

# Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia

*A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*

*Edited and Translated by*

James D'Emilio



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

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# The Paradox of Galicia

*A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*

*James D'Emilio*

In memory of Serafín Moralejo,  
*manibus date lilia plenis...*

On the outskirts of the Galician town of Betanzos, the terraced gardens and winding paths of a sprawling park once enticed visitors to wander among its statues and fountains and explore a treasury of grottoes and gaudy friezes. From popes to pyramids, didactic displays unveiled a dazzling panorama of historical figures, natural wonders, and world monuments, while advertising technological achievements and the advances of commerce and industry. Barely salvaged from decades of neglect by recent restorations, the Pasatiempo was the brainchild of Juan García Naveira (1849–1933), a native son, who, like so many Galicians of his generation, had emigrated to America as a young man.<sup>1</sup> Departing for Buenos Aires in 1869, he was later joined by his brother, Jesús, and they partnered as successful businessmen. In 1893, Juan returned to Galicia and, for forty more years, Betanzos benefited from the family's fortune.

The villages and towns of Galicia are dotted with monuments, schools, and other amenities funded by wealthy benefactors or associations of more humble emigrants during the era of mass migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Among such patrons, the Naveira brothers stand out for the scale and range of their generosity: their endowments included schools, hospitals, and residences for the disadvantaged.<sup>3</sup> The Pasatiempo took some inspiration from the pleasure parks of the burgeoning cities of Europe and America, but, despite its name, this was more than a recreational space for a

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- 1 The Pasatiempo was begun after 1893 and largely completed by 1914, though it grew until its patron's death in 1933. Its fortunes declined dramatically in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) when its numerous sculpted busts were occasionally used for target practice. For an ample discussion, see Cabano et al. (1992). See also Mariño (1999a), (1999b), (2003); and, on the latest restorations, García Otero (2000).
  - 2 Peña Saavedra (1991) exhaustively studied and catalogued the schools founded by emigrants in Galicia. An estimated 700,000 Galicians emigrated, mainly to the Americas, between 1860 and 1930: Dopico (1992).
  - 3 Their public works are listed in Cabano et al. (1992), 18–19.

Sunday promenade. A paean to progress, its conception and design were imbued with the spirit of the universal expositions and its assertively cosmopolitan vision belied its setting in a quiet provincial town.<sup>4</sup> Its encyclopedic exhibits celebrated the international travels of its promoters, opened the expansive horizons of the world beyond, and educated young people—and future emigrants—to seize their place in it.

The extravagant pageantry of the Pasatiempo aspired to a cosmopolitanism more commonly expressed by the emblematic image of the Galician flag encircling the globe and uniting the far-flung outposts of the Galician diaspora (Fig. 1.1).<sup>5</sup> In urban barrios, fishing ports, factory towns, and mining camps across the Americas, Galician communities kept their ties with hamlets perched on rocky capes or tucked away in hidden valleys. The fortunate as well as the dispossessed sustained these contacts with a shared awareness of the remoteness of a region whose inhabitants had overcome these obstacles and overturned conventional geographies many times before. Mass migration stemmed, in part, from Galicia's political and economic marginality within nineteenth-century Spain, but that forced dislocation and hardship became the crucible of a national identity which forged the barriers of distance and isolation into bonds of solidarity and a badge of distinction.<sup>6</sup> Therein lies the paradox of Galicia, a remote and rugged region, a *finis terrae* whose fractured landscape (Fig. 1.2) frustrates communications within and with the far-off polities to which it has been bound, but a land fully integrated into a long distance web of cultural and commercial exchange throughout its history.<sup>7</sup>

4 Its vision of modernity extended to its promotion through the typical avenues of modern tourism, including organized excursions, postcards and tourist guides, and publicity in the press: Cabano et al. (1992), 10.

5 Barreiro and Axeitos (2007) credit regionalist circles in Galicia with introducing the flag in the 1890s but highlight the interest it soon aroused among immigrant communities. The exhibition catalogue *Galicia & America* presents a well-illustrated panorama of Galicia's diverse ties to the Americas.

6 For historians today, the enterprise and initiative behind the mass emigration and its positive effects overshadow negative assessments of it as a sign of political and economic backwardness, or sentimental accounts of the misery of separation and nostalgia for the homeland; instead, as Fernández Prieto (2011), 33–35, writes, “the story of Galician emigration...demonstrates Galicia's integration into modernity.” Núñez Seixas (1992) has drawn attention to the contribution of emigrant communities to the formation of Galician national identity and their broader impact (1998) on Galicia; for the largest communities in Cuba and Argentina: Cagiao and Guerra (2007) and Núñez Seixas (2001); for modern Galician nationalism: Beramendi and Núñez Seixas (1995).

7 Writing from a postcolonial and postnational perspective, Colmeiro (2009) has urged a “remapping” of Galician culture and the creation of “an alternative cartography...in which



FIGURE 1.1 *Samos (Lugo), Fountain donated by emigrants living in Buenos Aires*  
PHOTO: AUTHOR





FIGURE 1.2 A Cova (O Saviñao, Lugo), Priory church of San Martiño overlooking the Miño  
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Long ago, the region lay precariously on the spiritual and geographic fringe of Christendom. Dimly viewed from without, its reputation was tainted by the lingering shadow of Priscillian's heresy, its villages populated by rustics whose errors Bishop Martin of Braga strove to correct, and its borders menaced by the Muslims who had overrun most of Iberia. Then, too, Galicia's remoteness was made into the means for its integration and the key to its importance: the ninth-century discovery of the tomb of the apostle St. James and the astonishing pull of the pilgrimage thrust it to the center of the spiritual universe of medieval Christians.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the Christian meanings which suffused the concepts of journey and mission, of exile and the desert, fueled this stunning reevaluation of the profound significance of a region placed at the ends of the earth (Map 1.1).<sup>9</sup>

### **Between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic: The Paths to the End of the Earth**

For centuries, medieval pilgrims trekked from far and wide on the daunting journey to St. James's shrine at Compostela. In turn, the saint's cult and the fame of his resting place followed them home as the adopted patron of Galicia obligingly worked miracles throughout Latin Christendom.<sup>10</sup> For the

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the peripheral is reimagined as central and the Galician as incontrovertibly global." In the "literary, musical, and audiovisual areas," he sees "new creative hybridity...that goes beyond the confines of the national" and that he characterizes as "glocal" and "rurban." Arguably, what he hails as Galicia's contemporary "coming out to the world" and accompanying "cultural hybridization" are the latest manifestations of a recurrent pattern in the history of a region whose peripheral position and layered past have regularly lent it a paradoxical centrality and encouraged cultural hybridity.

- 8 For diverse perspectives on the pilgrimage and cult: Moralejo and López Alsina (1993); Péricard-Méa (2000); Márquez (2004); Herbers (2007); Barreiro Rivas (2009). Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, and Uría (1948) remains a valuable reference. See the article of Deswarte in this volume.
- 9 Dietz (2005), 160–167, 176–185, highlights the role of religious travel in monastic traditions of Gallaecia. For Barreiro Rivas (2009), 333–353, the tomb's discovery wraps up a process by which biblical and early Christian references to the ends of the earth were made concrete, joined with Roman traditions, and fixed in Galicia.
- 10 Herbers (1991), (1992) analyzed the compilation of St. James's miracles in the 12th-century *Liber sancti Jacobi* (*LSJ*) as a purposeful effort to universalize his cult by gathering examples from "the most diverse countries," and he traced their inclusion in collections across Europe. Jacomet (2005) charts the development and distribution of accounts and images of selected miracles, particularly around the Mediterranean.



MAP 1.1 Map of Galicia locating sites named in the article

Lincolnshire pilgrims who weathered a ferocious storm at sea in 1365, a safe return surely seemed miracle enough.<sup>11</sup> With the help of their fellow parishioners, they fulfilled a vow to erect and maintain an altar to the apostle in their parish church. Across Europe, the steps of such devotees were guided by countless images of the apostle himself as pilgrim (Fig. 1.3), draped with his

<sup>11</sup> Duffy (2005), 166–167.



FIGURE 1.3 *Latsch (South Tyrol). Church of Sts. Peter and Paul. St. James as pilgrim and St. John the Baptist. 1524*

PHOTO: AUTHOR

characteristic satchel emblazoned with the scallop shell.<sup>12</sup> Of course, the apostle's greatest odyssey—the wondrous appearance of his seaborne remains in Galicia—would hardly have been conceivable if the way had not been prepared by the legions, officials, and prospectors for gold who joined the region to Rome.<sup>13</sup> Their work left its own legacy of marvels which later antiquarians would proudly tally among their land's Seven Wonders: the towered walls of Lugo, the skillfully engineered roads, bridges, and tunnels that tamed forbidding terrain, the mines and fisheries that extracted its wealth, and, most evocatively, the Roman lighthouse of A Coruña, the fabled Torre de Hércules, at the fog-swept rim of the boundless ocean, far frontier of that empire without end.<sup>14</sup>

The landscape and history of Galicia are strewn with monuments like these that surprise the visitor with their testimony to the openness of this unlikely crossroads of cultures. Not far inland from the Torre de Hércules, a stone urn stands tall in a dusty corner of the Romanesque church of Cambre. Purported to be a wine vat from Jesus's first miracle at the wedding at Cana, the relic has been plausibly identified as a souvenir of a local nobleman's voyage to the Holy Land in the age of the crusades.<sup>15</sup> Here, in the vicinity of one of the great pilgrimage centers of the Middle Ages, Jerusalem beckoned, and many heard the call. Testaments and obituaries from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries citing journeys to Jerusalem are replete with solemn provisions for burials, memorials, and the disposition of belongings. Their dry formulas can scarcely mask the spiritual fervor and fearsome hazards of this venture upon which so many embarked.<sup>16</sup>

Pious journeys from Galicia to Jerusalem were undertaken long before the crusades and the great age of pilgrimage to Compostela; they even antedated the earliest tales of an angel steering St. James's own corpse from the Holy

12 For bibliographies on the pilgrimage and Jacobean cult outside Spain: Dunn and Davidson (1994); Reyes Gómez (2000). Recent publications include: *El camí de Sant Jaume* for Catalonia; Rucquoi (2003) for France; Caucci (2005) for Italy; Storrs (1994), based on a 1964 thesis, for English pilgrims; and a well-illustrated survey of Germany for a popular audience by Herbers and Plötz (2000) with bibliography. For St. James's iconography: Plötz (1984); Moralejo (1993b); Jacomet (2004a); Yarza (2007).

13 On Roman Galicia, Tranoy (1981) remains fundamental; see also Acuña Castroviejo et al. (1992), (1993); and the overview by Arias (1992).

14 Vigo (2005) examines the early modern adaptation of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world to Galicia.

15 The rim is inscribed, *idrie ih(erusa)l(e)m*: Vila (1983); for the church's links with Jerusalem: Sastre (2010).

16 For a selection: Fernández de Viana y Vieites (1991).

Land in a rudderless skiff.<sup>17</sup> The fifth-century chronicler Hydatius, bishop of Chaves (Aquae Flaviae) in the uplands of Roman Gallaecia, could wistfully recall his boyhood trip to the Holy Land and presentation to St. Jerome, even as he penned his dire chronicle from the edge and end of the world.<sup>18</sup> In fact, the first detailed account of Christian pilgrimage comes in the vivid, if eccentric, prose of the fourth-century nun Egeria who joyously described her experiences of the holy sites after traveling “from the other end of the earth.”<sup>19</sup> Whether or not she hailed from Galicia is debated, but her singular memoir certainly struck a chord in northwestern Iberia where Valerius of Bierzo lauded the courage of this “fragile woman” to rouse his fellow monks in the seventh century and summon up the heroic days when Christianity first blazed brightly in these westernmost lands.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the early Middle Ages, as the fabric of the Mediterranean world of Rome unraveled, the spotty sources give glimpses of comings and goings from Galicia and neighboring lands huddled on the Atlantic coasts of Iberia, even while insisting on the topos of their remoteness. Answering a query

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- 17 The source for the miraculous translation is the ninth- or early tenth-century letter known as the *Epistola Leonis*: López Alsina (1988), 121–127; Díaz y Díaz (1998); and the articles of Deswarte and Williams in this volume. The angel is introduced as the boat’s pilot in *LSJ* 1.17, pp. 86–87, where more fantastic accounts of a stone or crystal ship or the aerial transport of the corpse by angels are dismissed. Márquez (2004), 230–239, offers an illuminating discussion. The *Golden Legend* (vol. 2, p. 5) popularized the story.
- 18 Hyd. *praef.*, pp. 72–75. Several have remarked on the contrast between Hydatius’s vision of the universal empire and his place at its edge, but Peter Brown (2003), 98–99, best captures its poignancy, bound up with the bishop’s old age and sense of the boundary of a passing era. Distant though he was, Hydatius received Greek visitors and an Arabian priest, c. 435: Hyd. 97, pp. 92–93.
- 19 For annotated translations of Egeria’s memoir: *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*; *Egeria’s Travels*; *Egérie: journal de voyage*. The bishop of Edessa marveled at her “long journey... from the other end of the earth”: *Egeria’s Travels*, 115. Hunt (1982), 163–166, viewed her narrative as “an authentic witness of ‘Theodosian’ Christianity,” stressing her probable links with the entourage of the emperor whose own homeland was northwest Iberia. Reuling (2004) investigates possible ties with Priscillianists and other ascetic trends in late antique Hispania. Among those who have placed her origins in the Rhône valley, Sivan (1988) has also argued that she was not a nun. For a recent assessment with extensive bibliography: Dietz (2005), 43–55; see also López Pereira (2010).
- 20 Valerius, *Epist.* 1, pp. 336–339; translated into English by Wilkinson in *Egeria’s Travels*, 174–178; for further discussion: Sivan (1988), 59–62; Aherne (1949), 45–51. Egeria’s memoir is likely the *Igerarium Geriae* listed in St. Rosendo’s endowment of Celanova in 942 (*Colección...Celanova* 1, doc. 72, p. 155; Aherne [1949], 46), forming part of that Galician monastery’s medieval library: Moralejo (1986), 340.

from Bishop Profuturus of Braga in 538, Pope Vigilius located his diocese in the “outermost parts of the world,” and Bishop Lucretius echoed that when he convened the First Council of Braga in 561.<sup>21</sup> For Christians of late antiquity, seduced by the lure of the desert and fired by the zeal of the missionary, distance proved more of an incentive than an obstacle. Indeed, Martin of Braga, a monk from Pannonia who reached Gallaecia around 550, married the vocation of the ascetic to that of the pastor.<sup>22</sup> Martin had toured the eastern Mediterranean and he carried the wisdom and praxis of Egyptian monasticism to Gallaecia where he and his disciple Paschasius translated the *Apophthegmata patrum* (*Sayings of the Fathers*) from Greek.<sup>23</sup> The prelate’s pastoral and spiritual work as metropolitan of Braga and abbot of Dumium laid the foundation for the monastic church of the seventh-century abbot and bishop Fructuosus, the son of a Visigothic nobleman, whose own desire to visit the Holy Land was thwarted by royal decree.<sup>24</sup> Stamped with his severe discipline, a distinctively local brand of monasticism blended the spiritual and literary heritage of Cassian and Cassiodorus with monastic practices from farther afield—a mix characteristic of the micro-Christendoms that blossomed among the ruins of the Roman world.<sup>25</sup>

The tremors that accompanied the eruption of Islam throughout the Mediterranean in the seventh and eighth centuries also rumbled across Galicia.<sup>26</sup>

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- 21 Díaz (2001), 329–330, cites these examples, emphasizing that the region was seen as remote both “by those writing in the centre of power” and by “Gallaecia’s inhabitants... (who) felt that they were part of a distant world.”
- 22 For Martin’s journey and ministry: Ferreiro (1980), (1981); Branco (1999); Dietz (2005), 162–167, summarizes his career, emphasizing the importance of religious travel.
- 23 Barlow (1950) edited and translated Martin’s works along with those of Paschasius (1969), 5–171; for the work of Paschasius, see also Freire (1971).
- 24 *Vita sancti Fructuosi* 17, pp. 110–113; on the context for his planned voyage: López Quiroga (2002); for his life and mission: Dias (2007); for the *Regula communis* and Fructuosan monasticism: Dias (2001) and Díaz y Díaz (1995a); on the cosmopolitanism suggested by the wide-ranging sources for the *Vita*: Cantera and Rodríguez (2007).
- 25 Peter Brown (2003), 354, uses the term for the “process of relocation” by which “vivid microcosms of a once-distant Christian order” were re-created along Europe’s western and northwestern fringes in the seventh and eighth centuries. For the early medieval monasteries of Galicia: Freire Camaniel (1998). Dias (2005) analyzes the so-called *Regula Cassiani* as a synthesis of the first four books of Cassian’s *Institutes* produced in Fructuosan circles. Surviving book lists in gifts—often to monasteries—in Galicia and the Astur-Leonese kingdom illustrate the spiritual and literary heritage transmitted to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries: García Álvarez (1965); Díaz y Díaz (1983), 151–246. See the articles of Rucquoi and D’Emilio in this volume.
- 26 Pallares and Portela (1997a), (1997b) assess the impact of the Muslim conquest on Galicia; Carballeira (2007), 109–174, reconstructs a narrative based on Arabic sources.

The Muslim conquerors themselves barely penetrated the steep tracks and dank forests of its difficult terrain, notwithstanding spare notices of raids and battles magnified to epic scale in the ninth-century Asturian royal chronicles.<sup>27</sup> Their fleeting presence left faint traces in the tantalizing allusiveness of unusual toponyms—like the Muro Mahamuth in an eighth-century document—or their occasional assimilation with the fairy-like *mouros* who lurk in mysterious recesses of the land and memory of ancient Galicia.<sup>28</sup> The Muslim conquest, however, did spur the flight of some Christians who took refuge in the north enriching its thriving religious culture. The African bishop Odoario, credited with restoring the diocese of Lugo in the eighth century, was among the first and most distinguished of a stream of Christian exiles.<sup>29</sup> Some founded or restored monasteries, like Samos, while others are only remembered in the names of villages like Toldaos (Toletanos) that refer to communities they left behind.<sup>30</sup> More widespread are the signs that the region's spiritual life and cultural imagination remained oriented to the Mediterranean world of Rome and the East, even as contacts withered. Across Galicia, the churches of future parishes were established in the early Middle Ages.<sup>31</sup> Their dedications, those of chapels and altars, the litanies of saints

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- 27 Fifty thousand Saracens are said to have been slain by Alfonso II in Galicia when they came to aid the rebel Mahamud: *Chronicle of Alfonso III* 22, in *Crónicas asturianas*, 140–141. See the extensive bibliography on the oral, literary, and religious background for the chroniclers' dramatization of the battle of Covadonga where Pelayo repelled the Muslim invaders of Asturias: Hook (2005) offers a stimulating discussion; see García Moreno (1997) and, for the later uses of the legend, Henriët (2007). Christys (2002) examines Mahamud's career and his fortunes in Christian and Muslim historiography.
- 28 On the Muslim demographic presence in early medieval Galicia: González Paz (2004), 285–295; Muro de Mahamut/Muro Mahamuth: *Tumbo...Samos*, doc. 32 (962), 137 (785), pp. 118–119, 297–298. The *mouros* are generally regarded as figures of Celtic myth: Llinares (1990); Tenreiro (2002). Fanjul (2002), 205–216, also links them to the Muslims (*moros*), though such oral traditions have been deemed more recent accretions associated with Spain's modern colonial wars in Morocco: Arizaga and Ayán (2007), 503–508.
- 29 For the historical core of Odoario's story and the historiography: D'Emilio (2005a).
- 30 Baliñas (1992a), 78–82, 160–173, 178–194, 530–541; D'Emilio (2005a), 60–62; Carballeira (2007), 116–118, 143–146. The upheavals provoked by the Muslim conquest and the consolidation of the kingdom of Oviedo also drew Christians from other areas of the kingdom to Galicia: Baliñas (1992a), 173–178.
- 31 I have discussed the early medieval dedications of Galician churches in a number of papers, including "Church Dedications and Saints' Cults in Medieval Galicia: Sources and Findings," at the Fourth Annual Colloquium of the Trans-National Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults, Göttingen, Germany in 2002. See also the recent work on early medieval church foundations by Sánchez Pardo (2010b), (2012a), (2012b), (2013).



invoked in charters, and those memorialized in names of summits and wells colored this sacred landscape with decidedly international hues. Here, St. James would find himself at home.

The Mediterranean was not the only world to which Gallaecia belonged in Roman and early medieval times, nor James the only saint who sought its shores. Even as Martin of Braga landed, the timely advent of the relics of his Pannonian countryman—St. Martin of Tours—miraculously healed the child of the Suevic king and moved him to embrace Catholic Christianity.<sup>32</sup> The coincidence—manufactured or not—underscores the two directions in which the region faced, even in the dismal sixth century. Contacts between Galicia and St. Martin of Tours would have a long and fruitful afterlife.<sup>33</sup> Martin of Braga composed verses in honor of his namesake and, at the beginning of the tenth century, the Asturian king and great patron of Compostela, Alfonso III (866–910), exchanged letters with the clergy of Tours in the wake of a devastating Viking raid on their city.<sup>34</sup> A shrewd booster, the king enthusiastically touted the new cult of St. James, and plunged into a bizarre negotiation to buy an imperial crown and painstakingly secure its shipping along sea routes that—even in the face of Viking depredations—remained viable, if perilous. By the twelfth century, the apostolic cult had outpaced that of St. Martin and its promoters could boast that the basilica at Tours was rebuilt in the likeness of the new Compostelan cathedral, as both shrines vied for the crowds traversing the pilgrimage roads.<sup>35</sup>

As for the crown peddled by the beleaguered monks of tenth-century Tours, there is no record of its delivery to Alfonso III's court in Oviedo, or even of its dispatch. Less welcome visitors to Atlantic inlets were the marauding Vikings who slew Bishop Sisnando II of Iria in 968, plagued Galician coasts for decades

32 Gregory of Tours reported the miracle and the arrival of Martin of Braga: *Virt. s. Mart.* 1.11, reproduced in Barlow (1950), 298–300, and discussed in Ferreiro (1995) and Dietz (2005), 162–163. For more on the Sueves' conversion to Catholic Christianity, see Thompson (1980) and Ubric's article in this volume.

33 Heinzelmann (2005) discusses the early medieval cult of St. Martin and its repercussions in Spain. Ferreiro (1996) discusses the early cult in Galicia as a "precursor" of that of St. James.

34 For Martin's verses: Barlow (1950), 276–277, 282–283; *Inscripciones cristianas*, no. 275, 349, pp. 82–83, 119–120; for discussion of the authenticity of the letter of Alfonso III: Fletcher (1984), 317–323; Henriët (2004).

35 *LSJ* 5.8, pp. 244–245. On the architectural relationship: Williams (1984), 278–280; Moralejo (1992a), 209–210; and Karge's article in this volume; for St. Martin's cult on the pilgrimage road to Santiago: Fernández González (2007).

thereafter, and harassed the bishops of Tui into fleeing their see.<sup>36</sup> From Normandy, their more domesticated descendants cast a covetous eye on Galicia during the family intrigues that framed the kingdom's brief independence under King García (1065–1071) and reshaped its geography forever with the making of what would become the kingdom of Portugal in the twelfth century.<sup>37</sup> Norman intervention never materialized, but their diplomatic maneuverings won William the Conqueror the Spanish steed he rode into battle at Hastings.<sup>38</sup>

On more tranquil waters, the sea lanes ferried pilgrims from all along Europe's Atlantic rim. By the later Middle Ages, quickening commerce complemented the pilgrimage, flourishing maritime industries invigorated Galician ports, and their mendicant convents renewed the spiritual life of a region that St. Francis of Assisi himself was reputed to have graced with a pilgrimage.<sup>39</sup> The Hundred Years War diverted more pilgrims to the sea routes and drew Galicia into European dynastic wars. In 1386, John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, landed in A Coruña on St. James's day and marched his entourage to

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- 36 Sapiro's chronicle records the Viking attack and the death of Sisnando: *Sapiro* 28, pp. 340–341, commentary on pp. 430–431; charters record other raids, like the sacking of Santa Eulalia de Curtis (*Tumbos...Sobrado*, vol. 1, doc. 137, pp. 177–178), or their establishment for nearly a year in the Portuguese territories between the Douro and Ave (Azevedo [1974], 85–88, 91–93); for Tui, the royal charter of 1024 ceding the diocese to Compostela describes the destruction the Vikings wrought: *Tumbo A...Santiago*, doc. 64, pp. 152–154; Díaz y Díaz and Vilariño (2002), 545. For overviews: Ferreiro Alemparte (1999), 19–70; Sánchez Pardo (2010a); Pires (2013). Picard (1998) discusses Muslim piracy on the Atlantic coast, naval support for land forces, and the major Muslim raids of the early 12th century.
- 37 For the reign of García and the later emergence of Portugal, see Álvarez Palenzuela (2000), Portela (2001), and Portela's article in this volume. For Portuguese perspectives: Branco (1993); Amaral (2000); and the papers on Afonso Henriques in Portuguese historiography in *Segundo Congresso....* In English, Lay (2009) offers a clear narrative of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the kingdom of Portugal.
- 38 Cordero (1944–1945), (1952), esp. 66–67, where he cites Robert Wace's *Roman de Rou* for the gift of the horse. Scandinavians later participated in the pilgrimage and cult: Almazán (1998), (1999); Riis (2011).
- 39 For the changing place of Galicia in the reunified kingdom of León-Castile and the importance of its maritime resources, see the article of Pérez Rodríguez in this volume. Thomas of Celano mentions Francis's trip to Spain on an abortive mission to preach to the Muslims (1 Celano 20) and refers to an earlier journey of brothers Bernard and Giles to Compostela (1 Celano 12); Francis's supposed pilgrimage first appears in the 14th-century *Fioretti* (cap. 4): *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies*, 252, 276, 1308–1309; for its place in artistic traditions: Manso (2003–2005).

Compostela in a procession that commenced his ill-fated campaign to claim the Castilian crown.<sup>40</sup> In 1456, William Wey, a priest from Devon, turned his round trip journey in just twenty-four days. At A Coruña, he counted thirty-two English vessels among eighty ships in the harbor, and the voyage had become obligatory for the most assiduous English pilgrims of the age, including Margery Kempe and Chaucer's Wife of Bath.<sup>41</sup> Religious travelers of a different sort arrived later, when Catholic refugees fled the British Isles. Together, such ties strung a necklace of English art works across Galicia from the alabaster altar given to Santiago Cathedral in 1456 by the priest John Goodyear, to the sculpted Virgins and other images venerated in northern and coastal towns.<sup>42</sup> And, when Anglo-Spanish hostilities churned the seas at the end of the sixteenth century, English raids—like that of Sir Francis Drake on A Coruña in 1589—advised concealment of St. James's relics, even as the saint's renown was being proclaimed in new worlds beyond the Atlantic horizon.<sup>43</sup>

Galicia's place in the ebb and flow of this Atlantic traffic was already well established by the early Middle Ages when its contacts with St. Martin's shrine first unfolded. British or Breton Christians set up the sixth-century diocese of Britonia on the north coast, the works of Isidore of Seville wound their way to the British Isles, the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon bishop and abbot Aldhelm knew of the tradition of St. James's preaching in Spain, and an Aquitanian sarcophagus was eventually tapped to hold the remains of Count Osorio Gutiérrez, tenth-century founder of the monastery of Lourenzá.<sup>44</sup> To a degree, links like these were a legacy of the place of Roman Gallaecia along the empire's arteries

40 For John of Gaunt: Echevarría (2007), 56–57, and throughout for pilgrim traffic and effects of the Hundred Years War; for pilgrimages from the French coast: Jacomet (2004b).

41 Wey's short account is part of a larger memorial of his pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem: *Itineraries*, 210–221. Margery Kempe mentions her twenty-six day journey in her autobiography, but without elaboration on her experience in Galicia: *Book of Margery Kempe*, 227. For maritime pilgrimage in the 15th century: Childs (1999).

42 Franco (2004) surveys and documents these works; for the retablo of John Goodyear and the origins of the alabaster altar in Mondoñedo Cathedral: Cheetham (2005), 22–23, 43–44, 47, 53. The statue of Nuestra Señora la Grande given to Mondoñedo Cathedral in 1555 came originally from London Cathedral: Manso (1995), 445–446.

43 For the movement of the relics: Guerra (1982), 117–125; see the article of Williams in this volume.

44 For Britonia: Young (2003) with extensive bibliography; *contra* García Moreno (2007) who relates the see to the Sueves; for contacts between Visigothic Spain and the British Isles: Hillgarth (1962), (1984); Herren (1980); for transmission of texts by Mediterranean and Atlantic maritime routes: Wooding (2002); for Aldhelm and St. James: Torres (1983); for Count Osorio's tomb: Sotomayor (1991), 66–73 with bibliography.

of commerce and military supply, but prehistoric networks of exchange had drawn together the Atlantic rim of Europe and made Galicia a “pivotal point” between the Atlantic and Mediterranean long before the Romans came.<sup>45</sup> The Iron Age culture of the hillforts or *castros* of Galicia and neighboring Iberian regions reveals commonalities and contacts with contemporary cultures all along Europe’s Atlantic façade. Still more ancient are the enigmatic rock carvings that first traced the contours and byways of its peopled landscapes, and the megalithic monuments and mournful mounds that loom over the gloomy moors of Atlantic Europe.<sup>46</sup>

### Prehistory and Timelessness

The culture of the castros is more than just an early instance of Galicia’s integration in a wider world, for prehistory has gripped the modern Galician imagination. From the nineteenth century to the early twentieth, Romantic writers, regionalists, and nationalists conjured up a Celtic culture through which Galician identity was refashioned and the region’s place in Europe reframed.<sup>47</sup> Galicia’s Celtic forebears bound their descendants to other Atlantic lands that shared a history of subjection, bore the hardships of emigration and exile, and contested the boundaries and hegemony of modern states.<sup>48</sup> These bleak times, however, might give way to a happier future through the qualities that

45 González Rubial (2004), 288. See the observations of López Sánchez in this volume on Gallaecia’s strategic importance in the late Roman Empire.

46 For the petroglyphs: Peña and Vázquez (1979); for the Galician examples in their Atlantic context: Bradley (1997). Nash (1997) reads the extensive rock art of the Campo Lameiro district as a “visual narrative” and part of a “wider ritual performance”; for a photographic essay: Nash, Nash, and Chippindale (2004).

47 Villares (2000) examines Celticism in Galician political, cultural, and intellectual life, describing how, by the end of the 19th century, “a sort of ‘Celtomania’ had taken hold of every facet of Galician life from literature, ethnography, and the history of art to the popular culture which was seen as an expression of the race.” See also Pereira González (2000) and, for earlier examples of Galician Celticism, (2003). Juaristi (2000), 229–277, surveys Celticism in France and Britain from the Renaissance to the 19th century. González García (2007b) traces the fortunes of Celticism in Galician historiography, emphasizing its impact on archaeology.

48 For the use of the Celtic past and modern Irish literature by Galician regionalists and nationalists to claim affinities with Ireland: Raúl de Toro (1995); McKevitt (2006). The quest for kinship with Ireland persists in Galician culture and scholarship: Palacios and Lojo (2009); Núñez Seixas (2010).

nineteenth-century writers believed their beloved ancestors had possessed: valor, a resistance to bondage, love of country, ardent religiosity, poetic talent, and the wisdom of the Druids.<sup>49</sup> Sidestepping thorny questions about the Celts' own origins, historians and intellectuals unearthed a deep past for Galicia in this prehistoric culture.<sup>50</sup> Crucially, that ancient heritage—and its racial underpinnings—differentiated the region from the Mediterranean cultures that had successively dominated Iberia.<sup>51</sup>

The spell cast by the Celts has yielded a bountiful harvest in Galician literature and popular culture, from the poetry of Eduardo Pondal whose lyrics infused the Galician national anthem with strains of Celtic legend at the turn of the twentieth century to the magical figures and themes of Arthurian and Celtic lore woven into the fabric of Galician folk culture by leading twentieth-century authors like Álvaro Cunqueiro and Xosé Luís Méndez Ferrín.<sup>52</sup> In today's Galicia, traditions in music, dance, folklore, and the visual arts—some blatantly of recent invention or geared to tourists—remain cloaked with the mystique of Celtic antiquity in the popular mind, but the historical premises and racial implications of that Celtic heritage have fallen on hard times.<sup>53</sup>

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- 49 Villares (2000), 167, 171–172, notes these as part of the visions of Celtic culture offered by José Verea y Aguiar and Manuel Murguía; see also González García (2007b), 22.
- 50 Verea safely removed the Celts' origins to the historically neutral lost continent of Atlantis, from which one branch allegedly ventured to the Americas: González García (2007b), 21–22. Atlantis resurfaced in the Celticism and Atlanticism of Vicente Risco in the 1920s: Bobillo (1981), 180–182; Raúl de Toro (1995), 232.
- 51 Murguía gave particular emphasis to the racial implications of the Celtic heritage: Maíz (1984b), esp. 149–170; Villares (2000), 172–173; Pereira González (2001), 457–500. One may compare the racialization of differences between north and south in neighboring Portugal where 19th- and early 20th-century intellectuals also contrasted Aryan and Semitic populations and located the Portuguese heartland in the north, making common cause with Galicians who celebrated their Celtic roots: Sobral (2004).
- 52 Works drawing upon the 'Matter of Britain' include the poetic trilogy of Ramón Cabanillas (1926) which brought the quest for the Holy Grail and Arthur's tomb to Galicia; Cunqueiro's *Merlín e familia* (1955) (English trans. [1996]); and Méndez Ferrín's earliest fiction, the collection of stories *Percival e outras historias* (1958). On the racial underpinnings of Pondal's evocation of a Celtic and Germanic (Suevic) past for Galicia: Díaz (2011), 24–29.
- 53 On Celtic elements in contemporary Galician music and their contribution to the fashioning of Galician identity: Toro (2002); Romero (2006), 161–165. Medeiros (2005), 73–77, observed the “vaguely Celtic atmosphere” of a nationalist political rally mirrored in the extraordinary mobilization of bagpipers and dancers by the conservative authorities, as opposing political factions duel over “the management of this collective memory.” Herrero (2008) examines how the extension of the Compostelan pilgrimage to Fisterra (Finisterre) is promoted as the recovery of ancient Celtic practice as part of the

Throughout Europe, the Celtic past has been reassessed and put to new uses as the nation-state has been challenged by European unification, rising immigration, plural identities, and globalization. Even in the British Isles, where the importance of a Celtic culture in Ireland and Wales is most fervently upheld, its historical foundations have been shaken.<sup>54</sup> Contemporary historians and archaeologists have underlined the diversity of insular prehistoric cultures, the continuities between Iron Age cultures and earlier populations, and the lack of evidence for any sizeable invasion or migration behind the adoption of selected forms of material culture and cultural practices associated with the continental Celts known from Greco-Roman literary sources.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, new political and cultural agendas have radically altered the modern meaning of Celticism.<sup>56</sup> Its strands of ethnic chauvinism and outright racism were badly tarnished by the tragic consequences of the racist theories in vogue across late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe. In their latest incarnation, the Celts inspire a range of cultural phenomena from folk music and festivals to New Age spiritualism and ecological movements that transcend political boundaries.<sup>57</sup> In the historical and political arena, the drive towards European integration has transformed the ancient Celts as well: once the proud standard-bearers of regional distinction and the fierce warriors whose noble virtues forged the national character of those who vied for their paternity, the Celts have been marketed of late as makers of the ‘first Europe’ in the heady years of European construction following the fall of the Berlin Wall.<sup>58</sup>

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secularization of the pilgrimage; Pena and Erias (2006) argue for the historicity of such prehistoric pilgrimages to the Galician *finisterres*. For the recent “re-introduction” of “archaic feasts, rites, and traditions”: Alberro (2008), 1022–1024.

- 54 Chapman (1992) offered a thorough, if highly polemical, critique of the history and modern uses of the category of the Celts and their supposed “linguistic, cultural, and racial integrity.”
- 55 For a critique of the identification of prehistoric cultures of Britain as ‘Celtic’ and surveys of archaeological evidence and key issues: James (1999); Collis (2003). Sims-Williams (1998) judiciously defends the concept of ‘Celticity’ in its diverse disciplinary contexts; the intensity of the polemic and its political ramifications may be gauged from the opposing stances in the articles from *Antiquity* collected in Carr and Stoddart (2002).
- 56 For Galicia, see Villares (2000) and the contrasts he draws between Celticism and medievalism in this volume.
- 57 Chapman (1992), 208–251, offers a sharply critical analysis of the evolution of this vision of Celtic character and ‘consciousness’ as a rejection of modernity from romanticism through the Celtic Twilight, a literary movement of the turn of the 20th century, and the counterculture of the 1960s.
- 58 Most notable was the international exhibition in Venice in 1991, *The Celts: The Origins of Europe*, and the accompanying essays: Moscati et al. (1991). See also Green (1995).

It is worth dwelling for a moment on some of the consequences for Galician history of the century-long romance with an imagined Celtic past rooted in the rural settlements of a remote prehistory. Even at its most expansive, that past fell short of its counterparts in the British Isles which Galician regionalists and nationalists strained to emulate.<sup>59</sup> For Irish and Welsh nationalists, a living linguistic heritage lay at the heart of the modern Celtic revival and furnished an ample trove of medieval history, legend, and lore that filled their past with heroes, animated their landscapes, and rivaled the imprint of Christianity and Mediterranean culture.<sup>60</sup> Today, the purity of these traditions is questioned as some scholars concede a greater role to medieval Christian scribes steeped in continental learning in the composition, editing, and compilation of heroic sagas, and the reshaping—or invention—of a pagan past through the lens of classical literature or Christian morality.<sup>61</sup> Even so, the widespread, if disputed, view of the Irish and Welsh churches as peculiarly Celtic has made that Christian heritage itself a vital bridge between pagan antiquity and the modern nation, as the nineteenth- and twentieth-century fortunes of St. Brigit of Kildare as monastic founder and pagan goddess illustrate.<sup>62</sup>

By contrast, Celticism and medievalism have gone their separate ways in modern Galicia, and the Celtic residue in the region's toponymy is alien to the

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- 59 In fact, Galician intellectuals appealed to medieval Irish sources to trace the origins of the Celts of Ireland to Galicia, and key texts were translated into Galician and published in the journal *Nós* in 1931: McKeivitt (2006), 657–658, 661–667. A contemporary Galician writer, Suso de Toro (2000), retells traditional Irish legends, based on the *Book of Invasions*, the Ulster Cycle, and the Legends of Finn, with an extended reflection on the impact of the imagined Celtic past in Galicia. Loureiro (2003), 167, relates the “mythic inventions” of “celtism and atlantism” to the absence of “a ‘strong’ historical memory” in Galician nationalism and “its ‘weak’ past.”
- 60 For the preservation, re-creation, and invention of traditions across Welsh culture in the 18th and 19th centuries: Morgan (1984). In the vast literature on the Celtic revival in Ireland, two studies of its relationship to modernity, primitivism, and the sciences offer insights and methodological models applicable to Galicia, particularly on the links between the construction of a Celtic past and modern ‘folk culture’: Castle (2001), Garrigan Mattar (2004).
- 61 Carney (1955), 276, challenged “the nativist conception of our early literatures”; see, for example, McCone (1990), or, for classical learning and the influence of classical epic, Miles (2011).
- 62 For Brigit’s modern transformations: McKenna (2001); for the early history of her mutation into a goddess: Bitel (2009), 187–194. For a contemporary view of the medieval Irish church as reflecting a Celtic heritage and consciousness: Thom (2006). Bradley (1999) finds the “recurrent appeal” of “Celtic Christian revivalism” in “its apparently exotic and peripheral quality” and “a persistent vein of nostalgia.”

modern language that is a cornerstone of contemporary Galician culture and identity.<sup>63</sup> Instead, the Celtic past of Galicia rests largely upon material vestiges of a prehistoric culture, orally transmitted folk traditions, and rural customs whose lineage is far more difficult to discern. To be sure, many Galician archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians in the late twentieth century pointedly downplayed the ethnic element of what is now widely termed the culture of the castros or *cultura castrexa*, relying instead upon material culture, types of settlements, social structures, and cultural practices to map its extent and define its relationships to Atlantic neighbors.<sup>64</sup> Sharp divisions persist, however, and some in Galicia, as elsewhere, defend ethnic arguments, even while distancing themselves from the political instrumentalization of race and ethnicity.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, old claims about culture, race, and identity may be repackaged in the scientific reductionism of DNA studies made to serve as latter day *pruebas de sangre*.<sup>66</sup> Though stripped of ethnic trappings, the more anodyne *cultura castrexa* still locates enduring and differentiating traits of Galician culture and identity in the mists of antiquity.<sup>67</sup> Popular perceptions

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63 In this volume, Villares examines the contrasts and intersections of Celticism and medievalism in modern Galicia, and he underscores the importance of language in formulations of Galician identity today; for language use and ethnic identity in contemporary Galicia: Beswick (2007). Toponyms of Celtic origin regularly color interpretations of the archaeological record: González García (2007b), 79–80, 113–115; Calo (2010), 147–169, 323–325, assesses such linguistic evidence more critically.

64 González García (2007b), 66–85, traces this evolution in its political and academic context.

65 For a ‘state of the question’ with diverse reflections on the Celts’ place in contemporary archaeological study of northwest Iberia: Ruiz Zapatero (2005); see also González García (2007b) for an extensive historiographical analysis and the proposal of a “third way” of approaching the question of the Celtic component of Galician prehistory and overcoming the “dead end” of the opposition between Celticists and anti-Celticists. Articles in González García (2007a), *E-Keltoi* (vol. 6), and Almagro and Sainero (2007) argue for the Celtic presence in Galician and Iberian prehistory and the importance of its legacy from various disciplinary perspectives. *Contra* Calo (2010) thoroughly rebuts arguments for a Celtic contribution to Galician prehistory.

66 The genetic connections between the prehistoric populations of Iberia and the British Isles suggested by the DNA studies of Sykes (2006a), (2006b) have reinvigorated ethnic arguments in some circles. For critical perspectives on the use of genetics for population studies of northwest Iberia: Carracedo and Pereira (2005).

67 Díaz Santana (2002) contends that the *cultura castrexa* often serves today as the basis for claiming prehistoric origins for Galician distinctiveness, just as the alleged Celtic heritage once did. At a major conference on Galician history at the Museo do Pobo Galego in 1996, ten of twenty-seven published papers (*Galicia fai dovs mil anos*) treat the period from



reinforce this by collapsing the centuries between the cultura castrexa and much older megalithic remains.<sup>68</sup> Arguably, the weight of this mute prehistoric past, its intimate association with a rural landscape conceived as timeless, and the essentialism implicit in its earlier characterization as a Celtic culture have suggested that an ingrained primitiveness anchors what political and economic reformers—advancing their own agendas for change—have decried as the region's backwardness in modern times.<sup>69</sup>

### Romanesque Art in Galicia: The Remoteness of the Rural

In effect, Galicia recedes into the far reaches of time as well as space, and the ancient monuments and settlements scattered across its abrupt terrain are cast as the periphery within. The shadow of the prehistoric past and the supposed conservatism of rural culture and society have made the land's history appear as impervious to change as the unyielding granite of its megalithic monoliths or the bare walls of its spare Romanesque churches. On closer inspection, this view of Galicia's archaicism proves as fallacious as the facile dismissal of the region as geographically marginal. The thousand Galician churches that guard Romanesque remains—and the hundreds more that may be inferred from medieval documents—are a patrimony whose construction over barely more than two generations was an astounding technical, economic, and cultural feat for a pre-industrial society.<sup>70</sup> Common interpretations of this

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prehistory through the sixth century. The titles of the opening sections ("The remote origins of Galicia: the question of Celticism," "The historical formation of the people and the nation") and of the collection (*O feito diferencial galego na historia*) exemplify the search for remote origins for distinguishing traits of Galicia and its people.

68 Following the 18th-century British antiquarians who associated the megaliths and the Druids (Smiles [1994], 75–112), 19th-century Galician writers like Murguía merged the eras or argued for the use of the earlier megaliths in the Druidic rites of the Celts: Martín-Torres (2000); Díaz Santana (2002), 63–66.

69 Beiras (1972) remains the classic modern analysis of Galicia's economic 'backwardness', linked with its peripheralization within the Spanish state. Of course, Galicia's path to modernity must be understood in the context of broader revisionist interpretations of modernization in Iberia, e.g., Ringrose (1996), Shubert (1999). Murguía, the great champion of the Celtic roots and character of Galicia, stressed the continuities between the Celtic past and the beliefs, traditions, and customs of the Galician countryside, and his emphasis on ethnicity fostered a static and 'atemporal' vision of folk culture: Máiz (1984a), 88–91, 252–257, 265–280; (1984b), 162.

70 Studies and monographs include Bango (1979); Yzquierdo (1983), (1995a), 160–465, and (1995b), 170–185, 205–251; D'Emilio (1988); Valle and Rodrigues (2001). The *Enciclopedia*

heritage are emblematic of how temporal yardsticks based on external points of reference impose irrelevant standards for conservatism and innovation.<sup>71</sup> The prevalence and character of these village churches have paradoxically sealed the image of a region slow to change, and their fortunes in scholarship and the popular imagination expose stubborn assumptions about cultural change and rural societies that have distorted understandings of Galician history and culture.<sup>72</sup>

A full appreciation of the Romanesque building boom in the Galician countryside has eluded modern observers, in part because medieval Galicians gravely erred in timing and taste. To begin with, the Romanesque has been regarded as an archaic style, looking back to Roman art, or initiating an evolutionary cycle that culminates in the Gothic.<sup>73</sup> The modernist revaluation of the primitive and exploration of abstraction extolled the formal qualities and expressiveness of distinguished examples of the style, but rarely extended to modest works derided as derivative and retardataire. Earlier, in the modern prehistory of the Romanesque, French antiquarians had credited some sculpture and structures to the Celtic Druids, endowing their illustrious ancestors with the monumental patrimony they conspicuously lacked, and tying their cults to the earliest history of Christianity.<sup>74</sup> Even by more orthodox timelines, Romanesque art simply arrived in the Galician countryside too late and lingered too long in a land lukewarm to the Gothic.<sup>75</sup>

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*del Románico en España*, undertaken by the Fundación Santa María la Real (Aguilar de Campoo), has published two volumes on Pontevedra (2012) and two on A Coruña (2013), and, with forthcoming volumes, promises the first comprehensive catalogue of Galicia's Romanesque churches.

- 71 Kubler (1962) remains a classic study of the relativity and internal dynamics of cultural or artistic time.
- 72 In a survey motivated by a major Romanesque exhibition in Barcelona and Compostela, organized in 1961 by the Franco government and sponsored by the Council of Europe, Pita Andrade (1962), 139, wrote of Galicia, "nowhere is the Romanesque so intimately bound up with the land. Even today, our peasants preserve an aesthetic sentiment that I would venture to term Romanesque."
- 73 Kidson (2004), 696, exposes the wide gap between historical understanding of the 12th century and the "traditional art-historical view...of Romanesque as the fag-end of antiquity, and Gothic as the important new beginning"; for the cyclical periodization of artistic styles, see, for example, Potts (1982), 377–385; Belting (1987), 7–9.
- 74 Maxwell (2003).
- 75 The longevity of Galician Romanesque has been declared early and often, as in the litany of churches, sputtering into the 16th century, with which Lampérez (1903) prefaced his study of Galician cathedrals. Caamaño (1991b), 119, cites the popular notion of Galicia as a land devoid of Gothic, a view that has prevailed internationally. For example, Williamson

Most Galician Romanesque churches arose between 1157 and 1230 when the kingdom of León, under Fernando II and Alfonso IX, was last separated from Castile. This period has long suffered a hostile press: the thirteenth-century bishop Juan of Osma pronounced the split the fruit of men's sins, while national historians of a secular epoch have scorned the 'age of the five kingdoms' as a detour on the ride to peninsular unification under Castilian rule.<sup>76</sup> Set in this historical moment, however, these churches speak of a religious and cultural revolution, fueled by social and economic dynamism within the independent Leonese kingdom.<sup>77</sup> This Romanesque revolution was, at once, remarkably diffuse and intense, carpeting the Galician countryside with churches. Even today there are districts where Romanesque churches of ashlar masonry rise in hamlet after hamlet, just two or three kilometers apart, marking the divisions and distances of a human landscape once measured by carts and ploughs, the paces of a day's walk to field or market, or the winding climb to a hallowed graveyard. This dispersion of monuments across a territory slow to yield to modern transportation limited their impact on twentieth-century scholarship.<sup>78</sup> Practical considerations aside, the austere lines and aniconic

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(1995), 123, terms the early 13th-century west portal of Tui Cathedral "the last sculptural programme of real importance in Galicia." Caamaño (1962) and Moralejo (1975) laid the groundwork for later reevaluation of the reception of Gothic art in Galicia in studies of mendicant architecture [Manso (1993)] and of the relationship of the cathedrals of Ourense and Tui to early Gothic art, as in the article of Sánchez Ameijeiras here. Manso (1995) provides the most thorough survey of Gothic in Galicia.

- 76 For the bishop's comment and the further fragmentation of the Christian kingdoms through Castilian recognition of the status of the kingdom of Aragón at the pact of Cazola and the papal titulation of Afonso Henriques as king of Portugal (1179): Linehan (1993), 279, 287–289. Clinging to the idea of Spain's unity, Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1950) valiantly argued that the common purpose of the Reconquest preserved that ideal. Procter (1951), 260, condemned "Alfonso VII's partition of his dominions" as "an act of incredible political folly." North American surveys pinned to the ebb and flow of the 'Reconquest' perpetuate a dim view: for Reilly (1993), 129, the death of Alfonso VII in 1157 ended "four decades of triumphant progress"; for O'Callaghan (1975), 234, the destiny of Castile is deferred, not denied, as he characterizes it as "the dominant kingdom, whose continued growth and future pre-eminence seemed to be guaranteed by the vast expanse of Muslim territory still to be conquered."
- 77 In another sphere, Wright (2004) has argued that clerics, chanceries, and scriptoria in the kingdom of León spearheaded the reform of medieval Latin in Iberia, see also his contribution to this volume.
- 78 Sauerländer (1985), 53–55, perceptively linked the automobile and camera to the rediscovery of Romanesque art and the shaping of its study by removing works from a local context and suggesting long-distance connections through easy juxtaposition of

decoration of many Galician Romanesque churches and the fading afterglow of Compostela captured on others have conspired to sentence them as the provincial detritus of an ‘art of inertia’.<sup>79</sup>

The predominance of simple, but meticulously carved, foliate and geometric ornament is actually testimony to the impact of the Cistercian monks on the region’s religious and cultural life.<sup>80</sup> An uncritical equation of austerity and primitiveness has obscured the novelty of their art in the Galician countryside and the creativity of its reception.<sup>81</sup> The reform movement, born around 1100 and soon championed by the spiritual leadership of St. Bernard, scored its first Iberian foundation in 1142 at Sobrado in distant Galicia as a direct affiliate of Clairvaux.<sup>82</sup> The site of a once-great early medieval monastery was the gift of leading members of the Traba family, the region’s most powerful aristocratic clan, and the Galician nobility underwrote the order’s swift expansion.<sup>83</sup>

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- photographs. Rural Galicia remained largely off that map for much of the 20th century: of the relatively accessible town of Portomarín, bridging the Miño River, the intrepid North American art historian and traveler, Georgiana Goddard King (1918), 154, wrote, “you could only get there by getting lost. No highway leads thither, no wheels can go thereby.” King (1923) was surely drawn to Galicia by what Mann (2009), 9, described as her attraction to Spain “as a mysterious land of enchantment” and “the lure of the unbeaten path.”
- 79 Caamaño (1962), 3, used the phrase and Spanish and Galician surveys popularized it: Yarza (1979), 267; Bango (1987), 175–258, titled a section on late Romanesque buildings, including the Cistercian abbeys and Master Mateo’s work, “A inercia do estilo: o tardorrománico.” The idea is not explicit in surveys by Yzquierdo (1995a), (1995b), but, like Bango (1979), he catalogues churches monographically and by architectural typologies, largely erasing any narrative of change or agency beyond a nearly mechanical simplification and degeneration of major models.
- 80 For the Cistercians in Galicia, Portela (1981) and Valle (1982) are fundamental. For recent treatments of the ample bibliography: Pérez Rodríguez (2006) and D’Emilio (2007a); for the Iberian context: Rucquoi (2000).
- 81 For an assessment of their impact: D’Emilio (2004).
- 82 Valle (1991b), (2006) has marshaled the best arguments for the priority of Sobrado in Iberia. The most credible challenge comes from the earliest foundations in Portugal: Marques (1998). Clairvaux’s direct involvement in Galicia, Portugal, and the Leonese heartland underscores the monks’ attraction to the westernmost reaches of Iberia. By contrast, houses in Castile, Navarre, and Aragón were mainly subject to Morimond’s daughters in Languedoc, while the Catalan houses of Santes Creus and Poblet were established from Grandselve and Fontfroide within the family of Clairvaux: Valle (1998), 36; D’Emilio (2015).
- 83 López Sangil (1996), (2002), though not wholly reliable, documents the genealogies of the Traba family in detail; see also Torres Sevilla (1999), 312–341, and for more solid analysis: Pallares and Portela (1993) and Renzi (2013). More generally, on noble patronage of the Cistercians in Iberia, see Torres Sevilla (2005) and Alonso (2007).

For their part, rural craftsmen embraced the Cistercians' sober aesthetic, while lending local inflections to the monasteries' own decoration. Moreover, the extent of construction and the enthusiastic response to the Cistercians and military orders were signs of a broader religious reform that also touched the proprietary church system. Lay proprietorship had deep roots in Iberia, buttressed by the canons of Visigothic councils, and patrons' rights held firm, even under the new regime of the *ius patronatus*.<sup>84</sup> Here, too, reform did not obey the calendar or agenda of other areas of Europe, but the surge of building—often under lay patrons—indicates that the traditional system could be harnessed to channel resources to the construction and renovation of churches.<sup>85</sup>

Some patrons lavished more sumptuous decoration on their churches, but these have been too quickly dismissed as derivative of Santiago Cathedral. Even the exotic menagerie on the inscribed capitals at Santiago de Breixa has been tied to Compostela through the supposed power of the site to draw such a talented artist, though no sign of his sojourn in the metropolis is to be seen.<sup>86</sup> At the nunnery of Ferreira de Pantón, erected between 1158 and 1175 under Countess Fronilde Fernández, an array of figured capitals and corbels gives form to a learned meditation on the bestiary and aviary, while the unfinished crossing tower stands squarely within a local school of architecture and decoration with Castilian antecedents.<sup>87</sup> Although much sculpture does rely on the koine established a half century earlier at Santiago Cathedral, quotations of unusual pieces signal a more purposeful appropriation, and the ribbing of the apse flaunts the latest architectural fashions. More to the point, any suggestion of some cultural retardation in relation to the precocity of Compostela is immediately dispelled by the tempo of construction among rural churches where older monastic networks, itinerant craftsmen, and a sisterhood of noblewomen put Pantón at the center of rapid exchanges.

Across the Galician countryside, craftsmen, patrons, and prelates shaped a language of architectural decoration that showcased the creativity of reception. In the most ambitious projects, arcaded façades and lintels, false galleries and ribs, lobed apses, or miniature rose windows adapted features of major buildings in an architecture of aspiration that disguised material constraints

84 On the *ius patronatus*: Landau (1975); on the proprietary church system: Wood (2006).

85 See D'Emilio (2007b), 20–22; (2008), 216–218.

86 Yzquierdo (1978), 213–214, suggested that the artist's destination had been the major project at nearby Compostela or Carboeiro; for the church, see also Bango (1979), 105–107; D'Emilio (2007b), 25–26.

87 For Ferreira de Pantón: Moure (2005); D'Emilio (2007b), 24–25, with further bibliography, and my forthcoming article in *Cîteaux*.

with ingenious devices and technical virtuosity.<sup>88</sup> At every level, artists tailored novel forms to more familiar idioms, whether by animating Cistercian foliate capitals or blending new and old motifs like chevron and cusping. At San Xiao de Moraime, for example, the carved shafts of the west portal combined the stacked and embedded figures of the early twelfth-century marble columns at Compostela with the monumental statues of the later west porch (Figs. 1.4, 1.5, 1.6).<sup>89</sup> Motifs migrated from one setting to another playfully bending the rules of decorum that governed the application of ornament or the design of architectural elements. Moreover, the intensity of building activity encouraged the hybridization of forms among itinerant craftsmen shifting roles within ateliers responsible for projects of different scale.<sup>90</sup> A careful appreciation of such details suggests anything but a tired repetition of forms. Nonetheless, the collective voice of modest and scattered representatives of a style that—by European standards—came late to Galicia could hardly hope for a favorable hearing in an historiography obsessed with origins and biased towards the individual genius.<sup>91</sup>

### Master Mateo: The Genius and His Shadow

Twelfth-century Galicia, to be sure, did have its own towering artistic genius, Master Mateo, whose superb accomplishments at Santiago Cathedral have

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- 88 D'Emilio (1997) surveys and analyzes examples in more detail. Moure (2005), 10, interestingly proposes an analogous 'compression' of iconographic programs.
- 89 King (1920), vol. 3, p. 217, was less sympathetic ("the portal cannot be earlier than the thirteenth [century], but that sort of abortion is ageless, like deep-sea jellies"), concluding "that the carver could not even count." See Sousa (1983a), (1983b).
- 90 For the artistic consequences of itinerancy and a shifting division of labor: D'Emilio (1996a).
- 91 The author of a monograph (1926) on Santiago Cathedral, Kenneth J. Conant (1978), 329, captured a widespread sentiment with a pithy judgment, "The rural Romanesque of Galicia has a rare charm, but there is no first-rate building in that remote region apart from Santiago." Seminal works of late 19th-century art history celebrated genius and encouraged a quest for origins: Brush (1996), 62–76; for Spanish Romanesque, the concern with origins and originality is epitomized in the polemical title (Porter [1924]) "Spain or Toulouse?" at the heart of early debates over the art of Santiago and the pilgrimage, and it still frames discussions of major monuments, as Williams (2008) observes; see the historiographical summary in Marten (2009) and the survey in Vaccaro (2006). Cahn (1979), 149–152, concludes his study of *Masterpieces* with the coming together of public museums, travel guides, and handbooks of art history to consecrate a canon of works in the late 19th century, as modern art history took shape.



FIGURE 1.4 *San Xiao de Moraimo (Muxía, A Coruña). West portal, column figures on right side*  
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 1.5 *Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Puerta de Platerías (south transept), marble column carved with saints*  
PHOTO: AUTHOR

understandably captivated those occupied with the region's art.<sup>92</sup> The generous royal contract of 1168, a bold inscription above the very threshold of the nave, an alleged self-portrait kneeling below it, and the unparalleled fame of the monument he was called to complete gave Mateo a singular identity among medieval craftsmen so often thought to have toiled in anonymity.<sup>93</sup>

92 For diverse views, see the articles of the 1988 symposium (*Actas...Pórtico da Gloria*); those of Karge, Castiñeiras, and Sánchez Ameijeiras in this volume with extensive bibliography; and Prado-Vilar (2013). For an excellent synthetic vision of the work ascribed to Master Mateo and his place in the historiography: Castiñeiras (2010).

93 For the inscription of 1188 and self-portrait: Moralejo (1988), 22, and, more generally on such signatures, D'Emilio (2007b); a facsimile, transcription, and translation of

For modern viewers, that personality came alive in the vivacious and expressive figures performing their liturgical drama in the Pórtico da Gloria (Figs. 1.6, 1.12), the partly enclosed west porch or narthex of the cathedral.<sup>94</sup> The mysterious artist and his audacious portrait even became protagonists of a short story, *Historia de una cabeza*, by the nineteenth-century Romantic writer, Antonio Neira de Mosquera, and, with time, Mateo assumed a mythical stature in Galician folklore.<sup>95</sup>

The accolades for Mateo's magnum opus resounded in Victorian England where the architect George Edmund Street pronounced the Pórtico "one of the greatest glories of Christian art" and featured it on the frontispiece of his influential book on Gothic architecture in Spain in 1865.<sup>96</sup> The curator of the South Kensington Museum, John Charles Robinson, likened it rapturously to Ghiberti's bronze doors and the Sistine ceiling, lionizing the "great artist... (who) emancipated himself from contemporary mannerism and...produced a masterpiece for all time."<sup>97</sup> In 1866, a replica was made for the museum's new collection of casts in an assemblage that ranged from Trajan's column and Michelangelo's David to Irish high crosses, Hindu architectural reliefs, and the gates of Buddhist stupas. This temple to the eclectic tastes of Victorian cultural imperialism admitted a select company, but few were as well suited as the Pórtico whose own brand of eclecticism once greeted the cosmopolitan throngs of pilgrims flocking to the apostolic basilica.

Mateo's Pórtico won international acclaim in the early twentieth century, but was swept aside as nationalist passions mobilized scholars to battle over the origins of Spanish Romanesque art.<sup>98</sup> Arthur Kingsley Porter, the staunchest advocate of the artistic importance of the pilgrimage, privileged the earlier

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the contract appear in Pérez Millán (1965), doc. 3, pp. 1–8; Manso (1991) disentangles the errors that mistakenly associated Mateo with construction of a bridge in 1161. Rückert and Staebel (2010), 362–365 identify the kneeling figure as the patron, King Fernando II.

94 Moralejo (1993a) linked the Pórtico with the *ordo prophetarum*; see Castiñeiras (2011), 91–97, and his article here.

95 Neira de Mosquera (1850); for the reception of the Pórtico in 19th-century Galicia: Mateo (1991a); for Mateo's place in Galician folklore: Bouza Brey (1959).

96 Street (1869), 153; Baker (1991), 479; Mateo (1991b).

97 Quoted in Baker (1991), 479.

98 Bertaux (1906), 266–272, praised it as an "epic hymn" by an "architect, sculptor, and poet," a Frenchman, to be sure, and one whose oeuvre remained unique; Buschbeck (1919); Mayer (1931), 109–143, evoked Michelangelo and Phidias, declaring that the comprehensive design of an ensemble of such grandeur could not be found until the baroque.





FIGURE 1.6 *Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Pórtico da Gloria, left side*  
 PHOTO: AUTHOR

sculpture at Santiago and other Americans fell in line.<sup>99</sup> General Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War in 1939 dealt a death blow to the Pórtico internationally, for the installation of his dictatorship isolated a generation of Spanish researchers, shackled foreign scholarship, and frowned on foreign pedigrees for Spanish treasures.<sup>100</sup> In this inhospitable environment, North American dissertations by Marilyn Stokstad and, later, Michael Ward languished unpublished and seldom cited outside of specialized bibliography.<sup>101</sup>

Of course, the eclipse of Master Mateo also had to do with the problematic status of late Romanesque art and the widespread acceptance of a tight narrative for the creation of Gothic architecture and sculpture in and around the Île-de-France. Mateo, it turns out, was an untimely genius, too late for a place in the Romanesque pantheon, too remote and eccentric for a lap in the relentless relay of Gothic invention from cathedral to cathedral in northern France.<sup>102</sup> Across much of Europe, however, the diverse monuments bundled awkwardly as the 'Romanesque' basked in a brilliant autumn long into the thirteenth century, blissfully oblivious to their supposed obsolescence. In the late twentieth century, linear schemes of stylistic evolution and canonical grand narratives tumbled to their own oblivion, and the art of the year 1200—to

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99 Porter (1923), 261–266, praised the Pórtico with customary excess, but allowed it only a brief chapter in his huge tomes on the Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrimage roads. Conant (1926), 33–34, focused on the early 12th-century cathedral described in *The Pilgrim's Guide*, giving only short treatment to Mateo. Whitehill (1941), 266, deemed the cathedral “the culmination of eleventh-century architecture in Spain,” and ended his study there.

100 The efforts of the Franco regime to affirm Spain's European and Catholic heritage (see Pack [2010]) must be balanced against its resistance to notions that other Europeans 'colonized' Spain in the age of the pilgrimage. Cahn (2008), 34–35, remarks on the impact of German refugee scholars “viscerally committed on the side of the Spanish Republic” on the decline of North American study of the Hispanic Middle Ages. Gaillard (1958), (1963) continued to publish on Compostela and Master Mateo, giving more weight than his French predecessors to the Spanish and Compostelan dimensions of the Pórtico.

101 Stokstad (1957); Ward (1978). Both contributed papers (1991) to the 1988 symposium (*Actas...Pórtico da Gloria*).

102 For the historiographic problems surrounding the Romanesque and the use of the term in an age associated with Gothic: Sauerländer (2008) and, more generally, Barral i Altet (2006). Enlart (1905), 564, regarded the “admirable” Pórtico as Gothic. Porter (1923), 262, went so far as to call it “the first work of Gothic sculpture in Europe,” mirroring the place of the earlier Romanesque sculpture at Santiago, but he concluded (1928), vol. 2, p. 36, that its very excellence made it “the end of the great tradition in Spanish sculpture” which “like the genius of Michelangelo...ended the style which it culminated.”

use one formulation—supplied a new cosmopolitan context for Mateo's oeuvre.<sup>103</sup> The Pórtico regained a foothold in the international bibliography with the anniversary congress of 1988, but the questionable character of a late exemplar of a style clouded the master's artistic legacy within Galicia.<sup>104</sup>

In his own land, Mateo's fame had never dimmed, but his cult diminished those who had labored in his shadow, contributing mightily to paradigms which dismissed the Romanesque art of Galicia—beyond Compostela—as derivative.<sup>105</sup> Two prominent—if idiosyncratic—monuments, San Martiño de Noia and the Pórtico do Paraíso of Ourense Cathedral, are star witnesses in this sweeping indictment. At Noia, the west façade and portal, with a dated inscription of 1434, condense the design and decoration of the Compostelan west front and confer an aura of grandeur on the parish church. Nearer in date to Mateo, the thirteenth-century west porch at Ourense is a comprehensive rendering of the Pórtico da Gloria which immediately conveys the impression of a copy (Figs. 1.6, 1.7).<sup>106</sup> At both sites, the impact of Mateo's work sounds twin themes that resonate through the study of Galician Romanesque art: replication and longevity.

103 Museum exhibitions showcasing the so-called minor arts, whose portability and place in heterogeneous collections—then and now—upset linear sequences, accelerated this reevaluation, e.g., Deuchler and Hoffmann (1970), as did the reorienting in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s of the study of western medieval art led by Kurt Weitzmann, Ernst Kitzinger, Otto Demus, and Hugo Buchthal towards the influence—as it was described—of Byzantium and the importance of Mediterranean realms like Norman Sicily and the Crusader states whose art escaped easy labeling as Romanesque or Gothic. Ward's dissertation (1978) drew on both trends.

104 Sauerländer's opening article (1991) sets the Pórtico in the context of artistic centers of the Holy Roman Empire and the Plantagenet domains with dynastic links to Norman Sicily and ties to 'early Gothic' art in the Île-de-France.

105 Filgueira Valverde (1948) contrived an ingenious genealogy to supply Galician roots and progeny. The power of the named artist also resonates in the reconstruction and exhibition of the cathedral's stone choir and its attachment to his oeuvre: Otero and Yzquierdo (1990); Yzquierdo (1999). Ramón y Fernández Oxea (1936), (1942), (1962) transferred the search for 'masters' and a 'biographical' history—awkwardly—to rural churches; for a more nuanced look at the relationship between Mateo's stature and artists' signatures: D'Emilio (2007b).

106 In a standard Spanish survey, the porch was but a "servile copy of the Matean portal": Gudiol Ricart and Gaya Nuño (1948), 354. Williamson (1995), 123, echoes such views: "the whole scheme was copied with only minor changes...it provides the clearest evidence of the esteem in which the Pórtico de la Gloria was held and an illustration of the beginning of the decline of sculpture in Galicia."



FIGURE 1.7 *Ourense Cathedral. Pórtico do Paraíso, prophets to the left of the central doorway*  
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Under cross-examination, both monuments tell a somewhat different story. At Noia, the studied citation of a celebrated work reveals a thoughtful selection and adaptation of motifs to the reduced scale and different emphases of the façade.<sup>107</sup> Far from the prolonged agony of a style, this deliberate evocation of a storied past belongs to a Matean renaissance, as Moralejo aptly termed it, and caters to the devotional sensibilities of the fifteenth century.<sup>108</sup> At Ourense, the Pórtico do Paraíso completes the program of a church where the north transept had orchestrated a highly original sculptural ensemble to animate a symbolically figured architectural space in the spirit of Mateo's daring conception of the Westwerk at Compostela.<sup>109</sup> The porch subtly modulates architectural arrangements and iconography to engage its Compostelan counterpart in a sophisticated 'intervisual' dialogue of exactly the kind one might expect from a well-schooled cathedral clergy led by the renowned canonist, Bishop Lorenzo (1218–1248).<sup>110</sup> Moreover, it does so in a stylistic language abreast of the latest trends in French Gothic sculpture.

If modern eyes saw such monuments as pale copies of a prestigious exemplar, one can hardly be surprised that Romanesque churches in the countryside fared worse. Here and there, an unusual response to the master's work stood out, like the elders of the Apocalypse at San Xoán de Portomarín or the figures and architectural elements of the magnificent façade at Santo Estevo de Ribas de Miño.<sup>111</sup> More often though, the wide use of Mateo's vocabulary of foliage and ornament sealed the verdict on this rural art as an 'art of inertia'.<sup>112</sup> Nor did it help that local artists largely eschewed figural sculpture within this idiom. Simply put, the art of Compostela—culminating in Mateo's glorious porch—was all that rural Romanesque was not: precocious in date, articulate in its programmatic command of figural art, and endowed with agency and personality by powerful prelates and a parade of named artists from the

107 For a concise appreciation: Caamaño (1991a), 442–445, 451–455.

108 For the late medieval revival of Matean formulas in the diocese of Compostela: Moralejo (1975), repr, 79; Manso (1995), 338–352.

109 See the contribution of Sánchez Ameijeiras in this volume.

110 For the Pórtico do Paraíso and its 'revision' of the Pórtico da Gloria: Manso (1995), 271–276.

111 For Portomarín: Yzquierdo (1983), 125–140; (1995b), 177–185; for Ribas de Miño: Yzquierdo (1987); Fernández Pérez (2001).

112 Yzquierdo's more recent survey (1995b) shuns such language, but remains wedded to tracing filiation through a straightforward process of dissemination as the revealing title of a long chapter (138–251) suggests, "The diaspora of the masters of the workshop of Mateo." In fact, Mateo lent his name to a style and shaped modern study of it as the investigation of the influence or imitation of the art of a genius: Pita Andrade (1953).

shadowy figures of Bernard, Robert, and Esteban in the early twelfth century to Master Mateo.<sup>113</sup>

### The Cusped Lintel: Vectors of Power and Pathways of Change in a Rural Art

One of these artists, Master Esteban “of Saint James”—known only from terse clauses in a few charters in distant Pamplona, has charted a splendid career in his second life in modern historiography, but the sum of speculation shows only the hypnotic charm of a name.<sup>114</sup> By contrast, nonfigural decoration from the hands of anonymous artisans slips into the realm of craft, particularly in a provincial milieu where academic passers-by may dwell on what is not there.<sup>115</sup> In Galicia, the kaleidoscopic permutations of the cusped lintel on over twenty churches remind us that such forms have a story to tell and that the countryside was a dynamic theatre of religious reform, political conflict, and cultural engagement with the region’s past.<sup>116</sup>

Most of the cusped lintels trace their ancestry to the mid-twelfth-century transept portals of Lugo Cathedral: a tall, narrow doorway hooded by a cusped arch on the south transept, and a lower but broader entrance to the elevated north transept with a wide tympanum subdivided by a cusped lintel and pendant capital (Fig. 1.8).<sup>117</sup> The prestige of the model and the rusticity of some

113 Even these early Compostelan masters—barely more than names—were turned into the sources of inspiration for rural art (Yzquierdo [1978–1980]) or given artistic personalities and linked with other monuments and inscriptions on tenuous evidence: Nodar (2004), 103–111.

114 For the ample literature on Master Esteban, see, most recently, Williams (2008), 221; Ocaña (2003); and the article of Castiñeiras in this volume.

115 Nonfigural decorative art comes into its own in art-historical discourse on those periods and cultures where it has dominated high art (Riegl [1985]; Grabar [1992]), or when a textual tradition has given elements like the architectural orders voice and meaning: Onians (1988). Nonetheless, its treatment has gravitated towards formal, perceptual, and aesthetic issues, not questions of meaning and historical context: Riegl (1992); Gombrich (1979).

116 I use the term ‘cusped lintel’ conventionally for what, in Spanish, is called a *dintel lobulado*: a lintel with one or more semicircles cut from its base or sunken or engraved on its surface. For the formal variations: D’Emilio (1997), 552–561; Yzquierdo (1995a), 392–405; illustrates and classifies numerous examples.

117 The different proportions of the portals responded to the sharp downward slope from north to south. For Lugo Cathedral: D’Emilio (1991), 87–89, 92–93, and for a different view,



FIGURE 1.8 *Lugo Cathedral. North transept portal with cusped lintel. c. 1170*

PHOTO: AUTHOR

rural cousins seem to confirm its diffusion with simplification and distance from the cathedral going hand in hand. Cultural dissemination, however, is a directed effort, and reception is not passive: maps of cultural phenomena are crisscrossed by privileged highways, divided by boundaries of varying permeability or resistance, accented by hubs and their satellites, and layered with strata of production. Moreover, the hybridization that accompanies reception is not easily fit to linear coordinates of temporal development or spatial dispersion.

For the cusped lintel, the church of San Paio de Diomondi played a key role due to its manifold artistic and historical ties to Lugo.<sup>118</sup> Bishop Odoario, the eighth-century restorer of the diocese, was believed to have retired and died at Diomondi, and Lugo's recovery of the disputed church in the late 1160s spurred construction, dated by an inscription of 1170.<sup>119</sup> The church's importance is

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Yzquierdo (1989–1990). His ascription (1995a), 392–393, of the cusped lintel there to a late or postmedieval renovation is baseless.

118 For Diomondi and Portomarín: D'Emilio (1988), 179–195; (1997), 552–558; Yzquierdo (2003–5).

119 For Odoario's retirement to Diomondi: D'Emilio (2005a), 50–51; for Lugo's recovery of the church: D'Emilio (1996b), 53–54. The tomb inscription in San Miguel de Bóveda and the will, both of 1169, of the knight, Fernando Odoariz, who had received the church from King Fernando II in 1164 and, presumably, donated it to Lugo have been published: Vázquez-Monxardín (1995).

advertised by precisely cut masonry and ornament, selective use of a marbled limestone, and abundant sculpture: a rare eight-column west portal and ten nave windows shafted on both faces. Beyond this, the triple-arched façade and the arched buttresses planned for the lateral walls of the single nave were a calculated aggrandizement of size and scale. On the tympanum of the slender south portal, two concentric cusped arches ring a semicircle cut from the piece in evident imitation of the south transept doorway at Lugo.

Craftsmen from Diomondi later worked at San Pedro de Portomarín where the west portal—sole relic of the Romanesque church—blends the cusped arch and lintel of the two cathedral portals. An inscription on the tympanum records an episcopal consecration in 1182, and the creative design likely responds to the recent completion of the second portal at the cathedral. This evolving engagement with Lugo reflects more than an artistic pedigree, for Portomarín, like Diomondi, was a contested site, a river crossing on the pilgrimage road, where the bishops and military orders vied for power. In fact, 1182 is the year of the earliest surviving mention of a Hospitallers' commandery at Portomarín. Over the next decade, the bishop wrangled over their erection of a large church (San Nicolao, now known as San Xoán), and, in 1195, he purchased a share of a house in the very quarter where they were building.<sup>120</sup> More expressively than the bland notice of the consecration, the quotation of the cathedral portals affirms the bishop's presence.<sup>121</sup>

More than fifty kilometers south of Lugo, a closely related cusped lintel at San Pedro de Ribasaltas coincides with a similar episcopal push to stake a jurisdictional claim against the monastery of San Vicente which governed from the nearby town of Pino (Fig. 1.9).<sup>122</sup> Such motives may also explain the activity of another atelier linked to Lugo prowling the edges of the vast reserve of the monastery of Samos.<sup>123</sup> All these initiatives date from the last third of the twelfth century when the reforms of the cathedral chapter, the consolidation

120 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [=AHN] Clero, carpeta 1326A, no. 13 [=1326A/13] (1195.1.27); for further documentation: D'Emilio (2007b), 22–23.

121 See the discussion of visual references to the rites of consecration on Galician Romanesque tympana in Sánchez Ameijeiras (2003), 51–61.

122 In 1192, the bishop bought a house in Pino (AHN Clero, 1325H/22 [1192.3.24]), known later as Monforte de Lemos. King Alfonso IX gave the see the church of Ribasaltas in 1194 (*Alfonso IX*, doc. 75, pp. 112–113). The will of a cleric of Ribasaltas, Martín Fernández, entered the cathedral archive (AHN Clero, 1326G/21 [1215.9.22]). For fuller discussion of the church: D'Emilio (1988), 195–203.

123 The status of these churches is less certain and the cusped lintel limited to one extant piece at San Xoán de Muro: D'Emilio (1988), 216–232.





FIGURE 1.9 *San Pedro de Ribasaltas (Monforte de Lemos, Lugo). Cusped lintel of south portal. 190s*  
PHOTO: AUTHOR

of archdeaconries, and the vigorous prosecution of suits with neighboring dioceses and powerful monasteries marked a concerted campaign to define and assert the territorial prerogatives of the see.<sup>124</sup> The paths of artistic ‘influence’ were vectors of power, and the cusped lintels served as trademarks—or trophies—in the strategic projection of episcopal authority to more distant sites in the diocese.

Further afield, simple semicircles are traced on the lintel of the north portal of Santa María de Dexo in the diocese of Compostela.<sup>125</sup> In 1247, the parish priest of Dexo was appointed by the church of Lugo to arbitrate its protracted litigation with León over the border district of Triacastela, but one can only guess at whether this isolated motif, far from Lugo, marks such a connection with the cathedral.<sup>126</sup> Another church in that area illustrates how diverse

124 D’Emilio (2008), esp. 206–209, and, for the concession of the rights and responsibilities of an archdeacon to the abbots of Samos and Pino, Pérez Rodríguez (2008), 87–88; (2010), 165–166. Mosquera (2002), esp. 39–56, surveys diocesan development, but with less appreciation of the importance of the late 12th century.

125 For the church at Dexo: Yzquierdo (1991–1992).

126 A lengthy memorial of the dispute is among the loose parchments of the Archivo de la catedral de Lugo. The priest was *Iohannem Fernandi clericum compostellanum rectorem ecclesie Sancte Marie de Degio*. For the dispute: Domínguez Sánchez (2013).

sources spawn similar forms: at Santa María do Temple, the arcading on a lintel may be a schematic rendering of the nearby arched bridge, possibly publicizing the Templars' own privileges and responsibilities.<sup>127</sup>

In fact, the cusped lintel underwent a clever reinterpretation even in its direct transmission from Lugo to Portomarín. At the cathedral, the inventive design mimics a double doorway, like those at Compostela or others with subdivided tympana, while the cusped arch on the south portal relates it to buildings where the appropriation of a form prominent in the art of al-Andalus rings with triumphalism or at least lays claim to that opulent visual heritage.<sup>128</sup> At Portomarín and Ribasaltas, artists creatively combined the two designs, exploiting their decorative potential. At different levels of production, craftsmen took a similar tack, multiplying the semicircles, spreading them over tympana, and transferring them to headstones of windows. As they did so, the reference to Lugo faded and new patterns resembled Roman stelae found throughout Galicia.

Such pieces evoked the relics of a distant past whose medieval presence is manifest in the cusped lintels which Galician craftsmen devised independently at sites far from Lugo, like the parish church of Baroña, overlooking an imposing seaside castro, or the monastery of Portor in a district near Compostela where stelae abound (Figs. 1.10, 1.11).<sup>129</sup> Motifs common to the cultura castrexa pepper the carefully overseen decoration of Cistercian churches as well, perhaps in homage to the antiquity of a land with an apostolic tomb.<sup>130</sup>

127 For Sta. María do Temple: *Arquitectura románica de La Coruña...*, 48; *Enciclopedia del románico...(A Coruña)*, vol. 1, pp. 243–246.

128 For examples of such 'meanings' associated with Christian use of the cusped arch, see the discussion of San Isidoro de León in Martin (2006), 105–111, and, more generally, Seidel (1981), 75–78, 123–126; for other elements in Galician Romanesque art associated with the art of al-Andalus: Valle (1983); Yzquierdo (1987–1988), (1997).

129 For San Pedro de Baroña: Soraluze and Fernández (1998), vol. 3, pp. 314–315; *Enciclopedia del románico...(A Coruña)*, vol. 1, pp. 167–170. The monastery of Portor (Portus Hodorii) is cited in 1162: *Toxos Outos*, doc. 498, pp. 476–477. Several ancient stelae or votive altars decorated with arcades or sunken semicircles from the neighboring municipality of A Baña are inventoried in *Corpus de inscricións romanas...A Coruña*, no. 24–25, 29–30, pp. 77–79, 87–89; no. 76 (p. 195) was found near the parish church of Baroña. An arcaded stela was used as a lintel with the decorated side facing downwards at the Santuario de Bascuas (prov. of Lugo), possibly of Romanesque origin, in a parish (San Salvador de Parga) with a castro and a locality named Mámoa: Valiña et al. (1983), vol. 5, pp. 62–63. Even the cusped arch could look back to pre-Islamic models like the scalloped niches of Visigothic Toledo: Barroso et al. (2009), 176–181, 185–186.

130 D'Emilio (2004), 323.



FIGURE 1.10 *Santa María de Portor (Negreira, A Coruña)*. Cusped lintel of south doorway  
PHOTO: AUTHOR

After all, the Cistercians grafted their austere practices onto the venerable—and severe—local tradition of monastic observance: their arrival at Sobrado restored a great center of the tenth-century monastic efflorescence.<sup>131</sup> When the abbots of Sobrado and Oseira met in 1179 to resolve differences over the lucrative fisheries, woodlands, and vineyards of the Ribeira Sacra, a district equally blessed in its monastic heritage, they did so in a church at Temes which still exhibits an early Christian sarcophagus, other late antique spolia, and a ninth-century consecration inscription.<sup>132</sup> Later, as Ana Suárez demonstrates in this volume, the thirteenth-century cartulary of Sobrado included a *carmen figuratum* of the sixth-century Gallic poet Venantius Fortunatus, a tribute perhaps to its own ancient library. At the same time, the Cistercians' dialogue with tradition allowed the most striking novelties. The ambulatory of their church

<sup>131</sup> For the tenth-century monastery, see Pallares (1979), and Isla's article here.

<sup>132</sup> *Tumbos...Sobrado*, vol. 2, doc. 61 (1179.1.13), pp. 90–91. For the remains at Temes: Schlunk (1977), 194–196, 213–218; Valiña et al. (1983), vol. 6, pp. 95–99.



FIGURE 1.11 *Chapel of Bascuas (San Salvador de Parga, Guitiriz, Lugo). Reused stela over entrance to sacristy at east end*

PHOTO: AUTHOR

at Melón alludes to Santiago Cathedral within a design loosely inspired by Clairvaux III and articulated by an elegant—and wholly foreign—Gothic vocabulary of delicate details and graceful proportions. With this synthesis, Cistercian planners paid tribute to the apostolic shrine and underscored their understanding of the splendid choir which ringed St. Bernard's tomb at the Burgundian abbey as an effort to frame their own new saint within Christian antiquity.<sup>133</sup>

### **The Layered Past of Rural Galicia: From the Castros to the Kingdom of Galicia**

Galicia's Romanesque patrimony challenges commonplaces about the timelessness of rural culture and society, whether revered nostalgically as the

<sup>133</sup> Fergusson (1994), 93–98, interpreted Clairvaux III in this light; for Melón: D'Emilio (2004), 326–327.

treasury of a national essence of prehistoric origin, or lamented as an obstacle to modernity mired hopelessly in the past. Among Galician regionalist and nationalist intellectuals, strong traditionalist, even antimodern, currents flowed through the writings of Manuel Murguía and Alfredo Brañas in the late nineteenth century and Vicente Risco and Ramón Otero Pedrayo in the *Xeración Nós* which flourished from the 1920s until the Spanish Civil War.<sup>134</sup> Though all four men were raised in towns in families of professionals or civil servants, they located Galician identity in the enduring values and customs of the countryside.

Today, demographic and economic trends have emptied villages and favored urban life, turning folk culture and rural havens into a commodified heritage marketed to tourists or a mantle of legitimacy for contested political claims to a national past insulated from historical change.<sup>135</sup> For its part, Compostela has transcended its traditional role as a goal of pilgrimage to become a modern capital, secular tourist attraction, and showcase for spectacles of a global culture.<sup>136</sup> Landmark projects by international architects, from Álvaro Siza's Centro Galego de Arte Contemporánea to the colossal and controversial Cidade da Cultura by the Eisenman group, form part of a dramatic rebranding of Galician identity as one of urban cosmopolitanism and technological progress.<sup>137</sup> "Out with the cows, long live the traffic light and the wail of the sirens," declares writer Manuel Rivas, as a wry caricature of what Loureiro calls the "frenzied embrace of the urban."<sup>138</sup> From the apparatus of the tourist industry and the public promotion of Galician culture to debates over linguistic normalization, contemporary constructions of Galician identity

134 Beramendi and Núñez Seixas (1995), 31–37, 46–54, 99–110; for Alfredo Brañas: Máiz (1984a), 307–397; for Risco: Bobillo (1981).

135 Pereiro and Vilar (2008), 88, 98–104, argue that ethnographic museums produce "an essentialized Galician identity" "in terms of a generic 'ruralised' and primitivized past" that, in many ways, still reflects the political and cultural vision of early 20th-century Galician intellectuals. Medeiros (2005), 75–78, analyzes the battle between opposing political sectors over "folkloric images" and "the memory of historical Galicianism," as the traditional culture once unearthed and promoted by early 20th-century Galician nationalists is appropriated by conservative authorities to fashion a national culture.

136 For the contemporary transformation of Compostela: Gómez Montero (2001); Roseman (2004); for the earlier 20th-century revival of the pilgrimage and the preservation—or re-creation—of the medieval character of the town: Castro Fernández (2008), (2011).

137 For the official presentation of the project for the Cidade da Cultura: Davidson (2005).

138 Rivas (1989), 147–149, offers an incisive commentary on 20th-century "ruralism" in Galicia and the "absurd polemic" between a "ruralism of the Disneyland school" and the "rage for the urban"; Loureiro (2003), 167.

involve a tortured negotiation between traditions bound up with a past conceived of as local and rural and a global present that is urban or, indeed, virtual.<sup>139</sup>

Eyeing the countryside as the periphery within or tying it to prehistory is as misleading as tagging the region as geographically marginal. The recognition of “profound transformations” in the modern Galician countryside, from the introduction of new crops and the impact of return migration to the political radicalism of the early twentieth-century agrarian movement, needs to be extended to more ancient times.<sup>140</sup> Just as Galicia’s place at the ends of the earth made it, paradoxically, a cultural crossroads, the layers of its deep past—prehistoric, Roman, early Christian, early medieval, and Romanesque—have fertilized its rural landscape, furnishing the means for reinvigorating its culture and society and reimagining its heritage. The emblematic profile of the Romanesque church atop the rocky outcrops of a *castro*, like the aptly named San Lourenzo de Sucasro, masks a complex process of cultural change and appropriation.

Ancient *castros* and Romanesque churches, Roman legions and pious pilgrims, holy relics and hidden hermitages: the layered past of Galicia awaits excavation. I refer here not merely to the welcome expansion of archaeological investigation and methods beyond the *castros*, but to a thorough re-evaluation

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139 For an overview of contemporary constructions of Galician identity: Rodríguez Campos (2004). Quoting official publications, Roseman and Fife (2008), 114–117, 124–125, describe how the Galician government designed a mascot for the pilgrimage “to give an image of modernity, a link between tradition and extreme *avant-garde*”; they also show how souvenirs reflect contemporary debates over “urbanized ideas about rural Galicia,” from the folklorization of rural life to the revitalization of craft traditions and the self-conscious reflectiveness of the portrayal of peasants and folk culture in the modernist ceramics of Sargadelos. Romero (2010), 48, argues that the integration of the Museo do Pobo Galego and Centro Galego de Arte Contemporánea symbolizes an “aesthetic tension between a stereotypical past reality (a rural, backwards, and superstitious Galicia) and a modern present (a largely industrial, and cosmopolitan Galicia).” The effort to situate a revitalized rural heritage in contemporary Galicia is well illustrated by the dossier collected in Simón and Prado (2006) after an unsuccessful campaign to win recognition by UNESCO for the “intangible cultural heritage” of Galicia and Portugal. For the impact of the ‘normalization’ of Galician on the diversity of rural vernaculars: Roseman (1995). For the problem of Galician identity in a postnational environment of plural identities or the inflection of national identities by other markers: Miguélez and Hooper (2009).

140 Fernández Prieto (2011), 29–33, surveys revisionist approaches; see his earlier study (1992) of technological innovation; for a more dynamic vision of the peasantry in early modern Galicia and the evolution of their property and juridical rights: Villares (1997); for agrarianism: Durán (1977); Cabo (1998); Soutelo (1999).

of geography, historical time, the dynamism of rural society, and the role of privileged sites in the history, historical imagination, and modern historiography of medieval Galicia. With these ideas in mind, let us journey from the castros to Compostela, surveying the terrain of Galician medieval history from Roman times to the heyday of the pilgrimage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, sketching the contours for a reassessment of Galicia's 'place', and doing so with a critical eye on the distorting lenses of modern historiography, inside and outside of Galicia, and its political and cultural agendas.

Ethnic considerations aside, current debates over the *cultura castrexa* recognize the diversity of these settlements and the importance of the Roman presence to their development. Far from being timeless sentinels of indigenous culture, the castros were revived and reshaped through periodic abandonment and occupation from Roman through early medieval times.<sup>141</sup> Their typology and functions varied and they were drawn into symbiotic relationships with Roman *villae* and the nascent communities of the future villages and parishes of the Galician lowlands and valleys.<sup>142</sup> The traditional association of Romanization with cities led earlier scholars to stress its limits in the face of the persistence of native culture and society in the countryside.<sup>143</sup> Applying more flexible models of acculturation, contemporary historians and archaeologists can more easily see how less urbanized regions like Galicia were integrated into the Roman world in areas once obscured by the rush to celebrate an indigenous and autonomous past.<sup>144</sup>

There is less recognition, perhaps, of the depth and durability of Rome's imprint and the debt of rural society in early medieval Galicia to the civic and social structures and networks of economic exchange that articulated Roman provincial life. For Galician intellectuals of a nationalist bent, the imposition of Roman rule was a precursor of Galicia's modern subjection to Madrid, while its late antique and early medieval history—like its Celtic prehistory—restored its distinctiveness.<sup>145</sup> The fourth-century bishop and ascetic Priscillian has

141 See Díaz's article here, and for the final phases of the castros in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages: López Quiroga (2004), 145–286; Rodríguez Resino (2006), 157–200.

142 For case studies: Hernández Guerra (2009); Lemos (2009); Bartolomé (2009).

143 Le Roux and Tranoy (1973); for revised assessments of ancient urbanization in northwest Iberia: Rodríguez Colmenero (1998); for Roman settlement and its impact in the rural environment: Pérez Losada (2002).

144 Pereira Menaut (1988); for overviews of recent research: Fernández Ochoa (1996); Dopico Caínzos et al. (2009); for the neighboring Asturias: Fernández Ochoa (2006). See also the article of Díaz in this volume.

145 Risco lamented that 'our Celtic civilization [was] darkened and subjected by an alien enemy civilization, that is the Mediterranean civilization, brought here by Roman

thrived as a symbol of Galician difference.<sup>146</sup> The impact of his teachings has validated the image of a predominantly rural society for which the forms and institutions of urban Christianity were ill-suited.<sup>147</sup> More importantly, Galician nationalists exalted his execution for heresy by the imperial authorities as a martyrdom and sacrifice, embodying the historic struggle of an entire region.<sup>148</sup> The mischievous idea that his once-venerated remains might lie beneath the shrine and cult of St. James has been kept alive in nationalist narratives of buried aspirations.<sup>149</sup>

Modern advocates of separatist agendas also found early, if unlikely, champions in the Sueves who entered Gallaecia in the early fifth century and established the only peninsular kingdom that—for a time—resisted the centralizing power of the Visigoths.<sup>150</sup> The opacity of Suevic history has been no barrier to their enthronement in the Galician imagination as creators of the first and most long-lived independent kingdom of Galicia.<sup>151</sup> The nineteenth-century Romantic novelist and historian Benito Vicetto resurrected these kings in fanciful tales, while the influential regionalist writer and historian Manuel Murguía saw the Sueves—like the earlier Celts—as fortifying the Aryan stock of the Galician people.<sup>152</sup> Efforts to identify ‘Germanic’ elements even shaped

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imperialism, the prototype of all imperialisms,” quoted in Raúl de Toro (1995), 232. The title of a recent survey by Bernárdez Vilar (2004) echoes such views less stridently: *The Beginning of Our Middle Ages: The Gallaecia Which Freed Itself from Rome*.

- 146 For the embrace of Priscillian by Galician nationalists and writers: Pérez Prieto (2008), (2010); for the historiography overall: Olivares (2004), for Galician views, 176–178, 215–225; Fernández Conde (2007).
- 147 Barbero (1963) tied Priscillian’s appeal to the distinctiveness of the indigenous societies of the Atlantic fringe of Iberia; the impact of Priscillian in late antique Gallaecia has been the focus of numerous studies, e.g., the articles in *Prisciliano y priscilianismo*; Escribano (1996), (1997); and Cardelle de Hartmann (1998).
- 148 In 1926, Cotarelo dramatized the eve of his death in the play *Hostia*: Pérez Prieto (2010), 275–278.
- 149 The idea circulated among critics of the revived apostolic cult in the early 20th century: Olivares (2004), 175–176. Chadwick (1976), 233, considered the “speculative possibility” at the end of his study.
- 150 The Galician nationalist leader Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao (1976), 36, celebrated the Sueves as creators of Spain’s first state (cited in Gemie [2006], 11). Among historians today, López Carreira (2005) reflects this perspective.
- 151 For a judicious appraisal of the evidence, see the contribution of Kulikowski here.
- 152 In his novel, *Los reyes suevos de Galicia* (1860), Vicetto set out “to penetrate the shadows of the past, to stir up the dust of the ruins, to raise—at last—the Suevic kings of Galicia from their forgotten tombs and, giving them a breath of life—like a God—to make them pass before my eyes like the kings of old Scotland before the grave Macbeth”



seminal studies of the pactual monasticism associated with Fructuosus of Braga and still color interpretations of the material record of the epoch of the invasions.<sup>153</sup>

Galicia's fascination with its Suevic past has not been matched beyond its borders, and the dictum of the French historian Lucien Musset sums up the prevailing indifference, "In historical terms nothing very important would have been changed had the Sueves of Spain never existed."<sup>154</sup> Dismissed from without, stingy in its written legacy, and sundered from its Roman roots and Iberian neighbors by nationalists who seized its mantle, the Suevic kingdom hovers uneasily in an imagined past.<sup>155</sup> In fact, the Romans initially drew the boundaries that would later define the kingdom within the sprawling territories of Atlantic Iberia that shared elements of the *cultura castrexa*. Roman rule and the Christian church nested the region within a hierarchy of jurisdictions and linked it to lands near and far. Ethnic myths, obsessions with modern boundaries, and a cavalcade of kings in the extravagant garb of the Romantic imagination have diverted attention from comparative study of the Suevic realm—or late antique Gallaecia—as a sub-Roman domain in which Roman administration had paved the way for the institutions and practices of a cosmopolitan Christian church to penetrate and transform a dynamic rural society.<sup>156</sup>

Rather than a mark of separateness, Priscillian's teachings, their success, and the conflicts they engendered were but one sign of the Galician church's evangelization of the countryside and engagement with debates that absorbed Christianity in late antiquity.<sup>157</sup> From the fifth century to the seventh, Hydatius,

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(my translation). For Vicetto's importance in Galician medievalism, see the article of Villares here; for Murguía's views: Máiz (1984b), 162–165.

153 For the Germanic roots of pactual monasticism: Herwegen (1907); Linehan (1993), 69, n. 77, notes the historiographical fortunes of these views; for a recent example of ethnic interpretations of material culture and the archaeological record: Rodríguez Resino (2003); for a critique, see the article of Kulikowski here with additional bibliography.

154 Quoted in Goffart (2006), 210. In his survey, *Early Medieval Spain*, Roger Collins (1995), 19–24, tellingly titled a brief section on the Suevic kingdom, "A False Start."

155 Díaz (2011) offers the latest assessment and captures this ambivalence in the title of his opening chapter, *La historia del reino suevo, entre la indiferencia y la mitificación*. They are also represented (López Sanchez [2010]), along with the Balts and Herules, in a collection aptly titled *Neglected Barbarians: Curta* (2010).

156 In this volume, the articles of Díaz, López Sánchez, and Ubric offer perspectives both on the fluidity of the kingdom's boundaries and on its place within the larger political and religious networks of late antiquity.

157 See the article of Ubric in this volume, and her earlier study (2004) of the fifth-century Iberian church. Within this wider late antique context, Burrus (1995) approaches

Martin, Fructuosus, their fellow bishops, and their flocks belonged to a world that retained its Roman matrix.<sup>158</sup> It is modern scholarship which has banished them and therefore neglected the contribution that study of the church of late antique Gallaecia can make to the vexed questions surrounding the acceptance of Christianity in the countryside, and the different paths that lay open in the formative years of the establishment of episcopal authority and monastic communities.<sup>159</sup> Despite the erudition of the North American historian Charles Julian Bishko, the monastic culture inspired by Martin of Braga and Fructuosus has virtually disappeared from English-language studies of monasticism and early medieval Christianity.<sup>160</sup> In fact, the reception of Priscillianism, the concern of Martin of Braga with pastoral care, the canons of the sixth-century councils of Braga, the monastic congregations and households in Fructuosan texts, and the pedagogic activity of Valerius of Bierzo together provide a singular panorama of the Christianization of the countryside.<sup>161</sup>

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Priscillian's beliefs and their impact in the light of debates over charismatic and institutional authority, gender roles, and the nature of the church as a "political" community" or "familial" social body."

- 158 For the relations of the church of Gallaecia with the bishops of Rome between the fourth and sixth centuries: Núñez García (2001), and the article of Ubric in this volume.
- 159 Martin of Braga and Fructuosus have been beyond the view of the recent and extensive English-language scholarship on the monk-bishop, e.g., Sterk (2004), Rapp (2005).
- 160 Bishko's Harvard University dissertation (1937), "Spanish Monasticism in the Visigothic Period," was never published, but his principal articles were collected in an edition (1984a) that included an updated study of factual monasticism (1984b). Other early North American efforts (McKenna [1938]; Aherne [1949]; Barlow [1950]) bore little fruit in the later 20th century. Among English-language works, Galicia is barely mentioned in Lawrence's survey of medieval monasticism (1989) or Dunn's study of early monasticism (2000). More generally, neither Martin nor Fructuosus is indexed in Peter Brown's wide-ranging synthesis (2003). Herrin (1989) is exceptional for her attention to Visigothic Iberia, but only mentions Iberian monasticism in passing: 233.
- 161 Fernández Conde (2000), 155–167, offers an overview, with bibliography, of early Christianity in Galicia, but the story of the Christianization of the Galician landscape remains to be written; for an excellent survey of the process elsewhere in Europe and the Mediterranean: Howe (1997); for Britain, see Morris (1989), 46–92. For the social ramifications of these religious phenomena: Isla (1992), 5–40; Díaz (2001). Archaeological explorations of cemeteries and monastic sites offer new possibilities: López Quiroga and Rodríguez Lovelle (1999); López Quiroga and Martínez Tejera (2007); and the articles by Sánchez Pardo cited in n. 31. For the impact of Priscillian in Gallaecia in late antiquity, see n. 147; for Martin of Braga's *De correctione rusticorum*: López Pereira (1996); for Fructuosan monasticism, see n. 24–25; Herrin (1989), 233, cites examples of Valerius of Bierzo's instruction of the peasantry.

That is the backdrop for the extraordinary sixth-century *Parrochiale Suevum*, a list of at least one hundred and seventeen churches or districts distributed among thirteen episcopal sees, mapping a parrochial organization likely based upon civil jurisdictions.<sup>162</sup> Like the proliferation of local mints in the sixth and seventh centuries, it attests to a remarkable degree of internal articulation of the countryside.<sup>163</sup> Despite formidable obstacles, the very fragmentation of the rural landscape demanded exchanges. When newcomers restored the monastery of Samos with royal support in the eighth and ninth centuries, the community swiftly reconstituted a diversified economy with estates across Galicia supplying critical provisions.<sup>164</sup> This shrewdly balanced portfolio of salt beds, fisheries, grain fields, vineyards, pasturage, forests, and ironworks would hardly have been conceivable without well-established patterns for their systematic exploitation and the transport, distribution, and exchange of their produce on long trodden routes.<sup>165</sup>

Throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, the domains of monasteries like Samos, the lists of churches associated with early medieval bishoprics, the far-flung territories of noble families, the sheer number of rural churches, the careful delineation of boundaries, and the dense local toponymy all demonstrate that the social, economic, and religious fabric of the Galician countryside weathered the brief disruption occasioned by Muslim incursions in the eighth century and the decapitation of the political authority of the Visigothic kingdom.<sup>166</sup> Contemporary Spanish historians highlight these continuities

162 David (1947b) provided a critical edition and study; see also Mansilla (1994), vol. 1, pp. 212–237; Díaz (1998) and his article in this volume.

163 Díaz (2004) related Visigothic mints to sites in the *Parrochiale*, explaining them as the result of “the assimilation by the Visigothic kingdom of the previous Suevo territorial scheme”; see also his article in this volume.

164 López Alsina (1993), 164, 168–169, skillfully used later charters to reconstruct the restored monastery’s endowment with *pressuras* authorized by Prince Fruela (757–768) and he emphasized the calculated diversification of the economy. Without explanation, however, he characterizes this distribution of estates as a mark of a rupture with the earlier Visigothic monastery, though acknowledging that most of the sites had pre-existing churches.

165 For the roads of medieval Galicia, Ferreira Priegue (1988) remains valuable, though most of the data is from the later Middle Ages and the geographic organization of the study impedes a vision of historical development. Sánchez Pardo (2013), 30, 37, maps early medieval foundations of churches in relation to known Roman roads.

166 Isla (1992) provides the most comprehensive study of early medieval Galicia; see also Baliñas (1992a), particularly for the eighth and ninth centuries, with a useful listing of named territorial divisions (331–363); and the comprehensive catalogue of early medieval monasteries in Freire Camaniel (1998), vol. 2.

and interpret ninth- and tenth-century references to “populating” Galician lands in a narrower political sense, as indicators of the reimposition of public authority by the Asturian kings.<sup>167</sup> Arguably, this process was a reciprocal one: the strength and cohesiveness of local Galician society turned the Asturian *caudillos* into kings and, to contemporaries, made their kingdom the kingdom of Galicia.

### The Medieval Kingdom of Galicia: Remembering and Forgetting

The Suevic kingdom and its church had developed and consolidated the culture, institutions, and territorial articulation that were the legacy of dense prehistoric settlement, Roman provincial administration, and the surprisingly intense Christianization of the countryside. The *Galliciense regnum* endured in the internal divisions of the seventh-century Visigothic kingdom. Long after its collapse, Franks, Muslims, and the papal chancery alike referred to the new Astur-Leonese realm as the kingdom of Galicia.<sup>168</sup> The title persisted there too: whether conferred on princes or seized by usurpers, the office could prove a stepping stone to ruling the whole realm.<sup>169</sup> The powerful aristocracy of

167 Menéndez Pidal (1960) advanced this interpretation of the “populating” (*populare*) of territories by the Astur-Leonese kings. There is an ample bibliography, partly in response to Sánchez Albornoz’s view (1966) that the Muslim invasions and ensuing conflicts created a vast ‘no man’s land’ repopulated *de novo* by the Asturian kings. Castellanos and Martín Viso (2005) survey the changing relationship between local communities and political power across northern Iberia in the early Middle Ages. See the articles of Isla and Portela in this volume, as well as earlier studies in which Isla (1992), 49–70, argued that references in charters—often forged or interpolated—to depopulation legitimized secular and ecclesiastical authority, while Portela and Pallares demonstrated continuities of settlement with detailed studies of charters and the landscape: Portela (1995); Pallares and Portela (1997b), (1998).

168 López Carreira (2005), 226–233; Carriedo (2005) assembles early medieval sources to document the passage from the ancient Gallaecia to the medieval region.

169 Ordoño II was entrusted with the government of Galicia by his father, Alfonso III, and ruled as king of Galicia for four years (910–914), while his brother, García, ruled as king of León: García Álvarez (1966); Ordoño’s son, Sancho Ordóñez, was crowned in Compostela as king of Galicia in 926 and ruled until 929 as a result of the partition of his father’s kingdom among his brothers: Sáez (1949). Isla (1999), 23–24, cautions against seeing his reign as a lesser one from the anachronistic perspective of the later consolidation of the Leonese kingdom. Vermudo II was crowned and anointed in Compostela in

the northwest added to the centrifugal pressures on the Leonese kingdom, while royal coronations at Compostela raised a spiritual center in Galicia to rival León.

From the eleventh century to the twelfth, peninsular politics were turned upside down by the success of the Navarrese dynasty, the reconfiguration of the Christian realms, the southward march to Toledo, and the restoration or creation of sees. Amidst these upheavals, a separate kingdom of Galicia was briefly revived under King García, while prelates of Galicia and neighboring Atlantic regions embarked on a more enduring effort to enhance the place of their sees in the new political and ecclesiastical geography of Christian Iberia. To achieve this, the clergy of Compostela, Lugo, Braga, and Oviedo explored and exploited the history of the Suevic kingdom by probing its councils and canons—real or invented—for alternatives to the Visigothic traditions that elevated Toledo and fixed the relationships of peninsular sees.<sup>170</sup>

More than just a lingering name, the 'kingdom of Galicia' reflects—for some today—the region's preponderance in the ninth- and tenth-century Astur-Leonese kingdom, anchored by the finding of the apostle's tomb at Compostela, his emerging cult, and its endorsement by the monarchs.<sup>171</sup> In 1991, the president of the Galician Xunta prefaced a facsimile of Cotarelo's massive tome on King Alfonso III, in which only the title page and the king's own title were altered: the "last king of Asturias" became the "last king of Oviedo and first of Galicia."<sup>172</sup> A decade later, at a major conference on the Asturian kingdom, Ermelindo Portela astutely observed how the very organization of the sessions

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982 and had expelled his rival Ramiro III from León by 985. Isla (1999), 13–64, offers the best narrative and explication of the royal succession and the political and marital relations between the royal family and the nobility of distinct regions; see also his article in this volume.

170 López Alsina (1999), 113–118, examines the role of forgeries attributed to the Suevic period in struggles over the metropolitan dignity, and the use of the Suevic past in the *Chronicon Iriense*, assigned to the end of the 11th century, to bolster Compostelan claims; see also his more recent article (2013). David (1947c) discussed the early medieval claims of Lugo to the metropolitanate of Braga; Díaz y Díaz (1995b), esp. 237–242, studied the status of Lugo in the last years of the Suevic kingdom. For an excellent overview of the remapping of the Iberian church in the 11th and 12th centuries and the uses of the Suevic and Visigothic past: Reglero de la Fuente (2005), 195–220.

171 López Carreira (2005), 213–248, offers the most sustained argument for this view of the kingdom and of the ample sense with which 'Galicia' was construed in the early Middle Ages and beyond.

172 Cotarelo (1991), first published in 1933. The change of title is justified in the prologue (p. v) by Manuel Fraga, president of the Xunta.

insinuated a ‘center-periphery’ model for a kingdom in which, in fact, Galicia accounted for a third of its territory, nearly half its surviving documents, and its only ‘province’.<sup>173</sup> The title of Carlos Baliñas’s paper, “From Covadonga to Compostela...,” pointedly charted a course from the military triumphs of the earliest Asturian chieftains to their constitution of a kingdom whose weight and spiritual centers—if not its political capital—shifted decisively westwards in the ninth century.<sup>174</sup>

At the end of the twentieth century, early medieval history was a battleground of regional identities in the ‘Spain of the autonomies’, and these conflicts even spilled into the dueling exhibitions of art that increasingly shaped public understanding of the past.<sup>175</sup> Of course, such rivalries were already simmering in the ninth century when the court chronicles of Oviedo silenced the apostolic shrine at Compostela.<sup>176</sup> In modern historiography, however, regional clashes, though acute, paled before debates over the realm’s place in the genealogy of the Spanish nation.<sup>177</sup> Concerns of this kind ultimately eclipsed Galicia altogether, as Spanish scholarship on the Astur-Leonese kingdom was rent by impassioned arguments over its origins and nature, the weight of a tribal versus Roman or Gothic past, the ebb and flow of the so-called Reconquest, the continuities or disruptions of settlement in contested lands, and the imprint of Islam on Christian society and culture.<sup>178</sup> Together,

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173 Portela (2002), 351–352; Wickham (2005), 227–228, cited the published discussions as a “sharp-edged recent example” of the “charged historiography” and weight of “modern politics” over the period.

174 Baliñas (2002).

175 Coinciding with celebration of the Columbian Quincentenary throughout Spain, the Xunta de Galicia launched a series of exhibitions entitled *Galicia no tempo* in 1991. Asturias followed with an exhibition revealingly titled *Orígenes*: Morales Saro and Fernández Conde (1993).

176 For the rivalries within the kingdom over the cult of St. James, see the article of Deswarte in this volume.

177 Boyd (2007) examines the competition among “Catholic conservatives and liberals, regionalists and nationalists” over the legend and site of Covadonga in the late 19th and early 20th century, and shows how Catholic conservative—and nationalist—interpretations thoroughly triumphed over the efforts of liberal regionalists to integrate Covadonga—as a symbol of liberty, independence, and regeneration—into a modern vision of Asturias.

178 Studies that were landmarks for Spaniards barely entered English-language bibliography: Barbero and Vigil (1965); Sánchez Albornoz (1966). For later assessments: Hidalgo, Pérez, and Gervás (1998); and the remarks of Wickham (2005), 227–232, with key references to the Spanish bibliography.

these questions were often addressed teleologically as steps in the consolidation of a monarchy gravitating towards Castile, leading an offensive against Islam, and eventually unifying most of the peninsula.

Modern anxieties about national identity and bitter ideological divisions in twentieth-century Spain so drove these debates over the early Middle Ages that they hardly registered abroad.<sup>179</sup> For the most part, foreign historians distilled them into the sharp polemic between Claudio Sánchez Albornoz's stark proclamation of the purity of the Spanish character—uncontaminated by Jews and Muslims—and Américo Castro's conviction that the *convivencia* or coexistence of Muslims, Jews, and Christians had moulded Spanish culture.<sup>180</sup> In the fields of literature and art, Castro's idealist—and idealistic—vision had some appeal for Hispanists in North America.<sup>181</sup> Historians were more critical, but the debate became an obligatory point of departure even for those who cited it only to dismiss its relevance.<sup>182</sup> At the very least, the controversy reinforced the orientation of North American historiography towards Mediterranean Spain and Castile, the frontier societies, and the interactions among ethnic or religious communities of Christians, Muslims, and Jews—questions of obvious resonance in the light of the United States' own history, the place of immigration and the frontier in constructing its national identity, and, most recently, the re-examination of its relations with the Islamic world in the wake of 9/11.<sup>183</sup>

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179 Davies (2007b) provides a fine assessment of the historical and historiographical context for changing views of early medieval society, politics, and economy in the Christian kingdoms of northern Iberia.

180 Glick (1979), 6–13, incisively criticized the premises of this polemic even as he embraced (44–46, 85–92) Sánchez Albornoz's view of the large-scale depopulation of the Duero valley. For trenchant analyses of the modern prisms through which Spaniards interpreted their medieval past: Hillgarth (1985); Linehan (1993); Tolan (2002). Soifer (2009) offers a recent critical appraisal of *convivencia* with ample bibliography.

181 *Convivencia* lent a title and framework for an exhibition at the Jewish Museum (New York) in 1992, remembering the expulsion of the Jews and serving as a counterpoint to the Columbian Quincentenary: Mann, Glick, and Dodds (1992); see also Martínez (2006). Menocal (2002) popularized the idea of *convivencia* in North America where it had particular resonance after the attacks of Sept. 11.

182 Catlos (2004), 6, characterized the two sides as “overburdened by ideological biases and undermined by methodological inadequacies” and hailed the breaking of the “intellectual log-jam” in the 1970s.

183 Directly and through their students, Fr. Robert Burns S.J. and Joseph O'Callaghan played a large part in shaping this geographic and thematic orientation for North American scholarship; Doubleday and Coleman (2008) address the post- 9/11 relevance of medieval Spain

Galicia and Atlantic Iberia were consequently ignored and the isolation of the Astur-Leonese realm was underscored by the contrasting depiction of the cultural and religious history of the eleventh-century kingdoms as their ‘opening’ to Europe.<sup>184</sup> Dismissed as a backwater, the early medieval kingdom remained terra incognita in international, and particularly Anglophone, scholarship where it is routinely bypassed in studies of Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe or lost in the blinding splendor of al-Andalus.<sup>185</sup> Some Spanish scholars tightened this historiographical quarantine by downplaying foreign contacts, whether from the north or al-Andalus, and insisting upon the uniqueness of Spain’s medieval experience.<sup>186</sup>

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and, particularly, the relationships among Christians and Muslims—including diverse, revisionist views of academic and popular notions of *convivencia*.

184 Fletcher (1978), 5, 25, for example, described “early Leonese society” as “isolated as well as poor” as a backdrop to his characterization of the 11th-century ecclesiastical reforms as “a revolutionary assault from without” and “a radical assault upon a whole ecclesiastical way of life.”

185 One of the first and most assiduous foreign scholars of the period, the Frenchman Louis Barrau-Dihigo (1921), 1, complained: “The history of the Asturian kingdom is strictly national, and relevant only to the peninsula. Besides, it is—and will always be—most obscure and lacking in documents. Finally, it is—in its extreme poverty—most monotonous, offering hardly anything but a recitation of battles or revolts.” This damning judgment could be applied to the treatment of the 10th-century kingdom in the very last chapter (Collins [1999]) of volume 3 of *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, or to the numberless battles, revolts, royal successions, alliances, and marriages filling Collins’s latest survey: (2012), 50–82, 104–120, 138–165; without its own state—or any on the horizon, Galicia is denied the attention accorded to the county of Castile (238–256), the fledgling kingdom of Navarre (205–213) or the Pyrenean counties (213–237). A survey, in English, of Galician history casts the Asturian realm as backward and rooted in indigenous traditions, “a strange place...isolated from cultural and technological innovations. Romans, Visigoths and Christians had only the most superficial effects on these peoples”: Gemie (2006), 13–14. The kingdom is reclaiming its place in recent studies by British historians like Wickham (2005) and Davies (2007a).

186 Bango (1985), (1988), (1992) emphasized Iberian traditions in debates over Carolingian ‘influence’ at the Asturian court, or the so-called Mozarabic churches of the 10th century (1974). For many Spanish historians, either the absence or distinctive character of feudal development also differentiated northern Iberia: Davies (2007b), 70–73. More recently, Spanish scholars have highlighted diverse contacts with the Carolingian realm, e.g., Isla (1998a), Escalona (2004), 227–232; others have approached the Astur-Leonese and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms comparatively: Baliñas (1992b), Álvarez Borge (1999); and northern Spain has had more prominence in recent collaborative studies of early medieval



### Rome on the Rim: Memory, Anxiety, and Imagination along the Atlantic Fringe

In fact, a remarkably strong attachment to its Roman heritage characterized early medieval Galicia and the Astur-Leonese kingdom whose culture and institutions it helped mould. Ample book production and the ubiquity of charters indicate a high degree of Latin literacy and an affection for the florid prose and prolix formulas of late antiquity.<sup>187</sup> The epigraphic habit endured and the quirky fashion for carving inscriptions at Galician bridges is but one telling sign of the grip of written culture and public authority reflected more routinely in citations of the Visigothic code and references to the public fisc.<sup>188</sup> Far from being a fossilized past, a reservoir of traditions inoculated the region against the relative isolation that descended upon it in the eighth and ninth centuries and laid the foundation for its participation in shaping the new world of Roman Christendom in the central Middle Ages.

The culture of court and clergy nervously clung to the memory of the very metropolis that located them at the 'ends of the earth': one response to shrinking horizons and severed traditions was to re-create fabled lands and fanciful lineages. What was the apostolic cult, after all, if not an anchor that secured Galicia's place in the history of Christian origins and in the Roman world as its unity fractured? To underline the point, Roman marbles were pillaged to adorn the ninth-century basilica at Compostela, the layout of the complex bore traces of the topography of Roman sanctuaries, and the shrine received a circuit of territories that harked back to Old Testament practices.<sup>189</sup> Such

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settlement, society, and economy: Davies, Halsall, and Reynolds (2006); Quirós (2009); Escalona and Reynolds (2011).

187 See the articles of Rucquoi and D'Emilio in this volume; for charter production in northern Iberia: Davies (2007a), esp. 88–112; (2013); for an elaborate example, the testament of St. Rosendo: Díaz y Díaz (1989); for the literary culture of eighth-century Asturias: Díaz y Díaz (2001).

188 For overall reflections on written law and public authority, see the contribution of Bowman in this volume; for early medieval inscriptions: D'Emilio (2007b); 5–6; for six on bridges: Bouza Brey (1965); for citations of the Visigothic code: Rodiño (1997); for its expanded use in the late tenth and early eleventh century: Isla (1999), 63–71; on the legacy of Roman taxation: Sánchez Alborno (1951). Fisheries held by King Vermudo I at the end of the eighth century were described as *fiscales*: López Alsina (1993), 167.

189 Of three surviving accounts of the consecration of the church of Compostela in 899, the longest—preserved in a 17th-century transcription—is regarded as heavily interpolated (Díaz de Bustamante and López Pereira [1990]), but the use of spolia in Alfonso III's basilica is widely accepted (Arbeiter and Noack-Haley [1999], 24, 216–225; Karge [2009b],

pretensions fed the eclectic culture of a monarchy whose pedigree was a patchwork of recollections, relics, and wreckage from the Gothic, Roman, or biblical past. Invented genealogies and celebrated names, the anointing of kings and the Constantinian cult of the cross, the neo-Gothic ideology of official chronicles, the smartly cosmopolitan art of royal buildings, and fabulous legends of the marvelous voyages of precious objects all exemplified this struggle to transcend the temporal and geographic confines of their realm.<sup>190</sup>

The spell of Rome and the Mediterranean does not divorce early medieval Galicia from Atlantic Europe. On the contrary, its most seductive ties to the British Isles derive not from essentialized ethnic traits or a modern fascination with prehistory, but from their place along a periphery which Rome had created and Christianity had invested with special meaning.<sup>191</sup> One thinks of some of the preoccupations of the cultures of early medieval Ireland and the

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239–241, and his article in this volume). López Pereira (1993) has defended the historical basis for their procurement from Coria and Oporto, despite his critical view of the diplomatic status of the text; for other spolia in the Asturian kingdom: Noack (1986); Arias Páramo (2009). López Alsina (1990), 751–756, argued that Bishop Sisnando I (c. 880–920) alluded to Roman monuments to underline the apostolicity of the shrine, and he accepted evidence for contacts between Alfonso III, Ordoño II, and Sisnando I and papal Rome (see also López Alsina [2007]; Carriedo [2009]). He also demonstrated ([1988], 128–137; [1993]) the authenticity of the ninth-century concessions of circuits measured in miles to Santiago and Samos, relating them to the biblical gifts to the Levites (Num 35:1–5).

190 For a broad view of the medieval—and modern—re-creations of a past for the Asturian monarchy: Linehan (1993), 73–159; for the invented genealogies in the Asturian chronicles: Escalona (2004), 252–255; for the persistence or revival of names of Visigothic kings: Isla (1998b); D'Emilio (2005a), 64–65; on the neo-Gothic ideology: Deswarte (2003) and, for the anointing of kings, 181–190 and Bronisch (1998), 347–362; for the cult of the cross and the legends surrounding the Asturian crosses: Schlunk (1985); Cid (1990), (1991); Bronisch (1998), 286–326; Alonso (2010b); for the art and architecture of the kingdom: Arbeiter and Noack-Haley (1999); for the aniconic wall paintings of Santullano as an evocation of the heavenly Jerusalem: Brubaker (2004), 584–587. Legends also legitimized the authority of Galician cities or their churches, as in the case of Lugo and its mythical chief Septemsiderus who defied the rule of Toledo: Gil (1971), 165–170; Díaz y Díaz (1972–1974).

191 In a flowery missive to Pope Boniface IV in 613, the Irish monk Columbanus wrote that Rome's fame had reached “the Western regions of earth's farther strand, miraculously unhindered by ocean's surging floods” and “Christ...the Charioteer of Israel, over the channels' surge, over the dolphins' backs, over the swelling flood, reached even unto us,” quoted in Doherty (2007), 278–279.

further shores of Britain: a sense of awe towards distant Rome and the local monuments it left behind, keen imaginings of the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem, and vivid apprehensions of worlds beyond.<sup>192</sup> At seventh-century Iona, Adomnan wrote up a pilgrim's account of the East purportedly from the castaway bishop Arculf; Northumbrian monks and kings cherished close contacts with Rome and reproduced or reimagined its Christian culture amidst ancient curios and sturdy Roman walls; high crosses and obelisks planted artistic and religious traditions of the Mediterranean in secluded corners of Ireland and Scotland and stood as "surrogates for Rome."<sup>193</sup> From the confines of narrow cells and rocky retreats on wind-lashed crags, a monastic culture of mission and pilgrimage, of penance and contemplation, turned Atlantic seascapes into spiritual sites of terror and redemption.<sup>194</sup>

192 Of Cogitosus's seventh-century ekphrasis of St. Brigit's shrine at Kildare, Bitel (2004), 607, 626, writes, "Traveling with Cogitosus puts us purposefully on a map of early-medieval architecture, pilgrimage, literature, and ritual that stretched from Jerusalem and Constantinople through the Rome of Old Saint Peter's, past the episcopal towns of Gaul to Kildare and St. Brigit...(Brigit's) physical presence allowed pilgrims to walk the path of Moses and to follow the footsteps of Christ"; see also Neuman de Vegvar (2003).

193 *Adomnan's 'De locis sanctis'*; for recent studies: Woods (2002); O'Loughlin (2004). Within the ample literature on Rome in the culture and imagination of the Anglo-Saxons, Howe (2004), 148, 150, 152, describing the "Anglo-Saxon mapping of Christian history with the coordinates of Britain, Rome, and the Holy Land" and characterizing Rome as the "capital" of the "intellectual and spiritual patria" of the Anglo-Saxons, is particularly suggestive for his observations on how "the history of missionary conversions...reverses our usual understanding of center and periphery." See Ó Carragáin (1994), and for case studies of artefacts, Neuman de Vegvar (1999) and Gannon (2007). Hawkes (2003), 72, 75, 87, argues that stone was used deliberately in Anglo-Saxon churches and monuments to recall Roman landmarks and as "a visible expression of the physical establishment of the church of Rome...Through stone, that most visible and permanent of materials, the outpost of empire was being redefined and established as integral to a new (and everlasting) imperium"; for the establishment of Anglo-Saxon monasteries on Roman sites, Lebecq (2004); "surrogates for Rome," quoted from Verkerk (2001), 21, 23, who relates Irish high crosses to early Christian sarcophagi in the context of the importance of Irish pilgrimages to Rome, the development of local pilgrimages, and "an indigenous desire to create a Rome in Ireland, bridging temporal and geographical barriers" and re-creating "the wonders of Rome in Ireland"; see also Mitchell (2001) and, on the re-creation of Rome in clusters of Irish churches, Ryan (2007).

194 On Irish pilgrimage, Nolan (1983), 422–423, 430–431, 433, emphasizes the relative remoteness of Irish pilgrimage sites; see also Harbison (1992) and, for pilgrimage in Irish monastic life, the classic study of Hughes (1960) and, recently, Lapidge (2010), 26–31.

An adventurous quest swept St. Brendan to the blessed isles of the west; an obsession with monsters and the marvels of the East possessed Anglo-Saxons anxious about their own precarious place; and visits to and from eerie haunts beyond the grave figured insular visions and enlivened the topography of Ireland.<sup>195</sup>

The expansive geographic and historical imagination of the Irish took in Galicia as well and even appropriated its most emblematic Roman monument: the Torre de Hércules. The eleventh-century *Book of Invasions* drew upon Nennius's ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* to weave invasions from Iberia into myths of Irish origins and the peopling of the earth by Noah's wandering descendants and other biblical figures.<sup>196</sup> The Gaelic chief Breogán was said to have founded the city of Brigantia and raised a tower from which the sight of distant Ireland set off waves of expeditions. These legends grew from the suggestive description of the lighthouse by the early fifth-century Christian historian Orosius, likely a native of Roman Gallaecia.<sup>197</sup> Surveying the Roman world, Orosius praised the tower, "The city of Brigantia—which lies in Gallaecia, has erected a very tall lighthouse looking out towards Britain—a work with which few can be compared." Orosius situated Ireland

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195 On Irish accounts of otherworld voyages, including the popular *Voyage of Brendan*, see the anthology of criticism in Wooding (2000); O'Loughlin (1999) reads the *Voyage* sensibly as an allegory of monastic life, but it is nonetheless the western ocean which leads to the Promised Land or New Jerusalem; for the more modest corpus of otherworldly visions linked with Galicia: Díaz y Díaz (1985). Mittman (2006), 4, amply discusses the medieval English fascination with monsters as part of the fashioning of English self-definition from a consciousness of being on a geographic periphery: "...the Anglo-Saxons represent themselves as Roman Christians...(but) they were living, writing and creating a culture far from Rome and Jerusalem...This self-imposed exile from all that was central to Christian belief caused an anxiety to arise about their place on the earth...viewed as a reflection of their place within God's divine plan..."; for early medieval visions of the afterlife in Britain and Ireland, see Sims-Williams (1990), 243–272; for St. Patrick's Purgatory, a remote site in northwest Ireland, where, from the 12th century, pilgrims might "see extraordinary visions extending their pilgrimage into the other world" in a cave where tradition held that St. Patrick had shown pagans the torments of the afterlife to win their conversion: Zaleski (1985), quoted from 467.

196 *Lebor Gabála Érenn*; for a recent discussion: Carey (2005).

197 For a summary of arguments about Orosius's origins: Orosius, 2–3. The fame of the description likely accounts for the inclusion of Brigantia (though not the tower) in the 11th-century Anglo-Saxon world map in Cotton Tiberius B.V, Pt. i, f. 56v: Backhouse, Turner, and Webster (1984), 161, fig. 164; see Moralejo (1992b) repr, 247.

“between Britain and Spain,” saying that “its closer parts...look south-west across a great expanse of the Cantabrian Ocean towards the Gallaecian city of Brigantia which faces it.”<sup>198</sup> While medieval Irish writers would man the tower with lookouts directing missions of conquest, Orosius was content to link these furthest shores of an empire which he had traversed from end to end and understood spiritually as fixing the ends of the earth—and perhaps the end of time—for fulfillment of Jesus’s injunctions to his apostles.<sup>199</sup>

In Iberia, the Torre de Hércules took a place in that other geography of dispersion, that of Christian mission and pilgrimage, through the maps in Beatus’s eighth-century *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.<sup>200</sup> Though largely a pastiche of earlier learning, it remains one of the first and most impressive cultural products of the Asturian kingdom, not least for the glimpses it gives of a library of surprising size amassed in that mountain fastness. Its monastic author has been credited with preparing St. James’s cult and associating it with the rulers of the new kingdom.<sup>201</sup> Deswarte has argued persuasively that the oldest surviving maps—those of the tenth century—in the sumptuous manuscripts present a theological view of the ensemble of creation and the universality of salvation grounded in the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the terrestrial

198 Orosius 1.2.71, 81, pp. 44–45.

199 For Orosius’s travels and worldview: Dietz (2005), 54–64.

200 Sanders (1930) and Romero (1985) published editions: [Beatus of Liébana] *Beati in Apocalipsin. Libri duodecim*; and *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*; for a Spanish translation: Beatus, *Obras completas...*; for the illuminated manuscripts: Williams (1994–2003). Williams (1997), esp. 15–17, 26–27, has argued that the maps rest on an Orosian foundation and had entered the manuscript tradition of the fourth-century *Commentary* of the North African Tyconius before Beatus made use of it.

201 The attribution to Beatus of Liébana is less certain than often admitted. Collins (1989), 224–228, summarizes the facts and conjectures; Díaz y Díaz (2001), 94–116, surveys the work credited to him. Beatus is known as author of a treatise, *Adversus Elipandum* (c. 785), rebutting the Adoptionism of Archbishop Elipandus of Toledo, see Cavadini (1993), 45–70, 166–183; Isla (1998a), (2004). The 16th-century historian Ambrosio de Morales assigned the contemporary *Commentary* to him. Without other candidates, this has won wide acceptance, despite the doubts of Díaz y Díaz. Collins (1990), 123, has even wondered about the work’s Asturian origins. Beatus’s role in the Jacobean cult depends partly on whether he composed the hymn, *O Dei uerbum*—with an acrostic naming the Asturian king Mauregato (783–788)—which praises St. James as patron of Spain and names the lands each apostle evangelized. Márquez (2004), 53–77, discusses its importance for the cult and provides ample bibliography on the controversies surrounding Beatus; see the article of Deswarte in this volume.

paradise and mankind's return to the New Jerusalem.<sup>202</sup> With Isidoran legends explaining the Antipodes and the exotic beasts and monstrous races of Ethiopia, they invite comparison with insular works in which the scope of salvation calmed the fears of inhabitants of those Atlantic outposts.<sup>203</sup>

By contrast, the map in the Osma Beatus of 1086, attributed to the Leonese monastery of Sahagún, introduces a "geography of the sacred" with busts of the apostles in the regions of their preaching and burial.<sup>204</sup> Moralejo related this "new edition" to the popularity of pilgrimages and the cult of relics and he speculated that the map might have been based on one revised at Compostela to promote the cult.<sup>205</sup> The outsized portion of Iberia reserved for Galicia, the prominence of the Miño River, the framing of St. James's bust within a building larger than St. Peter's in Rome—the only other apostolic shrine shown, and the neighboring Torre de Hércules all point to more than a passing interest in Galicia and the Compostelan cult.

The Torre de Hércules is more than an antiquarian oddity or mere appendage of the shrine which held it by royal gift.<sup>206</sup> Dipping into the ocean's rim, the two monuments mark the limits of both Rome's empire and the apostolic missions, but the lore enveloping the tower and the edge of the earth unveils a

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202 Deswarte (2010b), 122–127. These are the oldest surviving maps in the Beatus manuscripts, but the consensus had been that this recension (Neuss II) simplifies the original map, thought to have indicated the destinations of the apostles. That was thought to have been preserved in another recension (Neuss I) within which the earliest surviving map is the relatively late Osma Beatus of 1086. Williams (1997) proposed instead the map in the Morgan Beatus of 940 (Neuss II) as a better guide to the original map. Deswarte also rejects the hypothetical reconstruction of an early recension (Neuss I) and lost prototype for the inclusion of the apostles in the Osma map.

203 For the meaning of the Isidoran legends in the context of the Beatus maps: Williams (1997), 17–23; Deswarte (2010b), 123–125; on the Anglo-Saxon identification of their geographic and spiritual position with that of the monstrous races on the earth's rim: Mittman (2006), 41–53, 107–114; for the salvation of the monstrous races and the popularity of St. Christopher, for example, in early medieval Ireland and Britain as a *cynocephalus*: Friedman (1981), 59–86.

204 The phrase is Deswarte's: (2010b), 127–130. Alonso (2010a), 336–337, has questioned the attribution of the Osma Beatus to Sahagún by Shailor and Williams.

205 Moralejo (1992b). He accepted that the Osma Beatus reflected the earliest recension of the maps, but he argued for the thoroughgoing revision outlined here with its apparent connections to Galicia. He cited (repr, 256–257) additional features of the Osma map that betrayed some misunderstanding of a model and he traced the influence of that hypothetical Compostelan Beatus on other Galician monuments.

206 King Vermudo II confirmed the see's possession in 991: *Tumbo A...Santiago*, doc. 56, pp. 136–139, discussed in Moralejo (1992b) repr, 247–248.

world beyond. Among the islands of the western ocean, the titulus *Solitio magna* alludes, as Moralejo demonstrated, to one named in an eleventh-century Galician account of a marvelous sea voyage like those of Irish tales.<sup>207</sup> After wandering through a Galicia laid waste by the Saracens, a certain Trezenzonio sailed west to an idyllic isle first spied from a mirror atop the Torre de Hércules. There, he visited a basilica with the tomb of St. Thecla, an early Christian saint whose presence could have been inspired by the imposing castro of Santa Trega (Santa Tecla) dominating the mouth of the Miño not far from Tui. Trezenzonio did, after all, traverse time as well: the bejeweled church anticipated the New Jerusalem, while Galicia was transformed when he returned seven years later. Although the tower and neighboring city of Cesarea—whose name calls to mind the Roman past—were crumbling to ruin, the ravaged region was undergoing a revival, as the traveler sought out his teacher, Bishop Adelfio of Tui.

In this context, the lighthouse and shrine become historical as well as geographic signposts on the Osma map. Like the paired images of Troy and Constantinople in the East—or that of newly conquered Toledo—they epitomize the succession of historical epochs. In this apocalyptic setting, they stand within a sacred geography of mission and pilgrimage that looks ahead to the end of days through the images of Jerusalem and the earthly paradise in the East, and, perhaps, their re-creation in the west. The Torre de Hércules has its own eastern counterpart in the famed lighthouse of Alexandria.<sup>208</sup> By bringing together east and west, the geographic and historical vision of the Osma map participates in a broader discourse that gained steam in the age of the crusades. The western edge of Christendom elicited comparisons with an exotic east populated by infidels and the fearsome creatures of alien climes, but those frontiers—the goals of apostolic missionaries and latter-day pilgrims—could also harbor new Jerusalems.<sup>209</sup>

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207 Moralejo (1992b) repr, 248–251, discusses the legend. Díaz y Díaz (1985), 95–119, published a Spanish translation with commentary; an edition and Portuguese translation are included in Nascimento's study (1998), 213–240, of the *Voyage of Brendan* in Portuguese sources. The text is preserved in manuscripts of the library of the Portuguese Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça which also held a copy of the *Voyage of Brendan*. For an English translation, commentary, and discussion of its relationship with medieval Irish narratives: Van Duzer (2008).

208 On the representations of the lighthouses: Balil (1978).

209 Visionary descriptions and otherworldly journeys in medieval Irish literature provide ample examples of a western paradise, while Gerald of Wales explicitly equates the traditional "Marvels of the East" with those of the West in the *Topographia Hiberniae*.

### The 'Opening' of Iberia in the Age of Pilgrimage and Crusade: Galicia, Compostela, and Santiago Matamoros

The authors of the *Osma Beatus*—or their predecessors at Compostela—chose an opportune moment to revise their map and inscribe the Compostelan cult within it, for the contours of their world were in flux. The Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085, the completion of the Norman occupation of Sicily in 1091, and the fall of Jerusalem to the First Crusade in 1099 sharpened the conflict with Islam and stretched the boundaries of Latin Christendom. Over the next century and a half, the universal ambitions of the Roman church remapped it from within as a ladder of offices and territorial jurisdictions in the secular church and new religious orders stiffened ecclesiastical and social hierarchies. Complementing this vertical articulation, a thickening web of religious, cultural, and political ties linked shrines and a plethora of new religious communities of local, regional, and cosmopolitan standing. As competition for status intensified, such communities—and the nascent communes, lordships, and monarchies to which they belonged—ennobled their histories and forged distinctive identities.

For Iberia, historians have emphasized a twofold process: the 'opening' of the Christian realms to Europe and their enlargement through the Reconquest.<sup>210</sup> The pilgrimage to Compostela, the avalanche of foreign clergy, craftsmen, settlers, and adventurers, and the reception of Romanesque art, the Roman rite, and related reforms supplied the raw material, but this notion of Europeanization also reflected the contingencies of a singular moment in the twentieth century.<sup>211</sup> Spanish historical writing proliferated, foreign classics

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Though this 'orientalizing' of Ireland reflects the perspective of colonists and conquerors, it also derives from a native tradition of equating the British Isles and the East: Mittman (2003), 97–99.

210 Barton (2004) surveys 11th-century Spain, emphasizing the shifting balance of power between Muslim and Christian states—the latter enriched by "tribute-gathering and territorial aggrandizement"—and "the integration of the northern Spanish kingdoms into the wider community of western Christendom," quoted from 166, 180.

211 Fletcher's study (1978) of the Leonese church, O'Callaghan's article (1985) on "the integration of Spain into Christian Europe," and the premises of the collection to which it belongs (Reilly [1985]) illustrate late 20th-century approaches to the opening to Europe. Henriett (2000) offers a longer historical vision of interpretations of Cluny's role in the light of modern Spain's fraught relations with France and Europe; for Linehan (1993), 201, "Modernization and Europeanization...signify the appropriation of medieval history by contemporary propagandists," and he analyzes medieval developments and modern historiography, 167–203; for a critical appraisal of the concept of Europeanization: Herbers (2002).



were avidly read, and historians from abroad discovered medieval Spanish topics in the decades when Spain advertised its charms to European tourists, dictatorship gave way to democracy, and the nation entered NATO and the European Union.<sup>212</sup> As the Compostelan pilgrimage—medieval and modern—came to represent the opening of Spain, the Council of Europe honored it in 1987 with its first designation of a European Cultural Route.<sup>213</sup> Six years later, a landmark exhibition in Santiago on the culture of the pilgrimage was titled, *Santiago, camino de Europa*, and secular and religious groups alike saw their own blueprints for a new Europe in the medieval enterprise.<sup>214</sup> For Europeans searching for symbols to supersede the divisive rallying points of national histories, the pilgrimage anticipated European integration.

A hopeful promise of European unity nourished the idea of the opening of Iberia, but it was also rooted in the older and more pernicious concept—inside and outside Spain—of Spanish backwardness.<sup>215</sup> In fact, earlier assessments of

212 Noting that “even the most empirical scholarship betrays its own discursivity, its own private, collective and/or political inclinations,” Doubleday (2003), 208–209, locates “one of the latent discourses of English Hispanism...in a growing attraction to transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and interaction across borders...as basic elements that condition the historical experience of the Spaniards.” He cites the currently orthodox view of Raymond Carr that Spain’s “history and culture are to be treated as emphatically European...(for) we are dealing with a full-fledged democracy, an urban, industrial society, and a committed member of the European Union.” Within Spain, the title of a recent exhibition epitomizes the popular embrace of this vision of the 11th century, *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos: el linaje que europeizó los reinos hispanos*: Bango (2006).

213 For the modern revival of the pilgrimage and its diverse meanings: Castro Fernández (2011); Lalanda (2011); and, especially, Pack (2010); for the designation by the Council of Europe: Herbers (2006b), 21.

214 Moralejo and López Alsina (1993). In 2004, the Fundación Príncipe de Asturias, the principal cultural foundation of the Spanish crown, bestowed its annual award for *concordia* on the pilgrimage route, praising it as “a symbol of brotherhood among peoples and a true axis for the first common European consciousness,” cited and translated in Pack (2010), 337. The Vatican has linked the pilgrimage with its view of European integration as grounded in a common Christian heritage: Pack (2010), 365, and, for example, the papal addresses in Compostela (Oct. 1982, Aug. 1989, and Nov. 2010) archived on the web site of the Holy See (<http://www.vatican.va/>).

215 Pervasive modern visions within Spain of Spanish backwardness (see Kamen [2008], 172–205) have contrasted modern decline with the golden age of the Catholic Kings, earlier medieval liberties, and the energy of the Reconquest. Foreign prejudices have deep roots: for the early modern period, see Hillgarth (2000), esp. 503–544; for North American Hispanism, see Kagan (1996), (2002). Inside and outside Spain, the contrast between modern decadence and a romanticized Middle Ages has not played well for seeing the integration of the Iberian kingdoms into Latin Christendom as a two-way process.

the pilgrimage were often clouded by intoxicating draughts of national chauvinism and colonialist bombast. In 1922, the French art historian Émile Mâle trumpeted its cultural dividends, “What a splendid history these great roads of humanity have had! Rome used them to conquer the world; France, in turn, used them to spread her genius abroad, and as early as the twelfth century, through her pilgrims, her knights, her poets, and her artists, began her eternal mission.”<sup>216</sup> On the road to Santiago, he was unequivocal, “Civilization came into Spain along the Way of St. James. The most accomplished creations of France—poetry, art, gold and silver work, Limoges enamels—came into Spain along this road.” He conceded that Spain returned “works of her own genius,” but these were little more than exotic trinkets plucked from Islamic art, “charming motifs from Arab Spain: the trefoil arch, the multifoil arch, carved brackets—all veritable trophies lifted from the mosque.”

Mâle’s ecstatic reveries sound extreme today, but they expose prejudices and preconceptions behind more dispassionate accounts of the ‘opening’ of Iberia, not to mention far-off Galicia. First, that paradigm exaggerates the relative isolation of Iberian Christians, for local cultures across early medieval Europe were more diverse and less interconnected than one might guess from the afterlife of Charlemagne’s empire—another avatar of European unity—in the modern European imagination. Secondly, these were neither virgin lands nor the refuge of archaic cultures soon to succumb to the new arrivals.<sup>217</sup> Finally, Latin Christendom is implicitly cast as a pre-existent entity admitting new members. This diminishes the impact of Europe’s external and internal peripheries whose adherence collectively made Latin Christendom what it became in the central Middle Ages.

For Galicia, the paradigm of the ‘opening’ of Iberia drags the extra baggage of modern perceptions of remoteness and isolation. In fact, the densely settled region was well prepared to participate in forging this new world because of its

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Spaniards who blamed foreign dynasties, entanglements, and influences for the nation’s modern predicament looked back on papal reformers, Cluniacs, or foreign adventurers with the suspicion of their medieval forebears (see Linehan [1993], 168–169, 188–189), and foreign historians found proof of Spain’s backwardness in the outside impetus for economic development and religious and cultural change.

216 Mâle (1978), 281 and, for the following quotations, 302 and 5. For his contemporary, Joseph Bédier, the pilgrimage routes were instrumental in the creation and “nationalization of the epic” in a landscape which prefigured the modern nation and from a perspective shaped by the colonial experience: Warren (2011), 141–145.

217 One may contrast the experiences of other regions—Christian and pagan—subject to conquest and colonization along the frontiers of an expanding Europe: Bartlett (1993), esp. 7–18.

ancient religious traditions, the strength and memory of a Roman heritage, and the nurturing of an apostolic cult poised to catapult it to the highest ranks in Latin Christendom and the very center of its sacred geography. Moreover, the culture of Compostela and the Leonese kingdom was a magnet for exchanges that bypassed Iberian lands to the east.<sup>218</sup> For all its brilliance, Compostela was no lone beacon, but the apostolic shrine did combine the cultural capital, economic vitality, and political power necessary for a synthetic vision of Galicia's paradoxical centrality in this new world.

Across Galicia, the central Middle Ages were among the most dynamic periods in its history. Rural society and culture were transformed by the consolidation of territorial parishes under closer diocesan oversight, the acquisition and exploitation of vast seigneurial domains by Cistercian abbeys and other ecclesiastical institutions, and the accumulation of wealth and religious dynamism manifested by the explosion of Romanesque construction. In a land long committed to the written word, one cannot overestimate the impact of the twin cultural revolutions represented, first, by the adoption of the Caroline script and medieval Latin made standard in Carolingian Europe, and, second, by the flowering of vernacular literacy and literature in a Galician language that was the chosen tongue of verse and song at the court of Alfonso X the Learned.<sup>219</sup> Nor was Galicia merely a destination for pilgrims or those who came to stay. Galicians themselves traveled: they undertook pilgrimages, studied at universities, did business at the Papal Curia, participated in church councils and chapters of religious orders, attended the itinerant courts of monarchs, and battled against—or sometimes for—the infidels.<sup>220</sup>

218 For Compostela, see the article of Rucquoi in this volume. Bishko's classic study (1980), esp. 9–22, of the *praeparatio cluniacensis* argued for the importance of León, more than Castile, in responding “to those new Europeanizing forces from Catalonia and Southern France which can be seen in Sancho el Mayor's renewal of the Navarrese Church”; see also the early and intense Cistercian settlement from Clairvaux in Galicia and Portugal a century later: Rodrigues and Valle (1998); D'Emilio (2007a).

219 For one case study—in Lugo—of the adoption of the Caroline script, see D'Emilio (2003); for the development of the vernacular, see the article of Wright in this volume and, for the reception of the Carolingian reforms, Wright's classic study (1982), esp. 208–261; for specific studies of the writing of Latin before and after the reforms in León, Galicia, and Portugal: Wright (1991), (2004); Emiliano (2003a), (2003b); for diverse facets of Galician literary culture, see the articles of Paden and Hutchinson in this volume; for the corpus of secular lyrics, see *Lirica profana...*; for a classic overview of Galician lyric, see Tavani (1986).

220 Fleisch (2006) charts the emergence of Iberian universities or higher schools at Palencia, Salamanca, and Lisbon and the participation of the western Iberian kingdoms—with

Through the struggle with Islam, the cult of St. James, the growth of the pilgrimage, and movements of religious and cultural renewal, Galicia and Compostela were deeply implicated in remaking Latin Christendom and giving expression to its new contours. Galicia lay well behind the frontier, but the intensified conflicts between Christians and Muslims profoundly affected the region and the apostolic cult. In 997, Almanzor's armies had sacked Compostela, razed its church, and carted off its bells.<sup>221</sup> That traumatic memory was surely alive in 1075 when a building of unprecedented scale was inaugurated with a generous gift from King Alfonso VI after a plundering raid deep into al-Andalus.<sup>222</sup> Muslim raiders harried the Galician coast and Archbishop Diego Gelmírez commissioned galleys from Pisan and Genoese seamen to combat them. Muslims captured in naval battles or Christian sorties were enslaved and, at times, pressed into work on the cathedral.<sup>223</sup> Later in the

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an emphasis on Portugal—in the university culture, but a systematic study of the higher education of Galician clerics is still lacking. Well-known figures include the canonist Laurentius Hispanus, bishop of Ourense (1218–1248) (García García [1956]), Archbishop Pedro Suárez de Deza of Compostela (1173–1206), and Bishop Martín Arias of Zamora (Fletcher [1978], 41, 44, 60), but the careers of other *magistri* and their absences for study may be teased out of charters (D'Emilio [2003], 395, 400–401; [2008], 213, 220–221); for the attendance of Galician bishops at papal councils: Fletcher (1994), esp. 485–488. By the late 13th century, the Cistercian General Chapters had allowed the abbots of Galicia and Portugal to attend every four years (*Twelfth-Century Statutes...*, pp. 38–39), but earlier statutes record business concerning their abbeys or reproofs to absent abbots, to be conveyed by those attending: e.g., 1190/48, 1191/4, 1197/34, 1198/32, 1199/35, 1201/45, pp. 208, 215, 392–393, 413, 433, 497–498. Barton (2002), (2005) discusses Christian nobles and knights—including Galicians or office holders in Galicia—who served the Muslims as mercenaries in careers that often involved shifting loyalties to different Iberian kings; see the case of Count Gómez Núñez who successively served Alfonso VII of Castile-León, Afonso Henriques of Portugal, and Muslim rulers, before ending his days in Cluny (Henriet [2006b], 369); more generally, see Barton (1997) on the nobility at court and their wider connections.

221 For Almanzor's sack of Compostela: Pérez de Tudela (1998).

222 For the cathedral's inauguration: Moralejo (1992a), 211–212; Moralejo and López Alsina (1993), 286–289.

223 On the seizure of Muslim slaves and other booty: *HC* 1.103 (mentioning the forced labor), 2.21, 2.75, 3.29; pp. 174–176, 262–264, 375–376, 468. The *HC* pressed *Sarraceni* into service ideologically too. Its authors (2.53, pp. 316–324) cast Gelmírez's liberation from Queen Urraca's imprisonment as the climax of several miraculous escapes that began before his episcopacy when he eluded Saracen capture in a military campaign in Portugal. Shortly before (2.50, pp. 307–312), his release from the queen was woven into the story of a Muslim delegation's visit to Compostela guided by a *centurion* whose archaic title recalls the

century, the newly-arrived Cistercians of Sobrado acquired Muslim slaves, including skilled craftsmen.<sup>224</sup> In 1154, the endowment of the nunnery of Dozón mentioned fourteen “Saracen” slaves, while the Galician knight Pedro García likely raised his church at San Xoán da Cova with bounties won from Alfonso IX’s military campaign of 1195.<sup>225</sup> In April 1166, Bishop Juan of Lugo preached a crusade against Mérida, and some Galician knights heeded his call: weeks later, Fernando Muniz arranged for burial at his family monastery of Ferreira de Pallares whether he “should die in Christendom or in the land of the Saracens.”<sup>226</sup> All in all, the spoils of the Reconquest recast Galicia’s ecclesiastical landscape much as colonial wealth gilded the baroque retables and embellishments of another age.

As these conflicts flared, St. James himself took command as a militant captain of Christian hosts, embracing a fateful and enduring role.<sup>227</sup> Centuries later, lavish baroque images from Spain to its American colonies celebrated a triumphant St. James Moorslayer (Santiago Matamoros), riding a rearing steed and brandishing a bloodied sword, as he trampled Muslim foes and scattered their severed heads. In new worlds, St. James championed the entangled aims of imperial rule and Christian mission and succored the newly converted as well.<sup>228</sup> In the early sixteenth century, the Congolese king Afonso I (Mvemba

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exemplar of Gentile faith in the Gospels (Mt 8:5–13). They marveled at the shrine and acknowledged the apostle’s power after the freeing of Gelmírez and a healing miracle. Thus, the infidels were a vital part of an ideological landscape behind the frontier, providing contrasts or unfavorable comparisons to the queen and other Christian foes of Gelmírez.

224 *Tumbos...Sobrado*, vol. 2, doc. 108, pp. 129–131, see Gautier Dalche (1986). In 1207, the villagers of Aguada petitioned the Cistercians of Oseira not to appoint a Saracen bailiff over them: *Oseira*, vol. 1, doc. 119, pp. 129–130; Portela (1981), 109.

225 D’Emilio (2007b), 20; for other endowments of this kind: Barton (1997), 82–83, 209–210; (1999), 59.

226 AHN Clero, 1082/11 (1166.4.6), 12 (1166.4.29): *Imprimis ubicumque mortuus fuero siue in christianitate siue in terra sarracenorum mando corpus meum in monasterio sancte marie ferrarie ubi pater meus sepultus est*. Other Galician documents include gifts, wills, or the endowment of anniversaries before knights headed to the frontier (*uolens ire ad frontariam*) to battle the Muslims: AHN Clero, 1327B/11 (1222.5.18), 12 (1222.5.20).

227 For this transformation in the context of the apostle’s cult and the medieval historical literature, see the articles of Deswarte and Falque respectively in this volume. For Santiago Matamoros, see the recent overview by Péricard-Méa (2011); for the early development: Fernández Gallardo (2005); Márquez (2004), 183–222; for the relationship between images of St. James as pilgrim and Moorslayer: Raulston (2008).

228 For Santiago as both *Mataindios* and patron of the newly conquered and converted in the Americas: Domínguez García (2006).

Nzinga) informed his Portuguese counterpart that the saint and a troop of heavenly horsemen had sown panic among a rival's forces.<sup>229</sup> In early modern times, St. James's boundless field of action won him worldwide renown and bolstered his rearguard defense of his patronage of Spain, even as the Compostelan cult ebbed.<sup>230</sup>

The creation of this celestial conqueror was a gradual and contested process with local roots.<sup>231</sup> Invoked by the Astur-Leonese kings, the apostle was only later envisaged as intervening directly on the battlefield. In twelfth-century accounts of the taking of Coimbra by King Fernando I in 1064, St. James appeared as a knight to a Greek pilgrim at Compostela to announce the victory and scold the foreigner for scoffing at his military prowess.<sup>232</sup> In 1139, the Portuguese defeated the Almoravids at Ourique on St. James's feast day. As the battle became associated with the kingdom's independence, later chronicles reported a wondrous apparition of the saint.<sup>233</sup> In the mid-twelfth century, the *Privilegio de los votos*, purportedly a diploma of Ramiro I, spun a romanticized tale of a ninth-century battle at Clavijo where the apostle, riding a white charger, fulfilled a pledge to the king and rallied his men. The forged charter made that legendary clash the basis for the *voto de Santiago*, an annual payment to the apostle's shrine, and extended the obligation across Christian Spain.<sup>234</sup>

229 Cuvelier (1946), 97–107; more recently, there is a brief discussion in Fromont (2011), 55–56.

230 For the Compostelan cult in early modern times and the competition with St. Teresa of Ávila for patronage of the nation: Márquez (2004), 335–369; *Santiago y la monarquía*; Rowe (2011); for the extension of St. James's militancy to the struggle with the Turks and other European theatres: Péricard-Méa (2011), 81–98.

231 Controversially, Américo Castro hitched it to the ancient cult of the Dioscuri: Márquez (2004), 202–206, 211–215. More generally, for the sacralization of warfare in the Christian kingdoms of early medieval Iberia: Bronisch (1998).

232 In this volume, Deswarte and Falque discuss accounts in the *Historia Silense* and *LSJ*.

233 For the early stages of the legend: Cintra (1957); St. James was eventually replaced by Christ himself, see Buescu (1991) for this transformation and its early modern reception.

234 López Alsina (1988), 174–186, charts the history of the *voto* from the concession by King Ramiro II to Compostela (c. 934) of an annual levy from the northwest quadrant of Iberia bounded by the Duero and Pisuerga rivers to the mid-12th-century forgery by the canon Pedro Marcio. In his view, the forgery completes the evolution of a tribute to Compostela as premier church of the ancient Gallaecia—with no relation to a military victory—to its linkage to the struggle with Islam, in thanksgiving for the apostle's support, and its imposition over all Hispania as part of a competition with Toledo. The *Privilegio* is published with commentary in *Dipl esp.*, vol. 1, doc. 50, pp. 222–235; the earliest copy is illustrated in Moralejo and López Alsina (1993), 417. For later controversies over the *voto*: Rey Castela (1985). Falque discusses accounts of Clavijo in this volume; Sánchez Alborno (1948) rebutted historical evidence for the battle.

In the 1170s, the apostle's militancy found expression in his patronage of the new Iberian military order, the Order of Santiago.<sup>235</sup>

Of course, St. James was conscripted as a holy warrior and Galicians mobilized to advance the frontier in the century when crusading ideology redefined peninsular warfare. Following the calling of the First Crusade by Pope Urban II in 1095, Iberian knights had taken up the cross and set out for the Holy Land, but early twelfth-century popes and prelates—notably, Archbishop Gelmírez of Compostela—urged them instead to tend to their own frontier.<sup>236</sup> Their exhortations united the two fronts ideologically and tactically: the Iberian Reconquest promised all the spiritual rewards available in the East and aimed to open a shorter route to Jerusalem through Mediterranean ports and islands.<sup>237</sup> In different ways, such a vision informed the proclamations of Pope Calixtus II and Gelmírez in the 1120s, the preaching of the Second Crusade in 1146–1147 and the campaigns of Alfonso VII in al-Andalus, and the participation of a northern fleet of crusaders, en route to the Holy Land, in the conquest of Lisbon in 1147.<sup>238</sup>

As the Iberian Reconquest took on the trappings of the crusades, Jerusalem was not forgotten. The Iberian Cistercians, though implicated in the local struggle, remembered that distant theater to which St. Bernard had summoned Christians in his thunderous preaching of the Second Crusade.<sup>239</sup> In 1188, the

235 For the Order of Santiago: Lomax (1965); Martín (1974); Canal Sánchez-Pagín (1984) and, for additional bibliography, Ayala Martínez (1999).

236 Barton documents early 12th-century Iberian crusaders, charts the churchmen's concerns, and suggests that the smaller number of Iberian crusaders known from later in the century shows that these appeals "did not fall on deaf ears": (2000), 35–38, 46–48; (1999), 76–77 (quoted from p. 77); (1997), 155–156; Bull (1993), 96–98, is more circumspect about Iberian knights' "modest but not insignificant" involvement in the First Crusade and its aftermath.

237 In the large bibliography on the application of crusading ideology to Iberia, key studies include Fletcher (1987); Bull (1993), 70–114; Barton (2000); O'Callaghan (2003), esp. 1–49; Purkis (2008), esp. 120–184. On the broader idea of Christian 'holy war', see Baloup and Jossierand (2006). O'Banion (2008) describes the early effort to stem the flow to the East and "the attempts to develop an alternative route to the Holy Land...and unite two of the great crusading arenas into a single Mediterranean-wide struggle against Islam," quoted from p. 384.

238 For Gelmírez's role, see the bibliography above and Portela and Pallares (2006); for the campaigns of Alfonso VII in the light of the Second Crusade: Phillips (2007), 244–268. Opinion is split on whether crusader participation in the conquest of Lisbon was a deliberate extension of the scope of the Second Crusade (e.g., Livermore [1990]; Phillips [2007], 136–167) or an "unplanned matter" (Forey [2004]).

239 Cistercians of Fitero formed the nucleus for the Iberian military order of Calatrava: O'Callaghan (1959–1960). Cistercian peacemaking among squabbling Christian kings aimed at uniting them against the infidels, but also protected their own estates from war and

laconic calendar clause of a document of the Galician abbey at Meira lamented the deaths of the faithful at the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>240</sup> Eight years earlier, Count Rodrigo Álvarez of Sarria, son of the founders of Meira, had received papal confirmation of the privileges and possessions of his new military order, the Order of Mountjoy, on his return from the East.<sup>241</sup> Pilgrimage to the earthly Jerusalem remained central to the crusading ideal, so it is not surprising that its transfer to Iberia—and the militarization of St. James—contributed to the identification of Compostela and Jerusalem and the mythification of the Compostelan pilgrimage.<sup>242</sup>

### Compostela and Jerusalem; Charlemagne, Gelmírez, and Mateo: Cosmopolitan Dreams on the Periphery

Efforts to evoke the Holy Land through architecture, liturgy, dedications, and relics from the East had a long history in Christendom whether to commemorate an individual pilgrimage, enshrine sacred souvenirs, or substitute a local devotion for an arduous journey.<sup>243</sup> Larger projects, like the cluster of churches dedicated to Santo Stephano in Bologna or the rock-hewn shrines of Lalibala in Ethiopia, re-created a sacred topography with more far-reaching ideological and religious aims.<sup>244</sup> Such memorials proliferated in the era of the crusades,

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earned grants from rival monarchs: D'Emilio (2005b), 191–206. Later legends magnified the Cistercians' role in the Reconquest: the foundation of Alcoaça in 1153 became associated with the victory of Afonso Henriques at Santarém in 1147 (Forey [2004], 3–4; Gomes [2000]), the monks were reportedly massacred by the Muslims in 1195 (an early modern myth, see Amos [1988–1990], vol. 1, xvii–xix), and the Castilian royal nunnery of Las Huelgas was tied to the triumph at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 (Sánchez Ameijeiras [2006]).

240 *in ipso anno capta est Iherusalem a paganis. et magna mortalitas fuit in pecoribus* (AHN Clero, 1128/9).

241 Forey (1971), esp. 250–255; Canal Sánchez-Pagín (1983).

242 Purkis (2008) emphasizes the ideal of the imitation of Christ and the pilgrimage to the terrestrial Jerusalem in the preaching of the First Crusade, using this to explain the centrality of the route to Jerusalem in the early preaching of crusades in Iberia and that of the Compostelan pilgrimage in later crusading ideology there.

243 See Ousterhout (1990); Stroumsa (1999), 352–358; Morris (2005); and, for 11th-century examples, Gabriele (2011), 79–84. For recent arguments in favor of such allusions to the Holy Sepulchre and Jerusalem in 12th-century Castile at Silos and Las Huelgas: Valdez del Álamo (2007), 50–53; Walker (2007), 201–211.

244 Imaginatively attributed to the 5th-century bishop and patron, St. Petronius, in a *Vita* of 1180, the *Nuova Gerusalemme* at Santo Stephano at Bologna was the site of a major



particularly after the fall of Jerusalem, but Compostela's connections had deeper roots in the apostle's cult. St. James had been martyred in the Holy City, his corpse miraculously spirited to Galicia, and its authenticity validated by a letter attributable to the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>245</sup> The shrine profited, too, from a calculated confusion with the lesser James, himself conflated with the bishop of Jerusalem and brother of Jesus slain by the Jews.<sup>246</sup> As 'Frankish' pilgrims (*franci*) flocked to eleventh-century Compostela and the apostolic see jockeyed for position within the new order of Roman Christendom, its long-standing ties to Jerusalem were inscribed within an ambitious program to enhance the shrine's standing and universalize its appeal: the two sacred cities came together as places of Christian conquest and pilgrimage in the fabulous deeds of the Frankish king and Roman emperor, Charlemagne, as his legendary career ballooned in the late eleventh century.

Although Einhard had cited the correspondence of Alfonso II—"king of Galicia"—with Charlemagne, contemporary Asturian sources ignore the emperor.<sup>247</sup> López Alsina has ably demonstrated the role and interests of the Compostelan clergy in concocting the tale in which the apostle revealed his tomb to Charlemagne in a dream and prompted him to free Galicia from the Muslims.<sup>248</sup> Restoring the Galicians' Christian faith, he set up the apostolic see. This account, centered on Galicia, was likely produced at the end of the eleventh century when Raymond of Burgundy governed under Alfonso VI.

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invention of relics in 1141 and the possible setting for ceremonies in Easter week: Ousterhout (1981). For the churches at Lalibala, traditionally credited to the late 12th- and early 13th-century king of that name, and the 6th-century creation of a new Jerusalem at the royal ceremonial center of Aksum: Heldman (1992), (1995); Philipsson (2009), esp. 123–181.

245 López Alsina (1988), 121–127, identified the purported author (*Leo episcopus*) of the letter describing the translation as a patriarch of Jerusalem, not a bishop of Rome. *Contra*: Díaz y Díaz (1998), 519–520.

246 On the confusion in Romanesque iconography, the attribution of relics, and Compostelan texts among the three figures of James the Greater, James Alphaeus (the Lesser), and James, the brother of Jesus and bishop of Jerusalem: Moralejo (1984). Such conflation amplified and diversified the cults of noted saints like the martyr St. Denis, patron of the Parisian abbey where he was matched with the pseudo-Dionysius, a 6th-century author of mystical theological treatises, and Dionysius the Areopagite, a convert and disciple of Paul (Meyer [2003], 71–72); or the 'composite' Mary Magdalen whose identification with Mary of Bethany and the woman who anointed Jesus's feet (Lk 7:37–50) was popularized by Pope Gregory the Great: Jansen (2001), 21–23, 28–35.

247 Bronisch (1999) fully investigates the ties between the two realms.

248 López Alsina (2003) thoroughly analyzes this two-stage development of the legend at Compostela.

A generation later, a second expedition was added—narrated by Archbishop Turpin—in which Charlemagne returned to liberate all Spain. As a result, he showered bountiful privileges on the see and endorsed the pilgrimage, acts that reflected the aspirations of Archbishop Gelmírez and the twelfth-century relationship between pilgrimage and crusade. These legends anchored the chronicle of pseudo-Turpin and explain its pairing with *The Pilgrim's Guide* in the *Liber sancti Jacobi*, the collection promoting the Compostelan cult.<sup>249</sup>

The emperor's association with Compostela complemented older stories linking him with Jerusalem and extended his sway from one end of Christendom to the other.<sup>250</sup> With the onset of the crusades, Charlemagne was hailed as an exemplary crusader and tales multiplied of his exploits in the East. His revered memory offered French kings and German emperors dueling pasts and ennobled religious houses.<sup>251</sup> After his canonization in 1165 at the urging of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Compostela and Jerusalem occupied successive—and complementary—chapters in the *Vita* that upheld his sanctity.<sup>252</sup> In this way, Compostela joined sites of European renown, like St. Denis and Aachen, and vied with Jerusalem as one pole of the fabled career of a Frankish—and Roman—emperor whose achievements, real and imagined, were precursors of the new world of Latin Christendom.

With such credentials, Compostela stood without peer in Galicia, but the pilgrimage and crusades did rouse local religious communities to revise their place in a sacred landscape with widening horizons. In Ourense, for example, the cathedral clergy promoted cults and relics related to Gallic shrines with a sophisticated architectural program in the late twelfth century, while powerful monasteries invoked saintly bishops to counter diocesan encroachment.<sup>253</sup> In 1173, the papal legate canonized St. Rosendo, the tenth-century founder of Celanova and one-time bishop of Iria, whom a twelfth-century *Vita* portrayed

249 Díaz y Díaz (2003) highlights the link between the pilgrimage and the struggle with the Muslims and the close codicological connections between the pseudo-Turpin and *The Pilgrim's Guide*. For diverse aspects of the pseudo-Turpin and the relationship between Charlemagne and the Compostelan cult, see the articles in Herbers (2003a), some of which were also published in the original German (2003b).

250 For recent, and contrasting, perspectives on Jerusalem and the East in the Charlemagne legends: Gabriele (2011); Latowsky (2013).

251 For his place in the foundation legends of southern French monasteries: Remensnyder (1995).

252 Vones (2003), 278–281.

253 For Ourense, see the article of Sánchez Ameijeiras in this volume. A royal gift of 1220 to Santo Estevo de Ribas de Sil (*Alfonso IX*, doc. 386, pp. 500–501) mentions the tombs of nine “holy bishops”: Carrero (2002), 93–94, 97; Castiñeiras (2003); (2006), 53–63.

as repelling Saracen and Norman invaders.<sup>254</sup> At the ancient holy site of Augas Santas, an imposing church arose whose patron, St. Marina, appropriated the figure of the eastern martyr Margaret of Antioch.<sup>255</sup>

Across Galicia, clerics and patrons embraced the culture of pilgrimage and envisioned more expansive vistas of space and time. A mid-twelfth-century mural at San Pedro de Rocas exhibits a world map, like that of the Osmá Beatus. The apostles' busts mark their shrines inviting a virtual pilgrimage that was particularly apt for the Galician monks.<sup>256</sup> In 1056, the splendid endowment of the monastery of Santo Antolín—whose Gallic cult had recently arrived—was prefaced by a panorama of sacred history from the Creation through the martyrs' tribulations.<sup>257</sup> Such history took physical form in extensive relic collections, as at Ferreira de Pallares.<sup>258</sup> Pious Galicians, like the noblewoman Urraca Fernández, embarked on local pilgrimages and distributed largesse to dozens of churches, creating, as it were, a miniature Christendom within their homeland. Her extraordinary testament maps the sacred geography of Galicia and nearby regions, diocese by diocese, shrine by shrine, as she awarded gifts to nearly 150 churches, from cathedrals and monasteries to parishes, along with confraternities, dignitaries, and cathedral chapters.<sup>259</sup> Still, the Holy Land retained its spell and doña Urraca concludes with the largest bequest by far: 480 maravedis to be

254 The canonization letter of Cardinal Hyacinth declares that "(Rosendo) had liberated the fatherland of Portugal from Saracen invasion, and saved Galicia from a multitude of Normans," translated by Smith (2009), 54, who examines the canonization in the light of the rivalry between Ourense and Celanova and, more broadly, the "militarization of sanctity" and papal support for the Christian advance against Islam in Iberia; see also Herbers (2006a); Sánchez Ameijeiras (2007). Ordoño of Celanova produced the *Vita et miracula Rudesindi*—a rare example of an extensive hagiographic text from medieval Galicia—for the canonization and it was subsequently expanded. It publicized several miracles at his tomb, providing evidence of the cult and shrine: *Ordoño de Celanova....* For Rosendo's monastic career: Mattoso (1982); Andrade (2007).

255 For the saint, site, church, and cult: David (1947d), 203–208; Chamoso (1955); Fariña (2002). García Quintela (2014) links them with pre-Christian practices and myths; see also García Quintela and Seoane-Veiga (2011); Lorenzo Fernández (1948).

256 Moralejo (1986); for virtual pilgrimages within monasteries, see, most recently, Rudy (2011).

257 *Tumbo...Samos*, doc. 7, pp. 74–79. The charter also recites a litany of Old Testament precedents for the church's construction. It is dated 1056, but the foundation is dated 1060—likely due to substitution of *x aspada* (xxxx) for *x*. An amended date of 1030 fits the contents. For St. Antoninus's cult: Bishko (1980), 10–14, 19–21.

258 AHN Clero, 1085/15 (1244.7.8): the document lists about a hundred relics, some repeated, and some referring to the Holy Land, e.g.,...*de petra sepulcri Christi. et petra de presepio domini...de poluore sancti iohannis bapteste...de sepulcro domini.*

259 *Galicia Histórica*, doc. 20, pp. 84–89, see also D'Emilio (2008), 216.

divided among the holy places of Jerusalem, “where Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified, died, and buried, and on the third day resurrected,” preceded by ample gifts to the papacy and shrines of Rome and to various military orders.

Doña Urraca made a pilgrimage to Oviedo in the neighboring Asturias and the relic list of Ferreira de Pallares echoes that of the Arca Santa, the cathedral’s famed reliquary.<sup>260</sup> More than any other Iberian site, Oviedo proved a worthy rival to Compostela as a new Jerusalem in the West and the episcopal campaign to promote the see illuminates Compostela’s own claims. Bishop Pelayo (1101–1130, 1142–1143) skillfully refashioned or fabricated a documentary and historical corpus—the *Liber testamentorum* and *Corpus Pelagianum*—to authenticate and advertise the prerogatives of his see, its ties to the monarchy, and its astounding treasury of relics.<sup>261</sup> His zeal has earned comparisons with Gelmírez and the pilgrimage to Oviedo has been likened to that to Compostela.<sup>262</sup> In fact, Pelayo and his immediate predecessors in Oviedo keenly appreciated the aims of the Compostelan clergy and strove to neutralize or surpass them in every way. While Compostela lobbied for the royal pantheon, Oviedo cultivated the memorials of the Asturian kings which had shaped its ensemble of churches and made it the capital of a region sanctified as the heartland of the realm.<sup>263</sup> While Gelmírez organized his cathedral clergy and their liturgy along Roman lines, Pelayo gave his canons statutes allegedly sent by Patriarch William of Jerusalem.<sup>264</sup>

260 For her pilgrimage: *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo*, doc. 312, pp. 285–286.

261 Linehan (1993), 78, called Bishop Pelayo a “giant amongst falsifiers in an age which provided him with keen competition and ample opportunity.” For a concise discussion, in English, of his career and works: Barton and Fletcher (2000), 65–74; for the *Liber testamentorum*: *Libro de los testamentos* and the transcriptions and articles accompanying the facsimile *Liber testamentorum*...., particularly (for Pelayo’s career) Fernández Vallina (1995); for the *Corpus Pelagianum* (also known as the *Liber chronicorum*): Jerez (2008); for the propagandistic aims of his historical work: Fernández Conde (2003) and Alonso (2011); for his patronage of historical manuscripts: Alonso (2010a); for the relic collection: *ES*, vol. 37, pp. 286–294; de Bruyne (1927).

262 Fernández Vallina (1999) compares his use and patronage of historical texts to that of Gelmírez. Several papers in Ruiz de la Peña (1993) relate the pilgrimage to Oviedo to the Compostelan pilgrimage, see also the bibliography in Toyos de Castro (2004).

263 Carrero (2007) contends that the early medieval churches and liturgy at Oviedo honored the memory of Alfonso II and his successors. Bishop Pelayo mapped a royal topography for the Asturias by adding the supposed burial places of the earliest kings to the 9th- and 10th-century chronicles: Alonso (2007–2008), 26–27. For the royal pantheon of Santiago Cathedral, see the article of Sánchez Ameijeiras in this volume.

264 Fernández Conde (1972), 157–170, published the statutes; see also Fernández Conde (2003), 134. Pelayo did not ignore connections with Rome either, forging bulls to support

Oviedo's closest ties to Jerusalem rest on the legendary origins of its most prized possession, the Arca Santa and its relics.<sup>265</sup> Purportedly made by the apostles' followers, the Arca was shepherded westwards through Africa—and, by various accounts, Seville or Cartagena—to Toledo in the upheavals of the early Middle Ages. Its arrival in the Asturias was linked retrospectively with the victory over the Muslims at Covadonga and its veneration traced to the Asturian monarchs, eliciting comparisons with the biblical kings David and Solomon, the Ark of the Covenant, and the Promised Land. The relics were said to have been inventoried during a visit of King Alfonso VI in 1075—within weeks of the inauguration of the Romanesque cathedral of Compostela—and the king, named in an inscription, is believed to have sponsored the decorated silver plaques which sheathe the great oaken chest.<sup>266</sup> Raquel Alonso has argued persuasively that the cult of these relics, their association with the monarchy, and their remarkable odyssey were largely invented in the late eleventh and twelfth century, mainly at the hands of Bishop Pelayo.<sup>267</sup> Indeed, the Arca Santa capped a relic collection which projected the see into several arenas of the expanding geography of Latin Christendom: a vat from the wedding of Cana—like that in the Galician church of Cambre—reinforced ties to the Holy Land; the solemn translation in 1053—in the presence of King Fernando I—of the relics of St. Pelayo, a child martyred in Córdoba at the caliph's orders in 925, underscored the role of Oviedo and its kings in the

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his see's claims: Deswarte (2004) and, more generally, for Pelayo's advancement of these claims against its neighbors, Fernández Conde (2003), 137–142.

- 265 For the tale of its travels and their significance: Henriët (2006a); Alonso (2007–2008), 24–25. The *Corpus Pelagianum* opened with a diagram tracing the origins of the peoples of the earth to the sons of Noah, following their dispersion across a world centered on Jerusalem: Fernández Conde (2003), 134. For the renovations of the Cámara Santa in the context of the cult of the Arca Santa and Bishop Pelayo's work: Ward (2014).
- 266 The king's visit in 1075 is documented, but its association with the Arca relies on a spurious reading of its damaged inscription and a 13th-century copy of the record of its opening before Alfonso VI. The document has been deemed a forgery, but other stylistic and historical evidence corroborates a late 11th-century date for the silver panels and promotion of the cult: Alonso (2007–2008), 21–23, with earlier bibliography on the dating of the Arca. For the inscriptions: Diego Santos (1994), no. 25, pp. 61–65.
- 267 Alonso (2007–2008). Like Henriët [(2006a), 236], she rightly points out the utter lack of evidence for promotion of the cult or royal involvement—or even for the reliquary—before the late 11th century. Still, the well-documented dedication of altars—with relics—to the twelve apostles in the 9th-century church of San Salvador, built by Alfonso II, attests to an early effort to align the peripheral kingdom and its church with the East and early Christianity: *Dipl. esp.*, vol. 1, doc. 24, pp. 118–141; Ruiz de la Peña and Sanz Fuentes (2005). For the cult's impact, see also Álvarez Martínez (2005).

struggle with the Muslims; and the legend of the royal rescue of St. Eulalia remains from the occupied metropolitan see of Mérida challenged Compostela's assumption of its former jurisdiction.<sup>268</sup>

These relics of diverse origin encompassed the biblical, early Christian, and Iberian past and complemented the local heritage of the Asturian monarchy in Oviedo and its region. By contrast, Compostela had staked its reputation on one tomb of an apostle whose life had unfolded in a faraway land. James's status as one of Jesus's closest disciples and the miraculous choice of this unlikely site for his resting place certainly elevated the shrine and invited the Compostelan clergy to exploit comparisons with Rome and Jerusalem. Pilgrims to Rome or the Holy Land, however, could venerate a pantheon of relics, visit numerous sites of events in sacred history, and follow itineraries and processional liturgies sanctified by centuries of devotion.<sup>269</sup> An unease over Compostela's limitations undoubtedly encouraged manoeuvres to diversify its holdings, most audaciously in the "holy theft" of relics from Braga engineered by Gelmírez.<sup>270</sup> Ultimately, the promoters of Compostela opted for another route: they celebrated the pilgrimage itself, parlaying the shrine's unique position as the goal of a pilgrimage to the ends of the earth into the very foundation of its powerful appeal. Beyond their efforts—like those at other shrines—to mimic Rome and Jerusalem, they erected a cathedral which mirrored the experience of pilgrimage, underscoring the paradoxical cosmopolitanism of a shrine in a peripheral locale.

At a time when 'regional schools' dominated discussions of Romanesque art and modern architects embraced functionalism, early twentieth-century scholars distinguished the cathedral of Santiago and a select family of related buildings in France as supranational 'pilgrimage' churches, providing ample spaces, easy circulation, and numerous altars.<sup>271</sup> At Compostela, these practical concerns bowed before the profound symbolism of internal itineraries

268 The relics are cited in Alonso (2007–2008), 21–22, 25, 27; for the cult of the Galician St. Pelayo (San Paio), the nephew of Bishop Hermogio of Tui: Díaz y Díaz (1973); Bowman (2006); for Gelmírez's successful campaign to transfer the metropolitanate of Mérida to Compostela: Fletcher (1984), 196–211. For the cult of St. Eulalia: Lamalfa (2010).

269 For pilgrims' routes and liturgical stations within Rome and the relics of the Lateran: Birch (1998), 97–98, 111–112.

270 *HC* 1.15, pp. 31–36. The incident reflects Compostela's rivalry with the recently restored metropolitan see of Braga, but it can also be seen as an effort to increase the shrine's limited store of relics. See Díaz Fernández (2010).

271 For critical discussion of the traditional view of Santiago, Conques, Toulouse, Tours, and Limoges as 'pilgrimage churches': Williams (1984); (2010), 110–114; Castiñeiras (2000b), 42–46; and Karge's article in this volume. More recently, there has been greater

that encapsulated the experience of pilgrimage and stimulated a closer identification with sacred events. Moralejo observed that the dedications of key altars to Sts. Peter, Martin, Faith, Mary Magdalen, and Nicholas mapped out a virtual pilgrimage to the most prestigious shrines of the day.<sup>272</sup> He added that the configuration of other altars reproduced sacred events: the four easternmost altars of Sts. James, Peter, John, and the Savior diagrammed the Transfiguration, while Mary Magdalen's altar, just west of the Savior's, placed her at Jesus's feet, as in several New Testament scenes. Along the wall enclosing the ambulatory, capitals graphically displayed vices, menacing beasts, and Alexander's rash ascent to the heavens as a programmatic warning that the pilgrim was nearing the perilous edge of the earth.<sup>273</sup>

This sacred topography inside the cathedral made up for the Galician shrine's deficiencies, as did the unprecedented decoration of three façades with coordinated sculptural programs spanning salvation history, possibly inspired by the comprehensive mural cycles of Roman churches like St. Peter's and St. Paul's.<sup>274</sup> The north façade featured the Old Testament, the south the

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appreciation of their architectural references to Rome and the local Roman past and how these advanced the apostolic pretensions of the shrines. For example, Williams (1984), 272–278, suggested that the choirs surrounding the martyrial shrines recalled the arrangements at the tomb of St. Peter.

272 Moralejo (1985), 39–45; Castiñeiras (2003) expanded his arguments. The shrines were those of Rome, Tours, Conques, Vézelay, and Bari. Elsewhere, the programmatic placement of altars and their relationship to images revolve around the creative vision of single—and singular—patrons and monuments that evoked distant models, e.g., Abbot Angilbert at the Carolingian abbey of St. Riquier where the liturgy, sometimes imitating that of Jerusalem (Gabriele [2011], 78), centered not only on the eleven altars but also on four reliefs of episodes in Jesus's life (Rabe [1995], 117–122) and William of Volpiano at the early 11th-century Rotonda at Saint-Bénigne de Dijon where the hierarchical arrangement of altars created a “hierarchy of intercession” akin to the programmatic disposition of images (Malone [2000], 307–317; [2003], 171–174).

273 Nodar (2004), 47–101, reads the capitals somewhat differently as a moralizing program; Castiñeiras (2002) discusses marginal imagery in Santiago Cathedral—particularly the corbel tables and façades—and Galician Romanesque art.

274 Williams (2008), 219, emphasizes the originality of “the unparalleled exploitation of sculpture on the three façades” and discusses (226–238) their program. There was renewed interest in the early Christian basilicas of Rome in the 12th century, when their murals inspired numerous copies in central Italy: Kessler (1989), 126–132. Castiñeiras (2000a), esp. 293–308, 326–328, discusses Gelmírez's wide-ranging ties to Rome and its early Christian heritage; for this and the sculptural programs, see his article in this volume.

New, and the west was to showcase the Transfiguration.<sup>275</sup> Seldom awarded such prominence in monumental art, this theophany brought together the two Testaments and did homage to St. James. Here, it was boldly reconceived in an eschatological vein by the addition of Abraham and an inscription, “Abraham rises from the tomb.”<sup>276</sup> The eschatological dimensions of the sculptural program would be fully realized when the Pórtico da Gloria replaced the planned façade, staging the Second Coming and Last Judgment within an architectural complex that evoked the New Jerusalem.

The re-enactment of pilgrimages to major shrines, the liturgical imaging of biblical episodes, and their representation on a grand scale on three interrelated façades exemplify the same overarching vision that inspired the imitation of Rome and Jerusalem, the linking of Charlemagne with Compostela, and the production of a trio of texts supporting the shrine and cult: the cartulary known as the *Tumbo A*, the *Historia Compostellana* recording the site’s history and the deeds of Archbishop Gelmírez, and the *Liber sancti Jacobi*, the dossier for the cult and pilgrimage.<sup>277</sup> Throughout these works, the universalizing aspirations of the cult stand out. St. James works miracles in all Christendom, innumerable peoples assemble at the shrine—seventy-four groups from every region of the earth are named in the *Veneranda Dies* sermon, and the colophon of the *Liber sancti Jacobi* boasts of the collection of materials in Rome, Jerusalem, Gaul, Italy, Germany (Theutonica), Frisia, and Cluny.<sup>278</sup> Above all, the singular *Pilgrim’s Guide* charts the itineraries to Compostela, inscribing the

275 The debate over whether the nave and west façade were completed under Gelmírez and the decoration described in *The Pilgrim’s Guide* actually realized remains open. The most recent scholarship has argued for a remodeling of an earlier west façade by Master Mateo, though the precise degree of its completion remains unclear: Watson (2000), (2009); Karge (2009a), (2010); Nicolai and Rheidt (2010a), (2010b). See the contributions of Karge, Castiñeiras, and Sánchez Ameijeiras, and my own introduction to section 5 in this volume.

276 Like other fragments carved for the original west façade, the figure of Abraham is now on the south transept. Moralejo (1992a), 219–223, expounded an elaborate exegesis, linking the Lord’s appearance to Abraham at Mamre, the eschatological meaning of the Transfiguration, and Jesus’s polemical debate with the Jews in John 8.

277 In this volume, Rucquoi provides a thorough discussion of the Compostelan religious and intellectual environment for the production of these and other works as a systematic effort to aggrandize the see and shrine.

278 For the miracles in the *LSJ*: Herbers (1991), (1992), and the English translation, *The Miracles of Saint James*; for the litany of peoples (*Illuc populi barbari et domestici cunctorum cosmi climatum adueniunt*): *LSJ* 1.17, pp. 88–89; for the colophon: 5.11, p. 258. See *The Pilgrim’s Guide: A Critical Edition* and *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela*.



shrine within a sacred network along which rivers of pilgrims flowed to Compostela in an enterprise inaugurated and encouraged by the emperor Charlemagne.

In effect, Compostela celebrated the cosmopolitan character of the pilgrimage and mirrored it in the Romanesque cathedral. The *Pilgrim's Guide* concludes with an unparalleled description of the basilica—its dimensions, its architecture and decoration, its costly furnishings, and even its master masons.<sup>279</sup> This meticulously detailed account overshadows the brief report of the apostle's "marble sarcophagus" and "very fine arched sepulchre," credited simply to tradition (*ut fertur*).<sup>280</sup> Whatever there was of a tomb was buried beneath Gelmírez's splendidly remodeled main altar and any surrounding structures were obliterated by the new cathedral.<sup>281</sup> At Compostela, art and imagery did more than adorn a shrine, they literally replaced it. This enhanced the importance of the cathedral's architecture and decoration, and of its artists. Like other wealthy and ambitious twelfth-century patrons, Gelmírez had gathered craftsmen of diverse origin. A half century later, Master Mateo's magnificent Westwerk and porch went even further. With a self-consciously eclectic design, the Pórtico da Gloria (Fig. 1.12) paid tribute to earlier work at the cathedral, completed its sculptural programs, and, most remarkably, anthologized features of Romanesque architectural sculpture from across Europe, proclaiming the artistic cosmopolitanism of this shrine at the ends of the earth.

The new western entrance quoted earlier elements of the cathedral, from the shallow niches, mitred arches, and squared east end of the crypt which mimic the east chapel to the carved marble columns of the Pórtico which recall those of the transepts.<sup>282</sup> Iconographically, the division of prophets and apostles between the north and south wings of the Pórtico reflects the treatment of the Old and New Testaments on the transept façades. The concise imagery of the central column, where the Tree of Jesse is crowned by a

279 *LSJ* 5.9, pp. 251–256. Conant (1926), 49–58, included an English translation of this chapter in his study of the cathedral.

280 *...beati Iacobi corpus venerandum sub altari maiori quod sub eius honore fabricatur honorifice, ut fertur, iacet, arca marmorea reconditum, in optimo arcuato sepulcro, quod miro opere ac magnitudine condecanti operatur* (*LSJ* 5.9, p. 254).

281 For a full discussion of the evidence for the arrangement of the tomb and the character and context of Gelmírez's remodeling, see the article of Williams in this volume.

282 The marble columns and their decoration—including putti and apostles beneath arcades on the transepts and the dead rising from sarcophagi in the Pórtico—may also suggest the material and meaning of the invisible tomb of the apostle. See Karge's article in this volume for retrospective quotations of the early medieval cathedral.



FIGURE 1.12 *Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Pórtico da Gloria*

PHOTO: AUTHOR

Trinitarian capital and a statue of St. James, distills key meanings from the Transfiguration once planned for the west façade: Jesus fulfills the Old Testament by ancestry and prophecy; the Christian faith, epitomized in the Trinity, completes the Old Law; and the shrine's patron is honored with a statue that embodies his presence with more immediacy than his hidden tomb. Above, the soaring architecture, starry vaults, and vivid images of the Second Coming unveil a spectacular vision of the New Jerusalem.<sup>283</sup> Within this eschatological drama, the prominence of the *arma Christi* brings together the terrestrial and celestial Jerusalem and reminds viewers, in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem, of Compostela's bond with the Holy City. Below, the muscular figure subduing two flanking lions at the base of the trumeau casts a backward glance to the past. If this is Hercules, we may imagine the column of Christ's ancestry and the crushing edifice of the New Jerusalem descending upon him and supplanting his fabled tower—and the pagan empire it represented—with the Christian structures of the heavenly city and apostolic shrine.<sup>284</sup>

The most innovative way in which the Pórtico completed the cathedral was by celebrating the pilgrimage through a keen appreciation of the integral role of Romanesque art in the building's encyclopedic decoration and in the edification of the network of shrines that led to Compostela. If the altars of the choir map a pilgrim's itinerary to shrines of renown, the porch recapitulates that journey by quoting its Romanesque landmarks. It is insistently eclectic in the profusion of sculpture that populates and enlivens the narrow chamber: it combines a pedestal of monstrous beasts, exquisitely detailed marble columns and monumental jamb statues, doorways with and without tympana, figures arranged radially or tangentially around arches, angels perched at the vault springs, and boldly decorated ribs and keystones. These and other features characterize specific regions of Europe, and many are rare elsewhere. There is no parallel for such a medley of architectural sculpture whose unmistakable accent on artistic diversity makes it an ingenious invention for the greatest pilgrimage shrine of its day.

The Pórtico da Gloria might be the one place that satisfies the dizzying twentieth-century vision of the American art historian and indefatigable

283 For the symbolic architecture of the Westwerk, see the article of Sánchez Ameijeiras in this volume.

284 Moralejo (1993a) argued for the identification with Hercules. Vigo (2010) expands this with references to Hercules's legendary exploits in Spain in the 13th-century *Estoria de Espanna* of Alfonso X. Moralejo's proposed identification of the Sibyl and Virgil in the Pórtico argues for a more complete integration of the classical past into its encyclopedic historical and eschatological vision, and further development of the analogy between Christianity's superseding of the Jewish and of the pagan Roman past.

traveler, Arthur Kingsley Porter, for whom the pilgrimage routes were conduits of a vast web of artistic exchanges from Armenia to the Atlantic. True, Master Mateo could hardly have availed himself of the album of photographs that Porter sometimes seems to imagine in the hands of twelfth-century artists: a pattern book, like no other, for mixing and matching Romanesque styles as if picked out from a Sears catalogue of the American's own day. Mateo, however, did earn and execute a singular and purposeful commission. This unparalleled blending of distinctive features of regional portal designs can be no more accidental than the comprehensive iconography planned for the church, the thoughtful distribution of chapels that reproduced the pilgrimage, the compilation of miracles from across Christendom, or the mapping out of the pilgrimage routes. In this context, Master Mateo's Pórtico proclaimed a self-conscious artistic eclecticism, born of an awareness of the wide public for the commission, the peculiar character of the shrine, and the importance of Romanesque art within the pilgrimage that sustained it. Just as medieval images of St. James eventually clothed him in the garb of a pilgrim and identified him with his devotees, the Pórtico and the cathedral which housed his remains held up a mirror to the pilgrimage and transformed the remoteness of the site into the basis for its universal appeal and significance.<sup>285</sup>

Like the Pasatiempo of very different times and circumstances, the Romanesque cathedral of Compostela expresses the anxieties, aspirations, and achievements of a culture that overturned the seeming constraints of geography and reimagined its place in a larger world that had relegated it to a periphery. Galicia's medieval history invites us, too, to challenge conventional geographies and timelines, to reconsider the designation of centers and peripheries, to revisit our understanding of conservatism and change, and to examine critically the coordinates from which other times and places are viewed. The cult of St. James, the shrine at Compostela, and the pilgrimage fundamentally altered medieval Galicia's place in geographies of power and narratives of historical development. Galicia, however, is more than Compostela, and the cult was as much an expression of Galicia's paradoxical place as an instrument of its creation. Like the tales of other monuments or events—from the Torre de Hércules and the Romanesque churches atop castros to the glimpses and souvenirs of long-distance travels and ancient traditions, the fascinating history of the cult and pilgrimage invites us to dig deeper into a region that, with its neighbors in Atlantic Iberia, still lies at the margins of English-language scholarship.

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285 Christ himself was garbed as a pilgrim to Compostela in the early 12th-century relief of the Journey to Emmaus in the cloister at Silos: Valdez del Álamo (2007), 44.

The articles in this volume provide a broad panorama of Galician history, society, and culture from the end of the Roman Empire and the establishment of the Suevic kingdom to the twelfth-century heyday of the pilgrimage to Compostela and the thirteenth-century reign of King Alfonso X the Learned, author of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Together, we address a selection of important issues in Galician medieval history: the configuration of the region in late antiquity and under the Suevic kingdom; its changing place in the Iberian kingdoms of the early and central Middle Ages; the growth of the apostolic cult and pilgrimage and its impact on the art and culture of Compostela and Galicia; and the flowering of a vernacular literature in the thirteenth century.

The picture of medieval Galicia which emerges invites consideration of issues of wider application concerning place, time, and the character of rural society and culture. Geographically, we investigate how a peripheral region can become a central place and vital node of cultural and commercial exchange; and how modern boundaries and identities, hardened and fixed in the era of the nation-state, mask more fluid frontiers and nested communities of different scale, from the hamlet and parish to the cultural worlds of Latin Christendom and the networks of Atlantic and Mediterranean exchange. Historically, we revise the place of Galicia within larger historical narratives and demonstrate how ancient traditions, real and invented, contribute to a sense of place, legitimize political and cultural change, and shape the creative reception of novel practices and institutions. Finally, we integrate Compostela—the center of attention for international scholarship—into the broader fabric of Galician history, showing how rural society can be an engine of change, sharing protagonism with individual sites of religious, economic, cultural, or political importance in forging a region's culture and relating it to larger communities and systems of exchange.

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