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The sculptural program of the royal collegiate church of San Isidoro in León. (Volumes I and II)

Orr, Beverly Anne, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1988

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THE SCULPTURAL PROGRAM OF THE ROYAL COLLEGIATE
CHURCH OF SAN ISIDORO IN LEON
Volume I

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

Beverly A. Orr, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1988

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INTRODUCTION

The royal collegiate church of San Isidoro in León was a major pilgrimage church in Romanesque Spain (Figure 1). The building shares its western wall with a small, crypt-like structure called the Panteón (Figure 2). This eleventh-century structure houses the tombs of several family members of the León royalty. In the eleventh- and twelfth-centuries, a palace of the kings of León was in close proximity to San Isidoro and the Panteón. However, these palatial buildings no longer exist. San Isidoro functioned as a capella palatina, serving especially the funeral and penitential needs of the families of the kings of León and Castile.

Both the Panteón and the church of San Isidoro are profusely decorated with sculpture. The historiated capitals of the Panteón are among the earliest examples of the renewed appearance of the medium of monumental sculpture in Spain. The church of San Isidoro has four portals with sculpture. The two portals on the south side of the church, the Puerta del Cordero (Figures 3 and 4, for location on church, see Diagram 1) and the Puerta del Perdón (Figures 7 and 8), have sculptured tympana and
additional sculptures distributed on the walls. An older portal on the northern wall toward the western end of church has columns with sculptured capitals (Figure 10). The portal on the north transept has lost its tympanum, but sculptured capitals can be seen on the columns flanking either side of the entrance way (Figure 11, for the portal; Figures 12 and 13 for the sculptured capitals).

The interior of the church of San Isidoro is embellished with approximately one hundred sculptured capitals. There, foliate, addorsed bird, demon motifs and figurative scenes can be observed. It is the iconography of the sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro that will be my primary concern in this study.

The Documents

Several documents and inscriptions provide information regarding the chronology, building campaigns, and artistic embellishment of the Panteón and San Isidoro. The oldest document preserved in the archives of San Isidoro (No. 283 dated 1043) records Alfonso V's decision to locate the royal Panteón within the confines of the monastery dedicated to St. Pelayo.
An inscription on Alfonso V's tomb, located in the Panteón, indicates that Alfonso V (999-1028) built a church of cheap materials dedicated to Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo at the site of the present church of San Isidoro.¹

The Historia Silense (1135) records that Fernando the Great (1035-1065) acquiesced to his wife's wish to be buried at the monastery of Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo with her father, Alfonso V. He then acquired the relics of St. Isidore of Seville from taifa king Al-Mutadid and constructed a new church of lavish materials to replace the earlier one which Alfonso V built. The new structure was dedicated to St. Isidore and consecrated on December 21, 1063.² An inscription on the west wall of the north transept relates similar information,³ as does the inscription on Fernando's tomb located in the Panteón.⁴

An inscription on the tomb of Urraca (d.1101), Fernando the Great's and Sancha's daughter, notes her generosity to San Isidoro. It also relates that Urraca enlarged "this church." Also, an inscription with the date Era 1162 or 1124 can be seen on the exterior wall of the north apsidole.⁵

An inscription on the west wall of the south transept records the consecration of the present San
Isidoro on March 6, 1149 as attended by Emperor Alfonso VII (1127-1157) and Queen Sancha, his sister, as well as numerous dignitaries. The inscription on Sancha's tomb (d.1159), in the Panteón, recognizes her piety and generous donations to San Isidoro and indicates that she established an order of Augustinian canons there.

Finally, an inscription in the southwestern corner of San Isidore, records the name of the architect of at least part of the present structure. The epitaph states that by permission of Emperor Alfonso VII and his sister Sancha, Pedro Deustamben, the architect, was allowed to be buried inside San Isidoro.

Royal patronage of the site of San Isidoro began in the tenth-century. At this time, Sancho the Fat (King of Leon, 955-957 and 960-967) obtained the relics of the boy martyr St. Pelayo (d.921) from Córdoba. The period of royal patronage of San Isidoro continued through the middle of the twelfth-century. It ended at the death of Fernando II (d.1188), who presented San Isidoro to the Pope in 1163. The "Golden Age" of San Isidoro occurred during the reign of Fernando the Great (1035-1063), and continued through the reigns of Alfonso VI (1065-1109) Alfonso VII (1126-1157), and Fernando II (1157-1188). During this period, numerous gifts of relics, monasteries, villas, services of craftsmen such as fishermen and car-
penters, water and mill rights, revenues, taxes, vineyards and the like were presented to San Isidoro. The present building dedicated to St. Isidore and its extensive and handsome sculptural decoration was largely accomplished during the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-1157), the last emperor of Spain during the high point of the medieval Spanish imperium.

State of the Scholarship

The Chronology of San Isidoro

Several scholars have studied the archaeological data in order to arrive at conclusions regarding the chronology of the building campaigns of San Isidoro, the Panteon, and the pre-existing buildings. In 1908, Juan Torbado conducted excavations on the site. J.R. Melida y Alinari and J.E. Díaz-Jiménez published some of Torbado's conclusions, which were to form the basis for subsequent studies of the archaeology and chronology of San Isidoro. These scholars were able to clarify some of the details of plan and construction of Fernando I's church. It was determined that the preceding San Isidoro was a small church with narrow proportions. The building also possessed rounded arches and a barrel vault that betrayed a connection with Asturian architecture, such as San
Salvador de Valedios (893), rather than with either the local Mozarabic tradition or the northern European Romanesque.

Manuel Gómez Moreno (1926 and 1934) and especially Georges Gaillard (1932) utilized Torbado's work, in conjunction with their own observations and analyses of the documents at San Isidoro, to arrive at theories regarding the chronology of the present San Isidoro. Gómez Moreno and Gaillard agreed with the preceding authors in the general features of the church Fernando I constructed between 1054 and 1063.

They also interpreted the inscription on the tomb of Doña Urraca (ampliavit istam ecclesiam), to indicate that an entirely new church was constructed to replace the one built by her father, Fernando the Great (c.1060). The two authors dated the inception of work on the present San Isidoro into the late eleventh-century. Gómez Moreno and Gaillard differed, however, concerning the plan of Urraca's church. Gómez Moreno believed that the church possessed a transept, whereas Gaillard believed that it did not. The French author was of the opinion that the entire eastern end was the product of an early twelfth-century reconstruction.

According to Gómez Moreno and Gaillard, work on San Isidoro continued during the reign of Emperor Alfonso
VII, i.e., during the second quarter of the twelfth-century. It was at this time that a clerestory and barrel vault were added by the bridge builder Pedro Deustamben. The present church was then consecrated on March 6, 1149.

The chronology of the architecture at San Isidoro, as outlined above, was accepted until recently. In 1959, Luis Menéndez Pidal directed a restoration of San Isidoro, which revealed new data concerning its construction. In 1969 and 1971, Jochen von Sichart conducted new excavations at San Isidoro. At the same time, the older floor of the basilica was removed and replaced with a new one. The results of this work have yet to be published, but some conclusions based on von Sichart's work have been published by John Williams (1973).

What has been determined is that there were three major building campaigns which resulted in the present San Isidoro. The specific work carried out in each of the three programs has not yet been definitely determined, but Williams' account seems to conform to Gaillard's model, i.e., there may have been an intermediate church constructed after Fernando's church but before the present structure. Williams, however, refutes the traditional assumption that the present San Isidoro was initiated and largely completed by Urraca (d.1101),
crediting her instead with the construction of the Panteón.  

Williams cited the inscription Era 1163 on the outside of the north apsidole as evidence that the present San Isidoro was built after Urraca's death (d.1101). He believed that work on the new church started in the late 1120's and possibly was not even completed by the 1149 consecration. The existing church, then, would have been the contribution of Emperor Alfonso VII and his sister, Sancha, rather than of Alfonso VI and his sister, Urraca.  

Williams' discussion of the archaeology and its implications for the chronology of the present San Isidoro are very interesting. More specific information concerning the church and the details of its construction must await the publication of von Sichart's excavations at San Isidoro.

The Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdón

Studies of the sculptural embellishment of San Isidoro have concentrated upon the reliefs on the portals on the south side of the church, the Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdón. The results of this research will now be summarized here.
Of the sculptured portals, the Puerta del Cordero is the largest (Figure 3). Located on the south wall of the nave, the Puerta del Cordero is an example of a "projecting portal unit" \(^{25}\), that is, its side walls extend beyond the wall of the nave, and it is the main entrance-way into the church. It is extensively embellished with relief sculptures. In the tympanum (Figure 4) an Apocalyptic Lamb is superimposed over a scene of the Sacrifice of Abraham. There are also relief sculptures distributed in the spandrals and over the adjacent walls. Included are large reliefs of St. Isidore and a knight (Alfonso VII?)\(^{26}\) holding a sword and a Spanish pointed shield (Figure 5). There is also a relief of either St. Vincent or St. Pelayo\(^ {27}\) (Figure 6). Other subjects include King David, various figures playing musical instruments, and a series of square plaques carved with the Signs of the Zodiac.

The iconography of the tympanum of the Puerta del Cordero is complex. In 1908, G. Sanoner and P. Mayeur debated whether the Lamb and Sacrifice of Abraham on the tympanum were thematically related. Mayeur correctly pointed out that the two subjects were connected, and that the Sacrifice of Abraham was thought of as an Old Testament prototype for the perfect atonement of Christ.\(^ {28}\)

John Williams (1977) discussed the iconography of the tympanum of the Puerta del Cordero. He identified
figures in the composition as Sarah, three views of Isaac, Abraham, Hagar, and Ishmael. He furthermore related the subject matter to St. Paul's Galatians 4:22, which contrasts the rights of the son of a slave with those of the sons of a free woman. Williams proceeded to discuss the Moslems as the descendants of Ishmael and related the iconography of the portal to the Reconquista, emphasizing especially its anti-Islamic elements. Moralajo Alvarez (1977) considered the iconography of the reliefs over the portal. He proposed that the King David and musicians may allude to Psalm 150, and he suggested an intricate allegorical interpretation, based upon the moralized Zodiac by Zeno, for the Signs of the Zodiac.

Georges Gaillard has analyzed the style of the sculptures on the Puerta del Cordero, and he identified three different styles in the reliefs there. The style of the figures carved on the tympanum is similar to the sculptures on the tympanum of the Porte Miegeville at Toulouse and the sculptured capitals of the cathedral of Jaca. This style is characterized by slender figures, small round heads with cap-like hair, and profile poses. (Compare Figure 4 with Figure 128). The style of the reliefs of the Signs of the Zodiac differs from that of the tympanum reliefs especially with respect to its carving technique. Gaillard described the carving
technique as one which gives crisp definition to the edges of the draperies with the volumes of the figures defined as a succession of planes. (Figures 5 and 7.)
The style of the St. Pelayo and the St. Isidore comprises yet a third style. It is characterized by rounded volumes and a very high relief which Gaillard termed ronde bosse. In some respects, these sculptures anticipate the style of the sculptures of the late twelfth-century sculptor, Master Mateo (Figures 5 and 6).  

The dating of the sculptures of the Puerta del Codero has been debated, and they were among the works included in the "Spain or Toulouse?" debate. In 1908, Emile Bertaux dated these sculptures c.1147, including them with a massive re-construction of the eastern end of the church initiated under Alfonso VII. Lamperez (1930) countered, ascribing the Puerta del Cordero to the patronage of Fernando I or his daughter, Urraca (d.1101).

Based on their analysis of the archaeology of San Isidoro, Gómez Moreno and Gaillard proposed a c.1100 dating for the sculptures on the tympanum of the Puerta del Cordero, but identified differences in the style of the Sts. Pelayo and Isidore reliefs and the tympanum work as noted above. They concluded that these reliefs, as well as the Signs of the Zodiac, were re-used from Fernando I's eleventh-century church; thus they dated the works
c.1060. In his essay on the iconography of the tympanum, Williams rejected the theory that some of the reliefs were reused from an earlier structure, and he offered a dating of c.1140 for all the sculptures on the Puerta del Cordero. For Williams, the iconography of the tympanum was reminiscent of Peter the Venerable's war of words and propaganda against the Moslems. Williams further speculated that Peter the Venerable, who visited Leon in 1141, may have assisted in the planning of the iconography of the tympanum of the Puerta del Cordero.  

The Puerta del Perdón is a smaller portal, located on the south transept (Figure 7). Standing figures of Peter holding keys and of Paul flank the tympanum (Figure 8). The scenes of the Three Marys at the Tomb, The Deposition of Christ, and the Ascension of Christ are typical examples of those subjects with only minor deviations from the standard iconography.

The figure style of the sculptures on the Puerta del Perdón is characterized by rounded volumes and pneumatic cheeks. The draperies possess the distinctive Toulousian pinch-folds that are so typical of the Hispano-Languedoc style. Gaillard considered the style of these sculptures to be reminiscent of that of the sculptures on the Porte Miegeville at St.-Sernin. He also noted that the modeling of the figures and the carving employed for the
drapery is less detailed than that appearing in the sculptures at St.-Sernin. In addition to the affinities with the sculptures at Toulouse, Gaillard and Gómez Moreno recognized a relationship between the style of the sculptures on the Puerta del Perdón and that of Master Esteban, the first headmaster of the sculpture at Santiago de Compostela. Deschamps, Porter, and Durliat also recognized the similarities in style among the sculptures of the Puerta del Perdón, Porte Miegeville, and Puerta de las Platerías.

Like the Puerta del Cordero, the dating of the sculptures on the Puerta del Perdón has been debated. These sculptures were also included in the famous "Spain or Toulouse" debate. Gaillard (1929) rejected the c.1100 dating for these sculptures proposing an early twelfth-century dating for them instead. The French scholar Deschamps (1941) agreed with Porter in the belief that the sculptures of the Puerta del Perdón were carved before both those of the Porte Miegeville and those of the Puerta de las Platerías. Marcel Durliat, in contrast, dated the Puerta del Perdón sculptures after the other two monuments, and John Williams, to my knowledge, has not yet proposed a dating for the Puerta del Perdón reliefs.
The Reliquary of St. Isidore

The focal point of the medieval pilgrimage to San Isidoro was the two reliquaries of Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo (Figures 16, 17 and 18) and of St. Isidore. Because the second reliquary, the Shrine of Isidore, will be emphasized in this study (Figures 21 to 28), its style and iconography will be discussed here.

The Reliquary of St. Isidore is a handsome rectangular casket with repoussé reliefs depicting the Creation and Fall of Man. This was one of the gifts made to San Isidoro by Fernando the Great, whose portrait is found on the shrine (Figure 28), and Sancha. This work is inventoried in Doc. #125 of the archives of San Isidoro, securely dated c.1060.

The iconography of the reliefs, not yet studied in depth, is not problematic. Inscriptions readily assist the viewer in identifying the scenes of the Creation and Fall of Man, which are typical examples of a subject matter that is one of the oldest in the history of Christian art. 38

The frontal view of the reliquary (Figure 21) shows the Fall of Man. The Latin inscription states: "DE LIGNO DAT MULIER VIRO." 37 Eve's elaborate gestures create a serpentine linear rhythm which replicate those
of the serpent in the tree. The figure style, with its round, knob-like heads, tubular bodies and legs, and rubbery tube-like limbs, is reminiscent of the style of the figures on Berward's doors at Hildesheim. Gomez Moreno has related the style of the reliefs on the reliquary to the Ottonian doors and suggested that the artist responsible for the reliefs on Isidore's shrine might be a German master named Almanus. (Compare with Figure 29.)

Flanking the scene of the Fall were repoussé reliefs showing the Naming of the Animals and the Creation of Woman, but these works were lost during the French Revolution when Marcial Soult assaulted San Isidoro in 1808. Decorative panels in the niello technique have replaced them. The inscription for the Naming of the Animals reads: "ADDUXIT DOMINIS AD ADAM OMNEM CREATURAM." That for the Creation of Woman said: "DOMINUS EDIFICAT COSTUM ADA IN MULIEREM."

The Creation of Man is depicted on the left side of the reliquary (Figure 23). Its inscription reads: "HIC FORMATUR ADAM ET INSPIRATUR A DEO," and next to it is a depiction of God's search for Adam and Eve after the Fall. The inscription reads: "DIXIT DEUS, ADAM, UBI ES?" Very unusual is the robing scene portrayed on the back of the reliquary (Figure 26). Brooks Stoddard has
studied the iconography of the Robing of Adam and Eve concluding that a lost Carolingian prototype was the probable source for the St. Isidoro shrine scene. The inscription is missing. 40

The scene in the center of the back of the Reliquary of St. Isidore is the Expulsion of Adam and Eve. Its inscription is also missing, and a portrait of the donor, Fernando the Great, is shown to its right (Figure 28). He is clad in royal regalia with elaborate leggings, ornamented tunic, and cloak held together with a fibula. Missing, however, are such attributes of royal authority as the crown and scepter. De Palol and Hirmer express surprise that scenes related to the Creation and Fall of Man appear on the reliquary, rather than stories of the life of Isidore, but they do not attempt to explain why this is so. 41 In this study, the Reliquary with its scenes of the Creation and Fall of Man will be shown to play a pivotal role in the iconographic program of San Isidoro.

The Sculptured Capitals of the Interior of San Isidoro

My study will concentrate on the sculptured capitals on the interior of San Isidoro. These works have received far less scholarly attention than they deserve. Gaillard, Gomez Moreno, and Vinayo Gonzalez have described and
offered indentifications for many of these remarkable works, and their suggestions, especially those of Georges Gaillard, will concern us in more detail later in this study. None of these authors, however, have analyzed the iconography of the capitals of the interior of San Isidoro in depth. Only Pérez Llamarazares (1923), canon and prior of San Isidoro, has studied the full iconographic program of the sculptures at San Isidoro in any detail. He interpreted the ensemble of capitals as revealing the "plight of the soul." The serious problems in Pérez' methodology are evident in his analysis of individual capitals. His statements concerning the capital Acrobats will be discussed here as an example (Figure 49).

Pérez interpreted the capital Acrobats as a reference to the struggle between social classes. The lower class is symbolized by the two figures performing backbends; the upper class is seen as an exploiter who uses the men as a pedestal. The two small figures accompanying the performance with viols were identified with the church and the sacraments. Pérez considered the small boys symbols of the church, the remedy for all social ills.

Pérez nevertheless has been the only author to identify serious subjects in the iconography of the capitals at San Isidoro. Viñayo González wrote that the
works were secular, burlesque scenes. Bonet used the word "pornographic" to describe some of the capitals. To Gudiol Ricard and Gayo Nuño, the capitals depicted "sacred scenes," "vice," and "obscure mythology." The absence of any significant study of the iconography of the sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro is ample justification for an investigation of the iconography of the capitals. This will be carried out here in order to determine the iconographic program that influenced the choice of subjects and their placement on the church.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to attempt to interpret the iconography of the sculptured capitals in the church of San Isidoro. I will suggest that an iconographer or group of iconographers designed the works at San Isidoro as a coherent ensemble that could be termed a "program."

The early Christian fathers developed a concept of a theocracy which was based upon the Old Testament. The king was thought of as a mediary or agent cooperating with God in the struggle against evil. The ideal for this type of ruler was the Old Testament King David. In effect, the secular ruler's role extended beyond maintaining an orderly society. It was the king's right and
responsibility to assist the individual Christian in obtaining a personal salvation and restoration into the grace of God. In that sense, the king's role paralleled that of the church or the clergy. He was a "liturgical" king.

The Visigoths were among the first of the Germanic tribes to adopt an idea of a kingship granted special sanctity based on the Old Testament. The office was also imbued with an exceptional degree of authority derived from a model that the Roman imperial government had provided.

After the Islamic conquest, the kings of Asturia and then León revived and preserved the Visigothic concepts of kingship, as well as the nationalism of Isidore. It was the kingdom of León that maintained continuity with the Visigothic past.

By the time of Fernando I (d.1065), the strategic significance of the city of León had declined. But it is clear, from Fernando's deference to his wife Sancha in the selection of León as the site of the royal Panteón, that the city of León and its monuments still possessed significance as political symbols preserving the glory of the Visigothic past.

San Isidoro and the Panteón were closely associated with the kings and queens of León and Castile. As such, they functioned as a capella palatina, a specialized
palace chapel used by the kings and queens for their personal needs. Buildings such as the palace chapel of Charlemagne at Aachen, the palace chapel of the Norman Kings at Palermo, and the castle chapel at Loarre, were built to serve the personal needs of royalty. Often, the architecture, its plan, its liturgical items and furniture, and certainly its use of the monumental arts reflected the personal concerns of the royal patrons. In this case, I believe that the king and his notion of his role directed the content of the sculptures at San Isidoro in Leon.

In my study, I will show that the iconographic program of the sculptures at San Isidoro was devoted to some aspects of the concept of the "Old Testament" kingship.

In my view, it is possible to demonstrate that the king's nature as imitator of David and exemplar of all the virtues is depicted in the capitals. Here, the immediate literary source for this concept is St. Isidore's Sententia III. I will show that the king's place in the cosmos and his role in the ordo are reflected in the sculptures. Major sources for these concepts would be the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies of the Pseudo-Dionysius, and John Eruena's commentary on them, and St. Augustine's de Ordine. I
will attempt to show that the sculptures include subjects related to the king's right to rule. The concept auctoritas in particular is emphasized. While numerous scriptural authors, exegetists, legal glossists, and other church fathers, including Sts. Peter and Paul,\textsuperscript{50} emphasized the importance of submitting to royal authority, I will stress the importance of Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job and Book XIV, part 15 of St. Augustine's City of God.\textsuperscript{51}

While the review of the history of the period, of the personal concerns of the royal patrons, and of the iconography of the individual capitals in San Isidoro has tended to support my thesis, it must also be emphasized that no documents identifying an iconographic program for the sculptures at San Isidoro have surfaced. Therefore, the evidence marshaled in support of my thesis is circumstantial. Interpretative studies such as the one carried out here are inevitably speculative and provisional. The primary purpose of investigations such as these is to provide insight into the art and the people for whom it was produced. Hopefully, the following study will succeed in that goal.
FOOTNOTES

1. See Julio Perez Llamazares, *Historia de la Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, León: Imprenta Moderna, 1927, pp. 382-389 for lists of royal family members originally there. Some have been moved. The Panteón has also been referred to as the Chapel of the Kings or the Chapel of Santa Catalina. (See also Idem, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la real colegiata de San Isidoro*, León: Imprenta Catolico, 1913, p. 140. In addition to the relics of St. John the Baptist, St. Isidore, St. Pelayo, St. Sabina, St. Vincent, St. Cristeba and St. Martin, a local saint, once a canon of San Isidoro, is venerated. St. Martin's biography can be read in the *Crónica del Tudense*, written by the saint's biographer, Don Lucas de Tuy. See also Perez Llamazares, *Los Benjamínes de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, León: Moderna de Alvarez, Chamorro y c.a., 1914. St. Martin's work, the Index methodicus quem exhibit editio. *Sermones de Tempore, Sermones de Sanctis, Sermones de Diversis, Expositiones* is contained in two volumes preserved in the archives at San Isidoro. For a list of the relics at San Isidoro, see a plaque located in the Panteón.


'Interea domini regis colloquim Sancia regina petens, ei in sepulturam regum ecclesiam fieri Legione persuadet, ubi et eorumdem corpora iuxta magnificeque humari debeant. Decreuerat namque Fredinandus rex uel Onnis, quem locum carum semper habebat, siue in ecclesia beati Petri de Aslanza, corpus suum sepulture tradere; porro Sancia regina quoniam in Legionensi regum cimiterio pater suus digne memorie Adefonsus princeps et eius frater Ueremudus serenissimus rex in Christo quiescebant, ut quoque et ipsa et eiusdem uir cum eis post mortem quiescerent, pro. uiribus laborabat. Rex igitur petitioni fidissime coniugis annuens, deputantur
cementarii qui assidue operam dent tam dignissimo labori.'


Hanc quam cernis aulam scii Ioannis Baptistae olim fuit lutea quam nuper excellentissimus Ferdinandus Rex et Sancia regina edificaverunt lapideam. Tunc ab urbe hispali adduxerunt ibi corpus scii ysidori archiepiscopi. Dedicatone kal. Mati adduxerunt ibi de urbe avila corpus scii Vincenti fratris sabine christestisque. Ipsius anno praefatus rex revertens de hostes ab urbe valencia hinc ibi die sabbati et obit die tertia feria sexta kal. Ianurii era MCIII. Sancia Regina deo dictata peregit.

4. Whitehill, op. cit., n. 4, p. 146, epitaph from Fernando's tomb.


5. Ibid., n. 1, p. 151. See John Williams, "San Isidoro, Evidence for a New History," The Art Bulletin, 1973, p. 183 and Figure 122 for inscription on exterior wall of north apsidole. Urraca's epitaph reads:

'Hic requiescit donna Urraca regina de Zamora, filia regis magni Fernandi. Haec ampliavit ecclesiam istam et multis munerebus ditavit, et quia beatum Isidorum super omnia diligebat, ejus servitio se subjugavit. Obiit era MCXXXVIII.'

6. Ibid., n. 2, p. 151. Inscription commemorating the consecration date.

Svb era MCLXXXVII et quodum pridie monas Marcii--facta est ecclesie sti. Isidori consecratio per manus raymvdn--toletane sedis archiepiscopi et iohannis
Several references to the 1149 consecration date can also be noted in the twelfth-century martyrology. See especially folios 60-66.

7. Perez Llamazares, Historia de la real Colegiata de San Isidoro de Leon, p. 386, Sancha's sister of Alfonso VII, epitaph:


Hi(c)q(u)iescit servus dei petrus devstamben qvi svp(er) edificavit eccl(es)ia hac. Iste fvdavit ponte q(u)i d(icitur) de ds taben et q(u)i a erat (vi)r mire absti(nen)tie et mvtis (flo)rebat mir(a)-cylis ds ev lavdibvs p(re)dicabat. Sepultvs e(st) hic ab inp(er)atore Adefoso et sacia regina.

9. See Julio Perez Llamazares, Catalogo de los codices y documentos de la real Colegiata de San Isidoro, Leon: Imprento catolica, 1913.

See also, Perez Llamazares, Historia, p. 64.
Doc. #1 (Arc. San Isidoro) records the change in status of San Isidoro which took place in 1163 during the reign of Fernando II and under the abbacy of Don Menendo. In return for being a "special
child of (the) Roman Church," San Isidoro was to pay a yearly sum of gold.

10. Fernando the Great's and Sancha's gifts to San Isidoro were considerable. Included was an ivory crucifix, two reliquaries (one dedicated to St. Isidore, the other, to Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo), altar pieces (one of gold with gems; three others of silver, in addition to architecture already alluded to above. See Doc. #125. Perez Llamazares, Historia, may also be consulted concerning specific instances of royal patronage of San Isidoro.

11. The monastery of San Isidoro would have been in the possession of Queen Urraca, Alfonso VI's sister. One of the most famous gifts of Urraca was an onyx chalice with settings of precious cameos of antiquity. It possesses an inscription which states: IN NOMINE DOMINI. URRACA FERDINANDI. For color illustration, see p. 67, Antonio Vinayo Gonzalez L'ancien royaume de Leon roman, Zodiaque: 1972. She may also have been responsible for the construction of the Panteon; see John Williams, San Isidoro in Leon: Evidence for a New History," The Art Bulletin, 1973, pp. 170-184 (San Isidoro). For the traditional view, see Vincente, Lamperez y Romea Historia de la arquitectura Cristiana Española en la Edad Media, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1930, Vol I, pp. 371, 371, 372, 437, 515, and 516: A. Kingsley Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1928, vol. I, pp. 61-62; Manuel Gomez Moreno, El arte románico español, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Historicos, 1934, pp. 58-65 (El arte románico); idem., Catalogo Monumental de España; Provincia de Leon, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Historicos, 1934, pp. 58-65; (Catalogo); Georges Gaillard, Les débuts de la sculpture romane espagnole, Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1938, pp. 1-7 (Les débuts). Urraca's most significant contribution to San Isidoro, following traditional scholarship, would have been the construction of an entirely new church in place of the one built by her father Fernando the Great, the present San Isidoro. See the studies just cited by Porter, Gomez Moreno, and Georges Gaillard. See also Jose Ramon Melida, "La basílica legionense de San Isidoro," Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, LVI, 1910, pp. 148-53;
and Walter Muir Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the eleventh-century*, Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. 143-154. See Williams, "San Isidoro," rejects Urraca's patronage although the postscript offered at the end of the study suggests that an intermediate building, constructed after Fernando's structure and before the existing one, may have been the work of Urraca. Documents preserving records of gifts given to San Isidoro by Alfonso VI, Urraca's brother, include:

Doc. #128: an altar "sacro sancto altario," and a monastery Sta. Marina located near the church (1094).

Doc. #134: several "Places" (1103).

12. Alfonso VII and his sister Dona Sancha were especially generous in their patronage of San Isidoro. In addition to much of the architecture and sculpture of concern in this study, other generous gifts were presented to San Isidoro:

Doc. #137: gifts to San Isidoro from Sancha and Alfonso VII (1117).

Doc. #138: villas for the love of "the most holy Confessor Isidore" (1131).

Doc. 146: gifts of Alfonso VII in unison with his sister Sancha are given (1148).

Doc. #155: Alfonso VII frees San Isidoro from certain tolls (1152). See also Docs. #159 and #161.

Doc. #162: Alfonso VII permits land deal (1156).

Doc. #150: Dona Sancha presents revenue from San Pedro de Vitecha for the keeping of the lamps of San Isidoro (1150). The Blessed Sacrament was perpetually exposed to perpetual candle light. According to legend, these lamps were first miraculously lit from heaven. See Theodore Babbitt, *La crónica de veinte reyes*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, p. 83).

13. For documents pertaining to Fernando II's gifts to San Isidoro, see Julio González, *Regesta de Fernando II*, Madrid: Instituto Jeronimo Zurita, 1943:

p. 355: Monastery of Sts. Julian and Basilisa
March 24, 1159
Doc. 164, Col. San Isidoro
p. 363: Villabragima de Campos  
B.N., ms. 5,790 fol 123

p. 369: Villa of Cabreros del Monte  
April, 1162  
Col. San Isidoro, Doc. 165

p. 402: The churches of Valdemoro, Castilfare, and other benefits  
Sept. 25, 1168.  
A. C. León, cod. 942

p. 404: Privileges relative to the pilgrimage road passing in the vicinity of San Isidoro as well as control over Castromonte  
Nov. 14, 1168  
Col. San Isidoro, Doc. 169

p. 404: The villa Canizal and the services of a workman Ciprianus, a carpenter, and Fenar for work on the church  
Nov. 18, 1168  
Col. San Isidoro, Doc. 170 and 171

p. 415: To San Isidoro, the unappropriated lands of Noceda, Canazira, Ordiales and other places in the Bierzo  
June, 1180  
Cartulary in the Col. San Isidoro

p. 417: The Abbot of San Isidoro is entitled to collect taxes, named mayor and judge and tender  
Nov. 27, 1170  
Col. León, Cart. XCIV, 62

p. 424: The church of San Roman  
Mar. 29, 1171  
Col. León, 174

p. 437: Confirmed gifts of ancestors, San Roman de los Oteros and Sobredillo  
Col. San Isidoro, 176

p. 439: Benefits of tributes and taxes  
1175

p. 447: One-tenth of wine, bread and other products  
July, 1176  
Col. of León, 178
p. 478: The pueblos of Pinos, Santo Milano, Puerta de la Cubilla, and Iago. Confirmation of other possessions:
   Milleras, La Frecha, Fontanos, and Lagos, three Asturian fishermen, Cabreros, San Roman and Sobradillo.
   June 21, 1181.
   Colegiata de León, 275

p. 478: Gifts including the two men, Domingo Barban of San Feliz and Pedro Ustiz de Villasinte.
   June 25, 1181

p. 482: Two parts of a tenth of the tributes of Mayorga.
   December 31, 1181.
   Col. de León, 181

p. 500: A tenth of the rights of the kings in Mayorga.
   April 16, 1185.
   A.H.N., Deposito del Registro

p. 506: The population of Lagos for 500 merevedis.
   March 10, 1186

p. 511: The Villa of Orzonaga.
   1187.
   B.N. ms. 5,790, fol 124

In the latter part of the twelfth-century, San Isidoro experienced a period of economic decline. The thirteenth century was especially difficult.


18. The Asturian church of San Salvador at Valedios, (built in 893), is usually cited. See Williams, "San Isidoro," Figure 5. Gaillard, Les débuts, p. 3. Gaillard's dimensions for Fernando's church are 10m x 15m (p. 7).

19. Gomez Moreno noted the different handling of masonry that can be observed in areas of the west wall of the north side aisle, parts of the western wall of the present San Isidoro, and part of the vaulting of the extreme western bay of the north side aisle. This area was considered re-used parts of Fernando's church. See Gomez Moreno, Catálogo, pp. 180-181.


The most radical conclusion presented in Williams' paper is the re-attribution of the Panteón to Urraca (d.1101), Fernando the Great's daughter. Traditionally, the Panteón has been ascribed to Fernando the Great, dating c. 1054-1063 and consecrated at the same time that Fernando's San Isidoro was dedicated. Its remarkable ensemble of sculptured capitals were then dated in the middle of the eleventh-century. For this traditional and heretofore accepted dating of the Panteón, see Monumentos Españoles: Catálogo de los declarados nacionales, arquitectónicos y históricos-artísticos, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Historicos, 1932, vol. II, pp. 7-8; Lamperez y Romeo, Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2nd ed., 1930, vol. I, pp. 371-72, 437-8, 515-16:

The sculptured capitals of the Panteon are also remarkable. Approximately 41 capitals have survived and they are ornamented with traditional funerary motifs such as Miracle scenes and paradisical imagery. Andre Grabar, *Christian Iconography, A Study of its Origins*, Princeton: Bollingen Series XXX .10, 1961, may be consulted. A more specific study of the iconography of the sculptured capitals may be read in A. de Egry, "Simbolismos funerios en monumentos románicos españoles," *Archivo de Arte*, vol. XLIV, 1971, pp. 9-15. She relates the themes carved on the capitals to the prayers for the sick and deceased ascribed to the Pseudo-Cipriano. As is the case in many Spanish works, deviations can be noted. One, according to Williams, is two heavenly visitors as opposed to the scriptural three. See Williams, "A source for the Capital of the Offering of Abraham in the Pantheon of the Kings of León," in Roberto Salvini, *Scritti di Storia del Arte* in
The dating of the Panteon was relatively secure, due to the documentation supporting Fernando and Sancha's patronage of San Isidoro (1050-1060). The current dating is the last quarter of the eleventh-century. Urraca, Fernando the Great's and Sancha's daughter, was the patron. See Williams, "San Isidoro," and earlier, Whitehill, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, pp. 148-149; Durliat, op. cit., p. 17-18; and Salvini, Medieval Sculpture, pp. 17-18.

The stylistic sources of the sculptures have yet to be determined. Mozarabic sources have been suggested for the foliate works, but sources for the figurative ones are unknown. See David Robb, "The Capitals of the Panteon de los Reyes; San Isidoro of Leon," The Art Bulletin, vol. XXVII (1945), pp. 165-174. See also Williams, "San Isidoro," p. 176, n.15.


24. John Williams, op. cit. In addition to the excavations directed by Jochen von Sichart, of the Technical University of Berlin, restorations carried out under the auspices of the Dirección de Bellas Artes have also revealed new data, as yet unpublished. See ibid., p. 176 and n.16. The 1959 restoration of San Isidoro revealed that the south gallery of the present cloister was originally a north porch running the entire length of the northern wall of San Isidoro in the manner of the north porch of the Mozarabic church, San Miguel de Escalada, in the province of León, and consecrated in 913. See Plate 42 in Hirmer and de Palol, Early Medieval Art in Spain, Williams in "San Isidoro," p. 24, indicates that the Panteon workshop was probably responsible for the construction of the north porch. Susan Caldwell, in her unpublished dissertation, suggests that Urraca may have literally enlarged the church of her father, as stated in the
epigraph. Williams, too, suggests that an intermediate San Isidoro, after Fernando's and before the present building, may have existed. The sections of the wall, earlier believed to be re-used from Fernando's church, may be the remnants of Urraca's church. See n.19 supra.

25. For the identification of the Puerta del Cordero as a type of portal—a projecting portal, see Susan Havens Caldwell, The Introduction and Diffusion of the Romanesque Projecting Single-Portal Unit in Northern Spain, University Microfilms, 1974. The lateral walls of this type of portal extend noticeably beyond the walls of the church nave. Caldwell suggests Islamic antecedents.

26. See Williams, "Generationes Abrahae: Reconquest Iconography in Leon," Gesta, XVI/2 (1977), p. 11 for the identification of the knight to St. Isidore's left as Alfonso VII. The figure, however, lacks crown, sceptre, purple mantle, and other attributes usually associated with a king or an emperor. Instead, St. Isidore's militancy, that is, his support of military solutions may be referred to here. St. Isidore admonished that the sword was to be employed wherever the word failed to achieve the needed results.

27. St. Pelayo is presently the most accepted identification of this figure. See Gómez Moreno, El Arte románico, p. 64; Viñayo González, León roman, p. 403, no. 15; and de Palol and Hirmer, Early Medieval Art in Spain, p. 185. The figure has also been identified as St. Vincent (or St. Sabina).


29. John Williams, "Generationes Abrahae," pp. 3-14. There the text from St. Paul is quoted. On p. 10, Williams further notes that de Generatione Mahumet, a text that identifies the Arabs with the descend­ants of Abraham through Ishmael, was translated in Leon in 1142 by Herman of Dalmatia.

Other possible sources for the iconography of the Puerta del Cordero, in addition to St. Paul, are: the liturgy (see p. 5), the writings of Honorius Augustodunensis, Fraenens, the Aelfric paraphrase, St. Isidore, St. Augustine, and possibly the Apology of al-Kindi.

30. See Serafin Moralejo Alvarez, "Pour l'interpretation iconographique du portail de l'Agneau à Saint Isidore de Leon: Les signes du zodiaque," Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, Vol. VIII, 1977, pp. 137-173. This study may also be consulted for the history of the various identifications suggested for the figures on the tympanum. Also, the zodiac theme can be seen over the original door leading from the Panteon into Fernando's San Isidore. See Williams, "San Isidoro," p. 183 and n. 54. There, it is also combined with the Lamb scene. See his Figures 20 and 21.


33. John Williams, "Generations Abrahae," p. 11. One of Williams' reasons for dating the Puerta del Cordero later is a resemblance he sees between the angels holding crosses in the upper left and right extremities of the tympanum and the angels of the Ascension in the tympanum of the Porte Miegeville. He also wants to correlate it with Peter the Venerable's famous trip of 1142. See also M. F. Hearn, Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh- or Twelfth-Centuries. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981. His dating of 1120 is arrived at through a response to Williams' revised chronology of San Isidoro, but not through a careful reading of Williams. Cf. n. 68, p. 152 and Plate 112 of Hearn, which offers an 1120 dating for the Puerto del Cordero.
34. An unusual aspect in the Ascension, is that Christ is physically supported by the two angels flanking him. The Virgin's hands are uncovered in the Deposition, a departure from the Byzantine prototype. For the iconography of the Deposition at San Isidoro, see Pauline Ratkowska, "The Iconography of the Deposition without St. John," The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, XXV, 1964, pp. 315-316.


36. Gaillard, "La date de la sculptures de la Compostelle et de Leon," pp. 341-348. Gómez-Moreno, El arte románico, p. 108 also agrees that the style of the Puerta del Perdón seems later than that of the sculptures of the Puerta del Cordero. For Deschamps' dating of the Puerta del Perdón, see n. 32. See also, Marcel Durliat, L'art roman en Espagne, Paris: Les editions Braun & Cie, n.d., p. 30. One can only conclude based on Williams' new chronology for San Isidoro and his theories regarding the dating of Santiago de Compostela (see above) a post 1126 dating for both the portals.

37. The inscriptions are taken from Viñayo González, León roman, pp. 104-105.


39. Again, see Viñayo González, León roman, pp. 104-105.

40. Lasko, p.149 does note the "rare scene" of God clothing Adam and Eve, but it is not unique to the reliquary of San Isidoro. For the iconography of
the robing of Adam and Eve, see Brooks W. Stoddard, "A Romanesque Master Carver at Airvault (Deux-Sevres), Gesta, XX/I (1981), pp. 70-72.

41. De Palol and Hirmer, op. cit., p. 90.


43. Perez Llamazares, Iconographia, 1923. See n. 14 for full citation.

44. Ibid., pp. 52-54.

45. Vinayo Gonzalez, Leon roman, p. 93.

46. Blai Bonet, El Movimiento románico en España, Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafa S.A., 1967, p. 56 describes the San Isidoro capitals as: "... men fighting, women with serpents ... discord and above all, lust, in a kind of expressionism which is more pornographic than symbolic."


48. Ibid., pp. 52-54.


50. For the importance of the Bible as the source for medieval political and legal thinking, see Walter Ullman, A History of Political Thought in the Middle Ages, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1965.


With regard to primary sources, the *City of God* was the single most important source of political theory in the early Medieval period. See Ullman, op. cit., p. 237. Interest in it, according to some scholars, extended to the Jews. Judah Helavi (d.c.1150), native of Toledo, may have been influenced by the work in his *Kusai*. See Joseph F.
O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*; Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975, p. 327. Isidore's works, too, were widely read throughout the Middle Ages and not only in Spain. Since the church was dedicated to St. Isidore and since Isidore was so influential on kingship, one would expect knowledge of his works at San Isidoro. An intense study of St. Isidore, especially of the *Sententia*, occurred in the mid-12th century, according to Julio Perez Llamazares, *Catalogo de los incunables y libros antiguos, raros y curiosos de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de Leon*. Madrid: Blass S. A. Tipografica, 1943, p. 19. On p. 20, Perez notes that no works by Isidore have survived at San Isidoro, due to 12/30/1808 invasion by the French armies led by Marical Soult. At this time, also, the two panels depicting the Naming of the Animals and Creation of Woman were lost from the Reliquary of St. Isidore. (See p. 24.)

Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* was influential throughout the Middle Ages, widely available, and a highly esteemed authority. A tenth-century copy existed at San Isidoro. See Perez Llamazares, *Catalogo de los codices y documentos de la real Colegiata de San Isidoro*, Leon: Imprenta Catolica, 1923, p. 3. It was written in Visigothic print by scribe Baltarius. Another ms. with the *Moralia* text (945) written by Florencio is conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, ibid., p. 15. A French version, ms. X, did not enter San Isidoro until the eighteenth century. Ibid., p. 36.
CHAPTER I
THE KINGS OF ASTURIA AND LEÓN AND THE ROYAL PATRONS OF SAN ISIDORO

Introduction

The kings of Asturia and León enjoyed special status in the history of the Reconquest of Spain. They were recognized as the heirs of the Visigoths, the Germanic tribe which had ruled Spain prior to the Islamic takeover. Asturia was also the first Christian kingdom to be established in northern Spain following the Islamic conquest. Pelayo, the first king of Asturia (718-737) spearheaded the Reconquest of Spain. The kings of León also, from the reign of Alfonso III (866-910) to Alfonso VII (1126-1157) in particular, used the title "emperor" or "king of kings," to emphasize their hegemony over other rulers in Spain.

Isidore's role in medieval political history was also a significant one. The Visigothic government had been characterized by a close cooperation between church
and state, due perhaps to the influence of the Byzantines, who occupied Spain from 554 to 624. Both kings and nobles and bishops and clerics attended numerous meetings which established positions on both church and state matters. The records of these meetings, especially those attributed to Isidore, the Collection Hispana, would be very influential on later early medieval law through the Pseudo-Isidore. The Pseudo-Isidorean Decretales were composed by a group of Frankish clerics from c.847 to 852, but attributed to Isidore. This attests to his distinguished reputation in the field of legalistic writing.

The Kings of Asturia and Leon

The Visigoths conquered Spain from 460 to 478, but lost it to Islam in 711 when the Berber Tarik ibn Ziyad led a small band of several thousand men into the Iberian peninsula.

The Moslems were able to dominate Spain rapidly because of the "decadence" of the Visigothic government. The Visigoths, or Goti, a minority in eighth-century Spain, constituted a ruling aristocracy. The king Roderick (d.711-?) attempted to defend himself and his country, but failed. The Visigoths' recurring persecu-
tions of the Jews, internecine feuds and betrayals among the Visigoths, the harshness of Witiza (d. 710), Roderick's predecessor, and the fact that many considered Roderick an usurper and failed to follow his orders, left Spain unprepared to meet and respond to the challenge of the zealous Moorish invaders.

The Moors readily captured Toledo. Bitter over the persecutions endured from the Visigoths, the Jews readily opened the gates of the ancient Visigothic capital to the Moslems. The head of the church in Spain, Sindered, fled and many of Toledo's Christian citizens followed his example.

Tarik was joined by Musa ibn Nusair who continued the devastation of Spain. León fell in 714. Within six years, the entire peninsula of Spain, with the exception of a narrow sliver of land lining the northern coast of Spain, was a part of the Umayyad Caliphate. The Asturias remained Christian. (Plate I)

While the Moslems were tolerant and even protective of non-Islamic religions, especially to the so-called "people of the Book," the Christian resistance began almost immediately after Roderick's fall. The Visigoth refugees from Roderick's court moved their base to Asturia, which proved impenetrable to the Moslems,
and eventually began plans to recapture the glories of the Visigothic past.

The man initiating the Reconquest was Pelayo (718-737). Pelayo supposedly was the grand nephew of Roderick, and, although based upon spurious sources, this alleged genealogy was employed to support the legitimacy of the new kingdom in Asturia. Pelayo led his troops against the Moors, led by 'Alkama, at the Battle of Covadonga on 28 May, 722 and was victorious. While the Moslems tended to give a modest evaluation of the event, the Christians saw the battle and the victory as a dazzling display of Christian bravery. Resistance against the Moors was begun, and it would continue until at least 1492 when the last Islamic kingdom of Granada fell during the reign of Ferdinand V (1452-1516) and Isabella (1452-1504).

In addition to initiating the Reconquista, the Goths began to recreate the Visigothic court that had existed at Toledo prior to the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Oviedo. For this reason, the authors frequently refer to the Asturo-Leonese kingdom as a "Neo-Gothic" revival. As time passed, the self-consciousness of the Asturian kings to their relationship with the Visigothic tradition intensified and became especially evident during the reign of Alfonso II, also called the "Chaste," (791-842; Figure
Alfonso II revived the Visigothic ordinatio, and he was the first of the new line to be anointed in the Old Testament or quasi-sacerdotal manner in imitation of the Visigothic kings (unctus est in regno in 791). Other aspects of the Visigothic court were also revived. Its Byzantine-influenced emphasis on hierarchy and ritual became a feature of court life, and the titles, ceremonies, and costumes used in the ancient court were also employed anew at Oviedo. The Aula Regia was reinstated, as was the Lex Visigothorum (also called the Liber Iudiciorum or Code of Recceswinth), which became the official law code of the land.

One of the most important sources for information regarding the Visigothic past were the writings of Isidore, the Bishop of Seville and distinguished doctor hispaniarum (560? - 636). His writings were carefully studied. Alfonso II and his successors identified with the "ideal" Visigothic king "German in pride and power" and Roman, i.e., Catholic in religion, as Isidore formulated. The ideal Visigothic ruler took Constantine as his model. He recognized that his authority was derived from God, and he himself, as Isidore emphasized, was subject to rather than above the law.

Isidore's History of the Goths was extensively copied and became the most important source for the Neo-Gothic...
"revival" and for the identification with the Visigothic past. Isidore, too, was a source for the spirit of nationalism. In the Laus Spaniae Isidore celebrated the beauty of Spain and glorified it as a nation. He was extremely influential on the new government.

The kings of Asturia now saw themselves as conservators and custodians of the past, and the only legitimate sovereigns over all of Spain. The Mozarabs, Islamicized Christians living in Al-Andalus, fulsomely supported the prerogative of the kings of Asturia as heirs of the Visigothic past and assisted them in keeping alive knowledge of the Visigothic law and the writings of Isidore.

At the same time that Alfonso II participated in the revival of the ideal Visigothic king, events leading up to the emergence of Santiago de Compostela as a major pilgrimage site began. A hermit monk named Pelayo rediscovered the tomb of St. James the Major. Alfonso II had a small church erected in honor of St. James, which Alfonso III would replace with an even more beautiful building constructed of stone with lavish marble columns.

In 845, St. James appeared to the Asturian king Ramiro I (842-850) in a dream the night before the battle of Clavijo. St. James was riding a white horse and brandishing a sword. The next day, Ramiro's struggles against
the Moors were exceptionally successful. Thousands fell, and St. James came to be known as Santiago Matamoros.37

The first pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela was Godescalk, who arrived there in 951. Later, in the eleventh- and twelfth-centuries, the Benedictine monastery Cluny would assist the carrying out of the pilgrimage. Frankish involvement was extensive, and the pilgrimage roads to Santiago de Compostela would be called the camino frances.39

One of the greatest of the kings of Asturia was Alfonso III, also called the Great (Figure 164). Alfonso III wore a crown of jewel-encrusted gold referred to as a corona imperialis,40 and he was later given the title emperor.41 His successes against the Moors were impressive, and he "raided Al-Andalus at will," moving the conflict down from the craggy cliffs of the Cantabrian mountains onto the plains of the Duero Valley. (PLATE II.)42 There was, then, a need for a new urbs regia which was selected after Alfonso III's death.43

The town of León had already been partially reconstructed in 856 during the reign of Ordoño I (850-866), and Alfonso III's son, Garcia I (850-866) chose León as the site of his courts.44 He is generally recognized as the first "king of León."45 Ordoño II (914-924) also located his courts in León. He repaired the walls of the city, which had been badly damaged by the Moors in 714,46
and then erected a palace and a cathedral in the there. He was subsequently known as imperator Legionensis.

Located on a meseta south of the craggy Corillera and Cantabrican Mountains, Leon was founded in 68 A.D. Its purpose was to provide quarters for the Legio Gemina Septima, a Roman legion stationed in northern Spain to protect the northern frontier from the Asturians. In the middle ages and today, the town was known by its Roman name, Legio, and it was always so referred to in the Latin documents. (PLATE III)

The city was laid out in the usual Roman manner. It was rectangular in shape, 705 by 308 meters in size, and oriented so that the sides aligned with the four cardinal directions. The Romans fortified the city with large, thick walls punctuated with eighty round towers. Providing access into the city were four handsome gateways embellished with marble and relief sculpture. The site where the Panteon and San Isidoro are today would have been in the northwestern section of the Roman city, close to the walls. Leon became the new urbs regia and the kings of Leon continued the "Visigothic" revival initiated by the kings of Asturia. The continuity of the kings of Leon with Asturia and with Toledo was recognized and reinforced by the Mozarabs. (PLATE IV)
The Mozarabs periodically staged revolts in Al-Andalusia causing mass martyrdoms or exile for them, and a large number of them left Al-Andalus for León in the ninth-century. Ordoño I welcomed the refugees, and, by 916, approximately three-quarters of the population of León was Mozarabic. Their architecture with its refined proportions and distinctive horse shoe arches contrasted with the rather slender proportioned barrel vaulted buildings of Asturia. The difference in style can readily be ascertained by comparing San Miguel de Escalada, a Mozarabic church constructed in 910 and located in the environs of León, with Asturian buildings such as the palace of Ramiro I, Santa María de Naranco or San Miguel de Lillo, also constructed by Ramiro I in the ninth-century, situated close to the older capital Oviedo.

The Mozarabic presence in León left its mark in the way of life in the new urbs regia. They glorified hierarchy, pomp, and ritual. They continued to emphasize the importance of Isidore and his writings, contributing further to the conservatism of the courts of León, and also brought a deeper understanding of the Visigothic law code, sometimes causing friction between León and its ally, Castile, where a different and more flexible law code prevailed.
Traditionally recognizing the kings of Galicia and Asturia as the only true heirs of Isidore and the Visigothic past, the Mozarabs now ascribed that role to León.  A manuscript showing Sancho the Fat, flanked by his parents with three Visigothic kings portrayed above, reflects the identification of the kings of León with the Visigoths (PLATE V). During the reign of Sancho the Fat (956-958 and 960-966) references to what was to be the site of San Isidoro in the eleventh- and twelfth-centuries also appear.

Sancho the Fat's obesity precluded his participation in his military duties and also cost him the throne in 958 when Fernán González, count of Castile, deposed him and replaced him with Ordoño IV, the "Bad." The king was compelled to undertake a humiliating trip to Cordoba, where Ibn Hasday Shaprut, court physician, diplomat and treasurer under 'Abd-al-Rahman II and his son al-Hakam, placed Sancho on a vegetarian diet. Sancho's situation reflects the dismal state of the kingdom of León during this particular period.

After he lost weight, Sancho eventually re-assumed the throne. While in Cordoba, Sancho learned of the Mozarabic martyrs. He came to venerate St. Pelayo in particular, a child martyred in June of 925 who was known for his virtue and sweetness. Sancho made arrangements
for the relics of the child martyr to be translated to León. When they arrived in 967, after Sancho's death from poisoning, the relics were placed in a silver reliquary, and a monastery was established to serve the cult. In the middle of the eleventh-century, the relics of St. Isidore would be added, and a new church dedicated to St. Isidore would replace the older structures.

When Sancho the Fat died, he was buried in the royal mausoleum in the monastery of San Salvador close to the cathedral of León, Santa María de Regla.

The tenth-century was a period of decline in León, as Sancho the Fat's reign indicates. After his death, he was succeeded by his son Ramiro III (966-985), who was only five years old. In contrast, Córdoba reached its height under 'Abd-al-Rahman III's rule (912-961). He and his successors, Al-Hakam II (961-976) and al-Hajib al-Mansur (977-1002), struck the northern Christian kingdoms hard.

During the reign of Vermudo II (984-999), the kingdom of León was in serious condition (PLATE VI). Vermudo II was compelled to be conciliatory to Córdoba and to the counts of Castile. The situation worsened when a Berber vizier took control of the caliphate of Córdoba. Named Muhammad ibn-abi-'Amir called after 981, al-Mansur billah ("victorious by the help of God") this man raided León
and Castile every spring and fall. He even attacked Catalonia, earlier spared out of fear of the Franks.

In 988, he leveled the town of León, including its Roman walls and towers. Leon was held under siege for about one year. During this fearful period, the courts of the kings of León, the royal tombs of the kings, and the relics were moved to Oviedo for safe keeping. Finally, "In 1002 died Almanzar and was buried in hell."

After Al-Mansur's death, his sons continued his bellicose policies weakening both the kingdoms of León and Al-Andalus. Tranquility was briefly restored in 1009 with the deaths of these fierce Moslems. Alfonso V (999-1027) became king of León and moved the relics and tombs of the kings back into the city of León. He began the work of restoring León, rebuilding the walls in tapia in the early eleventh-century. The relics of St. Pelayo were replaced in a new church, small and constructed from cheap materials (de luto et latere), and the royal panteón, too, was now to be located in the monastery of Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo.

Alfonso V died in 1028, while engaged in battle at Viseo. His son Vermudo III (1028 to 1037) faced difficult challenges in the form of Sancho the Great of Navarre and his aggression. Fernando I, Sancho's son, eventually killed Vermudo III and became king of León.
Al-Mansur's raids left the kingdom of León weakened to the extent that it no longer could assert the hegemony over Christian Spain that it had before. Navarre and Aragon then began to emerge as significant powers in Spain.

There were several other small northern Spanish Christian kingdoms located at the base of the Pyrenees. Though less significant than León, and they were also less conservative, less isolated, and more interested in developing diplomatic relations with the Franks. Of these, Navarre under Sancho the Great (970-1035) became especially important during this period.

In 1014, Sancho utilized his gifts of diplomacy to persuade the Christian states of Spain to work together against the Moors. He was also able to involve the Franks in this project. Sancho was one of the first so-called "Cluniac kings." These kings actively pursued a relationship with Cluny and involved Cluny directly in the internal affairs of the church.

Sancho took advantage of the unstable political situation at León, by annexing Castile in 1029. His attention then shifted to León itself, which he gained in 1034. He cemented his claim to the kingdom by arranging a marriage between his second son, Fernando, and the daughter of Alfonso V, Sancha. She was also the sister of Vermudo III, the last legitimate successor of the line.
Sancho then declared himself rex Dei gratia Hispaniarum and very briefly ruled as emperor of León. Vermudo III died without heir, and Sancho's son Fernando became king of León. With the isolation of León now broken down, it would in the future have more contacts with Christian Europe. Five generations of Sancho the Great's descendents would be the patrons of the church of San Isidoro. They and their contribution will now concern us here.

The Royal Patrons of San Isidoro

Fernando and Sancha

Fernando the Great, (1037-1065) Sancho the Great's son, was anointed king of León in the Cathedral of León on June 22 of 1039. (Figure 28) Like his father, he was a "Cluniac king" who supported the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and encouraged Cluniac reform in Spain. One result of these policies was that the Benedictine rule officially superseded all other monastic rules in Spain. This change was instigated at the Council of Coyanza in 1050.

The Moors considered him a "good king", and his success against the Moors was impressive. Among his conquests were Muzaffar, Badajoz, Viseu, and Lamengo (1057). In addition to these successes, Fernando gained
considerable wealth from tribute money. After the death of Al-Manzur and his son, Islamic Spain was broken up into a series of small city governments ruled by taifa kings (mulzik al-Eawa'ct, in Arabic) who paid tributes, called parias, to Fernando instead of fighting against him. Fernando's wealth grew, and he was able to give one thousand metcales of this money to Cluny yearly.

In addition to increasing Cluniac involvement in the internal affairs of Spain, Fernando the Great also deferred to the Visigothic tradition preserved at Leon. He continued to hear the Mass in the Visigothic liturgy and agreed to retain the Visigothic law code, so highly esteemed by the Leonese citizens. The Historia Silense (c.1130) records another major concession upon the part of Fernando the Great to his wife and her ancestors. This was in regard to the royal mausoleum or Panteon. Fernando originally had desired to be buried at either the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza or at San Salvador de Ona, where his father, Sancho the Great, lay. Sancha, however, had wanted to be buried in the same place as her father, Alfonso V. Fernando agreed to maintain the Panteon within the walls of the monastery dedicated to Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo. Fernando even had the body of his father Sancho the Great of Navarre brought to the monastery in Leon.
To further honor the site, Fernando obtained the relics of the Roman martyrs of Avila, saints Martin, Sabina and Cristebe. In 1063, Fernando sent Alvito, Bishop of Leon, Ordone, Bishop of Astorga, and Count Munio, accompanied by armed men to collect the relics of virgin martyrs Sts. Rufina and Justa as tribute from the Taifah king of Seville, Abbed Mohammad al'Mutadid. The emissary failed to retrieve the relics of St. Justa, but were able to gain possession of the body of St. Isidore, who revealed himself to the men in a dream or by "divine odors." The body of St. Isidore arrived in Leon on the 22 or 23 of December 1063.

Why the body of St. Isidore was substituted for the relics of the virgin martyr St. Justa is unknown. The substitution was a brilliant political move. St. Isidore was a doctor of the Catholic church and an internationally respected authority. Isidore was held in high esteem by the Asturo-Leonese kings and influenced the formulation of the Visigothic ideal king. His influence on law was immense, directly or indirectly through the Pseudo-Isidore. He was extremely relevant to the Spanish concept of state in the middle ages. Vermudo III and his sister Sancha, the future wife of Fernando the Great, had presented a copy of the Summo Bono and the three books of the Sententia to the church of Toledo, reflecting a con-
tinued interest in the writings of Isidore in the eleventh century.102

To honor the new relics and the tombs of the kings of León, Fernando replaced the church constructed out of "cheap materials" during the reign of Alfonso V with a new building built of expensive, lavish materials.103 Its plan and probable aesthetic effect were very comparable to San Salvador at Valdedios, an Asturian building dating 893.104 Unlike the local Mozarabic architecture,105 this building's similarities to Asturian buildings dating much earlier suggested to Williams that the church functioned as an architectural symbol of Fernando's identification with the Asturo-Leonese line, which he obtained partly through his marriage to Sancha.106 The church dedicated to St. Isidore was consecrated in 1063.107

Fernando, during his last campaigns at Celtiberia and Carpentania, had a dream in which St. Isidore appeared to him and foretold the exact time of Fernando's future death.108 The king then returned to León, attended mass in the cathedral, and donned a hairshirt. Fernando's last days were spent doing penance at San Isidoro, where he was ultimately buried.109
Alfonso VI (1065-1109) and his Sister, Queen Urraca

Fernando the Great had three sons and two daughters. The kingdom was divided into three parts after his death. Sancho II (1065-1072), his heir, received Castile, Alfonso VI (1065-1109) became the king of León and Galicia. Fernando's third son, Garcia, inherited the area now known as Portugal and two Moorish cities Seville and Badajoz. Sancho and Alfonso quickly dispatched Garcia and then became bitter rivals. The alleged treachery which resulted in Sancho's death was one of the important historical events that led to the incidents romanticized in the Poema del Cid.

Like his grandfather, Sancho the Great, and father, Fernando the Great, Alfonso was a "Cluniac king." Alfonso's fifth wife, Constance of Burgundy, was the daughter of Robert of Burgundy and the niece of Abbot Hugh of Cluny. During the rule of Alfonso VI, Cluniac influence in Spain reached its zenith. He was committed to facilitating the travel of pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela and built bridges and roads for them. It was his stated goal to work for "the health of our souls and for the profit of other peoples."
Under Alfonso VI, the ecclesiastical structure of Spain became almost completely Frankish. Alfonso VI invited the Cluniac monk Bernard of Stauvelot to come to Spain in 1080, and appointed him abbot of Sahagún, the hub of Cluniac reform in Spain. Alfonso VI doubled his father's yearly stipend to Cluny from 1,000 to 2,000 metcales. Sahagún replaced León as the site of the courts and took the place of the monastery of San Isidoro as the site of the royal mausoleum.

Alfonso VI's successes against the Arabs enabled him to collect large tributes from the taifa kings. The kings came to hate Alfonso VI as the emirs of earlier times had detested the kings of León. The king of Seville, al-Mu'tamid, son of al-Mu'tadid (1068-1091), "whose court was . . . the rendez-vous of poets . . . and the haunt of men of excellence . . .," known for his "gay parties," who chose both his vizier and wife on the basis of their talent for poetry, decided to retaliate against Alfonso VI.

Al-Mu'tamid's solution to the Leonese aggression was to turn to the Murābits or the Almoravides in northern Africa. They were in effect a "religious military brotherhood" who wore veils. Led by Yūsef ibn-Tāshfin (1061-1106), these men readily responded to Al-Mu'tamid's
entreaty and successfully defeated Alfonso VI at al-Zallaqah, on October 23, 1086. Eventually, the Almoravies exerted dominance on Al-Andalus until their fall in 1147.119

Grave consequences accrued for all of Spain, including Al-Andalus. The Almoravides were fanatics and accepted only Islam. Forced conversions and strong feelings against secular learning resulted in a mass exodus of Christians, Jews, and even Moslems. The Almoravides' intolerance caused, in effect, a "brain drain," which greatly benefited the Christian north. Alfonso VI, tolerant of all religions, even when criticized by the Pope,120 accepted all of the refugees, regardless of their religious affiliation. Toledo, which Alfonso VI regained May 25, 1085, flowered as a result of the exile of many educated people from Al-Andalus and Almoravide persecution.121

Alfonso VI was an immensely ambitious man. It was his intention to become sovereign ruler over all of Christian and Islamic Spain. Asserting the prerogative of the kings of León, Alfonso called himself "imperator constitus super omnes Hispaniae nationes"122 and in two diplomas, he referred to himself as "Imperante christianorum quam et paganorum omnia Hispaniae regna." In a letter to Al-Mu'tamid, Alfonso, outraging the taifa king of Seville,
signed himself "Emperor of the two religions, the excellent king Alfonso ben Sancho."  

Alfonso VI died on July 1, 1109. A legend records that water gushed out of the stone of the altar at San Isidoro at the time of his death. He was buried in the Cluniac monastery Sahagún. With no sons to assume the throne, the crown passed to Alfonso VI's daughter, Urraca.

León's importance to the king of Castile and León had diminished, and in his will, Fernando the Great stipulated that his daughters, with the provision that they remain unmarried, inherit monasteries. Urraca, his eldest daughter (d.1101), and Alfonso VI's sister was to inherit the most important of these monasteries, San Isidoro.

Urraca's relation to her brother Alfonso VI was very close. Menéndez Pidal wrote that Alfonso bestowed the title of "Queen" to his sister and frequently referred to her in a manner normally reserved for the actual spouse of the king. She apparently assisted her brother, Alfonso VI, in the murder of Sancho, and was perhaps responsible for the actual execution of the act. Urraca was a definite asset to the king and his ambitions to assume the crown over all of Spain.

Urraca was a generous patroness of San Isidoro. One of the most highly venerated objects is a chalice of agate and gold with insets of jewels in which an inscription
refers to Urraca as Urraci Fernandi. Presentations to San Isidoro also included some building construction, as an inscription on Urraca's tomb in the Panteon relates. Traditionally, this ampliavit istam ecclesiam was thought to comprise the construction of a new, larger church, the present San Isidoro, to replace the preceding one of her father, Fernando the Great. As indicated above, this may have been the Panteon rather than the present church. John Williams suggests that work on the new mausoleum may have followed the murder of Sancho, Alfonso's and Urraca's brother, in 1072, and implies that work on the present San Isidoro started much later, perhaps in 1124. Urraca died in 1101 and was buried in the Panteon.

**Urraca, Queen of Leon**

Alfonso VI was married five times, but only had one son, Sancho, from the Moorish concubine Zaida. Sancho died at the Battle of Ulce in 1108.

Alfonso VI's successor was his daughter Urraca (1109-1126). She was crowned Queen of Leon on July 22, 1109 in the Cathedral of Leon and was the first woman to rule in western Christian Europe in her own right, as "Domini dispensations tocius Ispanie imperatrix." San Isidoro
passed to Urraca, as Queen of León and Castile, after Alfonso VI's youngest daughters, Sancha and Elvira, married. Her brief marriage to Raymond of Burgundy (d.1109) resulted in the birth of a boy, the future Alfonso VII, and a daughter, Sancha. The years of her reign were troubled ones, but she successfully preserved the kingdom and the crown of León.

The Historia Compostelana, the biography of the bishop and later archbishop of Santiago de Compostela Diego Gelmírez, is the most useful contemporary source concerning the reign of Queen Urraca. Urraca's extensive appearance in this document is due to the fact that she and the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela were continually in conflict with one another. Gelmírez supported Urraca's son from her marriage to Raymond, a prince of Burgundy (d.1109), the future Alfonso VII, as the legitimate ruler of León, rather than his mother, Queen Urraca. The Bishop even went so far as to crown the boy king in 1109.

Urraca's reign was plagued with political instability and strife. Urraca's inability to take part in the Reconquest meant that she could not regain territories from the Moors, obtain booty from them, or collect much in the way of parias from them. Her economic problems were very serious. Although the royal fisc was retained in the
environ of León, Queen Urraca did not donate much to San Isidoro, and it appears that little if any building activity was carried out there during her reign.\(^{139}\)

Matters began to improve for Queen Urraca in 1118 when her relationship with her son, Alfonso, improved. He ruled in Toledo with the title king while Urraca remained Queen of León. She died at Saldana in 1126,\(^{140}\) and one day after his mother's death, Alfonso entered León to assume his duties at 19 years of age.\(^{141}\)

Alfonso VII and his Sister, Queen Sancha

Alfonso VII

Alfonso VII, Urraca's son and second born child from her marriage to Raymond of Burgundy, was also the nephew of Pope Calixtus II. Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, had custody of him and took charge of educating him. Gelmírez attempted to replace Urraca with her son and Alfonso VII underwent a coronation in 1109, in Galicia, when he was only six years old. (PLATE VII)

In his biography, the Historia Compostelana, Gelmírez writes that Alfonso VII was consecrated as a canon of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in the manner of the
Alfonso VII consciously imitated the northern European "romano-germanico" emperors and like them, an exceptional amount of authority was invested in the office of emperor in Spain during his rule. The influence of northern European political theory on the definition of king during Alfonso VII's rule is evident in these phrases, incorporated in a notice to Ramon Berenguer IV (Lerida, 1156): 

"et quia placuit excellentisime maiestati domini imperatoris."

The Neo-Gothic political definition of the sovereignty of the king of Castile and León also came into full play during the reign of Alfonso VII. Called Al-Sulaytin ("little king") by the Arabs, Alfonso was given three coronation ceremonies. In the third coronation ceremony, he was crowned emperor with a diadem in the Cathedral of León in 1135. He was the first and last of the kings of León and Castile to be designated emperor through a juridic act.

The new emperor began to exercise his duties as king of Castile and León. He took as his model Sancho the Great of Navarre. Like Sancho he began annexing territories to enlarge his kingdom. He also set out to reclaim the land, which included parts of Castile, lost to Alfonso the Battler and his father during the reign of
Queen Urraca. Rebellions in Asturia, Navarre, and Portugal had to be squelched. Diplomatic solutions and inter-marriages were employed as well as military ones in developing alliances with other Spanish Christian principalities.

After stabilizing León and its relationship with the other Christian states of Spain, Alfonso VII returned his attention to the Reconquest. After the Almoravides (1147) declined, the Almohads (1121-1269), also intolerant fanatics were dealt with.

Alfonso VII and his reassertion of strong leadership over Christian Spain as king of Castile and León must have been welcomed to his subjects. He brought with him his ancestors' tolerance, diplomatic skills, and good advisors. The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris relates Alfonso VII's triumphant entry into Toledo at which time the emperor was cheered by his subjects of all three faiths, Christians, Jews and Saracens, who celebrated his victories in songs in three languages accompanied by instruments.

During Alfonso VII's reign, relations between the king of León and Castile and the king of France continued. Ties with the Capetians were cemented when Alfonso's daughter was married to Louis VII, the first of the French kings to stage a crusade in Spain.
Like other kings following the Visigothic model, Alfonso VII was involved with the church. In 1135, he presided over a Council in León that had met to discuss the problem of the salvation of souls. He did not, however, follow the policies of his grandfather Alfonso VI or great grandfathers, Fernando and Sancho, regarding Cluny.

While Queen Urraca had not been able to give much to Cluny, it was assumed that after her son took the throne, the gifts from León to Cluny would increase. Peter the Venerable's famous trip to León in 1141 was to chide the king and convince him to give money as his grandfather Alfonso VI had. Alfonso VII gave only small donations to Cluny, but did present Peter with the monastery founded by his grandfather, Alfonso VI, Sahagun. Alfonso VII began to re-orient Spanish monasticism toward the new Cistercian movement around 1132 which soon assumed Cluny's earlier importance to monasticism in Spain without Cluny's cost to the king.

Alfonso VII also changed the ecclesiastical structure of royal churches in León. At San Isidoro, the monks of St. Pelayo were moved to Carvajal, and the canons of St. Augustine, originally from Carvajal, were installed in their place in 1148. An order of Augustinian canons was also established in the cathedral of León. The pres-
ence of the Augustinian canons marked a new era for the church in León. The canons' duties were pastoeal; they served the bishops and the people. The same year (1148) Alfonso's sons were crowned kings.\textsuperscript{160}

In 1149, Alfonso VII's first wife, Berenguela, became ill and died. Her body was then transferred to Santiago de Compostela where she was buried.\textsuperscript{161} She was therefore unable to attend a consecration of a new church dedicated to St. Isidore on March 6, 1149.\textsuperscript{162}

Alfonso VII and his sister came to increasingly venerate the cult of St. Isidore. Legends appeared describing the miracles worked by Isidore on behalf of Alfonso VII. One of the most famous of these, though preserved in thirteenth century source, took place in 1147. While Alfonso VII was engaged in the Battle of Baeza, St. Isidore appeared to him in a vision promising victory.\textsuperscript{163}

Alfonso VII's patronage of the cult of St. Isidore took attention off the actual decreasing importance of the city of León relative to the actual reconquest. Toledo became more important. Alfonso's courts were first located in Toledo and he first ruled as king there.\textsuperscript{164} That Castile, rather than León, passed on to Alfonso VII's eldest son Sancho reflected the declining importance of the city in Christian Spain and in the reconquest.\textsuperscript{165}
Alfonso VII's ultimate honor bestowed on the city of Toledo was to select the ancient Visigothic capital as the site of his burial, rather than either Santiago de Compostela where his wife Berenguela was buried, or San Isidoro. In 1157, he became ill and never recovered. He died and was buried on the 21 of August in 1157.\footnote{166}

At his death, the reality of the unity of the imperium came to an end. The kingdom of Castile and León was split, with Sancho III (1157-1158) receiving Castile and Fernando II (1157-1188) receiving the kingdom of León and Santiago de Compostela. The kingdoms would be reunited again in 1230.\footnote{167}

Sancha

As stipulated in Fernando's will, the monastery of San Isidoro passed to the daughters of the ruler, providing that they remain unmarried. Alfonso VII's sister and first child of Queen Urraca and Raymond of Burgundy was Sancha (1057-1159). Sancha inherited San Isidoro in 1127 and then endowed it generously.\footnote{168} She lived a very pious life as the "spouse of St. Isidore."\footnote{169}

Like Urraca, sister of Alfonso VI, Sancha was very close to her brother and was given the title "Queen." She acted as an advisor to her brother Alfonso VII and often accompanied him on his trips to Santiago de
Compostela and the Asturias. Many legends arose concerning Sancha; the most famous, though documentary support for it is lacking, is that Sancha traveled to the Holy Land where she brought back relics later presented to San Isidoro. While in Rome, she was given an audience with Pope Innocent II (1130-1143). She then journeyed through France where, it is claimed, she met with Bernard of Clairveaux, then the vocal and eloquent spokesman of the Cistercian order. That order was subsequently introduced into Spain.

Sancha's favorite residence was León. She occupied palatial buildings adjacent to San Isidoro. The second story of the Panteón was a barrel vaulted chamber that came to be called the chapel of Doña Sancha. At one time, an opening in the western wall of San Isidoro, now walled up, would have permitted access into the church.

Sancha was very dedicated to the cult of St. James at first and then, later, to St. Isidore, urging her brother to venerate him. It was in this period that the cult of Isidore virtually rivaled that of Santiago, at least in León, and came to be associated with the royalty of León. One of the most extravagant of the gifts was the completion and, possibly the construction, of a new church, the present San Isidoro, with its remarkable sculptural decoration.
Gifts to San Isidoro continued in the way of donations for the lamps, villas, water rights, and the like. A particularly generous gift reportedly was presented to San Isidoro for the maintenance of the perpetual light. According to legend the lamps were first lit from heaven.\textsuperscript{174}

Sancha died on 2 February of 1157 and was buried in the Panteon. She was immediately included in the martyrology by the canons of St. Isidore.\textsuperscript{175} A gift for the welfare of her soul was given almost immediately by her nephew and the heir of Alfonso VII, Fernando II.\textsuperscript{176}

Fernando II

After Sancha's death, there were no unmarried daughters of the king to inherit San Isidoro. Consequently, San Isidoro passed into the hands of Alfonso VII's younger son and king of León, Fernando II (1157-1188). In contrast to his father, Alfonso VII, Fernando II did not undergo the ordinatio that included the unction, nor was he ever referred to as "emperor."\textsuperscript{177}

Traditionally, the frescos in the vaults of the eleventh century Panteón were attributed to Fernando II and his wife, Urraca's patronage (c.1181). Kneeling figures to the left and right of a depiction of the Crucifixion of Christ have inscriptions which identify one as
Fernandus Rex. Williams has challenged the dating of these works, and he believes the frescos were commemorative works executed during the period of the generous patronage of Alfonso VII and Sancha, his sister (Figures 2 and 114).

Fernando II was generous to San Isidoro. It is recorded that he presented San Isidoro with numerous gifts, privileges and revenues from special taxes. He also supported further construction there. Contacts between San Isidoro and the king nevertheless lessened. At Fernando's request, San Isidoro was placed under the See of Peter and the Pope, then Alexander III, in 1163. In exchange for this privilege, the canons sent a sum of gold to Rome every year.

Fernando II, when he died, was buried at Santiago de Compostela. The great period of royal patronage at San Isidoro had come to an end. (PLATE VIII)

Conclusion

San Isidoro was a very unique capella palatina. By the eleventh-century, the strategic importance of the city of Leon for the Reconquista had lessened, but both San Isidoro and the city of Leon were still symbols. They evoked ideas of a continuity between the kings of Castile
and León, and those of Asturias, who initiated the reconquista, and the Visigothic kings of the past.

From the time of Sancho the Fat through Fernando II's reign, the kings of León and Castile generously endowed the site of San Isidoro. The titular saint Isidore's writings were extremely influential on the Spanish concept of nationalism, on their identification with the Visigothic past, and on their preoccupation with legalistic thinking that resulted in concepts that became the cornerstones of medieval legal and political theory.

Nevertheless, of the kings of Asturias, León, and Castile, only Alfonso V and Fernando I actually selected the site of San Isidoro for their royal sepulchres. They then arranged for the tombs of ancestors to be placed at the site with them. Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII, and Fernando II all selected different sites for their tombs.

San Isidoro became the patrimony of the unmarried daughters of the king and eventually, was presented to the Pope. It was still the task of the canons of St. Augustine to pray for the welfare of the souls of the kings, their family members, and their loved ones. San Isidoro was both a capella palatina and a monument to the memory of the great kings of the past.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispánico y los Cinco Reinos. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políti­
de la Reconquista (711-1038), by Fray Justo Perez de
Urbel, O.S.B. y Ricardo del Arco y Garay, Madrid;
Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1956, pp. xiii and introduction,
by Ramón Menéndez Pidal. See also:

Livermore, op. cit., pp. 373-394 and Glick, op. cit.,
pp. 44, 45 and 206. See also Manuel Marquez-Sterling,
Fernán González, First Count of Castile, Romance

2. Introduction, Historia de España, vol. VI.

3. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain,
Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975,
p. 99. See also Cronica de Alfonso III, p. 9.

4. The issue of the use of the title "emperor" is com­
plex, but the kings of Leon successfully claimed
exclusivity in its use. See Menéndez Pidal, El Im­
perio Hispánico, pp. 11-13 for discussion. The title
was used, in addition to the kings of Asturia and
Leon, by Sancho the Great of Navarre (Sancius impera­
tor in Castella et in Pampilona), Historia de España,
vol. VI, Introduction, p. xli; by Alfonso I the
Battler, king of Navarre, and even by counts.

5. George Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State,
New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969,
p. 71 and 79.

6. For the importance of the Visigothic councils for the
formulation of early medieval legal and political, see
Ernst Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies. A Study in
Medieval Political Theology, Princeton: Princeton

7. O'Callighan, A History of Medieval Spain, Ithaca:
Cornell University Press, 1975, pp. 82-83.

Isidore's authorship of the "Hispana" is not universal­ly accepted. See M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "Pequeñas


11. See Lévi-Provençal, ibid., pp. 8-12. N. 2, pp. 8-9 includes references to both Islamic and Latin documentary references to this event. See also Historia de España, ed. Menendez Pidal, vol. III, Hispana Visigoda, pp. li-liii and pp. 137-139.


Tolerance for Christians, Jews and other Moslems varied. It depended on the specific caliphate, time span with the Caliphate, and ruler. For example, while Runciman, in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 151, p. 26, reports that the Abbasids were stricter Moslems than the Ommayads and therefore more intolerant, Hitti, op. cit., p. 354 notes that a pious Ommayad (Umayyad) Omar II ('Umar II) 807 began to destroy churches and so under the Abbasids measures did become stricter. In Spain, the Berber dynasties, the Amoravides (1090-1147) and Almohades were the most intolerant.

20. O'Callighan, op. cit., p. 99. See also Historia de España, ed. Menéndez Pidal, vol. 6, España Cristiana, 711-1038, pp. 23-25. He may have been a page for Witiza or Roderick.
The Crónica de Alfonso III is the documentary source. It alludes to Pelayo's royal lineage and also indicates that he was a member of the royal guard in the court of Toledo.


23. O'Callighan, op. cit., p. 99. The literary source, the Crónica de Alfonso III was the source for this view. That document contains several exaggerations on the number of troops involved. See Historia de España, vol. VI, p. 26. Fray Justo Perez de Urbel, on p. 27, agrees with the Islamic interpretation, but stresses that the victory was important for the morale of the Christians. For a summary of the differing Christian and Islamic interpretations of the Battle of Covadonga and its significance, see Levi-Provençal, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 66-67.


Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispanicónico y los Cinco Reinos, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950, p. 21 indicates that Odario, Bishop of Lugo referred to Alfonso I, Pelayo's successor, as "... erat de stirpe regis Recari et Ermegildi." See also vol. vi, Historia de España, p. xi and p. 31. Alfonso II, the Chaste, also referred to Alfonso I of Asturia in this manner. Ibid., pp. 48-49.

25. Visigothic writings by Isidore and Julian of Toledo. The first king recorded as receiving unction was Wamba, September 672. (Julian of Toledo, P.L. vol. 196, cols. 765-766), although he was probably not the first Visigothic king to be consecrated.


For the possibility of Byzantine influence, see C. A. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, p. 57. One difference between the "Banu Alfonsi" and the earlier Visigoths, as pointed out by O'Callighan, op. cit., p. 121 is that the kings of Leon began to refer to one another by the title "emperor." See March Block, Les rois thaumaturges,
A brief description of the ceremony, provided in O'Callighan, op cit., pp. 168-169 is as follows:

The making of the king (ordinatio) . . . consisted of the coronation, anointing, and enthronement of the king, who also received the scepter and the mantle, the symbols of his rank and authority . . . Their ceremony, which took place in the cathedral of Leon, was also enhanced by the celebration of a solemn mass and the chanting of Te Deum. At this time, the king swore to govern in accordance with the law, and his subjects pledged their allegiance to him . . . the Armiger or the alferez, the royal standard bearer and commander of troops, who received the king's coronation oath and held the sword before him as the symbol of royal authority . . .


27. In this study, Isidore, Bishop of Seville, will be referred to as "Isidore" or "St. Isidore." The church and its sculpture, the object of this work, will be referred to as "San Isidoro."


31. Historia de España, vol. 6, p. x. O'Callaghan also notes the importance of the Sententia III in this regard, which emphasized that the king, like his subjects, was under the law, but many of Isidore's writings were closely read. (Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio, p. 23; Historia de España, vol. 6, introduction, pp. viii-ix).


El carácter básico que la obra isidoriana tiene en la cultura de nuestra Edad Media da a su concepción hispanica un valor excepcional.

Maravall in numerous passages uses Isidorian as an adjective to describe the feeling of medieval Spaniards for Hispania as a country. Especially cited as a source is Isidore's De laude Hispaniae.

33. Eulogius of Córdoba (d. 859), Paulus Avarius, Abbot Samson of Córdoba all glorified martyrs who struggled against heresy. All were followers of Isidore or knowledgeable of his ideas. O'Callaghan, op. cit., pp. 186-187. See also Vicens Vives, op. cit., p. 120. Livermore, op. cit., pp. 374-376; pp. 220 and 387. For the Mozarabic idealization of the kings of Asturias and later, León, as the heirs of the Visigothic past, see Vives Vicens, op. cit., p. 27 and Bernard Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castile under Queen Urraca 1109-1126, Princeton University Press, 1982, p. 5.

34. This occurred during the later eighth or early ninth century. Historia de España, vol. VI, p. 53.


Martinez, op. cit., p. 49.

38. Ibid., p. 50.

39. According to legend, Charlemagne was the first pilgrim. See Defourneaux, op. cit., pp. 84 and 308, n. 2.

40. For his crown, see Schramm, Las Insignias, pp. 23 and n. 15, p. 23: "... pennes voc corona imperialem habetis ex auro et gemmis comptam nostrae serenitatis."

41. See Maravall, op. cit., pp. 413-415. The term appears in Isidoro's Etymologies. Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio, pp. 34-35. Alfonso III is referred to as "emperor" in three documents dating 916, 917, and 950.


44. For the reconstruction of León, see Gómez-Moreno, Catálogo, pp. 176-177 and Marquez-Sterling, op. cit., p. 20. See also Historia de España, vol. VII p. 109, and Manuel Risco, Historia de la Ciudad y Corte de León y sus Reyes, Madrid: Blas Roman, 1792, pp. 164-165.


47. Historia de España, vol. VI, p. 113.

49. Antonio Garcia y Bellido, "Nacimiente de la Legion VIII Gemina." Legio VII Gemina, Leon: Leon: diputacion provincial, 1970, p. 323. The word "gemina" refers to a legion which has twice as many soldiers as the standard legion.


54. Livermore, p. 387; Marquez-Sterling, op. cit., pp. 30, 33-34.

The Mozarabs received numerous generous gifts throughout northern Christian Spain, in Galicia and Castile as well as in Leon. See Simonet, op. cit., pp. 440-441 and 500-501. For Mozarabic contributions in technology, the economy and so on, see Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979, p. 97 and 176. See also Vicens Vives, op. cit., pp. 19-121, 127 and 134. See also Juan Eloy Díaz-Jiménez, "Inmigración mozárabe an el reino de León. El monasterio de Abella o de los Santos martires Cosme y Damian," Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, vol. XX (1902), p. 139.


58. Ibid., p. 220 and 387. See also O'Callighan, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

59. Marquez-Sterling, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 and 33-34.


See also *Historia de Espana*, vol. VI, p. 204.


See also Perez Llamazares, Historia de la Real Colegiata, pp. 7-10.


68. Risco, op. cit., p. 212. The Leonese kings at this time were interred in the monastery of San Salvador located close to the cathedral of León.


71. Dozy, p. 497.


73. Dozy, p. 501.


75. Risco, op. cit., p. 249.

76. Historia Silense, p. 176.


78. Ibid, p. 257. He notes that three major northern Spanish Christian leaders died at this time: Garcia Fernandez, 995; Vermudo II, 999; and Garcia Sanchez II, in 1000.


81. Ibid.

82. For Alfonso V's death, see Historia de España, vol. VI, p. 178, Risco, Historia de León, pp. 252-253, and Perez Llamazares, Historia de la Colegiata de San Isidoro, p. 384.

83. For the importance of the French in Aragon, see Historia de España, vol. VI, pp. 356-362.
84. For the rise of Sancho the Great of Navarre, see Historia de España, vol. VI, pp. 325-338.

85. O'Callighan, op. cit., pp. 135-36. See p. 136 for his role in introducing the Cluniac Reform into Spain. Cluniac reforms were initiated at Oña, Leyre, and San Juan de la Pena. See also Historia de España, vol. VI, p. 336. For Sancho the Great as a "Europeanizer," see ibid., p. 338.

86. Historia de España, vol. VI, pp. 325-338.

87. For marriage to Sancha, see Historia de España, vol. VI, p. 184, and the Historia Silense, p. 173.

88. For Sancho the Great's use of titles, see Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispánico, pp. 58-85. For Menéndez Pidal's characterization of Sancho as an "anti-emperor," see pp. 60-85.

89. For Vermudo III's death, see Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispánico, pp. 85. He died at the Battle of Tamarón on the 4th of September in 1037. He was buried in the monastery of Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo. See the Historia Silense, p. 198 and Perez Llamazares, Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, p. 385. Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispánico, p. 86; Historia Silense, p. 183; "unctus in regem a . . . Seruando, eiusdem ecclesie catolico episcopo." For Fernando I's use of the title emperor, see pp. 86-89, Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispánico.


91. Historia Silense, p. 206.

91. Dozy, p. 657.

93. The passivity of the Taifa kings facilitated Fernando's success against them.

Wasserstrom, op. cit. notes "Neither individual Muslim rulers nor their subjects as far as the evidence shows, make any attempt to attack these Christians during the taifa period."


The monks of St. Pelayo were Isidorian rather than Benedictine. Perez Llamazares, *Historia de la Real Colegiata*, p. 19.

97. Perez Llamazares, *Historia de la Real Colegiata*, pp. 27-30. Gomez Moreno, *Catalogo*, p. 179. They were patron saints of Seville who refused to assist in the worship of idols. See also Dozy, op. cit., p. 656.


His relics were also preserved at Saint-Remier (saec. IX, and San Millan de la Cogolla (saec. XIII), and


104. Williams, "San Isidoro," p. 173. See Figure 5, ibid. for plan of Asturian church San Salvador. It was built by Alfonso III.


107. See introduction of this study.


110. Historia Silense, p. 204.

111. O'Callighan, op. cit., p. 198.

112. Ibid., p. 200. See also Poema del Cid, Merwin, ed., introduction. Babbit, ed., op. cit., pp. 68-62 reports that the story of Sancho and Urraca's and
Alfonso's betrayal of him was a favorite with the cantares and jugulares. See also Menendez Pidal, Espana del Cid, pp.


Hugh of Cluny assisted in the release of Alfonso VI from prison and supported Alfonso VI in the emperor's resistance to becoming a part of the See of Peter. Ibid., p. 54.


115. Ibid.

116. Ibid., p. 55. See also Bishko, "Fernando I," pp. 94-136.


For persecution of the Mozarab population, see Simonet, op. cit., pp. 375-378. See also O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 285.

121. For Alfonso VI's tolerance of the Jews, even in the face of reprisals from Gregory VII, see Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 204. O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 201-202. See also O'Callaghan, p. 284. That Christian tolerance extended to Moors is reflected in a passage from Dozy, op. cit., p. 727.


For other titles employed by Alfonso VI see Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispánico, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950, pp. 99-113. The first use of the title "emperor" appears to have been in a document dating March 26, 1077, p. 100. For other titles, see op. cit., Maravall, pp. 437-443.


124. Risco, Historia de León, p. 292.

125. Babbit, ed., op. cit., p. 113. This miracle took place eight days before Alfonso VI's death and lasted three days. See Risco, Historia de León, p. 40.

126. Sections of the will are quoted in Perez y Llamazares, Historia de la real Colegiata de San Isidoro, p. 38.

127. Historia Silense, p. 76.

See Historia Silense, n. 25, pp. 122-123. See also Stephen Clissold, In Search of the Cid, Great Briton: 1962, pp. 40-41 and 51. See also Babbit, ed., op. cit., introduction. For the title "queen" given to Urraca, see Menéndez Pidal, La España, p. 198.


130. See Figure 67, Vinayo Gonzáles, León roman, for a good color illustration.

131. See Gaillard, Les débuts, p. 11, Gómez Moreno, Arte romanico, p. 587, Gómez Moreno, Catálogo, 1925, pp. 17-98. The exact nature of this church, whether attributed to Urraca, sister of Alfonso VI, or later, is in the process of being determined. Currently it is believed this church was transeptless. See Williams, "San Isidoro in León," p. 184.


133. Ibid.

134. Menéndez Pidal, El Imperio Hispánico, p. 133.


137. O'Reilly, op. cit., n. 54, p. 61.

As for the extent of building activity, a joint gift made to San Isidoro by Queen Urraca and her daughter Sancha was made on September 6, 1117. Ibid., p. 125. Gómez-Moreno, Catalogo, notes that little was spent by Urraca. Donations to Cluny, Reilly reports, largely took the form of allowing Cluny "... authority over this or that monastery," p. 364.

Ibid., p. 221. Reilly, op. cit., pp. 190 and 355 cites 1109-1117 as the low points.

140. O'Reilly, Queen Urraca, pp. 354 and 201.

141. Luis Sanchez Belda, ed., Chronica Adefonsi Imperator¬is, Madrid: Escuelo de Estudios Medievales, 1950, np. 4-5. For Cluniac Abbot Ponce of Cluny's assistance in the reconciliation of Queen Urraca with her son, see Bishko, "Fernando I," p. 1.


144. Ibid., p. 456.

145. O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 22. For the recognition of Alfonso VII as emperor by other Spanish principalities, see Maravall, op. cit., pp. 448-45.

146. The first was in 1111 at Santiago de Compostela. It was overseen by Archbishop Gelmírez. The second is recorded in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, ed. Belda, Book I, p. 5 and follows the earlier coronations of the kings of Leon in that it took place in the cathedral of Sta. Maria and his title was king:

... episcopus Didacus cum universo clero populoque obviam cum magno gaudio, sicut regi, procesit et ad ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae in regem die constituto declaraverunt ...
In sections 69-70 of the same document, the imperial coronation is recorded (see pp. 56-58).

The text records the presence and support of the king's wife Berenguela, his sister, Sancha, king Garsia of Navarre, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, nobility, commoners, king Zafadola of the Seracens, Raymond, Count of Barcelona, Count Alfonso of Toulouse, numerous vessels and counts from Gascony and France. A crown of gold encrusted with precious jewels was placed on his head, and the sceptre was placed in his hand. Then, king Garsia of Navarre and Ariano, archbishop of Leon, to the emperor's right and left hand respectively, as Te Deum laudamus was solemnly chanted. The ceremony was terminated with "Vivat Adefonsus Imperator!"


149. Ibid.

150. Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, pp. 53-54. See also Risco, Historia de Alfonso VII, pp. 22-23.

151. Ibid., pp. 146-169. In this work, the Berbers are associated with the Biblical Moabites David conquered (ibid., p. 149).

152. Chronica Adefonsi, ed. Sanchez Belda.

Post haec Autem, imperator
disposit venire Toletum,
omnis populus audisset quod
imperator veniret. Toletum,
omnes principes Christianoruma
et Sarracenorum et Iudaeorum,
et tota plebs civitatis longe.
A civitate exierunt obvian ei cum
timpanis et citharis et psalteriis
et omni genere musicorum, unusquisque
corum secundum linguam suam laudantes
et glorificantes Deum, qui proper abat
omnes actus imperatoris, necnon et
dicent es: "Benedictus quo venit in
nomine Domini, et benedictus tu
et uxor tua et filii lui
regnum patrum tuorum, et
bendicta misericordia tua et
patientia tua . . . ."

See Daniel 3:7 and Matthew 21:9., n. 74, Sanchez
Belda (for Alfonso's prayer of Thanksgiving,) see
p. 134.

153. Sancho the Great's attempts to involve Robert the
Pius in Spanish affairs was fruitless. See Runci-
man, op. cit., p. 89. Santiago de Compostela in 1155
(?), Defourneaux, op. cit., p. 114. See Luisa
Garcia Calles, Doña Sancha Hermana del Emperador,
Leon-Barcelona: Anuario de Estudios Medievales,
1972, p. 60. See also Risco, Historia de Alfonso
VII, pp. 24-25. Alfonso VII's daughter's name was
either "Ysabel" or "Helisabet." Primera crónica
General, p. 654 n. 36. See also Babbit, op. cit.,
pp. 124-125.


155. Peter the Venerable wrote a letter to Roger of
Sicily complaining about the lack of generosity on
the part of Alfonso VII. Defourneaux, op. cit., p. 48.

156. See also Bishko, "Fernando I", p. 136, n. 507 for
Alfonso VII's donations to Cluny. See also
Kritzeck, op. cit., introduction. Defourneaux, op.
cit., pp. 49 and 54. The monastery San Miguel de
Escalada was presented to Cluny by Doña Sancha.
Garcia Callas, op. cit., p. 75.

cit., p. 191 notes that Alfonso VII founded a number
of Cistercian monasteries in Castile, Aragon, and
Galician. Those churches were, Conant writes, in
the usual Burgundian style.

158. Ibid., 37.
Doc. #146 and 148 in the Archivo San Isidoro de León: "Et ipsum ecclesium Sancti Pelagii et Sancti Isidori iuxta in et sollis uestris canonicles regularubus, atque uestris eb eorum success oribus et perpetuum, at canonicalem utiam ubi secundum forman et ordinem beati Augustini ducendam . . . ."

See also L. Garcia Calles, op. cit., pp. 78-79. See ibid., p. 39 for the installation of Augustinian canons at the Cathedral of León.

159. L. Garcia Calles, op. cit., pp. 72-77.
162. See inscription, introduction, pp. 21-22, n. 6.
168. Garcia Callas, op. cit., p. 32 and p. 77.
169. Garcia Calles, op. cit., p. 33. And the inscription on her tomb which states "... et quia ducebat Beatum Isidorum sponsum suum virgo . . . ." Peres y Llamazares, Historia de la real Colegiata, p. 386.
170. Her epitaph on her tomb located in the Panteon: 
.. . Hic requiescit regina Domna Sanctia, soror 
Imperatoris Adefonsi ... " Perez Llamazares, 
Historia de la real Colegiata, p. 386. See Garcia 
Callas, op. cit., p. 3.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid., p. 33.


#150 in the archives of San Isidoro. See also Perez 
Llamazares, Catalogo de los codices y documentos de 
la real colegiata de San Isidoro, 1923, p. 118. The 
"cult" was fully described by Ambrosio de Morales 
assigned by King Phillip II in 1572. See also Perez 
Llamazares, Historia de la real Colegiata, p. 53.

175. Ibid., p. 67.

176. The monastery of San Julian was presented to the 
canons of San Isidoro on 24 March, 1159. See Julio 
Gonzalez, Regesta de Fernando II, Madrid: Premio 
del Consejo Superior de investigaciones cientificical, 
1943, p. 39.

177. Maravall, op. cit., p. 458. For the charges in the 
ordinatio see P.E. Schramm, "Das kastilische 
Konigtum und Kaisertum wahrend der Reconquista," 
103. P.E. Schramm, Las Insignias, pp. 30-31. Some 
charters granted to Cluny by Fernando II still 
presented an imperial tone, see O'Callighan, op. 
458-459.

dating, see Gomez Moreno, Catalogo, p. .

179. See Gonzalez, op. cit., pp. 355, 363, 369, 402, 404, 
415, 417, 418, 422, 424, 437, 439, 447, 478, 482, 
497, 500, 506, and 511. The nature of the donations 
varied. Included were rights to collect taxes, to 
the revenue of taxes, revenue from pilgrimage, 
fishermen, food, wine, villas, monasteries, and so on.
180. Perez Llamazares, Historia de la real colegiata, p. 64.

181. Doc. 1 in archives of San Isidoro.

182. O'Callighan, op. cit., p. 266 does note that a special meeting, a curia plena, was held in the cloister of San Isidoro during the reign of Alfonso IX (1188). Such meetings differed from ordinary meetings in that those attending included members of the royal family, palatine officials, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and magnates. See discussion of legal and judicial structures in O'Callighan. Royal patronage continued, however. In 1188 Alfonso IX, Fernando II's heir, called a special curia plena held in the cloister of San Isidoro. O'Callighan identifies this meeting as the "first meeting of the medieval parliament." O'Callighan, op. cit., p. 266. Gonzalez, op. cit., p. 158.
CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCULPTURED CAPITALS OF
THE INTERIOR OF SAN ISIDORO

In this section, I will discuss the style, subject matter and motifs of the sculptures at San Isidoro. First, the architecture and its structural features will concern us. Then I will consider the sculpture, its motifs or subject matter, and placement in San Isidoro. Finally, the sculptured capitals of the interior, the special concern of this study, will be discussed in more detail.

Architecture

The present church dedicated to St. Isidore is cruciform in plan, and has six bays, a transept, and is terminated by three apses at its eastern end (Diagram 1). The original central apse, semi-circular and larger in dimension than the two lateral ones, was replaced by the present central apse of the late Gothic style, designed by Juan Badajoz, in 1513. A second major addition to the present San Isidoro was a large thirteenth century Gothic

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choir, which occupies an area of the nave including three bays of the church. (Bays 4, 5, and 6: plan in Diagram 1. See also Figures 32 and 33).\(^1\)

The present church replaced at least three and possible four earlier structures.\(^2\) These included a church built during the reign of Alfonso V to replace the one dedicated to Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo during Al-Mansur's raid of Leon,\(^3\) a more luxurious structure constructed by Fernando I for the royal panteon and the relics of a new titular saint, Isidore,\(^4\) possibly an intermediate structure that was the contribution of his daughter, Urraca (d. 1101),\(^5\) and the present building consecrated in 1149.

Parts of the wall of a pre-existing church were incorporated into the wall of the present building. The "splicing" of a new church, constructed from east to west, onto the preceding structure resulted in some noteworthy adjustments in the placement of the wall of San Isidoro. An additional column was added to support the vaults of N1 and 2, and 2 and S1 and 2 (See Figures 39 and 40). The ground plan (Diagram 1 for the numbering system of bays and piers) clearly shows that the transepts and first two bays to the west of it (N1, N2, and S1, and S2), are wider than the remaining nave and side aisles to the west (N3, 4, 5 and 5 and S3). The northern walls of the third and
and fourth bays to the west of the crossing (N3, N4) were thickened in order to meet the walls of the eastern bays. The walls of the south side aisles, in the third and fourth bays of the building were also gradually thickened in order to connect with the eastern bays. (S3, S4) On the northern side of San Isidoro, those bays closest to parts of the older church are noticeably smaller and narrower than the side aisle bays of the other sections of the church. The arches of especially N4 and N5, that is, the fourth and fifth bays of the north side aisle, possess the pronounced stilt of the Mozarabic horseshoe arch (Figure 38).

The original central apse was larger than those of the north and south. Parts of its wall were retained in order to support the barrel vault of the nave and transept crossing. Those walls have niches framed with columns (Figure 36), and on the columns are small sculptured capitals depicting monsters, demons, predatory birds, serpents, and composite creatures (Figures 44, 45, 77, and 78).

The nave of San Isidoro is vaulted with a barrel vault with transverse arches (Figures 34 and 35). The vault is extended so that it also covers the crossing (Figure 37). With the exception of the second one, the transverse arches are supported with responds. The trans-
verse arch of that bay rests on simple corbels (see Figures 34 and 35).

The elevation of the wall is two-story. It comprises arcade and clerestory. The windows, later added under the direction of Pedro Deustamben, are large for a Romanesque structure, but the thickness of the walls inhibits any extensive infiltration of light into the church. At the arcade level, cruciform piers on cruciform bases alternate with cruciform piers on round bases. This alternating support system is also reiterated at the clerestory level. There, responds with pilasters are alternated with those lacking them (Figures 34 and 35). The alternating system breaks down in the third bay, which has four cruciform piers on round bases. This bay is also the bay one enters through the main portal, the Puerto del Cordero, and perhaps the reason for the deviation from the alternating scheme is to emphasize the main entranceway into the church.

With regard to its plan, the present San Isidoro is typical of many Spanish plans, in that it has a nave and two side aisles which terminate with three apses. Its plan, is quite similar to St. Martin de Frómista. In scale, San Isidoro has been compared to the destroyed church of Santo Domingo de Silos and to the great
pilgrimage church, Santiago de Compostela, although San Isidoro lacks ambulatory and radiating chapels of the Pilgrim-type plans. Gómez Moreno has suggested that the aesthetic effect of San Isidoro is reminiscent of that of Burgundian Cluniac architecture of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Gómez Moreno cited San Facundo of Sahagún and San Pedro de las Dueñas (1187-1110) as possessing aesthetic effects similar to those seen in San Isidoro.

While San Isidoro typifies the Romanesque style in Spain, some characteristics distinct from the earlier Spanish tradition can also be noted. One is the existence of the horse shoe arch in the northwestern bays close to the reused portions of the old San Isidoro. This reflects the influence of Mozarabic architecture on San Isidoro. That tradition was quite old and well established in León.

Islamic influence on San Isidoro can also be observed. The arches separating the transept arms from the crossing are polylobe (Figure 37) as are the arches surrounding the area of the mihrab in the Great Mosque at Córdoba, for example. On the western wall and exactly on the central axis of the nave of San Isidoro is a portal in the Islamic style (see Diagram 1 for location; no illustration included). This doorway gives access into the Panteón. Two important areas of the church of San
Isidoro, the crossing and the entranceway into the Panteón, are embellished with Islamic architectural motifs, perhaps to provide a focus on these important sections of the church, as done at the Great Mosque of Cordoba.12

The presence and blending of varied architectural traditions, the Mozarabic, Islamic, and Romanesque in one structure is not surprising in a Spanish Royal monument in Leon. The Mudejar touches visible in San Isidoro may well have been placed there at the request of Emperor Alfonso VII. Toledo, the ancient Visigothic capital, possessed a heterogeneous culture and was Alfonso VII's favorite city. There, the Jews and Moslems as well as their religious structures were protected. These people were subjects of the Emperor and a vital part of the medieval Spanish imperium, and the style of their buildings may have appealed to Alfonso VII.

The Sculpture of San Isidoro—Motifs, Subject Matter, and Placement on the Architecture

San Isidoro is profusely decorated with sculpture. There are four sculptured portals and over two hundred sculptured capitals on the interior and exterior of the building. Diagrams 2 through 12 show the extent of the
sculptural embellishment of San Isidoro, indicating the themes and motifs carved and their placement in or outside of the church. A brief discussion of the placement of the capitals and their subjects and motifs will follow, using these diagrams for clarification.

Sculptures Located in the Interior of San Isidoro

The sculptured capitals of the interior will be the primary concern of this study. Diagram 2 shows the theme and placement of each capital on the great piers of the north nave arcade. Foliate motifs are predominant, with confronting or addorsed birds. Only three of these capitals are figurative and the subjects are symbolic rather than historiated. Included are Three Lion Riders, Acrobats and Cocks with Inhabited Vines. Diagram 3 shows the distribution of sculptures on the northern wall. Most are carved with birds motifs. One, Men Ensnared in Lions' Mouths, is figurative.

In Diagram 4, the motifs and the placement of each motif on the great piers of the south nave arcade is indicated. Again, foliate motifs are most frequent. Three figurative subjects were included. These are the Maiestas Domini, Wrestlers, and Luxuria. Addorsed and confronting birds are also present.
Diagram 5 shows the sculptures on the south wall of the interior of San Isidoro. Most of these are foliate designs. Two of them show monstrosities, such as man-headed lions and twin-tailed sirens or mermaids. One, the Lions and Men capital, is figurative. One capital is carved with birds.

Diagram 6 indicates the subjects, motifs and placement of sculptured capitals on the responds supporting the transverse arches of the barrel vault of the nave. There, primarily foliate motifs again are emphasized. Four capitals are carved with figures. On the north wall, are a Nude Between Heraldic Lions, a Salvation of the Soul, and Man and Woman Devoured by Monsters. Four Processing Figures are found on the south wall.

Diagram 7 indicates the sculptures in the transepts. With the exception of one capital carved with Heraldic Lions, all of the capitals in the upper elevation are foliates.

Diagram 8 shows the smaller capitals of the windows and niches of the transepts, which vary in motif. Included there, with foliate motifs, are capitals of Two Viol Players, Sheep, Bulls' Heads, Crouching Figures, and Crouched Lions. Diagram 8 also indicates the placement of motifs on the north and south walls remaining from
the original Romanesque central apse. Here, the subjects are demons, monsters, monstrosities and an eagle.

Diagram 9 shows the position of subjects on the small sculptured capitals on the columns framing the windows of the clerestory. Foliate motifs appear with birds and animal motifs. Of the three capitals carved with figures, two show the figures struggling with serpents. Animals such as eagles and lions also appear there.

The Sculpture of the Exterior of San Isidoro

Sculptured capitals and modillions with many different motifs are located on the outside walls of San Isidoro. Foliate carvings, animals, fantastic beasts, demons and other apparently symbolic subjects are depicted. While a thorough study of these works is beyond the scope of this paper, a summary of their subjects and motifs will follow.

Diagram 10 indicates the placement of themes and motifs depicted on the exterior windows of San Isidoro. The subjects include monsters, beasts, grotesques, and animals. Interlaced and foliate motifs also appear. A St. Michael and a unique historiated subject, The Sacrifice of
Abraham, ornament capitals flanking two of the north apse and north transept windows. Lions, birds, monstraeities, and foliate motifs are carved upon the columns flanking the windows of the north and south nave exteriors. Diagram 11 shows the varied motifs which appear on the sculptured modillions of the exterior of San Isidoro. Included are seated figures, draped and nude, rolls, quadrupeds, twin-tailed sirens, a crouched figure with serpent, crouched animals, demons, weasels, and foliate motifs.

In Diagram 12 are the motifs and placement of the exterior clerestory capitals. Among them are palmettes, foliate motifs, stems, lions, and birds. The few figurai­
tive subjects include a musician with a viol and a person with a bull.

The Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdón

Diagram 13 indicates the themes of the sculptures on the Puerta del Cordero: the Sacrifice of Abraham, Apocalyptic Lamb, Ishmael and Hagar, St. Isidore and Knight (Alfonso VII?), David, Signs of the Zodiac, Musicians, St. Pelayo and other motifs. A ram is placed on each bracket of the portal. The sculptured capitals on the jambs are badly weathered.
Diagram 14 shows the Puerta del Perdon and its subjects, Sts. Peter and Paul, and the Deposition, Three Marys at the Tomb and the Ascension of Christ. A lion on the right bracket and a bear on the left one threaten the visitor as he enters through the portal.

**A Closer Examination of the Style and Themes of a Select Group of Sculptured Capitals in the Interior of San Isidoro**

The above discussion is intended to provide a comprehensive, although general, view of the extent of sculpture on San Isidoro. It would be impossible to discuss the style of all of the works in depth. Therefore, this section will be limited to those sculptures whose iconography will be considered subsequently in this study, as well as a few other capitals embellished with ornithological or foliate motifs. The purpose of this section is to show the different styles at San Isidoro. I will also indicate the different hands and workshops to which the capitals have been attributed and more specific identifications of subjects and motifs as they have been brought to light in the earlier scholarship devoted to the sculpture of San Isidoro.
Workshops or Ateliers

Gaillard identified three major ateliers or workshops responsible for the sculptures at San Isidoro. According to Gaillard, the oldest workshop continued the sculptural tradition of the Panteon. Most of those works are simple compositions, with one or only a few figures. Monsters and demons prevail, and squatting figures are also characteristic of this atelier. These works can be seen especially on the interior and exterior of the apses of San Isidoro, although some capitals in the style of this atelier are in the nave. He identified two other workshops which were responsible for the sculpture of the portals and most of the sculptures of the nave of San Isidoro. One of the artists, the master who executed the sculptured capitals of the Puerta del Cordero, worked in an archaicizing style. The closest parallel in Spain is the sculptures of the cathedral at Jaca (Figures 135, 136, 137), Santiago de Compostela (Figure 143), and some of the sculptured capitals of the Porte Miégeville at St. Sernin in Toulouse.

The third workshop is an artist or artists whose style can definitely be compared to the style of Master Esteban. This sculptor was responsible for the Puerta del Perdón, at least some of the sculpture of the north transept portal, and several figurative works in the nave.
of San Isidoro. His style is characterized by rather round faces, full cheeks, stocky broadly modeled figures, and the use of Toulousian pinch folds in the draperies; all are characteristics of the Hispano-Languedoc style (Figures 67, 86, 94, 98 can be compared with Figures 139, 140, and 146, sculptures at Santiago de Compostela). This artist's work or works of a related style, can be seen at Santiago de Compostela, in the earliest works at Jaca, and in St. Sernin in Toulouse, especially those of the Miegeville Door.

The Dating of the Sculptured Capitals of the Interior

While Gaillard, Gómez Moreno and other scholars of Spanish Romanesque architecture considered the dating of the present San Isidoro to be reasonably certain, less certainty was expressed in the theories of the correct dating of the sculpture. The sculptured capitals of the interior, some of which may have been carved during remodeling which resulted in a clerestory and barrel vault, were dated from c.1125 to the mid-twelfth century. Of the above datings, Gómez Moreno and Gaillard proposed post-1125 or the middle twelfth century for many sculptured capitals of the interior, especially the nave. More refined and precise datings will have to await the results of von Sichart's excavations of 1969 and 1971.
The Style

In general, the sculptural styles of San Isidoro conform to the typical works observed in churches situated on or close to the roads in southern France and northern Spain leading to the pilgrimage shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela. More specific relationships will be suggested below, when individual works are described and analyzed. However, some general observations about the style of the sculptures of San Isidoro may be made at this point.

In his analysis of the sculptures at San Isidoro, Gaillard noticed as typical a very high relief, which he termed ronde bosse. He noted the pronounced high relief in several sculptures at San Isidoro, including the works he believed dated in the eleventh century, the St. Isidore and St. Pelayo (Figures 5 and 6) and such works as Acrobats (Figures 49 and 50), Samson (Figures 51, 52 and 53), Wrestlers (Figures 94), and Luxuria (Figure 98).

Gaillard also stressed that the composition of the capitals in San Isidoro was very advanced. He traced the source of the sophisticated composition and exploitation of the capital as a medium for narration to
the sculptured capitals of the Panteón (for example, The Raising of Lazarus, Figure 124). The subjects on the capitals develop from one side of the capital to the other in a logical continuous sequence. Multiple perspectives are required for apprehension of all of the content of the sculptured capitals of the Panteón. This is also true of several sculptures on the capitals in San Isidoro. This exploitation of the capital as a format for the composition of a narrative may be contrasted with numerous examples of French sculpture. Relevant would be the sculptured capitals of the cloister of Moissac, the narrative capitals of St.-Lazare at Autun, and the narrative capitals of St.-Madeleine at Vezelay.21 The scenes depicted on all three of these French Romanesque sculptured capitals are carved on the front face of the capital. The lateral faces of the capitals of these buildings perform a secondary function. It is the front of the capital that is intended to contain the most important subject matter.

At San Isidoro, the compositions of many of the capitals exploit the lateral faces of the capitals, as well as the front, in the depiction of a narrative or other type of pictorial theme. In the Panteón, a scene may begin a lateral face and develop so that the main content, but not the complete content, is depicted on the
front of the capital. The rest of the content is completed on the lateral face of the capital. For example, the Raising of Lazarus in the Panteon (Figure 124), shows the Apostles and other witnesses to the miracle on the left lateral face of the capital. Christ appears approximately on the front of the capitals, and the composition continues across the front to the other side of the capital to show the tomb of Lazarus with his small figure rising from it on the right lateral face.

The Style of a Group of Sculptured Capitals in the Nave and Side Aisles

Georges Gaillard satisfactorily determined the dates, ateliers, and the general style characteristics of the sculptures of San Isidoro. Now, a group of capitals located in the nave and side aisles of San Isidoro will be considered in more depth. The organization of this discussion will loosely conform to the three ateliers which Gaillard identified. (Diagram 15)

The First Atelier--The Arcade Level

Several small sculptured capitals can be observed on the columns flanking the windows of the northern apse of
San Isidoro (See Diagram 15; 1, 2, and 3). Gaillard identified these capitals with the earliest campaigns of construction of San Isidoro and suggested that their style continued the style of the Panteon sculptures. The Weighing of Souls (Figure 41; 3 in Diagram 15), Harts (Figure 43; 2 in Diagram 15), and Sacrifice of Abraham (Figure 42; 2 in Diagram 15) can be discussed as examples of the style of the capitals appearing on the northern exterior of San Isidoro.

The Weighing of Souls depicts St. Michael holding scales, an anonymous figure behind him, and a large face leering in front of him. The entire composition of the capital is comprised of figures which fill up the space.

In the Balaam capital in the Panteon (Figure 123), the close relationship between the earliest sculptures of San Isidoro and those of the Panteon can be observed. The figures are short with heads that are large in proportion to them. Gaillard related the style of this capital to that of the Panteon. If the figure of St. Michael in the Weighing of Souls is compared to the one of the figures on a capital in the Panteon, similar draperies are evident. They are arranged in compartmentalized folds which tend to break up rather than to integrate the bodily form which
they cover. The heads are large, triangular in shape, and have pointed chins. The entire surface of the capital is filled with forms. The figure style of this small capital is also reminiscent of that used for the St. Michael figure on the Reliquary of St. Pelayo (Figure 18). The capital with Harts (Figure 43) is another example of the earliest sculptural style at San Isidoro. A single figure, perhaps duplicated, prevails. A medium rather than a high relief is characteristic. This work, in terms of motif, carving, and relief, may be compared with Birds Flanking Vase (Figure 126).

The Sacrifice of Abraham (Figure 42) is a capital which embellishes a column flanking a window of the exterior of the northern transept. Comparison with sculptures in the Panteão (Figures 123) shows that the style of this capital is similar to that of early sculptured capitals in San Isidoro and those of the Panteão.

Reminiscent of the sculptural style of the Panteão is the composition of the capital. The figure or figures fill the space of the capital. The proportions of the figures are also short, squat, with large heads. What distinguishes the style of the Sacrifice of Abraham on the northern window from that of the Panteão is the unifica-
Like many of the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro, all three faces of the capital are a part of the composition. Perspectives on this work are multiple. The viewer must see the work from both the left and right sides of the capital to see the entire subject carved by the sculptor.

On the lateral faces are two small clothed boys playing music on viols. The viol player illustrated in Figure 50 shows that this sculptor was aware of the sculptural style of one of the masters responsible for the sculptured capitals of the Panteon. The small viol player on the right lateral face of Acrobats has a large triangular shaped head with a pointed chin similar to the faces of the figure of the angel on the Baalem capital in the Panteon. (Figure 123). His body is flattened; the drapery is indicated by bands of incised lines that wind diagonally around the body.

The most important subject appears on the front of the capital. There, three nude acrobats perform gymnastics. In a symmetrical composition, two figures performing backbends are bases for a lone crouching figure poised on their breasts. The crouching figure's long, tube-like arms curl over the area of the thigh behind the knee and his hands are propped in front of his feet on the breasts of the figures in backbends to stabilize his
the energy expressed in the crouching posture, imparts to the figure a threatening, menacing impact on the viewer.

The other capital is carved with two winged female headed lions, that is, Sphinxes (Figure 45 and 5 in Diagram 15). Again, a single motif—the sphinx—is depicted on this capital from the eastern end of San Isidoro. The creatures are female, seated, and turned toward one another. Their faces are directed toward the viewer whom they confront. The upper part of the body of one of the sphinxes, the one to the right, has been broken away. While the breasts of the sphinxes are full and rounded, the wings are flat. The feathers are stylized into linear patterns. Four tube-like locks of hair fall over the shoulders of each sphinx. Their talons, like those of the winged demon, are quite large and grip the astragale of the capital. A drapery-like form embellishes the area of the capital in back of the sphinxes. Gathered folds of this drapery appear to wind around the left volute of the capital.

Of the sculptured capitals located in the north transept, Lions (Figure 46 6 in Diagram 15) and Oxen (Figure 47; 7 in Diagram 15) may be noted. These sculptures, too, may be related to the earliest sculptures
at San Isidoro. The Lions (Figure 46) depicts two bodies of lions joining a common human-like head under the corner of the abacus of the capital. The left paw of one of the cat-bodies touches the upper right forearm of the other cat-body. On each set of shoulders, a staring cat-faced monster can be observed.

The Oxen also depicts a single motif. Frontal heads of oxen are depicted on the lateral faces of this capital (Figure 47). The relief of the heads of the oxen is low; the surfaces and contours of the beasts rounded. Little detail is indicated on the oxen's heads, as is typical of the earliest sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro. The northern transept wall has a window with an arch above it. Framing the arch are the badly damaged capitals on columns (NT2). The western wall of the northern transept (NT2) lacks sculpture, but does have, embedded in its wall, a plaque with an inscription recognizing the patronage of the earliest donors to San Isidoro, Fernando the Great and his wife, Sancha.24 (Figure 48).

The sculptures above, then, are representative of the earliest workshop active at San Isidoro. A single figure or motif is depicted. Crouching monsters are a favorite motif of this workshop. Relief is comparatively low.
Little volume or detail is indicated in the figures. In style, the works relate and continue the concerns of earlier sculptures at San Isidoro, for example, the sculptured capitals located in the Panteón or in the north porch. The sculptures may also be compared to the early sculptures at Santiago de Compostela, where paired quadrupeds can also be seen (Figure 142).

A small section of the wall of the original central Romanesque apse exists on the southern side of San Isidoro. There, like the northern wall, a shallow niche with slender columns and sculptured capitals can be observed. (OSW on Diagram 1.) The capitals of these columns have carvings of birds, monsters, and demons (Figures 77 and 79).

The capital on the eastern column flanking the niche (28 on Diagram 15; Figure 77) has three birds represented on it. A bird resembling an eagle is posed frontally with its wings unfurled over two other smaller birds. A snake forms a circle around the eagle's neck. This sculpture is similar in style to the sculptured capitals on the northern central apse wall (see Figures 44 and 45). The eagle with its wings covering smaller birds to its left and right similar in pose to the demon which places its wings over birds on the capital wings over birds on the capital Demon (Figure 44).
The sculptured capital of the western niche (Figure 78; 29 on Diagram 15) is carved with monsters and demons in the crouching poses that are typical of the master who worked in the older eastern end of San Isidoro.25

The largest creature has been placed frontally under the corner of the abacus, as if a pendant to the eagle. This creature has a dog-like face with a blunt snout and short ears. Its squatting posture resembles that of a man or an ape. Drapery loops over and around the shoulders and chest of the animal. The cloth falls in U-shaped parallel folds. Gaillard believes that this type of fold is reminiscent of the drapery folds in sculptures at Santiago de Compostela or St. Sernin in Toulouse (Figures 130 and 141).26 A similar treatment of drapery folds can also be observed on one of the figures carved on a capital from the north transept portal of San Isidoro (Figure 13). In both, the draperies are arranged in loose, voluminous folds which sweep across the body and over the arms and legs in parallel tubular shapes.

To the left of the demon is a wooly, hairy monster with gaping fangs. To the right is a bird-like creature with a snarling monster head. The motif of this capital is similar to other works carved in the eastern end of San Isidoro. Gaillard related the style of this capital to sculptures of pilgrimage churches such as Jaca and St.
Sernin in Toulouse. Perhaps the second workshop had already contributed sculpture to the eastern end, normally considered earliest in the chronology of the "new church," of San Isidoro.\textsuperscript{27}

The remaining northern wall, presumably that of the preceding structure, lacks sculptural embellishment; no sculpture can be seen on the walls of N4, N5, and N6. These three bays can also be distinguished from the other bays of the church in that they are narrower and possess horseshoe arches with a pronounced stilted arch.\textsuperscript{28} Since this part of the church is older than the eastern nave and transept, its sculptured capitals will be discussed with the first atelier works.

The sculptured capitals on these last three piers, all carved with foliate motifs, differ from the style of the sculptured capitals discussed above. (Figures 71-76).

The capital on the western face of pier four (Figure 73; 22 on Diagram 15), is embellished with a foliate motif. Two rows of large, broad leaves with centers elaborated with thin, incised lines can be observed. Leaves on the first and second level, to the far left, have balls suspended from them. While the tips of the remaining leaves have been defaced, it can be seen that all of the leaves tipped to show more grace in the capital.
The sense of relief, volume, and third dimension of individual leaves is not strong in this capital. Dominant is the trapezoidal shape of the capital against which the stylized leaves act as a counter-point. This can be distinguished from the style of the sculptured capitals discussed earlier where the scenes might harmonize with the shape of the capital, but appear to be carved "in front" of the capital, which may be employed as a stage for the subjects depicted. Examples might include Acrobats (Figures 49, 50) or "Samsons" (Figures 51, 52 and 53). The other capitals of the western bays of the northern arcade may be defaced or carved with contrasting motifs, but they, too, possess foliate motifs that follow, in the words of Henry Focillon, the Loi de Cadre more than any other capitals located in the interior of San Isidoro in León (Figures 72; 23 on Diagram 15; 73; 24 on Diagram 15; 74; 25 on Diagram 15; 75; 26 on Diagram 15; and 76; 27 on Diagram 15).

Gaillard, in his discussion of the sculptures at San Isidoro, glosses over the works of the western bays. He believed that these works were more hastily executed than other sculptures in San Isidoro. Williams indicates that portions of a preceding church at the site of the
present San Isidoro included portions of a vault and parts of the northern wall, as noted above. No author to my knowledge, has suggested that these sculptured capitals, clearly at an earlier stage of development than any of the other sculptures at San Isidoro, might have been remnants from an earlier campaign. Yet, the difference in the development of carving, of naturalism, of more or less adherence to the "Law of the Frame" very obviously distinguishes the style of these sculptured capitals from those located in other areas of the interior of San Isidoro.

Gaillard also believed that the bays to the extreme west in the south arcade were completed in haste. Two small sculptured capitals on columns flanking windows may then also be considered earlier works.

Man-Headed Lions

Two small sculptured capitals on columns flanking windows on the south wall of the south nave arcade will be discussed. One window is located in the fifth bay of the south side aisle (window 2 in Diagram 1). The other window is located in the sixth bay (window 3 in Diagram 1).
One of the small capitals is carved with lion-like creatures facing one another (42 in Diagram 15, Figure 107). Bodies, ears and manes are feline, but their faces are man-like. The crouching rear quarters resemble those of birds. The two cat-like creatures fill the space of the capital. Their backs arch and their claws grip the astragale. Their human-like heads and necks align under the corner of the abacus. Expressive animated faces with leering eyes and grimacing mouths gaze down at the viewer.

The carving employed in this capital is refined. The manes of the cats lie close to their necks and are indicated by narrow parallel grooves. Deeper incised lines alternate with less deeply etched ones to capture the thick, flowing qualities of hair. The bodies and the legs of the animals are modeled minimally. This is typical of the Leonese sculptural style. The toes are elongated, and the claws are extended and grip the astragale of the capital. The tension of the ligaments and bones is indicated. A capital with a similar motif can be seen in the south gallery of the cloister. In general, the motif is comparable to the earlier sculptures of San Isidoro, especially those located in the northern apse of the church. Other examples of this lion motif can be seen at Santiago de Compostela (Figure 145).
Siren

A sculpture of a twin-tailed mermaid or siren can be observed on the capital on the west column flanking the window in the sixth bay (43 on Diagram 15; Figure 107). She is placed under the corner of the abacus. She is posed frontally with her arms outstretched and slightly bent. The lower part of her body is comprised of two fish tails. The left tail is held by the siren's left hand; the right, by her right hand. The arms and body are broadly modeled, and small semi-circular incisions suggest the scales of her tails. The full cheeks and jaws, and the tight, thin lips identify the style of this small work are reminiscent of the Hispano-Languedoc style.

These sculptures, then, are the earliest works produced for San Isidoro. Several sculptures in the nave also continue, according to Gómez Moreno and Gaillard, the style of the first atelier although they date later. A discussion of these capitals will follow.

Acrobats

One of the most unusual capitals in San Isidoro is located on the northern face of the first pier west of the crossing in the north arcade (8 in Diagram 15). This capital is entitled Acrobats (Figures 49 and 50).
Like many of the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro, all three faces of the capital are a part of the composition. Perspectives on this work are multiple. The viewer must see the work from both the left and right sides of the capital to see the entire subject carved by the sculptor.

On the lateral faces are two small clothed boys playing music on viols. The viol player illustrated in Figure 50 shows that this sculptor was aware of the sculptural style of one of the masters responsible for the sculptured capitals of the Panteón. The small viol player on the right lateral face of Acrobats has a large triangular shaped head with a pointed chin similar to the faces of the figure of the angel on the Baalem capital in the Panteón. (Figure 123). His body is flattened; the drapery is indicated by bands of incised lines that wind diagonally around the body.

The most important subject appears on the front of the capital. There, three nude acrobats perform gymnastics. In a symmetrical composition, two figures performing backbends are bases for a lone crouching figure poised on their breasts. The crouching figure's long, tube-like arms curl over the area of the thigh behind the knee and his hands are propped in front of his feet on the breasts of the figures in backbends to stabilize his
position. His knees are placed under his arms. The nude figures performing backbends are smoothly modeled with little indication of musculature or other specific details of anatomy. The faces have large, full jaws and cheeks. The mouths, indicated by straight lines, have hollowed out areas at their corners. The eyes are large, and bulge somewhat, and they are framed by ledge-like rims.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the style of this sculpture is the very high relief which has been used for the depiction of the three performers on the front of the capital. Much undercutting has been employed by the anonymous sculptor. The heads of the acrobats performing backbends are in the round as are their left arms and legs. The remaining areas of their bodies are approximately three-quarters in the round.

The nude figures in such active, complex poses are an unexpected subject matter at San Isidoro. The very high relief seen in the sculptures of this capital also betray a new stage of development in the sculpture at León. Gaillard's analysis, however, shows that the style of this sculptured capital can be related to the earlier workshops active at San Isidoro. The draped viol player, in Figure 42, for example, is reminiscent of the figures in the capitals of the Panteón (Figure 123). The crouch-
ing acrobat can be compared with similarly posed demons, monsters, and other types of figures that were carved by the workshop which executed the earliest sculptured capitals of the eastern end of San Isidoro (Figures 44 and 45).

That these works can be connected to the earlier Leonese tradition is also suggested by the abstract depiction of the bodies of the nude figures. The body and its parts are shown as tubes, with varying circumference depending upon the part of the body indicated. Little surface detail is shown. The sculptor has not shown the musculature or the anatomy of the figures in any significant detail, and the transitions from one area of the body to another are abrupt.

A distinctive motif appearing below each corner of the abacus of this capital are cone-like projections with surfaces embellished by deep grooves. Foliate forms flank each of these forms. Gaillard noted the presence of this type of motif in the sculptured capitals at Jaca (Figure 130) and it can also be observed at Santiago de Compostela (Figure 145).

**Men Ensnared in Lions' Mouths**

The column supporting the vaults of Bays 1 and 2 is a free standing architectural member which is placed in
front of the window. A large capital with carvings on it, *Men Ensnared in Lion's Mouths* can be seen. (Figures 59, 60, and 61; 13 in Diagram 15).

The front of the capital is carved with a rich fabric of interlaced foliate forms. These forms tend to rest on the surface of the capital emphasizing its surface and undermining the solidity of its structure. Under the corners of the abacus (Figures 60 and 61), figures can be observed. Below the volutes of the front and sides of the capitals, lion heads can be seen. Suspended from the mouths of each of the beasts are three small nude figures.

The central figure on each side opens his arms to embrace the figures to either side of him. All three of the figures under the corners of the abacus look out and smile at the viewer, belying the gravity of their situation.

In style, the handling of the surface of this capital is reminiscent of Islamic ivory or stone carving (see Figure 146). Immediate prototypes can be observed among the sculptured capitals of the Panteón.

In the Panteón, a capital covered with a thickened texture of ornamental foliage has small figures of wolves or dogs under the corners of the abacus (Figure 125). Gaillard, in his analysis of this capital, describes it as wolves or dogs "vomiting" vines over the surface of the
capital. He identifies this particular type of capital as an innovation of one of the masters who worked on the sculptures in the Panteón. Men Ensnared was influenced by it. The puppet-like figures with large knob-like heads also indicate that the style of this capital is more similar to the earlier sculptures produced at San Isidoro than to the later works exemplified by such works as Samson, where the human figure is emphasized by the sculptor. The facial features, the eyebrows, eyes, noses, and shapes of the heads and faces are also reminiscent of the heads of the figures on the Reliquary of St. Isidore (Figure 23).

The First Atelier—Capitals at the Clerestory Level

Men Devoured by Monsters

On the fourth respond of the north arcade at the clerestory level (squared 1 in Diagram 15; Figure 111), are heraldic lions. Gaillard suggested that the style of this sculpture may be close to that of the sculptures in the Panteón. Two lion monsters stride toward one another; their claws grip the astragale of the capital. Their breasts robustly curve. These animals are winged and their bodies are covered with scales. From their
mouths are flaccid, suspended nude figures of either two men\textsuperscript{37} or of a man and a woman.\textsuperscript{38} The volutes reiterate the curving silhouette of the lion-monsters' bodies, and the heads of the lion-monsters are placed under the volutes of the capital. A monster with gaping jaws is placed in the upper central area of the capital within the "V" space formed by the tendrils of the volutes.

The capitals on the clerestory level are generally considered to date later than the capitals on the lower level of San Isidoro. They were carved, presumably, in the 1140's when Pedro deustamben completed the vaulting of the Romanesque structure. Some authors have suggested that the bridge-builder may have carved the capitals.\textsuperscript{39} The rounded columns of the lions and the broad modeling used to suggest the musculature and the anatomy of the lions indicate that this capital is similar to the style of the other capitals at San Isidoro. The relief is lower and the composition more formal and heiractic, but the more focused subject matter— that of the damned soul— may account for this change.

The Sculptured Capitals of the Interior of San Isidoro Attributed to the Second and Third Ateliers

The style of the first atelier is characteristic of an earlier phase of Romanesque sculpture, that of the late
eleventh- and early twelfth-centuries. These works are reminiscent of the sculptures of the Porte des Comtes at St.-Sernin in Toulouse and the Panteón the eleventh-century burial chapel appended to the western end of San Isidoro.

The style of the sculptured capitals attributed to the Second and Third Ateliers are more similar to the later sculpture of the first quarter and second quarter of the twelfth-century. The motifs and style of the Second Atelier are similar to those observable in the sculptures at Jaca. The Third Atelier is usually identified with that of Master Esteban, the head master at Santiago de Compostela (c.1118). The works attributed to the Second and Third Ateliers will be discussed together.

The Sculptured Capitals by the Second and Third Ateliers--Arcade Level

Samsons (Three Samsons or Three Lion Riders)

The capital located on the western side of the first pier west of the transept crossing in the north arcade (Figures 51, 52, and 53; 9 in Diagram 15) bears three men riding on lions. Because the figure astride a lion on the front of the capital has long hair, Gaillard identified the subject as Samson. He further indicated that the subject was shown three times for "decorative" purposes.
The largest figure and lion are shown on the front of this capital. There, a robed man with two long thick braids is shown astride a large lion. The man sits on a rounded blanket. A long, flowing cape arranged in loose swirling folds is behind him. It creates a visual counterpoint to the volute of the capital. The man's right arm stretches over the head of the lion and grips its nose. The man's left arm reaches under the lion's chin and grasps the lower jaw. The animal's mouth is thus pried open and thereby controlled by its rider. The lion's forelegs, in contrast to its rear legs, are straight, the animal's progress held in check. Its mane is composed of long rope-like locks, and its tail curls between its hind legs and around its flank.

On the north (left; Figure 53) face of this capital, another lion rider can be observed. The subject, as portrayed on this side of the capital, contrasts with the lion rider represented on the front of the capital (Figure 52). While a draped male figure sits astride a lion, and controls it by a hand pulling at its mouth, the figure differs from the frontal face figure in that he holds a large horn to his lips.

On the south face of this same capital (Figure 54), a third lion rider can be observed. He contrasts even more than the north face figure with the figure carved on the
front of the capital. While also a figure astride a lion, this figure is nude. He leans forward and looks out through the nave of the church. The staring face of this figure differs from the serene and detached expression of Samson. The facial expression is disturbed and agitated. Deep furrows are etched in a troubled brow. The nude body crouches forward in a tense pose. The tension of the composition is heightened by compressing the heads of the man and beast under the meeting of the two volutes from the front and lateral face of the capital.

Above, on the corner of the abacus, is another lion head with the tendrils of the vine motif of the abacus threaded through its jaws. The hindquarters of this lion are cut off, as are those of the lion on the north face of the Lion Rider capital. Above is the head of another lion. From his jaws dangle the upper torso and head of an inverted human figure.

The relief of this sculptured capital, like Acrobats and unlike the earlier San Isidoro sculptural style, is very high. Some parts of the legs of both lions and riders are in the round as are some of the heads of the mounted figures (Figure 52).

The style of this work is generally related to another workshop active at Leon. The high relief, the round volumes of the forms, the handling of the heads and facial
features, especially the face of the north lion rider, (Figure 51) reminded Gaillard of the style of the Puerta del Perdón sculptures and related works (Figures 7, 8, 9 and 127). This same workshop has been identified with one of the sculptors who worked on the sculptures of the transept portals at Santiago de Compostela, Master Esteban (Figures 145 and 146). Styles related to it can also be seen in the early sculptures of Jaca and at St. Sernin in Toulouse.

Cocks with Inhabited Vines

On the eastern side of the third pier in the northern nave arcade (17 on Diagram 15) is a sculptured capital which, like several of the earlier ones, requires multiple perspectives for its content to be fully deciphered by the viewer (Figures 64, 65, 66, and 67).

The frontal view of Cocks with Inhabited Vines has confronting heraldic birds facing away from one another. They are ensnared by a dry thick texture of vines on the front of the capital (Figure 64). The vines are thick and fruitless. They are only moderately foliated. The vines wrap around the birds' bodies and necks. Both birds tear at the vines with their beaks.
On the north and south faces of this capital, another theme is shown. There, nude figures (Figures 65, 66, and 67), seem to climb the vines. The one on the northern face of this capital (Figures 57 and 58) is especially intent on his climb. He is absorbed in his ascent and possesses a serious expression. His shoulders and muscles are noticeably tense. His toes grip the astragal of the capital in an apparent attempt to gain added leverage. Heavy, entangled branches and vines thwart his progress. One presses over the figure's head; another, behind his neck and shoulders, another, across his chest, between his legs, and over his calf just below his knee.

The figure on the south face of the capital is also depicted as a nude climbing the dried vines. The expression in the face and the body of this figure can be contrasted with that of the nude figure on the northern face of the capital (Figure 65). The facial expression of this figure is one of ease, even joy. The figure appears to be more extroverted and seems to look across the nave. His arms are outstretched with open palms. No vines bind his chest. The legs of the figure are graceful, and seem to be just at the verge of breaking free.

These figures are represented in very high relief (see especially Figure 67), with some parts of the bodies of the figures depicted in the round. The depth of the
relief and the high degree of undercutting is especially evident under certain extreme lighting situations (Figure 67). High relief and the multiplicity of views utilized in the composition of this capital are typical of some of the other capitals in San Isidoro sculpted by later workshops, including the workshop associated with Master Esteban, as a comparison between the San Isidoro sculpture and a capital by Master Esteban at Santiago de Compostela illustrates (Figure 146). The treatment of the nudes in this sculptured capital can be contrasted with the nude performers in the capital entitled Acrobats (Figures 49 and 50). The nude figures depicted in Acrobats, a sculptured capital associated with an earlier and possibly local style, have bodies articulated as extended "tubes," the style of the nudes on Cocks and Inhabited Vines capital define various muscle masses and areas of the body. The jaws and cheeks of the figures are full. The mouths are full with hollowed corners. They are indicated by small, incised lines.

Gaillard related the style of this capital to Master Esteban and to the style of the sculptures at Jaca (Figure 133) to which he considered many of the sculptures at San Isidoro to be related. A similar motif of vines inhabited by nudes similar to the Greco-Roman type can also be observed on several preserved columns at Santiago de Compostela (Figure 137).
The birds on this capital (Figure 64) can be contrasted with depictions of birds that can be seen on the other sculptured capitals in San Isidoro (for example, Figure 54). These birds are small. They have slender necks, small heads, and strong, slightly hooked beaks. Their feathers are slender, although long talons grip the astragal of the capital.

Very close in the species of bird portrayed and in the convention employed for the representing of feathers is a capital from the destroyed Romanesque portal of the Cathedral of Pamplona, consecrated in 1127, (Figure 135). It is believed that Master Esteban and his workshop went to work on the sculptural embellishment of the Cathedral of Pamplona following his activity at Santiago de Compostela, dated c.1100 by those same authors. A sculptured capital in the crypt of the Catholic king at Sos, in Aragon (Figure 136) is also similar. Cocks with Inhabited Vines fits comfortably within the stylistic boundaries of the sculpture of the pilgrimage roads.

Maestas Domini or Saviour

On the western side of the second pier in the south arcade (35 in Diagram 15; and Figures 86, 87 and 88), is a
The front of the capital is carved with a seated figure of the Lord. His right hand is held in a blessing gesture; his left holds a large, rectangular codex.

Flanking the Lord to either side are angels holding scrolls with Latin inscriptions. The scroll held by the angel to the Lord's right is inscribed with an inverted inscription stating, BENECATHOSDIS: (Benedicat nos Dominus). The scroll held by the angel to the Lord's left also bears an inscription. It states, DE SEDE MAESTATIS (Figure 89).

According to Didron, the depiction of the Lord or God the Father rather than Christ, is very rare in the representational arts of the earlier middle ages. Yet, this is clearly the Father rather than Christ. This can be ascertained by comparing the seated God on this capital with other representations of Christ at San Isidoro and with other examples of the Maiestas Christi in twelfth century Romanesque sculpture. The figure on the capital of the second pier of the south arcade at San Isidoro lacks the cross-nimbus usually employed to identify Christ. And the inscription on the aforementioned scroll also identifies this figure as the Lord.

The angels' wings are unfurled, but are pointed in the same direction, that is, the left wing crosses over
the back and points toward the left (Figure 88). The wings are carved with a narrow border of round feathers on the top, two rows of longer feathers below, and three rows of long feathers, each subsequent row slightly longer than the preceding row. Incised lines of these angels are reminiscent of those that can be seen on the angel fragment now in the museum of San Isidoro (Figure 14).

The faces of the angels on the Maiestas Domini capital are comparable to those of the two small boys playing viols on the Acrobats capital on the first pier in the north arcade (Figure 50). The bodies and draperies of the angels, however, are more fully articulated than are those of the viol players in Acrobats. Both angels lack halos, and their heads are directly under the corners of the abacus of the capital. The angel holding the scroll with the inscription entreat ing the Lord's blessing faces one of the nudes on a capital in the Cocks with Inhabited Vines on the eastern face of the third capital in the north arcade (Figure 65).

The relief employed in this sculpture is low compared to the high relief observable in other sculptured capitals at San Isidoro. Perhaps this is the reason that Gaillard suggested that an earlier dating was possible for this capital. Gaillard also relates the style of this capital to the style of the sculptures on the Puerta del Perdón.
(Figures 9 and 127). Reminiscent of the figures carved on the Puerta del Perdón are the hair and face of the Lord. The eyes are quite large and are bordered with narrow ledges. The hair has been stylized into loose waves depicted as a series of coils. The beards are carved as small locks terminating with small, tight curls. The "pinch folds" characteristic of the Hispano-Languedoc style can be observed in the drapery covering the thorax of the Lord and in the cloth draped over his knees (compare with Figure 143). The style of this work, then, unique in its subject matter among the sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro and in early medieval art, may be related to the style of Master Estebán and similar works at Santiago de Compostela, Jaca, and St. Sernin (Figure 151).

Lions and Monsters

Lions and Monsters (Figures 89 - 92) is carved on a capital situated upon a column supporting the arch that divides the first and second bays of the south side aisle (36 in Diagram 15). Like its counterpart in the northern side aisle (13 in Diagram 15 Figure 60), this column and capital are freestanding. They are situated in front of a window. Gaillard suggests that these columns may have
been added during the second phase of work on the present San Isidoro.

The composition of this capital is complex. It is necessary to view this capital from three different vantage points in order to ascertain what is depicted on the capital. A frontal view of this capital shows heraldic lions or cats walking away from one another and leering with bared teeth toward the viewer. Like other lions depicted at San Isidoro the tails of these lions curl between the rear legs and over the flanks. From the front, only three legs of cats can be observed. They terminate with long toes. The claws of the animal grip the astragale of the capital.

The motif of lions with inverted and seated figures seems unusual. The motif of lions with figures, inverted horizontal, seated or standing, is common in the sculptures of monuments related to Jaca. Examples can be seen at Jaca (Figure 132), the castle chapel at Loarre (Figure 147a), and San Martín de Frómista (Figure 153b), San Juan de la Peña (not illustrated). David Simon identified the capital at Jaca as a Daniel and Habakkuk. The Leon capital, however, was not considered in the list of other examples of that iconography.49

The style of these beasts can be differentiated from that of the lions depicted in the Samsons capital. The
heads of the lions in this capital (Figure 89) are rounder than are the heads of the lions in Samson's (Figure 51). The cats in Lions and Monsters have manes, but the hair of the mane is flat and more linear. The musculature of the forearms of the cats in Lions and Monsters has been articulated in more detail than that of the lions in the Samson's capital, but the proportions of the lions in Samson are more naturalistic.

The eyes of the cats in Lions and Monsters are large with thin ledges framing them. Carved over the eyes are crescent-shaped planes that capture the light and add drama to the expressions of the animals.

Above and in the center of the capital another cat's head can be observed. In the style and type, this animal is similar to those just described. Its large jaws hold four tubular forms arranged in a fan-like formation. It is very difficult to identify these forms from a frontal view of the capital. Views of the right and left faces of the capital show that these four forms are the legs of two figures which embrace the heraldic lion with their left (Figure 91) and right (Figure 92) arms respectively.

The lateral faces of Lions and Monsters are carved with human figures that complete the content of this capital. On the left face (Figure 91) and on the right face (Figure 92) a man, whose ankles and feet are held in
the jaws of a lion holds the fourth paw of the cat. The paw rests in the lap of a clothed woman who touches the man's shoulder (Figure 91) or cheek (Figure 92) and whispers to him with her hand cupped around her mouth. Both the man and the woman have full rounded faces and jaws. Short, straight lines indicate the lips. The hair is heavy and straight, and it is arranged low over the forehead. The hair is depicted with parallel incised lines. Crescent-shaped ledges, similar to those of the cats, frame the eyes.

In many respects the style of this capital is similar to the style of the other capitals at San Isidoro that are associated with the workshops responsible for the sculptural embellishment of the Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdón. Gaillard suggests that this is especially true of the small draped female figures on the right and left faces of the capital which seem to him to "... semble une reduction des statues de la portail" (Figure 5). Gaillard also suggests that the style of this sculptured capital is very close to that of Jaca.

The crescent-shaped ledge employed by the sculptor to dramatize the eyes in Lions and Monsters is distinctive. It can be seen in some of the capitals of the Panteón, such as the Raising of Lazarus (Figure 124). The sculptor responsible for the execution of Lions and
Monsters may be a different master from either of the two masters who worked on the Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdón.50

The two small sculptured capitals on the small columns flanking the window behind the column with Lions and Monsters carved upon it are too badly damaged for discussion.

Wrestlers

On the eastern face of the fourth pier in the south nave arcade is a capital titled Wrestlers (Figures 94 and 95); 39 in Diagram 15). On the frontal face of the capital, two figures wrestle one another. No overt reference to the status or identity of these figures is indicated in this sculpture. Wearing only short skirts, the men are barefoot and nude above the waist. Their shoulders are stooped from the physical and mental strain of the conflict. They gaze at the viewer as the left figure (the left one) pulls at the left ear and the left arm of the right figure (the right). The right figure attempts to free his left arm. Both figures' legs criss-cross, resulting in a dance-like expression. The posing of the two figures forms a graceful, curvilinear rhythm which unifies the composition of the capital. Their toes grip the astragale of the capital.
Both figures gaze toward the viewer. The full cheeks and jaws of the style related to that of Master Estebán can be seen. The figures and their poses are very similar to the Santiago Wrestlers (Figure 146) discussed earlier. The hair of the figure to the left is arranged in short, flame-like curls. Incised spirals further elaborate the texture of the hair. This, too, is reminiscent of the manner in which the hair is carved on the figures of the Puerta del Perdón (Figure 127), and at Santiago de Compostela (Figure 144). The right side wrestler has the "coiled-rope" hair style that is similar to that worn by the angels in the Maiestas Domini capital. The relief of the capital entitled Wrestlers is very high, with the figures approximately in three quarter relief.

The perception of the composition of this capital is not complete until the capital's left (Figure 94) and right (Figure 95) faces are seen. The left view shows two figures; one is seated exactly under the corner of the abacus of the capital. His left hand is held up with an open palm. His right hand holds a large sword which rests against his shoulder. He looks not at the wrestler, but at a seated figure behind him. This figure has a crown, elaborate draperies, and is seated in a cross-legged pose often used by kings (Figure 140). He extends his left hand, with an open palm, toward the figure with a sword.
His right hand gestures toward the same figure with pointed finger.

The right face of the capital (Figure 95) also has two seated figures depicted on it. One, seated under the corner of the abacus of the capital, is oblivious to the struggle between the two men and to the man seated behind him. The man seated under the corner of the abacus has a sword and a long pointed shield.

The two men on the left face of the capital and the man seated below the corner of the abacus to the right of the wrestlers also possess costumes, poses, gestures and attributes to assist the viewer in determining their roles as king or knight. The figure on the right face of the capital wears a tunic, but lacks other clues, such as gesture, crown and so on, that would inform the viewer of his status. The man behind the knight leans toward him and attempts to get his attention by a gesture with a partially formed fist. He also seems to pull at the knight's shield. His right leg crosses over and in front of the knight's left leg.

Gaillard cites the high relief, the emphasis on volume, and the complexity of the composition of the capital Wrestlers as typical of the style of the sculptors who worked at San Isidoro. He considers the style of this capital to be related to that of the portals. It may
also be noted that the pose of the fighting figures, with its sinuous serpentine rhythms, can also be compared to the figures of Adam and Eve sinning on the Reliquary of San Isidoro (Figure 24).

Luxuria or Women and Serpents

On the western side of the fourth pier of the south nave arcade (41 in Diagram 15), a capital with two large squatting figures can be observed (Figures 98 - 102). This capital is usually identified as Luxuria, the sin of sexual excess that is portrayed through serpents binding or biting nude female figures.

Gaillard identified the sex of both the figures as female. Perez Llamazares and Víñayó González however, identified one of the figures as female—the figure to the viewer's right—and the other of the two figures as male—the figure to the viewer's left (Figures 98 and 102). While the full round bodies, long hair style and so on cause the two figures to be quite similar, closer observation of the figure to the viewer's left will show that the breasts are noticeably smaller, indicated by half circles rather than elliptical arcs. Therefore, both sexes are shown on this capital.

A large python-like reptile can be seen weaving over and under the thighs of each figure. The right hand of
the woman and the left hand of the man hold the animal near the tail. The other hands of the man and woman hold the neck of the serpent. Its small head rests against their necks, and nips at the cheek of the male. If observed more carefully, it will be noted that these serpents differ from other snakes represented in medieval art. The beasts on the Luxuria capital lack powerful jaws and teeth. The skin of the creatures is smooth and lacks scales. The difference between the two animals imprisoning the man and the woman on Luxuria and other snakes can be seen if Luxuria is compared with one of the sculptured capitals of the north transept portal at San Isidoro (Figure 13). There, a prominently shaped reptilian head with jaws and scales can be seen. Therefore, worms, which tormented sinners in the Bible, Last Judgments, and Tours of Hell and so on, are depicted on the Luxuria capital at San Isidoro rather than snakes.

The most important figures in Luxuria are located under the right and left corners of the abacus rather than upon the front face of the capital. The frontal composition of Luxuria is completed with a small crouching bowman who draws a bow propped with both feet. He is situated between tendril-like volutes over empty space.
While seemingly a subsidiary figure in the composition, he is placed over the axis of the front of the capital. (Figure 98).

Other figures can be observed on the right and left faces of the capital. To the woman's left, the south face of the capital, a kneeling demon gestures toward the woman and whispers to her with a cupped mouth that resembles the gesture of the women in Lions and Monsters (Figure 92). While the feet of the man and the woman grip the astragale of the capital, the demon's feet are securely placed on the top of the small ledge defined by the astragale. Another seated figure in a cross-legged pose can be seen to the right of the male figure (Figures 101 and 102). Partly hidden by the vault of a choir added during a Gothic renovation, his costume and pose indicate that he is a king.

The style of the capital identified as Luxuria is typical of the style of San Isidoro in its use of crouching figures, its high relief, its emphasis on real three-dimensional form and space, and its complex composition. The full faces and jaws, the large bulging eyes framed
with large rims is also typical of the style of the sculptures at San Isidoro. Gaillard, who considered this particular capital to be a masterpiece, saw stylistic parallels between this capital and the sculptures of St. Sernin in Toulouse and in the sculptures of the north transept at Santiago de Compostela. Especially close to the figures in Luxuria are those in the Creation of Adam, Woman Holding Skull, and especially Woman with Lion Jaw from Santiago de Compostela (Figures 139, 143 and 147).

The Second and Third Ateliers—Intermediate Level

Heraldic Lions

On the northern side of San Isidoro, at an intermediate level above the arcade but below the clerestory level are two capitals with heraldic lions. One is located on the eastern wall of the north transept at the crossing (see circle 1 in Diagram 15). It is the capital on the respond supporting the polylobe arch of the north transept (Figure 109).

Two heraldic lions walk toward one another. The lions have full, rounded breasts and forearms. Their heads are
carved in the round. The pose of the lions is stylized. The necks and heads are twisted back to an unnatural extreme, and the tails curve between the back legs, curl through them and press tightly against their flanks. The hair of the manes has been abstracted into locks of loose curls terminating with tight spirals.

The ferociousness of the lions is conveyed through their bared teeth and extended claws which grip the astragal of the capital. The volutes of the capital and the straight lines which embellish them reiterate the exaggerated backward thrust of the lions' heads and necks.

The lions flank the head and neck of a small bird-like animal. The bird's head and neck are covered with flame-shaped feathers. It has a rather long hooked beak.

A second capital carved with lions similar to the lions just discussed can be observed on the respond supporting the last arch of the nave arcade adjoining the western wall of San Isidoro (circled 1 in Diagram 15; Figure 110 of the illustrations).

Heraldic lions facing toward one another with large powerful forearms and chests are carved on this capital. Like the lions on the eastern capital of the respond of the crossing, the necks of the lions are twisted back; the heads of the beasts are under the volutes of the capital.
The tension conveyed with the necks expresses power and courage.

In the middle of the lions is a thick, bifurcated stalk. The thick dried vine is similar to the vines which bind the birds in the Ensnared Birds capitals that can be seen on some of the capitals of the nave arcade (Figures 74, 67, 85, 86 and 109). The lion to the left grasps the vine with his left claw and tears at the vine with his teeth. The lion to the right is badly defaced. It is probable that he, too, gripped the vine and pulled it through his teeth. This motif of royal or divine Heraldic Lions can also be seen at Jaca (Figure 155)56.

The Second and Third Ateliers--Clerestory Level

Sculptured capitals with figurative scenes are also located on four capitals of the responds supporting the transverse arches of the barrel vault of San Isidoro.

Salvation of the Soul

On the third respond from the crossing (squared 2 in Diagram 15; Figure 112), is a capital carved with a depiction of the Salvation of the Soul. The front of the
capital is dominated by a small nude. The proportions of the nude are dwarf-like in that the head is large and the legs short in comparison to the size of the body. Six horizontal striations indicate the rib cage of the figure. A round full face with bulging eyes and thick heavy rope-like hair arranged low over the forehead can be observed in this figure.

The small nude is placed within a large mandorla. The border of the mandorla is ornamented with bead or pearl motifs. The right hand of the nude reaches across the border of the mandorla where it is held by the right hand of God. Supporting the mandorla are two angels dressed in liturgical garments. Their lower torsos are placed upon the right and left sides of the capital respectively. Their upper torsos constitute a part of the composition of the front of the capital. This arrangement of the figure results in a distortion of the waists of the angels, but may have been done deliberately by the sculptor to compensate for changes in perspective when the sculpture was viewed from farther away. The draperies are defined by large, elliptical pinch-folds. Also used is smooth modeling, tubular bodies, full cheeks and jaws, and large bulbous eyes. While the sculpturing of the figures seems less accomplished than that of some of the other sculptured capitals of San Isidoro, the style of this
capital is similar to that of the other sculptures. In its portrayal of a volumetric nude, the San Isidoro Salvation of the Soul may be compared to works produced at Jaca, such as the Sarcophagus of Doña Sancha where a carving of a saved soul may also be seen (Figure 134). In both cases, the proportions of the nude figures are awkward.

Orant Flanked by Lions or Daniel in the Lion's Den

The capital on the respond supporting the western corner of the crossing is carved with a capital that is visible from the floor of the church of San Isidoro (Figure 29). It is a depiction of a tall, slender nude with long arms and legs. His hands are held in an attitude of prayer. His hair is long and is arranged in long flame-like locks. The locks frame the head like the "snakes of the head of the Gorgon" (Figure 113; Square 3 on diagram 15).

Flanking the figure are heraldic lions similar in pose and style to those illustrated in Figures 109 - 110. The claws of three of the legs of the lions grip the astragale of the capital. One foreleg of each of the lions is held up and tightly bent. The necks, heads
and jaws of the lions are turned away from the figure.

The broad modeling technique employed, the minimal use of surface detail, the full jaws and cheeks, bulging eyes, and thin lips can be related to the style of the portal sculptures of San Isidoro, especially the style that can be observed of the sculptures on the Puerta del Perdón. Gaillard indicates that the Corinthian capital with caulicoles over the head of the Orant figure can also be seen at Jaca, showing yet another relationship between the sculptures at San Isidoro and those of Jaca.60

The proportions, attitude, pose and style of the praying figure may also be compared to the style of works associated with Master Esteban at Santiago de Compostela. The Creation of Adam, now on the Puerta de las Platerías (Figure 139) may be cited as an example.

The style of these figurative sculptures reflects the influence of the sculptures at Jaca and Santiago de Compostella in particular. The motifs, with emphasis on symbolic rather than narrative subjects, have much in common with the sculptured capitals of other monuments, including the castle chapel at Loarre, San Martin de Frómista, and St.-Sernin in Toulouse.61 Some bird and foliate capitals will now be considered.
Bird Motifs

Birds

Several sculptured capitals at San Isidoro are carved with heraldic compositions of addorsed birds (Figures 54, 55 and 56). One can be seen on a capital on a column against the north wall of the north side aisle (10 in Diagram 15). On the front face of the capital (Figure 54) two eagles' breasts are pushed together. The head of each of the two eagles on the front of the capital looks backward. The head of each eagle meets, under the corner of the abacus of the capital, another eagle in an identical pose on the right lateral face of the capital (Figure 55) or on the left lateral side of the capital (Figure 56). Their heads and the upper portions of their beaks align. Broad leering cat faces can be observed in the upper middle part of the frontal face of the capital, and adjacent to the wall on the lateral faces of the capital.

The birds depicted on this sculpture are distinctive in style. The heads are large; the beaks curled. The necks are short; and the legs are rather large in proportion to the other parts of the bird's anatomy. Their
long talons grip the astragale of the capital. The tail feathers are broad; individual feathers are depicted by straight grooves. The carving is deep, although the relief in this capital is low. Gaillard suggests that the sculptor responsible for the carving of this capital was brought in to do sculpture of birds at San Isidoro.  

Sculptured Capitals Flanking the Window in Bays 1 and 2 of the North Side Aisle

A window in the north side aisle, divided by the column of the arch supporting the groin vaults of Bays 1 and 2 in the north side aisle are simple compositions comprising Lions and Birds (11 and 12 in Diagram 15).

Lions (Figure 57) is badly damaged. Its original appearance may have been reminiscent of the sculptured capitals carved in the north porch of San Isidoro. In style, the work would be related to the earlier sculpture produced for San Isidoro. The figure's claws grip the astragale of the capital and the relief is very low.

Birds (Figure 58) is also badly damaged. A wing is shown bent over the body of a bird pressed against the wall of the church. Perhaps the missing figure resembled the demon on the capital of the column of the niche in the remaining wall of the original central apse (Figure 44).
Birds

Birds (Figures 68 and 69) is located on the capital of the column supporting the arch separating the second bay of the north side aisle from the third bay of the north side aisle (20 on Diagram 15). It is identical with the capital discussed above, (illustrated in Figure 54). It is in this area of the north wall that adjustments to the width of the nave were made to facilitate the joining of the eastern end of San Isidoro to the parts of the church utilized from a pre-existing structure.

Birds

On the eastern side of the fourth pier of the north arcade (21 in Diagram 15), a capital with sculptures of addorsed birds facing one another over a palmette motif can be discerned (Figure 70). On the right and left faces of the capital are pairs of birds with their backs toward one another. The necks of the animals are twisted so that the pairs of birds face one another. The heads and beaks of the birds overlap a fan-like blossom identified in this study as a palmette.

The composition of this capital is unusual in that the framing of the palmette motif by heraldic birds is not
resolved from a frontal view of the capital (see especially figure 70). The resolution of pairs of addorsed birds framing, as a central motif, a palmette, can only be seen from a perspective under the corner of the abacus of the capital.

The style of this capital can be distinguished from that of some of the other sculptured capitals discussed above. While the species of the birds resembles that of the birds in Cocks with Inhabited Vines (see especially Figure 64), the relief is distinctly lower than the relief of the Cocks with Inhabited Vines. The bodies of the birds are also much less volumetric. This capital is by a different artist than Master Esteban. Instead, it is very similar in style and motif to a sculptured capital at St.-Sernin in Toulouse (Figure 150).

Addorsed Birds

Sculpted on the southern side of the second pier of the south nave arcade are Addorsed Birds (Figures 83 - 85; 34 in Diagram 15). The frontal view of the capital shows a pair of addorsed birds whose necks and heads reach upward.

The dry vines are similar to those of Cocks with Inhabited Vines. The vines are thick and devoid of fruit or foliation. The tendrils of the vines curl over and
around the bodies of the birds. The claws of these birds, unlike many of those of the birds discussed above, grasp the twisting vines rather than the astragale of the capital. The birds are choked by the vines and crane their long, slender necks and small heads upward. Their poses are vertical, and their tail feathers are perpendicular to the astragale of the capital. Their beaks point toward the center of the abacus. Solitary birds in similar attitudes can be seen on the right and the left lateral faces of the capital (Figures 84 and 85). A cone-like projection, similar to the one which can be observed in the capital Acrobats (Figures 49 and 50) appears under the volutes of the capital, but it has been carved in very low relief by the sculptor. In general, the relief of this capital is noticeably lower than is the relief in some of the other sculptured capitals discussed in this study.

Ensnared Birds

In the south face of the fourth pier of the south nave arcade (40 in Diagram 15; Figures 96 and 97) are two heraldic birds shown in three-quarter view under a corner of the abacus of the capital. Vines and the tendrils of vines twist around the bodies of the birds, and the bird's claws grip the astragale of the capital. The
birds are in a poor state of preservation.

Ensnared Birds

Birds trapped in vines can be seen on the south face of the fifth pier (Figures 103 - 105). Dry, thick sinewy vines entrap them. The birds are situated under the corners of the abacus of the capital. Their faces and beaks are aligned with those of birds carved on the right and left lateral faces of the capital. The relief is lower than that of the other capitals of San Isidoro.

Foliate Capitals on the Piers of the Northern Nave Arcade

All three of the sculptured capitals on the second pier (14, 15 and 16 in Diagram 15) have capitals sculptured with foliate motifs. Two examples are illustrated here (in Figures 62; 14 on Diagram 15 and 63; 15 on Diagram 15). Palmettes with Balls is placed on the eastern face of the second pier of the northern nave arcade. There are three tiers of contrasting leaves, with the upper palmette curling over a ball, especially noticeable below the corner of the abacus, alternating with a stalk with a palmette curling around a ball.

The sculptured capital on the western side of the same pier also has the leaf-ball motif. Different designs
of palmettes can be seen on this capital. Alternating higher and lower placements of the balls move the eye along a zig-zag path in both capitals illustrated in Figures 62 and 63.

The leaf-ball motif is seen several times in the sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro (see also Figures 79 and 80 from the southern nave arcade). The leaf-ball motif can also be observed in other churches located on the pilgrimage roads, including St. Sernin in Toulouse, where several capitals of this type exist (Figure 151).

The South Transept

The sculptures in the south transept and the wall of the south transept are badly damaged. The distribution of sculptures in the south transept parallels that of in the north. The two responds supporting the polyllobe arch which separate the south arm of the transept from the central crossing area have Corinthian capitals (not illustrated here). Both of these capitals have crisply chiseled acanthus leaves which curl at the tips. The carving is quite refined especially if these capitals are compared to those on the last piers of the northern arcade (For example, Figures 71 and 72).

Corinthian capitals can also be seen on the capitals of the columns supporting the second transverse arch of
Palm leaves embellish the surface of the capitals on the slender colonettes in the south transept apsidole. Foliate motifs can also be observed on the capitals of the columns flanking the windows of the eastern wall, the western wall, and the southern wall of the south transept of San Isidoro.

On the western wall of the south transept the plaque commemorating the consecration date of San Isidoro, attended by Emperor Alfonso VII, his sister Queen Sancha, his sons Kings Sancho III, and Fernando II, and numerous dignitaries can be read.

Palm Leaves

The first sculptured capital on the southern wall of the first bay of the south side aisle (Figure 81; and 32 in Diagram 15) is carved with three graceful palm leaves.

Leaf-Ball

Another "leaf-ball" motif can be seen on the capital of the eastern side of the second pier of the south nave arcade (33 on Diagram 15; Figure 82). While the leaves carved on the eastern face of the second pier of the southern nave arcade are carved with less precise linear detail than those capitals just discussed, the forms of
the leaves are quite three-dimensional. The upper thirds of the leaves bend. The tips curl tightly. They, and the balls under them, are in the round and create shadows which heighten the sense of relief.

**Foliate Capital**

On the southern wall on the column supporting the arch separating the second bay of the south side aisle from the third bay of the south side aisle is a capital with foliate motifs (37 in Diagram 15; Figure 93). This capital has been badly damaged. The right corner of the abacus and upper right sections of the capital have been chipped away.

This capital has been embellished with foliate motifs. The leaves spiral curve and counter-curve asymmetrically over the surface of the capital.

The third pier also has foliate motifs on all three faces. Those sculptured capitals will not be discussed here.

**Foliate Capital**

The western side of the fifth pier is carved with palm leaves (Figure 106). Two rows of palm fronds are placed vertically on the capital to embellish its surface. Like
Palmettes (Figure 74) in the north arcade, this capital is simpler and less detailed than are other foliate capitals in San Isidoro. The leaves seem broad, flat, and inorganic.

The remaining sculptured capitals of the south arcade are carved with foliate motifs and will not be discussed here.

Conclusion

The style of the sculptures of the church of San Isidoro developed from the sculptural traditions of Toulouse, Santiago de Compostela, and Leon. The liturgical works of art, the Crucifix of Fernando and Sancha, the shrines of Sts. Pelayo and John the Baptist are powerful expressive works in their own right and may also have influenced the sculptures.

The sculptured capitals of San Isidoro were produced by at least three different workshops. The first atelier, which was responsible for the capitals in the eastern end of San Isidoro, and influenced some works in the nave, shows the influence of the local tradition, the sculptures of the Panteon, and a foreign tradition, the sculptures produced by the first atelier at St.-Sernin, the Porte des Comtes workshop. The two other workshops are related to the style at Jaca and to the style of the Master Esteban.
In all three cases, the style of the sculptures at San Isidoro can be related to other monuments on the pilgrimage roads.

The dating of the sculptures at San Isidoro is still very controversial. In view of the characteristics of the style, I would propose a somewhat later dating than 1125 for the sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro. The second quarter of the twelfth century is possible.

Master Esteban's work has been compared to works in or on monuments dating c.1120, such as the Puerta de las Platerias (1118), and the Miegeville Door (c.1118). Work related to Jaca may also date c.1120, if Serafin Morelejo Alvarez's revisions of the chronology of Jaca are accepted.64

These two workshops must have replaced the earlier workshop after their activity at Jaca and at Santiago de Compostela and Pamplona. Therefore, I would propose a c.1125-1135 date for the works by the Jaca atelier. For the sculptures linked to Master Esteban, I would suggest a slightly later dating, c.1130-1140,65 emphasizing that both datings are open to reconsideration once the archaeological data is published.

With regard to iconography, the sculptured capitals of San Isidoro are especially reminiscent of sculptures at
Jaca, the castle chapel at the Loarre, and Porte des Comtes of St.-Sernin. Like San Isidoro, all three were run by canons under the Augustinian rule. A propensity for lion subject matter is their common characteristic. An analysis of the iconography of the capitals will concern us in the next section of this study.
CHAPTER 2
FOOTNOTES

1. Gomez Moreno, Catálogo, pp. 186 and 192. This addition was accomplished during the tenure of Abbot Juan de Badajoz the Elder, the head master for work on the cathedral.

2. See Introduction, F.N.


4. Footnote 3 in Chapter Introduction.


6. Ibid., and see Gomez-Moreno, Catálogo, p. 213 for other references to the architect as a bridge builder. His achievements included miracles. See Gomez Moreno, El arte románico, p. 106.


8. Whitehill, Spanish Romanesque Architecture, pp. 151-153. See also plans of Zamora Cathedral, Collegiate Church of Santa Maria la Mayor, Toro, Cathedral Vieja, Salamanca, Figure 137, 138, and 139 on p. 130 of de Palol and Hirmer, Early Medieval Art in Spain. See also Catalan plans illustrated pp. 120-121. Ibid. Plans of San Martin de Fromista (Figure 97) and Santo Domingo de Silos (Figure 98), Ibid., p. 102.

See also Manuel Chamoso Lamas, Galice roman, Zodiacque, 1973, San Martin de Mondonedo (p. 56)
Santa Maria de Sar (p. 206), San Miguel de Breamo (p. 206 (p. 244), Santa Maria de Junquera de Ambia (p. 270), Santa Marina de Aguas Santas (p. 276),
Santa Maria de Acibeiro (p. 280), Santiago de Villar de Donas (p. 306). Whitehill refers to this type of plan as the "classic Spanish" plan.

9. Ibid., especially the transept-less church proposed in Gaillard's chronology. See also Gomez-Moreno, Catálogo, p. 186. Subscribing to the earlier chronologies for Spanish Romanesque churches, he explained Urraca's construction of a new much larger
church as a part of a late eleventh century trend that resulted in a number of significant buildings. See also Gaillard, Les Débuts, p. 9.10.


12. For the listing of motifs in and outside of San Isidoro, I relied on Vinayo González, León roman. While the French text is reliable, the English one is not.


14. Ibid.

15. The cathedral at Jaca is one of the most important Spanish Romanesque monuments. Served by Canons of the Augustinian order, it was closely associated with the kings of Aragon. Traditionally, it was dated c.1063 and credited to the patronage of Ramiro I. Since, it has been shown that the documents upon which this dating was based were spurious. For 1063 dating, see Gómez Moreno, El arte románico, p. 19; Gaillard, Les Débuts, Gudiol Ricart and Gayo Nuño, Arquitectura y escultura románicos, vol. V, Ars hispaniae, Madrid: 1928; Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, p.; A. K. Porter, "Igualce y more Romanesque Art of Aragon," Burlington Magazine, vol. LII (1928), pp. 115-27; de Palol and Hirmer, Early Medieval Art in Spain, p. 102; Durliat, L'art roman en Espagne, p. 19.

also be noted there, specifically a style which has
been related to that of Toulousan sculptor Bernard
Gilduin. See Serafin Moralejo Alvarez, "Une sculpture
du style de Bernard Gilduin à Jaca," Bulletin monument­
tal, 7-16. In addition to its important influence on
the sculptures at San Isidoro, Jaca has been related to
Santa Maria de Iguacel, Santa Cruz de la Seros,
castle chapel at Loarre, San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca.
Foreign connections include relationships with Lombard
sculptures; see Geza de Francovich, "Wiligelmo da
Modena e gli inizi della scultura romanica," Revista
del Reale Instituto d'archaeologia e storia dell'arte,
vol. V (1940), pp. 225-94. For the presence of the
style of the Jaca master in the sculptures on the Porte
Miegeville at St. Sernin in Toulouse, see Thomas Lyman,
"Notes on the Porte Miegeville Capitals and the Con­
struction of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse," The Art Bul­
letin, vol. XLIX (1967), p. 28. The iconography of the
sculptures at Jaca has also been subject to study. For
description of a significant number of three capitals,
see Gaillard, Les debuts, pp. 1 - 86. Subjects in­
clude the Sacrifice of Abraham, David and Musicians,
and many scenes of lions and figures. The lions at Jaca
have been related to Moslem eschatological writings by
Francisco Imiguez Almec, "La escatologia musulmana en
los capitales romanicos," Principe de Viana, vol. XXVII
(1967), pp. 265-75; accepted in Canellas-Lopez and San
Vincente, Aragon roman, p. 161; and criticized in David
Simon, "Daniel and Habakkuk in Aragon," Journal of the
British Archeological Association, vol. XXXVIII (1975),
pp. 50-54. The sculpture on the tympanum of the west
portal of the Cathedral at Jaca is especially famous.
Shown are two lions thought to symbolize Christ and
his triumph over evil, flanking a chrism symbolic of
the Trinity. This work will concern us later. Its
iconography has been studied by L. Torres Balbas, "la
escultura romana aragonesa y el crismon de los ti­m­
apos de las iglesias de la region pirenaica," Archivo
español de arte y arqueología, vol. II (1926), p. 287
and most recently by Alain Sene in "Quelques remarques
sur les tympons romans a chrisme en Aragon et en
Navarre," Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, Poitiers:
Porte Miegeville Capitals and the Construction of St.
pp. 24-361. See especially Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6.16.
16. See Gaillard, *Les débuts*, pp. 79-82 for analysis of the style of this master as seen in the sculptures of the Puerta del Perdón. See also Gómez-Moreno, *El Arte románico*, pp. 107-107, there, the master is referred to as the "Maestro de las Platerías."

The cathedral of Santiago de Compostela was begun c.1077/78 and completed around 1128. The west facade with a portico completed, restored, or replaced the earlier west facade in 1188. The sculpture was by Master Mateo. Master Esteban was the head of the earlier campaign. His work, from the destroyed north portal, the Puerta de la Azabachería, is now on the Puerta de las Platerías. Other works by him include sculptures on the Puerta de la Platerías and in the transepts of the church. The style is discussed by Gaillard, in *Les débuts*, and is quite similar to the style of the Miegeville Door, Chamoso Lamas, *Galice roman*, pp. 132-33. See also, Durliat, *L'art roman de Espagne*, pp. 16-17, Gómez Moreno, *El arte románico*, pp. 128-130. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, vol. I, pp. 214-215.

Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, p. 63. This artist is mentioned in the *Codex Calixtinus* and also is mentioned in records pertaining to work on the main portal of the cathedral of Pamplona (from 1101 to 1127), see Gudiol Ricart and Gaya Nuno, *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. V, pp. 142, 216, and 224. Gómez Moreno, *El arte románico*, pp 116-117.

The dating of the Puerta de la Platerías is debated. An inscription "Era ICXVI V Idus lului" is transcribed as 1103 by Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo*, p. 376. He suggests an 1103 dating for the sculptures.

Gaillard reads 1078, the year work on Santiago de Compostela was begun. See Gaillard, "Notes sur la date des sculptures de Compostelle et de Leon," pp. 343-4. The works on the portal are also dated on the basis of an inscription appearing on the facade "Regnante prince Alfonso." If the Alfonso is Alfonso VI, a late eleventh century dating is proposed for the sculptures. Gómez Moreno, *El arte románico*, p. 112 is of this opinion, as is Porter, who points out that the inscription refers to a "rex" and not to an emperor. Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, p. 2; Chamoso Lamas, op. cit., p. 131 also identified the king as Alfonso VI, pointing out that it depends on the original placement of the plaque. If intended for the west facade, it would be Alfonso VII. John Williams

The reliefs on the Puerta de la Platerías are from that portal, the three other portals, and even from other churches. Gaillard, Les débuts contains detailed descriptions. For the Puerta de las Platerías as a "museum," see Ole Naesgaard, Saint-Jacques de Compostelle et les débuts de la grande sculpture 1100, Publications de la societe archeologique du Jutland. Universite foriaget, Aarhus, 1962.


18. Gómez Moreno, El arte románico, p. 106. See also Gaillard, op. cit., p. 13.


20. Ibid.


24. See Chapter I, note for a transcription of this inscription. A good photograph of it can be seen in Vinayo González, León roman, Figure 51.


26. Ibid., p. 47.

27. A very serious fire damaged San Isidoro in 1811. Gómez Moreno, Catalogo, p. 190.


32. Perez Llamazares, Iconografía, p. 21. He considered these figures to be female temptresses.

33. Ibid., pp. 445-46. The "crouching figure" motif also shows continuity between the style of this sculptured capital and the earlier sculptured capitals at San Isidoro.

34. Ibid., pp. 26-28. This "class" of capital is identified as being carved with rinceaux and heads at the corner of the abacus. Gaillard refutes here Gómez Moreno's suggestion that this nave capital was carved the same time as the capitals in the Panteón.

35. Ibid., p. 53.


37. Ibid., p. 66.

38. Vinayo González, León roman, p. 94.

39. Ibid., p. 100.

40. Gaillard identified this subject as Three Samsons. See Les débuts, p. 58. Gómez Moreno identified only the figure carved on the front of the capital as Samson. The others figures he referred to only as nudes. See El Arte Románico, p. 110 and Catálogo, p. 188.

41. Vinayo González, León roman, p. 94.

42. Gaillard, Les débuts, p. 56. Unlike Perez Llamazares, who believed the symbolic prevailed at San Isidoro, Gaillard considered many of the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro to be decorative.


44. Ibid., p. 476.
45. Ibid., p. 54. See also Gómez Moreno, El arte románico, p. 110 for the particular importance of the sculptures at Jaca as a source for the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro.

46. de Palol and Hirmer, op. cit., p. 156.

47. Ibid., p. 64. Vinayo González, León roman, p. 94. Gómez Moreno tends to identify the subject as the divine majesty ("La majestad divina.") El Arte románico, p. 111 and Catálogo, p. 188.


50. Vinayo González, León roman, pp. 64 and 74.

51. Ibid., p. 61.

52. Ibid., p. 61.

53. Ibid. See also Gómez Moreno, El arte románico, p. 111.

54. Perez Llamazares, Iconografía, pp. 10-13. Vinayo González, León roman, also identifies the two figures as a man and a woman, p. 94.


56. The Jaca typanum lions have been studied by several authors, whose conclusions will concern us later. Alain Sene, "Quelques remarques sur Aragon et en Navarre," Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, Poitiers: 1966.


58. For the identification of this capital as an orant, see ibid., p. 65; Gómez Moreno, El arte románico, p. 111. Gómez Moreno believes the soul is female.
59. Vinayo González, León roman, p. 94.

60. Gaillard, Les débuts, p. 65.

61. For the connections between these four monuments, in terms of style and motifs, see Francisco Garcia Romo, "El problema de la personalidad del escultor románico: El maestro de Jaca," Mélanges offert à René Crozet, Poitiers: 1968, pp. 359-363.


63. Ibid., p. 56.


65. It is believed that the Master Esteban worked on the sculptures of the Romanesque Cathedral of Pamplona until 1127. See J. M. Lacarra, "La catedral románica de Pamplona. Nuevos documentos," Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología, vol. XXVII, (1933), pp. 73-86. For Master Esteban dating, which is significantly later than the traditional dating, I am responding to Williams' proposals concerning a new chronology for both the building San Isidoro and its sculptured decoration. See Williams, "Generations Abrahae," p. 11.
CHAPTER III
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE FIGURATIVE CAPITALS
IN THE INTERIOR OF SAN ISIDORO

In this section, I will analyze the iconography of the seventeen interior capitals, with emphasis on those carved with complex figurative scenes. I will attempt to show that the motifs, while symbolic rather than narrative, are familiar within the tradition of funereal and imperial imagery. While on superficial observation the works seem disparate and unrelated to one another, they actually form an organized iconographic program governed by medieval theories regarding the king and his role in the cosmos.

My discussion will begin with the sculptured capitals of the nave arcade level (Diagram 16). These capitals reflect the belief that the earthly realm is characterized by strife and evil due to Adam's and Eve's Fall and the sin of Pride. Remedies are available in the form of mediators, including Christ and his earthly representative, the king, and in the form of submission to authority, a remedy for pride.
I will begin with the Maiestas Domini, Lions and Monsters, Wrestlers and Luxuria. Then the capitals Cocks and Inhabited Vines, Three Lion Riders and Acrobats will be considered. Finally, I will discuss those capitals carved with subjects related to evil, including Men Ensnared, Oxen and Lions, Twin-Tailed Siren and Man-Headed Lions. I will then discuss the Reliquary of St. Isidore, the Puerta del Cordero and Puerta del Perdón. All of these works will be re-interpreted and in some cases, re-identified. (See Figure 17 for placement of these capitals).

At the clerestory level, are: a Procession (square 18 not illustrated), The Damed (square 15 in Diagram 16), the Salvation of the Soul (square 16 in Diagram 16), and finally the Soul in Beatitude (square 17 in Diagram 16). On this level, the soul's restoration to the grace of God is accomplished with the implied assistance of the king of Leon.

While the church of San Isidoro has a two-story elevation, the arches of the extreme western bay of the north side aisle and the first bay of the north transept mark a third, intermediate level creating a tripartite division for the placement of the sculpture (see Diagram 22). These capitals, carved with pairs of Heraldic Lions, occupy a position higher than the nave arcade but lower than the transverse arches of the barrel vault (see
circles 13 and 14 in Diagram 16). This level is marked in
the architecture by the checker-board cornice dividing the
arcade level from the clerestory level (see Figures 31 and
35). I will attempt to show that the pairs of heraldic
lions are to be understood as the royal lions of the
kingdom of León and symbolize the majesty of the crown.
They sum up symbolically the roles of the king as an
intermediary between this realm and that of heaven, as the
effective opponent against evil, and as such, the
instrument for attaining immortality. Since the
figurative capitals in San Isidoro are rather widely
dispersed within the church, the question of how to
organize this discussion was a difficult and important
one. The organization of the analysis employed here is
derived from the possible progression of the visitor who
would enter San Isidoro through the Puerta del Cordero and
first see the capitals of the south arcade.*

South Nave Arcade Level—Remedies (Auctoritas)

Maestas Domini

The medieval visitor would enter San Isidoro through
the Puerta del Cordero (Figure 3). There, he would view
the triumphant Apocalyptic Lamb superimposed over its Old
Testament prototype, the Sacrifice of Abraham. Enthroned
figures of Saints Isidore and Pelayo (?) flank the portal, and King David with his musicians and the Signs of the Zodiac appear above it.

The Majestic Lord or the Maiestas Domini (Figures 86 - 88) appears inside the church of San Isidoro rather than on the portal. It is located on the western side of the second pier of the south nave arcade (8 in Diagram 16; see Figure 17 for the distribution of subjects inside San Isidoro). On this capital, a handsome enthroned Lord is depicted. To either side of the figure of the Lord are angels. The angel to the Lord's right (the viewer's left) holds a scroll with inverted letters spelling out BENEDICAT NOS DOMINUS. The other angel's scroll has inscribed on it DE SEDE MAIESTATIS.

The theme of Christ or the Lord in Majesty is a common subject in Christian art. It is of great antiquity. Depictions of the theme were common in the so-called minor arts, manuscript painting, metal work, and ivory carving. The subject was one of the first to be monumentalized in the medium of large scale sculpture. Here, I will argue that the San Isidoro Maiestas Domini is employed as a legal symbol of the ultimate source of all authority. In the hierarchical, medieval theocracy, all authority "descended" from the Lord through his mediaries to the people, depending upon their ordo, or status in the
society. I will also attempt to show that the Maiestas Domini is an early example of a distinction between the Maiestas Domini (as the source of all secular power) and the Maiestas Christi (the source of sacerdotal authority) that would become commonplace in the second half of the twelfth century and the later middle ages.

When Christ referred to himself in terms stressing his power, he usually also alluded to his return (John 5:26-7; 17:37; Matthew 14:30-1; 16:64-75). The Christ or Lord in Majesty as an iconographic motif often related Christ's promise of a second coming at which time He would rule over the universe (Revelation 4:1-11). The period was preoccupied with the second coming and the illustrations and commentary by Beatus on the Apocalypse was one of the more significant contributions of Spain to medieval art. References to the majesty of the Lord are also frequent in the Old Testament.

It is interesting, from this perspective, to compare the Maiestas Domini at San Isidoro with other examples of the theme. One, attributed to Bernard Gilduin and now embedded in the wall enclosing the apse, is at St. Sernin in Toulouse (Figure 115). Even closer in composition and in format to the Maiestas Domini at San Isidoro is a sculptured capital of the Maiestas Christi on one of the columns of the tribune of St. Sernin (Figure 116). In all
three compositions, the Lord is depicted seated and frontally. He holds a rectangular codex in his left hand, and gestures toward the viewer with his right one. In the earlier St. Sernin sculpture (Figure 115) and in the San Isidoro capital, the Lord's left hand is held in the position of gesture familiar in medieval representations of the majesty of the Lord or of the Pantokrator. Angels flank the Lord in all three examples of this theme.

There are also differences between the Maiestas Domini of San Isidoro and those at St.-Sernin. Both versions of the Maiestas Christi at St. Sernin show Christ framed by a mandorla. In one case (Figure 115), small images of the four tetramorphs define four corners above and below the mandorla. This is a direct allusion to the Second Coming as described in the Book of Revelation. The inclusions of such supernatural elements also transforms the St. Sernin sculptures into a theophany. An emphasis on theophany, through a mandorla or tetramorphs, for communicating the majesty of the Lord is noticeably missing in the sculpture capital at San Isidoro.

The Maiestas Christi at St. Sernin depicts the Christ with a cross-nimbus, whereas the artist responsible for the Maiestas Domini at San Isidoro depicts a very different style of halo for the Lord. At San Isidoro, other representations of Christ or the Lord depicts him
with the cross-nimbus. Only this sculptured capital at San Isidoro does not. An interesting parallel to this deviation from the usual nimbus for the Lord is the nimbus of the Lord in the Last Judgment at St.-Denis, (Figure 117). The western facade of St.-Denis dates in the 1140's, as do at least some of the works at San Isidoro.

A third distinction between the San Isidoro Maiestas Domini and the St.-Sernin examples are inscriptions employed on them. Pax vobiscum is inscribed on the codex held by Christ in the St. Sernin sculpture. Benedicat nos Dominus; de sede maiestatis can be read on the scrolls in the San Isidoro capital. The Benedicat nos Dominus is furthermore inverted. More may be surmised, however, from this sculpture and its inscriptions. The inscriptions on the scrolls may assist in the explanation of the meaning of the San Isidoro Maiestas Domini. The terms in them and their manner of presentation can be related to early medieval legal and political theory regarding the nature of authority. The relevant concepts would include "above," "throne," and "majesty," all alluded to or referred to explicitly in this sculptured capital.

Two of the most important concepts in medieval legal and political theory were power (potestas) and authority (auctoritas). Authority was considered superior to "mere"
power because the former was empowered to execute grand and lawful designs. Medieval society was organized along a strict hierarchical model. No power or authority was derived from any individual and all power and authority was derived from God. In the theocratic or theocentric form of government, the people had no authority. It came to them "from above." This is referred to as the "descending model" of government. This legal and political theory was well worked out, and a number of symbols, terms, and attributes were employed to express its principal ideas.

An important term expressing the sovereignty of an individual, especially a king, was the term "above." This word was indicative as well as connotative in meaning. Sovereigns were thought to be "above" and separate from all other members of their society. The inscription on the scroll held by the angel standing to the Lord's right, which petitions the Lord's blessing may have been deliberately inverted to emphasize the idea that the prayer was to be read by God from "on high." If so, His omnipotence and His central role as the originator of all authority and power, a fundamental of medieval legal and political philosophy, may have been the intended message. The early medieval legal and political terms of "above" was used here to indicate the power and authority of the Lord.
In the definition of the office of king, various objects were used to symbolize his authority. Among these were the crown, the sceptre, and the throne. The crown, on the Lord, is replaced by an unusual halo. Another example of an unusual halo on the Lord can be seen on the Christ figure of the Last Judgment at St.-Denis. This sculpture and the portal of the church it decorates can be compared to San Isidore. Both buildings were built in the 1140's and both were associated with monarchs and royal burial sites. Halos on the Christ or Lord were not the usual cross-nimbus. In the legal and political theory of the middle ages, conflict arose again and again between the ecclesiastical authorities (sacerdotium) and temporal authorities (regnum). Eventually, the theorists distinguished the sources from which the authority of each was derived. The power and authority of the sacerdotium was from Christ (Maiestas Christi) whereas the power and authority of secular rulers was derived from the majesty of the Lord (Maiestas Domini). The lack of the cross nimbus on the figure of the Lord in the capital at San Isidoro and in the tympanum with the Last Judgment at St.-Denis may allude to the distinctions between the Maiestas Domini and Maiestas Christi that would eventually be employed to distinguish the power and authority invested in the two major institutions, sacerdotium and regnum.
The subject of the capital at San Isidoro may be the Lord as the source of secular authority.\(^\text{11}\)

The Book replaces the scepter as the hand-held symbol of authority in most examples of the Maiestas Domini or Maiestas Christi or Pantokrator. At San Isidoro the book is particularly emphasized. Its height equals the height of the Lord's upper torso. It even overlaps the scrolls with inscriptions that further reflect the importance of written words. The scroll held by the angels to the Lord's left has the words "throne" and "majesty." Both of these terms played important roles in medieval political symbolism. The throne was a specialized chair for secular (or ecclesiastical) rulers and was used to lift them "above" their subjects in order to express their authority. To assume the throne was one of the processes whereby one became king.\(^\text{12}\)

Another term employed extensively in medieval legal and political theory was maiestas. In the Old and New Testaments, numerous passages referring to the omnipotence and magnificence of God's awesome power are described. Frequently, the imagery employed in the Bible is visionary, with the heavens opening, mandorlas, glories, seas of glass, strange animals, and the like assisting the expression of that particular aspect of God. Because Jerome, Tertullian and many of the early church fathers
theophanic overtones it would gain from its application to
the Lord in the Bible. Maiestas was a dry practical term
applied to the highest authority of the state.

Because the Christians imitated many of the
theocratic aspects of government in the Bible, in which
God was King, the term took on theophanic connotations.
Laesa maiestas, high treason, for example, was equated
with the failure to believe in God in the Code of the
Visigothic king Recciswinth. That Alfonso VII, who
emulated the northern kings, was acquainted with this
concept is reflected in a communication to Ramon Berenguer
IV; "... et quia placuit excellentisime maiestati domini
imperatoris." The lack of visual references to the
transcendental in the San Isidoro Maiestas Domini may
indicate that the legal and political concept majesty—the
synonym of sovereign authority—of a temporal state, was
the subject depicted on the capital.

In addition to the influence of legal concepts on the
iconography of the San Isidoro Maiestas Domini, the
anonymous iconographer may have intended the work to
address a serious moral issue; the sin of pride. This sin
was absolutely central in Augustine's, Gregory's, and
Isidore's theologies of the Fall of Man and nature of
Evil. Pride was also the sin kings were urged to
monitor in their own characters (Figures 151 and 152).
Here, Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job will be cited to show its relationship with this capital.

In the Moralia, Gregory reiterated the gravity of the sin of Pride, considered the "mother" of all other sins. In one passage, Gregory employed a passage from Isaiah (XIV:14) which defined pride as the usurping of God's authority. People sinned, in effect, because they placed themselves "above" the Lord. God could retaliate by making "low" those "high" (2:11-19). Gregory, also in harmony with Isaiah, emphasized obedience and submission to authority as "remedies" for the sin of Pride. By emphasizing the Lord's position as on "high," through the inversion of the inscription entreating his blessing, and by explicitly acknowledging his sovereignty as the source of all authority, the iconographer was, in effect, promulgating Gregory's and Isaiah's remedies for the sin of Pride. As well, contemplation of one's moral weakness and total reliance on the Lord was also stressed in the writings of Augustine, Gregory and Isidore. This, too, is addressed in a capital very close to the Maiestas Domini entitled Lions and Monsters, which will now concern us.
Lions and Monsters

Lions and Monsters (Figures 89 - 92) is a sculptured capital on a free-standing column that supports the arch separating the first from the second bay of the south side aisle (7 in Diagram 16). Unlike the other sculptured capitals to be discussed under the heading of subjects related to authority this capital is located on the south wall rather than upon one of the piers of the nave arcade.

The subject matter of Lions and Monsters is virtually undecipherable when viewed frontally. There, the composition is dominated by two heraldic lions which glare threateningly at the viewer. Above is the large leering face of a giant monster or cat. The four limbs which extend from its mouth are confusing and ambiguous. Lateral views of the capital elucidate its meaning. There, it is readily discerned that the limbs emerging from the giant cat-face on the front of the capital belong to a young virile male figure, who, as he frees himself from the jaws of one beast, readily embraces another, as if irresistibly drawn to the cause of his own destruction.

Gaillard has identified one of the possible prototypes for this sculptured capital. It is a capital in the nave of Jaca (Figure 131). There, the frontal face of the capital is carved with a small monster's face. He
holds the tips of two addorsed birds in his mouth. Both birds' talons grasp the back of a lion and of a man. The men pull at the corners of the mouths of predatory cats. A draped figure can be observed on the lateral faces of the Jaca capital.

David Simon has noted other examples, the motif of lions with one or more inverted, suspended, horizontal, seated, and/or standing figures in serial capitals situated in churches in Aragon and Leon. He listed specifically capitals at the cathedral of Jaca, the castle chapel at Loarre, the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, San Isidoro in Leon, and San Martin de Frómista. In three cases, a capital at Jaca (Figure 154), Loarre (Figure 155), and San Juan de la Peña (not illustrated), Simon is able to suggest a specific identification for the subject; Daniel and Habbakuk. The San Isidoro Lions and Men, however, differs from that iconography in that no wings or halos identify any of the figures as angels, prophets, saints or holy personages, and certain other details, such as Habbakuk's bowl, are also missing.

For the sake of clarity, this capital will be referred to as Lions and Monsters. I will, however, propose a new title for this work on the basis of my interpretation of it: the Doctrine of Free Will. I will attempt to show that this capital depicts man's imperfect
authority over himself. Man's authority over himself was flawed due to Adam's sin. By showing contempt for God's total and absolute authority, Adam subjugated himself and his descendants to the imperfect authority of the self. Early medieval legal and political theorists, including Augustine, Isidore, Gregory, and the Pseudo-Dionysius, used this position, manifest by man's inability to govern sexual desire, to justify the need for external authorities such as the church and state.

To prove this, I will break down the imagery into separate motifs to show the origin and possible interpretation of each. I believe that the anonymous iconographer may have employed a similar method, in reverse, to derive the iconography of this capital. The specific motifs were combined in a dictionary fashion to depict the doctrine of Free Will as flawed with related sins including Pride, Lust, Desire, and Habit, thereby demonstrating man's innate propensity toward sin.

On the basis of motifs often seen at San Isidoro and in other examples of Romanesque art, the general content of this capital can be interpreted. The first motif is that of men suspended from the jaws of beasts. It has been established by several authors that this motif is a metaphor for death, hell and eternal destruction. These are the wages God extracts. Numerous examples of figures
in the mouths of beasts representing the soul in mortal peril can be seen in Romanesque monumental art. The motif is typically employed to indicate the entrance into hell in Last Judgments, such as those at Beaulieu (Figure 156) and Autun (Figure 157). Several examples of flaccid figures with twisted faces suspended from the jaws of beasts can be observed in the capitals of the interior of San Isidoro. Included are Men Suspended from the Jaws of Beasts (Figures 59, 60 and 61; 5 in Diagram 16), which is located across from Lions and Monsters on the capital of the column separating the first and second bays of the north side aisles. Two others are the south face of the Lion capital (Figure 52; 4 in Diagram 16), and Damned Souls (Figure 111; square 15 in Diagram 16). These souls are all clearly in mortal peril.

Numerous literary references in the Old and New Testaments support the interpretation of the jaws of beasts as metaphors for the mortal destruction of the soul. One of the most impassioned is that appearing in Psalm 22 which will be related to Men Ensnared in the Jaws of Beasts in a later part of this study.

In addition to innumerable references in Scripture to terrors symbolized by the jaws of lions, the image was also used in the mass of the dead in the Visigothic and Latin rites. For example the Offertory of the Mass of the Dead included the following lines:
O Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, 
deliver the souls of all the faithful 
departed from the pains of hell 
and from the deep pit: deliver them from the 
mouth of the lion, that hell may not 
swallow them up, and they may not fall 
into darkness.

Several scholars have demonstrated that these lines have 
affected sculptured capitals and other monumental 
decorations in medieval churches.\(^{31}\)

The prayers offered for the welfare of the soul in 
the Visigothic rite also implored God's intercession with 
this metaphor.

Cast not to the beasts, Lord, the souls that 
confess you, do not forget the souls of your poor.\(^{32}\)

Werckmeister, in his study of the influence of the ritual 
of the last rites on the iconography of the ivory Crucifix 
of Fernando and Sancha (Figure 20) notes that these lines 
were chanted over and over again during the services 
offered for the dead in the Visigothic rites.\(^{33}\)

Therefore, it can be assumed that the meaning of figures 
suspended from the jaws of beasts was well known to the 
canons, patrons, and even to most visitors to the royal 
penitential and funereal church of San Isidoro. The 
familiarity of the motif also underscores some of the 
unique deviations from the theme that can also be observed 
in the San Isidoro Lions and Monsters.

There are two unusual details that distinguish the 
San Isidoro work from more typical examples of this theme.
First, the figure is clothed. Secondly, he is about to escape from the monster's jaws. These deviations were probably deliberately included in this capital. The man is clothed because he is alive; he escapes because, during life through repentance, it is possible to escape eternal damnation and annihilation.\(^{34}\) He can, through his free will, choose to repent and choose to do good, thus saving himself from God's retribution.\(^{35}\) That man is depicted inverted and falling suggests that it may not be easy for him to exercise this choice. The word "fall" is often employed in Scripture and by the Fathers to denote man's spiritual state following Adam's and Eve's sin in Paradise. Theologians analyzed in detail the differences between man in "his original state and in his fallen state."\(^{36}\) The word "upright" and an upright posture were frequently utilized to indicate the former state.\(^{37}\)

A falling or fallen man was also often used to depict sin, especially the sin of Pride.\(^{38}\) Illustrated in Figure 158 is a knight falling from his horse in hell from a detail of a relief of the Last Judgment at Ste.-Foi at Conques.\(^{38}\) A manuscript at San Isidoro shows a similar theme in a painting of a man, a soul, falling from a horse toward a lion (Figure 159). On the basis of the familiarity of the falling man and the lion's mouth in Biblical and patristic literature and in Romanesque art,
it is possible that man in his fallen state due to Adam's and Eve's sin of spiritual pride is a theme in this capital.

A woman is carved on each lateral face of the capital (Figure 92). The woman gestures to the man, touching his face. Her open palm is pressed against her cheek as if she were whispering a secret to the man. Similar gestures in the repertoire of Romanesque art equate this type of gesture with temptation. The gesture of Eve, a figure thought to have been on the lintel of the destroyed sculptures of the north portal of St.-Lazare at Autun, is one example (Figure 160). Parallels in San Isidoro of the use of this gesture, can be seen in the demon communicating with the woman on the capital entitled Luxuria (Figure 99). The gesture seems to mean, in both cases, temptation and seduction. It would seem that the specific sin is illicit sexual activity, so often stressed in medieval art and so much a part of the Christian doctrine of sin, as developed in the writings of St. Paul and a substantial number of church fathers including St. Augustine, Gregory the Great, St. Leander, and St. Isidore. Secrecy and privacy are often emphasized as prerequisites for the successful performance of this sin.⁴¹

While the figure on the lateral face of the capital, in long dress, gestures provocatively toward the men, it
is clear her role is subsidiary. The problem exists prior to the figures shown on the sides of the capital. That dynamic has to do with flaws in man's nature and his capacity to exercise authority over himself.

While the question of why evil, suffering, death, war, and the horrors of occupation by Islam existed was posed in medieval times, the more searing question was: "Why did man fall in the first place?" St. Augustine, in the City of God, poses this difficult and perplexing question and his answer to it may be reflected in the iconography of the capital now under consideration here.

Man was flawed prior to his fall, St. Augustine argued, due to the sin of Pride. St. Augustine's investigation of man and the plight of his soul pointed to another aspect of the human experience that was irrefutable evidence of man's dilemma. The sexual act which was always done in secret, even when legitimately performed in the sacrament of marriage, was private because of its inherently shameful or evil nature. The instrument whereby the soul controlled the body and exercised choice over its final destiny, free will, was imperfect. This was manifest in man's inability to control sexual arousal and sexual desire, as Adam demonstrated when he gave in to Eve in spite of the fact that that act would perpetrate man's severance with his
While the soul was supposed to exercise control over the body, sexuality was proof that it could not.

A third motif in this capital is that of the falling man embracing the lion. Perhaps he will seize the beast and subject it to his will, an option in the Doctrine of Free Will. The emphasis on the fall in his posture and the prominence of the lion jaws, shown in the central upper area of the front of the capital, suggest a more pessimistic interpretation.

The motif of the man embracing the beast may convey man's propensity toward evil. No sooner does he escape from earlier peril, than he is, again, ready to embrace the very cause of his own destruction. He desires it. Relying on desire, which in excess was the motivator for all evil, sexual activity constituted irrefutable evidence of man's fatal flaw.

It is likely, then, that the man will repeat his sin or at least, he will continue his susceptibility to temptation, due to Original Sin. That the motif is shown twice on the capital reinforces the concept of repetition. Habit, for obvious reasons, was emphasized in the writings of the church fathers concerning sin and temptation. In the Synonyma I, for example, Isidore stated:
Man - I willingly yielded to vice, and formerly embraced the occasion of sin. Now I am bound by the habit of evil. Pernicious custom has enthralled me.

Reason - Struggle with all your power against the habit of sin.

The sin of cupidity is not the sole issue in Augustine's doctrine, or in this capital, if the interpretation proposed here is correct. The significant issue is that man's inherently evil nature is demonstrated but not caused by the shameful act required for propagation. Man was flawed prior to the fall because he thought he had authority over himself which he did not have. Man furthermore acted on this erroneous belief, because of pride. Pride and habit are shown to be antecedents of the sin of concupiscence on the capital Lions and Monsters, just as they are in the writings of Augustine, Gregory and Isidore. For this reason, the female figures are secondary. They function only to include the sin of concupiscence in a dynamic that actually addresses the issue of man's pride and his imperfect authority over himself.

To perceive the serious implications of sexuality for man and his fate was to contribute to curtailing man's pride. As Gregory wrote in the Moralia:

Because he is aware, from a sense of his infirmity that he is not far from corruption, therefore let him not descend to the death of his corruption, if he
were to consider that by his own strength he were far removed from it. But because he has approached thereto with humility, he ought to be mercifully delivered therefrom; that the more he confesses he is weak by nature, he may be strengthened against the sins which assail him.

Yet this weakness was not necessarily to be lamented, especially if acknowledged. Isidore writes, in Chapter III of Sententia III, concerning the infirmities of the flesh:

The feebleness of the soul, that is, weakened by the infirmities of sin, is spoken of by the Apostle: Whoever is weakened, am I not also? Who is scandalized, am I not? (II Cor. XI:29)? This same Apostle also considered the weakness of the flesh to be useful, saying: When I am weakened, then I am strengthened (II Cor. 12:10).

Man's only hope was to overcome pride and realize his absolute dependence on Christ for his salvation. Since man's pride involved misplaced confidence in his own authority, as opposed to God's, man's dilemma also included an inability to understand and exercise God's will. Therefore, remedies such as the church, education, and governments were recommended. The capital Lions and Monsters universalized the theme of illicit sexual activity and related it to an archtypal condition of evil.

The iconography of Lions and Monsters is re-identified here as the Isidore-Augustinian doctrine of
Free Will or authority over the self. While pessimistic, this position enabled the legal and political theorists virtually to divest the individual of any personal power. The office was always more than the person, as was any form of lawful activity. This was explicitly stated in the Code of Recceswinth (653) and was from there widely disseminated in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. 54

Wrestlers

One of the finest sculptured capitals in the south arcade is the capital titled Wrestlers (Figures 94 and 95; 9 in Diagram 16). The two male figures are engaged in a hand-to-hand combat. On the front of this work are organic and well modeled figures in high relief. Their legs and arms weave into and around one another, and their bodies are twisted (Figure 94).

In addition to the two wrestling figures, there are two additional figures on each lateral face. On the south face is a seated figure who seems to be guarding or overseeing the conflict although he does not actually appear to be witnessing it. He holds a sword. He is shown responding to another figure, seated in a cross-legged pose, who appears to communicate with him. This figure is a king, for a crown clearly appears on his head.
On the north lateral face of the capital, another pair of figures also can be seen. One is seated next to the combatants. He too holds a sword and a large and very distinctive pointed shield. A seated figure attempts to attract the attention of this knight, but is not successful (Figure 95).

The specific identity of these figures, with the possible exception of the king, is problematic. It will be argued here that the two fighters refer to fighting as a form of violence, the sin of anger, which counters the maintenance of order that it was the duty of the king to provide for the people of his realm. The two men holding swords and shields are the king's staff, whose function it is to implement the laws and will of the king. The two men seated behind the knights are the king (on the south face) and a pretender of sorts (on the north face); one a legitimate ruler, like an emperor or king, the other an illegitimate one lacking authority. Like the Maiestas Domini, which addresses the origin of all authority, this capital is carved with a subject related to the concept of authority. It is the nature of the authority exercised by the king over his subjects through his representatives. This capital might be summed up as the "authority of men over men."
The frontal view of Wrestlers shows two men who are fighting. They deviate from the warriors celebrated in the medieval gestas and represented as triumphant warriors in the art of the Romanesque sculptured facades. They can also be contrasted with certain scenes on capitals showing conflicts between knights or between virtues and vices (Figure 156). No banners identify either figure as a virtue or a vice (Figures 161 and 164). They are draped with a simple tunic, and do not wear armor, possess swords or other weapons, nor do they have helmets and shields, as do the figures on a capital thought to show the Peace of God at St. Sernin (Figure 164). These men are unmounted, unarmed, and do not seem to be draped in any garment, uniform, or costume that would identify them as knights engaged in a righteous war or even pilgrims or clerics engaged in an unruly row.

Since these two figures lack attributes and uniforms to reveal their status, the significance of the theme on this capital may be to the sin of fighting rather than to the necessary moral and physical stand against enemies that occasionally must be made by Christian knights.

A few reasons for this may be mentioned. One is the striking parallel between the interlacing arms and legs of the bodies and the serpentine poses of the combatants and the poses of Adam and Eve on the eleventh century reliquary of St. Isidore (Figure 21). Barasch and
Werckmeister have pointed out many references to exaggerated and twisted gestures in the writings of the church fathers and in the Bible, where, the two men argue, such poses and gestures connote evil and sin, especially when seen in the figures of Adam and Eve. The linear flow of twisted and intertwined bodies of the wrestlers is very reminiscent of the poses of Adam and Eve in the Fall. Perhaps this was deliberately employed by the anonymous sculptor and iconographer of the León program to depict fighting as a manifestation of the sin of anger, the cause of disorder in a society, rather than fighting as a consecrated activity integral to the Reconquista project.

That moral strife and evil are indicated by the figures is further supported by comparing illustrations of the Psalms from the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht Psalter, Univ. Lib. Cod. 32. Fol. j⁵: Psalm 14 and Utrecht Psalter, Univ. Lib. Cod. 30⁵: Psalm 53; Figure 165) with the San Isidoro Wrestlers. Weitzmann characterizes these illustrations as "pictorealizations of evil doings." He cites these illustrations as the source for similar scenes on the ivories of the throne of Charles the Bald (Figures 166 and 167). There, the iconography, following Percy Schramm, defines Charles the Bald as an imitator of David, who as the writer of some of the Psalms, was often depicted in the midst of the illustrations of evil because
it was his responsibility to war against it. Weitzmann writes, "Like the King of the Old Testament he is surrounded by enemies but he will triumph over evil doers.""60

Other examples of annonymous wrestlers in Romanesque sculpture include capitals at Anzy-le-Duc (Figure 162), at Santiago de Compostela (Figure 146) and St. Martin de Sauvigny.61 A possible parallel in the medium of sculpture for the Wrestlers capital at San Isidoro as a moral comment on the unsuitability of physical strife and conflict may be seen in the Italian monastic building of Sagra di San Michele, where a capital with wrestlers is also included. A moralizing inscription on it states, "Deponite litium, locum pacis est"62 (Figure 163).

The two figures to the left and to the right of the wrestlers, on the north and south lateral faces of the capital, can be distinguished from the wrestlers in that they possess weapons and shields. They may be intermediary authorities who serve the king. Frequently, one or more of these armed men, with swords and pointed shields, may be seen in representations of the kings and their courts (Figures 168 and 169), from the Liber Testamentorum Regium done under Alfonso VII for Bishop Pelayo (1126-29). This man is labeled aronger regis. The armiger, also called the alferez, was an especially important official in the court of the Spanish kings. He
was the royal standard bearer and armor bearer of the king, and it was he who received the king's coronation oath and presented the sword to the king as a symbol of the king's temporal authority. He was also the commander of the king's troops. While it is not possible to determine if the alferez was one or the other of the two men holding swords in this capital, it does seem probable that these men were the king's men and as such, represented, at a level below him but above the population, the king's authority.

While either one or both of these armed men could stop the conflict between the wrestlers, neither does so. In fact, both seem oblivious to the struggle between the two men going on on the front of the capital. The sculptor was more interested in the interactions between the two soldiers and the two men seated behind them, in order to emphasize the importance of obedience to authority.

The seated figure behind the south face guard is a king. He wears a crown which assists in a sure identification of him, and his cross-legged pose parallels that of King David on the south portal, the Puerta de las Platerías, at Santiago de Compostela and other examples of kings which can be seen in medieval art (Figure 140). He looks toward the space of the viewer and gestures toward the guard with his left arm outstretched with open palm as
if presenting the guard to the viewer. The king's right hand is pointed toward the sword that the guard is holding.

The sword was one of the objects employed to symbolize the authority of the king in the courts of the kings of Leon. Isidore, too, made reference to the sword when he directed kings to employ the sword, which especially symbolized the king's power over evil, when the word was insufficient to sustain order.

This part of the capital seems to sum up Isidore's axiom that the king first resort to instruction and persuasion, as indicated by his use of gestures appropriate to authority figures. The pointed finger and open palm are used by St. Jerome, for example, as he instructs interested clerics concerning the Vulgate. (Figure 171, above.) Gunzo, architect of Cluny III, uses a similar gesture to describe his vision to a skeptical St. Hugh (Figure 171, below). The guard responds by opening the palm of his left hand and turning his head to regard the king. In both cases, the gestures are conventional gestures, which can be observed in Roman art as well as medieval art. (Figure 170).

The figure on the north face of this same capital (Figure 95) can be contrasted with the king on the south face. He is partially hidden by the large pointed shield of one of the guards. He also lacks a crown. This man is
clearly of lower status than the king depicted on the south face of the capital.

The exact identification of this figure is problematic. His position is analogous to the position of the king. This would imply that he purports to occupy a position of authority. Yet, he attempts to exercise it by tapping on the shoulder of the guard and even stepping on his foot. The curved wrist and pointed finger is a gesture used by the vice anger (Ira) in a late eleventh century ms. of the Psychomachia from Moissac (Figure 172). The man is also ignored by the knight. This contrasts with the knight's response to the king on the south face of the same capital. A possible explanation for this figure might be that he serves as a contrast to the king, whose authority is legitimate. Since his gesture seems to communicate anger, the anonymous figure may also be a "bad king" or tyrant, whose anger was thought to arise from the sin of pride.68

A Gregorian analysis can be continued. Pride, Gregory wrote, was further revealed in the refusal of those under authority to obey. This in turn allowed the most flagrant manifestations of anger to exist in the society.69 More specific identification for this figure might be a count of Castile, who, as non-royalty, sometimes challenged the prestige and authority of the Leonese kings.
In this capital, the sculptor indicated the social status of each figure. While the figure on the north face of the capital cannot be identified specifically, he at least can be contrasted with the king, whose crown, posture, appropriate gesture, and recognition from his staff facilitate his identification. The knights, with their shields and swords, are noble members of this militaristic society. The wrestlers, lacking weapons, uniforms and other attributes of knights, clergy or pilgrims, are clearly of low social status. By designating the status of the figures, through behavior, uniform, and attribute, each's ordo or position in the hierarchy is ascertained. The concept ordo was central to medieval thinking about society and the manner in which it reflected God's plan. In de Ordine, St. Augustine wrote, "Order is that by which God calls into being all that exists." In the same treatise, he indicates, "Order is that which will lead us to God." In the City of God, order led "... to a state of peace, the tranquility of order." The Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies by the Pseudo-Dionysius also emphasized that hierarchy existed even in heaven, and its presence on earth was a desirable reflection of the divine plan. Gregory, too, stressed the importance of ordo. The sin of carnal pride, manifest by anger, caused tyrants and subjects to revolt against their rulers.
Medieval government was based upon a descending transference of authority and power. All power and authority was from God. It was then distributed to the king, not by virtue of his person, but by virtue of his office. It was then, by him, distributed to his staff, and from them, to the lower strata of society. The degree of status, authority and power of an individual was dependent on his ordo rather than upon any personal qualities. What was important, in terms of his power in the society, was his place within the theocratic hierarchy.

The king-staff-society model, furthermore, conforms to the tripartite model that was frequently employed in medieval analyses of the heavens, the cosmos, and the state. While numerous authors ascribed to the tripartite model, especially significant in its formulation was the Pseudo-Dionysius who emphasized the importance of the number three in God's plan, in his influential Celestial Hierarchy.

The capital, then, dealt with the sin of anger shown here as conflict. Rather than depicting the sin of anger as an embodiment of evil deserving endless torments in hell, in some remote space at some remote time, the sculptor has shown fighting as a contemporary evil, which the king has both the authority and duty to restrain. Indeed, one of the king's most important responsibilities was to achieve and maintain an orderly society. The king
is shown exercising that right and responsibility through his staff, as suggested in the legal treatises. A moral question, here, is given a sociological treatment by the sculptor.81

The sin of anger or disorder existed in society, but remedies for it also existed, in the form of governments, legitimate kings, and their representatives. Of course, kings must be legitimate and must exercise their authority appropriately. The virtues of humility and patience must be sought. This can be achieved by imitating David (Figure 151) and by acknowledging the Lord as the "seat of majesty" (Figure 94).

Luxuria

On the western side of the fourth pier of the south nave arcade is a capital called Luxuria. (Figure 98 – 102; 10 in Diagram 16) There, two large robustly modeled nudes of a male and of a female figure are depicted. A large twisting serpent, or more probably the worm referred to in Isaiah,82 winds over and under the thighs of both figures, shielding the genitals.

The subject at first seems unproblematic. The work conforms to the Tours of Hell tradition, stressing especially the grave consequences of sexual activity, so
much a part of the Christian monastic tradition. Frequently, upon the sculptured portals of Romanesque churches figures in Hell, usually female, were depicted being tormented by snakes, toads, worms, and the like (Figures 173 and 174). A sculptured capital at Santiago de Compostela, carved with a squatting female figure similar to the two figures on the Leon capital, is an example (Figure 147). The capital Luxuria seems typical of those misogynous themes often written about by the church fathers. Yet, some distinguishing features can be seen in the Leon capital. I will attempt to show that the political concept auctoritas directed the iconography of this capital. Augustine's analysis of Adam's and Eve's Fall is presented as the justification for the subordination of woman to man.

While both figures are large, strongly modeled figures with well articulated physiques, closer examination of the figures reveals the larger breasts of the figure to the viewer's right (Figure 97). Other details of the iconography of the capital tend to support the identification of the figures as male and female.

In his discussion of the redemption and subsequent resurrection of man, Augustine emphasized that both men and women would be included. In his analysis of the Fall of Man, Augustine likewise assigned equal culpability
to both Adam and Eve. He distinguished, however, Eve's psychological role from that of Adam.

While both Adam and Eve were responsible for the Fall, the serpent approached Eve because her capacity for discerning the truth was less than that of Adam. The serpent approached Eve because she could be deceived.

This section of Augustine's analysis of the Fall can be observed on the south lateral face of the Leon capital Luxuría. There, a monstrous demon kneels and addresses the woman, cupping his mouth in order to muffle his voice so that only she can hear (Figure 100). While Adam was equally guilty, he was not deceived. His mate enticed him and he placed pleasing her (and himself) over satisfying the desires of his creator. His intellect was still superior and this was the grounds employed for ascribing to Scriptural admonitions (Genesis III, 16 and Ephesians V, 21-25) directing the subjugation of women to the authority of men. That woman came from man (Genesis II, 23) was also cited as God ordained evidence of woman's natural and irrevocable subjection to man.

This was incorporated into the illustrations of legal treaties in the twelfth century. Examples can be seen in the illuminations prefacing Gratian's Decretals (Figure 175). There, a miniature depicting Gratian presenting his Decretals to a patron (top register) are placed over the
Creation of Woman (lowest register). There, too, the Lord holds the crooked rib from which she was fashioned as if to further emphasize her hopeless and irrevocable inferiority to her mate (Ecclesiastes VII:13; see also Figure 176).

In the León capital, the man's more developed intellect enables him to be more receptive to instruction from authorities such as the king. This is shown in the Leon capital by the inclusion of the king, on the north face of the capital, as the counselor to the man (Figure 102). Such a public presentation of the kingdom's position on women and authority was especially relevant at San Isidoro. This may have been because the sisters of the kings, Urraca, Alfonso VI's sister, and Sancha, Alfonso VII's sister, both generous patronesses of San Isidoro, were exceptionally close to their brothers, acting as trusted advisors to them. Alfonso VII's mother, moreover, ruled as the regent of León in her own right. She was the heir of the throne inherited from her father, Alfonso VI. While Urraca maintained the kingdom of León and the support of that region, many other territories were lost and of course, little headway was made in the reclamation of Moslem held lands. In spite of her success in preserving the crown of León, Urraca's rule placed the kingdom in serious peril and was characterized by strife.
and political instability. This was credited to her sex rather than to the difficulty of the challenges that she faced in carrying out her job.

That the two figures are tormented by a worm rather than the serpent recorded in Genesis, suggests that a "universal" man and woman are portrayed on this capital. This would support the interpretation of this work as the subordination of woman to man as justified by her role in the Fall. That the two figures tormented by the huge, winding worms are nude, indicating that they are souls, may also be significant to the political philosophy of the period. The "salvation of souls" was one of the most important concerns of the Spanish kings. In this capital, the authority exercised by men over women was combined with the king's rule in guaranteeing the "salvation of souls." This was one of Alfonso VII's stated goals. It balanced the welfare of the body resulting from an orderly society promised in the capital Wrestlers, here identified as authority over men. In the City of God, Augustine wrote that while man was comprised of both body and soul, the soul, rather than the body, experienced pain, whether bodily pain due to illness and injury, or emotional or spiritual pain, such as anguish, distress, guilt, remorse, depression, weariness or the like. Because the soul is immortal,
Augustine believed it could be tormented forever if repentance did not take place prior to death. This punishment might take the form of fire or of the "worm that never slept." The psychological anguish experienced by the soul, furthermore, might specifically be that resulting from the realization that a penitent attitude might have saved the soul from the punishments of hell.

That the perils of the souls are emphasized in the capital Luxuria is further demonstrated by the little bowman drawing his bow in the center of the composition. One of the most curious aspects of the capital Luxuria is that the apparent main subject, the two nudes imprisoned by snakes or worms, are placed under the left and right corners of the abaci. The two figures cannot be viewed simultaneously. If the viewer stands right in front of the capital, a wedge-like projection with two smooth planes will be seen in the center of the composition and on its axis. A small, crouched bowman can be seen immediately above this axis between the spiraling tendrils, each pressing a small ball on the head of each figure. Who is this figure and what is his significance? Considering his placement in the composition of Luxuria, his role in the subject must have been important.
A logical identification of a child Bowman between lovers is Cupid. The sin cupiditas was named after the Greek and Roman boy-god, Cupid. Cupid was, to the Greeks and Romans, responsible for arousing desire and affection. His arrows were employed for this. He could, as well, lie, causing those unattractive to appear beautiful and the like. St. Isidore, in Origines VIII, ii, described Cupid as the "god of fornication." Isidore's attitude toward love was markedly negative. He equated it in all forms with instability, stupidity, and pain resulting in an inflammation of the heart. The arrow was as well often used in the Romantic poetry of the Moslems and Jews, as a metaphor for falling in love and the pangs of unsatisfied or unrequited love.

Certainly, these references, some of which were known by the iconographer and the sculptor of the capitals at San Isidoro, may have had some relevance to the subject carved on this capital. Other sources may have also been significant.

Arrows are a metaphor frequently used in the Bible, where the arrow had many of the same meanings, sometimes conflicting, that the lion has. In Lamentations 3:12; Habakkuk 3:9; Psalms, 38:2, the arrow constitutes God's disfavor or a punishment that he inflicts on the sinner. In other passages, notably Jeremiah 9:8 or Proverbs 25:18,
it refers to sins of the tongue, bearing false witness against one's neighbor, certainly a serious problem for the unmarried daughters of the king and for Alfonso VII himself, (see discussion of Acrobats). Here, the little bowman will be related to passages from Scripture, from St. Augustine's City of God, and to Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job. I will attempt to show that the bowman articulates the soul's continual vulnerability to the torment of temptation and the devil that is due to the sin of Pride.

If the viewer observes the capital from the front, it will be seen that the vertical axis is emphasized. The vertical is stressed by the projecting edge of the shape supporting the bowman. In stressing the vertical, it engages, in the viewer, an awareness of his own vertical standing, upright state. The sculptor places at the apex of the vertical a crouched bowman. The effect is similar to Psalm 11:2.

For look! The wicked bend their bow They make ready their arrow on the string, that they may shoot secretly at the upright in heart.  

Like the San Isidoro sculptor, the Psalm goes on to reassure us that the Lord will watch over us:

4. The Lord is in his Holy Temple;  
The Lord--his throne is in Heaven.  
7. For the Lord is just . . . the upright men will see his face,
The bowman was often equated with evil in medieval art. An illustration of the virtue patience, from a ninth century manuscript (Figure 181) shows Patience in armor viciously assaulted by a bowman whose smaller assistant holds more arrows for him. The art of archery was held in high esteem by the Moslems, and a bow and arrow are held by the figure of Ishmael on the tympanum of the Puerta del Cordero (Figure 4). Jewish commentators on the Torah, perhaps coincidentally, note the sin of anger as one committed by both Ishmael, associated with the Moslems, and Esau, associated by the Jews with Rome and with the Christians. The Romans much earlier had used the bow and arrow to symbolize immediate death, and equated its use with cowardice. Sudden death was a special concern of the church because of the impossibility of performing penance before death.

As well, a passage in the City of God may have been referred to in the inclusion of the small bowman in this capital. In discussing the torments experienced in this life, St. Augustine quotes Job 7:1 and states: "However, the very life we mortals lead is itself all punishment, for it is all temptation, as the Scriptures declare, where it is written, 'Is not the life of man upon earth as temptation?'"
The bowman's central role in the iconography of this capital can be demonstrated through relating the motif to passages from Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job. As Baasten shows in his analysis of the Moralia, Gregory continually reiterates the gravity of the sin of Pride. It is the vulnerability that devils exploit in order to tempt man to commit sin. Too often, Gregory warns, men overcome lust only to fall prey to the far graver sin of spiritual pride. Gregory likens the devil to a bowman who wounds in secret. He cites Psalm 11:2 as a Scriptural authority for this (see above). Gregory writes:

For there are some, on the other hand, who, while they avoid the uncleanness of lust, plunge through the height of chastity, into the gulf of pride ... and a fault which springs from a virtue is, as it were, an arrow from the quiver wounding in secret.

Spiritual pride, Gregory emphasizes, was Adam's sin and the cause of his Fall. It distorted Adam's judgment prior to Eve's deception. The woman and traditional medieval misogyny seduce, as it were, the medieval visitor into confronting the mortal flaw of pride which cannot be escaped, except through the submission to authority and the acknowledgment of total dependency on the Lord.
Summary — The "Auctoritas" Grouping of Capitals

Wrestlers, Luxuria, the Maiestas Domini, and Free Will are all located close to the Puerta del Cordero. The south face of Wrestlers (with the king addressing the viewer and his man; Figures 98 and 99) and the Maiestas Domini (Figure 88) would have been the first sculpture encountered by the medieval visitor.

The four capitals just discussed are carved with subjects related to different kinds of authority. The Maiestas Domini represents the ultimate source of all authority in the society. Lions and Monsters, here re-titled Augustinian-Isidorian Free Will, is depicted with motifs related to man's authority over himself. Wrestlers and Luxuria can be thought of as addressing the different types of authority vested in men over other men and men over women, respectively. (See Diagram 20)

North Nave Arcade—The Struggle Against Evil and the Law of the Victor

The next three sculptures at San Isidoro are located in the north nave arcade. These works (see Diagram 17) are Addorsed Cocks with Inhabited Vines (6 in Diagram 16), Three Lion Riders (4 in Diagram 16), and Acrobats (3 in Diagram 16), All three of these themes can be related to the struggle, triumphant and otherwise, against evil.
Cocks with Inhabited Vines

Cocks with Inhabited Vines (Figures 64, 65, 66 and 67) is located on the east side of the third pier in San Isidoro. It is a conflation of two traditional themes; fighting cocks with trainers and inhabited vines. On the frontal face of this capital, two birds face one another entrapped in a thick texture of vines. On the north and south face of this same capital are well modeled nudes ascending the vines. The beauty of the bodies of the youthful nudes parallels the sensuality of Jewish and Islamic love poetry that extols the beauty of young boys and likens their limber bodies to the branches of trees. I will attempt to demonstrate the relationship that this motif has with medieval political symbolism; the concept Ordo will be stressed.

The motif of nudes, often children or youths, twisting, climbing, frolicking, or working in vines is a common one in the art of western Europe during ancient and medieval times. Inhabited vines are common motifs in twelfth century Spanish Romanesque monumental sculpture. Its use at San Isidoro is paralleled in northern Spanish Romanesque sculpture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in columns and capitals from Santiago de Compostela and Jaca (Figure 137). A variant on the motif can be observed on a sculptured capital at Santiago de Compostela where larger and more mature figures struggle with one another...
behind a screen of thick, dried stalk-like vines quite similar to those in the *Addorsed Cocks with Inhabited Vines* at San Isidoro in Leon (Figure 146).

In ancient Roman art, the motif was common in funeral and imperial art. Small nudes and vines were often depicted on the sarcophagi of those associated with such mystery cults as that of Dionysius. Small nudes play, work, and harvest the fruit of the vine (Figure 177).

Christian artists and iconographers later made use of this ubiquitous motif in funerary art. The small nudes symbolized the soul. The vines and their fruit, often grapes, were symbols of the death of Christ on the cross and his subsequent resurrection and triumph over sin and death, and its liturgical re-creation in the sacrament of the Eucharist. References to the harvest of souls at the end of the world could also be suggested by the small nude children's busy collection of the grapes from the vines (Figure 178).

In addition to a well established tradition as a funerary motif, the nude and the vine also had rich symbolic meanings as separate motifs. The nude is a traditional symbol for the human soul or for the inner man, and its use in medieval arts was generally reserved for the soul, for the first parents, especially prior to the Fall, or for the souls awaiting judgment at the end of the world.
At San Isidoro, both uses of the nude were known and employed in *The Reliquary of San Isidore* (Figures 21-28), where the First Parents are shown as nudes. In the Crucifix of Fernando and Sancha, small cramped twisted nudes huddle around the borders of the Crucifix, reflecting the pain and struggles of the human soul (Figures 19, 20 and 179).\(^{110}\)

The vine as well is an ubiquitous motif in ancient and medieval art. Frequently decorative, the vine is a rich metaphor in both the Old and New Testament where it is employed in a variety of ways. Included are the vine as the symbol of Christ, of his people, of God's chosen people, the elect, the damned and so on (Matthew 13:1-45; 12:33-37 or John 15:1-11).

In the *City of God*, Augustine cites several analogies between the state and God and His universe. Therefore, it is not surprising that secular rulers used Biblical metaphors to refer to people subject to them,\(^{111}\) describing the people as fruits of vines husbanded by them. Imperial art reflects this. Inhabited vines or rinceaux can be observed on the throne of St. Peter.\(^{112}\) On the Throne of Charles the Bald are rinceaux with figures, animals, and composite creatures. Much vicious conflict takes place within these vines (Figures 166 and 167). Weitzmann identifies the scenes of conflict as happening
in the earthly realm. He compares the emperor's (Charles the Bald) presence amid the foray to the Psalmist's presence in the midst of conflicts illustrated in the Utrecht Psalter. He concludes that the similarity is due to the identification of Carolingian kings with David (imitatio Davidus regis). The king was "Novus David who is the moral force which tries to overcome the iniquities of this world."\footnote{113}

The youths in the San Isidoro capital may also be engaged in a struggle against evil. They struggle against dry sinewy vines which possess little foliation and no fruit.

Gregory the Great symbolized the sin of Pride by such a plant.\footnote{114} In the Moralia in Job, he writes:

\begin{quote}
For he would not wither up, through those many branches of sin, had he not first, through this pride, become rotten in the root. For it is written, pride is the beginning of all sin. For by this . . . He assaulted the health of our immortality with the same weapon as he destroyed the life of his own blessedness. For as a root is covered over beneath, but yet branches expand outwardly from it, so pride conceals itself within, but open vices immediately shoot from it.\footnote{115}
\end{quote}

The poses of the figures also express struggle. If compared to other works of art in the church of San Isidoro and works associated closely with San Isidoro, it can be seen that the poses of the figures contrast with both the inverted poses of the outright lost (Figures 52,
and the vertical poses of the saved (Figure 113).

The front of this capital is carved with two cocks. This further supports the view that strife and conflict are the central concerns of its iconography. Cocks were rich in associations with courage, valor—it was said that they even frightened lions—and love of victory, which Pliny claimed they foretold.\(^{116}\) They were attributes of Hermes Psychopomp who led souls to a new dawning of life after death. The cockfight was a popular motif on Roman, and later, Christian tombs. There, it symbolized the struggles of life.\(^{117}\) With Roman symbols, the Christians added more associations to the cock. As the announcer of light, the cock symbolized Christ. The cock announced a deepening of Peter’s faith after his denial of Christ. The cock’s ability to intimidate the lion hinted at his ability to triumph over evil. Much of this symbolism is summarized in a poem written by the fifth century Spaniard, Prudentius, which was probably known to the anonymous iconographer of San Isidoro. The Hymnus Galli Cantum (from the Cathermerion I) was recited on Shrove Tuesday, a penitential feast day, as a call to repent. The poem identifies the cock as a type of Christ and as an awakener of the soul from the darkness of evil and death.\(^{118}\) Several texts allude to the cock as a symbol of
the Christian preacher's duties and the rigors required for their successful execution. A special variant of this theme included young boys overseeing the match. The boys express either the feeling of triumph or defeat, depending upon their cock's outcome in the fray. Three known examples of this iconography can be observed on Burgundian Romanesque sculptured capitals at Autun and Saulieu. The example of St. Lazare is shown here (Figure 180). The iconography of these works has been analyzed in depth by Ilene Forsyth. The capital at San Isidoro is a variant of this theme.

The nude on the northern face of the San Isidoro capital contrasts with the one carved on the southern face in attitude. The nude youth on the northern face of the capital (Figures 66 and 67) is very intent on his ascent. He looks upward and fully concentrates on his struggle. His visage is serious; his lips straight. His shoulders and arm muscles are noticeably tense. His toes grip the astragal of the capital, and his leg pushes him against the pier to gain added leverage. Heavy, entangled branches and vines thwart his progress, as one presses over his head, another, behind his neck and shoulders, another across his chest, between his legs, and over his calf just below his knee. The figure on the south face of the capital can be contrasted with the one just described. This figure is more extroverted and seems to
look across the nave of the church. His expression is one of ease, even gaiety. His arms are outstretched with open palms. No vines bind his chest. His legs are graceful, and he seems just at the verge of breaking free. The two figures on the north and southern face of the capital at San Isidoro are in very different attitudes.

The nudes on the San Isidoro capital possess the conventional poses of the owner of the winning Cock (Figure 65), with a contrasting attitude for the figure whose cock has been defeated. (Figure 66). Because the two youths are nude, they also call to mind the idealized athletes engaged in conflict and sport whose commitment to self discipline and victory were often allegorized as a moral ideal by the Greeks, Romans and Christians. Forsyth is convinced that the boys with the fighting cocks comprised an allegory rich in associations. She considered the cocks to be symbols of the body whereas the nudes suggested souls. "The victory of the cock, with his supporting genius would be analogous to the hope for resurrection, the victory of the soul over death." Forsyth concludes that the cocks attended by boys might allude to the personal struggle of body and soul against sin. Contrasting the boys and cocks with conflicts between individual virtues and vices is Prudentius' Psychomachia, though, according to Forsyth,"...
it is more complex than any of the individual antitheses within that Battle, such as charity with avarice or chastity with luxury; for it would in a sense, encompass all of them. 123

It is the sculptured capital at San Isidoro that especially satisfies Forsyth's analysis. In the tradition of imperial iconography, strife and struggles of this realm were depicted in a foliate setting. The plant in the San Isidoro work, devoid of foliage and fruit, is comparable to the analogies made between dried plants and the sin of pride, the root or mother of all sins, in Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job. It will further be noticed that the cocks are aggressors toward the plant rather than toward one another. Finally, it is the soul, rather than the body, that is triumphant, and the other soul (Figure 66), in contrast to the owner of the losing cock in the more traditional iconography, is intent and determined rather than depressed.

To further understand the meaning of this capital and the two nudes which are sculptured on it, it may be useful to recall that the iconographer of the Leon sculptures often amplified the meanings of the capitals by designing them as pendants to one another. If Cocks with Inhabited Vines is seen in relation to other sculptured capitals in San Isidoro, the work gains meaning and also amplifies the significance of the other works.
If the direction of the joyful nude's gaze is followed, it will lead to a sculptured capital located on the west side of the second pier of the south arcade, the *Maiestas Domini* (Figure 86). If viewed from a position under and in front of the *Maiestas Domini*, the attitude of liberation and joy, on the part of the small nude on the south face of the capital, is unmistakable.

The working together of the *Cocks with Inhabited Vines* and the *Maiestas Domini* enriches and clarifies the meaning of both works. Other passages from the Bible may be invoked. Such Scriptural passages might include John 14:6 "... I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life;" or John 15:1, "I am the true vine, and my father is the vine dresser;" and 15:16, "You did not choose me, no, I chose you, and I commissioned you to go out to bear fruit; fruit that will last."

Forsyth's relating the boys and cocks to the Eros-Anteeros tradition and Scriptural true love may also be noted. These references imply that the soul was "made" for God (Prov. 8:17; "I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me," and I John 4:19; "We love him because he first loved us.")

Since the *Maiestas Domini* is often associated with the Second Coming and the Last Judgment, especially in Romanesque sculpture, allusions to the Last Days are made
more explicit if the Cocks and Inhabited Vines are viewed as pendants.

The Cocks and Inhabited Vines are motifs frequently seen in imperial art and in funereal art. It is certain that both allude to the struggle of life. The Christians further transformed the motifs into allegories of the struggle against evil, but with, as Forsyth demonstrated, a victorious and triumphant outcome through Christ. The meaning of victory through Christ may have been underscored by the Perpetual Light in San Isidoro. Citing Augustine's Sermons 221, 231, and 133, Lyman suggests that light, in Augustinian churches, was thought of as a "... physical evocation of Christ as the Light of the World amid his victory over death." Thus, the soul triumphs through reliance on Christ, as was reiterated in the writings of the church fathers.

It is possible that Cocks and Inhabited Vines played an even more important role in the iconographic program at San Isidoro. The capital may have integrated at least several, and probably all of the sculptured capitals under the unifying concept of ordo. This concept, of central importance in medieval theology and political theory, has already been discussed in relation to Wrestlers. I will attempt to show that a text from de Ordine (386) by St. Augustine, undoubtedly known either directly or indirectly
by the anonymous iconographer, suggests its more theoretical aspects.

In Chapter 8, Section 25, Augustine and his young students, Licentius and Trygeius, prepare to engage in disputation. They are interrupted by battling cocks. Augustine writes:

We chose to watch. For what do the eyes of lovers not notice? Where do they not research beautiful reason through something else?—reason which rules and governs all things, known and unknown, and which attracts her eager followers from all directions and wherever she commands that she be sought. Whence and where indeed can she not give a signal?—as was seen in those fowls: the lowered heads stretched forward, neck-plumage distended, the lusty thrusts, and such wary parryings; and in every motion of the irrational animals, nothing indecorous—precisely because another Reason from on high rules over all things. Finally, the very law of the victor: the proud crowing, the almost perfectly orbed arrangement of the members, as if in haughtiness of supremacy. But the sign of the vanquished: hackles plucked from the neck; in carriage and in cry, all bedraggled—and for that very reason, somehow other, beautiful and in harmony with nature's laws.

Before continuing the citation of the text from Augustine, let us note its parallels to the capitals at San Isidoro.

First, the iconography of Cocks and Inhabited Vines is derived, with some salient modifications, from the cock fight motif. It is a common barnyard scene, in effect, a genre scene. Its justification lies in its capacity to reveal higher truths. Seekers after beauty contemplate the cockfight because it reveals God's order, specifically the law of the victor. This passage, in effect, justifies
all the capitals in San Isidoro, since all reveal higher truths, for as noted earlier, all are symbolic rather than narrative works. Augustine then alludes to the "Reason from on high (who) rules all things." This conforms literally to the presentation of the Maiestas Domini at San Isidoro which includes inscriptions emphasizing "on high" and absolute sovereignty.

Augustine then proceeds:

26. We asked many questions: Why do all cocks behave this way? Why do they fight for the females under their dominion? . . . We were saying to ourselves: Where does law not reign? Where is the right of commanding not due to a superior being? Here, again, these words may be "glosses" of subjects depicted in the sculptured capitals of San Isidoro (see Diagram 20). Men are shown in hand-to-hand combat in the Wrestlers capitals alluding to the sin of anger which was especially committed by males. Augustine suggests that their dominion over females must be earned. Strife is part of the ordo. Luxuria as interpreted in this study communicates women's inferior status relative to men is also a part of ordo as defined in this text. It would seem, as Augustine states explicitly elsewhere in this treatise, that evil itself is a part of the ordo, as is God:
29. What about God himself, I ask? Does he not seem to you to be governed by order? ... "Do you not admit that Christ is God, who came to us by way of order? and says he was sent by God the Father? If therefore God sent us Christ by way of order, and we admit that Christ is God, then God not only governs all things but is himself governed by order," then, Trygetius ... says, "... But when we say 'God,' it is not Christ that occurs to the mind, so to speak: it is the Father. On the other hand, Christ occurs when we say 'Son of God.'" "A fine thing you are doing," says Licentius. "Shall we therefore deny that the son of God is God?" ... "Yes, he is God: But properly speaking, we call the Father 'God.'"

Control yourself better, I say to him, for the Son is not improperly called God."

This text, then, indicates God's performance in the ordo.

It also relates the interchangability of Persons which was cited in relation to the Maiestas Domini capital earlier in this study.

The above texts, according to this analysis, can be related allegorically to the Cocks and Inhabited Vines, the Maiestas Domini, Wrestlers, and Luxuria. The subject Cocks and Inhabited Vines is more important to the iconographic program at San Isidoro than is apparent. Through the theme's possible reference to Augustine's youthful treatise on ordo, the cock fight thematically unifies the Maiestas Domini, Wrestlers, and Luxuria. As de Ordini is read further, Augustine discusses the issue of pride and habit. Therefore, this text also intergrates Lions and Monsters (Free Will) into the ensemble.
The debate between the two youthful philosophers had one victor and one loser. Both eventually show that pride flawed their characters:

Now when Trygetius, moved by reverence for God, was unwilling that his words be recorded, then Licentius—after the fashion of boys, or rather, after the fashion of men, and alas! nearly all men—was insisting that they remain recorded, as though the question were being debated among us for the sole purpose of winning glory. While I was rebuking him harshly, he blushed; and I noticed that Trygetius was grinning and gleeful at his abashment. Licentius first shows pride, but upon rebuke, shows humility. Trygetius, then, gives way to spiritual pride gloating at the reprisals visited upon his colleague.

Thus, both sin. Augustine then chides them:

Then I say to both of them: Is this the way you act? Does not the fact that we are overburdened by the weight of perverse habits of life and encompassed by the obscurities of ignorance trouble you? ... There are some—believe me—there are some who are called to rise high; others are let fall to the depths.

Augustine continues reproving the boys. He urges them to repent. Co-operative pupils, they do. The discussion terminates thus:

... Trygetius says, "Let our penalty remain recorded so that the very same vainglory which allures us, may, by its own sting, deter us from love of it. But we shall take great pains that these records become known only to our friends and close acquaintances." Licentius agreed.

Licentius and Trygetius, then, with the best teacher and best intentions, nevertheless are swayed by pride, also an
integral part of the ordo. Augustine's mother Monica then appears. She introduces the missing component humility and Augustine somewhat condescendingly informs her that Christ said, "My kingdom is not of this world." Thus, the joyful soul whose gaze is directed toward the Lord avoids both bad kings and false ones (see above, Wrestlers, and below, Lion Riders) and achieves his victory through God.

The Cocks with Inhabited Vines, then, is a motif rich in associations. An important literary source for it may have been the De Origine of Augustine. Undoubtedly recognized by only the most erudite and discerning visitor, the reference integrates several of the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro under the heading ordo. The sensitive observer would be given a signpost to contemplate the sculptured capitals inside San Isidoro in order to penetrate their higher meanings.

Three Samsons or Three Lion Riders

On the west side of the first pier to the west of the crossing in the nave arcade (4 in Diagram 14; Figures 42, 43 and 44) is a capital entitled Three "Samsons" or Three Lion Riders. Here, it will first be argued that Alfonso VII's identification with the Old Testament king David, as a novus David, is explicit in this capital.
Secondly, I will attempt to show that the three different treatments of the lion riders were intended to allude to the three religions to which the subjects of his realm adhered.

The front of this capital has a depiction of a draped unbearded man astride a lion over which he exerts perfect control. Figures astride lions or its variant, struggling with or subduing lions, are common motifs in the art of ancient and medieval times. The motif appears in the decorative arts (Figure 182), as well as in more serious art forms, such as funerary monuments or coins (Figures 183, 184), or on the facades or capitals of Romanesque churches such as the one here at San Isidoro (Figures 186, 187, and 188).

The man wrestling with the lion was often identified with Hercules in Roman times. The Roman emperors identified with Hercules because of his strength and fortitude, the latter being the virtue held in highest esteem.138

The Christians assimilated the Hercules and lion, as they did many motifs from the Greco-Roman traditions, and employed the motif for Samson, the great strong man and judge, or for David, the greatest of the Hebrew kings and alleged composer of the Psalms.
In the Old Testament, there are frequent references to exchanges between lions and men. The lions, as symbols of evil or God's divine retribution, are the victors. The lion may also be employed as a metaphor for God. At times, God uses the lion, according to the Bible, to express favor or disfavor toward an individual.

Samson was one of the few to vanquish the lion. His story is related in Judges 14:5-9:

When they had come to the vineyards of Thamna, a young lion came roaring to meet him. But the spirit of the Lord came upon Samson, and although he had no weapons, he tore the lion to pieces as one tears a kid.

The passage then notes that Samson kept this incident to himself and later ingested some honey obtained from the jaws of the lion.

The second figure to vanquish both lions and bears was David. David is determined to face the Philistine giant, Goliath, and slay him. The young shepherd attempts to promote himself to Saul, then king of the Hebrews. In Kings, 14:34-36:

And David said to Saul: Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion or a bear, and took a ram out of the midst of the flock. 35 And I
pursued after them, and struck them, and delivered it out of their mouth: and they rose up against me, and I caught them by the throat, and I strangled and killed them.

Subsequently, David encountered Goliath, which resulted in the latter's death. Eventually, David was able to assume the throne as Saul's successor.

In both cases, two courageous men were especially selected to play a role in the governing of God's chosen people. A pattern seems to emerge in Scripture regarding the issue of the lion as an auspicious sign from God. As the society and the government of the Jewish people developed and took on more complex forms, certain leaders especially ordained by God would appear. Judah, the head of the tribe of Judah (also the tribe of David, the tribe of Christ, and the presumed tribe of the Spanish Jews) was likened to a lion (Genesis 69:8-9) and the lion was the symbol of this tribe. Samson, a judge, and David, a distinguished king, were also men who proved their worthiness through successfully struggling against lions. King Solomon, David's successor, would not have to fight the wild beasts as did his father. His throne, however, was embellished with lions to symbolize his wisdom, authority, and power.  

None of these leaders led charmed lives. The Old Testament relates the tragic life of Samson, who gave in
to the wiles of Delilah and lost his strength. David, too, experienced endless forays with war, treachery, women, and children, all portrayed in the Bible in a vivid and lifelike manner.

Three Lion Riders without other events from Samson's or David's lives, on the facades of the Romanesque churches of Aquitaine are usually identified as Samson. Linda Seidel states that they are probably David. Because David's struggles with lions were associated, in medieval art, with representations of the virtues and the vices (or with musical instruments), she suggests that the David and lion motif may symbolize successful and triumphant struggle against evil.

Seidel further notes that the struggle between the lion and man becomes a literary topos for that type of idea. For example, in the Song of Roland, before meeting the Emir Baligant, Charlemagne dreams about a conflict with a lion. The kings of Leon and other heroes of the Reconquista were also often compared to lions. The idea of a lion as a symbol of the introduction of disorder and evil which must then be overcome can also be read in the legal literature of the time, such as in Causa V of Gratian's Decretals. (Figure 189). It appears, then, that the struggle and triumph over the lion which extolled such virtues as fortitude, strength and humility were
widely known and employed in written sources that included legal texts, literature, and the Bible.\textsuperscript{145}

Both Samson and David were distinguished Old Testament heroes who embodied the virtue fortitude. Samson and David both prefigured Christ and his victory over evil. Which of the two men were represented upon the San Isidoro capital?\textsuperscript{146}

The long hair, the massive arms, and the large hands of the lion rider in the capital at San Isidoro are probably the grounds for its usual identification as Samson. Yet, the capital is in the royal church of San Isidoro. David was a more important figure in the Bible than was Samson. David was an ancestor as well as prototype for Christ. David was a king, whereas Samson was a judge. David left the city of Jerusalem when it was at its zenith. He was the exemplar of the law of victory. Samson's demise was tragic, even pathetic. It was David or a David-type figure that was looked to as the Messiah by the Jews.

The Old Testament king David was equally important in Christian medieval political theory. He was a role model for the kings of the middle ages. Pepin the Short (751) was the first Frankish king to be anointed with chrism by a bishop (actually Pope Boniface) in the Old Testament manner and in imitation of David.\textsuperscript{147} The Carolingians
continued to develop a "David-like kingship that was decisively theocentric."\textsuperscript{148}

The consecratio, which invested the office of king with liturgical overtones, was also included in the Visigothic coronation ceremony, possibly before the Franks included it.\textsuperscript{149}

It is definite that Alfonso VII thought of himself as an Old Testament king. He was identified with both Charlemagne and David.\textsuperscript{150} Numerous Old Testament conventions in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, show Alfonso VII as an Israelite king.\textsuperscript{150} His early tutelage under Bishop and later Archbishop Deigo Gelmirez prepared him for this role. That Alfonso VII's early education trained him in the theory of the rex sacerdos is further supported by the fact that he was consecrated a canon of Santiago de Compostela.\textsuperscript{152}

Isidore, in particular, developed a highly idealized definition of the office of king.\textsuperscript{153} He derived the word king (rex) from recte agendo.\textsuperscript{154} Like Augustine, Gregory, and others, he urged rulers to look out for the sin of pride.\textsuperscript{155} To those wishing to exercise their power appropriately, Isidore recommended the imitation of David, especially in relation to his humility.\textsuperscript{156} Augustine and
Gregory also esteemed David for his willingness to acknowledge his humble background as shepherd, his continuous acknowledgment of the Lord as source of his authority, and his willingness to repent for his sins.\textsuperscript{157} Samson was criticized by Gregory in the \textit{Moralia}. He was cited as an example of a man who became blind, having lost his senses, due to sin. Solomon, for all of his wisdom, gave in to concupiscence and idolatry, in Isidore's eyes.\textsuperscript{158}

The promoters of the Crusades wrote, "For God still lives who sanctioned each action through the arms of David."\textsuperscript{159} Gregory VII also stimulated commitment to the reconquest and the crusades by urging the kings to emulate David.

It seems very probable that the San Isidoro Three Lion Riders was to refer specifically to Alfonso VII as a novus David. The Lion Rider differs from the usual convention of a hero, Judeo-Christian or Greco-Roman, exemplifying the virtue fortitude through a struggle with a beast, however. (For Hercules, see the Hercules sarcophagus with a relief of Hercules strangling the Nemean Lion; Figures 190 and 191). The Lion Rider also can be contrasted with depictions of lion fighters whose triumph over the beast is emphasized by antique conventions for victory (also seen in early Christian works, Figure 190).
The lion rider is a common motif in Roman funerary art. The mounted lion adopts the submissive role of domesticated beast of burden. A mood of playfulness prevails when, as is often the case, the lion is ridden by a small child (Figures 183 and 184). This type of image also appears in coins. Triumph is expressed through the enemy's assumption of the role of a child's toy. Spanish twelfth century Romanesque sculptors were aware of this motif, and an example of it can be seen among the sculptured capitals at the castle chapel at Loarre (Figure 192).

The question arises; why did the lion rider replace the lion fighter in many examples of Romanesque representations of Samson and David (Figures 185, 186, 187, and 188)? It is certain that the artists wished to emphasize the concept "triumph." The importance of the mounted warrior in the society, the significance of the mounted warrior as a motif in the militant iconography of Romanesque art, and the frequent appearance of the mounted individual in messianic and apocalyptic literature must have contributed to the transformation of the lion fighter into the lion rider.

King Ramiro's vision of St. James and Alfonso VII's vision of St. Isidore, in which both saints were mounted on white horses, must also have contributed to the special meaning of the mounted figure during the twelfth
century. The mounted warrior, in at least these two instances, signified divine authority and favor in a manner analogous to that of the successful conflicts between Biblical heroes and lions. More latent references to authority, resulting from the Lion Rider, are suggested by its similarities to thrones with lions' heads (Figure 193) based upon Biblical descriptions of the throne of Solomon. If the animal was enlarged, as it was in the small sculpture of King David on the Porte Miegeville door at St.-Sernin in Toulouse, it appears that the king is actually shown as if seated on a lion (Figure 194, above).

Gaillard employed the word "decorative" to describe the Three Lion Riders because the motif of man mounted on a lion appears three times on the capital. However, if the three lion riders are scrutinized more closely, it is evident that each lion rider is unique. The lion rider on the south face of the capital differs markedly from the other two (Figures 52). In this study, I will attempt to show that the lion riders were deliberately handled differently in order to allude to the three different religions of the subjects of his realm.

While Alfonso VII did not refer to himself as "Emperor of the Three Religions," as his grandfather, Alfonso VI, referred to himself as "Emperor of the Two Religions," Alfonso VII and his chroniclers were aware of
the cultural heterogeneity of the three different religions adhered to by his subjects. This can be ascertained in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris which relates Alfonso VII's triumphant entry in Toledo where he is cheered by Christians, Jews, and Saracens, each in their own language.

The northern face of the Three Lion Riders capital is also carved with a figure mounted on a lion. This figure is similar to the figure on the front of the capital in that he is draped and grasps the jaws of the lion with his hand. Only one hand grips the beast's mouth. The other hand holds a trumpet, resembling an ophichant, to the lips of the rider (Figure 195). The rider, who blows or is about to blow the horn, regards the spectator rather than directing his gaze heaven-ward. This emphasis on a specific act—blowing a horn—imbues the lion rider on the north side of the capital with a narrative rather than symbolic quality.

The owning and blowing of horns, especially trumpets of this sort, were important in the early medieval society. The Song of Roland emphasizes the sounding of an ophichant for war and such horns often appear as a part of the regalia of the king's court (PLATE VI). The sounding of trumpets and other musical instruments were a part of the attack patterns followed in contemporary
warfare. The Jews sounded a similar type of instrument to announce the new year and the days of atonement. It was believed that the Messiah would blow a horn while riding an ass (Zechariah 9:9). In the Old Testament, trumpets were sounded to start battle. In the Book of Revelation, angels blowing trumpets similar to the one represented in the San Isidoro capital announce the end of the world and various events leading up to the last days (Figure 179). Trumpeting angels were included in Romanesque Last Judgments where their horns announced the horrific events of the end of the world.

The horn blowing lion rider at San Isidoro is an unassuming if dignified figure. He contrasts with the David depicted on the front of the Lion Riders capital at San Isidoro. I believe that he may have been intended to allude to the Jews. The sounding of a horn figures in the Jewish writings relating to the atonement for sin and in the announcing of the coming of the Messiah. In addition, the trumpet was sounded in preparation for war in the Bible and in medieval Spain, often by the Jews who assisted the Christians in the battles against the Moslems after the excesses and intolerance of the Almoravides and Almohades convinced the Jews to join forces with the Christians.
Prior to the conquest of Spain by the Moslems, the Jews had endured vicious persecutions at the hands of the Visigoths, especially during the reign of King Seisbut, to whom St. Isidore dedicated his Etymologies. After the Moslems successfully invaded Spain, the lot of the Jews improved. But as the dhimmis, there were restrictions. These sometimes included the owning and riding of horses. The dhimmis were also exempt from military service. During an age when war was waged on horseback, the Jews were prohibited from the taking part in the profession that carried the highest status, that of warrior. The Jews could become merchants, bankers, physicians and high court officials, but did not in large numbers take part in war.

After the Almoravides occupied Spain and former religious tolerance was replaced by intolerance, the Jews' status in Al-Andalusia declined. Many left Spain for the east. Some reluctantly headed north to join the Christians and the Reconquista. During periods of most severe persecution, the Jews would leave Al-Andalus "naked and barefoot" for the safety of Toledo, where, during the reign of Alfonso VII, they were especially welcomed.\textsuperscript{169} The Christian kings, from the time of Alfonso V, welcomed the Jews and gave them gifts and special privileges.\textsuperscript{170}
Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII greatly relied on the Jews for assistance in many areas of endeavor. Approximately 40,000 Jews may have assisted Alfonso VI's army. Wearing black and yellow turbans, these men were an exotic lot and were occasionally mistaken for Moslems by the Franks.\footnote{171} Alfonso VI prohibited warfare on the Jewish sabbath and employed Jews in high court positions to the extent that Gregory VII criticized him for placing Jews over Christians.\footnote{172} Samuel ben Shealtiel ha-nasi (d.1097), Cidelo, the king's physician, and Amfram ben Isaac ibn Shalbib, who was sent to Seville on an important diplomatic mission in either 1082 or 1085, are three names of Jewish officials associated with Alfonso VI's court.\footnote{173}

One of the most dashing Jewish figures of the Reconquista was courtier Judah ben Joseph ibn Ezra (nasi). His ancestors had for generations served the Moslems in high positions, but Judah ibn Ezra now served Alfonso VII as his tax collector. After the conquest of Calatrava (1147), Alfonso VII expressed his appreciation for ibn Ezra's service by placing him in command of a fortress.\footnote{174}

The Jews were the co-defenders of God's people, through the sword and the word, as recorded in the Old Testament. Their competence enabled him to diminish the interference of France, Cluny, and the Papacy in the internal affairs of Spain. In a brilliant political move, Alfonso VII, as
did Spanish sovereigns before and after him, surrounded himself with a well educated core of people unallied with any Christian political or ecclesiastical power in Western Europe. I believe that the small lion-rider blowing a trumpet may have symbolized the Jews.

A third lion rider can be observed on the southern face of the Three Lion Riders capital (Figure 52). There is an inescapable change in the expression of this lion rider that contrasts it with the two other lion riders and undermines the triumphant message usually conveyed by this motif.

In the south face relief, both hands of the rider pull hard on the corners of the lion's mouth, which is opened wide. The figure is nude rather than draped. He leans forward as if to avoid the jaws of another predatory cat located in the upper right corner of the capital. His mask-like face is grotesque and distorted. Deep etched lines twist his forehead into a mask of terror. This differs from the heavenward gaze of David-Samson and the serene visage of the horn blowing lion rider. He is also nude, a condition in medieval art normally associated with Adam and Eve or with the soul awaiting the Last Judgment, that is, the soul at peril.

Also contrasting with the other two lion riders is the presence of an additional cat's head. Suspended from
its jaws is another inverted nude figure, analogous to the
two figures devoured by beasts on a capital of the
clerestory level (Figure 111). With the frequent use of
lion jaws as a metaphor for hell, death and destruction in
the Bible, the writings of the church fathers, the liturgy
of the mass of the dead, and in the representational arts
of the early medieval period, it seems certain that this
small figure has lost God's favor and possible eternal
destruction is his future fate.

Given Alfonso VII's goal to exert his sovereignty
over all of Spain and the historical situation vis-à-vis
the Moors, it is very possible, with his terrified facial
expression, the endangered lion rider and the smaller
figure suspended from the jaws of the beast were intended
to refer to the Moslems.

The Spanish Christians traditionally used metaphors
from the Bible to describe themselves, their enemies, and
other situations. In a Bible, for example, an
illustration of attack on Jerusalem depicted the Holy City
fortified with the walls of Leon.175

From the earliest days of the reconquest, the Moslems
were identified as invaders from Babylon and were referred
to as Ishmaelites.176 Al-Mansur, devastator of the
governments of both Al-Andalus and León, was called "the
victorious" by the Moslems and the "Anti-Christ" by the
Christians.
After Al-Mansur, taifa kings governed Al-Andalus. They, too, were plagued by the kings of León. Al-Mu-tadid solved the problem by enlisting warrior monks from Africa who were uncouth and incapable of speaking Arabic.\textsuperscript{177} The Almoravide invaders hated, and were despised by, the very leaders who had entreated their aid. Dozy reports that the Moslems, like the Jews, asked assistance from the very Christians who were their enemies, offering tribute in exchange for protection by the emperor of León.\textsuperscript{178} Called Moabites in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, the Old Testament passage II Samuel 8:2 celebrating David's victory is recalled:\textsuperscript{179}

\ldots He also defeated the Moabites, and making them lie down on the ground measured them off the line; he measured out two lines to be put to death and one full line to have their lives spared. The Moabites became subject to David, paying him tribute.

The Almoravides, replaced by yet another militant group, the Almohads, succumbed to the lavish life style and love of beauty enjoyed by their predecessors. Their dynasty declined in 1147, approximately two years before the consecration of San Isidoro. Thus, their fall and a re-current loss of God's grace was visible for all to see.\textsuperscript{180} That reality may be reflected in the sculptured lion rider and body suspended from the jaws of a beast that is carved on the south face of the sculptured capital of San Isidoro.
That the Moslems could be represented as lion riders is not unexpected. They, like the Jews and Christians, struggled against evil for their god. Christians were furthermore warned to watch for false religions which presaged the last days, of which Islam was one example.181 Lions were also referred to in Islamic writings about saints. It was thought that saints, like kings, had special powers over lions. Islamic writers referred to lions as the "dogs of God" (Kilab Allah). The saints (wallis), it was thought, tamed the ferocious beasts and rode them,182 as did David (Ecclesiasticus 47:3.)183 Therefore it is quite possible that the Three Lion Riders capital at San Isidoro referred to the three different religions of Alfonso VII's realm. The frontal view showed the emperor as David. The north view depicted a representative of the Jews, blowing the trumpet which was rich in Biblical and contemporary associations with war, the last days, and the coming of the Messiah. The south face, with its lion rider transformed into a terrified soul, indicated the Moslems, who (c.1147) had fallen and revealed to all their lack of grace in God's eyes.

Acrobats

The third figurative capital, Acrobats (Figures 40 and 41) is located on the same pier as the Three Lion
Riders (3 in Diagram 16.) It is on the north face of the first pier of the north arcade. It is unique among the complex figurative compositions at San Isidoro in that the entire composition is located in the side aisle. On the front of the capital, three figures are shown performing acrobatics. A squatting figure with a torque around his neck is shown balancing himself on the breasts of two other figures executing backbends. On the right and left faces of the capital, small boys accompany the performers on viols. Two different types of viols are depicted. 184

Representations of musicians, jugglers and athletes in liturgical settings is not unusual. Such subjects were typically incorporated into the margins of manuscripts or onto the facades of Romanesque churches (Figure 196). In some cases, the subjects were incorporated in the eastern end of the church, such as the Palestra capital, once in the apse of Cluny III (Figure 197). 185

To some scholars, the appearance of such secular scenes reflected changes in the society. The works reflected the interest of the growing middle class to see the events of the daily life reflected in the arts. 186 To other scholars, the athletes, acrobats, and similar highly disciplined and skilled performers exemplified ideals similar to those for which the intended audience strived.
The personifications of the tones at Cluny III, for example, were related to mathematics and proportion and hence to order, or the underlying lawfulness of the cosmos. Musicians and instruments were often included with representations of King David, and may therefore reflect the important role that the king played, theoretically, in the ordo through his role to enforce law (Figures 5 and 6).

Most similar in subject and placement within the church is the Palestra capital, originally in the east apse of Cluny III. Carved with a boxer, swimmer, discus thrower and bowler, it is located in the apse (Figure 197). Close to it were capitals carved with serious themes such as the virtues, the four rivers of Paradise, the seasons and the tones of Gregorian chant.

Conant interpreted the Cluny Palestra capital as a work with a subject illustrating Cluny as a "spiritual gymnasium." From the inception of Christianity, the Christian ideal had been compared to the discipline and feats of an athlete, and the admiration for physical excellence as a metaphor for moral excellence persisted into the twelfth century. In the twelfth century, however, the athlete metaphor could be replaced by the jongleur metaphor and the jongleur's displays of dancing, juggling, acrobatics and the like. The monks, some of
whom were exceptionally sensitive to the beautiful and the remarkable, might refer to themselves as the "jongleur of God." In one of his essays, St. Bernard made use of the tricks and gyrations of the jongleur as a metaphor to project the deepest motivations of the monastic life.

All that they (i.e., worldly) desire, we, on the contrary, flee, and that which they flee, we desire, like those jugglers and dancers, who, with head down and feet up, in an inhuman fashion, stand or walk on their hands and attract the eyes of everyone.

Especially noteworthy is an aesthetic quality which was clearly sought after by the twelfth century performers, that is, the jongleurs wished to "... attract the eyes of everyone."

Imperial iconography from the Roman period and earlier depicted the ruler engaged in battle, especially one having a victorious outcome. Grabar analyzed representations of Byzantine emperors in terms of the different manners in which victory was shown. Among these were depictions of the kings or emperors with circus or sporting events, implying a comparison between the arduous physical and mental demands of the performers, and the feats and character of the ruler, the latter possessing far greater importance. The Old Testament king David was in particular thought of as a "triumphant athlete." Examples in the arts include the diptyches of late antiquity
antiquity (Figure 198) which sometimes represented sporting events or games below a portrait of an emperor or other important state official. One such diptych may have influenced the iconography of a relief sculpture on a pillar at the entrance of San Miguel de Líno in Oviedo on the Monte Naranco, founded by Ordoño I in 857. There, a schematic and abstract representation of an enthroned official flanked by members of his staff is placed above another panel with a depiction of two male performers with a lion (Figure 199).

The San Isidoro Acrobats, which is placed on the same pier as the Three Lion Riders, can probably be related to this tradition. The Acrobats must have had autobiographical significance to Alfonso VII. His success in unifying Spain rested on difficult political as well as military maneuvers. A tenuous balance of power existed, depending upon two groups of people, the Jews and the Moslems, who submitted to the Christian emperor out of duress. Another anxiety was the fate of the imperium after Alfonso VII's death. His two sons, Fernando and Sancho, recently crowned kings in their own right, could and did spell the end to the unity of the imperium.

While the iconography of the Acrobats capitals clearly can be related to the imperial tradition just discussed, the theme may have had other significance. The
jongleurs filled the courts, and all the nobles and kings took delight in their antics. Yet, the attitude toward the performers by the church was not invariably positive. One of the most vocal critics was St. Augustine. In most cases, it was the outrageous postures of the acrobats that were deemed especially noxious in the writings of the churchmen. The sixth century Spanish bishop Martin of Braga, for example, expressed deep reservations about any form of exaggerated posture, gesture, or expression. Expressiveness, unusual, contorted, or exaggerated gestures and/or postures were frequently associated with sin and the lure to perform sinful acts. Werckmeister, in a study devoted to the question of the iconography of the destroyed north portal of St.-Lazare at Autun also examines the use of posture as a metaphor for one's spiritual state, citing passages from such writers as Gregory the Great (the Moralia in Job especially). Werckmeister argued that the twisting pose of Eve once on the lintel corresponded to the crooked distorted state of her soul. Lazarus' upright pose, in turn, reflected his moral health.

Many of the figures on the capitals of the interior of San Isidoro are shown in exaggerated or inverted poses. In nearly all cases, those figures are evil or are in grave spiritual peril. Examples include the demons and
monsters carved on the capitals of the columns flanking the niches of the Romanesque parts of the central apse (Figures 38 and 78), the right face of the Three Lion Riders capital (Figure 43), the Lions and Monsters capital (Figure 89), the wrestling men in Wrestlers (Figure 94), the man, woman and bowman in Luxuria (Figure 98), the Lions (Figure 107), and the damned souls in Men in Lions' Mouths (Figure 111). In all of these cases, either evil entities, such as devils and demons, or a soul in peril is shown. Such poses may be contrasted with those of the Lord and his angels in the Maiestas Domini (Figure 86), which are simple, axial, frontal and restrained.

Alfonso VII admired secular poetry. This is reflected in the fact that he was a patron of a Frankish troubadour, named Marcabru (1129-1150), who also had worked for Guillaume X of Aquitaine. Marcabru's poetry contrasted with that of the idealized love celebrated in Moorish poetry and in troubadour poetry celebrating the beauties of love. His attitude toward sex and love was worldly and matter of fact. He also referred flatteringly to the title of emperor, disparaged the French and counted among the evil, "... the squatter with his rump on the road . . ."
Of great interest to everyone during this period were the great heroes past and present of the Reconquista. New vernacular genres such as the *chanson de geste* celebrated the exploits of such distinguished military heroes as Roland and Charlemagne in the *Chanson de Roland*.

In Spain, an anonymous Castilian poet composed the *Poema del Cid*, usually dated approximately the same time as the church of San Isidoro (consecrated 1140). This work glorified the character and exploits of a more recent hero, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar also called El Cid by the Arabs and the Jews.

El Cid was a great hero, but he was Castilian, not Leonese and of lesser nobility. El Cid's moral excellence is highlighted in the poem, and his character was contrasted to that of Alfonso VI, who appears treacherous and inconsistent in comparison. There, too, the cult of St. Isidore is associated with the king of León, whereas the "Moors call on Mohammed and the Christians on St. James." Many authors interpret the *Poema del Cid* as a work which reflects the tension between Castile and León, which began very early and persisted over centuries.

At the time that the poem is traditionally dated (mid-twelfth century) and during the period work was done on San Isidoro (c.1130-1149), the Leonese imperium was a reality.
That the senses, sight and sound, were the instruments employed by the devil was well established in medieval thinking about evil. The sins of the tongue were especially emphasized in the Bible and in the literature of the monastic tradition. Of the innumerable references in Scripture to the evils of lying and slander, one, Paul (II Timothy 4:16-180), employs the lion mouth, a prominent motif in the sculptures of San Isidoro.

The first time I had to present my defence, there was not a single witness to support me. Every one of them deserted me... But the Lord stood by me and gave me power... so I was rescued from the lion's mouth. The Lord will rescue me from all evil attempts on me and bring me safely to his heavenly kingdom.

Very close to the pier with the carvings of the Three Lion Riders and the Acrobats is a capital which is carved with that motif, Men Ensnared in Lions' Mouths (Figure 59; 5 in Diagram 15).

As noted earlier, Alfonso VI and his sister Urraca were plagued with problems relative to their reputations. The jongleurs and cantares in particular loved to tell the story of their treachery to brother Sancho of Castile.

Alfonso VII and Sancha were more fortunate. They were not untouched, however, by rumors. Louis VII, who married Alfonso's daughter, journeyed to Spain to investigate rumors of her illegitimacy. The performers,
through their enticing displays and recitations, could disseminate harmful rumors about the king, undermining the credibility of the crown at a period when the emperor sought to dissipate foreign intervention into the internal affairs of Spain.

While the rumors involving Alfonso VII's daughter, wife of the French monarch, were unfounded, Alfonso VII was guilty of a youthful indiscretion which resulted in a daughter he named Urraca. His sister Sancha was responsible for rearing and educating the little girl. She was married in 1144 to King Garcia of Navarre. Accompanying this happy event were spectacular performances of the jongleurs and bull fights.

In examining the Acrobats capital, one can not help but be struck by the similarity between the squatting figure on top of the two figures executing backbends, and the crouching demons in the sculptures of evil at San Isidoro. Particularly similar is the crouching bowman in the Luxuria capital (Figure 98), a symbol of the omnipresent threat of the sin of spiritual pride. Many of the capitals discussed included illusions to the sin of pride as a part of the iconography.

The Acrobats capital undoubtedly relates to the iconographic tradition that compared the king and the execution of his duties to the feats of victorious athletes and circus performers. An allusion to the sin of
pride in the sculpture could also be possible. San Isidoro was an Augustinian establishment and the continuous confrontation and struggle with the sin of pride was a recurrent theme in the iconographic program of San Isidoro.

Sculptured Capitals on the Church Wall — Themes of Evil and other Subjects

In addition to the sculptured capitals of the nave arcade, which include the figurative works just discussed as well as capitals embellished with bird or foliate motifs, there are approximately 69 small sculptured capitals on the walls of San Isidoro. Of those, we will concentrate on the capitals at the nave arcade level that the medieval visitor could have seen. There, foliate motifs and birds can be observed. Most prominent, however, are motifs that are clearly evil: demons, monsters, and threatening beasts.

Men Ensnared from Lions' Mouths

The first of the motifs of evil to be discussed is Men Ensnared from Lions' Mouths. (Figures 56, 60 and 61.) It is located on the column supporting the arch separating the first from the second bay of the north side aisle (5
in Diagram 15). On this capital, graceful, thin vines weave an intricate fabric design that rests on the surface of the capital similar to Islamic works executed in the medium of ivory (Figure 153). Below both the right and the left corners of the abacus of this capital are three small puppet-like nude figures suspended from the jaws of a wild beast. Their friendly smiles and camaraderie with one another—each stretches his arms around another's shoulders—believe the gravity of their situation. The lower extremities of all three are caught in the teeth of an animal. Hopelessly misleading the viewer, these men make paying the wages of sin seem attractive.

In content and expression, the sculptures on this capital give form to the passage from Psalm 22 which follows:

8. All who see me, laugh at me to scorn, they draw apart their lips, and wag their heads. 9. He trusts in the Lord; let him free him, let him deliver him if he loves him . . . 17. For many dogs surround me, a band of evil doers hem me in . . . 18. . . . Yet they watch me, and seeing me, they rejoice . . . 20. Deliver my soul from the sword, and my life from the paw of the dog; 21. Save me from the lion's mouth, and wretched that I am from the horns of wild oxen.

The last line of this Psalm refers to oxen. Perhaps this line in Psalm 22 explains the presence of that beast at the feet of St. Isidore (Figure 5) and St. Pelayo (Figure
which can be seen to the left and right of the
tympanum of the Puerta del Cordero, and the lion-like
quadruped and oxen incorporated on two small sculptured
capitals on colonettes attached to the eastern wall of the
north transept of San Isidoro (Figure 46 and 47; 1 and 2
on Diagram 15). Dogs are also referred to in this Psalm,
and they can be observed at the corners of a capital in
the Panteon which Gaillard identified as the source for
Men Ensnared in Lions' Mouths (Figure 125). (See Chapter
II, p. 125.)

Evil in this capital is portrayed as the taunting and
mocking of liars. Lines from Psalm 22 were also quoted
directly or paraphrased in New Testament passages
describing the darkest hours of Christ's Passion and Death
on the Cross (see Matthew 27:39-47 and Mark 15:33-34). A
sculptured capital alluding to Psalm 22 would elicit the
idea of evil in its most terrifying form, God's apparent
abandonment of the righteous man. Given the importance of
King David in the political symbolism of Alfonso VII's
reign, reflected in the Acrobats and Three Lion Riders,
this capital could reflect Psalm 22, a psalm of David.

The motif of a figure or figures suspended from the
jaws of an animal is also significant in this capital and
in other capitals at San Isidoro. This has already been
noted in the discussion of the Lions and Monsters capital
(see p. 143). Other capitals in San Isidoro with the
motif include the south face of Three Lion Riders (Figure 52, and Souls Devoured by Monsters (Figure 111). The phrase "Save me from the mouth of the lion!" appears in both the Visigothic and Roman liturgies said for the souls of the dead. Lines from the Visigothic office: "Cast not to the beasts, Lord, the souls that confess you, do not forget the souls of your poor!" were, according to Werckmeister, chanted over and over again during the services offered for the souls of the dead.  

Protection from death, annihilation and evil, especially after death, played a central role in the Christian religion. This was certainly true at a funerary church such as San Isidoro. Throughout the Bible, evil, death and destruction of all kinds were conveyed through threats of the jaws and teeth of beasts. The same metaphor for the destruction of the souls recurs in hell imagery in medieval painting and monumental sculpture. 

The repetition of this motif outside the specific visual context of hell and the Last Judgment suggests that the motif was to evoke Psalm 22, the liturgy of the dead, and very probably, the idea of evil in general. At San Isidoro, like Cluny, it was the custom to recite the mass of the dead daily. Masses for the welfare of the souls of the Leonese royalty was one of the important functions of San Isidoro.
Psalm 22 of David, then, possessed imagery employed in the liturgy. The juxtaposition of this capital, two sculptured capitals carved with the most explicit imperial symbols, Acrobats and Three Lion Riders, reflects Alfonso VII's desire to identify with King David, who strove against evil and who very often emerged victorious in his struggles against evil. The symbolism of the monarchy is, in these three capitals, united with the symbolism of the liturgy. This is of central importance to the theme of the iconographic program of San Isidore: the Rex sacerdos.

Other Sculptures on the Wall of San Isidoro: Harpies, Twin-Tailed Siren, Man-Headed Lions, and Eagle with Serpent

Of the capitals located on the wall and related to the theme of evil, only Lions and Monsters, here re-titled Free Will, has a complex composition. Because Adam sinned, he brought into being that which was not God, or evil. Therefore, his imperfect authority was evil. Here, free will was discussed as a remedy because man's subjugation to his own imperfect authority was also a punishment.

The other capitals on the walls of San Isidoro are small and most of the motifs carved upon them are modest. At least two of the small capitals, of those not defaced,
are embellished with frankly demonic motifs (Figure 44 and 14 on Diagram 16 and Figure 78 and 15 on Diagram 16). Others include composite, imaginary creatures such as Harpies (Figure 45 and 13 on Diagram 16), Twin-Tailed Siren (Figure 108 and 12 on Diagram 16), and Man-Headed Lion (Figure 107 and 11 on Diagram 16). These and other hybridizations of beasts are discussed by H. W. Janson.\(^{219}\) Many of the motifs are often associated with evil. Isidore, for example, compared the Harpy and its wings and claws to the agonies of love, "which inflicted wounds" and too quickly fled away.\(^ {217}\) The Twin-Tailed Siren was frequently related to the Sirens of the Odyssey.\(^ {220}\) Among the prayers of the dead were entreaties against them, as if the melodious chanting of the siren would seduce the soul from its destination.

\[\text{Lord, give us the strength to resist the melodious calls of the siren . . . and finally after our death that we not become the prey of lions . . . Deliver to you our soul, as thus was delivered from the lions your servant Daniel.}\(^ {221}\)

The Man-Headed Lions, crouching as if prepared to spring on the unwary visitor, are also common motifs in Romanesque Spanish art particularly. They can be seen at Santiago de Compostela (Figure 145), and may possibly allude specifically to the evils of the Islamic threat since carvings of man-headed lions are known to have ornamented the palaces of Cordoba\(^ {222}\) (Figure 200).
The motifs of evil, then, are not reserved for one area of the church, but can be observed in the nave, transept, and apses of San Isidoro. By embedding the motifs in the outer walls, the small capitals are constrained by the cross of the church's ground plan: that is, by the symbol of Christ's victory. The victory of Christ over evil is explicitly portrayed in a small sculptured capital on the eastern side of the niche of the south wall of the central apse (Figure 77; 16 in Diagram 15). A symbol of Christ, according to St Isidore, is an eagle and the encircled serpent is a symbol of immortality. Motifs of composite and other bizarre animals are ubiquitous in Romanesque sculpture. Parallels can also be observed in the iconography of imperial art, as Weitzmann demonstrates in his investigations of bizarre creatures in the sky, on earth and in the seas ornamenting the throne of Charles the Bald. While Weitzmann does not consider all these creatures evil or even symbolic--some are Signs of the Zodiac--it seems certain that the sculptured capitals located on the other walls of San Isidoro are demonic. Perhaps a closer parallel to the monsters and demons of San Isidoro are the strange people catalogued and described in John Block Friedman's 1981 study of the "monstrous races." According to Friedman's analysis, the pygmies, Ethiopians, and other strange beings were placed in the archivolts and lintels around the tympanum carved with the
Mission of the Apostles on the central west portal at Ste.-Madeleine at Vezelay because these people were "outside" the Christian church. The demon carvings at San Isidoro are placed in the peripheries of the church wall separate from the scenes of human strife and social institutions which they surround. Through their placement in the wall of San Isidoro, the demonic capitals are also shown to be incorporated in the ordo, as St. Augustine wrote in de Ordine.

The Figurative Capitals of the South Arcade and Other Works of Art at San Isidoro

Above, I have discussed the iconography of individual capitals in the south arcade, the north arcade, and the surrounding walls of San Isidoro. Themes including auctoritas, Ordo, and evil were identified for the south arcade, north arcade and walls respectively (see Diagram 20). I will now consider the relationship between the arcade sculptures and other works of art in San Isidoro. In the apse of San Isidoro were the Crucifixion of Christ (Figures 19 and 20) with his resurrection, the Perpetual Flame, and the two reliquaries containing the relics of martyrs St. Pelayo and St. John the Baptist and confessor and titular saint of the church, St. Isidore (Figures 21-28). Saints were exemplars of victory, especially martyrs who obtained crowns symbolizing their victory.
The Perpetual Flame, which may have symbolized Christ's victory over death, would have sustained the idea of triumph in this area of San Isidoro. Confessor saints, such as St. Isidore, were also authorities. Therefore, the Reliquary of St. Isidore and its reliefs will be considered in relation to the south arcade sculptured capitals and to the concept auctoritas.

The eleventh-century Reliquary of St. Isidore, one of Fernando's and Sancha's gifts to San Isidoro in c.1063, is embellished with reliefs of the Creation and Fall of Man. The story of the First Parents and their responsibility for man's rupture from God was a very ancient and frequently represented subject. Isidore, as well as numerous other church fathers and authorities, cited Adam's sin as irrefutable proof of man's inherent inability to govern himself. Isidore was especially influential on this theory because of the immense importance of a work not even by him—the False Decretals or Pseudo-Isidore. Actually written by a group of Frankish clerics between 845 and 852, it was widely read and permeated even the thinking of the Pope, who was identified as the supreme sovereign in the work. Canonist Gratian acknowledged the importance of Isidore in his Decretals (c.1148), and it will be remembered that many copies of those were prefaced with illustrations of the Creation and Fall of Man (Figures 175
and 176). It is therefore not surprising that reliefs of the Creation and Fall embellish the reliquary of the titular saint of the royal church of San Isidoro.

The creation and fall depicted on the Reliquary of St. Isidore may also have been placed there to call to mind a text from the City of God by St. Augustine. In section 15 of Book XIV of the City of God, Augustine ascribes the seriousness of Adam's and Eve's sin to the "hatred of God's authority." Also called Contemptus Dei, this concept was very influential upon arguments presented in favor of institutions to regulate man's behavior.

If the text is followed, it can be seen that the Reliquary of St. Isidore integrates with a number of capitals in the interior. The text also unifies the sculptures inside San Isidoro with those of the two portals, the Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdón, as will now be shown.

At the outset of Book XIV, section 15 in the City of God, Augustine writes that the nature of Adam's and Eve's sin consisted of "... a despising of the authority of God..." In the language of Roman law Adam's sin, constituted a crime against majesty, that is, against an authority that was the "greatest" or sovereign. If this is seen in relation to the nature of God, as defined by the Jews, the Christians, and the Moslems, the gravity of this sin can be perceived. Adam's and Eve's rejection
of God's authority constituted a rejection of the very nature of his being. In effect, Adam and Eve committed the theological equivalent of "high treason" in their failure to believe in God as supreme creator.

The nature of God's absolute authority over man is then further developed in the The City of God. Augustine continues discussing God "... who had created man; who had made him in His own image; who had set him above the other animals; who had placed him in Paradise..." God's creation of man is there stressed, as opposed to his sovereignty over the cosmos. God gave man authority over the animals and the natural world, but withheld from man authority over himself. Man was to acknowledge God as supreme authority. Relief sculptures corresponding to these passages include the Creation of Man (Figure 23) and the Naming of the Animals (Figure 21, now missing), on the Reliquary of St. Isidore, and the capital in the south arcade, the Maiestas Domini (Figure 88).

Augustine then describes the ease with which Adam and Eve could have conformed to the wishes of their creator. Here Augustine stresses the relative levity of God's restrictions on the First Parents. They were to refrain from ingesting the fruits of a certain tree in a Garden full of alternatives:
... But in order to make a wholesome obedience easy to him, ... had given him a single very brief and very light precept by which He reminded the creature whose service was to be free that he was Lord.

Here, again, references to the sculpture at San Isidoro and the premises upon which early medieval legal and political theory were based may be cited. It was God's wish that man's service be "free" that is, his creature was given the gift of Free Will. Yet, God wished the First Parents to be attendant to the fact that He was "Lord." Had man obeyed God, he would have been "... spiritual even in his flesh." But man disobeyed God. By disobeying God and substituting his own authority, in effect, placing it over that of God, man designated his own will superior to that of his creator. This was due to the sin of pride, emphasized as a grave moral peril in several of the capitals at San Isidoro. Here pride is defined as a contaminant of the spirit which condemned man to live under the jurisdiction of a being of imperfect sovereignty, himself:

... and as in his pride he had sought to be his own satisfaction, God, in his justice abandoned him to himself, not to life in the independence he affected but ... to live dissatisfied with himself in a hard and miserable bondage to him to who, by sinning he had yielded himself.

Man's submission to his own will due to pride had reinforced a tendency toward self-delusion which was
ultimately, as is made clear in this life, to spell suffering, death, and evil for all.

The capital, Free Will, depicts man's fallen state and imperfections of authority, even over himself (Figure 89). This imperfect control brought into being "not life," or death (had not the grace of God delivered him) because he had forsaken eternal life.\textsuperscript{234}

Augustine goes on to compare the acts required of Abraham and Jesus Christ, and their obedience to directions issued from God, to those of the First Parents:

For as Abraham's obedience is with justice pronounced to be great, because the thing commanded, to kill his son, was very difficult, so in Paradise the disobedience was the greater, because the difficulty of that which was commanded was imperceptible. And as the obedience of the second Man was the more laudable because He became obedient even "unto death," so the disobedience of the first man was the more detestable because he was disobedient even unto death.\textsuperscript{235}

These passages are reflected in the imagery of the Puerta del Cordero, carved with the Sacrifice of Abraham, and the Puerta del Pardon, carved with the Deposition, Three Maries and Ascension, with the iconographic program of the interior of San Isidoro. As the visitor entered the church, two portals carved with Abraham and Christ were observed. Both men exemplified humility and demonstrated their ability to obey God directly, without intermediaries.

Augustine then enumerated the ills to which man is subject because of the imperfections of the human will.
In addition to the usual evils of old age, illness and death, desires, too, became torments, since they could not be satisfied due to man's lack of self-sufficiency. To make things worse, the pain endured by the body was felt by the soul, because it was immortal, was eternal.

... pleasure is preceded by a certain appetite which is felt in the flesh as a craving, as hunger and thirst... that generative appetite... commonly identified as "lust" though this is the generic word for all desires. For anger itself was defined by the ancients as a lust for revenge... there is therefore a lust for revenge called anger; a lust for money which goes by the name of avarice; there is a lust of conquering, no matter by what means, which is called opinionativeness; there is a lust of applause, called boastfulness...

By their sin, Adam and Eve condemned all men to desires doomed to frustration because of the imperfect nature of the human will.

Augustine then suggests that the punishment was disobedience:

... what but disobedience was the punishment of disobedience... that by just retribution of the sovereign God whom we refused to be subject to and serve, our flesh, which was subject to us, now torments us with insubordination...

What is striking about most of these passages is the frailty of the human will and any authority derived from the self. This is addressed in the capital to be interpret
ed as Authority Over Self (Free Will) (Figure 89). It was also incorporated into the law code of Recceswinth, which was very influential outside of Spain, in the form of the Pseudo-Isidore, as a basic tenent of medieval political theory which contrasted personal merit with the qualities imbued in the office.238 The acceptance of God's supreme power and authority and man's inability to achieve this without intermediaries was the foundation of legal and political theory in the middle ages. The function of legal and political authorities as "penal and remedial" for the sin of Adam and Eve is especially relevant to this particular passage in Augustine.

Man's insufficient authority brought into being evil:

The eyes of both of them were opened," not to see for already they saw, but to discern between the good they had lost and the evil into which they had fallen . . . a mysterious kind of shadow of (the great law) retribution, that they who do evil should suffer evil.239

The Reliquary of St. Isidore, with its small sculptures relating the Creation and Fall of Man constituted an integral and necessary ingredient in the iconographic program of San Isidoro. The text from the City of God defined the crucial idea of the hatred of God's Authority upon which medieval formulations of the concept auctoritas was based.

The Reliquary, capitals of the south arcade, and the two portals, the Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del
Perdon, then, related the king's right to rule, in their emphasis upon the concept authority. This, too, explains the inclusion of King Fernando I on the Reliquary of St. Isidore (Figure 28). Lacking crown, throne, and scepter he confronts the viewer as orator. At the terminus of Adam and Eve's Expulsion, he is the mediator whose very existence is justified by the failure of man to acknowledge the perfect authority of the Lord, whose creation of man is the target of Fernando's pointed finger (Figure 22). The Text from St. Augustine's City of God (Book XIV, section 16) integrates the sculptured capitals of the south nave arcade, which depict different kinds of authority, with the subjects on the Reliquary of St. Isidore, the capital Free Will, on the south wall, and the reliefs on two southern portals, the Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdon. These works of art all reflect ideas concerning the nature of and justification for auctoritas.

The South Wall

Only one major figurative capital is carved on the clerestory level of the south wall of San Isidoro (see Diagram 21). Located in the extreme south western corner of San Isidoro, the capital is carved with four draped figures holding clubs (palms?) and balls. This may
be a procession of figures, as discussed by Augustine, or the Elect, clothed in white robes, described in the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius and in the liturgy. They have entered into paradise. The other sculptures on the south arcade below suggests that the submission to authority assisted the elect. Other examples include representations of the Wise Virgins, from the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and of Martyrs, such as those of Sant' Apollinaire Nuovo (Figure 201).

The capital with the procession of figures introduces the idea of collective triumph to the sculptural program of the south side of San Isidoro, though not emphasized in the iconography. The medieval visitor could not have seen this capital. If the intermediate and clerestory levels are examined (Diagram 21), it is apparent that all of the significant content of the south side of San Isidore was placed at the nave arcade level where it could be readily observed and even studied by the medieval visitor.

The iconographer may have intended the south arcade sculpture for the king's subjects and other visitors to San Isidoro. Depicted there are Biblical narratives, such as the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Story of Hagar and Ishmael, and the Creation and Fall of Man. On the capitals were carved examples of the different kinds of authority and its manner of dispersal. These topics would have been the special concern of the
people especially in the opinion of the king. The sculptures defined for the public the legitimacy of the king's rule and his right to exercise authority.

The Figurative Capitals of the North Arcade and Other Works at San Isidoro

The sculptured capitals of the north nave arcade are carved with Cocks and Inhabited Vines, Three Lion Riders, and Acrobats. Psalm 22 is on a column separating the first from the second bay along the wall of the north side aisle. (See Diagram 16)

The motifs can be contrasted with those appearing on the south arcade capitals. The north arcade subjects are symbolic and show the king or emperor as embodying the law of the victor in the ordo and his identification with the Old Testament king David, the enemy of evil, especially the sin of pride. I will now consider the capitals of the clerestory level to show their role in the iconography.

As Diagram 22 shows, there are five sculptured capitals, three at the clerestory level and two at the intermediate level, which possess significant content on the north wall. The north wall of San Isidoro is divided into three parts. This corresponds to the tripartite nature of God and the tripartite division of the Cosmos, which governments were to emulate, according to the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius and his commentator, John Erugina.243
The analysis of the iconography of the capitals of the intermediate and clerestory levels of San Isidoro will begin with the three sculptured capitals of the clerestory level.

There are three large sculptured capitals with significant figurative scenes (Diagram 18). Unlike the capitals at the arcade level, the works on the clerestory level unfold sequentially. Following a psychostasis (not depicted), the observer views the results of a judgment. Depicted on the fifth respond are Man and Woman Suspended from the Mouths of Monsters (The Damned) (Square 15 in Diagram 15). On the fourth respond, is the Salvation of the Soul (Square 17 in Diagram 15). On the respond supporting the arch of the crossing, on the first pier, is the culmination of the iconographic program of San Isidoro, The Beatitude of the Soul (Square 17 on Diagram 15). The success of the liturgy and of the king, who wars against evil, is a personal salvation. While the iconography of the three sculptured capitals is not particularly problematic, each one will be discussed briefly.

Man and Woman Suspended from the Mouths of Monsters (The Damned)

On the capital on the fifth respond are two inverted figures, one male and one female. They are inverted and
suspended from the jaws of lions with wings and scaly bodies. The lions stride toward one another forming a heraldic composition. (Figure 111; Square 15 in Diagram 16). The faces of the two human figures are twisted with terror, and their bodies are flaccid, like mice or birds just killed by a cat.

The motif of inverted figures held in the jaws of beasts is a typical motif at San Isidoro. The image is close to several references in the Old and New Testaments which describe evil and hell in terms of the gnashing teeth of a wild beast or the jaws of another wild animal; often a lion. Such images were also prominent in both the Visigothic and Latin liturgy, as noted earlier in relation to Free Will (Lions and Monsters) and Psalm 22 (Men Suspended from The Jaws of Beasts). Other examples of this motif can be seen on capitals located in churches in the Pyrenees. Examples include Lasacar (Basses-Pyrenees; Figure 202) and Castelan-Rivière-Basse (Hautes Pyrénées; Figure 203). The motif can also be observed as part of much more complex and elaborate depictions of Last Judgments on Romanesque portals, such as the west portal of St.-Lazare, Autun (Figure 162) and Ste.-Foi at Conques, where the damned may be pushed or thrust into the gaping jaws of a beast, or at Beaulieu (Figure 161), where men are seized by monstrous creatures as they try to escape. Other examples include the trumeau at Souillac.
Salvation of the Soul

The pendant of Man and Woman Suspended from the Jaws of Monsters represents the Salvation of the Soul (Figure 112; Squared 16 in Diagram 15), a sculptured capital on the fourth respond east of the Man and Woman Suspended from the Jaws of Monsters. That this capital alludes to evil as well as the plight of sinful, unrepenting souls is suggested by the use in literature of the period of a similar image as a literary topos.

In his introduction to his translation of the Song of Roland, Merwin notes that a version of the legend exists in the Codex Calixtinus, the twelfth century pilgrim guide. Charlemagne, in this recension, experiences a vision in which he sees the soul of the Islamic King Marsiliuns carried away by demons whereas that of the hero Roland is taken by angels.245

The small nude soul depicted in this capital is a rather small, bloated unattractive figure. The long-haired nude soul is safely enframed by a thick mandorla supported by angels. His (or her) straight stiff arm reaches upward. God's left hand grips the hand of the soul. A hand emanating from clouds is a traditional symbol for God the Father. An open palm toward a figure signifies acceptance (Figure 112.) 246
The identity of this small nude, a saved soul, is unquestionable. The depiction of the blessed soul in this manner is not new. Several earlier examples of the blessed soul, depicted as a small nude enframed by a mandorla supported by angels, can be seen at Moissac (c.1100; Figure 204), on the Tomb of Doña Sancha (c.1090; Figure 134), and later at Santa Maria de Tera (Figure 205). Werckmeister notes that this particular iconography of the salvation of the soul, including angels, mandorla and the hand of the Lord, was derived from the iconography of the Ascension of Christ (Figure 206). He notes that souls were combined with the Crucifixion and Anastasis on the Crucifix of Fernando and Sancha because the death and resurrection of Christ were thought of as prototypes for the death and subsequent resurrection and triumph over death of the Christian. The Christian identified with Christ, achieved visually through the use of the iconography of the Ascension for the Salvation of the Soul.

This iconography also emphasizes the important roles of angels, thought to facilitate and protect the soul after death. In the Offertory of Mass for the dead in the Latin rite, it reads:

O Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, deliver the souls of the faithful departed from the pains of hell and from the deep pit; Deliver them from the mouth of the
lion, that hell may not swallow them up, . . . but may the holy standard bearer Michael introduce them to the holy light . . .: which thou didst promise of old to Abraham and to his seed.

In the Collect, God is entreated:

. . . not to deliver him (her) into the hands of the enemy, nor forget him moreover, but command the holy angels to take him and lead him to the home of Paradise, that for as much as in thee he put his hope and trust he may not endure the pains of hell, but may come to the possession of eternal joys.

Thus this capital depicts a joyful outcome of judgment and also expressed hopes similar to those voiced in prayer and in the liturgy.

Soul in Beatitude

The last capital to be discussed, of those located in the clerestory level of San Isidoro, is a capital located on the respond of the massive pier which supports the large arch of the nave and transept crossing. Depicted there, is a scene of two heraldic lions, with heads twisted away from each other, flanking a standing, frontal nude with his hands clasped in an attitude of prayer (Figure 113; Square 17 in Diagram 15).

In contrast to the capitals depicting the Damned and the Salvation of the Soul, the identification of the subject matter depicted on this capital has been debated. Three different interpretations of it have been suggested.
Georges Gaillard has identified the subject as the "Blessed Soul." Vinayo González identified the subject as a Daniel and the Lion's Den. Iniguez contends that a Moslem-influenced depiction of an experience of hell is represented in this capital.  

While the nude is usually associated with sinners, the First Parents, or the soul in a state of peril, and Old Testament heroes are generally draped, (Figures 207-209) there are, on several early Christian sarcophagi, representations of an idealized athlete flanked by lions in the manner of a Daniel in the Lions' Den (Figure 210). These motifs are usually identified as the story of Daniel. Von Simson and others note, however, that the motif of Daniel in the Lions' Den was especially associated with the resurrection of the body and seen, by early Christians, as a prototype for that event. It is possible that the versions including a Daniel with an ideal athletic body is a variant intended to emphasize its typological role as forerunner of the resurrection of Christ and of the soul which would, also at the end of the world, include a bodily resurrection.  

The triumph of Christian heroes other than Daniel over death could also be symbolized by a figure flanked by heraldic lions. An example is the figure of St. Sernin, now
disappeared, which once occupied a niche flanked by columns on the wall over the two portals of the Porte des Comtes at St.-Sernin, in Toulouse (Figure 211). There, an inscription clearly identifies St. Sernin as the occupant of the niche. This motif, a transformation of the Daniel in the Lions Den, is frequently seen in French Romanesque sculpture of the Languedoc region as a symbol of the triumphant soul, saved from the jaws of evil and death.

The figure in the Beatitude of the Soul is nude. While nudes are usually reserved for the soul, especially when in peril, man and woman would appear nude again at the end of the world, according to Augustine, because they would regain some of the graces lost from Adam and Eve's sin. The differences, moreover, between the attenuated proportion and long, graceful limbs of this figure, and those of the figure depicted in the Salvation of the Soul are striking. The figure depicted in the Soul in Beatitude possesses more refined proportions. This, too, seems to suggest a restoration of the bodily excellences Adam enjoyed prior to the Fall. The stylistic parallel to the Soul in Beatitude is the Creation of Man, once on the north transept but now on the south transept portal of Santiago de Compostela (Figure 139). The Soul in Beatitude is depicted as an idealized "Adam." Augustine emphasized that the
bodily resurrection would be one in which the individuality of each body would be preserved. The newly resurrected body would be in perfect condition and about thirty years of age. The body would especially be whole, that is, complete. 259

Particularly emphasized in Augustine's digressions on the bodily resurrection is that the body will be complete. In Book XXII, section 12, he begins the first of several citations of Luke 21:18 which promises "... not a hair of your head shall perish." Section 19 of Book XXII begins with the question of hair and finger nails, with the quotation from Luke 21:18 cited again and again.

Perhaps this passage may explain the unusual hair of the Soul in Beatitude. Long hair, pulled unnaturally away from the head is often employed on demons (Figure 216 and 217). 260 Yet, the prayerful gesture, sweet beatific expression, ram-rod posture, and upright frontality are not in the least evil. Therefore, the emphasis on the hair may have been influenced by passages from Luke 21:18 that Augustine's quotes repeatedly in his discussion of the completeness and perfection of the bodily resurrection. Through the Soul in Beatitude, large enough to be viewed at the floor level, man's return to God is complete. The iconographic program of San Isidoro thereby incorporates the tripartite historical model of John Erugina and of the
Judeo-Christian tradition which defines history as man's separation from God, resulting from the Fall of Man, evil and strife, the results of that separation, and the final restoration of man, through pardon, to God and to his grace. St. Paul considers the bodily resurrection in I Corinthians 14. In verse 54, Paul writes, "But when this mortal body puts on immortality, then shall come to pass the word that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory'."

In terms of the individual man, the Soul in Beatitude culminates the iconographic program of San Isidoro. It is a victory that is personal and human.

The Group of Three Capitals at the Clerestory Level

Before concluding my discussion of the three capitals on the clerestory level of the north wall, I will note similarities between these three capitals and the sculptures on the Porte des Comtes.

In his analysis of the iconographic program of the Porte des Comtes, Lyman indicated that triumph from the bonds of sin, which culminated in a resurrection of the body, was an important message in the sculptures. He wrote that from early Christian times, the Old Testament figure
Daniel's prophecies were read concerning the resurrection of the body. Daniel in the Lions' Den was frequently incorporated into Christian art to illustrate the idea of the resurrection of the body. Prayers for the welfare of the souls after death also evoked the Lord to save the soul from the jaws of the beast as Daniel was saved. The ordo commendatione animae is an example. Daniel XII: 1-3 relates:

Of those who are sleeping in the dust of the earth, many will awake, and some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting disgrace. The learned will shine as brightly as the vault of heaven, and those who have instructed the many in virtue, as bright as the stars for all eternity. 263

At San Isidore, the three capitals at the clerestory level of the north wall seem to reflect the content of these Old Testament passages quoted in Lyman's study of the Porte des Comtes. The Damned (Figure 111) may refer to the passage on the souls who will endure eternal disgrace; the Salvation of the Soul (Figure 112), corresponds to the elect, those designated for everlasting life. The Soul in Beatitude (Figure 113), with its ray-like hair forming an aureole around its head, must represent the "learned," and complete and ultimate triumph.
Both San Isidoro and Saint-Sernin were funereal monuments serviced by canons under the Rule of Augustine. Given the close relation between the style of the sculptures of San Isidoro and those of Saint-Sernin, it is probable that the iconographer of San Isidoro knew the sculptures on the Porte des Comtes and was directly influenced by them in his selection of subjects in the three capitals of the clerestory level.

The Intermediate Level—The Royal Heraldic Lions of León

Two large sculptured capitals, each carved with a striking pair of striding heraldic lions, who regard the viewer, are also located on the north wall of San Isidoro. One of the capitals is situated on the east wall of the north transept (circle 13 in Diagram 15; Figure 109) and the other capital is placed on the extreme western wall abutting the north wall (circle 14 in Diagram 15; Figure 110). The Lions are located below a projecting checker-board cornice which clearly delineates the clerestory level of San Isidoro from the nave arcade level on the north side of the building. (Diagram 22)

Lions are carved on several of the capitals of San Isidoro. They can be seen in The Damned and the Soul in
Beatitude, just discussed, as well as in several of the sculptured capitals of the nave arcade level, including Men Suspended from the Jaws of Beasts, Three Lion Riders, Free Will, and Man-Headed Lions. In all of these capitals, however, the lion symbolized evil, death or the devil.

The lions on the capitals of the intermediate level differ noticeably from the lions of the works just cited. These lions have massive necks and shoulders. Their skulls are large and rounded. Shown in striding poses, their carriage is dignified; their expression formidable and threatening. The royal seal of the kingdom of León and of the monastery of San Isidoro employed the image of a lion, regal, dignified, and constrained in attitude, with head held high and forepaw extended proudly (Figures 219, 220, 221 and 222).

If the sculptured capitals of the heraldic lions are compared with the royal seals of the kingdom of León, it is apparent that the sculptured lions are very close to the lions of the royal seal. Because of the similarity in attitude and poses, the lions, on these capitals, were probably derived from the lion motif used on the royal seal. As such, then, it may be interpreted as a symbol of Alfonso VII and his office of king and emperor of Leon, Castile and of Christian Spain.
Contradictory meanings of lions—symbolizing God, authority, or the highest sovereignty on the one hand, and evil, the devil, death, or divine retribution on the other—appear frequently in the Bible and in exegetical literature. The juxtaposition of "good" lions with "evil" lions seem to be a characteristic especially of royal Augustinian chapels in northern Spain.

The cathedral of Jaca, for example, has numerous sculptured capitals with lions as evil creatures, ready to spring at the unwary soul. In total contrast, are a pair of heraldic lions symbolizing Christ's triumph over evil on the tympanum of the west portal (Figure 218). Flanking the Chrism, the sign in which Constantine conquered, the Jaca west tympanum lions are reminiscent of the royal heraldic lions of San Isidoro.

It may be that Jaca was the immediate visual source for the contradictory lion imagery also visible at San Isidoro, just as Jaca was the source for the style of many of the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro. Certainly, it is probable that the immediate textual source for the contradictory use of the lions at Jaca and at San Isidoro was St. Augustine. In Homily XXXIV, Augustine identifies the lion as a symbol of Christ, on the one hand, and as a symbol of "the devil which lies in wait." Sermon CLXXIX also identifies the lion, and the bear, as symbols of evil.
Certainly, the heraldic lions at San Isidoro are derived from the Jaca lions flanking the Chrism. Perhaps the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius urged the emphasis upon the lion, which typified "... (the) power of sovereignty, strength, and indomitableness," in the imperial imagery employed at Jaca and San Isidoro. It is well established that this particular motif connotes triumph of a political nature, and may have demonstrated the king's identification with Christ who, like him, was a mediator whose role it was to assist the soul in re-attaining grace. The two capitals with heraldic lions, in effect, sum up the iconographic program of San Isidoro; the Old Testament king who struggles successfully against evil thereby assisting the soul to attain salvation and immortality. Let us now consider more aspects of the two sculptured capitals carved with the royal lions of the kingdom of León.

The Royal Heraldic Lions of Leon as "Twins"

The capitals with the heraldic lions at San Isidore can be distinguished from the lion of the royal seal of León in that there are two Lions in the capitals (compare Figures 109 and 110 with Figures 219-222). The political and legal significance of paired lions has been brought to light in a number of studies devoted to the motif in other contexts. Some of the conclusions of those studies will now concern us here.
Paired lions support the canopies of Italian porch portals (Figure 223). These animals have been interpreted as symbols of evil. Bornstein (1977) offered an alternative interpretation for the animals. Identifying the Old Testament use of lions as symbols of the Tribe of Judah and as part of the imagery of the Throne of Solomon, Bornstein suggested a legalistic interpretation for the lions of the porch portals in Italy. That legal declarations were frequently promulgated inter-leones in Roman and Romanseque times further supported this interpretation.  

Isa Ragusa also considered several plausible interpretations for a motif of special concern to her; two rampant lions flanking a small portal whose doors they hold open. Ragusa relates the image to the Throne of Solomon, emphasizing especially its significance in relation to judgment. She contrasts this motif (Figure 224), in which lions flank a door with "delicately crafted hinges, locks, bolts and so on" with the lion mouth so often employed to portray the entrance into hell, and concluded that the lions are, in this motif, the guardians of the Gates of Paradise. The juxtaposition of the lions flanking the doorway with the Throne of Solomon suggests the role of the king as judge presiding over the soul's entry into heaven. This is illustrated in miniature also. Ragusa includes a king seated on a faldstool with a lion head at each arm placed
in front of a door, a well established symbol of Christ and his Paradise. (See Figure 193 Reims, Bibl. Mun 23, Bible, fol. 2 vo). The well-known stylistic relationships between Modena and Jaca^274 may also extend to iconographic connections. Alain Sené suggests that the two lions flanking the Chrism in the west tympanum of Jaca (Figure 218) may have alluded to the royal justice often enacted in front of the cathedral of Jaca. The emphasis on pardon, indicated by the lion to the Chrism's right and an inscription which states: "PARCERE STERNENTI LEO SCIT CHRISTUSQUE PETENTI," and Christ's triumph over death and evil, communicated by the lion to the Chrism's left with its inscription: "IMPERIUM MORTIS CONCULCANS E(ST) LEO FORTIS," also can be compared to the penitential tone at San Isidoro.

Thus, heraldic lions, one of the most ancient of motifs in art, were often employed in the Spanish Romanesque sculpture of the Reconquista to express triumph over evil. Legal and political implications were also a part of the rich meaning of this ancient motif. The twinning of the lions may also allude to the two natures of Christ, with whom the king or emperor identified, and the "two bodies" of the king, discussed in Kantorowicz's book of that title, who further traces the development of the concept of "royal twinning" to the seventh century Spanish councils. The
twin lions, then, have numerous meanings, many related to legal and political symbolism. Attention will now be given to the individual capitals, the objects which are portrayed with the heraldic lions, and the possible significance of them.

**Royal Heraldic Lions Biting Through Stems**

The heraldic lions on the capital against the northwest corner of San Isidoro (Figures 110; circle 14 in Diagram 16), are depicted seizing a dried, sinewy vine with their paws. At the same time, the lions pull the vine through their teeth. This vine is very reminiscent of the vine in the Cocks and Inhabited Vines that was related earlier, using a text from the Moralia in Job, to evil and to specifically, the sin of pride. The capital then shows the king "biting through" evil. It symbolically summarizes the king's role in the struggle against evil with a victorious outcome.

**Royal Heraldic Lions Flanking Bird**

The Royal Heraldic Lions embellishing the capital of the northeast crossing pier (circle 13 in Diagram 16) is different in subject matter. The two beasts flank a bird with flame-shaped feathers and a long hooked beak. It is
usually identified as an eagle (Figure 109). It does differ from the other eagle represented on a capital at San Isidoro (Figure 79) in that it possesses flame-shaped feathers on its head and neck and its long beak is pressed tightly into its breast.

The lions, so similar in style to the royal seal of the kingdom of León, are probably royal symbols. The significance of the birds is less apparent. It is especially curious because it is largely hidden by the lions and is virtually impossible to discern from the ground level of the church.

There is a bird, clearly an eagle, carved on the capital of one of the small columns flanking the niche of the south wall from the central apse (Figure 77). There, a small depiction of an eagle with a serpent encircling his neck can be seen. This eagle, like the small one flanked by the majestic lions, differs from most of the other birds depicted at San Isidoro in that only one bird is shown, and it is not entwined by twisting vines. The eagle in this capital and the bird between the heraldic lions are atypical of the use of birds at San Isidoro. The eagle in the small capital has already been identified as Christ. What of the eagle flanked by the royal lions?

A possible but speculative explanation with fascinating implications will be suggested here. The Visigoths and
their descendants identified with the Romans and with the concept of the Roman Emperor. This continued to be true during the times of the Leonese kings, and it was especially true of Alfonso VII. During the latter part of the Roman Empire, the "mythology" surrounding the Emperor, and his deification, became more developed, perhaps due to contacts with the near east. "A mass of literary evidence" and many examples in funerary art, according to Franz Cumont, indicate that many people believed that the sun or its representative, the eagle, actually carried the soul of the divine emperor to heaven. If the anonymous iconographer was aware of depictions of apotheosis of The Roman Emperor, it is possible that Alfonso VII and his advisors may have intended the small eagle, flanked by the two majestic symbols of the Leonese reign, to evoke the idea specifically, of the soul of the Emperor. Since the eagle, in St. Isidore's writings, symbolized Christ, the eagle may have symbolized that Christ was both Psychopomp, the "way" to attain salvation, and conqueror, through his crucifixion and subsequent resurrection, over the ultimate evil, death.

Because the bird portrayed in the lion capitals differs from the eagle portrayed in the niche capital, what other identification of the bird's species might be proposed? It is possible that the bird might be a phoenix. Such a bird often appeared on the coins issued by early Christian
emperors such as Constantine, who was imitated by the Visigothic kings. The composition of the lions flanking a bird has parallels in coins. Eventually, the phoenix was employed to symbolize the immortal and enduring nature of the state of the king and his office.

Together, the eagle or phoenix and the royal lions of Leon define San Isidoro as a royal rather than exclusively an ecclesiastic structure. The capital, then, with royal lions emblematically sums up the temporal authority of the Emperor and the hope for immortality. This immortality might be his personal salvation and possibly the immortality of the state.

The royal heraldic lions of León with emphasis on the number two, evident in the twinning of the lions, their placement on the second story of San Isidoro, and the fact that there are two capitals, employ the number associated with intermediaries, including Christ, who was both God and man.

In "biting through" evil, the lions symbolize the duty of the king to struggle against evil. As Old Testament king, the king was to wage war against evil. He embodied victory and, as rex sacerdos, assisted his subjects in obtaining grace and immortality. As Diagram 22 shows, the elevation of the north wall of San Isidoro was divided into three parts as was the cosmic scheme proposed in the
writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius and supported by his commentators, especially, John Eurgina. The king or emperor occupied both the earthly realm and an intermediate realm by virtue of the special grace of his office.

The royal heraldic lions of León, symbols of the majesty of the kingdom of León, sum up the iconographic program at San Isidoro in terms of the role, character, and cosmic position of the Old Testament king.

The Crucifix of Fernando and Sanche, the Reliquary of Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo and the Perpetual Flame

Only one major figurative sculpture was placed at either the intermediate or clerestory level of the south wall of San Isidoro. (Diagram 21) The three sculptured capitals of the south arcade and the one of the wall were shown to relate thematically with the Reliquary of St. Isidore and the two portals on the south side of the church, the Puerta del Perdón and the Puerta del Cordero. A text from the City of God attributed the gravity of Adam's and Eve's sin to "hatred of God's authority" and obedience to authority was the suggested remedy. Thus, the sculptures of the south side of San Isidoro were united by the concept auctoritas. A concept also united the north wall sculptures together and with the works of art and Perpetual Flame in
the apse. As mentioned earlier, the most significant role played by the Cocks and Inhabited Vines capital in the north arcade was its function as a "sign" to a text in Augustine's youthful treatise on Ordo which referred to strife and the law of the victor. The Three Lion Riders, including one who was David, could also be related to the theme of strife and victory. David was seen as an embodiment of the victor, and the iconography of both of these capitals has been related to an emphasis on victory that is pervasive in imperial art.

The total victory is achieved, in personal terms, on the third story of San Isidoro. There the climax of the program is reached with the complete Beatitude of the Soul.

The theme of victory is similarly communicated by the majestic Royal Heraldic Lions which, located at an intermediate level in the elevation of the church and situated at the extreme eastern and western walls of the nave, "bracket" the north wall and its sculpture. The western lions "bite through evil." Those to the east preside over immortality.

Of the extant works which once existed in the eastern end, all can be related to the concept of victory over evil. The Reliquary of Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo (Figure 16) contains relics of martyrs, who were in particular considered victors over evil. Embellishing the work are a
St. Michael Vanquishing a Demon (Figure 18) and an Apocalyptic Lamb (Figure 17), the promise of an ultimate and eternal victory. The Crucifixion of Christ (Figure 19) included his resurrection as well as the Last Judgment, continuing the theme of triumph, and as noted earlier, fire, of the Perpetual Light, has been interpreted in Augustinian churches as a symbol of Christ, the Light's, victory over evil and death.285

Ordo, then, as strife and the law of the victor is clearly present in most of the sculptured capitals in the north wall. That the kings of Leon consciously identified with their place in the ordo as victor may help to explain the marked asymmetrical placement of San Isidoro in relation to the Panteon (Diagram 1). If the altar on the east wall of the Panteon is examined in relation to the ground plan of San Isidoro, it is evident that the north arcade was aligned with the altar of the Panteon. Possibly this was deliberate, to emphasize the kings' hopes for the victory of external life.

In De Ordine, Augustine discussed Ordo as an abstraction encompassing music, mathematics, geometry, and proportion.286 At the most abstract level, the cruciform plan of San Isidoro participated in the iconographic program of the building. Christ's death on the Cross and the Cross
itself, with or without the corpus of Christ, were considered the symbols of ultimate victory over evil and death. They were also believed to exert an apotropaic effect protecting the believer from evil. Imperial patrons especially employed the Cross in their art and architecture.

Constantine and his family especially venerated the Cross, about which he dreamed before his victory at the Melvian Bridge. Great crosses were depicted in the mosaics of the domes of such outstanding imperial monuments as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and the Hagia Sophia, evoking both the ideas of victory and Christ's all-embracing protection.

In the Liber Carolini, written in 793 and presented to the Council of Frankfurt in 794, Mozarab Theodoulf of Orleans wrote of the "mystery of the Lord's Cross (in which) the Christian finds powers which guard him against all evil. It is his helmet, shield, armor and fortification."

That the Asturo-Leonese kings shared Constantine's veneration of the Cross is evident from two outstanding Crosses, the Cross of Angels (Figure 225), a gift of Alfonso II (808), and the Cross of Victory (Figure 226), which Alfonso III presented to the cathedral of Oviedo in 908 only a few years before his death. Alfonso II's cross,
with its intricate texture of gold-threaded filigree preserved the art of the Visigothic past, though northern Italian influences have also been recognized in it.\textsuperscript{293} Alfonso III's Cross, with its beautiful enamel work, was possibly influenced by Carolingian art of the time of Charles the Bald.\textsuperscript{294}

Both crosses inspired legends. In the Historia Silense, the Cross of Angels was attributed to the hand of angels.\textsuperscript{295} The wooden core of the Cross of Victory was identified with the cross Pelayo supposedly held at the Battle of Covadonga.\textsuperscript{296}

Both crosses possessed inscriptions, but that on the Cross of Victory is especially significant:

\begin{quote}
Hoc signo tuetur pius,
hoc signo vincitur inimicus.\textsuperscript{297}
\end{quote}

Thus, the Asturo-Leonese kings traditionally venerated the Cross and equated it with the hope for and faith in a victory that was inevitable. The Cross motivated the kings through the promise of victory. For this reason, it seems very likely that the cruciform plan of San Isidoro was intended to participate in the iconographic program of San Isidoro that must have permeated the building in the mid-twelfth century: \textit{Ordo and the Law of the Victor}.\textsuperscript{298}
Discussion of the Literary and Visual Sources

The scholars who studied San Isidoro and its sculpture have concentrated on archaeological, chronological, and stylistic questions. Very little consideration had been given to the iconography of the capitals. The motifs on the capitals, however, are common ones within the repertory of Romanesque sculpture. They have been the subjects of numerous scholarly investigations, which have brought to light a number of interesting points relative to the subjects portrayed on the capitals and the textual and artistic sources for them. Some of the possible textual and visual sources for the sculptures at San Isidoro will now be discussed here.

Titles

In general, the titles employed for the capitals do not reflect the actual complexity of the iconography of the works. Nevertheless, only Lions and Monsters and Men Suspended from the Jaws of Beasts were re-titled. The first was reinterpreted as Authority of the Self or Free Will and was so re-titled. Authority of the Self as imperfect and insufficient was a basic doctrine utilized in the doctrines
of Original sin, free will, and grace. It was also at the very foundation of early medieval political theories concerning authority. Men Suspended from the Jaws of Beasts described the motifs of the work, but did not incorporate its expressive amplitude or take into consideration its close proximity to a lion rider, very probably the Old Testament king David. I re-identified this work as Psalm 22, a psalm by David, because of the depth of pain and hopelessness evoked in the Psalm, parts of which were used in the liturgy for the dead and even by Christ the moments prior to his expiration on the Cross.

The Literary Sources

Unquestionably, the literary sources for the iconography of the individual capitals and for the program of the works at San Isidoro were numerous and diverse. This study has uncovered a number of possible sources.

Two general classes of textual sources were used by the iconographer responsible for the program at San Isidoro: secular sources and religious ones. This is not surprising, given the close relationship that existed between the church and state in general in the middle ages. It was especially true of Spain, for the Visigoths had been among the earliest and most public supporters of a theocratic government.
Secular Textual Sources for the Sculptures at San Isidoro

Of the secular texts, at least two legal documents may have influenced the capitals with themes of authority: the Code of Recceswinth (653) and the Pseudo-Isidore (847-852).

The Code of Recceswinth (653)

The Code of Recceswinth was a seventh century law code which formulated two very major assumptions in early medieval legal and political theory. One was the absolute majesty of the Lord. Failure to believe in God was counted as Lese Majeste or high treason.

The Code also expressed what would become the official position on the nature of the source of authority. All authority, it was believed, was derived from the honor inherent in the office. No legitimate power or authority could be derived from an individual (P.L. LXXXIV, 431A). The content of these passages is reflected in the Maiestas Domini and Free Will, which are adjacent to one another.

The Pseudo-Isidore (847-852)

The importance of Visigothic contributions to medieval law and the prestige of Isidore were sufficient to ascribe a
text, actually written by a large body of Frankish clerics, to his authorship.\textsuperscript{300} A descending model of authority, in which the king possessed most power but then distributed it through his staff, was promulgated in that document. This model may have influenced the iconography of Wrestlers, which dealt with the importance of authority, defined as "descending" through subordinates, for the purpose of guaranteeing an orderly society.\textsuperscript{301}

The concept of the "Royal twinship" complementing the gemina natura of Christ, whom the king was to imitate, originated in the Visigothic councils, to be subsequently distributed via the Pseudo-Isidore to the rest of Europe.\textsuperscript{302} This may account for the heraldic lions shown as a pair visible on the two capitals at the intermediate level of the north wall of San Isidoro (Figures 114 and 112).

**Biblical Sources**

Biblical narratives are noteworthy at San Isidoro because of their absence. Genesis 1:26-31, 2 and 3 provide the textual source for the reliefs on the Reliquary of St. Isidore, but the Biblical reference is subordinate to the political implications of the Creation and Fall in the iconographic program of San Isidoro.
I believe that Ecclesiasticus was a source for "tone" or expression in the sculptures in San Isidoro. It is a moralizing book, filled with wise aphorisms and advice. St. Augustine refers to Ecclesiasticus 10:12-14 in his analysis of the sin of pride as preceding and causing man's downfall. 303

Evil as a taunting mocker is also described in Ecclesiasticus 12:19, and this is similar to the expressive content of the capital Psalm 22. Chapters 44-51 contain brief summaries of the biographies of the great leaders of Israel. In 47:3, an Orphic mood prevails, as noted in the Three Lion Riders, regarding David who "played with lions as kids."

Liturgical

Texts from the liturgy which may have influenced the iconography of the sculptured capitals of San Isidoro were largely from the Mass and prayers for the welfare of the souls of the dead. The Ordo commendations animae was cited as a possible source for the capital, Beatitude of the Soul, which employs a motif similar to that of the Daniel in the Lions' Den to convey the resurrection of the body and the soul. The offertory and collect were also mentioned. Of special importance were words from the Offertory, "Salve me de ore leonis." The influence of these lines on Romanesque sculpture has been noted by several scholars. 304
Patristic Writings

The Pseudo-Dionysius and His Commentator, John Erugina

The Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies and the writings of their commentator and translator, John Erugina, were very influential on legal and political theory in the Middle Ages, especially in France. Alfonso VII, who was part Frankish, who sought closer and more egalitarian ties with France, and who imitated northern European kings, was also aware of the ideas of these two writers.

The number "three" was particularly stressed by these writers. Three was the number which determined the structure of heaven, and therefore should be imitated by earthly institutions, the Pseudo-Dionysus wrote, and John agreed with this, claiming that to be made in the image of God meant to be tripartite, since God possessed three Persons.

The ground plan, typical of medieval Spanish churches, has a nave and two side aisles and terminates in three apses. The importance of the number "three" is even more apparent in the sculptured capitals and their placement within the church. The major figurative capitals in San Isidoro are grouped in "three's." Three figurative capitals can be seen in the south nave arcade, three in the north, and three at the clerestory level. The chain of command, as
explicated in the sculptured capital Wrestlers, is tripartite; there are three lion riders in the capital of that title.

The most striking evidence of the influence of the Pseudo-Dionysius on the iconographic program at San Isidoro can be observed on the north wall. There, a tripartite division exists with subjects delegated to each plane as the Pseudo-Dionysius and his followers might recommend. (Diagram 22)

The north nave arcade has three sculptured capitals which define this realm as one of strife over which the law of victory, which the king as novus David, embodies. The royal lions of the kingdom of León occupy the intermediary level appropriate to kings, who were "above" others. The heavens were at the highest and third level, thus conforming to the model of the cosmos extrapolated by the Carolingian political theorists from the theories of the Greek follower of Proclus.

Gregory the Great

Gregory the Great's writings were exceptionally influential on medieval institutions and personally pertinent to kings. His writings stressed emphatically a blind, unthinking acceptance of authority and urged the continued vigilance and confrontation with the sin of pride.
Gregory's emphasis on authority is reflected in the iconographic program of the south side of San Isidoro, which is devoted to the concept auctoritas. Virtually each figurative capital, it was argued here, included one or more allusions to the sin of pride and its perils. In many cases, such as the capital Luxuria and Free Will, the viewer is confronted with the reality of the sin of pride.

St. Isidore

Isidore was thought to have edited and even written the records of Visigothic councils. These councils and synods contained many fundamental concepts employed in early medieval legal and political theory. His importance to early medieval and political theory resulted in his name being given to the Pseudo-Isidore, a collection of canons of immense importance in the history of medieval law. Isidore's high status among institutions including those of church and state is also reflected in the placement of reliefs depicting the Creation and Fall of Man on his reliquary. St. Isidore's Sententiae were also an important source for the iconography of the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro. His definition of the ruler idealized that office, modeling the king on monastic
standards. In Sententia III, the single most important source for these ideas, the king is admonished to imitate David, especially in regard to the latter's humility.\textsuperscript{308}

St. Augustine

St. Augustine's role in medieval culture was thorough and irrefutable. Since San Isidoro was an Augustinian institution, the iconographer responsible for the program at San Isidoro certainly was acquainted with many of Augustine's ideas and the major texts in which they appeared.

San Isidoro, like other Augustinian churches including Saint-Sernin in Toulouse and the cathedral at Jaca, was embellished with sculpture in which a recurrent motif was the lion. It was used to symbolize evil, the devil, death and destruction. The opposite significance could also be applied. The lion could assist in the communication of triumph, as do the lions flanking the niche which once held an effigy of St. Sernin, or symbolize Christ, as occurred at Jaca, or the kingdom, as it did at San Isidoro.

This opposition of meaning occurs in the Bible and numerous other sources. It is one which specifically appears in several of Augustine's writings, including Sermo CLXXIX and Homily XXIV, and the Enneratio in Psalmum (P.L. 37, col. 217-219). Because the conflicting lion motifs
appear in at least three twelfth century Augustinian churches of the pilgrimage roads, two of which were founded by royalty, it is logical to assume that the immediate source for the contradictory symbolism of the lion at San Isidoro was the writings of St Augustine.

Augustine's treatise on Ordo may have been one of the textual sources for the group of sculptures on the north arcade and wall, which dealt with strife and victory. Book XIV, section 15 of the City of God ascribed the gravity of Adam's and Eve's sin to "hatred of God's authority," one aspect of Contemptus Dei. This doctrine was exploited by legal and ecclesiastical authorities to pressure the people to submit to authority, considered a remedy for the imperfect authority of the self to which man was condemned because of Adam's and Eve's sin. This passage integrated the south arcade sculptured capitals with the Reliquary of St. Isidore, Free Will, actually on the south wall of the aisle, and the sculptured portals, the Puerta del Cordero and the Puerta del Perdón, on the south side of San Isidoro, under the concept of auctoritas.

The Ensemble of Sculptures at San Isidoro and its Antecedents

That the ensemble of sculptured capitals inside San Isidoro could be an integrated program is not immediately
apparent. The subjects carved on the capitals are symbolic rather than narrative. The figurative capitals are widely dispersed within the church. Moreover, foliate and ornithological themes predominate, all serving to distract the viewer from recognizing the pattern which actually does exist in the iconography of the works as groups. Hopefully, the above analysis has shown that there is coherence in the program. A comparison between the sculptured capitals of San Isidoro, as an ensemble, and other groups of sculptures as ensembles should further support the thesis proposed here that the sculpture of San Isidoro were governed by a preconceived and carefully planned and executed program.

One group of works with which San Isidoro may be compared are the sculptures of the Porte des Comtes at St.-Sernin in Toulouse.

The Porte des Comtes

Like the sculpture at San Isidoro, the sculptured capitals at the viewer's level, on the Porte des Comtes, depict scenes related to strife and sin with both men and women included. An element of triumph is also introduced at St.-Sernin, with a small nude in a mandorla supported by angels entitled the Apotheosis of Lazarus (Figure 215). Damnation is also included as several souls are held captive and tormented by demons (Figure 214 b and c).
The culmination of the sculptures at St.-Sernin on the Porte des Comtes is depicted in terms of an individual, St. Sernin. He stood inside a niche in the manner of a New Testament authority. He was also flanked, like the San Isidoro Soul in Beatitude, by lions whose jaws were turned safely away from him, as they were turned from Old Testament prophet Daniel (Figure 211).  

Thus, the program at San Isidoro could be termed an elaboration of the late eleventh century prototype at Saint-Sernin. Here, the number of motifs of evil were multiplied; and remedies in the form of authority were offered. Also, the iconographer at San Isidoro provided an imperial signature for San Isidoro in the form of the Royal Heraldic Lions. Nevertheless, the basic elements of the iconographic program of San Isidoro can be observed on the far smaller and more modest iconographic program of the Porte des Comtes with which the sculptor and iconographer were undoubtedly familiar.

The Cathedral at Jaca

The style of the sculptures at Jaca have been cited by both Gaillard and Gomez Moreno as an important source for the style and the iconography of the sculptures of San Isidoro. Certain aspects of the iconographic program at Sán Isidoro may have been the influenced by Jaca.
Jaca was an Augustinian institution which was the site of an episcopate. It was founded by Ramiro and thus had close connections with royalty. The lion is a prominent motif at Jaca. Some of the capitals at Jaca are carved with mysterious complex subjects. Lions are shown dominating the foreground against a backdrop of human figures. Figures descend upon the lions to force open their jaws. Lions appear at Jaca as the monstrous devourers of the human body and soul. 312

At the same time, the lion is monumentalized as a symbol of Christ and his triumph over evil in the west tympanum of the cathedral at Jaca. 313 Jaca, an Augustinian church with a royal foundation, is transitional, expanding the iconography of the lion by inventing imaginative imagery relying on the lion as the predominant motif. At the same time, the conflicting meaning of the lion was presented, reflecting the contradictory uses for the metaphor of the lion in Scripture, exegetical literature, and patristic writings such as those of St. Augustine.

The Carolingian Ivories of the Throne of Charles the Bald

The third source which will be proposed for the ensemble of sculptures at San Isidoro are the ivories of the throne of Charles the Bald. The throne is a remarkable work
embellished with numerous ivories. Many of the themes anticipate the iconography of the sculptures at San Isidoro.

The ivories of the throne are, compared to the sculptured capitals of San Isidoro, both more comprehensive and more erudite. Constellations appear there, rather than merely the twelve Signs of the Zodiac, and other motifs include personifications of the earth, ocean, sun and moon as well as mythological scenes. These reflect the knowledge of and love for antiquity which characterized the Carolingian court.314

Also included are motifs derived from the Bestiary, including a noble lion moving majestically in the manner of the royal heraldic lions at San Isidoro.315 On the seat of the throne are birds, some in rinceaux and others plucking grapes. Ornithological motifs are frequent in the sculptures of San Isidoro, whereas they are not emphasized in the sculpture at Jaca or on the Porte des Comtes.316

Perhaps the most interesting anticipation of the San Isidoro program is the tripartite division of the universe which Weitzmann recognizes as the iconographic program of the throne. The sun and moon, Weitzmann writes, mark the "apex" of the cosmos, the heavens. The constellations, the Emperor and Christ mark an intermediate realm. The Emperor can also be seen amidst strife, evil and iniquity, against which he must fight.317
Parallels with this at San Isidoro include the tripartite division of the north arcade and wall. The dominant theme at the arcade level is the king's struggle against evil. Symbols of the majesty of the king of Leon occupy the intermediate level in the form of the royal heraldic lions of the kingdom of Leon. The heavens, on the third level, are presented in human terms, with scenes of the Salvation of the Soul and the Beatitude of the Soul. As is traditional in imperial imagery, a strong note of victory is injected into the north sculptures at San Isidoro.

With the coronation of Charles the Bald, Weitzmann shows, are rinceaux riddled with strife, robbers, beatings, and evil. He suggests that visual and textual prototypes for these scenes are the Psalms of David, relating them particularly to the vicious acts recorded in the illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter. This has already been cited in relation to Wrestlers, which depicts the king at a setting characterized by strife.

Weitzmann emphasizes the importance of the Imitatio David regis in Carolingian political theory, already discussed in relation to Alfonso VII. The Psalms show their writer, in many cases David, surrounded by evil. The throne and at least some aspects of the iconography at San Isidoro show a correspondence to this. Concerning the Psalms and the ivories with the emperor amidst strife, Weitzmann
writes, "Like the Old Testament king he is surrounded by enemies, but he will triumph over evil doers." The king is novus David. Wherever David went, Yahweh gave him victory. (2 Samuel 8:14.)

Conclusion

The most important subjects of the interior capitals were placed on the six capitals located in the south and north nave arcades. The three sculptured capitals in the south arcade, the Maiestas Domini, Wrestlers, and Luxuria, were related to the important medieval political concept, auctoritas. The three sculptured capitals in the north nave arcade were carved with more symbolic motifs. These related to the king or emperor's identification with the Old Testament king, David. The unifying concept was the king's place in the ordo, defined as victor in the struggle against evil.

Further analysis of the sculptures inside San Isidoro demonstrated that the building could be divided at its axis into a south and north side. The south program was extended into the apse to include the original eleventh century Reliquary of St. Isidore, which included the donor, Fernando I, admonishing the viewer. The program then, still at the nave arcade level, was also seen to incorporate the two
sculptured portals on the south side of San Isidoro under, again, the crucial concept auctoritas.

The three sculptured capitals in the north arcade similarly were integrated the Reliquary of Sts. John the Baptist and Pelayo with reliefs of St. Michael and the Dragon, and the Apocalyptic Lamb, the Crucifixion, and the Perpetual Light, once in the apse. Martyrs and the subjects just enumerated were all symbols of victors over evil with whom the king identified.

Unlike the south program, a second program unfolded on the intermediate and clerestory levels of the north wall. There, the king's place as mediary was shown in a tripartite schema.

Prototypes for the group of sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro have been identified. These included the sculptures of the Porte des Comtes at Toulouse, the sculptures at Jaca, and possibly the ivories which once enriched the throne of Carolingian king, Charles the Bald.

As a result of this study, it can be concluded with some certainty that the iconographic program of San Isidoro was well organized, cohesive, and well-thought-out program. The program, which incorporated architecture and sculpture, may have been unified by one idea, the concept ordo: the law of the victor.
I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Franklin Ludden, director of this study, for suggesting this organization to me. The more specific details of the path visitors followed in the middle ages as they visited San Isidoro is an issue beyond the scope of this study.

1. For the Maiestas theme in medieval monumental painting of the Romanesque period, see Hubert Schrade, Malerei des Mittelalters, Die Romanische Malerei, Ihre Maiestas, Köhn: M. du Mont Schauberg, 1963.

2. See Didron, op. cit., vol. I. See Walter Lowrie, Art in the Early Church, New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1947, Plate 103 for St. Sabina doors. Dating earlier than 432, a Maiestas Domini is included in these (Plate 104,a). Grabar also notes that the theme appeared on a piece of metal work Constantine presented to the Lateran, according to the Liber Pontificalis. It was common in small, portable objects (see Andre Grabar, L'Empereur dans l'art byzantine, Paris: Les belles lettres, 1936, p. 196).

3. A theophany is well defined in the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius. He believed that God did not reveal himself directly, only indirectly. Wild animals, such as lions, panthers, and so on might suggest his powers and essence. Angels acting as mediators assisted in telling man about the law. Prophets such as Ezekiel, Isaiah, or Moses were other mediators who saw the divine nature directly, i.e., a theophany. Usually mandorlas, lights, fiery wheels, strange creatures marked the revelation of the divine nature. See Denys L'Areopagite, La Hierarchia celeste, pp. 84, 95-96; and 123, 125 and 148.

4. Kantorowicz notes that representations of God the Father and God the Son become difficult to distinguish from one another during the later medieval period. Op. cit., p. 93 and n. 19. "... the development itself and its connection with christological change does not seem to have been investigated." The San Isidoro capital and the tympanum carved with the Last Judgment at St. Denis may be very early examples of a shift of emphasis, possibly in the doctrine of The Trinity, from the Son to the Father in
representations of the Lord. The interchangeability of the two persons is explicitly stated by Augustine in De Ordine (see below), and De Trinite, P.L.

That Abbot Suger and his sculptor were concerned with the doctrine of the Trinity is certain. Augustine, De Trinitate, I, 13 is the source (see pp. 119-120, in Paula L. Gerson, The West Façade of St. Denis, An Iconographic Study, Columbia University, Ph.D., 1970 (University Microfilms), pp. 119-120. She also notes that Augustine believed the elect would view this mystery, and that the Pseudo-Dionysius placed it at the apex of his hieratic schema. See also pp. 133-134.

Gerson also indicates that the St.-Denis Trinity is the first depiction of the dogma in monumental sculpture; "The West Façade of St.-Denis," p. 129 and "Suger as Iconographer," p. 192. In n.36, p. 197, she writes "After the representation at Saint-Denis we find four examples, all in Spain, in the second half of the twelfth century. She cites Adelheid Heimann, 'L'Iconographie de la Trinité I: une formule byzantine et son développement en occident,' L'Art chrétien, I (1934), pp. 37-58 and German de Pamplona, Iconografía de la Santísima Trinidad en el Arte Medieval Español, Madrid: 1970, pp. 65-88. For the king as 'gemina persona,' see Kantorowicz, op. cit., and Christ as 'gemina persona,' pp. 49-50. "The second Hispanic Council (619) emphasized the "gemina natura" of Christ and added correctly that "this 'gemina persona' still forms one person."

References to God as the source of secular power and authority as opposed to Christ appear very early in the literature on kingship in western Europe. The systematic use of the distinction of authority derived from the Lord as opposed to authority derived from Christ; the former was the source of the power of regnum; the latter, of sacerdotium, begins to appear in the latter twelfth century. As it becomes more defined, it will assist in a change from the older "liturgical king" to the later concept of the king governing by divine right. Kantorowicz, p. 93.

See Kantorowicz, p. 162:

"In other words, the king, together with his judges, typified God the Father with the divine Christ on the Throne of Heaven."

For the literature on the derivation of secular authority from God and the derivation of sacerdotal authority of
Christ, see idem. p. 161. The following sources are cited:
1) "Ambrosiaster" (4th century),
2) Cathwulf's letter to Charlemagne
3) Norman Anonymous (c.1100)
4) Hugh of Fleury's De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate (c.1100)

To Kantorowicz's list may be added the De Institutione Regia by the Bishop (b.780) of Orleans after Theodulf. Translator Dyson says that it "reproduces almost exactly Acts of a large and important synod of Paris (829) summoned by Louis the Pious."

5. Ullman, op. cit., p. 41.

Pope Ambrose Gelasius I (492-496) responding to the ideas of Augustine, and Leo I, formulated the distinction between power and authority, allotting the former to kings and the latter, to the church.

Two things there are indeed, August Emperor, by which this world is principally ruled; the consecrated authority of priests and royal power.


6. "There is no power except God," Romans 13:1-2. You must obey the governing authorities, since all government comes from God. This view was based on Paul, and later mapped out in one of the treatises most influential on early medieval theories regarding the role of the king, and the nature of authority. The Celestial Hierarchy of Denys the Areopagite, Ullman, pp. 31 and 40. The title "rex Dei gratia," often employed by early medieval kings, including those of Spain, as noted above, reflects this Pauline formula designating the office as a gift, like grace, from God, given and not necessarily earned. King Recceswinth (653) also noted the power of the king resided in the office, not the person. Kantorowicz, op. cit., pp. 57-58 (P.L. LXXXIV, 43, A).

See also the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretales:

Regnum enim iura faciunt, non persona . . . . Quae ergo honoris debent, honore serviant, et quae reges accumulant, regno relinquant.

7. The importance of such concepts as "above" and "below," with the emphasis on "above" reserved for persons possessing sovereignty, such as kings, is dealt with in Ullman. Titles (p. 137) such as "your Royal Highness" reflect this. Pp. 13, 57, 137, 196 and many other passages, kings were even considered "above" law, since they were defined as "lex animata." (p. 137). Bad kings were considered punishment for sins by Gregory the Great and other theorists. A Ninth Century Political Tract, The De Institutione Regia, p. 1. Later, it would be claimed that bad kings were tyrants, not kings. Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 158.

Frederick II, Kantorowicz notes, admitted that kings were sometimes "below" the law. (sub lege) The king was of course subject to Divine Law or natural law, which identifying the Lord as the "seat of Majesty" communicates. As noted earlier the Visigothic coronation ceremony included lifting the (elected) king "above" all others first on a shield and later on a specialized chair called a throne. The Scriptural source was Isaiah.

8. In theory, subjects had concessions given from "royal grace." Subjects were thought of as minors, and a family model was also employed. See Ullman, p. 132.


10. Accoutrements of Visigothic kings included: sceptre, mantle, purple palium, crown, throne, unction, and royal standard. Excluded was the orb. Throne and unction especially emphasized special status of the king. Ullman, op. cit., p. 72. See also Schramm and Mutherich, op. cit., pp. 101-104.

11. See n.4. See also Ullman, op. cit., p. 123.

12. Ibid., pp. 87 and 133.


14. Ibid.

15. Greek word, megiste. Ullman, p. 87 states the title was of later Roman origin, but reference to the word also occurs in the Roman Republican period.

17. *Lese majeste* in French, these crimes were committed against the sovereign.


23. Kings were often employed as personifications of *Superbia* or *elatio* in illustrations of the virtues and vices. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the *Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*, New York: The Norton Library, 1964 (1939 ed. Warburg Institute), Figures 11 and 15. Isidore suggested kings should imitate David, especially his humility. The virtue humility was seen as a remedy for pride. *Sententia III*, XLIX, P.L. vol. 83, col. 720. (This will be dealt with in more depth later). See also *A Ninth-Century Political Tract. The De Institutione Regia*, Book II. See also the coronation of Constantine as discussed in Ullman, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
24. For the importance of the Old Testament prophet Isaiah in defining sin as "violated suzerainty" or "false greatness," see Paul Ricoeur, The Symbolism of Evil, trans. by Emerson Buchanan, Boston: Beacon Press, 1967, pp. 57 and 65-66. Isaiah and Gregory the Great suggest total and absolute submission to authority as the "true contrary of sin." See also Isaiah 2:11-19, for the "bringing down" of things not God. Baasten, op. cit, pp. 22-23. New Testament authorities urging the submission to authority as the "remedy" for sin include 1 Peter 2:13-16 and Paul, Romans. For Gregory's emphasis on obedience and submission to authority, even franker in Regula Pastoralis, and its importance in the formulation of early medieval political theory, see Duby, The Three Orders, pp. 66-67.

25. Ibid., pp. 21-23. This is quoted by Gregory frequently. Ibid. n.87, p. 151.

For both the devil and man fell, by pride, from the state of their own creation, either for him to say, 'I will ascend above the height of the clouds, I will be like the Most High.' (Isaiah 14:14) or for the other to hear and to believe, 'Your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods' (Gen. 3:5). They fell, therefore, both of them, because they desired to be like God, not by righteousness, but by power." Morals on the Book of Job. Gregorius I, the Great, Saint Pope, vol IX, Book 29, Sect. 18, p. 314. P.L. 76, Book 29, Chap. 8, Sect. 18, col. 48).

26. David Simon, "Daniel and Habakkuk in Aragon," Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd series, vol. XXXVIII, 1975, n. 4, p. 53 notes that such a grouping of figures is typical of works at San Isidoro in León, San Martín de Fromista and the interior of Jaca Cathedral. Of the capitals he proposes to study as examples of the Daniel-Habakkuk iconography, some are from San Isidoro. See n. 4, p. 54.

27. The official position on this, derived from Augustine's views, was promulgated at the Synod of Orange:

the human will is weakened by original sin, and in order to turn to God in repentance man needs to be inwardly moved by prevenient grace. But the corruption inherited from God does not involve the complete enslavement of the human will, and grace is not irresistible.
Gregory the Great clearly ascribed to this position, noting other imperfections in judgment and so on that also accrued from Adam's sin. See Baasten, op. cit., n. 23, p. 133 and pp. 56-61. See also J. A. Burkill, Evolution of Christian Thought, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971, p. 133. See also F. H. Dudden, Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905, pp. 387-391.


33. Werckmeister, Grupo de Estudio, p. 178.
34. Gregory the Great, however, notes in Book 34, Section 9, that pride wears garments, using them as a masquerade. See also Baasten, op. cit., p. 18.

35. See note 24. Augustine, Gregory and Isidore all possessed a pessimistic view of Free Will. For a more optimistic and more balanced exposition of Free Will, St. Bernard may be consulted. In brief, Bernard considered Free Will an aid in attaining salvation because man can choose to do good. In his view, free will separated man from animals and sexuality was what joined man with animals. See St. Bernard, Treatise Concerning Grace and Free Will.

But consent of the will is one thing, natural appetite is another. The latter is common to us with the irrational animals, nor has it the power of giving consent to the spirit, being ensnared by the attractions of the flesh. Having this appetite in common with brutes, it is voluntary consent which distinguishes us from the same.


36. Baasten, op. cit, pp. 53-54.


38. The image of Falling is extensively used in 5th century Spanish writer Prudentius, in the Psychomachia (Aurellii Prudentii Clementis carmina, ed. Joannes Barmman (Corp. script. eccl. lat LXI), Vienna Leipzig 1926, pp. 165 ff. The "Falling Horseman type" of representation already occurs as St.-Foi at Conques, but becomes very common in Gothic representations of Pride. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century, New York: W. W. Norton Company, Inc., 1964, n. 2, p. 76 and pp. 82-84. See also Psalm 73 verse 19.

until suddenly they fall,
done for, terrified to death.
read as a part of the Visigothic office of the Dead, which, although no longer performed, would probably have been remembered. See Werckmeister, Grupo de Estudio. p. 178. See St. Augustine, City of God, p. 461 for metaphors of fall associated with the sin of pride. Notice also "Thou castest them down when they lifted up themselves" and its discussion.

P. 457 . . . God made man upright, and consequently with a good will. For if he had not had a good will, he could not have been upright . . . the first evil, which proceeded all men's evil acts, was rather a kind of falling away from God . . . .


40. St. Augustine, City of God, pp. 466-467 . . . "... all right actions wish to be set in the light, i.e. desire to be known." For the importance of secrecy in love, see Andreas Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love, trans. John Jay Parry, ed. and abrid. by Frederick W. Lock, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1964, throughout, but pp. 25, 29 and 17 may be cited. For secrecy as a moral problem, see Gregory the Great's analysis of evil. Of the numerous passages, see Morals on the Book of Job, Vol. III, part 2, p. 641 . . . For a man is often involved secretly in many sins . . . that very virtue is no virtue in the eyes of God, which conceals what displeases, puts forward that which pleases him. . . . . For frequently, as we have said, pride is hidden . . . . Another studies patience . . . but he at last becomes impatient, who for a long time grieved in secret. For the inability of "fleshly sense(s) in comprehending the Divine Majesty," see ibid., vol. I, p. 511. See also Psalm 19:12: But who can detect his own failings? Wash out my hidden faults.

41. Ibid., p. 460. Such people are referred to as "self-pleasers." On p. 461, Augustine specifically relates the sin of pride to the devil. Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices, also notes a manuscript illustrated with a tree, has, at its roots, Superbia, leading to vices, and Humilitas, leading to all virtues. (The tract of the Pseudo-Hugo, De fructibus carnis et spiritus). This is contrasted with the Liber Floridus, where the root
sin is cupiditas, see pp. 65-66. David, with whom the kings were urged to identify, was especially associated with humility. See n. 34 (Augustine, however, recommends contemplation of Christ.)

42. Ibid., p. 466.
43. Ibid., pp. 462-464.
44. Ibid., p. 471.

... in the order of nature, the soul is more excellent than the body, and yet the soul commands the body more easily than itself ... this lust ... is the more shameful ... because the soul is therein neither master of itself; so as not to desire at all, nor of the body, so as to keep the members under control of the will, and pp. 472-474, Augustine laments:

Man has been given over to himself because he abandoned God while he sought to be self satisfying; and disobeying God, he could not even obey himself. Hence it is that he is involved in the obvious misery of being unable to live as he wishes.

And therefore man himself also might very well have enjoyed absolute power over his members had he not forfeited it by his disobedience, for it was not difficult for God to form him so that what is now moved in his body only by lust should have been moved only by will.

Augustine did not believe man possessed free will after the fall. Herbert A. Deane, The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963, pp. 25-6. This pessimistic view of man's authority over himself, synonymous with the soul's authority over the body, should probably have been in an historical relationship with the Pelagian heresy. Augustine stressed man's absolute dependence on God, whereas Pelagius argued that man could obtain salvation on his own. The doctrine of grace is also relevant. The view of man's spiritual liabilities and total dependence on God was also held by St. Isidore and Gregory the Great. Sister Patrick Jerome Mullins, O.P., A.M., The Spiritual Life of St. Isidore, Catholic University of America, Studies in Latin Language and Literature, XIII, Washington, D.C.


46. Gregory wrote "It is needful that every perfect man first discipline his mind in virtuous habits." Morals on the Book of Job, Vol. 1 of Book 6, Sect. 60, p. 360. For Augustine, see discussion, below, on Cocks with Inhabited Vines.

47. Mullins, op. cit., p. 82. See also pp. 105-106 for Isidore's Synonyma I.

48. Augustine, City of God, Book XIC, Section 15, p. 462.


53. Augustine, City of God, Book XIV, Section 15, p. 464.

Another interpretation of illicit sexual activity as an archetypal sin is that appearing in Hosea. Adultery is a metaphor for the "children of Israel:" sinning, being unfaithful to God. See Perez Llamazares, Iconografia, and Paul Ricour, Symbolism of Evil.


56. For the importance of correct attire in recognizing the status of individuals in this period, see Duby, op. cit., pp. 54-55. Duby suggests inappropriate clothing was thought to contribute to disorder in the society.

57. See Werckmeister, "Eve Fragment from Autun," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, XX, 1972, pp. 130; idem. "Pain and Death in the Beatus of Saint-Sever," Studi medievali, 3rd series, XV, 1973, 565-626. Werckmeister addresses this issue in relation to penance, which he identified as the purpose of Fernando I's San Isidoro, Gregory the Great's Moralia in Job is the text he stresses. See also Barasch, op. cit., pp. 34-38.


64. The Crown, especially in its diadem form, was a legacy of the Roman emperor and the title "Augustus." It symbolized the ruler's victory over the world by the victory of the athlete in contests.

See also Psalm 20:4 (Prayer for the King).

May he grant you your heart's desire, and crown all your plans with success.

The Crown, a legacy especially in the form of the diadem of the Roman emperor and the title Augustus, stressed a dominance over the world analogous to that enjoyed by victorious athletes in a contest. For its material and immaterial nature, see Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 337-339. Its special symbolism reflecting the king as mediator can be seen in numerous examples of the visual arts, with God or an angel placing the crown on the ruler's head. For crown as Patria, see ibid., pp. 342-343. For examples of heavenly bestowal of crown, see our Figure 357, Otto II (from Aachen Gospels, c.975) Figure 5 in Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies. The Coronation of Charles the Bald (c.870) from the Coronation Sacramentary, Schramm, Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, Nr. 31, Constantine was the first to be so represented. Alfonso VII underwent the coronation ceremony three times. See above.

Quid significant gladius regalis vel imperialis?
Iudicii signum gladius monsrare videtur,
Quid malefactorum ferit as cessare iubetur,
Ut latro frustretur, res tenet arma secus
Precipitur gladius vibratus semper habieri,
Puniat ut subito, potuit quod culpa mereri;
Nam si tardus erit, pax vacuata perit.
Si mala non premeret, principis umbra foret.

What is the significance of the sword in the imperial regalia?
The sword is seen to demonstrate a sign of judgment. Which commands acts of evil to halt.
In order to thart all those outside the laws, the king takes up lower arms.
To accomplish this, brandished the sword must always be.
He punishes in order to subdue—he can because culpability merits it. For if he is not in time; peace will pass to nothing. If evil is not held in check, a shadow will cover the realm.

(Mon. Germ. Hist., Script. XXII, p. 272-276) as quoted in Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mutherisch, Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser, Müncheh: Prestal Verlag, 1962, p. 102. (My translation) The source for this interpretation of the sword, according to Ullman, op. cit., p. 40, is Paul. Romans 13:4 may be cited. The state is there to serve God for your benefit. If you break the law, however, you may well have fear: the bearing of the sword has its significance. See also Genesis 3:23-24. "So Yahweh God expelled him from the Garden of Eden, to till the soil from which he was taken. He banished man and in the front of the Garden of Eden he posted the cherubs, and the flame of a flashing sword, to guard the way to the The of Life"; and Daniel 13:59.


Ibid., 82 and 89. The King, as part of coronation, swore on oath before the sword. it symbolized his temporal authority and power and just as did the crown, throne, sceptre and so on. (p. 189). See Duby, op. cit., p. 39. Isidore considered war necessary for the protection of the church.

67. Francois Garnier, Le Language de L'image au moyen âge. Signification et symbolique, Paris. Le Leopard d'or, 1982, pp. 120-123; 167-170 for gestures analogous to those used in the San Isidoro and illustrative examples. Correct speech, gesture, elocution, and deportment would be expected in Alfonso VII's court. Here, the "word and the sword," the two instruments of the king to maintain order, are highlighted.

Duby also notes that kings, because they were anointed and educated like bishops, were expected to act in the role of orators, to persuade or instruct through words. Orators also prayed, Duby, op. cit., pp. 17-18. "Only one man among the nobles, the king, took an active role in the liturgy."

Involved in the office of the king were the word and the sword. When one did not work (the word), the sword was
recommended. The church could also support the execution of the king's duties through "deadly force" by the word (pp. 28-29).

The court of Castile and Leon was thoroughly French by the reign of Alfonso VI. The court of Alfonso VII was exceptionally elaborate. R. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, Madrid: 1924.


69. See Morals on the Book of Job, Vol. III, Book 34, Sect. 50, pp. 655-656. Gregory's strict emphasis on obeying even bad kings was unusual. Anne Fremantle, in her discussion of St. Bernard's analysis of Free Will, writes:

The fourth Christian freedom, from the state if it commanded evil, was asserted confidently by all the church's representatives throughout the Middle Ages.


70. Using the Pseudo-Isidore, the Council of Hohenaltheim (916) argued in favor of a "strict hierarchical ordering of society." In doing this, the authority of the king was supported over that of the Council. Ullman, op. cit., p. 90. It will be remembered that Fernán González, earlier, had been likened to a David and had also deposed Sancho the Fat, replacing him with Ordono the Bad. Queen Urraca, Alfonso VII's mother, had a count of Castile for a lover and had born children by him.

71. See Duby, The Three Orders, Feudal Society Imagined in general, but pp. 27, p. 59 (oratores, bellafores, and laboratores) p. 85; sacerdotes, milites, agricolae, p. 109; three part division of hierarchy, p. 14, which was considered "the most perfect." St. Bernard, p. 123; Suger, p. 227 ("The clergy, the great, the people); Anselm (oratores, milites, et agriculae), p. 239, (in imitation of the Pseudo-Dionysius' Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies. For a more abstract analysis of ordo as reflected in the sculptures at San Isidoro, see below.

73. Ibid., p. 53.


75. Ullman, op. cit., p. 31. The two works would be the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. The Pseudo Dionysius called the entire scheme a thearchy, and emphasized continually the tripartite division and the different spiritual capacities of different types of individuals. Also stressed, as noted earlier, were intermediaries; angels, prophets, and, when adopted by early medieval political thinkers, kings. *Ordo* was the term used by Latin writers including Gregory the Great, in the influential *Moralia in Job* (P.L. 142, 1308), Gerard, Adalbero et al. See Duby, op. cit., pp. 52-53. *Inequalitas* is also related. Different individuals obtain offices not due to merit, but due to grace unequally distributed due to man's fall. Gregory, in *Moralia in Job*, notes this, adding "one part of society was worthy to rule over the remainder." Duby, p. 67. See also Isidore, *Sententiarum III*, C. XLVII, P.L., vol. LXXXIII, col. 717.

Et liget peccatum humanae originis per baptismi gratiam cunctis fidelibus dimissum sit, tamen aequus Deus ideo discrevit hominibus vitam, alio servus constituens, alios dominos, ut licentia male agendi servorum potestae dominatum restringatur.

76. Baasten, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

77. See Ullman, op. cit., pp. 55, 90.

78. Duby, op. cit., esp. Chaps. 9 and 10.

79. See above n.

80. Ullman, op. cit., p. 133.

81. Anger would be one of two sins resulting from an excess of passion. See Katzenellenbogen, in discussing Prudentius; *Psychomachia*, op. cit., p. 2. See also Augustine, *City of God*, Book 19, p. 467.
82. Augustine, City of God, Book XIV, ch. 11, p. 458. The snake can also refer to a virtue, Prudentia. Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 60.

83. Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 58. Sins relative to lust include infanticide, abortion and failure to suckle an infant. This broader definition of the sin of lust is especially typical of the Christian population in which celibacy is held in high esteem. Himmelfarb, op. cit., pp. 73-7, 96.

84. Although the sin of Lust is usually attributed to women, other artistic examples of it as a sin practiced by males and females can be observed in medieval art. A Spanish example is a quatrefoil enframed Hell scene which is guarded by a tall slender St. Michael. This illustration is from a twelfth century manuscript from Santo Domingo de Silos (now in the British Museum, Add. Ms. 11695, f.2). There, a male and female couple, prostrate in bed, embrace one another as two demons attend them from either side. One demon, with grossly enlarged genitals, adjusts the pillow so that the couple will be more comfortable. An illustration of his work can be seen in Figure 7 of Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," reprinted in Romanesque Art, New York: George Braziller, 1977 (originally published in 1939). Male and female practitioners of lust can also be seen on the sculptured capitals of the Porte des Comtes of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse. Lyman attributed the inclusion of both male and female lust sinners as "... understandable in view of the emphasis given this vice by the reformers." See Lyman, "Sculpture Programme of the Porte des Comtes Master, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, vol. XXXIV (1971), p. 15.

85. Ibid., pp. 458-459. See 300 for a distinction between angels and demons; "And, finally, the demons are frequently, the angels, never, deceived."

86. Actually, the office of king was "sexless" (and "immortal"). Hence, Kantorowicz indicates that Irene (798-802) ruled as emperor over the Byzantines. Op. cit., p. 80. Later, under Salic Law, this would change. Ibid., p. 394. The capital at San Isidoro would appear to represent a standard position in medieval Christianity, but as a legal and political document, it is exceptional and, like the Maiestas Domini, looks toward a later era. It is paralleled in illustrations of Gratian's Decretal. See Melnikas, op. cit., and Ullman, op. cit., p. 211.
87. Melnikas, op. cit.

88. Augustine, City of God, pp. 692-694.

89. Ibid., p. 765. On p. 416, death was defined as the separation of body and soul.

90. Ibid., pp. 778-779.

91. Ibid., p. 796. Purgatory, as a place where punishments were penal and remedial rather than eternal, is of Greek origins. Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose described such a place. The word "purgatorium" emerges in the 2nd half of 12th century, also a time when interest in purgatory, torments from which the soul could be saved after death, was encouraged by Cluny. See Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. A tripartite division of realms after death, Hell, Purgatory and Heaven resulted. This may be compared to the Sheol of the Jews or the Bipartite model of the Romans, Hades and the Elysian Fields. Le Goff cites Duby, op. cit., here. See p. 8.


et Cupidinem puerem volitantem ac sagittantem, quod irrationalis et instabilis amor corda vulnerat miserorum.

Est enim daemon fornicationes . . . . Puer pingitus, qui stultus est et irrationalis amor.

Sagittam et facem tenere fingitur. Sagittam, et facem there fingitur, sagittam, quia amor cor vulnerat; facem, quia inflammat.

93. Augustine, City of God, p. 766.
   . . . for desire frustrated, either by missing what it aims at or losing what it has attained, is turned into pain.
94. See Roth, op. cit.
95. See below. Discussion of Acrobats.
96. See Weitzmann, op. cit., pp. 224-228.
101. Sudden death was greatly feared because the soul would not have the opportunity to reconcile with God. The eleventh Council of Toledo concluded that those alive never stopped grieving when a family member or friend experienced sudden death. See Mullin, op. cit., p. 100.
1. . . . the beginning of all sin
2. . . . the queen of all vices,
3. . . . the destroyer of all virtue (see p. 51).


106. Quoted by Baasten, op. cit., p. 45; Morals on the Book of Job, vol. III, Book 31, section 82, 0.486; P.L. 76, Book 31, Chap 41, Section 82, p. 618.

107. Ibid., pp. 80-81. Gregory returns to this theme many times in the Moralia.

108. Norman Roth, "Deal gently with the young man," Love of Boys in Medieval Hebrew Poetry of Spain," Speculum, 1972, p. 41. This image was also used of women. "Mu'tamid describes his joy at encountering his nude lover as 'Sweetest moment of all, when casting aside her robe, she stood before me slender and supple as an osier branch!' Quoted in Dozy, op. cit., p. 669.


111. See The Ninth Century Political Tract. The De Institutione Regia. New York: Exposition Press, 1983, p. 6. Since God has given us the capacity for distinguishing Good from Evil, so he will require of our vineyard (that is, our soul) the fruit of our good works.


114. Baasten, op. cit., p. 66.


For Bestiaries, see Montague R. James, The Bestiary (Reproducing Cambridge, University Library Ms. 11.4.26, Twelfth Century), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928; T. H. White, The Bestiary, A Book of Beasts, New York: Capricorn Editions, 1960. Much of the justification for interpreting the animal motifs allegorically is the type of information in the books on animals and the manner in which it is employed by the medieval writers.


For the importance of the game cock in Roman funerary art, see Walter Altmann, op. cit., p. 238. See also J. de Witte, "Le Genie des combats de coqs," Revue archaéologique, vol. XVII (1968), pp. 372-381. See Forsyth, "The Theme of Cockfighting," n. 11, p. 257 for additional literature on the cock and cockfighting.
and especially p. 258 for other associations with death.

118. Ibid., pp. 274-275. The poem is quoted in full there. See p. 281 for its use on Shrove Tuesday.

119. Ibid., pp. 2767-281. For its relationship to school boys and education, see pp. 268-270. See also sections 25-26 of Augustine's de Ordine (below).

120. Forsyth "Theme of Cockfighting," identifies three examples of the theme, all in Burgundian churches: St.-Lazare, at Autun; Saint-Andoche, Saulieu; Notre-Dame in Besanone (Figs. 6-7 in her study.) See p. 255.

121. Plato, especially in Book Three of the Republic, Aristotle, and Cicero all extolled athletes who were thought to exemplify the virtue fortitude held in high esteem by them. See Colin Eisler, "The Athlete of Virtue: The Iconography of Asceticism," De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, New York; New York: New York University Press, 1961, p. 82. Samson and David, especially in their conflicts with animals, were also considered to embody the virtue fortitude. (See below) Christians often used the athlete as a model for Christians to imitate. See Paul, I Corinthians 9:24-27, frequently quoted. See also John Sawmill, The Use of Athletic Metaphors in the Biblical Homilies of St. John Chrysostum, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1928 and Ernst Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics, I, Mosaics at Nikopolis," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, VI (1951), esp. p. 118 and notes 148-150. Forsyth, op. cit., pp. 264-2675. The athlete metaphor will be considered in relation to Acrobats in this study. Forsyth's study may be consulted for it in relation to the boy/cockfight motif.


123. Ibid., p. 282.

124. Ibid., p. 265.

125. As noted earlier, the Perpetual Light was and remains one of the special privileges extended to San Isidoro. Its first appearance at San Isidoro is not known, but Alfonso VII's sister Sancha made a generous gift of it. A legend suggests that it was lighted from on high. Babbit, op. cit., p. 82. See also Augustine's sermons, P.L. XXXIX, 1090, 1104 and 112.

127. Ibid., pp. 72-73.


129. De Ordine, Chapter 8, section 26, p. 49.

130. De Ordine, Chapter 8, section 25, pp. 48-49 in Divine Providence.

Again, the use of the arts at San Isidoro parallels Saint-Denis. Suger, too, exploited the ability of visual experience to induce the mind to contemplate higher realities, although his source for this was the Pseudo-Dionysus. See Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis, ed., trans., and annot., by Erwin Panofsky, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2nd ed., 1979 (1946). Suger, however, sought a more mystical emotion and religious feeling. See p. 21 of Panofsky. A cooler more critical and analytical state of mind was sought by the anonymous iconographer of San Isidoro. The symbolic nature of the San Isidoro sculptures is an interesting parallel with the text from Augustine. See also Bornstein, "Victory over Evil," p. 47.

131. Ibid., Chapter 8, Section 29, pp. 49-51. For a discussion of the cock fight in de Ordine and its antecedents in Greco-Roman literature, which include the writings of Cicero and Plutarch, as a symbol of the "way of the world," see Hans Heinrich Gunernann, "Literarische und philosophische Tradition in ersten Tagesgespräche von Augustinus' de Ordine," Recherches Augustiniennes, Vol. IX (1973), p. 188. This event's importance in de Ordine, p. 22, is suggested in its occurrence on the first day of the discourse. See p. 222.

132. Ibid., Chapter 10, Section 29, pp. 55 and 57.

133. Ibid., p. 56.
134. Ibid., pp. 56 and 57.

135. Ibid., Chapter 10, Section 30, p. 61. It is to remain secret.

136. Ibid., Chapter 11, Section 31. Augustine compliments her love of wisdom. She denies her significance because of her sex. Augustine then asserts his own willingness to be under her tutelage. P. 65.


140. For lion symbolism in the Judeo-Christian tradition, see Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Pagan Symbols in Judaism, vol. III and VII. Princeton: Bollanger Series XXXVII, Pantheon Books, pp. 40, 41, 43, 53, 54, 61 and 69. He traces both the association of lions with evil, death, and retribution and with ideas such as the sun, triumph, royalty and the like. For the contradictory meanings of lions in medieval art, which is a predominant feature of the iconography of the sculptured capitals at San Isidoro, see Bornstein, "Matilda of Canossa, Papal Rome and the Earliest Italian Porch Portals," especially p. 155 n. 4, which includes thorough bibliographic references to such discussion: "Loewe," Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, III, Herder: Rom, 1971 pp. 112-119; R.


142. Ibid., pp. 67-69. The manuscript showing Alfonso VII with label "David" is unidentified. For the David Lion-Rider as a symbol of the virtue Humility, see Margarita Ruiz Maldonado "La Contraposición 'Superbia-Humilitas' el sepulcro de Dona Sancha y otros obras," Goya, #146, 1978, p. 80. She also notes that distinguished fighters against the Moors were also compared to David, a specific example cited is the Poem of Fernán González, p. 77.
143. Ibid., see also n. 122, p. 118 for the problems with this incident in the Song of Roland and citations relative to that.


145. Seidel, op. cit., p. 68 and also n. 117 and 118, pp. 117-118.


148. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 81-83. (The Emperor of the Ottonians became a God-man, p. 78).

149. O'Callighan, op. cit., p. 59 notes that the Visigoths were the first to adopt the ceremony that included anointment. Then it was practiced by the Franks, Anglo-Saxons and other Europeans. Ullman, op. cit, p. 74 states it is unknown who was first. See also Collins, "Julian of Toledo and the Royal Succession in Late Seventh Century Spain," Early Medieval Kingship, P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood, eds. Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977, p. 43. Although Isidore promoted the Visigoths and the Visigothic kingship with influential writings such as Sententia III and possibly the Collectio Hispania, his name was prestigious enough to be attached to the highly influential Pseudo-Isidorian Decretales. Many significant aspects of the Visigothic kingship were already worked out. The anointing of the king was an important part of this. it invested a sacerdotal aspect to the king's office, similar to that
of the Bishop. See Georges Duby, The Three Orders, p. 17. See also Henry Allen Myers, Medieval Kingship, Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1982. The unction was not necessary for the coronation of the king. See Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 326.


151. In addition to the Old Testament king, cited above, the historians of the period often imitated many of the literary conventions of the Old Testament. See Sanchez Belda, Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, LXII-LXV I. R. A. Fletcher notes this text presented Alfonso VII as an "Israelite King." See the Episcopate in the Kingdom of Leon, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928, p. 17.

152. Alfonso VII was consecrated a canon of Santiago de Compostela, according to The Historia Compostelana, Libro II, cap. 87; España Sagrada, XX, p. 458. See also José Maravall, op cit, pp. 455-456 for Alfonso VII's adoption of European models.

153. Isidore's importance is summed up in the early chapters of Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, Chapter I-III. For the Sententia, see Marc Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine, de Sidoine Apollinaire a Isidore de Seville, Rome: Bibliotheque des écoles françaises d'Athnes et de Rome 243, 1981, pp. 554-97. See also D. Stout, A Study of the Sententiarum Libri tres of Isidore of Seville, Washington: CUA, 1937. See also "The Position of Isidorian Studies," Joscelyn N. Hillgarth, Visigothic Spain, Byzantium, and the Irish, London: Variorum Reprints, 1985, pp. 817-905. Studies of Isidore's works reached a high point in the middle of the twelfth century, especially by St. Martin, who was especially influenced by the Sententia and Summo Bono. No works by Isidore have survived at San Isidoro. They were apparently among the casualties of Marical Soult during the French Revolution, when a number of books and documents were destroyed (3/11/1810). Llamazares, Catálogo de los incunables y libros antiguos, pp. 19-20 and 244.
154. Sententia III, Chap XLVIII, col. 719, P.L LXXXIII.

155. Ibid., col. 719.

156. Isidore of Seville, Sententiarum Lib III; De justitiae principum, Caput XLIX: col. 7, 9;
   1. Qui recte utitur regni potestat, ita se praestare omnibus debet, ut quanto magnis honoris celsitudine claret, tanto semetipsum mente humiliet, proponens sibi exemplum humilitatis David qui de suis meritus non tumuit, sed humiliter sese dixiciens, dixit; Vilis incedam, et vilior apparebo ante Deum, qui elegit me (II Reg. VI 22).

157. For Augustine, see City of God, Book XVII, Sec. 20, p. 602. "... much praised ... through the most salutary humility of his repentance he is altogether one of those of whom he himself says, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven ... (Psalm XXXII:1. For Gregory, see Morals on the Book of Job, Book XXXIV, ver. 25, Sec. 42, pp. 650-651. For the importance of David in Byzantine imperial art, see Hugo Buchthal, "The Exaltation of David," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, vol. XXXV, 1974, pp. 330-333.

158. Baasten, op. cit., p. 72. King Solomon earned Isidore's censure for concupiscence and idolatry, Sententia III, col. 694. See also Ruth Bartal, op. cit., who points out that Samson's combat with the lion was followed by marriage to enemy Delilah, whereas David's was followed by the slaying of Goliath, a prototype for the conquest of evil, as well as the victory over pagans and idolatry. See Augustus, Contra Faustum, P.L. 42, col. 271. Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job, P.L. 76, cols. 490-491. Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, P.L. 83, cols. 389-390, on Samson; and Rabanus Maurus; Commentarius in libros quatuor Regnum, P.L. 109, col. 52; Gregory the Great, Expositio in Psalmo, P.L. 79, ver. 550-551. Isidore, Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae L. 83 col. 111-112. Honorius of Autun, Gemma animae, P.L. 172, cols. 568-569.

159. Seidel, op. cit., p. 71; n. 4, p. 12, Babbit, op. cit. Intro. also notes that Alfonso VII was presented as a King of the Israelites. For the Christian use of title terms and the Jewish response, see Schweitzer, op. cit., pp. 70 and 86.

161. Equestrian figures can be seen on the facade of Saint Pierre at Parthenay-le-Vieux, Saint George's, Brinsop, Herefordshire, the facade at La Rochette. Seidel, op. cit., Figures 53, 54 and 60; the main portal at Ferrara, San Zeno tympanum, Verona; C. V. Bornstein, "Victory over Evil; Variations on the Image of Psalm, 90:13 in the Art of Nicholas," Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Savini, Sansoni, Florence, 1984, Figures 2 and 3 and Santiago de Compostela. For associations with victory and the high status of owning horses, see Seidel, op. cit. Chapter III and literature cited in notes on pp. 112-113.

Zachariah 9:9-10:

See now, your King comes to you; he is victorious, he is triumphant, humble and riding on a donkey.

He would be announced by Elijah. Therese and Mendel Metzger, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1982, p. 277.

162. To guarantee respect for legates, who were to be responded to as if the Pope, Gregory VII's nuncius "... wore the purple mantel ... and he also rode the white horse and wore the golden spurs." Donald E. Queller, The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 10 and n. 39.

163. For the identification of the lions upon which David and the women are placed on the small sculptures of the Porte Miegeville, see Lyman, "Le Style comme symbole chez les sculptures romans assai d'interprétation de quelques inventions thématiques à la Porte Miegeville de Saint-Sernin," Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa, no. XXII (1981), pp. 161-175. The Throne of Dagobert was probably created during the beginning of the Carolingian period. For a brief discussion and bibliographic references, see Schramm und Mutherich, op. cit., p. 137.


166. Merwin, W. S. et al., eds. Medieval Epics, p. 152; ibid., pp. 142-145 shows that such horns could be used to send long distance messages.


173. Ibid.

174. Ben-Sasson, op cit. See also Baer, op. cit., p. 67.

175. Perez-Llamazares, Catálogo de los Codices, entry 11. This is an illustration which appears in a manuscript containing the Lamentations of Jerusalem.


Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 541 for the characterization of the Almoravides (also referred to as the Murabits) as warrior monks. This is from the Arabic al-Murabitum "those consecrated to God." Reinhart Dozy, op. cit., p. 660, n. 1. For the brevity of their rule, see Hitti, op. cit., p. 545.
180. For the Moabites' downfall attributed to the sin of Pride, see Isaiah, 16:6.

181. See Lyman, "Le style comme symbole chez les sculptures romans," for women on lions, a throne like David, as symbolic of false religions.


183. "He played with lions as with kids." For its parallels in the Greco-Roman period, see R. Eisler, "Orphische-dionysische Mysteriengedaninen in der Christichen Antike" (Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg II, (part 2) Leipzig and Berlin: 1925.

For another example of the combination of lion rider, interpreted as triumph, and man in jaws, interpreted as destruction see the Tymanum of San Pelayo de Mena, Figure 1 in Bartel, op. cit. St. Augustine Enneratio in Psalmum, P.L. XXVII, cols. 1374-1375 is the suggested textual source. See F.N. 14 and p. 324.

184. Two different types of viols (veilles) are shown on the San Isidoro capital; one type is played pressed against the thigh; the other is held against the shoulder. Karl Geiringer, Instruments in the History of Western Music, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. 48-49.

185. An exceptionally large number of acrobats and performers can be seen in the sculptures at San Miguel de Uncastillo, dating in the 2nd half of the 12th century. See Cahn and Seidel, op. cit., pp. 115-117.


187. See Kenneth Conant's numerous studies of Cluny, especially, "The Iconography and Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals at Cluny," Speculum, vol. V (1930), pp. 278-287. Music was a part of the Quadrivium, the branch of the liberal arts devoted to mathmatics. See
also de Ordine, pp. 97-99, Chap. V., sect. 14. "Now in music, in geometry, in the movements of the stars, in the fixed ratios of numbers, order reigns in such a manner that if one desires to see its source . . . he either finds it in these or is led unerringly to it from them."

188. See Conant, "The Iconography and Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals at Cluny," n. 185; idem, "The Apse at Cluny," Speculum, vol. VII (1932), pp. 23-35; and idem, Cluny, diagram Group 6, Planche LXIV, Figure 123. See also Kathi Meyer, "The Eight Gregorian Modes on the Cluny Capitals," The Art Bulletin, vol. XXXIVC (1952), pp. 75-94.


190. See the often quoted I Corinthians 9:24-27. See also Sawmill, op. cit. Kitzinger, "Studies." The athlete metaphor was especially common in eastern Christian writers. See Thomas L. Campbell, Dionysius the Psuedo-Areoagite. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, New York and London: University Press of America, 1981, p.31. Eisler, op. cit., p. 86 notes that David in particular was thought of as a "triumphant athlete."


193. For Grabar's analysis, see André Grabar, L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936. Grabar and Kitzinger identify Eusebius, Constantine's advisor and biographer as an important source for his idea. See Grabar, p. 44 and Kitzinger, "Studies," p. 119. Grabar, p. 44, writes that the ultimate prototype was Christ's victory over evil. See also Ullman, A History of Political Thought, p. 89. For the importance of education in music and education in gymnastics in the ideal republic, see The Republic of Plato, Benjamin Jowett, New York: Wiley Book Co., 1901, Book III, p. 96. Plato writes that music is to
train the soul, gymnastics, the Body. He argues instead that both are for the soul.

194. See Note 64.

195. Eisler, op. cit., p. 86. See also Ecclesiasticus 47:7 "... by offering him a crown of glory; for he massacred enemies on every side."

196. de Pailol and Hirmer, op. cit., pp. 472-473. For bibliography, see ibid., p. 473. This was a palace church.

197. Alfonso VII had a splendid court with many fine performers. The names, Palla, Marcabru and Alegret have been preserved. See R. Menéndez Pidal, Poesia juglaresca, Madrid: 1924, pp. 147-150.

198. Saint Augustine, The City of God, trans. by Marcus Dods, New York: The Modern Library, Random House, 1950, pp. 47-51. Here, referring especially to actors in the dramas. Clergy were also forbidden to attend circuses, races and the like. Alcuin also objected to the performers, but there were many present in the courts.


200. Ibid., pp. 36-37.


203. Ibid., Marcabru, Song 15, pp. 17-81.

For if we do not run to the washing place before we have closed our mouth and eyes, there is not one so swollen with pride of life but will find, at his swelling, a mighty foe. For the Lord knows all that is, Knows all that will be and ever was,
promised us there
honor and the name of Emperor.

For a list of evil ones including "squatters" see
verses 334-45, pp. 79 and 81.

The French are degenerate
as they say no to God's taste.

204. See R. Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, 2 vols., 5th
ed., Madrid, 1956 for dating and discussion of
historical background. See also Merwin, ed., Poem of
the Cid, pp. ix-x and O'Callighan, op. cit.,
p. 211-212. Presently, a later dating of the early
thirteenth century has been proposed by Colin Smith in
Poema de mio Cid, Oxford: Oxford University Press,
1972, pp. XXXII-XXXIV. It has been accepted by Reilly,
The Kingdom of León Under Queen Urraca, n. 4, p. ix.
The friction between Castile and León, prominent in
the early thirteenth century, also had existed earlier,
as Marquez-Sterling, op. cit., demonstrates in a study
devoted to the times of Fernán González. In 943,
Fernán González, Count of Castile, staged a revolt
against Ramiro I. In 958, Fernán González deposed
Sancho the Fat (956-966). See O'Callighan, op. cit.,
p. 123, 114. See also the conflicting opinions held
by Castilians and Leonese regarding Queen Urraca,

205. Merwin, op. cit., pp. VIII and XXV and pp. 128 and
233-237.

206. Ibid., Disfavor toward Alfonso VI does not change until
the very end of the poem. See Canto 47.

207. Ibid., 100, p. 173; 135, p. 255; 82, p. 139; 137, p.
261; 150, pl. 287 for Alfonso VI and St. Isidore. For
the Christians and St. James, see 36, p. 89.

208. Merwin, op. cit., intro.

209. Martha Himmelfarbe, Tours of Hell; An Apocalyptic Form
in Jewish and Christian Literature, Philadelphia:
University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983, p. 69. This
emphasis on what might be termed minor sins derived
from weak interpersonal skills as paralleled in the
eleventh and twelfth centuries in such writings as
those of Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tusi
al-Shafi'i al Ghazali (1058-1111). See, in particular,

The canons of San Isidoro, hearing confessions of the members of the royal family, would be privy to many secrets.

211. Ibid., p. 24.
217. Ibid., Book XIV, section 15, p. 463. See also Campbell, Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, p. 45 for man's free will as a penalty.

The principal written source for animal lore was the Physiologus. Astrological treatises were another important source for composite and other unusual animals. See Kurt Weitzmann, "Art in the Medieval West and its Contacts with Byzantium," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Research Library and Collection, #36, 1982, pp. 219-222.

221. W. Deonna, "'Salve me de ore leonis,'" pp. 510-511.


223. St. Isidore, Etymologies. For the struggle against the serpent in imperial imagery, see p. 239. Weitzmann, "The Carolingian Ivories of the Throne," pp. 239-40. For an eagle representing the Trinity, see Figure 269, Grabar, Christian Iconography.

H. P. L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of the Cosmic Kingship, Oslo: Institute for Summen legnende Kulfurforschung, 1953, p. 70. L'Orange also notes that the eagle was thought of as a symbol of Christ. See aso Cumont's article on the eagle, "L'aigle funéraire des syriens et Apotheose des empereurs," Revue de l'histoire des religions, vol. LXI-LXII (110), pp. 119-164. "Going to the sun" was associated with the journey to Paradise, see p. 150. In early application of Jungian and anthropological methodology to art historical problems, Rudolf Wittkower investigates the eagle and serpent motif, concluding that the purpose of this struggle was "... to express a struggle or victory of cosmic grandeur ..." See Rudolf Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent, a Study in the Migration of Symbols," The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, II (1938-39), p. 293.

224. Ibid., pp. 239-240.

225. John Block Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought, Cambridge: Havard University Press, 1981, p. 35. He also quotes Augustine, in regard to the

226. See also Grabar, Christian Iconography, p. 43. The apse mosaic of San Vitale is a famous example of this. See idem, Figure 106.

227. Lyman, "Theophanic Iconography and the Easter Liturgy," pp. 72-93. For fire as symbol of first order of angels, see Dionysius the Areopagite, The Mystical Theology and the Celestial Hierarchies, p. 57.


230. The Latin term for this doctrine is Creatio ex nihil, that God created the entire universe through His word was fundamental doctrine in all three religions. See Nahum M. Sarna, Understanding Genesis, New York: Schocken Books, 1970 (The Melton Research Center of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1966), pp. 11 and 12; Hitti, History of Arabs, p. 129. This doctrine is reiterated over and over in the Koran. See Suras 3:25-26; 15:21; 41:26, 43:10; 54:49 and especially Sura 59:23-4.

232. Ibid., p. 462.
233. Ibid., p. 662.
234. Ibid., pp. 463-464.
235. Ibid., p. 463.
236. Ibid., p. 464.
237. Ibid., p. 463.
238. See Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 57-58 for the significance of these passages and their effect on the Norman Anonymous. See also P.L. LXXXIV, 431 A. and Hinchaus, op cit., p. 392; "Regalis proinde ordo ex hoc cuncta sibi deberi convineit, ex quo se regere cuncta cognoscit; et inde conquisita non alteri quam sibi iuste defendit; unde non personae, sed potentiae suae haec deberi non ambigit." Regnum enim iura faciunt, non persona; quia nec constat sui mediocritate sed sublimitatis honor.
240. See in Psalms, 39, c.6, P.L., 34:436. See also von Simpson, op cit., for the white robe as marking the citizen of the Heavenly Jerusalem, p. 82; and see idem, pp. 97-98 for the hymn to the 18 martyrs of Zaragossa, employed in Prudentius' description of the Last Judgment, who will process toward "the Divine King." For processions and ordo, see Duby, The Three Orders, pp. 68-69.
242. Pseudo-Dionysius, The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. Michael the Stammerer, Byzantine emperor, presented Louis the Pius with a copy of the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius in 827. A translation of the work was then made. A much better one, with commentary, was made by the Irish scholar, John Erugena. Schramm and Mutherich, op. cit., pp. 120-121. The emphasis on triunities was also due to the fact that everything was made in the image of God. See John Scotus, The Division of Nature, A. Fremantle, The Medieval Philosophers, New York: Mentor Books, 1954, pp. 82-84. While no copy of the treatise was available at San Isidoro to my knowledge, a translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius' treatises with commentary was available from Cluny, with which the Kings of Castile and Leon had for some years enjoyed an
especially close relationship. For the input of Peter the Venerable upon the iconography of the Puerta del Cordero see Williams, "Generationes Abrahae." The connection with Cluny and with Peter the Venerable is irrefutable. Alfonso VII may also have learned of the importance of triunities from his mentor, Diego Gelmirez, bishop and later archbishop of Santiago de Compostela. Of course, Alfonso VII's contacts with the French monarchy, heavily influenced by the ideas of the Pseudo-Dionysius, were also direct, since his daughter married Louis VII. For the importance of triunities in numerous fathers and writers of the church, see Duby, The Three Orders.

243. Ibid. (See n. 242.)


245. Medieval Epics, pp. 93-94.


249. von Simson, op. cit., p. 108. On p. 62, von Simson notes that Michael and at least one other angel were thought to actually perform the liturgy.

250. Ibid., p. 108.

252. See von Simson, op. cit., pp. 81 and 105. For illustration, see Figure 268, A. Grabar, Christian Iconography; see (also Figure 10, the Museum in Rome) in Gerhard B. Ladner, "Ad Imaginem Dei. The Image of Man in Medieval Art," rep. in W. Eugene Kleinbauer, Modern Perspectives in Western Art History, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1971. There, in the midst of the Adam and Eve story and several New Testament themes, is a nude figure on a base flanked by seated lions. He is below the Imago Clipeata. Augustine, The City of God, on the bodily resurrection, "For my part... make no doubt that both sexes shall rise. For there shall be no lust, which is now the cause of confusion. For before they sinned, the man and the woman were naked, and not ashamed."


254. For a good photograph of this inscription, see Paul Deschampes.

255. Thomas Lyman, "The Sculpture Programme of the Porte des Comtes Master at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse," The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, vol. XXIV, 1971, pp. 25-35. Lyman notes that several examples of the victorious soul shown as if a Daniel in the Lions' Den can be observed at Moissac.


257. See, for man made in the image of God, Ladner, op. cit. He notes the standard exegesis for this passage is that the spiritual man is made in the image of God (see Augustine, City of God, p. 839).

258. Ladner, op. cit.
259. St. Augustine, *The City of God*, Book XXII, sections 10-21. "We shall come to a perfect man." See also the Midrash on Genesis as quoted in Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia: 1909, 1:60 on Adam: His person was so handsome that the very sole of his foot obscured the splendor of the sun. Paul, of course, emphasized Adam as a prototype for Christ, who was seen as the new Adam.

260. See also for how the Devil was represented, Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984, pp. 131-132. The writings of the church fathers seem to imply that the "spikey hair" was to suggest the flames of hell. Ibid., n. 9. It might finally be speculated that the sculptor of the San Isidoro sculptured capital came into contact with the unusual hair through Roman funerary art. Apotropaic figures, of which the lion was one example, were often employed in Roman funerary monuments, as were gorgons on shields and sarcophagi as guardian figures. See Altmann, *Die Romanischen Grabaltare der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin: Weidmarinsche Buchhandlung, 1905, p. 50.


263. Ibid., p. 31.

264. See N. 140 for an extensive bibliography on lions assembled by C. Bornstein.

265. See also the tympanum of St. Pelayo de Mena as discussed by Ruth Bartel, in "Interpretación Iconográfica del Timpano de San Pelayo de Mena," in *Goya*, #190 (1986), especially p. 324.

266. For the iconography of this tympanum, see A. Sene, "Quelques remarques sur les tympons romans à chrisme en Aragon et en Navarre," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, vol. I, Poitiers, pp. 365-381. Bartel, op. cit., p. 324, stresses the special Spanish nature of this motif, directing the reader to "Constantian Symbols, their Survival and Meaning in Medieval Spanish Art", in the International Congress on Medieval Studies in
Kalamazoo, 1982. (No page numbers are indicated.) See n. 20, p. 328.


268. Dionysius the Areopagite, The Mystical Theology and the Celestial Hierarchies, p. 66.

269. Bartel, op. cit., pp. 324-325. She notes the antiquity of the motif citing the Royal Lion Gate of Mycenae as an example. She omits the two capitals discussed here in a citation of Romanesque examples of confronting lions which includes Dinton Beaulieu, Jaca, Santa Cruz de la Seros, the south tympanum at Murbaewk the tympanum of the Collegiate Church of San Pedro y Pablo at Erratos, The Porte des Comtes at Toulouse, and so on. See p. 326, n. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 42.


273. Ibid., p. 11.


275. Sene, op. cit., p. 373.

276. Ibid., p. 373.

278. "Itaque in unoquoque gemina intelligitur fuisse persona . . . vim sacramenti cunctis aliis precelleret. In una quippe erat naturaliter individuus homo, in altera per gratiam Christus, id est Deus-homo." Quoted from Norman Anonymous, n. 8, p. 46. Kantorowicz, op. cit., pp. 49-50 also emphasizes the importance of the Spanish contribution in this, especially the Second Hispanic Council (619); the Sixth Toledan Council 638) and the Eleventh Council of Toledo (675) (P.L. LXXXIV, 599C, Hinschius, Decretales Pseudo-Isidore, 440 b; PL LXXXIV, 395 A; Hinschius, 376 b; PL LXXXIV, 456 f.) See n. 14, 15 and 16.

279. Ibid., pp. 51-52.


281. Evans, op. cit., p. 69.

282. Numerous references to the phoenix as a symbol of immortality appear in the literature. For its use in medieval political theory, as a symbol of the aeternitas that was the nature of the princeps (inherited from Roman Law), see Kantoriz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 388-391, with references to the Glossa ordinaria, c.14 X, 1, 29 V.; H. Leclercq, "Phenix," Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, vol. XIV (1939), pp. 682-691; Mary Cletus Fitzpatrick, Lactintii de Ave Phoenice, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Thesis, 1933. Jean Hubaux and Maxime Leroy, Le mythe du Phenix, Liege: Bibl. de la faculte de philosophie et lettres de l'université de Liege LXXXII. Baldus and many other jurists used it extensively as a symbol. One existed at a time, and it gave birth to itself at the time of its death (as "The King is dead, long live the King" or, as stated in the gloss on the Institutes: "Father and son are one according to the fiction of the law." Kantorowicz also notes the Phoenix was thought of as a symbol of Christ. . . . the standard interpretation on the part of
Christian authors . . ." n. 246, p. 389. If Christ, its appearance here, flanked by two heraldic lions, may refer to Isidore's admonition to the king to protect the church. The exact meaning, however, must remain indeterminate in this study.

283. Eisner, op. cit., pp. 82-84.


285. See Lyman, "The Porte des Comtes," p. 26 for an interpretation of St. Michael and his conflict with the devil. Its Scriptural basis was the Apocalypse XII:7 and Daniel 10:21. For the iconography of St. Michael and the Dragon, see Max de Fraipont, "Les origines occidentales du type de Saint Michel debout sur le dragon," Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, vol. VII (1937), pp. 289 ff. For other motif in Italian sculpture reflecting the predominance of militant imagery in art of the twelfth century, see Bornstein, "Victory over Evil;" there, secular figures are included, such as Roland. See also Sene, op. cit., and Gaillard, "Notes sur les tympans aragonais," Bulletin Hispanique, vol. XXX (1928), pp. 193-203.

For a possible interpretation of the Perpetual Flame at San Isidoro, see Lyman, "Theophanic Iconography and the Eastern Liturgy." p. 80.


288. Lawrence J. James, "Byzantine Aesthetics, Light and Two Structures," St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly, vol. 29, No. 3 (1985), p. 207. See also von Simson, Sacred Fortress, pp. 42-43. There, Leo the Great is cited for his description of the Cross which Christ carried to Calvary as a "scepter" and a "... trophy of his triumph." Von Simson describes the cross which St. Lawrence holds as a "... trophy or weapon," . . . Idem. See also n.193 in this Chapter.

289. Schramm, Las Insignias, p. 20.


293. De Palol and Hirmer, op. cit., p. 42.

294. Schlunk notes that Alfonso III corresponded with Tours for the purpose of acquiring a crown which he eventually obtained. Schlunk suggests that this crown may account for the northern European influences visible in the Cross of Victory. See Schlunk, "The Crosses of Oviedo," pp. 101-103. The Cross also possessed enamels embellished with plants and animals, many of which are missing. Idem., p. 105.

295. *Historia Silense*, p. 139.


298. See especially Mac Queen, op. cit.

299. For the immense importance of the records of early Spanish councils, many thought to be penned by St. Isidore, on the formulation of subsequent legal and political documents in Christian Europe, see Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, Chapter 3.

history of legal and political theory may be consulted. Kantorowicz, pp. 51, 58, 64, n. 48. Ullman, p. 90. Reformist Pope Gregory VII was said to be "imbued" with the contents of the Pseudo-Isidore.

301. The importance of the Pseudo-Isidore for subsequent political models is stressed by Ullman, op. cit., p. 90.

302. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, Chapter 3.

303. St. Augustine, The City of God, Book XIV, Section 13, p. 460. "For 'Pride is the beginning of sin.'"


305. The emphasis upon the symbolic significance of the number three was held by innumerable medieval thinkers, philosophers, and clerics. An early and important source may have been the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius. His work was introduced to the west by Gregory the Great. Dionysiaca, Paris: descretes de Brower & Cie, ed. 1937, p. lvx. The Lateran Synod of 649 pronounced the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius as canonical. He was referred to as an "uncontested authority" by Pope Martin. Ibid., LXVII. Thanks to Father Andrew L. J. James, Ph.D. for allowing me access to this material in his yet unpublished paper, "Platonism in the Works of Pseudo-Dionysius," A paper delivered to the Center for E. Ren. and Med. Studies, Oct. 8, 1986. Duby, The Three Orders, has already been cited in relation to this problem.

306. For the immense importance of Gregory the Great in medieval thinking, see Wasselynck, op. cit. For his continued influence on Thomas Aquinas, the most influential writer on later medieval political theory, incorporating the rationalism of Aristotle into his theory, see Baasten, op. cit., Chapter Four.


309. Mac Queen, op. cit.

310. This analysis will follow Lyman, "Sculptural Programme of the Porte des Comtes Master," see p. 17.


312. St. Sernin also possesses several capitals in the interior with sculptures of lions. See Lyman, Plate 13, Figures a, b, c, and d.

For illustrations of capitals carved with lion motifs, see Gaillard, *Les debuts*.


316. Ibid. Weitzmann specifically cites the Bestiary as the source for the birds. he also avoids assigning symbolism to them. Sculptures with bird motifs are of course ubiquitous in Romanesque sculpture. Birds especially plucking fruit, are also traditional in
funerary art from Egyptian times onward. They are generally thought to symbolize the soul. See Grabar, Christian Iconography, p. 24 and 75. For the problems of ascribing symbolism to birds in Romanesque sculpture, see Lyman, "The Porte des Comtes Master," p. 29 and n. 20, p. 29.

CONCLUSION

The church of San Isidoro in León and its sculptural decoration were produced for royal patrons in the middle of the twelfth-century. The building's rich historical context included the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the Reconquista, and the medieval Spanish imperium, which reached its full definition during the reign of Alfonso VII.

The road to Santiago de Compostela passed through the royal city of Leon and many pilgrims visited San Isidoro to venerate its collection of relics, which included those of St. Pelayo de Córdoba, St. John the Baptist, Martyr saints Vincent, Cristeba, and Sabina, and those of the great Spanish doctor, St. Isidore. While there, the pilgrim would have observed a fascinating ensemble of medieval sculptures in the style of the sculptures of the great pilgrim churches at St.-Sernin in Toulouse, Jaca, and Santiago de Compostela.

The overall thesis of this paper is that a coherent iconographic program was behind the selection of themes carved on the sculptured capitals of the interior of San Isidoro. The program was governed by certain aspects of the concept of the rex sacerdos or Old Testament king.
Alfonso VII consciously imitated the northern Christian romano-germanic emperors. He was carefully educated by Diego Gelmírez, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, and may even been consecrated a canon of Santiago de Compostela. It is therefore very probable that Alfonso VII and his advisors were acquainted with the basic concepts of the "quasi sacerdoctal" kingship.

At the outset of this study, I proposed that the iconographic program at San Isidoro dealt with three different aspects of kingship. One of these was the king's character. Isidore, and many other church fathers, urged kings to imitate David. Like many of the northern kings whom he emulated, Alfonso VII identified with David, and one of the lion riders on the front of the capital carved with scenes of Three Lion Riders, may have alluded to the emperor as a victorious David. In addition to his numerous victories over the Moabites and other enemies of the Jews, David was also the victorious opponent over evil, especially in the form of the sin of pride. St. Isidore urged monarchs to imitate David, especially in regard to his humility. Kings were reminded to monitor the sin of pride constantly. According to this study, references to the sin of pride were included in almost all of the sculptured capitals inside San Isidoro.
In the ordo, the king was considered the exemplar of victory. In this way, the king imitated Christ as well as David. The king's preoccupation with victory is depicted in the three capitals of the north nave arcade. The Cocks with inhabited Vines is a variant on the ancient motif of the cock fight, employed by the Greeks, Romans, and early Christians to symbolize the way of the world as characterized by strife and victory awarded to those superior. Augustine began his treatise on Ordo with a description of such an event. At San Isidoro, the theme varies from more typical examples of this iconography, but in varying it the iconographer emphasized the Christian meaning of the theme, that is, the struggle of the soul against evil with victory through Christ. The traditional imagery of victory was continued in the capitals with Three Lion Riders and Acrobats.

The king's place in the cosmos as a mediator was depicted on the north wall of San Isidoro. On an intermediate level above the arcade and below the clerestory level, on the eastern and western walls, were the royal lions, symbols of the majesty of the king of León.

On the south side of the church, the justification for the king's office and his right to rule were depicted in capitals, portal sculptures, and, in the eastern part of
the church, on the reliefs of the Shrine of St. Isidore. The Maestas Domini, Wrestlers, Luxuria, Free Will capitals, the Sacrifice of Abraham and the Passion of Christ, the Creation and Fall of Man were all themes that can be related to medieval ideas regarding the importance of submission to authority.

There are, to be sure, no known documents which spell out the exact meanings of the individual capitals and other works of art in San Isidoro as outlined in this study. However, my research into the iconography of individual capitals and their relationship to concepts such as ordo and auctoritas has hopefully contributed insight into the relationship between the sculptures and their royal patrons, and has made suggestions as to how their iconography and meaning might have related to the deepest concerns of the people of this period. In any event, the sculptures of the royal collegiate church of San Isidoro in León must certainly be counted among the most remarkable achievements in the art and architecture of the medieval period.
THE SCULPTURAL PROGRAM OF THE ROYAL COLLEGIATE
CHURCH OF SAN ISIDORO IN LEÓN

Volume II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

The Ohio State University

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PLATE I

THE GROWTH OF THE ARAB EMPIRE

- Eastern provinces at the death of 'Abd al-Malik (685)
- Arabization under the Umayyads (661-750)
- Arabization under the Abbasids (754-945)
- Dependent Mosques

Note: This map illustrates the expansion and growth of the Arab Empire, indicating key territorial acquisitions and periods of Arabization.
PLATE III