

BUILDING CONTEXT:
THE CHURCH OF SAN JULIÁN DE LOS PRADOS AND MEDIEVAL
ARCHITECTURE IN THE KINGDOM OF ASTURIAS (718-910)

RONALD LVOVSKI

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN ART HISTORY AND VISUAL STUDIES
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

March 2018

© Ronald Lvovski, 2018

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the date, patronage and style of King Alfonso II's (d. 842) extant church of San Julián de los Prados in Oviedo, Spain. More specifically, I challenge traditional methods of dating the building, which almost exclusively depend on the repetition of unreliable medieval Asturian chronicle sources and antiquarian records. I arrive at the proposed date for the church (812-842) by broadening the conventional scope of analysis to include the combined impact of the Islamic Conquest of the Iberian Peninsula (711), King Alfonso II's Visigothic bloodline, his stance against the Adoptionist controversy in the late eighth century, and his diplomatic ties with Charlemagne. This assessment builds upon an analysis of the king's political aspirations and his desire to propagate a sovereign, unchallenged rule. I similarly challenge problematic terminology, specifically the 'Mozarab' label, that continues to saturate the discourse and perpetuate separatist views of Spanish history. In addition to the above, I provide a detailed catalogue of medieval Asturian buildings, wherein the architecture and historiography of fourteen related churches in the northwest of Spain are analyzed; each church plays a fundamental role in our understanding of San Julián de los Prados and its complex history. Though my dissertation is primarily a study of architecture, it is heavily informed by post-colonial and religious acculturation methodologies, concepts of artistic and architectural transmission, and medieval iconography.

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife

Catalina Lvovski

and our family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation would have been impossible without the assistance of many people along the way. First and foremost, I would like to thank my dissertation advisor, Dr. Malcolm Thurlby for his wisdom, guidance, and unbounded patience. It was during my undergraduate degree that he introduced me to the topic of medieval Asturian architecture. At the time, I did not imagine that anything could bring me such fascination and frustration all at once. His encyclopedic knowledge and unrivalled passion for the history of art and architecture were the source of much inspiration for me.

I am indebted to the Ontario Graduate Fund, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Edilia and François Auguste de Montêquin fellowship, and York University for generously supporting various aspects of my research. I am very thankful to the *Arzobispado de Oviedo*, Don. Victor M. Cedron, and the various ‘keepers of the keys’ in Asturias for allowing a foreigner to photograph their historical monuments.

I am most grateful to my doctoral committee members, Dr. Anna Hudson and Dr. Dominic Marner, for their insight, feedback and direction as I completed this arduous project. To my examiners, Dr. John Osborne and Dr. Adrian Shubert, I thank you for your thoughtful questions, commentary and revisions to the text. You have given me a great deal to consider moving forward. To Dawn Burns, the Graduate Program Administrator in the department of Art History at York University, I thank you for helping me navigate the bureaucratic maze that is graduate school.

There are not enough pages in this dissertation to contain the amount of gratitude I have for my family. To my wife, Catalina Lvovski, I know that being the spouse of a graduate student is not always ideal! I thank you for your boundless support, abundant love and sincere

compassion, which on many occasions was the only thing driving me to finish. To my family, I thank you for believing in me even if you did not always understand what exactly I was doing! More importantly, thank you for providing me shelter and sustenance during the longest years of my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Illustrations.....	xxiii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Dissertation Organization.....	12
Chapter Two: The Role and Problem of Terminology in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula.....	16
Simonet and the Early Concept of the Mozarabs.....	19
Anachronisms.....	21
Mozarabs of the Reconquista?.....	21
The Historiographical Turn: Convivencia.....	25
Mozarabic Art.....	28
Sally Garen and the Church of Santa María de Melque.....	32
Chapter Three: Catalogue of Medieval Asturian Architecture (718-910)	39
The Church of Santa Cruz (Church of the Holy Cross) in Cangas de Onis.....	46
The Church of San Juan de Pravia (Santianes de Pravia).....	51
The Church of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles.....	57
The Church of Santa María in Oviedo.....	61
The Church of San Tirso.....	67
The Cámara Santa and the Crypt of Santa Leocadia.....	71

The Church of Santa María de Bendones.....	78
The Church of San Pedro de Nora.....	83
The Church of Santa María de Naranco.....	87
The Church of San Miguel de Lillo.....	102
The Church of Santa Cristina de Lena.....	115
The Church of San Salvador de Valdediós.....	121
The Church of San Adriano de Tuñón.....	135
The Church San Salvador de Priesca.....	142
Chapter Four: Ballot, Blood or Building: The Question of Alfonso II's Restoration of a 'Ceremony of the Goths' in the <i>Chronicle of Albelda</i>	149
Physical vs. Documentary Evidence.....	152
The Lack of a Visigothic Model and the Rupture Theory.....	157
The Death of the Gothic Kingdom, Its Rebirth and the Role of Pelagius.....	160
Alfonso II's Gothic Bloodline and his Election to the Asturian Throne.....	164
Chapter Five: The Church of San Julián de los Prados (812-842).....	171
Locating a Model and the Question of Medieval Copies in Asturias.....	171
The Physical Means by Which Ideas Were Transmitted.....	176
Moving the Capital to Oviedo.....	181
Physical vs. Documentary Evidence: Continued.....	185
The Decorative Programme, the Adoptionist Controversy and the Case of Asturian Aniconism.....	196
The Carolingian Connection.....	205
The Triumphal Arch.....	207

The Continuous Transept.....	210
The Transept Tribune.....	215
Conclusions.....	221
Bibliography.....	225
Appendices.....	250
Appendix A: Genealogical Table of Eighth and Ninth-Century Asturian Kings.....	250

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Santiago de Peñalba, León, nave looking east.
 - 1.1 San Cebrian de Mazote, Valladolid, nave looking east.
 - 1.2 San Baudelio de Berlanga, Soria, nave looking west.
 - 1.3 Mosque of Cristo de la Luz, Toledo, sanctuary looking west towards nave.
 - 1.4 San Miguel de Escalada, León, nave looking east.
 - 1.5 Santa Maria de Wamba, west façade from south west angle.
 - 1.6 San Miguel de Celanova, Ourense, west façade from southwest angle.
2. Santa Maria de Melque, Toledo, south façade from southeast angle.
 - 2.1 Santa Maria de Melque, Toledo, detail, rounded exterior quoin, southwest angle of south transept.
 - 2.2 Santa Maria de Melque, Toledo, trabeated arched-portal with pediment, west façade.
 - 2.3 Santa Maria de Melque, Toledo, south crossing arch.
 - 2.4 Santa Maria de Melque, Toledo, detail, southeast crossing supports.
3. Great Mosque of Córdoba, Córdoba, interior hypostyle arrangement.
4. Temple of Diana in Mérida, Badajoz.
5. Roman Temple of Córdoba, Córdoba.
6. Maison Carrée, Nîmes, France.
7. Roman Aqueduct, Segovia, Segovia.
8. San Fructuoso de Montelios, Braga, Portugal. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Plate 8.
9. Santa Cruz, Asturias, exterior, west façade from northwest angle. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 139.

9.1 Santa Cruz, Asturias, 1936 photograph showing north façade from northeast angle. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 139.

10. Santa Comba de Bande, Ourense, west façade from northwest angle.

10.1 Santa Comba de Bande, Ourense, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 5.

11. Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, west façade from northwest angle.

11.1 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, lost acrostic stone. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 380.

11.2 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 12.

11.3 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, crossing supports looking west towards nave and tribune.

11.4 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, south nave arcade looking west.

11.5 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, south aisle looking east with excavated baptismal font.

11.6 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, detail, eastern apsidal foundation *opus signinum*.

11.7 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, detail, tribune partition from nave.

11.8 Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, sculpted plaque recovered at the church with concentric circles and vine scrolls. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 381.

12. Campo Valdes, Gijón, detail, red brick arches.

13. Cathedral of Oviedo, Asturias, west façade.

14. Santa Maria in Oviedo, Asturias, plan by Aurelio de Llano. After Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 109.

14.1 Santa Maria in Oviedo, Asturias, plan by Fortunato de Selgas. After Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 109.

15. San Tirso, Asturias, miniature arcade, east façade.

15.1 San Tirso, Asturias, plan. After de Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 32.

16. Cámara Santa, Asturias, upper chapel dedicated to San Miguel, looking east.

- 16.1 Cámara Santa, Asturias, lower crypt of Santa Leocadia, looking east.
- 16.2 Cámara Santa, Asturias, detail, tabernacle, chapel of San Miguel.
- 16.3 Cámara Santa, Asturias, detail, tabernacle, crypt of Santa Leocadia.
- 17. Crypt of San Antolín, Palencia Cathedral, Palencia, looking east towards Visigothic supports.
- 18. Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, west façade.
- 18.1 Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, plan. After Manzanares Rodríguez, “Santa María de Bendones, an An Unknown Pre-Romanesque Church,” 2.
- 18.2 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, east façade.
- 18.3 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, interior view of western porch with flanking portals.
- 18.4 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, nave looking southeast towards chapels.
- 18.5 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, west façade from north west angle.
- 18.6 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, round headed windows with red brick arches, south chamber flanking western porch.
- 18.7 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, north façade with porticus.
- 18.8 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, south façade with porticus.
- 18.9 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, interior western clerestory.
- 18.10 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, miniature arcade, east façade.
- 18.11 Santa Maria de Bendones, Asturias, detail, painted fragment, south chapel arch intrados.
- 19. San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 19.1 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, plan. After de Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 32.
- 19.2 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, nave looking east.
- 19.3 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, north nave arcade looking east.

- 19.4 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, western bell tower.
- 19.5 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, east façade from southeast angle.
- 19.6 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.
- 19.7 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, detail, superimposed doorways, south façade.
- 19.8 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, reconstruction drawing by L. Menéndez Pidal. After Arias, *Geometría y Proporción*, 132.
- 19.9 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, south nave arcade looking west.
- 19.10 San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, north nave arcade looking west.
- 20. Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 20.1 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north façade from northeast angle.
- 20.2 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north façade from northwest angle. After de Selgas, *Monumentos Ovetenses*, 114.
- 20.3 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, 1848 drawing of north façade by José María Avrial y Flores. After Hevia Blanco, “La intervención,” 73.
- 20.4 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, south façade
- 20.5 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, south façade from southwest angle.
- 20.6 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, west carved supports, western atrium.
- 20.7 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, ground-level portal, west façade.
- 20.8 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, detail, west arcade, west atrium, *piano nobile*.
- 20.9 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, west façade.
- 20.10 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.
- 20.11 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, east façade.
- 20.12 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, undercroft looking west.

- 20.13 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, undercroft looking east.
- 20.14 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, doorway leading to subterranean bath in the east end of undercroft.
- 20.15 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, portal leading to bath, north façade wall.
- 20.16 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north blind arcade, *piano nobile*.
- 20.17 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, blind arcade support, *piano nobile*.
- 20.18 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, blind arcade carved capital, *piano nobile*.
- 20.19 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, blind arcade spandrel with carved roundel, *piano nobile*.
- 20.20 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, carved plaques surmounting roundels, *piano nobile*.
- 20.21 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, elongated carved plaques surmounting spandrel roundels, west wall, *piano nobile*.
- 20.22 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north arcade, west atrium, *piano nobile*.
- 20.23 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, supports with incisions for screens, southeast angle, east atrium, *piano nobile*.
- 20.24 Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, carved altar, east atrium, *piano nobile*.
21. San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 21.1 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south façade from southwest angle.
- 21.2 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, west façade.
- 21.3 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, north façade.
- 21.4 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south façade.
- 21.5 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, eastern chancel addition from southeast angle.

- 21.6 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, reused masonry in eastern chancel wall.
- 21.7 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, interior west portal barrel vault and tribune.
- 21.8 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, north staircase.
- 21.9 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, south nave arcade support.
- 21.10 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, former exterior south aisle looking west
- 21.11 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, plan. After Selgas, *Monumentos ovetenses*, 129.
- 21.12 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, carved base, arch support leading to north staircase.
- 21.13 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south nave arcade capital.
- 21.14 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south wall of tribune, showing carved hood mouldings, spandrel roundels, and stringcourse.
- 21.15 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, south jamb plaque, west portal.
- 21.16 Aereobindus Diptych. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 182.
- 21.17 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, engaged column and pilaster, south nave arcade support.
- 21.18 Visigothic carved pilaster with foliage, Mérida Museum of Visigothic Sculpture.
- 21.19 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, fluted engaged column and carved capital, south west wall of tribune.
- 21.20 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, spandrel with carved rosette, south wall of tribune.
- 21.21 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, caved base with later addition, north nave arcade support.
- 21.22 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, carved screen with gryphon discovered at the church.
After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 191.
- 21.23 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, vault painting, south aisle.

- 21.24 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, wall painting with seated figure, south wall, south aisle.
- 21.25 San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, wall painting with smaller figure in attendance, south wall, south aisle.
- 21.26 Ratchis Altar. After Altar of Ratchis, University of Leicester,
<https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/people/academics/christie/images/lombards004.jpg/view>
- 21.27 Adoration of the Magi, gold medallion. After Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 240.
22. Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, east end from northeast angle.
- 22.1 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 19.
- 22.2 1877 drawings by Roberto Frasinelli showing exterior west end (top) and interior looking east (bottom). After Hevia Blanco, “Pasado, presente y futuro,” 30.
- 22.3 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 22.4 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, detail, west porch.
- 22.5 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, interior west portal and western tribune.
- 22.6 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, north staircase leading to tribune.
- 22.7 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, recessed western chamber in tribune.
- 22.8 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, north nave blind arcade looking east from tribune.
- 22.9 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, elevated choir and screen looking east from tribune.
- 22.10 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, detail, carved column and capital, east wall of choir.
- 22.11 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, south staircase leading to choir.
- 22.12 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, detail, south blind arcade, east chapel.
- 22.13 Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, choir screen.

- 22.14 Visigothic sculptural fragment, San Francisco, Avilés. Photograph by de Selgas. After Aurelio de Llano, *Bellezas*, 213.
23. San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 4.
- 23.1 San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, south façade from southwest angle.
- 23.2 San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, northwest crossing capital. Scene of Daniel in the Lion's Den.
- 23.3 San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, southwest crossing capital. Scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac.
- 23.4 San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, northeast crossing capital. Scene with Birds of paradise pecking at clusters of grapes.
- 23.5 San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, south east crossing capital. Birds of paradise pecking at clusters of grapes.
24. Roman Theater in Mérida, Badajoz.
25. San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 25.1 San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 17.
- 25.2 San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 25.3 San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, west porch.
- 25.4 San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, south façade.
- 25.5 San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, south porch interior looking west.
- 25.6 San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, detail, blind arcade, south porch.
- 25.7 San Salvador de Valdedios, Asturias, north façade.
- 25.8 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, northwest aisle portal.

- 25.9 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, northeast aisle portal.
- 25.10 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, southeast aisle portal.
- 25.11 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south porch entrance.
- 25.12 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south clerestory.
- 25.13 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, tracery, south clerestory.
- 25.14 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, east façade.
- 25.15 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, nave looking east.
- 25.16 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, northeast corner, central chapel.
- 25.17 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, nave looking west towards tribune.
- 25.18 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south aisle looking east towards tribune staircase.
- 25.19 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north aisle looking east toward north chapel.
- 25.20 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, central chapel.
- 25.21 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, tribune mezzanine looking east towards south aisle.
- 25.22 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, carved capital, central chapel support.
- 25.23 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, carved column and capital, east window,
central chapel.
- 25.24 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north nave arcade looking east.
- 25.25 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, penultimate nave arcade supports with base
incisions.
- 25.26 San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, figural painting, east wall, west tribune.
- 26. San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, south façade from southwest angle.
- 26.1 San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, plan. After Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 196.

- 26.2 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, photograph of south façade by F. Valle Poo. After Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 198.
- 26.3 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, south wall, south porticus.
- 26.4 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, east façade.
- 26.5 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.
- 26.6 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, nave looking east.
- 26.7 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, north jamb articulation, central chapel arch.
- 26.8 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, detail, north jamb carved capital, central chapel arch.
- 26.9 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, detail, south jamb carved capital, central chapel arch.
- 26.10 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, detail, putlog hole, south nave architrave towards west.
- 26.11 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, central chapel.
- 26.12 San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, detail, embattlement ornament, central chapel
27. San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 27.1 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, plan. After, Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 200.
- 27.2 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, west façade.
- 27.3 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, east façade from southeast angle.
- 27.4 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, nave looking west towards tribune and narthex.
- 27.5 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, nave looking east.
- 27.6 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.
- 27.7 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south porch looking west from south east angle.
- 27.8 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, window tracery, south porch.
- 27.9 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south nave aisle looking west.

- 27.10 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, north nave aisle looking east.
- 27.11 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, north façade from northeast angle.
- 27.12 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south aisle looking west towards tribune staircase.
- 27.13 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, central chapel.
- 27.14 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south chapel.
- 27.15 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, south respond, central chapel arch.
- 27.16 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, carved capital, south respond, central chapel arch.
- 27.17 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south blind arcade, central chapel.
- 27.18 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, fluted column, east wall, central chapel.
- 27.19 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, base incision, north arch support, central chapel.
- 27.20 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, pre-restoration photograph of central chapel by A. del Fresno. After de Llano, *Bellezas*, 143.
- 27.21 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, base incisions, penultimate north nave arcade base.
- 27.22 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, painted decorations, north chapel vault.
- 27.23 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, painted decorations, central chapel vault.
- 27.24 San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, *trompe l'oeil* painted decorations, south aisle wall.
- 28. San Juan de Baños, Palencia, exterior, west façade from southwest angle.
- 28.1 San Juan de Baños, Palencia, nave looking east.
- 28.2 San Juan de Baños, Palencia, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 6b.
- 28.3 San Juan de Baños, Palencia, fragmented masonry, former barrel-vaulted south chapel.

29. Quintanilla de las Viñas, Burgos, south façade from southeast angle.
- 29.1 Quintanilla de las Viñas, Burgos, carved capital, south chapel arch support.
- 29.2 Quintanilla de las Viñas, Burgos, carved capital, north chapel arch support.
30. San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, west façade.
- 30.1 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 13.
- 30.2 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, west façade from southwest angle.
- 30.3 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, clerestory window, northeast wall of transept.
- 30.4 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, trabeated arched-window, northwest wall, north chapel.
- 30.5 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, exterior east wall, north chapel.
- 30.6 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south façade from south west angle.
- 30.7 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, east façade.
- 30.8 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, miniature arcade, east façade.
- 30.9 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.
- 30.10 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, central section, east façade.
- 30.11 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north façade from northwest angle.
- 30.12 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, northwest aisle portal
- 30.13 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, northeast aisle portal, filled-in.
- 30.14 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, southeast aisle portal, filled-in.
- 30.15 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, nave looking east.
- 30.16 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south nave arcade.
- 30.17 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north aisle looking east.
- 30.18 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, transept looking east.

- 30.19 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, transept looking south.
- 30.20 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north chapel.
- 30.21 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south chapel looking southeast.
- 30.22 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north chapel looking northeast.
- 30.23 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, central chapel
- 30.24 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north blind arcade, central chapel.
- 30.25 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south blind arcade, central chapel.
- 30.26 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, marble plaque, internal north jamb, central chapel arch.
- 30.27 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, marble plaque, internal south jamb, central chapel arch.
- 30.28 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, carved capital with acanthus foliage, internal north jamb, central chapel arch.
- 30.29 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, carved capital with acanthus foliage, north blind arcade, central chapel.
- 30.30 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south wall and barrel vault, north chapel.
- 30.31 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, vault painting, south chapel.
- 30.32 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, vault painting, central chapel.
- 30.33 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted geometric decoration, south nave arcade faces and spandrel.
- 30.34 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted foliage sprouting from vases, intrados, western crossing arch.
- 30.35 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, wall painting, west wall of nave.

- 30.36 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north nave arcade looking east.
- 30.37 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, architectural representation, upper register, north nave architrave.
- 30.38 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, architectural ciborium with cascading drapes, lower register, north nave architrave.
- 30.39 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted triumphant cross, west wall, west crossing arch.
- 30.40 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted imitation fluting with marble striations, north jamb, central chapel arch.
- 30.41 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north transept wall.
- 30.42 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted fluted pilasters, southeast corner, east transept wall.
- 30.43 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, upper portal and filled-in arched window, north transept wall.
- 30.44 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, exterior north wall, north porticus.
- 30.45 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north nave arcade showing asymmetrical western wall.
- 30.46 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, pre-restoration photograph of west nave tribune. After de Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, pl. 20.
- 30.47 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, pre-restoration photograph of central and south chapels. After de Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, pl. 14.
31. São Gião de Nazaré, Leiria, eastern sanctuary. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Plate 9.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Genealogical Table of Eighth and Ninth-Century Asturian Kings

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

In the year AD 710, the Berber general, Tariq ibn Ziyad, led an army of Berbers and Syrians across the narrow stretch of water between southern Spain and north Africa.¹ In the following year, Tariq's army defeated the last Visigothic king, Roderick, at the Battle of Guadalete (711) and by 713 they managed to capture the Visigothic capital of Toledo.² Muslim-held lands became known as al-Andalus,³ which effectively functioned as a province of the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus. By the 730's Muslim forces managed to cross the Pyrenees and breach Frankish territory in Septimania, now modern-day, south-western France.⁴ It was shortly after AD 711 that a number of Visigoths fled north from Toledo to the Cantabrian Mountains. Likely in search of refuge from the Muslim invaders, they eventually settled at Cangas de Onís in Asturias, near the site of a previous Roman settlement. The remote terrain and inclement climate of the mountains provided the Visigoths with a defensible land and opportunity to reorganize. The location proved favourable at the Battle of Covadonga (c.718/722) when the Gothic stronghold was attacked by the Umayyad generals al-Qama and Munuza and their army of Muslim soldiers. Under the leadership of one Pelayo,⁵ a very small group of Visigoths triumphantly defeated 25,000 Moors.⁶ Though Muslim chronicles report this

¹ This channel of water is now referred to as the Strait of Gibraltar. Of course, Gibraltar, or Jabal Tariq, which means Tariq's Mountain, only received its name after Tariq's victorious campaign.

² Sánchez-Albornoz, *Orígenes*, I, 366-392, 413-458. For more general information on the capture of Toledo and the effects on Visigothic authority in the Iberian Peninsula see Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 5.

³ Bossong, "Der Name *Al-Andalus*," 149-164.

⁴ Abd al-Rahman al-Ghafiqi led an army across the Pyrenees only to be defeated by Charles Martel and his army of Franks and Burgundians at the Battle of Tours in 732. This loss, along with the one at the Battle of Covadonga, are considered to have significantly halted the momentum of the Islamic conquest. See Payne, *Spain*, 49.

⁵ Pelayo is also commonly referred to as Pelagius. Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 23.

⁶ The date of the Battle of Covadonga varies amongst scholars. While some believe it took place in 718, others suggest it took place in 722. For example, see Castellanos and Martín Viso, "Local Articulation," 21.

battle as little more than a military skirmish, Christian sources in the late-ninth century broadcast it as a victory of divine intervention that almost immediately led to the formation of the Kingdom of Asturias (718-910) and Pelayo's sovereignty. Nearly two hundred years of Christian monarchy followed and, aside from a few Muslim incursions and the odd rebellion, Asturias thrived as a small kingdom. Its kings fortified cities, erected liturgical buildings, established diplomatic alliances, conquered neighbouring territories and even managed to regain venerable Christian relics in al-Andalus.⁷

Of the thirteen kings that ruled over medieval Asturias between 718 and 910, Alfonso II's illustrious 51-year reign (791-842) was the longest and one of the best documented in the chronicles. Approximately eleven years after becoming king, he moved the capital from Pravia to Oviedo. It was there that the king commenced an ambitious architectural programme. The chronicles credit him with having built a number of churches, palaces, baths, aqueducts, hospitals, storehouses and *triclinea* in his new capital.⁸ Alfonso II is also said to have restored buildings begun by his father, Fruela I (757-768), who previously built a villa and church in Oviedo.⁹ This all came hard on the heels of Alfonso II's military victories throughout Asturias and Galicia, the supposed discovery of the body of Saint James, the development of a close friendship with Charlemagne, intermittent Muslim raids, and even a short revolt during which time the king sought refuge among his mother's Basque relatives in Álava.

⁷ These most notably include the relics of Santa Leocadia and the Arca Santa, likely taken from Toledo in the ninth century. See Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 55-57.

⁸ *Triclinea* likely refers to reception or dining halls. De Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, 6, adds that the king fortified his capital city with walls. These are not mentioned in the *Chronicle of Albelda* or *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*. However, their medieval ruins can still be seen in Oviedo.

⁹ De Llano, *Bellezas*, 335.

In addition to his unusually long reign and numerous achievements, Alfonso II was unique among other Asturian monarchs in that the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* (c.883), specifies that the king restored a “ceremony of the Goths” in Asturias:

He built in Oviedo the temple of San Salvador and the twelve Apostles, in stone and lime, of a wonderful construction as well as the sanctuary of St. Mary with its three altars; he equally founded the Church of San Tirso, an amazing edifice with multiple angles; and all the houses of the Lord, he carefully adorned them with arches and columns of marble, gold and silver, and as well as the royal palace, he decorated with various frescoes. All the ceremony of the Goths, just as it had been in Toledo, [Alfonso II] completely restored in Oviedo, in the Church as well as the Palace.¹⁰

Precisely what is meant by this statement remains a point of scholarly debate to which I seek to contribute in chapter three. Suffice it to say here that despite being positioned within a passage replete with architectural references, an analysis of the physical and literary evidence suggests that the declaration of a restored Gothic ceremony was not in relation to Alfonso II’s buildings in Oviedo.

One of the challenges historians face in determining the passage’s precise meaning is the loss of virtually all of the churches ascribed to Alfonso II’s patronage. Indeed, of all the buildings recorded in the *Chronicle of Albelda*, only the eastern wall of San Tirso survives and it is undoubtedly in a rebuilt form. Nevertheless, the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* (c. 883 or 910), reports that Alfonso II built a fourth church, dedicated to SS Julián and Basilisa, at a distance north of the church of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles. Due to its location relative to the Cathedral of Oviedo, which came to replace the church of San Salvador, the church of San Julián

¹⁰ Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas Asturianas*, 35, 248-249; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24, “Adefonsus Magnus regnavit annis LI. Iste, undecimo regni anno per tyrannidem regno expulsus, monasterio Abelianiae est reclusus. Inde, a quodam Teudane uel aliis fidelibus reductus, regnique Oueto est culmine restitutus. Iste in Oueto templum Sancti Saluatoris cum duodecim Apostolis ex silice et calce mire fabricauit, aulamque Sanctae Mariae cum tribus altaribus aedificauit; basilicam quoque Sancti tirsi miro aedificio cum multis angulis fundamentauit; omnesque has Domini domos cum arcibus atque columnis marmoreis, auro argentoque diligenter ornauit, simulque cum regis palatiis, picturis diuersis decorauit. Omnemque Gothorum ordinem sicuti Toledo fuerat tam in Ecclesia quam in Palatio in Oueto cuncta statuit.” See also, O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 104.

de los Prados (812-842), located in the modern-day suburb of Prados in Oviedo, has been identified as Alfonso II's fourth church.

Today, the church of San Julián de los Prados is built in a combination of rubble and ashlar masonry, the latter reserved for each of the quoins and buttresses (Fig. 30). The basilican plan features a three-bay nave flanked by single aisles that run eastward to meet a continuous transept with north and south *porticus* (Fig. 30.1). The expansive transept rises above the rest of the building and communicates with the three eastern chapels (Fig. 30.6). Each of the building's units is externally defined through the various heights of the roofs. The nave, aisles, *porticus* and chapels have been composed around the transept in a manner that Kenneth Connant has described as an "agglomerative Germanic fashion."¹¹ The interior of the church is remarkably well-lit. Eight large, rectangular clerestory windows pierce the walls of the nave and transept. A much larger, round-headed window is set in the south wall of the transept and five additional windows are set throughout the eastern chapels (Fig. 30.15). Surely, the architect(s) and patron felt them necessary so as to illuminate the expansive programme of aniconic wall paintings found throughout the church. Unlike the wooden roofs surmounting the nave, aisles and transept, the eastern chapels are barrel-vaulted in stone (Fig. 30.18). The central chapel is adorned with a blind arcade with carved capitals and bases. Their various foliate designs signal a classical influence echoed by the Roman plaques set on the internal returns of the central chapel's arch jambs. San Julián de los Prados' expansive proportions and characteristic features alone, such as the continuous transept and aniconic paintings, signal a departure from Visigothic churches dated to the years leading up to the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. On the contrary, they

¹¹ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque*, 89.

simultaneously point back to Early Christian basilican plans and elevations, as well as contemporaneous developments throughout the Carolingian and Roman territories.

As perhaps the only extant documented building dated to the years of Alfonso II, the church of San Julián de los Prados plays a major role in our understanding of medieval Asturian architecture. Not only has it served as the only extant analogue for dating the undocumented yet stylistically similar churches of San Pedro de Nora and Santa María de Bendones to the years between 812 and 842, but it has also been used to propose hypothetical plans for Alfonso II's lost churches recorded in the *Chronicle of Albelda* and the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. However, as will be discussed, an examination of San Julián de los Prados' architecture and documentary evidence suggests that it is not the church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilisa in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. I believe the misidentification of San Julián de los Prados as Alfonso II's fourth church in Oviedo can be traced in the historiography of the building where it was subsequently repeated by antiquarians and scholars for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, this does not preclude the church of San Julián de los Prados from being dated to the patronage of Alfonso II, which I will elaborate upon in chapter four.

Since the sixteenth century, Oviedo and its unique pre-Romanesque architecture, *prerrománico* in Spanish, has been a legendary destination for antiquarians. At the behest of Philip II (1527-1598), Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591) traveled to the north of Spain to record its various treasures. In order to locate historic monuments, jewels and relics, de Morales relied heavily upon the few chronicles and dedication stones that managed to survive the test of time. Luis Alfonso de Carvallo followed in de Morales' footsteps, corroborating dates, locations and patrons. The testimonies of these early visitors served as fundamental sources for nineteenth-century antiquarians and historians who similarly attempted to locate the venerable and historic

sites themselves. When Rev. H. F. Tozer made the long and arduous journey from England to Asturias, he praised de Morales' 'faithful hand' whilst providing his own account of certain buildings.¹² There can be no doubt that the writings of de Morales, Carvallo and Tozer are crucial to our understanding of medieval Asturian architecture. Twentieth- and twenty-first-century historians and architects in particular have had little choice but to rely on these earlier records since a number of medieval Asturian churches were lost in the interim or significantly damaged in the 1930's. For example, following a massive dynamite explosion in Oviedo in 1934, Luis Menéndez-Pidal y Álvarez reconstructed the Cámara Santa, a small, two-storied treasury adjacent to the south flank of the cathedral of Oviedo, based in part on the records provided by de Morales.¹³

Surprisingly, de Morales and Carvallo had very little to say of Alfonso II's church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilisa. In fact, it is absent from de Morales' *Viage*, where the only church dedicated to the Holy Martyred saints Juliano and Basilisa is the Benedictine Monastery of Samanos in Samos.¹⁴ This stood outside of Oviedo, close to Galicia, and was built by Alfonso II's father, Fruela I (757-768). De Morales did, however, record a church dedicated to San Julian Mártir in his *Crónicas general*, whose name was reportedly corrupted by the locals as San Tullam.¹⁵ De Morales stated that the church was the one recorded in the chronicles, which was built to the north of the Cathedral of Oviedo. It seems that de Morales was referring to the present-day church of San Julián de los Prados, which continues to be colloquially referred to as Santullano.

¹² Tozer, "Asturias and its Antiquities," 15.

¹³ Menéndez Pidal, "La Cámara Santa de Oviedo," 3-34.

¹⁴ De Morales, *Crónicas general*, 94.

¹⁵ De Morales, *Crónicas general*, 193; Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 191-192.

Between 1912 and 1915, Fortunato de Selgas restored the church of San Julián de los Prados. Under Baroque vaulting and layers of lime, he discovered a complex array of wall paintings covering virtually every inch of the interior space. The decorations included, but were not limited to, architectural representations, geometric shapes, foliage, and golden crosses. De Selgas paired the painted decorations with the record in the *Chronicle of Albelda*, which mentioned Alfonso II's inclusion of "various paintings" in his buildings.¹⁶ There was little doubt that the present-day church of Santullano was indeed Alfonso II's fourth church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilisa recorded in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the same one described by de Morales.

Nevertheless, there is some doubt as to whether de Morales had correctly identified Alfonso II's fourth church. He provided no specific details of it, remarking instead upon its large size, proportions and Roman style of architecture and windows. He credited the construction to a master architect named Tioda, likely a misidentification of the personage who was responsible for returning Alfonso II to Oviedo after a brief revolt recorded in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.¹⁷ De Morales also declared that Tioda built Alfonso II's nearby palace and, as it was written in the chronicles, he sumptuously adorned and filled it with rich marbles in the order of the former Gothic kings in Toledo.¹⁸ He goes on to compare Alfonso II's palace with that of king Wamba's in Toledo, which was laden with a rich bed of gold. Interestingly, de Morales states that Alfonso II's "palace is *believed* to be the same as the one where the bishop now lives, which was together with the church, as the king had written" (emphasis mine).¹⁹ The overall sense one gets from this

¹⁶ De Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, 53.

¹⁷ For a brief discussion on the misidentification of Tioda, see Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 14.

¹⁸ De Morales, *Crónicas general*, 193.

¹⁹ De Morales, *Crónicas general*, 193, "Créese ser este palacio el mismo en que agora vive el Obispo, pore star junto con la Iglesia, como escriben lo puso el Rey."

section in de Morales' records is that he had not in fact seen the rich marbles at San Julián de Mártir and, therefore, relied upon the chronicles to convey the original appearance of Alfonso II's fourth church and palace. He similarly took the adjacent Bishop's residence as evidence of a contiguous palace in the time of Alfonso II. Yet there is no mention of an adjacent royal residence in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. This was either a later addition to the original church, which was already modified by the time of de Morales' visit, or an original feature of a different building altogether. Unfortunately, Carvallo's record offers equally little assurance since it is essentially a copy of the one provided by de Morales. Carvallo wrote that Alfonso II built a church dedicated to San Iuliano, near the city of Oviedo, which is corruptibly called Santullano. He cites de Morales in his description of the church's "marvelous proportion," "corresponding windows," and "Roman style of architecture," and similarly credits the construction to Tioda.²⁰ My suspicion is that de Morales, and Carvallo after him, presumed that the church of San Julián de los Prados was the one dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa. Indeed, its distance from the former church of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles is difficult to overlook. Yet it must be stressed that the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* described the church of SS Julián and Basilissa as having two altars, which contradicts the three that are clearly original to San Julián de los Prados. I suspect that Alfonso II's church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa was likely close to the present-day church of San Julián de los Prados, but already lost by the time of de Morales's journey.

²⁰ Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 191-192. See also, Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, 337-338, who described the general plan and design of San Julián de los Prados. However, since de Selgas had not yet completed his reconstruction, Rivoira does not mention any paintings inside the church. Nor is there any discussion of a tribune in the north wall of the transept. Instead, Rivoira's description is brief and focuses on the windows, eastern chapels and the carved capitals they contained.

There is far more at stake in the identification of Alfonso II's fourth church than the date and patronage of a single building. De Selgas' finding and reconstruction added to the recent fascinations with medieval Asturias' role in the history of Spain and its people. The medieval kingdom of Asturias figured prominently in discussions of a Spanish national history and identity. What little survived from the region, whether architectural or literary, was often lauded as the product of a small yet mighty kingdom that triumphantly stood between the invading Muslim armies and their complete dominion over the Iberian Peninsula.²¹ The idea of a Christian resistance to Islam in Asturias was often tied into the much larger 'Grand Narrative', which emphasized "Catholic mission, a chosen people and implacable reconquest."²² Twentieth-century historians of the *Reconquista*, would ultimately trace the origin of Christianity's control over the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century back to Pelayo's legendary victory at the Battle of Covadonga.²³ As a result, medieval Asturian churches built between 718 and 910 were presented as the first monuments of Christian resistance, which culminated with the Treaty of Granada in 1491 and the subsequent eviction of all Jews from Spain in the following year.²⁴

For over seventy years, the Grand Narrative was a dominant theory used to explain concepts of Spanish ethnogenesis.²⁵ Such discussions were most prevalent during the Franco regime (1939-1975), when General Francisco Franco attempted to reconcile a shattered Spain after a bloody civil war under the premise of a unified history and genealogy. The Francoist version of "Spanishness" identified with, "virtues of austerity, sobriety, dogmatic Catholicism

²¹ For a brief discussion on the role of Asturian kings in the Reconquista see Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 33-37. See also, Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, especially 125.

²² Payne, *Spain*, 52.

²³ Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación* (1966); idem, "Repoblación del Reino Asturleonés," 581-790; Menéndez-Pidal, *Orígenes del español* (1926); idem, *Historia de España* (1940).

²⁴ The Treaty of Granada in 1491 offered protection for Muslims who remained in the Iberian Peninsula after the Emirate of Granada was taken over by the Crown of Castile. In the following year, the Alhambra Decree expelled all Jews from Spain.

²⁵ This is also sometimes referred to as the Visigothicist, Indigenous or Neo-Indigenous theory.

and loyalty to a unitary state which suited the regime's book."²⁶ At the same time, scholars such as Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and Ramon Menéndez Pidal, who were ironically anti-Francoist, similarly argued that Spanish uniqueness owed little to Muslim and Jewish influences.²⁷ Though the work of early scholars remains invaluable to our understanding of medieval Asturian architecture, a number of their ideological theories are undeniably biased, borderline anti-Semitic, and deeply rooted in separatist views of Spanish history and identity.

The 'Grand Narrative' has received no shortage of scholarly opposition.²⁸ Nevertheless, it can safely be said that the overly-simplified, teleological timeline of a Christian victory over the Muslims, with Jews wedged somewhere in the middle, remains the prevailing model for presenting popular versions of Spanish history. It is the one that continues to be told in textbooks, museums and can even be found on the UNESCO website, where the kingdom of Asturias is referred to as the location where, "the flame of Christianity was kept alive in the Iberian peninsula..."²⁹ While it is very tempting to condense centuries of history to explain disparate developments as swift and fluid, there is little evidence to support theories of Reconquest in Asturias between the eighth and tenth centuries. As Glick and others have observed, presenting Asturias as the earliest site of Christian resistance to the Islamic Conquest takes full advantage of hindsight.³⁰

On the contrary, the physical evidence in Asturias does not necessarily support the type of linear continuity argued for by the 'Grand Narrative'. Christian architecture built between 718 and 910 in Asturias tells a somewhat different story, one in which the Asturian kings drew

²⁶ Fernández-Armestro, "The Survival of a Notion of Reconquista," 140.

²⁷ Sánchez-Albornoz, *España y el Islam*, 15, 42; idem, *España: un enigma histórico*, 9-11; idem, *La España Cristiana*, xxi-xxii; idem, *Despoblación y repoblación*, (1966); Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español* (1926).

²⁸ Américo Castro, *España en su historia* (1948).

²⁹ UNESCO, "UNESCO World Heritage Committee," (1998).

³⁰ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 34; Payne, *Spain*, 52-53, 72-80.

inspiration from a variety of sources, both within and beyond the Iberian Peninsula. Moreover, Asturian kings were more focused on securing their individual claims to the throne and conquering neighbouring polities, than seeking to take back former Visigothic territories in the south. Alfonso II in particular championed an international, architectural style, perhaps most visible in the church of San Julián de los Prados. In this dissertation, I propose a revised approach to identifying the church of San Julián de los Prados. Rather than relying solely upon the incongruous Asturian chronicles, my dating of the church and interpretation of its iconography focuses on an assessment of anachronistic terminology, an in-depth study of the corpus of medieval Asturian architecture, a comparative analysis of Santullano's physical and literary evidence, and a contextual analysis of trans-regional artistic and architectural influences, particularly ones being championed in the Carolingian and Roman territories. The latter examination of San Julián de los Prados within a broad, medieval context is one that I believe to be pivotal to our understanding of the original church, its date and iconography. This latter assessment includes a two-pronged approach that builds upon the work of Richard Krautheimer and Robert Scheller.³¹ I specifically seek to make use of Krautheimer's theory on understanding medieval copies to explain the inclusion of otherwise unprecedented iconographic motifs and features at the church of San Julián de los Prados. I also hope to contribute to Scheller's methodology on the transmission of artistic models and ideas in the middle ages by expanding his parameters to account for instances where accompanying texts either did not exist or have been lost. Such an extrapolation must take into account specific contexts and in the case of San Julián de los Prados, I suggest that ideas traveled between Asturian and Carolingian buildings as

³¹ Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," 1-33; Scheller, *Exemplum* (1995).

a result of King Alfonso II's political aspirations and his desire to secure a sovereign, unchallenged rule shortly after the so-called Adoptionist controversy in the late eighth century.

Dissertation Organization

One of the many challenges in attempting to understand medieval Iberian architecture is the archaic terminology used to describe the cultural and religious groups responsible for its construction. Though religious plurality in the medieval Iberian Peninsula was almost exclusively contained to the three Abrahamic religions, the cross-cultural exchanges between them gave rise to a constantly-shifting kaleidoscope of subcultures.³² For example, Mozarabs, Mudejars, and Moriscos were enmeshed into the fabric of Christian, Muslim and Jewish society. Interactions between peoples were set against the numerous shifts in regional powers and dynasties. Though each cultural group merits separate, in-depth studies, that of the so-called 'Mozarab' is particularly important to questions regarding medieval Asturian architecture. In the second chapter, I trace the etymology and historiography of the term, 'Mozarab', which refers to Arabicized Christians or Christians who lived under Muslim rule in al-Andalus. I demonstrate how the label is convoluted, culturally-charged, and problematic, particularly when used to describe historical realities before the eleventh century, when the term first appears in a primary document. Because certain architectural developments in medieval Asturias, the church of San Julián de los Prados included, are often seen as incorporating 'Mozarabic' motifs as early as the late-ninth century, it is necessary to address this terminology. I build off of the arguments laid out by Pedro Chalmeta, Anne Christys and Richard Hitchcock, and similarly suggest that we

³² For more information on the cultural dynamics of different religious groups in the Iberian Peninsula, see Mann, Glick and Dodds, *Convivencia* (1992); Menocal, *The Ornament of the World* (2002). See also, Lowney, *A Vanished World*, 204.

abandon the ‘Mozarabic’ label altogether. I use the church of Santa María de Melque (c. 755-788) as a case study to demonstrate the potential problems that arise from the continued use of an anachronistic terminology. As perhaps the earliest extant Christian building erected after the Islamic conquest, Santa María de Melque plays a pivotal role in our understanding of medieval architecture in the Iberian Peninsula. By connecting terminological and architectural analyses, I also hope to contribute to wider studies on frontier architecture and the Spanish *Reconquista* between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.

The third chapter serves as a catalogue of early medieval Asturian architecture. I gather and synthesize the literature to provide the reader with a broader context in which to consider the church of San Julián de los Prados. Because a number of medieval Asturian buildings are dated relative to one another, I believe it is necessary to unpack the history and architecture of each building individually. This catalogue also sets the stage for arguments that follow in subsequent chapters and serves as a historiographical review of the literature. The discourse is shown to have directly impacted the way we approach the question of Christian architecture in the medieval Iberian Peninsula. It has also greatly affected the restoration and cultural heritage for a number of medieval Asturian buildings. It should be noted that though certain Visigothic and Islamic buildings are mentioned in the context of medieval Asturian architecture, these important monuments merit separate, in-depth studies that cannot be covered here. Also omitted from this catalogue are the church of Santiago de Gobiendes, an undocumented building in Asturias that survives in a rebuilt form, and the Foncalada, a small, municipal fountain in Oviedo. The latter is similarly undocumented and contributes little to the discussion of ecclesiastical architecture in Asturias. For sake of focus, the scope of the catalogue is thus limited to a total of fourteen buildings (both extant and lost), built between 718 and 910, nestled throughout the Cantabrian

Mountains in Spain between the Bay of Biscay in the north and the Duero River basin to the south. Victor Nieto Alcaide undertook a similar project in 1989 with his *Arte Prerrománico Asturiano*.³³ So too did Lorenzo Arias Páramo in 1993 with *Prerrománico Asturiano*, largely repeated in 2007 in the two-volume *Enciclopedia del Prerrománico en Asturias*, edited by Miguel Ángel García Guinea and José María Pérez González.³⁴ Though no major archaeological digs or projects have been undertaken in Asturias since Arias' latter endeavor, dendrochronology and theoretical developments have had a significant impact on our understanding of early medieval Asturian architecture, the church of San Julián de los Prados included.

In the fourth chapter, I examine the infamous passage in the *Chronicle of Albelda*, which reports that Alfonso II restored the “ceremony of the Goths in the church and palace.” As mentioned, the bold declaration has often been used by scholars who are keen to position the medieval kingdom of Asturias within a ‘Grand Narrative’ that promotes a continuation of the fallen kingdom of the Visigoths. The passage is, furthermore, full of architectural references to Alfonso II’s ambitious building campaign at his new capital in Oviedo. Since San Julián de los Prados is the best-surviving building from that period, and widely considered to be Alfonso II’s only extant documented church, it is often interpreted as the physical representation of the words written in the text. In light of incongruous physical and written evidence, as well as arguments laid out in chapter one, I propose an alternative interpretation of what the author of the *Albelda* meant by a restoration of ‘the ceremony of the Goths’. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that Alfonso II was the first Pelagian-blooded king in Asturias since the time of his father Fruela and that he was *elected* to the Asturian throne. It was the combination of these two factors that the

³³ Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano* (1989).

³⁴ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano* (1993); idem, *Enciclopedia* (2007).

author of the *Albelda* was referring to in declaring that Alfonso II restored the “ceremony of the Goths” in Oviedo in “the church as well as the palace.”

The fifth and final chapter analyzes the architecture and decoration of San Julián de los Prados. I propose that, contrary to popular belief, the church is in fact undocumented and *not* the one dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. I challenge traditional methods of dating the building, which almost exclusively depend on the repetition of unreliable medieval Asturian chronicle sources. Nevertheless, I support that San Julián de los Prados was indeed built by Alfonso II in the first half of the ninth century. I arrive at this conclusion by building on the groundwork prepared in each of the previous chapters and broadening the conventional scope of architectural investigation to include King Alfonso II’s stance against the Adoptionist controversy in the late eighth century, as well as his diplomatic ties with Charlemagne. A historical study of San Julián de los Prados’ patron is presented alongside a forensic analysis of the church’s architectural features and interior decorations, specifically its aniconic decorative program, triumphal crossing arch, continuous transept and western tribune. Each characteristic suggests that Alfonso II built the church of San Julián shortly after making contact with Charlemagne. Moreover, the use of iconographically-charged motifs reflects Alfonso II’s intention for the church to affirm his royal authority upon regaining the Asturian throne after a series of tribulations and revolts, which coincided with the final stages of the international Adoptionist controversy. As mentioned above, to guide my investigation, I extrapolate Krautheimer’s theory on medieval copies, as well as Scheller’s methodology on artistic transmission in the middle ages.³⁵

³⁵ Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture’,” 1-33; Scheller, *Exemplum* (1995).

CHAPTER 2:

THE ROLE AND PROBLEM OF TERMINOLOGY IN THE MEDIEVAL IBERIAN PENINSULA

Popular history has long presented the kingdom of Asturias as the first site of Christian resistance to the Islamic conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula. The churches and palaces erected by the newly established northern monarchy stood as the physical embodiment of a divinely appointed power that successfully defended against the Moors at the Battle of Covadonga in 718. Asturians were the successors of the displaced Goths and it was in the wake of the fallen Gothic kingdom that Christians in the north reorganized before eventually reconquering lands they felt were rightfully theirs.³⁶ This ‘grand narrative’ appears alongside a related one, that of the Christians who did not flee the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula after 711. Indeed, for a variety of unknown reasons, a large number of Christian and Jewish inhabitants stayed in and around Toledo and Córdoba where they lived under the rule of the Islamic emirs and caliphs for centuries. Whereas the Goths who fled to the north adopted the Asturian name, after their new home in the Cantabrian Mountains, those who remained in al-Andalus came to be referred to as Mozarabs, derived from the Arabic etymon *musta’rib*, meaning “to make oneself similar to the Arabs”.³⁷

³⁶ The *Prophetic Chronicle* (883 or 884) prophesized that the Arab rule in the Iberian Peninsula would come to an end on November 11, 884, the day of Saint Martin. The author likely read a passage in the Book of Daniel that told the story of the Gog enduring 170 years of servitude at the hands of the Magog. But because the leader of the Magog, Ismaël, denounced his Saviour and God, he would be destroyed and delivered by the Gog. The author of the *Prophetic Chronicle* extrapolated the story to position the Goths as the Gog and the Arabs as the Magog. Of course, the culmination of Arab rule did not occur in the predicted year of 884. Nevertheless, the prophecy echoed a belief that the Goths held claim to Hispania and that the Arabic presence was only temporary, soon to be returned to the Goths by the hand of God. See Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Cronicas Asturianas*, xiv-xix, 185-187; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, LX; Escalona, “Family Memories,” 236-237.

³⁷ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ix.

In the second half of the tenth century, a wave of so-called Mozarabs migrated north away from the Islamic-controlled lands in al-Andalus. When Mozarab escapees finally settled in the Duero basin and built liturgical buildings, they did so in a style that differed from the Asturians and Visigoths.³⁸ Art historians have labeled these buildings Mozarabic, referring to the style of the building itself or the cultural background of the patron and/or mason responsible for its construction.³⁹ Of particular interest to the study of medieval Asturian architecture are the few buildings that incorporate supposedly Mozarabic motifs: the *alfiz*,⁴⁰ the horseshoe arch, the southern porch and portal, the application of red and white brick patterning and the modillion (a style of corbel). Several theories have been proposed to explain the sudden onset of wide-scale travel in the Iberian Peninsula in the late-ninth century. Some historians believe it immediately followed a series of religious persecutions against the Christians between 850 and 859.⁴¹ Others suggest that Christian kings were making concerted efforts to repopulate uninhabited lands north of the Duero River.⁴² Yet it is difficult to explain why subjugated Christians who fled from religious persecution chose to include Muslim-inspired motifs in their liturgical architecture (Fig. 1-1.6).⁴³ It is equally odd that the Mozarabic style was incorporated in the legendary first

³⁸ Visigothic architecture can be characterized by a consistent use of ashlar masonry, cross-shaped plans, compartmentalized interior spaces, marble supports, carved capitals and horseshoe arches. These generalizations are based on the very few extant buildings that have come to represent the entirety of an architectural style that once spanned a wide part of the Iberian Peninsula. It should be stressed that our understanding of Visigothic architecture is bleak and there is little doubt that it varied more than what is currently known from the so-called 'Traditional' or 'Classic' group of Visigothic buildings. For example, basilican plans are used at San Juan de Baños, Quintanilla de las Viñas and Santa Lucía del Trampal.

³⁹ For the earliest study of a Mozarabic style of art and architecture, see See Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes* (1919). See also Fontaine, *L'art mozarabe* (1995).

⁴⁰ The *alfiz* can be described as a rectangular hood moulding that encloses an arch. The moulding commonly begins at the impost of the arch but can also start at the lowest ends of the arch supports. It is most often found in conjunction with a horseshoe arch.

⁴¹ García Moreno, "Spanish Gothic Consciousness," 303-323.

⁴² Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación* (1966).

⁴³ I refer here to buildings such as Santiago de Peñalba, San Cebrian de Mazote, San Baudelio de Berlanga, the mosque of Cristo de la Luz, San Miguel de Escalada, Santa María de Wamba, San Román de Moroso and San Miguel de Celanova.

Christian buildings erected shortly after the Islamic Conquest in 711, particularly during a time when Asturian monarchs were focused on distancing their kingdom from the see of Toledo.⁴⁴

Much like the term itself, Mozarabic architecture and motifs are enigmatic. Coupled with the dearth of physical and written evidence, it seems that much of the confusion stems from the archaic terminology that continues to pervade the discourse, specifically the problematic Mozarab label. The term is anachronistic, lacks a clear definition, has a convoluted historiography and carries a wide variety of connotations, many of which contradict one another. Despite this, it continues to creep up in the discourse, only to muddy the already very murky waters. Pedro Chalmeta, Ann Christys and Richard Hitchcock have devoted a significant amount of effort towards better understanding the topic and each has warned against using the term when referring to Christians who remained in the southern Iberian territories under Islamic rule.⁴⁵ As Christys states, it is difficult for the historian “to define her own terms,” and ‘Mozarab’ is no exception.⁴⁶ Though the study of ‘Mozarabs’ demands far more attention than can be offered here, it is necessary to unpack the term and address some of the problems associated with its usage. To this day, the term is engrained in the very fabric of Spanish history and plays a crucial role in the development of a Spanish national identity. Alongside Chalmeta, Christys and Hitchcock, I suggest that we abandon using the term ‘Mozarab’ prior to the eleventh century,

⁴⁴ The Adoptionist controversy presented Alfonso II the opportunity to breach ties with the see of Toledo and to work towards an autonomous kingdom and bishopric. It is only in the final decades of the Asturian kingdom that Mozarabic motifs appear in the churches of San Salvador de Valdediós and San Adriano de Tuñón. In the former, these take the form of the alfiz ornaments that frame the exterior clerestory windows of the nave and the arcades on the exterior east façade. At Tuñón, the chancel paintings with embattlements and images of the sun have been interpreted as Mozarabic based on their style. Prior to these buildings, Gómez-Moreno also proposed that the tabernacle in the crypt of Santa Leocadia was a Mozarabic import.

⁴⁵ Chalmeta, “Mozarab,” 246-249, either uses the correct Arabic term or simply ‘Christian’. Christys, “Christians in Al-Andalus,” 8, suggests we refer to Mozarabs as ‘the Christians of al-Andalus’. Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, x, suggests avoiding the term Mozarab altogether since there is no evidence that Muslims in al-Andalus used the term.

⁴⁶ Christys, “Christians in Al-Andalus”, 8.

when it first appears in a primary text, particularly when referring to art and architecture. Even then, when ‘Mozarab’ is found in the discourse or is used in primary documents, it should be treated with a high level of scrutiny.

Simonet and the Early Concept of the Mozarab

Francisco Javier Simonet was perhaps the first scholar to investigate the Mozarab phenomenon, albeit from a linguistic perspective.⁴⁷ A nineteenth-century Hispanicist, Simonet focused on the Mozarabic contributions to the culture of al-Andalus. Part of Simonet’s study focused on the writings of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1170-1247), the thirteenth-century Archbishop of Toledo (1208-1247), who was the first to ascribe an etymology to the word Mozarab. De Rada’s *De rebus Hispaniae* includes a reference to ‘*mixti arabibus*,’ which he used to denote a community of Christians in Toledo that were in such close contact with Arabs that they were no longer recognizably Christian.⁴⁸ Unlike de Rada, who seems to have painted Mozarabs in a pejorative light, Simonet viewed Christians living in al-Andalus as the heroic guardians of the Christian religion, national spirit, and Visigothic culture.⁴⁹ For Simonet, Mozarabs were indeed ‘Arabicized’ from generations of close contact with various Arabic tribes, yet they managed to successfully resist conversion to Islam and preserve a Visigothic language. To support his theory of an impermeable Andalusí Christian culture, Simonet relied on the

⁴⁷ Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, vol. 1-4 (1903); republished under the same name in 1967 by Oriental Press, Amsterdam. For a summary of the implications associated with the historiography of Mozarabic language see, Beale-Rivaya, “At the Crossroads of Languages,” 127-143.

⁴⁸ Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*, 106-109; trans. Valderde, *Historia de los hechos de España*, 150-153; Pecourt, *Rodericus Ximenii de Rada*, 70, repeated in Hitchcock, “Christian and Muslim Understanding(s),” 320; García Moreno, “Spanish Gothic Consciousness,” 311.

⁴⁹ For interpretations of de Rada’s usage of the term *mixti arabibus*, see Chalmeta, “Mozarab,” 248; García Moreno, “Spanish Gothic Consciousness, 311, where the author refers to Christians in al-Andalus as Mozarabs yet notes that, “the word *musta’rib*, signifying ‘arab-like,’ would have been a perjorative one, forged by the most fanatical Christians against the arab-like Christians.” Cantarino, *Entre monjes y musulmanes*, 109.

writings of Eulogius (d. 857) and Alvarus (d. 861). Both authors praised voluntary Christian martyrdom and lamented Christians that comingled with Arabs, learned their language and dressed in their costume. Eulogius, who was later martyred himself, documented the forty-eight Christians who were martyred in Córdoba on counts of heretical outcries against the prophet Muhammed between 850 and 859.⁵⁰ This short span of time has been referred to as the Martyrs Movement of Córdoba and has been interpreted by some as evidence of wide-scale religious persecution that forced Christians in al-Andalus to flee their homes and seek refuge in northern Christian polities.⁵¹ For Simonet, the Martyrs Movement and the writings of ninth-century Christian authors in al-Andalus evinced an enduring Christian resistance towards Islam.⁵² Both Eulogius and Alvarus revealed a very close interaction between the Christian and Islamic population, yet ultimately expressed the Arabic presence in the Iberian Peninsula as oppressive.⁵³

It is important to stress the fact that de Rada resided in Toledo one century after Alfonso VI of Castile and Christian troops reconquered it on May 25, 1085. Thus, his use of the term Mozarab was applied in an entirely different context than Simonet's. Whereas Simonet defined the Mozarabs as those Christians who lived in al-Andalus who endeavored to resist the influence of Islam and Arabic culture, de Rada was more likely referring to Christians who were born of intermarriage. Surely, under Simonet's model it would be more fitting to categorize de Rada himself as a Mozarab alongside Eulogius and Alvarus? It is clear that Mozarab has come to function as an umbrella term that is used to describe all Christians who remained in al-Andalus

⁵⁰ Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (1988); Christys, "Christians in Al-Andalus", 9.

⁵¹ For a general discussion on this topic see, Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba* (1995). See also Kaplan, "The Mozarabic Horseshoe Arches," 16.

⁵² Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 505-507; Vives, *Approaches to the History of Spain*, 30, Mozarabs were those who remained in Arab-controlled areas and "proved able to resist every attempt to assimilate them."

⁵³ "The Arab domination villainously continues to destroy the borders of Spain with astuteness and swindles," Alvarus, *Vita Eulogii*, 12; García Moreno, "Spanish Gothic Consciousness," 310; Christys, "Christians in Al-Andalus," 9.

after the Islamic conquest, whether Arabicized or not, as well as those who descended from Muslim and Christian parentage in areas that were previously under Islamic rule. Complicating matters further, Mozarab is also used to refer to displaced Christians who originally lived in al-Andalus yet fled north in the late-ninth-century.

Anachronisms

Though Simonet's contributions remain instrumental to the study of subcultures in medieval Iberia, his account of the Mozarab is anachronistic when applied before the eleventh century and equally so when used to describe Mozarabic art and architecture. Indeed, Simonet conceded to the fact that he could not locate the term's etymon, *musta'rib*, in its original Arabic source.⁵⁴ So far as we know, "the collective noun *musta'riba*, which describes the Arabicized community, is not to be found until it occurs in Arabic histories relating to the Eastern territories of Islam in the tenth and eleventh centuries, where it denotes statusless non-Arabs of unspecified religion, in receipt of fewer privileges than Christian Arabs."⁵⁵ Although Christian communities undoubtedly lived in al-Andalus between the eighth and eleventh centuries, were in close contact with the Arab population, were sometimes employed in the upper-spheres of Muslim law and medicine, and even adopted Arabic names, there is no evidence to suggest that these Christians were referred to, either by themselves or Muslims, as Mozarab or *musta'rib*.⁵⁶ Fontaine offers a simple explanation for the term's absence in contemporaneous sources. The opening line in the first chapter of his *L'art mozarabe* reads, "les choses precedent les mots."⁵⁷ For Fontaine, the

⁵⁴ Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, ix-xvi.

⁵⁵ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, 2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, x.

⁵⁷ Fontaine, *L'art mozarabe*, 21.

development of Mozarabic art and architecture came before there was a word to describe it.

Surely this statement takes full advantage of retrospect.

If the word is lacking from contemporaneous sources, it is because it was not needed. Indeed, Arabs in al-Andalus used a variety of other words to describe Christians, each of which was contingent upon context. For example, the word *dhimmi* was used to refer to either a Christian or a Jew, collectively known as *ahl adh-dhimma*, who paid the *jizya* tax and lived under the protection of the *dhimma*, which permitted freedom to practice one's religion and cultivate sections of land.⁵⁸ The word '*Ajam*' was used by Muslim historians in reference to those who could not speak proper Arabic and, as such, were non-Arabs. While *dhimmi* and '*ajam*' were not religiously charged words, '*Nasrani* (*pl.*) or *Nasārā* (*s.*), on the other hand, referred to Latin-speakers who preserved and practiced the Christian rite that evolved under the Visigothic state in Iberia.⁵⁹ As Hitchcock notes, "the earliest occurrence of a form of the word 'Mozarab' in any language in the Iberian Peninsula is in a Latin document dated 1024 AD ('era LXII super Millesima'), during the reign of Alfonso V of León" (999-1028).⁶⁰ The term was likely used to refer to the Andalusian origin of the three *tiraceras* (royal weavers or cloth makers) who visited the king. Moreover, when the term Mozarab did finally appear in this eleventh-century document, it was in the non-Muslim milieu of a Christian kingdom where 'Arabicization' slowly brewed for over a century.⁶¹

After the Islamic conquest in 711 there was little incentive for Andalusian Christians and Jews to "Arabicize" or convert to Islam. The *dhimma* and *jizya* tax permitted non-Arabs relative freedom without having to denounce their religion. This is not to say that a minority of non-

⁵⁸ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, xiii.

⁵⁹ Ibid., xvi.

⁶⁰ Ibid., xvii, xix, 69.

⁶¹ Ibid., xvii.

Arabs did not learn to speak Arabic, translate Arabic texts, or convert to Islam. Nevertheless, we cannot overlook the possibility that when such instances occurred, they were either predicated upon the opportunistic avoidance of paying the *jizya* or evading random religious persecutions. This was particularly true during the Martyrs Movement in Córdoba (850-859) recorded by Eulogius.⁶²

Mozarabs of the Reconquista?

Not only has Simonet's view of the heroic Mozarab resonated with subsequent scholars, it has greatly contributed towards *Reconquista* studies. Sánchez-Albornoz argued that in the formative years of the Asturian Kingdom, King Alfonso I (739-757) set into motion a strategy of depopulating the lands north of the Duero River in an effort to thwart subsequent Muslim incursions.⁶³ Alfonso II and later Asturian kings exploited the uninhabited territories by attempting to repopulate them during the so-called *repoblación* (repopulation), a period marked by a wide-scale Christian effort to repopulate the lands in the Duero basin.⁶⁴ Among those Christians who settled there were Mozarabs from al-Andalus,⁶⁵ many of whom fled the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula shortly after the Martyrs' Movement of Córdoba (850-859). Luis A. García Moreno presented a similar position and added that Mozarabs from al-Andalus were responsible for the transfer of a Gothic identity to Asturias, "which gave full meaning to the *Reconquista*."⁶⁶ Tolan suggests that Mozarab churchmen such as Dulcidius, a priest from Toledo, "provided a key link between Muslim south and Christian north," and that the *Reconquista*

⁶² Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 259-60; Garen, "Santa María de Melque," 304.

⁶³ Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación* (1966); idem, "Repoblación del Reino Asturleonés," 581-790.

⁶⁴ Caballero, "Observations on Historiography," 240-241.

⁶⁵ Vives, *Approaches to the History of Spain*, 30, states that Mozarabs eventually made their way north to Asturias as well as "León, Castile, Portugal, Aragon and even Catalonia." See also, Escalona, "Family Memories," 237.

⁶⁶ García Moreno, "Spanish Gothic Consciousness," 306.

ideology expressed in the cycle of Asturian chronicles effectively demonstrates this.⁶⁷ With respect to Asturias' role in the centuries-long war against the infidels, Derek W. Lomax positioned Pelayo's legendary victory at the Battle of Covadonga as the momentous beginning.⁶⁸ For modern historians, what was once a site-specific act of resistance was elevated to the status of the legendary battle that set the *Reconquista* into motion. Such theories are, no doubt, indebted to Simonet's view of the Mozarabs as the guardians of Christianity, as well as the later efforts of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, who laid the groundwork for a much earlier *Reconquista* start date. The *Prophetic Chronicle* (883), which predicted that the Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula would be vanquished in 884, during the reign of Alfonso III (866-910), was similarly used to bolster the ideology of a *Reconquista* that commenced in the kingdom of Asturias.⁶⁹

Makki and others, on the other hand, ascribe less significance to the Battle of Covadonga than the chronicles and certain scholars suggest.⁷⁰ There can be no doubt that the Asturian chronicles promoted Pelayo's triumph over an Arab force in 718 as an act of divine intervention. The chronicles, furthermore, legitimized the royal power of certain Asturian kings by promoting their Gothic ancestry. It is equally difficult to discount the fact that the documents compiled by Bishop Pelagius of Oviedo in the twelfth century further sought to affirm Asturias as the continuation of the *Regnum Gothorum*. However, it is important to note that in the formative years of the early medieval Kingdom of Asturias (718-910), there is little to no indication that monarchs operated under a goal of reconquering Islamic-held lands. Prior to Alfonso III's reign, there is a lack of centralized northern power and Asturian kings were more focused on conquest

⁶⁷ Tolan, *Saracens*, 98.

⁶⁸ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 27-28.

⁶⁹ Barbero and Vigil, *La formación*, 24-249; Tolan, *Saracens*, 98-100.

⁷⁰ Makki, "The political history of Al-Andalus," 17. Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 103, suggests that modern historians cultivated the *Reconquista* ideology when they sought to establish a Spanish national identity.

through growth and the absorption of neighbouring polities. As Hitchcock states, “Alfonso was in need of people, and what little evidence there is would seem to suggest that he would have welcomed immigrants to his kingdom whatever their origin, whether from the Basque regions or al-Andalus.”⁷¹ This notion holds particularly true if the northern territories were never assimilated into the Visigothic kingdom to begin with and instead continued to comprise an indigenous population that held no control over southern territories.⁷² On the contrary, Christian expansion was contained within the north. Yet it was coupled by the occasional and necessary subduing of Islamic incursions, of which the Battle of Covadonga was the legendary first.⁷³ It was not until Alfonso VI of Castile (1065-1109) organized the successful capture of Toledo, that the *Reconquista* took shape. Stanley G. Payne notes that, “though one may find roots of what might be termed a ‘Spanish ideology’ in San Isidoro, concepts of ideology and mission evolved only slowly and intermittently among the elite of Asturias and León. Asturias was made the target of an official ‘jihad’ assault under the Emir Hisham I in the final years of the eighth century, but no official concept of ‘crusade’ as ‘counter-jihad’ developed.”⁷⁴

The Historiographical Turn: Convivencia

The French Islamicist, Évariste Lévi-Provençal (d. 1956), who revised the work of the famous Dutch scholar of Arabic language, Reinhart Dozy (d. 1883), presented a different concept of the Mozarabs than Simonet.⁷⁵ His three-volume *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane* compiled the known Arabic chronicles and monographs and provided a complete history of

⁷¹ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, 58. See also Lomax, *The Reconquest*, 37-38.

⁷² Abate, “*Convivencia*: Conquest and Coexistence in Medieval Spain,” 237.

⁷³ Hitchcock, “Christian-Muslim Understanding(s),” 315.

⁷⁴ Payne, *Spain*, 52.

⁷⁵ Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans* (1861); Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, 3 vol. (1953).

Arabic Spain up until the fall of the Caliphate in Córdoba (1031). Lévi-Provençal did not demonize Arabs as the harbingers of Christianity's demise, but rather highlighted their presence in the Iberian Peninsula as contributing towards a fruitful process of acculturation that eventually led to the unique development of the Spanish people. As a French Islamicist, Lévi-Provençal took less stock in a Christian-centric view of history proposed by Simonet and other Hispanists such as Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz. Lévi-Provençal's opinion found later support from scholars who were keen to explore the medieval Iberian Peninsula as a center of unparalleled religious plurality and cultural transmission, not least in the areas of science, literature and art.⁷⁶

Recent scholarship has recognized the possibility of a more inclusive version of medieval Iberian history, one that does not marginalize the contributions of Muslims and Jews.⁷⁷ This line of inquiry is commonly associated with the study of *convivencia*, loosely translated to 'co-existence'. Both a cultural phenomenon and methodological hypothesis, *convivencia* suggests that certain regions of the Iberian Peninsula witnessed periods of religious tolerance and relative peace. This, in turn, led to conditions suited for a high degree of acculturation and cultural transmission. Ramón Menéndez Pidal originally introduced the concept of a 'co-existence of norms' in his *Orígenes del español* (1926).⁷⁸ Much like Simonet, Menéndez Pidal's theory was developed in a philological context that attempted to explain the simultaneous occurrence of competing grammatical forms in the early Romance languages in Iberia.⁷⁹ In 1948, Américo Castro, a disciple of Menéndez Pidal, expanded the theory from a type of linguistic co-existence to a means of transmission between Christians, Muslims and Jews. Castro envisioned a reality

⁷⁶ Immamudin, *Muslim Spain*, 192.

⁷⁷ For a historiographical study see, Novikoff, "Between Tolerance and Intolerance," 7-36.

⁷⁸ Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español* (1926).

⁷⁹ See Glick, "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," 1, who provides the example of the "diphthongs of the open o, as in Castilian *puerto*, *puorto*, *puarto*."

wherein certain cultural elements from each religious group were made available for appropriation by others in the same way that Menéndez Pidal understood literary forms to be.⁸⁰ Castro adopted the term *convivencia*, and, not unlike Lévi-Provençal, presented his theory in a teleological paradigm that suggested the transference between cultural groups was a contributing factor towards the development of the modern-day Spanish people. Yet, as Glick observes, Castro's extrapolation of the term was "idealistic", since it demanded that each cultural group be self-aware of its teleological potential.⁸¹ Moreover, each culture's "sense of self", as Glick phrases it, was "generated through the experience (*vividura*) of opposing the other two".⁸² Castro's theory also did little to explain the dynamics of how *convivencia* transpired. Nevertheless, if Castro and his supporters were correct, *convivencia* presented a different model of understanding Mozarabs than the one offered by Simonet's.

It is important to note that Castro, who sought refuge in Buenos Aires, was working in the wake of the Franco regime, which sought to unify Spain under the notion of a homogenous Christian origin. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, who similarly fled Spain during the Franco era, staunchly opposed Castro's theory and presented a far less inclusive version of Spanish history. For Sánchez-Albornoz, the Islamic Conquest did not lead to forms of acculturation, but rather to a centuries-long period of political and religious strife epitomized by the *Reconquista*.⁸³ The national identity of Spain, specifically his concept of a *homo hispanus*, developed in the Christian kingdom of the Visigoths that continued to endure well after the Islamic Conquest.

⁸⁰ Castro, *España en su historia* (1948). See also Agbara, *The Possibility of Convivencia in Nigeria* (2011), who suggests that Castro understood cultural elements in the medieval Iberian Peninsula as part of a collective consciousness and self-awareness garnered by the individuals of each culture.

⁸¹ Glick, "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," 2.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma historico* (1956).

Castro's theories seem to have gained more footing in the discourse than Sánchez-Albornoz,⁸⁴ particularly after the end of the Franco regime in 1975 when foreign scholars gained access to previously restricted archives. In recent years, the Iberian Peninsula has become a center for engaging with theories of a 'multicultural middle ages'.⁸⁵ *Convivencia* was the focus of a major exhibition in 1992 at the New York Jewish Museum and a subsequent anthology under the same title.⁸⁶ The publication explored the various ways in which Spanish Jewry contributed to the history of medieval Spain, yet also recognized the difficulties it faced within a pluralistic society. Menocal's *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (2002), similarly set the stage for a vibrant exchange in all aspects of life on the peninsula.⁸⁷ A few years earlier, Norman Roth went so far as to contend that the "Golden Age for the Jews" in the Iberian Peninsula lasted the entire Middle Ages.⁸⁸ More recently, *convivencia* was even extrapolated to engage with cultural pluralism in countries such as Nigeria.⁸⁹

Mozarabic Art

Manuel Gómez-Moreno was the first to approach the topic of Mozarabic art.⁹⁰ He recognized the fact that 'Mozarab' referred to a people that were Arabicized from their contact with Islam yet disagreed with the stringent conditions imposed upon them by Simonet. In 1977, Jacques Fontaine compiled a companion volume to his *L'art prerroman hispanique* entitled *L'art*

⁸⁴ See Wolf, *Convivencia in Medieval Spain*, 74-75.

⁸⁵ See Glick and Pi-Sunyer, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept," 136-154; Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain* (2005).

⁸⁶ Mann, Glick and Dodds, *Convivencia* (1992).

⁸⁷ Menocal, *The Ornament of the World* (2002).

⁸⁸ Roth, "The Jews in Spain at the Time of Maimonides," 1.

⁸⁹ See Agbara, *The Possibility of Convivencia* (2011).

⁹⁰ See Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes* (1919).

mozarabe, which focused on the enigmatic style that belonged to “the strange civilization in this zone of cultural interferences, and not just hostilities, between Islam and Hispanic Christian subjects under its power.”⁹¹ Fontaine’s publication on “the major features” of Mozarabic art followed in the footsteps of M. Gómez-Moreno, whose 1919 volume was coincidentally republished in the very same year. Both historians adopted Simonet’s understanding of the Mozarab as someone who strove to resist conversion to Islam. At the same time, each scholar recognized the possibility of a transmission of Arabic cultural forms that resulted from a close proximity to the religion and its adherents.

Both Gómez-Moreno and Fontaine have greatly contributed to an understanding of medieval Iberian architectural developments.⁹² Dodds later agreed with Gómez-Moreno that Mozarabic architecture “ought to be considered with as few preconceptions as possible concerning what might be an appropriate ‘Mozarabic’ artistic attitude.”⁹³ So too did Gregory Kaplan, whose case study of the church of San Román de Moroso followed a similar line of inquiry.⁹⁴ It becomes clear in the work of these latter scholars that the continued use of an already loose terminology has only contributed to further confusion. Kaplan traced the appearance of horseshoe arches at San Román back to their use in Roman architecture, an opinion that was previously defended by Ernest T. DeWald.⁹⁵ Yet he also suggested that their appearance in tenth-century Spanish churches was the result of Mozarabic contact with Islam. Mozarabs presumably brought knowledge of Arabic building traditions when they emigrated north from al-Andalus after a “wave of religious persecution [that] caused many...to suffer

⁹¹ Fontaine, *L’art mozarabe*, 16.

⁹² For an equally valuable contribution, see Terrasse, *Islam d’Espagne* (1958).

⁹³ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 49.

⁹⁴ Kaplan, “The Mozarabic Horseshoe Arches,” 16.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-16; DeWald, “The Appearance of the Horseshoe Arch,” 316-337.

martyrdom or escape to the north.”⁹⁶ When Mozarabs settled in northern territories and built liturgical buildings, “any threat with which Muslims were viewed was undoubtedly tempered by an admiration for their advanced culture, which is revealed in the manner by which Mozarab refugees disseminated the culture with which they had come into contact in the southern part of the Peninsula as they continued to practice the rite whose parameters were defined in Visigothic times.”⁹⁷ Jacques Fontaine already expressed a similar opinion when he suggested that, “the Christian Mozarabic communities... finally refused Islam without refusing Islamic art.”⁹⁸ It seems contradictory that historians have found some truth in Simonet’s view of the Mozarabs as those who fervently strove to resist Arabic culture and conversion to Islam, yet at the same time reason that Mozarabic architecture expresses an entirely different ideology.

As mentioned above, Mozarab has come to refer to, “two separate phenomena, recognizably distinct from one another.”⁹⁹ They were both Christians who remained in al-Andalus after 711, as well as Andalusí Christian émigrés who relocated to Asturias and other northern Christian polities in the late-ninth and early-tenth centuries. Certain scholars take no issue with these two distinct phenomena and define Mozarabic art as both that which was “produced by the Christians in Islamic territory in which the Visigothic tradition was still predominant,” and art “produced by Arabized Christians who fled from the reconquered territories of the north of the Peninsula from the tenth century onwards.”¹⁰⁰ This certainly complicates our understanding of ninth-century culture in the Iberian Peninsula and conflates

⁹⁶ Kaplan, “The Mozarabic Horseshoe Arches,” 16.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Fontaine, *L’art mozarabe*, 17, “*les communautés chrétiennes mozarabes qui demeurèrent fidèles à elles-mêmes, jusque dans l’exil, ont finalement refusé l’Islam sans mépriser l’art islamique.*” Repeated in, Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 52.

⁹⁹ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, xvii.

¹⁰⁰ Caballero, “Observations on Historiography,” 243.

separate architectural developments. More importantly, it does little to explain the continued perception that Christians in the medieval Iberian Peninsula disdained the Islamic presence yet celebrated its architectural forms in their own buildings.

In 1970, Camón Aznar attempted to remedy this paradox by proposing a different architectural label. Aznar understood there to be a distinction between Mozarabic buildings, found in al-Andalus, and the *arte de la repoblación* (repopulation art), which referred to the buildings erected in the repopulated Christian lands north of the Duero River.¹⁰¹ Unlike Mozarabic buildings, which derived from Andalusí examples, the *arte de la repoblación* was indebted to Asturian models. Of course, it should be noted that Camón Aznar's *repoblación* theory is directly linked to heavily-biased *Reconquista* ideologies of a frontier society in the medieval Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰² These waters are as equally murky as those surrounding the topics of 'Mozarabs' and *convivencia*.

Compounding the confusion further is the fact that the Visigothic liturgy, largely unaltered after 711, is often referred to as the 'Mozarabic rite' so as to suit the pervading concept of a Mozarabic people.¹⁰³ It seems the only justification for changing the name of the liturgy is that, as Jerrilynn Dodds observes, it would "create a confusing association with Arian rulers" if we were to continue referring to the Visigothic rite as anything other than Mozarabic after the Islamic conquest.¹⁰⁴ On the contrary, it seems that this has only made matters more complicated. Dodds herself goes on to state that, "the Mozarabic rite was almost fully developed by the end of the sixth century, though it continued expanding until the Muslim invasion in 711".¹⁰⁵ I strongly

¹⁰¹ Cámon Aznar, "Arquitectura española," 201, n. I.

¹⁰² Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación* (1966); idem, "Repoblación del Reino Asturleonés," 581-790.

¹⁰³ See, Saint Isidore of Seville, *Isidore of Seville*, trans. Thomas Louis Knoebel, 16.

¹⁰⁴ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 20.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

doubt that Dodds believes there was an Arabicized community in the Iberian Peninsula before the arrival of the Moors. Nevertheless, her retroactive use of the Mozarab label to account for a pre-711 Visigothic liturgy exemplifies the slippery slope encountered when using loosely defined, anachronistic terminology.

Sally Garen and The Church of Santa María de Melque

The development of an architectural style that resulted from the transmission of Islamic and Christian cultural forms was indeed a reality in the eleventh-century kingdom of León and later in major centers such as Toledo, Córdoba, Seville, Segovia and Granada. Yet there is little evidence to support any such transmission between Mozarabic and Asturian art or architecture between the eighth and tenth centuries. Perhaps the earliest use of Mozarabic motifs in an Asturian building occurs in the church of San Salvador de Valdediós (893). However, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, these appear to be reinterpreted Roman and Visigothic motifs rather than Islamic-inspired ones.

The possibility of an earlier period of architectural transmission in the Iberian Peninsula has recently gained support from Sally Garen.¹⁰⁶ Her analysis of the church of Santa María de Melque (Fig. 2) suggests that Christians were incorporating Islamic motifs in liturgical buildings as early as the second half of the eighth century. The church is located in the province of Toledo, some 30km southwest of present-day Madrid. It has been variously dated to anywhere between 650 and 930 and, as such, has been labeled as both Visigothic and Mozarabic. Based on stylistic comparisons with extant Visigothic buildings, Luiz Caballero Zoreda initially dated Melque to a

¹⁰⁶ Garen, "Santa María de Melque," 288-305.

pre-711 period.¹⁰⁷ In accordance with its size, style and proximity to a major center of Islamic power, Manuel Gómez-Moreno argued that Melque could not have been built pre-conquest and must date from 862 and 930.¹⁰⁸ Both scholars' hypotheses came before that of Garen who, citing evidence of both Visigothic and Syro-Umayyad influence, convincingly argued that Melque was built between c.756 and 788, during the reign of Abd al-Rahman I.¹⁰⁹ Garen interprets the drum-built, rounded ashlar corners applied to the exterior (Fig. 2.1), the portals with relieving arches (Fig. 2.2), and the stucco ornament on the intrados of the southern crossing arch (Fig. 2.3), as evincing Syro-Umayyad influence in southern Iberian church architecture. These elements of style and construction were brought to the Iberian Peninsula c.750 when Abd al-Rahman I (756-88) fled from Damascus before establishing a rival caliphate in al-Andalus. Garen's stylistic evaluation was supported by radiocarbon and vegetal carbon analysis of grass samples in the stucco of the crossing arches, which provided a date between c.666 and c.873, as well as thermoluminescence analysis of bricks in the eastern rooms of Melque, which suggested a date between 755 and 788.¹¹⁰

Garen's analysis has had a profound impact on our understanding of Iberian political and religious dynamics. Not only did it prompt Caballero to subsequently change his dating of the building, but it also led him to propose new dates for a number of Christian buildings in Spain and argue the possibility of an "Early Mozarabic" period.¹¹¹ He also suggests pushing back the

¹⁰⁷ Caballero and Latorre, *La iglesia y el monasterio visigodo de Santa María de Melque* (1980). These authors based their analysis on the analogues of Santa Comba de Bande, San Pedro de la Nave, Quintanilla de las Vinas, San Juan de Banos, San Pedro de la Mata (in ruins), and San Fructuoso de Montelios.

¹⁰⁸ Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, 14-27.

¹⁰⁹ Garen, "Santa María de Melque," 288.

¹¹⁰ Utrero Agudo, "Late-Antique and Early Medieval," 7.

¹¹¹ For Caballero's revised dating of Melque, see his "Un canal de transmission", 321-48; idem, "Un canal de transmission," (1995): 107-24. For radiocarbon and thermoluminescence analysis see Caballero and Fernández Mier, "Notas sobre el complejo productivo de Melque," 199-239. For discussion of an "Early Mozarabic" period, see Caballero, "Observations on Historiography," 251-257. See also Utrero Agudo, "Late-Antique and Early Medieval," 71; idem, "Reinforcement in Early Medieval Hispanic Architecture," 3434-3441.

arrival of Mozarabic motifs in Asturias to account for a decorative plaque discovered at the church of Santianes de Pravia (c. 780). Caballero compares the “tangential circles enclosing stars, spirals of digitate leaves and fleurs-de-lis with speared leaves” to “late Ummayyad techniques and the Sta María de Melque and Sta Lucía del Trampal group of decoration.”¹¹² In turn, Asturian buildings that have been dated according to comparisons with Pravia would similarly necessitate reconsiderations. Since Pravia remains one of the earliest extant Asturian churches, it would entail ascribing Islamic influence to nearly the entire corpus of early medieval Christian buildings in the north of the Iberian Peninsula. Though Caballero acknowledges the debate around cultural terminology, he suggests that, “if certain examples of Christian art truly exhibit Islamic influence, they should be loosely labeled ‘Mozarabic’.”¹¹³ According to Caballero, “if there was strong Islamic influence at Santianes de Pravia and in other Asturian sculptures, it can hardly have taken twenty-five years (from AD 755 to 780) for the art brought by the last of the Ummayyads to have had an impact in the north of the Peninsula.”¹¹⁴ As interesting as this theory is, it still must contend with over a century of historiography that pits Christian against Muslim in the Iberian Peninsula. Not to mention the contemporaneous chronicles that espouse a similar divide.

In terms of *convivencia* studies, Garen’s dating not only suggests that Islamic rulers made exceptions to laws against church building in al-Andalus, but also that the medieval Iberian Peninsula witnessed a culture of ‘coexistence’.¹¹⁵ Though the *dhimma* permitted Christians and Jews the freedom to practice their religion in al-Andalus, the *madhhab* (four schools of Muslim law) imposed certain conditions on the usage and construction of Christian and Jewish buildings.

¹¹² Caballero, “Observations on Historiography,” 251.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Garen, “Santa María de Melque,” 302-303.

Each school of law permitted existing churches and synagogues for continued use.¹¹⁶ The Maliki law school allowed for the restoration of Christian and Jewish places of worship insofar as they were located on land that was freely granted by the Muslim conqueror.¹¹⁷ The construction of new churches and synagogues, however, was only permitted at a distance of at least one mile from the walls of a Muslim town.¹¹⁸ If Garen is correct and the earliest extant Christian building after the Islamic Conquest exhibits a blend of Syro-Ummayyad and Visigothic styles, then surely it confirms an Arabicized Christian style and the reality of a transmission of forms as early as the eighth century.

Yet Garen's interpretation of a single building demands closer consideration before it can be extrapolated to define an entire architectural and cultural phenomenon. Melque's rounded exterior corners and the engaged-shafts supporting the interior crossing arches are built in drums and coursed into the masonry of the abutting walls (Fig. 2.4). Citing a lack of Visigothic examples, Garen proposes the palace at Khirbet al-Mafjar (739-43) as a model of construction, where a standing section of the bath shows drum-built *en délit* shafts set within the corners of the exterior wall. As Garen notes, the drum-built shaft and distinctive sculptural quality of the corners at Melque present a construction and style that differs from the single-stone or marble shafts and squared angles used in extant Visigothic analogues. The *coup d'état* in her post-conquest dating of Melque is the appearance of a stucco fragment on the intrados of the southern crossing arch. Caballero argued this to have been an element of Visigothic design, albeit with no

¹¹⁶ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, xiii. For a brief discussion on rare exceptions to the rule against church construction see Garen, "Santa María de Melque," 289.

¹¹⁷ Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 185; Hitchcock, "Christian and Muslim Understanding(s)," 316.

¹¹⁸ Garen, "Santa María de Melque," 303-304; Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 185; Hitchcock, "Christian and Muslim Understanding(s)," 316.

surviving examples to compare it to. Garen, once again, suggests this to be a Syro-Umayyad import from Khirbet al-Mafjar, where comparable acanthus foliage appears.

Granted, if Visigothic builders in Iberia were aware of drum-built shafts and how to build them, no evidence survives. That should not, however, discount the fact that Melque was built by Christian Visigoths, since Muslims would not take part in the building of a church. In the same way that both of these elements do not appear in pre-Conquest Visigothic buildings, they too are missing from post-conquest Iberian Mosques. Instead, what we do find in post-conquest Mosques is the proliferation of single-stone and marble shafts in hypostyle arrangements (Fig. 3). It should also be noted that the shafts at Melque, unlike Khirbet al-Mafjar, are not *en délit*, but rather protrude from the surface of the wall – a small but significant detail in construction technique. It is paradoxical to suggest that the new rulers brought with them a technique of building and the only instance they used it was in a Christian church.

Given the possibility of alternative indigenous examples, it does not seem necessary to propose a Syro-Umayyad model for Melque.¹¹⁹ The drum-built shaft is a fundamental element of classical architecture. The Roman Temples at Mérida and Córdoba (Fig. 4-5), and the undoubted many other examples that once dotted the landscape, provide a standing tradition of the technique. Since these are left in ruins, the Maison Carrée, in Nîmes, (Fig. 6) stands in as an extant example of a Roman building tradition where drum-built columns are applied to the corners of the temple, projecting from the surface of the abutting wall, as opposed to being enclosed within it. The use of ashlar at Melque and other Visigothic churches can similarly be traced back to Roman examples in Iberia - such as the Segovia aqueduct (Fig. 7).¹²⁰ Though most

¹¹⁹ Garen, "Santa María de Melque," 305.

¹²⁰ Utrero Agudo, "Late Antique and Early Medieval," 9, argues against the revival of Roman ashlar construction, opting for an Islamic transmission.

Visigothic façades have been lost, damaged or altered, Melque's western, southern and eastern façades retain evidence of original rudimentary carved cornices beneath low gables – recalling the friezes and pediments of Roman temple façades and even those of the Visigothic chapel of San Fructuoso de Montelios (c. 660) (Fig. 8). This should all come as no surprise given the fact Melque stands on the “site of continuous Roman settlement and in close proximity to roads used in those periods.”¹²¹ Building in proximity to, or overtop of, Roman foundations is not uncommon. As will be discussed, the eighth-century churches of Santa Cruz in Cangas de Onis (737) and Santianes de Pravia (c. 780) similarly convey an awareness of the past and, more importantly, a desire to enhance the prestige of a new building by linking it to a historical site. With respect to Melque's stucco foliage, we must take into account the survival of stucco fragments at the Orthodox baptistery in Ravenna, which John Beckwith believes “date from the time of Bishop Orso [(early fifth century)], since Agnellus states that he had a taste for this kind of work.”¹²² There are also the contemporaneous appearances of stucco at the Lombard examples such as the “Tempietto Longobardo” at Cividale, in S. Maria in Valle, (after 750)¹²³ and the church of San Salvatore Brescia (ninth century).¹²⁴ At the latter church, ornate stucco was applied to the soffit and face of the nave arches. Moreover, a decorative double-arch cut from a single stone at San Salvatore is almost identical to a Visigothic example preserved in the Mérida museum.

As long as scholars continue to regard the Mozarabic style as “an artistic tradition strongly influenced by long exposure to Islam,” it seems logical that they abandon the opinion that Andalusí Christians resisted Arabic culture. At least, not to the degree that Simonet and

¹²¹ Garen, “Santa María de Melque,” 290.

¹²² Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 41.

¹²³ L'Orange and Torp, *Il tempietto longobardo di Cividale* (1977).

¹²⁴ Panazza, *La chiesa di San Salvatore in Brescia* (1992); Bertelli, “La pittura a S. Salvatore,” 217-230.

others have argued. Until we gain a better understanding of the parameters required for defining Arabicization, it may be best to avoid the Mozarab label altogether. As Hitchcock suggests, “the avoidance of the use of the word ‘Mozarab’ to describe Christians of al-Andalus will forestall misunderstanding, and will reduce instances of inaccuracy and ambiguity.”¹²⁵ Very little is known about the degree of acculturation required, the precise dates for development of Mozarabic culture and whether or not geography was a determining factor. Continued use of an ill-defined, convoluted and culturally-charged term, only contributes to the already enigmatic history of the Iberian Peninsula.

¹²⁵ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, xiii-xix.

CHAPTER 3:

CATALOGUE OF MEDIEVAL ASTURIAN ARCHITECTURE (718-910)

The early medieval monuments discussed in this chapter have been variously dated according to the succession of kings recorded in the cycle of Asturian chronicles. The timeline for Asturian architecture begins with the kingdom's inauguration following Pelayo's legendary victory at the Battle of Covadonga in 718 or 722 at Cangas de Onis and culminates in 910 when the kingdom was dissolved by Alfonso III's sons and expanded to include León, where the royal capital was transferred. It will be seen that a variety of factors, not least the physical state of the architecture, have led to an imbalanced availability of information for each building. Those that are not entirely lost have survived in various states of disrepair and those that have survived are not necessarily recorded in documentary sources. It is important to note that each building has been heavily restored, rebuilt or damaged in one way or another and that no building has endured unaltered. Poor physical conditions are compounded by the underwhelming amount of reliable primary documentation and the significant lack of consensus among scholars. The bulk of our knowledge of Asturian architecture is based on a few surviving records and descriptions primarily found in the *Chronicle of 754* (c.754);¹²⁶ the *Testamentum Regis Adefonsi* (c. 812),¹²⁷ commonly referred to as the *Testamentum of 812*; the *Chronicle of Albelda* (c. 883);¹²⁸ the so-

¹²⁶ For the full Latin text, see Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae*, 334-368. For an English translation of the text, see Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 29-45.

¹²⁷ Floriano, *Diplomática*, 118-130.

¹²⁸ The so-called *Chronicle of Albelda* or *Crónica Albeldense* is a miscellany of various Latin texts that appears in the larger *Codex Viginalus* (Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS. D. I. 2.), more commonly referred to as the *Codex Albeldensis*. Its fullest edition is found in the tenth-century *Codex Aemilianensis* (Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Emilianense 39, fol. 245v-258r). It also appears in two twelfth-century manuscripts: Biblioteca Nacional Ms. 1258 (known as the *Liber Complutensis*) and Biblioteca Nacional Ms. 2805. For the Latin text and Spanish translations, see Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 151-193, 223-264.

called *Prophetic Chronicle* (c. 883),¹²⁹ the two redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* (c. 886),¹³⁰ the *Historia Silense* (c. 1115),¹³¹ and the *Liber Testamentorum* (c. 1118),¹³² each of which is infamous for their brevity and ambiguity. Scholars such as Gil and Bonnaz have analyzed the chronicles and the relatively scarce information they provide on the political and religious organization, military achievements and cultural history of medieval Asturias and its rulers.¹³³ Lesser still are the details they offer regarding the kingdom's architecture. Like the buildings themselves, written records, descriptions and dates are scarce, if at all available. While architectural details may appear in one chronicle, they may be entirely missing in another. For example, the *Chronicle of 754*, the document closest in date to the beginnings of the Asturian kingdom, does not provide any political or architectural details for the north of the Iberian Peninsula. Similarly, the *Testamentum of 812*, the document closest in date to the early medieval Asturian buildings themselves, which only exists in copied form in a later twelfth-century codex, omits important information on monuments that have come to be understood as the hallmark examples of the Asturian kingdom's style of architecture.¹³⁴ It should also be highlighted that most primary documents do not survive in their original form. The *Chronicle of Albelda* and the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, for example, only appear as copies in later codices that are anywhere between several decades to over one hundred years removed from the buildings they describe. Not surprisingly, this has led some scholars to question their accuracy and reliability. Added to

¹²⁹ See Gómez-Moreno, "Las primeras crónicas de la Reconquista," 622-628; Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas* (1985); Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes* (1987).

¹³⁰ These are the *Codex Rotensis* or (*Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 78*), from the second half of the tenth century, and the *Codex Ovetensis* or *Ad Sebastianum*.

¹³¹ Pérez de Urbel and Ruiz-Zorrilla, *Historia Silense* (1959); Coco, *Historia Silense* (1921); Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, 9, suggest a date between 1109 and 1118 for the *Historia Silense*.

¹³² *Cathedral Archive, Oviedo MS I*. See Rodríguez Díaz, Sanz Fuentes, Fernández Vallina, *Liber testamentorum* (1994).

¹³³ Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas* (1985); Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes* (1987).

¹³⁴ Floriano, *Diplomática* (1949-1951).

this is the strong mistrust towards any texts dated to the twelfth century and produced in Oviedo, which are widely believed to be propagandistic products of the notorious forger Pelagius, Bishop of Oviedo.¹³⁵ Records and descriptions from sixteenth-century visitors, such as Ambrosio de Morales (d. 1591), have been used in certain cases to assist in determining the state of Asturian buildings prior to twentieth-century restorations.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, these texts do not account for changes made to buildings in the interim. One is thus left with a very bleak primary record of medieval Asturian architecture.

From the twenty-seven buildings believed to date from the medieval period in Asturias, at least four have been lost, eight have been incorporated into later buildings, all have succumbed to restorations, some on more occasions than others, thirteen have survived with one or more original parts in relatively poor condition, and only five are confirmed by the record of foundation or consecration stones.¹³⁷ As mentioned, a very small number of these buildings are documented and fewer still appear in chronicles that are presumed to be most contemporaneous with the architecture (notably the *Chronicle of 754* and the *Testamentum of 812*).¹³⁸ This leaves a large percentage of buildings that are essentially undocumented yet have taken on the task of representing the entire history of medieval Asturian architecture. In an effort to neatly position the buildings into the timeline of Asturian history, scholars have relied, perhaps too heavily, on

¹³⁵ On Bishop Pelagius' forgeries, see Fernández Conde, *El libro de los* (1971); Wreglesworth, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," (1995); Ruaño and Fernández Conde, *Historia de Asturias*, 266-270; Mansilla, "La supuesta metropolis de Oviedo," 259-274; Floriano Cumbreño, "En torno a las bulas del Papa Juan VIII," 120-24; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 78; Harris, "Redating the Arca Santa of Oviedo," 82-93.

¹³⁶ De Morales, *Viage* (1765).

¹³⁷ Consecration stones exist or were recorded at the churches of Santa Cruz, Santa María de Naranco, San Salvador de Valdediós, San Adriano de Tuñón and San Salvador de Priesca.

¹³⁸ In fact, the so-called *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* does not record any building in Asturias, nor does it discuss the legendary inauguration of the kingdom under Pelayo. It should also be noted that the *Testamentum of 812*, which only survives in copied form in the twelfth-century *Liber Testamentorum*, is largely believed to be a forgery by Bishop Pelagius. See note 129 above.

dubious documentation and comparative analyses between stylistically similar buildings. Monuments that appear to be analogous have been grouped as products of the same patron. For example, Alfonso II's (791-842) style is remarkable for its use of wall paintings, aniconic imagery and basilican plans. The Ramirese style of Ramiro I (842-850) is considered unique for its proliferation of carved decoration, fully vaulted spaces and numerous buttresses. Alfonso III (866-910), on the other hand, is renowned for his blend of the two previous rulers' styles and the inclusion of so-called Mozarabic motifs at the end of the ninth century. Each patron is regarded as having a unique architectural style, which scholars have interpreted in accordance with the political objectives for their kingdom. This is precisely the case for the churches of San Pedro de Nora and Santa María de Bendones, which have been stylistically compared and dated in relation to the supposedly documented church of San Julián de los Prados and the descriptions of Alfonso II's other buildings in Oviedo, now lost. The undocumented church of Santa Cristina de Lena has similarly been dated to the reign of King Ramiro I due to its resemblance to the Ramirese-style of buildings on Monte Naranco, specifically the present-day church of Santa María de Naranco.

As neat and tidy as the stylistic timeline strives to be, it cannot account for a contradiction presented by the primary texts. For example, the *Chronicle of Albelda*, which records that Alfonso II built three churches in Oviedo, also states that Alfonso III restored *all* of the temples and founded a city of royal palaces in the capital.¹³⁹ Precisely what operations Alfonso III carried out on the group of buildings in Oviedo is unclear. Though it may be far-fetched to suggest a complete overhaul of each Asturian church in the late-ninth century, particularly those that were still in good condition, it is entirely possible that Alfonso III applied

¹³⁹ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 47,5; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 27; Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 177-178; Ma Soledad Alvarez Martinez, "Valdediós y el arte de su tiempo" in *La época de Alfonso III...* 106; Uría Rúa, *Cuestiones*, 310-328; Schlunk, *Ars Hispaniae*, 377-378; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 327, 329.

a new decorative scheme to previous buildings. This may account for the striking similarities between the painted decorations at San Julián de los Prados (812-842), San Miguel de Lillo (842-850), San Salvador de Valdediós (893) and even the later church of San Salvador de Priesca (921), where geometric patterns of squares surrounded by lozenges appears in buildings that are understood as the products of three if not four different royal patrons. Scholars seemingly dismiss crucial details such as these on the grounds that they complicate the Asturian timeline.

The methodology for dating Asturian buildings outlined above is a very common practice in the history of architecture and is often fruitful if the root model is firmly dated.

Problematically, the dates for early medieval Asturian documented buildings are not as stable as previously believed and twentieth-century scholars and architects may have been overzealous in their desire to reconstruct buildings and histories based on chronicles and stylistic analyses.

Historians such as Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, M. Díaz y Díaz, A. Barbero, M. Vigil, Jacques Fontaine and, more recently, Armando Besga Marroquín, have argued to various extents that the Asturian chronicles confirm that a Christian contingency in the Cantabrian Mountains continued, if not supplanted, the former Visigothic kingdom that previously ruled over the entire Iberian Peninsula prior to the Islamic Conquest in 711.¹⁴⁰ It followed suit that the buildings erected in Asturias between 718 and 910 were the physical representation of the displaced Visigothic kingdom and were heavily indebted to its architectural traditions. It is of course very important to highlight the fact that some of these scholarly opinions were established during the height or in the wake of Franco's regime in Spain (1931-1975) and were heavily biased towards constructing a pro-Iberian and pro-Christian history that promoted the medieval Christian heritage of Spain

¹⁴⁰ Sánchez-Albornoz, *Órigenes*, 755-801; Díaz y Díaz, "La Historiografía hispana," (1970); Barbero and Vigil, *La formación del feudalism*, 232-278; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique* (1973); Isla, "Monarchy and neogothicism," 41-56; Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes Hispano-Godos del reino de Asturias* (2000).

and its dominance over Islam and Judaism during the centuries-long *Reconquista*. Others, such as Américo Castro, Lucien Barrau-Dihigo, Amancio Isla, Luis Caballero Zoreda, Sally Garen and María de los Angeles Utrero Agudo, have argued in favour of a much more dynamic cultural and architectural history.¹⁴¹ Some of these historians assert the finality of the Visigothic kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula after 711 and instead interpret Asturian architecture as the product of a diverse number of influences that included Islamic ones. As mentioned, this view is closely tied to the concept of *Convivencia*, which supports the notion that the various religions that inhabited the Iberian Peninsula prospered from periods of fragile coexistence, albeit briefly and irregularly.¹⁴² While the deeply rooted heterophobia planted into the discourse by scholars in the ‘Grand Narrative’ camp must be recognized and resolved, there is little evidence to suspect that the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the later arrival of Abd al-Rahman I in 755 brought upon a complete rupture in Hispano-Roman and Visigothic architectural traditions. There is also certainly no need to reject the Visigothist theory wholesale. Indeed, if Caballero *et al.* are correct, the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century presents the only isolated case in history in which no period of architectural overlap transpired. Moreover, the “Rupture” theory championed by Caballero and Utrero Agudo, as well as the arguments outlined by Garen on the dating of the church of Santa María de Melque (Toledo), are not without their own sets of problems. In 1997, Caballero argued that the advocates of the so-called ‘Visigothist’ theory of Asturian architecture sought to establish a timeline that erroneously absorbed any and all

¹⁴¹ See Castro, *España en su historia* (1948); Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 1-191; Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 41-56; Caballero, “Observations on Historiography,” 235-264; Garen, “Santa María de Melque,” 288-305; Utrero Agudo, “Late Antique and Early Medieval Hispanic Churches,” 1-33.

¹⁴² On the topic of *Convivencia*, see Castro, *España en su historia* (1948); Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (1956); Mann, Glick and Dodds, *Convivencia* (1992); Dodds, “Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art,” (1993); Dodds, Menocal and Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy* (2008); Novikoff, “Between Tolerance and Intolerance,” 6-36; Soifer, “Beyond Convivencia,” 19-35.

buildings believed to have been built between the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in 711 and the beginnings of so-called ‘Mozarabic’ architecture during the tenth century.¹⁴³ One of the goals of these historians was to account for all seemingly relevant buildings and materials in the Iberian Peninsula in order to avoid gaps in the art and architectural histories. Caballero’s view, on the other hand, is equally problematic in that it attempts to categorize or subcategorize buildings constructed in Asturias before the early-tenth century as Mozarabic in influence, style or agency. Just as the Visigothist theory “sucked in everything which fell into its grasp, converting everything into Visigothic, and thereby reinforcing its own attractiveness as a theory,”¹⁴⁴ so too has the so-called Mozarabic/Rupture theory. As Richard Hitchcock outlines, no evidence exists prior to the tenth century that suggests the term Mozarab was used.¹⁴⁵ Using the term to explain a previous reality is anachronistic and inaccurate. If, however, we forego the term Mozarab from the lexicon of early medieval Iberian history, we open the possibility to understanding architectural continuity. Considering the fact that the collective memory of the *regnum Gothorum* survived well into the early tenth century, if not the twelfth century as evinced by Bishop Pelagius’ pro-Gothic campaign, we can identify certain motifs, such as the *alfiz* and the horseshoe arch, as Visigothic and Roman vestiges rather than Islamic imports. Indeed, this seems to better correspond with Alfonso III’s propagandistic attempt to promote his Visigothic heritage and royal pedigree as king of Asturias, a course of action that was likely modeled after Alfonso II. Similarly, the concept of *convivencia* is generally understood to have occurred during the context of later medieval developments (between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) long after the dissolution of the Asturian kingdom in 910. Little evidence supports periods of coexistence

¹⁴³ Caballero, “Observations on Historiography,” 247.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, x.

in the early medieval Iberian Peninsula and certainly not within the first one hundred or so years following the Islamic Conquest.

The Church of Santa Cruz (Church of the Holy Cross) in Cangas de Onís

Today, the church of Santa Cruz in Cangas de Onís is composed of a short eastern chancel and aisleless nave preceded by a partially covered western porch and staircase that descends below the church itself (Fig. 9). Two Baroque buttresses have been added to the exterior north and south walls of the nave and the southern wall of the portico contains a modern belfry. The bottom sections of the nave and chancel walls are constructed in large ashlar stones and the upper portions are built in rubble. Inside, an oval oculus pierces the floor of the nave and grants a view of a subterranean dolmen.¹⁴⁶ A 1936 photograph shows a much larger building than what exists today and likely represents seventeenth-century modifications (Fig. 9.1). According to Ciríaco Miguel Vigil, an inscription on one of the pilasters of the central arch (H15m X W5m) stated that the church was rebuilt in 1632,¹⁴⁷ the date for which Arias incorrectly states was 1663.¹⁴⁸ Precisely what was rebuilt, if not entirely transformed, is unknown. Unfortunately, the church was almost entirely destroyed in 1936 during the Spanish civil war. In the 1950's, Emilio Antonio G. Capitel and Luiz Menéndez Pidal, in collaboration with the sculptor Gerardo A. Zaragoza, reconstructed the small, present-day monastery over the site of the original church.

The church is first mentioned in the *Rotense* redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, which records that Favila (737-739) and his wife Froiliuba built, in a most admirable quality, a

¹⁴⁶ Vigil, *Asturias Monumental*, 306; de Blas Cortina, "Megaliths and Holy Places," 205-224.

¹⁴⁷ Vigil, *Asturias Monumental*, 305. See also Schlunk, "El Arte Asturiano," 139, who confirms the 1632 date.

¹⁴⁸ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 31.

basilica in honor of the Holy Cross.¹⁴⁹ Oddly, the *Ovetense* redaction does not record any church built by Favila.¹⁵⁰ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Amrboisio de Morales and Luis Alfonso de Carvallo each recorded a foundation stone set above the arch of the main chapel.¹⁵¹ Miguel Vigil reprinted the inscription in 1887 based on Roberto Frassinelli's copy:

(RESURGIT) EX PRECEPTIS DIVINIS HEC MACINA SA(CRA) OPERE EXIGUO COMTUM
FIDELIBUS VOTIS
PRESPIQUE CLAREAT OC TEMPLUM OBTUTIBUS SACRIS DEMONSTRANS FIGURALI-
TER SIGNACULUM ALME CRUCIS SIT CHRISTO PLACENS EC AULA SUB CRUCIS
TROPHEO SACRATA
QUAM FAMULUS FAFFILA SIC CONDIDIT FIDE PROMTA CUM FROILIUBA CONIUGE
AC SUORUM PROLIUM PIGNERA NATA
QUIBUS CHRISTE TUIS MUNERIBUS PRO HOC SIT GRATIA PLENA
AC POST UIUS VITE DECURSUM PRE(V)ENIAT MISERICORDIA LARGA
HIC VATE ASTERIO SACRATA SUNT ALTARIA CRISTO DIEI REVOLUTI TEMPORIS
ANNIS CCC
SECVLI ETATE PORRECTA PER HORDIN(EM) SEXTA
CURRENTE ERA SEPTINGENTESIMA SEPTAGESIM(A) QUIN-
TATQUE¹⁵²

It specifies that Favila and his wife Froiliuba built the church dedicated to Santa Cruz on the sixth age of this world, the year 775 of the Spanish era, which likely represents the date 27 October, 737.¹⁵³ The oddity of recording the year “ANNIS CCC” and referencing the ‘sixth age of the world’ led Lambert and others to question the authenticity of the consecration stone’s date.¹⁵⁴ Amancio Isla, on the other, hand interprets the stone and its peculiar inscription as

¹⁴⁹ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Rotense*, 7, “Basilicam in honore Sancte Crucis miro opera construxit”; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 45.

¹⁵⁰ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Ovetense*, 7; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 45.

¹⁵¹ De Morales, *Viage*, 68; Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 124.

¹⁵² Roberto Frassinelli transcribed the stone’s inscription in 1880 in conjunction with the *Comisión de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de la Provincial de Oviedo* (established 1844). For the various transcriptions of the consecration stone, see de Morales, *Viage*, 68; Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 124; Vigil, *Asturias monumental*, 305; García de Castro Valdes, *Arqueología cristiana*, 181; Fernández Conde, “Lugares de culto en Asturias,” 31-55; Díaz y Díaz, “La inscripción de Cangas de Onís,” 32; de Diego Santos, *Inscripciones medievales de Asturias*, 226-227, n. 253; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 32-33; Isla, “El rey Favila,” 158.

¹⁵³ Casariego, *Historias asturianas*, 237-39, includes a reproduction of the inscription that was published in Vigil, *Asturias monumental* 1, 35.

¹⁵⁴ Lambert “Astère,” 1164-1165; Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 3, suggests the stone was “either a “later fabrication or the transcribing was faulty”. See also Isla, “El rey Fávila,” 158-159.

conforming to a contemporaneous apocalyptic and religious programme wherein the sixth age was a reference to the end of the world and the triple-C to the trinity.¹⁵⁵

According to Ambrosio de Morales, the church was not ‘very small’ and already showed signs of alteration before the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Miguel Vigil recorded a barrel vault over the sacristy and a western belfry, both of which he believed were added in the Romanesque era.¹⁵⁷ Inside, de Morales recorded the location of a ‘cave’ and the remains of what he believed was Favila’s tomb, likely buried in the church only two years after its completion when he was reportedly killed by a bear (739).¹⁵⁸ This differs slightly from Carvallo’s records that claimed the church was not much larger than a shrine or chapel eight feet long by eight feet wide.¹⁵⁹ Caveda y Nava, on the other hand, suggests the original church had three naves and a crypt, the latter of which housed the subterranean Neolithic dolmen.¹⁶⁰ As Amancio Isla notes, there is little evidence to support Caveda y Nava’s plan since it relied on Ambrosio de Morales and Carvallo’s records, both of which described previous restorations.¹⁶¹ Instead, Isla proposes that the original building was substantially larger than eight by eight feet (2,5m x 2,5m) since it must have been built around the Neolithic dolmen (2,4m x 1,28m) discovered by D. Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado in September 1869.¹⁶² Highlighting the inclusion of the words “*alme crucis*” in the stone’s inscription, Diaz and others suggest that

¹⁵⁵ Isla, “El rey Fávila,” 159.

¹⁵⁶ De Morales, *Viage*, 68, the outside was renovated with lime and the inside was white-washed or bleached.

¹⁵⁷ Vigil, *Asturias Monumental*, 304.

¹⁵⁸ De Morales, *Viage*, 68; Ricardo Vega del Sella, *El dolmen de la capilla de Santa Cruz* (1919), discovered a cemetery and various tombs in the early twentieth century. A later excavation conducted by Villa, “La necropolis medieval de la ermita de Santa Cruz,” 155-160, confirmed Vega del Sella’s findings and dated the clay used to seal the tombs to the beginnings of the eighth century.

¹⁵⁹ Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 124.

¹⁶⁰ Caveda y Nava, *Ensayo histórico*, 86; Vigil, *Asturias Monumental*, 304. Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 33, also cites Caveda y Nava’s record of the church yet incorrectly dates the publication to 1840, instead of 1848.

¹⁶¹ Isla, “El rey Fávila,” 157, n. 6.

¹⁶² Vigil, *Asturias Monumental*, 306; de Blas Cortina, “Megaliths and Holy Places,” 205-224; Isla, “El rey Fávila,” 158.

the church was originally cruciform in plan and did not necessarily incorporate a tripartite east end.¹⁶³ If so, Schlunk believes the design of Santa Cruz relates back to the Visigothic churches of Santa Comba de Bande (Fig. 10) and San Pedro de la Mata, in turn arguing for the continuity of a Visigothic tradition in Asturias in the earliest years of the kingdom.¹⁶⁴ The church's connection to the Visigothic kingdom is strengthened according to a legend that tells the church of Santa Cruz originally held the cross carried by Pelayo at the Battle of Covadonga, later to be incorporated into Alfonso III's ninth-century *Cruz de la Victoria* reliquary.¹⁶⁵ Noting the year 737 inscribed onto the consecration stone, Isla suggests that construction on the church either began during Pelayo's final days (d. 737) or during the earliest days of Favila's reign (737-739). In either case, the church was most likely erected in commemoration of Pelagius' victory at the Battle of Covadonga in 718, which was understood by Asturians as tantamount to Constantine's Christian triumph over the pagan Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, particularly given the legend of Pelagius having carried a triumphant cross or vexillum during his battle against the Moors.¹⁶⁶ It was for this reason that a dedication to the Holy Cross was deemed appropriate for the church. Perhaps more coincidental is the fact that the Battle of the Milvian Bridge occurred on 27 October, the date recorded on the consecration stone, and Constantine died in the year 337, the last two numbers shared by the 737 date for Santa Cruz's consecration.¹⁶⁷

Certainly the church's relationship with the past and the enduring collective memory of the Visigothic Kingdom was of considerable importance to the patron and local community. This

¹⁶³ Díaz y Díaz, "La inscripción de Cangas de Onis," 39; Schlunk, *Ars Hispaniae*, 327; idem, "El arte Asturiano," 139; Isla, "El rey Fávila," 160; Alcaide, "La imagen de la arquitectura asturiana," 22-23.

¹⁶⁴ Schlunk, *Ars Hispaniae*, 327.

¹⁶⁵ De Morales, *Viage*, 68; Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 124; Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 138.

¹⁶⁶ Isla, "El rey Fávila," 163-169.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 163.

may recede further than the earliest years following the Islamic Conquest or even Constantine's victory over Maxentius. Miguel Ángel de Blas Cortina connects Santa Cruz's subterranean dolmen with the early medieval Asturian desire to align the young kingdom with a more substantial power from the past.¹⁶⁸ It was for this reason that Asturian monarchs chose to settle their capitals near significant historical Roman settlements, helping them to legitimize political and territorial claims. Indeed, a number of Asturian buildings are built either overtly or close to Roman settlements that were previously determined due to geographic conditions. In the vicinity of Santa Cruz alone there are no less than four other such dolmens.¹⁶⁹

If the church of Santa Cruz was completed in 737 and was indeed cross-shaped, it would certainly strengthen the so-called 'Indigenous' or 'Visigothicist' theory that Asturian architecture, much like the kingdom itself, followed in the footsteps of the Goths. The reference to *alme cruces* and the dedication to the Holy Cross are of particular interest. Indeed, a centralized building not only fits with the majority of extant Visigothic buildings, but it also best suits the funerary aspects of Favila's on-site burial and the subterranean dolmen. Of course, the loss of virtually all original masonry makes it extremely difficult to claim any definitive associations between Asturian and Visigothic architecture. It is, nevertheless, clear that memories of the past factored heavily in the architectural decisions made by the earliest Asturian kings.

¹⁶⁸ Vigil, *Asturias Monumental*, 305-306; de Blas Cortina, "Megaliths and Holy Places," especially 206-210.

¹⁶⁹ de Blas Cortina, "Megaliths and Holy Places," 206-210, notes that Cangas de Onís was likely chosen as a prehistoric settlement due to the confluence of the Sella and Güeña rivers, which functioned as a strategic location between the mountains and valleys along the Cantabrian coast. See also the discussion of the church of Santa Cristina de Lena below.

The Church of San Juan de Pravia (Santianes de Pravia)

The church of San Juan de Pravia (Fig. 11), colloquially referred to as Santianes de Pravia, is not specifically mentioned in any chronicle source. The *Chronicle of Albelda* does, however, record that King Silo (774-783) moved the capital from Cangas to Pravia¹⁷⁰ and a monastery dedicated to San Juan in Pravia later appears in a donation made by Alfonso III, his wife Jimena and their five sons, to the church of Oviedo on 20 January, 905, where it is furthermore recorded as the burial place of King Silo and the later Queen Adosinda.¹⁷¹ The motive behind moving the Asturian capital from Cangas de Onís to Pravia is not entirely clear. It may have been based on a military strategy in which the king could better survey a Galician rebellion.¹⁷² It should also be mentioned that Pravia was near *Flavionavia*, the site of an earlier Roman villa in the Narcea valley several hundred kilometers from Cangas de Onís, and this may have factored into Silo's decision to build in the proximity of a previous settlement.¹⁷³ If so, it seems Silo was following a precedent set by Favila in 737 when he built his church dedicated to Santa Cruz overtop of a Neolithic dolmen.¹⁷⁴ Based on the location of the present-day church of Santianes de Pravia (Pravia), as well as the discovery of an acrostic stone (18.5 x 16.5 x 12cm) (Fig. 11.1) with the words *SILO PRINCEPS FECIT* repeatedly inscribed, historians agree that the church was indeed built by King Silo c. 780.¹⁷⁵ Though Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591)

¹⁷⁰ *The Chronicle of Albelda*, 41; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24, “Iste, dum regnum accepit, in Pravia solium firmavit”.

¹⁷¹ *Heterii et Sancti Beati ad Elipandum epistola*, P. L. 96, After Silo's death in 774, the church and palace complex were converted to a monastery that queen Adosinda retired to in the presence of Beatus of Liebana, Etherius of Osma, and Bishop Fidel. See also Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 158.

¹⁷² de Llano, *Bellezas*, 232; Burguete, *Rectificaciones históricas*, 252; Uría Rúa, “Cuestiones,” 281-288; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 84; Fontaine, *Préroman hispanique*, 264; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 17.

¹⁷³ Uría Rúa, “Cuestiones,” 281-288; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 84; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 35.

¹⁷⁴ See above discussion on the church of Santa Cruz in Cangas de Onís.

¹⁷⁵ De Morales, *Crónica general*, 115; de Llano, *Bellezas*, 233; Schlunk, *Ars Hispaniae*, 327; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 84; Fontaine, *Préroman hispanique*, 264; Fernández-Conde and Santos del Valle, “La corte asturiana de Pravia,” 315-44; Caballero and Rodríguez Trobajo, *Las iglesias Asturianas de Pravia y Tuñón*, 12.

did not describe the architecture, he did record the acrostic stone, referring to it as the oldest cipher in all of Spain.¹⁷⁶ He, furthermore, recorded the presence of two ‘smooth and humble sepulchers fit for royalty’, which he believed belonged to King Silo and Mauregato. The latter tomb, however, may have belonged to Queen Adosinda whose interment at the church of San Juan de Pravia is listed in the donation charter from 905.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, Pravia’s stone was destroyed along with the majority of the east end, most likely in 1637 or 1638 (1662 according to Fontaine),¹⁷⁸ when Don Fernando de Salas altered the church in order to be buried onsite with his family.¹⁷⁹ Prior to Salas’ demolition, Carvallo (1570-1630) recorded the stone’s inscription and its location above the arch separating the body of the church and the crossing.¹⁸⁰

The precise original interior arrangement of the church is, nevertheless, unclear. Today, the church has a two-storey elevation with a single-light clerestory and a two-bay nave arcade flanked by single aisles (Fig. 11.2) that terminate in a rectangular east end. Piers with unmolded, squared capitals support the two bays of the main arcade (Fig. 11.3). The nave arches preserve some of their original red brick voussoirs (Fig. 11.4),¹⁸¹ analogous to the Roman building traditions preserved at the thermal baths at Campó Valdes, Gijón (Fig. 12).¹⁸² The lower remains

¹⁷⁶ De Morales, *Viage*, 100, 109-110; idem, *Crónica general*, 115.

¹⁷⁷ See note 165 above. See also Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 158. After Silo’s death in 774, the church and palace complex were converted to a monastery that queen Adosinda retired to in the presence of Beatus of Liebana, Etherius of Osma, and Bishop Fidel.

¹⁷⁸ Fontaine, *L’art préroman*, 264.

¹⁷⁹ Banzas y Valdés, *Noticias históricas*, 268-269; de Selgas, “Santianes de Pravia,” (1902), 9, 15; Fernández-Conde and del Valle, “La corte asturiana de Pravia,” n. 18; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 36; Caballero and Trobajo, *Las iglesias Asturianas*, 12, 16; Camps, “Inscripciones monumentales,” 81-82.

¹⁸⁰ Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 149; Tirso de Avilés, *Armas y linajes*, 210; Daniel Rico Camps, “Inscripciones monumentales,” 81, where Carvallo’s record is repeated: “sobre el arco por donde entran del cuerpo de la iglesia para el cruzero”.

¹⁸¹ Red brick is used for every exterior arch and retaining arch at San Pedro de Nora, Santa María de Bendones and Santullano, the main arcade of Santiago de Gobiendes, the retaining arches atop the windows of the Camara Santa, the eastern exterior blind arcade of San Tirso, and the chancel arch and eastern exterior clerestory arches at San Adriano de Tuñón.

¹⁸² Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 29, makes the general connection between Santianes de Pravia’s construction technique and the surviving evidence at Campó Valdes to suggest an indigenous model. She specifically refers to the “rubble work...quoined by ashlar headers and stretchers.” This connection can be taken a step further to include the

of what appears to be a baptismal font are preserved in the west of the southern aisle (Fig. 11.5). Santianes' nave and aisles are wooden roofed and a contemporary groin vault surmounts the crossing. Though it is uncertain if the space east of the nave was originally vaulted, the enlarged supports and large, ashlar, transverse arches that disrupt the height of the nave and transept, suggest that the crossing anticipated the thrust of an original vault or dome. Such an arrangement would recall the Early Christian church of S. Salvatore at Spoleto (Perugia), where an octagonal domed bay before the eastern apse functions as an iconographic marker of space.¹⁸³

Largely based on Carvallo's description, de Selgas' hypothetical plan for Pravia's original arrangement included a western porch, a two-bay nave with single aisles that extended eastward beyond the entrance of the porch, an eastern transept with full crossing, and a tripartite east end.¹⁸⁴ Cabal proposed a similar arrangement to de Selgas, adding that the lateral eastern chapels were dedicated to Santa Eulalia and San Esteban, respectively.¹⁸⁵ Though Schlunk notes that de Selgas' reconstruction was doubtful since it was based on seventeenth-century records, he fundamentally agreed while proposing a few minor adjustments. Schlunk accepted the inclusion of a western porch, adding that it projected externally and also served as a royal pantheon, given the mention of Silo and Adosinda's burial there in the donation charter.¹⁸⁶ Schlunk concurred with the internal arrangement of a nave and single aisles terminating in a tripartite east end, yet limited it to two bays resting on single pillars – analogous to the plans at the paleochristian

comparable use of red brick arches. However, it should be noted that Pravia's nave arcade has been rebuilt in a combination of stone springers and red brick apexes.

¹⁸³ I owe this observation to Thurlby, "Articulation as an Expression," 48; see also Jäggi, *San Salvatore in Spoleto*, 61-74, 127-31, fig. 64.

¹⁸⁴ Oddly, whereas Schlunk, "La iglesia de San Julián de los Prados," 431, cites P. Carvallo, "Antigüedades del Principado de Asturias," 261-62, Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 35-36, makes reference to Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, *Antigüedades y cosas memorables del Principado de Asturias* (Madrid, 1695).

¹⁸⁵ Cabal, *Alfonso II El Casto*, 83, states there were three original apses at Santianes de Pravia: dedicated to San Juan Evangelista, Santa Eulalia and San Esteban, each of which was decorated with a mullioned-window.

¹⁸⁶ Schlunk, *Ars Hispaniae*, 327.

basilicas of Son Peretó (c. fifth or sixth century), Mallorca, and Vega del Mar in San Pedro de Alcántara, Málaga (sixth century).¹⁸⁷ Though uncertain of the arrangement of the crossing, Schlunk suggested that the arms did not project from the building.¹⁸⁸ De Palol and Hirmer similarly proposed a rudimentary transept, an east end that was composed of three rectangular chapels, the lateral ones entered through openings set in the north and south walls of a salient central chancel.¹⁸⁹ In 1975, José Menéndez Pidal discovered architectural fragments that caused him to reconsider the original form of the church, revealing that the east end did in fact contain a transept, but only a single eastern chapel that was apsidal in shape.¹⁹⁰ Fernández Condé's 1987 excavations confirmed Menéndez Pidal's findings¹⁹¹ and the latest evidence suggests that Santianes originally contained a nave with flanking aisles and a single, apsidal eastern chapel, the foundations of which were constructed in *opus signinum* in the Roman fashion (Fig. 11.6).¹⁹² As such, it recalls certain Hispano-Roman monuments such as La Alberca and the Villa Fortunatus, where rounded apses were used.

Garcia de Castro suggests the arch described by Carvallo and others was singular, perhaps not unlike the extant arrangement at San Julián de los Prados or even Santa Comba de Bande.¹⁹³ Caballero and Trobajo, on the other hand, are in favor of the plaque belonging to a triple arcade set between the nave and the crossing.¹⁹⁴ If so, Pravia would present an awareness of Roman models that may be analogous to the Anglo-Saxon examples at the church of St. Mary

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., suggests a width of 5.50 meters for the nave and 2.50 meters for the aisles. He also does not presume to know how the space was internally lit.

¹⁸⁸ Schlunk, *Ars Hispaniae*, 327.

¹⁸⁹ De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 32, fig. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Menéndez Pidal, "La basílica de Santianes de Pravia," vol. 2, 279-97; *ibid.*, vol. 3 (1980), 169-175. Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 38.

¹⁹¹ Fernández Condé and Santos del Valle, "La corte asturiana en Pravia," 315-344; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 38.

¹⁹² Caballero and Trobajo, *Las iglesias Asturianas de Pravia y Tuñón*, 51.

¹⁹³ De Castro, *Arqueología Cristiana*, 82.

¹⁹⁴ Caballero and Trobajo, *Las Iglesias asturianas de Pravia y Tuñón*, 24-25.

Reculver (c. 669) (Kent) and Bradwell-on-Sea (Essex) (after 650).¹⁹⁵ It is unknown if the current tribune set above the western porch reflects the original arrangement (Fig. 11.7). As with Caballero's interpretation of the east end, the triple-arcade partition of the transept expresses a Roman design, again finding similarity in Anglo-Saxon England at All Saints Church, Brixworth (Northants) (c. 675). However, Fortunato de Selgas recorded alterations in the east end of Pravia in 1836 and the complete loss of the west end in 1868, making it difficult to ascertain the originality of the tribune's screen.¹⁹⁶ Based on the royal burials recorded in the donation charters and the evidence of other Asturian tribunes, I propose that Santianes de Pravia's original western arrangement was comparable to Santa María in Oviedo's (c. 812-842), where de Morales, Carvallo and others, described it as having a wooden platform elevated above the western sepulchers.¹⁹⁷ Though the pantheon-church of Santa María no longer survives, pre-restoration photographs of the western wooden tribune at San Julián de los Prados (Fig. 30.46), the remains of putlog holes in the nave architrave at San Adriano de Tuñón (Fig. 26.6, 26.10), and corbels in similar positions at the church San Salvador de Priesca (Fig. 27.4, 27.9-27.10), may reflect the original arrangement at Santa María in Oviedo, as well as Santianes de Pravia.¹⁹⁸

In addition to the plan of the church, Dodds and others have argued that Pravia's ornament and decorations derived from Visigothic forms.¹⁹⁹ Fragments of small, double-horseshoe arches fashioned from single stones were once used as window tracery and are now preserved in the church. Sculpted plaques (Fig. 11.8), which are believed to have originally

¹⁹⁵ I owe this observation to Malcolm Thurlby.

¹⁹⁶ De Selgas, "La primitiva basílica de Santianes de Pravia," 5-14, 28-34, 52-57; Caballero and Trobajo, *Las iglesias Asturianas de Pravia y Tuñón*, 15; Schlunk, "La iglesia de San Julián de los Prados," 431; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 36.

¹⁹⁷ See a more detailed discussion of Santa María in Oviedo's pantheon and tribune below.

¹⁹⁸ For a photograph of Santullano's western wooden tribune, see Selgas, *La basílica de San Julián de los Prados*, following p.44.

¹⁹⁹ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 29.

served as chancel screens, were also discovered in the church and are now preserved in the Oviedo Museum. Based on the style of their designs, Schlunk and Fontaine date the plaques to the second half of the seventh century.²⁰⁰ They specifically compare the intertwined circles and vine scrolls with examples from Santa Cristina de Lena and San Juan de Baños, suggesting Visigothic *spolia* were reused in certain eighth-century Asturian buildings.²⁰¹ Thinlo Ulbert similarly highlights the parallels between the Visigothic and Asturian carvings yet believes the latter sculptures are eighth-century designs that were influenced by seventh-century models.²⁰² Caballero, on the other hand, suggests the plaques reflect Umayyad techniques found at Santa María de Melque and Santa Lucía del Trampal and should, therefore, be understood as belonging to an Islamic tradition, not a Visigothic one.²⁰³

Given the proximity of Santianes de Pravia to the Roman settlement of *Flavionavia* and the archaeological evidence produced during Fernández Condé's excavations, it seems to me that there was a deliberate attempt to include Hispano-Roman building traditions in the design and construction of the church, similar to Santa Cruz built over forty years prior. This should not be understood as an Asturian repudiation of the Visigothic past. Rather, the use of red-brick arches, *opus signinum* and an apsidal east end - instead of a rectangular chancel - were the result of an indigenous workforce in Asturias that was already established during the Visigothic period and persisted after the development of the Kingdom of Asturias. In recent years, archaeological research in Asturias has presented "a greater degree of Romanization and of economic integration than had earlier been thought to be the case."²⁰⁴ I believe that the Roman workforce

²⁰⁰ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 328; Fontaine, *Préroman hispanique*, 262.

²⁰¹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 328; Fontaine, *Préroman hispanique*, 262; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 40.

²⁰² Ulbert, "Skulptur in Spanien," 25-34.

²⁰³ Caballero, "Observations on historiography," 255, also categorizes the plaque fragments at Santa María de Bendones and Santa Cristina de Lena into the same category as Santianes de Pravia.

²⁰⁴ Payne, *Spain*, 50. See also Menéndez Bueyes, *Reflexiones* (2001), for these archaeological findings.

was partly responsible for the transition from the Visigothic delight in ashlar – largely abandoned after the Islamic Conquest due to issues of time, cost or lack of experienced masons – to regional traditions of building in a combination of rubble, cut stone and brick, as seen at Pravia and other Asturian churches. Vestiges of the Visigothic past, such as the horseshoe arch and sculptural plaques, were relegated to decorative functions, not architectonic ones. Nevertheless, their presence in the church contributed to the continuity and awareness of the Visigothic kingdom in Asturias, which the monarchs exploited for various political and religious reasons.

The Church of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles

Unfortunately, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the church of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles was demolished to make way for the Gothic cathedral of Oviedo (Fig. 13). Demolition began in 1382, when Bishop Don Gutierre de Toledo commenced construction on the south side of the church. A church dedicated of San Salvador in Oviedo is recorded in nearly all of the Asturian chronicles. It appears in the in the *Testamentum Ecclesiae Sancti Salvatoris* (*Testamentum Regis Adefonsi* or *Testamentum of 812*) from 16 November 812,²⁰⁵ which records that the church was consecrated in the presence of five bishops, the pre-Benedictine community of San Vincente, and an individual named Tioda, whose identity is debated.²⁰⁶ The *Chronicle of*

²⁰⁵ On the *Testamentum of 812*, see Floriano, *Diplomática*, t. 1, 131.

²⁰⁶ On the reference to one Teuda in the *Chronicle of Albelda*, see *ibid.*, doc. 24, where he is recorded as Theoda. Among those who believe Tioda/Teuda was the master architect responsible for Alfonso II's buildings in Oviedo are de Morales, *Crónicas general*, 193; Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 192; Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 330; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 85-86; Fontaine, *Préroman hispanique*, 272-273; de Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 32; Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 14, on the other hand, suspects there is little reason to believe that Tioda was anyone other than a "noble supporter of the king" referenced in the *Chronicle of Albelda*. He appears as the penultimate signatory in the third version of the *Testamentum of 812* from the thirteenth century. Collins notes that the name Tioda is recorded as "*edificatory predicte ecclesie Sancti Salvatoris*", yet this title only appears in the third version of the *Testamentum Adefonsi* (*Testamentum of 812*) from the thirteenth century and is missing from earlier editions. Instead, Collins interprets Tioda as *Theuda*, the early supporter of Alfonso II who helped him regain power in Oviedo in the *Chronicle of Albelda*.

Albelda records that Alfonso II built in Oviedo a temple dedicated to San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles in lime and stone and in an admirable quality.²⁰⁷ The *Ovetense* redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* records that the church of San Salvador in Oviedo had two times six ‘*titulorum*’ dedicated to the apostles on each side of the high altar.²⁰⁸ The *Rotense* redaction similarly reports the two-times-six arrangement and the dedications to the apostles, yet uses the term *titulus* to describe the altars and does not specify their orientation relative to the high altar.²⁰⁹ The *Historia Silense* records that Alfonso II built a church in honour of San Salvador for thirty years in Oviedo, and that to the left and right sides of the high altar he built two groups of six altars dedicated to the twelve apostles.²¹⁰ The church appears in a later donation made to the church of Oviedo by Alfonso III, his wife Jimena and their sons, Garcia, Ordoño, Gonzalve, Fruela and Ramiro, on September 5, 896.²¹¹ The *Liber Testamentorum* (1101-1129), however, is the only source that records that Alfonso II ‘restored’ an earlier church dedicated to San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles that was originally built by Fruela I (757-768) yet partly destroyed.²¹² Both de Morales and Carvallo recorded that the church of San Salvador was originally built by Fruela, destroyed by the Moors, and restored by Alfonso II.²¹³ Since the *Testamentum* records peace during the reigns of Aurelius (768-74) and Silo (774-83), Collins believes the destruction of the original building most likely occurred during an Arab incursion under the leadership of

²⁰⁷ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 44, 1, “*Iste in Oueto templum Sancti Saluatoris cum duodecim Apostolis ex silice et calce mire fabricauit*”; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24.

²⁰⁸ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Ovetense*, 15, 1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51. The term *titulorum* is used in the *Ovetense* redaction to describe the altars.

²⁰⁹ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Rotense*, 15, 1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51. The term *titulis* is used in the *Ovetense* redaction to describe the altars.

²¹⁰ Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXII.

²¹¹ On the authenticity of this document see Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 149.

²¹² Risco, *España Sagrada*, 311-16; Valdés Gallego, *El Liber Testamentorum Ovetensis*, 457-58. See also Borge Cordovilla, “El primitivo San Salvador de Oviedo,” 711-728, «*quicumque cernis hoc templum dei honore dignum noscitur hic ante istum fuisse alterum hoc eodem ordine situm quod princeps condidit salvatori domino supplex per omnia froila duodecim apostolis dedicans bissenaria altaria (...)*».

²¹³ De Morales, *Viage*, 91; Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 165-166. See also de Llano, *Bellezas*, 336.

Abd-al-Malik in 791 during the reign of Vermudo I (789-791).²¹⁴ It is very possible that this incursion led to Vermudo's defeat in battle and his subsequent abdication in 791.

Some historians interpret the chronicle records literally, proposing a hypothetical plan with anywhere between six and twelve individual eastern chapels.²¹⁵ The former suggestion would require an additional six chapels set between the north and south walls of an eastern transept or an overflow into the nave aisles.²¹⁶ Certainly, such arrangements would be possible in a much larger Romanesque or Gothic building, not unlike that which exists in the Cathedral of Oviedo today. However, given the relatively small size of early medieval Asturian churches and the fact that nothing even remotely similar survives, such a plan is extremely difficult to envision.²¹⁷ If, however, the terms *titulus* and *titulorum* used by the authors of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* refer, as Collins believes, to a secondary chapel or simply an altar,²¹⁸ it is possible that these altars dedicated to the apostles were distributed among the three eastern chapels. Indeed, Bonnaz suggests that the church of San Salvador was analogous to other churches built by Alfonso II and possessed a tripartite east end with six altars in the north and south chapels.²¹⁹ Though there is no mention of how the altars would have been contained within the chapels, I propose the *titulus/titulorum*, which most likely refer to small, subsidiary altars, were set within the recesses of the marble blind arcades that lined the walls of the north and south chapels of San

²¹⁴ Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 9, believes the church of San Salvador in Oviedo, and possibly other earlier buildings founded by Fruela I (757-68), were destroyed during Muslim raids during the reign of Vermudo I (789-791).

²¹⁵ De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 33; Fontaine, *L'art preroman hispanique*, 272; the latter scholar states Alfonso II built in Oviedo the church dedicated to the Holy Saviour and that on each side of the main altar were two times six (twelve in total) dedications with relics within, one for each of the apostles.

²¹⁶ See Borge Cordovilla, "El primitivo San Salvador de Oviedo," 711-728, who proposes a similar plan.

²¹⁷ Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 10, is similarly hesitant to support a twelve-chapel arrangement given our knowledge of Asturian buildings, which are most commonly comprised of tripartite east ends. He proposes the mid-eighth century Lombard church of San Salvatore in Brescia as a possible model for San Salvador. See also Weis, *Die langobardische Königsbasilika von Brescia*, plate 2A.

²¹⁸ Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 3. On the use of the term *titulus*, see Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 1029-1031.

²¹⁹ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 194.

Salvador's tripartite east end. This would have provided individualized, monumental frames within which the apostles' altars could be venerated. Indeed, this arrangement fits with the blind arcades that survive in the central chapels at San Julián de los Prados (Fig. 30.24-30.25), Santa Cristina de Lena (Fig. 22.12), San Salvador de Priesca (Fig. 27.13) and most likely what existed at Santa María in Oviedo, where de Morales recorded twelve marbles in the chapels.²²⁰ Of course, it must be mentioned that if so, San Salvador in Oviedo would present the only example of physical, as opposed to painted, blind arcades in the north and south chapels. Nevertheless, given the significance attributed to the church of San Salvador in the chronicle sources and the fact that it was later converted into the cathedral of Oviedo, it is entirely possible that no expense was spared and that each of its eastern chapels was lavishly decorated with physical ornament.

With no surviving medieval evidence to survey and the impossibility of conducting excavations within the present cathedral, it is difficult to determine the original plan and design of San Salvador. As with the contiguous pantheon-church of Santa María, our knowledge is limited to the scarce details provided in the Asturian chronicles and the descriptions left by de Morales and Carvallo. It seems likely that Alfonso II did not erect a new building in Oviedo, but rather he finished restoring a previous church that was begun by his father Fruela I after 757. This seemingly minor detail is of supreme importance. Alfonso II's restoration, coupled with the decision to move the Asturian capital to Oviedo from Pravia, must be understood in accordance with his desire to establish political autonomy through a connection to his father's royal and Visigothic heredity, particularly after an early period of tribulations, more of which will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4. Indeed, this very same agenda seems to be the impetus behind the

²²⁰ De Morales, *Viage*, 87.

design and construction of Alfonso II's other churches in Oviedo, San Julián de los Prados included.

The Church of Santa María in Oviedo

As with the church of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles, the church of Santa María in Oviedo, often referred to as Alfonso II's pantheon-church, no longer survives. Unfortunately, Bishop Fr. Tomás Reluz demolished the church at the beginning of the eighteenth century to accommodate the construction of the chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Rey Casto, annexed to the north of the Cathedral of Oviedo.²²¹ The original building was, nevertheless, recorded in a number of the Asturian chronicles and by later antiquaries. The *Chronicle of Albelda* very briefly mentions that Alfonso II built the sanctuary of Santa María in Oviedo (*aulamque Sanctae Mariae*) with three altars in an admirable fashion.²²² The *Rotense* redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* confirms that Alfonso II constructed a 'church' in a solid and admirable quality dedicated to the Virgin Mary with three altars near San Salvador.²²³ The *Ovetense* repeats this information yet specifies that the church was built north of San Salvador, that its right (south) altar was dedicated to St. Stephen, that its left (north) altar was dedicated to St. Julián, and that the western end contained a room destined to receive a royal sepulchre.²²⁴ Though the specific

²²¹ De Selgas, *La Basílica de San Julián de los Prados*, 1, 46; See also Utrero Agudo, *Iglesias tardoantiguas*, 471; Arias, *Geometría y proporción*, 161; Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 109; Canella, *El libro de Oviedo*, 228.

²²² *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Rotense*, 14,1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51.

²²³ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Rotense*, 14,1, the term *ecclesiam* is used here, as opposed to *aulamque* in the *Albeldense*, when referring to Santa María. This difference may simply be a matter of semantics rather than function. Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51, "parrailement, une église en l'honneur de Sainte-Marie toujours Vierge, comportant de part et d'autre (du maître-autel) un autel avec une dédicace, ouvrage admirable et solidement bâti."

²²⁴ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Ovetense*, 14,1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51, "Il édifia aussi une église en l'honneur de sainte Marie toujours Vierge contre la partie nord de l'église précitée, et il y érigea, en dehors du maître-autel, sur le côté droit, un autel avec une dédicace à la mémoire de saint Étienne, sur le côté gauche un autel avec une dédicace à la mémoire de saint Julien. Il bâtit aussi, sur la partie occidentale de cette venerable demeure, une salle destinée à recevoir la sépulture des rois." See also Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 3.

location is not recorded, a later passage in the *Ovetense* reports that Alfonso II was buried in a stone sarcophagus in the church of Santa María after his death in 843.²²⁵ The king's interment in the church of Santa María in 843 is later repeated in the *Historia Silense*, which similarly omits the precise location of the tomb in the church.²²⁶ The *Silense* also records that Ramiro I was interred in the cemetery of the kings in Oviedo, which most likely refers to the pantheon-church of Santa María.²²⁷ Interestingly, the date of Alfonso II's death provided in the *Ovetense* and *Historia Silense* differs from that in the *Rotense*, which records the king died in the year 842. Despite the fact that the year 843 appears in two separate chronicle sources, most historians agree that 842 is the more likely date given the fact that the reign of Ramiro I (842-850) can be calculated with a fair amount of certainty.²²⁸

Ambrosio de Morales visited the building in 1572 (published 1765) and described it as one hundred feet long with three naves and six arches. It was entered through its south wall on account that it was attached to the north side of the church of San Salvador.²²⁹ The east end was composed of three chapels with large, arched entries and rich marbles. The chapels were vaulted, in contrast to the timber roof over the rest of the building, and contained even richer marbles in their corners (probably shafts) totaling twelve.²³⁰ Since de Morales makes a distinction between the marbles at the entrances to the chapels and those within them, the former most likely refer to shafts applied to the jambs supporting the chapel arches and may have resembled the

²²⁵ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Ovetense*, 15,1, the year 842 in the *Ovetense* differs from that in the *Rotense* and the *Historia Silense*, which records Alfonso II's death in 843. On the *Historia Silense*, see Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXV.

²²⁶ Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXV, LXXXVII.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, LXXXVII.

²²⁸ On the date of Alfonso II's death see, Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 200.

²²⁹ De Morales, *Viage*, 87; Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 330; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 192.

²³⁰ De Morales, *Viage*, 87; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 108-110. Fontaine, *Préroman hispanique*, who believes the marbles recorded by de Morales were most likely shafts and capitals. See also, Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 10.

arrangments at San Julián de los Prados (Fig. 30.23) or San Salvador de Priesca (Fig. 27.13). De Morales recorded that the central chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the subsidiary ones to San Julián and San Estevan.²³¹ He also described a tomb in the body of the church on the ‘Evangelist’ side (Gospel side) with the inscription, “*Hic requiescat famula dei Urraca Regina, & confamula uxor domini Ranimiri principis. Obiit die secunda feria hora XI. Octavo kal. Julias. Era DCCCCLXIX.*”²³² De Morales documented another chapel positioned on the same axis as the main chapel and having the same width as it, which Bonnaz and Schlunk interpret as the far western end of the building.²³³ De Morales described a number of other tombs, both with and without inscriptions, and above them a royal tribune.²³⁴ Near the entrance of the chapel he recorded, in accordance with the chronicles’ accounts, the location of Alfonso II’s tomb.²³⁵ Luis Alfonso de Carvallo (1695), who also saw the building before it was demolished, confirmed de Morales’ account, describing rich marbles at the entrances to the eastern chapels and even more lavish ones inside, which he believes were without a doubt from the ancient city of Lugo.²³⁶ Carvallo stated that the King raised a chapel, or better yet a cave since there was no altar, which served as the location of his entombment and the kings who succeeded him,²³⁷ describing the royal pantheon as “a basement having a width as wide as the main chapel, twenty feet long by twelve wide, with a very low wooden ceiling, without any work, which serves as the floor to a room on top of it – a platform or church choir.”²³⁸ In 1719, Manuel José de Medrano visited the

²³¹ De Morales, *Viage*, 87.

²³² De Morales, 87, the church of Santa María in Oviedo was most likely oriented on an east-west axis. Thus, the Evangelist side described by de Morales likely refers to the north, or Gospel, side to the left of the high altar when facing it.

²³³ Schlunk, “Arte Asturiano,” 330; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 192.

²³⁴ De Morales, *Viage*, 87; Schlunk, “Arte Asturiano,” 330; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 192.

²³⁵ De Morales, *Viage*, 89.

²³⁶ Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 180.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 179-180.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, *Antigüedades*, 180.

church and described it with three naves (106' long, 63' high and 52' wide) that terminated in three eastern, barrel-vaulted chapels. Like Carvallo and de Morales before him, Medrano confirmed the chapel dedications and similarly logged the location of a royal pantheon with a western wooden tribune above it.²³⁹ In 1926, Aurelio de Llano excavated the site north of the Cathedral of Oviedo and proposed a hypothetical plan with a five-bay nave flanked by single aisles (Fig. 14).²⁴⁰ Taking into consideration de Morales and Carvallo's records, Aurelio de Llano envisioned an entrance towards the eastern end of the southern aisle, a centrally positioned, western pantheon, accessible from within the nave, and an unbroken transept that communicated with the three eastern chapels.²⁴¹ This differed slightly from the plan proposed by Fortunato de Selgas in 1908, which included a contained western pantheon but limited the nave to three bays (Fig. 14.1). Rather than a continuous transept, de Selgas proposed a full crossing before the tripartite eastern arrangement. De Selgas' plan for Santa María in Oviedo is nearly identical to the one he proposed for Pravia.²⁴²

There is some debate as to the origins of Santa María's pantheon-church model. Schlunk recognizes that certain Visigothic churches such as San Fructuoso in Tarragona incorporated funerary chambers, though rarely on axis with the high altar. Instead, he proposes a possible link with early Christian models that iconographically positioned burials in line with the central chapel or as close to it as possible.²⁴³ He, furthermore, suggests that the Asturian tripartite east end was the product of a new design that deviated from the Visigothic plan of singular

²³⁹ Manuel José de Medrano, *Patrocinio de nuestra señora en España*, 83.

²⁴⁰ De Llano, *Bellezas*, 338-339; Arias, *Geometría y proporción*, 167.

²⁴¹ De Llano, *Bellezas de Asturias* (1928); Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 192. See also, Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 109.

²⁴² De Selgas, *La Basilica de San Julián de los Prados* (1916), the differences being at Pravia he proposed a two-bay nave with a total of three portals; one in the western wall of the western porch and the eastern wall of the north aisle.

²⁴³ Schlunk, "El arte Asturiano en torno al 800," 146, gives the example of Helena's basilica of Saint Peter and Marcellinus.

chancels.²⁴⁴ Then again, he applied this theory to the church of Santianes de Pravia, which was proven by Fernández Condé to have had a single, apsidal east end, based on indigenous Hispano-Roman models. Bonnaz, on the other hand, suggested Santa María's dual function as a royal pantheon and chapel derived from Carolingian models such as Germigny-des-Prés (806).²⁴⁵ Bango Torviso traces the plan back to contra-apsidal African churches where spaces were privileged for burial – something that was later diffused into Visigothic Spain and survived until the Romanesque period.²⁴⁶ I believe Carvallo's description of Roman *spolia* in the eastern chapels of Santa María is of particular importance. Similar to the decisions made at the church of Santianes de Pravia and Santa Cruz before it, Alfonso II and his architect were not only keen to include Roman and Visigothic ornament at Santa María, but also bolster the Asturian kingdom's legitimacy via a continuity of previous traditions. With respect to Santa María in Oviedo's plan, Alcaide suggests that a royal pantheon-church physically preserves the memory of previous kings whilst iconographically supporting the concept of royal succession in Asturias.²⁴⁷ Surely, this was a chief concern for Alfonso II, whose other church, San Julián de los Prados, served as an iconographic testament of the king's solidarity after being met by a usurper and a later revolt.²⁴⁸

When de Morales visited the church in the late sixteenth century, he described the chapels as '*de los Godos*' and the chancel arches as "*semejantes a los de S. Román de Hornija, y a los de Wamba*".²⁴⁹ Of the two buildings, only Wamba remains and the chancel arches are clearly horseshoe in shape, possibly reflecting a continuity of Visigothic forms in ninth-century

²⁴⁴ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 344.

²⁴⁵ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 192.

²⁴⁶ Bango Torviso, "El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados," 93-132.

²⁴⁷ Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 54-55.

²⁴⁸ See chapter 4 for more on the "Carolingian Connection".

²⁴⁹ De Morales, *Viage*, 87.

Asturias.²⁵⁰ Aside from the window tracery at Santianes de Pravia, horseshoe arches are altogether lacking from extant Asturian buildings and for quite some time were understood as ‘Mozarabic’ forms that were imported from al-Andalus in the late-ninth and early-tenth centuries, first reappearing in the windows at San Salvador de Valedios. According to this theory, two possible explanations can be applied to Santa María in Oviedo’s arches: either they were the products of a later, ‘Mozarabic’ addition, or our understanding of Asturian architecture is incomplete.

Despite the fact that the building is now entirely lost, there is little reason to doubt that Alfonso II completed a pantheon-church dedicated to Santa María along the northern flank of the church of San Salvador before his death in 842. Documentary evidence furthermore suggests that the model for the pantheon-church of Santa María in Oviedo was a local one, specifically Santianes de Pravia. At both buildings a western wooden gallery was positioned on axis with the high altar to the east. Moreover, the western chambers at both buildings are recorded as privileged for royal burial. This is of chief concern to our understanding of Alfonso II’s church of San Julián de los Prados, where the prevailing and incorrect understanding is that the king’s, elevated royal tribune was oddly set in the north wall of the transept.²⁵¹ Though it requires more

²⁵⁰ Ibid.; Fontaine, *L’art préroman*, 273, is unsure if Santa María’s arches, which de Morales described as being “similar to those at Wamba and Hornija”, were horseshoe shaped or round-headed. He nevertheless speculates that the eastern chapels incorporated the use of *spolia*, which corresponds to Carvallo’s description of marbles from Lugo.

²⁵¹ De Selgas, *La Basílica de San Julián de los Prados*, 20-21, argued that the tribune was a later addition to the church. His evidence is that the doorways set in the north transept wall are not equal in width to one another and that the exterior masonry of the porticus does not course at the intersection of the transept - even though it is built with the same materials. He therefore believed that the king ordered its addition as a private gallery shortly after the church was completed. This view found support from Schlunk, *Las iglesias*, 4, who similarly proposed that the king built a tribune in the north transept and, moreover, that it projected from the surface of the north transept wall onto seven wooden joists, still visible. More recently, Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 86, 88-89, sided with Schlunk’s reconstruction of a projecting tribune along the north transept wall, adding that it offered an unrivaled view into the space of the high altar and presents the first Asturian example of an integrated royal gallery in a religious building. For this reason, the transept was disproportionately taller than the rest of the building. Nevertheless, Schlunk and Nieto Alcaide’s reconstructions do not address the fact that a projecting tribune would awkwardly interfere with the view and functionality of the north chapel. Surely in a building so keen on integrating form and function this was also a concern. Moreover, neither scholar addresses the fact that Santullano’s nave is asymmetrically longer towards

attention than can be afforded here, it should be noted that elevated western galleries were not unique to Asturias. Anglo-Saxon analogues exist at the churches of St. Peter, Monkwearmouth (Co. Durham), (674-675) and All Saints, Brixworth, (Northants) (675) where elevated galleries were located at the west end of the nave and were entered through an arch.²⁵² Given de Morales and Carvallo's records, coupled with the fact that all other examples of Asturian tribunes were unequivocally positioned above the western portal, it is more reasonable to reconstruct Santullano's tribune according to the plan described at Santa María in Oviedo. Pre-restoration photographs of Santullano show a wooden gallery above the western portal spanning the width of the nave, a fact that is rarely mentioned in the historiography of the church and ironically ignored by the church's chief twentieth-century restorer and photographer, Fortunato de Selgas.²⁵³

The Church of San Tirso

The church dedicated to St. Tyrus, commonly referred to as San Tirso, appears in a number of the Asturian chronicles. The *Rotense* redaction records that Alfonso II built a church dedicated to the holy martyr San Tirso near San Salvador.²⁵⁴ The *Ovetense* redaction (885) of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* elaborates that Alfonso II erected a third building in Oviedo in honour of San Tirso, "a work whose beauty can be admired."²⁵⁵ The church also appears in the *Chronicle of*

the west, thus anticipating a specific function. Nor do they mention the western wooden tribune clearly visible in de Selgas' pre-restoration photographs.

²⁵² Brixworth is of particular interest due to its inclusion of a tripe-arcade screen similar to Pravia's. However, the sill of its triple arcade cuts the top of the arch from the tower of the gallery and is a later insertion. I owe this observation to Malcolm Thurlby.

²⁵³ These photographs appear in de Selgas, *La Basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, pl. 10, 20.

²⁵⁴ *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, *Rotense*, 14, 1, "Etiam aliam ecclesiam beatissimi Tirsi martyris, prope domum sancti Saluatoris fundauit." Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51,

²⁵⁵ *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, *Ovetense*, 14, 1, "necnon et tertiam basilicam in memoriam sancti Tyrsi condidit, cuius operis pulcritudo plus presens potest mirare quam eruditus scriba laudare." Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 51,

Albelda where it is described as, “built of an admirable quality with multiple angles.”²⁵⁶ The *Historia Silense* (1115) repeats the descriptions of these earlier chronicles, stating, Alfonso II “founded with beautiful work a church of the blessed martyr *Cristo Tirso* in the same enclosure” as his other buildings.²⁵⁷ Interestingly, a donation made by Alfonso III, his wife Jimena and their sons Garcia, Ordoño, Gonzalve, Fruela and Ramiro to the church of Oviedo on 5 September, 896, describes the church as a castle built by its donors to protect the cathedral treasures.²⁵⁸ The donation also specifies that the church was close to a palace built by Alfonso III’s predecessors.²⁵⁹ Though the church of San Tirso no longer survives, a façade with a miniature arcade is located to the south west of the cathedral of Oviedo and has been identified as the remains of Alfonso II’s building due to its immediate proximity to the cathedral (Fig. 15).

It is believed that the original church of San Tirso was transformed in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, before finally being destroyed by a fire in 1521.²⁶⁰ The foundations of a medieval building were uncovered during a 1924 restoration and although they were not firmly dated to the ninth century, they have generally been accepted as belonging to Alfonso II’s original building.²⁶¹ De Palol and Hirmer envisioned the original plan with a portal set in the northwest wall and an internal arrangement of a four-bay nave with single aisles and a main arcade resting on square piers (Fig. 15.1).²⁶² A single, rectangular chancel extended beyond the eastern wall of the main unit of the basilica and two pilaster buttresses framed either side of its

²⁵⁶ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 44, 1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24, “*Basilicam quoque Santi Tirsi miro aedificio cum multis angulis fundamentavit*”.

²⁵⁷ Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXIII; Schlunk, “Arte Asturiano,” 335, the *Historia Silense* records San Tirso’s location as “*in eodem cimiterio*,” which Schlunk broadly interprets as referring to the cathedral close.

²⁵⁸ Floriano, *Diplomática*, t. 2, 219.16-19. See also Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 149-150, who believes this to be a falsified record; “[...] *et nominatim illam capellam nostrum Sancti Tirsi*.”

²⁵⁹ Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 150.

²⁶⁰ De Selgas, *La Basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, 23; Utrero Agudo, *Iglesias tardoantiguas*, 470.

²⁶¹ Cadenas, *San Tirso el real de Oviedo*, 3-6; Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 9.

²⁶² De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 32, fig. 10.

north and south exterior walls. A triple-arched window set in the exterior eastern wall illuminated the chancel. De Palol and Hirmer's hypothetical plan does not, however, reflect the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* description of 'multiple angles'. Rivoira believed that, "there is no satisfactory explanation of the 'many angles' which the building is said to have presented."²⁶³ Schlunk, nevertheless, interpreted the description in the *Chronicle of Albelda* as referring to a cruciform church with three naves, lateral chambers, a western porch and a salient eastern chancel.²⁶⁴ This would certainly ally the church with Alfonso II's other buildings in Oviedo, particularly San Julián de los Prados and the neighbouring pantheon-church dedicated to Santa María. This too does not necessarily satisfy the reference to 'multiple' or 'many angles' in the text. Instead, I believe this small yet significant detail refers to a centralized plan, possibly analogous to the quasi-Greek-Cross plan at Santa Cristina de Lena, and even Santa Cruz before it. As mentioned, centralized plans were prevalent during the Visigothic period and it is possible that they continued to be used in Asturias during the ninth century.²⁶⁵

All that is believed to currently survive from Alfonso II's building is the triple-arched window and the exterior east wall it is set within. Similar miniature arcades appear at a number of other Asturian buildings.²⁶⁶ San Tirso's, however, is set at the ground level, not in the upper section of wall beneath the cornice of the roof. Surely, the difference suggests that the arcade was repositioned – likely at the same time that it was filled in. Less frequent is the appearance of a rectangular hood mould framing the arches. The ornament is commonly referred to as an *alfiz*

²⁶³ Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, 336.

²⁶⁴ The transcription provided here is the one found in Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 335. See also the Latin text in Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24, which varies only slightly in spelling.

²⁶⁵ "*Basilicam quoque St. Tirsi miro edificio cum multis angulis fundamentavit.*" I owe the observation of connecting the '*multis angulis*' reference to a centralized plan to Malcolm Thurlby.

²⁶⁶ From those that remain extant are the churches of San Julián de los Prados, San Pedro de Nora, Santa María de Bendones and Santa María de Bendones, Santa Cristina de Lena, Santa María del Naranco, San Salvador de Priesca, San Salvador de Valdediós and San Adriano de Tuñón.

and is generally considered to be an Islamic motif imported into Asturias by Arabized Christian émigres in the late-ninth century. Schlunk, who is keen to date the church of San Tirso to the reign of Alfonso II on account of the documentary sources and the similarity of its extant capital designs with those at San Julián de los Prados, interprets the appearance of the *alfiz* as an indication that the eastern section of San Tirso succumbed to late-ninth or early-tenth century restorations when the first Islamic motifs were introduced into Asturian churches such as San Salvador de Valdediós.²⁶⁷ Though this theory may explain the resetting of the miniature arcade at the ground level, it does not clarify the contemporaneous appearance of the *alfiz* at Santa María de Bendones (Fig. 18.2), as reconstructed by Joaquín Manzanares Rodríguez.²⁶⁸ According to Camón Aznar, the origin of the *alfiz* motif is altogether uncertain and, in the case of San Tirso, retains certain Visigothic qualities.²⁶⁹ Given its contemporaneous appearance at Santa María de Bendones, Juan Uría Rúa agrees that the *alfiz* is not necessarily a later Mozarabic arrival in Asturias.²⁷⁰ I side with the latter historians and propose, alongside Jerrilynn Dodds, that the Asturian *alfiz* can be traced back to indigenous window techniques such as those from Santianes de Pravia, where double-horseshoe arches were fashioned out of monolithic blocks that resulted in an integrated, rectangular hood.²⁷¹ Thus while San Tirso's triple arcade and ornamental moulding most likely reflect the original, early ninth-century design, they were later reset at the ground level of the eastern façade.

The façade's immediate proximity to the Cathedral of Oviedo certainly corresponds to the chronicle records for Alfonso II's church dedicated to San Tirso. Nevertheless, given the

²⁶⁷ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 337; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 96-97.

²⁶⁸ Manzanares Rodríguez, "Santa María de Bendones," 6.

²⁶⁹ Camón Aznar, "Arquitectura española del s. X. Mozárabe y de la repoblación," 206-219.

²⁷⁰ Uría Rúa, "Cuestiones," 261-328.

²⁷¹ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 33.

ultimate lack of physical evidence it is very difficult to propose an original design or plan with any certainty. Hypothetical arrangements and attempts to reconstruct the church should thus be questioned.

The Cámara Santa and the Crypt of Santa Leocadia

The Cámara Santa (Fig. 16) and the crypt of Santa Leocadia (Fig. 16.1) do not appear in any of the near-contemporaneous Asturian chronicles. The crypt is first documented in the twelfth-century *Historia Silense*²⁷² (c. 1115) where it is described as an arched-hall covered by a vault, built by Alfonso II and dedicated to Santa Eulalia. Above the vaulted hall stood an upper storey where the *Arca Santa* was held and adored by the faithful.²⁷³ The building is mentioned again in Bishop Pelagius' twelfth-century *Pelagii Ovetensis Episcopi historia de Arcae Sanctae Translatione*, which reiterates that Alfonso II was responsible for its construction, but that the undercroft was dedicated to Santa Leocadia. It, furthermore, specifies that the upper chapel was in fact dedicated to San Miguel, a detail that is missing from the earlier text.²⁷⁴ The Cámara Santa is also recorded in a royal donation made by Alfonso III and his wife Jimena in 908. However, the original document is lost and the donation only appears as a copy in a thirteenth-century

²⁷² *Historia Silense*, 28; de Urbel and Zorilla, *Historia Silense*, 139; Prelog, *Die Chronik Alfons' III*, 95. Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 13. See also, Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXII-LXXXIII.

²⁷³ "Fecit quoque Sante Leocadie basilicam forniceo opere cumulatam, super quam fieret domus ubi celsiori loco arca santa a fidelibus adoraretur." De Urbel and Zorilla, *Historia Silense*, 138-39. See also, Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 241; idem, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 98-104.

²⁷⁴ *Liber Testamentorum*, ff. 1r-3r; "A latere meridionali, in ultima parte ecclesie Sancti Saluatoris, ubi ascensio fit per gradus, Sancti Michaelis archangeli ecclesiam rex beate memorie posuit. Ibi ob securitatem loci, adhibitis tamen multipliciter serarum ferri archam gloriosissimam transtulit, hoc factum credens esse ad firmitatem sui regni et ad totius salutem populi. Concurrent ad pia sanctorum suffragia Hispaniae fideles uota cum deuotione ferentes, et accepta benedictione a pontifici inibi presidente, leta reuisant loca patrie. Iam dictus rex, ad augmentum et sui decorem regni, basilicam in honore sancti martiris Tirsi prope palatium condidit, cuius operis pulchritudo plus presentes possunt mirari quam scripto possit laudari. Infra basilicam Sancti Michaelis supra scriptam, in honore sancte uirginis et martiris Xriste Leocadie stat opera firmo lapidum arcuata que habetur uenerabilis multis ibi repositis preciosorum martirium reliquiis." Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 241; *España Sagrada*, t. XXXVII, 356.

document, the authenticity of which has been scrutinized.²⁷⁵ Another donation from 1161 describes a royal palace near the walls of the church of San Salvador.²⁷⁶ Amrbosio de Morales recorded the Cámara Santa and its treasures in great detail, devoting no less than eighteen pages to it.²⁷⁷ He stated that a stone staircase, positioned along the south flank of the cathedral of Oviedo, rose to a vaulted room that held an altar. This chapel was located in a building in the shape of a church that measured 25m L by 16m W. The entire structure was richly built and included twelve figural sculptures of the apostles, two on each of the shafts supporting the transverse arches of the barrel vault.²⁷⁸ In the seventeenth century, Carvallo's father recorded that a palace was positioned "between San Tirso and the Cámara Santa."²⁷⁹ Buelta subsequently proposed that the palace consisted of an eastern and western tower joined by a long hall with a gallery arcade and that the Cámara Santa adjoined the palace via the western tower.²⁸⁰

The Rev. H. F. Tozer visited Oviedo in 1863 and described the Cámara Santa as:

... raised to some height above the ground, in order to preserve the relics from the effects of the humidity of the climate; beneath it is a chapel, dedicated to the martyr Santa Leocadia, which may be seen from the cloisters – a simple semicircular vault, massively built to support the superincumbent weight. The Camara is approached from the south transept of the cathedral by a flight of steps leading through a winding way to a vestibule, from which you can enter the chamber itself by a square doorway, descending by a shorter flight of steps. It would seem as if every precaution had been taken to conceal the building and the treasures it contains. Its dimensions are given as 24ft by 16, exclusive of the sanctuary at the further end, the floor of which is one step higher than that of the rest of the building, while the roof, which is of stone, and plain, is considerably lower than the elaborately groined semicircular stone roof of the other part. These groinings spring from pillars with richly foliated capitals, six in number, as there are two bays; and attached to each pillar, forming an integral part of the shaft, are two full-length figures of apostles, elaborately sculptured, making twelve in all. The pavement of this part is richly tessellated. The only window is a small opening at the east end in the upper part of the

²⁷⁵ Royal donation, 10 August 908, *Archivo de la Catedral de Oviedo*, ser. B, folder 1, no. 8, ed. García Larragueta, *Colección de documentos*, no. 19. Barrau-Dihigo, "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens," 165; Floriano, *Diplomatica* t. 2, 362-72.

²⁷⁶ Uría Ríu, "Cuestiones," 297; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 193.

²⁷⁷ De Morales, *Viage*, 69-86.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁷⁹ Uría Ríu, "Cuestiones," 297; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 193.

²⁸⁰ Fernández Buelta and Hevia Grande, *Ruinas del Oviedo primitivo*, 77-102; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 193.

sanctuary. The ornamental work all through is Lombard or Romanesque; but there is, I believe, no doubt, that the sanctuary is the only remaining part of the work of Alonso el Casto, while the outer part of the chamber, together with the vestibule, is of the time of Alonso VI, the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. The Spaniards always apply the name *Gothic* to the Romanesque style, as having been the work of the Goths (*obras de los Godos*); and the term is much more applicable to it than to the Pointed style.²⁸¹

Tragically, the Cámara Santa was severely damaged by a dynamite explosion in 1934 in the years leading up to the Civil War (1936-1939). In the same year, Manuel Gómez-Moreno surveyed the destruction and prepared a report for the Academy of History in Madrid.²⁸² The architect, José Menéndez-Pidal y Álvarez, restored the building between 1938 and 1942.²⁸³ He attempted to piece the building back together, repairing the walls and vaults above the upper and lower stories. He also removed sections of the eastern wall to provide a view of the ‘Pilgrim’s Cemetery’, covered the undercroft vault with concrete, replaced the latticework of the windows, and replaced exterior sculptural elements found in the adjacent *torre vieja*. In 1946, José Fernández Buelta, with the assistance of Victor Hevia Grande, began excavating the area. Buelta interpreted the differences in the masonry in the upper chamber as indications of twelfth-century modifications.²⁸⁴ These included heightening the walls, reinforcing the exteriors and replacing an original wooden roof with a barrel vault. The excavation later expanded to the south of the cathedral and cloister area where early medieval foundations were uncovered and dated to a period earlier than the cathedral and Cámara Santa. Buelta also discovered the remains of what he believed belonged to the royal palace and western tower.²⁸⁵ He thus concluded that the

²⁸¹ Tozer, “Asturias and its Antiquities,” 15-16.

²⁸² Gómez-Moreno, “La destrucción,” 607.

²⁸³ Menéndez Pidal, “La Cámara Santa de Oviedo,” 3-34; Harris, “Redating the Arca Santa of Oviedo,” 83.

²⁸⁴ Fernández Buelta, *Ruinas del Oviedo primitivo*, 94-95, 102-103; Fernández Buelta and Hevia Grande, “La Cámara Santa de Oviedo,” 51-119.

²⁸⁵ Fernández Buelta, *Ruinas del Oviedo primitivo*, 87-88.

Cámara Santa and its undercroft were built by Alfonso II and that the early medieval foundations must date to a previous phase of construction, most likely begun by Fruela I.²⁸⁶ This chronology has been accepted by a number of historians who are in favour of understanding the Cámara Santa as a palatine chapel and dating it in accordance with the description of Alfonso II's ambitious architectural programme in the *Chronicle of Albelda*.²⁸⁷ Indeed, despite being undocumented in the earlier Asturian sources, Jacques Fontaine believes the Cámara Santa belongs to the group of "various palaces, baths reception halls, residences, courts..." built by Alfonso II.²⁸⁸ Granted, the barrel-vaulted crypt of Santa Leocadia resembles the general arrangement of the eastern chapels at San Julián de los Prados (Fig. 30.23), Santa María de Bendones (Fig. 18.4) and San Pedro de Nora (Fig. 19.2), particularly given the tabernacles set in the eastern walls on each of the Cámara Santa's storeys (Fig. 16.2-16.3). Moreover, the use of pilaster buttresses on the north, south and east walls, as well as the combination of rubble and ashlar masonry on the exterior of the Cámara Santa is analogous to the other buildings dated to Alfonso II.²⁸⁹ De Morales' record of tombs in the barrel-vaulted undercroft dedicated to Santa Leocadia seems to further corroborate Bishop Pelagius' twelfth-century description of the Cámara Santa, which records that the lower level stored the valuable relics of martyrs.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ Ibid.; See also Collins "Doubts and Certainties," 13, and n. 69.

²⁸⁷ Rodríguez Balbín, *De un monte despoblado a un fuero real*, 105-144, suggests the Cámara Santa formed part of Alfonso II's royal complex in Oviedo. Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 6, believes the tower of San Miguel was initially built as a campanile for the church of San Salvador either by Fruela I (762-767) or Alfonso II at the beginning of his reign in 791. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 563-564, notes the close proximity between the royal court and the Cámara Santa as a royal chapel and suggests the word "capella" might serve as a reference to the Oviedo palatine archives. See also, Arbeiter and Noack-Haley, "The Kingdom of Asturias," 113; Sánchez Albornoz, *Orígenes de la nación española*, 641-53; Schlunk, "El arte asturiano en torno al 800," 135-164; Bango Torviso, "El arte Asturiano y el imperio Carolingio," 31-88; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 99-101, where the author incorrectly provides a 1967 date for Rodríguez Balbín's publication.

²⁸⁸ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 274-275, makes the assumption that the Cámara Santa is from the period of Alfonso II based on the text of the *Ad Sebastianum*, or *Ovetense*, version of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, wherein Alfonso II is said to have built palaces, baths, reception halls, residences, courts, etc.

²⁸⁹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 333

²⁹⁰ De Morales, *Viage*, 61.

Pelagius does not, however, specify any funerary practices or the types of relics kept in the chamber beneath the *Arca Santa*. More recently, between 1998 and 1999, García de Castro Valdes excavated the same area as Buelta. Given the three tombs in the undercroft and ten others in the cloister, he interpreted the foundations as belonging to a larger clergy house and suggested that the Cámara Santa was an episcopal chapel, not a palatine one, built by Bishop Hermenegildus in the late-ninth century.²⁹¹ It was thus Hermenegildus who buried two of his forebears in the undercroft since they were responsible for translating relics from Córdoba to Oviedo in the late ninth century and deserved a privileged burial site.²⁹² Though Collins believes the double-apsed basilica proposed by Buelta fits into an ideology of Visigothic continuity in post-Conquest Asturian architecture, he disagrees with an Alfonsine date for the Cámara Santa. For Collins, dating the tower to Fruela I relies upon the *a priori* belief that the chapel was later built by Alfonso II.²⁹³ It is certainly odd that the Cámara Santa does not appear in any of the so-called ‘cycle’ of Asturian chronicles, particularly given the fact that it was used to house the most sacred of Asturian relics, the *Arca Santa*, the *Cruz de la Victoria* and the *Cruz de los Angeles*. As Fernandez Condé points out, the omission of such an important royal building from the contemporaneous sources is highly peculiar and if it were indeed built before the Chronicle of Alfonso III, the authors would have surely mentioned it.²⁹⁴ Nevertheless, it is equally possible, as Schlunk suggests, that its absence from the chronicles is due to the fact that the building belonged to the royal palace and thus did not warrant a separate mention.²⁹⁵ Equally

²⁹¹ García de Castro Valdes, “Las primeras fundaciones,” 48.

²⁹² On Hermenegildus, see García de Castro Valdes, “Las primeras fundaciones,” 442. For a discussion of the translation of relics from Córdoba to Oviedo, see Risco, *España Sagrada*, 226; Sánchez Albornoz, *Orígenes de la nación española* vol. 3, 729-740. See also Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro*, 313-314, for a relevant discussion of the *Chronicle of Sampiro*.

²⁹³ Collins “Doubts and Certainties,” 11. See also de Palol, *Arqueología Cristiana de la España romana*, 69-84.

²⁹⁴ Fernández Conde, *El libro de los testamentos*, 114-115.

²⁹⁵ Schlunk, “El arte Asturiano en torno al 800,” 147.

so, the upper chamber's dedication may have been omitted from the *Historia Silense* because the space was only converted into a chapel in the twelfth century, under the auspices of Bishop Pelagius. Prior to this, the space likely served as little more than the church treasury, which housed the relics of venerable saints.

Collins, however, raises an important point in that the adjoining tower of San Miguel can just as easily date from the period of Alfonso II and the Cámara Santa from that of Alfonso III.²⁹⁶ Such a chronology is favoured by scholars who are keen to interpret the double-storied plan as belonging to the final period of the Asturian kingdom, when so-called 'Mozarabic' émigrés migrated northwards and certain Andalusian motifs were absorbed into Asturian architecture.²⁹⁷ Unfortunately, no convincing analogues have survived to establish any such southern model. Similar buildings do exist outside of the Iberian Peninsula, specifically the martyrium at Sopianae (Pecs, Hungary) (second half of the fourth century) and the early fourth-century martyrium of St. Anastasius in Marusinac (near Salona, province of Dalmatia).²⁹⁸ The transmission of these models to the Iberian Peninsula, however, is difficult to account for. Schlunk, together with Fontaine, suggests that comparable chapels were built throughout the Carolingian territories.²⁹⁹ Though none survives, Schlunk states that we have numerous descriptions of double-storied chapels built above the tombs of saints.³⁰⁰ Frustratingly, he does

²⁹⁶ Collins "Doubts and Certainties," 13, suggests that the churches of San Julián de los Prados, San Miguel de Lillo and the Cámara Santa share more in common with San Salvador de Valdediós and San Salvador de Priesca than hitherto accepted and, therefore, these earlier buildings should in fact be dated to the period of Alfonso III.

²⁹⁷ Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 74, suggests that the tabernacle in the eastern end of the undercroft is a later addition from the Mozarabic era, an interpretation that found support from Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 333, who seemingly takes Gómez-Moreno's word, "Entre las columnas, sobre un zócalo, vemos un pequeño tabernáculo en forma de edícula, que parece datar de la época mozárabe, como ha indicado Gómez-Moreno."

²⁹⁸ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 335; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 276; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 104; Spehar, "Private piety or collective worship in early Christian *martyria*," 1–10.

²⁹⁹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 335; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 276, relates the Cámara Santa's superimposed chapels with separate dedications to Carolingian chapels above a saint's grave.

³⁰⁰ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 335.

not provide a single example of such descriptions.³⁰¹ Given the Asturian awareness of indigenous Hispano-Roman sites already witnessed at Santa Cruz and Santianes de Pravia, it seems more likely that the model for the Cámara Santa was an indigenous one, possibly relating back to the design of funerary monuments, such as the mausoleum at La Alberca (Murcia), which is located within a larger Roman cemetery.³⁰² This may have previously served as a model for the earlier Visigothic crypt of San Antolín in the Palencia Cathedral (Fig. 17), likely built by Sancho el Mayor, which retains sections of original barrel vaulting as well as carved columns and capitals at its east end.³⁰³

Given the lack of credible documentation and its complicated series of reconstructions, the original design of the so-called Cámara Santa is difficult to account for. This is equally true of the building's date and patron. Certainly the chapel's location off of the south wall of the cathedral fits with the Asturian chronicles' descriptions of Alfonso II's architectural programme in Oviedo. Nevertheless, as with the church of San Tirso, the Cámara Santa is unmentioned and any attempts to reconstruct the double-storied chapel according to presumably contemporaneous analogues should be carefully considered. It seems logical to interpret the evidence of the earlier tower as belonging to Fruela I's buildings in Oviedo (after 757). The tower and adjacent structure was most likely damaged at the same time as the former church of San Salvador and subsequently restored by Alfonso II before 842.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and its Sculptural Decoration*, 62.

The Church of Santa María de Bendones

The church of Santa María de Bendones (Fig. 18) does not appear in any of the Asturian chronicles. It is first mentioned in a donation made by Alfonso III, his wife Jimena and their five sons on January 20, 905, to the church of Oviedo, “[...] *iuxta Ouetum uillam Uendones cum ecclesiae Sancte Marie.*”³⁰⁴ Though the donation does not specify the church’s original patron, some scholars suggest that it belongs to the period of Alfonso II due to its stylistic similarities with Santullano (812-842).³⁰⁵ It is assumed that, like Santullano, Alfonso II completed the church of Santa María de Bendones between 812 and 842 since it is similarly unmentioned in the *Testamentum of 812*. Unfortunately, Bendones was almost entirely destroyed by fire during the Spanish Civil War in 1936. D. Ignacio Alonso de Nora salvaged what little survived in hopes of avoiding a complete demolition of the site.³⁰⁶ Joaquín Manzanares Rodríguez surveyed the foundations of the site in 1954 and proposed a hypothetical ninth-century plan in conjunction with the surviving fabric of the entire west and south walls of the nave, the remaining third of the east wall and the fragments of the north wall (Fig. 18.1).³⁰⁷ He concluded that the early medieval church was perfectly oriented on an east to west axis.³⁰⁸ The nave was transverse, as opposed to longitudinal, with *porticus* protruding from its north and south walls.³⁰⁹ As at Santullano, Santa María de Bendones’ nave (7,10 m L X 10,45m W) was “a third greater than that of the rest of the building.”³¹⁰ Moreover, at both churches, the transverse unit communicated with three, rectangular eastern chapels, entered through round-headed, red-brick arches. Small rectangular

³⁰⁴ *Liber Testamentorum* 1129 (Fol. 19 r° B.); Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 127; idem, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 111. Oddly, this building does not appear in Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 158-160.

³⁰⁵ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 2-3.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 1, 7; idem, “Santa María de Bendones,” 2-7. See also Menéndez Pidal, *Santa María de Bendones, Oviedo. Reconstrucción* (1974); Arias, *Prerrománico asturiano*, 111.

³⁰⁸ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 2-3; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 111-116.

³⁰⁹ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 2.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 3.

windows pierced their eastern walls. Each chapel was elevated from the nave by a short step, approximately 20cm high, and contained monolithic thresholds.³¹¹ The central chapel was taller and wider than the two peripheral ones and was barrel-vaulted, as opposed to the wooden roofs covering the rest of the building.³¹² A stone measuring 35cm x 40cm was discovered beneath the central chapel's pavement, which Manzanares Rodríguez believes was the "foundation of the column which supported the high altar."³¹³ He discovered two intact columns and the fragments of another in the debris of the fallen structure and concluded that they belonged to an original three-arched miniature arcade set in the upper, exterior wall of the eastern façade (Fig. 18.2).

Today, two square chambers flank the western porch (Fig. 18.3). Their original purpose is unclear, yet Manzanares Rodríguez believed they functioned as rooms for accommodating visiting travelers.³¹⁴ Based on stylistic and technical similarities,³¹⁵ Manzanares Rodríguez concluded that the original church was contemporaneous with Santullano yet extensively altered and reoriented in the eighteenth century prior to the fire in 1936.³¹⁶ These alterations included replacing the high altar in the central western chapel with a Baroque retablo in its northern wall, dedicating the lateral space to the Virgin, and moving the high altar from its original location in the east end to the northern porticus. The southern chapel (Epistle side) was converted into a

³¹¹ Ibid., 5.

³¹² Ibid., 3, allies the grey marble impost blocks in the central chapel at Bendones with those at Santullano.

³¹³ Ibid., 5.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 2-3, 6, does not specify why he believes these chambers were used to shelter travelers. Certainly, it is a rare feature compared to other Asturian buildings. Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 111-116, suggests that the walls that separate these units are not original but that they do replicate the original arrangement. For Arias, the tripartite west end with its two accommodation rooms harkens back to Visigothic models.

³¹⁵ These similarities include the tripartite east end in the arrangement of a Roman triumphal arch, elevated chapels, a transverse nave that replicates Santullano's transept, the remnants of stucco on the walls that imply fresco decoration, and a triple-arched window set in the upper wall of the east façade. Manzanares Rodríguez also allies the measurements of bricks used in the arches at Bendones with those at Santullano. However, it should be noted that many of these same features, except for a transverse, transept-like nave, can also be found at the church of San Salvador de Priesca, traditionally dated to the reign of Alfonso III or Ordoño I. See Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 1-18.

³¹⁶ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 6.

burial chamber and walled-up, and the original northern chapel (Gospel side) was converted into a sacristy. At the same time, the main, western entrance was sealed-off and moved to the south *porticus*. A second-storey rectory hall was subsequently built above of the western porch and south *porticus*.³¹⁷

In 1958, the architect Luis Menéndez Pidal began reconstructing and restoring the church, largely based on Manzanares Rodríguez hypothetical plan.³¹⁸ He removed the eighteenth-century, elevated rectory, reopened the original western portal, returned the high altar to the central eastern chapel (Fig. 18. 4), tore down the southern chapel wall, and rebuilt the eastern façade to include the triple-arched window in its upper wall.³¹⁹ Menéndez-Pidal also positioned windows in accordance with Manzanares Rodríguez's interpretation, who identified the one in the south wall as original and allied it with the fenestrations at San Julián de los Prados. Manzanares Rodríguez suggested that the nave had ten openings in total, each of which was filled with latticework – though he is uncertain of their original designs.³²⁰

The exterior walls were rebuilt in relatively regular courses of rubble with ashlar masonry reserved for the quoins and buttresses (Fig. 18.5). Red brick was used for the round-headed windows set in the walls on either side of the western porch (Fig. 18.6) and in the north and south walls of the clerestory (Fig. 18.7-18.8). The rectangular windows of the north and south *porticus* were framed with single stone jambs and lintels, all of which were surmounted by red brick retaining arches. Similarly, the windows in the east and west clerestory were supported with single stone jambs and lintels, albeit without retaining arches above (Fig. 18.9). Each of the

³¹⁷ Ibid., 2, 4, fig. 5.

³¹⁸ See idem, *Santa María de Bendones, identificación y estudio de sus ruinas* (1957); idem, "Santa María de Bendones, an Unknown Pre-Romanesque Church," 2-7; Menéndez Pidal, "Santa María de Bendones, Oviedo, Reconstrucción," (1974).

³¹⁹ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano, Síntesis de su arquitectura* (Oviedo, 1964), 2, 4, fig. 5.

³²⁰ Ibid., 6.

windows was filled with latticework, as per Manzanares Rodríguez's analysis.³²¹ As at Santullano and San Tirso, a triple-arched window was reconstructed from the debris and set into the upper wall of Bendones' upper, exterior east façade (Fig. 18.10).³²² Unlike other Asturian examples of this motif, particularly those at Santullano (Fig. 30.8), San Tirso (Fig. 15), San Pedro de Nora (Fig. 19.6), Santa María de Naranco (Fig. 20.9), and San Salvador de Valdediós (Fig. 25.17), which all contain carved foliage capitals, Bendones' capitals are four-stepped, rounded and tapered at the bottom necking. Also, their abaci are squared and the neckings are round, both with twisted-cable ornament.³²³

Manzanares Rodríguez discovered a fragment of fresco, depicting a band of foliage sprouting from a vase, on the intrados of the southern chapel arch (Fig. 18.11). He noted its similarity with the decorations at Santullano and ultimately traced the motif back to late Roman traditions.³²⁴ However, he failed to identify the identical motifs at Valdediós and Priesca, which are respectively dated to Alfonso III (866-910) and Ordoño II (914-924). Schlunk and Berenguer are, nevertheless, confident that the fresco design secures Bendones an Alfonsine date in the first half of the ninth century.³²⁵

Manzanares Rodríguez also discovered the remains of a baptismal font and two carved limestone fragments. Noting the grooves and notches in the central chapel jambs, he believes the latter formed the frame of the early medieval chancel screens.³²⁶ The better preserved of the two fragments is described as:

³²¹ Idem, *Santa María de Bendones, identificación y estudio de sus ruinas* (1957).

³²² See Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 111-116.

³²³ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano, Síntesis de su arquitectura*, 6.

³²⁴ Idem, "Santa María de Bendones, an Unknown Pre-Romanesque Church," 6.

³²⁵ See Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural en los siglos IX y X* (1957).

³²⁶ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano, Síntesis de su arquitectura*, 7; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 111-116.

a well-executed ornament [that] shows a stylized plant. On the side are leaves and flowers; on the front a winding stem with spiraling tendrils, heart-shaped follicles filled with points in relief, and stylized leaves. The motif is identical to that found on the marble chancel panels at Santa Cristina de Lena...which have been considered late Visigothic pieces. The same motif appears on a fragment of limestone in a wall of the cloister at San Francisco de Avilés, which unquestionably belongs on the right side of the chancel.³²⁷

According to Caballero's 'Rupture theory', the plaques, which have thus far been held to be Visigothic *spolia*, are in fact the product of Umayyad techniques that penetrated the Iberian Peninsula after 755. The plaque fragments at Santianes de Pravia and Santa Cristina de Lena would similarly belong to this group. Interestingly, the latter church, like Bendones, incorporates the rare use of a transverse nave with north and south projecting chambers. It is doubtful, however, that Santa Cristina de Lena's central, lateral unit is the product of the Umayyad influence argued by Caballero. It should also be noted that evidence to support original screens in Asturian churches is not concrete, whether they derived from Umayyad influence or otherwise.³²⁸

Given the lack of documentation and its unusual plan relative to surviving Asturian buildings, it is difficult to date the church of Santa María de Bendones with any degree of certainty. Though the lateral orientation of the nave bears similarity to Santullano's continuous transept, it may be too much of a stretch to argue for a contemporaneous date or patronage between 812 and 842. The same can be said of efforts to date Bendones' painted fragment depicting a sprouting band of foliage based on the appearance of similar motifs at Santullano. As mentioned, this depiction is later used at Valdediós and Priesca. As an undocumented building, Santa María de Bendones poses a particular dilemma to the structured timeline of Asturian

³²⁷ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano, Síntesis de su arquitectura*, 7.

³²⁸ It is more likely that where indications of furniture divisions appear, they reveal later additions, as I argue through the evidence at San Miguel de Lillo, Santa Cristina de Lena, and San Salvador de Priesca below.

architecture. Until recently, this church was little more than an obscure building on the outskirts of Oviedo and is now of particular importance to the history of Asturian architecture. Along with the church of San Pedro de Nora, it perhaps best represents the problematic methodology used to date and categorize buildings according to stylistic similarities with loosely dated buildings.

The Church of San Pedro de Nora

The present-day church of San Pedro de Nora (Las Regueras) (Fig. 19) is built in a basilican plan with a projecting western porch and a nave flanked by single aisles that terminate in a tripartite east end (Fig. 19.1). The exterior walls are built in a combination of rubble and ashlar masonry, the latter reserved for the quoins and buttresses. Inside, simple, square piers support the four, round-headed, brick arches of the main arcade (Fig. 19.2). A total of seven clerestory windows illuminate the interior - three windows set above the north and south aisles are rectangular and one set above the western porch is round-headed. Unlike Santullano, Nora's clerestory windows repeat the rhythm of the nave supports rather than the apex of the arches (Fig. 19.3). San Pedro de Nora's central chapel arch is taller and wider than the two subsidiary ones. In contrast to the timber roofs over the nave and aisles, the three eastern chapels are barrel-vaulted. As at other Asturian examples, the arrangement expresses a hierarchy of space within the church. Indeed, a tabernacle set beneath the window of the central chapel's east wall further articulates the location of the high altar, similar to Santullano (Fig. 30.23) and the Cámara Santa (Fig. 16.2-16.3). Interestingly, large, round-headed arches pierce the north and south walls of Nora's central chapel, allowing it to communicate with the adjacent units.

Unfortunately, the church was severely damaged during the Spanish Civil war. It was subsequently restored by the architect Luis Menéndez Pidal,³²⁹ who renovated the interior pavement and roofing, began construction on the western porch, raised the height of the central nave, installed new latticework in the windows, and according to the supposed discovery of cement foundations to the north west of the building, reconstructed what he believed was an original bell tower (Fig. 19.4). Based on insufficient archaeological evidence, however, Manzanares Rodríguez refuted Menéndez-Pidal's reconstruction, calling it a 'monstrous campanile' with an 'absurd' relation to the church's plan.³³⁰ Leonardo Martínez Faedo and Gema Adán Álvarez excavated the site in 1991 and revealed the absence of previous foundations around the tower as well as incongruous foundations for the western porch, which they deemed was a later addition.³³¹

The church of San Pedro de Nora is not recorded in the cycle of Asturian chronicles. Along with the church of Santa María de Bendones, its sole documentation is a donation made to the church of Oviedo by Alfonso III, his wife Jimena and their five sons on January 20, 905, the authenticity of which is debated.³³² As such, the building's date relies almost exclusively on comparisons with Santullano and Santa María de Bendones, the latter is similarly undocumented. Gómez-Moreno, on the other hand, interpreted its design and decoration as Mozarabic, dating the church to the reign of Alfonso III.³³³ Schlunk, who visited the church in 1928 and again between

³²⁹ See Menéndez Pidal, "San Pedro de Nora, Asturias," 400.

³³⁰ Ibid.; Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 22; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 117-120.

³³¹ See also, Martínez Faedo and Adán Álvarez, "La iglesia prerrománica de S. Pedro de Nora (Las Regueras)", 288-289.

³³² *Liber Testamentorum* Fol. 19 v° A.; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 117; Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 371. Oddly, along with Santa María de Bendones, San Pedro de Nora is missing from Barrau-Dihigo, "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens," 158-160. See also, Martínez Faedo and Adán Álvarez, "La iglesia prerrománica de S. Pedro de Nora (Las Regueras)", 286.

³³³ Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 87, associated San Pedro de Nora's 'barbarous' design with the political and geographic extension of the Asturian kingdom towards León during the reign of Alfonso III, which in turn brought a southern Iberian influence northward.

1930 and 1932, partly agreed with Gómez-Moreno. Yet he also recognized the interior proportions, elevated chambers in the aisles, and chapel windows as identical to the group of buildings dated to Alfonso II.³³⁴ Manzanares Rodríguez adamantly argued in favour of a date between 812 and 842 for San Pedro.³³⁵ In addition to the proportional relationship noted by Schlunk, he allied the church's tripartite east end, barrel vaults above the chapels, eastern windows (Fig. 19.5), as well as the designs of the capitals and bases of the miniature arcade in the external eastern wall (Fig. 19.6), to the examples at Santullano.³³⁶ Manzanares Rodríguez furthermore connected the communication between the eastern chapels via round-headed arches set in the north and south walls of San Pedro's central chapel with what existed at Santullano prior to de Selgas' restoration, an observation that was previously made by Ciriaco Miguel Vigil in 1887.³³⁷ Indeed, a pre-restoration photograph taken by de Selgas (Fig. 30.47) shows that the middle arch of Santullano's central chapel's southern blind arcade was once fully opened. The analogous arrangement at both buildings not only indicates a similar design, but may also signal a mutual liturgical requirement that seemingly fell out of favour in the subsequent years of the kingdom. Perhaps Schlunk was not originally aware of Santullano's communicating chapels when he visited the church after de Selgas completed his restorations between 1912 and 1915 and, therefore, did not record the similarity.

³³⁴ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 386; Adán Álvarez, Martínez Faedo and Díaz García, "San Pedro de Nora. Evolución constructiva y restauraciones," 161-182; Martínez Faedo and Adán Álvarez, "La iglesia prerrománica de S. Pedro de Nora (Las Regueras)," 286-292.

³³⁵ Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 19-20.

³³⁶ Ibid.; Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 386, associated Nora with the 'well-defined artistic group' (*con las que forma un grupo artístico bien definido*) built by Alfonso II in Oviedo: namely the Cámara Santa, San Julián de los Prados, Santa María de Bendones and San Tirso.

³³⁷ Miguel Vigil, *Asturias monumental, epigráfica y diplomática*, 226.

It should also be noted that both Santullano and San Pedro de Nora retain the only examples of superimposed lateral doorways in Asturias (Fig. 19.7),³³⁸ a feature that Menéndez-Pidal's reconstruction drawings certainly attempt to promote (Fig. 19.8). Whereas Santullano's *porticus* is believed to have held king Alfonso II's royal tribune, the function of the compartments at Nora is altogether unclear. Schlunk does not specify their use and simply refers to them as '*habitaciones laterales*.'³³⁹ Arias believes they served as accommodations for traveling visitors.³⁴⁰ If he is correct, they may be related to the chambers on either side of Bendones's western porch (Fig. 18.3). However, their position along Nora's aisles and their communication with the interior of the building on the upper and lower levels is highly irregular given their supposedly secular function. After all, at Bendones the chambers are positioned on either side of the western porch. Alternatively, we may entertain the possibility that Nora's lateral *porticus* were intended to serve as chambers or dormitories for members of the clergy. Nevertheless, this solution does not explain the addition of the second, upper doorway. Instead, if we recognize the fact that Santullano's royal tribune was not set in the north wall of the transept, but rather was originally positioned above the western portal of the nave, it allows for an alternative interpretation of its two-storied *porticus* and, in turn, those along the north and south flanks of Nora's nave (Fig. 19.9-19.10). It seems that at both churches these double-storied compartments served liturgical functions, the purpose of which has since been lost. The peculiar arrangements, coupled with the equally rare communicating eastern chapels, not only signal a relationship between both buildings, but also the possibility of a similar patronage and date of construction. The lack of these same architectural features in other Asturian churches suggests an experimental

³³⁸ Though the present-day church of Santa María de Naranco may have had a two-story, southern porticus, it differs from these examples in that its upper story most likely did not communicate with the ground level.

³³⁹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 386.

³⁴⁰ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 117-120.

nature that was not necessarily required by the Visigothic rite. Or, it could be that they fell out of favour shortly after Alfonso II's reign in 842.

The Church of Santa María de Naranco

Two buildings have survived on the slope of Mount Naranco, approximately three kilometers to the northwest of the Cathedral of Oviedo. The lower of the two in elevation is a two-storey, rectangular structure with no transept or apse (Fig. 20). A centrally-positioned external staircase projects from the north façade (Fig. 20.1). A set of steps descend along its east and west walls. A photograph by Hauser y Menet (Fig. 20.2) and an 1848 drawing by José María Avrial y Flores (Fig. 20.3) reveal a third staircase that splayed outward away from the building towards the north and covered a ground-storey portal to the undercroft.³⁴¹ It also shows a rectory added to the west façade in the seventeenth century, which covered an original ground-storey portal and the open-air western balcony of the *piano nobile*.³⁴² Similarly, a presbytery was added to the eastern façade. The presbytery was renovated in 1856, probably at the same time as the addition of the belfry atop the western upper portal.³⁴³ In an attempt to return the building to its original state, these features were removed between 1929 and 1934 under the direction of Luis Menéndez-Pidal, who also determined that the central staircase projecting from the north façade and the eastern presbytery were later additions and thus required being demolished.³⁴⁴

A large section of fragmented masonry remains in the center of the south wall and indicates the location of what Schlunk believes was an original, projecting chamber that

³⁴¹ For de Selgas' photograph, see Cuenca Busto, "El palacio del Naranco. Intervenciones," 227. For Avrial y Flores' drawing, see Arias, "Una visión gráfica del prerrománico Asturiano," 73.

³⁴² M. a Pilar García Cuetos, "La restauración del Patrimonio Asturiano en la primera mitad del siglo XX," 112.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Cuenca Busto, "El palacio del Naranco. Intervenciones," 223.

symmetrically mirrored the northern portal (Fig. 20.4).³⁴⁵ A total of sixteen pilaster-buttresses (eight on each side of the north and south façades) rise from a plinth, which runs along the entirety of the building, to just beneath the cornice of the roof where they corbel-out. Their rhythm accords with the transverse arches of the barrel vault of the upper storey, or *piano nobile*, discussed below. Round-headed arches pierce the corners of the *piano nobile* and the spaces between the ultimate and penultimate buttresses (Fig. 20.5). The arches are supported by fluted engaged-columns with carved, Corinthian-type capitals and moulded bases (Fig. 20.6). Smaller, round-headed, ground-storey windows with moulded faces repeat the rhythm of the arches above.

A central, round-headed portal pierces the ground storey of the west façade (Fig. 20.7) and opens into a small, concealed chamber, perhaps originally used for storage, which does not communicate with the rest of the building. The portal is surmounted by the large triple-arcade of the open-air balcony or belvedere (Fig. 20.8). The two storeys are separated by a horizontally-fluted stringcourse. The central arch of the *piano nobile* arcade is larger than the two flanking it. The arches rest atop roughly carved Corinthian-type capitals and spirally-fluted columns with moulded bases. The same moulding of the stringcourse separating the ground storey and the *piano nobile* can be found on the face of the arches. The spandrels of the central arch are decorated with carved roundels inhabited by vine scrolls and animals. A short pilaster rises from the roundels to meet a stringcourse above. The intersections of the pilasters and the upper stringcourse are marked with carved crosses with symbols of the *alpha* and *omega* suspended from their arms. The upper stringcourse is topped by a miniature triple-arcade that spans the width and depth of the central arch of the arcade beneath it (Fig. 20.9). With spirally fluted

³⁴⁵ Shlunk, “Arte Asturiano,” 348.

columns, Corinthian-type capitals and moulded bases, the upper arcade is a miniature version of the arcade of the *piano nobile*. The exception is that whereas single shafts support the balcony arcade, the miniature arcade above rests atop twin-shafts set one before the other (Fig. 20.10). Unlike other Asturian miniature arcades found in the upper walls of the east façade at Santullano, Santa María de Bendones, San Pedro de Nora, and San Tirso, Santa María del Naranco's does not open into a sealed compartment, but rather pierces the upper wall of the open-air balcony. The arrangement of the east façade (Fig. 20.11) is nearly identical to that of the west with the exception of having three round-headed windows occupy the place of the western façade's ground-storey portal.

Today, the barrel-vaulted undercroft is accessed via the centrally positioned portal set in the north wall (Fig. 20.12). A second portal mirrors its position in the south wall, which previously opened into the southern *porticus*, now lost. The vault is constructed in tufa and springs from a short plinth that runs along the north and south walls, approximately the same height as that of the exterior. Its transverse arches, on the other hand, appear to be built with cut limestone. A shorter plinth, which possibly served as a seating area, runs along each of the interior walls. A doorway set in the interior southeast corner of the undercroft provides access to a subterranean bath (Fig. 20.13-20.14). The bath contains a secondary, round-headed portal set in the north façade of the building (Fig. 20.15), though it is unlikely that this was used as an original entrance since it does not have a corresponding staircase with which to descend into the bath.

The upper chamber is entered through the centrally positioned portal set in the north façade. As with the undercroft, a southern portal mirrors its position and originally granted access into the lost *porticus*. The north and south walls are decorated with partially blind arcades

(Fig. 20.16). Whereas the ultimate bays are blind, the penultimate bays of the north and south walls are pierced with round-headed windows; each of which is supported by spirally-fluted, four-clustered, engaged-shafts with geometric capitals and moulded bases. These supports rest on a short plinth that spans the length of the hall (Fig. 20.17). A cable motif compartmentalizes the face of the capitals into trapezoids and triangles, which are in turn decorated with a combination of rudimentary human and animal carvings (Fig. 20.18). As with the east and west façades, the spandrels of the *piano nobile* arcade are decorated with carved roundels (Fig. 20.19). Each roundel is composed of two concentric circles of cable ornament. The outer ring is decorated with a vine scroll and the inner circle is inhabited with various animal designs. Some of the roundels are topped with carved plaques. The plaques on the north and south walls are compartmentalized by two superimposed sets of cable-arches (Fig. 20.20). Whereas the lower two arches are inhabited with affronted figures on horseback, the upper two arches contain single orans figures shown standing. The plaques above the roundels on the east and west walls are elongated, slender versions of the equal-armed crosses above the roundels on the exterior east and west façade (Fig. 20.21). As with the undercroft, the *piano nobile* is covered by a tufa barrel vault with limestone transverse arches. The vault springs from a stringcourse set above the carved plaques. The transverse ribs corbel-out at the intersection of the stringcourse and carved plaques above the spandrels. The east and west terminating walls of the *piano nobile* (Fig. 20.22) are articulated in a similar fashion to the interior space. As with the north and south walls, the spandrels are decorated with carved roundels topped by pilasters. However, with no stringcourse interrupting them, the pilasters freely rise to the vault above. Round-headed niches are set above the central arches on the east and west interior walls, possibly used to house sculpture. Access to the open-air balconies is granted via the triple arcades of the east and west walls of the *piano*

nobile. Though their purpose is debated, they are undeniably impressive and offer unrivaled vistas of Oviedo below. Interesting to note are the broad incisions on the insides of the balcony columns (Fig. 20.23). These presumably held a furniture screen that served as a guardrail. Unlike the incised bases at San Julián de los Prados, Santa María de Bendones, Santa Cristina de Lena, San Salvador de Priesca, and San Salvador de Valdediós, Naranco's incisions are restricted to the shafts and do not descend to the bases. The screens would have therefore had the appearance of being suspended in air.

Precisely where such an intricate decorative scheme derived from remains a subject of debate. De Palol and Hirmer recognize the design of the medallions and capitals in the *piano nobile* as showing middle eastern influence – “the hens, swans and other birds, and the quadrupeds with long, curly tails correspond to motifs used in Byzantine and near eastern textiles.”³⁴⁶ Noack-Haley proposes prototypes from Plà de Nadal (Valencia) for Naranco's roundel decorations, which “*consiste de piedra arenisca y lleva un monograma en el centro, Coronado por un racimo de uvas y hojas de vid.*”³⁴⁷ Marín Valdes believes the representations of humans on horseback in the plaques above the roundels in the *piano nobile* are representations of the *bellatores*, those who served to protect the church, and the figures standing in orans beneath them depict the *oratores*, those who prayed for the church.³⁴⁸ These corresponded to the allegory of the *Regnum* and *Sacerdotum*. The animals in the roundels beneath them occupy the inaccessible celestial realms of the church. Certainly the abundance of carved, figural decorations stands in stark contrast to the aniconism of Alfonso II's church of San Julián de los Prados, which presumably immediately predates it. Nevertheless, certain elements may be

³⁴⁶ De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 36-37.

³⁴⁷ Noack-Haley, “Tradición e innovación en la decoración plastic de los edificios reales asturianos,” 174-184.

³⁴⁸ Marín Valdés, “Santa María de Naranco, bestiario y paraíso,” 413-426.

related and it might be premature to rule out a degree of continuity between the two buildings. For instance, the spirally fluted columns of Naranco's *piano nobile* are reminiscent of the painted versions on Santullano's north transept wall. So too are the miniature arcades set into Naranco's eastern and western façades.

The *Chronicle of Albelda* and the two redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* confirm that Ramiro I (842-850) constructed a number of buildings during his reign as king.³⁴⁹ The briefest account is found in the *Albelda* text, which states that Ramiro built a church and palaces of admirable quality, covered in vaults in the place of Ligno.³⁵⁰ The *Rotense* redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* provides slightly more information, recording that after Ramiro I quieted the civil wars he erected buildings with "openings in limestone and marble, without wood, covered in vaults, on the side of Mount Naranco at a distance of only two miles from Oviedo."³⁵¹ The *Ovetense* redaction is more descriptive and specifies that, "the king founded a church in memory of St Mary on the top of mount Naranco, at a distance of less than two miles from Oviedo, of an admirable beauty and perfect grace... covered in many arches built in lime and stone, and if we try to find an edifice with which to compare it, we would not find it in Spain. He

³⁴⁹ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 45; *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Rotense and Ovetense*, 15.2. See also Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 17, for an English translation of the *Ovetense* redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, "After Ramiro quieted the civil wars he built many buildings of granite and marble without wood and with arches on the side of Mt. Naranco two miles from Oviedo."

³⁵⁰ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 45, "In locum Ligno ecclesiam et palatial arte fornicea mire construxit"; Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 10, 175; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 25, 92, "Au lieu-dit Lillo, il fit construire une église et des palais recouverts de voûtes d'un art admirable." Important to note is that Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 92, interprets the passage as indicating Ramiro I built one church (singular), many palaces and that the term *locum* refers to a 'villa'. See also Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 14; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 316-317.

³⁵¹ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Rotense*, 15.2; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 54-55; "Postquam ad uella ciuilia quieuit multa edificia ex murice et marmore, sine lignis, opera forniceo in latere montis Naurantii, duobus tantum miliaris procul ab Oueto aedificauit." Bonnaz translates the passage to: "ouvrages en calcaire et en marbre, sans bois, recouvertes de voûtes, sur la pente du mont Naranco, à une distance de deux milles seulement d'Oviedo." See also Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 14; Arias, *Prerrómanico Asturiano*, 138; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 316-317.

also built beautiful palaces and baths not far from this church.”³⁵² The *Historia Silense* (c. 1115) similarly records that Ramiro I built many vaulted edifices in stone and marble at a distance of two miles from Oviedo. Unlike the earlier Asturian texts, the twelfth-century *Silense* text specifies that the king dedicated one of his beautiful churches to the archangel Michael on Mount Naranco, which is unlike any other in terms of its beauty, and also built a palace of admirable quality without the use of wood at a distance of sixty paces from the church.³⁵³ Here again, the *Silense* further specifies that Ramiro’s palace was *converted* into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.³⁵⁴ Moreover, two separate donations made to the Cathedral of Oviedo include the

³⁵² *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Ovetense*, 15.2; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 54-55, “*Interea supradictus, rex ecclesiam condidit in memoriam Sanctae Mariae in latere montis Naurantii, distantem ab Oueto duorum millia passuum, mirae pulchritudinis perfectique decoris ; et ut alia decoris eius taceam, cum pluribus centris forniceis sit concamerata, sola calce et lapide constructa, cui si aliquis aedificium consimilare uoluerit, in Hispania non inueniet. Multa etiam non longe a supradicta ecclesia, condidit palatia et balnea pulchra atque decora.*” Bonnaz translates the passage to: “Entre-temps, le dit roi fonda une église en souvenir de sainte Marie, sur la pente du mont Naranco, a une distance de deux mille pas d’Oviedo, d’une beauté admirable et d’une grâce parfaite; et pour ne rien dire de ses autres mérites, elle est couverte de plusieurs voûtes en plein cintre, construites seulement en chaux et en pierre, et si l’on veut trouver un édifice à lui comparer, on ne le trouvera pas en Espagne. Il bâtit aussi, non loin de la susdite église, des palais et des bains fort beaux.” See also Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 22-24; Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 14; Fontaine, *L’art préroman hispanique*, 316-317.

³⁵³ For the Spanish translation, see Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXVII, “*Sin embargo, cuando hubo descansado su ánimo de la perturbación interior, para no entorpecerse con el ocio construyó muchos edificios, distantes dos millas de Oviedo, con piedra arenisca y mármol en obra abovedada. Así, pues, en la ladera del monte Naranco fabricó tan Hermosa iglesia, con título del arcángel Miguel, que cuantos la ven atestiguan no haber visto jamás otra semejante a ella en hermosura; la cual bien conviene a Miguel, victorioso arcángel que, por voluntad divina, en todas partes dió triunfo al príncipe Ramiro sobre sus enemigos. Hizo también, a distancia de 60 pasos de la iglesia, un palacio sin madera, de admirable fábrica y abovedado abajo y en lo alto, el cual fué convertido en iglesia después y allí se adora a la bienaventurada virgin María, madre de Dios. Por lo demás, el rey Ramiro, después de siete años de reinado, ocho meses y diez y ocho días, atacado de fiebre expiró; el cual está sepultado en Oviedo, en el cemeterio de los reyes.*” See also Schlunk, “Arte Asturiano,” 346-348.

³⁵⁴ On the Latin text, see Pérez de Urbel and Gonzalez Ruiz-Zorilla, *Historia Silense*, 144 “[...] *multa duobus ab Oueto miliariis remota, ex murice et marmore, opera forniceo, hedificia construxit. Siquidem aad titulum archangely Michaelis in latere Naurantii montis adeo pulcrum ecclesiam fabricauit, quod quicumque eam vident, testantur se secundam ei pulcritudine nusquam uidisse. [...] Fecit quoque, in spatio LX pasuum ab ecclesia, palacium sine ligno, miro opera inferius superusque cammulatum, quod in ecclesiam postea versum, beata Dey genitrix uirgo María inibi adoratur.*” For the Spanish translation, see Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXVII, “*Sin embargo, cuando hubo descansado su ánimo de la perturbación interior, para no entorpecerse con el ocio construyó muchos edificios, distantes dos millas de Oviedo, con piedra arenisca y mármol en obra abovedada. Así, pues, en la ladera del monte Naranco fabricó tan Hermosa iglesia, con título del arcángel Miguel, que cuantos la ven atestiguan no haber visto jamás otra semejante a ella en hermosura; la cual bien conviene a Miguel, victorioso arcángel que, por voluntad divina, en todas partes dió triunfo al príncipe Ramiro sobre sus enemigos. Hizo también, a distancia de 60 pasos de la iglesia, un palacio sin madera, de admirable fábrica y abovedado abajo y en lo alto, el cual fué convertido en iglesia después y allí se adora a la bienaventurada virgin María, madre de Dios. Por lo demás, el rey Ramiro, después de siete años de reinado, ocho meses y diez y ocho días, atacado de fiebre expiró; el cual está sepultado en Oviedo,*

buildings on Monte Naranco: one by Ordoño I on 20 April, 857, “*in latere etiam montis Naurantii uillam que dicitur Linio et aliam que dicitur Suego et aliam uillam in Castro; ecclesias etiam Sancti Michaelis et Sancte Marie subtus Naurantium, [...]*”³⁵⁵ and the other by Alfonso III and his wife Jimena on 20 January, 905, which includes five buildings on the slope of Monte Naranco (a villa named Liño, another named Suego, and another named Castro, along with the churches dedicated to Saint Michael and Santa-María-beneath-Naranco).³⁵⁶

A carved altar slab (Fig. 20.24), preserved in the eastern balcony of the *piano nobile*, records a dedication to the Virgin Mary on 23 June, 848.³⁵⁷ Historians have thus dated the building to the reign of Ramiro I (842-850) and, based on the secular design of the building, suggest that it was originally the king’s palace and later converted to a church. The original altar, now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Asturias, measures 1’05m L by 0’80m W by 0’20m H.³⁵⁸ It rests atop a rectangular, fluted plinth measuring 0’87m by 0’90m by 0’70m. The front and right sides of the altar slab contain a single register of carved lettering that runs between an upper and lower band of chevron ornament. The left side of the slab contains two bands of lettering between similar, though better-preserved, bands of chevron. Lastly, the back of

en el cemeterio de los reyes.” See also Schlunk, “Arte Asturiano,” 346-348; Fontaine, *L’art préroman hispanique*, 316-317; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 138.

³⁵⁵ Floriano, *Diplomática*, t. 2, 368 (Fol. 9 r° A).

³⁵⁶ Floriano, *Diplomática*, t.2, doc. 192; Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 129, 158; Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 30; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 92; Fontaine, *L’art préroman hispanique*, 316-317.

³⁵⁷ César García de Castro Valdés, “Notas sobre teología política en el Reino de Asturias,” 137-170; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 138, the date inscribed (DIE VIII KALENDAS IULIAS ERA DCCCLXXXVIA) works out to be 23 June, 848. Tozer, “Asturias and its Antiquities,” 22, describes an “old font, a round block of marble, hollowed out within,” set in the western balcony. He found its location puzzling and initially presumed it was intended to serve as a royal pew. However, in recognizing the absence of a separate entrance to this section of the building and its elevated position, he suggested the balcony served as a choir. Interestingly, Tozer does not describe the subterranean bath in the eastern end of the undercroft, nor does he mention the altar in the eastern balcony, which he refers to as the eastern sacristy.

³⁵⁸ See Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 153, for measurements provided.

the slab contains three registers of lettering and no ornament. When reconstructed, the text reads:

†CHRISTE FILIUS DEI QUI IN UTERO VIRGINIS BEATA MARIAE INGRESSUS ES SINE HUMANA CONCEPTIONE ET EGRESSUS SINE CORRUPTIONE QUI PER FAMULUM/TUUM RANIMIRUM GLORIOSUM CUM PATERNA REGINA CONTUGE RENOVASTI(HOC) HABITACULUM NIMIA VETUSTATE CONSUMPTUM ET PRO EIS AEDIFICASTI HANC HARAM BENEDICTIONIS GLORIOSAE SANCTAE MARIAE IN LOCUM HUMC SUMUM EXAUDI EOS DE CAELORUM HABITACULO TUO ET DIMITTE PECCATA/ ORUM QUI VIVS ET REGNAS PER INFINITA SAECULA SAECULORUM AMEN DIE VIII KALENDAS IULIAS ERA DCCCLXXXVIA.³⁵⁹

Emilio Camps Cazorla translates the passage to:

*Oh Christo, Hijo de Dios, quien en el vientre de la Virgen Benaventurada María entraste sin humana concepción y saliste sin corrupción, que por el siervo tuyo Ramiro, Príncipe glorioso, con Paterna, Reina, su mujer, renovaste esta morada por la demasiada antigüedad consumida y por ellos edificaste este ara de bendición a la gloriosa Santa María en este lugar elevado, óyelos desde tu morada de los cielos y perdona los pecados de ellos. Que vives y reinas por los infinitos siglos de los siglos. Amén. Día nono de las Kalendas de julio. Era de 886.*³⁶⁰

Its English translation reads:

Oh Christ, Son of God, who in the womb of the Virgin Mary came in without human conception and went forth without corruption, who by your servant Ramiro, glorious Prince, with Paterna, Queen, his wife, renewed this dwelling consumed by antiquity and built this blessed altar to the glorious St. Mary in this elevated position, hear from them in your dwelling from heaven and forgive their sins. May you live and reign for the infinite ages of ages. Amen. Ninth day of the kalends of July. Era 886.

Despite the concise details provided by its inscription, some scholars are divided on the altar's relationship with its current location.³⁶¹ Schlunk is convinced that the present-day church of Santa María de Naranco was indeed Ramiro I's palace recorded in the chronicles.³⁶² However,

³⁵⁹ For full inscription, see Manzanares Rodríguez, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 18 ff. See also, García de Castro Valdés, "Notas sobre teología política en el Reino de Asturias," 137-170; Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 15, where the inscription is repeated, though without accompanying citation due to what appears to be a typo. See Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 321 for a French translation of the altar's inscription.

³⁶⁰ Camps Cazorla, "Revisión de algunos problemas ramirenses," 98; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 155.

³⁶¹ The current location here refers to the replica that has come to replace the original in the eastern balcony of Santa María de Naranco.

³⁶² Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 348.

given the *Historia Silense*'s account of it being reconstructed and converted into a church at a later date, he is hesitant to place the altar's original location within the building. Conant, on the other hand, believes the altar was originally housed in the (now destroyed) elevated southern portico opposite the surviving entry to the *piano nobile* and that the upper storey functioned as a belvedere that doubled as a space of "sacred ceremonial in connection with the king – as for instance when he departed for war."³⁶³ Menéndez-Pidal and Demetrio de los Ríos doubt that the *piano nobile* was intended as a religious space,³⁶⁴ which Bonnaz and Percy E. Schramm are convinced included a royal throne.³⁶⁵ De Palol and Hirmer interpret the building in connection with the details provided in the *Historia Silense*, suggesting that the building was Ramiro I's former palace and that it came to be used exclusively as a church after the destruction of the neighbouring building dedicated to the archangel Michael in the thirteenth century.³⁶⁶ Prior to this, the undercroft of Ramiro's palace on Mount Naranco functioned as a place of worship.³⁶⁷ Jacques Fontaine does not specify that the dedication to the Virgin Mary was translated from another building, yet he is similarly convinced that the church of Santa María de Naranco was a secular building prior to being rebuilt and consecrated by Ramiro I and Paterna on July 8, 848.³⁶⁸ Camps Cazorla, Magín Berenguer, V. J. González García, Gil, Moralejo, Ruiz de la Peña, and Lorenzo Arias, believe that the present-day church of San Miguel de Lillo was originally dedicated to the Virgin Mary but that its dedication was translated to Ramiro I's palace on Mount Naranco after the former building suffered extensive damages in the twelfth century and its

³⁶³ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 89-92.

³⁶⁴ García Cuetos, "La restauración del Patrimonio Asturiano en la primera mitad del siglo XX," 112.

³⁶⁵ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 191, "ne peut se concevoir sans un trône, qui devait s'élever au milieu du côté le plus large"; Schramm, *Las insignias de la realeza*, 25-27.

³⁶⁶ De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 36-37.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 321.

chancel collapsed.³⁶⁹ The altar, which originally resided in the chancel of the destroyed church, was moved to the eastern balcony of the nearby palace, which thus inherited the dedication to the Virgin Mary. Later, when the east end of the damaged church was rebuilt, it received a new dedication to San Miguel. As Collins observes, this theory explains the awkward location of Santa María's altar in the eastern balcony of a building that clearly was neither designed, nor intended, to be a church.³⁷⁰ To this I would also add the interpretation of the miniature arcades set in the upper walls of Santa María de Naranco's east and west façades. It is important to note that when this motif is used in Asturian architecture it is restricted to the articulation of the high altar. Since Santa María de Naranco was initially intended as a "*maison de plaisance*"³⁷¹ it is highly unlikely that the eastern balcony served an ecclesiastical function and occupied a more significant liturgical position over its western counterpart. It was, therefore, possible for the architect to apply the miniature arcade to both the east and west façades.

Indeed, the *Historia Silense* (c. 1115) later confirmed that Ramiro I built the palace on Monte Naranco and that this building was *converted* to a church at a later point in time.³⁷² The chronicle does not specify the date of the conversion, yet it is logical to assume that it was consecrated as a church before the *Historia Silense* was completed. Nor does the chronicle record that the church of San Miguel suffered any damages or that its altar and original dedication to the Virgin Mary were transferred to the neighbouring palace as a result of its condition. Collins suggests, "the indications are that the collapse of the central and eastern

³⁶⁹ Camps Cazorla, "Revisión de algunos problemas de los monumentos ramirenses," 95-112; Berenguer, *Puntualizaciones sobre los edificios ramirenses del Naranco*, 395-403; González García, *La iglesia de San Miguel de Lillo*, 178-87; Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 22-23; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 138; Cuenca Busto, "El palacio del Naranco. Intervenciones," 219. For a summary of the opposing views on this topic, see Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 16.

³⁷⁰ Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 16.

³⁷¹ Correa, *Spanish pre-Romanesque art*, 48.

³⁷² Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXVII.

sections of San Miguel de Lillo took place between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. There would be no reason for the transfer of the altar and of the dedication to the palace hall to have taken place previously.”³⁷³ On the contrary, the chronicle praises how beautiful a construction San Miguel de Lillo is: “that all who see her attest to have never seen another like her in beauty”.³⁷⁴ Surely, if the church dedicated to the archangel Michael in the *Historia Silense* suffered significant enough damages to justify translating its altar and dedication, the chronicler would have known about it at the time of his writing. Collins is convinced that the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary on the slope of Mount Naranco is not Ramiro I’s former-palace-come-church. Rather, he proposes that the foundations of the building pre-date the period of 842 to 850 and, as indicated by the inscription on its altar, was restored by Ramiro I and his wife Paterna.³⁷⁵ Precisely how much work was carried out during the restoration is unclear. Yet the ‘admirable quality and work’ described by the chronicler – “*cum pluribus centris forniceis sit concamerata, sola clace et lapide constructa*” – must have referred to the design and construction of the present-day church of Santa María de Naranco. Indeed, the fully barrel-vaulted structure that appears to have been built without the use of wood corresponds to the descriptions in the chronicles and stands in contrast with the timber roofs common in Asturian liturgical buildings.³⁷⁶

Nevertheless, it is equally possible that the author of the *Silense* was describing the nearby church of San Miguel de Lillo, which is similarly built without the use of wood and, arguably, even more impressive in terms of its construction. The use of transverse barrel vaults

³⁷³ Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 17. See also González García, *La iglesia de San Miguel de Lillo*, 121-124.

³⁷⁴ Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, LXXXVII, translates the passage to “*que cuantos la ven atestiguan no haber visto jamás otra semejante a ella en hermosura*.” See also Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 138.

³⁷⁵ Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 17.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

in the north and south bays of its narthex, and likely above the original bays of the nave aisles, now lost, are remarkable.³⁷⁷ The technique, which can ultimately be traced back to Roman examples, was seldom used in the Middle Ages.³⁷⁸ If indeed built during the reign of Ramiro I, San Miguel de Lillo's vaults would not only pre-date some of the earliest Romanesque examples, such as the nave vaults at Saint-Philibert at Tournus (after 1066), but would have also fit the description in the chronicle and caught the attention of the author of the *Silense*.

Santa María de Naranco's date is of particular importance to our understanding of other buildings, such as Santa Cristina de Lena to be discussed below. Unlike the church of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles, whose first phase of construction is attributed to Fruela I (757-768) in the *Testamentum of 812*, Naranco's altar does not record the date of the earlier building. It merely states that it was 'consumed by age.'³⁷⁹ The vague detail does little to secure a *terminus post quem* for the building. Collins argues that, if Naranco was indeed built before the period of 842 to 850, and later restored by Ramiro I, then it must equally stand that Santa Cristina de Lena (c. 850-852), which is similarly attributed to Ramiro I due to stylistic similarities with Naranco, should also warrant an earlier date. Of course, with no knowledge of how the building appeared before the altar was inscribed and set in the eastern balcony, it is impossible to know the extent of Ramiro's restorations. It is precisely this type of convoluted dating system that plagues the chronology of medieval Asturian buildings.

³⁷⁷ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 322.

³⁷⁸ Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*, 55, notes the use of transverse barrels at the sixth-century Sassanian building of Taq Eiwan in Iran, though without any clear "channel of transmission." Instead, he suggests Liguria, specifically the church of San Fruttuoso, as a more plausible model, though here again noting the vaulting is not as complex as the nave at Tournus. For Roman analogues, Fernie offers the Basilica of Maxentius and the cryptoporticus at Arles as Roman examples of transverse barrels. He also includes an illustration of the market hall at Ferentium (c. 100 BC), see Fernie, *op. cit.* 14, fig. 17, though he does not present it in relation to Tournus. Thurlby, "The Romanesque Abbey Church of Ronceray," 66-80, similarly relates the crypto-portico at Arles to St. Philibert in Tournus and Ronceray (Angers). Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, suggests that the transverse barrel vaults installed as a fireproofing system at the church of Saint-Philibert at Tournus may have a Muslim or Asturian influence.

³⁷⁹ Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 15.

Granted, efforts have been made contextualize Santa María de Naranco in a broader medieval context, yet these too are inconclusive. Conant related Naranco's plan to Germanic palace halls, such as Goslar (eleventh-century).³⁸⁰ In terms of building materials and technique, he compared the church to Germigny-des-Prés, the palatine complex at Aachen and St. Columba's house, Kells, (twelfth century). The last building, however, post-dates Santa María de Naranco and its inclusion of an anchor hold suggests an altogether different function.³⁸¹ Fernie suggests that, if the southern *porticus* held the place of the king's throne then the arrangement of the *piano nobile* may relate to Charlemagne's *aula regia* at Aachen.³⁸² Schlunk not only argued that the Cámara Santa and Santa María de Naranco share a typological relationship via their common Roman heritage, but that the latter purposefully exploited the design of the former, albeit using a notably different method of construction.³⁸³ Whereas Santa Leocadia's vault was built in one phase, Naranco's took two – first the transverse arches were assembled and then the intermediary spaces filled-in with tufa and light mortar.³⁸⁴ Not only does Schlunk fail to provide evidence to support his theory, it seems unnecessary to propose two separate building phases for Naranco's vault since the construction of transverse arches and tufa webbing would typically be treated as part of a single-stage process.³⁸⁵ Fontaine agreed with Schlunk that Naranco's undercroft owes a heavy debt to the Cámara Santa, yet suggests that the builders improved upon the barrel-vaulted design by mounting the transverse arches in stone rather than brick in the

³⁸⁰ For general discussions of Naranco's decorative elements, see Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 90; Schlunk, "Arte asturiano," 364, relates Naranco to Tur Abdin in Syria. See also A. Haupt, "Die Spanisch-Westgotische Halle zu Naranco," 242-63; idem, "Mesopotamische und Spanische Kirchen", 267-274.

³⁸¹ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 90; Ó'Carrágain, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland*, 257-258, 265.

³⁸² Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*, 60.

³⁸³ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 348-349.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 349.

³⁸⁵ I owe this observation to Malcolm Thurlby.

upper hall.³⁸⁶ More recently, Arias proposed a complex system of proportions for Naranco's design and elevation, ultimately linking the building to a Vitruvian schema.³⁸⁷ In terms of locating a more specific model to explain the relationship between the transverse arches of Naranco's barrel vault and its exterior buttresses, Schlunk proposed the martyr-shrine within the mausoleum at Marusinac (Salona), now in ruins, which is believed to have been a two-storeyed, barrel-vaulted building with a multitude of buttresses lining its exterior walls.³⁸⁸ While Marusinac's crypt and foundations have been reconstructed and reveal a barrel-vaulted undercroft, there does not appear to be any evidence to support an internal arrangement of transverse arches in the upper storey. It seems to me that the similarities between Marusinac, the Cámara Santa and Santa María de Naranco are undeniable and point back to a common, late-Roman type.

Santa María de Naranco's location and physical evidence undoubtedly correspond to the descriptions of Ramiro I's architecture in the Asturian chronicles. Moreover, it is difficult to deny the fact that this building initially served a secular function. Its date, however, is not as easy to ascertain. The extent of Ramiro I's restoration is unaccounted for and it is possible that he adapted a previous building. It is also odd that when Ambrosio de Morales visited Santa María de Naranco in the sixteenth century he had remarkably little to say of it, devoting no more than a few lines to its description. He described a vaulted church dedicated to "Santa María de Naranzo" to the north of Oviedo, as recorded in the chronicles, in a size that would make it large for a hermitage yet small for a church, with an overall smooth construction and with good proportion.³⁸⁹ Most interesting is de Morales' final line, which states that there is another church

³⁸⁶ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 318.

³⁸⁷ Arias, *Geometría y proporción* (2008). See also Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 158.

³⁸⁸ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 351.

³⁸⁹ De Morales, *Viage*, 102.

beneath this one and of the same size.³⁹⁰ Although he does not provide the dedication for the lower building, de Morales states that it was in the same style as “Naranzo”. Coupled with Alfonso III’s donation of no less than five churches on the slope of Naranco, the now lost church beneath Santa María de Naranco was presumably a Ramirese construction. Precisely why de Morales does not describe it is unclear. As mentioned, his records clearly indicate that he relied heavily upon the chronicle sources to identify medieval buildings in Asturias. Given the inconsistencies between the chronicles on the dedication of the palace-turned-church of Santa María de Naranco, along with the loss of other buildings on the slope of the mountain, it is entirely possible that de Morales and later historians have misidentified the churches built by Ramiro I.

The Church of San Miguel de Lillo

The church of San Miguel de Lillo (Fig. 21) is located on Mount Naranco, approximately three kilometers from the medieval center of Oviedo. It occupies an elevated position over the nearby church of Santa María de Naranco, which stands approximately fifty meters below it. As discussed above, a number of the Asturian chronicles record Ramiro I’s constructions on the slope of Monte Naranco, albeit to various extents. Due to its present-day location and strong stylistic similarities with Santa María de Naranco, scholars agree that the church of San Miguel was built during the reign of Ramiro I and is indeed the one described in the Asturian

³⁹⁰ Ibid., “Tiene debajo otra Iglesia del mismo tamaño.”

chronicles.³⁹¹ Unlike its contemporaneous neighbor, it is estimated that only one third of San Miguel de Lillo's original fabric survives, possibly due to collapse in the ninth century.³⁹²

It serves to briefly reiterate here that although the the *Chronicle of Albelda*³⁹³ and the *Rotense*³⁹⁴ and *Ovetense*³⁹⁵ redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* each record a number of buildings on Monte Naranco during the reign of Ramiro I, we must wait until the *Historia Silense* (c. 1115) to specify that Ramiro I's church on Monte Naranco was in fact dedicated to the Archangel Michael.³⁹⁶ Though the two donations made to the Church of Oviedo mention one dedicated to San Miguel, these documents only survive as twelfth-century copies in the *Liber Testamentorum* and are of dubious authenticity.³⁹⁷

The church of San Miguel de Lillo is built on an east-west axis in a combination of rubble and ashlar masonry, the latter material reserved for the quoins and buttresses (Fig. 21.1). The building comprises a multitude of units. The west façade alone is compartmentalized into three distinct sections. The central one, which projects forward from the shorter north and south flanking walls, contains a tall and wide round-headed portal as well as two smaller, superimposed, round-headed openings above it (Fig. 21.2). The flanking walls are pierced by round-headed windows in their upper sections and are framed with fluted, pilaster buttresses that

³⁹¹ For a general discussion of the building see, García de Castro Valdés, *Arqueología cristiana*, 406-420, 473-487; Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 360-369; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 163-212; Noack-Haley and Arbeiter, *Asturische Königsbauten des 9. Jahrhunderts* (1994).

³⁹² Correa, *Spanish pre-Romanesque*, 48, faults the alluvial soil upon which the church's foundations were laid.

³⁹³ See note 344 above.

³⁹⁴ *Chronicle of Alfonso III, Rotense*, 15.2; "Postquam ad uella ciuilia quieuit multa edificia ex murice et marmore, sine lignis, opera forniceo in latere montis Naurantii, duobus tantum miliariis procul ab Oueto aedificauit." Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 54-55, translates the passage to: "ouvrages en calcaire et en marbre, sans bois, recouvertes de voûtes, sur la pente du mont Naranco, à une distance de deux milles seulement d'Oviedo." See also, Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 14; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 138; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 316-317.

³⁹⁵ See note 346 above.

³⁹⁶ See note 348 above.

³⁹⁷ Floriano, *Diplomática*, t. 2, 368 (Fol. 9 r° A), doc. 192. On the authenticity of these documents, see Barrau-Dihigo, "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens," 129, 158. See also Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 30; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 92; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 316-317. See also above discussion on the church of Santa María de Naranco.

rise from the ground to just below their raking cornices. The north and south façades contain a series of pilaster buttresses that span the lower two-thirds of the wall (Fig. 21.3-21.4). The first bays of the original north and south aisles are preserved on either side of the nave. They rise to the same height as the central section of the nave and are similarly pierced by two superimposed, round-headed windows, though in a different arrangement than the west façade (Fig. 21.4). At ground level, narrow rectangular windows are set between each of the buttresses. The gabled-roof of the nave rises above each of the other units. As mentioned, the eastern end of the building was lost and a rectangular chancel was added in its place (Fig. 21.5), the date for which is uncertain. Fragments from the original building were seemingly incorporated into its masonry (Fig. 21.6).

The western portal opens into a short, barrel-vaulted porch (Fig. 21.7) flanked by north and south internal staircases. The chambers do not communicate with the western portico and instead are entered through the western bays of the nave aisles (Fig. 21.8). The staircases rise to an elevated western tribune that similarly contains two small chambers set in the north and south walls (Fig. 21.7). Like the portico beneath it, the tribune is barrel vaulted. It is illuminated by a central, round-headed window set in the west wall. Only the north and south columns, capitals and bases of the westernmost bay of the nave survive (Fig. 21.9) – the former north and south aisle western bays have been filled with masonry beneath the former transverse arches (21.10).

During his time in Oviedo, Ambrosio de Morales described the church of San Miguel with a crossing, a ciborium, a high altar, a tribune with flanking staircases, and a bell tower.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ De Morales, *Viage*, 102-103, “*Labró tambien el Rey D. Ramiro una Iglesia de S. Miguel, como à cien pasos desta de nuestra Señora, y tienen mucha razon nuestras Coronicas de encarecer mucho la lindeza deste Templo, porque con no ser de mas de quarenta pies en largo, y veinte en ancho, tiene toda la buena gracia que en una Iglesia Metropolitana se puede poner. Mirado por defuera se viene à los ojos con mucho content su buena proporción, y visto*”

He also recorded twelve marbles, some of which were made of good jasper and others of porphyry, around the crossing and high altar, and that all of these were Gothic.³⁹⁹ There were other Roman marbles as well and he speculated that the small compartments on either side of the tribune held books and liturgical objects.⁴⁰⁰ Some parts of the building, such as the bell tower, were removed in 1850 under the direction of Bartolomé de Hermida, political chief of Oviedo.⁴⁰¹ In 1877, José Amador de los Ríos envisioned the church with a hypothetical Greek-cross plan and a central nave similar in size to the one that exists today.⁴⁰² In 1900, Vicente Lampérez y Romea suggested that the church originally had a two-bay nave resting on columns that terminated in a tripartite east end with a central chancel that projected slightly from the flanking subsidiary chapels.⁴⁰³ Moreover, the inner walls of the chancel were decorated with blind arcades, perhaps as at Santullano. In 1908, Fortunato de Selgas envisioned a similar plan, albeit without subsidiary chapels (Fig. 21.11).⁴⁰⁴ Rather than the blind arcade proposed by Lampérez y Romea, de Selgas suggested the chancel was decorated with corner shafts.⁴⁰⁵ With permission from the *Comisión Provincial de Monumentos*, Aurelio de Llano undertook an archaeological excavation on October 8, 1916, which led him to suggest a four-bay nave with aisles separated

de dentro, alegre la Buena correspondencia, Crucero, Címborio, Capilla mayor, Tribuna Escaleras, para ella, Campanario, y todo lo demás tiene cierta diversidad en tamaño y en forma, y en alzarse lo uno, y bajarse lo otro, ensancharse aquello, y retraerse estotro, que se goza enteramente las partes del edificio, dándose lugar las unas a las otras para que se parezca lo que son, y que lindas son. Toda la labor es lisa, y solo de riqueza doce marmoles, algunos de buen jaspe, y porfido, con que se forma el Crucero, Altar mayor, y sus partes, que todas son de fabrica Gothica, aunque tienen bien del Romano.” See also García Cuetos, “La restauración del patrimonio Asturiano en la primera mitad del siglo XX,” 98.

³⁹⁹ De Morales, *Viage*, 103.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹ Arias, “Reconstrucción de la iglesia de San Miguel de Lillo,” 12.

⁴⁰² Amador de los Ríos y Serrano, “Iglesia de San Miguel de Linio y Palacio de Ramiro I,” 7, 9. See also Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 165.

⁴⁰³ Lampérez y Romea, “Nuevas investigaciones en la iglesia de San Miguel de Linio,” 25-31.

⁴⁰⁴ De Selgas, *Monumentos ovetenses del siglo IX*, 129.

⁴⁰⁵ Marbles set in the corners of the chapels is a feature described by de Morales at the church of Santa María in Oviedo. It leads me to question whether or not they carried a groin vault as at the chapel of San Zeno (822) in the church of Santa Prassede in Rome (c. 817), an observation I owe to Malcolm Thurlby.

by columns and a tripartite east end.⁴⁰⁶ However, his project to restore the church to its original condition was halted by José Caveda who advised the commission not to rebuild over the ruined site because it would be difficult and costly.⁴⁰⁷ M.a Pilar García Cuetos thus believes that de Llano was unable to convey the original appearance of the church.⁴⁰⁸ In 1917, after Aurelio de Llano's excavations, Lampérez y Romea altered his reconstruction to account for the discovery of a long section of eastern pavement. Lampérez y Romea maintained the eastern arrangement with a tripartite east end, but elongated the nave to include a total of six bays.⁴⁰⁹ Manuel Gómez-Moreno on the other hand, envisioned the church with a four-bay nave flanked by single aisles and a transept with projecting north and south vestibules.⁴¹⁰ Like Lampérez y Romea, Gómez-Moreno proposed a chancel decorated with blind-arcades. Schlunk envisioned a basilican plan with a four-bay nave and single aisles that terminated in a tripartite eastern arrangement contained within a continuous wall.⁴¹¹ In 1989 and 1990, the *Instituto Arqueológico Alemán*, under the direction of Theodor Hauschild and Hermann Ulreich, undertook further excavations both inside and outside of the building. They argued that the church originally measured 17,90 meters in length and lacked lateral chambers.⁴¹² Based on a study of the vaults conducted by César García de Castro, Fernando Nanclares, in cooperation with the *Consejería de Cultura del Principado de Asturias*, restored the church's roofing in 1991.⁴¹³ I believe it goes without saying that San Miguel de Lillo's original plan and elevation have undergone considerable debate!

⁴⁰⁶ García Cuetos, "La restauración del patrimonio Asturiano en la primera mitad del siglo XX," 98.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Lampérez y Romea, "Nuevas investigaciones en la iglesia de San Miguel de Linio," 25-31.

⁴¹⁰ Plan reprinted in Hevia Blanco, "Pasado, presente y futuro de la restauración del Prerrománico Asturiano," 34.

⁴¹¹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 362.

⁴¹² For a chronological timeline of works conducted on the church of San Miguel de Lillo, see Cuenca Busto, "El Anteproyecto de tratamiento del entorno de los monumentos del Naranco," 318.

⁴¹³ Some plans are reproduced in Hevia Blanco, "Pasado, presente y futuro de la restauración del prerrománico Asturiano," 34. Gómez-Moreno's hypothetical plan is also reproduced in Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 322. For a summary of the archaeological discourse, see Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 165-166. See also De Palol and

As opposed to the low, gabled porches in other Asturian buildings, San Miguel de Lillo's tall west façade incorporates the motif of a Roman triumphal arch (Fig. 21.2). Schlunk suggests that it serves as the first example of a monumental façade in Asturian architecture.⁴¹⁴ Indeed, the superimposition of a secondary, round-headed arch above the ground-level portal, which illuminates the royal tribune, carries similar imperial connotations to the façade of Charlemagne's palatine chapel at Aachen (805). As at Aachen, the original, round-headed window, now filled-in, set above Lillo's central doorway, would have dramatically illuminated the interior royal tribune. Though Lillo's tribune did not open onto an exterior balcony, it is possible that the king was able to address the public below as Charlemagne had at Aachen. Schlunk also proposes that the design for Lillo's tribune may have been based on that of Santullano's, yet in the latter building the elevated royal gallery is believed to have been originally set along the north wall of the continuous, eastern transept.⁴¹⁵ Of course, such a relationship is difficult to support given the obvious spatial differences. Nevertheless, the two Asturian churches may be more closely related than previously believed. Pre-restoration photographs and a forensic reading of Santullano's architecture support the inclusion of an original, wooden tribune positioned above the western portal, of which more will be discussed in chapter four. Indeed, if the de Morales and Carvallo records accurately described the original, ninth-century church of Santa María in Oviedo, Lillo's western tribune did not require a

Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 38, who suggest San Miguel de Lillo did not have a transept. Instead, they suggest three naves terminated in a tripartite east end with a continuous external eastern wall.

⁴¹⁴ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 364.

⁴¹⁵ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 364-365, argues that royal tribunes ultimately derived from Eastern models though he does not provide any convincing examples. In very general terms, he relates Lillo's west end to Aachen, Fulda and the church of the Holy Cross at Hildesheim. As at Lillo, Schlunk notes that the latter two buildings possessed flanking staircases and lateral chambers in the ground and upper stories. For the church at Hildesheim, however, he notes that the building's date is not concrete and, instead, seems to imply that there was a connection based on the possibility of an existing typology. Schlunk also compares Lillo's tribune capitals to examples at Germigny-des-Prés. For a brief summary of opinions on the western tribune in Asturian architecture, see Utrero Agudo, *Iglesias tardoantiguas*, 88.

Carolingian model, as there were at least three earlier Asturian churches to reference for its design.⁴¹⁶

On the other hand, Lillo's fully stone construction and inclusion of enclosed, north and south stone staircases, all of which later appear at the church of Santa Cristina de Lena (c. 850), have no precedent in Asturias or the Iberian Peninsula. Instead, these aspects appear in contemporaneous Carolingian developments. It may therefore be necessary to ally the use of richer building materials, the barrel-vaulted portal beneath the tribune, the possibility of an original western narthex, and flanking, enclosed, stone staircases, with Carolingian *westwerks*, such as Saint-Riquier at Centula (790-799) or Aachen.⁴¹⁷ Though San Miguel de Lillo is drastically inferior to these analogues in size, the elegant integration of various architectural elements into a monumental western unit suggests an awareness of contemporaneous Carolingian developments that continued in Asturias after the reign of Alfonso II.

Similar to Naranco, Lillo is lavishly ornamented with a variety of carved decoration. Perhaps the most common elements between the two buildings are the proliferation of cable moulding and figural representations, which appear in the latter building's bases (Fig. 21.12), capitals (Fig. 21.13), hood mouldings over the arches (Fig. 21.14) and even on the large plaques set onto the jambs of the western portal (Fig. 21.15). Each of the plaques is organized into three superimposed scenes, divided by friezes of rosettes within cable moulding, and framed by a wide, cable-moulded border filled with a combination of fish-scale ornament and rosettes. The upper scene depicts a central figure atop a pedestal flanked by two attendants; the one to the right

⁴¹⁶ Carvallo, *Antigüedades*, 149, "a basement having a width as wide as the main chapel, twenty feet long by twelve wide, with a very low wooden ceiling, without any work, which serves as the floor to a room on top of it – a platform or church choir." These earlier examples include the churches of Santianes de Pravia, Santa María in Oviedo and San Julián de los Prados. See discussion on the church of Santa María in Oviedo above.

⁴¹⁷ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 43-46; Fontaine, *L'art preroman hispanique*, 322; Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 365.

grasps a trident. In the middle scene, a figure on the right cracks a whip while a central figure summersaults over a rearing lion to the left. The bottom scene depicts three figures standing in attendance. Jacques Fontaine relates the general composition and subject matter to a version of the Roman-Byzantine Areobindus consular diptych (c. 506) (Fig. 21.16) – held in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad and in the Musée de Cluny in Paris.⁴¹⁸ Both examples have upper scenes depicting a central, seated figure with a staff to his left and flanked by attendants. Most striking are the figures summersaulting over a rearing beast and raising an arm to crack a whip. Whereas the dramatic action scene appears at the bottom of the Areobindus diptych, at Lillo it is centralized. Moreover, the multitude of figures in the Areobindus scene has been boiled down to its essence at Lillo. It is unclear if, how and when the artist of Lillo's plaques became aware of a Roman-Byzantine consular diptych. Though this type of imagery is uncommon in Asturias, let alone Europe, Schlunk suggests that it did exist in certain Byzantine models and that Ramiro I's court had knowledge of these sources and incorporated them into Lillo in a mimetic and decorative capacity.⁴¹⁹ Unfortunately, Schlunk fails to provide any analogues. So too does Arias, who largely repeats Schlunk's interpretation and adds that the use of secular plaques to frame the portal of an ecclesiastical building conveys a Byzantine heritage.⁴²⁰ The fact that two identical plaques were used to decorate Lillo's portal jambs might confirm that a diptych did indeed serve as the model. It may also be significant that Flavius Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus, who was of partial Gothic descent, was used as a model for the imagery. This would certainly fit with the Visigothist theory argued by Schlunk, Fontaine and others.

⁴¹⁸ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 367; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 322.

⁴¹⁹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 367.

⁴²⁰ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 176-178.

Single, engaged-columns with adjacent carved pilasters adorn the western wall of the nave and internally frame the barrel-vaulted vestibule (Fig. 21.17). While the capitals and bases are intricately carved, the columns themselves are left unornamented – unlike the spirally fluted examples at Naranco. They rise to carry the first bay of the nave arcade. The pilasters, on the other hand, are carved with continuous acanthus vine scrolls and rise to meet a wall arch set above the lateral western staircases, which is in turn topped by a cable hood moulding. The designs of the pilasters are similar to certain Visigothic foliate carvings preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Mérida (Fig. 21.18). They differ from these earlier examples, however, in that they are constructed in multiple blocks as opposed to single stones.

Engaged columns with carved capitals and bases support the arches of the western chambers flanking the porch, entered through the western walls of the aisles (Fig. 21.8). Staircases in these chambers grant access to the royal tribune above. As mentioned, the elevated western space contained additional small chambers in its north and south walls. Like Santa Cristina de Lena, Lillo's tribune contains an unobstructed view into the nave. This differs from the tribunes at Pravia, Valdediós, and Priesca, where the space is partially obscured by one or more arches. Moreover, unlike other Asturian examples, Lillo's tribune is lavishly decorated with carved ornament. Short, fluted, engaged-columns with moulded bases and carved rectangular capitals, similar in design to those of the lateral chambers below, frame the eastern corners of the tribune's north and south walls (Fig. 21.19). The arched openings of the elevated north and south chambers are decorated with a broad band of cable moulding filled with vine scrolls. Their spandrels contain carved roundels with rosettes (Fig. 21.20). The architrave is topped by a cable stringcourse that runs above the apex each arch. The only other Asturian

example of a decorated tribune survives at San Salvador de Valdediós, which preserves evidence of painted decoration.

In the nave, large columns with carved geometric capitals and bases supported the original main arcade (Fig. 21.9). The capitals are decorated with vine-scroll abaci set within a rectangular frame of cable moulding. Their faces are ornamented with roundels of acanthus foliage. Cable necking marks the transition between the columns and their capitals and bases. The latter are rectangular in shape and recess behind the engaged-column. Each side of the bases are carved with miniature arches with multiple orders of cable moulding. The arches are supported by spirally fluted, clustered shafts that recall the full-sized supports in Naranco's *piano nobile*. Each of the miniature arches on Lillo's bases are filled with carved, rudimentary, haloed figures and representations of the Evangelists; their spandrels contain carved masks.

A large section on the front of the nave bases has been removed and filled with a secondary, rounded base (Fig. 21.21). It is unclear when the alteration was made. However, it most likely occurred after the present chancel was erected. Like other Asturian examples, Lillo's bases were incised to allow for a screen. With the collapse of the eastern section, the chancel was pushed westward and a screen was obviously desired to sequester the more sanctified space of the high altar. Fragments of a grey marble screen have survived and depict a griffon surrounded by a variety of foliage and palmettes (Fig. 21.22). Schlunk relates the plaque to Byzantine models.⁴²¹ Caballero, on the other hand, argues its design is more related to the Ramirense style and may even date to the period of Alfonso III.⁴²²

The western bays of the aisles retain the original transverse barrel vaults. As mentioned above, their appearance in a building c.850 may predate examples at St. Philibert, Tournus, and

⁴²¹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 367.

⁴²² Caballero, "¿Visigodo o asturiano?," 139-190.

harken back to Roman models.⁴²³ The vaults are decorated in the same painted network of squares and lozenges as Santullano (Fig. 21.23), San Salvador de Priesca and San Salvador de Valdediós'. Noting the similarity between the general plan and decorations at Lillo and buildings dated to Alfonso III, specifically the use of a tribune and the geometric fresco programme preserved on the barrel vault of the western bay of Lillo's south aisle, Collins proposes that the building traditionally dated to Ramiro I might be better suited to a date in the late-ninth century. Collins also suggests that the Cámara Santa and San Julián de los Prados, which are both undocumented and dated to Alfonso II based on *a priori* assumptions, should be similarly dated to Alfonso III. Arias, however, observes that whereas Lillo uses a grid of black lines to facilitate the geometric designs, Santullano consists of "plotting a previous drawing through an incision made with a punch in the stucco while it is still tender."⁴²⁴ The difference in technique suggests separate ateliers.

Of particular interest is the fragment of paint preserved on the upper south wall of the south aisle, which reveals a large figure seated within a three-quarter arch with its arms stretched outwards to the left (Fig. 21.24). A smaller figure stands to its right and similarly stretches its arms outwards to the left (Fig. 21.25).⁴²⁵ Bands of foliage rise diagonally from the bottom right and the entire scene was set within a frame of painted squares filled with roundels and the letter X. Fontaine believes the scene depicts an enthroned figure and an angel musician playing a lute. He relates it to the Paleochristian-inspired imagery that influenced the decorations at the Visigothic church of San Pedro de la Nave.⁴²⁶ Schlunk believes the smaller figure to the right

⁴²³ See above discussion on the church of Santa María de Naranco.

⁴²⁴ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 186.

⁴²⁵ See Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 341; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 191; Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 111-112.

⁴²⁶ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 341-342, "une figure assise sur un trône et un ange musicien en train de jouer d'une sorte de luth".

holds a “cordófono” or maybe “un laud de mástil largo”, musical instruments that may relate to examples in the *Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana* from San Millán de la Cogolla (c. 1000) (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33 and Biblioteca de El Escorial Cod. &.11.5).⁴²⁷ Arias compares the enthroned figure to the Genealogy of Christ, according to St Luke, in the Visigothic Bible of San Isidoro of León (960), as well as the Codex of the Beatus of Fernando and Sancha, preserved in the *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*.⁴²⁸ The painting may equally be related to a fragment in San Salvador de Valdediós’ tribune (Fig. 25.29), where two feet are shown in profile and bear striking resemblance to those of Lillo’s smaller figure. Apart from Lillo, Valdediós preserves the only figural painting in Asturias and if they are related it would certainly help to support Collins’ ninth-century date for Lillo.

Less discussed, is the possibility of a Lombard model for Lillo’s figural painting. The Ratchis Altar (744-749), which depicts an Adoration of the Magi scene, presents a similar composition (Fig. 21.26).⁴²⁹ The Virgin Mary is seated upon a throne that rises to form an arch. She presents the enfant Christ with outstretched hands. To her right, a smaller figure stands in attendance. To her left, the three magi approach bearing gifts. They proceed from a palm leaf. Above them, an angel hovers horizontally and the sky is lit with three stars. The scene is set atop three small arches filled with rosettes with sprouting foliage between them. A larger acanthus plant sprouts vertically in the bottom right corner. Finally, the altar is framed by a continuous band of miniature balusters. Unfortunately, many of these aspects have not survived in Lillo’s painting, which makes it difficult to know for certain if the two scenes are related. However, certain motifs in the Ratchis Altar, such as the cable moulding of the arches beneath the figures,

⁴²⁷ Schlunk, “El Arte asturiano en torno al 800,” 155; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 186.

⁴²⁸ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 186.

⁴²⁹ Cecchelli, *I Monumenti del Friuli dal secolo IV all’XI I*, 5-29; Brozzi and Tafliaferro, *Arte Longobarda*, 27-34; Bushart, *The Altar of Duke Ratchis at Cividale* (1977).

the band of foliage in the bottom right corner, the figure seated within an arch, the outstretched hands and smaller figure standing in attendance to the right, are perhaps too similar to be considered coincidental. Perhaps Fontaine was correct in suggesting that Charlemagne gave Alfonso II gifts of metalwork, such as the *Cruz de los Angeles*, in their ambassadorial exchanges.⁴³⁰ Could it be that the Ratchis Altar, or more likely a similar depiction, arrived in Asturias as a gift? Indeed, the subject matter and composition were fairly common. Fontaine even provides an example of a gold medallion with an Adoration of the Magi scene (Fig. 21.27)⁴³¹ that was brought back to Spain after a pilgrimage to the east.

Along with the neighbouring church of Santa María de Naranco, the location and documentary evidence suggests that San Miguel de Lillo was indeed built during the reign of Ramiro I. The original plan and elevation of the fallen eastern sections, however, remain points of debate. So too does the church's original dedication to the Archangel Michael. Nevertheless, the vaulted interior, integrated design of the west end and exclusive use of stone masonry fit with Santa María de Naranco and signal a departure from the rubble and timber at Alfonso II's buildings. Though it is methodologically problematic to date the churches on Monte Naranco relative to one another and presumably earlier buildings, which are equally loosely dated, San Miguel de Lillo's physical evidence is suited to a date in the mid-ninth century. Albeit short-lived in Asturias, it seems Ramiro I and his architects possessed a more detailed understanding of contemporaneous Carolingian developments, particularly in stone vaulting and the *westwerk*.

⁴³⁰ Fontaine, *L'art Préroman hispanique*, 342.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 240.

The Church of Santa Cristina de Lena

The Church of Santa Cristina de Lena (Fig. 22) is located in the small town of Pola de Lena, approximately 30km south of Oviedo. It stands at the top of a small hill and is built in a relatively small, Greek-cross plan with a projecting western portico, north and south vestibules and an eastern chancel (Fig. 22.1). Despite being an undocumented building, Santa Cristina de Lena is commonly dated towards the end of Ramiro I's reign (842-850) or the early years of his son Ordoño I (850-866) due to very strong stylistic similarities with the extant buildings on Monte Naranco.⁴³² There is no mention of a church dedicated to Santa Cristina alongside Ramiro I's other buildings in any of the Asturian chronicles, nor of the location of Pola de Lena. As such, De Palol and Hirmer believe the church was begun by Ramiro I but finished by his son Ordoño I (850-866), thus avoiding the chronicler's attention.⁴³³ Fontaine agrees that the building dates to Ordoño I since it is unlikely that Ramiro I built a church so far from his other buildings on Monte Naranco.⁴³⁴ Schlunk, on the other hand, is happy to date the building to Ramiro I's patronage based on little more than stylistic comparisons with the buildings on Monte Naranco.⁴³⁵ Nevertheless, as Collins suggests, Ramiro I most likely renovated the palace-turned-church of Santa María de Naranco and it should stand to reason that Santa Cristina de Lena, which is so closely related to Naranco in terms of style, was similarly built pre-842.⁴³⁶

Like the buildings on Monte Naranco, Lena has undergone a number of restorations. Most significant was Juan Bautista Lázaro's reconstruction of the nave vault in 1893.⁴³⁷ An 1877 drawing by Roberto Frassinelli shows Lena's nave was previously timber-roofed (Fig. 22.2).

⁴³² Ibid., 316.

⁴³³ De Palol and Hirmer, *Medieval Art in Spain*, 38.

⁴³⁴ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 325.

⁴³⁵ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 369-374.

⁴³⁶ Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 17-18.

⁴³⁷ Lázaro, *Ermita de Santa Cristina en Lena* (1894).

Lázaro's work was based on a hypothetical construction of the upper part of the central nave worked out by Don Jerónimo de la Gándara and carried out by Ricardo Velázquez. In 1934, along with the majority of medieval Asturian buildings, Santa Cristina de Lena was damaged in the years leading up to the Civil War. José Menéndez-Pidal y Álvarez repaired sections of the church in the 1940s and again between 1966 and 1970.⁴³⁸

Today, the church is constructed in a combination of rubble and ashlar masonry, the latter reserved for the quoins and buttresses (Fig. 22.3). Along with the corners of the building, Lena's exterior is adorned by a number of pilaster buttresses. Unlike the buildings on Monte Naranco, where the external buttresses correspond to interior vaulting systems and transverse arches, Lena's serve more as decoration than architectural reinforcement. The church is built in an elongated Greek-cross plan, perhaps conveying the description of the church of San Tirso as "*cum multis angulis*" in the *Chronicle of Albelda*.⁴³⁹ The plan is reminiscent of certain Visigothic buildings such as San Pedro de la Nave (Fig. 23) and Santa Comba de Bande (Fig. 10.1), both of which were fully vaulted. Of course, Lena's internal arrangement of elevated spaces is notably different. The church is entered through a western, barrel-vaulted porch lined with stone benches and framed by pairs of engaged-columns (Fig. 22.4). The porch enters into a second, barrel-vaulted area flanked by squat doorways leading to lateral compartments, likely used for storage (Fig. 22.5). The arrangement mirrors that at Santa María de Bendones (Fig. 18.3). Unlike Bendones' western space, Lena's is surmounted by a tribune (Fig. 22.6), which spans the entire width of the building and is illuminated by four windows; one each in the north and south walls and two superimposed ones in the western wall. Whereas the upper window in the western wall serves as a clerestory that illuminates the entire building, the lower window illuminates a

⁴³⁸ Arias and Noack Haley, "Santa Cristina de Lena, reconstrucción de los accesos de la tribuna," 40-45.

⁴³⁹ See above discussion on the church of San Tirso. See also Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 316.

smaller, barrel-vaulted chamber recessed in the western wall of the tribune (Fig. 22.7). Because this space is so deeply set and does not provide a view of the high altar or choir, it is unlikely that the king's throne was set within it. Instead, it appears to be an area intended for an altar or relics. Indeed, the space is elevated by a short step in the pavement and is barrel vaulted with transverse arches. A space as small as this surely did not warrant the inclusion of an architectonic vault. Rather, the articulation served as an iconographic marker of a sanctified space.

Due to the encroaching western tribune and the elevated eastern choir, Santa Cristina de Lena's nave is truncated longitudinally and is wider than it is longer (Fig. 22.1). In this respect, the transverse orientation of the nave is similar to that of Santa María de Bendones. The north and south *porticus* are entered through round-headed arches (Fig. 22.8). As with the rest of the building, the *porticus* are surmounted by barrel vaults with transverse ribs. The main barrel surmounting the tribune, nave and choir (Fig. 22.9), finds its closest analogue at Santa María de Naranco, where transverse arches are supported by a blind arcade with carved capitals and bases (Fig. 20.16).⁴⁴⁰ As at Naranco, many of Lena's capitals are decorated with a cable motif that forms trapezoids with triangular divisions and figural decorations within (Fig. 22.10). The blind arcade's spandrels are filled with carved roundels topped by plaques. The plaques ascend to meet a moulded stringcourse from which the barrel vault and transverse arches spring. Lena's vault unifies the space of the otherwise separated interior. The choir and tribune are both elevated from the lower section of the nave and accessible via symmetrical, flanking staircases that abutt the north and south walls (Fig. 22.11). The choir is lower in height than the western tribune and is partitioned via an arcaded screen that spans the width of the space (Fig. 22.9). Beyond the choir is a small, barrel-vaulted chancel (Fig. 22.12). Similar to the chamber west of the tribune, the

⁴⁴⁰ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," pl. 386.

chancel vault includes transverse arches and is lit by a central window. It is further enriched with blind, masonry arcades on its north and south walls that recall the ornamentation at San Julián de los Prados' central chapel (Fig. 30.23-30.25). The choir screen is composed of three arches on marble shafts with Corinthian-type capitals and moulded bases on thin plinths. The north and south arches are open to accommodate access from the lateral staircases in the nave. The space between the central arch supports, on the other hand, is filled with three individual marble slabs that have been wedged together to form a single screen (Fig. 22.13). Each of the vertically-oriented slabs of stone contains an inscription along its top border and carved ornamental designs beneath.⁴⁴¹ The left and right stones are similarly divided into two distinct vertical registers; the left register contains three and a quarter roundels with alternating, equal-armed crosses and geometric designs, the right register has vinescrolls with broad leaves. Whereas the left plaque is inscribed with the words “†OFFERET FLAINVS ABBA IN ONORE APOSTOLOR(um)D(e)I”, the right plaque reads, “S(an)C(t)OR(um)PETRI PAVLI”. Schlunk relates the carved lettering to the extant fragments discovered at Quintanilla de las Viñas as well as a window from the church in Siero (Burgos) (782), and the ornamental roundels and vinescrolls to a pilaster from San Juan de Baños (661).⁴⁴² Ultimately, he concludes that the screen's left and right stones are seventh-century *spolia* that belonged to an earlier church dedicated to the apostles SS Peter and Paul built by Abbot Flainus.⁴⁴³ Important to note is the right plaque's similarity to a sculptural fragment from the thirteenth-century church of San Francisco, Avilés (Fig. 22.14).⁴⁴⁴ Both works contain

⁴⁴¹ It should be noted that the left stone also contains a vertical line of inscription along its right border. It reads: *O†INC (O?) SC (O?) URTRSLA EPRB*. The lettering is different from what appears along the top border, is more crudely executed, and partly cut-off along its right edge, all of which leads me to conclude that it was inscribed at a later point in time.

⁴⁴² Schlunk, “Arte Asturiano,” 372.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ A photograph of the sculptural fragment taken by Fortunato de Selgas is published in de Llano, *Bellezas*, 213, fig. 186. See also, Alonso Álvarez, “El gótico en Asturias,” 35.

identical vine scrolls of alternating spikey leaves and dotted palmettes with spirals set between them. Lena's choir screen's central plaque, which is composed of four superimposed carved roundels, is slightly different than the lateral ones and is believed to be a later addition. Its bottom is more intact and not as crudely chamfered and the words "ANTISTI SANCTI T" are inscribed along the upper border. Since the only extant analogue for Lena's screen appears at San Miguel de Escalada (913), Gómez-Moreno believes its appearance in Asturias might be a tenth-century "Mozarabic" addition to the church, possibly related to the superimposed arcades in the Great Mosque at Córdoba⁴⁴⁵ (Fig. 3). The crude assembly of variously dated fragments and their awkward setting between the central intercolumniation of the choir screen suggest the plaque was a later addition to the church. It is equally possible that they were reused from an earlier building.⁴⁴⁶ Surely, in a building with no lack of sculptural prowess, it seems improbable that the masons could not have fashioned a better-suited partition, particularly given the awareness of theatricality and performance in the church. Fontaine relates Lena's spatial arrangement as belonging to a Roman schema based on the *scenae frons* commonly found in theater designs such as the one in Mérida (Fig. 24).⁴⁴⁷ He regards its eastern wall, which is decorated with a blind triple-arcade supported by spirally fluted engaged-columns with carved capitals and bases and a central arch that is taller than the two subsidiary ones, as a background to the action unfolding in the choir. The windows that pierce the north and south walls of the choir theatrically lit the space. While the deep and low chancel held the high altar, the recessed spaces of the north and south blind arches were used as sculptural niches. Roman continuity is strengthened given the fact that, like the church of Santa Cruz and Santianes de Pravia, Santa Cristina de Lena was

⁴⁴⁵ Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 84-85.

⁴⁴⁶ I owe this observation to Malcolm Thurlby.

⁴⁴⁷ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 324-325.

built near the remains of the *Villa Memorana* and the Roman road whose route ran along the area of the church.⁴⁴⁸

Though the mystical and performative aspects of the space suggest architecture designed with the Visigothic liturgy in mind, Fontaine relates the design and inclusion of the choir screen to possible Mozarabic and Asia Minor sources.⁴⁴⁹ De Palol and Hirmer believe it may date from the Visigothic period.⁴⁵⁰ Dodds suggests the building exemplifies important Visigothic considerations, noting that “while it appears only as an occasional point of interest in other parts of Europe and the Mediterranean, the issue of division, sequestration, and partition is, by contrast, a vital central theme in the experience of the liturgy and the space in which it enacted in nearly every monument on the Iberian Peninsula for two hundred and fifty years.”⁴⁵¹ Similarly, Arias suggests that the arcade screen functions according to the Hispanic liturgy by separating the *chorus* from the *spatium fidelium*, which prescribed hiding the clergy from the faithful during certain parts of the celebration.⁴⁵² Noting the remains in the points of contact between the screen and the walls where evidence of an earlier design is visible and drawing particular attention to the lattice set into the spandrels of the screen’s arcade, Arias suggests that the current screen is a significantly different replacement of an earlier version.⁴⁵³ Given the extant evidence, I am inclined to suggest that what appears at Lena today are reused Visigothic plaques, confirmed by the partially preserved inscription dated with the year 643 A.D. and the dedication to the apostles

⁴⁴⁸ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 193.

⁴⁴⁹ Fontaine, *L’art préroman hispanique*, 325. For a discussion of the impact of Visigothic liturgy in medieval Asturian churches, see Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 23.

⁴⁵⁰ De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 38.

⁴⁵¹ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 23.

⁴⁵² Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 202.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 204.

Peter and Paul built for the abbot Flainus.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, as will be discussed, these screens were not original to Asturian churches, but included at a later point in time.

It is odd that the church of Santa Cristina de Lena is undocumented in the Asturian chronicles. Stylistically, it is undoubtedly related to Ramiro I's palace-turned-church Santa María de Naranco and suggests a similar patron and architect, if not atelier. The prolific use of cable ornament, figural carvings, roundels, and barrel vaulting are too similar to be considered the products of different periods. Moreover, the unification of the central cell under a single barrel vault is similar in design to that of Santa María de Naranco. Though it remains to be proven, if Collins is correct and Ramiro I's former palace on Monte Naranco pre-dates the year 848 recorded in the altar, then it should stand to reason that the analogous church of Santa Cristina de Lena and San Miguel de Lillo does as well.

The Church of San Salvador de Valdediós

The Church of San Salvador de Valdediós is nestled in the Boides Valley near Villaviciosa, approximately 40km northeast of Oviedo (Fig. 25).⁴⁵⁵ Though the *Chronicle of Albelda*, which was completed around 883, does not provide any specific information on Alfonso III's architecture (866-910), it does record that in the year 881, fifteen years after he became king, "this prince restored all the temples to our Saviour, and founded a city of royal palaces in Oviedo."⁴⁵⁶ The *Historia Silense* records Alfonso III's construction of a church adorned with

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 205, 210.

⁴⁵⁵ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 337-381.

⁴⁵⁶ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 65; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 327. The term 'restored' is certainly loose and open to wide interpretation. Given the similarity between the painted decorations at San Julián de los Prados, Santa María de Bendones, San Miguel de Lillo, San Salvador de Valdediós and San Salvador de Priesca, it is possible that Collins is correct in suggesting that these buildings would be more appropriately dated to the reign of Alfonso III. See discussion on the church of San Salvador de Priesca below.

prescious marbles and consecrated by three bishops in honour of San Salvador.⁴⁵⁷ This must refer to another building since the author specifically records its location in Gozón, a small coastal section in Asturias between modern-day Aviles and Gijón, some forty to fifty kilometres from the present-day church of San Salvador de Valdediós. Precisely why the church is unmentioned in the *Historia Silense* is unclear. However, since it does not appear in the *Chronicle of Albelda*, San Salvador de Valdediós' construction was most likely completed after its author finished the manuscript or it would have surely been documented. After all, the church is fully vaulted, a characteristic that caught the author's eye at the Ramirese group of buildings (842-850). Indeed, a post-883 date is confirmed in a consecration stone (H 1.9 m x W 0.45m) set in the north wall of the barrel-vaulted southern portico. It is written in the form of a poem and records the church's consecration on 16 September, 893, before a total of seven bishops from Dume, Coimbra, Compostela, Astorga, Lamego, Lugo and Saragossa:

†LARGA TVA PIETAS CHRISTE
 DEUS CLAREAT VBIQUE
 SALVATQUE SEPE IMPIOS
 LARGA TVA PIETAS.
 FATENTVR ISTA VIRI DANT
 PLAUSVS AGMINA PASSIM
 EXTINGTA QVOD VIVIFI-
 CES FATENTVR ISTA VIRI.
 SIS FAVENS MISERO PAR-
 CAS CITRA MERTO BONO.
 CLEMENTIA QVA PRAEVA-
 LES ESTO FAVENS MISERO.
 MEMET NEMPE DIRA CON-
 LIDVNT FVNERA MENTIS.
 SAVCIATQVE CVLPA ME-
 MET NEMPE DIRA.
 CLAREAT NVNC TVA FRVC-
 [T]VOSA GRATIA CLEMENS.
 [Q]VAE SVBLEVET ELISVM
 CLAREAT IAM TVA.

⁴⁵⁷ Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción*, XCII, the three bishops are listed as Sesnando Jacobense, Nausto Conimbriense and Recaredo Lucense.

PIETAS ADSISTAT FOVENS
 QVAE TEGMINE CVNCTOS
 CAELICO SALIFICANS
 PIETAS ADSISTAT.
 †CONSECRATVM EST
 TEMPLVM HOC AB EPISCOPIS VII
 RVDESINDO DVMIENSE,
 NAVSTI CONIBRIENSE,
 SISNANDO IRIENSE,
 RANVLFO ASTORICENSE,
 ARGIMIRO LAMECENSE,
 RECACAREDO LVCENSE.
 ELLECANE CESARAGVSTANENSE,
 SVB ERA DCCCCXXX PRIMA
 DIE XVI° KALENDAS OCTOBRIS.⁴⁵⁸

Manuel Gómez-Moreno translates the passage to:

Tu generosa piedad, oh Christo Dio, resplandezca doquiera; pues slava muchas veces a los impíos tu generosa piedad.
 Confiésala los hombres y te aplauden incensantemente las multitudes; porque vivificas lo muerto confiésala los hombres.
 Seas amparador del mísero; asistas por tus méritos al bueno; con la clemencia en que sobresales sé Tú amparador del mísero.
 A mí mismo, en verdad, crueles me atenazan las caídas mortales del alma; y me hieren las culpas a mí mismo, en verdad, crueles.
 Resplandezca ahora clemente tu fructuosa gracia; la que levanta al derribado resplandezca ahora.
 Tu piedad nos asista, amparándonos en cuerpo a todos; y salvándonos en espíritu tu piedad nos asista.
 Fue consagrado este temple por siete obispos, Rudesindo de Dumio, Nausti de Coimbra, Sisnando de Iria, Ranulfo de Astorga, Argimiro de Lamego, Reccaredo de Lugo, Ellecane de Zaragoza, en la era DCCCCXXXI, el día XVI de las kalendas de octubre.⁴⁵⁹

The English translation reads:

Your generous mercy, O Christ lord, shine everywhere; for he often shed his generous piety upon the ungodly.
 Let the men confess it and the crowds applaud you incessantly; that you give life to the dead let the men confess it.

⁴⁵⁸ Fernández Conde, "La fundación de San Salvador de Valdediós," 216; Miguel Vigil, *Asturias monumental*, 595-596; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 329; Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 4; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 215.

⁴⁵⁹ Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 76-81; repeated in Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 216. See also Fernández Conde, "La fundación de San Salvador de Valdediós," 216-217, for a slightly different translation.

Be the helper of the wretched; by your merits attend to the good; with the mercy by which you excel You are the helper of the the wretched.

To myself, indeed, the mortal falls of the soul are cruel; and I blame myself, indeed, cruel.

May your fruitful grace shine forth; the one that raises the fallen shine now.

May your mercy assist us, protecting us in body to all; saving us in spirit your mercy assists us.

This temple was consecrated by seven bishops, Rudesindo of Dumio, Nausti of Coimbra, Sisnando of Iria, Ranulf of Astorga, Argimiro of Lamego, Reccaredo Lugo, Ellecane of Zaragoza, in the era DCCCCXXXI, the XVI day of the kalends of October.

Given its first person narrative, Manuel Gómez-Moreno is adamant that Alfonso III not only patronized the church, but was also the author of the stone.⁴⁶⁰ It must nevertheless be highlighted that unlike the altar at Santa María del Naranco, which identifies the involvement of Ramiro I and his wife Paterna, Alfonso III is unmentioned in the inscription and the church dedicated to San Salvador in Valdediós does not appear in any of the chronicles, nor the donation charters in the *Liber Testamentorum*. Of course, it is certainly possible that such details were common knowledge and thus the author was not compelled to include them.⁴⁶¹ Collins is nevertheless distrustful of the stone's current location in the south porch, noting that when M. Risco visited the church in 1789 he recorded it being near the 'entry of the church', which Collins interprets as the western doorway.⁴⁶² However, given the likelihood that the south portal served as a dedicated royal entrance and was in use at the time of completion, it is possible that it remains *in situ*, if not close to its original location.

Another inscription is located on the lintel above the doorway in the west corner of the north aisle wall. Fernández Conde transcribes it as:

† [SANCTVM SALVATOREM] VOCATVM TVO NOMINE

⁴⁶⁰ Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 76-81; Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 110, incorrectly states that the charter dates the consecration to 892 based on Fernández Conde, "La fundación de San Salvador de Valdediós," 230, who dates the stone to September 16, 893, according to its inscription.

⁴⁶¹ I owe this observation to Malcolm Thurlby.

⁴⁶² Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 4-5; Risco, *España Sagrada*, 218-219. For a brief discussion of Valdedios, see Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 326-334.

TEMPLV(M) SIT ET CVNTA
 [NOSTRA MANV] HIC TIBI LITAVIMVS DONA. ADS[I]T QVISQVIS
 MEA
 [TEMER]E NITERIT SCINDERE VOTA; LUX CAREAT (CHRISTE) TVA
 VIBENSQ(VE)
 EVN SORBEAT TERRA; MENDICITAS ET LEBRA PROSAPIA TENE-
 AT SVA⁴⁶³

He translates it to:

Que este temple sea llamado San Salvador con tu propio nombre y aquí quisimos ofrecerte todos los dones con nuestras propias manos. Todo aquel que intentare temerariamente quebrantar mis ofrendas, desaparezca por complete; sea privado, oh Christo, de tu luz y tráguele vivo la tierra; la mendicidad y la lepra caigan sobre su descendencia.

The English translation reads:

May this temple be called San Salvador with your own name and here we wanted to offer you all the gifts with our own hands. Whosoever shall attempt to break my offerings, let him disappear altogether. Be private, O Christ, of your light and let the earth live; begging and leprosy to fall upon their offspring.

Here again, though the inscription records the dedication to San Salvador, its patron is omitted.

The omission of such crucial details did not deter Berenguer from suggesting that the church formed part of the king's larger palace complex.⁴⁶⁴ Nor did it impede De Palol and Hirmer from proposing that the church served as Alfonso III's place of refuge after his sons García I, Ordoño II, and Fruela II deposed him from the throne.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Fernández Conde, "La fundación de San Salvador de Valdediós," 216-217, translates the inscription to, "Que este temple sea llamado San Salvador con tu propio nombre y aquí quisimos ofrecerte todos los dones con nuestras propias manos. Todo aquel que intentare temerariamente quebrantar mis ofrendas, desaparezca por complete; sea privado, oh Christo, de tu luz y tráguele vivo la tierra; la mendicidad y la lepra caigan sobre su descendencia." See also Miguel Vigil, *Asturias monumental*, 596-597. Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 220, provides a slightly different transcription and translation. Not only does Arias incorrectly cite Fernández Conde's translation of the lintel plaque in Valdediós' north aisle vestibule, but also frustratingly ascribes Fernández Conde's translation to Miguel Vigil's transcription. Arias' version includes, "puesto que hemos alegrado con tus dones, alégrese quienquiera que mi [...] y quien se atreviese a romper los votos sea privado ¡Oh Cristo! De tu luz, y vivo tráguele la tierra y caiga sobre su descendencia la mendicidad y la lepra."

⁴⁶⁴ Berenguer, "Breves notas sobre San Salvador de Valediós," 27.

⁴⁶⁵ De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 39; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 217.

The church is oriented on an east-west axis and built in a basilican plan (Fig. 25.1). The four-bay nave is flanked by single aisles that terminate in a tripartite east end. The church includes a western and southern porch, north and south vestibules and an external chamber set in the southeast angle. The fabric is a combination of rubble and ashlar masonry, the latter reserved for the quoins, buttresses, much of the eastern façade and the entirety of the south porch (Fig. 25.2). A centrally positioned, round-headed portal pierces the western façade and grants entry into a short, barrel-vaulted porch (Fig. 25.3). Engaged-column jambs with carved capitals and moulded bases support the portal's arch. A double-arched window is set midway between the arch's apex and the gable of the roof. Pilaster buttresses frame either side of the portal and rise to the raking cornices of the aisle roofs, effectively articulating the internal arrangement of the central nave and flanking aisles. The latter are lit with narrow windows asymmetrically set in the upper walls of the façade. The arrangement is similar to San Miguel de Lillo's (Fig. 21.2), which most scholars agree was the model for Valdediós in terms of design and construction.⁴⁶⁶ Unlike San Miguel de Lillo, as well as San Julián de los Prados and San Pedro de Nora, where the masonry of the western porch physically projects westward from the surface of the adjacent aisle walls, San Salvador de Valdediós' porch is concealed by a continuous façade. Low, round-headed arches lead to small niches on either side of Valdediós' porch (Fig. 25.4). Though their function is unclear, Arias and others relate Valdediós' western arrangement to Santa Cristina de Lena's, where lateral chambers similarly pierce either side of the barrel-vaulted space immediately east of the main entrance beneath the tribune (Fig. 22.5).⁴⁶⁷ However, because the

⁴⁶⁶ San Miguel de Lillo and San Salvador de Valdediós' proportions are related enough to suggest a model-copy relationship. The former building is 16m L x 8.2m W x 8.8m H and the latter is 19.7m L x 10.5m W x 11m H. For more discussion see, Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 218; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 329; Alvares Martinez, "Valdediós y el arte de su tiempo," 99.

⁴⁶⁷ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 220, quotes Schlunk yet frustratingly does not provide a specific citation.

latter building's chambers are set inside the church, it may be more appropriate to compare Valdediós' porch with Santa María de Bendones' where they are similarly positioned to either side of the external western entrance (Fig. 18.3). Alvarez Martinez relates the western arrangement at Valdediós with Corvey's *westwerk*, which retains the only surviving example of a western choir in Carolingian architecture.⁴⁶⁸ As Alvarez Martinez himself notes, Corvey (873-885) was completed only slightly before Valdediós (893) and though it does predate Alfonso III's building, the model for an integrated, western, stone tribune exists more immediately at the church of San Miguel de Lillo, where the development of the Carolingian *westwerk* seemingly made its way to Asturias between 842-850. Considering Lillo's inclusion of a full-sized western window that lit the tribune in a similar fashion to Aachen, it is more likely that the Carolingian *westwerk* informed the decisions made by earlier Asturian patrons and arrived prior to the reign of Alfonso III or the completion of Corvey abbey. As such, San Miguel de Lillo presents a more suitable model for Alfonso III's church at Valdediós.⁴⁶⁹

A long southern porch spans approximately two-thirds of the building, beginning at the western façade and entered through a round-headed arch towards the east end (Fig. 25.4). Unlike the rubble used for the rest of the church, the porch is entirely constructed in regular courses of ashlar masonry. It is illuminated by a large, round-headed, western window filled with latticework and three additional smaller windows in its south wall.⁴⁷⁰ The porch is barrel-vaulted with five transverse arches that descend onto a combination of corbels and engaged shafts (Fig. 25.5). Whereas the corbels are reserved for the south wall, the shafts form part of a richly carved, five-arched blind arcade that spans the entirety of the north wall. The arcade is slightly recessed

⁴⁶⁸ Alvarez Martinez, "Valdediós y el arte de su tiempo," 102.

⁴⁶⁹ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 379-381; Fontaine, *Préroman hispanique*, 329.

⁴⁷⁰ One window is set in the west wall of the porch and there are three more in the south wall.

from the frontal supports and descends onto smaller nook shafts with carved capitals and bases (Fig. 25.6). The rhythm of the arcade's engaged-columns is repeated above the roof of the porch where pilaster buttresses rise to the cornice of the south wall. Identical buttresses and a similarly positioned portal appear on the north façade, albeit without a porch or blind arcade to contain them (Fig. 25.7). As such, the construction of the north portal is clearly visible, revealing single-stone jambs and lintels surmounted by a redbrick retaining arch. The portal's position not only mirrors that of the south porch, but also the arrangement at San Julián de los Prados (Fig. 30.13).⁴⁷¹ Interestingly, the combined use of a lintel and relieving arch above a portal or fenestration, which falls out of use during the Ramirense period, appears in nearly all of the extant buildings dated to the period of Alfonso II. At Valdediós they appear to have made a return and are used on no less than six occasions (Fig. 25.3, 25.8-25.11, 25.21).⁴⁷²

Four clerestory windows pierce the central and eastern section of the nave (Fig. 25.12). Each of the windows is decorated with a miniature, double-horseshoe arcade supported by a central shaft and engaged-column jambs (Fig. 25.13). A double-cable motif adorns the face of each arch and a heart-shaped ornament is set in the spandrel between them. Similarly, horseshoe-arched windows light the north and south *porticus* and pierce the upper and lower wall of the east façade, where a triple-arched window lights the ground-storey chancel and a double-horseshoe arch pierces the wall above it (Fig. 25.14). The east façade's decoration is very similar to other Asturian examples, particularly those dated to Alfonso II.⁴⁷³ The major differences are

⁴⁷¹ Though San Julián de los Prados lacks a southern porch, it retains its mirrored portals set in the eastern angles of the north and south aisles. It should be noted, however, that these portals lack red brick retaining arches applied throughout the rest of the church and it is unclear how they would have been used in a liturgical capacity.

⁴⁷² Portals constructed with single-stone jambs and lintels surmounted by red brick retaining arches are used for the southern porch entrance, southern porticus in the east corner of the south aisle, northern portal in the west corner of the north aisle, northern porticus in the east corner of the north aisle, at the entrance to the western tribune mezanine, and in the western portal.

⁴⁷³ I refer here to the churches of San Pedro de Nora, San Julián de los Prados, and Santa María de Bendones.

the use of horseshoe arches at Valdediós and the fact that the arches themselves are carved from single blocks of stone that incorporate a larger rectangular hood moulding, commonly referred to as an *alfiz*. Like the horseshoe arch, the *alfiz* is frequently, and inaccurately, understood as a southern-Iberian motif that was imported to the north in the early tenth century by Arabized Christians.⁴⁷⁴ Indeed, Gómez-Moreno relates Valdediós' *alfiz* to Toledan prototypes.⁴⁷⁵ He also ascribes the latticework in the south porch windows to the hand of an Andalusí master and dates the entire porch, its masonry and its decoration to a later date than the rest of the building.⁴⁷⁶ Schlunk agrees that the *alfiz*, the horseshoe-arched windows and latticework in the south porch were the product of an Andalusí Christian artist. However, he notes that initial construction on the church commenced at the east end where the large foliage capitals beneath the chancel arch indicate the work of an original Asturian artist.⁴⁷⁷ Schlunk accounts for the juxtaposition of Asturian and 'Mozarabic' forms by suggesting that the latter decorations were carried out in a matter of respect for earlier Asturian traditions and were, therefore, left intact.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁴ Opinions are divided on the origins of the horseshoe arch and its appearance in the Iberian Peninsula. Gómez-Moreno, "Excursión a través del arco de herradura," 787-788, attaches its roots to India or Mesopotamia. Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana española en la Edad Media*, 149, suggests that Jews traveling from the Middle East during the Roman era were responsible for its arrival in the Iberian Peninsula. Kaplan, "The Mozarabic Horseshoe Arches," 4, supports Lampérez y Romea's theory, noting, "Jews living in the Peninsula maintained commercial contacts with Syria, which could have served as a conduit through which the horseshoe arch arrived from Asia." Holland, "The Origin of the Horseshoe Arch in Northern Spain," 378-398, concluded that the Moors brought the horseshoe arch to the Iberian Peninsula in the early eighth century and that it did not spread to the north until the end of the ninth. Dewald, "The Appearance of the Horseshoe Arch in Western Europe," 316-337, agrees that the form is oriental, later appearing throughout the Roman Empire (primarily Italy, southern France and Spain) yet was also known by Muslim architects in Syria and Mesopotamia. Thus when Muslim builders arrived in the Iberian Peninsula after the Conquest of 711, where Visigothic builders absorbed the horseshoe arch from the indigenous Romans, its form was already known. Torres Balbás, *Historia de España*, 364, on the other hand, proposes that the Romans were the first to use the horseshoe arch after seeing it in representations of Asian deities.

⁴⁷⁵ Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, 76-81.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.; Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 381; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 224, 226, describes the latticework of the western window of the south porch as perfectly Mozarabic. See also, Noack-Haley, "Mozarabisher Baudekor 1: Die Kapitelle," 25-27, 108, 168-169, agrees that Andalusian designs, specifically from Córdoba, made their way into Asturian buildings.

⁴⁷⁷ Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 381.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 226.

Though full-length southern porches are more common in so-called Mozarabic churches than medieval Asturian ones, and the fully ashlar construction at Valdediós does not fit with the standard Asturian practice of reserving cut stone for the quoins and buttresses, Valdediós' porch does not warrant a later date. Indeed, the four lowest registers of stone course through the angle of the western façade and porch, suggesting a single building phase. Moreover, the porch's ashlar fabric and internal decorations must be understood in connection with its function as a separate royal entrance, which justified the use of richer building materials and ornament. Arias, Álvarez Martínez, Arbeiter and Noack-Haley agree that the southern portal served as a royal entrance.⁴⁷⁹ However, given Gómez-Moreno's position on the latticework in the porch windows, they concede to it being a later addition. There is, nevertheless, no doubt that the south porch was envisioned as an original feature given the fact that its portal leads directly to a staircase in the south aisle that ascends to the royal western tribune. It is difficult to imagine that the king and his architect planned for a fully integrated stone tribune with accompanying staircase and adjacent portal only to later decide that a southern porch would be a nice addition.

Inside, a tall nave flanked by single aisles terminates in a tripartite east end (Fig. 25.15). Simple, rectangular piers with moulded capitals and nearly identical bases support the main arcade of the nave. The nave is at least three times the height of the main arcade supports. Valdediós' central chapel is both taller and wider than the subsidiary ones. Unlike San Julián de los Prados and San Salvador de Priesca, where the central chapel is hierarchically enriched via a physical blind arcade, each of Valdediós' chapels are painted in imitation blind arcades (Fig. 25.16). Two small niches, most likely included for the display of relics, are placed on either side of the north and south walls of its central chapel, a feature repeated at San Adriano de Tuñón.

⁴⁷⁹ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 226; Arbeiter and Noack-Haley, "The Kingdom of Asturias," 113; Álvarez Martínez, "Consideraciones en torno el templo prerrománico de San Salvador de Valdediós," 24-26.

Like San Miguel de Lillo, Valdediós' tribune is positioned above the western porch (Fig. 25.17). Here, access is restricted to a single, stone staircase in the western corner of the south aisle (Fig. 25.18). Nuñez interprets Valdediós' tribune as a royal sphere that separated the king from the attendants.⁴⁸⁰ Nieto Alcaide similarly suggests that the spatial organization in the church is based around the conception of theocratic power. The king and his subjects attended the ceremony yet it was the king who occupied the sacred realm of the tribune. As such, relationships are formed between King and God, who granted divine power, and between king and subjects, who concede power to the divine ruler.⁴⁸¹ As Arias observes, the tribune provided the monarch and his royal entourage with a private space from which to attend the liturgical ceremonies below. Certainly, these scholars' interpretations are not restricted to Valdediós alone and just as easily apply to each of the Asturian tribunes. The difference, of course, is that at Valdediós, and Lillo before it, the tribune is constructed in stone, a more lavish material than the wood used at Santianes de Pravia, Santa María in Oviedo and San Julián de los Prados. Arias suggests Valdediós' tribune in particular was constructed in accordance with Constantine VII's writings in the tenth-century *De Ceremoniis*, which outlines the rituals of royal Byzantine chapels. It states that the small space adjacent to the tribune would have served as a vestry or as a small retreat for the king to retire to.⁴⁸² Though this function seems to apply to the elevated chambers positioned on either side of San Miguel de Lillo's tribune, the very small space adjacent to Valdediós' tribune, which forms part of the staircase and was only partially hidden from view via a curtain or wooden door, does not serve as a practical location for the royal retreat or vestry outlined in the *De Ceremoniis*. It is

⁴⁸⁰ Nuñez Rodríguez, *San Salvador de Valdediós*, 121, "que polarizaba las *laudes regia*."

⁴⁸¹ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 224; Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 173.

⁴⁸² Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 203, 223, supplies the Spanish title of the book, *Libro de las Ceremonias*, yet does not include a citation or description. It can therefore only be assumed that he is referring to Constantine VII's *De Ceremoniis*. On this, see Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos," 209-227; idem, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos," 417-439.

also difficult to account for the transmission of this text in Asturias during the ninth century.

What seems clear, however, is that the integration of Valdediós' stone tribune is more akin to the design used at San Miguel de Lillo than at the previous churches of Santianes de Pravia, Santa María in Oviedo and Santullano, where tribunes were constructed in wood.

The same can be said of Valdediós' use of vaulting. Barrel vaults surmount every space in the church, including the low, lateral chambers in the western porch, the north and south porticus, each of the eastern chapels (Fig. 25.19-25.20), the western tribune as well as the mezzanine level adjacent to it (Fig. 25.21). Nevertheless, Valdediós does not express the same attention to ornament as its Ramirense model. As mentioned, uncarved piers with moulded rectangular capitals and bases support the main arcade, as opposed to the engaged-columns with carved capitals and bases at Lillo. Instead, the use of columns within Valdediós is restricted to the eastern chapels, where they are applied to each of the arch jambs (Fig. 25.22), as well as the jambs of the central chancel's window (Fig. 25.23). Here again, their capitals and abaci are richly carved with a variety of foliate motifs and incorporate cable necking, yet the detached shafts are left untreated and do not convey the same attention to carving so common in Ramirense buildings. The reservation of sculpture indicates a hierarchy of liturgical space that was further articulated through screens that protruded into the easternmost bay of the nave. The penultimate and ultimate bases of the nave supports have been incised to allow for a screen (Fig. 25.24-25.25). If original, the division echoed the hierarchical arrangement outlined by Canon XVIII of the IV Council of Toledo (633), which marginalized the faithful from the clergy and established a physical border between parishioner and God.⁴⁸³ However, it seems more likely that

⁴⁸³ Manuel Nuñez Rodríguez, *San Salvador de Valdediós*, 121.

the furniture screens were in fact later additions given their sloppy execution and the arguments outlined for the bases at San Miguel de Lillo.⁴⁸⁴

San Salvador de Valdediós was painted over in the eighteenth century, preserving some of the original designs beneath. During restorations in 1912, portions of the paintings were removed. In 1919, José Fernández Menéndez exposed the interior paintings after a reconstruction of the church.⁴⁸⁵ Schlunk and Berenguer later expounded upon these in 1957.⁴⁸⁶ In 1993, the paintings were restored under the supervision of Jesús María Puras Higuera, whose work would reveal designs that had been covered by layers of lime from the past.⁴⁸⁷ The remains reveal a return to the Alfonsine delight in painted decoration, where architectonic elements were produced in illusionistic, two-dimensional forms. Indeed, the nave retains a band of foliage painted in imitation of a transverse arch. Not only is the attitude towards painted imitation and a hierarchy of spaces similar to the Alfonsine group of buildings, but also the foliage is similar to that which appears on the undersides of the arches at Santullano and Santa María de Bendones, albeit in a more stylized fashion. Though most of the paintings at Valdediós have been lost, similar geometric patterns of squares and lozenges are repeated throughout the church, suggesting San Julián de los Prados may have served as a model. Of course, it must be noted that this same pattern is also found in the western bay of San Miguel de Lillo's southern aisle. As mentioned, Roger Collins doubts San Miguel de Lillo's 842-850 date and instead opens the possibility to interpreting this pattern of squares and lozenges as a product of Alfonso III's atelier between 866 and 910. Interestingly, the remains of a figural painting are preserved on Valdediós'

⁴⁸⁴ See discussion on the church of San Salvador de Priesca above. Santiago de Gobiendes' later furniture screen can be seen in Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 383.

⁴⁸⁵ Fernández Menéndez, "Apuntes para la Historia del Arte," 77-89.

⁴⁸⁶ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 150-160.

⁴⁸⁷ Puras Higuera, *Estudios previos y Proyecto de conservación de las pinturas murales y estucos de San Salvador de Valdediós* (1991).

southeastern tribune wall (Fig. 25.26). Two feet shown in profile are clearly discernable and are related in shape to those that appear in the western bay of the southern aisle at San Miguel de Lillo. This certainly differs from San Julián de los Prados' aniconic programme. It also throws a wrench into Collins' assertion that Valdediós and Santullano may be dated to the same period on account of their mutual absence of figural imagery.⁴⁸⁸ It seems that Valdediós took inspiration from the church of San Miguel de Lillo where the artists infused the building with a combination of geometric patterns previously included at Santullano and figural decorations used during the Ramirese period.

Despite being undocumented in the Asturian chronicles, the 893 date recorded on the consecration stone in the church of San Salvador de Valdediós is difficult to dispute. The design, plan, and decorative programme in the building suggest that the patron, presumably Alfonso III, took the church of San Miguel de Lillo as its model. This is particularly evident through the proliferation of vaulted spaces, integrated western tribune and preference towards stone masonry. It is less certain whether or not the *alfiz* ornaments used on the exterior windows reflect a tenth-century influx of southern Iberian designs. It is highly unlikely that Alfonso III, whose chronicles staunchly promoted Visigothic memory in Asturian history, infused his architecture with decorations inspired by Islamic contact. If we understand the *alfiz* as a derivation from earlier Visigothic designs, rather than an ornament used by Arabicized Christians, then the church of San Salvador de Valdediós falls in line with the notion of Visigothic motifs being relegated to decoration in the early medieval kingdom of Asturias.

⁴⁸⁸ Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 12.

The Church of San Adriano de Tuñon

The church of San Adriano de Tuñon (Fig. 26) is not documented in any of the contemporaneous Asturian chronicles. It does, however, appear in a donation made by Alfonso III and his wife Jimena on 24 January, 891, which records that the royal couple founded the monastery of San Adriano de Tuñon and granted to it the privilege of immunity, various villas, churches and numerous liturgical possessions and books.⁴⁸⁹ The church appears again in a donation made on 25 January, 894, when the king and his wife granted their villa, San Martin de Falamosa, to the monastery of Tuñon.⁴⁹⁰ Luis Menéndez Pidal restored the church dedicated to San Adriano between 1949 and 1954, and in 1986 García Pola, Marqués C. J. and Palacios J. initiated a conservation project on the building.⁴⁹¹ An inscription was discovered on a stone set between the ultimate and penultimate bays of the south nave arcade. It commemorates Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo and Abbot Eulalio's reconsecration and restoration of the chapels in 1108.⁴⁹² The inscription also states that these patrons were responsible for the translation of a number of relics:

†HOC TEMPLUM DEDICAVIT PELAGIUS EPISCOPUS
OVETENSIS ERA MILLESIMA Ca XLa VIa III° IDUS AUGUSTI
MEDIUM SCILICET ALTARE IN HO-
NORE BEATORUM MARTIRIUM ADRIANI ET NA-
TALIE DEXTRUM UERO IN HONRORE BEA-
TORUM PETRI ET PAULI APOSTOLORUM SINISTRUM AUTEM IN
HONORE BEATI IACOBI APOSTOLI SCEPTRI G-
ERANTE REGE ADEFONSO REGIS FREDE-
NANDI FILIO IN LEGIONE ET TOLETO IPISQUE MO-
NASTERIO PRESIDENTE ABBATE DONO EULA-
LIO QUI IN IPSA DEDCACIONE TEMPLI SUPER

⁴⁸⁹ Barrau-Dihigo, "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens," 145-146; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 235-244; idem, *Enciclopedia*, vol. 1, 387-400; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 328-329; Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 110.

⁴⁹⁰ Barrau-Dihigo, "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens," 147, is doubtful of this donation's authenticity based on the way in which its author recorded the date and year.

⁴⁹¹ Marqués Rodríguez, "Restauración y Conservación de la Iglesia Prerrománica de Santo Adriano de Tuñón," 234; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 237-238.

⁴⁹² Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 235.

TRIA PREDICTA ALTARIA TRES ARAS
 NOVAS POSUIT IN PRINCIPALI IGITUR
 ALTARI HORUM QUI SUBSCRIBUNTUR SANCTO-
 RUM SUNT RECONDITE RELIQUIE DE LIGNO
 DOMINI SANCTE MARIE VIRGINIS SANCTI MICHAELIS
 IOHANNIS BATISTE SANCTORUM APOSTOLORUM
 PETRI ET PAULI SANCTI THOME APOSTOLI SANCTI IA-
 COBI APOSTOLI SANCTI CIPRIANI EPISCOPI SANCTI PANTA-
 LEONIS MARTIRI SANCTORUM CLAUDII LUPER-
 CI ET VICTORICI MARTRUM SANCTI CLEMENTIS
 EPISCOPI ET MARTIRI SANCTI GEORGII MARTIRI SANCTI MAR-
 TINI EPISCOPI SANCTORUM SPERATI ET MARI-
 NE MARTIRUM SANCTORUM. COSME ET DA-
 MIANI MARTIRUM SANCTE EOLALIE VIRGINIS
 ET MARTIRIS.⁴⁹³

Emilio Olávarri translates the passage to:

*Pelayo, Obispo de Oviedo, dedicó este temple en la Era de 1146, en el día 3° de los Idus de Agosto, a saber: el altar del medio en honor de los Santos Mártires Adriano y Natalia, el de la derecha en honor de los Santos Apóstoles Pedro y Pablo y el de la izquierda en honor de Santiago Apóstol, siendo rey portador del cetro Alfonso, hijo de Fernando, en León y en Toledo y Abad Presidente del mismo monasterio don Eulalio, quien en la misma dedicación del temple puso tres aras nuevas sobre los tres referidos altares. En el altar principal fueron depositadas las reliquias de estos santos que a continuación se señalan: del Ligno del Señor, de Santa María Virgen, de San Miguel, de Juan Bautista, de los Santos Apóstoles Pedro y Pablo, de Santo Tomás Apóstol, de Santiago Apóstol, del Obispo San Cipriano, de San Pantaleón Mártir, de los Santos Mártires Claudio, Luercio y Victoricio, de San Clemente Obispo y Mártir, de San Georgio Mártir, de San Martin Obispo, de los Santos Mártires Esperado y Marina, de los Santos Mártires Cosme y Damián, de Santa Eulalia Virgen y Mártir.*⁴⁹⁴

The English translation reads:

Pelayo, Bishop of Oviedo, dedicated this temple in the age of 1146, on the 3rd day of the Ides of August, namely: the middle altar in honor of the Holy Martyrs Adriano and Natalia, the one on the right in honor of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and the one on the left in honor of St. James the Apostle, being king bearer of the scepter Alfonso, son of Ferdinand, in Leon and Toledo and Abbot President of the same monastery Don Eulalio, who in the same dedication of the temple put three new dedications on the three mentioned altars. In the main altar were deposited the relics of these saints that are indicated below: of the Ligno of the Lord, of Santa María the Virgin, of San Miguel, of John the Baptist, of the Holy Apostles Peter and Pablo, of Santo Tomás the Apostle, of Santiago the Apostle, Bishop St. Cyprian, St. Pantaleon the Martyr, Holy Martyrs

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 236.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 236-237, repeats Olávarri's translation yet does not provide a reference.

Claudius, Luercio and Victoricio, St. Clement Bishop and Martyr, St. Georgio the Martyr, St. Martin the Bishop, Holy Martyrs Eseprado and Marina, Holy Martyrs Cosme and Damián, of Santa Eulalia Virgin and Martyr.

Due to the fact that the stone does not record an original ninth-century consecration and the donation documents only appear in the twelfth-century *Liber Testamentorum*, some historians question their authenticity and believe they were most likely Pelagian forgeries.⁴⁹⁵ It is certainly odd that the stone does not mention King Alfonso III's original patronage and instead highlights Bishop Pelagius and Abbot Eulalio's consecration of the chapels in 1108. Similarly, King Alfonso III and his wife Jimena are absent from the twelfth-century painted record on the intrados of the south chapel arch, which Arias believes to be a summary of the inscription.⁴⁹⁶

The present-day church is built in a basilican plan with a three-bay nave and single aisles that terminate in a tripartite east end contained within a continuous external wall (Fig. 26.1). The church is built in a combination of rubble and ashlar masonry (Fig. 26), the latter being reserved for the quoins and the two pilaster buttresses on the east façade. As at San Julián de los Prados, a belfry, projecting western porch and narthex appear to be later additions.⁴⁹⁷ The latter two are currently plastered over, yet earlier photographs show the difference in their masonry compared to the rest of the building (Fig. 26.2). Indeed, the western porch's length is far too long by comparison with other Asturian churches. The southern portico similarly indicates a later addition given its length and masonry, which is out of proportion and does not course at the angles. Moreover, the round-headed window that pierces its south wall splays outward (Fig. 26.3), a technique that is not encountered in any other extant Asturian building. Though it does

⁴⁹⁵ Barrau-Dihigo, "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens," 24, 145, 147; Sirantoine, *Imperator Hispaniae*, 63; Caveda y Nava, *Ensayo historico*, 93.

⁴⁹⁶ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 237.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.; see also de Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, 16, for the pre-reconstruction plan of San Julián de los Prados.

not survive, Arias suggests Tuñón had a northern *porticus* mirroring its southern one;⁴⁹⁸ a reconstruction that seemingly relies on his proposed arrangement for Santullano. The nave clerestory consists of three, large, rectangular windows on the north and south walls. Their shape and dimensions are similar to buildings dated to Alfonso II, such as San Julián de los Prados and Santa María de Bendones. Three additional windows pierce Tuñón's north aisle, a rarity in Asturian church architecture.

Interestingly, Tuñón's eastern chapels are more akin to the earlier arrangements at San Julián de los Prados, Santa María de Bendones and San Pedro de Nora, than Alfonso III's other church, San Salvador de Valdediós. A total of three round-headed windows filled with latticework pierce the ground level of the east façade, one per chapel (Fig. 26.4). Single pilaster-buttresses rise on either side of the central window to the raking cornices of the aisle roofs and externally articulate the internal arrangement of the tripartite east end. Though the buttresses suggest the width of the chapels, they more likely align with the nave arcade. Similar to nearly all other Asturian buildings, Tuñón's upper, eastern façade is adorned with a miniature arcade. Its position and general design is analogous to the examples at San Pedro de Nora, Santa María de Bendones, San Julián de los Prados, San Salvador de Priesca, and San Salvador de Valdediós. However, here again Tuñón's miniature arcade (Fig. 26.5) differs from the contemporaneous example at Valdediós in its lack of monolithic jambs and use of a single, central support. Indeed, the chamfered edges and cushion-type design of its capital are more closely related to San Salvador de Priesca's miniature arcade than the more common Asturian use of cylindrical shafts and carved, Roman-type foliage capitals.

⁴⁹⁸ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 238, proposes an original northern porch opposite the southern one.

Inside, plain, unmoulded, rectangular piers support a three-bay nave arcade flanked by single aisles (Fig. 26.6). Unlike San Salvador de Valdediós and the Ramirese group of buildings, Tuñón's nave and aisles are covered in a timber roof. Barrel vaults are, however, reserved for the eastern chapels, which are slightly elevated by a short step. Similar to San Salvador de Valdediós and San Salvador de Priesca, two round-headed altar niches pierce the north and south walls of the central chapel, likely used for the display of relics. Though niches also appear at Santullano, the latter are square in shape with only one in each wall and these communicate with the adjacent chapels. Unlike other Asturian examples, Tuñón's eastern wall does not possess a tabernacle or any stone articulation. Aside from the impost columns, the chapel is left unornamented and the decoration is restricted to painted forms.

Two detached columns with carved capitals and bases frame the central chapel (Fig. 26.7). Unlike all other Asturian examples the columns do not support the arch above. Rather, they abut the chancel jambs and are awkwardly topped with uncarved stone imposts. The capitals are inverted-pyramidal in shape and carved with two rows of stylized and veiny acanthus foliage (Fig. 26.8-26.9). The southern capital is far more abstract than its northern counterpart. Its lower row contains five broad, flattened leaves and its upper row incorporates two additional leaves positioned at the angles. The north capital of Tuñón's central chapel arch similarly incorporates five leaves with flattened, stylized acanthus in the lower register and two additional, larger leaves in the upper corners, topped by a curved abacus with an egg-and-dart border. Interestingly, the capital designs are unlike those at the presumably contemporaneous church of San Salvador de Valdediós (Fig. 25.25), where, though broad, the leaves are sharply carved with clear veins and include the cable necking commonly found in the Ramirese group of buildings. It seems to me that this difference in carved design, along with the peculiar position of the central chapel arch

supports, which abut the jambs yet offer no support to anything above, signals an afterthought and the inclusion of repurposed materials.

A small arch pierces the section of wall above the apex of the central chancel and provides a view into the roof space above it (Fig. 26.6).⁴⁹⁹ A similar arched opening is found above the former western portal. Arias believes the eastern opening is a later addition and while there is a clear disruption in the surrounding plasterwork, the arch may reflect an aspect of the original design. Indeed, a beam in the roof space above the central chapel appears to retain an inscription and there seems little reason to have decorated a space that was not intended to be seen. A similar case can be made for the originality of the western opening above the original portal, which likely lit the elevated tribune, now only partly preserved. An early-twentieth-century photograph shows a timber gallery positioned above the western entrance and accessed by wooden staircase in the south aisle.⁵⁰⁰ The remains of putlog holes in the spandrels of the nave architrave, as opposed to the corbels used at Priesca, suggests the supporting wooden beam entered directly into the masonry of the architrave and indicate an intended feature of the design (Fig. 26.10). Its position and material relate to de Morales and Llano's description of Santa María in Oviedo's tribune and there is little reason to doubt its originality.

Unfortunately, only the paintings in the central chapel remain (Fig. 26.11). Certain motifs, such as the continuous band of roundels adorning the arches of the niches and window, are reminiscent of designs used at Santullano (Fig. 30.33). The frieze of sharply-angled embattlements along each wall of the central chapel, however, is commonly interpreted as the first 'Mozarabic' paintings in Asturias (Fig. 26.12).⁵⁰¹ The eastern wall of the central chapel also

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 240, though he does not provide a date or reason as to why he believes it to be a later addition.

⁵⁰⁰ See Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 385.

⁵⁰¹ Mireille Mentré, *La peinture "mozárabe,"* 57; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 328-329; Álvarez Martínez, "Valdediós y el arte de su tiempo," 107; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 242.

contains fragments of what appears to be a celestial programme with a sun on each side of the central window. Schlunk and Berenguer believe a painted jeweled cross was positioned above the window, now lost, which may relate back to the crosses at San Julián de los Prados, San Salvador de Valdediós or San Salvador de Priesca. At the same time, they interpret the overall aesthetic of Tuñón's decorative programme as the product of Arabicized motifs that traveled northwards into Asturias with Andalusí Christian émigrés in the tenth century.⁵⁰²

Despite commonly being dated to the reign of Alfonso III, the church of San Adriano de Tuñón presents more similarities with buildings dated to the period of Alfonso II. The dubious authenticity of the donation and dedicatory plaque do not help to securely date the building in the late-ninth century. Based on the affinities outlined above, I believe the church of San Adriano de Tuñón originally dates to the Alfonsine period (812-842) and was later granted a number of privileges by Alfonso III. Whether or not this latter king conducted any work on the building is uncertain yet the chapel arch supports appear to be the product of a later addition. Perhaps San Adriano de Tuñón was among the group of churches that Alfonso III restored, as recorded in the *Chronicle of Albelda*. What is, nevertheless, clear is that Abbot Eulalio and Bishop Pelagius reconsecrated the building in the early-twelfth century and translated a number of relics to it. Given the unique style of paintings preserved in the central chapel, which do not fit with examples at either Santullano or Valdediós, a twelfth-century date may be better suited to the building and decorations that survive today.

⁵⁰² Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 118-124; Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 244.

The Church of San Salvador de Priesca

The church of San Salvador de Priesca (Fig. 27) is not mentioned in any of the Asturian chronicles. In 1887, Miguel Vigil recorded the location of a consecration stone dated to 24 September, 921, in the south aisle of the church.⁵⁰³

+N ERA DCCCCLA VIIIA
SAGRADVM : EST :
TEMPLVM SANTI SALVA-
TORI

If the consecration stone was indeed authentic, it dates the church to the reign of King Ordoño II of León (914-924), one of Alfonso III's five sons. Unfortunately, the stone was lost during Manuel García del Busto's 'restoration' of the church between 1910 and 1922, at which time the plaster over the nave arcade piers, capitals and arches was replaced. The church suffered further damage from a fire during the Civil War (1936-1939). In 1942, Luis Menéndez-Pidal began restoring the church. He removed the debris from the fire, refurbished the pavement based on the Roman concrete material preserved in the central chapel, discovered and restored some of the wall paintings and restored the timber of the western tribune.⁵⁰⁴ Between 1984 and 1985, Manuel García García and Manuel Caicoya Rodríguez further restored the wall paintings, roof, and installed electricity throughout the building.⁵⁰⁵ In 1988, they plastered the exterior walls, updated the interior lighting, cleaned the pavement and decided to remove the western wooden tribune.⁵⁰⁶

The present-day building consists of a basilican plan with westblock, a three-bay nave and single aisles that terminate in a tripartite east end (Fig. 27.1). Though the exterior fabric is

⁵⁰³ Miguel Vigil, *Asturias monumental*, 600-601.

⁵⁰⁴ Menéndez Pidal, *Proyecto de restauración de la Iglesia de San Salvador de Priesca* (Madrid, 1942); idem, "Asturias: Destrucciones habidas en sus monumentos durante el dominio marxista," 9-17; idem, *Los monumentos de Asturias*, 229-265; Arias, *Geometría y proporción*, 324.

⁵⁰⁵ García García and Caicoya Rodríguez, *Proyecto de restauración de San Salvador de Priesca* (1984).

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.; see also Arias, *Geometría y proporción*, 324.

plastered over, it is most likely a combination of rubble and ashlar masonry, the latter material being visible on the pilaster buttresses that flank either side of the western portal (Fig. 27.2) and central window of the east façade (Fig. 27.3).⁵⁰⁷ The position of these buttresses appears to correspond to the interior width of the nave and aisles (Fig. 27.4), and eastern chapels (Fig. 27.5). Akin to other Asturian examples, a miniature arcade decorates the upper wall of Priesca's eastern façade (Fig. 27.6). As mentioned, due to its use of a single, central support with chamfered edges, as well as its lack of monolithic jambs, Priesca's miniature arcade is most closely related to the example at San Adriano de Tuñón (Fig. 26.5). Unlike other Asturian examples, however, the base, shaft and capital are cut from a single stone, which rests on a short plinth and is topped by a heavily weathered impost. A longitudinal porch spans the length of Priesca's southern façade (Fig. 27.3). Apart from so-called Mozarabic examples, this feature is only encountered at San Salvador de Valdediós (Fig. 25.5). Unlike this earlier Asturian example, Priesca's porch appears to be a later addition to the building. It is not internally ornamented, is in better condition than the rest of the building and conceals the original southern buttresses (Fig. 27.7). It does, however, preserve the remains of seemingly original window tracery reset in the eastern section of its south wall (Fig. 27.8). Like Valdediós, Priesca's window is subdivided by a double arch, only slightly horseshoe in shape, and framed by an *alfiz*. A portal set within the porch grants access into the south aisle of the church (Fig. 27.9). A northern portal mirrors the southern one (Fig. 27.10) and recalls the arrangements at San Salvador de Valdediós and San Julián de los Prados. Similar to the latter buildings, projecting north and south *porticus* were originally entered through doorways set in the eastern corners of the aisles. The southern *porticus* was extended eastward to accommodate the modern-day sacristy. The northern one was

⁵⁰⁷ There are three buttresses on the north wall, three on the south wall, two on the east wall and two on the west wall. Those on the south wall are contained within the later porch.

filled-in with an arched niche and externally truncated (Fig. 27.11). Unlike a number of earlier Asturian churches, San Salvador de Priesca's western portal is not set within a porch. Instead, a full narthex spans the width of the building (Fig. 27.4). It is an elegant solution and contains the elevated western tribune above it, accessed by a timber staircase in the south aisle (Fig. 27.12).⁵⁰⁸ Priesca's tribune is partitioned from the nave via a single, round-headed arch in the upper western wall of the nave, now filled with wooden latticework. As at San Adriano de Tuñon and most likely San Julián de los Prados, San Salvador de Priesca's tribune extended overtop of the first bay of the nave and was supported by corbels in the penultimate western spandrels (Fig. 27.4).⁵⁰⁹ It is also likely that, as at Tuñon and San Miguel de Lillo a round-headed window set in Priesca's western façade lit the tribune, which was no doubt reduced to a small circular fenestration at a later point in time.

Piers with large, rectangular capitals and bases support Priesca's three-bay nave arcade (Fig. 27.9-27.10). Above, four rectangular clerestory windows repeat the rhythm of the arches and illuminate the interior. Whereas the nave and aisles are roofed in timber, the eastern chapels are barrel-vaulted in stone and are slightly elevated by a short step (Fig. 27.13-27.14). This is a departure from the fully vaulted 'Ramirense' buildings as well as Alfonso III's church at San Salvador de Valdediós and demonstrates a return to the hierarchical treatment of space at Alfonso II's churches in and around Oviedo. The chancel arch is supported by large engaged-columns with carved capitals and moulded bases on plinths (Fig. 27.15). The capitals are

⁵⁰⁸ A similar arrangement appears at San Miguel de Lillo, though here the west end is separated into three units: a central portal flanked by north and south staircases. Priesca's architect seems to have favored the lighter wood material possibly to create more space within the building while reducing costs and building time.

⁵⁰⁹ The corbels remain *in situ* at San Salvador de Priesca. The absence of corbels at Tuñon and the remains of putlog holes there suggest the supporting wooden beams entered directly into the masonry of the architrave and were an intended feature of the design. San Julián de los Prados preserves neither the corbels nor putlog holes. However, the latter were most likely plastered over during twentieth-century restoration work.

inverted truncated pyramids carved with a single row of broad, veiny, stylized acanthus leaves set between cable necking and geometrically carved abaci (fig. 27.16). The capital designs are nearly identical to those at San Salvador de Valdediós (Fig. 25.22 -25.23). This appears to be the only common feature between the two buildings. East of Priesca's chancel supports, the decoration expresses a model-copy relationship with San Julián de los Prados. Blind arcades composed of engaged-columns with carved foliate capitals, geometric abaci and moulded bases resting on short plinths adorn Priesca's central chapel walls. The columns descend onto a secondary plinth that spans the length of each wall (Fig. 27.17). With a total of nine arches and twelve responds, Priesca's central chapel's arcades are clearly modeled after those at Santullano (Fig. 30.23-30.25). At both buildings, the triple arcades along the east wall frame the eastern window and tabernacle below, a commonality that is not shared by any other Asturian church. Indeed, the more contemporaneous churches built by Alfonso III favour painting over sculpture and where stone is used, it is done so sparingly. In contrast, twelve carved marble capitals are used in Priesca's eastern chapel alone; another two are used in both the north and south chapels. The proliferation of supports in the space around the high altar may indicate the arrangement at the lost church of Santa María in Oviedo, where de Morales recorded twelve marbles in the eastern chapels.⁵¹⁰ The columns on Priesca's eastern blind arcade are fluted, further emphasized by small semicircles applied at the foot of the column between each half cylinder (Fig. 27.18). Though spirally fluted columns appear in the 'Ramirense' group of buildings, they are perhaps better understood as cable motifs than the classically-inspired designs at Priesca. Indeed, Priesca's fluted columns are more akin to the painted imitation versions at San Julián de los Prados, specifically the fluted pilasters on the east walls of the transept (Fig. 30.42).

⁵¹⁰ See discussion on the church of Santa María in Oviedo above.

Furthermore, Priesca's north and south blind arcade capitals are carved with two rows of acanthus-type foliage, a design that is most closely related to what survives at San Julián de los Prados and San Tirso, albeit here they are more stylized.

Similar to nearly all Asturian churches, Priesca's chancel bases have been incised to receive screens (Fig. 27.19). Pre-restoration photographs show latticed screens set into the north and south responds of the chancel arch, now removed (Fig. 27.20). The eastern faces of the penultimate eastern bases of the nave piers are similarly incised, suggesting additional screens and partitioned the nave from the aisles (Fig. 27.21). A similar arrangement was carried out at Valdediós. At Priesca, however, the western faces of the ultimate eastern supports are not incised and thus only half a screen would have separated the space before the chancel. Not only is it uncommon to insert screens into one side of a bay, Priesca's arrangement is awkward in that there is no clear division of space. Whereas the furniture projected forward into the space of the nave at Valdediós, closing off the eastern bay of the nave, Priesca's nave was fully accessible and only restricted from the aisles. The disjunction signals a highly awkward arrangement that reads more as an afterthought than an integrated and liturgically-informed design. Indeed, the awkward and clumsy nature of Priesca's and nearly all Asturian screens, coupled with the evidence at San Miguel de Lillo, where they were clearly a later installation, suggests that no church was originally designed with such screens in mind. The theory that screens were mandated by the continuity of the Visigothic liturgy in Asturias, specifically Canon XVIII of the IV Council of Toledo (633), should similarly be dismissed due to the fact that no extant Visigothic building shows evidence of original, integrated furniture divisions. Precisely how the repurposed Visigothic plaques at Santa Cristina de Lena and San Miguel de Lillo, for example, were used prior to their arrival in Asturias is unclear. Instead, I suggest that Asturian screens

were added at a later point in time when it was decided that they were better suited to the evolving liturgical requirements and growing size of the Christian community.

As with the carved decorations, Priesca's wall paintings are closely related to San Julián de los Prados'. Though most were lost during García del Busto's restoration, enough have survived to argue a close relationship between the two buildings. The repetition of squares enclosed by lozenges on Priesca's subsidiary chapel vaults (Fig. 27.22), and rows of alternating circles and squares on the vault above the high altar (Fig. 27.23) are clearly related to the decorations at Santullano. Priesca's aisles also preserve the faint remains of architectural representations executed in a *trompe l'oeil* (Fig. 27.24). Albeit less naturalistic, they are analogous to the Pompeian/Herculaneum style of paintings at Santullano.

On the grounds that the churches of San Julián de los Prados, San Miguel de Lillo, San Salvador de Valdediós and San Salvador de Priesca share strikingly similar paintings, Collins suggests that it may be necessary to post-date each building to a common period closer in date to Priesca. Nieto Alcaide, on the other hand, interprets the reappearance of Alfonsine motifs at Priesca as the product of continuity, wherein later Asturian patrons sought to emulate the work of previous ones.⁵¹¹ Indeed, both scenarios are possible. Given our very bleak understanding of medieval Asturian architecture and the ambiguity of dates provided by the chronicle sources, it is necessary to reassess the traditional timeline of early medieval Asturian architecture. As the presumed last church in the medieval kingdom of Asturias, the church of San Salvador de Priesca holds a particularly important place in its chronology. If it does in fact date to the period

⁵¹¹ Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 196, suggests the church of San Julián de los Prados established a model from which subsequent kings built and decorated later churches, particularly in the final years of the Asturian kingdom.

of Ordoño II, as indicated by the consecration stone, it serves as a clear copy of San Julián de los Prados at a time when the kingdom of Asturias expanded to include León.

CHAPTER 4:
BALLOT, BLOOD OR BUILDING:
THE QUESTION OF ALFONSO II'S RESTORATION OF A 'CEREMONY OF THE
GOTHS' IN THE *CHRONICLE OF ALBELDA*

The so-called *Chronicle of Albelda*, written between 881 and 883,⁵¹² is a miscellany of various texts that covers a wide range of subjects spanning the history of the world, the geography of Spain and the characteristics of its different inhabitants.⁵¹³ Along with the so-called *Prophetic Chronicle* (fol. 245-67), the *Albelda* was added to the larger *Codex Aemilianensis* (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 39), which was written at the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla (Logroño) in the tenth century.⁵¹⁴ The twenty-three folios of the *Albelda* were separated from the *Codex Aemilianensis* at some point in the nineteenth century. They were later discovered and reattached by M. Gómez-Moreno in 1961.⁵¹⁵ Of particular interest to the study of medieval Asturian architecture is the section in the *Albelda* titled the *Item, Ordo Gothorum Regum* – a chronological record of the Asturian kings and their deeds that begins with Pelagius, the founding prince of Asturias, and ends with Alfonso III, whose sons dissolved the kingdom after 910. The *Item, Ordo Gothorum Regum* is preceded in the chronicle by the *Item, Ordo Gentis Gothorum*, a similar list that records the Visigothic kings who ruled over the Iberian

⁵¹² Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, LVII, dates the *Chronicle of Albelda* to November 883. See also Wreglesworth, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 185.

⁵¹³ Menéndez Pidal, *Historia España*, t. 6, 10, describes the *Chronicle of Albelda* as a universal history in the history of Isidore of Seville. For a brief account of the various texts and their subjects, see Wreglesworth, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 182-84. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 370.

⁵¹⁴ Escalona, "Family Memories," 225, 226, disagrees and believes the chronicle was written in the "ideological milieu of Alfonso III's court" in Oviedo. Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 81 ff; Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en monarquía leonesa*, 228-232, proposes the text was written at the church San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles in Oviedo.

⁵¹⁵ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, XXIX.

Peninsula between the years of Athanaric and Roderic (371-711). More than a mere timeline, the lists are positioned in the chronicle so as to establish various links between the Asturian and Visigothic kingdoms. In its most basic capacity, the chronicle bridges the end of the Visigothic kingdom and the beginning of the Asturian kingdom. For certain Asturian rulers, such as Pelagius, the author of the *Albelda* specifically highlights a Gothic ancestry that originated in Toledo before the Islamic conquest. The author makes similar associations for the kingdom of Asturias as a whole. The most outright of these constructions appears in a passage recorded under the entry for king Alfonso II (791-842) that states, “All the ceremony of the Goths, just as it had been in Toledo, [Alfonso II] completely restored in Oviedo, in the Church as well as the Palace.”⁵¹⁶ Precisely what the author meant by a “ceremony of the Goths” or the “Church as well as the Palace,” are central points of scholarly contention. It is unclear if the “ceremony of the Goths” was a reference to the Gothic liturgy, and if the author was referring to “the church as well as the Palace” in a metaphorical or literal capacity.⁵¹⁷ Indeed, the phrase is part of a larger passage that records Alfonso II’s built environment in Oviedo, which is replete with architectural references:

Alfonso the Great reigned 51 years. In the eleventh year of his reign tyranny expelled him to a monastery in Abelaniae. A certain Teuda or other faithful brought him back, knowing that Oviedo is restored to the summit. He built in Oviedo the temple of San Salvador and the twelve Apostles, in stone and lime, of a wonderful construction as well

⁵¹⁶ Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 35, 248-249; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24, “Adefonsus Magnus regnavit annis LI. Iste, undecimo regni anno per tyrannidem regno expulsus, monasterio Abelaniae est reclusus. Inde, a quodam Teudane uel aliis fidelibus reductus, regnique Oueto est culmine restitutus. Iste in Oueto templum Sancti Saluatoris cum duodecim Apostolis ex silice et calce mire fabricauit, aulamque Sanctae Mariae cum tribus altaribus aedificauit; basilicam quoque Sancti tirsii miro aedificio cum multis angulis fundamentauit; omnesque has Domini domos cum arcibus atque columnis marmoreis, auro argentoque diligenter ornauit, simulque cum regis palatiis, picturis diuersis decorauit. Omnemque Gothorum ordinem sicuti Toledo fuerat tam in Ecclesia quam in Palatio in Oueto cuncta statuit.” See also O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 104.

⁵¹⁷ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 161-67; Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 249; Gómez-Moreno, “Las primeras crónicas de la Reconquista,” 602; Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España* 7, 394; Maravall, *El concepto de España*, 299-315; Prieto Bances, *La legislación del Rey de Oviedo*, 175-221; Sánchez-Albornoz, *Estudios críticos* 2, 263-39; Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 30; O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 371-72.

as the sanctuary of St. Mary with its three altars; he equally founded the Church of San Tirso, an amazing edifice with multiple angles; and all the houses of the Lord, he carefully adorned them with arches and columns of marble, gold and silver, and as well as the royal palace, he decorated with various frescoes. All the ceremony of the Goths, just as it had been in Toledo, [Alfonso II] completely restored in Oviedo, in the Church as well as the Palace.⁵¹⁸

The opening part of the passage describes Alfonso II's expulsion from the throne in the eleventh year of his reign, as well as his return to Oviedo with the help of one Teuda. This is followed by a description of the king's architectural programme at his capital, Oviedo – which is reiterated to a certain degree in the two redactions of *The Chronicle of Alfonso III* (866), the *Rotense* and the *Ovetense*. The buildings recorded in the *Albelda*, as well as the descriptions afforded to them, are often taken at face value and have been used alongside archaeological attempts to locate and date medieval buildings in and around Oviedo.⁵¹⁹ The closing statement, on the other hand, which declares that Alfonso II restored the “ceremony of the Goths” in Oviedo, is highly debated, not least because it lacks any supporting physical evidence. In terms of design and construction, buildings dated to the reign of Alfonso II indicate that the king, his masons and his architects retained very little, if anything, from their Visigothic ancestors.⁵²⁰ Not surprisingly, recent scholarship has turned away from supporting a connection between the architecture of Alfonso II and what was built in the former Gothic capital of Toledo. This is also due, in part, to the fact that contemporaneous documentary sources, such as the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, provide varying records for the same Asturian buildings, undermining the accuracy of the *Albelda's* declaration. In light of incongruous physical and written evidence, I propose an alternative

⁵¹⁸ See note 10 above.

⁵¹⁹ For example, see Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 174, 249; Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 161-167; Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 30-34; Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 1-18, who is one of the very few scholars to question the dating of medieval Asturian churches in relation to documentary sources.

⁵²⁰ Sánchez-Albornoz, *Estudios críticos* 2, 623-639; Utrero Agudo, “Late Antique and Early Medieval Hispanic Churches,” 7. See also Wreglesworth, “The Chronicle of Alfonso III,” 193, for a reading that argues against Visigothic continuity.

interpretation of what the author of the *Albelda* meant by a restoration of ‘the ceremony of the Goths’, and it has far less to do with the architecture in Oviedo than with king Alfonso II himself. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that Alfonso II was the first Pelagian-blooded king in Asturias since the time of his father Fruela and that he was *elected* to the Asturian throne. It was the combination of these two factors that the author of the *Albelda* was referring to in declaring that Alfonso II restored the “ceremony of the Goths” in Oviedo in “the church as well as the palace.”⁵²¹

Physical vs. Documentary Evidence

One major obstacle we face in deciphering the *Albelda*’s declaration is trying to relate it to an Asturian building from the time of Alfonso II. Not only has medieval Asturian architecture suffered from disrepair, civil war, rebuilding, and physical decay from time, but many buildings are altogether lost. The *Albelda* records that Alfonso II built three churches in Oviedo – the church of San Salvador and the twelve Apostles, a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the church of San Tirso - none of which survives in tact.⁵²² The present-day Cathedral of Oviedo (Fig. 13) eventually absorbed the church of San Salvador and the twelve Apostles. The church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and its three altars is now entirely lost.⁵²³ Only the external eastern wall of the church dedicated to St Tyrus (Fig. 15), with its “multiple angles,” is believed to survive southwest of the Cathedral, albeit this section of masonry has been heavily restored.⁵²⁴ Adding to the poor state of the physical evidence is the fact that each text from the so-called cycle of Asturian chronicles presents a number of differences in the records and descriptions of

⁵²¹ This interpretation builds on the work of Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 51.

⁵²² *The Chronicle of Albelda*, 44; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24.

⁵²³ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 21; Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 3.

⁵²⁴ The *Ovetense*, or *Erudite*, redaction describes San Tirso as having, “*multis angulis*”; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 86.

Alfonso II's built environment at Oviedo, making it ever more difficult to substantiate the specifics of any building. Even at their most general level, the chronicles vary. Though the *Albelda* accounts for Alfonso II's construction of royal palaces, it fails to specify subsidiary buildings such as the various baths, storehouses and *triclinea* that appear in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.⁵²⁵ This later chronicle provides more detail on the buildings erected by Alfonso II than the *Albelda*. Making matters more confusing, the two redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* (the *Ovetense* and the *Rotense*) present further inconsistencies in their records of the same buildings. To summarize, both the *Ovetense* and *Rotense* specify that Alfonso II added six altars to each side of the high altar at the church of San Salvador, yet only the *Ovetense* mentions the addition of inscribed dedications and relics of the Apostles at each altar.⁵²⁶ Though the *Rotense* states that the pantheon-church dedicated to the Virgin Mary had three altars, was built in a solid and admirable quality and was positioned near San Salvador, the *Ovetense* specifies that the church was set against the north side of San Salvador, that its right (south) altar was dedicated to St Stephen, that its left (north) altar was dedicated to St Julián, and that the western end contained a royal pantheon.⁵²⁷ Both redactions record Alfonso II's third church dedicated to St Tyrus, yet only the *Rotense* identifies the saint as a martyr and locates the church close to San Salvador; the *Ovetense* omits this information in favour of describing its beauty.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ Though the words differ slightly between them, both redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* describe a number of subsidiary structures built by Alfonso II. The *Rotense*, or *Barbare*, redaction records that, “*Nam et regia palatial, balnea, promptuaria, atque uniuersa stipend formauit et instruere praecepit.*” The *Ovetense*, or *Erudite*, states, “*Nam et regalia palatial, balnea, tricilinea uel domata atque praetorian construxit decora et Omnia regni utensilia fabrefecit pulcherrima.*” See Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51, and Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas Asturianas*, 140-141, for the original texts and translations. Gómez-Moreno, “Las Primeras crónicas,” 61; García-Villada, *Crónica de Alfonso III*, 76; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 172; Wreglesworth, “The Chronicle of Alfonso III,” 191. *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 21, *Barbare*, “He also directed and ordered to be built a royal palace, baths, and storehouses for all types of provisions,” (translation my own).

⁵²⁶ It should also be noted that only the *Rotense* redaction specifically mentions the altars in relation to the twelve Apostles. Perhaps the author of the *Ovetense* took it for granted that twelve altars would be dedicated to the twelve Apostles.

⁵²⁷ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 14.1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

For Bonnaz, the varying details between both redactions are due to the fact that they were written by two different authors who were in command of different levels of the Latin language. Bonnaz refers to the *Ovetense* redaction as the ‘*Erudite*’ version of the chronicle and believes that it was written by a more learned cleric and at a later date than the *Rotense*, which he labels the ‘*Barbare*’ version. Thus, the *Ovetense*’s author was capable of relating more detailed information and in a more eloquent manner. Accounting for the most obvious difference between the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the *Chronicle of Albleda* is not as straightforward; the author of the *Albelda* does not record Alfonso II’s fourth church, dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa, which is identified in both redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. Both the *Rotense* and *Ovetense* state that the church of SS Julián and Basilissa stands at “a distance” from the royal palace. Here again, only the *Ovetense* specifies that it is located north of San Salvador at a distance of approximately one *stadium*, roughly equivalent to 625 Roman feet.⁵²⁹ The present-day church of San Julián de los Prados (Fig. 30), colloquially referred to as Santullano, stands at a comparable distance from the Cathedral of Oviedo and is thus identified as Alfonso II’s fourth church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa. Due to the loss of virtually all of Alfonso II’s other buildings, Santullano is, largely by default, considered to be the best-surviving representation of the king’s style of architecture. As such, Santullano is often regarded as the quintessential model of Alfonso II’s restoration of the ceremony of the Goths in Oviedo, despite being an unmentioned building in the *Chronicle of Albelda*.

In addition to Santullano’s distance from the Cathedral of Oviedo, its interior wall paintings fit the description of “*picturis diuersis*” (various paintings) in the *Albelda*.⁵³⁰ The “*arcis*

⁵²⁹ Ibid.; Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 4; idem, *Caliphs and Kings*, 109.

⁵³⁰ Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 35, “and all the houses of the Lord, he carefully adorned them with arches and columns of marble, gold and silver, and as well as the royal palace, he decorated with various frescoes.”

atque columnis marmoreis, auro argentoque diligenter ornauit” (arches and columns of marble, gold and silver he carefully adorned) may indeed be references to the marble shafts and capitals in the blind arcade of the central chapel, the Roman marble plaques that embellish the internal returns of its jambs (Fig. 30.23-30.29), or even the painted pilasters in the transept (Fig. 30.42) that include imitation marble revetment with accompanying striations. The description of materials is immediately followed by the words, “*Omnemque Gothorum ordinem sicuti Toledo fuerat tam in Ecclesia quam in Palatio in Oveto cuncta statuit*”⁵³¹ (All the ceremony of the Goths, just as it had been in Toledo, [Alfonso II] completely restored in Oviedo, in the Church as well as the Palace).⁵³² A number of scholars have suggested that the author of the *Albelda* was referring to Alfonso II’s desire to literally restore the Gothic kingdom in Oviedo after the Islamic Conquest. Part of this restoration included building in the style of the Goths. After all, why else would he provide such a detailed description of the king’s built environment and follow it with such a bold declaration if not to draw a comparison between the two? For example, Ramón Menéndez Pidal understands the passage as a declaration that Alfonso II succeeded in establishing a Visigothic court in Oviedo.⁵³³ This opinion found support from Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña who similarly propose that the king’s motives in Oviedo were to restore the Gothic capital after the fall of Toledo.⁵³⁴ Though Jacques Fontaine does not ally Santullano’s interior wall paintings to Visigothic models, favouring instead Byzantine ones such as St George in Thessaloniki, and the Orthodox baptistery in Ravenna, he does ultimately recognize the

⁵³¹ *The Chronicle of Albelda*, 44.1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24.

⁵³² My translation is based off of the French translation provided by Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24.

⁵³³ Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, 394. See also Maravall, *El concepto de España en la edad media*, 299-315; Prieto Bances, *La legislación del Rey de Oviedo*, 175-221.

⁵³⁴ Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 174, 249. See also Gómez-Moreno, “Las primeras crónicas de la Reconquista,” 602.

frescoes as imbued with the style of the Goths.⁵³⁵ Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz relates the passage to Alfonso II's attempt to establish a Metropolitan see at Oviedo in the early ninth century.⁵³⁶

Amancio Isla offers a similar, albeit more general, interpretation:

Alfonso II had set up a Church which had its centre in Oviedo, where he could assemble all his important people. He had also organized a *palatium* with all its dignitaries... and with all its pageantry, as was seen on the day of his own unction. *Palatium* and *Ecclesia* presided the kingdom: some decades later it could only be understood as the restoration of the old order. And all this was now accompanied by a programme of construction work of great magnitude.⁵³⁷

Despite Santullano's distance from the cathedral of Oviedo and the similarities between its interior decorations and the description provided in the *Albelda*, it must be stressed that the church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa remains unmentioned in the *Chronicle of Albelda*. Moreover, when the church is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, it is listed as "*cum binus altaribus*" (with a pair of altars). This stands in direct contrast to the three chapels that are present at Santullano, which presumably did not possess a double-altar in the central chapel. Indeed, this disparity between the written and physical evidence is seldom discussed in the discourse, perhaps because it throws a wrench into the established dating of a number of other medieval Asturian buildings. As mentioned, Santullano has come to serve as a benchmark for identifying Santa María de Bendones (Fig. 18) and San Pedro de Nora (Fig. 19), both of which are undocumented. It should also be pointed out that it is unclear if the author of the *Albelda*, who is often identified as a cleric working in a monastery in *La Rioja*, traveled to Toledo, saw its architecture and was capable of providing an accurate comparison to what was built in Oviedo.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 341, "De cette alternative encore irrésolue, l'enjeu n'est pas moins idéologique qu'artistique. Car il n'y va pas seulement de la géographie culturelle de l'art asturien, et de la proportion réelle entre les continuités hispaniques et de nouvelles importations 'byzantines'; mais aussi de la signification de l'"ordre gothique" dans l'idéologie d'Alphonse II, et dans l'esthétique 'engagée' des monumens qu'il fit construire."

⁵³⁶ Sánchez-Albornoz, *Estudios críticos*, 2, 623-639.

⁵³⁷ Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 51.

⁵³⁸ Gómez-Moreno, "Las primeras crónicas," 570. Based on the story of Musa, a Banu Qasi chief who was rescued by a "friend among the Christians" on Monte Laturce in 859 after a battle won by Ordoño I and his army, Gómez-Moreno

Surely any date for San Julián de los Prados that is based on a reading of the *Albelda* must be critically questioned at the very least?

The Lack of a Visigothic Model and the Rupture Theory

Without an extant Visigothic model to compare to Santullano, one can neither confirm nor deny that the *Albelda*'s proclamation was in reference to Alfonso II's art and architecture. In fact, the surviving evidence suggests the exact opposite. Santullano's rubble masonry, red brick arches, basilican plan, continuous transept and tripartite east end stand in direct contrast to the so-called "classic" group of Visigothic buildings – San Juan de Baños (Palencia) (662) (Fig. 28), San Fructuoso de Montelios (Braga) (c. 670) (Fig. 8), San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora) (c. 687-702) (Fig. 23.1), Santa Comba de Bande (Ourense) (c. 672) (Fig. 10),⁵³⁹ Quintanilla de las Viñas (Burgos) (late C7) (Fig. 29), and Santa María de Melque (Toledo) (Fig. 2). Not to mention the fact that the same differences in design and construction appear at Alfonso II's two other undocumented churches – San Pedro de Nora and Santa María de Bendones⁵⁴⁰ – and nearly all other medieval Asturian buildings. Visigothic buildings are predominantly constructed in ashlar masonry, favour sculptural decorations over frescoes, and, aside from Quintanilla de las Viñas,

argued that only a Mozarabic chronicler from La Rioja could have been aware of the upper Ebro valley and its inhabitants. Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 176, noted the spelling of certain locations in the *Albelda* as indicating a Riojan author. Escalona, "Family Memories," 225, suggests the chronicle was written in Alfonso III's court in Oviedo in 882. Blazquez, "La cronica de Alfonso III," 363, suggests the chronicler was Alfonso III himself. Fita, "Sebastián, Obispo Arcávida y de Orense," 336, believes Bishop Sebastian of Orense was the author of the *Albelda*. Sánchez-Albornoz, "El autor de la cronica llamada de Albelda," 291-304, on the other hand, suggests the author of the *Albelda* was a clerical courtier from Oviedo. See also Wreglesworth, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 188-89, for a discussion of the *Albelda*'s author.

⁵³⁹ A charter in a Zamora cartulary from 872 records Santa Comba de Bande as rebuilt *a fundamentis*. Núñez, *Historia de Arquitectura Galega*, 83-96; Godoy Fernández, *Arqueología y liturgia*, 325-327; Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, 187.

⁵⁴⁰ It should be noted that San Pedro de Nora lacks a transept and Santa María de Bendones contains a lateral nave. Though both buildings are undocumented, they are ascribed to the patronage of Alfonso II primarily due to their exterior masonry, which includes the miniature arcades in the east façades, as well as the fresco fragment on the intrados of Bendones' southern chapel arch.

are built in cross-shaped plans.⁵⁴¹ It is equally doubtful that the *Albelda's* declaration of a restored “ceremony of the Goths” was in reference to Alfonso II’s establishment of a metropolitan see at Oviedo in the early ninth century, as Sánchez Albornoz has argued. This theory has since been categorically rejected by a number of scholars.⁵⁴² The kingdom of Asturias was still under the see of the Toledan church when Alfonso II took the throne. As Bonnaz suggests, the Asturian kings were still far too respectful of the former Visigothic capital to seek to dethrone it.⁵⁴³

The Visigothic church of Santa María de Melque is of particular importance to the question of a Toledo model for Asturian architecture. Caballero and María de los Ángeles Utrero Agudo expanded upon Garen’s hypothesis and have positioned both Visigothic and Asturian buildings within the context of an architectural ‘rupture’ in which “the Iberian Peninsula was forced into the Islamic world and thus suffered a constructional and decorative renewal that completely modified the Visigothic tradition.”⁵⁴⁴ They similarly propose that, “the emigration of elements of the Visigothic population northwards in the early eighth century did not involve the preservation of their art.”⁵⁴⁵ Caballero is particularly keen to present stratigraphic evidence for

⁵⁴¹ See note 532 above. Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 11, suggests that the *Chronicle of Alfonso III's* description of a two-altar church is more in line with the double-apsed basilica that was more common in the Iberian Peninsula during the Visigothic period. Ibid., 10, also relates Ambrosio de Morales’ description of the arches at the royal pantheon church of Santa María in Oviedo as, “*semejantes a los de S. Román de Hornija, y a los de Vamba*”. For the latter description see, de Morales, *Viage*, 87. As Collins observes, though the church of San Román de Hornija is no longer extant, the church of Santa María de Wamba (Valladolid) retains original horseshoe arches, a quintessential Visigothic motif. It is possible, though speculative, that Alfonso II’s buildings reflected more continuity with Visigothic tradition than heretofore believed. Ibid., 11, suggests that given the differences between textual and physical evidence, it is possible that the present-day church of Santullano, which does not entirely fit with the chronicle descriptions, is either a reconstruction of Alfonso II’s previous church or a newer edifice that was built during the period of Alfonso III. Such a reading fits with Collins’ relation of Santullano’s frescoes, plan and construction to the churches of San Salvador de Priesca and San Salvador de Valdediós, which were built by Alfonso III.

⁵⁴² Sánchez-Albornoz, *Órignes*, 2, 632-639; Fernández Conde, *La Iglesia de Asturias*, 39; Mansilla, “La supuesta metropoli de Oviedo,” 16; Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 50, observes that, “Not even Sánchez Albornoz reached the rather extreme conclusion that the Church of Toledo had effectively been restored in Oviedo.”

⁵⁴³ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 87-88.

⁵⁴⁴ Utrero Agudo, “Late Antique and Early Medieval Hispanic Churches,” 7.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

post-Conquest dates for most Visigothic buildings that have traditionally been dated to the pre-Conquest period. Not least is the church of San Juan de Baños, which has been precisely dated to 661 based on the inscribed dedicatory plaque set into the wall above its chancel arch (Fig. 28.1). Baños' plaque has often been used as the hegemonic model for dating other Visigothic churches, and subsequently later Asturian churches, such as Santullano.⁵⁴⁶ Recent stratigraphic analysis, however, suggests the plaque was part of a later phase of construction.⁵⁴⁷ Caballero and Feijoo's 1998 article on San Juan de Baños demonstrates that the sculptural decorations in the church belong to two different origins, made up of three separate groupings.⁵⁴⁸ Moreover, Carbon 14 and dendrochronology have dated the roof-timbers above Baños' southern nave arcade to the period between 436-542 cal AD,⁵⁴⁹ throwing the 661 dating into question. Complicating matters further, Ambrosio de Morales' recorded seeing an identical inscribed stone in the church of San Roman de Hornija (Valladolid).⁵⁵⁰

Some of the problems and limitations associated with the so-called 'Rupture', or 'Mozarabic' model, have already been discussed in previous chapters. Nevertheless, it serves to reiterate that due to the apparent lack of physical evidence to support the theory any wholesale rejection of Visigothic continuity in Asturias remains premature.⁵⁵¹ Moreover, precisely why reused timbers should necessitate a redating of Baños is unclear. The church was built in the

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 9; Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, 187.

⁵⁴⁷ Velázquez and Hernando, "Una noticia desconcertante sobre la inscripción de San Juan de Baños," 295-307. Chavarría Arnau, "Churches and aristocracies in seventh-century Spain," 162.

⁵⁴⁸ Caballero and Feijoo, "La iglesia altomedieval de San Juan Bautista en Baños," 181-242; Utrero Agudo, "Late Antique and Early Medieval Churches," 9.

⁵⁴⁹ Alonso Matías, Rodríguez Trobajo and Rubinos Pérez, "Datación de madera constructiva en San Pedro de la Nave," 209-237. See also Utrero Agudo, "Late Antique and Early Medieval churches," 10; Chavarría Arnau, "Churches and aristocracies in seventh-century Spain," 161.

⁵⁵⁰ Velázquez and Hernando, "Una noticia desconcertante sobre la inscripción de San Juan de Baños," 295-307; Chavarría Arnau, "Churches and aristocracies in seventh-century Spain," 162.

⁵⁵¹ O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 21, "links with the past were not obliterated, nor did Muslim influence overwhelm or wholly displace the Roman, Germanic, and Christian contributions to peninsular development."

vicinity of a Roman settlement and it is entirely possible that timbers from a previous construction were reused at Baños during the 661-building campaign. Dendrochronology and radiocarbon analyses at Baños provide a date that is far too broad to be considered conclusive.⁵⁵² Yet Caballero and Utrero Agudo have taken these findings to suggest that Visigothic buildings have been altogether misdated. If they are correct, it may no longer be accurate to propose relationships between the ‘classic’ group of Visigothic churches and Asturian buildings, or to date the latter based on the former. Until San Juan de Baños’ date is resolved, any dating of Santullano based on Visigothic prototypes remains tentative.

The Death of the Gothic Kingdom, Its Rebirth and the Role of Pelagius

Setting aside these current limitations, the Rupture theory certainly fits with Julio Escalona’s assessment of the political ideology of Alfonso II’s court at Oviedo.⁵⁵³ Escalona interprets specific personages in the cycle of Asturian chronicles, particularly Alfonso I, as fictitious and evidence of a falsified ninth-century Neogothic campaign propagated by Alfonso III in order to promote Asturias as the heir to the fallen Visigothic kingdom. For Escalona, associations between Alfonso II and the Gothic kingdom that appear in the Asturian chronicles run counter to the king’s true political aspirations, which were to distance Asturias from a Gothic past and to broaden diplomatic ties both within and beyond the Iberian border. Escalona highlights the introductory prayer from the *Testamentum of 812*, a document that records the king’s donation to the church of San Salvador of Oviedo,⁵⁵⁴ as evidence of Alfonso II’s desire to distance Asturias from a Visigothic heritage:

⁵⁵² Chavarría Arnau, “Churches and aristocracies in seventh-century Spain,” 161.

⁵⁵³ Escalona, “Family Memories,” 223-262.

⁵⁵⁴ For a discussion on Alfonso II’s donations to the church of San Salvador, along with those of his father Fruela’s, see Fernández Conde, *El libro de los Testamentos*, 119-122.

But because You [God] were offended by [the Goths] preponent proudness, in the era 749 [AD 711], the kingdom's glory, together with King Roderic, was destroyed. He well deserved to suffer the Arab's sword. Of which plague, by your right hand – Christ – was your servant Pelagius saved, who, having been elevated to princely power, fought victoriously, hit the enemy, and defended the Christian and Asturian people with sublime victory.⁵⁵⁵

The prayer's deplorable account and view of the Gothic kingdom as being responsible for the defeat of Christian Hispania is undeniable.⁵⁵⁶ The *Testamentum*'s reference to an "*asturumque gentem*,"⁵⁵⁷ rather than a *gothorum gentem*, further undercuts the likelihood that a Visigothic ethnicity, let alone its building tradition, carried on in Asturias. The *Testamentum* was not the only contemporary text to affirm the end of the Gothic kingdom. The news traveled beyond the borders of the Iberian Peninsula and was echoed in the *Moissac Chronicle*, a Carolingian text that literally declared the death of the Gothic kingdom after the Islamic invasion of 711: "*reges Gothorum defecerunt*."⁵⁵⁸ The *Annales Portucalenses Veteres* also records that the Goths were expelled from Spain in the era 749 [AD 711].⁵⁵⁹

Despite its staunchly anti-Gothic sentiment, the *Testamentum* demonstrates an equally positive memory of the Gothic past, however much of a failure it was perceived as by its author.⁵⁶⁰ After all, in the *Testamentum* the Christian and Asturian people were saved by

⁵⁵⁵ Translated text taken from Escalona, "Family Memories," 232, 252. For transcription, see Floriano, *Diplomática*, doc. 24; Floriano Llorente, "El testamento de Alfonso II el Casto," 593-617; Fernández Conde, *El libro de los Testamentos*, 119-120.

⁵⁵⁶ Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 61, "There was clear discontinuity with the Visigothic kingdom, whose destruction was interpreted as a sign of divine displeasure with the sins of its rulers." See also, Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in History and Legend*, 57, 60-65.

⁵⁵⁷ Floriano, *Diplomática*, doc. 24; Escalona, "Family Memories," 232.

⁵⁵⁸ *Chronicon Moissacensis*, ed. Pertz, 290; Martin, "*Histoires de l'Espagne médiévale*," 19; Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 45-46; Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 34a; Escalona, "Family Memories," 230.

⁵⁵⁹ David, *Études historiques*, 291f; Escalona, "Family Memories," 231; Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 45, n. 9.

⁵⁶⁰ For a discussion of Asturias and Carolingian political relations, see Escalona, "Family Memories," 223-262. Martin, "La chute du royaume Visigothique d'Espagne," 220-21, "Mais ici, le Testamentum opère un glissement capital: si le peuple est nouveau, si le peuple est autre, la royauté, obscurément, s'enracine dans le monde gothique." Repeated idem, *Histoires de l'Espagne médiévale*, 26. See also Montenegro and del Castillo, "The Alfonso II Document of 812," 197-214.

Pelagius, who, though chronicle accounts differ, was almost certainly a Goth.⁵⁶¹ For Georges Martin, the Asturian chronicles' representation of Pelagius as a providential escapee denotes a Gothic origin.⁵⁶² Besga Marroquín similarly believes beyond reasonable doubt that Pelagius was indeed a Goth.⁵⁶³ Both redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the *Albelda* confirm that Pelagius came to Asturias from Toledo. The *Rotense* and *Ovetense* similarly provide a brief description of Pelagius' identity, though they are at odds with each other. The *Ovetense* (*Erudite*) states that he was the royal-blooded son of Fafila and was the chief elected by a group of Goths who had survived sword and famine in Asturias.⁵⁶⁴ The *Rotense* (*Barbare*) states he was a sword bearer to kings Witiza and Rodrigo and went to Asturias with his sister due to the domination of the Ishmaelites.⁵⁶⁵ The *Albelda* records that, prior to Arab invasions, Pelagius made his way to Asturias after being exiled from Toledo by king Witiza,⁵⁶⁶ though it omits the location of Covadonga as the site of Pelagius' miraculous victory against his enemies.⁵⁶⁷ Only the so-called *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754*, the chronicle that is closest in date to the Battle of Covadonga, omits Pelagius and the location of his crucial victory at Cangas de Onis. However, it is entirely possible that in this chronicle, Pelagius belonged to the group of Christian citizens who are said

⁵⁶¹ Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 63, offers the possibility of regarding Pelagius as an "indigenous regional potentate" in Asturias, though he acknowledges that "there is no proof either way." Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 192-193.

⁵⁶² Martin, *Histoires de l'Espagne médiévale*, 26, "en présentant Pélage comme un rescapé providentiel du désastre des Goths, il suggère un origine gothique."

⁵⁶³ Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 191-242.

⁵⁶⁴ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 38, translates the passage to: "Les Goths, quant à eux, périrent en partie victims du glaive, en partie de la famine. Mais parmi les survivants de sang royal, certains tentèrent de gagner la France, tandis que la plupart entrèrent dans notre patrie asturienne et choisirent pour chef Pélage, fils de Fafila, qui été jadis duc de sang royal." Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 193.

⁵⁶⁵ Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 41. Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 23, 39, translates the passage to: "un certain Pélage, spathaire des rois Witiza et Rodrigue, accablé par la domination des Ishmaelites, se rendit dans les Asturies avec sa propre soeur." Wreglesworth, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 186, 191; Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 193; Dacosta Martínez, "Notas sobre las crónicas Ovetenses," 11.

⁵⁶⁶ Collins, *Caliphs and Kings* 63; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, LVIII, 23, translates the passage to: "Pour le première fois dans les Asturies, Pélage regna à Cangas, pendant dix-neuf ans. Pélage, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, ayant été chassé de Tolède par le roi Witiza, se rendit dans les Asturies." For the chronicle's date see Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 38-39.

⁵⁶⁷ *The Chronicle of Albelda*, 34, 36; Wreglesworth, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 191.

to have “tried to flee to the mountains where they risked hunger and various forms of death” in the year 711.⁵⁶⁸ In both versions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, and even in the supposedly “anti-Gothic” *Testamentum*, each Asturian King’s lineage is traced back through blood or marriage to at least one prominent Gothic predecessor, whether Pelagius or Alfonso I.⁵⁶⁹ That both versions of the ninth-century *Chronicle of Alfonso III* use “terminology derived from Gothic council tradition” when addressing Pelagius, bolsters his Gothic nationality and reflects the continuity of a Visigothic lexicon well into the final years of the Asturian Kingdom when the *Ovetense* and *Rotense* were written.⁵⁷⁰ As Besga Marroquín observes, the Asturian kingdom was not “a mere prolongation of the Visigothic Kingdom.”⁵⁷¹ Rather, it was a kingdom that was carefully built upon the collective memory of the *Regem Gothorum* in Asturias, a narrative that was used by its rulers in order to fortify Asturias’ position as the dominant Christian polity in the north of Spain. The chronicles clearly demonstrate that Asturian kings legitimized their right to rule by asserting a descent from the *Regem Gothorum* and promoting the collective memory of a glorious Visigothic kingdom that ruled over the Iberian Peninsula before the Islamic conquest. Perhaps more importantly, the *Testamentum* establishes a divine connection between Asturias and its Gothic founder⁵⁷² by referring to Pelagius as Christ’s “right hand...[and] servant.”⁵⁷³

Despite the sins of the Goths and Roderic’s loss of Christian Hispania, God chose to save them

⁵⁶⁸ *The Mozarabic Chronicle of 754*, 54. For a translation of the original text, see Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 132. The “mountains” here almost certainly refer to Cantabrian mountain range. It is very interesting to note that the words used to describe Musa’s plight upon Zaragoza in the year 711, “openly exposed to the sword, famine, and captivity,” are similar to those used by the author of the *Ovetense* redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* to describe the circumstances of Pelagius’ election in the mountains at Covadonga. For the latter, see Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 38.

⁵⁶⁹ Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 46, “Pelayo lies at the heart of all of the chronicles of the period. Any connection to him seems to have formed the basis for strengthening the Astur royal family.” See also Escalona, “Family Memories,” 232; Martin, *Histoires de l’Espagne médiévale*, 39.

⁵⁷⁰ Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 41.

⁵⁷¹ Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 559.

⁵⁷² For a discussion on Pelagius’ Gothic origin and the subject of the Asturian kingdom as a continuation of the Gothic kingdom in Toledo, see Montenegro and del Castillo, “The Alfonso II Document of 812,” 197-214.

⁵⁷³ Escalona, “Family Memories,” 232.

from the plight of the Moors and elevate Pelagius to “princely power.” Alfonso II’s prayer in the *Testamentum* functions no differently. For the author of the *Testamentum*, the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula was a necessary cleansing of the sinful Visigothic kingdom in order to establish the Asturian kingdom in its place. More specifically, the *Testamentum* sought to establish Pelagius’ bloodline as the only legitimate one in Asturias and to promote Alfonso II’s connection to it.

Alfonso II’s Gothic Bloodline and his Election to the Asturian Throne

The *Testamentum*’s prayer continues, “Fruea [Pelagius’] daughter’s very conspicuous son, stood decorated with the *culmen* of Kingship. By him was founded in the place called Oviedo the church dedicated in Your sacred name...”⁵⁷⁴ The author deliberately avoids mentioning the kings who ruled between the years of Pelagius and Fruea I (718-757), Alfonso II’s father, and thus removes the lines of both Favila (737-739) and Alfonso I (739-757) from Asturian history.⁵⁷⁵ This is particularly important since Favila and Alfonso I’s descendants deposed and threatened Alfonso II’s royal inheritance several times. All accounts in the *Albelda*, the *Rotense* and the *Ovetense*, confirm that Favila and Alfonso I fall under the lineage of Pedro, duke of Cantabria, who, though a Goth, was of an alternate bloodline than Pelagius and not of a divine descent. Pedro’s descendants originally inherited the throne through Alfonso I’s marriage to Pelagius’ daughter Ermenesinda. Alfonso II, on the other hand, though born of Alfonso I’s patrilineal line, retained Pelagius’ royal and divine bloodline by way of his father, Fruea, and grandmother, Ermenesinda, granddaughter of Pelagius and wife of Alfonso I, whom we have already identified as the son of Duke Peter of Cantabria. The significance of the Pelagian line in

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 252.

⁵⁷⁵ Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 46.

ninth-century Asturias is epitomized in both the *Testamentum of 812* and the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. The former document refers to Fruela as “Pelagius’ daughter’s very conspicuous son.” The latter states that, “With Silo dead, all of the magnates of the palace along with the queen, Adosinda, placed Alfonso II on the throne of his father Fruela.”⁵⁷⁶ It is particularly important to observe: a) the role of the presiding female authority, which in the case of Alfonso II’s kingship is Adosinda, b) the fact that she preserves the Pelagian line and c) the struggle between different modes of gaining the throne.⁵⁷⁷ Leading up to the years of Alfonso II’s rule (791-842), the two redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* highlight the various means of attaining kingship, be it through marriage, hereditary succession, usurpation or election. These disparities are already apparent in the aforementioned account of Pelagius who was either elected by the Astur *concilium* or was of royal Visigothic blood.⁵⁷⁸ After Pelagius, power passed to his son, Favila (737-739), who becomes the first king in a divinely-appointed hereditary line. This of course runs counter to the Visigothic requirement for an *electio omnium* as per the V Council of Toledo in 636.⁵⁷⁹ When Favila suddenly passed away, and with no other male descendants of

⁵⁷⁶ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 12; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 171; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49; Barrau-Dihigo, *Historia política del reino asturiano*, 184, trans. Fernández Conde, “Sabemos que bajo los visigodos la monarquía era legalmente electiva, aunque el principio hereditario, defendido por los soberanos, estuvo en perpetuo conflicto con el principio electivo, defendido por la aristocracia. Sabemos también que, a pesar de los esfuerzos de los reyes, el principio electivo se mantuvo mientras duró la propia monarquía visigótica, puesto que Rodrigo, el último rey godo, no era de origen real. En el reino asturiano ya no ocurrió así y el carácter de la monarquía se modificó. Ciertamente es que no se tomó ninguna disposición para garantizar la transmisión del poder supremo; cierto también que los cronistas, no siendo conscientes de las transformaciones que se habían producido, siguieron mencionando <<elecciones>>; pero si se examinan los hechos y los textos, se observa que en la práctica la corona permaneció siempre, de un modo hereditario, en la misma familia.”

⁵⁷⁷ Cabal, *Alfonso II El Casto*, 60; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49.

⁵⁷⁸ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 38, translates the passage to: “Les Goths, quant à eux, périrent en partie victimes du glaive, en partie de la famine. Mais parmi les survivants de sang royal, certains tentèrent de gagner la France, tandis que la plupart entrèrent dans notre patrie asturienne et choisirent pour chef Pélage, fils de Favila, qui était jadis duc de sang royal.” See also Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 193.

⁵⁷⁹ Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 42, 47-49. Though Isla mentions this in association with *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, he argues against its authority in the *Testamentum of 812*, which erases the requirement for an election in the reign of Alfonso II. However, given the fact that Alfonso II left no direct heirs, it is hard to determine if the king was successful abolishing the requirement for election in Asturias. Indeed, Ramiro I took the throne and he of Pedro Dux’s patrilineal line.

Pelagius, the throne passed to Alfonso I (739-757), son of Peter, who married Pelagius' daughter while Pelagius was still alive. Nevertheless, the two redactions of the chronicle differ in their report of Alfonso I's kingship. Whereas the former opts for the term *electus* and denotes Alfonso I coming into power through a channel unconnected to the royal family, the latter uses the term *successio* and implies a direct passage of heredity.⁵⁸⁰ After Alfonso I, the electoral mode seems to disappear from the process of kingship. Indeed, Alfonso I is followed by his son Fruela I (757-768), who is succeeded by his cousin Aurelio (768-774), who is succeeded by Silo (774-783). Like Alfonso I, Silo obtained the throne through marriage to Adosinda, Alfonso I's granddaughter and, thus, Pelagius' great granddaughter.⁵⁸¹ Adosinda was also the sister of Fruela I, Alfonso II's father. Interestingly, it is during the reign of Silo that the king and his wife attempt to position Alfonso II as next in line for the throne by granting him the position of Palatine Count.⁵⁸² However, after Silo's death, Mauregato (783-788), the illegitimate son of Alfonso I, who was born of a slave, seized Alfonso II's throne and caused the king to seek refuge with his mother's relatives in Álava.⁵⁸³ After the death of Mauregato, the throne passed to Vermudo (788-791) who, in turn, returned the throne to his nephew Alfonso II (791-842).⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸⁰ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 12; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 169; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49; Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 41.

⁵⁸¹ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, Rotense and Ovetense redactions, 11. Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49, records that after the death of Aurelio I, Silo married Adosinda, daughter of Alfonso I, and it was for this reason that he gained kingship.

⁵⁸² Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 43, "*palatium guuernauit*".

⁵⁸³ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 12; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 171; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49, "But [Alfonso II's] uncle Mauregato (783-788), son of the older prince Alfonso, though born of a slave, swelled with pride and removed King Alfonso from power. Fleeing, Alfonso II made for Alava and was received by his mother's relatives." Both redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* state Mauregato ruled for six years. The *Chronicle of Albelda* states he ruled for five. Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 43, states that, "if Mauregato was able to become king, thus frustrating the plans hatched by Silo and Adosinda from within the circle of power, then this was because his accession was not only a possible option but an extraordinarily well-grounded one too."

⁵⁸⁴ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, states that after Vermudo I the throne passed to Alfonso II, son of Fruela (757-768) and grandson of Alfonso I. It also reports that Alfonso II already governed the palace during the reign of King Silo (774-783). Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 415, "*Finalmente, hay que señalar, que aunque Bermudo fuera diácono en el 788, como refiere la Crónica, nada se observa en su reinado que pueda ser considerado como ruptura con la tradición visigoda, y, mucho menos, emparentable con una supuesta tradición indígena, pues la prohibición de la dignidad real*

According to the *Cronicle of Albedla*, Vermudo voluntarily renounced his throne after a defeat at Burbia.⁵⁸⁵ L. Barrau-Dihigo, however, doubts that a defeat in battle in 791 was the reason for Vermudo's abdication.⁵⁸⁶ Two separate accounts in the muslim Ibn 'Idari and the *Annales Compostellani* date the battle to 792 (during Alfonso II's reign) and given the discrepancy between the sources on the date of the battle, Barrau-Dihigo suggests there is no way of affirming whether or not Vermudo's abdication was due to a defeat at Burbia. For Bonnaz, Vermudo renounced the throne because his reign was never intended to be permanent. Instead, he was serving as an interim king while Alfonso II was still seeking refuge after Mauregato's usurpation.⁵⁸⁷

Clearly, Alfonso II's hereditary claim to the throne was met with heavy contest and even by a later revolt in the early years of his reign. Thus, the *Testamentum* undoubtedly functioned as a tool that promoted the king's rightful claim to the throne and positioned him as the only king with a blood connection to Pelagius.⁵⁸⁸ In addition to omitting the reigns of Favila and Alfonso I, Alfonso II's prayer also excludes the reigns of Aurelio (768-774), Silo (774-783), Mauregato (783-788) and Vermudo I (788-791), all of whom were descendants of Alfonso I or his brother Fruela and were, in the eyes of Alfonso II, unlawful usurpers. That the reigns of these kings are omitted in the *Testamentum* yet are reported in the later *Chronicle of Alfonso III* is due to the different contexts in which each author was working, the various ways in which they chose to

para los clérigos no era una norma primitiva del reino visigodo, sino algo común a toda la Iglesia." Trans. "It should be noted that although Bermudo was deacon in 788, as regards the Chronicle, nothing is seen in his reign that can be considered as a break with the Visigoth tradition, and, much less, related with an alleged indigenous tradition, since the prohibition of royal dignity for the clergy was not a primitive rule of the Visigoth kingdom, but something common to the whole Church."

⁵⁸⁵ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 43.

⁵⁸⁶ Barrau-Dihigo, "Recherches sur l'histoire du royaume asturien," 151.

⁵⁸⁷ Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 189, his interpretation is based on the *Historia Silense*, 32, which merely states that Vermudo renounced the throne after three years and passed it to his nephew Alfonso II in his place.

⁵⁸⁸ For a brief discussion on the topic of royal succession and competition in Asturias, see Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 69-70; Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 46.

formulate their versions of ‘official history’, and the different needs of the kings for whom they were produced.⁵⁸⁹ The *Testamentum*’s prayer was carefully crafted in the manner of oral tradition and strategically used the demise of the Visigothic kingdom as a way of wiping the slate clean for Alfonso II. It should not be forgotten that the *Testamentum* is a dedication document and also sought to support Alfonso II’s decision to move the Asturian capital to Oviedo, which was the site of previous construction by his father, Fruela, who founded “in the place called Oviedo the church dedicated in [Christ’s] sacred name.”⁵⁹⁰ The *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, on the other hand, was more intent on demonstrating Asturias’ revival of the Gothic kingdom in order to substantiate Alfonso III’s royal claim as a Gothic descendant.

Unlike the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* or the *Testamentum*, the *Albelda* does not highlight a direct connection between Alfonso II and his father Fruela. Though it presents a comparable genealogy of Asturian kings, it does not report that Alfonso II took the throne after Silo. Instead, Alfonso II must wait until after Vermudo’s three-year reign to become king in the *Albelda*. Moreover, the *Albelda* records that Alfonso II was illegitimately expelled from the throne in the eleventh year of his reign, rather than during the reign of Silo, as per the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. Nevertheless, by reporting such details as Mauregato’s illegitimate seizure of power and confirming Alfonso II’s flight to Alava, it is possible that its author was working from the same

⁵⁸⁹ For a discussion of the contexts in which the ninth-century Asturian chronicles were written, see Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes* (1987); Gil, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas* (1985); Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 50-64. For a discussion on the role and function of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, see Escalona, “Family Memories,” 223-262, who argues that Alfonso I was a fictitious personage created by the author of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* so that Alfonso III could promote his seat on the throne as legitimate. This character functions as a node for Alfonso III’s claim to the throne, particularly in a time that witnessed rival polities vying for Asturias’ expanding territories. It is telling that only the *Ovetense* redaction, which is believed to be the latest in date of the Asturian chronicle, bolsters Alfonso I’s lineage, recording that, “he was the son of Duke Peter, born from the breed of kings Leovigild and Reccared. In the time of Egica and Witiza, he (Peter) was the army’s principal.” All other accounts of Alfonso I do not mention his father’s Gothic involvement. The prayer in the *Testamentum of 812* presents Alfonso II as the first and only king with a blood connection to Pelagius since the time of Fruela.

⁵⁹⁰ Isla, “Monarchy and Neogothicism,” 49.

written source as the author of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, or at the very least from the same oral tradition. In his 1945 article, Sánchez Albornoz suggested that an earlier manuscript from the time of Alfonso II, now lost, served as the model for both redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.⁵⁹¹ There is little reason to doubt that this model circulated to other monasteries and fell into the hands of the *Albelda's* author who presented an alternate transmission of its text in La Rioja. It is certainly not coincidental that such specific and crucial details appear in each chronicle. It is far less accidental that these details fall under the reign of Alfonso II, since this king is a pivotal node for Alfonso III's claim to the throne. Though conflating the chronicles to form a singular view of Asturian history should be cautioned against,⁵⁹² it is very tempting to relate the *Albelda's* declaration, that Alfonso II restored the "ceremony of the Goths" in Oviedo, to the *Chronicle of Alfonso III's* report that Alfonso II was the first Pelagian-blooded king to be "placed" on the throne since the time of his father, Fruela.⁵⁹³

The queen's power and the role of the matriarchal node are extremely important here. In the context of Iberian feudalism, Barbero and Vigil recognized the royal Asturian matriarch as an indirect form of matrilineal succession that coexisted alongside paternal hereditary power.⁵⁹⁴ Though Besga Marroquín and others contest their theory,⁵⁹⁵ it seems that matrilineal succession played a decisive role in the transference of power in the medieval kingdom of Asturias. After the death of Favila, Ermesinda and Adosinda became the sole living descendants of Pelagius' Gothic bloodline. Securing a vote from them would be enough to present the king's claim as

⁵⁹¹ Sánchez-Albornoz "¿Una crónica asturiana perdida?" 105-146. See also García Villada, *Crónica de Alfonso III*, 43-45. Gil, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 33-34, 60 ff.; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, LXXVI, 81; Dacosta Martínez, "Notas sobre las crónicas Ovetenses," 11; Escalona, *Family Memories*, 225.

⁵⁹² The numerous inconsistencies between each Asturian chronicle certainly undermine the trustworthiness of the texts and the details recorded therein. See Escalona, "Family Memories," 258, who expresses a similar caution.

⁵⁹³ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 12; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 171; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49; Martin, *Histoires de l'Espagne médiévale*, 26.

⁵⁹⁴ Barbero and Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo*, 400. See also Àngels Roque, *Los nobles vecinos*, 169-170.

⁵⁹⁵ Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes*, 458-508; Llinares García, *Los lenguajes del silencio*, 81.

legitimate. After all, it was at the behest of Adosinda, Alfonso II's aunt, that the young king was elected to the throne. The matriarchs were thus responsible not only for preserving the Gothic lineage since the time of Pelagius, but also for restoring the ceremony of the Goths in Asturias after Alfonso II was chosen to be king.⁵⁹⁶

As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, surviving physical evidence does not support a restoration of the ceremony of the Goths vis-à-vis any specific church or palace in Oviedo. Of course, it should be stressed that the received representation of Visigothic and Asturian architecture is very bleak. Only a handful of medieval Visigothic and Asturian buildings survive in various states of disrepair, many of which are undergoing a process of redating, yet they are charged with the task of representing a supposedly homogenous style that dominated for over 300 years of architectural history in the Iberian Peninsula. Until further information is obtained through archaeological excavations, stratigraphic investigations, and art historical research, the chronicles can only be interpreted as different versions of 'official truth', likely written to suit the needs of northern Christian polities that were mobilizing in a period of post-Conquest expansion.

⁵⁹⁶ On the importance and role of female power and a matrilineal line of succession in Asturias, see Barbero and Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo*, 330, n. 112; Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 45; Dacosta Martínez, "Notas sobre las crónicas Ovetenses," 31. For broader discussions of matriliney in the Middle Ages, see Thompson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, 97; Murray, *Germanic Kinship Structure*, 11-34.

CHAPTER 5:

THE CHURCH OF SAN JULIÁN DE LOS PRADOS (812-842)

Locating a Model and the Question of Medieval Copies in Asturias

The dominant theory in the discourse is that the church of San Julián de los Prados (Fig. 30) has its roots in the Visigothic architecture that dominated the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula prior to the Islamic Conquest. As discussed in chapter four, certain scholars have paired the remains of Alfonso II's buildings in Oviedo with the descriptions recorded in the *Chronicle of Albelda* to argue in favour of a literal restoration of Gothic architecture in Asturias. It is true that certain motifs used in early medieval Asturian architecture can be traced back to Visigothic models. This of course runs inline with the so-called 'indigenous' or 'Visigothicist' theory of the Kingdom of Asturias and later controversial views of a pro-Christian history of Spain. Yet, methodologically speaking, it is a relatively reliable approach to the study of architectural models. Medieval masons, architects or craftsmen were not trained outside of local or regional traditions and there is little reason to suspect that Asturian workers were any different. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that Asturias was the *new* home to Visigothic émigrés and the physical evidence suggests that Asturian ateliers were more keen to incorporate indigenous Hispano-Roman models than southern, Visigothic ones. Theories of architectural continuity, such as the "indigenous" one, also seldom account for the appearance of foreign models in regional constructions and designs, which are aplenty in Asturias. Instances such as these often lie beyond the training of the mason and more commonly reflect the interests of a patron. Ambitious patrons in particular, such as Alfonso II, attempted to emulate and rival the latest and most fashionable designs being championed in various parts of the known world yet

did not necessarily consider practical, architectural limitations when envisioning their buildings. Such cases reflect a patron's desire to stay up-to-date with current trends and to be part of the so-called 'cutting-edge'. They may simultaneously express the ideological aims of a patron who sought to impart the iconography of a particularly important architectural model or personage in one of their own structures. Whether or not their architects and masons possessed the materials, skill or knowhow to build a copy was less of a concern than the desire to elevate the prestige of a building and its patron.

Richard Krautheimer's seminal 1942 article, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'", provides an excellent framework with which to approach the topic of architectural copies in the middle ages.⁵⁹⁷ Some of the most ubiquitous examples of these phenomena are the numerous medieval churches that were built in the scale, plan, or style of Old St Peter's, Rome, so as to create iconographic connections with Early Christianity, the cult of St Peter and/or the Emperor Constantine.⁵⁹⁸ Equally widespread are the medieval copies of Helena's church of the Holy Sepulchre (Anastasis Rotunda) in Jerusalem.⁵⁹⁹ By way of introduction, Krautheimer's article draws attention to Charlemagne's palatine chapel at Aachen (c. 786-798) and two of its documented medieval copies: Theodulf of Orléans' oratory at Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret) (799-806) and Bishop Robert the Lotharingian's Chapel at Hereford Cathedral (1079-1095).⁶⁰⁰ The former building is described in the *Miracula S. Maximini*, a tenth-

⁵⁹⁷ Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," 1-33. See also Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and its Meaning," 116-21; Böker, "The Bishop's Chapel of Hereford Cathedral," 44-54; Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger* (1951); Kleinbauer, "Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and its Copies," 2-11; Sieffert, "Les imitations de la chapelle palatine de Charlemagne à Aachen," 29-70. Gem, "The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford," 87-96; idem, "Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture," 1-18; Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England*, 233-236.

⁵⁹⁸ Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," 1-33; Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and its Meaning," 116-21.

⁵⁹⁹ Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," 1-33. For a discussion of the Anastasis Rotunda and its medieval copies, see Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, 65-81.

⁶⁰⁰ Gem, "The Bishop's Chapel and Hereford," 87-96; Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England*, 159.

century Lotharingian text written by Sigehard, a Saint-Maximin monk,⁶⁰¹ as being built like the Aachen palace chapel.⁶⁰² The latter building appears in William of Malmesbury's twelfth-century *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, where the author records that, not long after Robert the Lotharingian received the see of Hereford (1079-95) "he built there a church of elegant form, having copied for its design the basilica of Aachen."⁶⁰³ Without going into too much detail here, it suffices to say that even though these buildings are fundamentally different in plan, shape, style, location and date, medieval patrons and certain observers understood them to be copies of Aachen; undoubtedly in a very different capacity than the modern definition of the term.⁶⁰⁴ Whether for political, religious or personal ends, patrons such as Theodulf of Orléans and Bishop Robert the Lotharingian⁶⁰⁵ considered Charlemagne's monumental palace chapel at Aachen to be an appropriate iconographic model for their own buildings.

These patrons were not alone. After moving the Asturian capital to Oviedo, Alfonso II built on a remarkably ambitious scale, constructing palaces, chapels, storehouses, baths and *triclinia*.⁶⁰⁶ The church of San Julián de los Prados (812-842), commonly referred to as Santullano, stands relatively intact and has been dated to Alfonso II's patronage. Like Germigny-des-Prés and the Bishop's Palace at Hereford, Santullano is fundamentally different from Aachen

⁶⁰¹ Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform* (2001).

⁶⁰² Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," 2, "...*instar eius... quae Aquis est constituta...*"; Kleinbauer, "Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and its Copies," 4; Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 89.

⁶⁰³ Gem, "The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford," 87-96; Kleinbauer, "Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and its Copies," 4, who translates the passage to, "galleried form in imitation, on his own lines, of the church at Aachen"; Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," 2, "... *ecclesiam tereti edificavit scemate Aquensem basilicam pro modo imitatus suo*." See Malmesberiensis, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, 300. For a more recent and broader discussion on Malmesbury, see R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (2003).

⁶⁰⁴ Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," 3.

⁶⁰⁵ Robert the Lotharingian is also referred to as Robert of Lorraine and Robert de Lozinga.

⁶⁰⁶ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 44, 1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24.

in plan, style and construction. Yet Charlemagne's palatine chapel and the Carolingian *renovatio* greatly informed its construction.

Unlike the *Miracula S. Maximini* and Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontifum Anglorum*, no surviving contemporaneous document explicitly compares Alfonso II's architecture in Oviedo to Aachen or Charlemagne's other buildings. Though a number of scholars discuss the church of San Julián de los Prados in the context of contemporaneous Carolingian developments, it is seldom presented as the copy of a specific Carolingian model. Instead, for a number of reasons, lack of documentation included, Visigothic and Hispano-Roman analogues are preferred for the majority of extant Asturian buildings.⁶⁰⁷ Problematically, the very few early medieval Iberian buildings that survive do not indicate architectural transmission in ninth- and tenth-century Asturias and, as discussed, contemporaneous Iberian chronicles do not corroborate the physical evidence. For example, the proclamation recorded in the *Chronicle of Albelda* that Alfonso II "restored the ceremony of the Goths" in Oviedo "in the church as well as the palace" had less to do with the king's built environment than with his royal bloodline and the process through which he was elected to the throne. Equally problematic, and rarely discussed, is the fact that Santullano's architectural plan and design, particularly its tripartite east end, contradicts the record of two altars (*cum binus altaribus*) provided in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.⁶⁰⁸ Given the above inconsistencies, I propose that, contrary to popular belief, the church of San Julián de los Prados is an undocumented building and is *not* the church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa that appears in the two redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. Nevertheless, inconsistencies

⁶⁰⁷ This is sometimes referred to as the 'Visigothicist', 'Indigenous', 'Neo-Indigenous' or 'Continuist' theory. See also Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique* (1973); Besga Marroquín, *Orígenes* (2000); Utrero Agudo, "Late Antique and Early Medieval Hispanic Churches," 1-33. While these scholars discuss Asturian developments in the context of contemporaneous Carolingian architecture, they are not in favour of supporting model/copy relationships. See also Gem, "Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture," 1-18.

⁶⁰⁸ I specifically refer here to the record of *binus altaribus*, further discussed below. See also Collins, "Doubts and Certainties," 11.

between physical and documentary evidence do not preclude Alfonso II from being Santullano's patron or dating the church to the first half of the ninth century. Notwithstanding physical, documentary and historiographical shortcomings, an examination of Santullano's design and construction suggests that the church was indeed built between 812 and 842. This date does not necessarily rely upon a critical analysis of the available documentary evidence, but rather focuses on a trans-European contextualization that positions Santullano within the broader scope of contemporaneous Carolingian and Roman developments. The juxtaposition of architectural features and interior decorations, specifically an aniconic decorative program, triumphal crossing arch, continuous transept and western tribune, suggest that Alfonso II built the church of Santullano shortly after making contact with Charlemagne and other members of the Carolingian court. The use of such specific motifs simultaneously reflect Alfonso II's intention for Santullano to affirm his royal authority upon returning to the Asturian throne after a series of tribulations and revolts, which coincided with his diplomatic relations with Charlemagne and the final stages of the international Adoptionist dispute. This dispute resulted in Pope Hadrian I's condemnation of Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel at the Council of Frankfurt in 794.⁶⁰⁹

It must be recognized that Krautheimer's methodology of medieval 'copies' is applied here in its broadest capacity, understanding it as a very flexible and loosely defined idea that is not necessarily bound by an all-encompassing, visually recognizable relationship in the modern sense of the term. In the context of this dissertation, the term 'copy' is extended to include the copying of iconographic motifs, hierarchical divisions of space, proportions, measurements,

⁶⁰⁹ The notion of a building expressing royal authority is not a new one. See Böker, "The Bishop's Chapel of Hereford Cathedral," 44-54, especially, 53, where the Bishop's palace at Hereford Cathedral is discussed in similar terms. Santullano, like the Bishop's palace at Hereford and Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen, was separate from the cathedral and served as the king's private church. For a discussion on Santullano and the expression of royal authority in Asturias, see Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 78-98.

religious attitudes, and political agendas, all of which Alfonso II selectively imbued into Santullano. As Krautheimer makes clear, medieval models were rarely, if ever, copied *in toto*, but rather specific archetypal features were chosen and reassigned, something that can be referred to as the ‘shuffling of parts’, whereby “original unity has been disintegrated and the elements have been reshuffled.”⁶¹⁰ Santullano exemplifies this theory. The church avoids a singular model and instead reflects Alfonso II’s ambition to build in the style of Charlemagne and the Carolingians by consciously and eclectically incorporating specific Early Christian motifs and proportions in his Asturian buildings.

The Physical Means by Which Ideas Were Transmitted

Before discussing medieval Asturian architectural copies, it is important to briefly contextualize architectural transmission in medieval Iberia; specifically (A) the physical means/reality by which ideas were transmitted in the Middle Ages and (B) the different contexts in which they traveled. In regards to the former, Robert Scheller’s *Exemplum* has shed considerable light on the subject of model books and drawings from the later middle ages and has informed our understanding of medieval artistic travel as something that was not necessarily confined to modern political or geographical borders.⁶¹¹ Though Scheller’s text focuses more on artistic transmission, the same principles of transference apply to architectural copying.⁶¹² In his *De universo*, Bishop William of Auvergne (1180-1249) relates the process by which an idea, formed in the mind of skilled craftsman, is shaped into the material description of a drawing or

⁶¹⁰ Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Medieval Architecture’,” 13.

⁶¹¹ Scheller, *Exemplum*, 28.

⁶¹² Ibid., 30, “Bruce-Mitford stipulates models for the early Anglo-Saxon art of illumination, while Koehler suggests the same for the Carolingian school of Tours. According to the latter author, itinerant artists from Italy were active in the later court school of Charlemagne. Voegelé’s conclusion on the Reichenau School has already been noted (p. 6). Überwasser suspects that the same group used a model book devoted to architectural forms.” See Überwasser, “Deutsche Architekturdarstellungen um das Jahr 1000,” 45-70.

depiction so as not to forget the original idea.⁶¹³ Unfortunately, no model books or architectural drawings survive from the early Middle Ages, let alone from the Iberian Peninsula. The dearth of early medieval documentation has forced scholars to adopt more hypothetical approaches to understanding art and architectural transmission.⁶¹⁴ In cases where documentation does not exist, Scheller warns against using “the terminology of copying in the arts unless it can be directly related to existing works of art or to model books” for fear of “compounding the present uncertainty.”⁶¹⁵ This poses an obvious dilemma to those scholars attempting to determine architectural ‘models’ in regions and times, such as medieval Asturias, where no model books and few buildings have survived. Though the absence of model books makes it difficult to prove the diffusion of a copy, it does not preclude transmissions from having occurred. Ideas, measurements and proportions that were not immediately shaped into a material description at the point of inception traveled in the mind of the medieval craftsman and were later drawn onto the surface of the ground, in sand or onto a wax tablet.⁶¹⁶ At Abbot Ratger’s building at Fulda (802-817) and Bishop Meinwerk’s church at Paderborn (1036-1068), the proportions and measurements from specific models were fundamental to the construction of each building. No model book survives in either case, however it is recorded in the *Vita Meinweri episcopi Patherbrunensis* that Bishop Meinwerk charged Abbot Wino with the task of retrieving the measurements of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem for his church at Paderborn.⁶¹⁷ At Fulda, the absence of any such documentation is circumvented through an analysis of measurements and proportions. Not only does Fulda contain a western transept in the Early Christian tradition, the

⁶¹³ Scheller, *Exemplum*, 16-17.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1-6.

⁶¹⁷ *Vita Meinweri episcopi Patherbrunensis*, Tenckhoff. See also Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture’,” 4.

transept is built in the same 1: 5 (W: L) proportions as Old St. Peter's in Rome. Moreover, like Old St. Peter's, Fulda's transept culminates in colonnaded partitions at either end.⁶¹⁸ For Krautheimer, the collective appearance of similar features expresses a direct association between Old St. Peter's and Fulda, far beyond any instance of coincidence. So much so that he argues that Fulda's patron and architects sought to erect a copy of the former building and associate St. Boniface with St. Peter.⁶¹⁹

Like Paderborn and Fulda, Santullano's lack of architectural documentation can be 'supplemented' with, though not replaced by, visual and proportional analyses that are supported by contemporaneous written documents such as Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and Alfonso II's *Testamentum of 812* discussed below. As Scheller correctly stipulates, it would be impossible to prove any transmission of models without a surviving model book. It should thus be made clear that any such correlations between architectural buildings presented here are strictly hypothetical according to Scheller's methodology. It is furthermore necessary to stress the fundamental difference between deliberate and conscious replications of models and the appearance of visually similar ideas, motifs or features that lack any such driving motivation. The appearance of similar motifs or features in disparate regions and eras does not necessarily warrant understanding them in the context of medieval copying. Any number of designs, motifs and ideas were transmitted throughout the middle ages, many of which were considered fashionable and included for aesthetic purposes. It is also possible that a particular feature's iconography was lost in translation or that it metamorphosed from its original meaning over time.

To return to (B), the different contexts in which medieval copies traveled, Krautheimer's example of Germigny-des-Prés provides a useful case study. Though it is difficult to fully grasp

⁶¹⁸ Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," 8-12.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 11-12.

what the author of the *Miracula S. Maximini* meant when he referred to the building as being built like the Aachen palace chapel, it is possible to infer the means by which architectural ideas were transmitted between the prototype and its copy. Theodulf of Orléans was an integral member of Charlemagne's court, authoring the *Opus Caroli Regis* c. 791,⁶²⁰ and had undoubtedly seen Aachen first-hand.⁶²¹ Not all instances of architectural transmission resulted from diplomatic, if not peaceful, relationships, however. Indeed, conquests account for much more violent channels of diffusion. Regions and inhabitants that experienced dynamic shifts in power and population due to conquests were forced to accept, adapt or reject the architectural imports and ambitions of new ruling elites. The Norman Conquest of England (1066), for example, resulted in a number of instances in which patrons, architects and masons had to navigate new political, cultural and social realities. After the Battle of Hastings, England experienced a highly nuanced architectural shift. As described by William of Malmesbury, many large minsters, cathedrals and palaces in England were subsequently built in "new," imported Norman styles.⁶²² Yet amidst the "great rebuilding" of England,⁶²³ certain parish churches, vernacular structures and, to some extent, large-scale ecclesiastical buildings and royal halls, retained regional Anglo-Saxon traditions and building techniques.⁶²⁴ Precisely why certain traditions endured while others disappeared depends entirely upon a variety of circumstances that differ from building to building and patron to patron.

⁶²⁰ Mackie, "Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant," 45-58.

⁶²¹ In the context of this chapter, this particular instance of transmission can be understood as the outcome of a diplomatic relationship, in which the intention to replicate or recreate a specific feature (motif, iconography, plan, or style) resulted from a peaceful association between two parties. It must also be noted that due to constraints of time and specificity not all possible scenarios of architectural transmission can be discussed here.

⁶²² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 306.

⁶²³ Gem, "The English Parish Church in the 11th and early 12th Centuries," (1988).

⁶²⁴ Lvovski, "Anglo-Saxon or Norman?" 57-82.

After the Islamic capture of Toledo in 711, the Iberian Peninsula experienced a comparable shift in power and architecture to Norman England c.1066, if not a more dynamic one. The arrival of the Islamic religion, culture and foreign architectural traditions, coupled with an Islamic law against new church building in al-Andalus, brought Visigothic architectural production in the southern Iberian Peninsula to a halt.⁶²⁵ The Visigothic population that fled Toledo and migrated northward to Asturias underwent a geographic, and likely deeply emotional, displacement. Unlike Anglo-Saxon buildings in England, which were built according to the taste of the Norman leadership after 1066, the Visigothic departure from the former Christian territories of the southern Iberian Peninsula exempted patrons from the requirement to accept, adapt or reject Islamic architectural predilections. When the small contingent of Visigothic Christians finally settled into their new home in the Cantabrian Mountains in Asturias and began to build ecclesiastical structures, a number of architectural elements common to the traditional group of Visigothic churches in southern Iberia were discarded. Instead, the flight to Asturias offered an alternative scenario: the possibility to build and source from a variety of models that were not strictly dictated by the tastes or religion of the conquerors. Centralized plans, low elevations, compartmentalized spaces, ashlar masonry and horseshoe arches, which were seemingly common in the Visigothic period, were replaced by basilicas, round-headed arches fashioned in red-brick, walls built of rubble masonry, single-stone jambs and lintels, western tribunes, and timber roofs that were used alongside stone vaults, all of which point to Hispano-Roman influences.⁶²⁶ The wall paintings and stone sculptures in Asturian buildings

⁶²⁵ This was a longstanding theory until Sally Garen redated Melque to the mid-eighth century. If her date is correct, it implies a culture of fragile coexistence wherein certain exceptions were made to the Islamic rule against new church production. Indeed, it is highly unlikely that a large ecclesiastical structure built in al-Andalus remained a secret that was never discovered by the Islamic elite.

⁶²⁶ The Roman Baths at Campo Valdes, Gijón, serve as a regional, indigenous example of the Roman tradition of building in redbrick. See Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 47. There are instances of juxtaposing wooden roofs and stone vaults in the Visigothic churches of San Juan de Baños, San Pedro de la Nave and Quintanilla de las

equally indicate more absorption of indigenous Hispano-Roman, Byzantine and Carolingian traditions than Visigothic ones. This is particularly true at Santullano where the paintings are comparable to examples at Herculaneum and Pompeii, as well as Byzantine Ravenna.⁶²⁷ Royal tribunes are similarly absent in Visigothic buildings and instead point to foreign models, most likely contemporaneous Carolingian ones. Though the Islamic conquest served as the original impetus for Asturian patrons, architects and masons to sever ties with Visigothic Toledo, it was the Adoptionist dispute towards the end of the eighth century that propelled an Asturian awareness of models beyond the borders of the Iberian Peninsula. Alfonso II found Carolingian structures being built by those who were championing the opposition to Adoptionism to be more suitable for his own buildings in Oviedo. It is, to a certain extent, fortuitous that Alfonso II's rise to power coincided with that of Charlemagne's and that Pope Hadrian I had only very recently quelled the international dispute over Adoptionism. Less coincidental was Alfonso II's desire to carve out his royal sovereignty after years of tribulations. One of the ways he accomplished this was by bolstering Asturias' power through alliances with the Carolingians and Romans.

Moving the Capital to Oviedo

The conditions under which Alfonso II became king cannot be detached from his actions upon gaining the throne. The *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, which records the lives and deeds of Asturian kings since the time of Pelagius to that of Alfonso III (866-911), states that after the death of Silo (773-783), "all of the magnates of the palace along with the queen, Adosinda,

Viñas. It should be noted that there are fully vaulted Asturian buildings, such as Santa María de Naranco, Santa Cristina de Lena, and San Miguel de Lillo.

⁶²⁷ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 279, describes the capitals supporting the blind-arcade of the apse as "corinthien dégénéré" and the geometric pattern of the paintings on the eastern chapel vaults as "hispano-romain". Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 89. Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural* (1957); Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 77-94.

placed Alfonso on the throne of his father Fruela. But Mauregato, son of the older prince Alfonso, though born a slave, swelled with pride and removed King Alfonso from power.”⁶²⁸ As a result of the usurpation, Alfonso II fled to Alava where his mother’s Basque relatives offered safety.⁶²⁹ In 788, upon Mauregato’s death (783-788), Alfonso II did not regain the throne and it was instead passed to Vermudo I (788-791), who reigned for three years. When Vermudo abdicated in 791 the crown was finally passed to Alfonso II. Interestingly, though it is not reported in the *Rotense*, the *Ovetense* and the *Albelda* state that Alfonso II was once again unseated from the throne in Oviedo due to a revolt and consequently confined to a monastery for a short period of time.⁶³⁰ When Alfonso II was finally crowned, whether it was after Vermudo’s abdication in 791 or upon his return to Oviedo after the revolt c.802, his tribulations required effective and calculated measures to firmly establish his political autonomy. This was particularly important in terms of thwarting any claims made to the Asturian throne by competing royal descendants and usurpers.⁶³¹

In 812, Alfonso II drafted the so-called *Testamentum of 812*, a charter that includes a record of his donation of the church of San Salvador to Oviedo cathedral. Not only does the document decree Alfonso II’s piety and chastity, which was later connected to him having borne

⁶²⁸ Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 171; Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 67-68.

⁶²⁹ *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. 12; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 171; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49, Both redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* state Mauregato ruled for six years. The *Chronicle of Albelda* states he ruled for five.

⁶³⁰ Unlike the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* or the *Testamentum of 812*, the *Chronicle of Albelda* does not highlight a direct connection between Alfonso II and his father Fruela. Though it presents a comparable genealogy of Asturian kings, it does not report that Alfonso II took the throne after Silo. Instead, Alfonso II must wait until after Vermudo’s three-year reign to become king in the *Albelda*. Moreover, the *Albelda* records that Alfonso II was illegitimately expelled from the throne in the eleventh year of his reign (801-802), rather than during the reign of Silo as per the *Ovetense* redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. A chronology of Asturian kings is provided in Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 228-229.

⁶³¹ For a brief discussion on the topic of royal succession and competition in Asturias, see Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 69-70. See also chapter 3 above.

no sons,⁶³² but it also includes a preamble in the form of a prayer that effectively proclaimed his right to the throne by removing from written history any and all bloodlines that opposed that of Pelagius', Alfonso II's great grandfather.⁶³³ "Frúela [Pelagius'] daughter's very conspicuous son, stood decorated with the culmen of Kingship. By him was founded in the place called Oviedo the church dedicated in Your sacred name..."⁶³⁴ The author of the *Testamentum* deliberately avoids mentioning the kings who ruled between the years of Pelagius (718) and Frúela I (d. 768), Alfonso II's father, and thus removes the competing lines of Pedro *dux*'s sons Count Frúela and Alfonso I (739-757) from Asturian history.⁶³⁵ Though Alfonso II was Alfonso I's grandson and namesake, Alfonso I created an alternate line of successors, one of whom was Mauregato who successfully managed to usurp the Asturian throne. Equally important to note is the fact that the *Testamentum*'s explicitly reports that Frúela I founded a church dedicated to San Salvador in Oviedo. The building was likely damaged during an incursion in 794 when Alfonso II successfully defended Asturias and killed 70,000 Arabic troops under the command of Mugait.⁶³⁶ Though the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* does not report the exact year, the phrase which records Alfonso II moving the Asturian capital to Oviedo comes directly after that which describes the king's victory in 794. The move should be understood in accordance with Alfonso II's decision to restore his father's previous building and, in the process, connect his royal lineage and

⁶³² The author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* refers to Alfonso II as "Alfonso the Chaste", likely due to the fact that he left no living heir.

⁶³³ See chapter 3 above, notes 563-565. Part of the *Testamentum*'s prayer states, "Frúela [Pelagius'] daughter's very conspicuous son, stood decorated with the culmen of Kingship. By him was founded in the place called Oviedo the church dedicated in Your sacred name...". The author of the *Testamentum* deliberately avoids mentioning the kings who ruled between the years of Pelagius and Frúela (718-768), Alfonso II's father, and thus removes the lines of both Favila (737-739) and Alfonso I (739-757) from Asturian history. For a discussion on Alfonso II's donations to the church of San Salvador, along with those of his father Frúela's, see Fernández Conde, *El libro de los Testamentos*, 119-122.

⁶³⁴ Escalona, "Family Memories," 252, translates the chronicle passage transcribed by Floriano, *Diplomática*, t.2, doc. 24, 120-121.

⁶³⁵ See Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism in the Asturian Kingdom," 47.

⁶³⁶ Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 172.

kingdom with that of Fruela I, the only male descendant of Pelagius' royal bloodline.⁶³⁷ Oviedo must have also served as a militarily sensible location for Alfonso II.⁶³⁸ Fruela I's decision to build in Oviedo was, in part, based on such considerations.⁶³⁹ Aside from Fruela's church, Oviedo was also the site of a previous monastic foundation begun either at the end of Alfonso I's reign (739-757), or the beginning of Fruela I's (757-768), when the presbyter Máximo had his servants build a "villa" on a hill in Oviedo.⁶⁴⁰ In 761, Máximo's uncle, Fromistano, erected a church dedicated to San Vincente next to the villa.⁶⁴¹ 20 years later, probably after 25 November, 781, a monastic pact of more than twenty-five monks founded the monastery of San Vincente in "the place called Oviedo."⁶⁴² As at the churches of Santa Cruz in Cangas de Onis and Santianes de Pravia, Alfonso II was keen to foster a connection to the past in his new capital in Oviedo.⁶⁴³ This was, after all, one of the ways in which the earlier Asturian kings legitimized their royal authority. Indeed, Aachen may have been chosen as the location for Charlemagne's court due to its proximity to Roman baths and because of certain relics translated there under his father, Pepin. The tradition of continuing in your antecedents' footsteps seems to be something both leaders greatly valued.

⁶³⁷ Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 264; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 272; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 172.

⁶³⁸ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 271.

⁶³⁹ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 13.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.; idem, *Enciclopedia*, 264. See also Cabal, *Alfonso II El Casto*, 9-15.

⁶⁴¹ Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 264; idem, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 13; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 271.

⁶⁴² Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 264; idem, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 14; translates the monastic pact to, "Yo, Frómista, abad desde hace veinte años junto con mi sobrino el monje Máximo, nos establecimos en este lugar, abandonado y deshabitado, fundado una basílica en honor de San Vincente, mártir de Cristo y levita." Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 271, states that 26 monks were in attendance, as opposed to the "more than 25" recorded by Arias. Fontaine translates the passage to, "Moi, Fromista, abbé, voice déjà vingt ans, avec mon neveu le prêtre Maxime, nous nous sommes établis en ce lieu, alors à l'abandon et inhabité, et nous y avons fondé une basilique en l'honneur de saint Vincent, martyr du Christ et lévite."

⁶⁴³ Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 20-34. See discussions on the churches of Santa Cruz in Cangas de Onis and Santianes de Pravia above.

Physical vs. Documentary Evidence: Continued

In addition to restoring his father's church, Alfonso II's commenced a very ambitious architectural programme, constructing a number of other churches, storehouses, palaces, baths, churches, aqueducts and *triclinia*.⁶⁴⁴ As discussed, each of the Asturian chronicles record, albeit to varying extents, Alfonso II's built environment. Problematically, the written and physical evidence does not align. The *Chronicle of Albelda* describes three churches built by Alfonso II in his new capital at Oviedo:

He built in Oviedo the temple of San Salvador and the twelve Apostles, in stone and lime, of a wonderful construction as well as the sanctuary of St. Mary with its three altars; he equally founded the Church of San Tirso, amazing edifice with multiple angles; and all the houses of the Lord, he carefully adorned them with arches and columns of marble, gold and silver, and as well as the royal palace, he decorated with various frescoes. All the ceremony of the Goths, just as it had been in Toledo, [Alfonso II] completely restored in Oviedo, in the Church as well as the Palace.⁶⁴⁵

Each of these buildings is mentioned in the two redactions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* (the *Ovetense* and the *Rotense*). Yet the various descriptions afforded to them cast significant doubt on the reliability of each source. Differences in the text are predominantly confined to the descriptors, which Bonnaz suggests indicate language-based variances that were the result of two different authors, one more learned or “erudite” than the other. What cannot, however, be accorded to the authors' command of Latin is the appearance of a fourth church by Alfonso II in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa in Oviedo, and its lack of mention in the *Albelda* and the *Testamentum of 812*.

⁶⁴⁴ For a hypothetical plan of Alfonso II's medieval city layout, see Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 14; idem, *Enciclopedia*, 264.

⁶⁴⁵ *Chronicle of Albelda*, 44; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 24, 86. The Erudite redaction describes San Tirso as having “*multis angulis*”. The reference to ‘multiple angles’ is an ambiguous one. A conversation with Malcolm Thurlby brought about the idea that it likely refers to a centralized building, perhaps in a similar arrangement to San Fructuoso de Montelios where there are no less than 12 angles. The *alfiz* hood moulding above the miniature arcade on St Tyrso's eastern wall is almost certainly part of a later restoration. It is obvious that this section of masonry has been altered, particularly since no other Asturian examples are not set at ground level or filled with stone.

Here again, the redactions differ in the information they provide. Both the *Rotense* and *Ovetense* describe a church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa built by Alfonso II. The *Rotense* states the church stands “at some distance” from the cathedral of Oviedo. The *Ovetense*, on the other hand, specifies that it is located north of the church of San Salvador at a distance of approximately one *stadium*, approximately 625 Roman feet.⁶⁴⁶ The present-day church of Santullano has survived at a comparable distance northeast of the cathedral of Oviedo and has thus been identified as Alfonso II’s fourth church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa, two fourth-century martyred Egyptian Romans who were forced to wed yet mutually refused to consummate their marriage;⁶⁴⁷ a fitting dedication considering the Asturian king earned the title Alfonso “the Chaste” because he bore no male heirs. Since the *Testamentum*, which records Alfonso II’s donation to the church of Oviedo before five bishops and various witnesses on 16 November 812, does not document a church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa, historians have concluded that the church must have commenced after 812 and completed before Alfonso II’s death in 842.⁶⁴⁸ A church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa also appears in a donation made in the year 896 by Alfonso III, his wife Jimena, and their sons Garcia, Ordoño, Gonzalve, Fruela and Ramiro, who granted all of the churches, including San Tirso, San Juan de Bautista, and San Julián, as well as royal palaces and neighbouring buildings, to the church of Oviedo.⁶⁴⁹ Barrau-Dihigo, however, strongly opposes the authenticity of this document and suggests that it was

⁶⁴⁶ *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 14.1; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 50-51; Collins, “Doubts and Certainties,” 4; idem, *Caliphs and Kings*, 109.

⁶⁴⁷ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 5; Lacarra, “Las relaciones entre el reino de Asturias y el reino de Pamplona” 250; Cabal, *Alfonso II El Casto*, 192-195, for a discussion of Alfonso II’s ties to Francia.

⁶⁴⁸ See Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 45; idem, *Enciclopedia*, 264, 268; Cabal, *Alfonso II El Casto*, 383; Montenegro and del Castillo, “The Alfonso II Document of 812,” 197-214; Fontaine, *L’art préroman hispanique*, 276. Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 5, stipulate that Alfonso II’s buildings in the center of Oviedo were of primary importance and that Santullano would have been built afterwards since it is located on the outskirts. Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 79, supports Schlunk and Berenguer’s opinion that Alfonso II would have given priority to his court buildings and that the church of San Julián de los Prados was completed after the *Testamentum* of 812.

⁶⁴⁹ Floriano, *Diplomática*, t. 2, 219-220; Barrau-Dihigo, “Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens,” 149.

most likely forged by Bishop Pelagius in the twelfth century.⁶⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the loss of virtually all of Alfonso II's other documented buildings has made Santullano, largely by default, the best surviving example of the Asturian king's architecture and the benchmark for dating other churches.⁶⁵¹

Santullano is built in a basilican plan with a three-bay nave and single aisles, an eastern transept with north and south vestibules, and a tripartite east end (Fig. 30.1). The exterior of the church is predominantly built in regular courses of rubble masonry with ashlar stones reserved for each of the quoins and buttresses on the nave, crossing and eastern wall (Fig. 30.2). Aside from the rectangular windows in the nave and transept clerestory (Fig. 30.3), the majority of fenestrations and portals are constructed with single-stone jambs and lintels topped with red-brick relieving arches (Fig. 30.4). Each window is filled with latticework with a variety of geometric shapes including concentric circles and equal-armed crosses (Fig. 30.5). The motif can be traced back to early Christian examples such as the church of S. Sabina, Rome (422-32), where latticework (*transennae*) filled the large clerestory windows of the nave.⁶⁵² The varying roof-heights of each section of the church reflect the internal divisions of space. The roof of the transept rises above the nave and chapels, which are higher still than those of the flanking aisles (Fig. 30.6). The tripartite arrangement of the eastern chapels is similarly distinguishable, with the roof of the central chapel raised above those of the subsidiary chapels (Fig. 30.7). The eastern wall is further enriched by the inclusion of a miniature triple-arcade set directly beneath the gabled-cornice (Fig. 30.8). The miniature arcade motif has become one of the hallmarks of

⁶⁵⁰ Barrau-Dihigo, "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens," 149.

⁶⁵¹ As mentioned, Santa María de Bendones and San Pedro de Nora both rely directly on the evidence at Santullano for their date and patronage.

⁶⁵² Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, 18. The latticework that fills the clerestory windows at S. Sabina today is part of twentieth-century restorations yet likely resembles original designs.

medieval Asturian architecture. It appears on the east façade at San Tirso (812-842), San Pedro de Nora (812-842) and Santa María de Bendones (812-842), on both the east and west façades at Santa María de Naranco (842-850), on the northern and eastern façades at Santa Cristina de Lena (842-850), on the upper and lower east façade of San Salvador de Valdediós (866-911), and on the east façade at San Salvador de Priesca (866-911) and San Adriano de Tuñón (866-911), though in the last two buildings the arcade has been reduced to a double-arch. At Santullano, the three small, red-brick arches of the miniature arcade are supported by two stout, stone columns with moulded bases and Corinthian-type capitals (Fig. 30.9). Small, monolithic through-stones are wedged between the capitals and the lowest voussoirs. Similar to the other fenestrations throughout the church, single-stone jambs support the miniature arcade, all of which are set atop a broad sill. The arcade opens into a small compartment in the roof space above the chancel vault. This area is commonly misinterpreted as a refuge or secret chamber for the storage of treasures or relics.⁶⁵³ There is little reason to support either interpretation. Rather, in addition to enriching the eastern section of the church, it served the practical function of ventilating the wood above the stone vault and channeling any accumulation of moisture through the gutters on either side of it. A pair of tall, slender buttresses further ornaments the miniature arcade and chapel window beneath it (30.10). The buttresses offer minimal support to the light, wooden superstructure or the barrel-vaults above the eastern chapels. Instead, like the triple-arcade above, the elongated buttresses function as iconographic markers of the sanctified space of the east end.

⁶⁵³ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque*, 89.

Today, Santullano is entered through its western porch (Fig. 30.2). Three alternate portals are set in the north and south aisle walls, two of which have been filled-in (Fig. 30.12-30.14).⁶⁵⁴ As at the church of San Pedro de Nora, the function of the lateral portals is unclear. Santullano's nave spans 10.30m in length, 7m in width and 9m in height. The interior consists of a two-storey elevation with a clerestory and three-bay main arcade flanked by single aisles (Fig. 30.15). Square piers topped with moulded imposts support the round-headed architrave (Fig. 30.16). In contrast to the windowless aisles, large, rectangular fenestrations pierce the clerestory and repeat the rhythm of the arcade below. A tall architrave with wall paintings separates the nave arcade and clerestory. The nave and aisles run eastward to meet a continuous transept and three rectangular eastern chapels. The intersections of the aisles and the transept are marked with round-headed arches (fig. 30.17). A much larger, triumphal arch tapers the passage between the nave and transept (Fig. 30.15). The triumphal arch springs from square imposts that are set around the same height as the apex of the nave arches. Its upper section ascends to the timbers of the roof in the form of a large diaphragm arch.

The continuous eastern wall of the transept comprises the three eastern chapels, each of which is entered through a round-headed arch (Fig. 30.18). Rectangular clerestory windows are set above the north and south chapel arches. A large, round-headed window set in the south wall further illuminates the transept (Fig. 30.19). Each of the chapels is lit by single, rectangular, eastern windows (Fig. 30.20). The north and south chapels have secondary windows in their north and south walls, respectively (Fig. 30.21-30.22). The central chapel arch is both taller and wider than the two subsidiary ones. The arrangement recalls the Arch of Constantine in Rome.

⁶⁵⁴ A similar arrangement exists at San Salvador de Valdediós except that it has been reversed with two portals set into the south aisle and one in the north. At San Pedro de Nora there exist a total of four subsidiary portals – two each in the north and south walls. However, it is likely that the eastern portals let into north and south porches and were only entered through the interior of the church.

Lending to this association are the stone barrel vaults that surmount each of the chapels. The selective use of masonry juxtaposes the timber roofs of the nave, aisles and transept, and functions as architectural *ciboria*. Likewise, the limited amount of carved decoration that does appear in Santullano is restricted to the central chapel. Stone blind arcades supported by engaged columns with carved capitals and bases line its north, south and east walls (Fig. 30.23-30.25). Whereas the north and south arcades rise from the ground, the one along the eastern wall is set on a plinth a third of the way up and includes a tabernacle beneath the eastern window. Identical tabernacles appear at Santa María de Bendones, San Pedro de Nora, San Salvador de Priesca and the Cámara Santa. Carved marble plaques (Fig. 30.26-30.27) are set onto the internal returns of the central chapel's arch jambs. Based on the elegance of their design and sculpture they are likely Roman *spolia*. Each jamb comprises a carved pilaster with a moulded base and foliage capital (Fig. 30.28). There is clear break between the pilaster and its capital, suggesting that these were originally two separate stones that were later rearranged *in situ* as jamb decorations. The pilasters are carved with repeated arrangements of squares enclosed by lozenges. The squares are filled with rosettes in concentric circles and the lozenges contain leaves of spikey, acanthus foliage with rings around their stems. The plaque capitals depict two rows of acanthus foliage topped by a band of round-headed arches, followed by a baluster-like ornament and a row of rosettes with a flowing vine-scroll that waves up and down around the roundels. It is unclear whether the blind arcade capitals are products of Asturian workmanship or are *spolia* like the Roman plaques, as Alcaide suggests.⁶⁵⁵ I am inclined to accept the former possibility since the design of the plaques seems to have influenced some of the capitals (Fig. 30.29), which similarly incorporate two rows of acanthus-type foliage, albeit more stylized, topped by abaci with small

⁶⁵⁵ Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 85.

round-headed arches and roundels with a flowing cable motif.⁶⁵⁶ Rather than the rosettes found on the jamb capitals, however, the roundels of the blind arcade capitals are filled with small crosses and spirals. The visible difference in sculptural execution and subtle variations between the motifs suggests that the classical plaque capitals inspired the design of those on the eastern chapel blind arcade.

Similarly, the geometric pattern of squares framed by lozenges on the plaques themselves seem to have inspired the nearly identical geometric arrangements applied in paint on the north and south chapel vaults (Fig. 30.30-30.31). The paintings are given the appearance of mosaic by the addition of small tesserae framing each of the lozenges and squares. Like the pilasters, some of the shapes are filled with rosettes in concentric circles. Equal-armed crosses, however, appear in the place of the acanthus leaves. The vault of the central chapel is painted in an altogether different design that consists of alternating circles and squares filled with rosettes and various geometric shapes (Fig. 30.32). Coupled with the restricted use of sculpture, the singularity of the central chapel's painted designs reflects the artist's effort to further distinguish and monumentalize the location of the high altar, which Correa suggests additionally housed a collection of relics.⁶⁵⁷

For quite some time, scholars were keen to foster a direct relationship between Alfonso II's architecture and Hispano-Roman models in the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, the surviving physical evidence supports the theory that the king and his Asturian atelier drew inspiration from indigenous buildings. The renewed use of red-brick arches, rubble masonry, large clerestory windows, as well as single-stone jambs and lintels harken back to a style of building that

⁶⁵⁶ The eastern capitals of the north and south wall, as well as the north and south capitals of the east wall, have a different design.

⁶⁵⁷ Bonnet Correa, *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, 104. This same arrangement appears at San Salvador de Priesca.

preceded Visigothic architecture. Yet it must be stressed that this awareness of the past was only one aspect behind the design and construction of Alfonso II's architecture and that scholarly efforts that seek to promote causal links between Asturias and Hispano-Roman models must be carefully considered. For example, Fontaine credits the triple-arch of the central chapel's eastern blind arcade, and the fact that its middle arch frames the window, to Paleo-Christian baptisteries in the former Roman provinces of the Iberian Peninsula.⁶⁵⁸ He does not, however, provide any examples of such buildings. In a similar vein, Schlunk and Berenguer relate the Roman character of the central chapel's vault paintings, such as the double circles in hexagons, the rosettes in hexagons and squares, as well as the floral ornaments, to the baths at Santa Eulalia de Boveda.⁶⁵⁹ Nevertheless, they recognize Santa Eulalia's paintings as belonging to a later reconstruction, possibly in the ninth century, and state that no direct connection can be established with San Julián de los Prados, an opinion that is shared by Nuñez.⁶⁶⁰ In terms of its general basilican plan with a tripartite east end, Santullano is comparable to the churches at Bovalar (Lérida), Gerena (Seville), Santa Lucia del Trampal (Cáceres), and San Juan de Baños (Palencia) (Fig. 28.2). Yet subtle differences in execution set the church apart from earlier Iberian examples. For example, Santullano's eastern wall encapsulates each chapel within a homogenous section of masonry, which certainly differs from the clear separation of eastern units in Visigothic churches.⁶⁶¹ Though Santullano shares some similarities with Visigothic and Hispano-Roman analogues, certain features such as the triumphal arch and continuous transept have no precedence in the Iberian Peninsula and suggest the arrival of foreign influences. Much to the credit of Luis

⁶⁵⁸ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispaniques*, 278-279.

⁶⁵⁹ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 46; Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 140, n. 69, and 142, n. 84; Utrero Agudo, *Iglesias tardoantiguas*, 583-584; María Blázquez, *Imagen y mito*, 329-330.

⁶⁶⁰ Nuñez, *Historia de Arquitectura Galega*, 131-38, believes the decorations at Santa Eulalia de Boveda are Asturian repaintings.

⁶⁶¹ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 50-51, suggests instead that the tripartite arrangement is a survival of Byzantine *pastophoria* in Asturias.

Caballero Zoreda and Sally Garen, Iberian architecture, Asturias included, is undergoing a revised historiography in which Syro-Ummayyad influences in particular are being investigated and very seriously considered.⁶⁶² Recent scholarship has turned away from the so-called “indigenous” theory, which contends that Asturias was the continuation of the fallen Visigothic kingdom and that it upheld its art and architectural legacy alongside Hispano-Roman traditions. Instead, the so-called ‘Mozarabic’ or ‘Rupture’ theory, though not without its own shortcomings, suggests that the importation of Syro-Ummayyad architectural traditions brought Visigothic building in the Iberian Peninsula to a halt. Other theories, noting the stark differences between Visigothic and Asturian architecture, suggest that the latter kingdom was forged in opposition to the former, which failed to protect the Christian borders of the Iberian Peninsula. Caballero and Utrero Agudo are among the scholars to scrutinize the indigenous theory’s sway over the scholarship, yet they are by no means the first to propose foreign models for Asturian architecture. Lampérez, de Contreras y López, Joseph Strzygowski, and Marcel Dieulafoy, have proposed a variety of influences for Santullano that range from Lombardy, Asia Minor, Egypt, Armenia and Persia.⁶⁶³

In 1913, Gómez-Moreno first allied Santullano to Carolingian models.⁶⁶⁴ Three years later, Fortunato de Selgas recognized the Italianate form of Santullano’s basilican plan. Rather than relating it to the Constantinian era, he associated it to such examples as the church of San

⁶⁶² Caballero and Latorre, *La iglesia y el monasterio visigodo de Santa María de Melque*, 734-736; Garen, “Santa María de Melque,” 293; Utrero Agudo, “Late Antique and Early Medieval,” 6; Caballero and Feijoo, “La iglesia de San Juan Bautista en Baños de Cerrato,” 181-242.

⁶⁶³ Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, 341, allies Santullano’s “*tau*”-shaped basilica with earlier Latin models; de Contreras y López de Ayala, *Historia del Arte Hispánico*, 279, suggests that it is highly likely that Lombard masons arrived in the Iberian Peninsula around 776 to work on sumptuous buildings. For a discussion on Oriental influences, see Strzygowski, *Altai Iran und die Völkerwanderung*, 288; idem, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (1918); idem, *Der Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst*, 75, 114, trans. “Origin of Christian Church Art,” 87, 88, 134. Dieulafoy, *Histoire de l’art en Espagne et Portugal*, 55-57; idem, “Les monuments latino-byzantins des Asturies,” 663-667; idem, “Les monuments Protoromans du style oriental,” 187-196.

⁶⁶⁴ Gómez-Moreno, “De arqueología mozarabe,” 91; idem, “Prémices de l’art chrétien espagnol,” 211.

Clemente (fifth century), Santa María in Cosmedin (772-795), and San Giorgio in Velabro (eighth century).⁶⁶⁵ Rivoira connected the barrel-vaulted, rectangular chapels to Roman sources, such as the example at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli where, "the palace (125-135) contains a basilica with a nave and aisles and a rectangular apse."⁶⁶⁶ Thummler, on the other hand, allied Santullano to Carolingian spaces and plans.⁶⁶⁷ Sánchez-Albornoz suggested similar Carolingian parallels, which he believes corresponded to Alfonso II's desire to establish a bishopric at Oviedo.⁶⁶⁸ Schlunk, recognizing the fact that the interpretations of earlier scholars were based on an analysis of Santullano pre-Selgas' 1916 restoration, strongly opposed the impact of Carolingian forms in Asturias, favoring Byzantine and Early Christian models instead - particularly in relation to the size of Santullano's windows and the style of its interior wall paintings.⁶⁶⁹ Interestingly, Schlunk later elaborated upon his opinion in an article where he related the lack of figural imagery in Santullano's wall paintings with the Byzantine iconoclast movement (726-843) and the disposition towards imagery in the *Libri Carolini*.⁶⁷⁰ Crozet cautiously connected Santullano with the church of Saint G  n  roux, Deux-S  vres (c. 950).⁶⁷¹ His opinion found support from Dodds who suggests that Saint G  n  roux is a later example of a previous typology that impacted Santullano's patron and masons.⁶⁷² Heitz also agreed with Crozet yet suggested that Saint G  n  roux's east end should be excavated to establish its original form.⁶⁷³ In 1973,

⁶⁶⁵ De Selgas, "La basilica de San Juli  n de los Prados," 60, 62.

⁶⁶⁶ Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, 337.

⁶⁶⁷ Thummler, "Carolingian Period: Churches with Latin Cross Plans," 94.

⁶⁶⁸ S  nchez-Albornoz, *  rigenes de la naci  n espa  ola*, 2, 433-435, 623-39.

⁶⁶⁹ Schlunk, "Las Iglesias palatinas de la capital del reino asturiano," 6; idem, "La iglesia de San Juli  n de los Prados," 445, 451; Schlunk and Bereguer, *La pintura mural*, 9-13;

⁶⁷⁰ Schlunk, "El arte Asturiano en torno al 800," vol. 2, 156.

⁶⁷¹ Crozet, "L'  glise de Saint-G  n  roux et ses parent  s," 21-25; Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 263-64.

⁶⁷² Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 139, n. 52; Dodds and DeForest, "San Juli  n de los Prados: Arte, diplomacia y herej  a," 258-63.

⁶⁷³ Heitz, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne*, 193-94.

Jacques Fontaine recognized the influence of Carolingian models in Asturias, describing the latter style as an original synthesis between existing traditions and external incentives.⁶⁷⁴ More specifically, he connected Santullano's plain nave piers and imposts with the arrangement at Einhard's new church at Seligenstadt.⁶⁷⁵ To this we can also add the similar inclusion of large clerestories surmounting tall architraves, the fact that the rhythm of the arches repeats that of the clerestory, as well as the use of tall and wide western crossing arches to mark the transition from the naves into the transept.⁶⁷⁶ Dodds proposes that the Carolingian motifs at Santullano are the result of a careful selection process rather than a Carolingian atelier working in Asturias, which has been suggested by some.⁶⁷⁷ Like Dodds, I am inclined to believe that there is a direct connection between Santullano and various Carolingian models. What she terms a "borrowing of certain signifying motifs," may just as easily be described as a "reshuffled" medieval copy vis-à-vis Krautheimer's methodology. The relationship between Asturian and Carolingian architecture should also be extended beyond the appearance of similar styles, forms and spaces to include an approximation of comparable attitudes to the contemporaneous religious climate as well as Alfonso II's political and religious agenda. More specifically, the Asturian king's stance on the international Adoptionist controversy aligned with his desire to secure his position on the throne and strengthen the Asturian kingdom. Santullano's unique pictorial programme affirms the king's attitudes on the nature of Christ and imagery in the first half of the ninth century.

⁶⁷⁴ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 268, "Alors surtout, sous trois grands monarques, l'architecture opère une synthèse originale entre sa fidélité vivante aux traditions hispano-romaines et wisigothiques, et des incitations venues de dehors, particulièrement sensibles dans la décoration et les arts mineurs."

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 277.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., 278.

⁶⁷⁷ See Deichmann, "Die Entstehungszeit von Salvatorkirche und Clitumnustempel bei Spoleto," 126 n. 2; Verzone, *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto medio evo nell'Italia settentrionale*, 145.

*The Decorative Programme, the Adoptionist Controversy
and the Case of Asturian Aniconism*

In addition to the chapels, painted decorations cover virtually every surface of Santullano's walls. A variety of motifs ranging from foliage, interlace, Greek-key, geometric patterns, concentric circles, architectural representations and gold crosses appear throughout the church. Fortunato de Selgas discovered the interior decorations under a layer of protective lime during his restoration of the building between 1912 and 1915.⁶⁷⁸ The faces of the nave and chapel arches, along with their spandrels, are decorated with concentric circles varying in colour (Fig. 30.33). The underside of each arch is painted with continuous foliage sprouting from vases (Fig. 30.34). Above the western portal is a large grouping of intersecting circles resembling an illuminated carpet page (Fig. 30.35). Two horizontal registers, placed one atop the other, adorn the nave architrave (Fig. 30.36). The lower band consists of alternating scenes of architectural representations (A) and illusionistic perspectives (B), arranged in an A-B-A-B pattern (Fig. 30.37). The former consist of a variety of façades set within *ciboria* with cascading drapes (Fig. 30.38). A similar arrangement is found in the upper register. A total of thirty-eight *ciboria* appear throughout the upper registers of the nave and transept. Centrally positioned on the east and west terminating walls of the nave and transept are four large crosses (Fig. 30.39). Painted gold with *alpha* and *omega* symbols suspended from their arms, these monumental crosses are framed within painted round-headed arches.

⁶⁷⁸ On Santullano's frescoes, see de Selgas, *La Basílica de San Julián de los Prados* (1916); Gomez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 323; de Contreras, *Historia del Arte Hispánico*, 283-85; Stern, "Nouvelles recherches sur les images des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem," 83-86; Schlunk, "Arte Asturiano," 398-405; idem, "Las pinturas de Santullano," 15-37; Berenguer, *Catálogo de la Exposición del Estudio Gráfico de la Pintura Mural Asturiana* (1953); idem, "Las pinturas murales de las iglesias asturianas prerrománicas," 107-145; Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural* (1957); Lafuente Ferrari, *Breve historia de la Pintura Española*, 34-36, 564; Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, 64, 137; Barral I Altet, "La representatció del palacio," 295; Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 89; Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 37-46.

As mentioned, despite the fact that Santullano is not recorded in the *Chronicle of Albelda*, de Selgas immediately connected the ample decorations with the description of “various paintings” in Alfonso II’s architecture in Oviedo.⁶⁷⁹ Indeed, it is difficult to overlook the possibility that the author of the *Albelda* was literally referring to Alfonso II’s architecture when describing the king’s restoration of a ceremony of the Goths in Oviedo, in the church as well as the palace, particularly given the detailed description of the king’s built environment and bold declaration that follows it. Surely the *picturis diuersis* (diverse paintings) described in the chronicle refers to the sheer variety of painted designs throughout the church? Among these are imitation marble striations on the chapel arch supports (Fig. 30.40), which also fit the description of *arcis atque columnis marmoreis* (arches and columns of marble). The gold and silver that diligently adorned Alfonso II’s buildings (*auro argentoque diligenter ornauit*), on the other hand, may ascribe to the four monumental crosses. It is also possible that these are the painted versions of the legendary *Cruz de la Victoria* or *Cruz de los Angeles*, now housed in the *Cámara Santa*. While the former is said to have been created from a piece of the cross carried by Pelayo at the Battle of Covadonga, the latter is touted as the divine product of angels. Nevertheless, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the physical and written evidence do not support the hypothesis that the *Albelda*’s author was describing the church of San Julián de los Prados. There is also no evidence of an aniconic Visigothic model to connect Santullano’s painted designs to. There are, however, contemporaneous, foreign analogues and it seems that the decisions being made in the Carolingian and Roman territories informed the design and decoration of Alfonso II’s architecture and aniconic programme in Oviedo.

⁶⁷⁹ De Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, 53.

Amidst the array of lozenges, trapezoids, circles, squares, columns, pillars, vases, flowers, and crosses, discovered by de Selgas, there was no figural imagery. Schlunk and Berenguer interpreted the architectural representations and images of baldacchinos with suspending drapery in the upper registers of the nave and transept as symbols of heavenly Jerusalem, and the golden crosses as the representations of the one carried by Christ at Golgotha.⁶⁸⁰ Schlunk allied the style and subject matter of Santullano's paintings to examples at Hagios Giorgios, in Salonica (Thessaloniki), and the Orthodox baptistery in Ravenna,⁶⁸¹ yet ultimately argued that the model can be traced back to a lost Visigothic prototype.⁶⁸² This interpretation later found support from Alcaide who was keen to argue that there was a *translatio* of power from Visigothic Toledo to Oviedo under the rule of Alfonso II.⁶⁸³ Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon agree that the painted buildings serve as representations of heavenly Jerusalem. They do not, however, connect the lack of figural imagery to any contemporaneous attitude towards image making in Asturias and add that the *ciboria* are empty so that "worshippers need not mentally displace existing residents, but can aspire to inhabit the otherworldly space themselves."⁶⁸⁴ Dodds, on the other hand, believes that Santullano's aniconism was developed in accordance with the Carolingian stance contra false-idolatry and Adoptionism and interprets Santullano's paintings as evidence of Alfonso II's contacts with the Carolingian empire.⁶⁸⁵ If, as Schlunk believes, a fully aniconic Visigothic or Roman model existed in the Iberian Peninsula it has not survived. Nor is there any record of it. Extant Visigothic evidence does not indicate any such reluctance towards figural imagery. The thirty-sixth canon of the Council of Elvira (c. 300)

⁶⁸⁰ Schlunk, "El arte Asturiano en torno al 800," 152-153; Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, (1957).

⁶⁸¹ Schlunk, "El arte Asturiano en torno al 800," 152-153.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 156-57; Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 161-67; Barral i Altet, "La representación del palacio," 293-301.

⁶⁸³ Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 89-98.

⁶⁸⁴ Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 309.

⁶⁸⁵ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 40-41.

reacts to a fourth-century concern with outright idolatry and both the twelfth (681) and sixteenth Councils of Toledo (693) react to similar concerns. Yet neither of these latter councils includes canons that deal with the issue of painting in churches.⁶⁸⁶ The church of San Pedro de la Nave, for example, retains four remarkable historiated capitals and carved bases with scenes from the Old Testament (Fig. 23.2-23.5). The capitals at the church of Quintanilla de las Viñas were similarly carved with personifications of Sol and Luna (Fig. 29.1-29.2). Given the underwhelming availability of surviving physical evidence, I am inclined to agree with Dodds and believe that the key to understanding Santullano's decorations and construction, let alone its patron's motivations, lies in a contextual analysis of contemporaneous trans-European events in the late eighth century, specifically the Adoptionist controversy and Iconoclastic attitudes.

Towards the end of the eighth century the former Visigothic capital of Toledo became involved in a very serious theological debate between its archbishop Elipandus (b. c.716) and Migetius, an Iberian partisan of the Roman church, concerning the nature of Christ.⁶⁸⁷ Elipandus sponsored an Adoptionist theology that, "proposes two mutually exclusive sorts of sonship in Christ, adoptive and natural, and therefore, despite his insistence on the unity of Christ's person, he in effect posits two different sons and hence two persons in Christ."⁶⁸⁸ Thomas Noble understands Elipandus' position as one that interprets Christ being born of Mary and Joseph and adopted by God upon His baptism in the River Jordan.⁶⁸⁹ Two Asturian churchmen, Beatus of Liebana, who had written a commentary on the apocalypse (776), and Etherius, a priest who later became Bishop of Osma under Alfonso II, launched a written campaign aimed at discrediting

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., 40.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸ Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, 38.

⁶⁸⁹ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, 165.

Elipandus.⁶⁹⁰ For Beatus and Etherius, Elipandus was guilty of reviving Arius' heresy at the Council of Nicaea (325). Elipandus drew support from Felix, Bishop of Urgel in neighboring Catalonia, who presented an Adoptionist theology at the Council of Frankfurt in 794. To argue against Elipandus and Felix, the Carolingians relied on the decrees laid out in the earlier council, those that were originally targeted against Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople (428-431), and his branch of Nestorianism,⁶⁹¹ which was condemned at the councils of Ephesus 431 and Chalcedon 451.⁶⁹² Among Charlemagne's council were Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans and author of the *Libri Carolini*, and Alcuin of York, the scholastic clergyman who specifically traveled from England to join the Carolingian court and combat Adoptionist claims.⁶⁹³ Perhaps even more favorable was Pope Hadrian I's condemnation of Felix's teachings at Regensburg in 792. The Carolingians were careful to adopt a position that ran in-line with that of the Romans since Charlemagne had not yet been crowned Emperor and was still seeking the service of the Pope. Theodulf's reactions must therefore also be understood as a calculated measure so as to promote and maintain a positive relationship with Rome begun by Pepin.⁶⁹⁴ In 794, at the Council of Frankfurt, Pope Hadrian I denounced Adoptionist and, by association, Elipandus' teachings yet again.⁶⁹⁵ While Alcuin of York was busy writing his *Seven Books Against Felix of Urgel* and condemning the heretical view of Christ's nature,⁶⁹⁶ the Carolingian court was involved in yet another major theological controversy over the nature of images in churches. Raising the issue at

⁶⁹⁰ For a discussion of Beatus and Etherius see, Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, 45-70. Cavadini refers to Etherius as Heterius. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 41.

⁶⁹¹ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, 175.

⁶⁹² Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 38, 43, "The question of Theotokos does not arise for Elipandus." "It is impossible, in sum, to continue to believe either that Elipandus was a Nestorian, or that he was decisively influenced by Nestorians or by Theodore of Mopsuestia."

⁶⁹³ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, 168.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., 172.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., 170-171.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., 174. See also Escalona, "Family Memories," 227, for a discussion on the role of Adoptionism and Carolingian influence in Asturias.

no less than two church councils – Regensburg 792 and Frankfurt 794. Surely, Alfonso II was already made aware of the raging international dispute over the nature of Christ before he became king. After all, at the same time that Alfonso II held the rank of *palatium guuernaui*,⁶⁹⁷ Beatus, Elipandus’ primary critic in the Iberian Peninsula and Etherius’ mentor, served as councilor to Queen Adosinda, wife of King Silo (774-783) and aunt of Alfonso II.⁶⁹⁸ Thus, in his formative years, Alfonso II was already acquainted with Beatus’ contra-Adoptionist writings.

The proceedings from the second Nicene Council, only slightly earlier in 787, spurred Theodulf’s authorship of the *Libri Carolini*. Theodulf, a Goth from the Iberian Peninsula, “rejected both the worship and destruction of images, but permitted their use in churches for decorative or commemorative purposes.”⁶⁹⁹ Instead, the *Libri Carolini* proposed a “moderate” approach to images, which became known as the *Viam Regiam* (the Royal Way). Images were effectively denied their “apostolic origin, the authenticity of the miracles cited to prove their sanctity, and their equality with such traditional and consecrated emblems of divinity as the Bible, the cross, and even true relics of saints.”⁷⁰⁰ The apsidal mosaic at Theodulf’s oratory Germigny-des-Prés, for example, abides by his stance on imagery. It depicts the Ark of the Covenant and four angels yet avoids the representation of specific saints or other religious figures, divine or otherwise. Traditionally, in Christian architecture, the apse is reserved for the image of Christ, Mary, symbols of the Evangelists or any combination of the above. At Germigny-des-Prés, however, the Ark of the Covenant guarded by angels and the hand of God has replaced conventional imagery and serves as the first instance in which a religious motif, rather than a dominant religious personage or figure, occupies the most sanctified decorative

⁶⁹⁷ *The Chronicle of Alfonso III*, 12. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 171; Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes*, 49.

⁶⁹⁸ Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, 45.

⁶⁹⁹ Jones, “Art and Christian Piety,” 81.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

space in a building. We should not forget the four monumental crosses at Santullano positioned on the east and west walls of the transept and nave. Like the Ark, the holy cross did not breach the iconophobic attitude of images and could be included in churches for “decorative or commemorative purposes.”⁷⁰¹ At Santullano the cross stands in as the true representation of Christ in an aniconic and iconophobic ideology.⁷⁰² Indeed, a figural representation of Christ could be interpreted as support of the Adoptionist claims made by Elipandus and would have run counter to Theodulf’s *Libri Carolini* and its reaction to the second Nicene Council of 787. The result would have distanced Asturias from the Carolingian and Roman empires. Theodulf’s treatment of imagery directly influenced the aniconic decorative programme at Santullano.

Granted, the Muslim elite brought with them a religious attitude that opposed image making, yet there is no evidence to support the claim that this would have influenced Christian attitudes in the north of Spain as early as the first half of the ninth century. It is certainly possible that the Alfonso II’s reaction to figural imagery in the early-ninth century was based on an iconoclastic view of the Visigoths who were prolific image-makers and subsequently suffered God’s punishment. Such an interpretation certainly abides by Julio Escalona’s understanding of Asturian identity as founded upon a repudiation of the Visigothic past.⁷⁰³ Indeed, the *Testamentum of 812* and the later *Chronicle of Alfonso III* directly connect the Islamic Conquest of the Iberian Peninsula with sins of the Goths who failed to defend its borders. Under the years of King Witizza alone the author of the latter chronicle states on two occasions that Spain

⁷⁰¹ Grabar, “Les mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés,” 175, recognizes Theodulf’s attitude towards images as indicative of an iconophobe rather than an iconoclast. See also Del Medico, “La mosaïque de l’abside orientale à Germigny-des-Prés,” 87-88; Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans and the Libri Carolini” 699; Mackie, “Theodulf of Orléans,” 45-58.

⁷⁰² Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 41.

⁷⁰³ Escalona, “Family Memories,” 230-232.

perished due to the sins of the Goths.⁷⁰⁴ So as to convince the reader further, the chronicler relates Spain's demise to the Goths who "were weighed down by the quantity of their sins and exposed by the treachery of the sons of Witiza... were put flight... [and] because they forsook the Lord and did not serve him in justice and truth, they were forsaken by the Lord so that they could no longer inhabit the land that they desired."⁷⁰⁵ Perhaps the prevalence of figural imagery in Visigothic churches contributed to this mixed bag of sins.

The context in which Alfonso II made his decision to carryout an aniconic programme does not, however, support an Asturian denial of Visigothic ancestry, iconophile or otherwise. The king effectively used in the *Testamentum of 812* to consolidate his claim to the Asturian throne and his inclusion of aniconic imagery has far more to do with the contemporaneous unfolding of the Iconoclastic and Adoptionist controversies that could be politically exploited.⁷⁰⁶ Of course, the king's religious piety should not be discounted as a motivating force. Yet it is very clear that Alfonso II was presented with an ultimatum shortly after regaining his royalty in 791. He could side with Elipandus' soon-to-be-heretical stance, which would encumber any allegiance with the Romans and Carolingians and at the same time empower Toledo's see over Asturias.⁷⁰⁷ Or he could reject Elipandus's Adoptionist claims and seek to strengthen ties with the Frankish kingdom and Rome. Alfonso II chose the latter and ambitiously intended for Santullano, and possibly his other buildings, to serve as the physical embodiment of his kingdom's religious and diplomatic views. Considering the tribulations that Alfonso II faced prior to becoming king, taking a firm stance on a contemporary religious debate was a very

⁷⁰⁴ Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 162, "He was a reprobate and disgraceful in his habits. He dissolved the councils. He sealed the canons. He took many wives and concubines. And so that no council would be convened against him, he ordered the bishops, priests, and deacons to take wives."

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., 164.

⁷⁰⁶ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 41, suggests that the Asturians "used the Adoptionist controversy to weaken ties with the Mozarabic church, whose authority was rooted in its Visigothic past."

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

useful political decision. The Adoptionist controversy largely formed the impetus for Asturias's contact with the Carolingians. Indeed, Alfonso II benefited from the schism between Toledo and Rome at a time when he was keen to propel the kingdom of Asturias onto the international stage and sought to further promote the bishopric in Oviedo. The international theological disputes also coincided with the development of the church at Santiago, largely unmentioned in the Chronicles yet doubtless a factor in Alfonso II's decision to align with Rome via the Carolingians.⁷⁰⁸ Alfonso II's use of the Adoptionist controversy in support of his political agenda was not unique. Charlemagne profited greatly from the international dispute. Cullen Chandler argues that Adoptionism became a means of establishing cultural hegemony in the newly conquered Carolingian territories.⁷⁰⁹ Though the controversy over the nature of Christ and the Trinity is inseparable from religious implications, it is equally impossible to dissociate the political motives of those who fervently denounced it.⁷¹⁰ As Chandler points out, conquered cultures were free to retain laws and traditions but the *Admonitio Generalis* required, "religious orthodoxy as a test for assimilation."⁷¹¹ Combatting Adoptionism proved to be a useful tool for integrating Urgell and other territories into the Carolingian kingdom. Conversely, it became a means by which Alfonso II could align Asturias with Rome and the Carolingians and distance the church of Oviedo from the primacy of the episcopal see of Toledo.

⁷⁰⁸ Isla, "Monarchy and Neogothicism," 50-51.

⁷⁰⁹ Chandler, "Heresy and Empire," 507.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., 509.

⁷¹¹ Ibid., 516.

The Carolingian Connection

Two separate Carolingian chronicles undeniably, albeit briefly, corroborate the fact that Alfonso II's successfully established diplomatic ties with Charlemagne.⁷¹² *The Royal Frankish Annals* report that in the year 798 Asturian envoys arrived at Aachen on two separate occasions. At first, Froia brought Charlemagne a "most beautiful tent."⁷¹³ In a separate entry it is recorded that Alfonso II, King of Asturias and Galicia, plundered Lisbon, the remotest city of Spain, and sent Froia and Basiliscus to deliver coats of mail, mules and captive Moors.⁷¹⁴ Rather than gifts, the chronicle describes these items as *insignia victoria* ('tokens of victory'), which Rosamond McKitterick believes signify Alfonso II having successfully asked the Carolingian king for support.⁷¹⁵ Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* also reports that in the year 798, "So close, indeed, was the alliance that [King Charles] contracted with Alfonso, King of Galicia and Asturias, that the latter, when sending letters or Ambassadors to Charles, invariably styled himself his man."⁷¹⁶ These correspondences not only confirm that there was a means of transmission between Aachen and Oviedo, but also that Alfonso II's contact with Charlemagne may have directly influenced his architectural programme in Oviedo. We would be hard-pressed to otherwise explain the

⁷¹² For discussion of Alfonso II's ties to Francia, see Cabal, *Alfonso II El Casto*, 192-195.

⁷¹³ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 798, "Venit etiam et legatus Hadeponsi regis Galleciae et Asturiae, nomine Froia, papolionem mirae (wonderful/marvelous) pulchritudinis praesentans."

⁷¹⁴ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 798. "Hadeponsus rex Galleciae et Asturiae praedata Olisipona ultima Hispaniae civitate insignia victoria suae loricas, mulos captivosque Mauros domno regi per legatos suos Froiam et Basiliscum hiemis tempore misit."

⁷¹⁵ McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, 284, "Froia and Basiliscus, the legates of Alfonso king of Asturias and Galicia, brought a pavilion tent, coats of mail, mules and Moorish prisoners. All these, the Reviser reports, were regarded by the Franks as 'tokens of victory' (*insignia victoria*) rather than gifts. This suggests that Alfonso had successfully asked for Frankish support."

⁷¹⁶ Einhardi, *Vita Karoli Magni* (Hanoverae, 1911) XVI. For the Latin transcription see, Garrod, *Einhard's Life of Charlemagne*, 42, "Adeo namque Hadeponsum Galleciae atque Asturicae regem sibi societate devinxit, ut is, cum ad eum vel litteras vel legatos mitteret, non aliter se apud illum quam proprium suum appellari iuberet." See also Defourneaux, "Carlomagno y el reino Asturiano," 93; Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 69, who translates the passage to "the king's subject."

arrival of Carolingian architectural forms and artistic motifs in Santullano in the early ninth century.

Though no document specifically records any such transmission between Asturian and Carolingian models, it is interesting to observe the similarity between Einhard's description of Charlemagne's buildings at Aachen in the *Vita Karoli Magni* and the author of the *Albelda's* description of Alfonso II's buildings in Oviedo. Whereas Einhard refers to Aachen as "built in the most admirable quality" and decorated with "gold and silver...pillars and marble",⁷¹⁷ the author of the *Albelda* states that Alfonso II's churches and palaces in Oviedo were built of an "admirable quality" and "adorned with arches of marble, gold and silver." Though the comparable descriptions are most likely a result of common Latin descriptors, the identical use of rich materials in Oviedo and Aachen hints at a comparable monumentality in design at both buildings.

Links between the Carolingian and Asturian kingdoms are also partly expressed in the *Chronicles of Alfonso III* and *Chronicle of Albelda* via the royal epithets used to describe Alfonso II and other kings. The author of the *Rotense* redaction refers to Alfonso II as *rex magnus*.⁷¹⁸ Similarly, the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* titles Alfonso II as *Adefonsus Magnus*.⁷¹⁹ As Amancio Isla points out, "*magnus* is present in both the Merovingian and Carolingian traditions, but not in the Visigothic tradition."⁷²⁰ Indeed, along with *pacificus*, *magnus* was an epithet favoured by Charlemagne and those referring to him. In 798, Pope Leo III refers to the Frankish

⁷¹⁷ Einhardi, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 17, "*Aquisgrani opera mirabili constructa*".

⁷¹⁸ For a discussion of the use of royal epithets in the Asturian chronicles see, Isla, "Building Kingship on Words," 255.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ Ibid., 255-256.

King as *magni regis*.⁷²¹ After Alfonso III's death, his son Ordoño II refers to him as *magnus imperator*, and is himself sometimes referred to as *princeps magnus*.⁷²² For Isla, the use of the term *magnus* in tenth-century Asturian chronicles not only links the Asturian and Carolingian kingdoms but also suggests that the Carolingian political model was relevant to Asturian kings as well as their descendants.⁷²³

The Triumphal Arch

This monumentality also extended to specific architectural motifs. With no extant or documented models to compare it to in the early medieval Iberian Peninsula, let alone Asturias, Santullano's triumphal arch signals a foreign influence. Ultimately, the motif's use in an ecclesiastical building can be traced back to Early Christian examples in Rome, particularly the church of Old St. Peter's in Rome. It also appears at San Paolo fuori le Mura and a number of other buildings.⁷²⁴ It then seemingly disappeared in the west until it was reintroduced at St. Denis, Fulda and Santa Prassede in Rome (817-824) under Pope Paschal I. Despite being unique to Santullano, the inclusion of small, ground-level, round-headed niches placed on either side of the triumphal arch's supports (Fig. 30.15), may relate to Dodds' understanding of São Gíao de Nazare's east end, where similar arches pierce the north and south walls of the chancel and limit the view into the sanctuary from the nave (Fig. 31). Dodds suggests that the juxtaposition of open and closed spaces at São Gíao were an integral part of the Visigothic liturgy that sought to affect a sense of mysticism in the celebrant by partitioning the views of the sanctuary from the

⁷²¹ This appears in the *Concilium Romanum* in 798. See *Consilia Aevi Karolini I. Monumenta Germaniae Historica* II, ed. Albertus Werminghoff, 203; *Codex Carolinus*, 29, 33, 53. See also Isla, "Building Kingship on Words," 255; Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe*, 155.

⁷²² Isla, "Building Kingship on Words," 256.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, 255-256.

⁷²⁴ These include St. John's in Lateran (S. Giovanni en Laterano), SS Quattro Coronati, and to a certain degree in later Italo-Byzantine churches such as San Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.

nave and only revealing parts of the Eucharistic ceremony.⁷²⁵ Similarly crediting Santullano's design to the continuity of a Visigothic liturgical tradition in Asturias, Schlunk and Berenguer suggest that a curtain hung in front of Santullano's central chapel and would have been opened and closed according to the ceremonies performed.⁷²⁶ Alongside Santullano, they suggest that similar arrangements were found at San Salvador de Priesca (921) and San Salvador de Valdediós.⁷²⁷ Though the drapery of a chancel curtain would certainly obscure any performance around the high altar, and this certainly seemed to be a concern at the church of São Gíao de Nazare, it is unlikely that the small niches on either side of Santullano's expansive triumphal arch were intended as dramatic partitions of the east end from the nave. Instead, these perforations more likely served as statuary niches or the location of separate altars.

There is also the matter of the arch's monumentality, which is lacking at São Gíao de Nazare. Given its height and connection to the continuous transept beyond, Santullano's triumphal arch is more closely related to contemporaneous examples, such as S. Prassede in Rome. As Marchita Mauck observes, "no example of Carolingian architecture in Rome prior to S. Prassede includes a major arch to link the nave with a transept."⁷²⁸ It is equally important to note that for Krautheimer, the term "triumphal arch," which first appears in the *Liber Pontificalis* under the biographies of Paschal I and Gregory IV, derives from images of the triumphant Christ and Roman arches of triumph, specifically the Arch of Constantine.⁷²⁹ Like Old St. Peter's, the width of Santullano's crossing arch is equal to that of its chancel. This very same proportional

⁷²⁵ Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 20.

⁷²⁶ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 8, "cuatro pequeños huecos de vigas que se encuentran a unos tres metros de altura en los pilares del ábside hacia el crucero. Apenas puede haber la duda de que éstos estuviesen primitivamente unidos por vigas de madera, de las que penderían cortinas para ocultar el recinto del altar, y que sólo abrirían en determinados momentos de la ceremonia litúrgica."

⁷²⁷ Ibid.

⁷²⁸ Mauck, *The Triumphal Arch of S. Prassede*, 827.

⁷²⁹ Krautheimer, "Carolingian Revival," 34; Mauck, "The Mosaic of the Triumphal Arch of S. Prassede," 827.

relationship appears at St. John's in Lateran, St. Paul's in Rome, St. Denis, Hersfeld, Seligenstadt, and S. Prassede.

Not only is the triumphant arch at Santullano linked to a continuous eastern transept, but it is also adorned with iconographic and monumental imagery. On its east and west walls above the apex of the arch are golden, bejeweled crosses with symbols of the alpha and omega suspended from its arms. As mentioned, in an aniconic programme crosses may stand in as representations of the triumphant Christ. Furthermore, architectural representations appear on the north and south walls of the arch's western face. It is possible that they stand in as representations of the heavenly cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, similar to the mosaics that adorn the triumphal arch at Santa María Maggiore and in the apsidal mosaic at S. Prassede.

Despite avoiding Krautheimer's attention, the church of San Julián de los Prados perfectly fits his description of the first renaissance group of Carolingian buildings, which he suggests are, "characterized by the plain beauty of the basilican plan, by the uncomplicated contrast of nave and transept or nave and apse, and the simplicity of the elevation. Emphasis is laid upon the quiet flow of the colonnades, the wide windows, the bare outer walls, the straight inner walls with their mosaics and marble incrustations, and the flood of light that fills the nave in contrast to the windowless dark aisles."⁷³⁰ Not only do these qualities differ from the compartmentalized Visigothic buildings, but they also stand in contrast to the Asturian buildings that precede the church of San Julián de los Prados. Instead Santullano belongs to a group of buildings that reflect an awareness of classical Roman motifs being reintroduced in the early Middle Ages via the Carolingian *renovatio*.

⁷³⁰ Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," 23.

The Continuous Transept

Along with the triumphal arch, transepts are rare in medieval Asturian architecture. Less common are continuous transepts (Fig. 30.41). Aside from Santullano, no Asturian church survives with an eastern transept, continuous or otherwise. There is evidence of eastern transepts at the Visigothic churches of San Juan de Baños, Santa Lucía del Trampal and Quintanilla de las Viñas. At both Baños and Trampal, the transept originally extended beyond the width of the nave and communicated with the three original eastern chapels. At Trampal, the original eastern arrangement of three detached chapels is still visible today and offers an idea of Baños' original appearance. The north and south chapels at Baños were originally separated from the central chapel, resulting in an eastern formation that resembled the three prongs of a trident. The original north and south chapels were later lost or destroyed and the current chapels were built into the empty voids that once separated them from the central chapel. The springing of the original barrel vaults of the north and south chapels are still visible on what are now the external north and south external walls of the present-day chapels (Fig. 28.3). By no means, however, are the transepts at Baños or Trampal continuous and, like the eastern arches of São João de Nazarre, they lack the Santullano's monumentality.

Perhaps the closest analogue for Santullano's transept appears at the undocumented church of Santa María de Bendones, where the nave is arranged along the transverse axis, rather than the longitudinal one. Without the abutment of a perpendicular longitudinal unit, however, Bendones' nave cannot be considered a transept. It is possible that Santullano's transept was related to his other church, Santa María in Oviedo. Indeed, Aurelio de Llano's reconstruction of Santa María proposes a narrow, unbroken transept.⁷³¹ De Selgas (1908), on the other hand,

⁷³¹ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 109.

suggests that the church had a broken transept with north and south crossing arches that ran inline with the nave arcades and the north and south walls of the chancel arch.⁷³² Given the lack of physical evidence to support either claim it is impossible to know for certain. Rather, the abundance of Asturian examples without transepts suggests that the church of Santa María was related to the churches of San Pedro de Nora, San Salvador de Priesca and San Salvador de Valdediós, where the tripartite east ends communicate directly with the nave and aisles.

Thus with no immediate analogue to relate it to, it seems once again necessary to propose a foreign model for Santullano's continuous transept (L7m x W14m x H11m). The architectural unit can ultimately be traced back to Early Christian examples. As a motif it is most often connected to the church of Old St. Peter's in Rome, begun by Constantine I c. 319.⁷³³ Krautheimer highlights the continuous transept as altogether uncommon in western Christian architecture, let alone the Iberian Peninsula.⁷³⁴ When it does appear it is important to treat the architectural unit as a possible iconographic signifier. This is particularly true if the continuous transept is contained within a T-shaped basilica. Krautheimer argues that during the Early Christian period the T-shaped basilica was taken-up at only a few locations – Old St. Peter's, St. Paul's (c. 384) and possibly S. Lorenzo *fuori le mura* (c. 330).⁷³⁵ The Carolingian *renovatio* was largely responsible for the reintroduction of the T-shaped plan and continuous transept in Western Europe, beginning with the abbey church of S. Denis (c. 775) and later at the abbey church of Fulda (790-819),⁷³⁶ S. Anastasia in Rome (c. 795-800), Einhard's abbey church of

⁷³² For a hypothetical plan of the pantheon-church of Santa María in Oviedo, see De Selgas, *Monumentos ovetenses*, 73.

⁷³³ For the date of Old St. Peter's, see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 54.

⁷³⁴ Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," 1-38.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9, Sturm founded the church at Fulda in 751; Abbot Baugulf commenced work 790-92; Baugulf resigned 802 when eastern parts completed; Monk Ratger took over in 802 and resigned in 817 because he overworked the brethren and serfs; Eigil replaced Ratger in 817 and completed the work in 819 when the relics of St Boniface were

Seligenstadt (c. 831-840), the abbey church of Hersfeld (831-850), and Pope Paschal's Santa Prassede in Rome (817-824).⁷³⁷ Thus after 400 A.D. the appearance of either form must be understood as a revival rather than a survival.⁷³⁸ Of course, Santullano differs from these examples in that its transept arms do not protrude beyond the exterior walls of the nave and thus cannot be considered a T-shaped basilica. Nevertheless, Santullano's continuous transept allies it to the contemporaneous churches of S. Stefano degli Abessini (after 806) and Santa Anastasia, both in Rome, where continuous transepts similarly do not extend beyond the width of the nave. Like these examples, Santullano's transept should be understood as a "reshuffled" copy of the original model at Old St. Peter's in Rome.

Despite Schlunk's convictions, Santullano's plan and elevation exhibits more dependence upon contemporaneous Carolingian models than previous Visigothic ones. Most importantly and exceedingly rare, the width of Santullano's nave is equal to the depth of its transept. This proportional relationship does not appear in any extant Visigothic church and since no other Asturian building possesses a transept we cannot look for a homegrown model. It was, however, used at the early Christian church of St John's in Lateran and later taken up at Einhard's church dedicated to SS Peter and Marcellinus at Seligenstadt (c. 831-840).⁷³⁹ The latter church presents a number of similarities with Santullano. In terms of general appearance, the nave arcades at both buildings are supported on simplified, square piers with imposts.⁷⁴⁰ The rhythm of the

translated to the western apse and the whole structure was consecrated. Krautheimer credits Ratger for the majority of the building.

⁷³⁷ For the plans of these buildings, see Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," 2-3.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷³⁹ Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," 24, "In 827 the relics of the saints had been transferred by Einhard, Charlemagne's ex-chancellor, to his country estate at Steinbach. Evidently irritated by the removal from Rome without their volition and dissatisfied with their new abode, the saints insisted on being transferred again and thus caused the construction of the new church at Seligenstadt between 831 and 840."

⁷⁴⁰ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 277, compares Santullano to Einhard's Seligenstadt and Corvey.

arches and the windows of the clerestory are syncopated.⁷⁴¹ Tall and wide western crossing arches mark the transition from the naves into the transepts. The width of the western crossing arches is equal to that of the chancel arches.⁷⁴² While both buildings express an awareness of Early Christian models, Santullano seems to rely on the Carolingian *renovatio* as an intermediary.⁷⁴³

Of course, according to Scheller's model, Santullano's connection to Old St. Peter's is strictly hypothetical due to the lack of documentary support. Nevertheless, the appearance of painted spirally-fluted pilasters on the eastern wall of Santullano's continuous transept (framing each chapel) (Fig. 30.42) suggests there was an Asturian awareness of Constantine's basilica. The so-called Pula casket depicts the original design of St. Peter's *ciborium*, the canopy that once marked the saint's remains in the church dedicated to him. On the casket, four spirally-fluted columns are shown supporting four-part ribs that are believed to be an accurate depiction of the canopy that originally marked the site of St. Peter's tomb.⁷⁴⁴ The juxtaposition of three highly iconographic Early Christian motifs (the triumphal arch, the continuous transept and spirally-fluted columns) toward the eastern end at Santullano suggests an awareness of foreign models reintroduced in the early Middle Ages via the Carolingian *renovatio* in the eighth and ninth century. As Krautheimer speculates, the revival of Early Christian models in Rome may

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 278.

⁷⁴² This is a particularly rare feature in Early Christian architecture, partly because the relationship relies upon the inclusion of a transept. Nevertheless, when it does appear, it can be related back to examples such as Old St Peter's, St. John's in Lateran, St. Paul's, the abbey church at Hersfeld, the abbey church of S. Denis, the abbey church of Fulda, the abbey church at Seligenstadt, and, to a certain degree, at S. Stefano degli Abessini, in Rome.

⁷⁴³ The same relationship occurs at St. John's in Lateran where, unlike other Early *Christ56.ian*, T-shaped basilicas, the crossing-piers are not T-shaped, but rather are L-shaped. Like St. John's in Lateran, Santullano uses L-shaped piers that are formed by the intersection of the ultimate nave arcade supports and the walling of the crossing arch. See Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," unnumbered illustrations between pages 2 and 3.

⁷⁴⁴ Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine*, 56.

have been the result of earlier northern developments.⁷⁴⁵ Two letters sent from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne ask the Frankish king to deliver beams for the repair of St Peter's as well as a *magister* to oversee the restoration of the building.⁷⁴⁶ Krautheimer's theory is contingent upon the Roman Christian type first existing at Pepin's St. Denis before 775.⁷⁴⁷ If he is correct in assuming the eighth-century *renovatio* germinated north of Italy, it certainly strengthens the likelihood that Asturias, like Rome itself, accessed the *renovatio* via Carolingian developments, rather than Roman ones. The Carolingian presence in the Spanish Marches and the fact that members of the Carolingian court, such as Jonas of Orléans, visited Alfonso II's court strengthens this possibility.⁷⁴⁸

That Santullano's transept derived from direct contact with Rome, rather than the Germanic north, should be equally considered. Though no documents explicitly mention the transmission of art or architectural models between Rome and Asturias in the ninth century, the *Liber Testamentorum*, describes a correspondence between Alfonso II and Pope Paschal I in 821, in which a letter from the Pope "thanked Alfonso for his devotion to the see of Rome and appealed for military aid against the 'pagans', in the form of a special breed of especially swift Spanish horses, '*caballos alfaraces*'." Of course, the twelfth-century *Liber Testamentorum* has been identified as the product of Bishop Pelayo, a well-known twelfth-century forger. John Wreglesworth understands this particular passage as fictitious and written by Bishop Pelayo in an attempt to fabricate a history of military assistance by Asturias in the ninth century.⁷⁴⁹ Wreglesworth warns, "As the content has no obvious connection with the see of Oviedo or of the

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., 23-25.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., 24. See also *MGH, Epist.*, III, 592 f. (779-80), 609 f. (781-86). "Wilcharius, Bishop of Sens, was to direct the restoration, probably as consulting engineer."

⁷⁴⁷ Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," 23-25.

⁷⁴⁸ Sánchez-Albornoz, *Órigenes de la nación Española*, 539; Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 37.

⁷⁴⁹ Wreglesworth, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 34.

councils held there, it may be that Bishop Pelayo writing in the first half of the twelfth century, was inventing a tradition of military assistance for Rome by a Spanish king at a time when the papacy was soliciting aid in prolonged struggles against schism and the Western Empire.”⁷⁵⁰ However, the *Liber Testamentorum*’s authenticity should not be abandoned wholesale. In 791 Charlemagne’s equine stock suffered an epidemic that killed approximately ninety percent.⁷⁵¹ Carroll Gillmor estimates that to raise and train a horse militarily requires no less than seven years and that Charlemagne could have expected a full recovery of his lost stock by 799.⁷⁵² Although it is perhaps coincidental that seven years passed between 791, the beginning of Alfonso II’s reign, and 798, the year in which the *Royal Frankish Annals* records the Asturian king sending mules as ‘tokens of victory,’ it could be that Alfonso II was aware of Charlemagne’s need for horses and sent steeds accordingly,⁷⁵³ albeit perhaps not ‘caballos alfaraces.’ This would nevertheless set a precedent of offering assistance by first supplying Charlemagne a form of equine stock in 798 and later Pope Paschal I in 821. If so, Bishop Pelayo would not be fabricating precedent in the *Liber Testamentorum*, but rather adding to it.

The Transept Tribune

In 1916, de Selgas discovered an inscription in Santullano’s transept pavement, now destroyed, which read, “*qui me resposvit et me laboravit riquiescant in pace amen era MCCIII* (1165).”⁷⁵⁴ Between 1912 and 1915, while attempting to return Santullano to its original

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁵¹ Gillmor, “The 791 Equine Epidemic and its Impact on Charlemagne’s Army,” 25. The author is, however, skeptical of the high percentage accorded to the loss, as recorded by the reviser.

⁷⁵² Ibid., 42.

⁷⁵³ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 798, “*Venit etiam et legatus Hadeponsi regis Galleciae et Asturiae, nomine Froia, papolionem mirae* (wonderful/marvelous) *pulchritudinis praesentans.*” Ibid., “*Hadeponsus rex Galleciae et Asturiae praedata Olisipona ultima Hispaniae civitate insignia victoria suae loricas, mulos captivosque Mauros domno regi per legatos suos Froiam et Basiliscum hiemis tempore misit.*”

⁷⁵⁴ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 46.

configuration, Fortunato de Selgas and the architect Vicente Lampérez y Romea discovered the expansive interior mural decorations.⁷⁵⁵ In 1913, de Selgas reconstructed the present-day southern portico.⁷⁵⁶ Three years later, he filled in the southern transept window with modern latticework. Yet another restoration was undertaken to consolidate the walls and plaster of the church, coinciding with the foundation work of the adjacent highway in 1970 and the later restoration of the interior murals from 1972 to 74 and 1979 to 84.⁷⁵⁷

In addition to the southern portico, de Selgas restored the very large, round-headed window (H4.25m X W2.25m) in the south transept wall. The window rises from the same height as the apex of the south chapel arch to just beneath the roof.⁷⁵⁸ A round-headed arch set into the north wall of the transept, later filled-in (Fig. 30.43), mirrors the size and shape of de Selgas' southern window.⁷⁵⁹ Unlike the southern porch, the north porticus includes an elevated wooden gallery. A portal pierces the wall directly above its ground-level doorway.⁷⁶⁰ The space is widely understood as a royal tribune. Due to the fact that the exterior masonry of the north porticus does not course at the angles of the transept, Fortunato de Selgas argued that Alfonso II requested his tribune shortly after the completion of the church and thus it was awkwardly positioned in the north wall of the transept.⁷⁶¹ De Selgas found support from Schlunk who similarly proposed that the tribune projected from the surface of the north transept wall onto seven wooden joists.⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁵ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 14.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 6-8; suggest that Fortunato de Selgas' construction of the southern porch was "without reason." This opinion was shared by M. A. Gómez-Moreno, who published a reconstruction of the plan in: *Mil joyas del Arte Español* 1, 71. See also De Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, 22; Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 278.

⁷⁵⁷ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 47.

⁷⁵⁸ Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 278.

⁷⁵⁹ Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 49. Although it is difficult to know when the window in the north transept wall was filled in, it is apparent that it was originally a window due to the corresponding exterior masonry that communicates its original purpose.

⁷⁶⁰ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 8, are certain that the northern porch served as a royal tribune.

⁷⁶¹ De Selgas, *La Basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, 20-21.

⁷⁶² Schlunk, "Las iglesias palatinas de la capital del reino asturiano," 4; idem, "El Arte Asturiano en torno al 800," 149-150.

More recently, Victor Nieto Alcaide sided with Schlunk's reconstruction of a projecting tribune along the north transept wall, adding that it offered an unrivaled view into the space of the high altar and presents the first Asturian example of an integrated royal gallery in a religious building.⁷⁶³ In line with his "integrated" reading of the building, Alcaide suggests that the heightened roof of the transept, which rises two meters above that of the nave, anticipated the inclusion of the northern gallery-level tribune and that it was not an afterthought as de Selgas believed.⁷⁶⁴ Though a lateral, transept tribune is uncommon in Asturias, let alone medieval Europe,⁷⁶⁵ de Selgas' theory has dominated the discourse for over one hundred years. In turn, some scholars envisioned it as originally connecting Alfonso II's church to an adjoining royal suburban residence via the now blocked portal set in the *porticus*' north wall (Fig. 30.44).⁷⁶⁶ Thus the king and his entourage could enter the church directly from the palace, ascend the wooden scaffolding and arrive in the north tribune where they would experience a unique vantage point of the liturgical ceremonies below. For Alcaide, the transept tribune allies Santullano to Charlemagne's palatine complex at Aachen. It is indeed very tempting to interpret the space in a way that supports an architectural relationship between the Asturian and Carolingian kingdoms.⁷⁶⁷

There are, however, several problems with this theory. De Selgas, Schlunk and Alcaide's reconstructions do not address the fact in order to grant a view of the central chapel from the

⁷⁶³ Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 86, 88-89.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.; Schlunk, "El Arte Asturiano en torno al 800," 149-150, similarly argued that the elevated height of the transept was uncommon throughout Europe and indicated the integrated location of the tribune in the north transept wall.

⁷⁶⁵ All Asturian examples with a western tribune - Santianes de Pravia, San Salvador de Priesca, San Salvador de Valdediós, Santa Cristina de Lena, and San Miguel de Lillo - forego the triumphant arch at the intersection of the nave and transept as at Santullano, making an elevated western tribune more suitable. Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 49-50, suggests that Santullano derives from Hispano-Visigothic influences. However, he also acknowledges that Santullano's atypical tribune location is not based on seventh century Iberian prototypes.

⁷⁶⁶ Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture*, 88-89.

⁷⁶⁷ Schlunk and Berenguer, *La pintura mural*, 6-8; Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 86, 88-89.

north transept wall, the wooden framework of the tribune would have had to extend very deep into the space of the transept and would have awkwardly blocked the area directly in front of the north chapel. Thus the joist holes were more likely intended for the scaffolding that was used to build and later paint the upper portions of the north transept wall. They were of little concern post-construction and were left *in situ* given the fact that they would soon be plastered and painted over. It is also important to consider the fact that the jambs of the upper and lower doorways do not align and suggest an ad hoc execution. Likewise, the retaining arch above the upper portal's lintel encroaches into the space of the original round-headed window above and disrupts the painted imitation pilasters that frame it.⁷⁶⁸ So too does the roof of the gable that rises above the former sill and into the space of the original window. Surely in a building so keen on integrating form and function the north *porticus* and elevated tribune would have been more carefully executed?

Given the lack of evidence presented by de Selgas during his reconstruction of the church and the fact that Santullano's continuous transept is contained within the width of the main building, it is likely that the projecting transept arms were altogether later additions that De Selgas interpreted as original. De Selgas' reconstruction of the southern arm, which was based on his interpretation of the northern one as the location of Alfonso II's royal tribune, seems to have been hasty. The physical evidence does not support the originality of a northern tribune and it is equally unlikely that the church possessed lateral projecting arms altogether. As mentioned, no indication survives to support a contiguous palace at Santullano. This theory seems to have emerged alongside that of the northern tribune because it allied Alfonso II's church with the plan of Charlemagne's royal chapel at Aachen. An attached palace along Santullano's northern flank

⁷⁶⁸ I owe this observation to Malcolm Thurlby.

would certainly support the theory that it was a medieval copy of Aachen. A northern tribune, however, does not. Though the Carolingian king's palatine chapel was contiguous to his palace, Charlemagne's tribune was positioned to the west and on axis with the high altar, not adjacent to it. With at least seven verifiable examples in Asturias, western tribunes are far more common than northern ones. Most troublesome is that de Selgas, Schlunk and Alcaide neglected the fact that Santullano's nave is asymmetrically longer towards the west (Fig. 30.45). There is little reason to interpret the extra wall space as an architectural error or afterthought. Instead, it suggests the inclusion of a western tribune. In fact, it is very puzzling that neither Schlunk nor Alcaide mentions the western wooden tribune that is clearly visible in de Selgas' pre-restoration photographs of Santullano (Fig. 30.46). Preferring the northern reconstruction, not even de Selgas himself draws attention to it. Precisely what roles the north transept and porticus came to play are unclear. Superimposed doorways do appear in the aisles at the church of San Pedro de Nora, yet here too there are no definitive answers for the odd arrangement. Perhaps both buildings experienced later modified that were based on specific liturgical developments? Alcaide's observation regarding the additional height afforded to Santullano's transept roof does, however, raise important questions regarding the intended function of the heightened space. Since the physical evidence does not support the originality of a transept tribune, I suggest that the increased height was in anticipation of the large, round-headed windows that illuminated the eastern chapels and paintings that surround them.

Despite being an undocumented building, San Julián de los Prados' physical evidence suggests that it was indeed completed in the years of Alfonso II. This particularly ambitious king possessed a specific political agenda that was fueled by a fundamental knowledge of contemporaneous religious disputes and architectural developments, not to mention a keen desire

to propel Asturias onto an international stage and support the bishopric in his new capital. These factors were specifically expressed through the aniconic decorative program, triumphal crossing arch, continuous transept and western tribune. The use of these iconographically-charged motifs reflected Alfonso II's intentions for his church and capital to serve as a physical affirmation of his sovereignty after a series of tribulations and revolts. All of which coincided with the final stages of the international Adoptionist controversy and Alfonso II's diplomatic ties to Charlemagne.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁹ Lacarra, "Las relaciones entre el reino de Asturias y el reino de Pamplona" 250. Equally important to mention is the dedication Julián and Basilissa were 4th-century martyred Egyptian Romans who were forced to wed yet mutually refused to consummate their marriage. It is very fitting for Alfonso II's palatine church to have been dedicated to two celibate saints, particularly given the fact that the Asturian king bore no male heirs and earned the title Alfonso "the Chaste" because of it.

CONCLUSIONS

Since Ambrosio de Morales' sixteenth-century visit to Oviedo, scholars have repeatedly identified the church of San Julián de los Prados as Alfonso II's fourth church dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa, as recorded in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. Moreover, many have paired its medieval remains with the description of the king's more general architectural programme in the *Chronicle of Albelda*. Not only did de Morales' attribution significantly impact Fortunato de Selgas' conservation of the building in the early-twentieth-century, but it also contributed to the identification and reconstruction of the undocumented churches of Santa María de Bendones and San Pedro de Nora, as well as the hypothetical reconstructions of the lost churches of San Salvador and the Twelve Apostles, Santa María in Oviedo, and San Tirso. Indeed, as perhaps the best-surviving extant building dated to the reign of Alfonso II, the church, colloquially referred to as Santullano, plays a vital role in our understanding of medieval Asturian architecture. Beyond its medieval implications, the building is also entrenched within a long and complicated historiography that is inextricably tied to concepts of Spanish national identity. Thus, any attempt to reconcile the church's modern-day understanding with its historical reality is met with centuries of fiercely biased discourse.

It has been the principal focus of this dissertation to investigate the date, patronage and style of the church of San Julián de los Prados within a broad medieval context. Rather unexpectedly, my research has led me to conclude that the church in question was indeed built by Alfonso II between 812 and 842, yet it is an altogether different building than the one dedicated to SS Julián and Basilissa in the chronicles. This small but significant distinction certainly goes against the general consensus. Nevertheless, I believe it is one that I have

supported through an assessment of anachronistic terminology, an in-depth study of the corpus of medieval Asturian architecture, a comparative analysis of Santullano's physical and literary evidence, and a contextual analysis of trans-regional artistic and architectural influences.

In chapter one I set out to unpack the 'Mozarab' label in an effort to demonstrate the various ways in which Jimenéz de Rada and Francisco Simonet's early understandings of Christians in al-Andalus have contributed to polarized concepts of medieval Asturian politics and architecture, as well as broader theories regarding the *Reconquista* and a Spanish "Grand Narrative". As a number of scholars have demonstrated, the term 'Mozarab' only further confuses our already clouded understanding of religious and cultural pluralities in the medieval Iberian Peninsula. The term is convoluted, culturally-charged and particularly anachronistic when applied to historical realities before the eleventh century. My case study of the church of Santa María de Melque conversely demonstrated that notions of Arabicized Christians having developed a hybrid style of art and architecture in the mid-eighth century should be critically considered in light of insufficient physical evidence. The limitations of the archaic vocabulary do not, however, preclude the Islamic Conquest of the Iberian Peninsula from having undoubtedly informed a number of decisions made by Asturian patrons, Alfonso II included, and when so-called 'Mozarabic' motifs appear they might be better understood as vestiges of a Visigothic past mediated through an indigenous Hispano-Roman workforce.

As laid out in the second chapter, one of the goals of this project was to offer the reader a broader context in which to consider the church of San Julián de los Prados, both within the Iberian Peninsula and beyond its medieval borders. Our current understanding of medieval Asturian architecture is very bleak. Only a small handful of buildings have survived, each in various states of disrepair, and we will likely never know for certain how many buildings were

lost. Nevertheless, these monuments have come to represent a presumably homogenous style that later went on to symbolize the small yet mighty Christian outpost that sparked the Reconquest of Spain. The detailed catalogue I have attempted to provide not only sheds light on the complex historiography surrounding each building, but also demonstrates how much emphasis is placed on neatly dating ecclesiastical monuments within a structured timeline that corresponds to the regnal list of monarchs. On occasion, this is done based on little more than scant literary evidence, be it a contradictory Asturian chronicle or a dubious twelfth-century charter. Santullano fits within this complex puzzle and though it certainly presents similarities to other buildings I hope it becomes clear that some scholars may have been premature when dating it relative to other medieval Asturian churches or chronicles alone.

Indeed, numerous inconsistencies between physical and literary evidence have fostered a prolonged debate that shows no signs of stopping. It has proven highly challenging to resolve the apparent issues and contradictions between the buildings and chronicles that describe them. This tension was brought to bear in the third chapter, where the description afforded to Alfonso II's architectural programme in Oviedo in the *Chronicle of Albelda* is shown to point away from a direct reference to the church of San Julián de los Prados. Rather, the details provided in the text seem to refer to Alfonso II's Pelagian-blood and the electoral process by which he gained the Asturian throne. If this interpretation is correct, it may ease the pressure placed on connecting the notion of a restored 'ceremony of the Goths' with the built environment in Asturias. More broadly, it may contribute to the understanding of matrilineal nodes in constructions of medieval authority. Surely, Alfonso II's reign is but one example in which the presiding female authority was responsible for the distribution of power.

Though Alfonso II's Visigothic bloodline was of great concern in propagating a sovereign and unchallenged rule after a usurpation and period of revolt, there is little physical evidence to support any large-scale carryover of Visigothic models in medieval Asturian architecture. This is perhaps best observed at the church of San Julián de los Prados, where Alfonso II incorporated an eclectic variety of highly-iconographic motifs and decorations from within and beyond the Iberian Peninsula. As discussed in chapter four, Alfonso II's reign coincided with the final stages of the Adoptionist controversy, which served as a springboard to establish diplomatic ties with Rome and highly influential members of the Carolingian court. There can be little doubt that the decisions being made by Charlemagne, Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans, among others, informed Alfonso II's choices when constructing the churches in his new capital. The unique appearances of a triumphal crossing arch, continuous transept and aniconic decorative programme, all within a single building, are far from coincidental. They effectively signal what Krautheimer has long referred to as a medieval copy.

The Iberian Peninsula certainly did not exist in a vacuum and the architecture built in the medieval kingdom of Asturias exemplifies this. To quote John Cavadini, "one must look at Spain not as an isolated, hermetically sealed cultural environment, but rather as political unity with a king of cultural poise or sovereignty, preserving traditions from the past, open to influences from the contemporary world, but also able to resist them as it chose with relative impunity."⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁷⁰ Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 3.

Bibliography

- Abate, Mark T. "Convivencia: Conquest and Coexistence in Medieval Spain." In *Handbook of Medieval Culture* Vol. 2. edited by Albrecht Classen, 232-277. Berlin: 2015.
- Abel, Mickey. "Within, Around, Between: Micro Pilgrimage and the Archivolted Portal." *Hispanic Research Journal* 10 (2009): 385-416.
- Adán Álvarez, Gema, Leonardo Martínez Faedo and Fructuoso Díaz García, "San Pedro de Nora. Evolución constructiva y restauraciones." In *La intervención en la arquitectura prerrománica asturiana*, ed. Jorge Hevia Blanco (Oviedo, 1997), 161-182.
- Agbara, Felix Ikeagwuchi. *The Possibility of Convivencia in Nigeria*. Münster: 2011.
- Alonso Álvarez, Raquel. "El gótico en Asturias." In *La intervención restauradora en la arquitectura asturiana, romanico, gotico, renacimiento y barroco*, edited by Jorge Hevia Blanco, 29-42. Oviedo, 1999.
- Alonso Mattheías, Fernán, Eduardo Rodríguez Trobajo and Antonio Rubinos Pérez, "Datación de madera constructiva en San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora) y su interdatación con San Juan de Baños (Palencia)." In *La iglesia de San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora)*, edited by Luis Caballero Zoreda, 209-237. Zamora: 2004.
- Altschul, Nadia R. "The Future of Postcolonial Approaches to Medieval Iberian Studies." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1 (2009): 5-17.
- Álvarez Martínez, Ma Soledad. "Valdediós y el arte de su tiempo." In *La época de Alfonso III y San Salvador de Valdediós: Congreso de Historia Medieval Oviedo (27 setiembre – 2 octubre) 1993*, edited by Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, 97-112. Oviedo: 1994.
- . "Consideraciones en torno el templo prerrománico de San Salvador de Valdediós." *LIÑO Revista Anual de Historia del Arte* 12 (2006): 9-30.
- Amador de los Ríos, José. "Monumentos latino-bizantinos de la monarquía asturo-leonesa: Iglesia de San Miguel de Linio y palacio de Ramio I., actualmente destinado á iglesia parroquial, bajo el nombre de Santa María de Naranco (Asturias, concejo de Oviedo, 1977). In *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España*, edited by José Gil Dorregaray. Madrid: 1877.
- Annales Regni Francorum*. Edited by G. H. Pertz. Hanover: 1895.
- Arbeiter, Achim. "Early Hispanic Churches: When did the Number of Altars Begin to Increase?" In

- Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, edited by Therese Martin and Julie Harris, 11-46. Leiden: 2005.
- Arbeiter, Achim and Sabine Noack-Haley, "The Kingdom of Asturias." In *The Art of Medieval Spain: AD 500-1200*, edited by John P. Oneil, 113-119. New York: 1993.
- Arce, Javier. *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania (400-507 A.D.)*. Madrid: 2005.
- Arenas, Jose Fernandez. *La arquitectura mozarábe*. Barcelona: 1972.
- Arias Páramo, Lorenzo. *Prerrománico Asturiano: el arte de la monarquía Asturiana*. Gijón: 1993.
- . "Una visión gráfica del prerrománico Asturiano: pasado, presente, y futuro." In *La intervencion en la arquitectura prerromanica asturiana*, edited by Jorge Hevia Blanco, 71-84. Oviedo: 1997.
- . "Composición y proporciones en la arquitectura y la pintura mural prerrománica asturiana." In *La intervencion en la arquitectura prerromanica asturiana*, edited by Jorge Hevia Blanco, 85-96. Oviedo: 1997.
- . "Reconstrucción de la iglesia de San Miguel de Lillo." *LIÑO Revista anual de historia del arte* 11 (2005): 9-48.
- . *Enciclopedia del prerrománico en Asturias*, 2 vols. Aguilar de Campoo: 2007.
- . *Geometría y proporción en la arquitectura prerrománica Asturiana* (CSIC, Madrid, 2008).
- Arias Páramo, Lorenzo and Sabine Noack Haley, "Santa Cristina de Lena, reconstrucción de los accesos de la tribuna." *Revista de Arqueología* 142 (1993): 40-45.
- De Aviles, Tirso. *Armas y linajes de Asturias y antigüedades del principado*. Oviedo: 1862. Reprinted by Aquilino Suárez Bárcena. Oviedo: 1956.
- Baer, Eva. *Ayyubid Metalwork with Christian images*. New York: 1989.
- . "The Human Figure in Early Islamic Art: Some Preliminary Remarks." *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 32-41.
- Bandmann, Gunter. *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*. New York: 2005.
- . *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*. Berlin: 1951.
- Bango Torviso, Isidro. "El arte Asturiano y el imperio Carolingio." In *Asturias, Villaviciosa 1984/II. Jornadas sobre arte prerrománico y románico en el norte de España*, 31-88. Villaviciosa: 1988.
- . "El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval Española." *Anuario del departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 4 (1992): 93-132.

- Banzes y Valdés, A. J. "Noticias históricas del Concejo de Pravia." *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 58 (1911): 237-284.
- Barbero, Abilio and M. Vigil. *La formación del feudalismo en la península ibérica*. Barcelona: 1978.
- Barral i Altet, Xavier. "La representació del palacio en la pintura mural asturiana de la Alta Edad Media." In *España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico: Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte* Vol. 1, 293-301. Granada: 1973.
- . "Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Art." In *Art and Architecture of Spain*, edited by Xavier Barral i Altet. Boston: 1998.
- Barrau-Dihigo, Lucien. "Étude sur les actes des rois Asturiens (718-910)." *Revue hispanique* 46 (1919): 1-191.
- . "Recherches sur l'histoire politique du royaume asturien (718-910)." *Revue Hispanique* 52 (1921): 1-360.
- Translated by Javier Fernández Conde. *Historia política del reino asturiano (718-910)*. Gijón: 1989.
- Barrucand, Marianne, ed. *L'Egypte fatimide: son art et son histoire*. Paris: 1999.
- Barton, Simon and Richard Fletcher. *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*. Manchester: 2000.
- Bautista Lázaro, Juan. *Ermita de Santa Cristina en Lena (Oviedo), reseña de las obras hechas para su restauración*. Madrid: 1894.
- Beale-Rivaya, Yasmine. "At the Crossroads of Languages: The Linguistic Choices along Border Communities of the Reconquista in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, edited by Albrecht Classen, 127-143. Berlin: 2016.
- Beckwith, John. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*. Yale: 1979.
- Berenguer Alonso, Magín. *Catálogo de la Exposición del Estudio Gráfico de la Pintura Mural Asturiana, siglos IX y X (con una introducción de Helmut Schlunk)*. Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Excma. Diputación Provincial de Oviedo. Madrid: 1953.
- . "Breves notas sobre San Salvador de Valediós." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 10 (1956): 35-49.
- . "Las pinturas murales de las iglesias asturianas prerrománicas." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 18 (1964): 107-145.
- . "Puntualizaciones sobre los edificios ramirenses del Naranco (Oviedo)." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*

- 8 (1972-1973): 395-403.
- . “El Templo de Santa Cristina de Lena (Asturias): Sus posibilidades como construcción visigoda.” *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 38 (1984): 733-53.
- . *Arte en Asturias* vol. 2. Oviedo: 1991.
- Bertelli, C. “La pittura a S. Salvatore nel contest carolingio,” in *S. Giulia di Brescia* ed. G. Panazza (Brescia, 1992).
- Besga Marroquín, Armando. *Orígenes Hispano-Godos del reino de Asturias* (Oviedo, 2000).
- Bierman, Irena A, ed. *The experience of Islamic art on the margins of Islam*. Reading, UK: 2005.
- De Blas Cortina, Miguel Ángel. “Megaliths and Holy Places in the Genesis of the Kingdom of Asturias (north of Spain, AD 718-910).” In *The Lives of Prehistoric Monuments in Iron Age, Roman, and Medieval Europe*, edited by Marta Díaz-Guardamino, Leonardo García Sanjuán and David Wheatly, 205-224. Oxford: 2015.
- Blazquez, A. “A propósito de la Crónica de Alfonso III.” *La Ciudad de Dios* 145 (1926): 362-386.
- Bloom, Jonathan, ed. *Early Islamic art and architecture*. Aldershot: 2000.
- . “On the Transmission of designs in Early Islamic Architecture.” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 21-28
- . “The Origins of Fatimid Art.” *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 20-38.
- Böker, Hans J. “The Bishop’s Chapel of Hereford Cathedral and the Question of Architectural Copies in the Middle Ages.” *Gesta* 37.1 (1998): 44-54.
- Bonnaz, Yves. *Chroniques asturiennes (fin IXe siècle)*. Paris: 1987.
- Borge Cordovilla, Francisco José. “El primitivo San Salvador de Oviedo: ensayo de hipótesis para su reconstrucción.” *Caesaraugusta* 78 (2007): 711-728.
- Bossong, Georg. “Der Name *Al-Andalus*: Neue Überlegungen Zu Einem Alten Problem.” In *Sounds and Systems: Studies in Structuer and Change. A Festschrift for Theo Vennemann*, edited by David Restle and Dieter Zaeffere, 149-164. Berlin: 2002.
- Brozzi, M. and A. Tafliaferro. *Arte Longobarda: la scultura figurative su marmore su meallo*. Cividale: 1961.
- Brubaker, Leslie and John Haldon. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, C. 680-850: A History*. Cambridge: 2011.
- Buchta, Hugo. *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: with Liturgical and Paleographical Chapters by Francis Wormald*. Oxford: 1957.
- Burguete, General. *Rectificaciones históricos*. Madrid: 1915.
- Bury, John Bagnell. “The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos.” *The English Historical Review*

86 (1907): 209-227, and 87 (1907): 417-439.

Bushart, Linda Kay. *The Altar of Duke Ratchis at Cividale: Cultural and Artistic Interpretations*. San Francisco: 1977.

Cabal, C. *Alfonso II El Casto*. Oviedo: 1943.

Caballero Zoreda, Luis, “¿Visigodo o asturiano? Nuevos hallazgos en Mérida y otros datos para un nuevo ‘marco de referencia’ de la arquitectura y la escultura altomedieval en el N. y O. de la Península Ibérica.” In *Seminario Internazionale di Studi su: ‘Aspetti e problem di archeologia e storia dell’arte della Lusitania, Galizia e Asturie tra Tardoantico e Medioevo’*, 39 *Corso de Cultura sull’Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 139-190. Ravenna: 1992.

———. “Un canal de transmission de lo clásico en la Alta Edad Media Española. Arquitectura y Escultura de influjo omeya en la Península Ibérica entre mediados del siglo VIII e inicios del siglo X.” *Al-Qantara* 15 (1994): 321-48, and 16 (1995): 107-24.

———. “Observations on Historiography and Change from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries in the North and West of the Iberian Peninsula.” In *The Archaeology of Iberia: The Dynamics of Change*, edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Simon Keay, 235-264. New York: 1997.

Caballero Zoreda, Luis and Eduardo Rodríguez Trobajo. *Las iglesias Asturianas de Pravia y Tuñón. Arqueología de la arquitectura*. Madrid: 2010.

Caballero Zoreda, Luis and José Ignacio Latorre Macarrón. *La iglesia y el monasterio visigodo de Santa María de Melque (Toledo): Arqueología y arquitectura. San Pedro de la Mata (Toledo) y Santa Comba de Bande (Orense)*. Madrid: 1980.

Caballero Zoreda, Luis and Margarita Fernández Mier. “Notas sobre el complejo productivo de Melque (Toledo). Prospección del territorio y análisis de Carbono 14, polínicos, carpológicos y antracológicos y de morteros.” *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 72 (1999): 199-239.

Caballero Zoreda, Luis and S. Feijoo, “La iglesia altomedieval de San Juan Bautista en Baños de Cerrato (Palencia).” *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 71 (1998): 181-242.

Cadenas, F. Redondo. *San Tirso el Real de Oviedo*. Oviedo: 1984.

Cámon Aznar, J. “Arquitectura Española del s. X. Mozárabe y de la repoblación.” *Goya* 52 (1963): 163-219.

Camps, Daniel Rico. “Inscripciones monumentales del siglo VIII (de Cangas a Pravia).” *Territorio, Sociedad y*

- Poder* 9 (2014): 69-98.
- Camps Cazorla, Emilio. "Revisión de algunos problemas ramirenses." *Boletín del Instituto del Estudios Asturianos* 2, no. 5 (1948): 95-126.
- Canella, Fermín. *El libro de Oviedo*. Oviedo: 1888.
- Cantarino, Vicente. *Entre monjes y musulmanes. El conflicto que fue España*. Madrid: 1978.
- De Carvalho, Luis Alfonso. *Antigüedades y cosas memorables del principado de Asturias*. Madrid: 1695. Facsimile edition, Gijón: 1984.
- Casariello, J. E. *Historias asturianas de hace más de mil años*. Oviedo: 1983.
- Castellanos, S. and I. Martín Viso. "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)." *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005): 1-42.
- De Castro Valdés, García. *Arqueología Cristiana de la alta edad media en Asturias*. Oviedo: 1995.
- Castro, Américo. *España en su historia: cristianos, muros y judíos*. Buenos Aires: 1948.
- Cavadini, John. *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul 785-820*. Philadelphia: 1993.
- Caveda y Nava, José. *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de arquitectura empleados en España desde la dominación romana hasta nuestros días*. Madrid: 1848. Reprinted, 2005.
- Cecchelli, C. *I Monumenti del Friuli dal secolo IV all'XI*. Milan: 1943.
- Chalmeta, Pedro. "Mozarab." In *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. VII, edited by C. E. Bosworth et al., 246-249. Leiden: 1993.
- Chandler, Cullen. "Heresy and Empire: The Role of the Adoptionist Controversy in Charlemagne's Conquest of the Spanish March." *International History Review* 24 (2002): 505-527.
- Chavarría Arnau, Alexandra. "Churches and aristocracies in seventh-century Spain: Some thoughts on the debate of Visigothic churches." *Early Medieval Europe* 18 (2010): 160-174.
- Christys, Ann. *Christians in Al-Andalus: 711-1000*. Richmond: 2002.
- Chronicon Moissacensis*. Edited by Georg Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS. I.*, 280-313. Hanover: 1826.
- Collins, Roger. "Doubts and Certainties on the Churches of Early Medieval Spain." In *God and Man in Medieval Spain. Essays in Honour of J. R. L. Highfield*, edited by Derek W. Lomax and David Mackenzie, 1-18. Warminster: 1989.
- . *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000*. London: 1995.

- . *Caliphs and Kings: Spain, 796-1031*. Malden: 2012.
- Conant, Kenneth J. *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture: 800-1200*, 2nd Ed. Harmondsworth: 1966.
- Concilia Aevi Karolini I. Monumenta Germaniae Historica II*. Edited by Albertus Werminghoff. Hannover, 1906.
- De Contreras y López de Ayala, Juan. *Historia del Arte Hispánico*, vol. I. Barcelona: 1931.
- Cook, Walter W. S. "Romanesque Mural Painting (II) San Baudelio de Berlanga." *The Art Bulletin* 12 (1930): 21-42.
- Coope, Jessica A. *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*. Lincoln: 1995.
- Correa, A. Bonnet. *Arte prerrománico asturiano*. Barcelona: 1967.
- . *Spanish pre-Romanesque art: the Arts and Architecture of the Churches of Asturias*. Barcelona: 1967.
- Crossley, Paul. "Medieval Architecture and its Meaning: the Limits of Iconography." *The Burlington Magazine* 130 (1998): 116-121.
- Crozet, René. "L'église de Saint-Généroux et ses parentés avec l'architecture asturienne des IX^e et X^e siècles." In *Simposio sobre cultura asturiana de la alta edad media (1961)*, 21-25. Oviedo: 1967.
- Cuenca Busto, Cosme. "El Anteproyecto de tratamiento del entorno de los monumentos del Naranco." In *La intervencion en la arquitectura prerromanica asturiana*, edited by Jorge Hevia Blanco, 311-319. Oviedo: 1997.
- . "El palacio del Naranco. Intervenciones." In *La intervención en la arquitectura prerromanica asturiana*, edited by Jorge Hevia Blanco, 215-240. Oviedo: 1997.
- Cutler, Anthony. "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 247-278.
- . *Image Making in Byzantium, Sasanian Persia and the Early Muslim World: Images and Cultures*. Surrey: 2009.
- Dacosta Martínez, Arsenio F. "Notas sobre las crónicas Ovetenses del siglo IX. Pelayo y el sistema sucesorio en la caudillaje asturiano." *Studia historica. Historia medieval* 10 (1992): 9-46.
- David, Pierre. *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal: du VI^e au XII^e siècle*. Lisbon: 1947.
- Davis, Kathleen and Nadia Altschul, eds. *Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World: the Idea of "the Middle Ages" Outside Europe*. Baltimore: 2009.

- Davis, Ralph Henry Carless. *A History of Medieval Europe: From Constantine to St. Louis*. Longman: 1977.
- Defourneaux, Marcelin. "Carlomagno y el reino Asturiano." In *Estudios sobre la monarquía Asturiana*, 89-114. Oviedo: 1971.
- Deichmann, F. W. "Die Entstehungszeit von Salvatorkirche und Clitumnustempel bei Spoleto." *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung* 58 (1943): 106-148.
- DeWald, Ernest T. "The Appearance of the Horseshoe Arch in Western Europe." *American Journal of Archaeology* 26 (1922): 316-337.
- Díaz y Díaz, Manuel C. "La Historiografía en España después de la invasión árabe hasta el siglo X." In *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo: Storiografia altomedievale* vol. 17, 313-343. Spoleto: 1970.
- . "La transmisión de los textos antiguos en la península ibérica en los siglos VII-XI." In *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo: La Cultura antica nell'occidente latino dal VII all' XI secolo* vol. 22, 133-178. Spoleto: 1975.
- . *Códices visigóticos en monarquía leonesa*. (Léon, 1983)
- . *Asturias en el siglo VIII: la cultura literaria* (Oviedo, 2001).
- De Diego Santos, Francisco. *Inscripciones medievales de Asturias*. Oviedo: 1994.
- Dieulafoy, Marcel. "Les monuments latino-byzantins des Asturies." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 51 (1907): 663-667.
- . *Histoire de l'art en Espagne et Portugal. Ars Una, Species Mille*. Paris: 1912.
- . "Les monuments asturiens protoromans du style oriental." *Florilegium Melchor de Vögue* 3 (1909): 187-196.
- Dodds, Jerrilynn D. "Review: L'Art préroman hispanique, Vol. II: L'Art mozarabe by Jacques Fontaine." *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 311-312.
- . *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*. University Park: 1990.
- . "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art." In *The Art of Medieval Spain: AD 500-1200*, edited by John P. O'Neil, 27-40. New York: 1993.
- Dodds, Jerrilynn and Anne DeForest. "San Julián de los Prados: Arte, diplomacia y herejía." *Goya* 191 (1986): 258-63.
- Dodds, Jerrilynn, María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale. *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and*

- Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. New Haven: 2008.
- Doig, Allan. *Liturgy and Architecture: From the Early Church to the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Ashgate, 2008.
- Dozy, Reinhart. *Recherches sur l'histoire de l'Espagne*, 3rd ed. Brill: 1881.
- . *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les almoravides: 711-1110*. Leiden: 1861. Translated by Francis Griffin Stokes. *Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain*. London: 1913.
- Ecker, Heather. "The Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 113-141.
- Einhard. *Vita Karoli Magni*. Translated by Heathcote William Garrod and R. B. Mowat. *Einhard's Life of Charlemagne: The Latin Text*. Oxford: 1915.
- Escalona, Julio. "Family Memories: Inventing Alfonso I of Asturias." In *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimation in Medieval Society*, edited by Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy and Julio Escalona, 223-262. Leiden: 2004.
- Ettinghausen, Richard, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins, eds. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250*. 2nd ed. New Haven: 2001.
- Felix of Toledo. *Sancti Iuliani toletani episcopi vita seu elogium*. PL 96.452.
- Fernández-Armestro, Felipe. "The Survival of a Notion of Reconquista in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century León." In *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, edited by Timothy Reuter, 123-143. London: 1992.
- Fernández Buelta, José. "Ruinas del Oviedo primitivo." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 2 (1948): 73-102. Reprinted in *Ruinas del Oviedo primitivo: Hitoria y secuencias de unas excavaciones*, 13-36. Oviedo: 1948.
- Fernández Buelta, José and Victor Hevia Grande. "La Cámara Santa de Oviedo, su primitva construcción, su destrucción, y reconstrucción." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 3 (1949): 51-119.
- Fernández-Conde, Francisco Javier. *El libro de los Testamentos de la cathedral de Oviedo*. Rome: 1971.
- . *La iglesia de Asturias en la alta edad media*. Oviedo: 1972.
- . "Lugares de culto en Asturias durante la época de la transición." *Asturiensia Medievalia* 7 (1993-1994): 31-55.

- . “La fundación de San Salvador de Valdedios. Fuentes epigráficas.” In *La época de Alfonso III y San Salvador de Valdediós: Congreso de Historia*, edited by Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, 213-248. Oviedo: 1993.
- Fernández-Conde, Francisco Javier and M. C. Santos del Valle. “La corte asturiana de Pravia. Influencias visigodas en los testimonios arqueológicos.” *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 41 (1987): 315-44.
- Fernández Menéndez, José. “Apuntes para la Historia del Arte: La basílica de San Salvador de Valdediós y su primitivo convent.” *Boletín de la sociedad española de excursiones* 27 (1919): 77-89.
- Fernie, Eric. *Architecture in Norman England*. Oxford: 2000.
- Fernie, Eric. *Romanesque Architecture: The First Style of the European Age*. New Haven: 2014.
- Fita, Fidel. “Sebastián, Obispo Arcávica y de Orense. Su Crónica y la del Rey Alonso III.” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 41 (1902): 324-344.
- Flood, Finbarr Barry. *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*. Leiden: 2001.
- Floriano Cumbreño, A. C. *Diplomática española del período astur (718-910)*, 2 vols. Oviedo: 1951.
- . “En torno a las bulas del Papa Juan VIII en la cathedral de Oviedo.” *Archivum* XII (1962): 120-24.
- Floriano Llorente, Pedro. “El testamento de Alfonso II el Casto (estudio paleográfico y diplomático).” *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 29 (1975): 593-617.
- Folda, Jaroslav. *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099-1291*. Aldershot: 2009.
- Fontaine, Jacques. *L'art préroman hispanique*. La pierre qui Virre: 1971.
- . *L'art mozarabe: L'art préroman hispanique* 2nd ed. La pierre qui Virre: 1995.
- Freeman, Ann. “Theodulf of Orléans and the Libri Carolini.” *Speculum* 32 (1957): 663-705.
- Frinta, Mojimir S. “The Frescoes from San Baudelio De Berlanga.” *Gesta* 1 (1964): 9-13.
- Gaillard, Georges. “La pénétration clunisienne en Éspagne pendant la premiere moitié du XI siècle.” In *Études d'art Roman*. Paris: 1972.
- Garen, Sally. “Santa María de Melque and Church Rule Under Muslim Rule.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (1992): 288-305.
- García de Castro Valdés, César. *Arqueología cristiana de la Alta Edad Media en Asturias*. Oviedo: 1995.
- . “San Miguel de Lillo, Campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas 1991. Estratigrafía y estructuras.” *Boletín*

- del Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos*, 49, no. 145 (1995): 111-158.
- . “El altar procedente de Santa María de Naranco.” *Nuestra Museo, Boletín anual del Museo Arqueológico de Asturias* 1 (1997): 49-58.
- . “Las primeras fundaciones.” In *La Catedral de Oviedo I: Historia y restauración*, edited by Francisco de Caso Cosme Cuenca et al., 21-73. Oviedo: 1999.
- . “Notas sobre teología política en el Reino de Asturias: la inscripción del altar de Santa María de Naranco (Oviedo) y el testamento de Alfonso II.” *Arqueología y territorio medieval* 10 (2003): 137-170.
- . *Arte prerrománico en Asturias*. Oviedo: 2008.
- . *Signum Salutis: cruces de orfebrería de los siglos V al XII*. Oviedo: 2008.
- García Cuetos, M. a Pilar. “La restauracion del Patrimonio Asturiano en la primera mitad del siglo XX.” In *La intervencion en la arquitectura prerromanica asturiana*, edited by Jorge Hevia Blanco 97-118. Oviedo: 1997.
- García García, Manuel. “Palacio del Naranco, 1885-1985.” *Acciones para hacer eficaz una protección monumental que ya cumplió 100 años* 3 (1986): 33-44.
- García García, Manuel and J. Manuel Caicoya Rodriguez. *Proyecto de restauración de San Salvador de Priesca*. Gijón: 1984.
- García Moreno, Luis A. “Spanish Gothic Consciousness Among the Mozarabs in Al-Andalus (VIII-Xth Centuries).” In *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society*, edited by Alberto Ferreira, 303-323. Leiden: 1998.
- García Villada, Z. *Crónica de Alfonso III*. Madrid: 1918.
- Gem, Richard. “Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983): 1-18.
- . “The Bishop’s Chapel at Hereford: The Roles of the Patron and Craftsmen.” In *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, edited by S. Macready and F. H. Thompson, 87-96. London: 1986.
- . “The English Parish Church in the 11th and early 12th Centuries: A Great Rebuilding.” In *Minsters and Parish Churches*, edited by John Blair, 21-30. Oxford: 1988.
- Gil Fernández, Juan, José L. Moralejo, and Juan I. Ruiz de la Peña. *Crónicas Asturianas*. Oviedo: 1985.
- Gillmor, Carroll. “The 791 Equine Epidemic and its Impact on Charlemagne’s Army.” *The Journal of Medieval Military History* 3 (2005): 23-45.

- Glick, Thomas F. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. New Jersey: 1979.
- . “Convivencia: An Introductory Note.” In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, edited by Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 1-9. New York: 1992.
- Glick, Thomas F. and Oriol Pi-Sunyer. “Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11 (1969): 136-154.
- Godoy Fernández, Cristina. *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (Siglos IV al VIII)*. Barcelona: 1995.
- Gómez-Moreno, Manuel. “Excursión a través del arco de herradura,” *Cultura española* 3 (1906): 785-811.
- . “De arqueología mozárabe,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 21 (1913): 89-116.
- . *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX al XI*. Madrid: 1919.
- . *Introducción a la Historia silense: con version Castellana de la misma y de la crónica de Sampiro*. Madrid: 1921.
- . “Las primeras crónicas de la Reconquista: el ciclo de Alfonso III.” *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia* 100 (1932): 532-627.
- . “La destrucción de la Cámara Santa de Oviedo.” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 105 (1934): 605-610.
- . “Prémices de l’art chrétien en Espagnol.” *Information d’histoire de l’art* 5 (1964): 185-212.
- Gómez-Moreno, M. A. *Mil Joyas del Arte Español. Piezas selectas – monumentos magistrales: antigüedad y edad media*, vol. 1. Barcelona: 1947.
- González García, V. J. *La iglesia de San Miguel de Lillo*. Oviedo: 1974.
- Grabar, André. *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l’Art chrétien antique* vol. 1. Paris: 1946.
- . “Les mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés.” *Cahiers archéologiques* 7 (1954): 171-183.
- Grabar, Oleg. *The Alhambra*. Cambridge: 1978.
- . *Early Islamic art, 650-1100*. Burlington: 2005.
- . *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100-1800*. Burlington: 2006.
- . “Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the “Luxury Arts” in the West.” In *Il Medio oriente e l’Occidente nell’arte del XIII secolo*, edited by Hans Belting, 27-34. Bologna: 1982.
- . “What Should One Know about Islamic Art?” *Res* 43 (2003): 5-59.
- Guardia Pons, Milagros. *Las pinturas bajas de la ermita de San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria)*. Soria: 1984.

- Harris, Julie A. "Redating the Arca Santa of Oviedo." *The Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 82-93.
- Harris, William V., ed. *Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Oxford: 2005.
- Haskins, Charles Homer. "Two Twelfth Century Frescoes from the Hermitage Church of San Baudelio de Berlanga." *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 26 (1928): 6-11.
- Haupt, Albrecht. "Mesopotamische und Spanische Kirchen." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 3 (1910): 267-274.
- . "Westgotische Baukunst in Spanien." *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte der Architektur* IV (1911): 219-238.
- . "Die Spanisch-Westgotische Halle zu Naranco und die Nordischen Königshallen." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1916): 242-63.
- Hawari, Mahmoud. *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187-1250): An Architectural and Archaeological Study*. Oxford: 2007.
- Heitz, Carol. *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne*. Paris: 1980.
- Hevia Blanco, Jorge. "Pasado, presente y futuro de la restauración del Prerrománico Asturiano." In *La intervención en la arquitectura prerrománica asturiana*, edited by Jorge Hevia Blanco, 19-58. Oviedo: 1997.
- Hitchcock, Richard. "Christian-Muslim Understanding(s) in Medieval Spain." *Hispanic Research Journal* 9 (2008): 314-325.
- . *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences*. New York: 2008.
- Hillenbrand, Robert. *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*. Edinburgh: 1994.
- Hillgarth, Jocelyn N. *The Visigoths in History and Legend*. Toronto: 2009.
- Holland, Leicester B. "The Origin of the Horseshoe Arch in Northern Spain." *American Journal of Archaeology* 22 (1918): 378-398.
- Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*. Princeton: 2007.
- Immamudin, S. M. *Muslim Spain: 711-1492*. Leiden: 1981.
- Isidore of Seville. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. Edited and translated by Stephen A. Barney, et. al. Cambridge: 2006.
- . *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*. Translated by Thomas Louis Knoebel. New York: 2008.
- Isla Frez, Amancio. "Consideraciones sobre la monarquía astur." *Hispania* 55 (1995): 151-168.
- . "Monarchy and Neogothicism in the Astur Kingdom, 711-910." *Francia* 26/1 (1999): 41-56.
- . "Building Kingship on Words. *Magni reges* and *sanctus rex* in the Asturleonse Kingdom," *Journal of*

- Medieval History* 28 (2002): 247-261.
- . “El rey Fávila, la reina Froiliuba y la fundación de la iglesia de Santa Crus de Cangas (A.D. 737),” *Studia Historica Historia Medieval* 33 (2015): 155-171.
- Jäggi, Carola. *San Salvatore in Spoleto: Studien zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Architektur Italiens*. Wiesbaden: 1998.
- Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia De Rebus Hispaniae Sive Historia Gothica*. 1243. Edited and translated by Fernández Valderde. *Historia de los hechos de España*. Madrid: 1989.
- Jones, William R. “Art and Christian Piety: Iconoclasm in Medieval Europe.” In *The Image and the Word: Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, edited by Joseph Gutmann, 75-105. Montana: 1977.
- Julian of Toledo. *Elogium Sancti Ildefonsi*. PL 96.43-44.
- Kabir, Ananya Jahanara and Deanne Williams, eds. *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*. Cambridge: 2005.
- Kaplan, Gregory B. “The Mozarabic Horseshoe Arches in the Church of San Román de Moroso (Cantabria, Spain).” *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3 (2012): 1-16.
- Khoury, Nuha N. N. “The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century.” *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 80-98.
- King, Georgiana Goddard. “A Note on the So-Called Horse-Shoe Architecture of Spain.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 20 (1916): 407-416.
- Kleinbauer, W. E. “Charlemagne’s Palace Chapel at Aachen and its Copies.” *Gesta* IV (1965): 2-11.
- Kogman-Appel, Katrin. “Christianity, Idolatry, and the Question of Jewish Figural Painting in the Middle Ages.” *Speculum* 84 (2009): 73-107.
- . *Jewish Book Art between Islam and Christianity: the Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain*. Leiden: 2004.
- Krautheimer, Richard “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture’.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1-33.
- . “The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture.” *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 1-38.
- . *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. New Haven: 1986.
- Lacarra, José Maria. “Las relaciones entre el reino de Asturias y el reino de Pamplona.” In *Estudios sobre la*

- monarquía Asturiana*, 223-243. Oviedo: 1949.
- Lafuente Ferrari, Enrique. *Breve historia de la Pintura Española*, 4th ed. Madrid: 1953.
- Laiou, Angeliki E. and Roy P. Mottahedeh, eds. *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*. Washington, D.C.: 2001.
- Lambert, A. "Astère." In *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, 1164-1165. Paris: 1930.
- Lampérez y Romea, Vicente. "Nuevas investigaciones en la iglesia de San Miguel de Linio (Oviedo)." *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones XXV* (Madrid, 1917): 25-31.
- Lampérez y Romea, Vincente. *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana española en la Edad Media*, vol. 1. Madrid: 1930.
- Leroy, Beatrice. *L'Espagne au Moyen Âge*. Paris: 1988.
- Lévi-Provençal, Évariste. *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vol. Paris: 1953.
- Levy, Ruben. *The Social Structure of Islam*. Cambridge: 1957.
- Liber Testamentorum*. Cathedral Archive, Oviedo MS I.
- Linehan, Peter. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: 1993.
- De Llano Roza de Ampudia, Aurelio. *Bellezas de Asturias*. Oviedo: 1928.
- Llinares García, Mar. *Los lenguajes del silencio: Arqueologías de la religión*. Madrid: 2012.
- Lomax, Derek W. *The Reconquest of Spain*. London: 1978.
- L'Orange, Hans Peter and Hjalmar Torp. *Il tempietto longobardo di Cividale*. Rome: 1977.
- Lowney, Chris. *A Vanished World: Medieval Spain's Golden Age of Enlightenment*. New York: 2005.
- . *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain*. Oxford: 2005.
- Lvovski, Ronald. "Anglo-Saxon or Norman? The Church of St. John the Evangelist, Milborne Port (Somerset)," *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 160 (2017), 57-82.
- Mackie, Gillian. "Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A new Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés." *RACAR* 32 (2007): 45-58.
- Makki, M. "The political history of Al-Andalus." In *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, edited by S. K. Jayyusi, 3-87. Leiden: 1992.
- Mann, Janice. *Romanesque Architecture and its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain, 1000-1120*. Toronto: 2009.

- Mann, Vivian B., Thomas F. Glick and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, eds. *Convivencia: Jews Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York: 1992.
- Mansilla, D. "La supuesta metropolis de Oviedo." *Hispania Sacra* VIII (1995): 259-274.
- Manzanares Rodríguez, Joaquín. "Santa María de Bendones, an Unknown Pre-Romanesque Church." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (1957): 2-7.
- . *Santa María de Bendones, identificación y estudio de sus ruinas*. Oviedo: 1957.
- . *Arte prerrománico asturiano, Sintesis de su arquitectura*. Oviedo: 1964.
- . *Las joyas de la Cámara Santa: Valores permanentes de Oviedo*. Oviedo: 1972.
- Maravall, J. A. *El concepto de España en la edad media*. Madrid: 1954.
- María Blázquez, José. *Imagen y mito: estudios sobre religions meiterráneas e ibéricas*. Madrid: 1997.
- Marín Valdés, A. Fernando. "Santa María de Naranco, bestiario y paraíso." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 134 (1990): 413-426.
- Marqués Rodríguez, Carlos Ignacio. "Restauración y Conservación de la Iglesia Prerrománica de Santo Adriano de Tuñón." *LIÑO Revista anual de historia del arte* 15 (2009): 233-241.
- Martin, Therese. "Chronicling the Iberian Palace: Written Sources and the Meanings of Medieval Christian Rulers' Residences." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 2 (2010): 109-139.
- Martin, Georges. *Histoires de l'Espagne médiévale: Historiographie, geste, romancero*. Paris: 1997.
- . "La chute du royaume Visigothique d'Espagne dans l'historiographie chrétienne des VIII^e et IX^e siècles." *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 9 (1984): 210-233.
- Martínez Faedo, Leonardo and Gema Adán Alvarez. "La iglesia prerrománica de S. Pedro de Nora (Las Regueras)." *Excavaciones arqueológicas en Asturias 1991-1994* (1995): 286-292.
- Martínez Villa, Alberto. "La necropolis medieval de la ermita de Santa Cruz (Cangas de Onís)." *III Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española* II (1989): 155-160.
- Mathews, Thomas F. and Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews. "Islamic-Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the Inverted T-Plan." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (1997): 294-315.
- Mauck, Marchita B. "The Mosaic of the Triumphal Arch of S. Prassede: A Liturgical Interpretation." *Speculum* 62 (1987): 813-828.

- McClendon, Charles B. *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900*. New Haven: 2005.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*. Cambridge: 2008.
- Del Medico, H. E. "La mosaïque de l'abside orientale à Germigny-des-Prés." *Monuments Piot* 39 (1943): 81-102.
- De Medrano, Manuel José. *Patrocinio de nuestra señora en España y noticias de su imagen del rey casto, vida de illustrisimo, y reverendisimo señor D. Fray Thomas Reluz, Obispo* (1719).
- Menéndez Pidal, José. "La basilica de Santianes de Pravia." *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana* vol. 2 (1976): 279-297, and vol. 3, (1980): 169-175.
- Menéndez Pidal, Luis. "Asturias: Destrucciones habidas en sus monumentos durante el dominio marxista, trabajos de protección y restauración efectuados o en proyecto." *Revista nacional de arquitectura* 1 (1941): 9-17.
- . "Proyecto de ficha para monumentos: San Julián de los Prados (Oviedo)." *Revista nacional de arquitectura* 1 (1941): 18-48.
- . *Proyecto de restauración de la Iglesia de San Salvador de Priesca*. Madrid: 1942.
- . *Los monumentos de Asturias: su aprecio y restauración desde el pasado siglo*. Madrid: 1954.
- . "La Cámara Santa de Oviedo: su destrucción y reconstrucción." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 14 (1960): 3-34.
- . "San Pedro de Nora, Asturias." *Archivo Español de Arte* 47 (1974): 400.
- . "Santa María de Bendones: Reconstrucción, Oviedo 1974; Adición al libro de Santa María de Bendones." *Boletín de del Instituto Asturianos* 28 (1974): 861-862.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Orígenes del español: Estado linguístico de la Peninsula Iberica hasta el siglo XI*. Madrid: 1926.
- . *Historia de España: España visigoda* vol. 3. Madrid: 1940.
- . *Historia de España: España musulmana* vol. 4. Madrid: 1957.
- Menocal, María Rosa. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. Boston: 2002.
- Mentré, Mireille. *La peinture "mozárabe"*. Paris: 1984.
- . *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*. London: 1996.

- Miguel Vigil, Ciriaco. *Asturias monumental, epigráfica y diplomática, datos para la historia de la provincia* 2 vols. Oviedo: 1887. Facsimile edition, Oviedo: 1987.
- Mommsen, Theodor, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Chronica minora SAEC. IV. V. VI. VII.* vol. 2. Berlin: 1894.
- Montenegro, Julie and A. del Castillo, "The Alfonso II Document of 812, the Annales Portugalenses Veteres and the continuity of the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 87 (2009): 197-214.
- De Morales, Ambrosio. *Viage de Ambrosio de Morales: por orden del rey D. Felipe II, a los reinos de León y Galicia, y principado de Asturias, para reconocer las reliquias de santos sepulcros reales y libros manuscritos de las catedrales y monasteries. Dale a luz con notas el P. Fr. Enrique Flóres.* Madrid: 1765. Facsimile edition, Madrid: 1985.
- . *Crónica general de España que continuaba Ambrosio de Morales Cronicista del rey nuestro señor don Felipe II* t. 7. Madrid: 1791.
- Morrison, Karl Frederick. *The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought.* New Jersey: 1964.
- Murray, Alexander C. *Germanic Kinship Structure: Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.* Toronto: 1983.
- Niermeyer, J. F. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus.* Leiden: 1976.
- Nieto Alcaide, Victor. *Arte Prerrománico Asturiano.* Salinas: 1989.
- . "La imagen de la arquitectura asturiana de los siglos VIII y IX en las crónicas de Alfonso III." *Espacio: Tiempo y Forma, Serie VII, Historia del Arte* t. 2 (1989): 11-34.
- Nightingale, John. *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c. 850-1000.* Oxford: 2001.
- Noack-Haley, Sabine. *Mozarabisher Baudekor I: Die Kapitelle.* Mainz am Rhein: 1991.
- . "Tradición e innovación en la decoración plastic de los edificios reales asturianos." *III Congreso de arqueología medieval española (Oviedo, 1989)* vol. 2 (1992): 174-184.
- Noack-Haley, Sabine and Achim Arbeiter. *Asturische Königsbauten des 9. Jarhunderts: die Kirchen San Miguel de Liño, Santa Cristina de Lena, San Salvador de Valdediós und das Belvedere am Naranco* 2 vol. Madrid: 1994.
- Noble, Thomas F. X. *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians.* Philadelphia: 2009.

- Novikoff, Alex. "Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma." *Medieval Encounters* 11 (2005): 7-36.
- Núñez Rodríguez, Manuel. *Historia de Arquitectura Galega. Arquitectura prerrománica*. La Coruña: 1978.
- . *San Salvador de Valdedios, o la fábrica sencilla de una arquitectura admirable*. Oviedo: 1991.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A History of Medieval Spain*. Ithaca: 2013.
- . *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. Philadelphia: 2013.
- Ó'Carrágain, Tomás. *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory*. New Haven: 2010.
- O'Kane, Bernard and Robert Hillenbrand, eds. *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*. Edinburgh: 2005.
- Onians, John. *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance*. New Jersey: 1988.
- Orvietani Busch, Silvia. *Medieval Mediterranean Ports: The Catalan and Tuscan Coasts, 1100 to 1235*. Leiden: 2001.
- Ousterhout, Robert G. and D. Fairchild Ruggles, eds. "Encounters with Islam: The Medieval Mediterranean Experience." Special issue, *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004).
- Palencia, Angel Gonzalez. *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*. Madrid: 1928.
- De Palol, Pedro. *Arqueología Cristiana de la España romana*. Madrid: 1967.
- . "From Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Christianity and the Visigothic World." In *Art and Architecture of Spain*, edited by Xavier Barral i Altet. Boston: 1998.
- De Palol, Pedro and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*. New York: 1967.
- Panazza, G. *La chiesa di San Salvatore in Brescia. Atti dell'ottavo Congresso di Studi sull'arte dell'alto medioevo* 2. Milan: 1992.
- Paulus Alvarus. *Vita Eulogii*. Translated by Carleton M. Sage. *Paul of Albar of Cordoba: Studies on His Life and Writings*. Washington: 1943.
- Payne, Stanley G. *Spain: A Unique History*. Wisconsin: 2011.
- Pecourt, Maria Desamparados Cabanes. *Rodericus Ximenii de Rada, Opera*, Textos Medievales 22. Valencia: 1968.
- Pérez de Urbel, Justo. *Sampiro, su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X*. Madrid: 1952.
- Pérez de Urbel, J. and A. González Ruiz-Zorrilla, *Historia Silense. Edición crítica e introducción*. Madrid: 1959.

- Pijoan, Jose. "The Mozarabic Churches of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries in Spain." *The Burlington Magazine of Connoisseurs* 40 (1922): 214-224.
- Prelog, J. *Die Chronik Alfons' III: Untersuchung und kritische Edition der vier Redaktionen*. Frankfurt: 1980.
- Prieto Bances, R. *La legislación del Rey de Oviedo*. in *Estudios sobre la Monarquía asturiana*, 175-220. Oviedo: 1949.
- Puras Higuera, Jesús María. *Estudios previos y Proyecto de conservación de las pinturas murales y estucos de San Salvador de Valdediós*. Oviedo: 1991.
- Purcell, Nicholas. "The Boundless Sea of Unlikeliness? On Defining the Mediterranean." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18, no. 2 (2003): 9-29.
- Risco, M. *España Sagrada. Antigüedades concernientes a la región de los astures transmontanos desde los tiempos más remotos hasta el siglo X, XXXVII*. Gijón: 1989.
- Rivoira, G. T. *Moslem Architecture: Its Origins and Development*. Oxford: 1918.
- Robinson, Cynthia. "Mudejar Revisited: A Prolegomena to the Reconstruction of Perception, Devotion and Experience at the Mudejar Convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain (Fourteenth Century A.D.)." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (2003): 51-77.
- Rodríguez Balbín, Herminia. *De un monte despoblado a un fuero real: 700 a 1145, Estudio sobre los primeros siglos del desarrollo urbano de Oviedo*. Oviedo: 1977.
- Rodríguez Díaz, Elena E., María Josefa Sanz Fuentes, and Emiliano Fernández Vallina. *Liber testamentorum ecclesiae ovetensis*. Barcelona: 1994.
- Roque Alonso, Maria-Àngels. *Los nobles vecinos en el territorio de las mujeres: construcción y transmisión simbólica en las sierras Castellanas y Riojanas*. Madrid: 2008.
- Roth, Norman. "The Jews in Spain at the Time of Maimonides." In *Moses Maimonides and his Times*, edited by Eric L. Ormsby, 1-20. Washington: 1989.
- Ruaño, E. Benito and F. Fernández Conde, *Historia de Asturias – alta edad media*. Victoria: 1979.
- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain*. University Park: 2000.
- . "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture." *Gesta XLIII/2* (2004): 87-98.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: 2003.
- Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *España y el Islam*. Buenos Aires: 1943.

- . “¿Una crónica asturiana perdida?” *Revista de Filología Hispánica* 7 (1945): 105-146.
- . “El autor de la crónica llamada de Albelda.” *Bulletin Hispanique* 50 (1948): 291-304.
- . *España: un enigma histórico*. Buenos Aires: 1956.
- . *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*. Buenos Aires: 1966.
- . *Órdenes de la nación española. Estudios críticos sobre la Historia del Reino de Asturias* 3 vols. Oviedo: 1975.
- . “Repoblación del Reino Asturleonés.” In *Viejos y nuevos estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas* 3 vols, 581-790. Madrid: 1976-1980.
- . *La España Cristiana de los siglos VIII al XI: el reino astur-leonés (722-1037); sociedad. economía. gobierno. cultura y vida*. Madrid: 1980.
- Santos Coco, F. *Historia Silense*. Madrid: 1921.
- De Selgas, Fortunato. “Santianes de Pravia (Oviedo) y su Panteón regio” *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 10 (1902): 5-57.
- . *Monumentos Ovetenses del siglo IX*. Madrid: 1908.
- . *La basílica de San Julián de los Prados (Santullano) en Oviedo: Estudio de las restauraciones efectuadas en 1912-1915*. Madrid, 1916.
- Sieffert, G. “Les imitations de la chapelle palatine de Charlemagne à Aachen.” *Cahiers de l’art medieval* 2 (1969): 29-70.
- Simonet, Francisco Javier, *Historia de los mozárabes de España deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores christianos [sic] y árabes*, vol. 1-4. Madrid: 1903.
- Scheller, Robert W. *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-1450)*. Amsterdam: 1995.
- Schlunk, Helmut. “La iglesia de San Julián de los Prados (Oviedo) y la arquitectura de Alfonso el casto.” In *Estudios sobre la monarquía Asturiana*, 2nd ed. Oviedo, 1971. Originally published 1942, 407-465.
- . “Arte Visigodo.” In *Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico*, vol. 2, 225-323. Madrid: 1947.
- . “Arte Asturiano.” In *Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico*, vol. 2, 325-416. Madrid: 1947.
- . “The Crosses of Oviedo: A Contribution to the History of Jewelry in Northern Spain in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.” *The Art Bulletin* 32 (1950): 91-114.

- . “Las Iglesias palatinas de la capital del reino asturiano.” *Discurso del Dr. Helmut Schlunk en el acto de su investidura como Doctor Honoris Causa por la Universidad de Oviedo (14 de abril de 1977)*. Oviedo: 1977.
- . “Las pinturas de Santullano. Avance al estudio de la pintura mural asturiana de los siglos IX y X.” *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 25 (1952): 15-37.
- . “El arte asturiano en torno al 800.” In *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los codices del “Comentario al Apocalipsis” de Beato de Liébana (Madrid, 1976)*, vol. 2, 135-164, and vol. 4, 87-120. Madrid: 1980.
- Schlunk, Helmut and Magin Berenguer, *La pintura mural en los siglos IX y X*. Translated by María de los Angeles Vázquez de Parga. Madrid: 1957. Reprinted, Oviedo: 1991.
- Schramm, Percy E. *Las insignias de la realeza en la Edad Media Española*. Translated by L. Vázquez de Parga. Madrid: 1960.
- Shalem, Avinoam. “Fountains of Light: The Meaning of Medieval Islamic Rock Crystal Lamps.” *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 1-11.
- . *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*. New York: 1996.
- . *The Oliphant: Islamic Objects in Historical Context*. Leiden: 2004.
- Sirantoine, Hélène. *Imperator Hispaniae: Les idéologies imperiales dans le royaume de León (IXe-XIIe siècles)*. Madrid: 2012.
- Smith, E. Baldwin. *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*. Princeton: 1956.
- Soifer, Maya. “Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain.” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1 (2009): 19-35.
- Spehar, Olga. “Private piety or collective worship in early Christian *martyria*. Late antique Naissus case study.” *ЗОГРАФ* 39 (2015): 1–10.
- Stalley, Roger. *Early Medieval Architecture*. Oxford: 1999.
- Stern, Henri. “Nouvelles recherches sur les images des conciles dans l’Église de la Nativité à Bethléem.” *Cahiers archéologiques* 3 (1948): 82-105.
- Strzygowski, Joseph. *Altai Iran und die Völkerwanderung*. Leipzig: 1917.
- . *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*. Vienna: 1918.

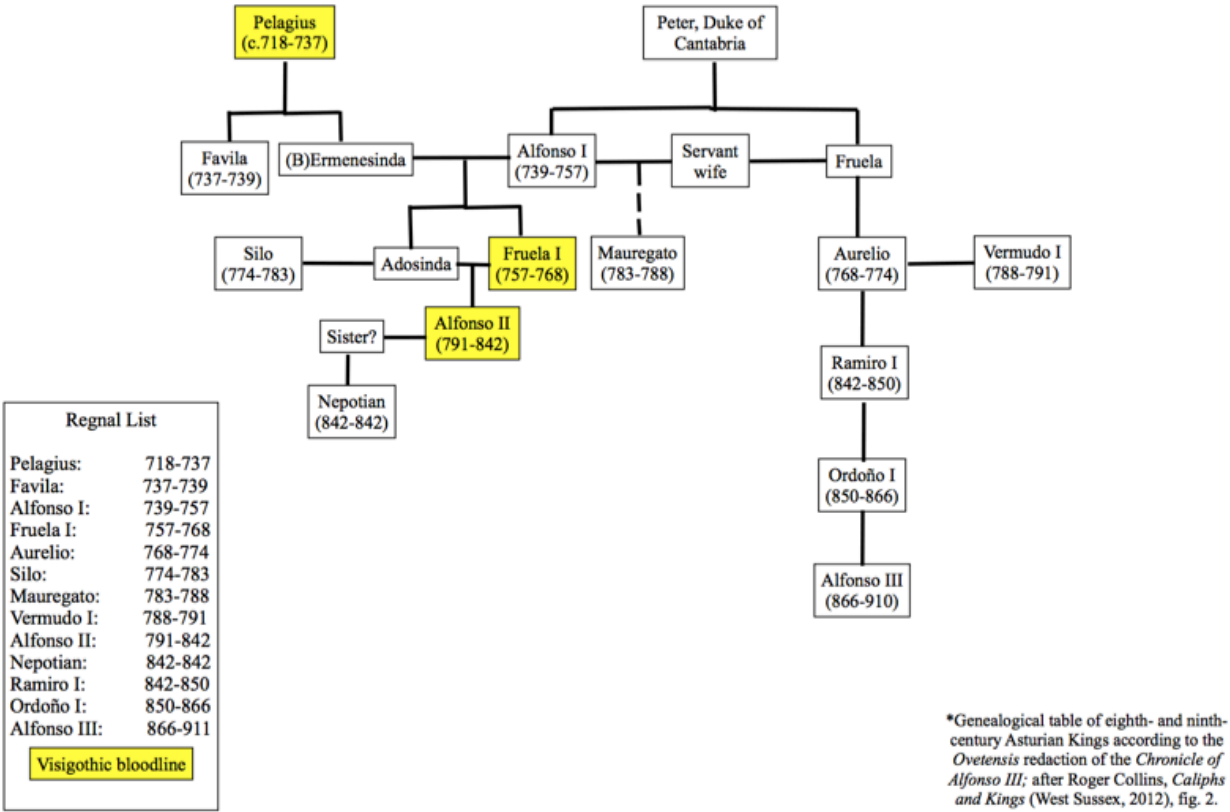
- . *Der Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst* Leipzig: 1921.
- Terrasse, Henri. *Islam d’Espagne, une rencontre de l’Orient et de l’Occident*. Paris: 1958.
- Thomson, R. M. *William of Malmesbury*. Woodbridge: 2003.
- Thompson, George Derwent. *Studies in Ancient Greek Society: The Prehistoric Aegean*. New York: 1965.
- Thummler, Hans. “Carolingian Period: Churches with Latin Cross Plans.” In *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 3, 81-103. New York, 1960.
- Thurlby, Malcolm. “The Romanesque Abbey Church of Ronceray.” In *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, edited by John McNeill and Daniel Prigent, 66-80. Leeds: 2003.
- . “Articulation as an Expression of Function in Romanesque Architecture.” In *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, edited by Jull A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and Christine Stevenson, 42-59. Woodbridge: 2012.
- Tohme, Lara. “Spaces of Convergence, Christian Monasteries and Umayyad Architecture in Greater Syria.” In *Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval art: Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist*, edited by Alicia Walker and Amanda Luyster, 129-145. Burlington: 2009.
- Tolan, John V. *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*. New York: 2002.
- Torres Balbás, Leopoldo. *Historia de España: España musulmana, hasta la caída del Califato de Córdoba*. Madrid: 1950.
- Tozer, Rev. H. F. “Asturias and its Antiquities.” *The Gentleman’s Magazine, and Historical Chronicle* 219 (1865): 12-23.
- Travaini, Lucia. “The Normans between Byzantium and the Islamic World.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 179-196.
- Tronzo, William. *The Cultures of his Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo*. Princeton: 1997.
- Überwasser, W. “Deutsche Architekturdarstellungen um das Jahr 1000.” In *Festschrift für Hans Jantzen*, edited by Kurt Bauch, 45-70. Berlin: 1951.
- Ulbert, Thilo. “Skulptur in Spanien (6-8 Jahrhundert).” In *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche skulptur*, vol. 2, 25-34. Mainz am Rhein: 1971.
- UNESCO, “UNESCO World Heritage Committee Adds 30 Sites to World Heritage List,” <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/312>, 2 December 1998.

- Uría Riu, Juan. "Cuestiones histórico-arqueológicas relativas al ciudad de Oviedo de los siglos VIII al X." In *Symposium sobre cultura asturiana de la Alta Edad Media*, 281-288. Oviedo: 1967.
- Utrero Agudo, María de los Ángeles. *Iglesias tardoantiguas y altomedievales en la Península Ibérica. Análisis arqueológico y sistemas de abovedamiento*. Madrid: 2006.
- . "Late-Antique and Early Medieval Hispanic Churches and the Archaeology of Architecture: Revisions and Reinterpretations of Constructions, Chronologies and Contexts." *Medieval Archaeology* 54 (2010): 1-33.
- . "Reinforcement in Early Medieval Hispanic Architecture." *Construction History* 3 (2006): 3431-3445.
- . "Las iglesias cruciformes del siglo VII en la Península Ibérica. Novedades y problemas crónológicas y morfológicas de un tipo arquitectónico." In *El siglo VII frente al Siglo VII: Arquitectura. Visigodos y Omeyas IV*, edited by Luis Caballero Zoreda, Pedro Mateos Cruz, and María de los Angeles Utrero Agudo, 133-154. Madrid: 2009.
- Weis, A. *Die langobardische Königsbasilika con Brescia*. Sigmaringen: 1977.
- William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*. Edited by N. E. S. A. Hamilton. London: 1870.
- . *Gesta regum Anglorum*. Edited by W. Stubbs, 2 vols. London: 1889.
- Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*. Cambridge: 1988.
- . *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*. Liverpool: 1999.
- . "Convivencia in Medieval Spain: A Brief History of an Idea." *Religion Compass* 3 (2009), 72-85.
- . "Christian Resistance in the North (ca. 718): Chronicle of Alfonso III (early 880s)." In *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, edited by Olivia Remie Constable, 47-52. Pennsylvania: 2012.
- Wreglesworth, John. "The Chronicle of Alfonso III and its Significance for the Historiography of the Asturian Kingdom 718-910 AD: A Critical Study of the Content, Purpose and Themes of a Late 9th-Century Historical Text." PhD Dissertation, University of Leeds, 1995.
- Valdés Gallego, J. A. *El Liber Testamentorum Ovetensis*. Oviedo: 2000.
- Vega del Sella, Ricardo. *El dolmen de la capilla de Santa Cruz (Asturias)*. Madrid: 1919.
- Velázquez, Isabella. and Rosario Hernando, "Una noticia desconcertante sobre la inscripción de San Juan de Baños ofrecida por Álgar Gómez de Castro." *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 73 (2000): 295-307.
- Verzone, P. *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto medio evo nell'Italia settentrionale*. Milan: 1942.

Vita Meinweri episcopi Patherbrunnensis. Edited by F. Tenckhoff. Hannover: 1921.

Vives, Jaime Vicens. *Approaches to the History of Spain*. Translated by Joan Connelly Ullman. California: 1967.

Appendix A



Genealogical Table of Eighth and Ninth-Century Asturian Kings



Figure 1: Santiago de Peñalba, León, nave looking east.



Figure 1.1: San Cebrian de Mazote, Valladolid, nave looking east.



Figure 1.2: San Baudelio de Berlanga, Soria, nave looking west



Figure 1.3: Mosque of Cristo de la Luz, Toledo, sanctuary looking west towards nave.



Figure 1.4: San Miguel de Escalada, León, nave looking east.



Figure 1.5: Santa María de Wamba, Valladolid, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 1.6: San Miguel de Celanova, Ourense, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 2: Santa María de Melque, Toledo, south façade from south east angle.



Figure 2.1: Santa María de Melque, Toledo, detail, rounded exterior quoin, south west angle of south transept.



Figure 2.2: Santa María de Melque, Toledo, trabeated arched-portal with pediment, west façade.



Figure 2.3: Santa María de Melque, Toledo, south crossing arch.



Figure 2.4: Santa María de Melque, Toledo, south east crossing supports.



Figure 3: Great Mosque of Córdoba, Córdoba, interior hypostyle arrangement.



Figure 4: Temple of Diana in Mérida, Badajoz.



Figure 5: Roman Temple of Córdoba, Córdoba.



Figure 6: Maison Carée, Nîmes, France.



Figure 7: Roman aqueduct, Segovia, Segovia.



Figure 8: San Fructuoso de Montelios, Braga, Portugal. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Plate 8.

Vista general actual



Figure 9: Santa Cruz, Asturias, exterior, west façade from north west angle. After Arias, *Encyclopedia*, 139.



Vista longitudinal de 1936

Figure 9.1: Santa Cruz, Asturias, 1936 photograph showing north façade from north east angle. After Arias, *Encyclopedia*, 139.



Figure 10: Santa Comba de Bande, Ourense, west façade from north west angle.

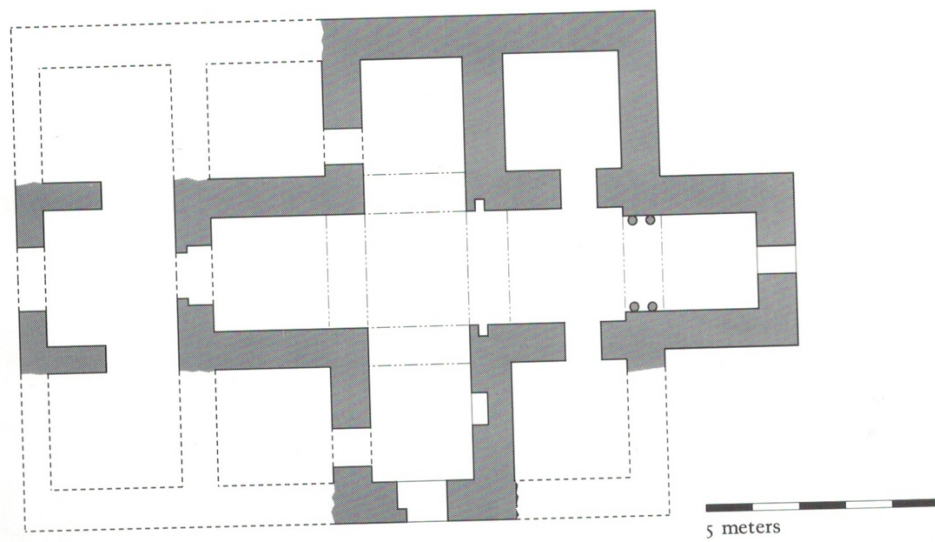


Fig. 5. Santa Comba de Bande, plan

Figure 10.1: Santa Comba de Bande, Ourense, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 5.



Figure 11: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, west façade from north west angle.

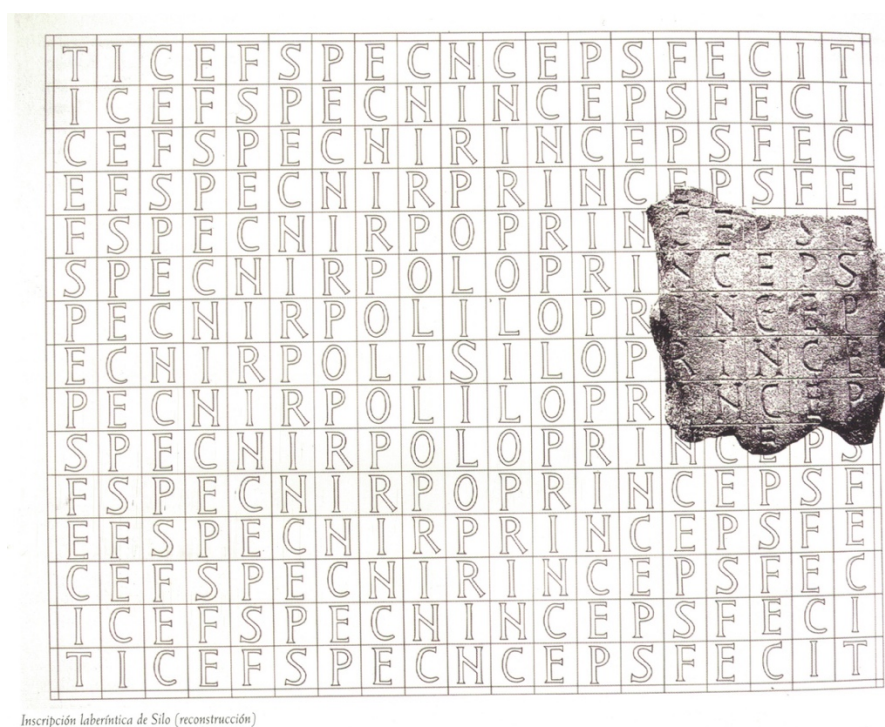


Figure 11.1: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, lost acrostic stone. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 380.

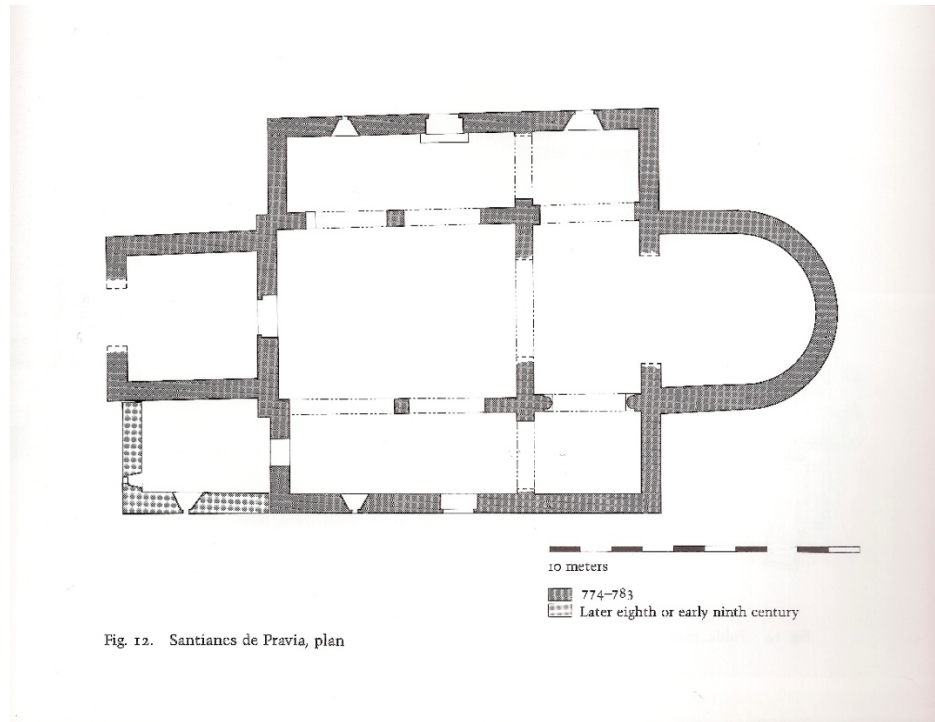


Figure 11.2: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 12.



Figure 11.3: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, nave looking west towards nave and tribune.



Figure 11.4: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, south nave arcade looking west.



Figure 11.5: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, south aisle looking east with excavated baptismal font.



Figure 11.6: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, detail, eastern apsidal foundation *opus signinum*.



Figure 11.7: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, detail, tribune partition from nave.

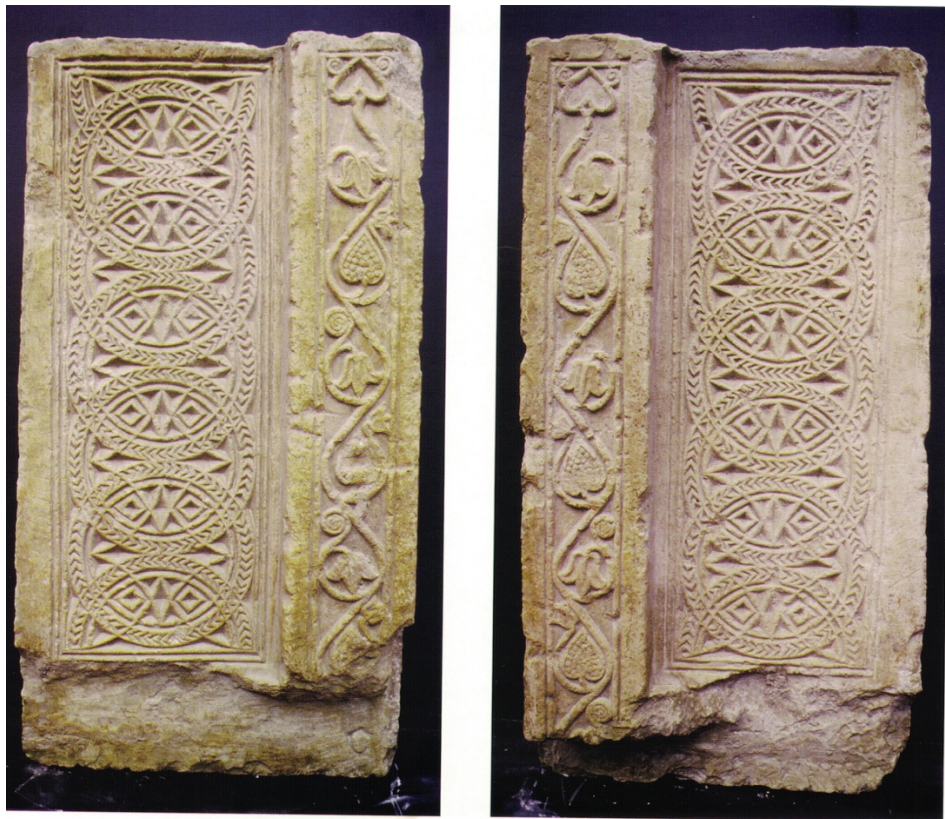


Figure 11.8: Santianes de Pravia, Asturias, sculpted plaque recovered at the church with concentric circles and vine scrolls. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 381.



Figure 12: Roman Baths at Campo Valdés, Gijón, detail, red brick arches.



Figure 13: Cathedral of Oviedo, Asturias, west façade.

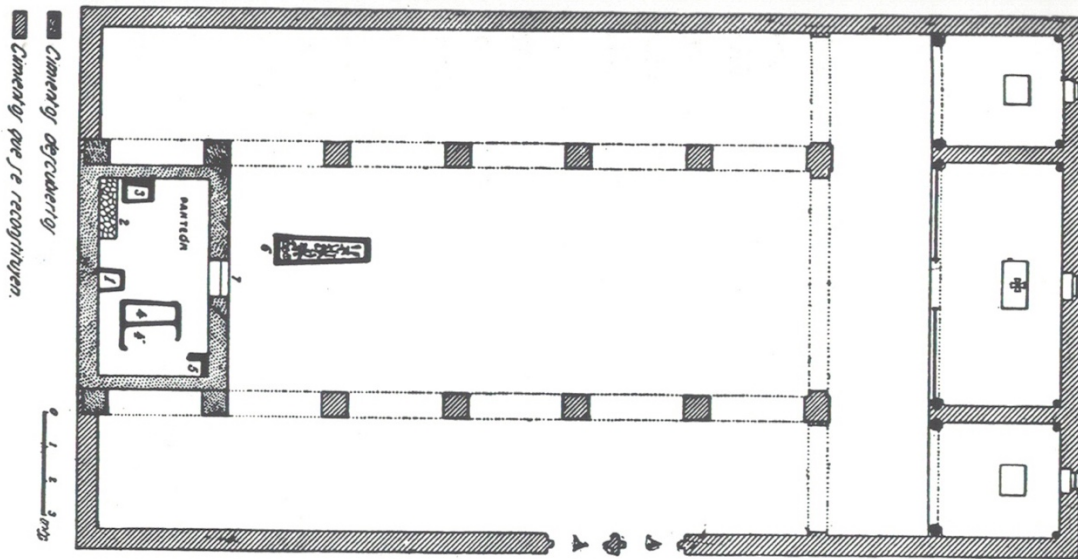


Figure 14: Santa María in Oviedo, Asturias, plan by Aurelio de Llano. After Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 109.

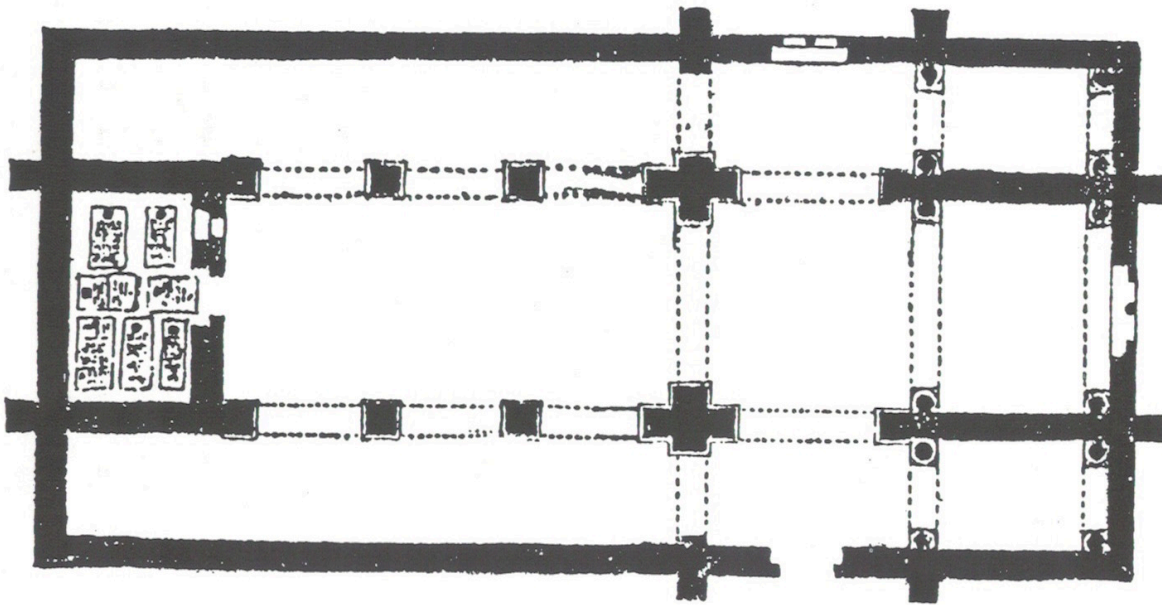


Figure 14.1: Santa María in Oviedo, Asturias, plan by Fortunato de Selgas. After Arias, *Prerrománico Asturiano*, 109.



Figure 15: San Tirso, Asturias, miniature arcade, east façade.

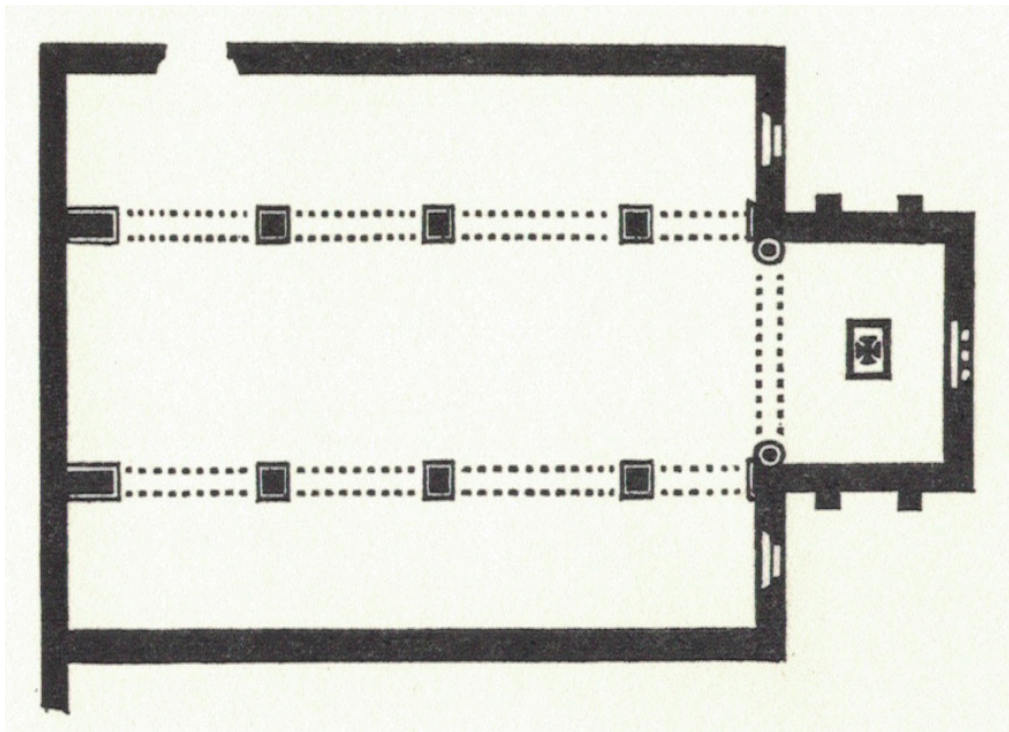


Figure 15.1: San Tirso, Asturias, plan. After de Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 32.



Figure 16: Cámara Santa, Asturias, upper chapel dedicated to San Miguel, looking east.



Figure 16.1: Cámara Santa, Asturias, lower crypt of Santa Leocadia, looking east.



Figure 16.2: Cámara Santa, Asturias, detail, tabernacle, chapel of San Miguel.



Figure 16.3: Cámara Santa, Asturias, detail, tabernacle, crypt of Santa Leocadia.



Figure 17: Crypt of San Antolín, Palencia Cathedral, Palencia, looking east towards Visigothic supports.



Figure 18: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, west façade.

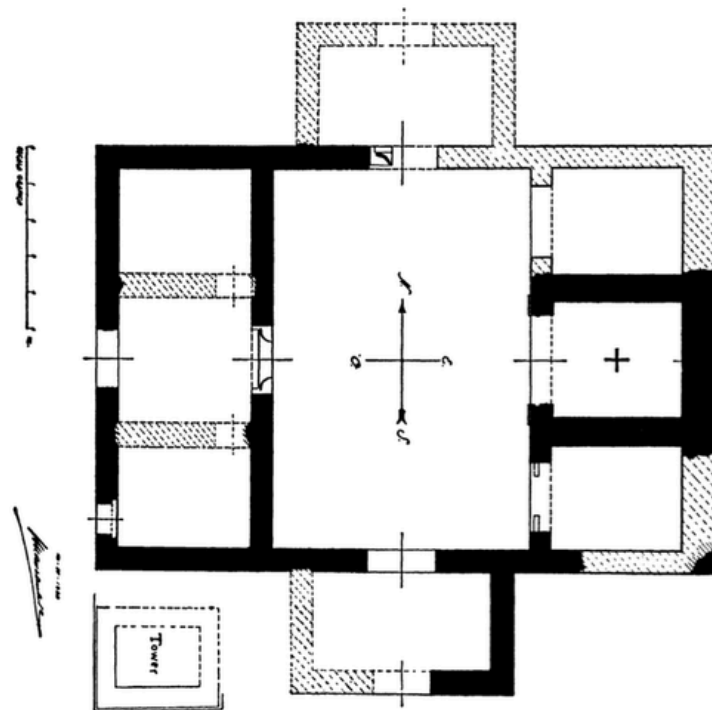


Figure 18.1: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, plan. After Manzanares Rodríguez, "Santa María de Bendones, an An Unknown Pre-Romanesque Church," 2.



Figure 18.2: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, east façade.



Figure 18.3: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, interior view of western porch with flanking portals.



Figure 18.4: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, nave looking south east towards chapels.



Figure 18.5: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, west façade from north west angle.



Figure 18.6: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, round headed windows with red brick arches, south chamber flanking western porch.



Figure 18.7: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, north façade with porticus.



Figure 18.8: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, south façade with porticus.



Figure 18.9: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, interior western clerestory.



Figure 18.10: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.



Figure 18.11: Santa María de Bendones, Asturias, detail, painted fragment, south chapel arch intrados.



Figure 19: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.

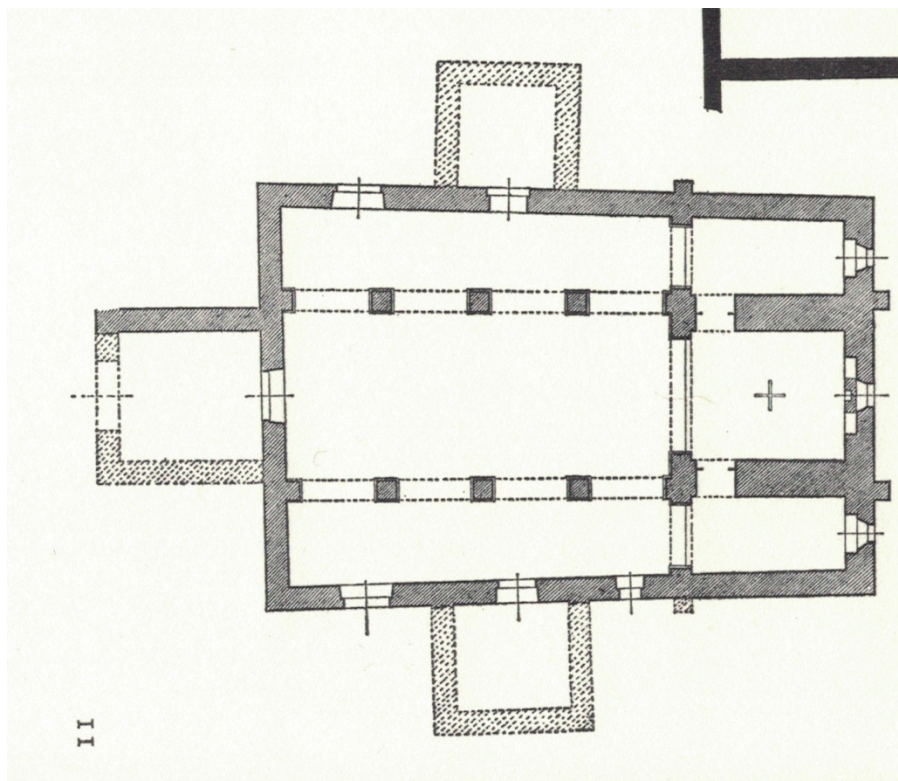


Figure 19.1: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, plan. After de Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 32.



Figure 19.2: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, nave looking east.



Figure 19.3: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, north nave arcade looking east.



Figure 19.4: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, western bell tower.



Figure 19.5: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, east façade from south angle.



Figure 19.6: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.



Figure 19.7: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, detail, superimposed doorways, south façade.

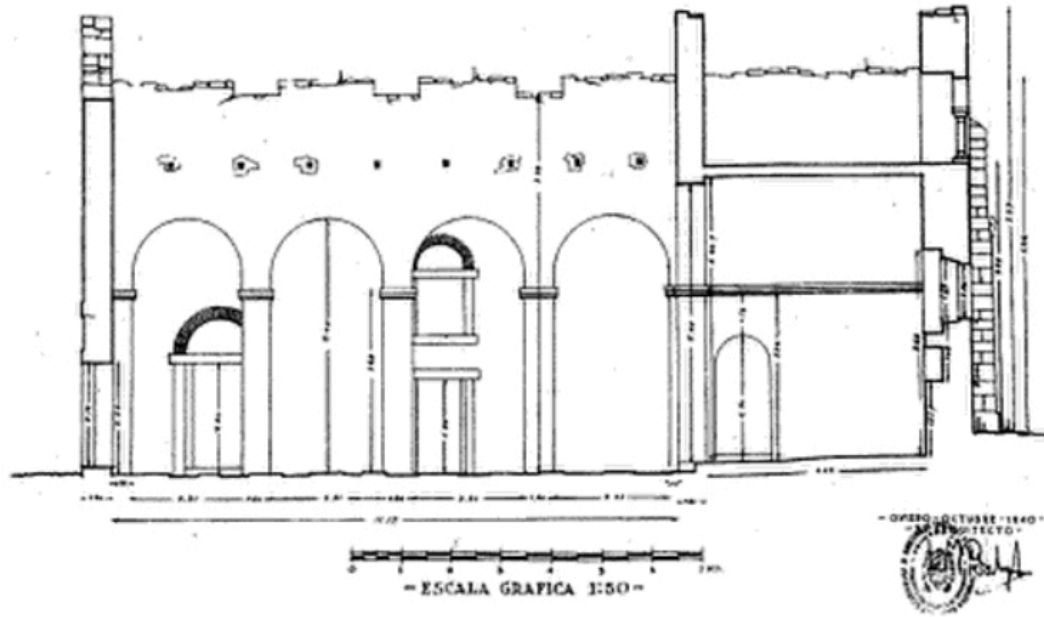


Figure 19.8: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, reconstruction drawing by L. Menéndez Pidal. After Arias, "Geometria y Proporción," 132.



Figure 19.9: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, south nave aisle looking west.



Figure 19.10: San Pedro de Nora, Asturias, north nave arcade looking west.



Figure 20: Santa Maria de Naranco, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 20.1: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north façade from north east angle.



Figure 20.2: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north façade from north west angle. After de Selgas, *Monumentos Ovetenses*, 114.



José María Avrial y Flores, alzado norte de Santa María del Naranco (1848).

Figure 20.3: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, 1848 drawing of north façade by José María Avrial y Flores. After Hevia Blanco, “La intervención,” 73.



Figure 20.4: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, south façade.



Figure 20.5: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, south façade from south west angle.



Figure 20.6: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, west carved supports, western atrium.



Figure 20.7: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, ground-level portal, west façade.



Figure 20.8: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, west arcade, west atrium.



Figure 20.9: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, west façade.



Figure 20.10: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.



Figure 20.11: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, east façade.



Figure 20.12: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, undercroft looking west.



Figure 20.13: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, undercroft looking east.



Figure 20.14: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, doorway leading to subterranean bath in the east end of undercroft.



Figure 20.15: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, portal leading to bath, north façade wall.



Figure 20.16: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north blind arcade, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.17: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, blind arcade support, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.18: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, blind arcade carved capital, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.19: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, blind arcade spandrel with carved roundel, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.20: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, detail, carved plaques surmounting roundels, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.21: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, elongated carved plaques surmounting spandrel roundels, west wall, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.22: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, north arcade, west atrium, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.23: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, supports with incisions for screens, south east angle, east atrium, *piano nobile*.



Figure 20.24: Santa María de Naranco, Asturias, carved altar, east atrium, *piano nobile*.



Figure 21: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 21.1: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south façade from south west angle.



Figure 21.2: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, west façade.



Figure 21.3: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, north façade.



Figure 21.4: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south façade.



Figure 21.5: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, eastern chancel addition from south east angle.



Figure 21.6: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, reused masonry in eastern chancel wall.



Figure 21.7: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, interior west portal barrel vault and tribune.



Figure 21.8: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, north staircase.



Figure 21.9: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, south nave arcade support.



Figure 21.10: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, former exterior south aisle looking west.

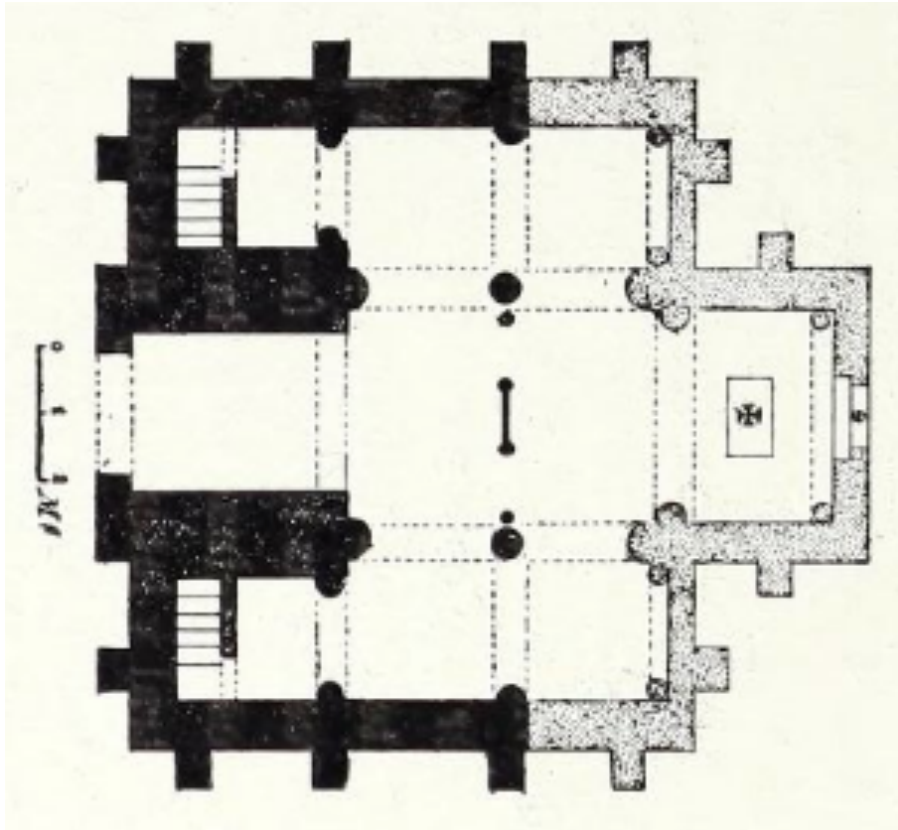


Figure 21.11: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, plan. After Selgas, *Monumentos ovetenses*, 129.



Figure 21.12: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, carved base, arch support leading to north staircase.



Figure 21.13: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south nave arcade capital.



Figure 21.14: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, south wall of tribune, showing carved hood mouldings, spandrel roundels, and stringcourse.



Figure 21.15: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, south jamb plaque, west portal.



Figure 21.16: Aereobindus Diptych. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 182.



Figure 21.17: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, engaged column and pilaster, south nave arcade support.



Figure 21.18: Visigothic carved pilaster with foliage, Mérida Museum of Visigothic Sculpture.



Figure 21.19: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, fluted engaged column and carved capital, south west wall of tribune.



Figure 21.20: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, spandrel with carved rosette, south wall of tribune.



Figure 21.21: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, detail, carved base with later addition, north nave arcade support.



Placa de cancel con representación de grifo alado

Figure 21.22: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, carved screen with gryphon discovered at the church. After Arias, *Enciclopedia*, 191.



Figure 21.23: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, vault painting, south aisle.



Figure 21.24: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, wall painting with seated figure, south wall, south aisle.



Figure 21.25: San Miguel de Lillo, Asturias, wall painting with smaller figure in attendance, south wall, south aisle.



Figure 21.26: Ratchis Altar. After Altar of Ratchis, University of Leicester, <https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/people/academics/christie/images/lombar ds004.jpg/view>



Figure 21.27: Adoration of the Magi, gold medallion. After Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique*, 240.



Figure 22: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, east end from north east angle.

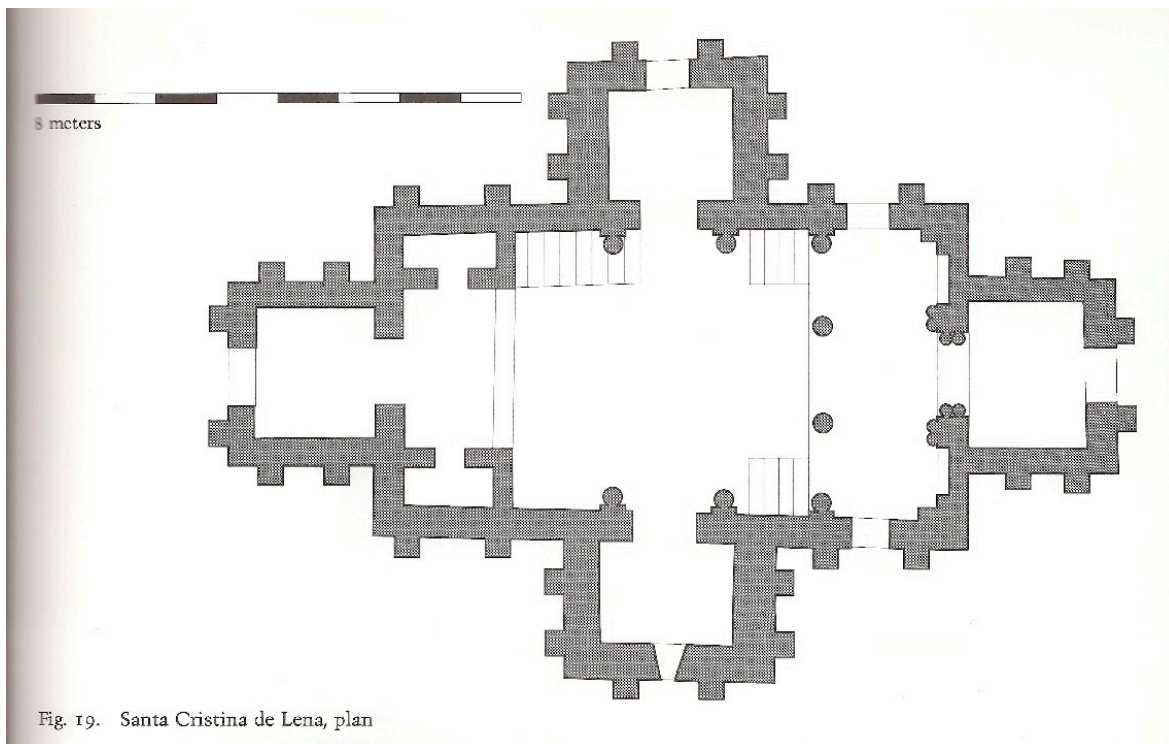


Figure 22.1: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 19.

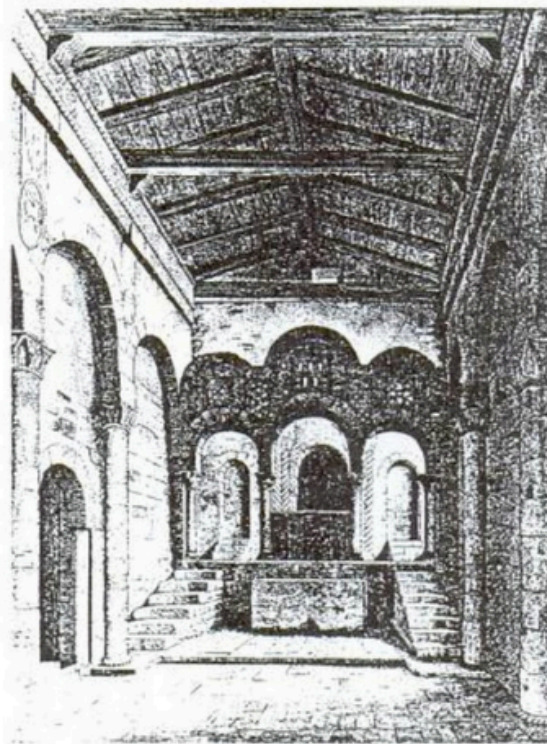


Fig. 14. Vista del exterior y del interior de Sta. Cristina de Lena antes de la intervención de Lázaro. Roberto Frassinelli, 1877. (Monumentos arquitectónicos de España).

Figure 22.2: 1877 drawings by Roberto Frassinelli showing exterior west end (top) and interior looking east (bottom). After Jorge Hevia Blanco, “Pasado, presente y futuro,” 30.



Figure 22.3: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 22.4: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, detail, west porch.



Figure 22.5: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, interior west portal and west tribune.



Figure 22.6: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, north staircase leading to tribune.



Figure 22.7: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, recessed western chamber in tribune.



Figure 22.8: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, north nave blind arcade looking east from tribune.



Figure 22.9: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, elevated choir and screen looking east from tribune.



Figure 22.10: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, detail, carved column and capital, east wall of choir.



Figure 22.11: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, south staircase leading to choir.



Figure 22.12: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, south blind arcade, east chapel.



Figure 22.13: Santa Cristina de Lena, Asturias, choir screen.



186.—Trozo de friso existente en la iglesia de San Francisco, Avilés.
Fot. Selgas.

Figure 22.14: Visigothic sculptural fragment, San Francisco, Avilés. Photograph by Fortunato de Selgas. After Aurelio de Llano, *Bellezas*, 213.

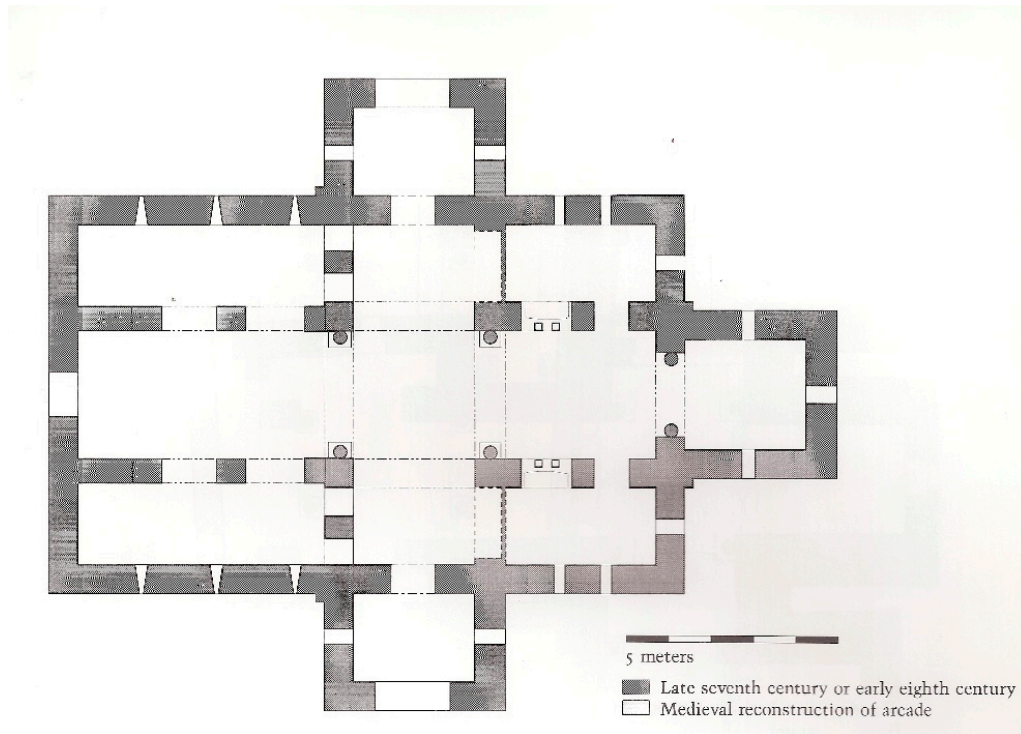


Figure 23: San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 4.



Figure 23.1: San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, south façade from south west angle.



Figure 23.2: San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, north west crossing capital. Scene of Daniel in the Lion's Den.



Figure 23.3: San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, south west crossing capital. Scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac.



Figure 23.4: San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, north east crossing capital. Scene with Birds of paradise pecking at clusters of grapes.



Figure 23.5: San Pedro de la Nave, Zamora, south east crossing capital. Birds of paradise pecking at clusters of grapes.



Figure 24: Roman Theater in Mérida, Badajoz.



Figure 25: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.

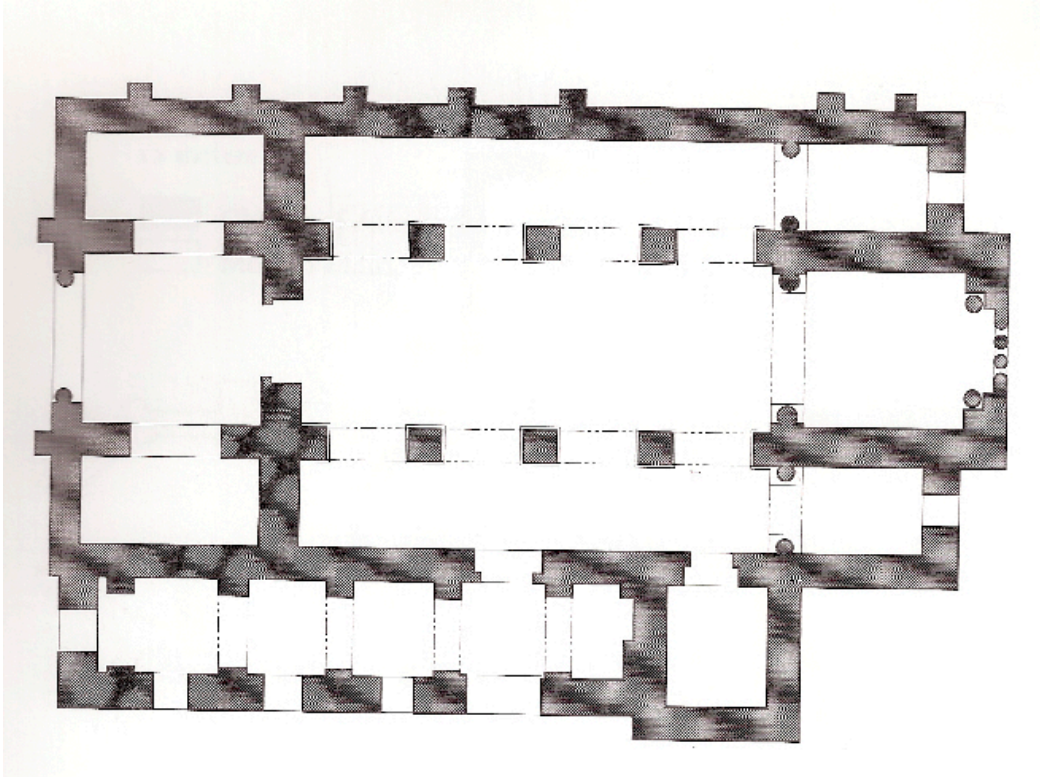


Figure 25.1: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 17.



Figure 25.2: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 25.3: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, west porch.



Figure 25.4: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south façade.



Figure 25.5: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south porch interior looking west.



Figure 25.6: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, blind arcade, south porch.



Figure 25.7: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north façade.



Figure 25.8: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north west aisle portal.



Figure 25.9: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north east aisle portal.



Figure 25.10: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south east aisle portal.



Figure 25.11: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south porch entrance.



Figure 25.12: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south clerestory.



Figure 25.13: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, tracery, south clerestory.



Figure 25.14: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, east façade.



Figure 25.15: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, nave looking east.



Figure 25.16: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north east corner, central chapel.



Figure 25.17: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, nave looking west towards tribune.



Figure 25.18: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, south aisle looking east towards tribune staircase.



Figure 25.19: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north aisle looking east toward north chapel.



Figure 25.20: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, central chapel.



Figure 25.21: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, tribune mezzanine looking east towards south aisle.



Figure 25.22: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, carved capital, central chapel support.



Figure 25.23: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, carved column and capital, east window, central chapel.



Figure 25.24: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, north nave arcade looking east.



Figure 25.25: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, penultimate nave arcade supports with base incisions.



Figure 25.26: San Salvador de Valdediós, Asturias, detail, figural painting, east wall, west tribune.



Figure 26: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, south façade from south west angle.

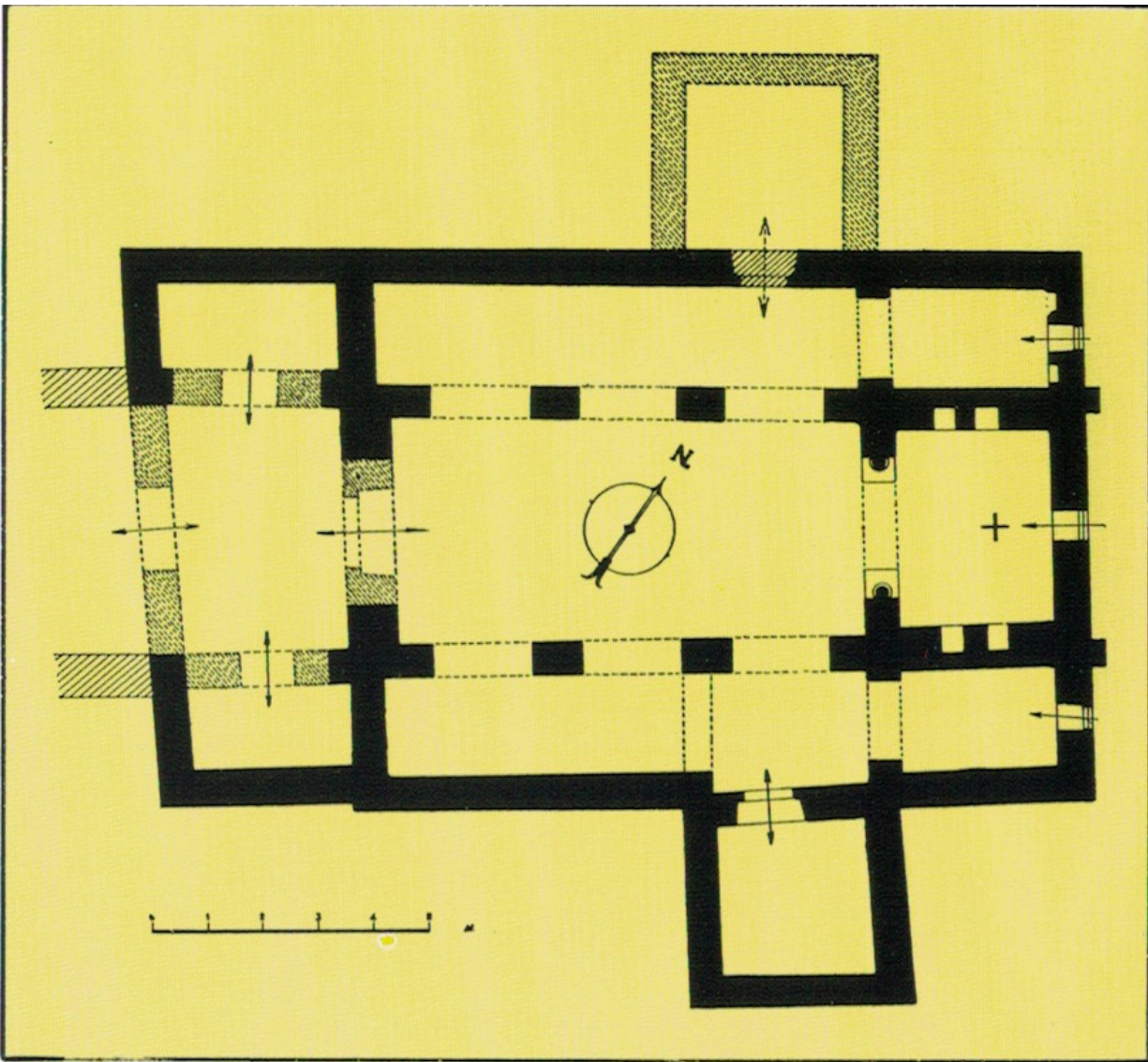


Figure 26.1: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, plan. After Nieto Alcaide, *Arte Prerrománico Asturiano*, 196.



Figure 26.2: San Adriano de Tuñon, Asturias, photograph of south façade by F. Valle Poo.
After Nieto Alcaide, *Arte Prerrománico Asturiano*, 198.



Figure 26.3: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, south wall, south porticus.



Figure 26.4: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, east façade.



Figure 26.5: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.



Figure 26.6: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, nave looking east.



Figure 26.7: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, north jamb articulation, central chapel arch.



Figure 26.8: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, detail, north jamb carved capital, central chapel arch.



Figure 26.9: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, detail, south jamb carved capital, central chapel arch.



Figure 26.10: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, detail, putlog hole, south nave architrave towards west.



Figure 26.11: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, central chapel.



Figure 26.12: San Adriano de Tuñón, Asturias, detail, embattlement ornament, central chapel.



Figure 27: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.

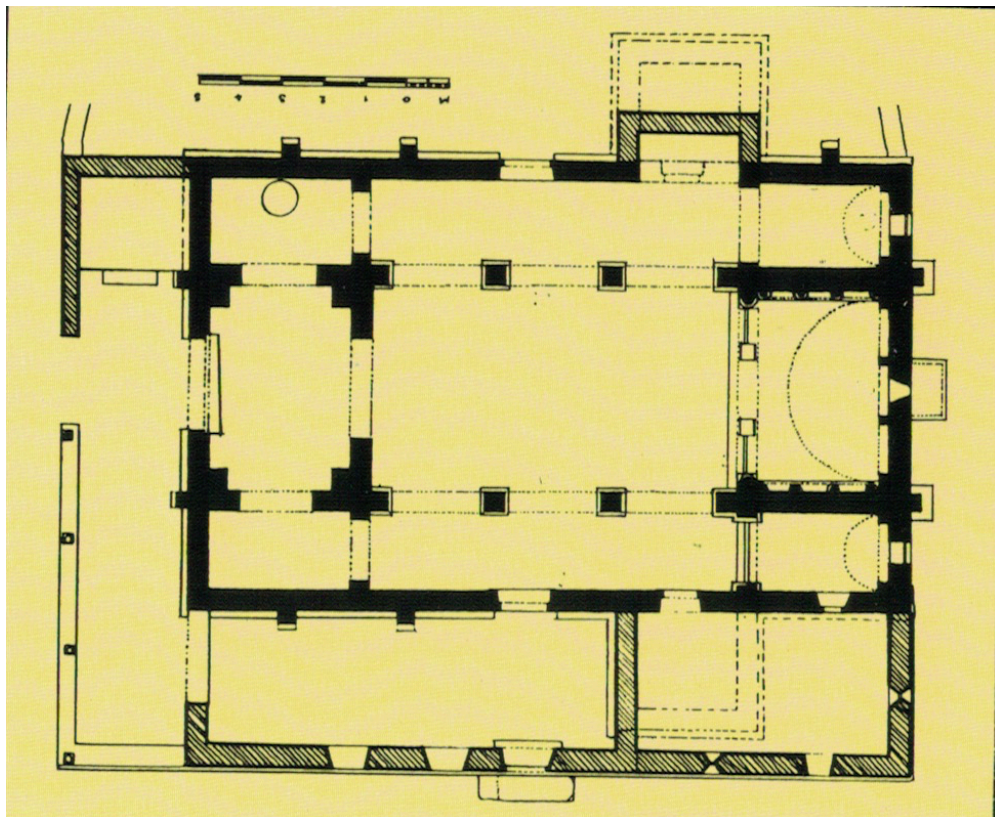


Figure 27.1: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, plan. After, Nieto Alcaide, *Arte prerrománico Asturiano*, 200.



Figure 27.2: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, west façade.



Figure 27.3: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, east façade from south east angle.



Figure 27.4: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, nave looking west towards tribune and narthex.



Figure 27.5: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, nave looking east.



Figure 27.6: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, miniature arcade, east façade.



Figure 27.7: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south porch looking west from south east angle.



Figure 27.8: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, window tracery, south porch.



Figure 27.9: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south nave aisle looking west.



Figure 27.10: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, north nave aisle looking east.



Figure 27.11: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, north façade from north east angle.



Figure 27.12: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south aisle looking west towards tribune staircase.



Figure 27.13: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, central chapel.



Figure 27.14: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south chapel.



Figure 27.15: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, south respond, central chapel arch.



Figure 27.16: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, carved capital, south respond, central chapel arch.



Figure 27.17: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, south blind arcade, central chapel.



Figure 27.18: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, fluted column, east wall, central chapel.



Figure 27.19: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, base incision, north arch support, central chapel.



116.—Capilla mayor de la iglesia de San Salvador de Priesca. Siglo X. Fot. A del Fresno.

Figure 27.20: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, pre-restoration photograph of central chapel by A. del Fresno. After de Llano, *Bellezas*, 143.



Figure 27.21: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, detail, base incisions, penultimate north nave arcade base.



Figure 27.22: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, painted decorations, north chapel vault.



Figure 27.23: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, painted decorations, central chapel vault.



Figure 27.24: San Salvador de Priesca, Asturias, *trompe l'oeil* painted decorations, south aisle wall.



Figure 28: San Juan de Baños, Palencia, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 28.1: San Juan de Baños, Palencia, nave looking east.

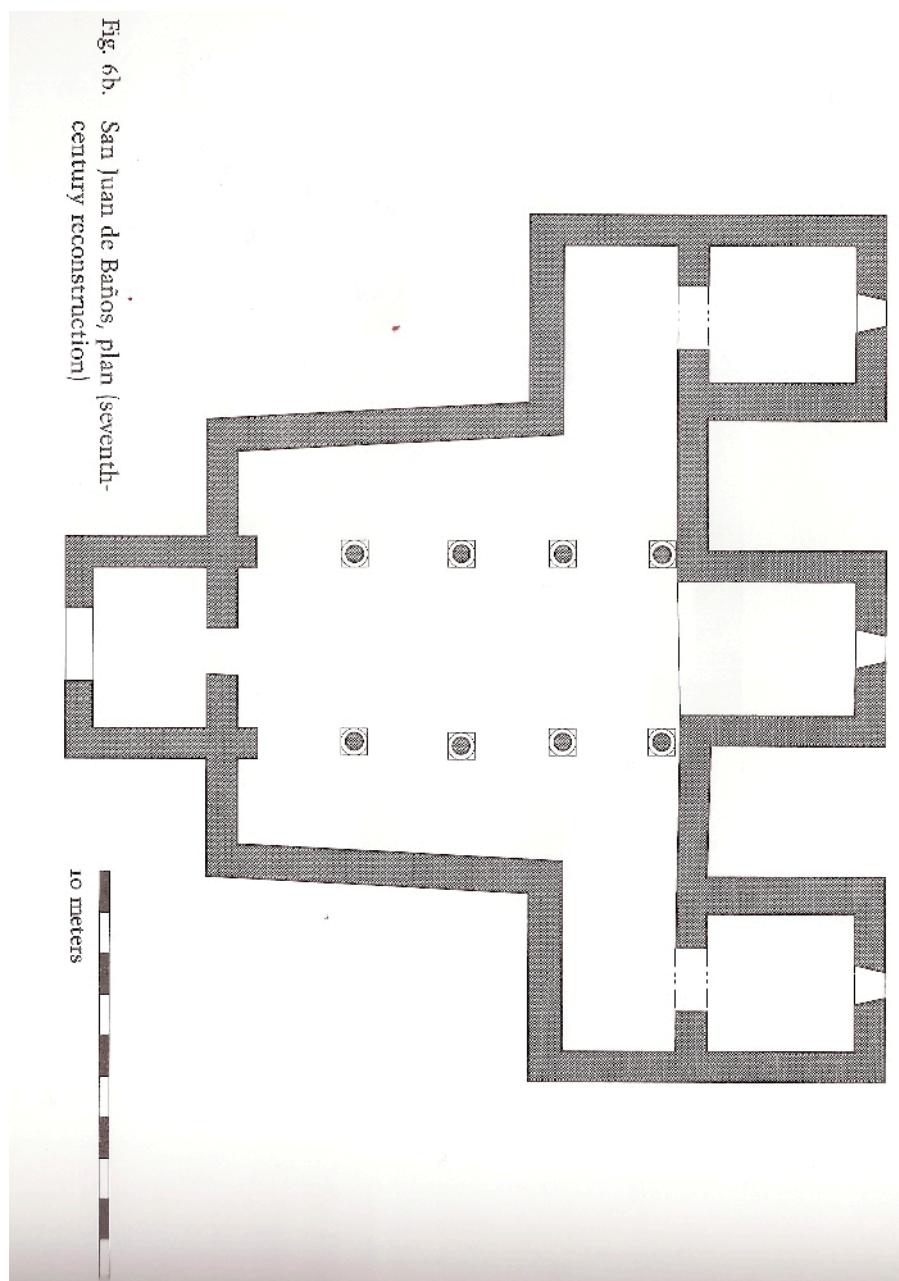


Figure 28.2: San Juan de Baños, Palencia, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 6b.



Figure 28.3: San Juan de Baños, Palencia, fragmented masonry, former barrel-vaulted south chapel.



Figure 29: Quintanilla de las Viñas, Burgos, south façade from south east angle.



Figure 29.1: Quintanilla de las Viñas, Burgos, carved capital, south chapel arch support.



Figure 29.2: Quintanilla de las Viñas, Burgos, carved capital, north chapel arch support.



Figure 30: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, west façade.

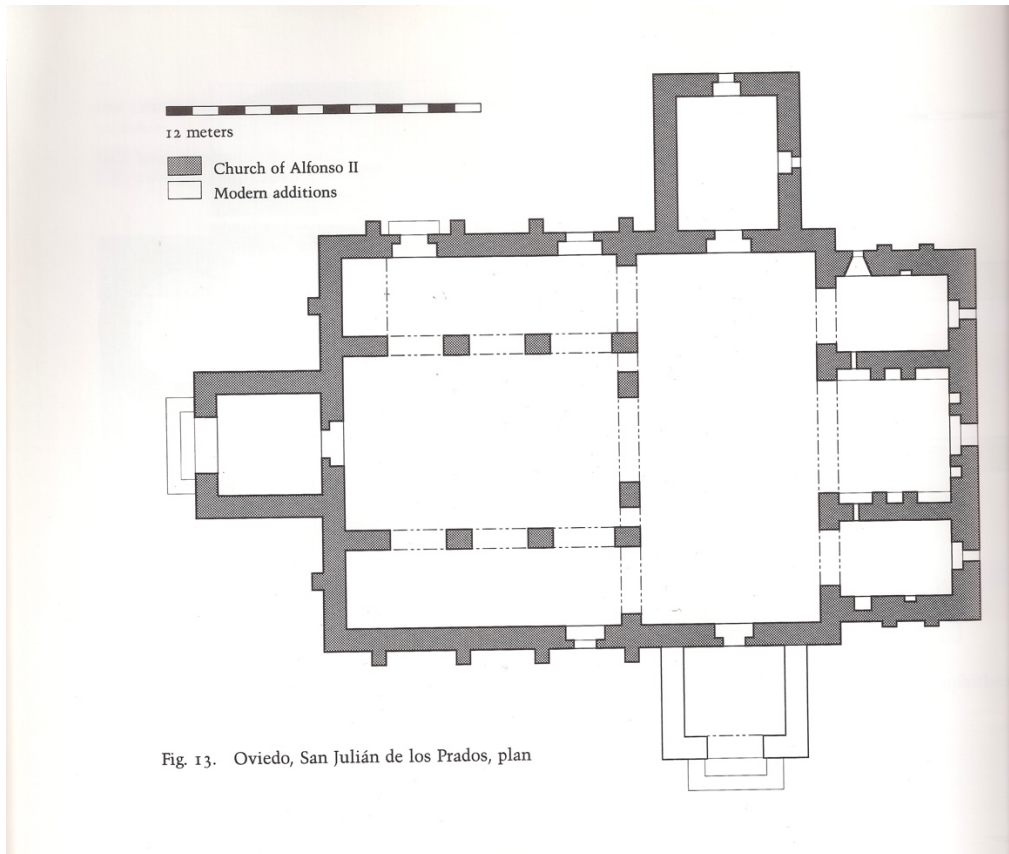


Figure 30.1: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, plan. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, Fig. 13.



Figure 30.2: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, west façade from south west angle.



Figure 30.3: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, clerestory window, north east wall of transept.



Figure 30.4: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, trabeated arched-window, north west wall, north chapel.



Figure 30.5: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, exterior east wall, north chapel.



Figure 30.6: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south façade from south west angle.



Figure 30.7: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, east façade.



Figure 30.8: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, miniature arcade, east façade.



Figure 30.9: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, miniature arcade, east façade.



Figure 30.10: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, central section, east façade.



Figure 30.11: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north façade from north west angle.



Figure 30.12: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north west aisle portal.



Figure 30.13: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north east aisle portal, filled-in.



Figure 30.14: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south east aisle portal, filled-in.



Figure 30.15: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, nave looking east.



Figure 30.16: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south nave arcade.



Figure 30.17: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north aisle looking east.



Figure 30.18 San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, transept looking east.



Figure 30.19: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, transept looking south.



Figure 30.20: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north chapel.



Figure 30.21: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south chapel looking south east.



Figure 30.22: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north chapel looking north east.



Figure 30.23: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, central chapel.



Figure 30.24: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north blind arcade, central chapel.



Figure 30.25: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south blind arcade, central chapel.



Figure 30.26: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, marble plaque, internal north jamb, central chapel arch.



Figure 30.27: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, marble plaque, internal south jamb, central chapel arch.



Figure 30.28: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, carved capital with acanthus foliage, internal north jamb, central chapel arch.



Figure 30.29: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, carved capital with acanthus foliage, north blind arcade, central chapel.



Figure 30.30: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, south wall and barrel vault, north chapel.



Figure 30.31: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, vault painting, south chapel.



Figure 30.32: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, vault painting, central chapel.



Figure 30.33: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted geometric decoration, south nave arcade faces and spandrel.



Figure 30.34: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted foliage sprouting from vases, intrados, western crossing arch.



Figure 30.35: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, wall painting, west wall of nave.



Figure 30.36: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north nave arcade looking east.



Figure 30.37: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, architectural representation, upper register, north nave architrave.



Figure 30.38: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, architectural ciborium with cascading drapes, lower register, north nave architrave.



Figure 30.39: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted triumphant cross, west wall, west crossing arch.



Figure 30.40: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted imitation fluting with marble striations, north jamb, central chapel arch.



Figure 30.41: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north transept wall.



Figure 30.42: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, painted fluted pilaster, south east corner, east transept wall.



Figure 30.43: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, detail, upper portal and filled-in arched window, north transept wall.



Figure 30.44: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, exterior north wall, north porticus.



Figure 30.45: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, north nave arcade showing asymmetrical western wall.

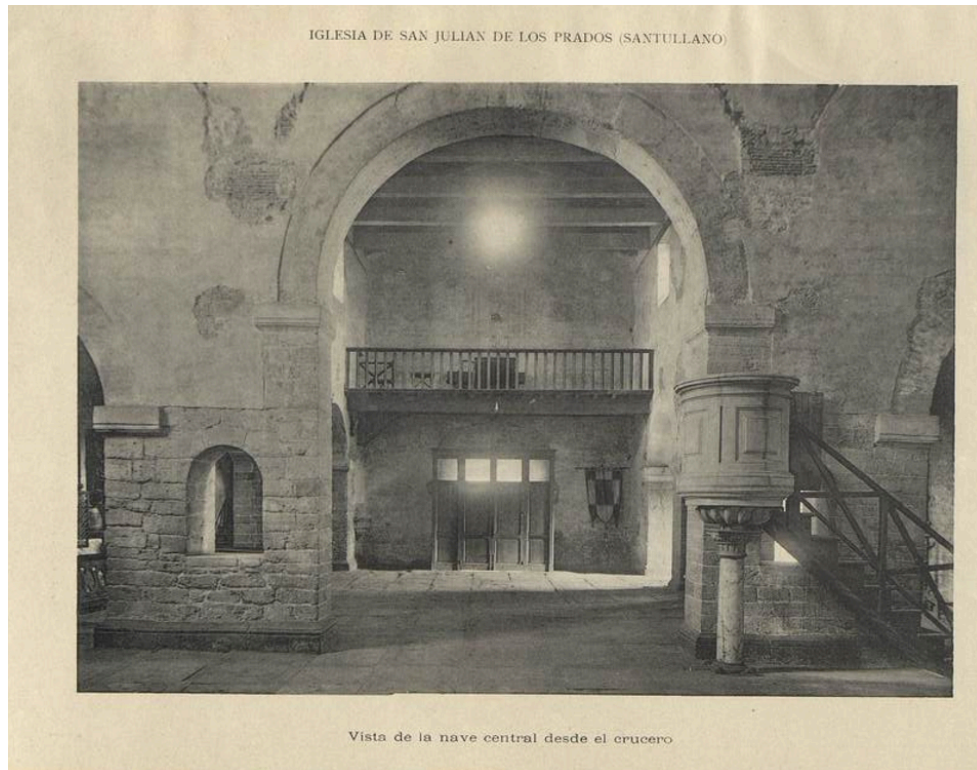


Figure 30.46: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, pre-restoration photograph of west nave tribune. After de Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, pl 20.

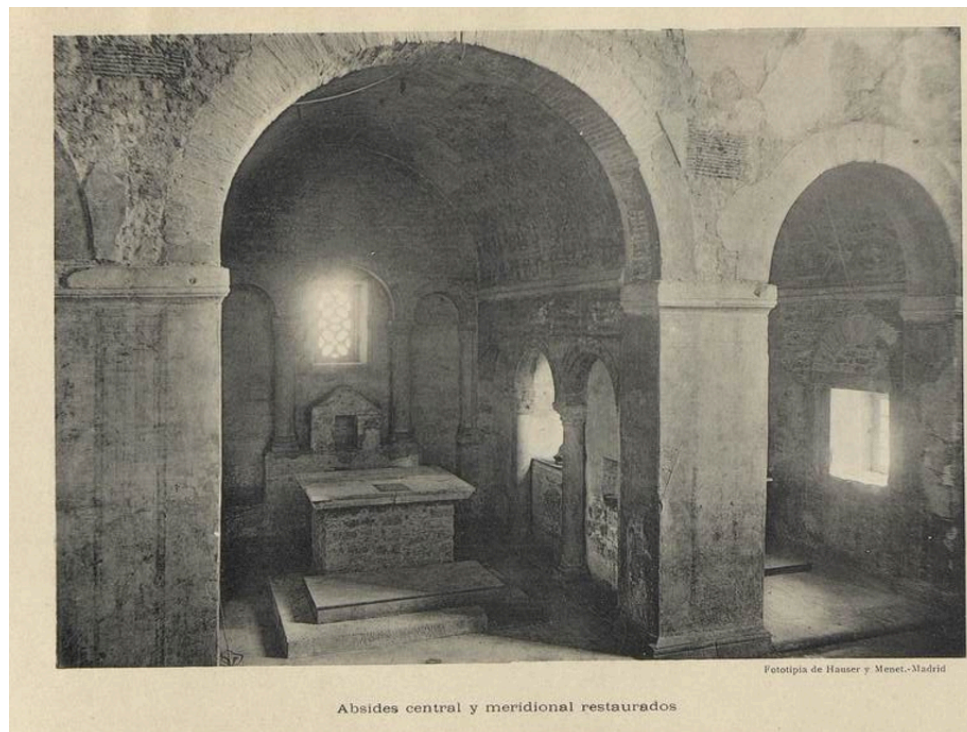


Figure 30.47: San Julián de los Prados, Asturias, pre-restoration photograph of central and south chapels. After de Selgas, *La basilica de San Julián de los Prados*, pl 14.



Figure 31: São João de Nazaré, Leiria, eastern sanctuary. After Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, pl. 9.