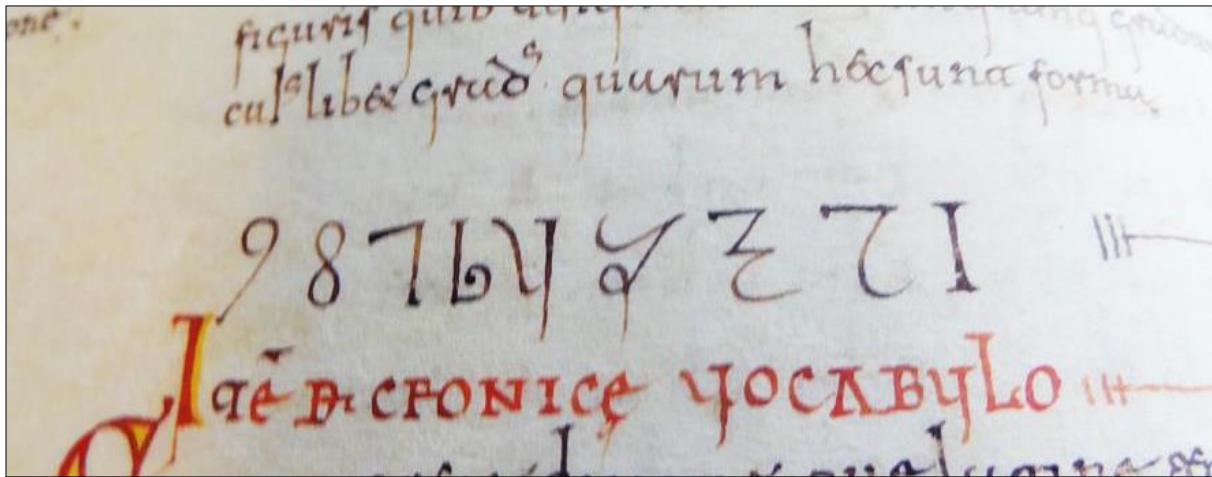


Figure 25 El Escorial d.I.2, fol. 16v. Photo: author

Here are several decorative pages and illustrations:

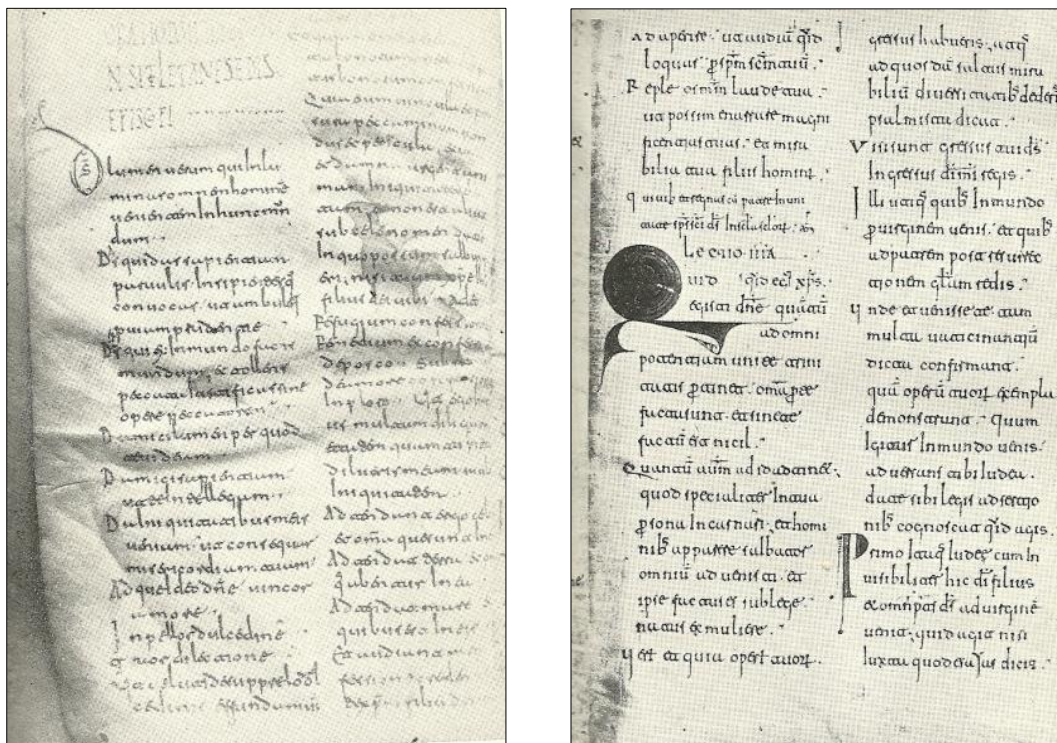


Figures 26-27 El Escorial d.I.2, fols. 16v and 18v. Photos: author

We have met two of the great scribes of the monastery. But that meant that there had to have been manuscripts there to copy, and surely Albelda was building a large library of these for the scribes to copy. Among these would have been texts known in Spain at that time.

Returning to our story of Godescalc. Why did Godescalc visit Albelda? Some scholars said he wanted to cement ecclesio-political ties with this newly liberated area. Yet he could have done that elsewhere, such as Logroño, and not taken the detour to Albelda. More likely he went because he had heard that there was a manuscript there of the *De virginitate* of Ildefonsus. How did he know? Probably one of the Visigothic monks or clerics in Le Puy had told him that one was there or that they suspected a library as large as Albelda would have one.

At that time, there seem to have been very few manuscripts of the *De virginitate* in Spain, if one can judge by the extant manuscripts before 950 – only two.⁷



Figures 28-29 León Arch. Cat. 22, fol. 9v and El Escorial a.II.9, fol. 22v. Photos: author

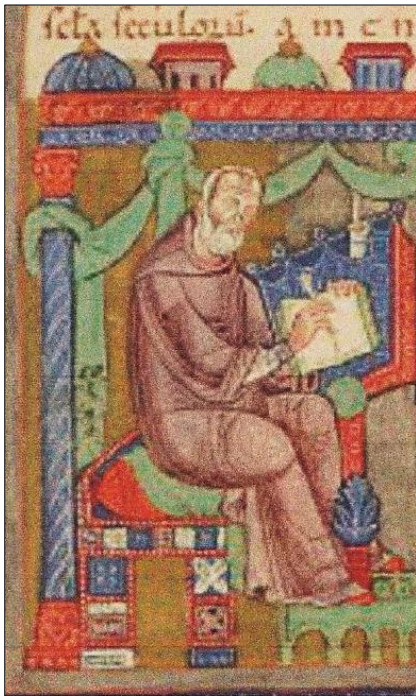
But we surely know at least one was at Albelda, to which we will return in a moment. In any event, Bishop Godescalc arrived at Albelda with his retinue⁸ and undoubtedly was introduced to the Abbot Dulquitus, a man known for his culture and love of books. Godescalc must have asked him if the monastery had a copy of the *De virginitate*, and if so, could he have a manuscript made for him as he was traveling on to Santiago and that he would pick it up on his return back

⁷ On an early tenth-century manuscripts of the *De virginitate* possibly in northern Spain, see M. C. Díaz y Díaz, “La circulación des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIIe au XIe siècles,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 12 (1969) pp. 388 f.

⁸ For an imaginative account of Godescalc’s impressive retinue as it arrived at the monastery see Julián Cantera Orive, <http://www.vallenajerilla.com/berceo/canteraorive/gotescalco.htm>.

to Aquitaine. Dulquitus, impressed by an important bishop from Aquitaine, said that such was possible and he had exactly the scribe to do this.

Hence we meet another scribe of Albelda: Gomez, perhaps the experienced teacher of the scribe Vigila.⁹ We do not have any contemporary pictures of him as we do of Vigila and



Sarracino. But we do have one made some 150 years later in a manuscript of the *De virginitate*, the famous Parma Ildefonsus.

Figure 30 Gomez. Parma Bibl. Palat. 1650, fol. 102r. Photo. author

This scribe, we know, was a priest, whose age must have been at least twenty-five (for him to be ordained as a presbyter), making it likely that he had been at Albelda almost since its founding. So, Gomez began his work, knowing that the manuscript he was copying had to be done rapidly since

Godescalc intended to retrieve it after his return from Santiago back to Le Puy.

In 951, when Godescalc returned, with his large retinue, from Santiago, he again detoured to Logroño, some fifteen kilometers down to Albelda. There he was presented with the manuscript of the *De virginitate*. And what a manuscript it was – and remains so till today! The manuscript is in a beautiful Visigothic script, the script of Visigothic and Mozarabic Spain, used there until the 12th century when it was replaced by the northern European Carolingian script.

⁹ M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Escritores del monasterio de Alvela. Vigilán y Sarracino' in *Códice Albeldense*, 976: *Original Conservado en la Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (d.I.2)* (Colección *Scriptorium* 15; Madrid, 2002) 78.

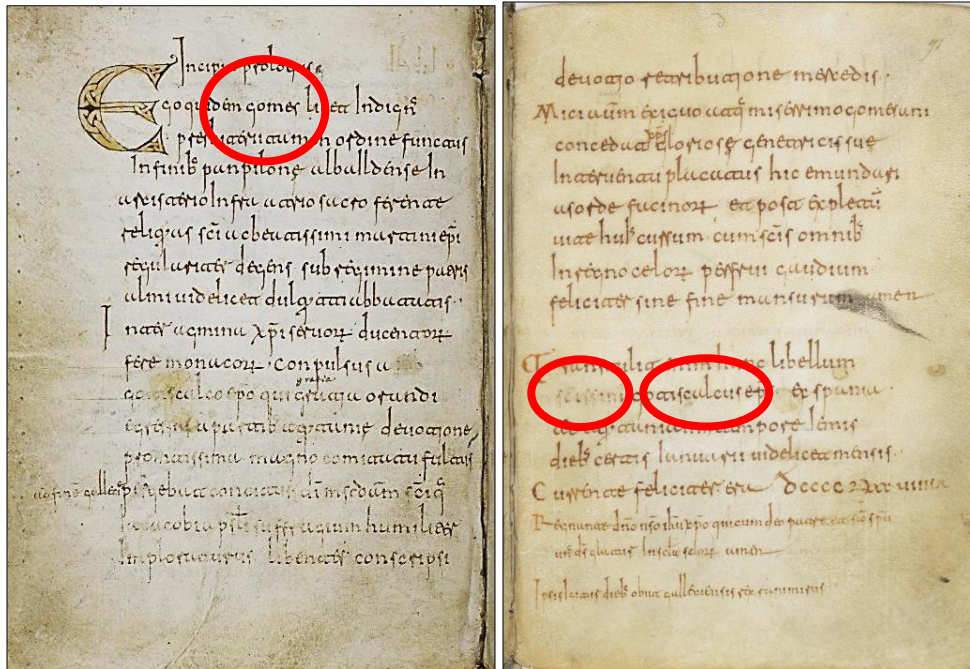
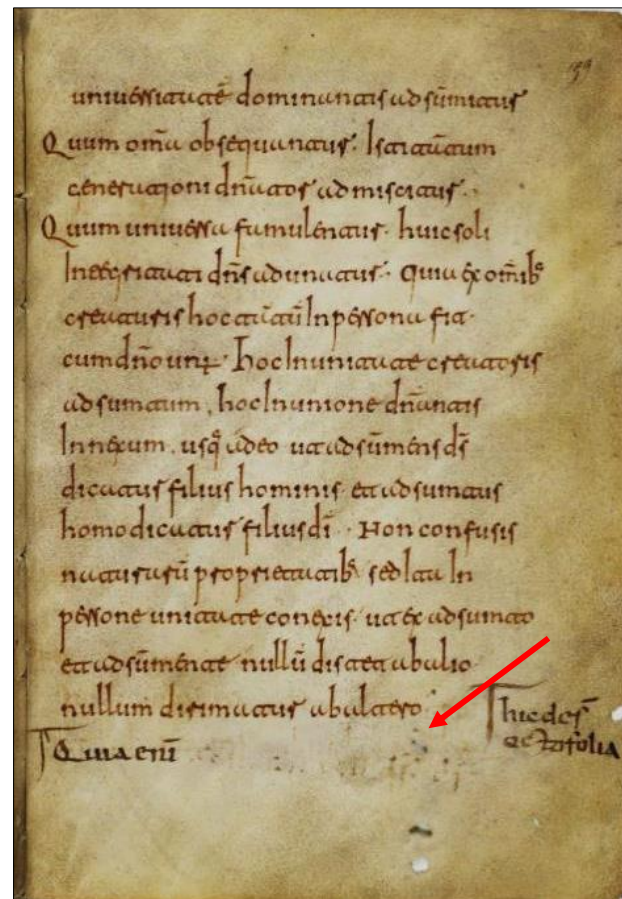


Figure 31 Paris BNF lat. 2855, fols. 69v and 71r. Photo: Paris BNF. Left: Gomez; Right: erasure and Godescalc

The text in the manuscript is indeed that of the *De uirginitate* of Ildefonsus. But there are many extraordinary things about the manuscript. First, it lacks the final section of the *De uirginitate* as we know it from other manuscripts and it ends on the recto side of a folio in mid-sentence.

Figure 32 Paris BNF lat. 2855, fol. 159r. Photo: Paris BNF

What did that mean? It was not that the next folios were missing from the manuscript we



now have because there is writing on the verso side of the folio. So, it means that the manuscript Gomez was copying was defective at the end and hence Gomez stopped there. Later, on the folio someone noted that the text was defective and wrote that eight folios were lacking as well as the next two words of the missing text, *Quia enim*. This hand is not in Visigothic script, but rather the Carolingian script used in the North. So, the manuscript must have been taken back to Le Puy, where it was being copied and compared with other complete manuscripts of the *De virginitate*, and it there it was recognized that Gomez's manuscript was incomplete and this was noted in Carolingian script on the recto folio.

Yet another puzzling thing about our Gomez manuscript is that on the verso side after the incomplete *De virginitate* text is written a rhythmic exorcism or incantation against Satan, and this continues on with yet another exorcism in the next final pages of the manuscript.¹⁰ These exorcisms are written in Visigothic letters smaller than the *De virginitate* text and have simple musical notation written "in campo aperto" above the words as is usual for Visigothic notation. The notation is quite basic (consisting of just four types of neumes) because it indicates a syllabic melody in which just one note is sung to each syllable of text.¹¹ The rhythmic exorcisms would have been chanted or sung over the demon-possessed person, and as a cross was held above him, words in the text were loudly repeated, "Flee Satan by the sweet cross." In the space above the exorcism text it is written that it is to be used before the reading is done by a bishop. Could this text have been intended for the Bishop Godescalc or for another bishop?

¹⁰ For a partial edition of the texts see Ludwig Traube, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Poetae latini aevi Carolini*; v. 3 (Berlin, 1896) 149 f.

¹¹ I thank my friend and musical historian, Susan Boyton, for this observation.

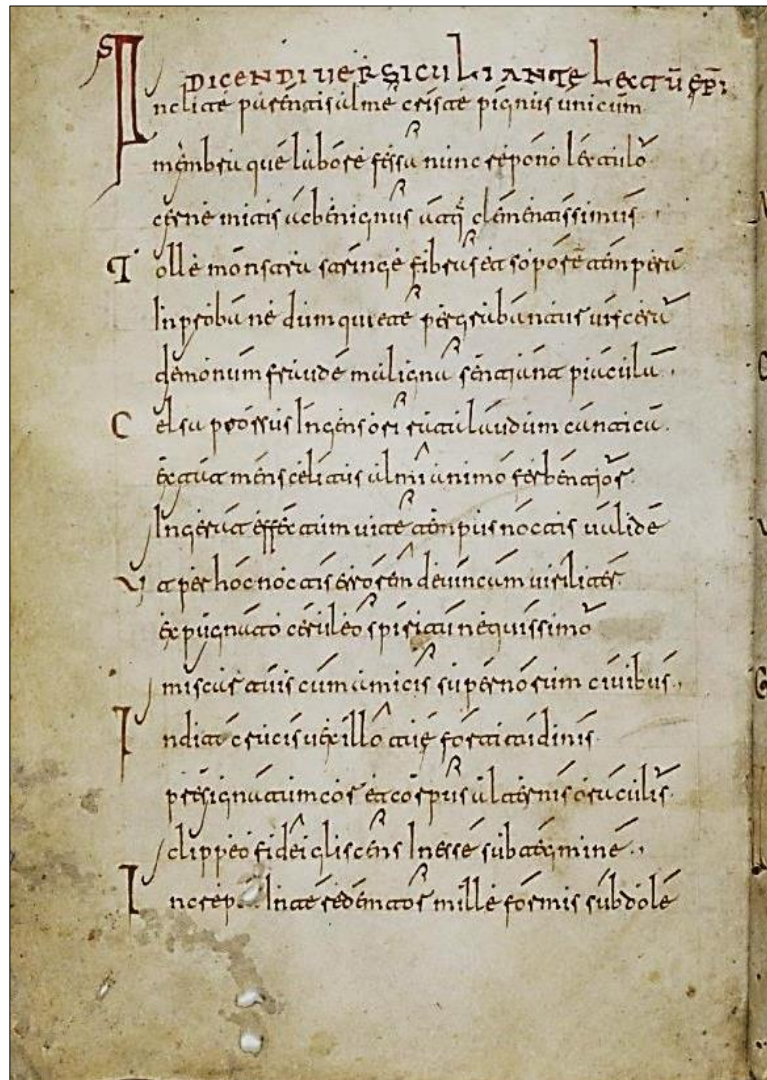


Figure 33 Paris BNF lat. 2855, fol. 159v. Photo: Paris BNF

We do not know. And was the text of the exorcism written by Gomez? The writing is certainly similar to his in the remainder of the manuscript. But why would Gomez have “spoiled” his beautiful manuscript of the *De virginitate* by adding these seemingly unrelated exorcisms? Perhaps Godescalc, on picking up the manuscript, remembered that the cathedral of Le Puy was a place of healing, and asked that an exorcism text be added by Gomez before he left. Or perhaps later a scribe who could write like Gomez added it – in Spain or in Le Puy. That the exorcisms

were written in Spain is probable because we have the same texts in another tenth-century Visigothic script manuscript likely from northern Spain, the Codex Azagra,¹² and there is no evidence that they existed outside Spain.

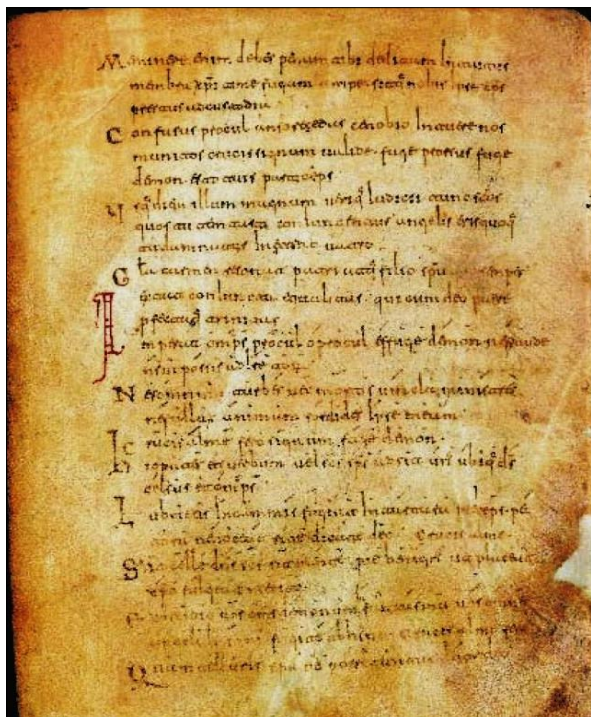
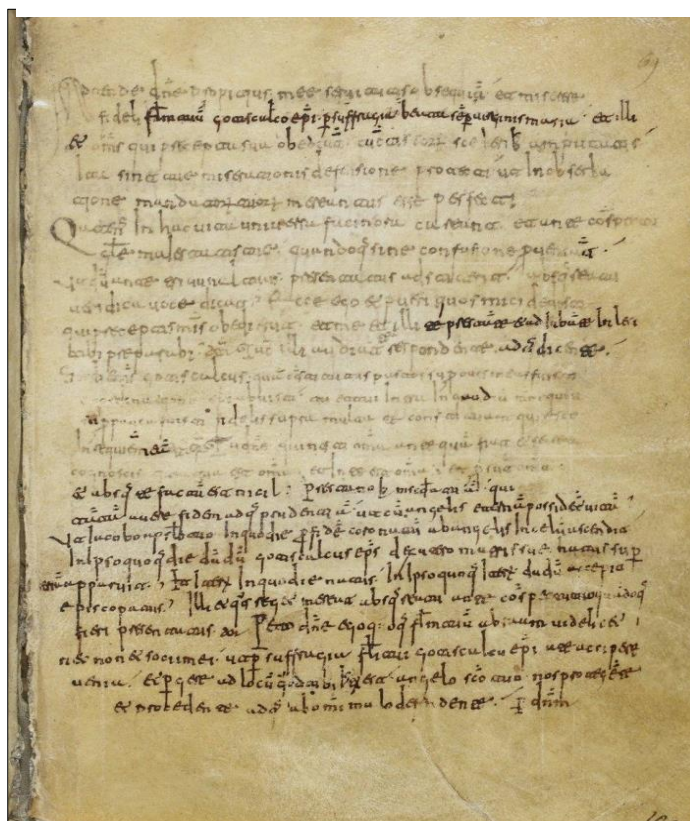


Figure 34 Madrid Bibl. Nac. de Esp. 10029, fol. 158r. Photo: author

Figure 35 Paris BNF lat. 2855, fol. 69r. Photo: Paris BNF



Yet another puzzle – the outside covering page or first recto folio of the manuscript.

¹² On the pages of this manuscript with the exorcisms, see *Hispania Vetis. Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th to 12th Centuries)*, ed. Susana Zapke (Cambridge, 2007) 296.

The text here is written in a sloppy Visigothic script with cursive, hurried features. The text is a long prayer for Bishop Godescalc and his company. The text gives us the information about Godescalc's reason for his pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James, mentioned above, and other details. Then the text closes by naming its author as Abraham, a servant of Godescalc. So, we have here a Visigoth who likely accompanied Godescalc from Le Puy. And perhaps it was he who knew or suggested a text of the *De virginitate* could be found at Albelda. As one analyzes the writing, it is almost wholly in Visigothic script including abbreviations – except for an abbreviation mostly used for the word “per.” This abbreviation for the word “per” is not in Visigothic, but in Carolingian, suggesting that Abraham had learned this in France. Nonetheless, he did occasionally use the Visigothic abbreviation for the word “per.”

ABRAHAM'S USE OF CAROLINGIAN AND VISIGOTHIC FORMS

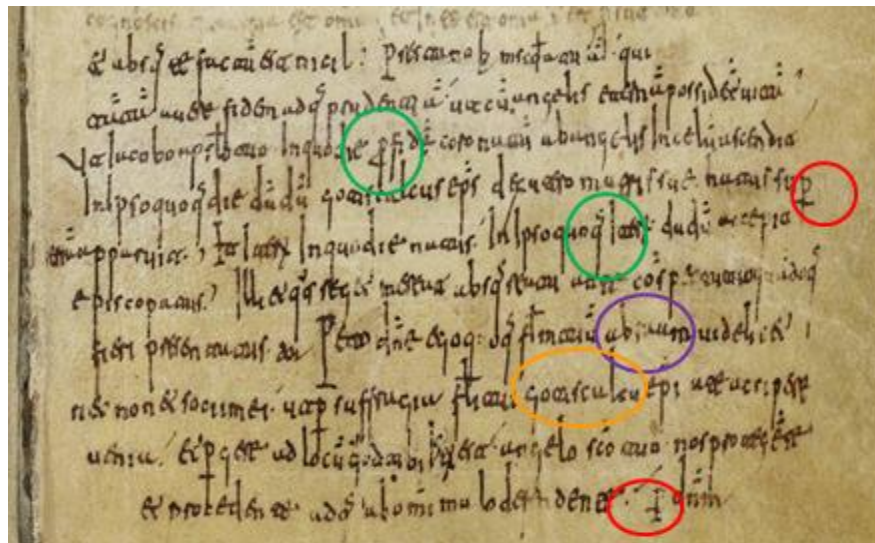


Figure 36 Paris
BNF lat. 2855, fol.
69r. Photo: Paris
BNF

VISIGOTHIC
'PER'

CAROLINGIAN
'PER'

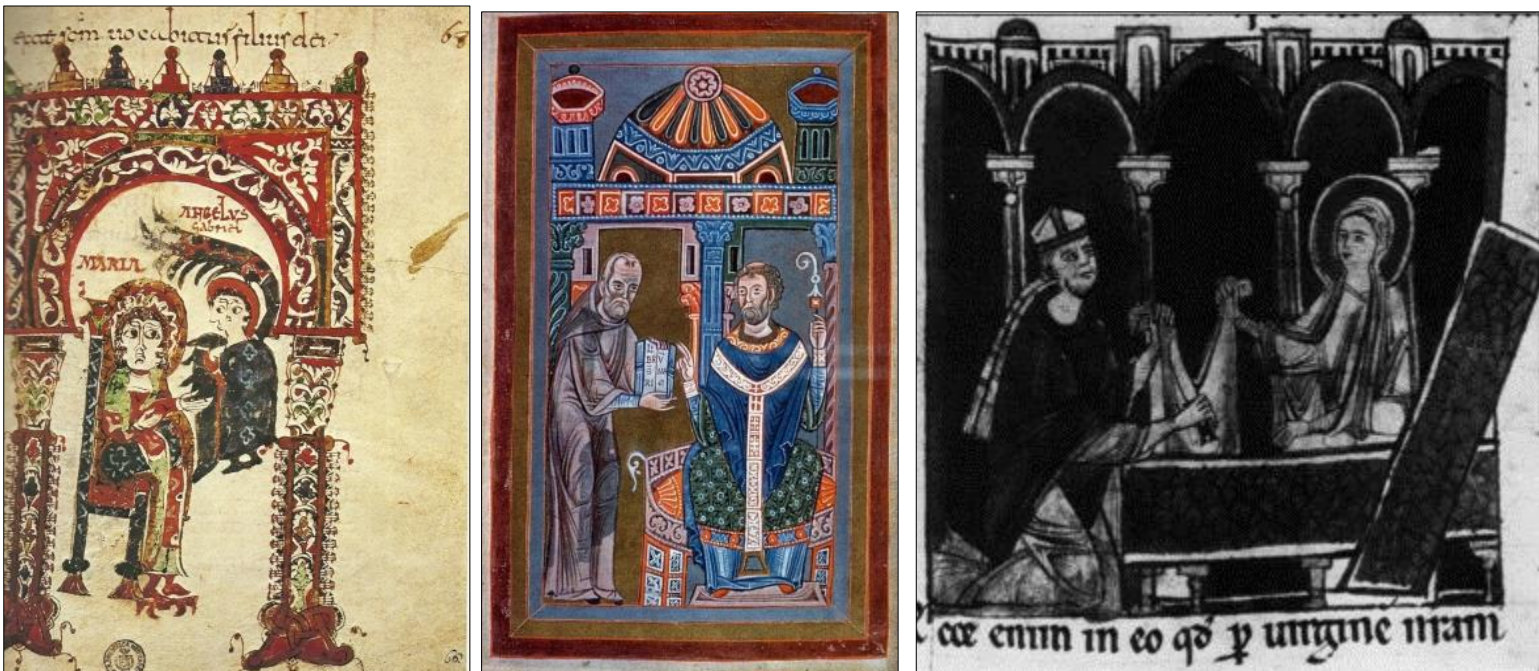
CAROLINGIAN
'PRO'

ABRAHAM
GODESCALC EPI

The next question is why did he write this text on the outside cover of the manuscript? Was it he who delivered it to his master Godescalc or who carried it with him back to Le Puy?

We now come to the heart of the manuscript itself, the souvenir from Godescalc's trip to Santiago. It contains three sections, a Prologue by Gomez explaining why the manuscript was

written for Godescalc; a history of the life of Ildefonus written by Julian of Toledo (one of Ildefonsus's successors there), and third, the major work, the *De virginitate perpetua sancte Marie*. The manuscript is a beautiful one, large letters in a beautiful Visigothic script, and few abbreviations in Visigothic script that might confuse a northern user like Godescalc of Le Puy. Surprisingly there are no illustrations that one might expect in a manuscript made at Albelda with such great illustrators as Vigila and Sarracino present. We know that later manuscripts of the *De virginitate* were highly illustrated – the Ashburnham, Parma, and newly discovered Madrid manuscripts, but why not Gomez's manuscript? The reason probably is that Gomez had little time to complete the manuscript before Godescalc returned from Santiago in 951. But there are several beautiful interlace initials. Was it Gomez who made them, or could it have been Vigila, who had made similar initials in his Codex Albeldense? (**figure 17**)



Figures 37, 38, 39 Florence Bibl. Laur. Ashb. 17, fol. 66r; Parma Bibl. Palat. 1650, fol. 102v; Madrid Bibl. Nac. de Esp. 21546, fol. 49r. Photos: author, Raitzman

We come first to the Prologue of Gomez, which may bear the influence of another famous scribe who early worked at Albelda before transferring to San Millan de la Cogolla, Jimenez.¹³ Gomez says:¹⁴ “I Gomez, although unworthy, in the priestly (or presbyteral) order, at the confines of Pamplona in the monastery of Albelda where rest the relics of the most blessed bishop Martin in the atrium of the monastery, under the order of sweet Dulcitus, abbot over 200 monks -- Bishop Godescalc, on his way to the extremities of Galicia with a large retinue to plead for the mercy of saint James, asked that I freely copy a little book by blessed Ildefonsus of Toledo written some time ago praising the virginity of holy Mary, perpetual virgin and the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ.” Gomez goes on to say that it is Godescalc who wants to bring

¹³ M. C. Díaz y Díaz, ‘Escritores del monasterio de Alvelda. Vigilán y Sarracino’ in *Códice Albeldense*, 976: *Original Conservado en la Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (d.I.2) (Colección Scriptorium 15*; Madrid, 2002) 78, and *his Libros y Librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, (Logroño, 1991) 115 ff.

¹⁴ For the various attempts to edit this text see Léopold Victor Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 1 (Paris, 1868), 516.f. (fol. 69v) Ego quidem Gomes, licet indignus, presbyterii tamen ordine functus, in finibus Panpilonae, Albaidense in arcisterio infra atrio sacro ferente reliquias sancti ac beatissimi Martini episcopi regulariter degens, sub regimine patris almi videlicet Dulcitti abbatatis (sic), inter agmina Christi servorum ducentorum fere monachorum, compulsus a Gotiscalco episcopo, qui gratis orandi egressus a partibus Aquitaniae devotione promptissima magno comitatu fultus ad finem Galleciae pergebat concitus, Dei misericordiam sanctique Jacobi apostoli suffragium humiliter imploraturus, libenter conscripsi (fol. 70r) libellum a beato Ildefonso, Toletanae sedis episcopo, dudum luculentissime editum, in quo continetur laudem virginittatis sanctae Mariae perpetuae virginis Jhesu Christ Domini genetricis, ubi predictus Ildefonsus episcopus, divino inspiramine afflatus, oraculis prophetarum inbutus, evangeliorum testimoniis roboratus, apostolorum documento instructus, celestium simul et terrenorum contestatione firmatus, gladio vervi Dei Jubeniani perfidiam vulneravit et pugione verissimae rationis Elbibii errorem destruxit: judeorum quoque duritiam non solum adstipulatione angelorum et hominum, sed etiam demonum prolata confessione, jugulavit. (fol. 70v) Jam vero quam dulcia quamque divino munere compta promserit eloquia, quisquis in hoc libello sollerter legerit facile pervidebit, ex quo et credulus auriat suabitatem, et anceps repperiet unde a se procul reppellat erroris pravitatem. Unde extimo incunctanter ut pari gloria ditetur a Christo pontifex Gotiscalcus, qui hanc laudem genetricis Domini nunc Aquitanie sanctae Mariae initio in propriam sedem specialiter advexit, sicut Ildefonsus episcopus, qui eam universe aecclesie catholice dudum generaliter tradidit, quia, etsi materia defuit laboris, equipatur tamen sacra (fol. 71r) devotio retributione mercedis. Mici autem exiguo atque miserrimo Gomesani concedat Christus, gloriosae genetricis suae interventu placatus, hic emundari a sorde facinorum et post expletum vite hujus cursum cum sanctis omnibus in regno celorum perfrui gaudium feliciter sine fine mansurum. Amen.

Transtulit enim hunc libellum sanctissimus (ras.) Gotiscalcus episcopus ex Spania ad Aquitaniam tempore iemis, diebus certis, januarii videlicet mensis, currente feliciter era DCCCC LXXX VIII, regnante Domino Nostro Jhesu Christo, qui cum Deo patre et sancto Spiritu unus Deus gloriatur in secula seculorum. Amen. Ipsis igitur diebus obit Galleciensis rex Ranimirus.

the praise of Mary to Aquitaine through this little book, just as Ildefonsus brought the glory of Mary to the world. At the end of the Prologue Gomez writes: “The most holy (erased) Bishop Godescalc has taken this little book out of Spain to Aquitaine in winter time, precisely in January of the year 951 (989 acc. to the Spanish calendar).” This is a remarkable Prologue filled with unusual historical references. At the end of it when he called Bishop Godescalc the most holy, the word “most holy” (*sanctissimus*) has been erased, probably by Godescalc himself, not wishing to be referred to in such high praise. **(figure 31)**

After this Prologue Gomez copies the text of Julian of Toledo on the life of Ildefonsus, and in this the works of Ildefonsus are listed, including the *De virginitate sanctae Mariae*. Thereafter follows the Preface and text of the *De virginitate* down to the recto folio on which the text breaks off in mid-sentence.

So, in January 951 Bishop Godescalc appears to have picked up his handsome manuscript from Gomez to take back to Le Puy to spread abroad the glory of the Virgin Mary. There is an illustration of that famous scene showing Gomez giving the manuscript to Godescalc in the *Parma Ildefonsus*. **(figure 37)**

What happened to the manuscript along the way back to Le Puy is shrouded in mystery. Did Godescalc stop along the way to have other scribes copy it, or did he go directly back to Le Puy? Did he keep the manuscript at Le Puy or loan it out for others to copy? Did he keep it as a separate manuscript or did he keep or combine it with other short manuscripts? We know that by the seventeenth century it was combined with two other short manuscripts, one with the famous *De corpore et sanguine Christi* by the ninth-century theologian (also a Mariologue) Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie, whose works at times in manuscripts were listed as Ildefonsus.¹⁵ The other

¹⁵ On this see my “Christ’s Money,” p. 26, n. 32.

short manuscript with which the Ildefonsus text was combined was a tract on the making of Eucharistic hosts and how they were to be laid out on the altar, which in other manuscripts was attributed to Ildefonsus or a mysterious Bishop Eldefonsus of Spain.¹⁶ At any event, there still exists an eleventh-century catalog of books at Le Puy. Unfortunately the catalog lists mainly books of science, not theology. But there is one small entry that perhaps indicates that our Ildefonsus manuscript was combined with the *De corpore et sanguine* of Radbertus. The little intruded text says “tractatu corporis et sanguinis domini.”

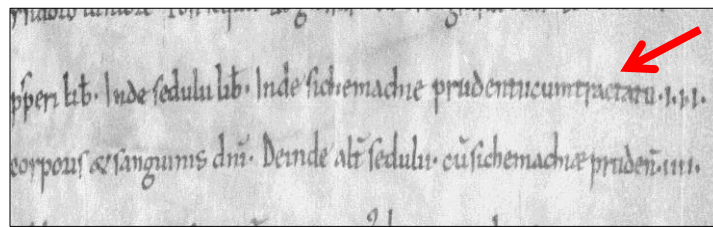


Figure 40 Paris BNF lat. 7581, fol. 59r. Photo: author

But whatever, the Godescalc’s manuscript was copied multiple time by scribes in Europe – including the Prologue by Gomez. In fact, there are fourteen manuscripts still extant that have the Ildefonsus text with the Gomez Prologue.

¹⁶ On this see my “Christ’s Money.”

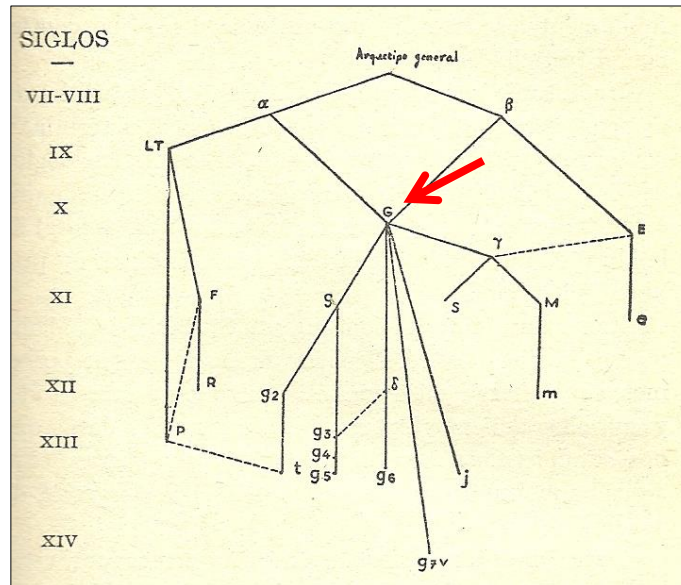


Figure 41 V. B. García San Ildefonso, *De virginitate beatae Mariae*, p. 31, G (Gomez) and its derivatives

Two of these seem to have been directly or one copy away from the Gomez text without the final section, but these two added the missing text likely from a Spanish source.¹⁷ Hence, Godescalc's wish that the fame of the Virgin through the text of Ildefonsus was abundantly fulfilled.

The manuscript itself appears to have been kept in Le Puy throughout the later Middle Ages and into the early modern period. We again hear about it from a list of manuscripts at Le Puy by the Maurist bibliophile, Dom Claude Estiennot, who was in regular contact with the great

¹⁷ Madrid, Bibl. Nac. de Esp. 10087 and Paris, BNF lat. 2833, on which see Meyer Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus: a Romanesque illuminated manuscript from Cluny, and related works*, (College Art Association of America, 1964) 62, n. 269. It has been argued that Toledo Bibl. Cap. 15-13 (Codex Ameliano of 1388) was directly copied from Paris 2855 with the conclusion of the Ildefonsus text. How this could have been is a mystery since the 2855 text ends on the recto side of the folio and on the verso is the exorcism. Also it would have meant that 2855 was taken to Toledo from Le Puy to have been copied. On this see Julian Cantera Orive in <http://www.vallenajerilla.com/berceo/canteraorive/gotescalco.htm>

Benedictine diplomatist and paleographer, Dom Jean Mabillon.¹⁸ This list by Estiennot was sent to another great bibliophile in Paris, the politician and lawyer, Étienne Baluze, who was also the librarian for Cardinal Jean-Baptiste Colbert, a famous and wealthy collector of manuscripts and Minister of Finances of France. The list of Estiennot still exists in Paris and in it there is listed the history of Ildefonsus of Toledo, likely our manuscript with the tract of Ildefonsus.

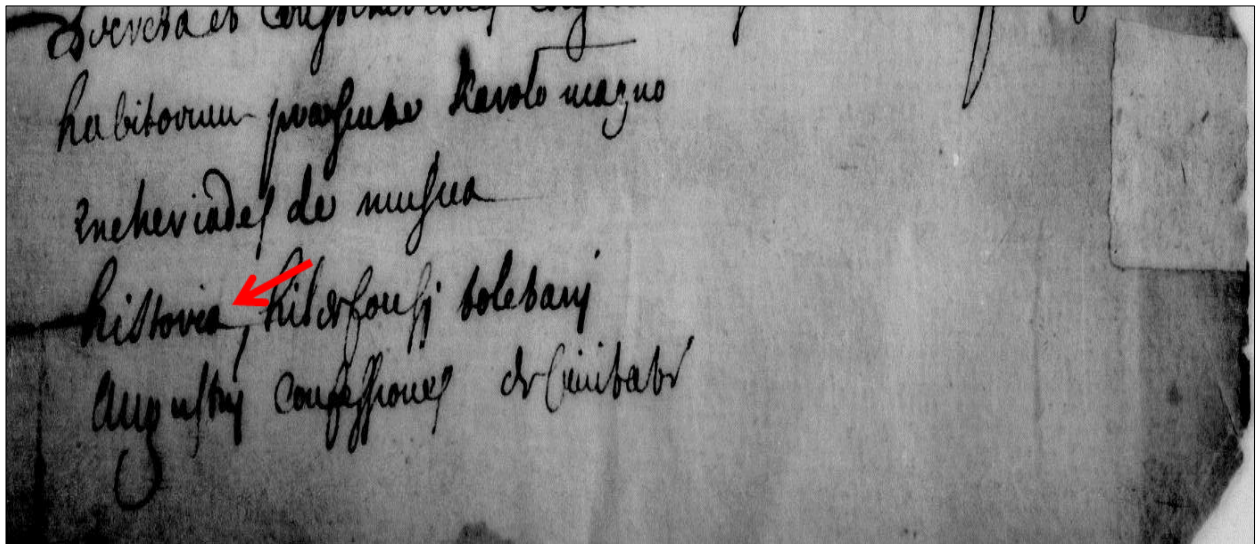


Figure 42 Mss of Le Puy by Dom Estiennot, PARIS BNF Lat. 13068, fol. 10 r. Photo: author

There were, it was reported, forty-nine manuscripts sent to Paris for Cardinal Colbert's library,¹⁹ and our manuscript is noted in the Baluze's inventory of manuscripts of Colbert from Le Puy dated 5 August 1681.

¹⁸ On Estiennot, Mabillon and Paris 2855, see my "Christ's Money" p. 29.

¹⁹ See Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 1.473.

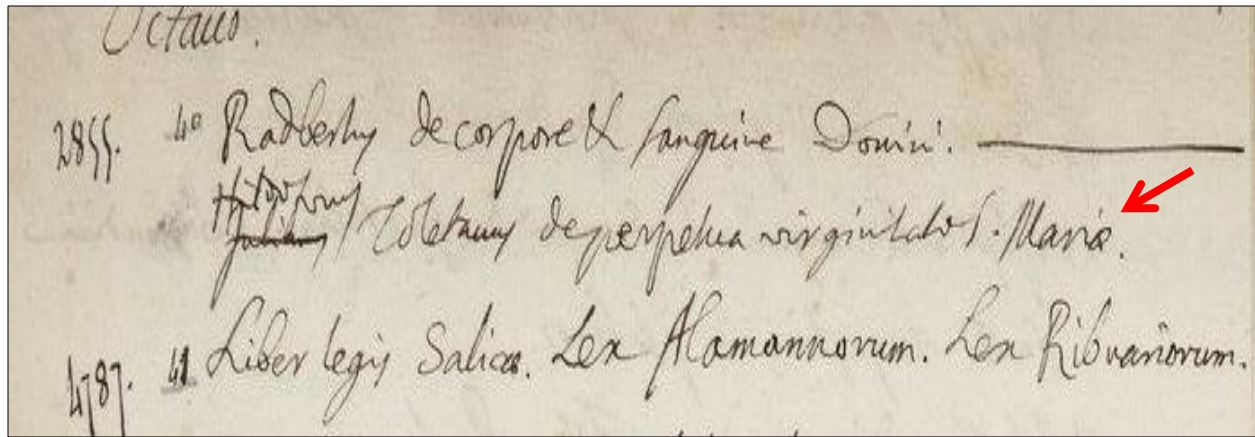


Figure 43 Baluze Inventory of Mss from Le Puy, Paris BNF Lat. 9364, fol. 72v. Photo: author

Our manuscript in three parts was bound in a handsome leather cover with Colbert's golden seal imprinted on it. (**fig. 7**) The manuscript was eventually left to Colbert's grandson who gave it to the Royal Collection. The first page of the manuscript bears several notations. (**fig. 8**) The first is Colbert's number 3682. Then there is the Royal collection number Regius 4337.⁵³ But most interesting is the notation: Godescalc, thereby acknowledging its ancient origin.

In his list of manuscripts at Le Puy Dom Estiennot listed many more than came to Cardinal Colbert. Quite a few seem to have been kept by the canons at Le Puy. Most of these, it is thought, likely perished during the French Revolution in the attacks on Le Puy and the cathedral, when the statue of the Black Madonna was profaned, tried, beheaded, and burned. Hence, it was most fortunate that our Godescalc manuscript had gone to Paris to be preserved there in the Royal Library. For a modern pilgrim to Santiago to hold this manuscript in his hands now is a thrilling and moving experience in light of the fascinating history surrounding its creation and travels for over a millennium.



Santiago's Sinister Hand: Hybrid Identity in the Statue of Saint James the Greater at Santa Marta de Tera¹

By John Kitchen Moore, Jr., University of Alabama at Birmingham

Sculptural representations of James the Greater in the Middle Ages usually depict him as an Apostle, a Pilgrim, and as Slayer of Moors; all of which appeared to compete with each other over time. More recently the two most seemingly incompatible depictions of the saint, as an iconic pilgrim and as a warrior knight, have been shown to co-exist on a spectrum, with instances of overlapping roles.² James may have defended pilgrims traveling to his shrine, for example, while his conscripted patronage of the Spanish military class helped justify their role in assuring the safety of the pilgrimage route.

¹ No individual has influenced this essay more than George Greenia, whose generous suggestions have nuanced my thinking in important ways and whose inimitable style has given voice to several passages in these pages. I also would like to extend my gratitude to the two anonymous readers for their insightful and thorough comments, which proved invaluable in reshaping the final version of this article, as well as to Editor Sarah Blick for her evenhanded guidance throughout the process toward publication. I additionally thank my colleague Flowers Braswell, who posed a question years ago that inspired the subject of the current essay. Others who have offered useful advice at various stages include Laura Fernández, Nichole Lariscy, Tom Spaccarelli, Rosa Vázquez, and still others too numerous to list here. Finally, I would like to thank the University of Alabama at Birmingham, the College of Arts and Sciences, and the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures for a sabbatical and for a Dean's Grant, both of which afforded me the necessary time and resources to complete my research.

² John K. Moore, Jr., "Juxtaposing James the Greater: Interpreting the Interstices of Santiago as Peregrino and Matamoros," *La corónica* 36/2 (Spring 2008): 313-344; Stephen B. Raulston, "The Harmony of Staff and Sword: How Medieval Thinkers Saw Santiago Peregrino and Matamoros," *La corónica* 36/2 (Spring 2008): 345-368.

Another set of confluences in Santiago's imagery can be found in his manifestations as just one of the apostles, with the pilgrimage attributes (short cape, staff, brimmed hat, traveler's bag, scallop shell) layered on top of his evangelical ones (postures for preaching, the canonical book of sacred Christian writ). Perhaps the most noteworthy case of convergence between these last two types is in the iconic sandstone sculpture of the saint outside the church of Santa Marta de Tera in rural Zamora province in northwest Spain. **(fig. 1)** This essay will examine the multiple strands of meaning evoked by this complex and striking figure. After first considering this James statue alongside that by Master Mateo in the Pórtico de la Gloria in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, the article will address the image's iconographic context. The study then will analyze the story of James as the original evangelizer of Spain in connection to this sculpture and subsequently will address the history of the church of Santa Marta de Tera in relation to the statue. To conclude, this essay will resolve the function of this figure of Santiago.

The sculpture at Tera reflects what was written in the *Book of Saint James*, or *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. It combines the saint's key role as a preacher, as in the *Veneranda dies* sermon (I.17) which repeatedly praised the sermonizing of this saint, with the pilgrim and the intrinsic meaning of his attributes: staff, pouch, and scallop. Both James's preaching and the figurative meaning of his pilgrimage accessories worked as an antidote to vice, corruption, and damnation. Santiago's left hand—his sinister hand—holds the interpretive key, so to speak, since it can be understood in the same fluid terms as the saint's hybrid identities: as giving a sermon in one sense, and as warding off peril in another, especially given the "sinister" connotations associated with the hand making the gesture. Combining these two meanings, James is perhaps best seen here as preaching a



Figure 1 St. James as Pilgrim and Apostle (c. 1125-1150). Santa Marta de Tera Parish Church, south portal, Zamora Province of Castilla y León, Spain. Photo: author

warning against the physical and spiritual dangers along the roads to Santiago: “All iniquity and fraud abounds on the routes of the saints.”³

This reading of the sculpture is informed by the dominant theory of art contemporary with the Tera icon, generated during the Gregorian Reform of the late eleventh century, which argued that images must do more than just tell a story: they should provide scriptural teachings to the illiterate on one level, and additionally ought to convey a deeper, more symbolic meaning in order to elevate the viewer to a higher moral plane. Although we *could* resort to current critical theory regarding the multifarious nature of “identity” and “hybridity” in order to get past a rigid categorization of the statue of Santiago at Tera, we don’t have to go so far: even in its own day, Romanesque “art was understood to operate in a continuous process of subjective transformation.” The elusive nature of artworks stood in contrast to the immutable character of the heavenly fatherland from which Christian pilgrims—and all Christians, for that matter—wandered in exile and to which they longed to return. The hybrid identity of the James sculpture at Tera is emblematic of the new Gregorian theory of art, and the statue’s layered meanings, in keeping with the Gregorian pattern of pilgrimage (exile/return), serve as a reminder of the celestial abode, the ultimate goal of any Christian journey.⁴

³ Thomas F. Coffey, Linda Kay Davidson, and Maryjane Dunn, eds., *The Miracles of Saint James: Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi* (New York: Italica Press, 1996), 41; on Santiago’s preaching: 11, 15, and 16 (three instances on the last of these pages); Klaus Herbers and Manuel Santos Noia, eds., *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1999), on the pilgrim: 83-104, esp. 91-92; on James as a preacher: 86, 88 (four instances on the last of these pages); Latin text of quotation: 98 (fol. 87v): “Omnis iniquitas et omnis fraus habundat in sanctorum itineribus”; cf. Spanish translation, A. Moralejo, C. Torres, and J. Feo, eds., *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, (Pontevedra: Xunta de Galicia, 1992), 188-234, esp. 204-207.

⁴ Herbert L. Kessler, “A Gregorian Reform Theory of Art?” in *Roma e la Riforma gregoriana: Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI-XII secolo)*, eds. Serena Romano and Julie Enckell Julliard (Rome: Viella, 2007), 25-48, esp. 33-37; 37; cf. James Martin, “Identity” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, eds. David Atkinson, Peter Jackson, David Sibley, and Neil Washbourne (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 97-102; cf. Katharyne Mitchell, “Hybridity” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key*

Dating from circa 1125-1150, the figure at Tera is possibly the first statue to depict Saint James with many of the attributes of a pilgrim: staff, pouch, even the scallop shell that is emblematic first of pilgrimage to Compostela in particular, then of pilgrimage in general. The sculpture is revelatory: the spooky, bulging eyes; the oversized hand that's not just preaching, but shouting its message; the cuffs tussled by energetic gestures frozen in stone; the yoke of his collar buttressing a neck straining as he speaks; the parted mouth showing teeth as the apostle enunciates his message. This is a James not just equipped with iconic attributes, he's overpowered by his kit. No wonder his staff is so thick: he's hanging on to it like a performer bracing himself on his stage works as he belts out his lines. Yet this is no battling bishop. His garments are thin, almost gauzy, falling into compact flounces of sheer, elegant fabric. He has the matted hair of a desert prophet, the full but fashionable beard of a court sage, and the paunch of an established authority who knows his throw weight. This is the anti-warrior, armed with his voice, speaking with his arms, head pivoted to take in his audience. The extremities of head and hands are inflated with the mighty bellowing from within. This man is on a mission, something the travel gear underscores, positioning James not on a stage but in motion across a landmass he intends to make echo.

The presence of these features has led one scholar to describe the image as entirely different from the apostolic and pontifical images of the Saint being promoted in Santiago roughly during the same period, such as that of the Pórtico de la Gloria in the Cathedral of Compostela (c. 1168-1188), wherein he is shown in priestly attire, including

Concepts, eds. David Atkinson, Peter Jackson, David Sibley, and Neil Washbourne (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 188-92; cf. Thomas D. Spaccarelli, *A Medieval Pilgrim's Companion: Reassessing El libro de los huéspedes (Escorial MS h.I.13)*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Department of Romance Languages, 1998), 29-30.

the T-shaped staff symbolic of his apostolic mission, and is seated on his throne.⁵ (fig. 2)

Rather, it would be more accurate to state that the two images exist on a spectrum, serving complementary purposes for the same audience, but at different points in their experience. After all, Master Mateo's figure announces, at the entrance to the sanctuary, the presence of the relics of James within.

Master Mateo's St. James presides. He provides the "face" for the cathedral's meaning, literalizing the original ownership of the bones hardly anyone got to see—and in a way, made seeing them unnecessary. He is hieratic, elevated, meeting no one's gaze except God's. He holds his attributes with a light touch because they are icons and not serviceable tools. The scroll is too small to contain anything substantive, the staff a dainty symbol of someone already in charge. Most of all he's silent, calm, immobilized by the column against his back. The physical space that's *unused* beyond him is just as important as his figure because the viewer is required to contemplate this James with infinite shadows receding into the background. In a world of arenas and stadium seating, we can forget how dizzying it was to enter a medieval cathedral, the most voluminous interior space in that world, the only habitable environment that could echo or allow human beings to vanish from their companions' sight without exiting the room. It was persuasively big enough to contain the people of God, practically all of them, if not on the floor then in the galleries and even greater spans of air where the souls of dead saints and dead sinners transacted the economy of salvation whose coin was minted on the altar. It's James who presides over this industrious village within, most of it as silent as he is.

⁵ Fernando Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera: monasterio e iglesia, abadía y palacio* (Benavente, Spain: Centro de Estudios Benaventanos "Ledo del Pozo," 2005), 77-78.



Figure 2 The Enthroned Apostle Santiago (c. 1168-1188). Detail of the Pórtico de la Gloria column, interior of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Designed by Maestro Mateo. Photo: author.

He does not need to preach in Santiago: stone and space and ethereal silence do that for him.

There is a difference between this “epicenter James” in Santiago and his distant cousin in Zamora province. The latter is still working his way there, urging others on, earning his eventual enthronement by the sweat of his brow and the dedicated energies of his preaching. He is geographically marginalized; we presume that this hefty statue was not carried in from elsewhere, but was a local product responding to local tastes, even if the carving talent was brought in. Santa Marta de Tera was never on a main feeder route to Galicia,⁶ which means his appearance there is a testimony to the penetrating “buzz” Jacobean pilgrimage was making deep in the hinterlands of Iberia. He may prefigure the presider at the final shrine site, but in Zamora he’s still the apostolic shepherd guiding his flock toward the distant tomb where, appropriately, he can then fall silent.

Santiago at Tera: An Iconographic Context

Probably the oldest statue of its kind, the Tera icon is one of the best-known figures of the Hispanic Romanesque period.⁷ Bango calls the sculpture an image of the quintessential pilgrim.⁸ Vázquez de Parga states that the *crusilla*, or scallop, on this statue’s pilgrim pouch is the “Jacobean emblem *par excellence*,”⁹ and some scholars have

⁶ The Vía de la Plata passes close by, linking Benavente with Ourense on the Ruta Mozárabe, but at the time of its creation not many pilgrims were coming up from Moorish-occupied Sevilla. In the twelfth century the Christian/Muslim frontier was about halfway between Zamora and Sevilla.

⁷ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 77.

⁸ Isidro G. Bango Torviso, *El Camino de Santiago* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1993), 16.

⁹ Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948), 1:131: “emblema jacobita por excelencia.”

read a lot into the presence of this shell. For example, Gómez Gómez interprets the scallop to designate literal pilgrimage to Santiago rather than pilgrimage more broadly conceived in his claim that this monument shows James to be the preeminent pilgrim to Compostela.¹⁰ This view seems predicated upon the interpretation of the presence of a scallop shell on Christ's person in the Emmaus relief at Silos (c. 1120) to mean that He, too, literally is being depicted as a pilgrim to Compostela,¹¹ in which case Christ clearly would be ranked first in importance among all pilgrims regardless of destination. On the Emmaus relief: "No greater homage did James and his cult ever know than that of the depiction of Christ Himself as a pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela."¹² The sculpture of Santiago in Santa Marta de Tera is seen as the prototype of the ones to follow that portray James the Greater not as just any pilgrim but specifically as "his own pilgrim,"¹³ in other words as a "pilgrim to his own shrine."¹⁴ Given the somewhat egalitarian nature of the relatively inclusive pilgrim's society, as in Victor and Edith Turner's notion of

¹⁰ Agustín Gómez Gómez, "La iconografía de los peregrinos en el arte románico," in *Monasterios y peregrinaciones en la España medieval. Actas XVIII Seminario sobre Historia del Monacato*, coord. José Ángel García de Cortázar and Ramón Teja (Aguilar de Campoo, Spain: Monasterio de Santa María la Real, 2004), 163.

¹¹ Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:566. On the dating of the Silos bas-relief, see José Luis Senra, "Between Rupture and Continuity: Romanesque Sculpture at the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010): 141-167.

¹² Serafín Moralejo, "El Claustro de Silos y el arte de los caminos de peregrinación," in *El Romanico en Silos: IX centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088-1988: [actas]* (Santo Domingo de Silos, Burgos, Spain: Abadía de Silos, 1990), 203-23; 204: "Ningún homenaje mayor conocieron Santiago y su culto que el de la caracterización del propio Cristo como peregrino jacobita." The translations here and in the following examples are my own unless otherwise indicated.

¹³ Gómez Gómez, "La iconografía de los peregrinos," 165: "peregrino de sí mismo."

¹⁴ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 79: "peregrino a su propio santuario."

communitas,¹⁵ such symbolism has been described as an attempt to portray in this statue Santiago's "self-effacing identification with his devotees,"¹⁶ existing as at one with his followers, as a sort of everyman figure, or at least as a first among equals, *primus inter pares*.¹⁷ James is seen as "a saint who winds up adopting the same dress and customs as his devotees, with whom he, invisible, travels, protecting them."¹⁸

These theories overlook that Santiago also is depicted to be set apart from other pilgrims. For instance, the now-worn inscription in the nimbus in the Tera sculpture once read "James the Apostle" in its entirety, denoting this figure to be an exalted member of the celestial hierarchy who is part of Christ's inner circle in the Bible.¹⁹ This inscribed nimbus might seem unnecessary. A saint does not *need* an inscribed nimbus if his attributes are clear and the other saints placed near Santiago at Tera have no such inscription. Either all the saints and apostles in the grouping are designated as such, or only those otherwise indistinguishable without one. But there's one more possibility: honoring a select figure with an inscription meant to be read aloud and turned into a

¹⁵ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 250-255.

¹⁶ William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993), 67.

¹⁷ The Turners' vision is far from universally accepted. For instance, Turner and Turner fail to account for the "status-increasing elements in the Christian world" that have to do with the pilgrimages of the Jerusalem and Santiago brotherhoods. See "Did Christian Pilgrimages Affect Social Status?" by Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 241-252; 244.

¹⁸ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 77: "un santo que acaba por adoptar el hábito y costumbre de sus devotos, que con ellos peregrina e, invisible, les protege."

¹⁹ "IACOBVS APOSTOLVS"; Although the text in the nimbus of this saint is worn, one can make out the B of IACOBVS followed by APOSTOLVS. Marta Poza Yagüe, "Recuperando el pasado. Algunas notas sobre las primeras portadas teofánicas del románico castellano-leonés (acerca del relieve conservado en Rhode Island)," in *La creación de la imagen en la Edad Media: de la herencia a la renovación*, ed. María Victoria Chico Picaza and Laura Fernández Fernández, *Anales de Historia del Arte Volumen Extraordinario* (2010): 321-323; Moore, "Juxtaposing James the Greater," 319.

powerful invocation and prayer. Even today visitors repeat *viva voce* the wall labels and especially identifier tags presented to them at high status sites. James may have gotten special textual markers on his trail to help launch prayers to him.

Even the halo by itself sets Santiago on an elevated plane above the viewer. Other nimbus inscriptions that name James the Greater can be found in the bas-reliefs of Santiago in the Miègeville Portal of the Basilica of Saint Sernin in Toulouse (c. 1110-1115) and in the Puerta de las Platerías in the Compostelan Cathedral (c. 1116-1122), identified in the latter as “James, son of Zebedee.”²¹ **(fig. 3)** In keeping with didactic intention of the Gregorian mode of Romanesque art, the Platerías relief teaches New Testament stories: first of James as one of only three core apostles who witnessed the Transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor, where He was transformed into a pillar of light, an event referenced in the inscription to the left of Santiago, “Here on this mountain Jesus was seen in His glory;”²² the second in the inscription, displayed in the book James is holding, “Peace be with you,”²³ are the words Jesus spoke to His disciples after the Resurrection.²⁴ In the Tera image, the richness of James’s robe, with its elegant folds and

²¹ “IACOBVS ZEBEDEI.”

²² “HIC IN MONTE IHESVM MIRATVR GLORIFICATVM.”

²³ “PAX VOBIS”; cf. Luke 24:36.

²⁴ In fact, scholars have interpreted the scenes in the Puerta de las Platerías reliefs as a projection of Compostelan Archbishop Diego Gelmírez’s loyalty to the Gregorian reforms: Rosa Vázquez, “La ‘Translatio’ en la iconografía jacobea del siglo XII,” *Viator* 42, no. 3 (2011): 57-74 ; 65; cf. Durliat, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques: de Conques à Compostelle* (Mont-de-Marsan: Comité d’études sur l’histoire et l’art de la Gascogne, 1990), 341, 353, 356; figures 356, 368; cf. José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, “Los tímpanos de la Catedral de Santiago en su contexto histórico artístico,” in *El tímpano románico: imágenes, estructuras y audiencias*, ed. Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras and José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003), 24-46; 30-31, 34; cf. Annie Shaver-Crandell, Paula Lieber Gerson, and Alison Stones, *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Gazetteer* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995), 40, fig. 14.



Figure 3 Saint James shown between Saint John the Evangelist (left) and Christ (right) (c. 1116-1122). Detail of the west portal spandrel in the Platerías (south transept) façade of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Photo: author.

trim, replete with fluttering laced cuffs, reinforces the idea that this saint is no average pilgrim.

Even so, Santiago's pilgrim attributes in the Tera icon—pouch, staff, shell—possess great symbolic and didactic value, as laid out in the *Veneranda dies* sermon in the *Book of Saint James*. These three requisite parts of any Compostelan pilgrim's outfit were well known by all: for instance, the statue's scallop shell and animal-skin pouch are like those sold outside the northern façade of the Compostelan cathedral, as described in the Pilgrim's Guide of the *Book of Saint James*. The sermon explains that the pouch is slender to remind pilgrims that God alone provides. That the pilgrim purse remains open represents the pilgrims' obligation to give to the poor. The sermon demonstrates that the staff is a third leg symbolizing belief in the Trinity. This instrument serves to defend against literal wolves and dogs, and also to chase away a metaphorical beast, the devil, who sets out to attack and devour the soul of many an unprepared pilgrim. The sermon then points out that the scallop shell represents the charitable actions expected of all pilgrims, especially to love God above all others and to love their neighbors as themselves.³⁰ That the shell has the shape of fingers reinforces the message since people use their hands to perform good works.³¹ These figurative meanings reveal that pilgrim attributes double as amulets of protection against the many dangers and temptations along the routes to Santiago. In this fashion, the James sculpture at Tera serves the higher purpose of art in the Gregorian mode, to guide viewers on the narrow road to salvation.

³⁰ Cf. Matthew 22:37-39; cf. Mark 12:29-31; cf. Luke 10:27.

³¹ Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 91-92: the pilgrim, his attributes and their significance (I.17: *Veneranda Dies*); 252: *De paradiso urbis* (chapter in the Guide); cf. Klaus Herbers, *Der Jakobsweg. Mit einem mittelalterlichen Pilgerführer unterwegs nach Santiago de Compostela* (Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr Press, 1986), 64-67: staff, pouch, and scallop; 143: scallops on the market; Melczer, ed., *Pilgrim's Guide*, 56-60: staff, pouch, and shell; 122: scallops and pilgrim purses on the market.

Sculptural iconography of Saint James starts with images of him as one of the apostles group at the start of the twelfth century. There are some examples of a special kind of the saint's portrayal as a pilgrim (and one of Christ) beginning in the first half of the twelfth century. In chronological order, these sculptures include: a bas-relief of Saint James in the cloister of Moissac, France (c. 1100); a relief of Santiago in the Miègeville Portal of the Basilica of Saint Sernin in Toulouse (c. 1110-1115); a sculpture of Saint James in the Platerías façade of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (c. 1116-1122); a bas-relief of Christ as a traveler to Emmaus in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos (c. 1120); the statue of Santiago at Santa Marta de Tera Parish Church (c. 1125-1150); the Apostle Santiago of the Pórtico de la Gloria in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain (c. 1168-1188); a statue of Saint James paired with John the Evangelist in the Cámara Santa of the Oviedo Cathedral (c. 1166-1199); a sculpture of Santiago in front of the Church of the Santo Sepulcro in Estella (fourteenth century); a statue of James as protector of his pilgrim in the Church of Saint Sernin in Pamplona (fourteenth century). The *Book of Saint James* dates from the first half of the twelfth century (c. 1130-1150), right around the time when pilgrim features began to be incorporated into the figure of Christ as a traveler to Emmaus in Silos and into the James statue at Tera. The *Book of Saint James* is a codification of an existing practice, and the Tera icon of Santiago is one of the earliest examples of the new James picture, roughly contemporary to the production of the *Book of Saint James*.

The statue of Saint James at Tera initiated a new type. By the late twelfth century, pilgrim attributes would be incorporated into the figure of Santiago (alongside John) in the Cámara Santa of the Cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo. This Romanesque image

of James in Oviedo wears a pouch emblazoned with a scallop shell and in his left hand, holds an unfurling scroll. The staff in his right hand is topped with a flag and cross on one end, while James penetrates the mouth of the serpent upon which he is stepping with the other end of the crozier. **(fig. 4)** In the fourteenth century, the now-severely-damaged image of Santiago in front of the Church of the Santo Sepulcro in Estella wears a hood over his head and shoulders as protection from the elements while walking, while the statue that once stood in front of the portico of the church of Saint Sernin in Pamplona bears the omnipresent pilgrim purse with the scallop shell and depicts a pilgrim on bended knee at his feet, imploring Saint James for his intercession. **(fig. 5)** This type of representation commonly appears along the various roads to Santiago.³²

Vázquez de Parga claims that the existence of these sculptures of James shown as a pilgrim indisputably is a direct consequence of the pilgrimage to Compostela.³³ A paradoxical finding by Moralejo is that the earliest and most beautiful representations of James- and Christ-as-pilgrim (Tera, Silos, Oviedo) are removed from the main route to Compostela. He resolves the conundrum by stating that there was a need to display the iconography of pilgrimage not along the main road, but rather on the outskirts in order to announce that pilgrims could arrive to Santiago even from these removed locales.³⁴ It is in this sense that Emile Mâle (1862-1954) correlated the statue of Santiago in the Miègeville portal in Toulouse with the influx of pilgrims to Saint James, serving as a

³² Bango, *El Camino de Santiago*, 15-16; Martín Benito et al., *Los caminos de Santiago*, 47; 36. Brian and Marcus Tate, *The Pilgrim Route to Santiago*, photo. Paul Keller (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 67, 81; Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:568.

³³ Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:565.

³⁴ Moralejo, "El Claustro de Silos," 206: "también por allí se iba a Santiago."



Figure 4 Paired column statue of Saints James (left) and John the Evangelist (1166-1199). Cámara Santa, southern transept of the Oviedo Cathedral, Spain. Photo: author with permission from the Church authorities.

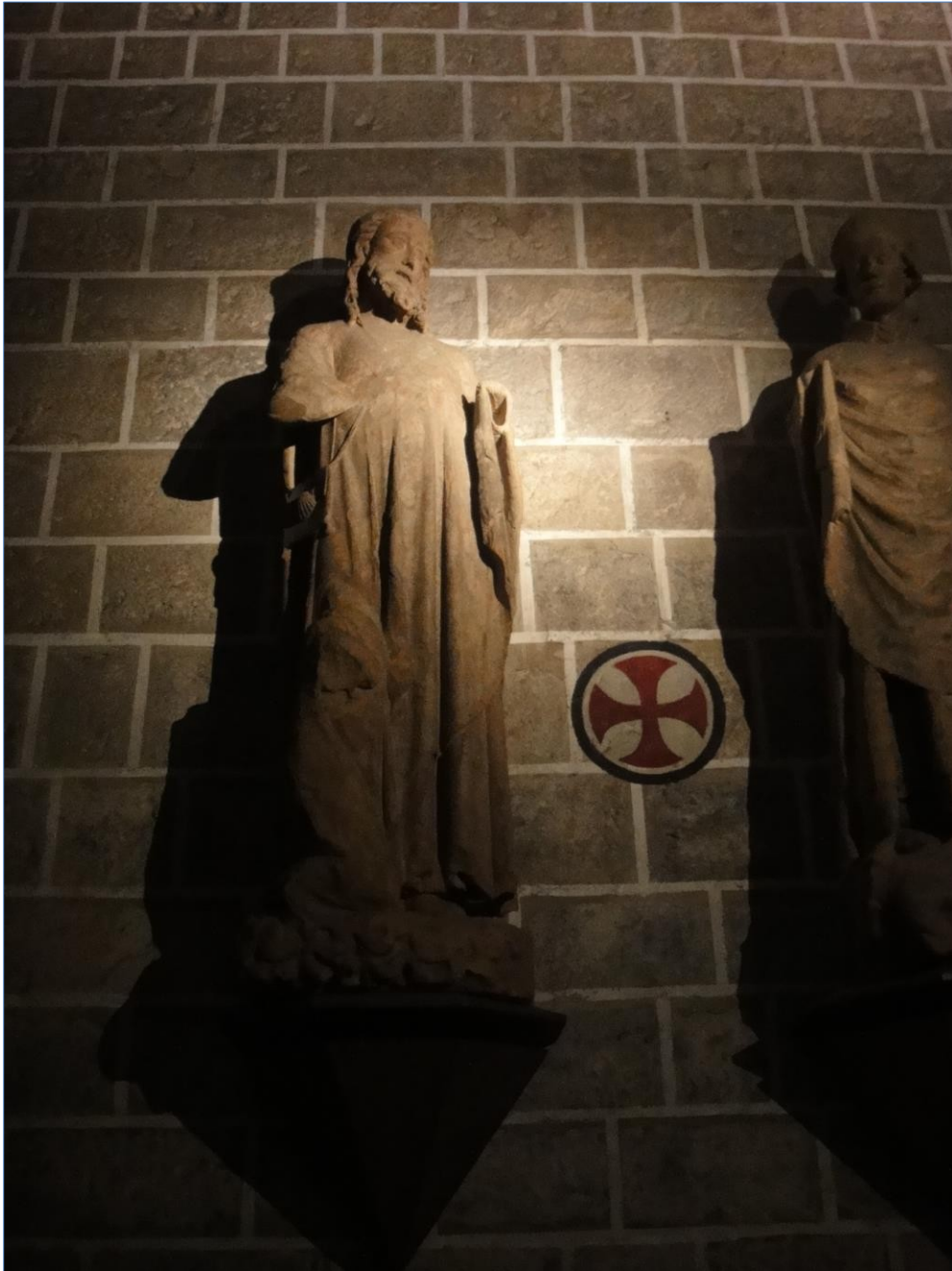


Figure 5 Original statue of James as protector of his pilgrim (fourteenth century). Interior of the Church of Saint Sernin in Pamplona, Spain. Statue substituted by a replica on the exterior façade to protect this original one from the elements. Photo: author.

reminder to these pilgrims of the distant Santiago de Compostela.³⁹ In the Tera icon, James voices with his hand and uses his voice to arm pilgrims with the spiritual protection they need to elude the devil's many traps on the journey to James the Greater's shrine.

Santiago's sinister hand, raised chest-high and showing his open palm, is symbolic in a way that runs parallel to how the Tera statue's pilgrim attributes reference good and evil: the gesture not only functions as a rhetorical sign of acclamation or speech, as in the case of Saint Paul in León and Santiago in Toulouse, but also suggests a steadfast aversion to danger. Puente describes the gesture James makes with his left hand as one of salutation or preaching.⁴⁰ Vázquez de Parga describes Santiago's attire as possessing a faint resemblance to that of a preacher: "He only lacks the typical [pilgrim's] dress – since his own possesses a vague priestly air – and the hat in order to appear as one of the later classic images [of a pilgrim]."⁴¹ In this case, the preaching saint's raised open palm most likely indicates a proclamation warding off perils. After all, the figure of James at Tera is raising his left hand, which is emblematic of wickedness not only in the Bible, but also in the Hispanic liturgy.

³⁹ Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France. Étude sur les origines de l'iconographie du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1966), 293 with reference to Fig. 40, p. 47; cf. Poza Yagüe, "Recuperando el pasado," 321-323: she resists the notion that the figure of James in Santa Marta is dressed as a pilgrim to announce that Compostela lies ahead since Saint Martha's relics were capable of attracting plenty of followers and because Santiago was one of the patrons of her church in Tera.

⁴⁰ Ricardo Puente, *La iglesia románica de Santa Marta de Tera* (León, Spain: Editorial Albanega, 2009), 49.

⁴¹ Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:567-68: "Sólo le faltan la vestidura típica – pues la suya conserva un vago aire sacerdotal – y el sombrero, para ser una de las clásicas imágenes posteriores."

The left hand traditionally has been associated with evil in Classical thought, in the Bible and biblical exegesis, as well as in folklore. For instance, Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* and Plautus in *Persa* refer to the left hand as the “thieving hand.” Some Christian thinkers thought Eve must have used her left hand to pick the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and that she had to have been created from one of Adam’s left ribs. As Charles Wright notes, “That the left or ‘sinister’ side betokens bad luck or evil is, of course, a widespread folk belief.”⁴²

This commonplace may help explain why in Catholic ceremonies the priest is instructed to hold the staff in his left hand, as in Fray Hernando de Talavera’s “Treatise on the Meaning of the Ceremonies of Mass” (c. 1480): while he associates the “staff” with Christ’s divinity, Talavera states that the toil and anguish that Christ suffered on earth are embodied in the left hand so that evil can be averted.⁴³ This also could account for why Castilian poet Gonzalo de Berceo provides instructions to hold the staff in the left hand, reserving the right hand for “much better than” golden chalices.⁴⁴

Santiago’s gesture in the Tera sculpture is both a symbol of speech and a sign of warning, especially considering the “sinister” associations with the left hand. Of course a gesture of preaching is perfectly compatible with one of aversion, for an apostle’s primary goal is to lead others to salvation by avoiding the pitfalls of damnation. The

⁴² Charles Wright, “Why the Left Hand is Longer (or Shorter) than the Right: Some Irish Analogues for an Etiological Legend in the Homiliary of St. Pere de Chartres,” in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, eds. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 166 and n. 24.

⁴³ Fray Hernando de Talavera, “Tractado de lo que significan las ceremonias de la misa,” ed. M. Mir in *Escritores místicos españoles*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Bailly/Bailliere, 1911), 45: “manipulo.”

⁴⁴ Anthony Lappin, ed., *Berceo’s Vida de Santa Oria: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre University of Oxford, 2000), 56-57; “muy mejores.”

layered meanings of Santiago's sinister hand reflect his hybrid identity in the Tera sculpture and the multiple roles the saint performs, including and especially preaching.

Story of James, Evangelizer of Spain, in Relation to the Tera Icon

Legend has it that James the Greater traveled to Spain to preach the Gospel between the Resurrection and James's beheading at the hands of Herod Agrippa in 44 AD. This tale was initially promoted in the liturgical tradition beginning in the seventh century and became so widespread in ceremonial and devotional texts from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries that during this period it would have been hard to find an educated Spaniard, or even a European who was not aware of one of the variants of this story.⁴⁵ This is not to suggest that this notion was as firmly fixed in the historiographical tradition until much later. For instance, in contrast to the description of the "proposition ... that St. James preached the gospel in Spain" as "central" to the twelfth-century *Historia Compostellana*, Emma Falque Rey, in the first-ever *critical* edition of the text notes that the *Historia Compostellana* "says nothing about the topic."⁴⁶ In fact, historiographers did not actively and systematically promote the idea of James having evangelized Spain until the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The Spanish church, on the other hand, had its own ideas that it

⁴⁵ Katherine von Liere, "The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator* 37 (2006): 521-522.

⁴⁶ On this and the whole history of the James legend, see Jan van Herwaarden's "The Origins of the Cult of Saint James of Compostela" in *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 311-354, esp. 317-320 and 354. Richard Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 53; cf. Emma Falque Rey, ed., *Historia Compostellana* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), LXIII; Vázquez Santos, "La 'Translatio,'" 57-74; 62: on the removal of James preaching in Spain from the *Historia Compostellana* as a result of Archbishop Gelmírez's desire not to contest the primacy of Rome.

⁴⁷ Liere, "The Missionary and the Moorslayer," 522.

promoted freely in the heyday of the pilgrimage to Compostela, and the legend of James having preached in Spain was the first article of faith in “The Santiago Creed.”⁴⁸

Regardless of where James was believed to have evangelized, there can be no dispute that in the era of the Tera sculpture, he was understood to be a preacher in one of his primary roles, as emphasized in *Veneranda Dies* in reference to Santiago’s feast day: “Thus the blessed apostle was chosen this day so that he may tear the world from the devils’ jaws by his preaching.”⁴⁹

The earliest reference to James as a preacher comes from the *Breviarium Apostolorum*, a seventh-century catalogue of apostolic biographical sketches translated into Latin from Greek-Byzantine sources.⁵⁰ This breviary provides a listing of the apostles, including their mission areas, how they died and were buried, and so forth. In the *Breviarium*, James is described as a preacher in the western regions—and in Spain in particular—just before the text records his death and burial: “James, whose name means he who supplants, son of Zebedee, brother of John, preaches here in Spain and in the West. He was martyred by the sword under the reign of Herod and was buried in a marble sarcophagus the eighth day of the calends of August.”⁵¹ The *Breviarium* was known to

⁴⁸ T. D. Kendrick, *St James in Spain* (London: Methuen & Co, 1960), 13, 16.

⁴⁹ Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., *The Miracles of Saint James*, 11; Latin text: Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 86: “Itaque beatus apostolus electus est hac die, ut mundum sua predicatione de diabolicis faucibus eripiat.”

⁵⁰ Jan van Herwaarden, “The Origins of the Cult of St James of Compostela,” in Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 311-54; Robert Plötz, “*Peregrinatio ad Limina Sancti Jacobi*,” in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr Press, 1992), 37-49; cf. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, “Die spanische Jakobus-Legende bei Isidor von Seville,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958): 467-472; R. Fletcher, *St. James’s Catapult*, 53-77: “The Early History of the Cult of St. James.”

⁵¹ My translation; Latin text: “Iacobus qui interpretatur subplantator, filius Zebedaei, frater Ioannis, hic Spaniae et occidentalia loca praedicat et sub Herode gladio caesus occubuit sepultusque est en Achaia Marmarica. VIII Kal. Augustas.”

writers such as Julian of Toledo (d. 690) and Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709) and began to circulate among Christian writers and in the liturgy starting at the beginning of the eighth century.

In the eight-century interpolation, probably of Irish origin, in *De ortu et obitu patrum*, which is dubiously attributed to Isidore of Seville (d. 636), it is mentioned that James has preached in Spain and other western regions.⁵² The *De ortu* treatise also contains a litany of the missionary regions of Christ's disciples, assigning Spain to James.⁵³ In the same period, Beatus of Liébana wrote in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* an analogous passage wherein James is assigned Spain in a list of areas where the apostles were designated to preach.⁵⁴ In the Gerona manuscript (c. 975) of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Beatus depicts James alongside the other apostles with a caption listing Spain as this saint's area.⁵⁵ By the same token, the late eighth-century hymn from the mozarabic psalter known as "O dei verbum, patris ore proditum" names Spain as James's missionary area when ascribing Asia to his brother John.⁵⁶

⁵² "Spaniae et occidentalium locorum evangelium praedecavit"; On the special relationship between the *Breviarium* and *De ortu*: B. de Gaiffier, "Le *Breviarium Apostolorum* (BHL 652). Tradition manuscrite et oeuvres apparantées," *Analecta Bollandiana* 81 (1963): 89-116; cf. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Estudios sobre la antigua literatura relacionada con Santiago el Mayor," *Compostellanum* 11 (1966): 621-652; 644: the suggestion on the Irish origin of that interpolation.

⁵³ "Iacobus Spania"; For a detailed analysis of the connection between the *Breviarium* and two versions of the *De ortu*, see B. de Gauffier, "Le *Breviarium Apostolorum*," 104-113.

⁵⁴ "Iacobus Hispaniam."

⁵⁵ "Iacobus Spania"; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 56, with reference to the facsimile *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin, Codex Gerundensis*, ed. Jaime Marqués Casanovas, César E. Dubler, Wilhelm Neuss (Lausanne, Switzerland: Urs Graf, 1962), fols. 52v-53r. See also Beatus of Liébana, *Beati in Apocalipsin: Libri Duodecim*, ed. Henry A. Sanders (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1930), 116.

⁵⁶ "Regens Ioannes dextra solus Asia / Eiusque frater potitus Ispania"; Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 320-333; for the text: Herwaarden, "The Origins of the Cult of St. James of Compostela," *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980): 1-35; 30-32 (not in *Between Saint James and Erasmus*). See also Díaz y Díaz, "Los himnos en honor de Santiago," 240, stanza 5, ll. 24-25.

This tradition persists outside the liturgical repertoire in the twelfth-century pilgrimage song *Dum pater familias* from the fifth book of the *Book of Saint James*, which says that God assigned James to preach to the inhabitants of Spain: “When God the Father, King of the world, apportioned his provinces among the apostles, He assigned James to show the light to Spain.”⁵⁷ This notion of James having evangelized in Spain continued through the thirteenth century in one of the best known works of the Christian medieval period, archbishop Jacobus de Voragine’s highly popular *The Golden Legend*. From the entry on James the Greater: “James the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, after Our Lord’s Ascension first preached in Judea and Samaria, then went to Spain to sow the word of God.”⁵⁸ The proposition that James had preached in Spain during his lifetime was a pervasive presence in the Hispanic liturgy and Roman church from the seventh century through the rise of the great age of pilgrimages in the twelfth century.

In line with this textual tradition, iconographic details in the statue of James in Santa Marta de Tera—i.e., the saint’s mouth being open to convey the speech act, together with his left hand being raised in a gesture of both annunciation and aversion—show James to be preaching a warning against the ways of the devil and the many dangers along the pilgrimage road. Santiago’s left hand is oversized to emphasize his speaking role, and his cuffs draw attention to this enlarged hand. At the same time, the

⁵⁷ Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 269: “Dum pater familias rex universorum donaret provincias ius apostolorum Jacobus yspanias / lux illustrat morum”; another hymn in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* remarks upon James’s preaching in Spain, as well, noting that he brought Spain’s pagans to a knowledge of Christ: “decoravit Yspaniam / Iacobus et Galleciam. / Illamque gentem impiam / Cristi fecit / ecclesiam”; Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 265, cf. 154: Magister Gauterius de Castello Rainardi decantum fecit.

⁵⁸ Ryan and Ripperger note in the introduction to their translation of *The Golden Legend* that there are over 500 extant manuscript copies of this text and that this volume was edited and translated over 150 times within the first century of its printing: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green, 1948), vii; 369.

scallop shell on the pilgrim's pouch perhaps additionally is meant to show James as a traveler far from his home in Palestine during the days of his mission, or apostolate in Spain. Inasmuch as his pilgrim's attributes overlap with those of his preaching role, the Tera sculpture is an illustrative example of the Saint James pilgrim icon as described in the *Book of Saint James* and also of the preacher he is repeatedly portrayed to be in the same book.

Other images of James in his apostolic role of preacher also are congruous with this textual record. For instance, the aforementioned figure of Santiago in the Cámara Santa of Oviedo inserts the lower end of the cruciform-handled-staff, or crozier, into the mouth of the snake this saint treads upon. Meanwhile, the relief of James in the Miègeville portal in Toulouse is shown trampling serpents underfoot. Both of these actions are symbolic of stamping out paganism, a principal role of the apostles of Christ. These figurative representations of killing off evil have the same connotation as the gesture of warning and preaching against mortal peril in the statue of Santiago in Santa Marta de Tera. The preacher who wars against wickedness is not so different from the pilgrim who engages in the struggle against hardship.

History of Tera and the Figure of Santiago

Pilgrims traveled to Tera for the fame of the church built in honor of Saint Martha, a third-century Asturian martyr whose remains were moved from Astorga to her eponymous monastery and village.⁵⁹ By 1115, there is word of poor pilgrims staying in the monastic lodgings that used to exist in Santa Marta de Tera (probably a double

⁵⁹ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 37-38.

monastery, housing both monks and nuns), where testimony from around the same time attests to the cults of Santa Marta, Santiago, and other saints in this church. In a document from 1129, Alfonso VII bears witness to the numerous miracles of Saint Martha:

In the church of his blessed virgin and martyr Martha, the Lord returns sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, the ability to walk to the lame; He cures the armless, heals the sick, cleans the leprous, expels demons from the bodies of the possessed; even manacled prisoners find themselves free wherever they may be found.⁶⁰

The document additionally describes how Alfonso VII was influenced by word of the miraculously curative powers of the relics of Saint Martha, but there is no evidence to support that this king undertook a pilgrimage to Santa Marta de Tera, as has been suggested.⁶¹ Despite the lack of historical evidence of any journey by Alfonso VII to Santa Marta, the text along with the magnificence of the structure nonetheless indicate that this shrine possessed an elevated prestige and drew numerous followers devoted to Saint Martha of Astorga. In fact, Santa Marta de Tera, in its heyday, has been described as another Lourdes.⁶²

The western entrance of Santa Marta de Tera now is not as it once was in that a flat belfry added in the modern era has been removed since. In his description of the view

⁶⁰ Augusto Quintana Prieto, *Santa Marta de Tera* (Zamora, Spain: Fundación Ramos de Castro para el Estudio y Promoción del Hombre, 1991), 204: “quas Deus fecit necnon et facit per virginem et martyrem suam beatissimam Martham quod in ecclesia sua reddit dominus caecis visum, surdis auditum, claudicantibus gressum, mancos curat, infirmos sanat, leprosos mundat, daemones ab oppressis corporibus fugat, et etiam ligatos a vinculis ferreis ubicumque fierint ligati liberat.”

⁶¹ Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 18; cf. Quintana Prieto, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 84-85.

⁶² Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 19, 26: Tera-Lourdes; Quintana Prieto, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 85; Gerardo Pastor Olmedo, “Zamora y sus vínculos con Santiago,” in *Santiago en toda España* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1972), 376.

of the river valley of Tera together with the now-grey-then-golden-in-the-sunlight sandstone, Gómez Moreno writes that the church is lovely except for this particular element: “Only an open belfry wall, and even more so its hideous staircase, befoul the complex.” He describes three statues of apostles crowning the flat belfry that are of significant size and importance.⁶³ These are James the Greater, the minor apostle Judas Thaddeus, and an unidentified apostle, possibly Peter. The lower third of each of these sculptures is severely damaged, probably due to exposure to the elements in this prior location. The lower third of the Santiago statue has since broken off. The figures originally would have measured a meter and a half in their complete form.⁶⁴

We do not know either the original location of this figure of Santiago in the church of Santa Marta de Tera or how the sculpture was configured alongside other works. The statue was perched atop the roof of the open belfry wall until 1931, when Santa Marta de Tera was declared a Spanish National Heritage monument.⁶⁵ Following this designation, the figures were moved to their current location during the renovations that Alejandro Ferrant conducted,⁶⁶ with the James statue placed in the niche on the left-hand side of the south portal entrance and the unidentified saint on the other side of this entrance.

⁶³ M. Gómez Moreno, “Santa Marta de Tera,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (1908): 84: “Solamente una espadaña, y más aún su groserísima escalera, afean el conjunto,” 87. The *espadaña*, a “flat belfry” or “open belfry wall,” is a uniquely Spanish bell tower on the cheap; most are seventeenth- and eighteenth-century additions. Historically it is a native form that dates to the late Romanesque with the structural advantage of simply extending a load-bearing wall upward without needing a separate foundation. There’s a monumental and quite successful example at St. John’s Abbey in Minnesota, which is artfully called the “bell banner.”

⁶⁴ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 68.

⁶⁵ Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 27.

⁶⁶ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 16.

Art historians have speculated as to where the James figure at Tera was initially placed. Poza Yagüe notes that the preexistent niches where the statues now reside could have been their location before the construction of the open belfry wall.⁶⁷ Without being able to decipher the problem of the original location of the statues, Puente believes that the presence of the minor apostle Judas Thaddeus means that there originally were twelve statues of apostles that were made for this church and that only three remain.⁶⁸ Martín Benito *et al.* believe the extant statues were moved to their current locations to fit the niches on either side of the south portal entrance. Moreover, this configuration mirrors the pairing of Saints James and Peter in the Miègeville portal of Saint Sernin de Toulouse, as well as other pairs of saints in San Isidoro of León (Saints Isidore and Vincent in the Portal of the Lamb, and Saints Peter and Paul in the Portal of Pardon). If Ramos de Castro correctly identified the unspecified saint across from the figure of James in the south portal of Santa Marta de Tera as carrying a key that subsequently has broken off, then this saint would be Peter. In this case, the pairing of Peter with James would mesh with the Compostelan bishops' desire to establish the Cathedral of Compostela as an apostolic see (cf. the figure of the enthroned James in the Pórtico de la Gloria). Such a pairing between James and Peter perhaps would have been intended to denote an equivalent rank in the celestial hierarchy between these apostles.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Poza Yagüe, "Recuperando el pasado," 320-321.

⁶⁸ Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 53.

⁶⁹ Martín Benito *et al.*, *Los caminos de Santiago*, 45-46, 48. For the apostolicity of Compostela within the framework of Rome's Primacy, see for example Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 332-34 and 367-75; cf. Klaus Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der Liber Sancti Jacobi: Studien über das Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Franz Steiner Press: Wiesbaden, 1984); cf. Vázquez Santos, "La 'Translatio,'" 57-74, esp. 62, 67-68.

Function of Santiago at Tera

Whatever the original placement of the figure, the James statue at Tera functions as a spiritual signpost designed to encourage several types of viewers in their respective sacred journeys, whether physical or mystical. For the bishops visiting Zamora from the head Diocese in Astorga, they likely saw themselves in the Tera icon: if James was the first to evangelize Spain, these bishops were Santiago's torchbearers in their own generation. For the church canons, who may have commissioned the artist(s) that carved the sculpture, they perhaps saw a preacher devoted to the same spiritual struggle they were fighting, and even may have perceived a link between their moral battles and the material ones of the Christian knights against the Muslim "infidels" just to the south. For the monks and nuns cloistered in the double house that probably stood at Santa Marta de Tera during the creation of this sculpture, the admonitions contained in this saint's preaching and in the symbolism of his pilgrim attributes served as a reminder of the many seductions the devil placed along the *via penitentie* of their own inner journeys. For the pilgrims who traveled on, Santiago's gesture and message warned them of the temptations on the trail and additionally offered them religious guidance as they strode toward salvation. Even Christian knights from the south who vowed to journey to Santiago after a victory may have felt some commonality with the Tera sculpture.

James as a sermonizing pilgrim, in his role as a defender against vice and corruption along the roads to Santiago, complemented his representation as slayer of Moors. The pilgrim-preacher acted as a spiritual warrior, while the Moor-killer engaged

in literal battle. While the late twelfth-century James statue in Oviedo hints at the overlap between these manifestations in its depiction of the saint's staff slaying a serpent, a seventeenth-century statue in the hermitage of Santiago de Pueyo in Navarre makes this connection evident: this sculpture depicts the head of a turbaned Muslim instead of that of a serpent at the foot of the saint's pilgrim staff.⁷⁰ As distant as this full-blown pilgrim/Moor-slayer hybrid may seem from the statue of Santiago at Tera, it really is an offensive representation (perhaps in more than one sense) of the pilgrim-preacher's defensive posture against dogs and wolves, and against the devil himself.

Santiago's sinister hand in the Tera statue prepared viewers for the Second Coming of Christ, as many subsequently would witness sculpted in stone in Master Mateo's tympanum of the Pórtico de la Gloria. James the Greater's admonition guided the inner arc of their spiritual journeys along the narrow path of righteousness. The left hand of Santiago led viewers to the right hand of God.

⁷⁰ Carmen Jusué Simonena, *Santiago en Navarra: imagen, memoria y patrimonio* (Gobierno de Navarra: Pamplona, 2011), 244.

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Research Query: Templar Bowl?

By Giampiero Bagni, Nottingham Trent University

The Order of the Templars ran an important *Magione* (Mansion) in Bologna, northern Italy, along the route from Western Europe leading to the port of Apulia on the way to the Holy Land. The Templar *Magione* in Bologna was one of the richest, supported by estates attached to the ecclesiastical province of Ravenna, for the number of Knights Templar who lived there and for its strategic geographical position. The preceptor of this mansion was probably Pietro da Bologna, the chief defender of the Order during the famous process in Paris in 1310.

My research project focuses is the complete understanding of the rule of this important Templar house. As part of this project for my Ph.D. research at Nottingham Trent University, with Nicholas Morton as DoS, I'm carrying out an archaeological exploration of the site identified as this ancient Templar mansion. In order to fully understand the historical context of the *Magione*, I am reviewing all artefacts and structures relating to this important House, which will lead to a proper understanding of the role of the mansion in European politics of the 13th and 14th centuries.

Recently, I was contacted by a private antiquarian who showed me a bowl that have been found about 30 years ago, very near the site of the ancient Templar Mansion of Bologna. Unfortunately, it was discovered without an archaeological context. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile investigating it as part of the material culture



of the Magione.

As the figures show, it is a bowl with a diameter of 12.5 cm at the top rim and 6.5 cm, at the base. It is decorated with both slip and glaze. The black slip decorates

the rim of the vessel which is otherwise covered with an olive-green glaze that, in the Munsell color system measures 10G in tonality, 8 in luminosity, and 4 in saturation. What makes it particularly intriguing is the presence of the patee cross in the center bottom.





Was it used as a monastic bowl by the Templar brothers? I have tried to find similar objects with which to compare it to, but have only (intriguingly) located a bowl quite like it that was also found in a Templar mansion in northern Italy, but near Venice. Sadly, the piece has been missing for a number of years, so I cannot draw many conclusions from an older photograph. Colleagues, have any of you seen something similar? Any suggestions would be most appreciated.

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A Framework for Devotion in Trecento Siena: a Reliquary Frame in the Cleveland Museum of Art

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The Fourth Lateran Council, summoned in 1215 by Pope Innocent III, attempted to regulate the authentication and display of relics; its sixty-second canon decreed that all relics be exhibited in appropriate vessels and that their veneration be officially sanctioned by the church.¹ Attesting to the great numbers of relics in widespread circulation throughout Europe by this date, this pronouncement also implicitly called for the creation of receptacles to enshrine these sacred remains. Although the production of relic containers had traditionally resided within the purview of the goldsmith, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Italy, the development of gold-ground panel painting encouraged innovations in the fashioning of the new reliquaries called for by the council.² Relics were increasingly incorporated into panel paintings whose gold grounds and architectural forms themselves recalled the three-dimensionality, precious materials,

¹ "Ne reliquiae sanctorum ostendatur extra capsam; ne novae habeantur in veneratione sine Romana ecclesia." See E.G. Grimme, *Goldschmiedekunst im Mittelalter: Form und Bedeutung des Reliquiars von 800 bis 1500* (Cologne, 1972), 164.

² The mid-thirteenth century *Madonna and Child* from Santa Maria Maggiore in Florence may be the earliest surviving Italian object in which a relic is incorporated into a panel painting. See M. Ciatti, "The Typology, Meaning, and Use of Some Panel Paintings from the Duecento and Trecento" in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor Schmidt (Washington, D.C., 2002), 21-26.

and architectural structures of traditional metalwork relic containers as well as luxury metalwork objects more broadly. The new reliquaries assumed a variety of forms, including diptychs, triptychs, and, uniquely in Siena, gabled tabernacles in which numerous glazed relic chambers enclosed central painted images.³ By the fourteenth century, Siena was one of Italy's foremost artistic centers, renowned for the refined craftsmanship of its painters, enamellers, and goldsmiths. Objects in which relics are unified with panel paintings were created throughout Italy in this period, but the inventiveness and quality of those made in Siena or by Sienese artists were arguably unsurpassed.

Seven Sienese gabled tabernacle reliquaries survive in varying states of preservation. Two sides of a mid-fourteenth century reliquary panel attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti (c. 1280-1348) are divided between the Berenson Collection at Villa I Tatti in Settignano and a private collection in New York,⁴ while the Walters Art Museum owns a panel attributed to Naddo Ceccarelli (act. mid-14th century) and dated circa 1350.⁵ **(Figure 1)** In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museo Civico in Montepulciano are examples from the second half of the fourteenth century, both by Francesco di Vannuccio (act. 1356-1389, d. before

³ D. Preisig, "Bild und Reliquie: Gestalt und Funktion gotischer Reliquientafeln und -altärchen," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 61 (1995), 13-84, provides a review and catalog of medieval European panel reliquaries, while E. Rowlands, "Sienese Painted Reliquaries of the Trecento: Their Format and Meaning," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, 48 (1979), 122-138, treats the Sienese gabled tabernacle reliquary type as a distinct category, without, however, mentioning the Cleveland-Cambridge ensemble. See also *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (exh. cat. Cleveland Museum of Art; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; British Museum, London, 2010), pp. 202-207 for some examples, including the Cleveland-Cambridge ensemble.

⁴ F. Zeri, "Reconstruction of a Two-Sided Reliquary Panel by Pietro Lorenzetti," *Bulletin Monumental* 95 (1953), 244-245 and K. Christiansen, "Paul Delaroche's Crucifixion by Pietro Lorenzetti," *Apollo* 157 (2003), pp. 8-14.

⁵ F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1976), 1:43-44; M.-M. Gauthier, *Les Routes de la Foi: Reliques et Reliquaires de Jerusalem a Compostelle* (Paris, 1983), 168-175; Rowlands, "Sienese Painted Reliquaries," 122-138; Preisig, "Bild und Reliquie," 19-25, 58; M. Steen Hansen and J.A. Spicer, eds., *Masterpieces of Italian Painting: The Walters Art Museum* (London, 2005), 24-27; C.G. Mann, "Relics, Reliquaries, and the Limitations of Trecento Painting: Naddo Ceccarelli's Reliquary Tabernacle in the Walters Art Museum," *W&J*, 22 (2006), 251-259.



Figure 1 Naddo Ceccarelli, Reliquary Tabernacle, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. Photo: Walters Art Museum

1391).⁶ A double-sided panel in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, attributed to the Master of the Osservanza, is a fifteenth-century version of the same basic type.⁷ The seventh, a particularly splendid example of this genre, is preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art.⁸

(Figure 2)

⁶ C. Brandi, "An Unpublished Reliquary of Francesco di Vannuccio," *Art in America*, 20 (1931), 38-48 and Preising, "Bild und Reliquie," 19-25, 58-59. For the panel at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see also Christie's, New York, *Important Paintings by Old Masters and Old Master Drawings*, January 19, 1982, lot 118, 84-85.

⁷ L.B. Kanter, *Italian Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston: 13th-15th century* (Boston, 1994), 182-186 and Preising, "Bild und Reliquie," 19-25, 59-60.

⁸ Gift of Ruth Blumka in memory of Leopold Blumka, 1978.26. W. Wixom, "Eleven Additions to the Medieval Collection," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (March/April, 1979), 128-132; D. Gordon, "A Sienese Verre Eglomisé and its Setting," *Bulletin Monumental* 122 (1981), 148-153; Gauthier, *Routes de la Foi*, 173; Preising, "Bild und Reliquie," 19-25, 58; H. Klein, S. Fliegel, and V. Brilliant, *Sacred Gifts and Worldly Treasures: Medieval Masterpieces from the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 2007), 264-265.

Double-sided and standing around two feet high, it comprises a gilded gabled wooden frame which sits upon a gilded wooden rectangular base.⁹ The frame and the base are two separate entities: two removable rectangular pegs fit into holes in both the frame and the base, helping to join them together, but also allowing them to be detached from one another. Foliate pastiglia patterning, inset glass cabochons, punching, and four heraldic panels made of reverse painted and gilded glass decorate the base. This supports a gilded, corbelled, and punched polygonal plinth, which in turn supports a gilded, gabled rectangular frame adorned with pastiglia; this is inset with sixteen glazed rosettes and, at the apex, a glazed trefoils, all of which were intended to contain relics.¹⁰ Mulchy and organic in contrast to their carefully wrought frame, the relics are bundled in red cloth, tied with string, and carefully labeled, announcing their identities through inscriptions on tiny strips of parchment pressed up against the glass windows. Carved crockets curl from the gable's outer edge with strips of foliate and geometric patterned reverse painted and gilded glass flank the frame. In 1981, Dillian Gordon demonstrated that the Cleveland frame once enclosed a piece of reverse painted and gilded glass now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.¹¹ This depicts the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints above the Annunciation. **(Figures 3 and 4)**

⁹ The work's precise measurements are as follows: H. 63.5 cm/25 in, W. 50.8 cm/20 in, and D. 25.3 cm/9 15/16 in.

¹⁰ Molded gilded gesso was used to create the six-lobed rosettes and trefoils around roundels of glass.

¹¹ Gordon, "A Sienese Verre Eglomisé," 148-153. I would like to thank Julia Poole of the Fitzwilliam Museum for generously allowing me to inspect their reverse painted and gilded glass so closely and thoroughly.



(left) **Figure 2** *Reliquary Frame*, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo: Cleveland Museum of Art.



(right) **Figure 3** *Reverse Painted and Gilded Glass*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Photo: Fitzwilliam Museum.



Figure 4
Reconstruction of
the Cleveland-
Cambridge
Reliquary
Tabernacle. Photos:
Cleveland Museum
of Art, Fitzwilliam
Museum;
reconstruction: Jared
Bendis.

The Cleveland-
Cambridge reliquary
ensemble offers a
fair bit of
information
concerning its
manufacture. An
inscription on the

frame dates it to 1347, one year before the Black Death, while another inscription on the frame offers the patron's first name and patronymic, Mino di Cino.¹³ On the base, two gold and red

¹³ The inscription begins on the object's obverse: HOC/OPUS : FACTUM . FUIT . SUB . ANNO . DO/MINI. It continues on the reverse: [small loss] /CCC . XLVII . TEMPORE . DOMINI . MINI/CINI. [This/work : has , been , made . under . year . of . the . Lord [small loss] /300 47 . in . the . time . of the Lord . Mini/Cini.]

diagonally quartered and indented coats of arms indicate the patron's surname: Cinughi.¹⁴ Two other two coats of arms on the base, in which golden crosses surmount golden ladders on black backgrounds, belong to the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, Siena's foremost hospital and charitable institution.¹⁵

The Cinughi were a Sienese patrician dynasty, a branch of the Pazzi family of Florence.¹⁶ Mino di Cino Cinughi is documented as the rector of the Ospedale from 1340 until his death in 1351.¹⁷ From the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, it was traditional and typical for the Ospedale's powerful, wealthy, and aristocratic rectors to place their family arms as well as those of the Ospedale on works of art they commissioned for the foundation. Surviving works of art including reliquaries, altar frontals, intarsia paneling, and liturgical implements made during the rectorates of members of several ruling Sienese families – including the Bulgarini, Chigi, Capacci, Sansedoni, and Saracini – bear the coats of arms of the both the rector's family and the Ospedale.¹⁸

Several documents in the Archivio di Stato of Siena make reference to the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary and confirm its presence in the Ospedale between the fourteenth and the

¹⁴ Identified by Wixom, "Eleven Additions," 131. For the Cinughi arms, see V. Spredi, ed., *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana* (Milan, 1928-1953), 2:468.

¹⁵ Identified by R.E.A. Drey in a letter of October 18, 1979 to the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, Curatorial File). Drey noted that the three-rung ladder surmounted by a cross appears on maiolica jars from Santa Maria della Scala and cites B. Rackham, *Catalogue of Italian Maiolica: Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1978), no. 34 and R.E.A. Drey, *Apothecary Jars* (London, 1978), 40.

¹⁶ Spredi, *Enciclopedia*, 468. The Sienese branch of the family was founded around 1250.

¹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Siena, Spedale di S. Maria della Scala, 5930, Annali 1341-1363, 3: "Nel 1340 fu eletto rettore Miss. Mino di Cino di Ugo. Quest'uomo della nobile Famiglia Cinughi ... morì nel 1351." *Archivio dell'Ospedale di S. Maria della Scala: Inventario*, (Rome, 1960-1962), 2:129: "Elenco dei Rettori dell'Ospedale di S. Maria della Scala di Siena...Mino di Cino Cinughi (1340-1351)." For Mino's rectorate, which coincided with the Black Death during which the Ospedale was extremely active in caring for the Sienese populace and also became extraordinarily wealthy owing to a spate of testamentary bequests, see L. Banchi, *I Rettori dello Spedale di Santa Maria della Scala di Siena* (Bologna, 1877), 42-45.

¹⁸ For examples, see C. Ricci, *Mostra dell'antica arte senese* (Siena, 1904), 9, 46, 50, 175, 191, 298, 325.

eighteenth centuries. The work is likely one of the “due reliquiari di legnio lavorati” recorded in the Ospedale in 1356.¹⁹ Writing in 1719, the Ospedale’s archivist Girolamo Macchi offered a highly specific description of the work, which usefully notes that the Cambridge panel was mounted back-to-back with another reverse painted and gilded panel depicting the Crucifixion.²⁰

The reliquary also offers its artist’s name via identical inscriptions on the base’s sides: LUCAS ME FECIT. Several artists documented in Siena in the mid-fourteenth century, including Luca di Tommè, have been proposed as candidates for authorship.²¹ It has also been suggested that the inscription references St. Luke, legendarily the first Christian artist who painted the Virgin from life, and can thus be understood as a claim of authenticity for the object, the central image of the Virgin and the relics surrounding it.²² More convincing, however, is Dillian Gordon’s suggestion that the inscription be associated with a goldsmith called Lucas;²³

¹⁹ Archivio di Stato di Siena, Spedale di S. Maria della Scala, 120, *Sacre Reliquie, Memorie*, 2:486-487. This document cites a *Libro dei Inventari* of 1356. The second reliquary mentioned may have been either the Walters reliquary, the Berenson-New York reliquary (see below, note 37), or a now-lost work made for the Compagnia dei Disciplinati attached to the Ospedale (after suppression in 1785 and reformation in 1792 the Compagnia was known as the Society of Executors of Pious Dispositions), see P.L. Leone de Castris, “Un Reliquario Senese a Vetri Dorati e Graffiti,” *Antichità Viva*, 18 (1979), 7-14.

²⁰ Archivio di Stato di Siena, Spedale di S. Maria della Scala, 120, *Sacre Reliquie, Memorie*, 2:252, 2:254: “...conservasi un antico tabernacolo di legno ed intagliato e posto tutto a oro da ambe le parte con suo Piedestallo pur scorniciato ed intagliato a basso rilievo...incui vedonsi a caratteri Goti queste parole = Lucas me fecit =. Questo tabernacolo viene incavato nel mezzo in figura quadrata nell’inferiore sua parte, nella superiore di arco di sesto acuto, la quale incavo viene occupato da due lamine di cristallo in una delle quail vien rappresentata in campo d’oro, o pur d’argento l’immagine del Crocifisso Signore nell’altra della Madonna Santissima da antico eccellente pennello molto bene espresso. Intorno alle dette Imagini servono di religioso ornamento varie aperture incavate nel codo del tabernacolo, in cui si racchiudevano per mezzo di due proporzionati cristalli piu e diverse sagre reliquie...” There are two other references to the work in the same document. In 2:416: “nel cavare tutte le reliquie del cassone, fu cavato ancora un reliquario grande antico con la BVM in vetro e all’intorno con dei occhietti tondi con vetro e dentro con reliquie e in esso si legge Gio di Mino di Cino Ughi Rettore e il ciborio sta cosi.” In 2:436: “del cassone cavo ancora un ciborio antico con la BVM in vetro dipenta e all’intorno dell’occhietti in vetro con reliquie dentro, e in esso si legge Mino di Cino Ugo rettore.”

²¹ For a review of early attributions attached to the Cambridge glass, see Gordon, “A Sienese Verre Eglomisé,” 150-153. A number of unlikely attributions for the ensemble, several of which were based on documents mentioning painters named Luke who worked in the service of the Ospedale, were offered by G. Moran in 1979 (Cleveland Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, Curatorial File).

²² Wixom, “Eleven Additions,” 131, Gauthier, *Routes de la Foi*, 173, and Preising, “Bild und Reliquie,” 58 endorse this view.

²³ Gordon, “A Sienese Verre Eglomisé,” 153.

documented in Siena in 1348, 1361, and 1363, he was the brother of Ugolino di Vieri, who in 1338 made the translucent enamel Reliquary of the Holy Corporal for the cathedral of Orvieto.²⁴ **(Figure 5)** Although Lucas is not documented as a participant in the Orvieto commission, the Orvieto and Cleveland-Cambridge reliquaries may be favorably compared. The Reliquary of the Holy Corporal and the Cleveland frame are structurally similar in their rectangular bases with convex corners, gables, finials, and buttressing. They also share unusual decorative and pictorial motifs including acanthus leaf borders, tiled floor and background decorations, and six-pointed stars. An attribution to an artist trained and practicing as a goldsmith seems particularly appropriate in the light of the Cleveland-Cambridge piece's particularly strong allusions to luxury metalwork objects, including its extensive use of reverse painted and gilded glass, which simulates the appearance of enamel.²⁵

Ultimately, the imagery of the Cleveland-Cambridge ensemble derives from the oeuvre of the Sienese master Simone Martini (1280-1344) and his workshop.²⁶ The Virgin and Child in the Cambridge glass depend chiefly upon Simone's fresco of the *Maestà* in

²⁴ Gordon, "A Sienese Verre Eglomisé," 153.

²⁵ For a useful recent discussion of reverse painted and gilded glass, see S. Pettenati, "The Decorated Glass," in *Giotto: The Crucifix in Santa Maria Novella*, ed. M. Ciatti and M. Seidel (Berlin and Munich, 2002), 203-216. This kind of glass is often called *verre eglomisé* a term coined from the name of an eighteenth-century French paintings restorer, Glomy, who revived the technique of applying gilt to glass for picture frames. See R. Eswarin, "The Terminology of 'Verre Eglomisé,'" *Journal of Glass Studies*, 21 (1979), 98-101 and C. Eisler, "Verre églomisé and Paolo di Giovanni Fei," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 3 (1961), 31-38.

²⁶ Gordon, "A Sienese Verre Eglomisé," 149-150, makes such an argument for the glass.



Figure 8 Simone Martini, *Maestà*, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico. Photo: Art Resource, NY.

Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, executed in 1315 and restored by Simone himself in 1321.²⁷ **(Figure 8)** The Cambridge glass abbreviates the fresco's composition to include only two saints and two angels, but copies almost exactly its Gothic throne raised on a platform, elaborate brocaded draperies, alert curly-haired Christ Child, and crowned Virgin. The orb held together by the Virgin and Child in the Cambridge glass derives from the seal of Siena, which the Commune

²⁷ A. Bagnoli, *La Maestà di Simone Martini* (Milan, 1999).

commissioned in 1298 from the celebrated goldsmith Guccio di Mannaia: an image of the seal also appears in fresco in a roundel in the lower border of Simone's *Maestà*.²⁸

The Annunciation scene on the Cambridge glass can be related to several depictions of this subject produced by Simone and his workshop. The slight overlap of the figure's robes over the edge of the ledge on which they are poised derives from Simone's 1333 altarpiece for the chapel of St. Ansanus in the cathedral of Siena.²⁹ The division of the scene into two frames, each containing a single figure, echoes the small folding polyptychs made by Simone and his workshop for use in private devotional practices. The Archangel's general appearance and pose relate to the panel in Antwerp from the so-called Orsini Polyptych, while the quatrefoil border surrounding both Gabriel and the Virgin is an abbreviation of the quatrefoil borders in another panel depicting the Annunciate Angel in the National Gallery of Art in Washington.³⁰ The pendant to this panel, now in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, has the same quatrefoil borders and provides a source for the pose of the Virgin.³¹ Furthermore, the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary's frame echoes the border of Simone's *Maestà* in its quadripartite decorative flourishes, and just as roundels containing images of saints and prophets punctuate the frescoed border's patterns, so the rosettes protecting the saint's relics intervene between each unit of pastiglia patterning.

²⁸ For the seal, see E. Cioni, *Il Sigillo a Siena nel Medioevo* (Siena, 1989), no. 2. For its appearance on the *Maestà* see I. Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 19 (1968), 29-60 and more recently D. Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven and London, 1999), 58.

²⁹ P.L. Leone de Castris, *Simone Martini* (Milan, 2003), 274-286.

³⁰ For the Orsini Polyptych panel, see J.E. Brink, "Simone Martini's 'Orsini Polyptych,'" *Jaarboek des Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (1976), 7-23 and Leone de Castris, *Simone Martini*, 2003, 300-310. For the Washington panel, see F. Rusk Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings* (Washington, 1979), 1:430-431 and Leone de Castris, *Simone Martini*, 330-333.

³¹ Leone de Castris, *Simone Martini*, 330-333.



Figure 5, Ugolino di Vieri, Reliquary of the Holy Corporal, Orvieto, Cathedral. Photo: Art Resource, NY



Figure 6 Naddo Ceccarelli, Virgin and Child, Private Collection. Photo: Christie's London.

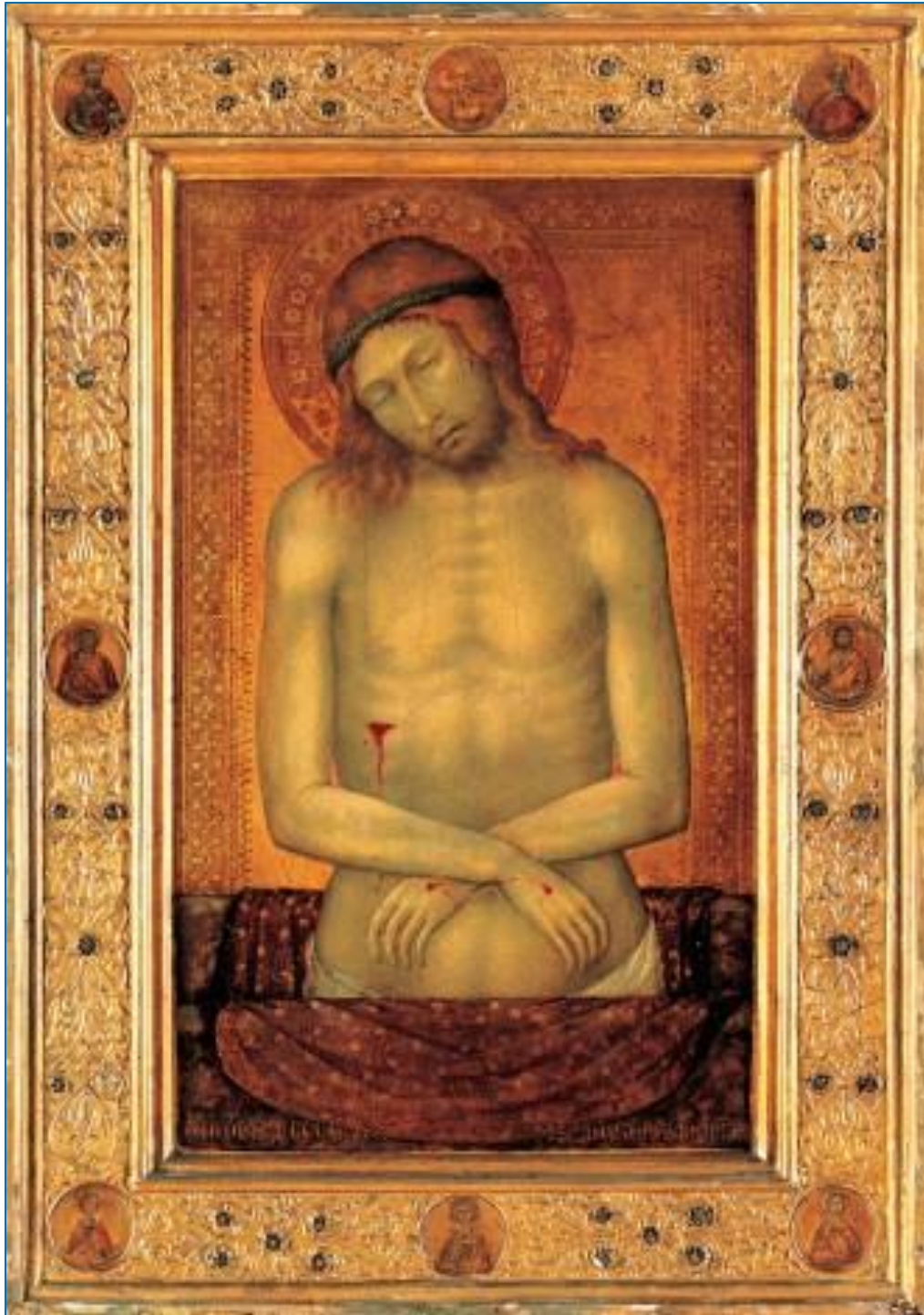


Figure 7 Naddo Ceccarelli, Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Vienna, Liechtenstein Collection. Photo: Liechtenstein Collection.

Favorable comparisons may also be drawn between the Cleveland piece's decorative encrustation and that on works attributed to an artist active in the mid-fourteenth century in Siena, Naddo Ceccarelli. Naddo Ceccarelli was a close follower of Simone Martini, and may have accompanied him to the papal court in Avignon in 1339, returning to Siena after the master's death in 1344.³² His own style is indebted to and likely deliberately capitalized on the popularity of, Simone's, and so too would have been the style of his associates and workshop. The decorative elements on the frame of a diptych depicting Christ as the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Virgin and Child* signed by Naddo Ceccarelli are especially similar to those on the Cleveland frame.³³ (Figures 6-7) The punching on the Cleveland frame and on the diptych appear to have been made with identical tools and their decorative motifs are comparable.³⁴ On Cleveland's frame the pastiglia designs are well-defined, regular, and rhythmic, while those on the base of the same object are complex, interlocking, and flowing. The pastiglia on the frames of Naddo's diptych echoes that on the Cleveland frame, but combines the two modes of treatment evident in the object as a whole; it is at once clearly cadenced like the Cleveland frame, but shares the freedom of handling evident in the base.³⁵ Roundels containing images of saints punctuate the diptych's pastiglia border, much like the rosettes on the Cleveland frame. Remarkably, an inscription dates Naddo's diptych to the same year as the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary:

³² There is very little known about Naddo Ceccarelli. C. De Benedictis, "Naddo Ceccarelli," *Commentari*, 25 (1974), 139-154, suggests the Avignon sojourn, although the evidence for this is by no means conclusive.

³³ The panels of this diptych are now split between the Liechtenstein Collection in Vienna (*Christ as the Man of Sorrows*) and Christie's London, where it was sold in 2005 and awaits export (the *Virgin and Child*). The base of the panel depicting *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* bears the inscription: "NADDUS CECCHARELLI DE SENIS ME PINSIT." The comparison between the Cleveland frame and Naddo's diptych was first made by J. Polzer, "The 'Master of the Rebel Angels' Reconsidered," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 563-584.

³⁴ Polzer, "The 'Master of the Rebel Angels,'" 570-573.

³⁵ For differences between the pastiglia work on the base and frame of the Cleveland piece, see C.R. Drabik, *Pre-Renaissance Italian Frames with Glass Decorations in American Collection* (MA Dissertation, State University of New York, 2002), 91.

1347.³⁶ Might Lucas have worked in the atelier of Naddo, specializing in the decorative elements that make such panels so closely like goldsmith's work in appearance?

As for the connection to the Ospedale, it has been suggested that Naddo's reliquary tabernacle in the Walters Art Museum was made for a confraternity attached to the Ospedale, and Naddo can furthermore be linked to the hospital via an altarpiece produced c. 1350.⁴⁴ This latter work may have been made for the main church or perhaps for the confraternity of the Disciplinati della Madonna attached to the foundation.⁴⁵ Highly unusually but clearly resonating with both the Walters and the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquaries, the predella of this altarpiece comprises roundels containing images of saints associated with healing flanking an image of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, each separated by areas of decorative patterning punctuated at their centers with the armorials of the Ospedale and of the Malavolti family. Certainly testament to the relationship between Naddo and the Ospedale at the midpoint of the trecento, this work may also attest to the success of the visual format of the two reliquary frames in the material culture of the foundation. It is furthermore possible to suggest that it was through Naddo's connections that his associate Lucas came to the notice of the foundation and secured the Cinughi commission, or perhaps even vice versa. One of the reliquaries may even have been produced owing to the success and popularity of the other, indicative of a wider enthusiasm for and interest this type of object within the foundation.⁴⁶

³⁶ The date appears at the base of the panel depicting *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*.

⁴⁴ The main register of the altarpiece is in the Pinacoteca in Siena, no. 115, while the predella is at the Princeton University Art Museum.

⁴⁵ For this work see J. Steinhoff, *Sienese Painting after the Black Death: Artistic Pluralism, Politics, and the New Art Market* (Cambridge, 2007), 99-100, 191-195, 204.

⁴⁶

However, given the lavishness of the Cleveland-Cambridge piece in relation to the Walters work, it would perhaps be more likely that the confraternity sought to capitalize on the success of and create resonances with the ornate and prominent ensemble made for the rector, rather than the other way around. Pietro Lorenzetti's Berenson-New York ensemble may also be part of a wider culture of the Ospedale commissioning such object. In it diminutive figures of Augustinians supplicate before the holy figures. Lay Augustinians were responsible for the Ospedale's administration while Pietro Lorenzetti can be connected to the Ospedale via frescoes he executed on its façade *c.* 1335⁴⁷ and thus the commissioning of this object might perhaps relate in some way to this group.

When compared with other surviving gabled tabernacle reliquaries, the Cleveland-Cambridge piece, with its richly worked, tooled, and inlaid surfaces and painted and gilded glass, is a veritable tour-de-force in its experimentation with the limits to which the techniques of panel painting can be pushed in attempting to emulate another medium, namely metalwork.⁴⁸ The frame's painstaking simulation of ornate metalwork objects combined with the highly sophisticated and even painterly draftsmanship of the scene on the glass – a medium typically treated in a cruder manner – render it a demonstration par excellence of a single artist's mastery of a hybridized set of skills and techniques, as well as of various media and their visual idioms.⁴⁹ For these reasons, the hypothesis that Lucas the goldsmith created the decorative frameworks of both Naddo's panel paintings and the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary, and was thus a highly inventive and versatile craftsman of unusual talents and skills, is an especially compelling one.

⁴⁷ See Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, 87-103 for the façade fresco.

⁴⁸ See C. Hoeniger, "The Painting Technique of Simone Martini" (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 1989) for a useful discussion of the developments of the techniques used in the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary ensemble.

⁴⁹ Gordon, "A Sienese Verre Eglomisé," 149 discusses the refinement of the glass. For other, indeed less-refined, irecento examples of reverse painted and gilded glass, see D. Gordon, "The Mass Production of Franciscan Piety: Another Look at Some Umbrian Verres Eglomisés," *Apollo* 394 (1994), 33-42.

The prominent artist's signatures on the work may also be accounted for by an attribution to this artist and the foregoing characterization of his activities. In this period artist's signatures were a key factor in determining a work's price and enhanced its value.⁵⁰ Thus the signatures on the Cleveland-Cambridge work might have sought to elevate the work to the more prestigious status accorded luxury metalwork reliquaries by merit of associating its creation with the hand of a goldsmith. At the very least, they proclaim and advertise the unusual abilities of the work's supremely inventive and versatile creator. The piece itself was likely prized above all for its ingenuity and virtuosity, which were far more valuable than its relatively inexpensive materials: the signatures might have added a further dimension of established extrinsic value to the work, much as the labels accompanying the relics not only identify them, but, written by a literate and thus ostensibly authoritative hand, confer authenticity on and assert the value of the sacred remains contained within it.⁵¹ Moreover in his *Libro dell'Arte* Cennino Cennini described the adornment of reliquaries, not least reliquaries decorated with reverse painted and gilded glass, a technique and medium he deemed especially appropriate for this purpose, as "a branch of great piety."⁵² As such the Cleveland-Cambridge work's signatures may also assert its artist's piety through his association with this esteemed practice, thus serving as a visible and privileged bid for his own salvation.

In terms of its function the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary is a highly versatile object. Detachable from its base, the upper part could have been carried aloft in processions, a typical

⁵⁰ S. Weppelmann, "Collective Ritual and Personal Devotion: Small-Scale Panel Painting in the Trecento" in *Kult Bild: Das Altar- und Andachtsbild von Duccio bis Perugino*, ed. J. Sander (Petersberg, 2006), 229.

⁵¹ For a consideration of these issues surrounding the authentication of relics, see A. Kleinberg, "Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator*, 20 (1989), 183-205. Given the low levels of literacy in this period as well as the quality of the object, it is likely that these labels were produced by a high-ranking ecclesiastic attached to the Ospedale or by the rector himself. Unfortunately I have been unable to locate any document written in Mino di Cino Cinughi's hand.

⁵² Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson (New York, 1933), 112.

reliquary function.⁵³ When removed from the base, the frame's underside is unfinished, so it might have been mounted onto another structure which could in turn have been mounted on a pole in order to facilitate processional use.⁵⁴ Paraded through Siena's sunlit or candlelit streets, at some distance from viewers, the reliquary's gold and glass would have glittered gloriously, rendering its simulation of metalwork quite convincing and even deceptive. As medieval viewers associated precious materials with an aura of sanctity, in procession, the object and its relics' authenticity would have been heightened.⁵⁵ Its double-sidedness, which implies that complete viewing can only occur in the round, is also compatible with this function. So too are the glass panels, whose surfaces could have been kissed and touched by the faithful en masse without suffering quite the same degree of wear and tear that would be the case with panel paintings or enamels. Nonetheless, such exposures to the elements likely occurred on a limited basis. For example, the object may have been brought out only once a year, perhaps participating in and representing the Ospedale at the celebrations for the Assumption, Siena's most important feast day.⁵⁶ Alternatively it might have played a part in rituals associated with the feast of the

⁵³ As processional objects the reliquary tabernacles may be seen as painted versions of the gilt silver reliquary of San Galgano made in the mid fourteenth century by a Sienese goldsmith in which twenty-six round relic windows surmount a base decorated with an enameled narrative depicting the life of San Galgano. E. Cioni, *Scultura e smalto nell'oreficeria senese dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence, 1998), 267-334 and F. Geens, "Galganus and the Cistercians: Relics, Reliquaries, and the Image of a Saint," in *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. S.J. Cornelison (Tempe, AZ, 2006), 55-76.

⁵⁴ A panel made for private devotion in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin was later adapted for processional use with this kind of structure. For this object see W.D. Löhr, "Die Perle im Acker. Francesco di Vannuccios Berliner Freuzigung und die Eröffnung der Wunden," in *Zeremoniell und Raum in der frühen italienischen Malerei*, ed. S. Weppelmann (Petersberg, forthcoming). I would like to thank Stefan Weppelmann for very generously sharing the proofs of this essay with me.

⁵⁵ C. Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: the Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines" in *Approaches to Early-Medieval Art*, ed. L. Nees (Cambridge, 1998), 121-148.

⁵⁶ For a description of this festival, see Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, 1-3.

Annunciation, whose image appears on the Cambridge glass and to which the Ospedale church was dedicated.⁵⁷

Otherwise, the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary likely resided upon the altar of a small chapel. Such a location would have provided individuals or small groups with the necessary proximity to renders its imagery, relics, and their labels fully legible.⁵⁸ The image of the Annunciation, whose placement beneath the Virgin and Child is highly unusual in trecento art, may refer to this chapel's location; in the hospital church dedicated to the Santissima Annunziata.⁵⁹ Commissioned prior to the Ospedale's 1359 purchase of the famous collection of relics from Constantinople, the present reliquary would have constituted a very prominent locus of relic devotion within its church, as well as a conspicuous display and assertion of the rector's wealth, power, and exquisite taste.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ In 1359 the Ospedale was formally asked by Commune to celebrate this feast, as mentioned in 1697 by Girolamo Macchi, *Origine dello Spedale di Sta. Maria della Scala di Siena*, Archivio di Stato di Siena, MS D-113, f. 11v. Such statutes typically record practices that had already been long underway.

⁵⁸ It is for this reason that the reliquary's relegation to a sacristy when not in processional use seems unjustified. Nonetheless, it is possible that the reliquary was later placed along with all of the Ospedale's relics in the famous *armadio* painted by Vecchietta and placed in the sacristy decorated with frescoes by the same artist. Later the *armadio* was placed in the chapel of the Madonna del Manto. Girolamo Macchi writing in 1719 discusses this in Archivio di Stato di Siena, Spedale di S. Maria della Scala, 120, Sacre Reliquie, Memorie, 2:486-487: "...la chiesa era piccolo, non era per ancora ingrandita, le colloconno nella Cappella detta del Cancelllo...di poi fatta la Nuova Sagrestia...fu fatto un Armario Grande nel muro e cio fu l'anno 1446 nel quale du dipento tutta la Passione di Nostro Signore il quale dispense Maestro Lorenzo di Pietro ditto dell Vecchietta Pittore Sanese con alquante figure per di fuori a ditto Amario, e intorno a detta Sagrestia e nel medesimo Armario ci colloconno tutte le Sante Reliquie. E doppio ingrandita che fu la sudeta chiesa e fattoci la Cappella per il Santo Chiodo, ci furono collocate tutte le alter reliquie che oggi si chiama la Madonna dell Manto, la quale ci fu collocate l'anno 1610." It seems that in 1719 the reliquary resided in a *cassone*, as per the same document, 2:487: "L'anno 1478 fu fatta la Cappella e Cassone per tenere le sante reliquie...che per il passato le tenevano nell'Armario di Sagrestia." On Vecchietta's projects for the Ospedale, see H. Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church: a Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism* ('s-Gravenhage, 1974).

⁵⁹ The first document in which the consecration to the Annunciation is mentioned dates to 1328. See Van Os, *Vecchietta*, 4-5.

⁶⁰ For the purchase of relics from Constantinople, see Van Os, *Vecchietta*, 5-6 and L. Bellosi, ed., *L'oro di Siena: il Tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala* (Milano, 1996), which also considers the broader culture of relics, reliquaries, and precious objects owned by the Ospedale.

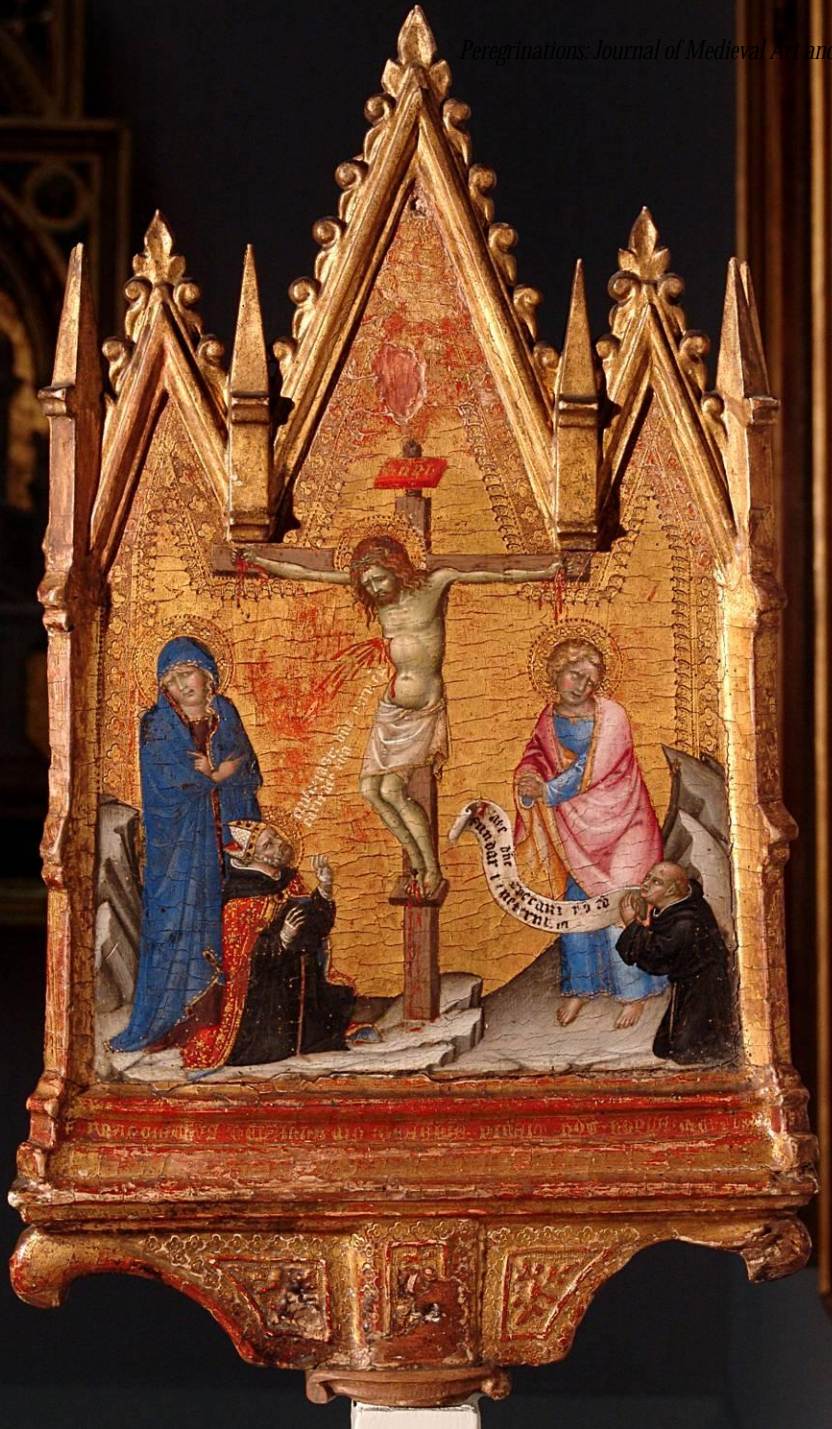


Figure 9 (left) Francesco di Vannuccio, *Crucifixion*. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Photo: Gemäldegalerie Berlin.



Figure 10 (right) Francesco di Vannuccio, *Virgin and Child with Saints*. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Photo: Gemäldegalerie Berlin.

More practically, the piece would have satisfied the requirement that all altars possess at least one relic.⁶¹ When the Crucifixion was visible, it would also have satisfied the requirement that all altars be equipped with a crucifix.⁶² Its unusual double-sidedness also suggests the roles it might have played in services and devotional practices. The use of a double-sided or reversible panel by Francesco di Vannuccio made in Siena in 1380 and now in the Gemäldegalerie Berlin, whose back-to-back images of the Crucifixion and the Virgin and Child reflect those in the present work, has been connected to the prayers said at the canonical hours, which concentrate on the Passion or the Virgin Mary.⁶³ **(Figures 9-10)** It has been suggested that the Berlin work was simply turned to suit the content of the user's devotions; perhaps the Cleveland-Cambridge piece was likewise adapted throughout the course of each day.

In terms of its imagery, the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary celebrates Siena's principal patron saint, the Virgin, and reiterates the Ospedale's devotion to her. In the first half of the fourteenth century, major Marian images were commissioned for each of Siena's three principal civic institutions, demonstrating the vigor with which the Sienese pursued devotion to their patroness. These include Duccio's *Maestà* for the high altar of the cathedral, four further altarpieces depicting scenes from the life of the Virgin for altars dedicated to Siena's patron saints in the cathedral, Simone Martini's frescoed *Maestà* in the Palazzo Pubblico, and a series of now-lost frescoes on the facade of the Ospedale portraying the Virgin's early life.⁶⁴ The Virgin

⁶¹ This law was instituted at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 and remains in effect today. Y. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine: a Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church* (London, 1912), 12 and William Durandus, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, trans. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb (Leeds, 1843), 149.

⁶² Weppelmann, "Collective Ritual," 231.

⁶³ Löhr, "Die Perle im Acker."

⁶⁴ For these commissions and their civic significance see Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, 21-43 (Duccio), 67-85 (patronal altars), 45-63 (Simone Martini), and 87-103 (Ospedale).

was also celebrated in altarpieces throughout the most important churches in the city, as well as on the city gates and in a number of street tabernacles.

Like the panels in the Walters Art Museum and the Berenson Collection, the reliquary's depiction of the Virgin and Child within an architectural setting can be interpreted as an image of Mary Ecclesia enshrined within the church of which she is herself a symbol.⁶⁵ The constellation of relics surrounding her constitute a communion of her heavenly court of saints, as well as the "living stones" of I Peter 2:4-5 from which the Church is constructed and the precious stones adorning it, as in the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem of the Book of Revelation.⁶⁶ The reliquary does not, however, simply represent a generic aedicule symbolizing the church in the abstract.⁶⁷ Instead it evokes in miniature the portal of a very specific church: the cathedral of Siena whose facade sat opposite that of the Ospedale's and was, along with the Palazzo Pubblico, the Torre della Mangia, and the Campo, a preeminent visual symbol of Sienese civic identity. **(Figure 11)** The gables, finials, buttressing, crockets, and colorful inlay decoration of the two structures may

⁶⁵ See Rowlands, "Sienese Painted Reliquaries," and Mann, "Relics, Reliquaries," for discussions of this aspect of the reliquaries. In contrast to the Walters and Berenson-New York reliquaries, the Virgin in the Cleveland-Cambridge work is sitting rather than standing. Rowlands links the standing Virgin type to Byzantine icons in which standing Virgins are framed by busts of saints, while Mann rejects this idea suggesting that they relate more closely to contemporary small-scale polychrome sculpted images of the Virgin.

⁶⁶ For this imagery see K. Möseneder, "Lapides Vivi: über die Kreuzkapelle der Burg Karlstein," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1981), 39-69.

⁶⁷ S.J. Cornelison, "Art Imitates Architecture: the Saint Philip Reliquary in Renaissance Florence," *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004), 648-650 offers a useful review of Trecento and Quattrocento Italian reliquaries made to imitate specific buildings.

be compared, and the cathedral's steps echo the shape of the reliquary's base. Like the frame, the



Figure 11 Siena, Cathedral. Photo: Art Resource, NY.

cathedral had an image of the Virgin at its center: Duccio's panel for its high altar, which might have been visible, if at a distance, through the main portal.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, as mentioned above in relation to the reliquary's style, its image of the Virgin and Child image depends upon two prominent trecento Sienese models, Simone Martini's frescoed *Maestà* in the Palazzo Pubblico and the seal of Siena. Thus, by evoking prominent visual focal points and powerful emblems of civic devotion to the Virgin in its imagery, the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary seems to have been designed to create a locus of Marian veneration and civic devotion in the Ospedale. Given the cycle of images of the Virgin's early life on the façade but the lack of any prominent representations of her within its walls, the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary's imagery must have been an especially conspicuous and important addition to the Ospedale's visual culture.

The selection of relics housed in the reliquary is also closely linked to the Ospedale's activities and civic role, and likewise to its constituents' devotional desires.⁶⁹ The prime function of the Ospedale was the housing of pilgrims.⁷⁰ In the scene on glass, the presence beside the Virgin of St. James, the patron saint of pilgrims whose shrine in Northern Spain was the West's

⁶⁸ Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, 26-28.

⁶⁹ On the work's obverse, the relic labels read clockwise beginning with the upper trefoil: (no label); S MARIE MAGDALENE; SANCTI PELLEGRINI ---PI; (no label); SANCTA FELICITAS; SANCTI NABORIS A FELICIS; SANCTI LEONIS PAPAE; SANCTAE UDILIE A CORDULE; SANCTAE FLORENTIAE VGI; SANCTAE URSULAE A JULIANNAE; SANCTI STEPHANI PP MAR; SANCTI ANTONI; SANCTAE IXITIABETIS UNG---; S XI MILIA MARTYR; SANCTI MACAR---; SANCTI CUTIUPU CONFESSORUM; (no label); inner trefoil (two pieces of wood set in the form of a cross, no label). On the work's reverse, the relic labels read clockwise beginning with the upper trefoil: (no label); S LAURENTIUS M; S RUFU MTRI; SANCTI MACAR---; S XI MILIA MARTYR; (no label); SANCTI ANTONI; (no label); SANCTAE URSULAE JULIANNAE VRG; SANCTAE FLORENTIAE VGI; MARTYRUM INNOCENTUM; SANCTI LEONIS PAPAE; SANCTI NABORIS A FELICIS; SANCTA FELICITAS MRIS; ---TIEPHAM; SANCTAE ALEXANDRA; S MARIE MAGDAL; inner trefoil (no label or relic).

⁷⁰ The plural function of the Ospedale is laid out in its thirteenth- and fourteenth-century statutes, published in L. Banchi, *Statuti Volgari de lo Spedale di Santa Maria Vergine di Siena Scritti l'Anno 1305* (Siena, 1864) and L. Banchi, *Statuti Senesi Scritti in Volgare ne' Secoli XIII e XIV* (Bologna, 1863-1877), vol. 3. For the Ospedale as a pilgrimage destination, see Van Os, *Vecchietta*, 2.

foremost pilgrimage destination, certainly would have appealed to these viewers.⁷¹ So, too, would several relics related to St. Ursula and her virgin companions, who were martyred on pilgrimage.⁷² Also relevant to pilgrims were the relics of the True Cross situated in one of the trefoils above the aperture which once circumscribed the glass panels.⁷³ Together with the image of the Crucifixion above which it was likely poised, this relic would have conjured for viewers the story of a pilgrim and her quest for holy remains, as the sainted Empress Helena legendarily found the True Cross during her pilgrimage to Jerusalem to gather relics.⁷⁴ The inclusion of a relic of St. Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem who accompanied Helena to the site where the Cross was found, might have strengthened the reliquary's allusions to this story.⁷⁵

Given their thaumaturgic properties, the veneration of relics must have been an important and popular devotional practice in a functioning hospital. Some of the relics are particularly appropriate to this setting: St. Juliana was the patroness of childbirth and sickness while St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231) was closely associated with nursing, healing, and charity.⁷⁶ Indeed, the Ospedale was also Siena's foremost charitable institution, a function echoed by the relics of the deacons St. Lawrence and St. Stephen whose role, like the hospital's, was the care of

⁷¹ For James' legend, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York, London, and Toronto, 1941), 368-377.

⁷² In addition to a relic of Ursula herself, the frame contains a relic of St. Cordula, one of her companions. The label on another relic window indicates that it contains remains of the eleven thousand Virgins who were martyred with Ursula. For Ursula and her companions, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 627-631, and for Cordula in particular, 630. For the proliferation of the relics of Ursula and her companions, see L. Moulinier, "Elisabeth, Ursule et les Onze Mille Vierges: un Cas d'Invention de Reliques à Cologne au XIIIe siècle," *Médiévales*, 22-23 (1992), 173-186.

⁷³ In the case of the corresponding trefoil on the opposite side of the reliquary the glass is set directly upon the wood with no relic set behind it.

⁷⁴ For the legend of the True Cross and the Empress Helena, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 269-276.

⁷⁵ For Macarius, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 94-96, 274.

⁷⁶ For Juliana, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 166-167. For Elizabeth, see H.D. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 2004), 169.

the poor.⁷⁷ The Ospedale further served as an orphanage providing childcare for foundlings and, once they were grown, finding work for the young men and dowries for the young women so that they might marry or enter a convent.⁷⁸ Relics of the Holy Innocents martyred by Herod may refer to the Ospedale's rescue of children,⁷⁹ while others belonging to mothers, such as Felicitas, a Roman matron martyred with her seven sons, evoke the foundlings' absent mothers and the Ospedale's own parental role.⁸⁰ The preponderance of the relics of women saints in the reliquary – including in addition to those already mentioned, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Alexandra – may also have appealed to the female foundlings. A relic of St. Anthony Abbot may refer to devotion to this saint on behalf of the Augustinians, whose lay brothers oversaw the daily management of the Ospedale.⁸¹

Several relics refer to the idea of civic piety and protection, an important theme for the Sienese citizenry. For example, a relic of St. Leo, the fifth-century pope who protected Rome from the Huns, is included.⁸² Other relics relate to the idea of communal life, a theme that would have resonated strongly with Siena's citizens and the Ospedale's inhabitants specifically. These include relics belonging to saints who founded religious communities, such as the abbesses Odilia of Hohenberg (c. 662-c.720) and Florentia, a Spanish nun.⁸³ A significant number of the

⁷⁷ For Lawrence, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 437-445 and for Stephen, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 54-57.

⁷⁸ Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, 93.

⁷⁹ For the Holy Innocents, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 64-68.

⁸⁰ For Felicia, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 347.

⁸¹ L. Meiffret, *Saint Antoine Ermite en Italie (1340-1540): Programmes Picturaux et Dévotion* (Rome, 2004), for Augustinian devotion to St. Anthony.

⁸² For Leo, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 231-232.

⁸³ For Odilia, see Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, 393-394 and for Florentia, see F. Caraffa, ed., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1964), 5:849-850.

relics also belong to saints who died in groups, such as the Holy Innocents, Ursula and her virgin companions, and the Roman soldiers Nabor and Felix.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the labels belonging to the relic nestled in the large trefoil at the work's apex are illegible. It is tantalizing to suppose that the prominence of the Virgin in the Cambridge glass might suggest that the relic contained within this most conspicuous of all the reliquary's windows is associated with Siena's queen, protectress, and patron saint.

To conclude, the Cleveland-Cambridge reliquary ensemble was carefully custom-designed to achieve a place of visual and devotional distinction within the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala in Siena. Combining a highly unusual and ingeniously wrought material structure with imagery and a choice of relics specific to the interests and needs of the Sienese and the Ospedale, the reliquary would readily have attracted notice and curiosity, and in turn impressed upon viewers the foundation's and its rector's power, wealth, and taste, as well as providing them with a variety of devotional possibilities and experiences closely linked to civic identity and institutional loyalties. Seen beyond the Ospedale's walls, in a procession, it would likely have incited the kind of veneration offered to any reliquary in this context. Gravitating towards the emblematic image of the Virgin, their foremost patron saint, the Sienese crowds would have sought contact with the holy remains surrounding her, hoping to avail themselves of their miraculous powers and through them draw closer to their patroness. If viewed, however, with the intimate proximity possible in a small chapel inside the Ospedale church, the reliquary could have stimulated and participated in the more personalized devotional experiences of the Ospedale's various inhabitants and visitors. Clustered around the work in veneration, all viewers would have sought to position themselves on the outskirts of the community of sanctity assembled in the reliquary's frame, and through those relics draw closer to the divine; seen as

⁸⁴ For Nabor and Felix, see Caraffa, 9:689-693.

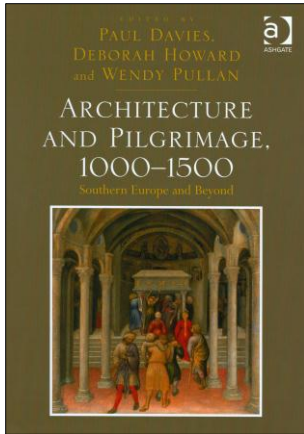
such this object becomes a true framework for the piety of the community of Siena, and of many smaller communities within that city.

Abstract:

During the trecento in Italy, new reliquary types emerged as the result of the development of gold ground panel painting. A group of seven surviving tre- and quattrocento Sienese gilded, gabled wooden tabernacles whose frames were inset with glass windows through which relics were visible, constituted one new reliquary genre. One such work made for the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, Siena's foremost hospital and charitable institution, is now divided between the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. So painstakingly embellished that it rivals counterparts fashioned by goldsmiths from precious stones and metals, the reliquary is, however, made from comparatively humble materials using techniques associated with painting on panel. This study will consider the implications of this unusual material structure, both for the reliquary ensemble's attribution and for its status and visual appeal. As highly customized as it is luxurious, the object rewards close consideration with a great deal of information about its purposes, functions, and meanings. The study will consequently present new hypotheses regarding the work's ritual uses, arguing that it served both as a processional device and as an adornment for an altar in the Ospedale church. Iconographic and compositional analysis elucidates a pronounced relationship between the reliquary's imagery and decorative elements and several major visual focal points of civic devotion in Siena; the study suggests that this reliquary sought to propose itself as one as well. Identifying the relics for the first time, the study addresses the roles these sacred remains played in the devotional practices of the Ospedale's various constituencies.



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Book Review: Paul Davies, Deborah Howard and Wendy Pullan, eds.
Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1500: Southern Europe and Beyond. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

By Ashley Elston, Berea College, Art & Art History Program

Pilgrimage studies present scholars with ample opportunities for exploration. The complex and interwoven elements of journey and destination, the simultaneous tension and cooperation between the shrine and devotional object/image, and the multivalent modes of the pilgrim's experience all encourage inquiry into the integrative visual, spiritual and physical culture of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Recent collections, such as the significant 2005 volume on art and architecture related to late medieval Northern European pilgrimage edited by Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, have deepened and expanded our understanding of the myriad (and often mutually reinforcing) types of objects and built environments pilgrims encountered.¹

The contributions to the 2013 volume edited by Paul Davies, Deborah Howard and Wendy Pullan stem from a 2005 conference, *Architecture and Pilgrimage 600-1600*, held at the University of Cambridge. As the title of the book suggests, the nine essays

¹ Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds. *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005).

published here present a more focused constellation of study divided into two sections, the first covering the wider Mediterranean basin and the second exploring pilgrimage in Italy. This framework, in combination with Davies and Howard's introduction and the afterword by Herbert Kessler, helpfully situates the phenomenon of later medieval pilgrimage in a wide-ranging cultural context. The broad geographical coverage of the included essays reflects the diverse nature of pilgrimage, a recurring theme in the collection, and the volume's structural separation between Italy and the rest of the Mediterranean is appropriately porous as essays in both parts refer to and draw upon issues raised in the other.



Figure 1 Gentile da Fabriano, *Pilgrims at the Tomb of St. Nicholas*, predella of the Quaratesi Polyptych, collection of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1425. Photo: Wiki Commons

Davies and Howard assert in their introduction that, despite the vast body of literature on pilgrimage, the fixed architectural structures involved have been neglected in favor of the dynamic and mutable aspects of the phenomenon and its attendant acts. They employ an expansive approach to architecture in which the location of the destination is but one of many meaningful places pilgrims encounter on their journeys. Indeed, the editors see pilgrimage as a series of movements through architectural settings and a running theme throughout the collection is the ability of architecture to unify various aspects of pilgrimage experience. The nine essays thus present variations on the numerous ways in which architecture informs and augments visual and devotional constructs associated with pilgrimage across time, space and faith.

The four essays in the “Mediterranean Perspectives” section explore pilgrimage and architecture in locales outside Italy and ways in which pilgrimage connected the Mediterranean world. Henry Maguire’s essay, “Pilgrimage through Pictures in Medieval Byzantine Churches,” examines images of the Holy Land in Greek and Cypriot churches to interrogate how they impacted local saints’ cults. Drawing upon hagiographic texts that parallel the visual typology produced by images of the Holy Land in churches with ties to local Byzantine saints, Maguire sees this as a case of *synkrisis*, in which the lesser site gained authority from the greater *loca sancta*. Representations of the Holy Land also proved a powerful influence on Byzantine pilgrims in Jerusalem, such that Maguire asserts that viewing such images was equal to witnessing the actual sites.

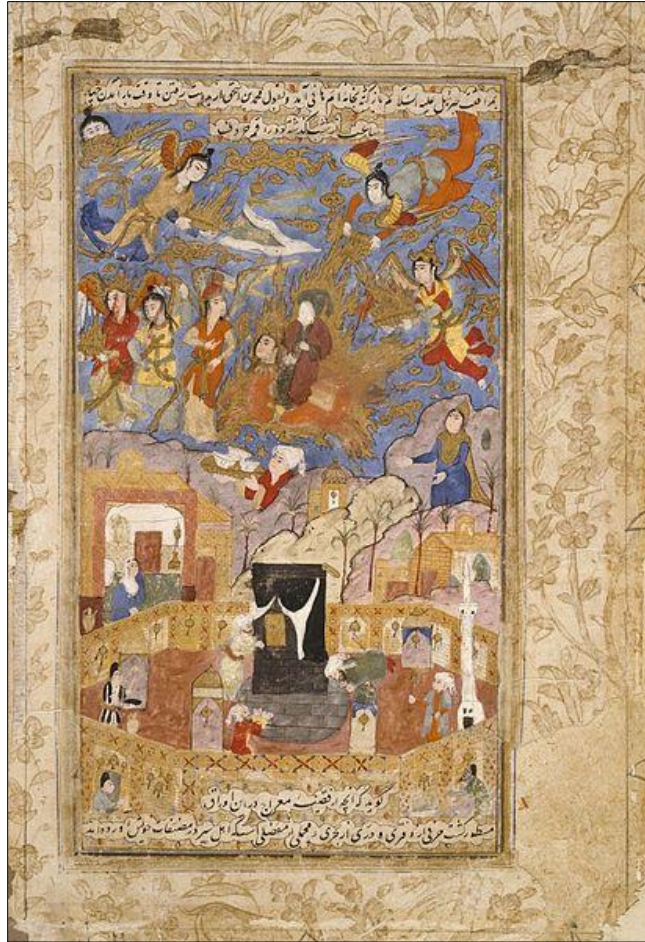


Figure 2 *The Night Journey of the Prophet with the Ka'ba in Mecca, Iran, c. 1600*, collection of LACMA. Photo: Wiki Commons

Avinoam Shalem's contribution on rituals performed by pilgrims at the Ka'ba in Mecca helpfully explicates the accumulative sensory process of movement, sight and touch that the destination building facilitated. Demonstrating that pilgrimage rituals at the Ka'ba presented the faithful a series of sensual encounters with the building and its covering, Shalem relates this site to mosque architecture with which pilgrims would already have been familiar. In addition, discussion of the practice of veiling the Ka'ba, which enhanced its sanctity and heightened the experience of entering the building, opens

a path for future fruitful comparison with rituals of concealment and revelation that were often part of the Christian pilgrimage tradition.²

Wendy Pullan explores the ubiquitous motif of the shell as a habitual part of pilgrimage, seeking to explain its development as a symbol specifically tied to Compostela and as representative of pilgrimage's broader ability to bring prominence to the mundane. In recognizing the shell's simultaneous roles as an individual bearer of meaning and repetitive, decorative emblem, Pullan's essay encourages us, like pilgrims, to critically examine aspects of the visual environment that we often take for granted.



Figure 3 *St. James the Greater, Puerta del Perdon, Santiago de Compostela. Photo: Wiki Commons*

² See *inter alia*, Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Ashley Elston, "Storing Sanctity: Sacristy Reliquary Cupboards in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2011), 17-21.

The final essay in the first section continues Deborah Howard's significant work connecting Venice to the Eastern Mediterranean. Here, Howard shows how Venice's diplomatic and commercial relationships with the Holy Land complemented concurrent ties of pilgrimage by, for example, allowing Venetian pilgrims special access and freedom of movement within holy sites and encouraging the fascinating development of "package tours" departing from Venice. In concert with pilgrims' physical movement between West and East and the transmission of regional architectural elements in both directions, Howard also suggests the occurrence of what she calls "imaginative geography," in which Christian pilgrims assimilated the foreign architecture and landscape they saw with their own prior expectations.

The second section of the book is devoted to Italian pilgrimage and architecture, focusing entirely on Tuscan and Umbrian sites and practices. The one exception to this geographic concentration is Claudia Bolgia's essay examining icon shrines in medieval Rome. Bolgia calls attention to a particular type of canopied tabernacle (similar to well-known thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Roman ciboria and relic shrines) that held a miraculous Marian image, arguing that likeness in shrine structure indicates that icons and relics were accorded similar status in Roman patterns of pilgrimage. In addition to contributing to the growing body of scholarship surrounding the complex relationship between relic and image, the essay also helpfully promotes consideration of such shrines within the larger architectural settings where the pilgrim would encounter them.³

³ On this issue see also Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf, eds. *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Rome: Bibliotheca Hertziana, 2004) and Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery, eds. *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005).

The next two essays investigate the placement of pilgrimage sites in central Italian mendicant churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Joanna Cannon brings pilgrimage into the context of the urban laity by exploring the possibility that late medieval Dominican churches were designed to facilitate convenient local pilgrimage, noting that after St. Dominic's remains were moved into the lay nave of the church in 1233, other saints' shrines in Dominican churches were situated to the west of the *tramezzo*. Cannon sees this as part and parcel of a trend in the later Middle Ages towards more convenient pilgrimage and hopefully this will be further explored in her forthcoming monograph on art in Dominican churches of central Italy.

Figure 4 Giotto and workshop, *St. Francis and Death*, north transept, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, c. 1308-11. Photo: Wiki Commons



Donal Cooper and Janet Robson's "Imagery and the Economy of Penance at the Tomb of St. Francis" takes a fresh look at the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi,

arguing that pilgrims came here more for the expiation of sins than for the healing we often associate with major pilgrimage destinations. Calling attention to the ritual ties between the main church of St. Francis and the nearby Porziuncula created by increased indulgences granted to the latter site, the authors show that the architectural and decorative programs of the Lower Church were designed to facilitate the movement of pilgrims through the north chapels while surrounding them with images of penitential models. In addition to their collective focus on pilgrimage in Italian mendicant houses, both the Cannon and Cooper/Robson essays are effective examples of scholarly consideration of audience in multifaceted sacred environments.

The volume's final essays probe the often-vexing concepts of "copy" and "influence" in Italian pilgrimage architecture. As Richard Krautheimer demonstrated in his classic "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" architectural similarity carries meaning, although determining the precise intention of the likeness has, in many cases, proved to be less than clear.⁴ In his essay Paul Davies complicates the notion that locally famous shrines (as opposed to larger, more heavily trafficked locations) provided only formal models for other pilgrimage sites by illuminating the way in which architectural similarity linked the quattrocento tabernacle at Impruneta ritually and devotionally both to the shrine at SS. Annunziata in Florence and the church of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. He argues that architectural allusion magnified the prayers of the faithful through the establishment of a spiritual network of far-flung, visually linked sites that housed both miraculous Marian images and Christological relics within similar tabernacles.

⁴ Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1-33.



Figure 5 Giuliano da Sangallo, S. Maria delle Carceri, Prato, 1485-91. Photo: Wiki Commons

Robert Maniura also sees central Italian pilgrimage as a web of sacred sites rather than an exclusive system based on competition. He connects the fifteenth-century church of S. Maria delle Carceri in Prato, a central-plan structure built around a miraculous Marian image, to the lesser-known S. Maria della Pietà at Bibbona via architectural design and complementary (not conflicting) function. Asserting that churches housing miraculous images of the Virgin in Italy were part of a widespread and inclusive pilgrimage structure, Maniura traces this architectural chain back to the Pantheon in Rome, which he suggests was a source of the tradition of placing a miraculous Marian image under a dome.

As a whole, this collection successfully considers many complex ways in which architecture affected Mediterranean pilgrimage and vice versa. Perhaps one of the most

striking threads running throughout the essays is the recurrent notion of pilgrimage architecture as accumulative, as structures with the ability to aggregate pilgrimage sites and practices rather than set them up to compete with one another. The inclusive nature of architecture also applies to the pilgrimage described in several of the essays in which pilgrims' prior knowledge or expectations of pilgrimage locations informed their experiences, both real and imaginary.

In concert with that theme, the collection opens up avenues of further exploration surrounding pilgrimage and architecture. The presence of a single essay on pilgrimage outside the Christian tradition makes one wish for additional consideration of the links pilgrimage forged between different religions during the Middle Ages. The focus on central Italy here also provides a jumping off point for studies of pilgrimage architecture in the north and south of the peninsula and for continued inquiry into sites associated with local pilgrimage rather than more universal destinations.

Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1550: Southern Europe and Beyond offers a valuable addition to pilgrimage studies both as standalone essays and as a related collection. The images included are not in color, but are helpful and generally large in scale. Although intended for a scholarly audience, several of the essays could be successfully assigned to graduate and upper-level undergraduate students. As a whole, this volume contributes beneficially to the ongoing exploration of medieval and early modern pilgrimage and is notable in particular for its attempt (however limited) to incorporate multiple faith and cultural perspectives into the dialogue. Revisiting perennial issues of architectural and pilgrimage studies, such as the meaning of visual likeness, the

collection successfully demonstrates the multivalent impact of architecture on pilgrimage and points to further investigation going forward.



Making More: the Medieval Electronic Scholarly Alliance as a Platform for Collaborative work with Medieval Manuscripts Online

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A problem with doing any sort of research regarding medieval manuscripts and other cultural works on the internet is having to sift through the dross to find the gold. Google's algorithms make it incredibly easy to find information based on particular keywords. Once found, however, that information is not always of value to the particular purpose the researcher intends. Doing a search for "medieval angel," for example, returns as the second result not information on angels in the middle ages, but of an item in a medieval-themed video game. Image searches are just as haphazard – while there are a number of medieval images included in such a search, there are many more medievally-themed items from sites such as deviantART. Additionally, there is no context for these images or searches. This makes attempting to do any sort of meaningful work from a Google search nearly impossible, and obscures the digital resources that do exist and would be of use to scholars. Clearly some sort of curated list of meaningful sites is necessary, collected in a single location.

One solution that has recently appeared on the web to meet this need is the Medieval Electronic Scholarly Alliance, or MESA. MESA is "a federated international community of scholars, projects, institutions, and organizations engaged in digital scholarship within the field of medieval studies." That description, while accurate, only touches on both the reality of what MESA is and the potential of what it can provide for scholars both now and in the future.

From a technical point of view, MESA is, first and foremost, currently a portal. Someone who goes to the MESA site (www.mesa-medieval.org) is presented with a opening page whose style should be familiar to anybody who has used Google:



Figure 1: the MESA splash page

The bar at the center of the screen allows you to look for the information provided by those “projects, institutions, and organizations” who have partnered with MESA. Typing in a search term, such as “angel,” results in a list of the resources that have that term in their title:

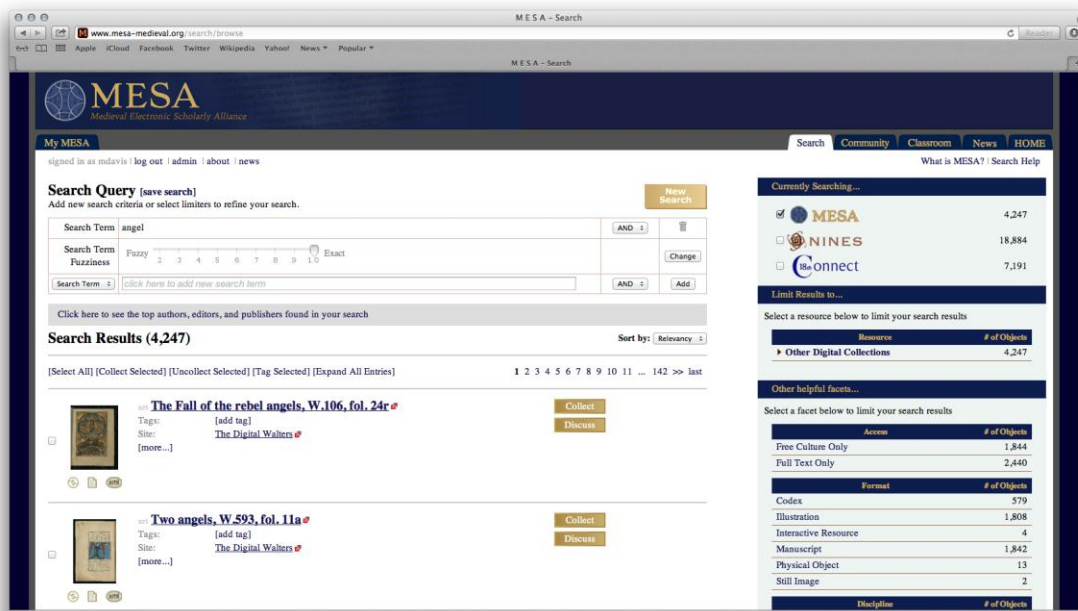


Figure 2: MESA search results and functionality

The searcher is presented with a list of results for their search with thumbnail images of the particular page where applicable, the ability to add tags to particular images, and the link to the external site where the image is currently housed. Under the thumbnail images are icons indicating whether the item is non-subscription (or “Free Culture” in the nomenclature of the site), whether the item has full text included along with the image, and whether or not there is an xml source of the item. Having this functionality makes selecting items for teaching purposes easier, as an instructor can be sure that their students will have access to the tools they need to complete the assignment they have in mind. Likewise, if the search term gives too few results, as might happen when dealing with variant spellings, the slider bar at the top of the screen provides a means to make the search more or less granular. This lets someone working or teaching with Middle English manuscripts, for example, deal with the vagaries of that language’s spelling without requiring that their students be masters of every single possible dialect of the language.

There are also a number of ways to limit the results, as can be seen on the right side of the screen. You can limit your results to only items that are non-subscription, or “Free Culture,” for example, or you can limit it by discipline. In our example search, selecting “Art History” from the discipline section reduces the number of items and a grey bar lets the viewer know which items they have selected. Search terms also stack at the top of the screen to give a viewer a visual representation of their search.

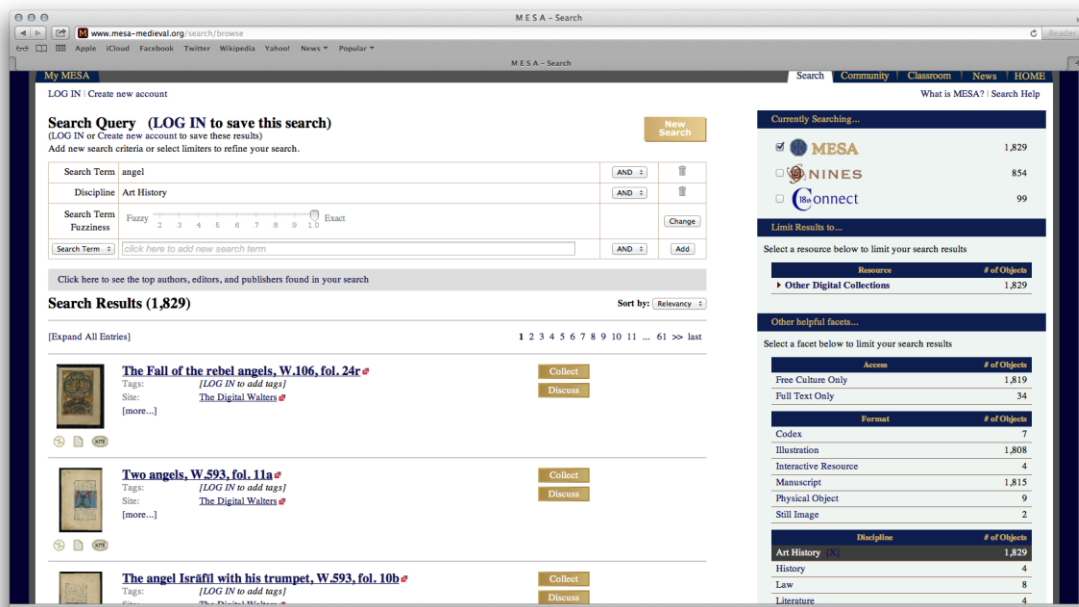


Figure 3: search results with an item selected. Note how the item becomes grey in the sidebar to let the viewer know which facets have been selected.

Another useful feature of the MESA site is its interoperability with the NINES and 18thConnect federations. This allows scholars who are working across chronological periods to reference material from the middle ages, eighteenth, and nineteenth century. As more of these federations become available for other periods viewers will be able to

conduct searches across a number of federations and to make these searches as granular or robust as they choose.

The tan buttons to the right of each item on the search results page also expands upon MESA's portal functionality to create a solid tool that facilitates scholarship. If a user selects the "collect" button, the item is then placed into a curated list on their "My MESA" page. From this list, the user can create private annotations—notes on particular items they might find useful for articles, classroom instruction, or simply as reminders for the future.

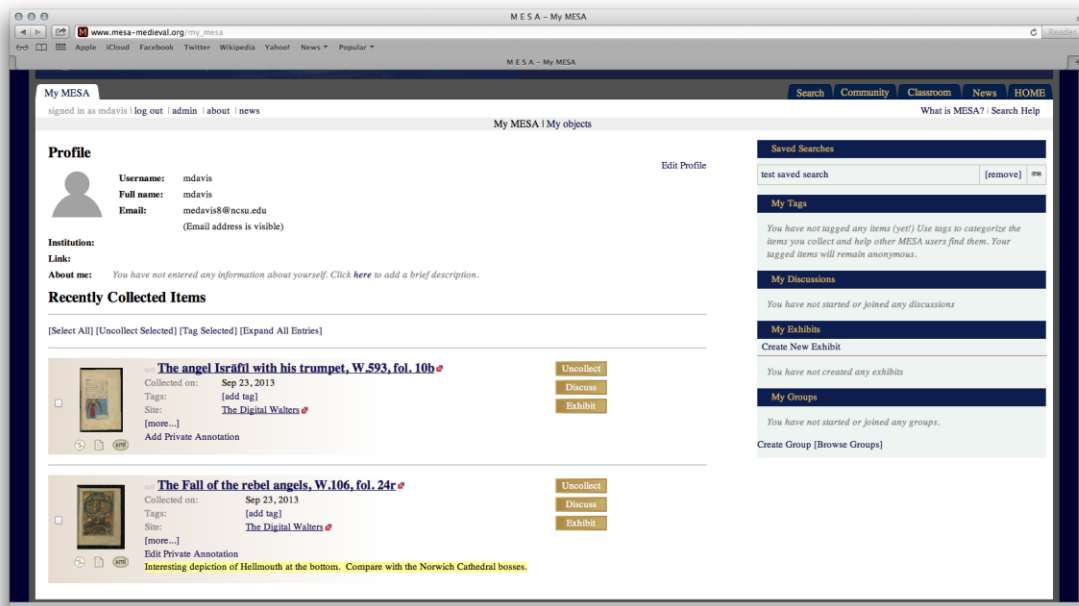


Figure 4: the MyMESA page with two results. Note the annotation on the second item.

The user can also build curated exhibits drawn from the materials saved on the MyMESA page. This is simplified through the use of an exhibit builder that allows the user to select the items they wish to include in the exhibit, create its title and short title, and add any descriptive text desired. The exhibit can then be published to the web if desired, or used internally with a class or collaborative working group.

Students can also create such exhibits as a classroom assignment, which encourages them to think critically about the results they discover on the portal rather than viewing them as a "show and tell" assignment of static images. To further encourage classroom use of archival materials, MESA has a classroom function. There, instructors find a simple mechanism to create a closed classroom group. Instructors can then place their exhibits within a single classroom environment, simplifying the process of who gets access to them and allowing real engagement with the digital materials both inside and outside of classroom discussion.

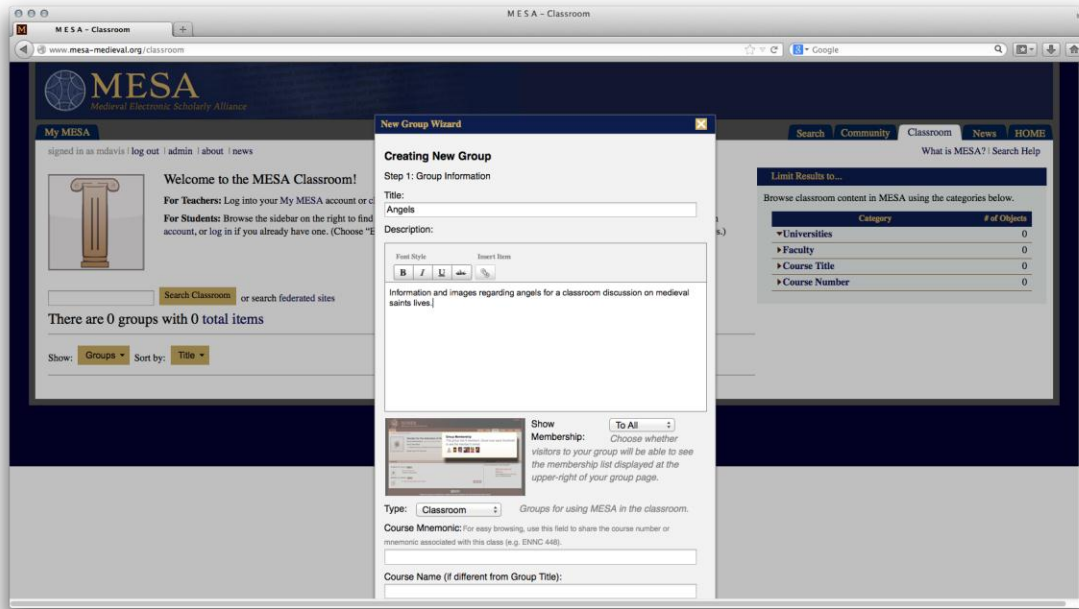


Figure 5: The MESA classroom tab, with the interface for creating a new classroom group selected.

Tools like the exhibit builder and the classroom tab are just one of the ways that MESA is encouraging the development of a community surrounding the materials users can search. Another is its peer review process. Any project submitted to MESA undergoes a period of open review, wherein the community of digital medievalists are encouraged to look at and comment on the project's technical infrastructure and scholarly import. In some cases, however, these digital projects are intended to be used for the tenuring process. There, MESA has instituted a set of guidelines more in keeping with those of traditional peer review – blind review of the site and its scholarly import by experts in the field.

Developing a community of scholars who view, comment on, tag, curate, contribute to, and teach with the materials collected and indexed on the MESA site is not only the way in which it differs greatly from the Google-based searches we have all conducted in the past, but it also suggests a way that scholars can collaborate to push knowledge of these specialized subjects forward. In this way, MESA takes the best of the traditional academy and combines it with new platforms and modes of thought in a way that can be useful both for the student just getting their feet wet with medieval manuscripts and art and the more specialized scholar for whom such subjects are commonplace.



Divers observe underwater Byzantine basilica discovered in İznik Lake



Experts made their first diving into to the remains of a nearly 1,600 year-old basilica, which was recently discovered under Lake İznik during a photo shoot from the air. The early Byzantine era basilica, which has the traces of early Christianity architecture, was found about 20 meters from the shore. Dedicated to St. Neophytos, the church was built during the 4th-5th centuries. Archaeologists, historians and art historians, who are working on the church, estimate that the structure collapsed during an earthquake that occurred in the region in 740.

Re-written from <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/divers-observe-underwater-byzantine-basilica-discovered-in-iznik-lake.aspx?pageID=238&nID=62317&NewsCatID=375>



Viking Age Revninge woman: an exceptional find

On April 22, 2014, Paul Uniacke had started to explore a field near Revninge with his metal detector – several items had already been recovered when to his astonishment a small (4.6 cm) fine figurine appeared. He instantly recognized it as Viking Age and immediately contacted Østfyns Museums. Archaeologist Claus Feveile, Department of Landscape & Archaeology at Østfyns Museums, explained, “*Small characters from the Viking period are extremely rare and Revninge-woman’s dress is incredibly detailed which will contribute to the discussion on the appearance of clothes and how they might have been worn.*”

The body of the figurine is two-dimensional, while the head is three-dimensional. Through the back of the head there is a small hole, which shows that the figure has been worn as a hanging decorative amulet. Each section of the costume is picked out with different decoration, representing various textile and dress making techniques. But the three-lobed item of jewelry intrigues archaeologists, as when found in graves it is usually placed on the chest area. The figurine has been dated to 800 AD and can be understood in a variety of ways. They can represent goddesses like Valkyries or Norns but here it is tempting to link *Revninge Woman* to the fertility goddess Freya.



Read more at <http://www.pasthorizonspr.com/index.php/archives/06/2014/viking-age-revninge-woman-an-exceptional-find>



Medieval Christian crypt found in Sudan

A 900-year-old medieval crypt, containing seven naturally mummified bodies and walls covered with Greek and Sahidic Coptic inscriptions, has been excavated in a monastery at Old Dongola, the capital of the lost medieval kingdom Makuria. One of the mummies in the crypt (scientists aren't certain which one) is believed to be that of Archbishop Georgios, a powerful religious leader for whom the crypt was built.

The inscriptions were "intended to safeguard not only the tomb, but primarily those who were buried inside of it during the dangerous liminal period between the moment of dying and their appearance before the throne of God," writes Adam Łajtar, of the University of Warsaw, and Jacques van der Vliet, of Leiden University, in the most recent edition of the journal *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*.



The crypt contained the bodies of seven older males, no younger than 40, said anthropologist Robert Mahler, a researcher with the University of Warsaw who examined the remains. At least some of the individuals wore crosses somewhere on their body.

At the time the crypt was created, Makuria was at its height. Its kings, ruling from Old Dongola, controlled territory throughout much of modern-day Sudan and parts of southern Egypt. Makuria's ability to maintain good relations with the Fatimid Caliphate, which controlled northern Egypt, was important to the kingdom's success. The two had an extensive trade relationship, and many people from Makuria served in the Fatimid army.

Read more at: http://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2013/12/medieval-christian-crypt-found-in-sudan.html#.U8_fg7Hw_cs



Llanllyr Nunnery found in Wales

Archaeologists say they have discovered Llanllyr nunnery, an "incredibly important" medieval convent, cemetery and Tudor mansion in the Aeron Valley of Ceredigion, the location of which had been a mystery until now. Dr Jemma Bezant from University of Wales Trinity Saint David (UWTSD) said it offered an unparalleled opportunity to find out more about monastic life:



"Medieval nunneries like this are incredibly rare with only one other known in Wales." The convent, founded by Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd in 1180, was a daughter house of the Strata Florida abbey, a former Cistercian monastery which was of immense importance to Wales during the Middle Ages. The subject of a major University of Wales Trinity Saint David research project, the Strata Florida ruins lie just to the east of the village of Pontrhydfendigaid, near Tregaron in Ceredigion.

Read more at: http://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2014/06/incredibly-important-medieval-find-in.html#.U8_eKbHw_cs



Medieval wall paintings uncovered in Llancarfan, Wales

Rare 15th-century paintings thought to be “beyond compare” are being uncovered on the walls of St. Cadoc’s Church of Llancarfan in the Vale of Glamorgan. The medieval artwork features St George and the Dragon, said to be one of the best examples of its kind in the UK, and a mural depicting Death and the Gallant, which is the only one of its kind found in Wales.

Sam Smith, the restoration committee’s chairman, said it had always been suspected that the walls’ lime wash hid something - now restorers are rediscovering images that have lain hidden under 21 layers of lime wash for 460 years, since the Reformation. Smith said the reason why the church may have had such elaborate artwork was because of its importance in the 15th century: “[St. Cadoc’s] was the church opposite the monastery. It [was] likely considered to be the local church in the area, that’s why they decorated it in this way.” He added that two wealthy families in the area were likely to have paid for the painter, probably explaining why their crests are in the designs. Professional conservators have been slowly revealing the art, using scalpels and spatulas to remove the layers of lime wash and injecting slaked lime putty behind the paintings to secure them for future display.

Read more at: http://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2013/12/medieval-wall-paintings-uncovered-in.html#.U8_eibHw_cs



A medieval treasure in the tomb of Enrico VII

The sarcophagus of Emperor Enrico VII has not been opened since 1921 when it was moved to Pisa Cathedral, but the opening of the tomb last year led to research that uncovered the real importance of the entombed treasures, which have been guarded in the coffin for seven centuries. When the seals of the last search area were broken the mortal remains of the emperor appeared inside the coffin, wrapped in a shroud on which lay the crown, the scepter and the orb.

The shroud was a most unexpected find: a rectangular cloth three-meters long of a reddish nut-brown (originally red) and blue, it is rare testimony to the noble production of silk textiles dating back to the beginning of the 14th century. The element which makes this relic singular, if not



unique, is the selvedge edge along the length of the fabric and the checked bands at the shorter ends delimiting the beginning and end of the piece: this effectively defines the size of the shroud and can supply important information about its precise function.

Given the exceptional nature of the objects and their historical context, it was decided to place the items from the tomb in the Museum of the Cathedral.

Read more at: http://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2014/05/a-medieval-treasure-in-tomb-of-enrico.html#.U8_e17Hw_cs



Limoges statue of Virgin Mary found in Denmark

A Limoges statue of the Virgin Mary dating from the 13th century has been found during renovations of a small church in the eastern Jutland town of Soby, Denmark. Archaeologist Hans Mikkelsen from the National Museum and a local craftsman were sifting through the soil under the church floor when they made the find. There have been Limoges figures found in Denmark before, but likenesses of the Virgin Mary are quite rare and this is the first of the figures found in Denmark that has a halo. The icon would have probably sat atop a crucifix that was used in a church processional.

Limoges figurines were produced in the French town of the same name from 1200 to 1225. Mikkelsen feared that the figurine would have been much damaged by the passage of so many centuries, but a careful and thorough cleaning by National Museum conservator Signe Nygaard restored it beyond all expectations. "I could see the colors - the red in the halo and the beautiful blue-green nuances in the clothing," Nygaard told Jyllands-Posten newspaper. "It is absolutely fantastic." Nygaard said that it is "unbelievable" that such a rare figure was found in such a small church. "How the heck did it wind up here?" she exclaimed.



Read more at: http://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2014/05/medieval-statue-of-virgin-mary-found-in.html#.U8_fDLHw_cs



Finds shine light on medieval religious rituals on Mayo Island, Caher

A medieval pilgrimage “round,” or circuit, has been identified on the Mayo island of Caher, which archaeologists believe shines fresh light on 1,000 year old religious practices in the west of Ireland. A maritime pilgrimage comprising a circuit of the island takes place annually a fortnight after Reek Sunday, but recent fieldwork has identified an outer arc of altars or “leachts,” making up a second and larger pilgrimage circuit on the south and west sides of the island. Some of these are now only faintly visible and their existence appeared to have been lost after the island was abandoned in 1838, according to archaeologist Michael Gibbons.

Mr Gibbons says Caher’s ecclesiastical complex developed over a number of phases and includes a late medieval chapel and a series of stone crosses, some of which are set up in small stone altars as pilgrimage stations. A holy well also survives to the north of the island. A wall chamber is similar to one on Inishmurray off Sligo, and may have been used by visitors who confined themselves for several days to experience visions, or by solitary religious people known as “anchorites” to contemplate.

Mr Gibbons, who has long been a critic of the method of conservation and rebuilding used by the State on Skellig Michael, says the late medieval landscape and built heritage of Caher is “now among the most valuable in Ireland as it has remained untouched by the conservers.” Caher has not been the subject of a modern survey program and “a good deal of its archaeological heritage remains unmapped,” he notes.

Read more at: http://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2013/12/finds-shine-light-on-medieval-religious.html#.U8_f3LHw_cs

