

*Joining Stories by Composing Programmes:
Models and Sculptural Creation in Late Spanish Romanesque Apses*¹

Marco Polo describes a bridge, stone by stone.
But which is the stone that supports the bridge? – Kublai Khan asks.
The bridge is not supported by one stone or another –Marco answers– but by the line
of the arch that they form.
Kublai Kahn remains silent, reflecting. Then he adds: –Why do you speak to me of the
stones? It is only the arch that matters to me.
Polo answers: –Without stones there is no arch
I. CALVINO, *Invisible Cities*, Vintage Books, London [1972] 1997, p. 74.

Up until the second half of the 12th century Spanish Romanesque art was characterized by an absence of monumental sculpture in the interior of apses (with the exception of capitals); however, the short period between 1160 and 1170 saw the appearance of new artistic projects in which the apses were decorated with diverse sculptural elements.

These sculpted images started to appear in the apsidal space; that is, the liturgical heart of the community, at a time when the archivolts of most church entrances already featured complex theological sequences. The novel artistic experiences analyzed in this article range from simple pieces to complex scenes and seem to have enjoyed little success and not to have had any lasting impact, perhaps for economic reasons or perhaps because their complexity prevented easy interpretation.

For their ambition, quality and exceptional character, the monumental constructions of Santo Domingo de la Calzada and El Salvador de Zaragoza (la Seo) are the starting and finishing points of this article, which takes a novel perspective on the material and documentary evidence relating to these temples and reinterprets the role of the sculptors and the presence of shared repertoires and chronologies in these works.

Some of these artistic ensembles have lain hidden and forgotten behind altarpieces which have covered the apses since, in most cases, the 15th century. Since their rediscovery, however, we have been in the privileged position of being able to examine the unfolding of their discourses and to contemplate the infinite network of associations between the sacred texts.

Although almost all of the works mentioned in this article have been the subjects of interesting publications, to date no study has analyzed them as a whole. A simple glance at their variety, quality and iconographic richness is more than sufficient to justify such an undertaking.

¹ This article forms part of the projects *Catedrales románicas en la provincia eclesiástica tarraconense (siglos XI-XIII): programas visuales, liturgia y arquitectura en Tarragona, Roda de Isábena, Huesca, Zaragoza y Pamplona* (HAR2012-32763, I+D+i subprogram ARTE, MEyC–Government of Spain) directed by G. Boto Varela and *Arte y reformas religiosas en la España medieval* (HAR2012-38037, I+D+i subprogram ARTE, MEyC–Government of Spain) directed by J. Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz.

Singular Experiences

From the mid-twentieth century onwards, restoration work on the altarpieces of Spanish churches (San Martín de Uncastillo, 1957 and Santiago de Turégano, 1989) and cathedrals (la Calzada, 1994 and la Seo, 1960) led to a series of chance discoveries of Romanesque apses decorated with spectacular works of sculpture.² The most interesting aspect of these discoveries is that nothing comparable exists anywhere else in Europe, a matter which prompted the following observation in 1969 from R. Crozet:

En ce qui concerne l'intervention d'une statuaire monumentale sur la paroi intérieure d'une abside, je souhaiterais bien, pour ma part, qu'on découvre, en France, l'équivalent de l'un ou de l'autre des quatre ensembles qui ont fait l'objet de cette analyse [la Seo, Uncastillo, Alba de Tormes y Fuentidueña]. Alors et alors seulement, on pourrait parler en connaissance de cause d'un modèle français à moins qu'on ne découvre – qui sait? – que le modèle est espagnol.³

Given these circumstances, the scope of this study is limited to the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre and Aragon at a time when all three were intensifying their building activity. Although the interpretation of some of the artistic ensembles is hindered by the damage they have sustained, the presence of ambitious narrative programmes based on the events of Genesis and the lives of Jesus and the Virgin (which are complemented by glosses relating to the principal message) allows for much deeper reflection on the preoccupations of the Spanish Church.

Alliances and Disagreements

During the period that concerns us, three monarchs controlled the territories where these works stand. The second half of the 12th century had barely commenced before the fates of Castile and Aragon passed into the young hands of Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) and Alfonso II (1162-1196), while for its part Navarre came to be governed by Sancho VI (1150-1193). Relations between the Castilian and Aragonese kings were cordial. The Navarrese monarch, in contrast, took advantage of the chaotic situation arising from Alfonso VIII's youth and seized la Bureba, la Rioja, Vizcaya and Alava, although these were soon recovered by the

² The first publication regarding these discoveries was F. ÍÑIGUEZ ALMECH, «El ábside de la Seo de Zaragoza», in *Homenaje al Profesor Cayetano de Mergelina*, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia 1961-1962, pp. 461-468; the second A. D'EGRY, *Esculturas románicas inéditas en San Martín de Uncastillo*, in «Archivo Español de Arte» 36 (1963), pp. 181-187; the third F. ESPAÑOL BERTRÁN-J. YARZA LUACES-I. BANGO TORVISO (eds.), *La cabecera de la catedral calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano*, Cabildo de la Catedral S. M. I, Santo Domingo de la Calzada 2000; and the most recent J. M. RODRÍGUEZ MONTAÑÉS, «Turégano. Iglesia de Santiago Apóstol», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Segovia*, vol. III, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2007, pp. 1744-1752.

³ R. CROZET, *Statuaire monumentale dans quelques absides romanes espagnoles*, in «Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale» 47 (1969), p. 295.

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Castilians. However, the problems between these three territories were not merely governed by warring kings, but rather were also profoundly influenced the singular nature of the ecclesiastical landscape and the machinations of the bishops Rodrigo de Cascante (1146-1190)⁴ of Calahorra, Pedro de Torroja (1152-1184)⁵ of Zaragoza and Pedro de Artajona (1167-1193)⁶ of Pamplona, each of whom made every effort to assert his power and compete with the others to extend his sphere of influence. Rodrigo de Cascante clashed with Navarre, Burgos and Nájera, whereas the prelates of Zaragoza and Pamplona fought for control of churches in Cinco Villas, temples that had belonged to Navarre in 1143 but which were progressively retaken by the Aragonese bishop. Furthermore, Pedro de Artajona entered into a legal dispute with the bishop of Huesca for possession of Agüero and reached an agreement with San Juan de la Peña regarding Estella. The personalities and ecclesiastical careers of these bishops help us to understanding certain works of art and their artistic connections.

Varied Displays

Around 1160, apses in places connected to important prelates were decorated with a flurry of compositional solutions. These included plaques with reliefs (mainly figures of whole bodies) situated on pilasters or bays, column statues in windows or entrance arches, and capitals and friezes.

The first decorative innovation was the use of (now decontextualized) plaques showing individuals with similar dimensions and raises questions about their original location. In this regard, an examination of the apostolate of San Juan in Alba de Tormes,⁷ the apostolic

⁴ About this active figure: C. CARL, *A Bishopric Between Three Kingdoms. Calahorra, 1045-1190*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2011; and E. LOZANO LÓPEZ, «Rodrigo de Cascante. Pleitos y concordias de un obispo promotor: el arte al servicio del poder episcopal», in R. GARAY OSMAR-GONZÁLEZ DE VIÑASPRES (eds.), *Viaje a Íbiza. Estudios históricos del Condado de Treviño*, Ayuntamiento del Condado de Treviño, Treviño 2012, pp. 312-328.

⁵ Relative to his lengthy episcopate and his family connections: J. L. GARCÍA LORET, *La escultura románica en Aragón. Representaciones de santos, artistas y mecenas*, Milenio, Lleida 2008; and E. LOZANO-M. SERRANO COLL, «Patronage in the Cathedral of Tarragona: Ambition and Devotion in cultural and residential spaces», in *Patrons and Processes*, British Archeological Association, London (in press).

⁶ J. GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona. Siglos IV-XIII*, vol. I, EUNSA, Diputación Foral de Navarra, Institución Príncipe de Viana, Pamplona 1979; and ID., *Los obispos de Pamplona del siglo XII*, in «Anthologica Annua» 13 (1965), pp. 287-322.

⁷ This ensemble differs from the rest by being complete and with the apostles seated. Christ is 1.20 m. height and his apostles 1.10 m. See the bibliography in J. M. RODRÍGUEZ MONTAÑÉS, «Alba de Tormes. Iglesia de San Juan», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Salamanca*, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2002, pp. 69-78.

quartets from the Calzada,⁸ Santillana del Mar⁹ and Santa María in Ciudad Rodrigo¹⁰ raises the possibility that they may have formed part of ensembles mounted on apses (although the altarpieces and structural alterations prevent confirmation of this).¹¹ In terms of its iconography, it is interesting to recall that the apostles laid the foundations for the subsequent development of episcopal sees and that invoking the image of Christ's disciples helped politically astute bishops to consolidate their power by reminding people of their episcopal privileges.¹² Although la Seo in Zaragoza is the most striking example of this style (and will be examined later), we should not overlook the apse at Turégano with its two plaques *in situ* between the windows.¹³ The motifs and themes, according to M. Castiñeiras, link the Segovian church with alterations made to the grand altar at Compostela: «They adapt the previous experiences of la Calzada and la Seo to a more simple and less ambitious format» and are fully in keeping with the context of 1232.¹⁴ Although this apse is the latest in the sequence and there are no

⁸ Peter and John (now in the crypt beneath the south transept), and Paul and James (in the cloister) are 1.22 m. height. Some authors believe that they originally came from the south facade dismantled in the late 15th century: G. MOYA VALGAÑÓN, *Etapas de construcción de la catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño 1991, p. 58; F. ESPAÑOL, «Santo Domingo de la Calzada: el cuerpo santo y los escenarios de su culto», in *La cabecera de la catedral calceatense*, cit., pp. 253-255; and M. A. GARCÍA GUINEA, «Santo Domingo de la Calzada», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. La Rioja*, vol. I, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2008, p. 701. The only certainly is that from the first half of the 16th century to 1850 they were on the wall separating the altar area from the ambulatory.

⁹ Iconographically and stylistically related to that of la Calzada. The first author to relate them was A. K. PORTER, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, vol. VI, Marshall Jones Company, Boston 1923, p. 861. On one hand, F. ESPAÑOL, «The Sepulchre of Saint Juliana in the Collegiate Church of Santillana del Mar», in S. LAMIA-E. VALDEZ DEL ÁLAMO (eds.), *Decorations for the Holy Dead. Visual Embellishment on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, Brepols, Turnhout 2002, pp. 191-218 rejects the argument that they came from the western gate and considers them to have formed part of the tomb of the saint (along with another eight that are missing); in contrast, others such as M. A. GARCÍA, «Santillana del Mar. Colegiata de Santa Juliana», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Cantabria*, vol. I, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2007, pp. 400-411 propose that they adorned the old entrance. Christ is 1.90 m height and the apostles 86 cm.

¹⁰ Now in the upper part of the facade flanking a *Maiestas Domini* with the same characters as in la Calzada and Santillana, these being Peter (with liturgical vestments), John (with a crosier emphasizing his episcopal status), and Paul and James. See J. L. HERNANDO GARRIDO, «Ciudad Rodrigo. Catedral Santa María de la Asunción» in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Salamanca*, cit., pp. 142-154; and L. LAHOZ GUTIÉRREZ, *De formatos, modelos, plantillas, talleres y transferencias*, in «Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum» 4 (2010), pp. 491-518.

¹¹ It is well known that in the second half of twelfth century apostolates could be sited in various positions (e.g. inside the Cámara Santa of Oviedo, in the apses of Uncastillo, Lasarte, la Seo and San Juan de Rabanera in Soria (only remains two figures hidden until 1908), or in friezes as at Carrión, Moarves, Santibáñez and Sangüesa). However, we do not necessarily have to assume that the pieces at Alba de Tormes were located externally (as suggested by the condition of their polychrome), that those at la Calzada originally came from the south gate (of which we know nothing), that the altar was the initial location of those at Santillana (where there are no exclusively apostolic frontals), or those at Ciudad Rodrigo are as originally arranged (i.e. they are at the level of a later building phase).

¹² My proposal is that these works reflect the interests of the bishops Vidal of Salamanca (1173-1194) in Alba de Tormes, Rodrigo de Cascante of Calahorra (1146-1190) in la Calzada, Gonzalo Menéndez of Oviedo (1162-1175) in Santillana, and Pedro Ponte of Ciudad Rodrigo (1173-1189), all of which were geopolitically important settlements.

¹³ Only one plaque, with a *Maiestas* in this case, appears in la Cerca: M. ILARDIA GÁLIGO, «La Cerca. Nuestra Señora de la Asunción», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Burgos*, vol. III, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2002, pp. 1667-1672.

¹⁴ M. CASTIÑEIRAS GONZÁLEZ, *Un nuevo testimonio de la iconografía jacobea: los relieves pintados de*

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apostles, it is perhaps interesting to point out that the same author identifies the pilgrims on the lower right part as the Castilian kings and bishop Bernardo de Segovia (1224-1248).

The second decorative innovation is the use of column statues as at the churches San Martín in Fuentidueña,¹⁵ San Román in Escalante¹⁶ and the high arcade of Santa María in Bareyo.¹⁷ Without a doubt, the most spectacular example of this is found at Uncastillo (which will be analyzed later), although we should not forget the central window of the apse of la Asunción de Nuestra Señora in Lasarte which features six apostles on its interior and a further six on the exterior.¹⁸ The façade of San Miguel in Estella combines four column statues with four relief statues (of nine apostles), which has led some authors to propose that they were originally sited in the centre of the early apse.¹⁹

The third innovation involves the use of elaborate scenes on capitals or friezes as at San Gil in Luna, the chapel in the Palace of Huesca (Sala de Petronila), and Santiago in Agüero, although lack of space restricts the present article to an analysis only of the latter.

A glance at the history of each church reveals that the constructions and alterations of a good number of apses coincided with episcopal interests.

Santiago de Turégano (Segovia) y su relación con el altar mayor de Compostela, in «Ad Limina» 3 (2012), p. 114: «Probably in the 1220s was being built the church at Turégano, in the euphoria of renovated Jacobean cult aroused by the new monarch (Fernando III)».

¹⁵ It represents the bishop of Tours on the northern side of the entrance to the apse and the Annunciation in southern: J. M. RODRÍGUEZ, «Fuentidueña. Iglesia de San Martín», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Segovia*, cit., vol. II, pp. 808-816.

¹⁶ Virgin and Child on the north side and a male character with book on the south side: M. A. GARCÍA, «Escalante. Ermita de San Román», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Cantabria*, cit., vol. I, pp. 244-258.

¹⁷ A single character unidentified: M. A. GARCÍA, «Bareyo. Iglesia de Santa María», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Cantabria*, cit., vol. I, pp. 187-213.

¹⁸ Despite the lack of documentation, about Lasarte: J. J. LÓPEZ DE OCARIZ, «Lasarte. Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. País Vasco*, vol. I, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2011, pp. 974-987. Its stylistic proximity to San Andrés de Armentia, whose inscription on the tympanum mentioned bishop Rodrigo Cascante as author, suggests a link. See the bibliography of Armentia in J. J. LÓPEZ DE OCARIZ, «Armentia. Basílica de San Andrés y San Prudencio», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. País Vasco*, cit., vol. I, pp. 371-410.

¹⁹ Although it is difficult to state with any certainty, they may have been designed for a smaller apse. Today the pieces do not fit into the structure (unless they were intended to be statues on high), their size of 1.55 m. is equal to those at Uncastillo and similar to those at la Seo (1.45 m.). F. INIGUEZ, «El ábside de la Seo», cit., p. 467 was the first to suggest that they originate from the apse, followed by S. H. CALDWELL, *The Introduction and Diffusion of the Romanesque Projecting Single-Portal Unit in Northern Spain*, Ph.D., Cornell University 1974, pp. 392-401; and C. RÜCKERT, *Die Bauskulptur von San Miguel in Estella (Navarra). Königliche Selbstdarstellung zwischen Innovation und Tradition im 12. Jahrhundert*, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2004; ID., «Estella. Iglesia de San Miguel», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Navarra*, vol. I, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2008, pp. 488-506; and ID., «Spanisch-französische Kulturbeziehungen im 12. Jahrhundert. Der Fall Estella», in C. RÜCKERT-J. STAEBEL (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zur Bauskulptur in Frankreich und Spanien im Spannungsfeld des Portail Royal in Chartres und des Pórtico de la Gloria in Santiago de Compostela*, Vervuert, Frankfurt am Main 2010, pp. 151-168. I thank Claudia Rückert for her generous comments regarding building phases of the portal, the apse and the north transept.

La Calzada: Horizontal Friezes, Vertical Friezes and Transversal Readings

At the beginning of the 17th century, J. González de Tejada wrote «queriendo el Obispo D. Rodrigo de Cascante [...] autorizar mas esta Iglesia [...], la ensanchó, y puso en la forma que oy tiene».²⁰ And the *Annali Compostellani* tells us that in 1158 the same prelate, along with other eminent individuals and the *magistro Garsioni [...] fabricatori* laid the building's first stone.²¹ As a member of a noble Navarrese family who was close to Alfonso VIII, Rodrigo de Cascante²² defended the jurisdictional rights of his diocese against the sees of Nájera and Burgos and had a strong desire to erect a symbol of his power through an impressive temple-building project.²³ However, in 1537 Damián Forment, one of the most respected artists of the time, was asked to produce the large altarpiece that for centuries hid one of the most beautiful and complex apses of the 12th century.²⁴ The controversial relocation of the altarpiece to the north arm has recovered the sense of the medieval space and re-established the connections between the sculptures (fig. 1).

The configuration focuses on the Last Judgement, Salvation and Eternal Life and the roles of the Virgin and Jesus as intercessors on behalf of humanity.²⁵ The spectator encounters the first

²⁰ «Bishop Rodrigo de Cascante [...] wanting to increase the authority of this church [...], expanded it and gave it the form that it has today» J. GONZÁLEZ DE TEJADA, *Historia de Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Abrahan de la Rioja, patron del obispado de Calahorra, y la Calzada. Noticia de la fundación, y aumentos de la Santa Iglesia Cathedral y ciudad nobilissima de su nombre, sus hijas*, vol. I, Viuda de Melchor Álvarez, Madrid 1702, cap. XX, p. 133.

²¹ The reference *Rodericus Calagurritanus episcopus posuit primum lapidem in fundamento Ecclesiae Sancti Dominici. ERA MCXCVI* was used first by E. FLOREZ, *España Sagrada. Theatro Geographico-historico de la Iglesia de España. Continuacion de las memorias de la santa iglesia de Tuy y coleccion de los chronicones pequeñas publicados e ineditos de la historia de España*, vol. XXIII, Antonio Marín, Madrid 1767, pp. 322-323 (V. *Annales Compostellani. Ex Codice Compostellano, vulgo Tumbo negro appellato*) and after in relation with the monument by I. ALONSO MARTÍNEZ, *Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Recuerdos históricos*, Miguel Pasamar, Haro 1889, p. 80; although A. K. PORTER, *La escultura románica española*, vol. II, Gustavo Gili, Barcelona 1928, pp. 40-41 was the first in the 20th century to consider to be the date when work started.

²² The interest of the Castilian monarch in la Calzada and his support for Rodrigo, who in 1170 was regarded as *patri meo spirituali* (ACC box 1 doc. No. 89), resulted in several privileges. Once he came of age (in 1169) the king, with the support of the bishop, recovered the territories taken by Navarre: P. DÍAZ BODEGAS, «La diócesis de Calahorra en la Edad Media y su consolidación a la sombra del poder», in J. I DE LA IGLESIA DUARTE-J. L. MARTÍN RODRÍGUEZ (eds.), *Los espacios de poder en la España medieval*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Nájera 2002, pp. 459-482.

²³ It is not coincidence that Rodrigo should award himself the title of *Calagurritanus* in opposition to the *Naiarenses*. In addition to his problems with Nájera, Rodrigo was also contesting control of la Calzada with Burgos; and although in 1148 he managed to get Rome to recognize his possession of la Calzada, in 1185 the bishop of Burgos reinvoled his claim. In Silos, the problem with Burgos led the monastery into direct dependence on the Holy See in 1118, and the fact that la Calzada features themes and compositions from the cloister at Silos (as does Armentia) and emphasizes the presence of Peter (with a crosier in the plaque from the crypt) could represent a political desire to strengthen links with the papacy. See J. GOÑI, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona. Siglos IV-XIII*, cit.; J. M. GARRIDO GARRIDO, *Documentación de la catedral de Burgos (804-1183)*, J. M. Garrido, Burgos 1983; and E. SAINZ RIPA, *Sedes episcopales de la Rioja. Siglos IV-XIII*, Diócesis de Calahorra y la Calzada-Logroño, Logroño 1994.

²⁴ His grandiloquent project, 9 m. wide by 13 m. height, was finished after his death in 1541 by his assistants Bernardo Lorente and Cristóbal: A. PRIOR UNTORIA, *Notas sobre la historia de la catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, in «Berceo» 6 (1948), pp. 97-112.

²⁵ To understand the iconography it is necessary to take into account the early dedication «al Salvador del mundo y á la Asuncion de nuestra Señora»: E. LLAGUNO Y AMIROLA-A. CEÁN-BERMÚDEZ, *Noticias de los arquitectos*

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image, the Assumption of the Virgin, on crossing the northern entrance.²⁶ Liturgy and patristics together relate the story to her Glorification, a theme also found diagonally opposite in the Annunciation-Coronation. These subjects also link to a capital showing the parable of the Ten Virgins²⁷ crowned with a cymatium in which the Elders of the Apocalypse exalt the root of David; that is, the Tree of Jesse which appears beneath them.²⁸ Again at the beginning of the ambulatory, the capital shows Christ in Majesty just opposite Mary.²⁹ The wounds of the Passion are visible on the Saviour, who is surrounded by the Tetramorph while a procession of angels and chosen ones carries books, candles and the *arma Christi*. The ornate capitals continue into the ambulatory where both the appearance of Christ on the shore of Galilee and the conversion of the Prince of the Apostles³⁰ emphasize the power of the Church and the role of Peter as its head, hence the exaltation of Rome and the bishop. Finally, the capital opposite to the Virgins recalls the moral of the story of Job: that God cares for the poor and rewards the faithful.³¹ On the central supports motifs of plants and figures alternate (on the second and fourth pilasters) and there is a singular representation of Isaiah prophecy's of the new Davidic kingdom that refers to the dual nature of Christ by means of an Annunciation suspended from a Trinitarian Tree of Jesse.³² (fig. 2)

The spectacular unfolding of the images in the ambulatory begins to make sense once it is understood that they are ordered in such a way as to deliberately mix theological interpretations. Consequently, to read them is to move continuously between that which is seen and that which is hidden, that which is present and that which is recalled. Although this exceptional sequence has no direct parallel, there are distinct echoes of it in the artistic current that influenced la Calzada.

y *arquitectura de España desde su restauración*, vol. I, Imprenta Real, Madrid 1829, p. 20; the dedication of the main altar «a la Trinidad»: C. LÓPEZ DE SILANES-E. SÁINZ, *Colección diplomática calceatense. Archivo Catedral (1400-1450)*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño 1991, docs. 145 and 154; and the dedication of the central chapel «a San Pedro».

²⁶ The canonical writings do not mention the event, but do mention the *Apocrypha*. The oldest is *Transitus Sanctae Mariae* and from which comes *De Transitu Virginis Mariae*: A. SANTOS OTERO, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, Biblioteca de Autores cristianos, Madrid 1985, pp. 574-645.

²⁷ *Matthew* 25: 1-13.

²⁸ *Apocalypse* 5: 4-14.

²⁹ *Matthew* 24: 30-31. Just before telling the parable of the Virgins Matthew explains the Second Coming, and theologians compared women with believers who await the Final Judgment.

³⁰ *John* 21: 1-8 and *Matthew* 14: 24-31.

³¹ *Job* 2: 3-10. The *Auto de la paciencia de Job* compiled in a 16th century *Códice de Autos Viejos* explains the peculiarities of this image: E. LOZANO, «Maestros innovadores para un escenario singular: la girola de Santo Domingo de la Calzada», in *Maestros del románico en el Camino de Santiago*, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2010, pp. 151-186.

³² *Isaiah* 11: 1-5. Jesse, David, Isaiah, the Annunciation and the Trinity (with the peculiar iconography of *Paternitas*, one of only five sculptures with this composition in Europe) are arranged vertically between plant motifs into a tree lineage of Christ: E. VALDEZ, «Visiones y profecía: el árbol de Jesé en el claustro de Silos», in *El Románico en Silos. IX Centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y el claustro 1088-1988*, Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos, Silos 1990, pp. 173-183; M. POZA YAGÜE, *Santo Domingo de la Calzada-Silos-Compostela. Las representaciones del "árbol de Jesé" en el tardorrománico hispano: particularidades iconográficas*, in «Archivo Español de Arte» 295 (2001), pp. 301-313; E. LOZANO, *Un mundo en imágenes: La portada de Santo Domingo de Soria*, Fundación Universitaria, Madrid 2006; and E. VALDEZ, *Palace of the Mind. The Cloister of Silos and Spanish Sculpture of the Twelfth Century*, Brepols, Turnhout 2013.

Movement of the Sculptors and the Diffusion of Forms

Artistic forms are traditionally understood to spread from the centre to the periphery; that is, from prototypes to new, fully fledged configurations, and this explains how they become reflected across time and space. Although many influences and surviving elements of la Calzada are difficult to ascribe, and many works have disappeared which would have allowed us to gauge the weight of each assemblage in its context, it nevertheless remains one of the most ambitious churches from the late Spanish Romanesque period and drew upon the skills of geographically disparate artists who left their mark (in the case of three, at least) at Sangüesa and Uncastillo, Agüero and Soto de Bureba, and Santillana.

Uncastillo. Column Statues and Capitals: Correspondences and Silences

As is well known, *Leodegarius*, the sculptor related to Burgundy who signed the column statue of the Virgin in the entrance at Sangüesa, worked on the sarcophagus of Blanca of Navarre at Santa María la Real in Nájera.³³ Most authors believe that he travelled from Nájera to Sangüesa (where he made the capitals in the apse and entrance), then on to la Calzada and finally to Uncastillo, which provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1179 for his work as a whole.³⁴ I agree with those authors, but I believe that he went from Nájera to la Calzada, then to Sangüesa and finally to Cinco Villas.³⁵

The Romanesque apse at Uncastillo remained hidden for centuries behind the altarpiece of Martín García (which has now been moved to provide free access) and derives from that of Sangüesa in terms of style and type. *In situ* remain two pairs of the original six column statues, above which are four double capitals (three ornate), and the remains of three indeterminate column figures.³⁶ (fig. 3)

This church, the second most important in the archpresbyteriate, belonged to Navarre ecclesiastically (from 1155) and to Aragon politically, and was the royal chapel until 1250.

³³ E. VALDEZ, *Lament for a Lost Queen: The Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera*, in «Art Bulletin» 78 (1996), pp. 311-333.

³⁴ Relations noted by F. Abbad, A. d'Egry, R. Crozet, E. Valdez del Álamo, B. Müller, M. Melero, J. Yarza and C. Fernández-Ladreda, among others. For a detailed discussion of this, see M. MELERO MONEO, «El sarcófago de Doña Blanca y el taller de *Leodegarius*: Sangüesa y San Martín de Uncastillo», in *Encuentro Transpirenaico sobre Patrimonio Histórico-Artístico. La Escultura románica*, Fundación Uncastillo, Uncastillo 2007, pp. 7-30. The most recent study of Sangüesa is C. FERNÁNDEZ-LADREDA, *Portada de Santa María de Sangüesa: Imaginario románico en piedra*, Fundación para la Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico de Navarra, Pamplona 2010; and of Uncastillo D. SIMON, «Uncastillo. Iglesia de San Martín de Tours», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Zaragoza*, vol. II, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 2010, pp. 703-716.

³⁵ In my view, the capital on the left entrance of the ambulatory, whose work probably dates to around 1160, shows greater similarities to that of the sculptors of the tomb of Blanca, although the Epiphany and the Annunciation also share stylistic features.

³⁶ One of them is situated on the outside of the south chapel and two fragments of two others are in the cloister. The first wears a cap and could be the namesake of the temple: San Martín (as in Fuentidueña), but then we would only have eleven apostles (unless he comes from somewhere else).

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Its importance was considerable, hence the struggle between the bishops of Zaragoza and Pamplona to control it, a contest finally won by the Naverrese see in 1170. This, and the short distance (30 km) to Sangüesa, a church in the same diocese that had just decorated its façade with the new French-style column statues so admired by bishop Pedro de Artajona, explains the reforms and the sculptural enrichment that were carried out to celebrate the victory over Zaragoza. The interesting apse offers a programme which once again cannot be read in a linear manner and which therefore requires an explanation.

The starting point is the northern capital of the entrance arch to the apse, which represents the main event in the life of the church's saint.³⁷ The level below containing the windows shows the mysteries of the life of Christ associated with the apostles and the various stories in which they profess their faith (fig. 4). A quick glance suffices to show that the chronology of the capitals (C-A-D-B) leaps back and forth³⁸ (A and B are the Infancy of Christ, C and D relate to Easter). Above the first pair of column statues, identified by their epigraphs of Paul and Thomas, there is (A) the Annunciation,³⁹ the Epiphany⁴⁰ and two birds opposite a chalice in allusion to the Eucharist. It is interesting to note that the disciples are in pairs and that they appear in an order which, although not that of the New Testament, is nevertheless deliberate. Paul and Thomas both had their doubts and both experienced divine sensory and spiritual manifestations; that is, revelations of God similar in nature to those of the Annunciation, the Epiphany and the Eucharist.⁴¹ Below the southern capitals (B) there are no column statues but the decorations do show the Visitation,⁴² the Nativity⁴³ and the Shepherds.⁴⁴ This absence of column figures can also be seen below the capital (C) of the Visitation,⁴⁵ which has been heavily restored and recalls the Resurrection. Above the figures of Peter (recognizable because of his keys) and another apostle (as yet unidentified), the capitals show plants growing among buildings (D), which have been interpreted as vines on the walls of the New Jerusalem.⁴⁶ My proposal is that the unnamed character holding a book is Matthew, whose

³⁷ Whilst on horseback, San Martín tears his cape to share it with a pilgrim, while at the side he reappears as bishop.

³⁸ From A to B, from B to A and from A to B: Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Epiphany and Shepherds.

³⁹ *Luke 1: 26-38*. As *Luke 1: 36* «And, behold, thy cousin Elisabeth», the woman next to Mary is her cousin. Scene equal to the capital of the portal at Sangüesa: C. FERNÁNDEZ-LADREDA, «La obra de un artista innovador: Leodegario y su taller», in *Maestros del románico*, cit., p. 98.

⁴⁰ *Matthew 2: 1-11*.

⁴¹ *St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians 3: 2-5* was read on the feast of Epiphany, and in the same month of January, on the 25th, the conversion of the apostle is celebrated, whose *Epistle to the Corinthians 10: 16-17* and *11: 23-26* speaks of the Eucharist.

⁴² *Luke 1: 39-42*.

⁴³ *Luke 2: 7*. The presence of a woman is notable on the right side (interpreted as a donor or as a praying Virgin), in my opinion she is the midwife of the *Apocrypha (Gospel of James 19: 1; Arabic Infancy Gospel 3: 1 or Liber Infantia Salvatoris 69)*. Of particular note in the main scene is the male figure who J. Lacoste suggested could be Isaiah, the prophet par excellence of the Incarnation: J. LACOSTE, *Les maîtres de la sculpture romane dans l'Espagne du pèlerinage à Compostelle*, Sud Ouest, Luçon 2006, pp. 108-109. I agree with him given that his prophecy is quoted by Matthew in his gospel.

⁴⁴ *Luke 2: 16-18*.

⁴⁵ *Mark 16: 1-3*.

⁴⁶ The same arrangement as the capital found above Peter at Sangüesa, which probably alludes to the Church which is built on him.

gospel narrates: «And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church».⁴⁷ Matthew was the preferred evangelist of medieval exegesis because his was the most ecclesiological of the Synoptic Gospels and anti-Judaic par excellence.⁴⁸ Thus, although the other correlations have been silenced by the destruction of the assemblage, the capitals and the column statues commemorate Roman orthodoxy (Paul), faith in the Resurrection (Thomas) and the ecclesiastical community as the church (Matthew) all resting on the rock of Peter, with whom the bishop is associated.

Agüero: Horizontal Friezes and Linear Readings

This monumental temple is one of the most interesting projects in the Iberian Peninsula and although its ambitious design indicates the backing of wealthy patrons, who commissioned it and why it was never finished remain unanswered questions.⁴⁹ (fig. 5)

The echo of la Calzada is unmistakable in both architectural and sculptural terms,⁵⁰ and it is not merely an artist's attempt to reproduce a series of set repertoires; instead the artist demonstrates direct knowledge of the apse at la Calzada (even down to the horizontal layout of the frieze reliefs).⁵¹ Interestingly, most of the narrative is found inside the southern apse (rather than the central apse) and features one of the most complete sequences of Christ's Infancy from the late Spanish Romanesque. It is designed to be read in a rectilinear manner and its themes follow the same order as the gospels and so therefore require no clarification.⁵² Nevertheless, the external friezes of the central apse are more difficult to interpret and their deterioration is such that we would be hard pushed to identify a large number of the scenes were we not able to compare them with la Calzada or Soto de Bureba.⁵³ (fig. 6)

⁴⁷ *Matthew* 16: 18.

⁴⁸ I thank César García de Castro for their interesting and revealing comments on the apostolates.

⁴⁹ Although the central apse has always been visible, it was not known to the scientific community to R. DEL ARCO GARAY, *La inédita iglesia de Santiago en Agüero*, in «Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia» 74 (1919), pp. 294-318.

⁵⁰ Relation highlighted by F. ABADD RÍOS, *El maestro románico de Agüero*, in «Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas» 3 (1950), pp. 15-25; F. ÍÑIGUEZ, *Sobre tallas románicas del siglo XII*, in «Príncipe de Viana» 112-113 (1968), pp. 211-213, 228-233; M. POZA, «Un itinerario para un taller: El papel de la girola calceatense en la evolución de la escultura hispana del último tercio del siglo XII», in *La cabecera de la catedral calceatense*, cit., pp. 333-354; and J. L. GARCÍA, *La escultura románica en Aragón*, cit., between others.

⁵¹ This resonance is also seen (less strongly) in the remnants of the church of the Saviour. J. A. OLANETA MOLINA, *La portada de la iglesia parroquial de San Salvador de Agüero (Huesca) y su tímpano "prestado"*, in «Ianua Coeli» (in presse) argues that the tympanum was created with the main portal of Santiago in mind and reused for this parish when the initial plan was abandoned. Although both share a similar style and iconography they are not by the same artist: neither the volume nor the stonework are related la Calzada or Santiago.

⁵² Annunciation?, Nativity, Journey of the Magi, Epiphany, Dream of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Herod inquiry to Scribes while three soldiers await his orders, Warning of Joseph and Flight into Egypt. The giant size of the columns contrasts with the reliefs which are just 10 cm. high.

⁵³ On the shaft appears the *Dextera Domini* and the chalice of transfiguration carried by an apocalyptic angel (in allusion, perhaps, to the new time that would come after the arrival of the Holy Spirit), and both sides feature evil figures such as sagittarius centaur shooting a harpy (as at Soto), couple faced dragons (as at la Calzada), a pair of

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Although we lack specific dates for these works, architectural, iconographic and formal comparisons indicate that Agüero must have been created in the 1170s, which means that the sculptor would have come from la Calzada and may have gone on to Soto once he completed his work on the Aragonese project.⁵⁴ Although the church at Soto lacks any apse worthy of discussion in this study, the carvings on its entrance allow us to fix the chronology of la Calzada and Agüero because the year 1176 inscribed on one of the archivolt and the similarities between the three churches show that the apse at la Calzada must have been built around this time.⁵⁵ Without doubt, the artist employed at Soto, *Petrus da Ega* or *Ihoanes Micael* (according to the inscription), was familiar with the repertoires and techniques of the Riojan temple because his carvings are of an exceptional quality.⁵⁶ Unfortunately these names are not mentioned anywhere in the 12th century documents.

Zaragoza. Fragments of a Hidden Figurative Display

Even though only a small part of this building remains standing, archaeological excavations and the remnants of the elevations show that an apse with five chapels was planned and based on the structure of one of the largest mosques in the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁷ Only a part of the central apse remains but it cannot be seen without permission because it remains hidden behind the altarpiece made by Pere Joan and Hans de Suabia.⁵⁸ Although it is incom-

birds entangled in the brush, a demon (as at Soto) against two lions and a horned animal, a griffin (as at Soto) and a dragon. Although in the south frieze the damage is extensive, more humans can be seen, including the story of Job which is identical to the southern capital at la Calzada. In the remaining wall, the frieze is full of animals: a pair of opposing harpies (as at la Calzada), a lion with a quadruped, and the remains of a bird pecking a plant and a deer.

⁵⁴ Some compositions of the Aragonese frieze are not seen on la Calzada: a demon with hair on end in a crouched position, a facing harpy and a griffin. If they are not from Agüero, they come from la Calzada, as already stated by G. BOTO VARELA, *Ornamento sin delito. Los seres imaginarios del claustro de Silos y sus ecos en la escultura románica peninsular*, Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos, Silos 2000, pp. 258-259.

⁵⁵ The similarities between Soto and la Calzada are evident: in the archivolt the woman who holds her hands to her waist resembles closely any of the Virgins at la Calzada, the female and male heads looking at each other are similar to those of the corbels outside the northern apse, the dog with an object in the mouth is the same as another corbel in the apse, the monster with a human head covered with a hood is very similar to the ambulatory, as are even the vegetables.

⁵⁶ It is interesting to point out that the *tenente merino mayor* Lope Díaz de Fitero is documented at Soto in 1180. Some artists of la Calzada worked at Fitero, and it is also the possibility that they came from there (although the monastery has no comparable sculptural display).

⁵⁷ J. PENA GONZALVO, *La Seo del Salvador de Zaragoza (análisis e hipótesis de su evolución constructiva desde su origen como mezquita-aljama hasta el siglo XVI)*, in «Turiaso» 7 (1987), pp. 81-104; J. C. ESCRIBANO SÁNCHEZ-J. CRIADO MAINAR, «La fábrica de la primitiva Seo de San Salvador de Zaragoza», in *La plaza de la Seo. Zaragoza. Investigaciones Histórico-Arqueológicas*, Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, Zaragoza 1989, pp. 17-43; J. J. BIENES CALVO-B. CABAÑERO SUBIZA-J. A. HERNÁNDEZ VERA, *La catedral románica de El Salvador de Zaragoza a la luz de los nuevos datos aportados por su excavación arqueológica*, in «Artígrama» 12 (1996-1997), pp. 315-334; and E. CARRERO SANTAMARÍA, *Entre almuédanos y campanas. Constantes sobre la conversión de aljamas en catedrales*, in «Hortus Artium Medievalium» 17 (2011), p. 185-200.

⁵⁸ Constructed in three segments divided by four columns, the group has twelve supports positioned four by four and united by six profusely decorated half point arches and four restored arches. As stated in a document

plete, it stands out for the magnitude and exceptional nature of its decoration. Friezes, capitals, arches and statues offer an elaborate and complex visual discourse despite the ravages of time (fig. 7).

To understand how the construction process evolved it is essential to recall the relics of St. Valerius. The saint's sacred arm was kept at Roda de Isábena until the conquest of Zaragoza, but returned to the capital on 4 November 1121 when Alfonso I presided over the consecration ceremony that converted the mosque into a Cathedral and restored episcopal authority. His head was also kept at Roda until Alfonso II and the bishop Pedro Torroja secured possession of it on 1170. After spending Christmas and Saint Stephen at Roda, they moved the relic to Zaragoza on December 27 whence shortly after it was borne by the king to the cathedral in a solemn ceremony. The documents state: *caput beatissimi Valerii ut illud ad honorem Dei et ecclesie Cesaraugustanne que caput totius regni nostro est.*⁵⁹ I propose that this ceremony took place in one of the apses studied in this article.

The reign of Alfonso II saw a revitalization of the Ebro Valley and an increase in the population and economy of Zaragoza. It is no surprise therefore that a large amount of money was spent on raising the Cathedral and that this in turn brought in first class artists of whom, in this instance, we do have an extensive documentary record in the cartularies.⁶⁰ Of particular note among the many documents that refer to the building work being undertaken is one from 1166 that testifies to the delivery of *una bestia que compratur ad illa opera dels caps* (an animal purchased for the work of the apses) and which clearly demonstrates that, by this time, work had progressed to the point where an apse was being built so as to house the relics.⁶¹ The key player in the construction of this apse was bishop Pedro de Torroja, who was related to the royal family, head of Alfonso II's regency council, trusted advisor to the king, and brother of Guillermo, bishop first of Barcelona and subsequently archbishop of Tarragona. His interest in ennobling the see⁶² and reaffirming its power led to the restoration

dated to 1403, now lost but published in M. SERRANO Y SANZ, *Gil Morlanes, escultor del siglo XV y principios del XVI*, in «Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos» 36 (1917), p. 93: «La cabeza biella de piedra de la dita egleisia sobre el altar mayor no se deve ni puede en alguna manera derribar que no fuesse gran periglo de toda la otra obra» (the old stone headpiece above the main altar of the church should not and cannot be removed in any way without endangering the entire work).

⁵⁹ A. CANELLAS LÓPEZ, *Monumenta Diplomatica Aragonensia. Cartularios de San Salvador de Zaragoza*, 2 vols, IberCaja, Zaragoza 1989, vol. I, doc. 409. The brotherhood between the bishops of Zaragoza and Roda was cemented on 26th December 1170 in *solemni die beato protomartyris Stephani (...) Ipsa denique die capud beati Valerii episcopi, traditum est iam prelibato Cesaraugustano episcopo*: doc. 411.

⁶⁰ Donations *ad opus* appear from 1135 and from 1150 references to the acquisition of funds and artists are frequent: E. LOZANO, «San Salvador de Zaragoza», in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Zaragoza*, vol. II, cit., pp. 779-792; and EAD., *Fragments of the Romanesque in Zaragoza and Tudela: Origin and Development of an Extraordinary Monuments* (forthcoming).

⁶¹ A. CANELLAS, *Monumenta Diplomatica*, cit., vol. I, doc. 366. On 1172 there is a donation to the main altar which shows that it was open for worship: *Dono istas casas predictas sine malo ingenio predicto altari propter anulum quem perdiidi qui valebat quingentos solidos*: vol. I, doc. 441; and in 1185 there is a *candela nocte et die ante altare sancti Salvatoris*: vol. II, doc. 575.

⁶² His interest in the works is shown by his bequests to the priest (confirmed after his death *ad vestre reedificationem ecclesie factam*), donations of goods and an anniversary for his soul and that of his parents *De capellania domini Petri episcopi*: *ibid.*, vol. I, doc. 407; and the institution of the *prima divisio* of the provostry to administer and organise the rents and goods *De constitutione duodecim prepositurarum*: vol I, doc. 408.

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of the cathedral through a magnificent set of works in which we can identify the hands of several masters and a connection with some of the most prolific workshops of the time.⁶³ The principal filiations have to be with Tudela,⁶⁴ whose proximity to Zaragoza (only 80 km away) meant that it continued to have a close economic relationship with that city and a nearly identical social structure. The artist who decorated the apse must also have carved the tympanum of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the king's castle at Tudela.⁶⁵

As far as can be discerned, the programme has a marked Paschal character in that it extols the Sacrifice, the Martyrdom, the Redemption and the Eucharist and is thus consistent with the church's dedication to the Saviour.

The reliefs dedicated to the Genesis cycle are placed in horizontal registers at the same height as the capitals and depict, in a linear manner, six scenes from the Origins of Man to the Fall.⁶⁶ As is well known, the Easter Vigil entailed the reading of Genesis, a book closely associated with penitential rites and vices.⁶⁷ The capitals show a single image from the Infancy narrative, the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple,⁶⁸ related to questions of obedience and the revelation of Jesus' light. The next piece alludes to the Resurrection with Jesus appearing to the Disciples at Emmaus and their recognition of him (as with Simeon in the temple or the

⁶³ Compostela, the so called «Workshop of San Juan de la Peña», la Calzada, Estella, Osma, Soria o Tudela: F. ÍÑIGUEZ, «El ábside de la Seo», cit., pp. 461-468; J. LACOSTE, *Les maîtres de la sculpture romane*, pp. 302-303, 322-333; R. CROZET, *Recherches sur la sculpture romane en Navarre et Aragon. Les chapiteaux du cloître de Tudela (Navarre)*, in «Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale» 2 (1959), pp. 333-340; ID., *Recherches sur la sculpture romane en Navarre et en Aragon. II. Nouvelles remarques sur les chapiteaux du cloître de Tudela*, in «Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale» 3 (1960), pp. 119-127; M. L. MELERO, «Problemas de la escultura navarra en el románico tardío: el claustro de la colegiata de Tudela y el maestro de San Nicolás. Puntualizaciones sobre su filiación», in *Alfonso VIII y su época. II Curso de Cultura Medieval*, Fundación Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campoo 1992, pp. 111-138; and EAD., *La catedral de Tudela en la Edad Media siglos XII al XV. Arquitectura y escultura románica*, vol. I, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 2008. In 2006 she writes «some time ago I pointed out that certain issues make it logical to think that that the origin was in Zaragoza, whereas others deem it to have been Tudela. What it is certain at the moment is that there is a relationship between both groups, leaving to one side the question whether the workshops from Tudela went to work in Zaragoza or the workshops of Zaragoza worked afterwards in Tudela. There is also the possibility that both workshops operated simultaneously, at least temporarily, sharing some of their sculptors»: EAD., «Escultura monumental. Portadas y claustros», in *La catedral de Tudela*, Gobierno de Navarra, Pamplona 2006, p. 197.

⁶⁴ The town of Tudela was donated to Rotrou d'Alperche, his grandniece Margaret of Navarre, daughter of King García Ramírez, and Marguerite de l'Aigle married the Norman William I of Sicily (1154-1166) and reigned on the island first as queen consort and then as regent while her son, William II, was still a minor, from 1166 to 1189. She was most powerful at a time when a good number of the monumental cycles of the Byzantine mosaics that so influenced the hispanic aesthetic had already been completed.

⁶⁵ E. LOZANO, «Maestros castellanos del entorno del segundo taller silense: repertorios figurativos y soluciones estilísticas», in C. RÜCKERT-J. STAEBEL (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zur Bauskulptur*, cit., pp. 197-214.

⁶⁶ Some of which have been identified from the inscriptions transcribed for the first time by R. CROZET, *Statuaire monumentale*, cit., p. 292. Creation of Adam (*Genesis* 1: 26-27), Creation of Eve (*Genesis* 2: 21-22), Introducing Eve to Adam (suggested in *Genesis* 2: 23-24), Original Sin (*Genesis* 3: 1-13), and Expulsion of Paradise (*Genesis* 3: 23-24). This is one of the most complete cycles of Genesis from the late Spanish Romanesque.

⁶⁷ Themes that appear in the first three arcs: discord or anger (men struggle with beasts), lust (musician, dancer and rabbit), gluttony (man eating), etc.

⁶⁸ *Luke* 2: 22-38. The reading of the northern capitals goes from right to left, as if they were aimed at those who are looking from the apse to the foot of the church.

faithful at mass).⁶⁹ The third, fourth and fifth pieces depart from the biblical story and present an armed knight ensnared by vegetation, two owls caught in a tree with many branches (surely an allusion to non-believers who prefer darkness and reject Christ), and a tangle of plants containing small figures who represent fantastic animals and men fighting.⁷⁰ In the third stage the scenes of the Passion begin with a simultaneous representation of the episode of Malchus, the Kiss of Judas and the Arrest;⁷¹ and finish with Pilate washing his hands,⁷² the Scourging⁷³ and the Procession to Calvary,⁷⁴ all themes commemorating the last moments before the death of the Lord.

The friezes below the bay sculptures are related to the capitals, with the result that the first scene is an *exemplum* of charity and hospitality and consistent with the Presentation in the Temple and the Pilgrims of Emmaus. The second scene shows four musicians celebrating the liturgical commemoration of the Sacrifice, Resurrection and Eucharist, the third depicts a hunting scene,⁷⁵ and the last remaining scene of these dimensions shows a dog with its head between its legs.⁷⁶ The central part shows a larger relief than the others but it is so deteriorated that although R. Crozet interpreted it as the Stoning of St. Stephen, other authors think it represents the Martyrdom of St. Vincent. To understand it one only has to recall the agreement between Pedro de Torroja and the bishop Guillermo of Roda de Isábena, in the context of the delivery of St. Valerius' head in 1170, which emphasized the solemnity of the first blessed martyr, Stephen. The most widely held hypothesis regarding the identity of the figures in the high relief recesses between the columns is that they are prophets, although a perfectly feasible alternative is that they are apostles.⁷⁷ I propose that the order of the sculpted pieces in the apse at la Seo follows exegetic criteria (which still have to be studied in depth) and that these reflect the personality of Pedro de Torroja and his determination to erect a symbol of episcopal power related to bishop Valerius and the deacon and protomartyr Stephen.

⁶⁹ *Luke* 24: 13-30; *Mark* 16: 12. The Supper features the sacramental gesture of Jesus as high priest.

⁷⁰ Of the central capitals only the one in the right area has been partially preserved and on it we can see two men – there should have been at least two more – one next to the other, carrying an object together, maybe one jar. The loss of the sequence and context prevent us from establishing their identity with any confidence, although it could be the Wedding at Cana, the first manifestation of the divinity of Christ through a miracle.

⁷¹ *Luke* 22: 47-53 and *Luke* 22: 63-71. The cymatium on this capital is the only one on the apse that presents a narrative as such is clearly meant to catch the viewer's attention.

⁷² *Matthew* 27: 24.

⁷³ *Matthew* 27: 28-30.

⁷⁴ *John* 19, 16-17.

⁷⁵ It could refer to the lady's lover caught by the woman (a deer) and therefore is a condemnation of lust, a sin that would link it to the heresies and to Eve.

⁷⁶ Probably submissiveness in the face of Malchus' anger, and shame caused by Sin.

⁷⁷ There may have been more figures in the straight section of the presbyter. R. Crozet suggests that there are ten sculptures in the current assembly, but M. RUIZ MALDONADO, *La Seo Románica: una aproximación a la escultura de San Salvador de Zaragoza*, Patrimonio Cultural de la Iglesia en Aragón, Zaragoza 1997, p. 81 proposes eight.

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Conclusions

The 1160s and 1170s were a period intense of construction in Spanish Romanesque architecture that led to innovative and singular sculptures of great value at the heart of the liturgical landscape, that is, in the apse, a space used during the Middle Ages to display images principally of theophanies with Eucharistic overtones.⁷⁸ The sculptural developments that took place in the Spanish kingdoms are exceptional and of the works that have survived (albeit some with decontextualized figures) la Calzada, Uncastillo, Agüero and la Seo stand out for their complexity, richness and quality and for their connections to Rodrigo de Cascante, Pedro de Artajona and Pedro de Torroja; three of the most interesting prelates of the second half of the 12th century.

⁷⁸ M. ANGHEBEN, *Les théophanies composites des arcs absidaux et la liturgie eucharistique*, in «Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale» 54 (2011), pp. 113-142.



Fig. 1 – General view of the apse in Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Author)



Fig. 2 – Details of the apse in Santo Domingo de la Calzada: the Trinitarian Tree of Jesse, the Conversion of Peter, and the Parabol of the Ten Virgins (Author)



Fig. 3 – General view of the apse in San Martin de Uncastillo (J. AZCONA, *El románico de las Cinco Villas*, Adefo, Ejea de los Caballeros 2009, pp. 70-71)



Fig. 4 – Details of the apse in San Martin de Uncastillo (A. García Omedes, www.romanicoaragones.com)



Fig. 5 – General view of the apse in Santiago de Agüero (A. García Omedes, www.romanicoaragones.com)



Fig. 6 – Details of the apse in Santiago de Agüero. Interior frieze with the detail of the Presentation at the Temple and exterior friezes (A. García Omedes, www.romanicoaragones.com)



Fig. 7 – Detail of the sculptures of Salvador of Zaragoza, la Seo (Author)