[Recepción del artículo: 09/07/2019]
[Aceptación del artículo revisado: 29/09/2020]

Making Sense of a Fragmented Picture: Reflections on Spanish Medieval Art at the Met and Beyond

Elaborar el sentido de una imagen fragmentada: Reflexiones sobre el arte medieval español en el Metropolitan Museum y más allá

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Abstract

Can a museum, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, embrace the art and culture of Medieval Iberia in a way that is honest, informative and stimulating? Focusing primarily on the Museum's display of medieval art of Iberia and its 1993 exhibition project *The Art of Medieval Spain: A.D.500-1200,* that remained unfulfilled, and its 1992 prequel *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* I reflect on these ambitious enterprises endeavoring to look at their international context. The goal of both projects was to offer an overview of the main artistic trends in Iberia —from 500 to 1200— using strategic portable works of art in all media. The Museum's rich holdings of Spanish art made it the logical institution to explore these issues. The Museum could also utilize monumental settings at the Museum such as the Romanesque apse of San Martin from Fuentidueña (Segovia) installed at The Cloisters and Romanesque wall paintings as a critical springboard for exploring artistic identity, meaning and interchange. Combined with major art collectors such as Archer Huntington (1870-1955), founder of the Hispanic Society of America, J. P. Morgan (1837-1913) and William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) American museums nurtured a new understanding of Medieval Spain.

Recent interest in Medieval Spain is exemplified by the Minneapolis Institute of Art 2015 key acquisition of a monumental Romanesque stone crucifixion group. Possibly originating in Northern Spain it also reveals many rich sculptural links to Burgundian Brionaise sites, and, thus, exemplifies important issues of identifying artistic place in a time of mobility.

Keywords: Metropolitan Museum, Met, Sculpture, Ivory, Léon.

Resumen

¿Puede un museo como el Metropolitan Museum of Art abarcar el arte y la cultura de la Iberia medieval de una manera honesta, informativa y estimulante? Considerando principalmente la presentación que el MET hace del arte medieval ibérico y su proyecto de exposición de 1993 *The Art of Medieval Spain: A.D.500-1200*, que no llegó a celebrarse, y su precuela de 1992 *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* reflexiono sobre estas ambiciosas empresas tratando de considerar su contexto internacional. El objetivo de ambos proyectos era ofrecer una visión general de las principales tendencias artísticas de la Península Ibérica –del 500 al 1200– utilizando emblemáticas obras de arte portátiles en todos los soportes. La riqueza del arte español en los fondos del MET lo convertía en la institución lógica para explorar estos argumentos. El Museo también podía utilizar sus escenarios monumentales, como el ábside románico de San Martín de Fuentidueña (Segovia) instalado en The Cloisters y las pinturas murales románicas como un trampolín crítico para explorar la identidad artística, el significado y el intercambio. En paralelo a importantes coleccionistas de arte como Archer Huntington (1870-1955), fundador de la Hispanic Society of America, J. P. Morgan (1837-1913) y William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951), los museos estadounidenses fomentaron una nueva comprensión de la España medieval.

El reciente interés en la España medieval se ejemplifica con la adquisición, por parte del Minneapolis Institute of Art en 2015, de una monumental crucifixión románica de piedra. Posiblemente originado en el norte de España, también revela muchos y ricos vínculos escultóricos con los sitios del área Brionesa borgoñona. Por lo tanto, ejemplifica importantes análisis centrados en la identificación de lugares artísticos en una época histórico de intensa movilidad.

Keywords: Metropolitan Museum, Escultura, Marfil, León.

In Memory of Carmen Gómez-Moreno[1]

The Making of the Art of Medieval Spain in New York

New York is fortunate to be home to multiple institutions that present the art of Iberia in considerable depth: the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, the Hispanic Society of America, the Jewish Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met), and its medieval branch at The Cloisters.

Encyclopedic museums, like the Met, display artistic achievements across time and space. Holding virtually a unique position for a museum outside of Spain the Met possesses the most comprehensive collection anywhere of works of art of the Iberian middle ages. Obvi-

[1] I began at the Metropolitan Museum of Art as a curatorial intern working for the Medieval Department's Curator-in-charge Carmen Gómez-Moreno (1914–2008), daughter of the great Hispanist Manuel Gómez-Moreno (1870-1970). As a mentor and friend, she instilled a true curiosity in the Museum's medieval collection and its many wonders.

ously none of the currently installed works of art were originally destined for a museum setting. Thus, the conundrum lies in effectively presenting the art in a sympathetic and meaningful way. Some of the Mets earliest acquisitions, mainly by gift, were of Spanish origin. For example, the ca. 1460 alabaster altar predella, made for Archbishop Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló, and coming from the archbishop's palace at Saragossa was a gift of the collector and philanthropist J. Pierpont Morgan in 1909.[2]

The Mets efforts to present Medieval Iberia has changed significantly over time. In neither its permanent display, nor in its special exhibitions, can any museum paint a complete picture of a culture or region. Integrated and juxtaposed with works of other European regions Spanish medieval art at the Met presents it chronologically or dictated by the gallery space available. The Museum's Spanish medieval displays stretch across numerous galleries, including Islamic, and at The Cloisters representing what is essentially the Christian West.[3] Surveying even a selection of the Mets holdings of Spanish Medieval art from the Visigothic period to the Renaissance still offer challenges of meaning and interpretation, especially if one considers the proverbial other half of the coin, the contribution of Andalusia. The art of the caliphal period of Al-Andalus while part of the story of Medieval Iberia is materially conveyed separately in the Mets new display in galleries devoted to Islamic Art, now called "Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia and Later South Asia". Thus, Al-Andalus represents the extreme Western extension of Islam.

Until recently Medieval Judaica of Iberia was absent from the Mets collection. It is now represented by a splendidly decorated Hebrew Bible from Castile. Its ornamental elements merge Islamic and Gothic features. The manuscript bears the signature of an early owner, David ha-Kohen Coutinh[o], who penned his name on its pages on Rosh Hashanah in 1366, and thus the codex was likely created ca.1300-1350 (Fig. 1).[4]

Divorced from its original time and place the Met endeavors to present the complexity of medieval cultures in multiple physical settings, seen primarily in its galleries in the main building. The underpinnings of its approach exemplifies Walter Benjamin's concept of an object's aura, a property embedded in time, history, and place. In recent museum studies, such as that of Patricia Vigderman, who writes on cultural patrimony and migration of art from antiquity to the present she utilizes these principles. Like Benjamin, she understands that deprived of its original location, the object's aura is diminished. However, we gain instead a new and different aura when works of art are placed into a museum where they generate new values because of their deracination, or uprooting. These works of art are given a new 'cultural electricity'.[5]

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[2] S. Janke, "The Retable of Don Dalmau de Mur y Cervelló from the Archbishop's Palace at Saragossa: A Documented Work by Franci Gomar and Tomas Giner", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 18 (1983), pp. 65-80.

[3] T. B. Husband, "Creating The Cloisters", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* (Spring, 2015), pp. 4-48.

[4] Acquired in 2018 (2018.59). See "The Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection: 2016-2018", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 76/ 2 (Fall 2018), p. 17.

[5] P. Vigderman, *The Real Life of the Parthenon*, Columbus (OH), 2018; see also W. Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility: Third Version," trans. Z. and E. Jephcott, in *Selected Writings*, M. Bulloch et al. (eds.), Cambridge (Mass.), 1996-2003, 4:251-283. See also M. Bratu Hansen, "Benjamin's Aura", *Critical Inquiry*, 34 (Winter 2008), pp. 336-375.

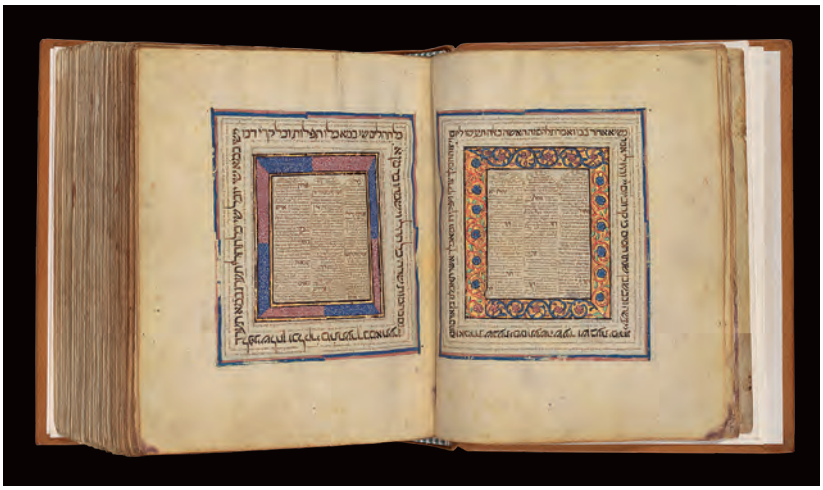

Fig. 1. Hebrew Bible from Castile, before 1366, the Met, The Cloisters collection, 2018.59. (photo: the Met, public domain)

Unable to return art or history to a lost past museums attempt to give works of art a tactile presence in juxtaposing, or sometime isolating a masterpiece. Evocative of that goal within a gallery setting where works of art can be sympathetic—or even completely contrasting- is seen, for example, at the recent Kolumba Museum in Cologne, designed by Peter Zumthor, where simplified presentation is critical to enhance meaning.

Does the justice of restoring an artistic patrimony outweigh the aura of the uprooted work of art in a museum setting? We cannot return art or history to a lost past as the audience is ever changing. As observed by Sigfried Giedion "History cannot be touched without changing it…and we cannot return art or history to a lost past."[6] De-contextualization of objects often complicates the fact that great objects—or even installations—can still have both religious meaning and high aesthetic value. Thus, indroducing such works of art into a museum setting is the key challenge for museums.

Essentially the Met has two approaches for displaying the art of Spanish medieval heritage, one where the material is integrated into the collection in the main building of the museum and the other at The Cloisters where it is given a sympathetic architectural setting. Here is a prime example of a distinctly American attempt to transfer—or existentially transport—a visitor to another time and place. It becomes a prime example of artistic and cultural meaning reinforced by its quasi-medieval surroundings yet is sometimes compromised by the setting itself. Divorced from its original time and place the Met appears to be successful in contending with these ambiguities of medieval cultures in a new physical setting.[7]

Fortunately, The Cloisters also houses, on permanent loan from the Spanish government, the Romanesque apse from the church of San Martin at Fuentidueña (Segovia) (Fig. 2). From

[6] See S. Giedion, *The Eternal Present. A contribution of constancy and change*, New York, 1962-64, p. 38.

[7] For example, see R. Majeed, "Excuse Me, Is This a Church? Display as Content at the Metropolitan Museum of Art", *Journal of Museum Education*, 42 (2017/3), pp. 258-272.

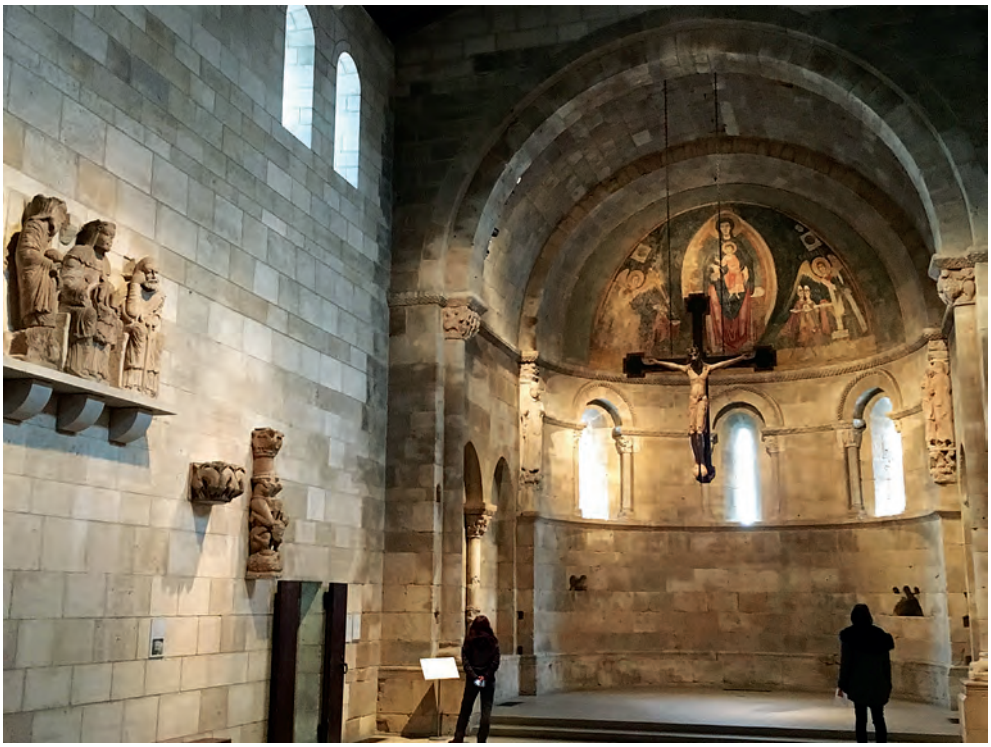

Fig. 2. Romanesque apse from the church of San Martin at Fuentidueña (Segovia), ca. 1175-1200 (Photo: Author)

a functioning liturgical space in Medieval Segovia to a Museum installation— removed in time and space—it is perhaps the best monumental architectural example of Spanish Romanesque in North America. In essence, these stones evoke a Spanish monument from a known setting that possesses some archaeological accuracy. The journey of the Fuentidueña apse from Castile to New York (1958-61) was extensively documented.[8] Creating an atmosphere reminiscent of the Romanesque period the apse, nevertheless, might be regarded as hovering between genuine medieval and a kind of Disneyland. Importantly, the physical accuracy of the space also utilizes material consistent with the monument. At The Cloisters the reconstruction of the original architectural proportions of the apse is respected, but the modern nave is rebuilt of stone similar to the original. A simulated environment is the best one could hope for rather than an actual ecclesiastical structure totally rebuilt and out of context. Consequently, the apse is an authentic Spanish Romanesque space, with the above qualifications noted, transplanted to Manhattan.

The apse incorporates other contemporary Spanish elements. Displayed within the space are wall paintings and a monumental polychromed Crucifix (see below), forming a sympa-

[8] See C. Gómez-Moreno, "The Fuentidueña apse: History, Stylistic Analysis and Dismantling," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 19 /10 (June 1961), pp. 268-89. *The Fuentidueña apse*, The Department of Digital Media, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2013). Video online from MetMedia.

Fig. 3. Virgin and Child in Majesty with the Adoration of the Magi from the church of Era Mare de Diu de Cap d'Aran, near Tredòs, ca. 1100 (50.180 a-c) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

thetic display ensemble. The ca. 1100 apse painting with the Virgin and Child in Majesty with the Adoration of the Magi comes from the Catalan church of Era Mare de Diu de Cap d'Aran, near Tredòs (Fig. 3).[9] Inserted into the unrelated half-dome of the Fuentidueña apse, having a slightly larger curvature, it surprisingly appears to be harmonious with the space. This is not unlike two monumental complexes installed at the Met: the ca. 1506-1515 patio from castle of Vélez-Blanco (Almeria) and the choir screen grill, completed, ca. 1763, from Valladolid cathedral. Significantly, the screen's installed dimensions are almost precisely the same as its setting in the cathedral of Valladolid before its removal in order to offer a more free flowing space for the liturgy.

[9] M. Pagès I Paretas, "Es pintures romaniques de Santa Maria de Cap d'Aran", in *Miscellanèa en aumenatge a Melquíades Calzado de Castro: "Damb eth còr aranés",* Lérida, 2010, pp. 317-331.

Reflecting on Spanish medieval works of art at the Met: a selection

A monumental Romanesque polychromed Crucifix, carved of white oak, is now suspended within the space of the Fuentidueña apse (Fig. 4). Displaying Christ as the living triumphant redeemer the crucifix, originally intended to be surmounting a rood screen, now provides a visual anchor to the chapel. The crucifix was originally thought to be from the convent of Santa Clara in Astudillo, northeast of Palencia (Castile), but it may actually have been in another Romanesque church in the region.[10] Possessing some early polychromy it has gilded *pastiglia* elements on the perizonium, originally painted an azurite blue, and Christ wearing a crown with simulated cabochons gems. Its place in the canon of monumental Romanesque crucifixes can be linked also to both ivories and to precious altar crosses, discussed below.

Fig. 4. Polychromed Crucifix, Palencia (?), ca. 1150-1200 (35.36a,b) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

[10] See now M. D. Marincola, "The Cloisters Romanesque Crucifix from Northern Spain: A Reconstruction and Interpretation", in *Christ on the Cross, The Boston Fuld Crucifix and the rise of Monumental Wood Sculpture 970-1200*, S. Fozi, G. Lutz (eds.), Turnhout, 2019, 262-281; D. Simon, "Romanesque Art in American Collections, XXI. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part 1: Spain", *Gesta*, XXII/2 (1984), pp. 157-158; *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D.500-1200*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1993, cat. no. 102; M. D. Marincola, L. Kargère, *The Conservation of Medieval Polychromed Wood Sculpture: History, Theory, Practice*, Los Angeles, 2020, pp. 46-47.

From the San Pedro de Arlanza chapter house, a monastic foundation near Hortigüela (Burgos), more than a dozen frescoes were removed from the site by the property owner in the 1920's. These consisted of paintings of animals, beasts and birds. They are now mostly in Barcelona, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and at The Cloisters (Fig. 5).[11] Painted around the year 1200 there are paired beasts, both real and imaginary. Painted within a room above the Arlanza chapter house their function and meaning are still puzzling, but precursors exist that are equally intriguing such as those of San Baulelio de Berlanga (Soria).

The now divided Romanesque wall paintings of the hermitage monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria) —the Prado, the Met, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Massachusetts), the Indianapolis Museum of Art (Indiana) and the Cincinnati Museum of Art (Ohio)—together comprise one of the most remarkable, almost unprecedented, pictorial cycles (Figs. 6a, 6b).

Fig. 5. San Pedro de Arlanza chapter house (Burgos), ca. 1200 (1931.38.2) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

[11] See W. Cahn, "The Frescoes of San Pedro de Arlanza", in *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*, E. C. Parker (ed.), New York, 1988, pp. 87-110; I. Socias Batet, "Les pintures murals de San Pedro de Arlanza al Museu dels Cloisters de Nova York", in *Agents i comerç d'art: Noves fronteres. XI Seminari sobre Història Social del Col·leccionisme / Agentes y comercio de arte: Nuevas fronteras. XI Seminario sobre Historia Social del Coleccionismo (2015)*, Y. Pérez Carrasco (ed.), Biblioteconomía y Administración Cultural, Gijón, Vol. 296 (2016), pp. 157–188; J.L. Senra, "Y vivía entre las fieras, pero los ángeles le servían: poder, saber y representación abacial en el monasterio de San Pedro de Arlanza", in *En busca del saber: arte y ciencia en el Mediterráneo medieval*, A. Uscatescu, I. González Hernando (eds.), Madrid, 2018, pp. 333-366.

One of the goals of the Mets project (see below) was to reunite the available dispersed elements of this rich pictorial series. In a semi-centralized architectural setting—evoking a sprouting palm tree, as if echoing the ribbed vaults of great mosque of Umayyad Cordoba—it included narrative scenes of the Life of Christ, images of saints, that included the eponymous St. Baudel, and simulated textile designs. Most unusual, however, are hunting scenes and a menagerie of animals that formed a kind of bas-de-page arrangement.[12] Together they form a marvelous merging of Byzantine, Islamic/al-Andalus and Mozarabic forms. One habitually attempts to understand such imagery within a Christian framework where one typically generates meaning by juxtaposition and by an anagogical arrangement with the more secular themes below and episodes of the life of Christ above. Probably painted just following the conquest of Berlanga over Islamic control in 1124 by the forces of Alfonso VII the now divided cycle is a potent reminder of the fragility of any artistic heritage.

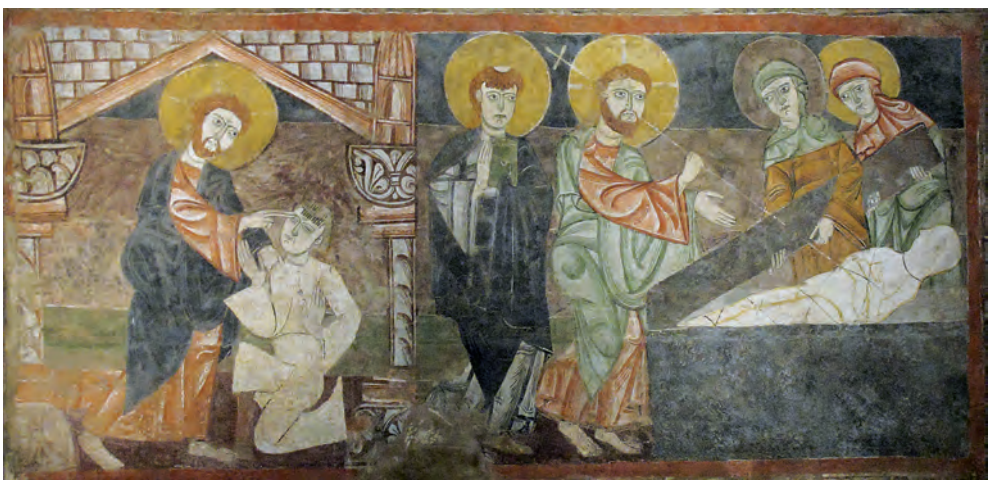

Fig. 6 a,b. San Baudilio de Berlanga (Soria), ca. 1125-40, Camel; Healing of the Blind Man and Raising of Lazarus (61.219; 59.196) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

[12] See now M. Guardia Pons, *San Baudelio de Berlanga, una encrucijada*, Barcelona, 2013; L. Grau Lobo, *Pintura Románica en Castilla y León*, Valladolid, 1996, pp. 87-127; *Early Medieval Spain*, cat. no. 103 (J. Dodds). For a review of the documentary evidence see M. Guardia Pons, "Fortunio Aznárez en Berlanga", *Románico, Revista de arte de amigos del románico*, 20 (2015), pp. 68-77; Mª. J. Martínez Ruiz, "La venta y expolio del patrimonio románico de Castilla y León: el caso de las pinturas murales", in *La diáspora del románico hispano: de la protección al expolio,* Aguilar de Campoo, 2013, pp. 11-57.

At eye level are a series of animals, a kind of bestiary, and hunting scenes, and simulated textiles, that have resisted interpretation (Fig. 7). One is reminded that these images are intentionally evocative. In many respects, they perfectly exemplify what Lucas, canon at San Isidoro de León and later Bishop of Tuy, said, around 1230, about the function of such imagery: "they are for adornment and beauty only". As if he was actually speaking of the Berlanga subjects Lucas says specifically "…certain images are painted or carved in the church of Christ for the defense of the faithful, for doctrine, for imitation, and for adornment. Some are for doctrine, imitation and likewise for adornment, and some are for adornment only. Some are indeed for doctrine, so that in them men may learn to fear and to avoid behaving sinfully….There are in the church painted forms of animals, birds and serpents, and other things which are for adornment and beauty only." Thus, they may not necessarily have instructional or doctrinal value.[13] Lucas of Tuy's sensitive aesthetic comments, thus sheds welcome light on both the Berlanga paintings and the 'Bestiary' decoration at Arlanza.

The so-called Jaca book covers (17.190.33, 17.190.134) from Santa Cruz de los Serós are a cornerstone of the Mets treasury collection (Figs. 8a, 8b). Historically they had been

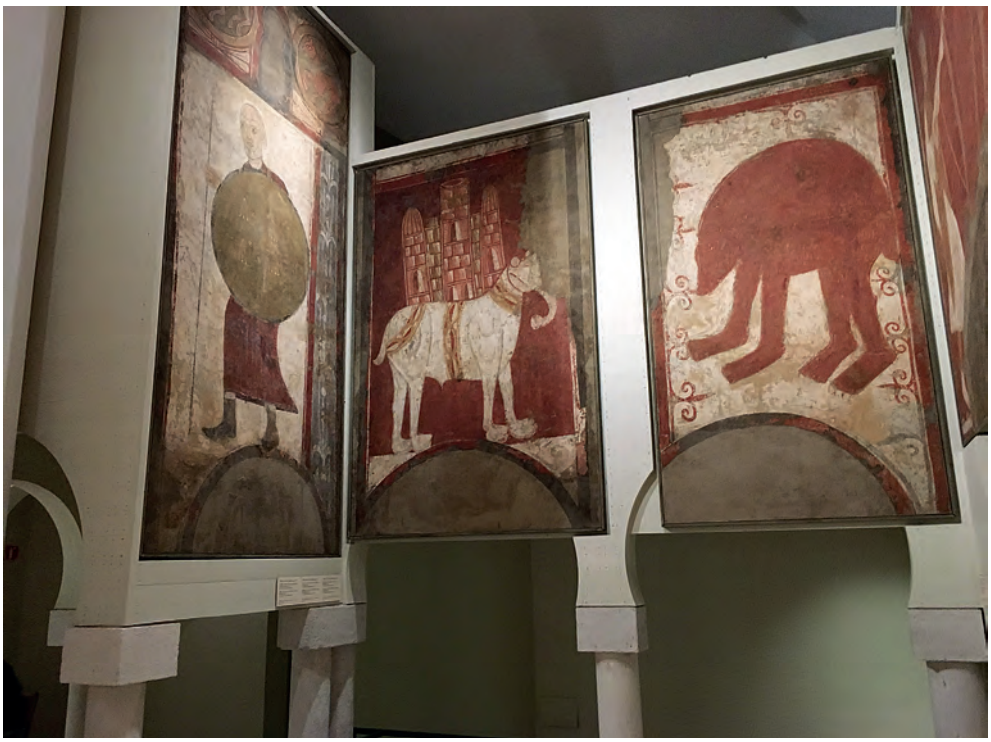

Fig. 7. San Baudilio de Berlanga elements as installed at the Museo de Prado (Photo: Author)

[13] See C. Gilbert, "A Statement of the Aesthetic Attitude around 1200", in *Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts*, 13/12 (1985), pp. 125-152.

thought to be covers of an Evangeliary. Patronage of one panel is secure since it contains the name Felicia (+1085), wife of Sancho V Ramírez (ca. 1037-94), King of Aragon and Navarre. As both covers come from the convent of Santa Cruz, founded by Felicia, they are key objects of royal female patronage.[14]

Nevertheless, the actual function of both panels is perplexing. There is no clear method to attach either panel to a codex since both are mounted onto wood panels. Resolving the question of the date of the wood support for both—often labeled as replacements—may aid in determining their purpose. Both panels may, in fact, be surrogate emblems of the Gospels intended for an altar setting. Perhaps, they are not unlike the 6th century silver repoussé panels from Antioch (47.100.36, 50.5.1, 2), also exhibited at the Met. Similarly, the support is lost, suggesting that they may have been either book covers or votive icons.[15] Other liturgical altar elements are also plausible, such as book shrines. There are at least eight surviving early Irish examples. Called 'cumdachs' they were not intended to be opened, but treated the codex

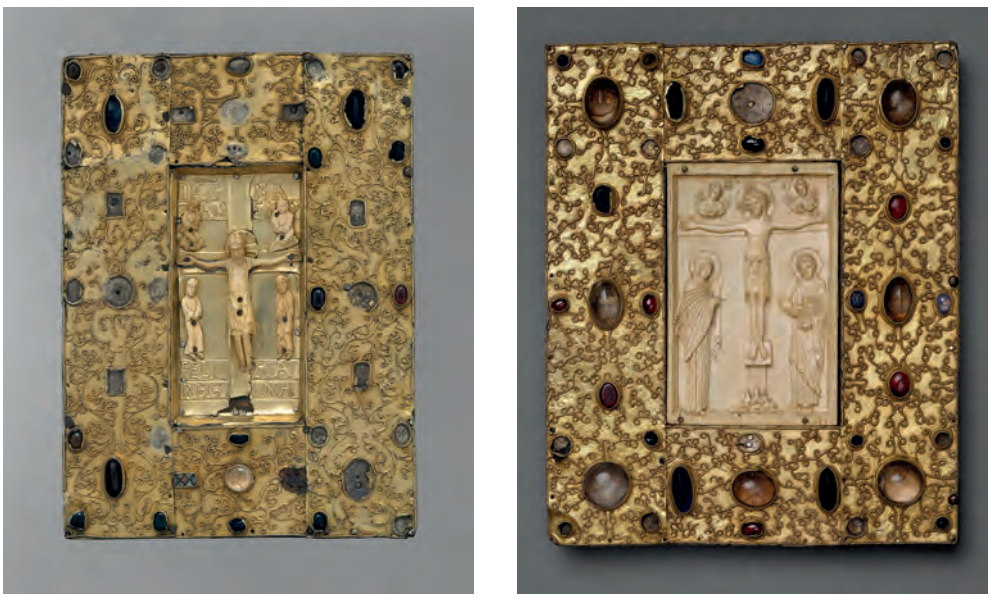

Fig. 8 a, b. So-called Jaca book covers from Santa Cruz de los Serós, before 1085, (17.190.33, 134) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

[14] See V. Abenza Soria, "The Jaca Ivories: Towards a Revaluation of Eleventh Century Female Artisitc Patronage in the Kingdom of Aaragon", in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes*, J. Camps i Sòria, M. A. Castiñeiras, J. McNeill, R. Plant (eds.), British Archaeological Association, 2018, pp. 183-193; *Ead.*, "Ego Regina: un nuevo retrato del patrocinio artístico femenino en Aragón a finales del siglo xi", *Románico, Revista de arte de amigos del románico*, 20 (2015), pp. 88-97; *The Art of Medieval Spain,* exh. cat. no. 128.

[15] S*ilver of Early Byzantium*, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 1986, exh. cat. no. 11; M. E. Frazer, "Early Byzantine Silver Book Covers", in M. Mundell Mango, S. Boyd (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth Century Byzantium*, Washington D.C., 1992, pp. 71-76.

within as a holy relic.[16] Continental versions are rare and there they instead functioned as lids for book boxes, one of the best preserved examples was made for the Uta Codex, a Salzburg work of ca. 1025.[17] Another Romanesque Northern Spanish copper repoussé Crucifixion panel on a wood core was recently discovered. It offers a parallel to the Jaca panels, but the date of its support is equally unknown.[18]

Another category of function is the question whether such panels are to be understood as some kind of book-shaped reliquary—although no obvious relics are evident. Not unlike the Jaca panel with its Byzantine ivory crucifixion is the spoliated Byzantine ivory panel on the 'Precious Gospels of Bernward of Hildesheim' that may have achieved a similar relic-like status (Fig. 8b).[19] Descriptions and documents exist of such simulacra, or emblematic codices, for an altar, such as a *plenarium* (normally for the Gospels). One may cite the reference to the book of Gerhoh of Reicherberg (Rhineland-Palatinate), around 1150, saying "then we worship as though a book full of Gospels, which we call *plenarium*…"[20] Thus, understanding a precious book's value as a portable icon becomes a critical window into understanding how it was intended within the liturgy.[21]

Among the largest individual relief carved ivory panels to survive from the early middle ages are a group now divided between New York, St. Petersburg and Oviedo (Fig. 9).[22] (The New York panel (17.190.47) is 27 x 13.3 x 1.75 cm. and weighs 800 grams.) Together these ivories, and others, now lost, adorned a large reliquary casket certainly carved in León. The effort to bring together the surviving ivory panels was one of the goals of the exhibition project (see below) and the evocative cover image of its publication reflects both the beauty and the grandeur of this master ivory carver. The dramatic power of the carved figures, sometime contorted with emphatic gestures, are almost acting out a liturgical drama with exceptional urgency. A profusion of knotted drapery enlivens the forms. These ivories may well may have been part of a gift of Urraca, Queen of Castile and León (r. 1109-1126). One tantalizing mention does exist of silver and ivory reliquaries that she gifted to San Isidoro: "she had them (rel-

[16] See P. Mullarkey, "Some observations on the Form and State of the Soiscéal Molaise Book Shrine", in *Irish Art Historical Studies in honour of Peter Harbison*, C. Hourihane (ed.), Princeton, 2004, pp. 124-140; *Treasures of Ireland, Irish Art 300 B.C. – 1500 A.D*, Dublin, 1983, cat. nos. 75, 76, 83, 85.

[17] See *Pracht auf Pergament, Schätze der Buchmalerei von 780 bis 1180*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 2012, exh. cat. no.40; Langobardic examples also exist, for example, see O. von Falke, "Ein Langobardidischer Buchschrein des 10. Jh", *Pantheon,* 10 (1932), pp. 385-91. See H.-W. Stork, "Mittelalterliche Buchkästen", in *Buchkunst im Mittelalter und Kunst der Gegenwart, Festschrift für Ulrich Kuder*, H-W. Stork, B.Tewes, C. Waszak, (eds.), Wiesbaden, 2011, pp. 291-319.

[18] See P. Williamson, *The Wyvern Collection, Medieval and Renaissance Sculpture and Metalwork,* London, 2018, cat. no. 30.

[19] P. Barnet, M. Brandt, G. Lutz (eds.), *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, the Met, exhibition catalogue, 2013, cat. no. 32.

[20] See C. T. Little, "Again the Cleveland Book-Shaped Reliquary", in *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis*, J. Ehlers, D. Kötzsche (eds.), Mainz, 1998, pp. 77-92, esp. p.79.

[21] See A. Sahaydachny, "Schedula diversarum atrium': A Commentary Sourcebook for the Customary Production of Liturgical Objects in the Benedictine Workshop of the Early Twelfth Century", in *Zwischen Kunsthandwerk und Kunst: Die 'Schedula Diversarum Artium'*, A. Speer (ed.), *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 37 (2013), pp. 399-416.

[22] See *Early Medieval Spain*, exh. cat no 115.

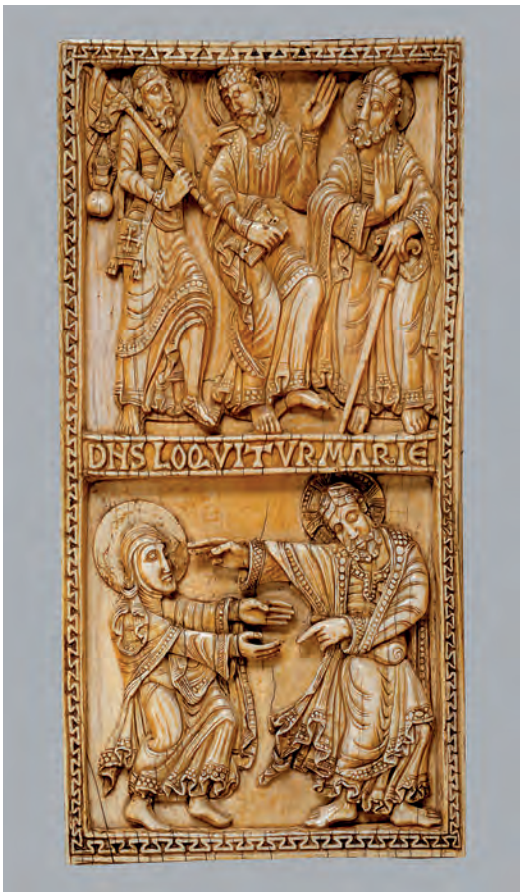

Fig. 9. Way to Emmaus and 'Noli me tangere' ivory panel, León, early 12th cen., (17.190.47) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

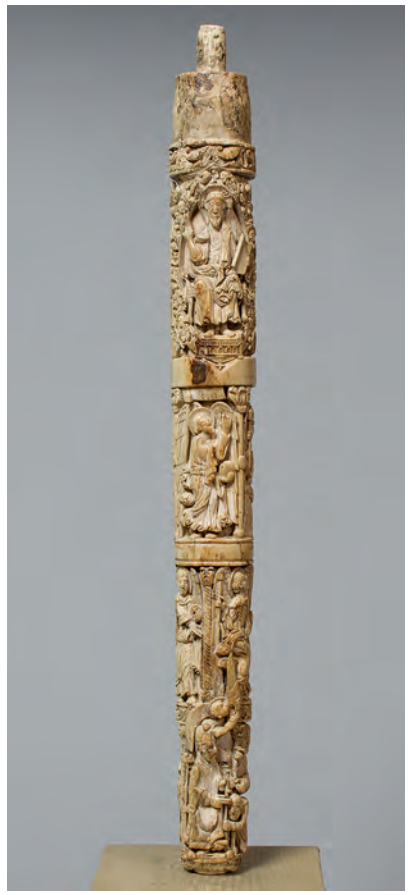

Fig. 10. Ivory crozier element, Northern Spain, Santiago de Compostela (?), ca. 1200, (1981.1) (Photo: Author)

ics) placed with honor in caskets of silver and ivory".[23] Might these ivories have been destined for one of these caskets? We will never be certain. Nevertheless, one sees in the lyrical composition of the scenes, especially in the 'Noli me tangere', figures moved as if in a heavenly dance. Surprisingly these scenes bear some similarities to German carvings of the same period that, therefore, speak of a common model, or itineracy of artists.[24]

[23] See T. Martin, "Caskets of Silver and Ivory from Diverse Parts of the World: Strategic Collecting for an Iberian Treasury", *Medieval Encounters* 25 (2019) 1–38, esp. 24, 25; and T. Martin, *Queen as King; Politics and Architectural propaganda in twelfth century Spain*, Leiden, 2006.

[24] See A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinsklpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächischen Zeit*, III, Berlin, 1924, no. 83; the reliquary casket, thought by Goldschmidt to be a Westphalian creation in ivory and enamel, whose present whereabouts is unknown, possess striking parallels with Northern Spanish reliquary caskets.

For the London 1982 exhibition on 'English Romanesque Art' a group of exquisitely carved related ivory crozier elements were brought together because they appeared to be of English origin.[25] Now some of these ivory elements may be more convincingly associated with Santiago de Compostela and Galicia around 1200 under the artistic influence of Master Mateo (Fig. 10). If the Met crozier element is from Santiago or Galicia there seems to be support for this attribution in its seemingly direct stylistic associations with the sculpture and art of the region. Now the ivory is generally accepted as being associated with Santiago de Compostela[26] (Figs. 11a and 11b). As a clear symbol of ecclesiastical authority one looks at various candidates for the patron of the crozier, actually depicted on the lower register kneeling before the bishop. One candidate might be Pedro Muñiz and made for his elevation as archbishop and concertation in 1207. Active until his death in 1224 he was a major ecclesiastical figure and was present at the cathedral's consecration/dedication in 1211. Pedro Muñiz was buried at the base of the Portico de la Gloria, just below the celebrated kneeling figure of Master Mateo.[27] He also had finished the nearby 12th century church of Santa Maria de Sar and his successor, Bernaldo II (1224-37), was entombed there in 1240. [28] As was the normal custom Pedro Muniz's personal crozier, and key emblem of his ecclesiastical authority, was buried with him. In the early nineteen century, and in the wake of the Napoleonic wars, exhumation and re-organization of the tombs in the area of the cathedral may well have been the occasion to open his tomb and remove items.

The centerpiece of the Mets recently reinstalled medieval gallery is the imposing silver Asturian reliquary processional cross (17.190.1406) (Figs. 11a, 11b). Its Latin inscription reads:

[IN HON]ORE : S[AN]C[T]I :
SA / LVATORIS : SA / NCCIA GVIDIS / ALVI ME : FECIT

(In honor of the Holy Savior, Sanccia Guidisalvi made me, or had me made.)

The cross has traditionally been dated ca. 1150—1175. This was based upon its presumed relationship to the Oviedo reliquary diptych for Gundisalvo Menéndez, in office 1162-1174).[29] Additionally, its provenance was said to be from the parish church of San Salvador

[25] *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200*, Hayward Gallery, London, exh. cat. nos. 215-218.

[26] See A. Hyde, *Revisiting the Metropolitan Museum's Segment of a Crozier Shaft and it Spanish Identity*, MA thesis, Courtauld Institute, London, 2017; C. T. Little, "Along the Road: Ivories and the Role of Compostela," in *Patrimonio artístico de Galica y otros estudios: Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez*, A. Franco Mata (ed.), vol. 3, Santiago de Compostela, 2004, pp. 159-166; M. Castiñieras, "Un nuevo testimonio de la iconografía jacobea: Los relieves pintados de Santiago de Turégano (Segovia) y su relación con el altar mayor de la Cathedral de Santiago", *Ad Limina*, 3 /3 (2012), pp. 73-117.

[27] See R. Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Dreams of Kings and Building: Visual and Literary Culture in Galicia", in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia, A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, J. D'Emilio (ed. trans), Leiden, 2015, pp. 700-722.

[28] J. Villa-amil y Castro, *Mobiliaro Litürgico de las Iglesias Gallegas en las edad media*, Madrid, 1907, pp. 3-8, 101-115.

[29] *Early Medieval Spain*, exh. cat. no.129; *Orígenes, Arte y cultura en Asturias, Siglos VII-XV*, Oviedo, exh. cat., 1993, pp. 304-307; Á. Franco Mata, "Tesoros de Oviedo y León, Problemas estilísticos, liturgia e iconografía", in *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, 27-28 (2009-10), pp. 51-118, esp. 83-86; T. Martin, "Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History", in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Leiden, 2012, vol. 1, pp. 1-33.

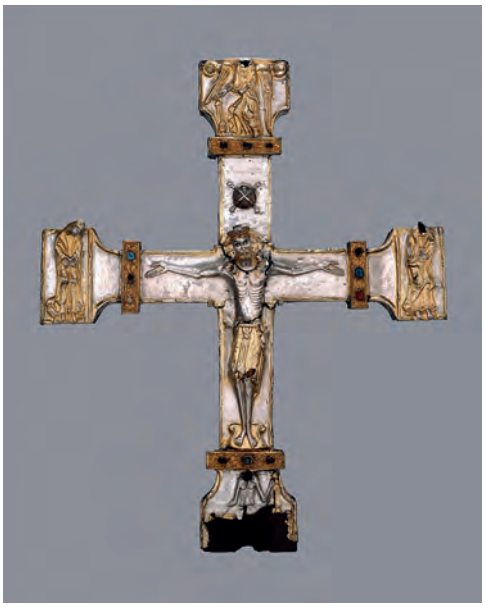

Fig. 11a. Processional Reliquary Cross from San Salvador de Fuentes (Asturias), ca. 1150-1175 (17.190. 1406) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

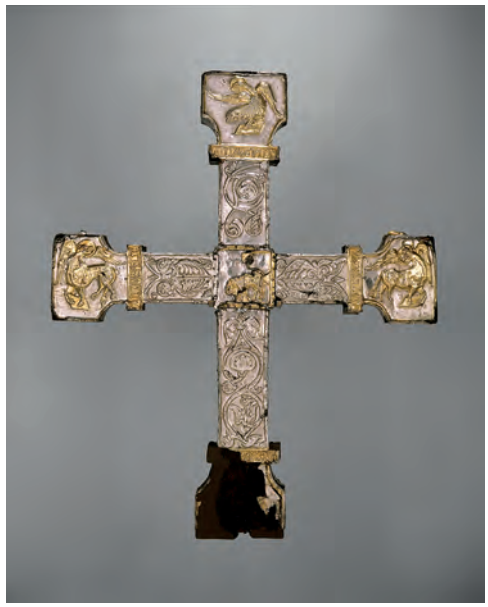

Fig. 11b. Processional Reliquary Cross from San Salvador de Fuentes (Asturias), ca. 1150-1175 (17.190. 1406) (Photo: the Met, public domain)

de Fuentes (Asturias). This small restored Romanesque church is in a rural area north east of Oviedo. An unusual location for a such a resplendent reliquary cross, it was possibly deposited there at a later date. Also, the identity of Sanccia Guidisalvi is not known. This would be an important aid in confirming its patron or artist, certainly a woman. Conceived to contain a relic—appearing to be a textile—located behind the hemispherical crystal above the head of Christ the cross is clearly an ambitious goldsmith creation. It also set with ancient mounted intaglios and stones.

As the date seems assured, one wonders why it echoes an older cross form found on the smaller silver gilt reliquary crosses in the treasury of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela known as 'Cruz de los Roleos' (15.5 x 12 x 4 cm.) (Fig. 12). Probably produced by a Rhenish workshop, thought to be active in León around 1065, and the related cross of Ordoño, of around 1060, (22 x 15 x 2.5 cm.) it attests to the active traffic of relics. Indeed, the 'Cruz of Roleos' is thought to have been made as a possible gift of a pilgrim from Northern Europe visiting the cathedral.[30] The Cruz de Ordoño was made as a gift for Fernando I and Sancha. Their son, García (1065-72), was brought up to become king of Galicia.[31] Thus, a full techni-

[30] See S. Moralejo Álvarez, "Les somptuaires hispaniques aux environ des 1100", *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 13 (1982), pp. 285-310 and his "'Ars sacra' et sculpture romane monumental: le trésor et le chantier de Compostela", *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 11 (1980), pp.189-238.

[31] See R. Yzquierdo Peiró, *Catálogo del Tesoro de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela*, 2017, p. 373 and 375. My thanks to Manuel Castiñeiras for this reference.

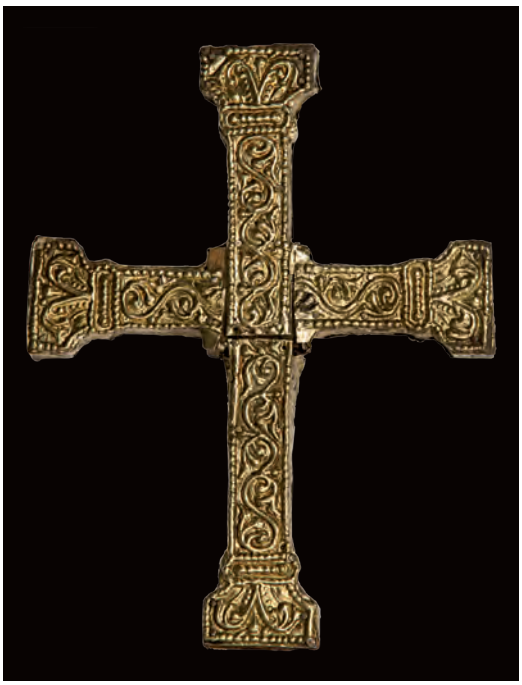

Fig. 12. Cruz of Roleos, ca. 1065, treasury of the cathedral Santiago de Compostela (Photo: courtesy Museo de Catedral)

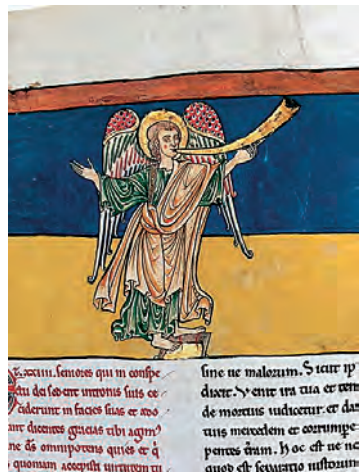

Fig. 13. Seventh angel sounding the trumpet from the Pedro da Cardeña Beatus, ca. 1200 (1991.232.12B) (Photo: author)

cal analysis of the Mets altar cross, including a radio carbon dating of the wood core, would certainly bring new light on this medieval masterpiece and allow a better understanding of Spanish goldsmith arts before and after 1100.

One of the Museum's most significant acquisitions in 1991 were fifteen illuminated leaves of the Apocalypse Commentary, around 1180, by Beatus of Liebana and coming from San Pedro da Cardeña (Burgos) (Fig. 13). The codex had been complete until its dispersal in the 1870's with other parts of it now in Madrid and Barcelona. John Williams maintained that it was from the Burgos monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, but questioned whether the scriptorium was actually located there. Reflecting stylistic connections with both Byzantium and England these leaves offer the splendor of a tradition that began with the earlier Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana in the Monastery of Tábara in the mid-10th century.[32]

[32] *Beato de Liebana, códice de San Pedro de Cardeña*, Facsimile, Barcelona, 2000; J. Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus, A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Volume Five, *The Twelfth and Thirteenth Century*, London/Turnhout, 2003, pp. 24-30; W. D. Wixom, "Picturing the Apocalypse", in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 59/3 (2002), pp. 5-46; J.A. Fernández Flórez, "Los otros hijos de la diáspora: Beatos y códices de Castilla y León en el exilio", in *La diáspora del románico hispano: de la protección al expolio*, Aguilar de Campo, 2013, pp. 59-93; P. Klein, "The model for the Cardeña and Manchester Beatus", in *Imágenes y Promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces*, Barcelona, 2001, pp. 139-151.

The Cardeña illuminations do not stand alone in this wider European context. The most provocative example of the internationalism of Spanish medieval painting around 1200 is found with the wall paintings of the convent of Santa Maria de Siegna (Aragon), now mostly in Barcelona. Founded between 1188 and 1208 by Queen Sancha of Castile (1154-1208), wife of Alfonso II, they reveal a direct connection to the 'Morgan Master' who collaborated on the Winchester Bible. He probably arrived in Aragon around 1190. On both stylistic and iconographic grounds the links between Aragon and England are so compelling that a royal diplomatic mission is the plausible explanation to account for this association.[33] These wide-ranging international artistic connections—especially with Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque art of England—between painting and the sumptuary arts of Northern Spain were elegantly acknowledged by Serafin Moralejo.[34]

The Mets' encyclopedic collection only scratches the surface of the arts of medieval Spain, but the selections presented offer a glimpse of the rich landscape of the Iberian Middle Ages as seen in New York. Further studies would have to include the J. Pierpont Library and Museum and the Hispanic Society of America.

Medieval Spanish exhibitions at the Met

Exhibitions have historically been the main vehicle for exploring the intellectual, cultural and artistic achievements of a culture. In 1954 The Cloisters endeavored to portray the spectrum of Spanish Medieval art in an exhibition of eighty works of art from eighteen American collections. First in a long series of special exhibitions held at The Cloisters it was organized by the museum curators and the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University alumni to honor Walter Cook, the distinguished Hispanist. The exhibition highlighted eighty Iberian works of art from American institutions.[35] Its cogency demonstrated the beauty of the material and opened new research.

In 1970 the Met launched the ambitious 'The Year 1200'exhibition that endeavored to look at the phenomena of artistic internationalism.[36] The exhibition focused primarily on the Northern Europe and the genesis of the *style antiquisant*. However, it ultimately included only a few Spanish works, such as an example of the Sigena wall paintings, but other works were included in the exhibition catalogue.

A more balanced view of the cultural interchanges among diverse communities was to be told in exhibitions and the 1992 exhibition *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims, and Christians in*

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[33] O. Pächt, "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain", *Burlington Magazine*, 103 (1961), pp. 166-175. See especially K. Frederick Schuler, *The Pictorial Program of the Chapterhouse at Sigena*, Institute of Fine Art, New York University, diss. 1994; D. Ocón Alonso, "Une salle capitulaire pour une reine: les peintures du chapitre de Sigena", *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38 (2007), pp. 81-94; N. Stratford, "The Hospital, England and Sigena: A Footnote," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes*, pp. 109-116. The 'Morgan Master's' contribution to the Winchester Bible is perhaps the most conspicuous example of internationalism in the visual art towards the year 1200. See also Julia Perratore, Met Blog for the Winchester Bible exhibition, Feb. 3, 2015.

[34] See Moralejo, "Les somptuaires hispaniques aux environ des 1100", pp. 285-310.

[35] *Spanish Medieval Art*, Loan Exhibition in honor of Dr. Walter W.S. Cook, organized by the New York University Institute of Fine Arts Alumni Association, 1954-1955, The Cloisters, exhibition catalogue.

[36] *The Year 1200, A Centennial Exhibition*, K. Hoffmann (ed.), the Met, 1970.

Medieval Spain, held at the Jewish Museum in New York, was a pivotal moment to address these complex issues. Then, in quick succession, the Met endeavored to present two ambitious exhibitions, the first called *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (1992) and the second *The Art of Medieval Spain: A.D.500-1200* (1993). The 1993 exhibition was postponed, but ultimately never held. Nevertheless, its catalogue was published.

Both of these enterprises endeavored to look at Spain in a larger international context. The goal was to offer an overview of the main artistic trends in Iberia —from 500 to 1200— using strategic portable works of art in all media. Utilizing some one hundred seventy-five works of art the Medieval Spain exhibition was to be a sweeping survey of seven hundred years of Spanish Medieval art divided into four periods: Visigothic Spain, Islamic Spain, the Kingdom of Asturias and Mozarabic Spain, and Romanesque Spain. The 1992 Al-Andalus Islamic Spain exhibition at the Alhambra was the perfect historical setting to present the grandeur of the hundred and forty objects assembled. The display at the Met effectively presented the glories of the courts, but without the critical architectural power of the Alhambra.[37]

The Medieval Spain project then truly became an 'an exhibition without walls' eventually living only in the spirit and in the imagination. Critical to the story was the rich treasury of San Isidoro. However, from a conservation point of view, Spain ultimately considered these to be just too fragile to travel to New York. Thus, without these essential loans to the exhibition, the Met suspended the project.

Medieval Spanish art in American collections: a recent highlight

Interest by American museums acquiring works of Medieval Spain is active and several institutions have made wonderful additions. A key acquisition in 2015 by the Minneapolis Institute of Art of a monumental Romanesque limestone crucifixion group exemplifies the success (Fig. 14). Situated between the mourning Virgin and St. John is the suffering Christ on the cross. This large relief probably functioned as the centerpiece of a tympanum. The calligraphic depiction of hair, and linear, energetic approach to rendering the folds of the fabric are distinctive and barometers of its stylistic

Fig. 14. Crucifixion relief, ca. 1180, Minneapolis Museum of Art (2015.69A-D) (Photo: author)

[37] As the curator for the 1993 exhibition project *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* and working with esteemed colleagues Jerrilynn Dodds, Serafin Moralejo Álvarez and John Williams, the exhibition never opened to the public in September 1993.

Fig. 15. Saint-Julien-de-Jonzy (Brionaise), mid 12th century (photo: author)

connections. Possibly originating in Northern Spain, the relief nevertheless reveals many rich sculptural links to Burgundy and especially the Brionaise region. This is especially true in the lively and similar drapery systems found on the figures of the tympanum at Saint-Julien-de-Jonzy (Saone et Loire) (Fig. 15). However, one sees elements of its style of carving reappearing in the Basque region on the Basilica portico reliefs, rearranged from the Romanesque doorway, at San Prudencio, Armentia, (Vitoria). Thus, the new relief richly exemplifies questions of identifying artistic place in a time of mobility. Even more curious is its recent provenance. The relief had been cleaned, possibly when reportedly owned by the German philanthropist Dr. Gustav Rau (1922-2002). Nevertheless, evidence of its earlier state of preservation is provided by an image of the relief when it was located in a cemetery in Munich, at least by the 1950's or 60's.[38] (Fig. 16) Its migration from northern Spain (or France) to a Munich cemetery, and eventually to Minneapolis, is a story also of not only artistic migration, but how such fortuitous discoveries propel and advance medieval art history.

Fig. 16. Crucifixion relief as installed in the 20th century in a Munich cemetery (Photo: courtesy of Xavier Scheidswimmer, Munich)

[38] The Minneapolis Museum of Art, Minneapolis (2015.69A-D) (154 X 98 X 20 cm.) My thanks to Xavier Scheidswimmer Kunsthandlungen, Munich, for information and an image.