

# WORKING PRACTICES AND THE LANGUAGE OF ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION IN ROMANESQUE GALICIA: SANTA MARÍA DE CAMPORRAMIRO AND ITS SOURCES

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For George Zarnecki

About eight hundred churches in the Galician countryside guard part of their Romanesque fabric, and most of these retain some sculpture.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the cathedrals of Santiago, Lugo, Ourense, Tui and Mondoñedo and the churches of five Cistercian abbeys preserve much twelfth- and thirteenth-century work [1]. Contemporary documents offer clues to the patronage and date of churches, and nearly sixty dated inscriptions remain in their original settings, a few of them on carved tympana.<sup>2</sup> Studied together, this unusual combination of evidence yields relative chronologies or actual dates for the construction of churches. This, in turn, provides an empirical basis for reflection on the working practices of craftsmen and the structure and development of their artistic idioms.

The cathedrals and Cistercian abbeys of Galicia are crucial to the dating of rural churches, because texts, inscriptions, internal architectural evidence and artistic links with other regions date their building campaigns. Their close ties to foreign buildings make them a likely source for the local use of motifs of foreign origin. For other motifs, a major building may be considered the source, if the motif recurs in churches which share other features with the major site, but have less in common with each other. In this way, major churches generate relative chronologies for surrounding buildings.

Artistic evidence from the churches of the countryside links more churches to those dated by inscriptions, historical evidence or ties to major churches. In individual buildings, one can observe the creation of variants of decorative motifs; sets of such variants establish relative chronologies for other churches. More generally, the number of Romanesque churches and the density of their distribution reduce the distorting influence of later losses and fortuitous survivals. This makes it possible to assess the local use of artistic elements accurately and distinguish commonplace ones from those which indicate source, date and, perhaps, authorship. Under these conditions, a cluster of unusual features or the absence of common ones become important clues to the date of a building.

The overall character of the decoration of the Romanesque churches of Galicia aids the effort to translate artistic relationships into historical ones. Certain artistic elements – mouldings, ornamental motifs, or details of figures and foliage – remain stable in many buildings, dominate individual ones, and can be clearly differentiated from others of their class. These discrete elements are evidently those which craftsmen themselves recognized and respected, and many of them occur together often enough to be considered parts of artistic vocabularies. The ways in which these elements are

combined, selected for capitals, corbels, voussoirs or other settings, and arranged in these matrices display a comparable regularity that permits them to be regarded as rules. Together, these artistic vocabularies and the rules governing their use may be termed artistic idioms.

The linguistic analogy highlights three aspects of the Romanesque architectural sculpture of Galicia that create a structured framework for artistic change. Craftsmen relied on a limited number of discrete elements, these tended to occur in sets, and their use was governed by rules. Within the regular structure of an artistic idiom, change can be analyzed with precision, because variations, inventions or borrowings take place at specific levels: new motifs may be added to a vocabulary and used according to established rules, for example, or new rules may alter the use of traditional elements.

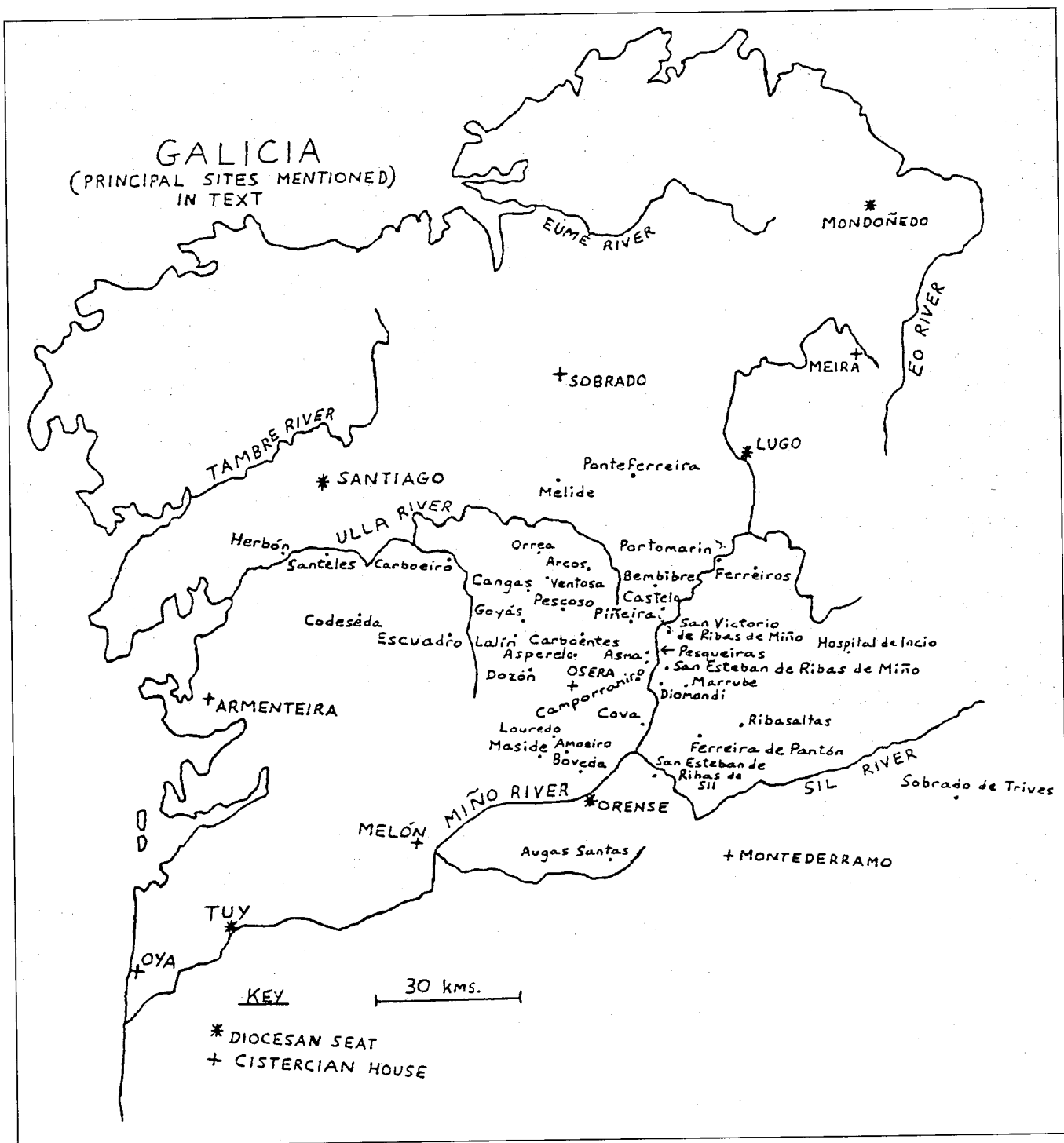
A small region in central Galicia along the Miño river preserves enough Romanesque churches to permit us to establish their history, reconstruct the working practices of their builders, and draw conclusions about artistic change. Within twenty kilometers of the ancient bridge at Belesar, more than sixty churches present some Romanesque sculpture, and nearly twenty of these are virtually intact. Almost midway between the cathedral towns of Ourense and Lugo, this district received artistic influences from several major sites, as important Galician monasteries competed with the seas for its fisheries and vineyards in the late twelfth century.<sup>3</sup>

The large and extensively decorated churches of Ferreira de Pantón, Diomondi and San Estebo de Ribas de Miño stand out as the key intermediaries which successively introduced four artistic idioms from major Galician buildings to local churches in the late twelfth century. In addition, the artistic idiom of a group of churches in the hill country to the northwest reached the district in the last decades of the century; this may be conveniently termed the Ponteferreira group after the earliest dated representative, San Martiño de Ponteferreira. Together, these buildings provide a framework for dating the churches of the district, and describing the artistic idioms available to their builders.

One of these modest churches, Santa María de Camporramiro, invites special attention, for its three consecutive phases of decoration illustrate the consequences of the layering of different artistic idioms. In the first two phases, craftsmen responded creatively to the two artistic idioms used successively at San Estebo; on the west portal, the artistic idiom of the Ponteferreira group made its appearance. The decoration at Camporramiro shows how local craftsmen assumed more important roles as construction quickened in Galicia. By the end of the twelfth century, the layering of artistic idioms in this small district encouraged experimentation and offered these craftsmen a structured framework for artistic change.

FERREIRA DE PANTÓN, DIOMONDI AND SAN ESTEBO DE RIBAS DE MIÑO

The church of Ferreira de Pantón boasts one of the most richly decorated Romanesque apses in the diocese of Lugo.<sup>4</sup> Several capitals reproduce the large lobed leaves introduced to Galicia at Santiago Cathedral in the early twelfth century, and some quote pieces in the transepts of the cathedral. The affiliation of the nunnery to the Cistercian abbey of Meira in 1175 sets a *terminus ante quem* for the apse, for the extensive



1. Galicia, map.

figural decoration of its vigorously carved capitals and corbels surely preceded the imposition of Cistercian discipline and the consequent adoption of simpler decoration for the west portal.<sup>5</sup> The seventeenth-century historian, Yepes, supplies a more precise date, for he affirms that countess Froyla Fernández built the church in 1158.<sup>6</sup>

The sculpture of the apse supports this date. Despite the debt to Santiago Cathedral, the number and variety of figured capitals and the decoration of imposts with foliage and interlace contrast with the sober foliate capitals and plain

imposts of the nave of the cathedral. This lavish decoration resembles the sculpture of the second quarter of the twelfth century in the western bays of San Isidoro de León, and the Castilian churches of San Vicente de Avila and San Millán de Segovia.<sup>7</sup> Traces of such work appear in Santiago in the middle of the twelfth century, and the brief presence of Castilian sculptors there provided one opportunity for the local use of their artistic vocabulary within a Compostelan idiom in the 1150s and 1160s.<sup>8</sup>

Within a decade, a different artistic idiom was introduced



2. Oseira, Santa María, southeast corner of crossing, capitals (photo: author).

to the district at Diomondi.<sup>9</sup> King Fernando II of León gave this monastery to Fernando Odoariz, a local knight, in 1164. The imposing church was raised soon afterwards, for an inscription on the west tympanum records its placement in 1170.<sup>10</sup> A few years later, the craftsmen apparently left for Portomarín, where the west portal of San Pedro, consecrated in 1182, and the apse of the Hospitallers' church of San Xoán offer close counterparts for most of the sculpture at Diomondi.<sup>11</sup>

The decoration at Diomondi is linked in general terms to the early twelfth-century work at Santiago Cathedral; paired animals on capitals, cleft and lobed leaves, studded hollow mouldings, and billeted arches and stringcourses all find precedents there. At the same time, the structure of the abaci of several capitals, the design of a foliate capital on the apse, and the cusped arch and tall proportions of the south portal indicate the influence of the first campaign at Lugo Cathedral (1129-ca. 1155).<sup>12</sup> In fact, the grand scale of the church, the technical excellence of its masonry, the extent and careful planning of its decoration, and its rapid and disciplined execution all suggest the intervention of a workforce trained on such a major site.

Three kilometers north of Diomondi, the church of San Estebo de Ribas de Miño dominates the terraced slopes overlooking the river.<sup>13</sup> A desire to emulate or rival the nearby church at Diomondi undoubtedly inspired the liberal use of cusping in the chancel, the arched buttresses of the nave, and the eight-column portal and flanking arches of the west facade. The decoration, however, points away from the

Hispano-Languedocian sources of Pantón and Diomondi and confirms a later date. The palmettes and finely pelleted leaves of the capitals of the apse, the lush acanthus of those of the nave, the rectangular abaci, the simple foliate corbels, the large ballflower studs of the apse, the stacked mouldings on impostos, the saucer-shaped lower toruses of bases, and the tall, sunken arches on plinths find no parallels at Diomondi or Pantón. Together, they mark a watershed in the history of Romanesque architectural sculpture in Galicia, for they all belong to the new artistic idioms introduced to the region between 1165 and 1175 in the west crypt and porch of Santiago Cathedral, the cathedrals of Lugo and Ourense, the Cistercian abbeys and the monastery of Carboeiro.<sup>14</sup>

Two successive campaigns can be distinguished at San Estebo. The design and simple foliate decoration of the chancel look to the monastery at Oseira and the apse of Ourense Cathedral; specifically, the cathedral inspired the lobed apse and arched corbel table, while Oseira supplied models for the decoration of hood arches and the structure and design of capitals [2-3].<sup>15</sup> The richer carving of the nave windows and west facade, however, draws the church into the orbit of the west porch of Santiago Cathedral, and exhibits close ties with the related sculpture of the transepts of Ourense Cathedral and the portals of San Xoán de Portomarín.<sup>16</sup>

The links with Ourense Cathedral help date the church of San Estebo, since they correspond with a datable sequence of work at the cathedral, clearly marked by changes in the corbels of the choir and the capitals of the interior. Generous



3. San Estebo de Ribas de Miño, San Estebo, apse, north respond, capital (photo: author).

royal gifts to the see in the 1160s paved the way for construction, beginning with the main apse and its simple corbels and capitals. By 1188, when the main altar was consecrated, the figural style of the west porch at Santiago had appeared on the angel carved on the keystone of the chancel arch, and this new artistic idiom came to dominate the crossing and transepts.<sup>17</sup> The last two decades of the century were the most likely time for this sequence to be reproduced at San Estebo; a date after the 1180s for the initiation of the project would make it hard to explain why the influence of Ourense Cathedral on the apse of San Estebo was confined to elements from the first campaign with no hint of the widely disseminated idiom of the second campaign.

Within forty years, three churches successively introduced four artistic idioms to this small district. Artistic relationships among these churches confirm this relative chronology, and evidence some continuities in their workforces. Nothing at Pantón indicates an awareness of the work at Lugo Cathedral which influenced Diomondi, and neither site shows any sign of the artistic idioms which dominated the project at San Estebo and enjoyed considerable success in the surrounding district. The absence of such influences is best explained by the proposed chronology, because small details

do link craftsmen at the three sites. Several distinctive features of Compostelan foliate capitals at Pantón and closely related churches recurred at Diomondi: the use of four volutes on the broad face of three-sided capitals, the thick clasps holding them together, and, most unusual of all, the tracing of volutes in low relief on the fleshy undersides of the leaves that curl outwards from the capitals.<sup>18</sup> At San Estebo, in turn, the resurgence of the Compostelan lobed leaf within a new kind of foliate capital [4], the fine, bevelled fluting on one plinth and some reminiscences of the standard foliate capital of the nave at Diomondi [6-5] underscore the contributions of locally based craftsmen familiar with the earlier sites.<sup>19</sup>

#### FERREIRA DE PANTÓN, DIOMONDI AND SAN ESTEBO DE RIBAS DE MIÑO: CHANGING PATTERNS OF RECEPTION

In the generation that separated the projects at Pantón and San Estebo, local workforces came to the fore in Galicia, as the steady increase in rural construction altered its geographic pattern. The main sculptor at Pantón worked at widely separated sites, partly in response to commissions from a select circle of noble patrons. At Sobrado de Trives, in



4. San Esteban de Ribas de Miño, San Esteban, apse, north-east respond, capital (photo: author).

eastern Galicia, he carved much of the rich sculpture of the portals and chancel arches of the church of another nunnery, and, in central Galicia, his work on the small church at Carboentes may be linked with the gift of the church by its priest to the nearby nunnery of Dozón in 1156.<sup>20</sup> His major commissions at Trives and Pantón remained rather isolated, and his artistic idiom only took root in central Galicia where it was perpetuated in a large number of modest buildings until the last years of the century.<sup>21</sup>

The range of the craftsmen at Diomondi was confined to a smaller area near the Miño. Within that zone, however, they were drawn to larger projects – Santa María de Piñeira and the churches of Portomarín. In fact, the most distinctive sculptor to emerge from this group worked on churches twenty-five kilometers apart, those of Ferreiros and Ribasaltas.<sup>22</sup> The impact of these important projects on surrounding villages was often delayed and largely limited to features, like the cusped lintel or star-in-square and diaper ornament, which could easily be imitated and added to other artistic vocabularies.<sup>23</sup> By contrast, the equally characteristic alternation of volutes and squared fleurons in the abaci of capitals had less success [5]; less obvious to the eye, such a rule may have been too closely wedded to the roughing out of the capital to be passed to local craftsmen for whom these earlier projects provided visual models but not training.

By the last two decades of the century, when the church of San Esteban was being built, construction was increasing



5. Diomondi, San Pelagio, nave window, capitals (photo: author).





6. San Estebo de Ribas de Miño, San Estebo, apse, east window, capital (photo: author).

throughout Galicia. Within six kilometers of San Estebo, five smaller churches offer sculpture linked to the larger site; in two of them, Sta. María de Camporramiro and San Victorio de Ribas de Miño, the two artistic idioms of San Estebo followed one another in the same sequence as construction advanced from east to west.<sup>24</sup> The close artistic connections among six buildings in such a small area suggest that they were underway simultaneously, sharing a workforce that might well have been based at a quarry. Some of these craftsmen may have worked as masons on the earlier churches of Pantón and Diomondi, for they drew upon the artistic idioms of those buildings. The quickening pace of construction at churches of varying size and importance gave such craftsmen an opportunity to carve sculpture and direct projects. At the same time, the complex layering of artistic idioms encouraged them to respond creatively to new idioms by adding older motifs to new vocabularies and bending the rules for the use of individual motifs.

In the apse of San Estebo, sculptors distinguished them-

selves by adopting the new artistic vocabularies of Oseira and Ourense but altering the rules for their use. In doing so, they challenged longstanding conventions for the representation of foliage and the structuring of capitals. On the interior capitals of the east window, for example, the sculptor translated the common arrangement of superposed leaves into a decorative pattern on a single leaf [6]. This was but a prelude to the creative handling of the capitals of the chancel arches where types of foliage that appeared separately on the paired capitals of the apse windows [7-8] were combined in a variety of ways [9], and the individual components of the foliage were rearranged in abstract designs. Superposed leaves became their rims [10], and the 'coinslots' of the abaci were turned into an ornament to be employed or discarded at will.<sup>25</sup>

These delightful games merit a closer look, for they cast light on the components of a vocabulary of ornament and the rules behind their use. Pointed and bevelled lobes, pellets, small balls, thick bands, superposed strips and 'coinslots' all formed part of the artistic vocabulary of the sculptors of the apse at San Estebo. At major sites, where most of these motifs were introduced to Galicia, they normally appeared in configurations representing foliage. Thus, the pointed and bevelled lobes articulated the spiky acanthus leaves at Oseira,



7. San Estebo de Ribas de Miño, San Estebo, apse, south window, compound leaf capital (photo: author).

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8. San Estebo de Ribas de Miño, San Estebo, apse, north window, stalk and palmette capital (photo: author).

while strings of tiny pellets marked the veins of luxuriant acanthus at the west end of Santiago Cathedral.<sup>26</sup> Such foliage, in turn, was arranged on capitals in patterns that, in some cases, stemmed from the structure of the Corinthian capital, and, in other cases, like the crisscrossing design of the stalk and palmette capitals [8] or the rhythmic alternation of rising and falling leaves on the compound leaf capitals [7], obeyed the rules of a particular artistic idiom.<sup>27</sup>

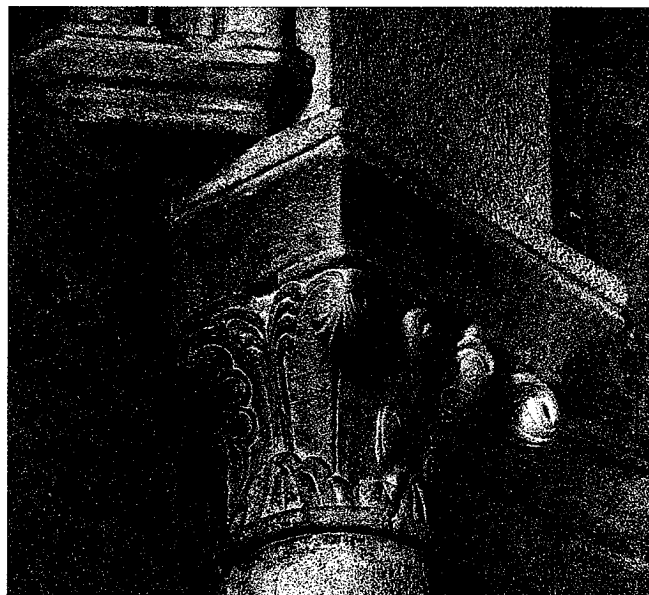
The craftsmen at San Estebo displayed a remarkable willingness to bend or break the rules for the use of their new artistic vocabulary. But even their boldest experiments affirm the power of those rules, for their effectiveness depends on an awareness of the order that has been disturbed.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the placement of a 'coinslot' atop a square fleuron flanked by volutes is hardly a random transposition of forms [11], for the artist doubles the abacus by superposing two elements – the fleuron and the stylized concavity – that were normally juxtaposed or used separately. The respect for the forms themselves underscored the calculated violation of the rules that governed their use.

These artists achieve similar effects by inserting elements of an older artistic vocabulary into structures that respect the rules of a new artistic idiom. On the four capitals on the exterior responds of the apse, for example, the leaves are arranged in a manner common at Oseira [2] where traditional Compostelan foliage did not appear. On one capital at San Estebo, however, one leaf displays the characteristic lobes of Compostelan foliage [4], while, on another [3], the leaves shelter small balls tucked beneath their curling tips as at Diomondi [5]. Such novel combinations command attention only because a given vocabulary of motifs was so often used according to the rules of the artistic idiom to which it belonged.

SANTA MARÍA DE CAMPORRAMIRO: THE CHANCEL AND THE SOUTH PORTAL

In the churches surrounding San Estebo, craftsmen found new opportunities to respond creatively to new artistic idioms. The church of Santa María de Camporramiro illustrates how local craftsmen, familiar with several artistic idioms, took charge of a small project and adapted new artistic idioms by expanding their vocabularies and bending their rules.<sup>29</sup> In the small church, an arch on engaged columns separates the nave from the rectangular chancel and another divides the barrel-vaulted chancel into two bays marked on the outside by an engaged column in each wall [12]. A shafted window pierces the east wall, but a modern retablo largely conceals its interior decoration. Corbel tables, a moulded niche in the north wall of the chancel and the two-column west and south portals complete the sculptural decoration of the well-preserved church.

Despite differences in quality, the four interior capitals of the chancel and the pair on the east window at Camporramiro form a set that displays the palmettes, clasped stalks and broad leaves with pointed, bevelled lobes used in the apse of San Estebo. Their sculptors exploited the double meaning of

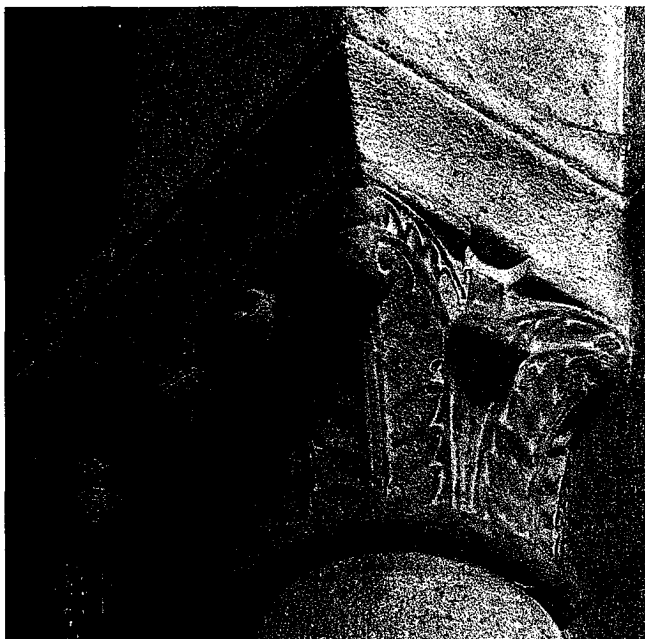


9. San Estebo de Ribas de Miño, San Estebo, inner chancel arch, north capital (photo: author).



10. San Estebo de Ribas de Miño, San Estebo, inner chancel arch, south capital (photo: author).

the thick strips which alternately represented stems or the rims of leaves on two types of capitals at San Estebo, the stalk and palmette capitals and the broad leaf capitals. In doing so, they created designs in which two contradictory readings vie



11. San Estebo de Ribas de Miño, San Estebo, outer chancel arch, south capital (photo: author).

for acceptance.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the north capital of the outer chancel arch seems, at first glance, to show five large leaves curling into balls or palmettes and topped by a second row of leaves with acutely pointed, bevelled lobes [13]. The broad flat rims of the leaves, however, are clasped together like stalks, and, on the west face, the thin, flat strip placed over a wide one matches the triple stalks at San Estebo [8].<sup>31</sup>

The south capital of the arch presents a more complex design and more careful detailing [12]. In the center of each face, a triple stalk is crowned by a stepped triple clasp that widens toward the top from which emerge the stalk and a pair of stems ending in volutes. The emergent stalk occupies a place normally held by the fleuron, but it is made redundant by the rectangular abacus above. At each corner, the volutes arch over a smaller leaf with acutely pointed lobes and a ribbon-like rim which itself curls outward to form a volute or palmette at its tip. By carving additional lobes in some spaces below the stems of the upper volutes, the artist transforms the stems into the borders of what seems a second row of leaves.<sup>32</sup>

The ambiguity is heightened on the rougher capitals of the inner chancel arch where, again, the superposed balls or palmettes at each corner might first be understood as the tips of two rows of leaves. On the north capital [14], the pointed lobes in the upper zone strengthen the resemblance to leaves, but, below, the plain surfaces and the x pattern suggest simple ribbons or stalks. On the south capital [15] and on a companion piece on the east window [16], the design grows even more playful, for the outlines of the large leaves dissolve into a net of interlace.

In each instance, the artists rely on a small vocabulary of motifs. These were commonly combined in a limited number of ways to represent distinct types of foliage which, in turn, were arranged to create a few conventional types of capitals. These craftsmen, however, carefully vary these configurations, teasing the viewer with a familiar pattern only to disrupt it by suggesting another, conflicting configuration.

These artists approached the commonplace motif of cusping in the same spirit in which they handled their foliate capitals. A tiny cusped arch is lightly marked on the headstone of the east window [16]; the four cusps take the standard form of semicircles extended slightly beyond their radius and separated by squared pendants. Small cusps of the same shape adorn part of the right impost of the window and the upper strips of the left impost and corbel of the west portal [17]. Further, these precisely measured cusps ring the basket of the south capital of the outer chancel arch in raised relief [12], and, most unusual of all, they are called on to render a lobe of a leaf beneath a volute on the south capital of the inner arch [15].<sup>33</sup> Thus, these sculptors scrupulously respected the form of the cusps, but readily transferred them to new settings. Like the disruption of familiar representations of foliage, these playful transpositions of the cusp frustrate expectations with surprising uses of a well-known motif.

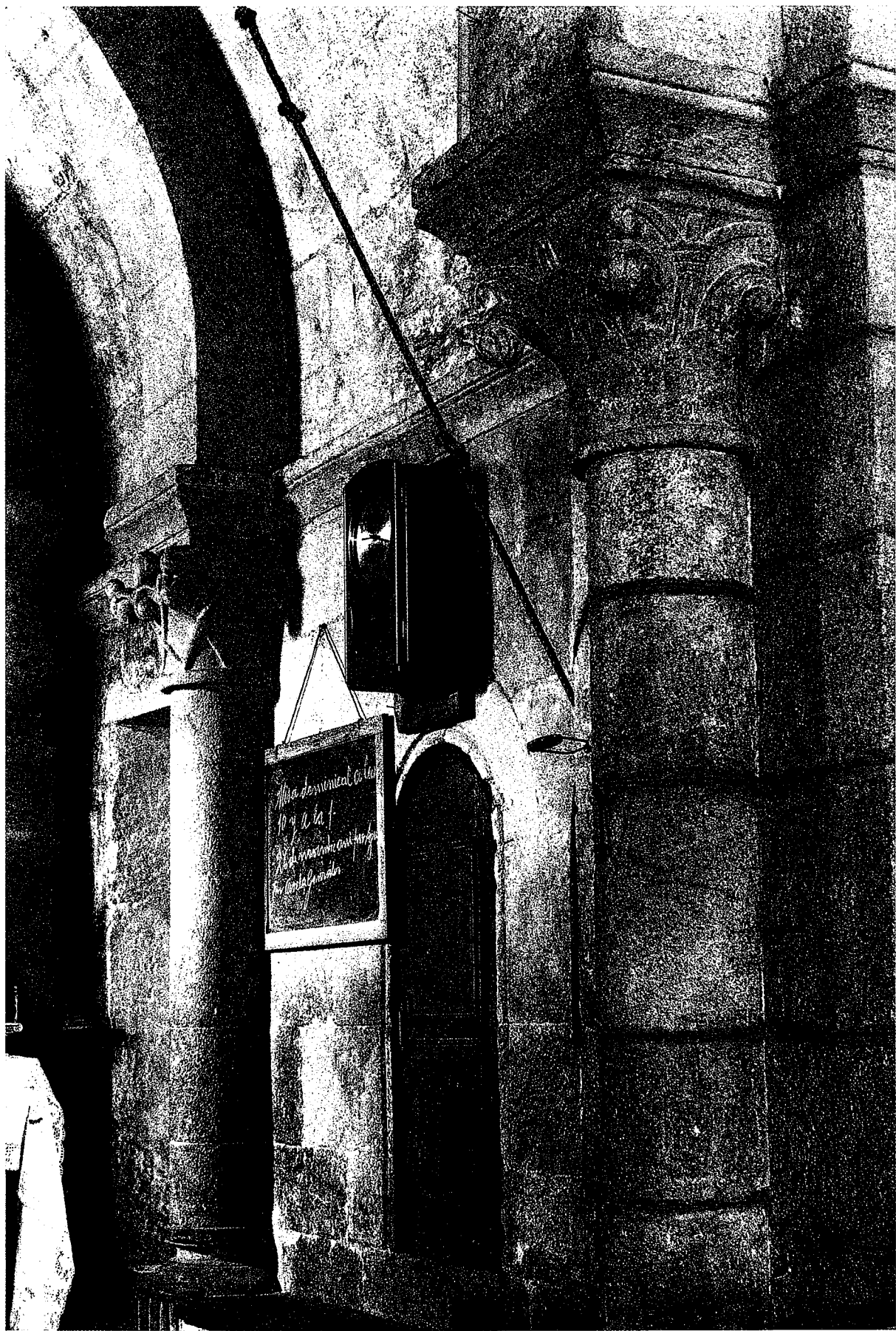
If the freedom with which these sculptors handled cusping reflects an approach developed in the apse of San Estebo, the popularity of the motif itself hints at their acquaintance with the earlier church of Diomondi. Significantly, the right impost of the east window is decorated with a bevelled star-in-square design whose occasional appearance in Galician Romanesque churches can often be traced to its use at Diomondi.<sup>34</sup> Even the billeting of the hood arch of the window [16] proves a telling detail, for this widely used motif was barred from several of the local Cistercian abbeys and some important churches, like that at San Estebo, built under their



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12. Camporramiro, Santa María, chancel, south wall (photo: author).



13. Camporramiro, Santa María, outer chancel arch, north capital (photo: author).

influence.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, the rounded bottom of the window preserves the earlier practices of the craftsmen of Pantón, while other local buildings may have inspired the floral ornament of the metopes of the chancel and the decision to decorate the headstone of the window.<sup>36</sup>

Together, these features reveal the work of local craftsmen ready to add older motifs to a new artistic vocabulary once freed from following the directives of a supervisor or contractor at a larger site. In fact, the interaction of itinerant craftsmen and a growing number of locally based masons brought about the layering of artistic idioms. This, in turn,



14. Camporramiro, Santa María, inner chancel arch, north capital (photo: author).

enabled local craftsmen to expand their artistic vocabularies, encouraged them to approach the rules of artistic idioms creatively, and, thus, provided a structured framework for artistic change.

As work on the church at Camporramiro advanced, its decoration kept step with developments at San Estebo, for the south portal of the nave and the eaves of the chancel introduce acanthus capitals like those of the nave at San Estebo. On the respond capital on the south side of the chancel, three alternating rows of broad acanthus leaves cloak the bell-shaped basket, and the leaves are finely detailed with pelleted ribs, neatly carved trilobate tips, and deeply scooped out lobes separated by drilled channels and bordered with finer frills. Above, a pair of profile leaves are barely discernible in the weathered abacus; these are a hallmark of the foliate capitals of the west porch of Santiago Cathedral and their local offspring. A similar, though badly worn piece crowns the left shaft of the south portal [19]. Comparable foliage appears among the nave window capitals at San Estebo, but the capitals find their closest kin among three-sided respond capitals at Pesqueiras, Cova and other nearby sites with sculpture related to that of the nave of San Estebo.<sup>37</sup> The new foliate vocabulary cannot conceal a more fundamental continuity in one sculptor's willingness to bend the rules of its use; on the north capital of the chancel [18], pelleted stems frame and separate simpler acanthus leaves with bevelled lobes and pelleted ribs in a design that preserves the spirit of the capitals inside the chancel.

#### THE WEST PORTAL AT CAMPORRAMIRO AND THE PONTEFERREIRA GROUP

While the south portal and the eaves of the chancel at Camporramiro shared the artistic vocabulary of the nave at San Estebo, the west portal marks an entirely new departure [20]. Most notably, all but the lowest pair of voussoirs of the main arch display sunken panels on each face; those on the outer faces are framed by a flattened arch broken by a disc or pointed pendant. The design links the portal to the Ponteferreira group, a large family of buildings in central Galicia which share a distinctive artistic idiom, characterized by rich, if eccentric, carving, and, in most cases, this striking treatment of the arches of portals and, occasionally, those of windows and chancels.<sup>38</sup> An inscription of 1177 on the cusped and decorated lintel of the south portal of San Martiño de Ponteferreira [21], another of 1191 at the related church of Bembibre, and a gift to the works at Santa María de Melide by its cleric, Pelagius Didaci, who is documented between 1189 and 1204, place this group of buildings in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The specific combination of arches broken by discs and doubled by pointed pendants is paralleled on the voussoirs of the west portal of Santa María de Castelo [22], a site eleven kilometers to the north and, significantly, the nearest of the group to Camporramiro.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the west portal at Camporramiro and the west and south portals at Castelo share a set of details that are rare enough to warrant their attribution to the same craftsmen. At each site, small heads with oddly squared tops are carved on the corbels of the west portal. On all three portals [17, 22-23], sawtooth lines the edge of the left corbel. Moreover, the row of sawtooth on the corbel of the south portal at Castelo ends with a cusp, announcing the use of cusps on its short face where they also



15. Camporramiro, Santa María, inner chancel arch, south capital (photo: author).

appear on the left corbel of the west portal at Camporramiro. Finally, the unusual tree on the right capital at Camporramiro resembles that on the tympanum at Castelo, and the highly stylized foliage of the left capital adorns capitals of both portals at Castelo.

Camporramiro stands at the margin of the Ponteferreira group, marking the southeastern limit of the use of this type of arch, and nothing there or in the cluster of closely related churches centered on San Estebo anticipates the handling of the arch of the west portal. At Castelo, however, one need look no further than the chancel to explain the decoration of the portals; there, sawtooth appeared on an impost and finer models may be found for the vinescrolls and studs on the imposts of the portals. More important, the exuberant decoration of the east window and chancel arch fixes them firmly within the Ponteferreira group, and the simpler decoration of the portals can plausibly be understood as an echo of the well-established artistic idiom of the chancel.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the novel use of pointed pendants on two voussoirs of the west portal betrays these artists' lack of familiarity with these arches. This detail may well be their invention, inspired by the sawtooth ornament, for they demonstrated the same flexibility in fashioning the highly stylized capitals which mimic the design of the voussoirs.<sup>41</sup>

Since the chancel at Castelo provided a source for the decoration of the portals there, these are likely to have preceded the work of the same craftsmen on the west portal at Camporramiro. Their arrival at Camporramiro, however, may not have been fortuitous, for their work suggests some links with the sculptors of the chancel there. Like those sculptors, they easily transferred motifs from one setting to another. Sawtooth migrated to the edges of corbels and to the voussoirs; arches moved from voussoirs to capitals; a tree travelled from a tympanum to a capital. In fact, the odd tree on the tympanum at Castelo suggests that its carvers, like the sculptors of the chancel at Camporramiro, knew the sculp-

ture of Oseira. Similar trees occupy various settings at Oseira and a related church at Dozón. Significantly, a lunette on the apse at Dozón shows such a stylized tree standing with a cross above a border of raised cusping, similar in design to the sunken cusps on the tympanum at Castelo and similar in technique to the raised cusps on a capital in the chancel at Camporramiro [12].<sup>42</sup>

The church of Santa María de Piñeira tightens the link between the sculptors of the chancel at Camporramiro and those of the portals at Castelo, and may explain the latter's commission to decorate the west portal at Camporramiro.<sup>43</sup> Sawtooth lines numerous corbels of the apse at Piñeira, and the appearance of this unusual detail on the corbels of the portals at Castelo, just five kilometers to the northeast, suggests that some craftsmen participated in both projects.<sup>44</sup> In fact, the church at Piñeira attracted craftsmen of diverse backgrounds. The design of the apse windows and some of their capitals are like those of Diomondi and San Xoán de Portomarín [5, 24]. Other capitals of the chancel reveal ties to local Compostelan currents or the Ponteferreira group, and, along the eave of the apse, one capital resembles those in the chancel at Camporramiro. In each case, a few pieces represent an artistic idiom whose character and coherence can be established from its use in several churches. Thus, the isolated appearance of one capital related to the tightly knit series at San Estebo, Camporramiro and nearby churches indicates that its author had worked there before joining the heterogeneous team at Piñeira.

In short, Piñeira provides a setting for contacts between the sculptors of the chancel at Camporramiro and the deco-



16. Camporramiro, Santa María, east window (photo: author).



17. Camporramiro, Santa María, west portal, left capital and corbel (photo: author).

rators of the portals at Castelo. The latter relied on the chancel at Castelo for most of their artistic vocabulary, but they handled those forms with a freedom that betrays a closer relationship to the sculptors of the chancel at Camporramiro and may explain their later work on the west portal there. It is even possible that they had already worked as masons on the chancel at Camporramiro, before accompanying their sculptor to Piñeira and beginning to carve sculpture there or at Castelo. In that case, they would have been returning to Camporramiro to mark the west portal with their newly acquired vocabulary of ornament. The effort to reconstruct their careers as masons, however, can only be speculative, for all that remain are hints of earlier experiences and contacts that can never be fully recovered.

#### CONCLUSIONS

On close examination, the modest sculpture of the small church of Camporramiro reveals a remarkably complex history. The carvers of the sculpture of the chancel arches

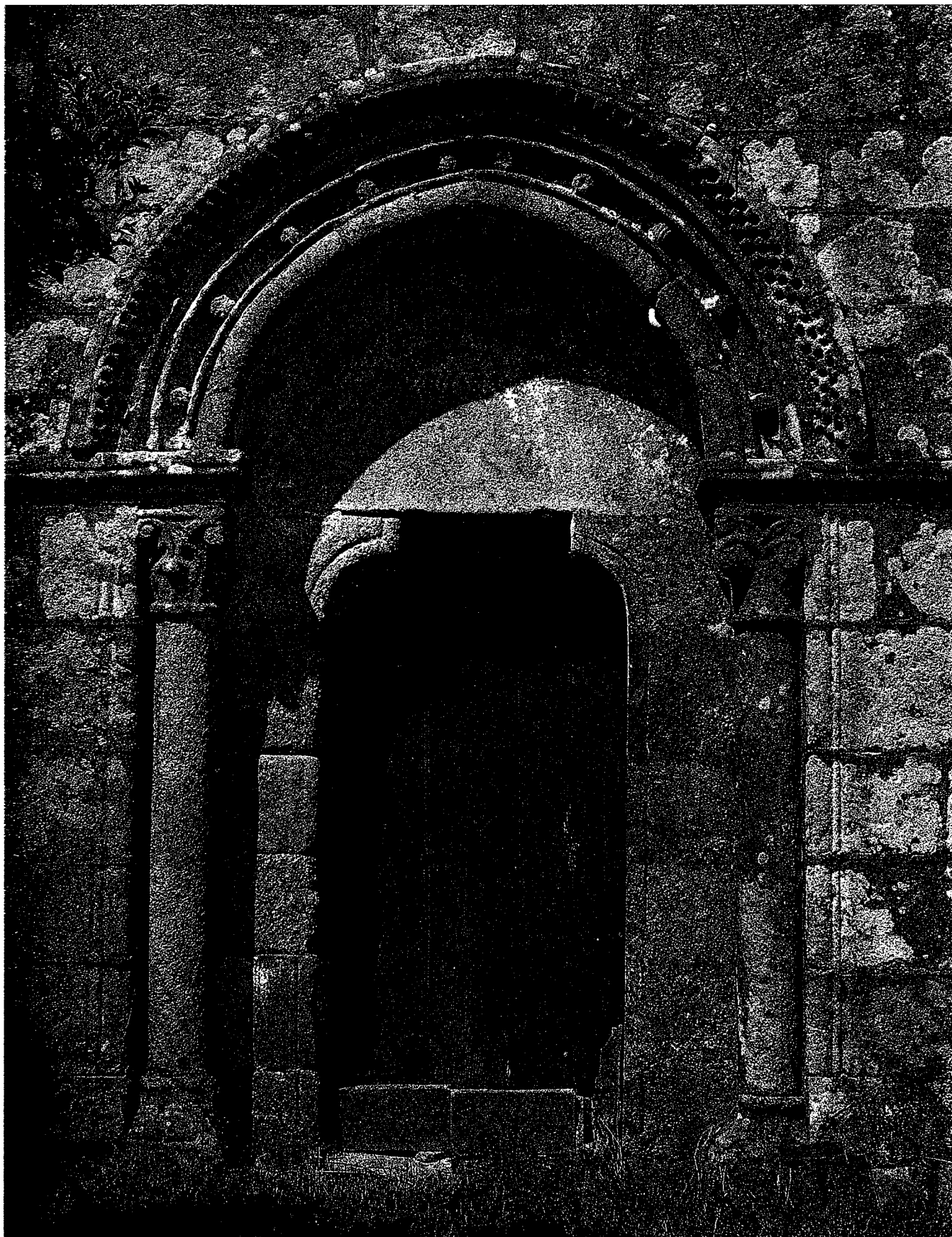


18. Camporramiro, Santa María, chancel, north respond, capital (photo: author).



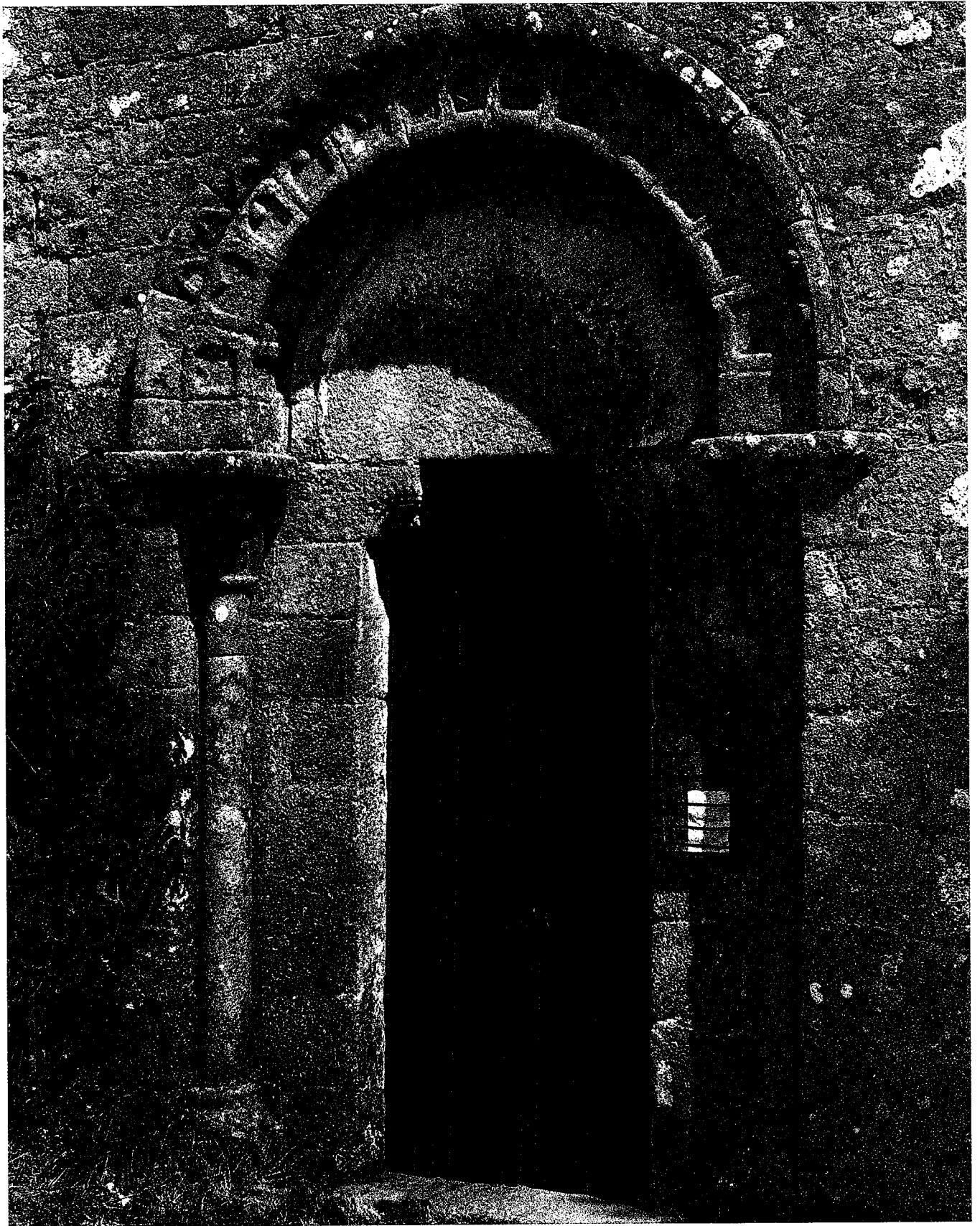
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19. Camporramiro, Santa María, south portal (photo: author).





20. Camporramiro, Santa María, west portal (photo: author).



21. Ponteferreira, San Martiño, south portal (photo: author).



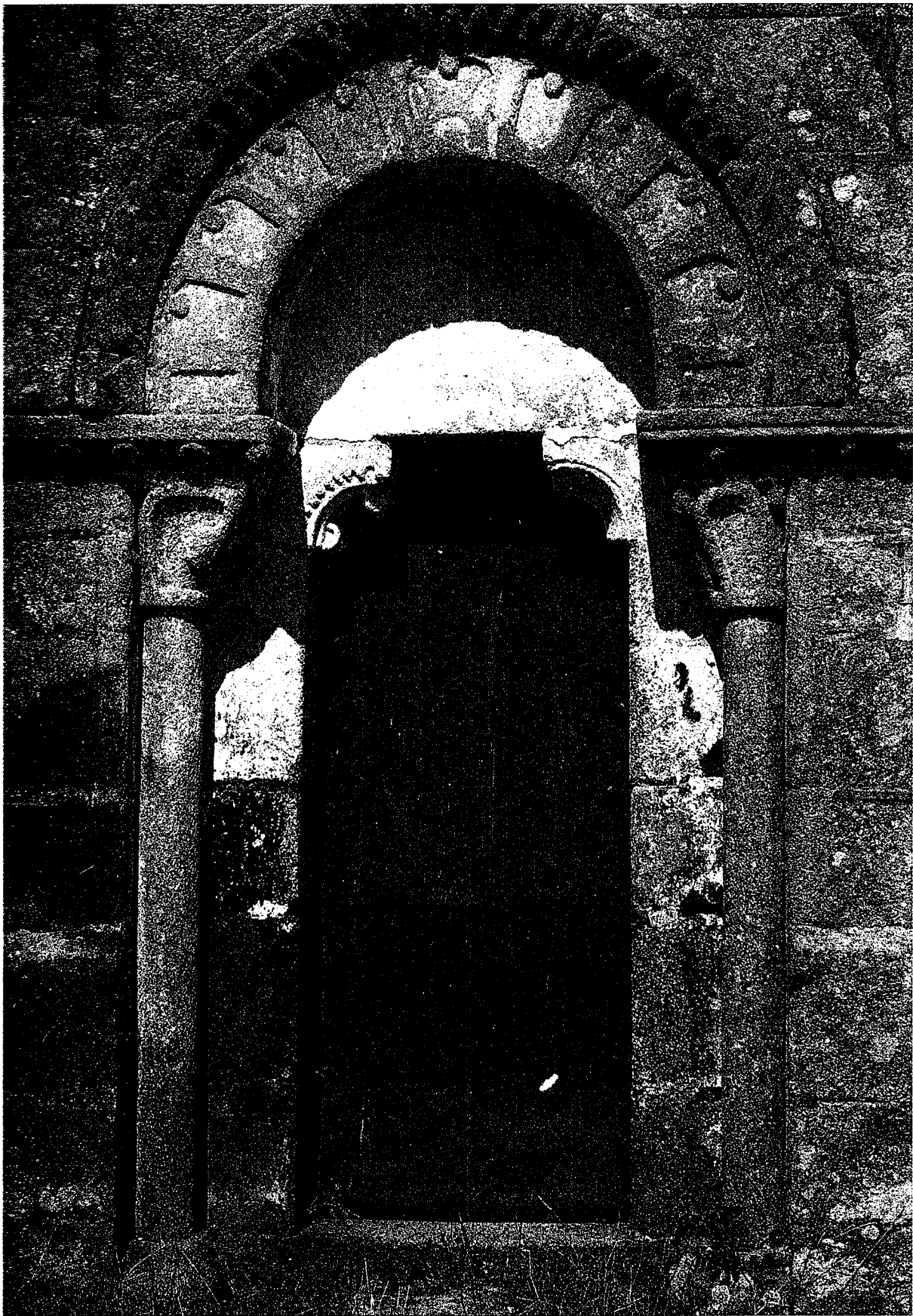
22. Castelo, Santa María, west portal (photo: author).

and east window were most closely associated with the apse of San Estebo from which they drew most of their artistic vocabulary and their free approach to the rules governing its use. They also picked up billeting, cusping and star-in-square ornament from the earlier work at Diomondi, preserved still older motifs of Compostelan inspiration, and showed some knowledge of motifs used at Oseira but ignored at San Estebo. On the eave of the chancel and the south portal of the nave, craftsmen introduced the new artistic vocabulary of the nave at San Estebo, while the decoration of the west portal was entrusted to craftsmen who had worked on the corbel table at Piñeira and the portals at Castelo.

Minor details indicate delays between the carving and placement of sculpture, and thereby blur the neat distinctions that separate the three phases of construction and their different artistic vocabularies. The right capital of the south portal [19] displays the hanging compound leaves that were widely used in the apse at San Estebo [7, 9], and stones had to be inserted between the round-arched tympanum and the larger opening left by the pointed arch. Apparently, the capital and tympanum were carved well before the erection of the portal.<sup>45</sup> The west portal evidences a similar procedure, for the tympanum and voussoirs were carved for a slightly small-

er arch [20]. Again, stones had to be inserted between the tympanum and the outer arch, and that arch and its hood were completed with an uncarved stone on each side. In addition, each shaft received a second drum, and a single moulded block forms part of the left jamb. Finally, the short face of one corbel on the eave of the chancel bears an odd design whose striking resemblance to the pointed pendants of the voussoirs of the west portal raises the possibility that the carving of those voussoirs had begun before the eave of the chancel was finished.

Despite the different artistic vocabularies in successive phases of construction, the decoration throughout the building asserts a persistent interest in bending the rules for their use, whether these were conventions of representation, traditional ways of structuring capitals, or the rules of decorum that assigned motifs to particular architectural settings. This consistency of approach may well be a more reliable sign of authorship than the changing vocabularies of ornament which were easily learned and easily discarded. In fact, the toleration for the use of such different vocabularies in this small church might itself express the outlook of craftsmen who delighted in subverting the rules of artistic idioms. Nor is it surprising that such a taste developed among craftsmen



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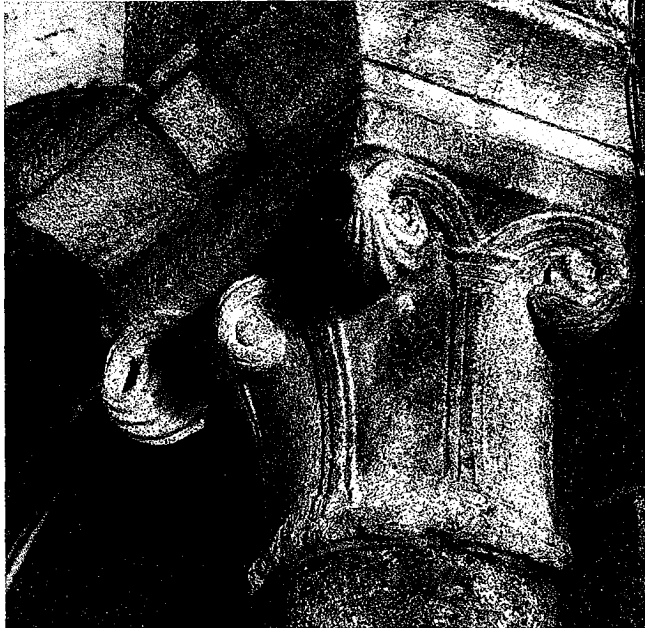
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23. Castelo, Santa María, south portal (photo: author).





24. Piñeira, Santa María, apse, south window (photo: author).



25. Goiás, San Miguel, chancel arch, south capital (photo: author).

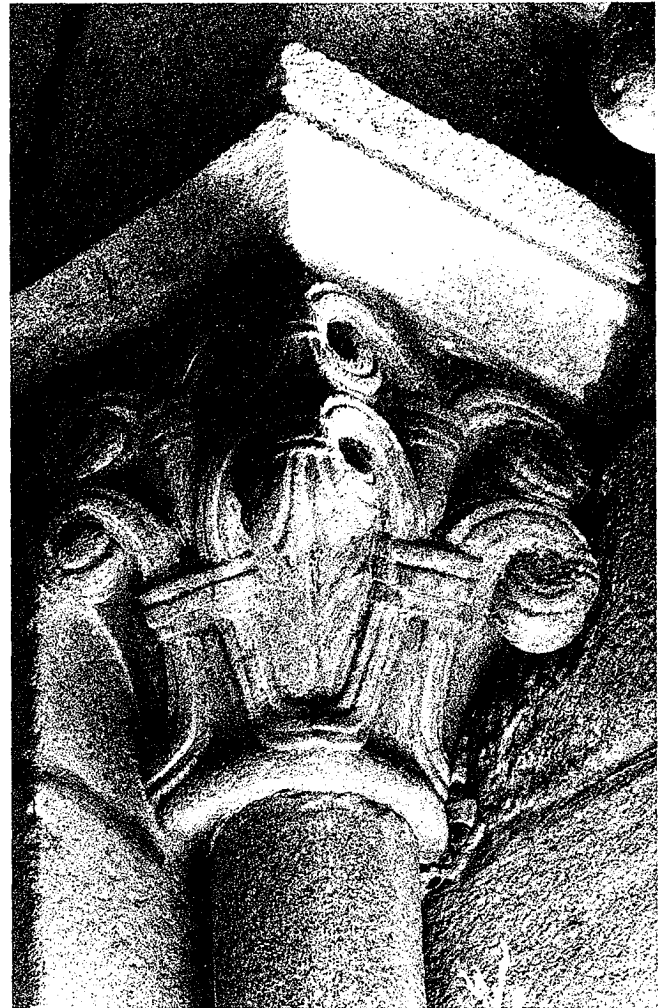
who had served different masters and become acquainted with several artistic idioms.

The variety of sources and the different stages of construction mark only part of the complexity of the project, for one of the sculptors of the chancel, perhaps the carver of the related capital at Piñeira, left a long trail of work as he journeyed across Galicia on an odyssey that ultimately led to Herbón, less than twenty kilometers south of Santiago. At a

cluster of churches near Lalín, most notably those of Goiás [25], Pescoso, Cangas and Lalín itself, his sculpture accompanies pieces whose debt to the apse of San Estebó is evident, both in their vocabulary of motifs and their playful approach to them. Further west, the churches of Escuadro, Santeles, Codeseda and Herbón [26] attest to his continuing activity and the further development of his characteristic capitals, alongside the ever-increasing contribution of a local workforce with stronger connections to the cathedrals of Santiago and Lugo.<sup>46</sup>

The complexity of the construction of the modest church of Camporramiro and the web of relationships that bind it to other sites challenge any simple notion of the individual building, the workshop, the specialized craftsman or the artistic vocabulary as a basic unit of study in an investigation of a regional style. After all, this tiny church presents three phases of building, each closely tied to distinct campaigns at other sites, and this case is by no means exceptional. On the contrary, it is unusual to find a Romanesque church in Galicia, like that at Diomondi, erected in one, rapid effort by a cohesive group of craftsmen whose artistic idiom was derived from but one or two sources.

The diversity of hands – or artistic vocabularies – at Camporramiro encourages one to look directly to the craftsmen



26. Herbón, Santa María, apse, south window, capital (photo: author).



or vocabularies of ornament which, after all, distinguish the phases of construction in individual buildings and link them with other sites. Here, however, the widely used notion of the atelier proves less than helpful, for craftsmen of different backgrounds apparently came together for specific commissions, like those at San Estebano or Piñeira, but soon separated, taking with them new motifs to enrich their growing artistic vocabularies. At the same time, the persistence of certain motifs in neighboring buildings of diverse inspiration reveals the underlying stability of a growing local workforce. On close inspection, the comfortable notion of an atelier dissolves into a myriad of craftsmen with different backgrounds, converging and diverging careers and shifting roles. In the end, one wonders whether the concept of the atelier – like the handy use of round numbers in dating works of art – says more about the inevitable lack of precision in our own methods of analysis than about the actual working practices of Romanesque craftsmen.

Any effort to turn attention to individual craftsmen, however promising in theory, must involve guesswork and hypothesis, for every student of Romanesque sculpture well knows that the terrain of attribution is fraught with peril.<sup>47</sup> Further, the simple architectural ornament of many of the Romanesque churches of Galicia disguises the role of the individual sculptor. Most important of all, attributable sculpture forms only a part of the Romanesque church, and only a part of the activity of craftsmen who assumed different tasks at churches of different size and status. Tracing this activity means more than establishing an oeuvre of capitals and corbels; it demands an effort to discern the emergence of a sculptor from a group of masons, or to disclose the role of a foreman whose instructions imposed a semblance of artistic unity on heterogeneous groups of craftsmen and different phases of construction.

Behind these craftsmen remains the more stable world of artistic idioms, their constituent vocabularies and the rules governing their use. Here, too, however, close analysis reveals remarkable complexity, for one must reconstruct the passive vocabularies of craftsmen and, at times, recognize the rules

of these idioms through the calculated manner in which they are broken. Further, individual craftsmen use artistic idioms in different ways by displaying different degrees of willingness to alter motifs, mix and expand artistic vocabularies, or bend the rules for their use. These different uses of artistic idioms provide the most telling clues to the identity of individual artists, and offer a starting point for tracing artistic change.

Historians of medieval art are compelled to focus on the small fraction of works that have survived. Faced with this dilemma, it is understandable that one grasps eagerly for the clear signposts in the history of a style, whether these are individual buildings and works of art, the oeuvre of an identifiable artist or a recurring set of motifs. Easily lending themselves to monographic treatment, such subjects have come to form the skeleton for the history of medieval art. Those regions, like Galicia, which have preserved a remarkably large proportion of the works produced in a single medium during one period permit a glimpse of the less visible but equally important threads that help fashion an artistic style. The construction of a single building becomes but a part of a larger artistic process shaped by the changing rhythms of construction at various sites. Behind the craftsmen whose work can be identified through close analysis of pieces of sculpture, one dimly discerns the instructions of supervisors or the work of masons who might one day step into the light as sculptors. Even in the most modest churches, a small number of simple decorative motifs represent purposeful choices from the much larger artistic vocabularies that craftsmen accumulated through their diverse experiences. The rules governing the use of these motifs reveal a surprising variety of approaches to these artistic vocabularies; the transmission of such rules poses more difficult questions about the training of artists and the continuity of artistic traditions than the transmission of the motifs themselves. In short, the process of artistic creation and production emerges in its full complexity and directs our attention to the hidden forces that shaped some of the landscapes of medieval art which have become deceptively familiar to us.

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## NOTES

This research was begun as part of my dissertation at the Courtauld Institute of Art under Professor George Zarnecki whose support I warmly acknowledge and to whom I dedicate this article, as a small tribute to his lifelong dedication to the study and preservation of Romanesque art. He has drawn beauty out of old stones. Serafin Moralejo generously offered guidance, and I am grateful to Marilyn Stokstad, Alison Stones and Neil Stratford for thoughtful readings of drafts of this article. Finally, I would like to thank the diocesan authorities and parish priests in Lugo and Ourense who have facilitated my access to hundreds of churches. The Central Research Fund of the University of London, a Junior Faculty Research Grant from Reed College, a Research Initiation Grant from the University of South Florida at Tampa and a fellowship from the Howard Foundation have supported my research.

<sup>1</sup> For recent work and additional bibliography on the Romanesque churches of Galicia: M. CHAMOSO LAMAS AND OTHERS, *Galice Romane*, La Pierre qui Vire 1973; I.G. BANGO TORVISO, *Arquitectura románica en Pontevedra*, La Coruña 1979; J.C. VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense en Galicia*, 2 vols., La Coruña 1982; R. YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica en Lugo*, I, *Parroquias al oeste del Miño*, La Coruña 1983; *Arquitectura románica de La Coruña*, I, *Faro-Mariñas-Eume*, Vigo 1983; I. BANGO TORVISO, *Galicia Románica*, Vigo 1988; J. D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in the Diocese of Lugo, East of the Miño*, Courtauld Institute of Art, Univ. of London Ph.D. 1988; J.M. PITA ANDRADE, *O Románico*, in *A Arte Galega: Estado da Cuestión*, La Coruña 1990, pp. 121-158; J.C. VALLE PÉREZ, *O Protogótico*, ivi, pp. 159-188.

F. Vázquez Saco described 164 Romanesque churches of the province of Lugo in a series of articles: F. VÁZQUEZ SACO, *Iglesias románicas de la provincia de Lugo*, «Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Histórico-Artísticos de Lugo», I-VII (1941-1961). Inventories include: A. DEL CASTILLO, *Inventario de la riqueza monumental y artística de Galicia*, Santiago de Compostela 1972; E. VALIÑA SAMPEDRO AND OTHERS, *Inventario artístico de Lugo y su provincia*, 6 vols., Madrid 1975-1983.

For recent work and additional bibliography on Santiago Cathedral: S. MORALEJO, *Notas para unha revisión da obra de K.J. Conant*, in *Arquitectura Románica da catedral de Santiago de Compostela*, Santiago de Compostela 1983, pp. 91-116; M. DURLIAT, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques. De Conques à Compostelle*, Mont-de-Marsan 1990, pp. 204-217, 310-357.

<sup>2</sup> For the Medieval documents of Galicia: S. JIMÉNEZ GÓMEZ, *Guía para el estudio de la edad media gallega (1100-1480)*, Santiago de Compostela 1973; X.R. BARREIRO FERNÁNDEZ AND OTHERS, *Inventario das fontes documentais da Galicia Medieval*, Santiago de Compostela 1988; J.I. FERNÁNDEZ DE VIANA Y VIEITES, *Las fuentes documentales gallegas de la Edad Media. Estado de su publicación*, «Museo de Pontevedra», XLIII (1989), pp. 1-7. The publication of Galician documents has continued with: M. ROMANÍ MARTÍNEZ, *A colección diplomática do mosteiro cisterciense de Sta. María de Oseira (Ourense) (1025-1310)*, 2 vols., Santiago de Compostela 1989; A. RODRÍGUEZ FERNÁNDEZ, J.A. REY CAIÑA, *El Tombo del Monasterio de Villanueva de Lorenzana*, «Estudios Mindonienses», VIII (1992), pp. 11-324; *O Tombo de Celanova*, 2 vols., ed. J.M. Andrade Cernadas, Santiago de Compostela 1995.

<sup>3</sup> For the holdings of the monasteries of Sobrado dos Monxes, Oseira and Samos: *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*, II, ed. P. Loxertales de G. de Valdeavellano, Madrid 1976, pp. 79-103; ROMANÍ MARTÍNEZ, *A colección diplomática*, I, pp. 20-21, 23-24, 39-43, 48-49, 51-52, 71-72; *El Tombo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII-XII)*, ed. M. Lucas Álvarez, Santiago de Compostela 1986, pp. 445, 486.

<sup>4</sup> Ferreira de Pantón: VÁZQUEZ SACO, *Iglesias románicas*, «Boletín... de Lugo», IV (1951), pp. 176-182; M.D. YÁÑEZ NEIRA, *El monasterio de San Salvador de Ferreira*, «Cistercium», XXVIII (1976), pp. 219-238; M.F. ENRÍQUEZ RODRÍGUEZ, *El Real Monasterio de Sta. María de Ferreira de Pantón: estudio artístico*, «Cistercium», XXXVI (1984), pp. 125-160; M.D. YÁÑEZ NEIRA, *El monasterio cisterciense de Ferreira de Pantón (descripción histórico-artística)*, Lugo 1985; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 103-110. R. YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La iglesia del monasterio cisterciense de Ferreira de Pantón*, in *San Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal*, «Actas Congreso Internacional», 2 vols., Ourense 1992, pp. 859-875.

<sup>5</sup> For the affiliation with Meira: A. MANRIQUE, *Cistercium seu Verius Ecclesiasticorum Annalium [...]*, 4 vols., Lyon 1642-1659, III, pp. 28-29; M. RISCO, *España Sagrada*, XLI, Madrid 1798, pp. 31-32. The gift of the convent to Meira and a related donation of 1175 are transcribed in J.V. PIÑEIRO Y CANCIO, *Colección diplomática y memorias para la historia de la ciudad e Iglesia de Lugo [...]*, III, fol. 424-426v (Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral). An early thirteenth-century copy of the 1175 donation to Ferreira omits the date but mentions the affiliation with Meira: Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacio-

nal, sección de Clero, carp. 1142, no. 7.

The simple capitals of the west portal resemble those of other local churches influenced by Meira. I am most grateful to the archivist of Lugo Cathedral, D. Amador López Valcárcel, and the abess for facilitating my access to this portal which now opens into the cloister.

<sup>6</sup> «San Salvador de Ferreyra, fábrica de la Condesa doña Froyla Fernández, por la Era del 1196» (1158 A.D.): A. DE YEPES, *Crónica general de la Orden de San Benito [...]*, VII, Valladolid 1621, p. 328. She is the countess Fronilde Fernández who headed the list of nobles who gave the convent to Meira in 1175.

<sup>7</sup> For the derivation of the sculpture of San Vicente de Avila and San Millán de Segovia from that of the western bays of San Isidoro de León: M. GÓMEZ MORENO, *El arte románico español*, Madrid 1934, pp. 164-166. For the churches of Avila: M. VILA DA VILA, *La escultura románica en Avila: talleres de filiación hispano-languedociana*, Barcelona 1991.

<sup>8</sup> For Castilian sculptors at Santiago: MORALEJO, *Notas*, p. 115; M. VILA DA VILA, *Sobre las relaciones entre la catedral de Santiago y el primer románico abulense*, «Museo de Pontevedra», XLIII (1989), pp. 146-148; J. D'EMILIO, *The Building and the Pilgrim's Guide*, in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, eds. A. Stones, J. Williams, Tübingen 1992, p. 192.

Among the Galician churches in this group (cfr. n. 20), the portals at Amoeiro and Bóveda (Ourense) support a date of ca. 1160 for Ferreira de Pantón. A charter was signed in the church of Amoeiro in 1155 (ROMANÍ MARTÍNEZ, *A colección diplomática*, I, pp. 36-37), and an inscription on the west facade dates its dedication in 1162; a will of 1169 or 1174 includes a gift to the convent of Bóveda *ad opus ecclesie*: E. DURO PEÑA, *El monasterio de San Miguel de Bóveda*, «Archivos Leoneses», XXXI (1977), p. 122; ID., *Catálogo de los documentos privados en pergamino del archivo de la catedral de Orense (888-1554)*, Orense 1973, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> San Paio de Diomondi: VÁZQUEZ SACO, *Iglesias románicas*, «Boletín de... Lugo», II (1946), pp. 270-273; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 179-195.

<sup>10</sup> The inscription reads: «ERA CCVIII HOC LIMEN SITUM EST». 1208 in the Spanish Era is 1170 A.D.

<sup>11</sup> D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 187-191, 194-195. The consecration of San Pedro in 1182 is mentioned in an inscription on the cusped lintel of the west portal. At San Xoán the apse was likely completed soon after the establishment of a Hospitallers' commandery there by 1182, for it is dwarfed by the tall, battlemented nave which introduces the new decorative idiom of the west porch of Santiago Cathedral. This more ambitious project probably followed the ousting of the rival Order of Santiago from the town in 1188 and the definitive establishment of their headquarters at Vilar de Donas in 1194, but the continuity of masons' marks indicates no interruption between the two campaigns. For the churches of Portomarín: YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 63, 125-140.

<sup>12</sup> This campaign at Lugo Cathedral was characterized by the use of simple capitals with one row of plain leaves and a broad concave abacus studded with prominent square or pentagonal fleurons. On the four decorated respond capitals in this group and many of the window capitals, the abaci present a strict alternation of volutes and geometrical fleurons; in the countryside, this distinctive structure recurs only in small groups of churches — like that at Diomondi — with other artistic connections to Lugo. For the date and character of the campaign at Lugo: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 111-145; R. YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La catedral de Lugo, consideraciones sobre su construcción*, «Abrentes», XXI-XXII (1989-1990), pp. 7-51.

<sup>13</sup> San Esteban de Ribas de Miño: VÁZQUEZ SACO, *Iglesias románicas*, «Boletín de... Lugo», III (1948), pp. 107-113; CHAMOSO LAMAS AND OTHERS, *Galice Romane*, pp. 351-353; R. YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La expansión del arte del Maestro Mateo: San Esteban de Ribas de Miño*, in *Jubilatio: Homenaje de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia a D. Manuel Lucas y D. Angel Rodríguez*, Santiago de Compostela 1987, II, pp. 571-591; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 235-250, 282-290.

<sup>14</sup> For work on Santiago Cathedral in the 1160s and the foreign sources for the decoration of its west crypt: S. MORALEJO, *Esculturas Compostelanas del último tercio del siglo XII*, «Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos», XXVIII (1973), pp. 294-310; M. WARD, *Studies in the Pórtico de la Gloria*, New York Univ. Ph.D., 1978, pp. 36-52, 60-62; MORALEJO, *Notas*, pp. 111-115; and the articles of M. WARD, N. STRATFORD, J. D'EMILIO, C. MANSO PORTO, J.A. PUENTE MIGUEZ, in *O Pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo*, «Actas. Simposio Internacional, Santiago de Compostela, 3-8 de Outubro de 1988», La Coruña 1992, pp. 43-142. For Lugo Cathedral: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 145-166 and ID., *Tradición local y aportaciones foráneas en la escultura románica tardía: Carrión, Lugo y Compostela*, in *O Pórtico da Gloria*, pp. 87-89, 92-93. For Ourense Cathedral: J.M. PITA

ANDRADE, *La construcción de la catedral de Orense*, Santiago de Compostela 1954, pp. 33-82.

Among the Cistercian abbeys, an inscription of 1167 marks the foundation of the church of Armenteira (VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense*, I, pp. 254-255, 261-263), king Fernando II contributed to the works at Sobrado in 1168 (*Ibid.*, I, pp. 66-67), and the churches of Meira and Melón, founded in the early 1150s, were likely begun by the 1170s (D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 287-292, 331-334; Valle Pérez suggests later dates for these two churches: VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense*, I, pp. 170-175, 226-229). Burgundian sources for Cistercian buildings in Galicia were noted by E. LAMBERT, *L'art gothique en Espagne aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1931, pp. 80-84, and amply discussed by VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense*.

At Carboeiro, two inscriptions refer to the foundation of the church in 1171, and Burgundian sources for its choir have been generally acknowledged: E. LAMBERT, *La influencia de Saint-Denis y la iglesia de Carboeiro*, «Arquitectura», VI (1924), pp. 186-190; BANGO TORVISO, *Arquitectura románica*, pp. 83-88, 110-117; R. YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *El monasterio de Carboeiro*, in *Monacato Gallego. Sexquimilenario de San Bieito*, «Actas do Primeiro Coloquio, Ourense 1981», «Boletín Auriense», Anexo VI, Ourense 1986, pp. 121-151.<sup>15</sup> For the lobed apse at Ourense: PITA ANDRADE, *La construcción*, fig. 2, p. 47; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, p. 237. I am grateful to Isidro Bango and Carlos Valle for confirming this plan, for the apse is now obstructed by the retable and choirstalls. Variations on the lobed apse elsewhere in the diocese underscore the importance of the cathedral as a model: San Estebo de Ribas de Sil with an inscription of 1183, Santa Mariña de Augas Santas and Santa Mariña de Louredo. The lobed apse at Pesqueiras (Lugo) was modelled on San Estebo, for its decoration combines elements from both campaigns there.

For the spread of the arched corbel table in Galicia, beginning in the mid-1160s: J.C. VALLE PÉREZ, *Les corniches sur arcatures dans l'architecture romane du nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique*, «Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxá», XV (1984), pp. 225-262; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 87-88, 237.

For Oseira: VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense*, I, pp. 95-149; BANGO TORVISO, *Galicia Románica*, pp. 203-206; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 237-239, 287-290; E. Portela Silva has argued convincingly for dating the affiliation with the Cistercians between 1184 and 1191: E. PORTELA SILVA, *La colonización cisterciense en Galicia*, Santiago de Compostela 1981, pp. 49-53; M. ROMANÍ MARTÍNEZ, *La integración de Osera en el Císter: estado de la cuestión*, «Cuadernos de Estudios gallegos», XXXVII (1987), pp. 43-55. That the influence went from Oseira to San Estebo is demonstrated by the appearance of similar hood arches at Melón, Dozón and Asperelo, each with independent links to Oseira.

<sup>16</sup> D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 243-250. The radical abbreviation of complex iconographic programs and the simplification of once functional architectural elements underscore the dependence of San Estebo on the two cathedrals: false ribs spring from redundant impostes below the chancel vault (*Ibid.*, p. 250), the west crypt is an atrophied version of that at Santiago (YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La expansión*, pp. 572-573), and, on one of the arches of the west portal, seven figures quote more coherent programs at Santiago and Ourense (YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La expansión*, pp. 582-583 and *Id.*, *La fachada exterior del Pórtico de la Gloria: nuevos hallazgos y reflexiones*, «Abrentes», XIX-XX (1987-1988), pp. 7-42).

<sup>17</sup> VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense*, I, pp. 123-124; II, pl. 339.

<sup>18</sup> Four volutes had appeared on the broad face of several capitals on the ground floor of the transepts of Santiago Cathedral, but the arrangement was abandoned in the transept galleries and only rarely used in the eastern half of the nave before work resumed in the 1160s; the thick clasps were rare in the cathedral before the 1160s: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 69, 186.

Capitals with volutes traced on the undersides of the leaves appear at sites linked to Pantón (cfr. n. 20), including Carboentes, the south portal at San Salvador de Asma (*Ibid.*, pp. 185-186), and the west portal at Maside. Similar capitals at San Pedro de Portomarín and Bouzoa accompany other features derived from Diomondi: *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 204-205. At Santiago Cathedral, examples appear on the exterior capitals of the windows of the south transept facade.

<sup>19</sup> The fine fluting decorates the plinths of the west portal of Diomondi and some related bases and corbels at Portomarín. Near San Estebo, it reappears on a plinth of the west portal of San Victorio de Ribas de Miño: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, p. 251.

<sup>20</sup> Sobrado de Trives: J. RAMÓN Y FERNÁNDEZ OXEA, *A eirexa de San Salvador de Sobrado de Trives*, «Arquivos do Seminario de Estudos galegos», III (1929), pp. 253-265; H. GALLEGO ARMESTO, *La iglesia de Sobrado de Trives*, «Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense», IX (1930), pp. 59-64; E. DURO PEÑA, *El monasterio de San Salvador de Sobrado de Trives*, «Archivos Leoneses», XXI (1967), pp. 1-80. Abbess María Sánchez of Trives gave her share of Ferreira to Meira in 1175

(cfr. n. 5), and Duro Peña suggested that her brothers and sisters were among the other proprietors of Ferreira de Pantón: DURO PEÑA, *El monasterio de San Salvador*, pp. 10-11. The earliest decoration at Trives, that on the exterior of the apse windows, is closely related to the sculpture at Barbadelo: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 99-101. Yzquierdo Perrín discovered the connection between Carboentes and Pantón: YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, p. 46, and published the links between Sobrado and Pantón: *Id.*, *La iglesia del monasterio*, pp. 859-875. For the donation of Carboentes: *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega, Colección de Documentos*, I (1915), pp. 213-214.

<sup>21</sup> For the spread of his style and related Compostelan currents in central Galicia: YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 26-58; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 105-110.

<sup>22</sup> Ferreiros and Ribasaltas: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 195-203.

<sup>23</sup> Within eight kilometers of Portomarín, versions of the cusped lintel appear on the west portals of churches at Ferreiros, Friolfe, Grallás and Suar. Craftsmen trained at the Hospitallers' church at Incio decorated the portals at Friolfe after Alfonso IX gave the order the church in 1203; the portals at Grallás and Suar were even later: *Ibid.*, pp. 317-321, 346. For the sources and diffusion of the cusped lintel: *Ibid.*, pp. 166-171.

X-in-square or star-in-square ornament was used at Diomondi, Piñeira and San Xoán de Portomarín where it inspired local examples at Adai, Grallás and San Miguel de Paradela.

<sup>24</sup> San Victorio de Ribas de Miño, Santa María de Marrube, Santa María de Camporramiro, Santa María de Pesqueiras and San Fiz de Asma: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 250-257, 273-279, 282-287.

<sup>25</sup> The 'coinclots' appear on the compound leaf capital of the south window of the apse but they were omitted from the respond capital of nearly identical design on the north side of the outer chancel arch.

<sup>26</sup> For the spiky acanthus at Oseira: VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense*, II, pls. 170, 222, 255.

<sup>27</sup> These levels of analysis may be compared with the distinctions E. Panofsky drew in iconographical studies, beginning with pure forms, then moving successively to primary or natural subject matter, secondary or conventional subject matter and intrinsic meaning or content: E. PANOFSKY, *Studies in Iconology*, New York 1962, pp. 3-17.

<sup>28</sup> One might compare E. Gombrich's remarks on the use of 'breaks' in patterns as accents or his comments on architectural decorum: E. GOMBRICH, *The Sense of Order: a Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, Ithaca 1979, pp. 110-113, 178-179.

<sup>29</sup> Camporramiro: VÁZQUEZ SACO, *Iglesias románicas*, «Boletín de... Lugos», II (1945), pp. 15-17; YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 118-121; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 255-261. King Alfonso IX of León gave the royal rights in Santa María de Camporramiro to the monastery of San Salvador de Asma in 1208, but the complexity of the building cautions against basing a date in one document: J. GONZÁLEZ, *Alfonso IX*, Madrid 1944, II, pp. 317-318.

<sup>30</sup> Gombrich examines counterchange and multiple readings of patterns in the decorative arts: GOMBRICH, *The Sense of Order*, pp. 89-91, 124-125, 129-137, 142-147.

<sup>31</sup> The rims of leaves are clasped together like stalks on capitals in the nearby churches of Marrube and, perhaps, San Victorio de Ribas de Miño: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 251-255.

<sup>32</sup> Capitals and impostes at Camporramiro bear traces of paint. Whatever its medieval antecedents, painted ornament could hardly have lessened the ambiguities caused by the clasped or crisscrossing stems which double as the edges of leaves. In fact, paint might have contributed to their playfulness.

<sup>33</sup> Parallels may be cited at Losón and Oca for the transfer of carefully measured cusps from arches to impostes, and, at Borraxeiros, for a similar transfer to a plinth (BANGO TORVISO, *Arquitectura románica*, pls. V, XII, LXII, LXIII), but I know no other examples on foliate decoration in Galicia of such a use of sunken lobes shaped precisely like those of cusped arches.

<sup>34</sup> Cfr. n. 23 and D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>35</sup> At San Estebo, it appeared only on the hood arch of the high east window of the nave near the end of the long project. The church of Hospital de Incio whose architecture and sculpture were influenced by the Cistercian abbey at Meira provides an interesting parallel, for billeting was restricted at Incio to two plinths and a corbel, but it soon reappeared in smaller churches like those of Friolfe and Cervela whose sculpture was derived from Incio: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 62, 250, 282-285, 295, 317-319, 326-329.

<sup>36</sup> In central Galicia, the headstones of windows often received geometric ornament or carved mouldings; the practice finds no clear source in a major project, although one may compare the strings of billets which frame the openings of windows within moulded arches on the choir of Santiago Cathedral: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, p. 282. Metopes decorated with rosettes crowned the Puerta de Platerías at Santiago, and were copied in numerous buildings of Compostelan inspiration. Neither decora-

ted headstones nor rounded window bottoms were used on the apse of San Estebo, but both appear in many buildings, like Camporramiro, related to that church.

<sup>37</sup> For these and the related churches of San Fiz de Asma and Santa Baia de Búbal: YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 140-154; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 275-281.

<sup>38</sup> For the Ponteferreira group: YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 68-85, 93-96, 101-107, 113-124; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 208-212. Izquierdo views these arches as a variation of the cusped arch: R. YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La iglesia del antiguo monasterio de San Andrés de Orrea*, «Yermo», XV (1977), pp. 35-36; ID., *Los arcos lobulados en la arquitectura románica de Galicia*, «Museo de Pontevedra», XXXVII (1983), p. 227.

<sup>39</sup> Castelo: VÁZQUEZ SACO, *Iglesias románicas*, «Boletín de... Lugo», II (1946), pp. 215-219; YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 121-124. The arches are also broken by discs at Arcos, Albá, Orrea and Ventosa, and these are mixed with arches doubled by pointed pendants on the north portal at Orrea and the west portal at Ventosa.

<sup>40</sup> The east window and chancel arch are closely related to Santa María de Arcos: YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 121, 124.

<sup>41</sup> At Orrea and Ventosa, the only other sites where pointed pendants appear on similarly decorated voussoirs, sawtooth was also used extensively: BANGO TORVISO, *Arquitectura románica*, pls. I, III.

<sup>42</sup> For the stylized tree: VALLE PÉREZ, *La arquitectura cisterciense*, II, pls. 194, 278, 316 and 335. On the links between Oseira and Dozón: BANGO TORVISO,

*Arquitectura románica*, p. 123; J.C. VALLE PÉREZ, *La iglesia del monasterio de San Pedro de Vilanova de Dozón*, Lalín 1983, pp. 19-21. In 1217, the nunnery of Dozón received 150 solidi from the Cistercian abbey of Sobrado as settlement of their claim to an estate; the money was spent on the dedication of the church (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, sección de Clero, carp. 537, no. 20). The apse of the large church was probably completed well in advance of the dedication, perhaps by 1200.

<sup>43</sup> Piñeira: VÁZQUEZ SACO, *Iglesias románicas*, «Boletín de... Lugo», II (1946), pp. 219-222; YZQUIERDO PERRÍN, *La arquitectura románica*, pp. 154-155; D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 205-216, 259-260.

<sup>44</sup> In Galicia, carved decoration on the sides of corbels was rare, but there are examples at other sites related to San Estebo and Camporramiro: Escudro, San Victorio de Ribas de Miño and San Paio de Albán.

<sup>45</sup> The earlier carving of the tympanum would also explain the failure to continue the rolled edges of the jambs and corbels along its lower edge.

<sup>46</sup> For a fuller consideration of these buildings: D'EMILIO, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, pp. 261-273. Closer to Camporramiro, the churches of Baamorto, Melias, San Paio de Albán and San Eusebio da Peroxa show the continuing influence of work there well into the thirteenth century.

<sup>47</sup> Even if one discards the notion of a cohesive workshop undertaking a series of projects, one must still concede that the carving of Romanesque sculpture was often a collective process involving various craftsmen in shifting relationships, cfr. the apt remarks of N. STRATFORD, *Autun and Vienne*, in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, Woodbridge 1987, p. 193.

## ORGANIZZAZIONE DEL LAVORO E LINGUAGGIO DELLA DECORAZIONE ARCHITETTONICA NELLA GALIZIA ROMANICA: SANTA MARÍA DE CAMPORRAMIRO

James D'Emilio

Nell'ambito della ricerca sulla decorazione architettonica romanica, la perdita degli edifici e la scarsità dei dati documentari riguardanti la loro costruzione e decorazione spesso hanno frustrato i tentativi degli studiosi di datare le chiese, individuare i maestri e scrivere una storia dello stile.

Quelle regioni, come la Galizia, che conservano una gran parte delle loro chiese romaniche forniscono un fondamento empirico allo studio delle pratiche di lavoro delle maestranze

e della struttura e sviluppo dei loro linguaggi artistici. In Galizia, la regione collinosa che circonda il fiume Miño vicino a Belesar, si trova una concentrazione particolarmente elevata di edifici romanici ben conservati. Lì, le grandi e riccamente decorate chiese di Ferreira de Pantón, Diomondi e San Estebo de Ribas de Miño presentano elementi, valutabili cronologicamente, relativi al giungere e al diffondersi di quattro differenti linguaggi artistici nella seconda metà del 12° secolo. Su questo sfondo, la modesta chiesa a Camporramiro suscita interesse perché le sue tre consecutive fasi di decorazione sono ciascuna collegata a correnti artistiche chiaramente definite, presenti nelle chiese vicine. Un'approfondita analisi di questo edificio getta luce sulla struttura del cantiere romanico, il mutare della divisione del lavoro al suo interno e la risposta creativa di muratori e scultori ai differenti linguaggi artistici.