7

THE MARBLE TEMPEST

Material Imagination, the Echoes of *Nostos*, and the Transfiguration of Myth in Romanesque Sculpture

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> It is your *nostos* that you seek, a homecoming sweet as honey, O radiant Odysseus. But the god [Poseidon] will make this painful for you.
>
> —Homer, *Odyssey* 11:111–12, trans. Gregory Nagy

> The wild wind awakened whips the waves of the sea, capsizes huge ships, and sends the clouds scudding [...]. Such is the frenzied fury of the wind, when it shrieks shrill, rages, and menacingly murmurs. Undoubtedly, therefore, there are invisible particles of wind that sweep the sea, sweep the lands, sweep the clouds in the sky, buffeting and battering them with swirling suddenness.
>
> —Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1:271–80, trans. Martin Ferguson Smith

Back in the early days of my childhood, I was mesmerized by a marble column decorated with four enigmatic sculpted helicoidal bands, which was on display at the museum of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Figure 7.1 and Plate 7.1). I remember running my fingers through the myriad crevices chiseled across the surface of its lower section, forming lines that now seemed to describe the waves of a turbulent sea, then a boat adrift, carrying a knight, perhaps wounded or asleep, with his sword and shield still in hand, and his horse next to him (Plate 7.1, bottom, band 1). The cold feeling of the marble transported me to frigid waters—an aquatic habitat so transparent as to reveal the fugacious scene of a fish trying to escape a gliding sea serpent. The scaly reptile was, in turn, being violently plucked out of the depths by a giant bird. As I looked up the column, more characters appeared in that liquid universe (Plate 7.1, band 2). I saw the knight again, this time in the company of a man with a fancy conical hat who was gazing intently at him, both engrossed in a quiet intimate moment, oblivious to the menacing presence of some strange

Figure 7.1 Frontal view of a marble column from the *Porta Francigena* of Santiago Cathedral (1105–10). Image © Fundación Catedral de Santiago. Photo: Margen Fotografía.

creatures, including a siren—a woman with wild hair and a fish tail who was mysteriously pointing with one hand to the lance she was holding with the other. Agitation and danger intensified in the upper register (Plate 7.1, band 3). There the knight, having fallen on his knees into shallow waters, was helplessly fighting to drive away a flock of birds preying on his dying horse. Death itself seemed to rush into the scene in the form of a fierce humanoid monster riding a swarm of otherworldly beasts—a prelude to the grim image emerging from the topmost band of the column, where the fragments of a drowned world, traversed by a floating corpse, were visible (Plate 7.1, band 4).

In front of me was the stuff of fantasies and dreams, materialized in a concatenation of morphing bodies swirling up in a dynamic vertical formation at once solid and ethereal. Although initially separated from myself, the column soon became—through repeated acts of viewing, circling, and touching—a real material extension of my imagination. Like the Roman artist who carved the thunderbolt emanating from the hand of Jupiter unearthed in Italica, near present-day Seville (Figure 7.2), I progressively learned that marble could be transformed into the solid irradiation of supernatural powers, including the power of the mind.[1] Of such intensity was this wondrous object's synesthetic

Figure 7.2 Hand of Jupiter with a thunderbolt, found at Italica, near present-day Seville. Seville, Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla, inv. REP00165. Photo: © Junta de Andalucía. Consejería de Cultura.

figural orchestration that even the murmur of the ocean seemed to be recorded in the visual score of its undulations, just waiting to be touched, like an instrument, to produce sonic waves conveying to the ear the roaring of the ebbs and flows of the tide, or the uncanny fluttering sounds of the wings of the beasts hovering above. With a sleight of hand, so I discovered, a rumbling storm could be unleashed. To my eyes, the column was a veritable icon of sound—a marble tempest bursting in peals of thunder.

Those images, and their acoustic reverberations, remained in the back of my mind for years, returning when prompted by encounters with other works of art or literature, like my reading of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. In Stephen Daedalus's stream-of-consciousness meditation on the things he saw scattered on the sand on the Atlantic shore, I found kinship with my own stumbling interior monologue when trying to capture, with words and regular syntax, what I saw in that aquatic column, carved near the same *mare tenebrarum*—as the Atlantic was known in the Middle Ages—800 years earlier:

> Ineluctable modality of the visible: at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of all things I am here to read [….] Limits of the diaphane [….] he was aware of them bodies [….] By knocking his sconce against them [...] Diaphane, adiaphane. If you can put your five fingers through it, it is a gate, if not a door. Shut your eyes and see.
>
> —James Joyce, *Ulysses* 3:1–9[2]

Indeed, through a tentative visual and haptic engagement with the "signatures of things" and "bodies" inscribed in the column, I came to see it both as a gate to access uncharted territories of my imagination, and as an animated organism—one that, standing upright before me, was endowed, like myself, with agency and interior life. That famous paragraph opens the novel's third chapter—suitably titled "Proteus," after Poseidon's shape-shifting son, who, Ovid tells us, "Often could appear as a stone, often, again, a tree; sometimes, assuming the form of flowing water, [he was] a stream, and sometimes a flame, the water's enemy" (*Metamorphoses* 8:735–37)—words that could well describe this sculpture, produced precisely in that first half of the twelfth century, which has come to be known in modern scholarship as the *aetas Ovidiana* because of the influence of his works in the culture of the Latin West.[3]

A further stage in my immersion in this column of water occurred while listening to the words of another poet whose work uniquely merges classical and medieval culture, Dante (1265–1321). In his *Divine Comedy*, Dante describes his encounter with the shade of Ulysses, who was endlessly swirling in a column of fire located in the penultimate circle of hell, the place allotted to the "false counselors."[4] Raising his voice amidst the crackling sounds of the flames, the Greek hero told Dante the pilgrim and his guide, the Roman poet Virgil, about the tragic circumstances of his last voyage in which—sailing beyond the Pillars of Hercules to explore the westernmost limits of the known world—he perished with all his crew as "the sea closed over them." Although

Ulysses' prominent position in the *Divine Comedy* attests to his persistent presence in the medieval imaginary, his characterization *in malo* contrasts with the positive view held by many medieval commentators who—continuing an allegorical tradition that goes back to antiquity, especially in the Stoic school—considered him a paradigm of virtue and wisdom.[5]

Early Christian authors, such as Hippolytus of Rome in the third century, used episodes of the *Odyssey* to instruct the faithful on dogmatic issues, coinciding with a moment in which the moralized iconography of Ulysses' adventures was common in the visual arts, as evidenced in a number of sarcophagi preserved in the Vatican collections, produced indistinctly for pagan and Christian patrons (Figure 7.3a–d).[6] The sea Ulysses navigated is earthly existence, the *saeculum*, which humans must sail through, overcoming all kinds of dangers and

Figure 7.3 Roman sarcophagi with scenes of Ulysses: (a) Ulysses tied to the mast and the Nine Muses, ca. A. D. 240. San Simeon, CA, Hearst Castle. Photo: G. Fittschen-Badura, FittKB76–08, DAI, Rome. (b) Ulysses and the sirens, sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Romanus, ca. A.D. 200. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano–Museo delle Terme, inv. 113227. Photo: D-DAI-ROM-63.34, DAI, Rome. (c) Ulysses and the sirens, Roman sarcophagus, ca. A.D. 200. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 27220. Photo: D-DAI-ROM-33.1563. (d) Fragment of Ulysses sarcophagus. Image reproduced from plate 25.3 in Josef Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, Vol. 1, *Tavole* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1929). Reproduced with permission of Heidelberg University Library.

lures of the flesh—personified by the sirens and such notorious sea monsters as Scylla and Charybdis—in order to return to the celestial Ithaca, the homeland of the Christian which is a transfiguration of the earthly paradise from which Adam and Eve had been expelled. The vessel carrying Ulysses is the Church, which leads the faithful to Heaven piloted by the Divine Logos that steers the ship toward Salvation. Especially popular was the episode of the sirens, in which Ulysses, tied to the mast, was seen as a figure of Christ nailed to the cross casting his shadow of salvation over his companions. Even the wax that Ulysses used to stop up their ears became an allegory of the incarnation of Christ and of the Scriptures. These exegetical traditions reached the twelfth century and be- came popular in homiletic compendia, such the *Speculum Ecclesiae* by Honorius of Autun (ca. 1080–1154) or the *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrad of Langsberg (ca. 1130–95), wherein Ulysses is portrayed as a contemporary knight, with round helmet, sword, and tied to the mast (Figure 7.4).[7] It is in this guise that we en- counter the Greek hero in the marble column from Santiago, whose central band visualizes the principal elements of the Christological interpretation of his confrontation with Scylla and the sirens, stressing the salvific act of stopping his companion's ears with wax to prevent him from listening to their mortal song (Plate 7.1, band 2). Ulysses extends his left arm in a protective gesture around the head of his comrade, who wears the conical hat typical of seafarers, in order to cover his left ear as he pulls him away from the siren's menacing presence. She is the embodiment of death, ready to strike the mortal blow with her lance. On the other side of the register is another monstrous siren with bird's feet—a classical iconography frequently depicted in ancient sarcophagi—accompanying a representation of Scylla, one of the most notorious sea monsters from the Odyssey. She is shown twice, on the second and third registers (Plate 7.1, bands 2 and 3),

Figure 7.4 Ulysses and the sirens, from the *Hortus deliciarum*, fol. 221v, drawing after the original, destroyed in 1870. Reproduced from plate 58 in G. Keller, *Hortus deliciarum* (Strasbourg: Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace, 1879–99). Photo: A. Straub.

appearing in different transfigurations created by mixing features from her classical iconography, which survived into the Middle Ages, through textual descriptions and the visual arts: a female torso with ferocious canines at her waist, a fishtail which she uses as a rudder, and brandishing an oar as a weapon. The medieval allegorical meaning of this combination of Scylla, the sirens, birds of prey, and the wild waves of the sea finds its most clear formulation in Isidore of Seville's widely popular *Etymologies* (ca. 620):

> People imagine three Sirens who were part maidens, part birds, having wings and talons [...] They would draw sailors, enticed by their song, into shipwreck. In truth, however, they were harlots, who, because they would seduce passers-by into destitution, were imagined as bringing shipwreck upon them. They were said to have wings and talons because sexual desire both flies and wounds. There were said to have lived among the waves because the waves gave birth to Venus. People tell of Scylla as a woman girded with the heads of dogs, with a great barking, because of the straits of the sea of Sicily, in which sailors, terrified by whirlpools of waves rushing against each other, suppose that the waves are barking, waves that the chasm with its seething and sacking brings into collision.
>
> —*Etymologies* 11.3.30–32[8]

Considering that lust and the perils of the flesh—embodied by Scylla, the morphing sirens attacking through air and water, and the sea swells—appear to be at the core of the column's program, we may suggest a similar context for the corpse floating in the fragmentary topmost band, where the moral sermon finds its resolution. The creature presents the physiognomy and wild hair of the lecherous Scylla and recalls the representation of the vanquished personification of *Luxuria* in popular illustrated cycles of the combat between Virtues and Vices, such as a drawing with the rubric "libido moritur" from an early-eleventh-century manuscript of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, in London (British Library, Add MS. 24199, fol. 6v) (Plate 7.1, band 4 and Figure 7.5).

In order to understand the iconographic fluidity of the figuration of the column, it is worth delving into the operations by which the artist transforms his formal sources to stage the dramatic close-up of Ulysses sealing up his companion's ear—an episode that is central to Christian exegesis but for which Greco-Roman art did not provide direct illustrations (Plate 7.1, band 2 and Figure 7.3).[9] He proceeds by subjecting the solid shapes of his models to a process of *synthesis* and *dissolution*, creating a continuous current of liquescent forms morphing into each other, but still recognizable in their iconographic essentials: the sail behind Ulysses becoming a wave-like extension of his cloak, the mast sprouting into a cruciform shape, and the undulating ground suggesting an aquatic environment (Plate 7.1, band 2). The *pliable liquescent design*, which defines this sculptor's aesthetic practice, culminates a tradition that finds a notable precedent in the work of the illuminator of the Corbie Psalter (ca. 800;

Figure 7.5 Vanquished personification of Lust, from Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, London, British Library, Add MS. 24199, fol. 6v. Photo: British Library.

Amiens, *Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole*, MS. Lat. 18C, fol. 110r).[10] To illustrate the penitential Psalm 130, he transforms the initial D of *De profundis* ("Out of the depths") into a representation of the episode of Jonah being thrown into the mouth of the sea monster, whose twisting tail becomes the hull of the ship (Figure 7.6). The image thus creates an infinity symbol, ∞, which represents the concept of eternity and resurrection. This is precisely the fundamental theme of both the psalm and the biblical episode for which it serves as an illustration. It is not surprising that this monumental representation of the post-Homeric tradition of Ulysses' voyage into the Atlantic, and his Christian interpretation as the archetypal figure of the seafaring pilgrim, is to be found in Santiago de Compostela. There it became conflated with the legend of the miraculous journey of the body of the apostle St. James, which was carried on a boat by his disciples from Jerusalem across the Mediterranean until they reached his final resting place in the westernmost Atlantic territories of the known world.[11] A mappamundi contained in a manuscript of the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana (Burgo de Osma, Catedral de Burgo, Biblioteca capitular, MS Lat. 1, fols. 34v–35r), dated 1086 and probably inspired by a Compostelan model, offers evidence ofoverlapping mythic cartography from antiquity with biblical topographyand current geographical knowledge, one which shows the living memory of Troy and the westward navigation of Ulysses (Plate 7.2).[12] In the imagined

Plate 7.2

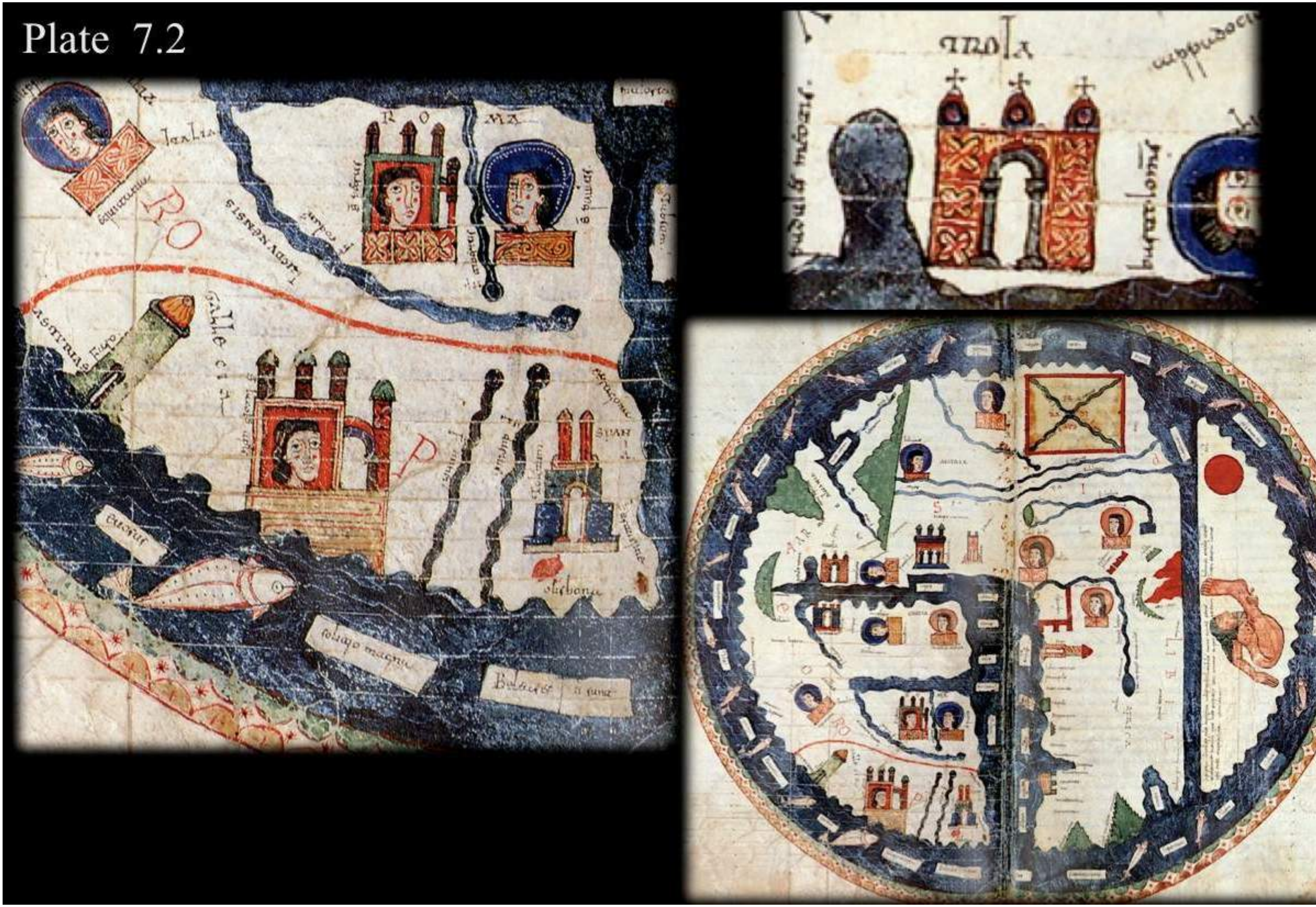

Figure 7.6 Initial D, to begin the first word of Psalm 130, "De profundis." The illumination shows Jonah and the sea monster, while the initial forms an infinity symbol. *Corbie Psalter*, ca. 800. Amiens, Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, Ms. 18C, fol. 110r. Photo: CNRS-IRHT, Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole.

East, Troy is represented across the Bosphorus from Constantinople as if it were still standing (look at approximately 9 o'clock on the map). In the West, we see "Olisbona" (Lisbon), the city whose toponym alludes to its being founded by the Greek hero as it is recounted by such Roman geographers as Strabo and Solinus.[13] Sailing up the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula, one reaches Galicia, which the illuminator portrays as the largest region of Hispania, with its two monumental landmarks. One was Roman, the lighthouse of Brigantium (simply named "faro" in the map and now known as "the Tower of Hercules"), which belonged to the bishopric of Santiago de Compostela (look at approximately 7 o'clock on the map). The other monument was the Romanesque-style Santiago Cathedral, whose large pilgrimage church—begun in 1075—was under construction when this map was designed. The marble column decorated with evocations of the Ulysses myth was displayed in its North Transept portal, marking the site as the new celestial Ithaca of the West toward which millions of pilgrims from all over

Figure 7.7 Digital reconstruction of the *Porta Francigena* of Santiago Cathedral. Photo: Tomas Guerrero-Magneto Studio © S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo. Santiago de Compostela.

Christendom would now navigate. The so-called Pilgrim's Guide, book 5 of the twelfth-century *Codex Calixtinus*, captures the engrossing scenography surrounding this portal

> When we French people wish to enter the basilica of the apostle, we enter from the north side. [...] In truth, at the bottom of the stairs of the same *parvis* [*paradisus*] is an admirable fountain the like of which cannot be found in all the world. For that fountain has a base of three stone steps on which is placed a very beautiful shell-shaped bowl of stone. [...] In the middle of it is set a column of bronze, thicker at the bottom, with seven panels fitted together, well-proportioned in height. At the top project four lions, from whose mouths issue four jets of water for the refreshment of pilgrims of the Blessed James and of the inhabitants. These jets, after flowing from the mouths of the lions, fall into the shell-shaped bowl beneath, and from there, flowing by way of an opening in that bowl, disappear into the ground. [...] After the fountain is the *parvis* [*paradisus*], as we have said, made of stone, where the small scallop shells which are the insignia of the Blessed James

> are sold to pilgrims [...] and many other things are for sale there. Money-changers, indeed, and hotel keepers and other merchants are in the Street of the French [...] After the aforesaid *parvis* [*paradisus*], is found the north portal of the basilica of St. James, the Portal of the French [*Porta Francigena*], in which there are two entrances which are beautifully sculpted with this works. In each entrance on the exterior are six columns, some of marble, others of stone.
>
> —*Liber Sancti Iacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, Vol. 9, fols. 179v–180r[14]

Imagine a pilgrim arriving in the *paradisus* on a stormy day, his clothes soaked in rain. One of the money-changers (*cambiatores*) could have passed on to him a coin minted in Santiago with the intention of showing him the representation of the maritime translation of the apostle. Placing it on the palm of his hand, the pilgrim might have caressed the outlines of the miraculous boat with a cruciform mast and the profile of the sacred body of St. James, lying face up in the company of his two disciples (Figure 7.8).[15] He could have then glanced at the vessel carved on the marble column and proceeded to touch it, creating a haptic connection between one rudderless boat and the other (Figure 7.1). Curious about the meaning of what he was seeing, he would have engaged in a process of interpretation, searching for affinities with things already seen, heard, touched, or read, thus propelling these images into a semantic navigation as they were mobilized in his mind. Scholars have extensively discussed the parallels and interconnected developments between the visual language of Romanesque art and Romance literature during the twelfth century, and the multiple fluid relations between one and the other, to questions of orality and textuality, Latin letters and vernacular epic, so connected to the cultural exchanges facilitated by the pilgrimage roads.[16] Certainly, this marble boat arrived in Galicia through the cultural and artistic currents set in motion by the flow of the pilgrimage, which, as the art historian and medievalist Arthur Kingsley Porter wrote, "may be compared to a great river, emptying into the sea at Santiago, and formed by many tributaries which have their sources in the far regions of Europe."[17]

Ulysses famously landed sleeping on the shores of Ithaca, lying unconscious on a boat just like the one carved on the column (Plate 7.1, band 2), and remained several days in his homeland without realizing where he was until, as the Bard says:

> With twinkling eyes Athena said to him: "Stranger, you must be a foreigner from distant parts, or foolish, since you ask about this famous country ... Many people know it ... This is a rough country ... The land is always wet with rain and dew
>
> —*Odyssey* 13:187–245[18]

Like classical Ithaca, Compostela, the post-Homeric Ithaca of the west, is known for its persistent rain, so this Christian Ulysses, the "omnium

Figure 7.8 Coin with the translation of St. James, minted in Santiago under Fernando II (r. 1157–88). Santiago de Compostela, Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago, inv. D-159. Photo: Tino Viz © Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago.

peregrinus" described by medieval mythographers, could not have found a better home.[19] In this essay I take *nostos*—a specific trajectory of return that involves a physical movement through waves that is also a displacement in time over the cartography of memory (and its attending mutable images and echoing soundscapes)—as a critical concept to delve into the navigations of those spectral "pilgrims" from antiquity, their trans-historical transfiguration and their material embodiment in Santiago Cathedral.

The distant poetic score to accompany these pilgrims in their journey from the classical world toward the Christian Middle Ages may be provided by the echoing *nostoi* composed by late antique Latin authors. Notable in this respect is the poem *De reditu suo* (On his return) by Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, recounting his sea voyage from Rome toward his native Gaul (probably Toulouse or Poitiers) ca. A.D. 417. It opens with an elegiac farewell to

Rome, "Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi" (Listen, O fairest queen of thy world, Rome) where the author recalls its indelible monumental cityscape and its sonic exuberance, and concludes:

> Whether it is granted to lay my life to rest in ancestral soil or whether you shall one day be restored to my eyes, blest shall my life be, lucky beyond all aspiration, if you deign always to remember me. With these words we take the road.
>
> —*De reditu suo* 1:161–65[20]

Nostos as the desire to return home found a Christian equivalent in the *reditus* (from the Latin *redeo*, "to return"), exemplified by the saints who—through their martyrdom—recuperated, returned to the Lord, and achieved eternal life. The reliefs on the *Porta Francigena* visualize the history of humankind and the odyssey of Salvation as a *reditus*. This *nostos* dynamic emphasizes the sonic, because only through recovering the capacity to hear the Word of God and his eloquent *silentium*, can one return to Him.

Nostos: Chords of Memory, Folds of Time, and Trajectories of Return

> There is in the place, and in the road, a singular poetry. One feels, as nowhere else, wrapped about by the beauty of the Middle Age. One is, as perhaps never before, emotionally and intellectually stimulated. Chords of the memory, long unused, are set vibrating. The actuality of the pilgrimage, like a cosmic phenomenon, overwhelms with the sense of its force, its inevitability [...] Into the psychology of the pilgrimage there must also have entered love of wandering for its own sweet sake. Ever since the days of Odysseus...men have passionately desired to see strange countries.
>
> —Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*[21]

I began this essay by recalling my first innocent and textually unmediated encounter with the column as a child, in order to introduce some aspects that, from a purely formal perspective, make it one of the great masterpieces of medieval sculpture: the originality of its design, the protean energy of its plastic execution, and the mythopoetic power of its figuration.[22] I continued by recounting my return to it later, as an adult, when I gained insight into its iconography by performing an intellectual *nostos*, a homeward journey through its marble waves following the pathways shown to me by art and literature. In this voyage, those fantastic figures that had been impressed on my childhood memories revealed themselves to be characters in a Christianized Odyssey carved in stone—a work that, thus understood, emerges as a significant missing link in the history of western art and literature, one that can converse, thematically, with authors such as Homer,

Plotinus, or Dante, and—theoretically, as we shall see—with modern scholars who have dealt with the question of *Nachleben der Antike* (Afterlife of Antiquity), especially the art historian Aby Warburg (1866–1929).[23] Therefore, it is paradoxical that this column has remained conspicuously absent from the international scholarly literature and is never featured in surveys of medieval art.[24] Its mesmerizing images were even overlooked by a scholar so attuned to the "chords of memory" set vibrating by the art of the pilgrimage roads as Kingsley Porter, who must have seen it in his visit to Compostela in the 1920s when it was reused, alongside other fragmentary shafts coming from the *Porta Francigena*, as the support of a makeshift stone baldachin in the crypt under the Portal of Glory (Figure 7.9). In one of the most substantial chapters of *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, devoted monographically to the Platerías Portal ("La Puerta de las Platerias")—a tour de force of erudition and comparative stylistic analysis that serves Porter to engage in an extended disquisition on the origins and evolution of jamb sculptures—he merely mentions in passing that some of the reliefs, now located in that façade, originally belonged to the North Portal, as described in the *Codex Calixtinus*.[25]

Centering on episodes from the Book of Genesis (Figure 7.10), the program of the *Porta Francigena* narrated the creation of the world and the beginnings of humankind's Odyssey in search of redemption (Figure 7.1 and Plate 7.1), from the creation of the first human (Plates 7.4 and 7.5), through Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise (Figure 7.15), to the announcement of the promise of salvation (Plate 7.7), underscoring the presence of such characters as King David (Figure 7.20), who served as pre-figurations of the arrival of the Messiah (Figure 7.11). Christian history and cosmology merged in this portal, which also included representations of the allegories of the seasons and an array of mythical creatures that were believed to have inhabited the earth in primeval times, including a centaur and a siren. Any contemporary learned viewer conversant with Greco-Roman creation myths such as Plato's *Timaeus* or the opening tale of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—which became popular in the twelfth century along with their Christian interpretations—might have been fascinated at how this monumental Christian cosmogony unfolded before his or her eyes in a strikingly classical figural style.[26] Looking at some of the remaining fragments, such as the woman holding two clusters of grapes (Plate 7.3)—who is endowed with the ecstatic rapture of a maenad from a Dionysian *thiasos*—or the fleshy putti carrying fruits and birds that ascend the helicoidal bands of another column as if they had arrived there in a continuous trans-historical movement from the surface of a Roman Four Seasons sarcophagus (Figure 7.12), we plunge into the fluid vitality of the world of Dionysus and its capacity for material metamorphosis and transfiguration through multiple temporalities (Figure 7.13).[27] As the classicist Brooke Holmes observes:

> Dionysus is, in fact, the quintessential god of liquidity, lord of the *ganos* (the sheen of water, the luscious vitality of wine or rain), the avatar

Figure 7.9 Two marble columns from the *Porta Francigena* (Ulysses to the right) reused in the crypt of the western narthex of the Cathedral of Santiago, c. 1919. Photo: Arxiu Mas.

Figure 7.10 Digital reconstruction of the *Porta Francigena*, Santiago Cathedral. Photo: Tomas Guerrero-Magneto Studio. Image © S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo. Santiago de Compostela.

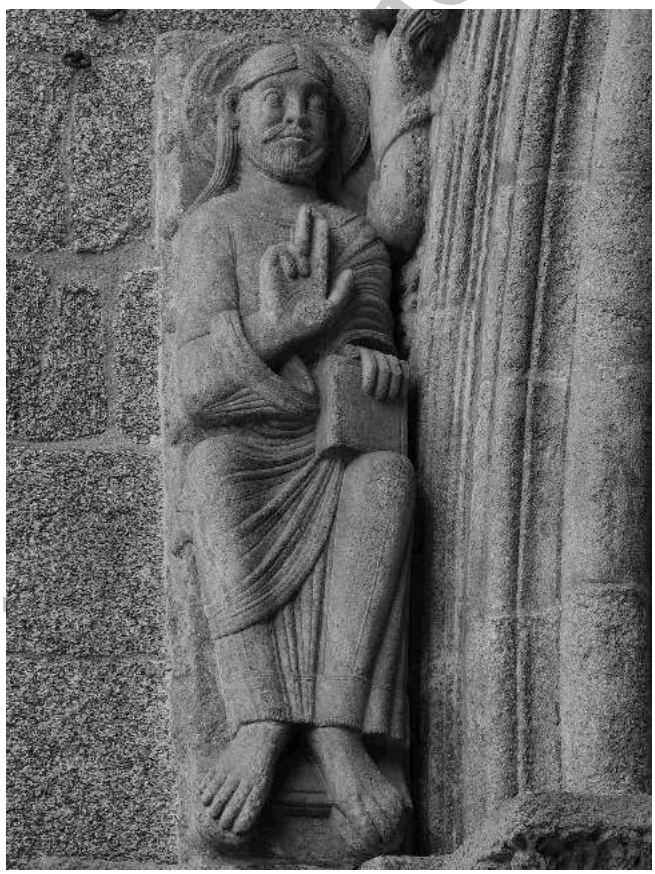

Figure 7.11 Christ Pantocrator from the *Porta Francigena* (now in the Platerías Portal), Santiago Cathedral. Photo: Juan Antonio Olañeta.

Figure 7.12 Marble column from the *Porta Francigena* (1105–10). Santiago de Compostela, Museum of the Cathedral of Santiago. Image © Fundación Catedral de Santiago. Photo: Margen Fotografía.

Figure 7.13 End view of marble sarcophagus with the Triumph of Dionysus and the Seasons, ca. A.D. 260–70. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955; inv. no. 55.11.5. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Plate 7.3 Woman with grapes, stone fragment from the Porta Francigena. Santiago de Compostela, Museum of the Cathedral of Santiago. Photo: Author.

> of infinite life (*zoē*) and succulent vegetality. [...] Dionysus shimmers with the fluid energies of *eros*, another major vector of ancient liquidity, at once turbulent and smoothly seductive.[28]

In her project *Liquid Antiquity*, Holmes aims at rethinking "the very forms in which antiquity travels within and across different communities," and proposes to enter

> the imaginative space of what Michel Serres has christened 'liquid history'... to engage nonlinear models of time such as folds, anachrony, and seriality, models informed by the turbulent logic of rivers and seas and the capacity of water to make connections across vast distances.[29]

This aspect is also present in Warburg's concept of *Nachleben*, which, as Georges Didi-Huberman noted, is "messy, cluttered, muddled, protean, liquid, oceanic in scope and complexity, impervious to analytical organization."[30] Accordingly, Warburg rejected discursive exposition and rigid periodization and presented his research in the form of a cartography of images that materialized in his Mnemosyne project—a *Bilderatlas* consisting of montages of photographs placed on individual panels covered with black cloth (Figure 7.14).[31] Mnemosyne was a complex interactive machine intended to surpass the limitations of discursive analysis and to stimulate in the viewer the responses that set in motion the connections between gesture, memory, and mimesis in order to map the afterlife of ancient *Pathosformeln*. Here movement was the key operative principle, not only in the design of the panels but also in their functioning, because the viewer was compelled to perform a series of mental and physical displacements, beginning with a visual *peripeteia* over the constellation of photographic plates juxtaposed on each panel, in order to discover the migration of forms and symbols, and their complex trajectories, temporalities, and rhythms of survival.[32]

To serve as a spectral screen for the analysis of the *Porta Francigena* to be laid out in this essay, we shall insert the imagery of the Ulysses column, as a *parergonal* overflow, into the most aquatic panel of the Mnemosyne *Bilderatlas*, which is organized around illustrations of the episode from the first book of the *Aeneid*, when Neptune utters his threatening "Quos ego" to appease the disobedient winds (Figure 7.14).[33] The addition of the swirling "marble tempest" to Warburg's configuration of floating images—as if it were an embodiment of Lucretius' spellbinding vision of the columnar turbulence in the sixth book of *De rerum natura* (The Nature of Things)—is meant to introduce a disruptive vortical swerve (*clinamen*) that opens up a new dimension in the *Mnemosyne* panel:

> It sometimes happens that a kind of column is lowered from the sky and descends into the sea [*demissa columna in mare de caelo decendat*];

Figure 7.14 Composite image: (a) Giulio Bonasone, *Neptune calming the Tempest Aeolus raised against the Fleet of Aeneas*, ca. 1531–76, copperplate engraving; sheet size: 9 × 16 3/4 in. (22.8 × 42.6 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959, inv. no. 59.570.308. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (b) Ulysses column from the *Porta Francigena*, same as Figure 7.1 and Plate 7.1. (c) The "Virgil" panel, nos. 61–64 from Aby Warburg, *Mnemosyne Atlas*, 1927–29. Photo: © The Warburg Institute, London.

> around it the surging waters seethe, whipped up by violent blasts of wind, and all ships caught in that turbulence are buffeted about and brought into extreme peril. This occurs when, as sometimes happens, a wind fails, despite its vehemence, to burst a cloud from which it is endeavoring to escape; it then depresses it, so that a kind of column is let down gradually from sky to sea: it is as though something were being forced down by the thrust of a fist and arm from above and so stretched out into the waves. And when the impetuous wind has torn open the cloud, it bursts out into the sea and causes an extraordinary ferment among the waves; for it descends as a whirling eddy, drawing down with it the ductile body of the cloud; and as soon as it has thrust this pregnant cloud down to the surface of the ocean, it suddenly hurls itself wholly into the water and embroils all the sea, making it seethe with a tumultuous roar.
>
> —*De rerum natura* 6:426–42[34]

The resulting panel—burst open by the marble tempest of medieval phantoms of antiquity spiraling furiously in defiance of Neptune's "Renaissance" *Quos Ego*—may be accompanied by an introductory gloss, underscoring Warburg's frequent invocation of the mythology of the primeval forces of the sea in the theoretical definition of his project, including his recurring use of the multivalent *figura* of the waves. Dominic Green summarizes this aspect:

> In Warburg's image, the waves of memory were not watery, like the tidal disturbances of the Homeric sea, or the deep descents of German Romanticism, whether Eduard von Hofmann's theory of the unconscious as a fathomless dark ocean, or Nietzsche's wine-dark oblivion, an immolating sunset. They were technical, like radio waves: direct communications from time outside the present, scientific in transmission and reception [...]. The ancient wave required its modern analogue. The same pattern emerged in Warburg's fascination with the iconography of Neptune, 'the breaker of the waves.' The past floods the historian's mind with waves of violent images, their Nietzschean force shattering the chronology of their creation. The historian is Neptune, rising regally from the surf like a fish-tailed Burckhardt, judge and master.[35]

Let us see the *Porta Francigena* as if it were a three-dimensional *Mnemosyne* panel animated by its insertion into the phenomenological liquescent scenography of the *paradisus* square (Figures 7.7 and 7.10). By performing a synesthetic immersion into that enveloping theater, visitors to the site were compelled to absorb its core meaning through a visual displacement over the configuration of images and ancient *Pathosformeln*, in order to apprehend the formal, emotional, and typological relations among them. Thus, the portal functioned as an embodied screen for meditation to help them understand the real dimension and

Figure 7.15 The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, relief from the *Porta Francigena* (now in the Platerías Portal), Santiago Cathedral. Photo: Juan Antonio Olañeta

universal scope of their pilgrimage in the broader context of the history of Redemption. There they would find typological, allegorical, and moral referents beginning with Adam and Eve's expulsion (Figure 7.15)—which sets in motion the errant destiny of mankind on earth—continuing with Ulysses (Figure 7.1 and Plate 7.1), their mythical forerunner, and culminating with Christ, whose own incarnation, that is, God's *nostos* through the world of the flesh, was announced in this portal with the representation of the Annunciation on the tympanum over its left entrance (Figure 7.10 and Plate 7.7).

As an epilogue to this section, I will comment on two other aspects in which the *Porta Francigena* establishes a dialogue with the hermeneutic architecture of Warburg's memory machine, one referring to cartography and the other pertaining to chronography. Sigrid Weigel has stressed this "aspect of 'wandering' both as an epistemic figure and a practice of reading images" in Warburg's *Bilderatlas*, pointing out that the *Mnemosyne* panels combine "a pre-modern and a modern mode of constructing the world and the order of

things" and affirming that Warburg was, in that sense, "a modern follower of late antique and medieval cartography." She continues:

> Since the panels were meant to stand upright as boards in a room side by side, the form of Warburg's atlas may be described as an inverted cartographic atlas—a projection of the knowledge of images into a spatial constellation.[36]

To be sure Warburg's panels A, B, and C, where he provides an introductory grammar and syntax with which to read the subsequent sixty panels, are evidence of this epistemological hybridity. Panel A presents the "different systems of relations in which humanity is placed": cosmography (the orientation of the stars), geography (mapping exchanges in the Mediterranean), and genealogy (familial ramifications of the social order). Similarly, cartographic and chronographic models underlie the basic typological structure of the *Porta Francigena*. Like the Osma Mappamundi (Plate 7.2), which presents an anamorphic view of the world skewed toward Santiago and articulated around the idea of "sacred" and "mythical" pilgrimage to the west, so too the *Porta Francigena* presented viewers with a "cosmology" that also has Santiago and the mythical and sacred pilgrimage to the west as the defining axis of the unfolding of salvation history (Figures 7.1, 7.7, 7.10, 7.11 and 7.20; Plates 7.1, 7.4, 7.5 and 7.7).

From a chronographic point of view, the presence of the Ulysses episode accords with the system of synchronization of Christian and pagan universal histories which dominated in the Latin West since patristic times, following the parallel chronological tables designed by Eusebius.[37] A ninth-century manuscript containing the Eusebius/Jerome *Chronicon*, probably produced at the monastery of Reichenau, shows the visual design of the model, presenting a tabular distribution displayed on a bi-folio with the parallel chronologies of biblical events and pagan history (Figure 7.16). In the lower right-hand area of the bi-folio, it records the story of Samson and compares it with the labors of Hercules, alongside references to the episode of Ulysses in his confrontation with Scylla and the sirens. The masters of the cathedral school founded by Archbishop Gelmírez, where the *Historia Compostelana* was written, were surely acquainted with the Eusebius/Jerome tabular chronological system and might have found there a blueprint for ordering historical events, enabling them to insert episodes from pagan history into the façade's three-dimensional configuration.

If this multilayered cartographic and chronographic structure of the portal traces the interconnected trajectories of return for these phantoms of antiquity in their trans-historical *nostos*, it is ancient art that provided the vessels of embodiment for their corporeal materialization. Finally, it was their phenomenological insertion into the natural stage of the square that served to infuse them with vital energy. By contemplating the spiral columns decorated with a flux of bodies in perpetual transformation, accompanied by the sound of water streaming from the monumental fountain and the haze that, even now, still often envelops that gloomy side of the cathedral, spectators could "feel" themselves

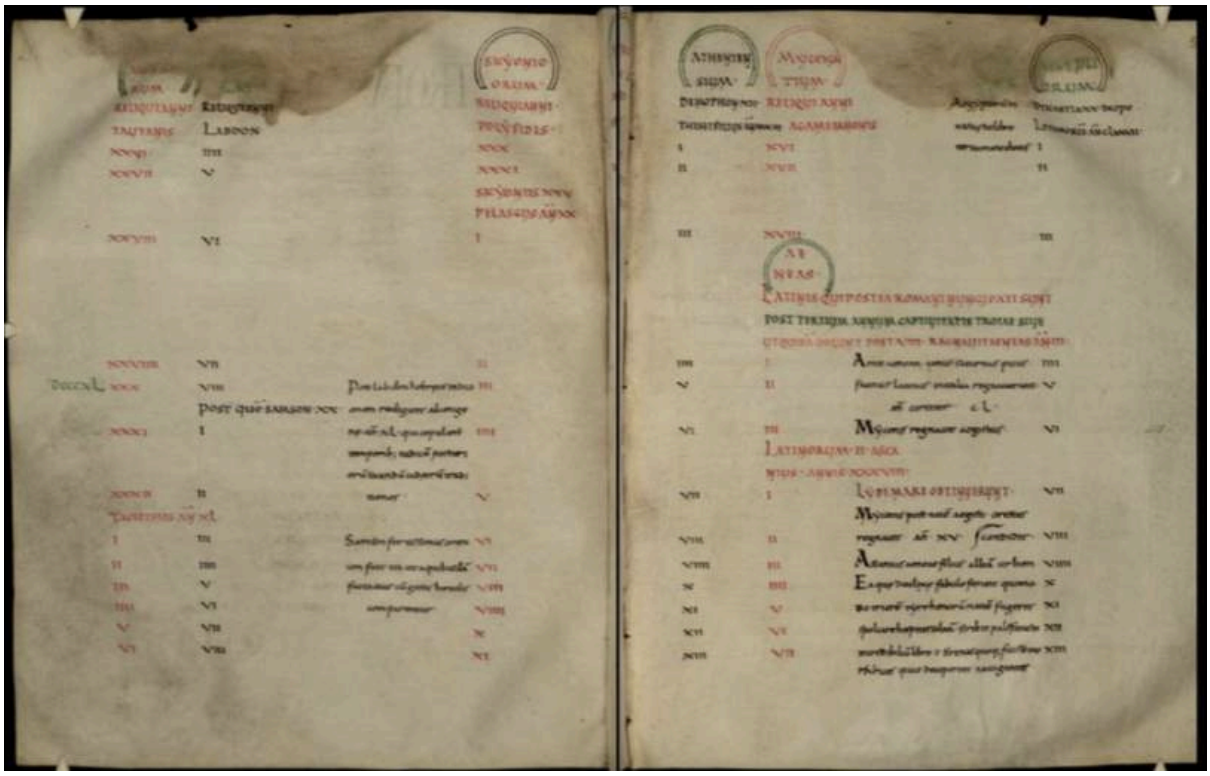

Figure 7.16 Eusebius / Jerome, *Chronicon*, ninth century. Oxford, Merton College, MS. 315, fols. 51v–52r. Photo: © The Warden and Fellows of Merton College Oxford.

immersed in the primeval environment of cosmic beginnings: "There went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground. And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground" (*Genesis* 2:6–7).

Creatio: The Awakening of the Senses

> These things God spoke and, deigning to touch the brittle earth, He mingled wet mud with sprinkled dust. Then His profound Wisdom fashioned a new body. This is just the way an artist now creates, an artist who uses his skill to shape the soft wax that yields all kinds of shapes beneath his touch, as he molds a face with his hand, fashions a body of plaster or arranges features in a piece of clay.
>
> —Avitus of Vienne, *De spiritualis historiae gestis* 1 (On the Events of Spiritual History)[38]

The formal and conceptual generative kernel of this sculpted cosmogony was the diptych formed by the reliefs representing the creation and the animation of Adam—two conjugate episodes succinctly retold in *Genesis* 2:7: "Then the Lord God formed a man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living being" (Plates 7.4 and 7.5).

Plate 7.4
Creation

Plate 7.5
Animat on

The artists responsible for each panel left us with a visual manifesto about their conception of their own craft, the theological underpinnings of their material poetics, and their thematic and formal classical sources, which hark back to the myths of Prometheus and Pygmalion.[39] To be sure, we are contemplating a figural exegesis of the biblical creation story akin to the poetic amplifications composed by learned early Christian authors who were still immersed in the literary and visual culture of the Roman world, such as the sixth-century Burgundian bishop Avitus of Vienne. In his *De spiritualis historiae gestis* (ca. 500), we find the perfect gloss to begin to explore the complex issues suggested by the Santiago creation sequence, from its emphasis on embodiment and sensorial engagement to the self-reflexivity of the artists in the projection of their own craft on the creative act of God as a sculptor. The paragraph quoted at the beginning of this section continues:

> This is the way the Almighty Father went on molding the earth that was destined for life, as He designed the body from the soft mud. Then, at that body's lofty crest, He marked the head's tower, fitting a countenance with seven openings to the senses, which bring understanding and are capable of smelling, hearing, seeing and tasting. Touch would be the only one which, as arbiter, would feel sensations everywhere in the body and scatter its own special power through the limbs. A flexible tongue He enclosed within a hollow palate in such a way that, confined in that chamber, the strokes of the pulsing instrument would cause measured speech to sound in the air when it was struck.
>
> [...]
>
> After the image of this perfect new creature lay finished and the molded clay had taken on all the appearances their Maker desired, the mud became flesh. What was soft grew hard, and the bones drew their marrow from within the body. Blood filled the veins, and a flush tinged the face with the color of life. Its original pallor was driven from the entire body, and the snowy face was painted red. Then, when the whole man grew used to being alive, with his limbs now finished, and as the body grew steamy with warmth, the soul alone was wanting, the soul which the Creator would produce from an untainted source and place as ruler in the upright frame. From His eternal lips He poured forth a gentle breath and breathed upon man, and man, when he had caught the breath, at once drew it in and learned how to breathe regularly. After wisdom that looks ahead imbued his newborn senses and they glowed with the pure light of reason, he arose and, standing upright, placed his feet upon the earth. Then, as he marveled at the dappled vision of the world and at the resplendent heaven, the Creator addressed him in these words: "All this profusion of beauty you behold among the earth's new furnishings, extending as they do throughout this decorated globe, hold as yours alone and, as the very first man, rule and enjoy them all."[40]

In the first relief (Plate 7.4), God, as the supreme *artifex*, molds clay to form the body of Adam, rendered at the very moment in which it turns into pliable flesh responding to the pressure of the Divine hand. As if it were the Praxiteles of his age, the Santiago master gave his Adam the effect famously achieved by the Greek artist in the design of his bronze Dionysus which, according to the Alexandrian poet Callistratus,

> for though it was really bronze, it nevertheless blushed, and though it had no part in life, it sought to show the appearance of life and would yield to the very finger-tip if you touched it, for though it was really compact bronze, it was so softened into flesh by art that it shrank from the contact of the hand.[41]

Here the medieval artist used the biblical episode to display his skill to create the illusion of flesh recalling, "avant-la-lettre," the statement by the Italian sculptor and architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini about the superiority of sculpture when he affirmed that God himself was a sculptor, "having made man from clay."[42]

As Adam is still lacking a soul, we see him gazing out in an empty stare, disengaged from his Maker and from his surroundings, like an inert puppet without interior life. The next scene (Plate 7.5 and 7.6) shows the culminating moment of his animation, when God breathes life into his nostrils, with the Lord's mouth set at the level of Adam's nose.[43] The artist portrays the very instant when Adam is infused with the gift of a soul and acquires the capacity for sensorial engagement with the outside world, for recognition and emotion. Looking into the eyes of his Maker, he is filled with joy and he smiles. We are treated to a representation of that brief moment before the Fall, in which Adam is able to see his own image reflected on the perfect mirror of God. Soon afterwards, that clear reflection will be lost and, as Paul says in the First Letter to the Corinthians 13:12, humans "shall see only through a glass, darkly."[44] In this relief, the hand of God is still placed on Adam's chest as if to create a visual leitmotiv with the previous scene and, at the same time, to include an allusion to the Pygmalion story, famously recounted by Ovid, in which the artist's touch has a role in the vivification of the sculpture: "the ivory grew soft to his touch and, its hardness vanishing, gave and yielded beneath his fingers" (*Metamorphoses* 10:284–85)—the same aspect alluded to by Avitus in the aforementioned passage.[45] Thus, the central theme of this moment of intimacy between creator and creature, *artifex* and *opus*, so beautifully depicted in this relief, is the indissoluble continuity between life and love, love and life, one being the cause and product of the other.

A search for Warburgian *Pathosformeln* for the Santiago creation and animation of Adam invariably leads to the iconography of Prometheus shaping the First Man, which is also one of the classical sources informing Avitus's poetic retelling of Genesis.[46] The medieval artist might have drawn inspiration

Figure 7.17 Sarcophagus showing the myth of Prometheus, ca. A.D. 250. Far left, detail: Prometheus creating the First Man. Reused for the burial of Saint Hilaire at the cemetery of Alyscamps, in Arles. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 339. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. © RMN-Grand Palais.

directly from Roman Prometheus sarcophagi, particularly a notable example reused in late Antiquity for the tomb of Hilary, Bishop of Arles (429–49) at the cemetery of Alyscamps (Figure 7.17).[47] In fact, a Christian interpretation of its imagery might have prompted its reuse for the burial of this pious bishop, who might even have chosen the sarcophagus himself. In his *Metrum in Genesin*, Hilary had presented God as a sculptor modeling Adam, anticipating Avitus's own retelling, who surely knew both Hilary's work and the reliefs decorating his tomb.[48]

Another extraordinary Prometheus sarcophagus, made for a child and now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, provides evidence of the early conflation of aspects of the Christian and pagan creation myths (Figure 7.18). This example shows, alongside the Prometheus story—which is represented on its frontal frieze—a scene on one of the sides representing Adam and Eve in Eden.[49] "One may read the whole cycle from the left end to the right," wrote Jas Elsner in a perceptive analysis of this sarcophagus,

> in Christian salvific terms, allegorized through classical myth to show the Fall (both Adam and Eve and the theft of fire) via the creation of man and the human experience of life and death to salvation, where Hercules rescues Prometheus from his purgatorial sufferings.[50]

In this sarcophagus, Prometheus is looking at the First Man face to face, his left hand cupping his nape, providing a close parallel for the composition of the animation of Adam in Santiago (Plate 7.6).

The passing of time and the action of the natural elements, which have eroded the relief and peeled off its outer layer, introduce a Lucretian poetics

Figure 7.18 Roman sarcophagus made for a child, with reliefs illustrating the myth of Prometheus. Rome, Musei capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala delle Colombe, inv. MC329. Photo: Ilia Shurygin, St. Petersburg, Russia.

in the Compostelan sculpture, as we witness bodies resolving themselves into their molecular constituents (Plates 7.5 and 7.6).[51] The erosion reveals that both the material of the sculpture and the bodies it represents, consist of atoms which mix and clash to form granite as a cosmic prelude to the action of the artist polishing stone to give the illusion of flesh. God's touch stands as a figural metaphor for this atomic friction that causes the generation of matter—an operation that is revealed by the very abrasion of the divine hand, making visible the granular components of the stone as if they were caught in a still image of their explosive, cosmic intermingling. As a whole, the sculpture makes manifest that touch and contact are essential in the act of creation, at a cosmic (the friction of atoms to form matter), biblical (the touching of God to mold the first man), and historical (the hand of the artist who fashions an *imago* that re-presents—that is, makes present, visible, and accessible to the senses in the here and now—the primordial act of divine creation narrated in the sacred Scripture). In conclusion, the combination of the work of the medieval craftsman and the action of nature has given us a dazzling sculpture of dual poetics showing two facets of the act of creation, one imbued in Lucretian atomism and the other inspired by Ovidian metamorphosis.

Recreatio: Touch, Sight, and Sound

> They came to Bethsaida, and some people brought a blind man and begged Jesus to touch him. He took the blind man by the hand and led him outside the village. When he had spit on the man's eyes

> and put his hands on him, Jesus asked, "Do you see anything?" He looked up and said, "I see people; they look like trees walking around." Once more Jesus put his hands on the man's eyes. Then his eyes were opened, his sight was restored, and he saw everything clearly.
>
> —Mark 8:22–26

A further dimension of the relief of the animation of Adam emerges from its current location in a corner of the Platerías Portal, where it was moved in the eighteenth century after the dismantling of the *Porta Francigena*, placing it closer to a New Testament scene with which it is intimately related on both theological and figural levels: the Healing of the Blind Man—a story in the Gospel according to Mark—of re-creation and sensorial awakening founded on touch (Figure 7.19). The hypnotic representation of this miracle in Santiago, located on the right tympanum, shows Christ laying his thaumaturgic hand on the beggar's eyes as he pulls him closer with his left arm. The man responds by caressing Jesus' arm as he gazes into his eyes to see the face of his Savior for the first time. In this scene of revelation and healing, touch begets vision, underscoring the multisensory poetics of the artist's style, aspects that, as we have seen, find inspiration in classical models, here blending evocations

Figure 7.19 Jesus Healing the Blind Man, from the right tympanum of the Platerías Portal, Santiago Cathedral. Photo: Juan Antonio Olañeta.

to the myths of Prometheus, Pygmalion, and—as we shall see, Narcissus. The exegetical connection between the creation of Adam in Genesis and the healing of the blind man in Mark is stressed explicitly in the contemporary liturgy of Santiago Cathedral, recorded in the *Codex Calixtinus*. A passage from a sermon attributed to Pope Calixtus II, written to be delivered on the feast of St. James (25 July), provides a gloss to begin to delve into the theological links between the two episodes:

> [Jesus] with his saliva opened the eyes of a man who had been born blind and, to show that He was Himself the One who had formed Adam out of the dust of the earth, he made lime with his saliva and put it on the eyes of the man who was blind not because of any illness but because he had been born, by nature, without eyesight.
>
> —*Liber Sancti Iacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, I. 9, fol. 51r[52]

The sermon goes on to explain that the man was born blind, not as punishment for any sin committed by him or his parents, but in order to give Jesus the opportunity to show, through this miracle, that he was one and the same with the God who had created Adam. Acting in the guise of the Son, Jesus completes the Lord's Creation. The Son here is both Prometheus and Pygmalion, completing the Divine creation with the caress of his hand, using the same "stuff" that God had used to create Adam in all his perfection. But he is also Narcissus, looking down onto his own image reflected on the surface of the eyes of the blind man, crystalline and overflowing with tears.[53] Furthermore, the full body of the man, which was created by God in His own likeness, is also a reflected image of Jesus, Himself incarnate in the form of a man, as the new Adam. So, in a reversal of the outcome of the classical myth, Jesus is able to grasp his own reflected image without it disappearing when it is touched—a possibility afforded by the mystery of the Incarnation. Thus, Christ is Narcissus fulfilled, endowed with the capacity to embrace an embodiment of his object of love, and, also, Narcissus redeemed, because the urges of that love do not result in self-destruction but in healing.

Let us now imagine this sculpture under the rain, droplets running through the myriad folds and undulations of the garments, thus producing the effect of images seen through a pool of rippling water. We are treated to the spectacle of contemplating the figure of Christ/Narcissus bending forward to gaze onto His own quivering *imago* in the climactic moment in which touch does not lead to the destruction of the vision of the object of love but, rather, to the assertion of its corporeal existence, attested by the reciprocation of the affective embrace from an(other) self. Crossing with his fingers the watery mirror, formed by tears and rain, the Redeemer/the New Adam is reunited with his creation, the first Adam.[54] In this sculpture again, nature, and its atmospheric variations, completes the artist's work, bringing to mind the poetics of animation (activated by the interaction between sculpture and water) achieved by the

marble statue of Narcissus displayed on a grove to which Callistratus devoted one of his most memorable *ekphraseis*:

> For whereas the marble was in every part trying to change the real boy so as to match the one in the water, the spring was struggling to match the skillful efforts of art in the marble, reproducing in an incorporeal medium the likeness of the corporeal model and enveloping the reflection which came from the statue with the substance of water as though it were the substance of flesh. And indeed the form in the water was so instinct with life and breath that it seemed to be Narcissus himself....[55]

The importance of touch in the awakening of the other senses connects the scene of the healing of the blind man with the Christomimetic Ulysses of the marble column. If, in the former, salvation is dramatized on the eyes—it is about thaumaturgic touch begetting spiritual vision—in the latter, salvation is played out in the ears: it is about touch blocking out the noise of the world in order to allow one to listen to the divine harmony that will lead to the celestial Ithaca (Plate 7.1, band 2).

A complex network of echoing gestures suggests echoing sounds, transforming the *Porta Francigena* into an interactive performative sermon, which aims at educating wayfarers on the spiritual goals of pilgrimage and warning them against the dangers of the road (Figures 7.7 and 7.10). In light of the previous discussion, an analysis of one of the best-known sculptures from this portal, King David playing the fiddle, reveals subtle iconographic connections with the imagery of the Ulysses column, connections that serve to form a pastoral discourse built on a network of musical allegories alongside moral and Christological meanings (Figure 7.20). Medieval commentators interpreted the stringed instrument that David stroke to drive away the demon that tormented Saul as the cross through which Christ defeated Satan, an aspect that is emphasized in this relief, where the king is shown handling the fiddle as if to form a cross.[56] From a gestural point of view, the siren in the column is a specular image of King David, emphasizing their dialectical connection, one being the anti-type of the other, as if reflected in a distorted moral mirror (Plate 7.1, band 2). They are two "embodied instruments," one producing the music of salvation with his cross-shaped fiddle, and the other emitting the song of death, symbolized by the lance, which she holds in gestures that mimic those of David with the fiddle. Furthermore, the creature trampled by David closely resembles the demonic bird-footed siren that frames Ulysses on the other side of the register. In the column, the siren, alongside Scylla, represents the allures of the flesh, while the hybrid animal under David's feet suggests the sin of greed because it is holding a bunch of coins in its hands.[57]

The gestural and iconographic associations between the David relief and the Ulysses column illuminate a new aspect of the well-known

Figure 7.20 King David, from the *Porta Francigena* (now in the Platerías Portal), Santiago Cathedral. Photo: Juan Antonio Olañeta.

connection between the Biblical king and the figure of Orpheus, whose classical iconography—showing him taming the animals with the music of his lyre—was adopted by Jewish and Christian artists for representations of the Psalmist.[58] In Santiago, however, we do not have the David-Orpheus idyllically enchanting the animals, but, rather David in the guise of the Orpheus who aided the Argonauts in their *nostos* by saving them from the sirens' mortal songs:

> By this time, though, they looked partially like birds and partially like maidens. Always on the lookout from their vantage point with its fine harbor, they often indeed robbed many men of their sweet homecoming, wasting them away through languor. And so with no hesitation, for these men as well, they were sending forth the delicate voice from their mouths. Already they were about to cast their cables from their ship onto the beach, had not Thacian Orpheus, Oeagrus's son, strung his Bistonian lyre in his hands and rung out the rapid beat of a lively song so that at the same time the men's ears might ring with

> the sound of his strumming, and the lyre overpowered their virgin voices. Both the Zephyr and the resounding waves rising astern bore the ship onward, as the maidens were sending forth their indistinct speech.
>
> —*Argonautica* 4:898–911[59]

As Helen Lovatt noted of this episode, "music fills their ears like wax, here giving sound a sort of materiality."[60] Thus, on the multisensorial *Porta Francigena*, viewers were treated to a contrapuntal melody of salvation. David's celestial hymns, which subdued the devil, recall the role of Orpheus defeating the sirens with his music and, at the same time, are set in counterpoint to Ulysses' act of silencing, which enabled his companion to listen only to the interior harmony of salvation and to pass the sound of death unharmed. The capacity to hear the psalmody thus becomes a sonic equivalent of *nostos*, of returning *reddit* to the word of God (Figures 7.10 and 7.11).

The post-medieval navigation of the Compostelan David/Orpheus from the *Porta Francigena* to the Platerías Portal, landing him close to the magnificent Pygmalionian scene of the creation of Adam, has given us an Ovidian tableau of entrancing beauty. In the tenth book of the *Metamorphoses*, Orpheus, after losing Eurydice to a definitive second death—having witnessed in dismay how she slipped back into the depths of Hades forever—decides to retire to a grove to sing tales of love. Among them is the story of Pygmalion (*Metamorphoses* 10:143–297), which is, thus, an embedded tale, narrated by a character, within Ovid's poem. A medieval reader of the *Metamorphoses* could, therefore, have gazed at the vertical diptych formed by the reliefs of David and the creation of Adam, and see it transmuted into a granite embodiment of Ovid's poem—a ghostly apparition of the Pygmalion story emerges from the figure of Orpheus, as if it were a sculptural emanation of his musical recitation.[61]

Domus: An Open Door for the Eternal Homecoming

> All around, in truth, are sculpted many images of saints, beasts, men, angels, women, flowers and other creatures, whose nature and qualities we cannot describe because of their great number. But over the doorway which is on the left as we enter the basilica – that is, within the arch – the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary is sculptured. There the Angel Gabriel also speaks to her.
>
> —*Liber Sancti Iacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, Book 5:9[62]

From a narrative perspective, the program of the *Porta Francigena* concluded with the Annunciation, the event that marks the historical and theological swerve activated by the Incarnation (Figures 7.7 and 7.10; Plate 7.7). This event results in Jesus' subsequent pilgrimage on Earth, that is to say, God's

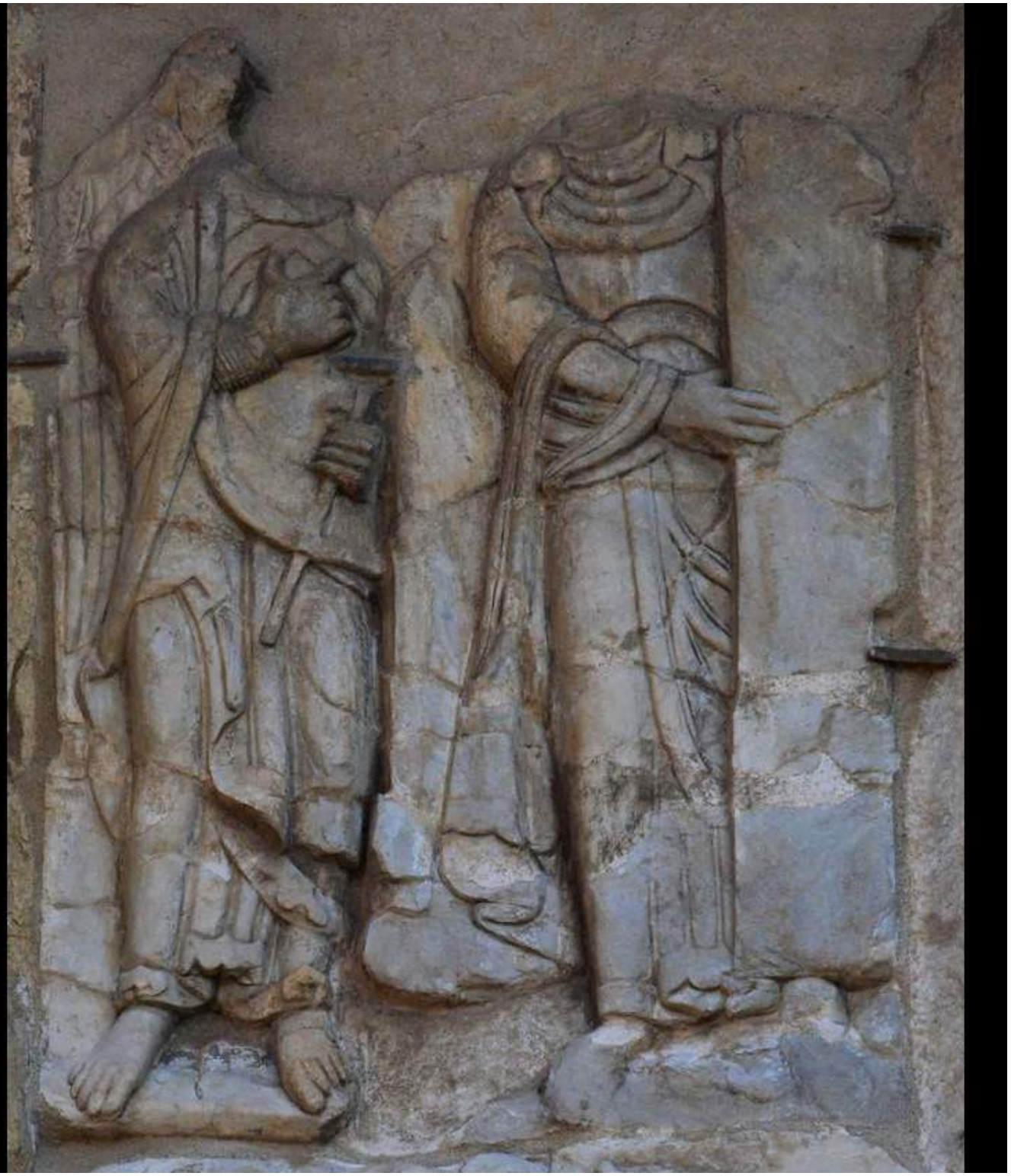

Plate 7.7
Annunciation

nostos through the world of the flesh, which was the theme taken up in the Platerías Portal. The combination of the placement of the scene on the tympanum over the left entrance and its striking composition, showing Mary crossing a doorway to respond to Gabriel's greeting, is ripe with figural and theological evocations (Figure 7.10). In front of the façade, the visitor could experience, at a glance, a brilliant *mise-en-abyme* created by the actual doorway giving access to the cathedral and its echo in the carved doorway being crossed by Mary to meet Gabriel (Plate 7.7). The archangel's utterance of the *Ave* signals the very moment in which the body of the Virgin becomes an open vessel to receive the Holy Spirit. In that instant, her corporeal architecture doubles as a *templum Dei* with an open door, an image of the cathedral itself. This scene is also an icon of sound because the mystery of the Incarnation is, essentially, an acoustic event. It occurs through the intercourse of two voices, Gabriel's "*Ave*" and Mary's "*fiat*." The open door thus stands also for the Virgin's ear, the very corporeal threshold that is traversed by the sonic waves of the archangel's voice. As her *tympanum* (eardrum) is beaten by the sound of the *Ave*, Mary's body becomes an instrument of musical salvation, here evocatively displayed on another "tympanum."[63]

The animation, vitality, and acoustic resonance of the Annunciation relief were probably set in contrast with the immobility, deadly torpor, and silence of the famous sculpture of the Woman with the Skull, located today in the left tympanum of the Platerías Portal—a transfixing figure that, as Walter Cahn aptly stated, is "everyone's favorite puzzle in Romanesque sculpture" (Figure 7.21).[64] Three decades ago, Thomas Lyman, building on José María Azcárate's identification of this figure as "Eve, mother of death," observed that it could have originally been intended for the *Porta Francigena*, where it formed a counterpoint to the Annunciation, creating "a typological opposition between Mary—at the moment in which she received in her bosom the life of the new Adam—and Eve, holding on her lap the symbol of death after the Fall."[65] Certainly, the source of inspiration for this image—which originally might have formed a pair with a figure of Adam, of whom only the head is now preserved—may be found again in the tradition of poetic amplifications of Genesis, such as Avitus' *De spiritualis historiae gestis*, where Adam and Eve are faulted with cursing the "race of their successors" with the "seed of death":

> Next the Judge directed His wrath toward Eve, who was stricken with awe: "But you, woman, who disobeyed My first law, hear what kind of life remains for the remainder of your days. [...] Soon, when your womb conceives and feels the growing life within it, you will testify to its burden with groans, and your uneasy belly will carry closed within you its growing load until, when the allotted time has passed, and your weariness is complete, an offspring, producing life, makes good nature's curse with the vengeance birth takes. This will be a parent's punishment. And why should I speak now of the many

> different perils of motherhood in years to come. For when, woman, wearied with hard work, you have brought forth the child you longed for, giving birth in the manner I have described, it will sometimes happen that a child will be taken from you and you will weep for your meaningless suffering."[66]

A musical score emerges from the contemplation of the visual confrontation between these two sculptural performances of the sequence Ave/Eva—a sonorous word play widely popular among preachers to comment on the idea of "mors per Evam, vita per Mariam" (death through Eve, life through Mary)—which was taken up in one of the most beautiful Marian hymns, "Ave maris stella" (Hail Star of the Sea): "Receiving that *Ave* from the lips of Gabriel, establish us in peace, changing *Eva*'s name."[67] In the larger scenography of the *Porta Francigena*, the antiphonal Ave/Eva constitutes the culmination of an echoing sequence of contrapuntal "icons of sound" concatenated in a crescendo to form an engrossing operatic drama around the themes of the Fall and Redemption. On the one hand, we hear the sirens' songs, Scylla's screams, the serpent's deceitful speech, and Eve' enticing whisper in Adam's ear; on the other hand are Ulysses' salvific sonorous silence, David's melodic harmony, Gabriel's Ave, and Mary's Fiat.[68] All of them are intermingled with the fluid sounds of nature—an exuberant soundscape in constant movement and metamorphosis. Medieval commentators expounded on the dramatic transformation of Nature after the Fall, from being a benign haven providing endless crops of fruit for nourishment, to grow into a hostile and oppressive environment that requires hard work to produce food. Again Avitus gives us a captivating description of the moment when God announces this change to Adam:

> Previously the earth, with its lovely blooms, was without stain, but it will no longer be as reliable, no longer remain simple and bear seeds untainted, nor will it show its old lifeless surface throughout a world that is now corrupt. Following your example, the earth will be ever rebellious and, armed with brambles and thorns, will learn to resist your efforts. And if it yields, if it succumbs to the sod-breaking plough and is subdued by the steady biting tooth of the share, still the rich cultivated land will deceive you with treacherous crops. For you will grieve that in the place of wheat weedy grass grows along with crops that are sham and barren stalks. And so, grudgingly your acres will produce the bread you extort from them, bread which your hunger, struggling and sweating all the time, will consume.[69]

This contrast between the natural habitat before and after the Fall seems to be represented in the marble columns from the *Porta Francigena*, where shafts decorated with putti harvesting effortlessly in a luscious garden (Figure 7.12) alternate with others showing men entangled in thorny bushes.

As we have seen, while Eva is all flesh, immobile, and stupefied in silence, the Mary that receives the Ave of the Annunciation is ethereal, and her body is a murmuring breeze crossing a fluid threshold (Plate 7.7 and Figure 7.21). One represents the stasis of death, while the other is the motion of life. One is inhabited by the phantom of the Roman "captive" that probably served as her classical model, while the other is the Warburgian *Ninfa*, "the goddess in exile" that glides from Antiquity into Christian art, like the handmaiden carrying flowers that bursts into Ghirlandaio's *Birth of John the Baptist*, to which Warburg famously devoted panel 46 of the Mnemosyne *Bilderatlas*.[70] To be sure, a further network of allusions derives from the classical models for the composition of this extraordinary Annunciation from the *Porta Francigena*, which are to be found in Roman sarcophagi featuring the motif of the Gates of Hades. The figures of the Virgin and Gabriel are variations of *Pathosformeln* commonly featured in this typology of objects, such as the draped male and female characters flanking the gates to the underworld in a beautiful example from Córdoba (Figure 7.22).[71] The way Mary holds the marble door as she crosses the threshold of her house also recalls the images of half-open

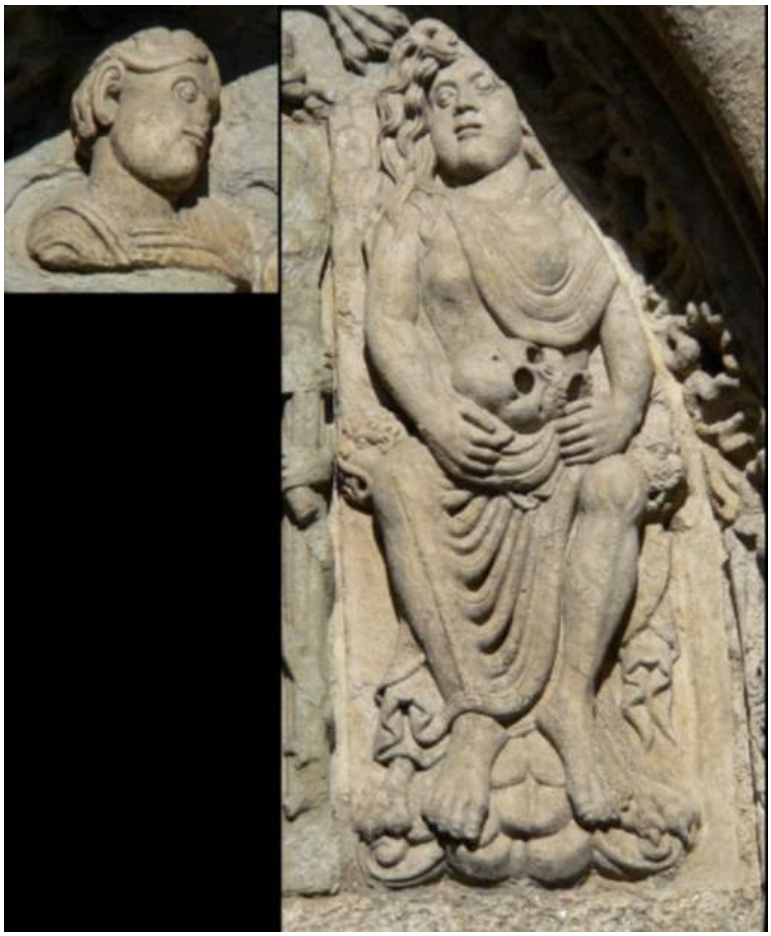

Figure 7.21 Eve, mother of death, with a fragment showing the head of Adam, possibly from the *Porta Francigena*, now on the left tympanum of the Platerías Portal. Santiago Cathedral. Photo: Juan Antonio Olañeta.

Figure 7.22 Detail of a Roman sarcophagus showing the Gates of Hades, A.D. third century. Córdoba, Alcazar de los Reyes Cristianos. Photo: © Album/De Agostini/C. Sappa.

doorways being traversed by characters from the myths of return, such as Alcestis, Hermes, Proserpina, Adonis, or Hercules. The latter is featured in an elegant late-second-century sarcophagus, which has been analyzed by Verity Platt in her discussion of this motif's fluid permeability and its "dissolution of visual and eschatological thresholds" (Figure 7.23):

> Here, the sarcophagus is construed as the very threshold of Hades. [...] Hercules is presented as the ultimate "liminal" figure, permitted because of his extraordinary deeds (and correspondingly ambiguous status between mortality and immortality) to cross and recross the boundary that separates the viewer from the realm of the dead. [...] This insertion of mythological narrative into the decorative plane of the frontal relief raises a rather unsettling question: how unguarded, and therefore permeable, does the living beholder want the doors of Hades to be?[72]

As we have seen, the marble doorway of the Santiago Annunciation, located on a tympanum, serves to mark, both topographically and symbolically, the entrance to the cathedral—which is, essentially, a monumental sarcophagus for the body of St. James. But we could also view it as an "opening" onto the three-dimensional *Mnemosyne* panel of the *Porta Francigena*. In this sense, it doubles as a permeable Gate of the Underworld through which

Figure 7.23 Detail of a sarcophagus showing a scene of the Gates of Hades, Hercules, and Cerberus, ca. 200. Rome, Musei Capitolini—Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1394. Photo: Carole Raddato, licensed under CC BY 2.0.

those phantoms of antiquity arrive in Compostela, completing their *nostos* by becoming embodied in its Romanesque stones in order to perform their new roles in the Christian cosmology. The scenes of the animation of Adam, the healing of the blind man, and the Christian Ulysses extending his salvific embrace, palpitate with the emotion of their classical models. However, rather than Dionysian *pathos*, the essential *emotive formula* they bring with them is *agapē*, the Greek word adopted by Christians to signify the unconditional love and care of God for his children (Plate 7.1, band 2; Plates 7.4 and 7.5; Figure 7.19).[73] They are scenes of intimacy in which the act of salvation is performed by stressing its somatic dimension through bodily contact and gestures of affection. In this sense, one is reminded of images such as the fragment of another Ulysses sarcophagus showing the Greek hero embracing his father, Laertes, upon his return to Ithaca (Figure 7.24). A visual *peripeteia* over this sculptural sequence leads to the realization that the final goal of *nostos*, in both classical epic and Christian pilgrimage, is to regain the comforting shelter of a paternal embrace.

That embrace, however, is elusive, and doomed to be constantly unfulfilled, especially when it is sought beyond the realm of the living and when it is aimed at retrieving a past that no longer exists. Many Roman viewers gazing at an image like the one carved in that Ulysses sarcophagus fragment would have thought of their own departed parents and, perhaps, momentarily

Figure 7.24 Fragment of a sarcophagus showing a scene of Ulysses embracing his father, Laertes. A.D. second century. Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. MB 144. Photo: Francesco Bini (Sailko), licensed under CC BY 3.0.

attained some consolation in the haptic apprehension of the solid corporeality of the marble embrace. But, some of them, as readers of Virgil, could have also mused about the futility of pursuing that bodily connection in the underworld as they recalled Aeneas's dismay when he encountered the shade of his father:

> "Father, your sad image, rising before me, time and again compelled me to push to this boundary's threshold. Anchors are down in Etruscan waters. We've made it! So, father, give me your hand! Give it, don't pull away as I hug and embrace you!" Waves of tears washed over his cheeks as he spoke in frustration: Three attempts made to encircle his father's neck with his outstretched arms yielded three utter failures. The image eluded his grasping hands like the puff of a breeze, as a dream flits away from a dreamer [*ter conatus ibi collo dare braccia circum / ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago / par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno*].
>
> —*Aeneid* 6:695–702[74]

The waves of tears that Aeneas shed in his decent to the realm of the dead echo the waves of the raging storm at sea in the midst of which he had lost his father to a stroke. That was the storm, recounted in the third and most Odyssean book of the *Aeneid*, which marked the fateful swerve in the voyage of the Trojan exiles, landing them on the shores of Carthage. From there, Aeneas and his companion Achates climbed the hills and entered the bustling city, enveloped in a cloud of grey mist provided by Venus so no one could see them. In the middle of the wondrous *urbs* under construction, they came upon a great temple and, as "they walked from one to another wall" they found one of the most famous "*Mnemosyne* panels" in epic history, the frescoes depicting the fall of Troy:

> Aeneas came to a halt and wept, and "Oh, Achates,"
> he cried, "is there anywhere, any place on earth
> not filled with our ordeals? There's Priam, look!
> Even here, merit will have its true reward ...
> even here, the world is a world of tears
> and the burdens of mortality touch the heart
> [*sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*]
>
> —*Aeneid* 1:458–62[75]

Again imagine a pilgrim walking toward the *Porta Francigena* on an autumn day, its monumental façade visible in the distance, partially sheathed in mist. Arriving at the entrance, he could have placed his hand on the marble tempest, and look up to lay his eyes on the reliefs narrating the story of his ancestors and the causes of his own exile: here the creation and animation of the first man, there the fall of our fore-parents and their expulsion from Paradise, which hurled humankind into an aimless navigation through an inscrutable ocean of pain (Figure 7.25). Immersed in the sounds and sights of this enthralling *Mnemosyne* panel, where the past flowed into the present in a granular turbulence of souls refusing to be dissolved into oblivion, he could have engaged in a *nostos* through the pathways of his own memory, searching for the essential meaning of his quest, and meditating on the burdens of mortality that touch the heart in this world of tears . . . in the rain.

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Figure 7.25 Fragment of a marble column from the *Porta Francigena*. Santiago de Compostela, Museum of the Cathedral of Santiago. Photo: © Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.

Notes

1 See Pilar León Alonso, *Esculturas de Itálica* (Seville: Empresa Pública de Gestión de Programas Culturales, 1995), 60–61.
2 James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York: Vintage Books, 1922; repr. 1986), 31.
3 This was the denomination coined by Ludwig Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, ed. Paul Lehmann

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4 For Dante's Ulysses, see Ernst Bloch, "Odysseus Did not Die in Ithaca," in *Homer*, ed. George Steiner and Robert Fagles (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1962), 81–85; Philip H. Damon, "Dante's Ulysses and the Mythic Tradition," in *Medieval Secular Literature. Four Essays*, ed. William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 25–45; John Freccero, "Dante's Ulysses: From Epic to Novel," in *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*, ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 136–51. See also the essential study by Piero Boitani, *The Shadow of Ulysses: Figures of a Myth*, trans. Anita Weston (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994).

5 For Christian interpretations of the Ulysses myth, to a large extent indebted to Neoplatonic exegesis, see Hugo Rahner, "Odysseus at the Mast," in *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, trans. Brian Battershaw (London, UK: Burns & Oates, 1963), 328–86; Jean Pépin, "The Platonic and Christian Ulysses," in *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. Dominic J. O'Meara (Norfolk, VA: International Society of Neoplatonic Studies, 1982), 3–18. For an insightful study of the latent presence of themes from the Ulysses myth in Augustine's thought, see Robert J. O'Connell, *Soundings in St. Augustine's Imagination* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994).

6 See Hippolytus of Rome, *Refutation of All Heresies*, book 7, ch. 1:

> Since the doctrines of heretics are like a sea buffeted by high gales, those who hear them—if they seek after the serene harbor—must rush to sail through it. A sea of this kind is both infested with monsters and difficult to cross, as, for instance, the Sicilian sea, in which dwelled the fabled Cyclops, Charybdis, Scylla, the Wandering Rocks, and the sirens' mountain. This mountain, Greek poets claim, Odysseus sailed by, craftily dealing with the fierceness of these extraordinary beasts, for their savagery against those who sailed by was exceptional. The sirens sang sweetly and deceived by their music those who sailed past, persuading their hearers by their lovely voice to draw near. Learning this beforehand, they say, Odysseus sealed the ears of his companions with wax, bound himself to the mast, and sailed by the sirens without danger—though he listened to their song. My advice is that my readers do the same: namely, that they either stuff their ears with wax because they are too weak to sail past heretical teachings (not listening to what could, with its delight, easily convince them like the sweet song of the sirens), or for them to bind themselves to the cross of Christ, remaining undisturbed because they listen to the siren song with faith, confident in the cross to which they are lashed, and standing upright.

See *Refutation of All Heresies*, trans. M. David Litwa (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2016), 491–93. For the representation of the episode of Ulysses and the sirens in pagan and Christian sarcophagi contemporary with Hippolytus of Rome, see Josef Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, 3 vols. (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 1929–1936); Pierre Courcelle, "Quelques symboles funéraires du néo-platonisme latin. Le vol de Dédale—Ulysse et les Sirènes," *Revue des études anciennes* 46, no. 1 (1944): 65–93; Theodor Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst: VI. Das Sirenenabenteuer des Odysseus—ein Motiv der christlichen Grabkunst," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 6 (1963): 71–100; and Annewies van

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7 For Honorius of Autun, who flourished ca. 1110–37, see Valerie I. J. Flint, "The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis," in *Ideas in the Medieval West: Texts and their Contexts* (Aldershot, UK: Variorum Reprints, 1988), 64–86. For selections of the moralizations of this episode by Honorius and other Christian authors, see Rahner, "Odysseus at the Mast," and Harry Vredeveld, "'Deaf as Ulysses to the Siren's Song': The Story of a Forgotten Topos," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (2001): 846–82. For the illustrations of Ulysses in the *Hortus Deliciarum* (ca. 1185), see Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 36, ed. Rosalie Green, 2 vols. (London, UK: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1979), vol. 2, 365–66. For an exhaustive survey on the iconography of sirens, see Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx, *La sirène dans la pensée et dans l'art de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge: du mythe païen au symbole chrétien* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1997).

8 Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 245. In accordance with the fluid iconographic transformations of the column's figuration, Scylla is shown in the middle register with the exaggerated features of a monstrous siren, thus forming, in addition to the other two, the trio commonly present in the Ulysses episode. In the upper register, the artist incorporates the canine heads around her waist as if she were riding them. For a further example of the medieval moralizations of Scylla in the context of mythographic writings, see Fulgentius, *Mythologies* 2.9:

> For Scylla in Greek is said to be for *exquina*, which in Latin we call violence. And what is violence but lust? [...] And Scylla is explained as the symbol of a harlot, because all her lustful groin must be filled with dogs and wolves; she is then truly filled with wolves and dogs, because she cannot satisfy her private parts with inroads of any other kind. [...] Ulysses also sailed harmlessly past her, for wisdom scorns lust; he had a wife called Penelope the chaste, because all chastity is linked to wisdom,

in *Fulgentius the Mythographer: On the Ages of the World and of Man; The Exposition of the Content of Virgil; The Mythologies; Super Thebaiden*, trans. Leslie George Whitbread (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1971), 74. For a Carolingian fresco featuring the combat of Ulysses with Scylla and the sirens at the Abbey of Corvey in the context of a moralizing program with a similar intent as the one in the column, see George M. A. Hanfmann, "The Scylla of Corvey and Her Ancestors," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 249–60, which includes comparative examples from Greco-Roman art; Hilde Claussen, "Odysseus und Herkules in der karolingischen Kunst," in *Iconologia Sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions–und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas*, ed. Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 341–82; and Lynda L. Coon, *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 141–44.

9 To view Fig. 4d, fragment of the Ulysses sarcophagus, as reproduced in Josef Wilpert, *I sarcofagi christiani antichi*, see the University of Heidelberg website: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/wilpert1929a/0039, accessed November 1, 2019.

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11 Giraldus of Beauvais, a master in the cathedral school of Santiago, mentions the Homeric monsters Scylla and Charybdis in his account of the journey of the sacred boat carrying the body of St. James across the straits of Messina in his *Historia Compostelana*. This is a twelfth-century chronicle of the deeds of the Compostelan archbishop Diego Gelmírez, under whose tenure the transept portals were built. For a Spanish translation, see *Historia Compostelana*, trans. Emma Falcque Rey (Madrid: Akal, 1994), 67–68. For an extended discussion of the intellectual output of the cathedral school, the creation of the *Historia Compostelana*, and the design of the iconographic programs of the transept portals (1105–10), see Francisco Prado-Vilar, "*Flabellum*: Ulises, la Catedral de Santiago y la Historia del Arte medieval español como proyecto intelectual," *Anales de Historia del Arte, Volumen Extraordinario* 2 (2011): 281–316. See also Richard A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1984).

12 For a brilliant study of this mappa mundi, see Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "World and Time in the Map of the Osma Beatus," in the volume accompanying the facsimile edition *Apocalipsis Beati Liebanensis Burgi Oxomensis* (Valencia: Vicent Garcia Editores, 1992), 145–74.

13 For a full discussion and references to primary sources, see Prado-Vilar, "*Flabellum*: Ulises," 300–04. For a Roman mosaic with Ulysses and the Sirens in southern Portugal, see Mercedes Torres Carro, "La escena de Ulises y las sirenas del mosaico de Santa Vitória (Portugal)," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 44 (1978): 89–104.

14 Paula Gerson, Jeanne Krochalis, and Alison Stones ed. and trans., *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Critical Edition: 2, The Text: Annotated English Translation* (London, UK: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998), 71–73. For the Latin text, see *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Manuel Santos Noia (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1998), 252–53. Although the *Porta Francigena* was dismantled in the eighteenth century to erect the Neoclassical façade of the Azabachería, many of its original sculptures have been preserved and reused in other parts of the cathedral, most of them relocated in the South Transept façade (known as the Platerías Portal). Their original placement and the iconographic program of the façade can be reconstructed thanks to the description contained in the *Codex Calixtinus*. The seminal study on this portal and the restitution of the sculptures to their original position is Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "La primitiva fachada norte de la Catedral de Santiago," *Compostellanum* 14, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1969): 623–68; and later, with new insights, Moralejo Álvarez, "Saint-Jacques de Compostelle. Les Portails retrouvés de la cathédrale romane," *Les dossiers de l'archéologie* 20 (1977): 87–103; and Moralejo Álvarez, "La imagen arquitectónica de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Il Pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la Letteratura Jacopea, Perugia 23–24–25 settembre 1983*, ed. Giovanni Scalia (Perugia: Centro Italiano Studi Compostellani 1983), 37–61. More recently, two hypothetical reconstructions, greatly indebted to Moralejo Álvarez, were proposed by John Williams in "Framing Santiago," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century. Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn,* ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Index of Christian Art, Penn State University Press, 2008), 219–38; and Manuel Castiñeiras, who curated an exhibition in which a 3D digital rendering of the *Porta Francigena* was produced. This was valuable as a visualization of the general morphology of the façade, but perhaps questionable in its proposal of the specific placement of the sculptural ensemble. It is in that catalogue where I first advanced my interpretation of the Ulysses column. See Francisco Prado-Vilar, "*Nostos*: Ulysses, Compostela, and the Ineluctable Modality of the Visible," in *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Manuel Castiñeiras (Milan: Skira, 2010), 260–69. For

the digital reconstruction, also see Manuel Castiñeiras, "La *Porta Francigena*: una encrucijada en el nacimiento del gran portal románico," *Anales de Historia del Arte, Volumen Extraordinario* 2 (2011): 93–122. For a critical discussion of the description of the Romanesque cathedral in the Pilgrim's Guide of the *Codex Calixtinus*, see Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "The *Codex Calixtinus* as an Art-Historical Source," in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: Narr, 1992), 207–23.

15 For this coin, minted under King Fernando II of León and Galicia (r. 1157–88), see José Carro Otero, "Moneda del rey D. Fernando II de Galicia-León y 'ceca' compostelana, con el tema de la 'Traslación' del cuerpo del Apóstol Santiago (1157–1188)," *Compostellanum* 32, nos. 3–4 (Jul.–Dec. 1987): 575–94. See also Rosa Vázquez Santos, "Las monedas de la ceca compostelana, ¿una clave para la reconstrucción de los ciclos pictóricos medievales de la catedral de Santiago?" *Locus amoenus* 11 (2011–12): 7–17.

16 The first attempt to decipher the iconography of this column—underscoring its epic content and pointing to its possible allusions to episodes from the legend of Charlemagne's campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula to liberate the shrine of St. James from the Moors, as they are retold in the *Chanson de Roland* and in the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* of the *Codex Calixtinus*—was Fermín Bouza-Brey, "Fortuna de las canciones de gesta y del heroe Roldán en el románico compostelano y en la tradición gallega," *Compostellanum* 10, no. 4 (1965): 663–85. Taking up Bouza-Brey's "epic" intuition, Serafín Moralejo Álvarez developed a more sophisticated analysis outlining the fluid meaning of its iconographic program, composed of generic "framing themes" (citing Jan Bialostocki's *Rahmenthemen*), that is, "a succinct narrative nucleus susceptible of variegated developments or oral amplifications to adjust to specific contexts," see Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "Artes figurativas y artes literarias en la España medieval: Románico, Romance y Roman," *Boletín de la Asociación Europea de Profesores de Español* 17, nos. 32–33 (1985): 61–70, esp. 69; and Moralejo Álvarez, "Artistas, patronos y público en el arte del Camino de Santiago," *Compostellanum* 30, nos. 3–4 (1985): 395–430. He related this fluidity to the way medieval vernacular romances evolved in oral tradition before their written consolidation, and tentatively associated some figures in the column to episodes of the story of Tristan and Iseult, particularly the scene in the central register, which he proposed to identify as Iseult attending to a wounded Tristan, although he did acknowledge the inconsistencies in the details on which this hypothesis hinged: the inflated face of the knight, rather than a representation of a poisoned Tristan, is a defining stylistic feature of this artist's work; the chip in the sword's blade, rather than a reference to Tristan's broken sword, is clearly a posterior damage to the sculpture, not part of the original design; and, finally, the character with the conical hat is not a female—both Ulysses and his companion are comparable to another male figure designed by the same artist for the *Porta Francigena*, representing the month of February, which was part of the calendar with the series of the Labors of the Months; see Moralejo Álvarez's catalogue entry in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 215–16, no. 94. As I will discuss in a forthcoming publication, it is, however, in the scene of the rudderless boat carrying a sleeping/wounded knight where we find a paradigmatic example of the fluidity of these images, impossible to anchor on an univocal literal reading—a mobility where classical myth and vernacular romances flow into each other. For a critical assessment of previous interpretations and a more detailed exposition of additional iconographic details of the column, which offers a concatenated visual sermon addressed to pilgrims and presenting narrative *exempla* of the dangers of the road taken from homiletic compendia and the Bestiary, see Prado-Vilar, "*Flabellum*: Ulises."

17 Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Marshall Jones Company, 1923), 175.
18 Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Emily Wilson (New York: W. W. Norton, 2018), 324.
19 In his allegorization of the episode of Ulysses and the sirens, Fulgentius affirms:

> For Ulysses in Greek is for *holonxenos*, that is, stranger to all [*omnium peregrinus*]; and because wisdom is a stranger to all things of this world, so Ulysses is called crafty. Then he both hears and sees, that is, recognizes and sizes up and still passes by the Sirens, that is, the allures of pleasure
>
> (Mythologies 2:8)

in *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, 73.
20 See J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, eds., *Minor Latin Poets*, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), 777–79. For an assessment of the richness of the literary corpus of Late Antiquity, to which I shall refer occasionally in the course of this essay, see Jaś Elsner and Jesús Hernández Lobato, eds., *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017).
21 Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, vol. 1, 171–72, 178.
22 The introductory *ekphrasis* relating the memories of my multisensory engagement with the column interweaves issues recently explored by classicists in several collections of essays, such as Alex Purves, ed., *Touch and the Ancient Senses* (London, UK: Routledge, 2018); and Milette Gaifman and Verity Platt, eds., "The Embodied Object in Classical Antiquity," a special issue of *Art History* 41, no. 3 (June 2018). The relationship between marble, water, and its echoing sounds has been brilliantly explored by Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics," *Gesta* 50, no. 2 (2011): 93–111; Pentcheva, "Mirror, Inspiration, and the Making of Art in Byzantium," *Convivium* 1, no. 2 (2014): 10–39; and Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia: Sound, Space, and Spirit in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017). On the experience of sculpture in its intimate dimension and wider cultural terms, see Susan Stewart, *Poetry and the Fate of the Senses* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and Alexander Nemerov, *Acting in the Night: Macbeth and the Places of the Civil War* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010).
23 For a discussion of Warburg's agonic pursuit of the wandering ghosts from antiquity, whom he saw as exerting a haunting influence over the historical unfolding of western art, figures he called *Pathosformeln* (a combination of an emotional charge and an iconographic formula), see Georges Didi-Huberman, *The Surviving Image: Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms: Aby Warburg's History of Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).
24 For a recent engagement with this corpus of sculptures from Santiago, including the marble column—although one from which I depart on fundamental aspects of historical contextualization, iconographic interpretation, and theoretical framework—see Stefan Trinks, *Antike und Avantgarde. Skulptur am Jakobsweg im 11. Jahrhundert: Jaca – León – Santiago* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).
25 Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, vol. 1, 211–39.
26 For a general discussion, with previous literature, see Willemien Otten, "Reading Creation: Early Medieval Views of Genesis and Plato's *Timaeus*," in C*reation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretations of Genesis I in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics*, ed. George H. van Kooten (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 225–43; and Otten's essential larger study, *From Paradise to Paradigm: A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). See also Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); and Bernardus Silvestris, *The*

Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvestris, trans. Winthrop Wetherbee (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973). See also Conrad Rudolph, "In the Beginning: Theories and Images of Creation in Northern Europe in the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 22, no. 1 (1999): 3–55, especially pertinent in the context of this essay is Rudolph's discussion of the theological debates regarding *Genesis* 1:2: "Now the earth was without shape and empty, and darkness was over the surface of the watery deep, but the Spirit of God was moving over the surface of the water."

27 For the relief of the woman with grapes and the column shafts, see Serafín Moralejo's catalogue entries in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 211–14, nos. 91, 92. Particularly relevant is Moralejo's nuanced discussion of the different stylistic affiliations of the various artists who worked in the *Porta Francigena* as they are reflected in the design and formal characteristics of each of the preserved marble shafts. Reductively, Manuel Castiñeiras assigns all the shafts to one sculptor that he dubs "the Master of the Twisted Columns" despite the fact that they are clearly the product of distinct hands emerging from diverse, although interconnected, stylistic traditions. See Manuel Castiñeiras, "La *Porta Francigena*." The main sculptor of the *Porta Francigena*, who was responsible for the "woman with grapes" and other famous works such as the reliefs of the creation of Adam, King David, and the Woman with the Skull (discussed below), is connected to artists working in the basilica of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse. For a discussion of the different "idioms" within the Toulouse-Compostela connection, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo's catalogue entries in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 205—207, nos. 86, 87; and, especially, Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "Modelo, copia y originalidad, en el marco de las relaciones artísticas hispano-francesas (siglos XI-XIII)," in *CEHA. Vè Congrés Espanyol d'Història de l'Art, Barcelona, 1984*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Ediciones Marzo 80 – Manuel Company, 1986), 89–112, esp. 91–99. For the classical sources of this workshop, see Thomas Lyman, "Le style comme symbole chez les sculpteurs romans: essai d'interprétation de quelques inventions thématiques à la porte Miègeville de Saint-Sernin," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 12 (1981): 161–78; and Francisco Prado-Vilar, "The *superstes*: Resurrection, the Survival of Antiquity, and the Poetics of the Body in Romanesque Sculpture," in *Transformatio et Continuatio*: *Forms of Change and Constancy of Antiquity in the Iberian Peninsula 500–1500*, ed. Horst Bredekamp and Stefan Trinks (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 137–84. For the intense engagement with classical art of the workshops developing in the Frómista-Jaca tradition in the last decade of the eleventh century—from where the artists working in the Santiago transept portals emerged—see Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Tragedy's Forgotten Beauty: The Medieval Return of Orestes," in *Life, Death and Representation. Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi*, Millennium Studies Series 29, ed. Jaś Elsner and Janet Huskinson (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 83–118.

28 Brooke Holmes, "Liquid Antiquity," in *Liquid Antiquity*, ed. Brooke Holmes and Karen Marta (Geneva: Deste Foundation for Contemporary Art, 2017), 18–59, esp. 39. The fluid visual poetics of the harvesting putti gliding up the marble column finds its literary reflection in the verses of one of the "liquid marvels" from the corpus of late antique Latin literature, Ausonius's *Mosella* (ca. 375). In this poetic celebration of the Moselle River and its natural surroundings, the Gallic author, a native of Bordeaux, describes the vibrant vision of vineyards reflected on its crystalline surface:

> Yon is a sight that may be freely enjoyed: when the azure river mirrors the shady hills, the waters of the stream seem to bear leaves and the flood to be all overgrown with shoots of vines [...] Whole hills float on the shivering ripples: here quivers the far-off tendril of the vine, here in the glassy flood swells the full cluster,
> (*Mosella* 189–95)

in Ausonius, *Ausonius*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn White, Loeb Classical Library series, vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919), 239. This multisensory and kaleidoscopic poem narrates an immersive journey through the sights and sounds of nature, much like the one pilgrims to Santiago could have experienced as they crossed through changing landscapes before arriving at the *Porta Francigena*. For two recent discussions of the *Mosella*'s intertextual allusions and synesthetic imagery, see Rabun Taylor, "Death, the Maiden and the Mirror: Ausonius' Water World," *Arethusa* 42 (2009): 181–205; and Jesús Hernández Lobato, "Mystic River: Ausonius' *Mosella* as an Epistemological Revelation," *Ramus* 45, no. 2 (2016): 231–66.

29 Holmes, "Liquid Antiquity," 31. See also Brooke Holmes, "Cosmopoiesis in the Field of 'The Classical'," in *Deep Classics. Rethinking Classical Reception*, ed. Shane Butler (London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 269–90, as well as the other valuable contributions in the same volume, especially Shane Butler, "Homer's Deep," 21–48.

30 Georges Didi-Huberman, "Artistic Survival: Panofsky vs. Warburg and the Exorcism of Impure Time," *Common Knowledge* 9, no. 2 (Apr. 2003): 273–85; and Michel Serres, *The Birth of Physics*, trans. David Webb and William Ross (London, UK: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2018).

31 To view Fig. 17c, the "Virgil" panel from Warburg's *Mnemosyne* online, go to: https://warburg.library.cornell.edu/panel/61-64, accessed November 1, 2019.

32 For an introduction to Warburg's *Mnemosyne*, see, among the vast literature, Aby Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, ed. Martin Warnke and Claudia Brink (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000); Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion* (New York: Zone Books, 2004); Christopher D. Johnson, *Memory, Metaphor, and Aby Warburg's Atlas of Images* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012); and Georges Didi-Huberman, *Atlas, Or the Anxious Gay Science*, trans. Shane B. Lillis (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

33 I invoke here Derrida's discussion of the *parergon* as "a form which has as its traditional determination not that it stands out but that it disappears, buries itself, effaces itself, melts away at the moment it deploys its greatest energy." See Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 15–147, esp. 61. For a recent overview of the productive theoretical iterations of the concept of the *parergon* in art history, see Verity Platt and Michael Squire, "Framing the Visual in Greek and Roman Antiquity," in *The Frame in Classical Art: A Cultural History*, ed. Verity Platt and Michael Squire (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 3–100, esp. 47–59.

34 Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. Martin Ferguson Smith (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2001), 189–90. For the Latin text, see Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, rev. Martin F. Smith, Loeb Classical Library 181 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 524–26. Of the many theoretical engagements with the Lucretian notion of the swerve (*clinamen*), from Harold Bloom to Jacques Deleuze, I refer here to Serres, *The Birth of Physics*, passim. See also Stephen Clucas, "Liquid History: Serres and Lucretius," in *Mapping Michel Serres*, ed. Niran Abbas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 72–83.

35 Dominic Green, "Calasso's Memory of Antiquity," *The New Criterion* 34, no. 6 (Feb. 2016): 19–24, esp. 19. For an evocative analysis of the visual score formed by radio waves and oceanic waves in painting, see Alexander Nemerov, "Ground Swell: Edward Hopper in 1939," *American Art* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 50–71.

36 Sigrid Weigel, "Epistemology of Wandering, Tree and Taxonomy: The System Figuré in Warburg's 'Mnemosyne' Project with the History of Cartographic and

Encyclopaedic Knowledge," *Images Re-vues: Histoire, anthropologie et théorie de l'art*, Hors-série 4 (2013): 1–20, esp. 4, 7.

37 On this aspect, see Michael I. Allen, "Universal History, 300–1000: Origins and Western Developments," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah M. Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 117–42; Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006); and Wesley Stevens, "A Present Sense of Things Past: *Quid est enim tempus*?" in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 9–28.

38 Avitus of Vienne, *The Poems of Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus*, trans. George W. Shea (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), 74.

39 Whereas the relief of the creation of Adam, as I have noted earlier, is the product of an artist stylistically connected to the workshop responsible for the Porte Miègeville of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse (and related productions of its dismantled west façade), the sculptor of the animation of Adam finds its formal cognates in San Isidoro de León, and is also the sculptor of the Christ in Majesty (Figure 7.11) that was originally placed at the center of the upper frieze of the *Porta Francigena* (today relocated just above the creation of Adam in the Platerías Portal). This diverse authorship accounts for the different physiognomic characterizations of both God and Adam in each relief. The scene I identify here as the animation of Adam has been largely overlooked in previous scholarship, where it is only mentioned tentatively as "the creation of Eve" without a critical assessment of its formal and compositional characteristics. Only Ole Naesgaard thought it was an earlier version of a "creation of Adam" originally made for the Platerías Portal, which was later reduplicated by the other "Hispano-Languedocian" creation of Adam as part of a posterior redecoration of the same façade. See Ole Naesgaard, *Saint-Jacques de Compostelle et les débuts de la grande sculpture vers 1100*, Publications de la Société Archéologique du Jutland 5 (Aarhus: Universitetstforlaget i Aarhus, 1962), 87–94. The closest contemporary parallel for the Santiago creation sequence is an illumination of the creation / animation of Adam in the Breviary of St. Martial de Limoges (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Latin 743, fol. 112v), which Moralejo brings up in passing in his analysis of the creation of Adam. See Moralejo, "Saint-Jacques de Compostelle," 94. My discussion of the Santiago reliefs in this essay might help to view the Limoges miniature in a new light as an inventive combination of aspects of the two (creation and animation)—aspects that are inspired in the same classical sources.

40 Avitus of Vienne, *The Poems of Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus*, 74–75. For his biography, see Danuta Shanzer and Ian N. Wood, trans., *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose* (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 3–27; and Ian N. Wood, "Avitus of Vienne, The Augustinian Poet," in *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources*, ed. Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), 263–77. For *De spiritualis historiae gestis* and its inspiration in classical literature, see Patrick McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 124–72. For a recent discussion of this passage, see Catherine Conybeare, "*Noli me tangere*: The Theology of Touch," in Purves, *Touch and the Ancient Senses*, 167–79.

41 Callistratus, "On the Statue of Dionysus," in *Descriptions*, trans. Arthur Fairbanks, Loeb Classical Library 256 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 405.

42 See Joe Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures: The Sense of Touch in Renaissance England* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 151 (for Callistratus), and 161 (for Bernini).

43 On in-spiriting, or vital in-breathing, see Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Performing the Sacred in Byzantium: Image, Breath, and Sound," *Performance Research International* 19, no. 3 (June 2014): 120–28

44 For an essential discussion of specularity and the trope of the mirror in medieval art and Christian exegesis, see Herbert L. Kessler, "Speculum," *Speculum* 86, no. 1 (Jan. 2011): 1–41. I am grateful to the author for illuminating conversations when thinking about these images.

45 For a recent discussion of the Pygmalion myth in the context of explorations of the haptic aspect of classical sculpture, see Verity Platt and Michael Squire, "Getting to Grips with Classical Art: Rethinking the Haptics of Graeco-Roman Visual Culture," in Purves, *Touch and the Ancient Senses*, 75–100. For Pygmalion as an artist and spectator, see Jaś Elsner, "Viewing and Creativity: Ovid's Pygmalion as Viewer," in *Roman Eyes: Visuality & Subjectivity in Art & Text* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 113–31.

46 For the influence of the iconography of the Prometheus myth in representations of the creation of Adam in Christian art, particularly Carolingian bibles and the Mosaics of San Marco, see Herbert L. Kessler, "Thirteenth-Century Venetian Revisions of the Cotton Genesis Cycle," in *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice: The Genesis and Medieval Reality of the Genesis Mosaics*, ed. Martin Büchsel, Herbert L. Kessler, and Rebecca Müller (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2014), 75–94; and Martin Büchsel, "Theologie und Bildgenese. Modelle der Transformation antiker und frühchristlicher Vorlagen," in Büchsel, Kessler, and Müller, *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice*, 95–130.

47 For this sarcophagus, see François Baratte and Catherine Metzger, *Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1985), 115–18. For the importance of the cemetery of Alyscamps as a veritable museum without walls available to patrons and artists throughout the Middle Ages, see Jaś Elsner, "The Christian Museum in Southern France: Antiquity, Display, and Liturgy from the Counter-Reformation to the Aftermath of Vatican II," *Oxford Art Journal* 31, no. 2 (June 2009): 181–204.

48 For the influence of Hilary's *Metrum in Genesin* on Avitus' creation of Adam, see Patrick McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England*, 140.

49 See https://www.flickr.com/photos/roger_ulrich/8387331138, accessed October 22, 2019.

50 Jaś Elsner, "The Embodied Object: Recensions of the Dead on Roman Sarcophagi," *Art History* 41, no. 3 (June 2018): 547–65, esp. 557.

51 For a discussion of Lucretius's "tactile materialism," see Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures*, 81–108.

52 *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, 62. In the original text:

> Nam sputamento suo occulos ceci nati aperuit; et ut probaretur ipse esse qui Adam de limo terre formaverat, lutum fecit de saliva sua, et imposuit super loca occulorum, quos non cecaverat infirmitas, / sed defuerant per naturam. Nam interrogavimus Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum dicentes: *Quis peccavit, hic aut parentes eius, ut cecus nasceretur? Et respondit* nobis dicens*: Neque hic peccavit, neque perentes eius, sed ut manifestentur opera Dei in eo* (John 9:2–3). Id est, ut manifestus fieret artifex, qui eum fecerat, cum ipse faceret quod minus fuerat factum.

For a Spanish translation, see Abelardo Moralejo, Cayetano Alfonso Torres, and Julio Feo García, trans., *Liber Sancti Iacobi. Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela: Instituto Padre Sarmiento, 1951), 128.

53 For comparative explorations of Pygmalion and Narcissus, see Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven, CT:

Yale University Press, 1986), 89; and Moshenska, *Feeling Pleasures*, 94–96. For a valuable discussion of the various critical engagements with the Narcissus myth, see Shadi Bartsch, *The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-Knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 84–114. See also Maurizio Bettini, *The Portrait of the Lover* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

54 In commenting on the "animating touch" in Ovid's Pygmalion story, Alex Purves recalls the phenomenological reciprocity of touch in terms that serve to underscore the implication of the scene of the healing of the blind and its relation to the creation of Adam discussed earlier:

> We are close here to what Merleau-Ponty would come to refer to as the 'paradoxical crisscrossing . . . of the touching and the tangible'—a fantasy of reciprocity and reversibility between the toucher and the touched, where the moment of contact between one body and the other becomes permeable, transitory and difficult to decipher.

Alex Purves, "Introduction: What and Where is Touch," in Purves, *Touch and the Ancient Senses*, 1–20, esp. 8.

55 Callistratus, "On the Statue of Narcissus," in *Descriptions*, 393. For classical *ekphraseis* of artworks representing Narcissus and depictions of this myth in Roman art, see Jaś Elsner, "Viewer as Image: Intimations of Narcissus," in Elsner, *Roman Eyes*, 132–76; and Rabun Taylor, *The Moral Mirror of Roman Art* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 56–89. See also Elsner's brilliant "Late Narcissus. Classicism and Culture in a Late Roman Cento," in Elsner and Lobato, *The Poetics of Late Latin Literature*, 176–204, where he analyzes a cento (Latin patchwork poem made up of lines from other famous works) retelling the story of Narcissus. "What Narcissus sees, in the eddying waters of his desire," writes Elsner in words that resonate with echoes of Narcissus as they ripple into the fragmented world of early Middle Ages, "is the classical tradition itself, shimmering uncertainly before him—cut up and reconfigured, ghostly, unachievable, a string of disparate poetic memories redolent of a string of untimely deaths, an ekphrasis of itself and never the real thing" (199).

56 For an analysis of the Santiago David, who crushes a hybrid beast under his feet, in reference to 1 *Samuel* 16:23 ("And whenever the tormenting spirit from God troubled Saul, David would play the harp. Then Saul would feel better, and the tormenting spirit would go away"), see Moralejo, "Saint-Jacques de Compostelle," 97. For an overview of the analogies between David's instrument and the cross, in the context of an interesting discussion of the Cluny ambulatory capitals, see Sébastien Biay, "Building a Church with Music: The Plainchant Capitals at Cluny, c. 1100," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 221–36, esp. 228–34.

57 Greed (*avaritia*) is another deadly sin, alongside Lust (*luxuria*), associated with sirens in medieval bestiaries, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds*: *Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007): 259–73.

58 See Janet Huskinson, "Some Pagan Mythological Figures and Their Significance in Early Christian Art," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 42 (1974): 68–97; and John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

59 Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ed. and trans. William H. Race, Loeb Classical Library 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 400–03.

60 Helen Lovatt, "Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4 and the Epic Gaze: There and Back Again," in *Gaze, Vision, and Visuality in Ancient Greek Literature*, ed. Alexandros Kampakoglou and Anna Novokhatko (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 88–112, esp. 110.

61 By pursuing this analysis to the point of exploring the web of intertextual and intervisual allusions suggested by the combination of these two reliefs in their present location, as displaced *spolia* from the *Porta Francigena*, I want to re-create a poetic experience which was available to the antiquarian and kaleidoscopic gaze that defines the "Twelfth-Century Renaissance" and, as we have seen, is also present in Late Antiquity. This was the case of learned Christian viewers such as Bishop Avitus of Vienne in the sixth century or Hildebert of Lavardin (ca. 1056–1133), bishop of Tours, contemporary of Archbishop Gelmírez of Santiago and author of the famous elegy to the ruins of Rome "Par tibi Roma Nihil" (Nothing like you, Rome), which he was writing as the *Porta Francigena* was being built. For Hildebert, see Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 163–65; and Stephen Jaeger, *Enchantment: On Charisma and the Sublime in the Arts of the West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012),134–39.

62 Gerson, et al., *Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, 73. For the Latin text, see *Liber Sancti Iacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, 253:

> Ibidem vero circum circa, multe immagines sanctorum, bestiarum, hominum, angelorum, feminarum, florum, ceteramque creaturarum sculpuntur, quarum essenciam et qualitatem pre magnitudine sua narrare non possumus. Sed tamen super portam que est ad sinistram, cum basilicam intramus, in ciborio scilicet, beate Marie Virginis annunciacio sculpitur; loquitur etiam ibi angelus Grabriel ad eam.

63 On the Latin word *tympanum* ("eardrum" in English) and the sonorous body, see Bruce W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 296. For a theoretical reflection on the different meanings of *tympanum* as a critical concept for the study of Romanesque art, see Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Diario de un argonauta: En busca de la belleza olvidada," *Anales de Historia del Arte, Volumen Extraordinario* (2010): 75–107, esp. 103–05:

> On the one hand is the organic tympanum, where sonic impressions are registered, and, one the other hand is the architectural tympanum, on which the dogmatic text is inscribed. Both are "portals" to stage an encounter, but one is permeable, subjective and intimate, whereas the other is immutable, objective, and meta-narrative. The organic tympanum is a passage for the entrance of volatile somatic desire, whereas the stone tympanum is the monumental screen for the materialization of the legislative text in the public sphere—a text that aims at exerting a regulatory function to control that wide spectrum of somatic fantasies.

On *tympanum* in the context of critical theory, see Jacques Derrida, "Tympan," in *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982), ix–xxiv.

64 Walter Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture and the Spectator," in *The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator*, ed. Deborah Kahn (London, UK: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1992), 45–60, esp. 58.

65 See Thomas W. Lyman, "Motif et narratif: vers une typologie des thèmes profanes dans la sculpture monumentale sur les romerias," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 10 (1979): 59–86, esp. 71–75. For this figure as Eve, see José María Azcárate, "La Portada de las Platerías y el programa iconográfico de la Catedral de Santiago," *Archivo español de arte* 36 (1963): 1–20, esp. 10–12. Both Azcárate's identification and Lyman's realization that the figure was originally created for the *Porta Francigena* are reinforced by its formal correspondences with the relief of the creation of Adam, who is represented standing on a ground similar to the one on which this

Eve sits after the Fall. She is rendered as the voluptuous temptress who caused Adam to transgress God's law—a sin whose main consequence was the curse of death upon the human race. As Margaret Miles has noted, summarizing a large corpus of homiletic writing,

> Eve was simultaneously the mother of all human beings and the first sinner. Her naked body was an iconographic devise that associated female nakedness with fecundity and sin, sexual desire and death [...] For Adam and Eve's descendants, death is an irreducible entailment of embodiment.

See Margaret Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 85–144, esp. 93, 144. Lyman's hypothesis that the Woman with the Skull was intended for the *Porta Francigena* as a contrasting *pendant* to the Virgin of the Annunciation has been assumed by Manuel Castiñeiras as his own in several articles over the last decade, such as "Las portadas del crucero de la catedral de Santiago (1101–1111)," in *Alfonso VI y su legado. Actas del congreso internacional IX Centenario de Alfonso VI (1109-2009)* (León: Diputación Provincial de León, Instituto Leonés de Cultura, 2012), 215–41, esp. 226–27, repeated in Castiñeiras, "The Romanesque Portal as Performance," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168, no. 1 (2015): 1–33, esp. 17. These two authors differ in that Lyman perceptively built on Azcárate's breakthrough identification of the figure as Eve, and restored her to her Genesis context, whereas Castiñeiras, even if connecting her with the Annunciation, does not see her as Eve but, rather, as an allegory of *luxuria* or *exemplum libidinis* reiterating an interpretative *topos* around this figure that goes back to Werner Weisbach's *Reforma religiosa y arte medieval: La influencia de Cluny en el románico occidental* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1949), 119–22. In his argumentation, Castiñeiras then proceeds to relate the figure to the "epic" marble column (Figure 7.1), taking the most superficial aspects of Moralejo Álvarez's polyhedric analysis—those pertaining to his tentative suggestion that some details might refer to episodes of the romance of Tristan and Iseult—and goes on to relate the Woman with the Skull, in a rather twisted iconographic leap, to the story of an "adulterous woman" that is retold by a character in a later development of the Tristan saga. Interpretations of this sort, regardless their variable art historical merit, constitute valuable examples of the continuing power of the work to generate romancing vernacular tales, even when viewed anachronically and out of context. The initiator of this response tradition is the very author of the Pilgrim's Guide with its gripping tale of adultery, murder, and necrophilia suggested to him by the contemplation of this spellbinding figure when he saw her on the Platerías tympanum by the middle of the twelfth century, already disconnected from the original program of Genesis. In this respect, Azcárate's brilliantly argued theological interpretation of this figure as Eve within her present location in the Platerías Portal, where she is set alongside the Temptations of Christ, might constitute, in fact, the best exposition of the intention of the iconographers responsible for the early remodeling of the façade and their reasons to insert Eve in that new program—a program which the author of the Pilgrim's Guide and his subsequent followers failed to understand in all its exegetical implications. The most solid discussion of the historiography of this figure remains Moralejo, "The *Codex Calixtinus* as an Art-Historical Source," 217–18, esp. n. 34, where he also points to its classical models in "barbarian captives and personifications of conquered provinces" in Roman art. Other recent interpretations of this figure as Bethsabe, associating her with the relief of King David, should be discarded for incurring in a host of formal, iconographic, and contextual contradictions, see, for instance, Claudia Rückert, "A Reconsideration of the Woman with the Skull on the Puerta de las Platerías of Santiago de Compostela Cathedral," *Gesta* 2 (2012): 129–46.

66 Avitus of Vienne, *The Poems of Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus*, 93. The skull that Eve holds in her bosom, symbolizing the seed of death transmitted to her descendants, could also be a direct allusion to Abel's corpse, thus signaling the punishment of having to witness her children's death, alluded to by Avitus. As John Chrysostom comments in his "Homily on the Transferal of Martyr's Relics," anticipating arguments which will be reiterated by subsequent exegetes, such as Peter Comestor in his *Historia Scholastica* in the twelfth century:

> God allowed Abel to die first so that Adam, the transgressor, could learn what death really is from its appearance [...] Had Adam died first he never would have seen any dead bodies. Adam, though, remained alive and saw in another body—that of his son—the triumph of death. Thus he could recognize more clearly and exactly just how huge his punishment was.

Cited in Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 274. Koerner mentions this exegetical tradition, connected to apocryphal retellings of the story of Adam and Eve mourning Abel's death, in the context of his analysis of a series of paintings depicting the Fall by German artist Hans Baldung Grien (ca. 1484–1545), which feature a striking combination of "erotic desire and the memento mori within the experience of the image," in terms that might help delve into the implications of the Compostelan Eve. "By outfitting his Eve with the marks of a fallen sexuality," writes Koerner,

> Baldung invites, or even forces, his male viewers to experience their own voyeuristic desire, mirroring the worst in them in the lascivious gaze of Adam. [...] The Fall is now explicitly associated with voyeurism, with fallen sexuality as perverted vision or scopophilia. As such any distance between original sin and the beholder's fallenness is annihilated. Party to Adam's desires (if not his actions), the male viewer recognizes his true kinship with Adam. Thus are the sins of the fathers visited upon their sons,

Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 298. If the Compostelan Eve—with her overt sexuality confronting the viewer as a striking embodiment of Eros and Thanatos—anticipates Baldung's depictions of the Fall, then the figure of Adam could have also been present in the original design of the *Porta Francigena*, completing, alongside Eve, the voyeuristic theater described by Koerner. In fact, we can recognize him in the fragmented male head, by the same sculptor, which now floats decontextualized in the opposite corner of the Platerías tympanum (Figure 7.21). He could have originally been located next to Eve, staring at her after the Fall, as he realizes, as John Chrysostom wrote, that

> The whole of her bodily beauty is nothing less than phlegm, blood, bile, rheum, and the fluid of digested food.... If you consider what is stored up behind those lovely eyes, the angle of the nose, the mouth and cheeks you will agree that the well-proportioned body is merely a whitened sepulchre.

Cited in Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 58. Certainly, this Adam, and the medieval spectators who saw themselves reflected on him, were staring at their own deaths. Indeed, the skull held by Eve was readily assimilated, by any contemporary viewer, to the motif of Adam's skull, as it is represented in scenes of the Crucifixion at the foot of the cross, marking the location of his grave (in Golgotha, the place of the skull, cf. *Mark* 15:22). In them, Mary's Son (the new Adam incarnated through the divine *AVE*) washes away with his blood the sin carried forth by the mortal offspring engendered by EVA, symbolized by Adam as their common

ancestor. Two examples bracketing chronologically the Compostelan Eve are the fresco of the Crucifixion in the Royal Pantheon of San Isidoro de León and the arresting skull at the foot of the Cross from Saint Pere de Sorpe, now in Barcelona, MNAC, inv. 113144-001). See Marina Montesano, "Adam's Skull," in *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Barbara Baert, Anita Traninger, and Catrien Santing (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 15–30.

67 For the hymn and its liturgical context, see Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 60–61.

68 For the different notions of "silence" in the Middle Ages and its various modes of representation, see Francisco Prado-Vilar, "*Silentium*: El silencio cósmico como imagen en la Edad Media y la Modernidad," *Revista de Poética Medieval* 27 (2013): 21–43.

69 Avitus of Vienne, *The Poems of Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus*, 93.

70 On Warburg's Nymph, see, especially, Georges Didi-Huberman, "The Imaginary Breeze: Remarks on the Air of the Quattrocento," *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 3 (2003): 275–89; Sigrid Weigel, "Warburg's 'Goddess in Exile': The 'Nymph' Fragment Between Letter and Taxonomy, Read with Heinrich Heine," *Critical Horizons* 14, no. 3 (2013): 271–95; and Giorgio Agamben, *Nymphs*, trans. Amanda Minervini (London, UK: Seagull, 2013).

71 For this sarcophagus, see Antonio García y Bellido, "El sarcófago romano de Córdoba," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 32, nos. 99–100 (1959): 3–37. On the typology of "doorway sarcophagi," see Britt Haarlov, *The Half-Open Door. A Common Symbolic Motif Within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1977); Verity Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature, and Religion* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Platt, "Framing the Dead on Roman Sarcophagi," in Platt and Squire, *The Frame in Classical Art: A Cultural History*, 353–81. See also Jaś Elsner, "Visual Ontologies: Style, Archaism and Framing in the Construction of the Sacred in the Western Tradition," in Platt and Squire, *The Frame in Classical Art: A Cultural History*," 457–99.

72 Platt, "Framing the Dead," 364–65.

73 See Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, trans. Philip Watson (1930–36; repr. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

74 Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Frederick Ahl (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 15–51.

75 Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Viking, 2006), 540. On Virgilian *ekphrasis*, see Michael C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). See also Walter R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's "Aeneid"* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 99–105. For a multilevel deployment of the ekphrastic architecture of the *Aeneid* in the study of medieval art, focusing especially on San Isidoro de León and the artistic and cultural patronage of the Leonese monarchy, see Francisco Prado-Vilar, "*Lacrimae rerum*: San Isidoro de León y la memoria del padre," *Goya* 328 (2009): 195–221.

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