

Religious Experience and Monastic Identity in Romanesque Sculpture at  
Santa Maria de Ripoll (Catalonia), 1030-1180

By

Matthew J. Westerby

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This dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Thomas E.A. Dale, Professor, Art History (Dissertation supervisor)

Gail L. Geiger, Professor Emerita, Art History

Quitman E. (Gene) Phillips, Professor, Art History

Karl Shoemaker, Associate Professor, History and Law

Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, Professor, Art History (Montclair State University)

Shira Brisman, Assistant Professor, Art History

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## ABSTRACT:

Matthew J. Westerby: *Religious Experience and Monastic Identity in Romanesque Sculpture at Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1030-1180*  
(Under the direction of Thomas E.A. Dale)

This dissertation offers the first comprehensive study of the twelfth-century architectural sculpture and tomb monuments at the once powerful Catalan abbey of Santa Maria de Ripoll (Girona, Spain). I study the Romanesque sculpture of Ripoll as interfaces between liturgy and history, outlining the affective religious experiences and stimuli to multi-sensory religious experience that this sculpture engendered. Located about sixty miles north of Barcelona in a mountain valley at the confluence of two rivers, Santa Maria de Ripoll was known across the Iberian Peninsula and Western Europe as a crossroads of art, learning and music in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A sculpted stone portal was added to existing eleventh-century walls and the cloister was decorated with marble capitals and variegated stone columns around 1140 to 1160. The scale and comprehensiveness of the twelfth-century portal and the richness of the marble cloister capitals show that the abbots and priors who initiated these works valued sculpture and the plastic arts for the purpose of memorializing the monastery's past and promoting the identity of the monks. Architectural sculpture at Ripoll also mediated and shaped monastic rituals, time cycles, and institutional politics, holding a particular power on the religious imagination. By exploring resonances between sculpted decorations, illuminated manuscripts, sacred space, and affectivity, I aim to provoke a much boarder discussion of sculpture at Ripoll than what has been offered. I develop a case study with close-knit comparisons that contributes to larger discussions in the field of Medieval Studies around materiality and the senses.

This study is divided into two parts. Part I is comprised of two chapters on the sculpted west portal: Chapter 1 examines voice and personification in the Ripoll portal, and Chapter 2 examines the portal archivolts within the framework of spiritual and corporeal vision. Part II is comprised of two chapters on the Ripoll claustro-panteón as the burial site of the Catalan Counts: Chapter 3 examines the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III as a representation of funerary liturgy, and chapter 4 explores the sculpted cloister capitals and the themes of the cleansing, protection, and resurrection of the body.

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**Note to the reader:**

Place names are rendered as they are commonly cited according to modern geographical borders. An exception is made for the rendering of Catalan place names; the name of the region is given as Catalonia (the standard English form), and all place names within Catalonia are given in Catalan.

Biblical citations refer to the Latin Vulgate Bible, and English translations, unless noted otherwise, to the Douay-Rheims Bible.

**List of commonly used abbreviations:**

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| ABEV   | Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal De Vic   |
| ACA    | Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona   |
| BAV    | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City  |
| BC     | Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona  |
| BNE    | Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid   |
| BnF    | Bibliothèque nationale de France  |
| BNU    | Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin   |
| DELABO | Junyent (ed.), <i>Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'Abat i Bisbe Oliba</i> (1992)  |
| GCB    | Cingolani (ed.), <i>Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva), la Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll</i> (2012) |
| MH     | <i>Marca hispánica</i>  |
| PL     | <i>Patrologiae Latina</i> (Database)  |

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## Religious Experience and Monastic Identity in Romanesque Sculpture at Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1030-1180

### Introduction

#### Scribes and Sculptors: Religious Experience and Monastic Identity at Ripoll

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In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Santa Maria de Ripoll was known across the Iberian Peninsula and Western Europe as a crossroads of art, learning and music. Located about sixty miles north of Barcelona in a mountain valley at the confluence of two rivers, the monastery was founded in the late ninth century in what was then a largely depopulated zone between the kingdoms of Al-Andalus and the fringes of the Carolingian Empire. This region of the Pyrenees is described in one twelfth-century text copied at Ripoll as a place between Gallia and Hispania (making clear that it was not one or other).<sup>1</sup> The abbey church and cloister served as burial sites for the counts of Barcelona, Besalú, and other Catalan counties that by the late twelfth century had largely been subsumed into the Crown of Aragón. The culture of commemoration and care for the dead at Ripoll was primarily focused on this dynasty of male rulers who traced their patrimony to Guifré el Pilós (d. 897), entombed at Ripoll. Wealthy and well connected in the eleventh century, the monastery reached its golden age in the time of Abbot Oliba, who in 1032 dedicated a greatly enlarged abbey church with seven apses. The abbey

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<sup>1</sup> Although not speaking about Ripoll, the author of the eleventh-century *Gesta vel obitus* of Pietro I Orseolo describes Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa as “...situm iuxta montem Canegon, qui est caput Pyraneorum moncium, inter fines Galliarum et Hispaniarum.” The designation “between France and Spain” was equally valid at Ripoll when this text was copied there in the twelfth century in a manuscript now in Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132, ff. 93v-101v. See *Gesta vel obitus domni Petri ducis Venecie atque Dalmacie*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Rome: Nella sede dell'Instituto Palazzo Borromini, 2016), esp. pp. 6-7.

church seen today is a reconstruction, initiated in 1886 and consecrated ten years later (see plan, **plate 1**).

Around 1140, or about one hundred years after the death of Oliba, the monastery flourished again. This later proliferation of arts and liturgy was largely focused on the commemoration of the past through written histories and new edifices, like other ancient Benedictine abbeys.<sup>2</sup> A new sculpted stone portal was fabricated and the cloister was newly decorated with marble capitals and arches and variegated stone columns around 1140 to 1160. Also at this time the *Brevis Historia Monasterii Rivipullensis*, a history of the monastery and its privileges, was written dated to 1147.<sup>3</sup>

In this study I examine twelfth-century architectural stone sculpture at Ripoll as an interface between liturgy and history. Although architectural sculpture is my primary object of study, I also explore resonances between sculpted decorations, illuminated manuscript, sacred space, and affect.<sup>4</sup> The scale and comprehensiveness of the twelfth-century portal and the expense of the marble cloister capitals shows that the abbots and priors who initiated these works clearly valued sculpture and the plastic arts above other forms of image making for the purpose of memorializing the monastery's past. In this sense monumental stone sculpture was the focal point for the performance and experience of sacred song and its associated movements and tactile, visual, and auditory sensations.

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<sup>2</sup> This observation, comparing the sculpted portals and institutional identities of Santa Maria de Ripoll and Malmesbury Abbey in the twelfth centuries, is made by Manuel Castiñeiras, “The Romanesque Portal as Performance,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168, no. 1 (2015): 1–33, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Stefano Maria Cingolani, *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva), la Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2012), with bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Although this study follows a different methodology, the notion of Ripoll as a “center of experiences” has been addressed in Jordi Camps and Manuel Castiñeiras, “Figura pintada, imatge esculpida. Ecllosió de la monumentalitat i diàleg entre les arts a Catalunya, 1120-1180,” in *El romànic i la Mediterrània: Catalunya, Toulouse i Pisa (1120-1180)* (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2008), pp. 133–47, at pp. 134–37.

Santa Maria de Ripoll was also home to an extremely prolific scriptorium that produced three giant illuminated bibles in the early eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> Of these the most famous is without doubt the Ripoll Bible (Rome, BAV, Ms. Lat. 5732), itself considered a crossroads for the proliferation and transmission of visual art in the region.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to the scriptorium's book production and the well-documented contents of the monastery's library, Ripoll offers an uncommonly rich case study for a focused examination of twelfth-century sculpture and its responses in other media. As much a crucible as a crossroads, the sculpture and manuscript illumination at Ripoll, like the realms of the counts and kings of Barcelona and Aragón who were entombed there, was broadly trans-Pyrenean in scope.<sup>7</sup>

In 1047, after the death of abbot Oliba, an inventory of the treasury and library was recorded. This inventory offers a glimpse into a lost library that scholars have labored to reconstruct, largely initiated after the removal of most of the surviving manuscripts to archives in Barcelona under the aegis of Próspero de Bofarull and after the much-lamented fire of 1835.<sup>8</sup> In 1907 the Austrian historian and paleographer Rudolf Beer published a monumental study of the medieval library and a catalogue of its

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<sup>5</sup> A magisterial study of these three bibles is published in Anscari Mundó, *Les Bibles de Ripoll: Estudi dels MSS. Vaticà, Lat. 5729 i París, BNF, Lat. 6*, Studi e Testi 408 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras and Immaculada Lorés, "Las Biblias de Ripoll: una encrucijada del arte románico en Catalunya," in *Les Fonts de la pintura romànica*, ed. Milagros Guardia and Carles Mancho (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2008), pp. 219-260.

<sup>7</sup> The trans-Pyrenean historical lens I evoke here refers primarily to the studies of Thomas Bisson. See, for example, "The Organized Peace in Southern France and Catalonia, ca. 1140-ca. 1233," *The American Historical Review* 82, no. 2 (1977): 290–311.

<sup>8</sup> A description and history of the fire of 1835 is given by Josep Pellicer, *Santa Maria del monasterio de Ripoll: Nobilísimo origen y gloriosos recuerdos de este célebre santuario, hasta el milenario de su primera dedicación: reseña histórica* (Mataró: Feliciano Horta, 1888), chapter 14, pp. 232–251.

manuscripts, carefully noting all the books that survived or were lost.<sup>9</sup> The largest portion of the manuscripts that survive from Ripoll are now kept at the Archivo de la Corona del Aragón in Barcelona, with smaller collections at the Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal in Vic, the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona. Other manuscripts are scattered across libraries in Europe, including the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Vatican Library in Rome, the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria in Turin.

The most famous book from the monastic scriptorium is undoubtedly the Ripoll Bible. This bible served as a pictorial model for later artworks at the monastery, perhaps including a now obscured painted portal, thought to be concealed (or immured) by the twelfth-century sculpted portal (**plate 4**). Only a small section of this painted portal is visible above the top parapet of stone portal. A full-page frontispiece with scenes from the Book of Exodus was added to the Ripoll Bible, probably at the time of the dedication of the abbey church in 1032 (**figure 4**).<sup>10</sup> In 1911 Josep Pijoan was the first to note the iconographic similarities between the Ripoll Bible illustrations and the sculpted portal.<sup>11</sup> *Tituli* (or brief captions) are inscribed on the frontispiece to identify each scene. Although these *tituli* are most often thought to serve as an aid to the reader, it has been suggested

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<sup>9</sup> Rudolf Beer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll*, 2 vols. (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1907–08). Pere Barnils published a Spanish translation of Beer’s study shortly after, *Los manuscritos del Monasterio de Santa Maria de Ripoll* (Barcelona: Casa Caritat, 1910). For a description and narrative of the events surrounding the 1835 fire see Pellicer, *Santa María del monasterio de Ripoll*, chapter 14, “Execrable profanación é incendio de la Basílica Olivana,” pp. 251–266.

<sup>10</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras, “The Ripoll Portal Revisited: An Honorary Arch for the Ancestors,” in *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (Leeds: Maney, 2013), pp. 121–41, at p. 130.

<sup>11</sup> Josep Pijoan, “Les miniatures de l’Octateuch a les Biblias romàniques Catalanes,” *Anuari de l’Institut d’Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911–12): 475–508. Until the publication of Pijoan’s essay the Ripoll Bible was known as the Farfa Bible, attributed to the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery at Farfa in Italy. The other classic study of the portal from this period is Josep Gudiol, “Iconografia de la Portalada de Ripoll,” *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* 19 (1909): 93–110, 124–37, 157–73, 197–212. Also see Castiñeiras and Lorés, “Las Biblias de Ripoll: una encrucijada,” p. 220.

that these were also useful to the painters who engaged with these illustrations as pictorial sources for the (obscured) painted portal.<sup>12</sup> Following Pijoan's observations, the comparison of scenes from the Exodus frontispiece and the Exodus reliefs from the right side of the portal are widely reproduced. The relationship between the illuminated frontispiece, the painted portal, and the sculpted portal stands as an uncommonly circumscribed case of retrospection and reinvention between artists and patrons over a nearly two-hundred-year span. Far from a derivative work, however, the sculpted portal has engendered its own responses and resonances. Although the paradigm is usually framed with the Ripoll Bible as a pictorial source for the later sculpted portal, it is also true that scribes, artists and countless others responded to their encounters with portal and recorded these responses in other media.<sup>13</sup>

The sculpted portal also includes short *tituli* inscribed along the horizontal bands of the face and also the edges of the vousoirs that comprise the inner and outer archivolt (**plate 10**), as I discuss in chapter 2. The most legible example is seen in the archivolt with scenes of Peter and Paul from the Acts of the Apostles (**fig. 44**). These inscriptions are not the same as those in the Ripoll Bible frontispiece. Drawing from the Vulgate Bible, the *tituli* of the stone portal often open with the word "UBI" ("here" or "where"), suggesting a mode of reading through relations of space and time; for example "Ubi Simon caelo ruit" (Here Simon falls from the sky). It is ambiguous if "here" refers to the streets of Rome from the biblical narrative or to the space of sculpted portal at the entrance to the church. This slippage of meaning is intentional and would further the

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<sup>12</sup> Castiñeiras, "The Ripoll Portal Revisited," p. 127.

<sup>13</sup> Along these lines, it has been proposed that a zodiac cycle belonging to the painted portal could have served as an object of poetic ekphrasis. See Castiñeiras, *ibid.* p. 131.

impression of sacred space in the encounter with the sculpted portal, often known as “heavenly gates.”<sup>14</sup>

Pairings of word and image are not exclusive to the portal at Ripoll. Tombs and capitals in the cloister were also inscribed in ways that grant them voices. The inscriptions on tomb of Ramon Berenguer III (**fig. 76**) emulate the sounds and emotions found in the *planctus* genre of funerary laments, as discussed in chapter 3. The name of Abbot Ramon de Berga (d. 1205) was also inscribed on an abacus above an engaged capital in the northeast pier of the cloister (**plate 13**), probably decades after these capitals were fabricated, as discussed in chapter 4. These inscriptions open wider questions about the other ways sculpture was provoked to speech.

#### RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND MONASTIC IDENTITY

Beyond the illuminated bibles, scribes trained at Ripoll are known to have traveled abroad to gather texts and images that they copied into manuscript miscellanies. Two important witnesses to the liturgy Ripoll also survive, including a Sacramentary (ABEV, Ms. 67) and Breviary (BnF, Ms. Lat. 742), but beyond these two manuscripts relatively few other complete liturgical manuscripts survive, and because of this the specifics of the liturgical calendar at Ripoll are not as well known as at other

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<sup>14</sup> On this theme see Senio Bruscelli, ed., *Ianua Coeli: dalla porta del tempio all'immagine di Maria: leggere l'arte della Chiesa* (Siena: Opera della Metropolitana, 2000). The topic of the portal as gateway to heaven was presented in papers at an International Congress in Barcelona, November 2010, "Ianua Coeli: La porta monumental romànica als territoris peninsulars" (the proceedings forthcoming). The Virgin Mary as "porta caeli" is recorded in a manuscript with prayers and the miracles at Ripoll, now in Barcelona, ACA, Ms. 193, f. 15. See Atanasio Sinués Ruíz, "Advocaciones de la Virgen en un códice del siglo XII," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 21 (1948): 1–34, p. 22.

monasteries.<sup>15</sup> Manuscript miscellanies, however, offer records of a different genre that reveal how art and liturgy was experienced and remembered at Ripoll.

In the case of one of these manuscript miscellanies now in Madrid (BNE, Ms. 19), it is possible to think of the miscellany like an edifice, or (in a more speculative vein) as a repository of sensory affectivities and responses. Excerpts of Augustine's statements on symbolism and an anonymous text on the various voices of animated things are included in its wide-ranging selection of texts.<sup>16</sup> The excerpts in BNE Ms. 19 are brief and include short rubrics labeled as “scarpsum” (an abbreviation for a gathering, as shortened from “ex carpsum”). In this case both the brevity of the brief excerpt and even the abbreviation of the rubric suggest a rather casual encounter with the sources from which it draws. I argue here that this kind of fluid encounter with objects might also be kept in mind in the engagement with sculpture.

Other sections of the miscellany BNE Ms. 19 reproduce astronomical texts and images from Aratus and Bede.<sup>17</sup> An appendix copied in the last folios of the codex include an artist's manual with recipes for making pigments and gesso, including a passage on chrysography, or writing in gold. This manual is related to Italian examples known as the *Mappae clavicula* and was possibly copied from a manuscript at Monte

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<sup>15</sup> There are important exceptions to this generalization. See “Els manuscrits litúrgics de l’Antiga Biblioteca del Monestir de Ripoll,” *Annals del Centre d’Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès* (1983): 109–12.

<sup>16</sup> On the text with the voices of animals, see Antoni Peris and Josep Sort, “La lista de *Voces animantium* del Matritensis B.N. 19: estudio de sus fuentes y nueva edición,” *Cuadernos de filología clásica: Estudios latinos* 15 (1998): 405–27.

<sup>17</sup> See Manuel Castiñeiras, “La ilustración del *De naturis rerum* de Beda en un manuscrito de la abadía de Santa María de Ripoll (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 19) y su arquetipo cassinense,” in *Arte d’Occidente: temi e metodi: studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, edited by Antonio Cadei, vol. 2 (Rome: Sintesi informazione, 1999), pp. 791–801.

Cassino by a scribe from Ripoll.<sup>18</sup> Between the date of the codex and the specific texts included, I propose that this book was created as part of a larger project to gather sources undergirding the project of fabricating the monumental sculpted portal, or at least to support the operations of an artist's workshop working at Ripoll.<sup>19</sup>

Of course books and buildings record sensory experiences in different ways, but together they give more complete glimpses of intentions, performances, audiences, and responses. I suggest that manuscript miscellanies can be read as records of ephemeral events and motivations, and sometimes show responses to specific notions about the role of images and the senses. It has been suggested that manuscript miscellanies were composed to aid in the creative process of writing, with gatherings or snippets of text that were easily obtainable for an author to borrow and recycle.<sup>20</sup> I propose that the question of how and why miscellanies were created, and especially the process of sourcing, selecting, and copying texts, parallels questions that have been proposed in the transmission of hymn repertoires and the transmission of repertoires and iconographic models in monumental sculpture.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> On BNE Ms. 19, the *Mappae clavicula*, and its attribution to Ripoll, see Manuel Castiñeiras, "Catalan Romanesque Painting Revisited: The Altar-Frontal Workshops," in *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, Index of Christian Art, 2007), pp. 119–51, esp. p. 126.

<sup>19</sup> Along these lines, Manuel Castiñeiras has speculated that in gathering visual material for the creation of the giant bibles Abbot Oliba was at the same time gathering sources for the decoration of his abbey church, and Castiñeiras suggests that the hagiography of Saint Pancras of Taormina might have inspired these actions. See Manuel Castiñeiras, "Le nouveau testament de la Bible de Ripoll et les traditions anciennes de l'iconographie chrétienne: du scriptorium de l'abbé Oliba à la peinture romane sur bois," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 40 (2009): 1-19.

<sup>20</sup> Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, ed., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> On the transmission of hymn repertoires as it applies in this question, see Susan Boynton, "Orality, Literacy, and Early Notation of the Office Hymns," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 99–168. On the repertoires of sculptors in Spain and Roussillon, see, for example, Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Saevum facinus: estilo, genealogía y sacrificio en el arte románico español," *Goya* 324

Another codex miscellany from Ripoll now in Barcelona (ACA, Ms. Ripoll 193) includes an original tract on the Virgin Mary by a monk from Ripoll, known as *Multociens contigit*, including a list of the names of the Virgin in glossary format.<sup>22</sup> The codex also includes a collection of the miracles of the Virgin Mary and a mystical tract similar to the devotional works of John of Fécamp that describes Mary as witnesses to Christ on the Cross, phrased in a way that she gazes upon the body of Christ as one would gaze at a piece of sculpture in the apse of the church.<sup>23</sup> Also included in the list of the Virgin's miracles is the story of the weekly unveiling of the icon of the Mother of God in Constantinople, known as the Blachernitissa. This text reports that this icon was “made not of wood, nor stone, nor gold, nor silver, or any metal, but by angelic means,” evoking the ancient tradition of images not made by human hands (or *acheiropoieta*).<sup>24</sup> Whereas icons are usually interpreted as panel paintings, sometimes with metallic covers, this text makes it clear that the icon is a sculpted image, either in the round or in metallic relief (*repoussé*).<sup>25</sup> Each of these passages lends important comparative data for the reception

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(2008): 173-199 and Jordi Camps, “Reflexions sobre l'escultura de filiació Rossellonesa a la zona de Ripoll, Besalú, Sant Pere de Rodes i Girona vers la segona meitat del segle XII,” *Estudi General* 10 (1990): 45–69. Classic studies on this topic are Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 2 vols. (Florence and New York: Pantheon / Brace, 1928) and Serafín Moralejo, “Sobre la formación del estilo escultórico de Frómista y Jaca,” in *España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico. Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de la Historia del Arte*, vol. 1 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1973) pp. 427–34.

<sup>22</sup> Sinués, “Advocaciones de la Virgen en un códice del siglo XII,” as in note 17.

<sup>23</sup> ACA, Ms. Ripoll 193, f. 53v. This text with the passage “Candet nudatum pectus” echoes PL 40, col. 906. On the attribution of this passage to John of Fécamp, see Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Jean de Fécamp* (Paris: Vrin, 1946); for an illuminating reading of this passage with bibliography see Rita Copeland, “The Middle English Candet Nudatum Pectus and Norms of Early Vernacular Translation Practice,” *Leeds Studies in English* 15 (1984): 57–81.

<sup>24</sup> ACA, Ms. Ripoll 193, f. 38v-39. See Cebrià Baraut, “Un recull de miracles de Santa Maria, procedent to Ripoll, i les Cantigues d' Alfons el Savi,” in *Maria-Ecclesia regina et mirabilis* (Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1956), pp. 127–160, esp. p. 130 and 149–150.

<sup>25</sup> On sculptural icons as bearers of sensory experiences, see Bissera Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

of sculpted images at Ripoll, and I draw on many of these throughout the course of this study.

It is rare that a scribe would write down where they travelled to gather new texts. In gathering the miracles of the Virgin Mary, however, the scribe of Ms. Ripoll 193 probably followed the same roads travelled by pilgrims to Burgundy. The scribe records visits to the priory of Friac (said to be “next to” Sainte-Foy de Conques) and the priory of Saint-Pierre de Carennac – two abbeys with west portals that were sculpted in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>26</sup> Knowing the scribe was present at these sites it is hard not to wonder if he saw first hand the sculpted and painted portals at Conques and at Carennac. The scribe's mission, however, was to gather a compendium of the miracles of the Virgin Mary, not to gaze at sculpted portals. The note recording his itinerary says that he encountered the book *De perpetua virginitate beatae Mariae* (The Perpetual Virginitate of the Holy Mary) by Ildefonsus of Toledo at these two abbeys.<sup>27</sup> In any case, this gives a rare chance to trace the actions of a monk-scribe while traveling abroad, recording his encounters with specific books (and possibly buildings).<sup>28</sup>

The method of scribal additions to these manuscript miscellanies also bears traces of the ephemeral and the momentary. This is the case in another miscellany from Ripoll in Paris (BnF Ms. Lat. 5132) with a collection of sermons by Chromatius of Aquileia and

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<sup>26</sup> This scribe's travels are noted in Baraut, “Un recull de miracles de Santa Maria”, pp. 131–32.

<sup>27</sup> A case could be made that the scribe encountered illuminated copies of this text, perhaps related to the celebrated Parma Ildefonsus (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Parm. 1650), illuminated at Cluny. For the classic study of this manuscript see Meyer Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus: A Romanesque Illuminated Manuscript from Cluny and Related Works* (S.I.: College Art Association of America, 1964). It has also been proposed that one of the artists of the Parma Ildefonsus was a Catalan painter; see Lorenza Cochetti Pratesi, “Il “Parma Ildefonsus”, Cluny e la pittura catalana,” *Arte Lombarda* 52 (1979): 21–30.

<sup>28</sup> Another case of a scribe from Ripoll working abroad is found in the case of Gualterius in ACA, Ms. Ripoll 42 (see my discussion in chapter 1).

the *Gesta vel obitus* of Pietro Orseolo. Among the more hastily inscribed additions at the end of the codex are records of the institution of new feasts, an agreement signed by each of the monks on the proper care and use of liturgical vestments, and a single-line excerpt from the second book of *De claustro animae* (The Cloister of the Soul) that lists the twelve principle abuses of the cloister (including *rumor*). Most of these additions were made less than fifty years after the sculpted portal and cloister capitals were fabricated. In one case a record for the establishment of feasts for the count of Barcelona says that on this occasion the monks were allowed to eat peppered eggs (*ovis congregentes pipere*), illuminating the extent to which even the foods that the monks ate were tied to the memory of their benefactors.<sup>29</sup>

Institutional links between monasteries in Catalonia were powerful signs of identity. The monasteries of Santa Maria de Ripoll and Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa shared close institutional affiliations through Abbot Oliba, who held together a congregational movement in the eleventh century.<sup>30</sup> Although the institutional affiliations between Ripoll and Cuxa were ostensibly separated in the twelfth century, the memory of this golden age was celebrated in written histories and saint's lives, and in monumental sculpture, at both sites. The twelfth-century life of the Venetian doge turned monk, Saint Pietro Orseolo, offers an idealized portrayal of the kind of monastic conversion that wealthy nobles sought to emulate. This conversion, however, was only realized with the sign of the tonsure marked on the body. As I discuss in chapter 2, tonsured heads appear in

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<sup>29</sup> BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132, f. 104v. See my discussion in chapter 3. A description of this manuscript is published by Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), appendix 3.

<sup>30</sup> Anscari Mundó, "Monastic Movements in the East Pyrenees," in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Noreen Hunt (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1971), pp. 98–122.

archivolts of portal, and were probably a prominent feature of the heads of the jamb statues of Saints Peter and Paul (now lost).

Over time the surface of the Ripoll portal has lost paint, weathered, and sometimes fractured or blistered. The heads and bodies of animals and human figures in the cloister capitals have been attacked. The multiple decorated portals of the cloister are now known only through fragments.<sup>31</sup> Beyond the intentional acts of defacement that such monuments always suffer, the portal has also endured unintentional defacement – primarily through efforts to restore the abbey church to a state that captures the grandeur of the monastery in the eleventh century. The walls of the church and cloister were applied with layers of gypsum plaster in the late nineteenth century, and over time the stone matrix of the portal absorbed the salts and minerals from this plaster. Through the sublimation of salt-saturated water the outermost surface of the stone became increasingly friable.<sup>32</sup> Sources of water that continued to flow through the old canals near the entrance to the church promoted this process.<sup>33</sup>

The gradual efflorescence of salts was (in wildly figurative terms) a prolonged duration in which the portal was shedding tears. As I discuss in chapter 1, however, the notion of stones “crying out” would have been among the interpretations a twelfth-century viewer might bring to mind in the encounter with the sculpted portal. On the

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<sup>31</sup> I do not attempt to reconstruct these lost portals in the present study, but future research on these fragmentary portals could yield important findings. On these portals see my discussion in chapter 4, and Xavier Barral, “La sculpture a Ripoll au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Bulletin Monumental* 131, no. 4 (1973): 311–359.

<sup>32</sup> Various interventions to stabilize the portal were conducted in the 1960s; for a summary see Antoni Llagostera, “Vicissituds: Portada romànica de Ripoll,” in *Pantocràtor de Ripoll: La portada romànica del monestir de Santa Maria*, pp. 805–71 (Ripoll: Patronat de Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll; Ajuntament de la Comtal Vila de Ripoll: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès, 2009).

<sup>33</sup> Llagostera, “Vicissituds: Portada romànica de Ripoll,” pp. 850–52.

other hand, and more generally, it is fair to say that medieval and modern audiences have long experienced empathic responses in the portal's presence.

This was especially the case after the nineteenth century, when the portal and cloister became a figurative *locus amoenus* in Catalan politics and nationalistic sentiment.<sup>34</sup> The principle voice in promoting this image of Ripoll is Jacint Verdaguer's epic poem *Canigó*, published around the time that Elies Rogent began his reconstruction of the abbey church. Verdaguer's compelling ekphrasis follows a long tradition of responses to the sculpted portal, but his is undoubtedly the most influential in modern memory. In his book on the monastery published in 1975, Eduardo Junyent, the eminent scholar of Ripoll and Vic, reproduced Verdaguer's portal ekphrasis along with a facsimile of the poet's autograph, signaling the authority that this poem projects.<sup>35</sup> Although Verdaguer's poem popularized the image of Christian reconquest that I argue against in chapter 2, the poem wonderfully evokes the genre of prosopopoeia, not dissimilar to the examples I discuss in chapter 1. Verdaguer describes the portal as animated and alive, with sound flowing outwards:

La paraula de foc de l'arquitecte  
fa alçar de terra el colossal project,  
monstres i sants, cantors i combatents;  
los ulls de pedra i llavis es desclouen  
aquells arquets de violí se mouen,  
i s'adolla la música a torrents.  
(The fiery phrases of the architect  
Impel the mighty project into motion,

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<sup>34</sup> A summary of the events and politics surrounding the reconstructions at Ripoll is given by Montserrat Pagès, “La restauració de Ripoll als inicis del catalanisme polític (fi del segle XIX).” *L'art medieval en joc*, ed. Rosa Alcoy (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2016), 87–106. My suggestion of Ripoll as *locus amoenus* is offered as an analogy to the medieval conception of the cloister as paradise, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>35</sup> Eduardo Junyent, *El monestir romaní de Santa Maria de Ripoll*, (Barcelona: Rieusset, 1975), pp. 160–61.

Monsters and saints, songsters and men-at-arms;  
 The pairs of eyes and lips in stone now open,  
 The bows of violins begin to move,  
 And music flows in streams from the façade).<sup>36</sup>

The torrents of sound Verdaguer describes can be read as a timeless conflation of visual and auditory senses. Verdaguer's own evocative response to the portal echoes the brief description of the luxury of the church at Santa Maria de Ripoll that I discuss in chapter 4, in the *Vita* of Miró de Tagamanent, which offers a medieval account of the emotional response to luxury and variety in sculpture at Ripoll.

As I submit this dissertation in the spring of 2017 the portal will have recently finished undergoing a significant conservation project that will undoubtedly reveal new information about the portal and its fabrication (as occurred after the renovations in the cloister from 2011 to 2012). I look forward to the new ideas and studies that will unfold after this latest *renovatio*.

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<sup>36</sup> Jacint Verdaguer, Canigó, cant XI, as in Junyent, *El monestir romanic de Santa Maria de Ripoll*, p. 161. English translation by Ronald Puppo, *Mount Canigó: A tale of Catalonia* (Barcelona and Woodbridge: Editorial Barcino and Tamesis, 2015), p. 173.

Religious Experience and Monastic Identity in Romanesque Sculpture at Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1030-1180

**Chapter 1**

*Tuba mirabilis*: Monastic Voice, Personification, and Psalmody in the Ripoll Portal<sup>1</sup>

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It is Christ whose imminent coming the priest-king, wearing  
the sacred headband, sang of, with voice and strings and tambour,  
drinking into his very marrow the spirit that flowed from heaven.

– Prudentius, "Hymn for All Hours" (*Cathemerinon*, chapter 9)

Sculpted around the middle of the twelfth century, the portal of Santa Maria de Ripoll takes the form of a monumental frontispiece abutted to the west wall of an abbey church dedicated in 1032 (**plate 4**). The viewer strains to see a wide frieze at top where Christ Pantocrator sits in an arched recess (**plate 5**), flanked by the elders of the Apocalypse holding instruments and drinking vessels, and below the apostles, saints and prophets. In the lower registers, just above eye level, are portrait reliefs with King David and musicians at left (**plate 6**), and with historical figures from the monastery's past on the right (**plate 7**). Above these scenes, the middle registers wrap around the sides with scenes from the Books of Exodus on the right (**plate 8**), and Book of Kings on the left (**plates 9**). Those who saw the portal centuries ago would have encountered this originally brightly-colored imagery in conjunction with a sonorous liturgy for which

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<sup>1</sup> A version of this chapter was presented at the 51st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI (2016) as "Singing, Shouting, Thundering: Voice in the Portal of Santa Maria de Ripoll." I thank Julia Perratore and Lloyd de Beer for organizing this session and for their comments and suggestions, along with Robert Maxwell, Peter Dent, Peter Scott Brown, and Kim Woods.

Ripoll was widely known. This was especially true with the singing of the chants *Gloria in excelsis* and *Alleluia* and for the annual feast of the dedication of the abbey church.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter explores how the portal proclaims the auditory power of the canticles and psalms, focusing on the loudest sections to trace how voices in prayer are mediated across biblical and liturgical time. Rather than assuming an overarching thematic unity or pictorial program, I focus on these sections of the portal to chart how specific voices represent and interact with monastic choirs and their audiences. Inscriptions on thin courses below the Exodus and Kings reliefs identify these scenes, but the highest register of the portal needs no inscription to identify the voice of the celestial throne (**plate 5**). Following the description in the Book of Revelation and its illustration in Beatus manuscripts, this throne of Christ is associated with lightening and thunder, as inscribed around an image of Christ enthroned from the early twelfth-century Turin Beatus (**fig. 1**), most likely copied at Ripoll.<sup>3</sup> Near the word “voices,” the Holy Spirit is shown descending as a single wavy line directly to the mouth of John as the Elders play their strings. The tenor of these Elders and associated prophets is referenced in a popular text known as the *Voces animantium*, an alphabetical glossary of animate things and their specific speaking verbs.<sup>4</sup> According to this glossary, the voices of humans “talk,” and the

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<sup>2</sup> These chants are granted to the abbots of Ripoll in a Papal Bull of 1016; on this document see DELABO, pp. 362–69. Also see the sermon on the relics contained in the church altars for the dedication of the church in 1032, dated “XVIII kalendas februarii” (January 15th); the feast of the dedication commemorates an earlier church dedication at Ripoll, most likely from 990, see DELABO, pp. 362–329.

<sup>3</sup> BNU, Sgn. I.II.1. The Turin Beatus was most likely copied from the earlier Girona Beatus in Catalonia either at Ripoll or Girona; see John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 4, *The eleventh and twelfth centuries* (London: Harvey Miller, 2002), pp. 26–30.

<sup>4</sup> A copy of the *Voces animantium* text was made at Ripoll in the twelfth century in a miscellany now at BNE, Ms. 19, ff. 189v-190; see Antoni Peris and Josep Sort y Jané, “La lista de *Voces animantium* del Matritensis B.N. 19: estudio de sus fuentes y nueva edición,” *Cuadernos de filología clásica: Estudios latinos* 15 (1998): 405–27.

prophets “intone” like thunder, whereas the voices of common folk are characterized by jubilation and shouting. This glossary is less helpful when searching for liturgical voices, perhaps because the nature of liturgical voice is situated between the human and divine.

Following the growing number of auditory studies by art historians such as Bissera Pentcheva and Sharon Gerstel, among others, my goal in this chapter is to outline a process of “inspiring” and personification in the portal where the performance of sacred song enfoldes the cantor into the fabric of the church.<sup>5</sup> I also focus on the portal's partly-surviving twelfth-century inscriptions, some with simple *tituli* and others in full verse, as ways to bridge the gap between viewer and cantor. Where Calvin Kendall has examined verse inscriptions in Romanesque sculpture as the voices of church portals, I explore their placement and their value within a network of spoken and performed words that activate other senses. The desire to transform words into sounds and images is also seen in the school of poetry at Ripoll through efforts to visualize objects through personification and to make them speak through prosopopoeia. The psalms and the psalter, as depicted in the portal, become a living fabric that depicts and sustains the pre-Christian origins of song, prayer, and dance – particularly in the figure of David, at once king, priest, and prophet.

The many musical instruments sculpted in the portal in the scenes with David and the Elders of the Apocalypse were no doubt familiar to twelfth-century audiences, but a monastic viewer would have interpreted these instruments in a more symbolic sense. In a

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<sup>5</sup> On *pneuma* and hymnody, see Bissera Pentcheva, “Icons of Sound: Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Choros,” in *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), pp. 45–56; Sharon Gerstel, “Monastic Soundscapes in Late Byzantium: The Art and Act of Chanting,” in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 135–52.

sermon copied at the beginning of the psalms in the Ripoll Bible known as “On the Benefit of Psalmody” (beginning *Qui promissum reddit*) attributed to Nicetas of Remesiana (c. 335-414), the author says that the horns, harps, cymbals, and tambourines of ancient music were, since the advent of Christ, “now understood to reside in the bodily members of man, and there better to sound.”<sup>6</sup> This idea of the singers embodying the ancient instruments of King David is also echoed by Amalarius of Metz (c. 775-850): “Our singers do not hold cymbals, or a lyre, or a harp in their hands, or any kind of musical instruments, but in their hearts.... The singers themselves are the tuba, they themselves are the psaltery, the drum, the choir, the strings, the organ and the cymbal.”<sup>7</sup> In this sense, the instruments seen in the portal are prefigurations of Christian voices in song, and, more specifically, of monastic voices in choir and in procession. I argue that the portal illustrates an exegesis of sacred song informed by this sermon ascribed to Nicetas, seemingly written to champion the vocal performance of psalms (as opposed to

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<sup>6</sup> “Nam quae carnalia sunt reiecta, ut puta circumcisio, sabbatum, sacrificia, ciborum discretio, tubae, cytharae, cymbala, tympana: quae omnia in membris nunc hominis intelleguntur et melius resonant.” Ripoll Bible (BAV, Ms. Lat. 5729), fols. 253r-254v; this text is only recorded in two other Spanish manuscripts, the ninth-century La Cava Bible (Biblia de Danila or *Codex Cavensis*, Cava di' Tirreni, Bibl. statale de Monumento Nazionale Badia di Cava, Ms. memb. I) fols. 100v-101, and the eleventh-century Bible of San Juan de la Peña (BNE, Ms. 2 [A2]), fols. 149-150. See Germain Morin, “Le *De Psalmodiae bono* de l'évêque saint Niceta: Rédaction primitive, d'après le ms. Vatic. 5729,” *Revue Bénédictine* 14, no. 1-4 (1897): 385-97, doi:10.1484/J.RB.4.03182; Andrew E. Burns, ed., *Niceta of Remesiana: His Life and Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905); Cuthbert Turner, “Niceta of Remesiana II: Introduction and text of *De psalmodiae bono*,” pt. 2, *Journal of Theological Studies* 24, no. 95 (Apr. 1923): 233-41. Excerpts of *De psalmodiae bono* were translated into English by James McKinnon, see William Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era*, rev. ed. (1998; repr., New York: W.W. Norton, 1950), pp. 128-31.

<sup>7</sup> Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, PL 105, col. 1106C-1106D: “Nostri cantores non tenent cymbala, neque lyram, neque cytharam manibus, neque genera musicorum, sed corde. Quanto cor maius est corpore, tando Deo devotius exhibetur quod per cor fit, quam per corpus. Ipsi cantores sunt tuba, ipsi psalterium, ipsi tympanum, ipsi chorus, ipsi cordae, ipsi organum, ipsi cymbala.” On this passage see Gunilla Iversen, “Supera agalmata: Angels and the Celestial Hierarchy in Sequences and Tropes,” in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), p. 120 and note 79.

silently reciting psalms and canticles internally).<sup>8</sup> The sermon also urges the reader to sing with spirit and understanding, echoed in the nineteenth rule of St. Benedict, where monks are admonished to sing the psalms and canticles with their minds and voices in harmony.<sup>9</sup>

## ICONOGRAPHY AND THE CHURCH DEDICATION

Approaching the Ripoll portal with the mindset of laying out a definitive schematic overview has proven very challenging. Yves Christe compared the portal to the Carolingian arch of Einhard, but found that, “le programme iconographique de Ripoll est évidemment plus riche, et plus touffu.”<sup>10</sup> Parallels for sections of the portal's imagery, however, are clear. The rendering of Christ Pantocrator in the uppermost register is comparable to eleventh-century painted apses and altar frontals from Catalonia.<sup>11</sup> Christ

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<sup>8</sup> On the problem of the psalms as both public and/or private in monastic prayer, see Susan Boynton, “Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters,” *Speculum* 82 (2007): 896–931.

<sup>9</sup> “Tantum, karissimi, intento sensu et vigilantia mente psallamus, sicut hortatur hymnicus: Quoniam rex inquit omni terra Deus, psallite sapienter, ut psalmus scilicet non solum spiritu, hoc est sono vocis, sed et mente dicatur, et ipsum quod psallimus cogitemus, nec captiva mens extraneis cogitationibus (ut saepe fit) laborem habeat infructuosum.” Turner, “Niceta of Remesiana II,” p. 239.

<sup>10</sup> Yves Christe, “La colonne d’Arcadius, Sainte-Pudentienne, l’Arc d’Eginhard et le portail de Ripoll,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 21 (1971): 40. Francisco Rico addressed what he saw as the shortcomings of Christe’s iconological method, noting the inability to deal with the richness of imagery, relegating it to the status of “something else” (Rico, p. 16). Rico’s deployment of *signos* and *indicios* introduced a more literary and socio-historical era of interpretations of the portal, drawing on documents from the prolific monastic scriptorium, liturgy, and poetry. While historians have turned away from the notion of “proofs” in the practice of writing history, Rico’s efforts opened the door to wider-ranging contextual studies of the portal. See Francisco Rico, *Signos e indicios en la portada de Ripoll* (Barcelona: Fundación Juan March, 1976).

<sup>11</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras “The Portal at Ripoll Revisited: An Honorary Arch for the Ancestors,” in *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (Leeds: Published for the British Archaeological Association by Maney

enthroned and flanked by the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse in the upper frieze correspond to what M.F. Hearn called the “theophany” of the first great Romanesque portals, best known at Vézelay and Moissac, both fabricated within decades the Ripoll portal.<sup>12</sup> Drawing from John the Evangelist’s descriptions of Apocalypse and Beatus of Liébana’s commentary, these portals were compared by Emile Mâle to illuminated copies of Beatus manuscripts, however, Mâle’s analysis has long been critiqued for its narrow-sighted focus on “rebirth” and failure to address the changes in meaning that arise in shifts between media and time periods.<sup>13</sup>

Art historians traditionally have used the uncommonly clear-cut case of artistic retrospection and adaptation between the Ripoll Bible illustrations and the stone portal to emphasize the political networks that shaped the social climate at Ripoll from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries.<sup>14</sup> Under the patronage of the counts of Cerdanya, Besalú, Berga, Urgell, and Barcelona and also the kings and queens of Aragón, the monastery at Ripoll

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Publishing, 2013), pp. 121–41; and Walter W. S. Cook, “The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (I),” *Art Bulletin* 5, no. 4 (June 1923): 85–101.

<sup>12</sup> Millard Fillmore Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 169.

<sup>13</sup> Emile Mâle, *L’art religieux du XIIe siècle en France: Étude sur les origines de l’iconographie du Moyen Age* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1922), pp. 378–86. See Robert A. Maxwell, “Modern Origins of Romanesque Sculpture,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 334–56. On the issue of manuscripts as pictorial sources and as between major and minor arts, see Thomas E.A. Dale, “Transcending the Major/Minor Divide: Romanesque Mural Painting, Color, and Spiritual Seeing,” in *From Major to Minor: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 23–42.

<sup>14</sup> Josep Pijoán was the first to call attention to comparisons between the portal and the Ripoll Bible (at that time attributed to Farfa), see Pijoán, “Les miniatures de l’Octateuch a les Biblias romàniques Catalanes,” *Anuari de l’Institut d’Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911–12): 475–508]. As noted by many scholars including Christe, “La colonne d’Arcadius, Sainte-Pudentienne, l’Arc d’Eginhard et le portail de Ripoll,” pp. 31–42; Rico, *Signos e indicios en la portada de Ripoll*, passim; Maria Luisa Melero Moneo, “La propagande politido-religieuse du programme iconographique de la façade de Sainte-Marie de Ripoll,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 46, no. 182 (2003): 135–57; and Francesca Español, “Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l’époque romane: Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll,” *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 42 (2011): 103–14.

never lacked for royal benefactors. Oliba (d. 1046; abbot of Ripoll from 1009 and bishop of Vic from 1018), the son of Oliba Cabreta (d. 990), Count of Besalú, is the primary actor in this cast of figures. The focus on political networks continues to color our understanding of the portal's fabrication, yet it has also undermined the monastic milieu in which the portal is ultimately grounded. This monastic institutional identity was greatly enhanced by Ripoll's most revered abbot; however, it should be noted that Oliba was a count until the age of 32. The achievements Oliba attained as abbot and bishop were certainly built on his earlier secular (or perhaps non-monastic) life. Oliba's early encounters with scripture and liturgy would have been through the psalms, or perhaps through "primer" texts like Dhuoda's *Manualis*. The young Oliba also would have attended celebrations at Cuxa, Ripoll and Vic in the final decades of the tenth century while he remained the count of Berga and Ripoll.<sup>15</sup> In renouncing his territories and converting to monastic life Oliba followed the model of his father, Oliba Cabreta (d. 990), who became a monk at Monte Cassino. In short, the boundaries between secular and ecclesiastic in Oliba's life are certainly more complex than has been previously characterized.

The abbey church's dedication ceremony of 1032 has come into renewed focus in recent interpretations of the portal.<sup>16</sup> While the identities of the three figures standing behind Moses as he receives the laws from Christ in the lower register on the right side **(plate 7)** have been debated for decades, these three have been convincingly identified as

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<sup>15</sup> The literature on abbot-bishop Oliba is vast. For a summary of Oliba's early life and biography, see Antoni Pladevall, "Vida i semblança del comte, monjo, abat i bisbe Oliba, en el mil·lenari de l'inici del seu abadiat de Ripoll i de Cuixà," *Dovella* 101 (2009): 12–19.

<sup>16</sup> Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," pp. 121–41; and Castiñeiras, "Un passaggio al passato: Il portale di Ripoll," in *Medioevo: Il tempo degli antichi; Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Parma, 24-28 settembre 2003*, I convegni di Parma 6, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2006), pp. 365–81.

the counts of Besalú, the major benefactors of the abbey during its golden age in the eleventh century and the primary players in the dedication acts.<sup>17</sup> At center of this trio, holding a crozier and book, is the count-turned-abbot-bishop Oliba, flanked by his brother (Bernat I, at left) and nephew (Guillem I, at right), both entombed at the monastery. Promoting the memory of Oliba after his death in 1045 was a major institutional and communal project at Ripoll; almost exactly 100 years after his death Oliba's achievements are recorded in the *Brevis historia*, written at the monastery in 1147.<sup>18</sup> Here the author recounts the abbot's many and beautiful works created under his impetus, culminating in the abbey church dedicated on January 15, 1032.<sup>19</sup> After Oliba's golden age the monastery's fortunes would never be quite the same. Manuel Castiñeiras has pointed out that the silver used to decorate Oliba's church, including a cross, a Gospel book cover, and the silver sheet applied to a baldachin, was removed by Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona in 1141; a total 200 pounds of silver was exchanged for an allodium of land in the town of Molló.<sup>20</sup> Although the treasury was restored within a decade from the revenues of this same property, this lopsided transaction informs the subsequent section of the *Brevis historia* where the ornaments of the abbey church are

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<sup>17</sup> Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," pp. 128–29. Castiñeiras suggests that the figure holding a candle follows the conventions in Catalan painting that identify the major donor in this way. Castiñeiras also points out that Josep Gudiol first suggested that the three historical figures might represent the counts of Besalú. Others read these as twelfth-century personages, suggesting that they represent the archbishop Oleguer of Tarragona or Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona. See Rico, "*Signos e indicios en la portada de Ripoll*," pp. 40–45; and Melero Moneo, "La propagande politido-religieuse du programme iconographique de la façade de Sainte-Marie de Ripoll," pp. 156–57.

<sup>18</sup> For this text see *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva), la Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2012).

<sup>19</sup> The acts of the dedication survive in various copies; see DELABO, pp. 165–70.

<sup>20</sup> Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," p. 135. On this significance of the restoration of silver to the treasury also see chapter 3.

said to be protected by interdict so that no person could presume to make any kind of change to the church's decorations.<sup>21</sup>

If this interdict was taken seriously (and we have no reason to think it was not) it makes sense why the mid-twelfth-century stone portal took the form of a revetment abutting the walls of Oliba's church; the portal very likely conceals an earlier painted portal behind it.<sup>22</sup> As pointed out by Manuel Castiñeiras, this paradigm of extreme reverence for Oliba's church also informs the meaning of the portal's Exodus imagery through the acts of the 1032 dedication, where Moses parting the Red Sea and the obligation to build the Tabernacle were featured in the dedication liturgy.<sup>23</sup>

Allusions to the Exodus narrative continue in the portrait reliefs, where the counts of Besalú are shown standing directly behind Moses (**plate 7**).<sup>24</sup> Created in Oliba's flourishing scriptorium around 1020, the image of Moses receiving the laws from Christ is painted in two instances in the giant Ripoll Bible; first in the closing frames of a compound Genesis/Exodus cycle of illustrations (**fig. 2**) and again in a separate Exodus

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<sup>21</sup> Cingolani, *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*, p. 176: "De ornamentis etiam ecclesiae hoc sub interdicto statuerunt, ut nullus ipsius loci vel extraneus presumat aliquid de ipsis auferre, commutare, vendere vel donare ad damnum vel deonestamentum predictae ecclesiae. Constitutionem etiam Benedicti papae, quam idem pontifex Oliva adquisierat, ibidem laudaverunt, de *Alleluia* scilicet et *Gloria in excelsis Deo* sollemniter decantanda in festivitate ypapanti Domini, si post septuagesimam evenerit."

<sup>22</sup> Portions of a painted wall are visible behind the top level of the stone portal. See Salvador Alimbau Marquès, Antoni Llagostera Fernández, et al., eds., *Pantocràtor de Ripoll: La portada romànica del monestir de Santa Maria* (Ripoll: Patronat de Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll; Ajuntament de la Comtal Vila de Ripoll: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès, 2009), pp. 19–21; Milagros Guardia, "L'héritage d'Oliba de Ripoll dans l'art roman d'Aragon," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009): 1–19 (esp. pp. 15–16); and Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," pp. 121–41 passim.

<sup>23</sup> Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," pp. 128–31.

<sup>24</sup> Marisa Melero Moneo has commented on the image of Moses receiving the laws in the portal as a prefiguration of the *Traditio Legis* iconography, which this author discusses in connection with the jamb statues of Saints Peter and Paul; Moneo, "La propagande politico-religieuse du programme iconographique de la façade de Sainte-Marie de Ripoll," pp. 153–54.

cycle (**fig. 3**).<sup>25</sup> The bible was later supplemented with a second Exodus cycle as frontispiece, perhaps added at the time of the 1032 dedication (**fig. 4**).<sup>26</sup> The presentation of the tablets in the first Exodus cycle is notable for the blue mask that veils Moses's face, signifying that he was the mediator or *persona* of the word of God (**figure 2**), as Herbert Kessler has demonstrated. In this case the blue mask relates to a tradition of personification through a pun on the verb *per-sonare*, read as “to sound through,” akin to how air is blown through a trumpet.<sup>27</sup> Like its predecessor in ancient theater, the mask or veil conceals the face but transmits or amplifies sounds and voices. In the portal's portrait relief (**plate 7**), Moses stands on the same level and face the same direction as Oliba and kin, who seem to peer (unveiled) around his head. In this portrayal they, like Moses, hear the word of God directly and unmasked.<sup>28</sup>

As a revetment or facade, the portal is also a mask on the face of Oliba's church, concealing what is behind but sustaining voices to sound through. The aperture of the doorway naturally projects the sounds emitted inside the church towards the outside. A photograph taken during the celebration for the inauguration of the church reconstruction in 1886 helps to visualize this phenomenon (**fig. 5**); in this case crowds of people stretch

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<sup>25</sup> On the creation cycles in the Ripoll bibles, see Manuel Castiñeiras, “From Chaos to Cosmos: The Creation Iconography in the Catalan Romanesque Bibles,” *Arte medievale* 1, Issue 1 (2002): 35–50, and Andreina Contessa, “Between Art, Faith and Science: The Concept of Creation in the Catalan Romanesque Bibles,” *Iconographica* 6 (2007): 19–43.

<sup>26</sup> Castiñeiras, “Un passaggio al passato,” pp. 374–77; see also Castiñeiras, “Ripoll Portal Revisited,” p. 129n30.

<sup>27</sup> Herbert Kessler, “Facies bibliothecae revelata: Carolingian Art as Spiritual Seeing,” in *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 149–89, esp. 178 and 185.

<sup>28</sup> Along similar lines Ramiro I of Aragón is called the “alternate” of Moses by Pope Gregory VII for his role in introducing the Roman rite to his kingdom, as discussed in a sculpted capital at Jaca by David Simon, “A Moses Capital at Jaca,” in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval: Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces* (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2001), pp. 209–219.

from the altar to the portal and to the outside of the church, giving a human scale to the space that the choir's voices would traverse. As Sharon Gerstel has described in Byzantine examples, doorways painted with flanking figures accentuated the fact that monastic churches were “virtual sound boxes, where domes, vaults, and apses amplified and directed voices and sounds.”<sup>29</sup> Gerstel further suggests that descriptions of the conjunction of earthly and heavenly choirs highlight the fact that voices are reverberated in domes and in between walls before reaching more distant ears, obscuring the origin and orientation of the voices (or also *occidentation*, in the case of a priest facing the nave of the church during mass).

Seemingly to enhance this phenomenon, examples of painted doorways in Byzantine monasteries include figures with swinging censers and inscribed scrolls, similar to the angels with censers sculpted in the intrados of the Ripoll portal (**figure 6**). As visualized in these censers, the clouds of incense also represent the movement of sound across space. Bissera Pentcheva describes the church of Hagia Sofia as itself an icon of sound, “a space filled with human breath and the perfume of burning incense experienced as a reverberating divine pneuma in the glitter of the golden cupola and semidomes.”<sup>30</sup>

The rotunda church also appears in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in architecture and in literature at Ripoll. Audiences were familiar with the church as a sound box in the cases of small rotunda churches.<sup>31</sup> Oliba is connected with the

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<sup>29</sup> Sharon Gerstel, “Monastic Soundscapes in Late Byzantium,” p. 137.

<sup>30</sup> Bissera Pentcheva, *Sensual Icon*, p. 48.

<sup>31</sup> On these rotunda churches, see Jordi Vigué, *Les esglésies romàniques catalanes de planta circular i triangular* (Barcelona: Artestudi, 1975).

renovation of the church of Santa Maria la Rodona in Vic in 1038 that was again rebuilt between 1141 and 1180.<sup>32</sup> Another small rotunda church, Sant Pere Gros de Cervera, became a priory of Ripoll in 1081.<sup>33</sup> The popularity of these small rotunda churches was rooted in the ancient domed churches of Rome and Constantinople. A brief mention of the Pantheon in Rome, or Santa Maria della Rotonda, is also copied in an eleventh-century manuscript at Ripoll along with chants for the Virgin Mary. This text is a brief excerpt from Aurelian of Réôme's *Musica disciplina* that explains how the responsory *Gaude Maria virgo* was written at the rotunda church by a blind man named Victor who had learned the art of singing by memorization.<sup>34</sup> Although only a brief excerpt, this text paints a picture of the church, and especially the rotunda, as a space where sound is the primary sensation of religious experience.

Oliba's voice in particular is represented in a damaged inscription on a book held in the abbot's left hand (**figs. 7a and 7b**). Based on the partly-legible word "PAX," it has been suggested that this book's inscription refers to the phrase "Pax huic domui" ("Peace be on this house"), words from the Gospel of Luke and that would have been spoken by the abbot at the church dedication in 1032.<sup>35</sup> Beyond the dedication ceremony, however,

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<sup>32</sup> Carme Subiranas, "L'església de Santa Maria la Rodona de Vic, Osona," in *Arqueologia funerària al nord-est peninsular (segles VI-XII)*, ed. Núria Molist and Gisela Ripoll (Barcelona: Olerdola, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, 2012), vol. 2, pp. 287–300.

<sup>33</sup> Eduardo Junyent, *Catalunya romànica: l'arquitectura del segle XI* (Montserrat: Abadia de Montserrat: 1975), p. 195.

<sup>34</sup> This excerpt is written in the lower margin of Barcelona, ACA, Ms. Ripoll 151, fol. 32: "R. Gaude Maria virgo. V. Gabrielem archangelum. Responsorii autem istius, sicuti relatu didici, auctor quidam extitit Romanus, nomine Victor, a nativitate caecus, qui cum memoriter a cantoribus cantilenarum didicisset melodias, quadam die ante altare residens sanctae Mariae, quae domus rotunda dicitur, divino favente nutu hoc composuit responsorium, ac statim lumine, quo privatus erat multo iam tempore, illuminari meruit atque iubare potiri genuino."

<sup>35</sup> Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," pp. 128–31, and note 33, p. 140; see also Castiñeiras, "Un passaggio al passato," pp. 373–74.

it should be noted that the twelfth-century author of the *Brevis historia* also ties specific liturgical phrases to Oliba. After the mention of the interdict on the church's decorations, the text turns to Oliba's other great achievement – his success in traveling to Rome to secure a privilege from pope Benedict VIII allowing the abbot and monks to sing *Alleluia* and the Angelic hymn, *Gloria in excelsis*, on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, even if it falls after the beginning of Lent on Septuagesima Sunday.<sup>36</sup> This privilege goes against the custom that puts away or even ritually buries these songs of praise during the penitential season.<sup>37</sup> By allowing *Gloria in excelsis* outside of Easter the privilege also grants to the abbot the honor of intoning the opening words that were long held to be the prerogative of bishops alone.<sup>38</sup>

The privilege granted to the monastery of Ripoll by Benedict VIII follows those granted by earlier popes to the wealthy abbeys, and often those with royal pantheons. The first such recorded privilege was given to Monte Cassino at the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>39</sup> Similar dispensations were given in papal bulls to the abbey of Sainte-Marie-

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<sup>36</sup> GCB, p. 176: “Constitutionem etiam Benedicti papae, quam idem pontifex Oliva adquisierat, ibidem laudaverunt, de *Alleluia* scilicet et *Gloria in excelsis Deo* sollemniter decantanda in festivitate ypapanti Domini, si post septuagesimam evenerit.” First recorded in papal bull of Benedict VIII, dated 1016, PL 139, col. 1630A-1630C; also see acts of dedication 1032, DELABO, pp. 166–67.

<sup>37</sup> Juan Pablo Rubio Sadia, “*Alleluia non meremur in perenne psallere*. Notas sobre la evolució del oficio aleluyático de septuagésima en Cataluña y el Languedoc,” *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana* 20 (2012): 233–59. On the ritual burial of the *Alleluia* chant see André Rose, “L’usage et la signification de l’*Alleluia* en Orient et en Occident,” in *Gestes et Paroles dans les diverses familles liturgiques: Conférence Saint-Serge XXIVe semaine d’études liturgiques* (Rome: Centro liturgico vincenziano, 1978), pp. 205–33.

<sup>38</sup> The *Ordines Romani* dictate that the opening lines of *Gloria in excelsis* were reserved for the intonation of bishops; see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, vol 2, *Les textes (Ordines I-XIII)* (Louvain, Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense, 1948), p. 116 and p. 169; also see Thomas F. Kelly, “Introducing the ‘*Gloria in excelsis*,’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 479–506.

<sup>39</sup> Kelly, “Introducing the ‘*Gloria in Excelsis*,’” p. 489, table 2. Its date of introduction at Monte Cassino is usually recorded as 899. The papal bull from John IX is noted by Kelly as a possible twelfth-century forgery but this is refuted by John Boe. See John Boe, ed., *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus II: Ordinary*

Madeleine de Tournus for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin in the early twelfth century and to Westminster Abbey between 1200 and 1210 for the feast of the Purification.<sup>40</sup> Granted in 1016, this privilege would have been given to Oliba when he was abbot of Ripoll and Cuxa but not yet a bishop. This privilege elevates the abbot of Ripoll to the status of a mitred abbot, a paradigm most common to the abbeys within the vicinity Rome. Because the *Brevis historia* includes this privilege in the same breath as the interdict protecting church decorations, the author likely saw these as belonging to the same category, so that the privilege of singing these chants was part of the decoration of Oliba's church.<sup>41</sup>

Introductory tropes were commonly added to the repertoire surrounding the singing of the Angelic chant that invited or begged for the voice of the high priest.<sup>42</sup> *Gloria in excelsis* begins with the words sung by the angels when announcing the birth of Christ to the shepherds in the Gospel of Luke. Originally used in the morning office in the Early Christian church and later adopted into the mass, its text is copied among the canticles at the end of the psalter, as is the case in both of the extant giant bibles from Ripoll. Gloria tropes are interspersed with the words of the bishop (or mitred-abbot) who intoned the angelic words in alternation with the choir who introduced and responded. One such trope, *Pastor bone veniante*, appears in the early eleventh-century Autun

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*Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000-1250*, v. 2, "Gloria in excelsis" (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1990), p. x.

<sup>40</sup> Kelly, "Introducing the 'Gloria in Excelsis'," p. 489. For this privilege at Westminster Abbey see William Chester Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 41–42.

<sup>41</sup> See note 21, above.

<sup>42</sup> See Gunilla Iversen, *Corpus Troporum XII: Tropes du Gloria*, vol. 1, *Introduction et édition des textes* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2014).

Tropary (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1169) near an image of the Annunciation to the Shepherds (**fig. 8**). This is followed a few folios later by an image of a bishop and congregation that mimics the angelic annunciation (**fig. 9**).<sup>43</sup> A very similar introductory trope beginning *Sacerdos Dei* takes the form of a plea to the priest to step before the altar, begging him to open his mouth to speak the divine words.<sup>44</sup> Gunilla Iversen has shown that Gloria tropes develop the idea that the lofty heights of the angels and the terrestrial place of mankind are joined through the singing of the Angelic hymn.<sup>45</sup> This is also reflected in the nineteenth Rule of St. Benedict where the monastic liturgy is said to take place in the presence of angels. Along these lines, in a letter written in 1023 by a former monk of Ripoll, Joan of Santa Cecília de Montserrat, Abbot Oliba himself was described as "carrying peace" (*quod pacem portat*) and as having the face of an angel.<sup>46</sup> The emphasis on the Angelic Hymn in the portal can also be seen as a mask or frontispiece to the monastic liturgy within the church.

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<sup>43</sup> On the illustrations in the Autun Tropary see Eric Palazzo, "Confrontation du répertoire des tropes et du cycle iconographique du tropaire d'Autun," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici: Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici, Parigi (15-19 ottobre 1985)-Perugia (2-5 settembre 1987)*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1990), pp. 95–123.

<sup>44</sup> For example, the eleventh-century Moissac Tropary (Paris, BNF. N.A. Lat. 1871): "Sacerdos dei excelsi, Veni ante sacrum et sanctum altare et in laude regis regum vocem tuam emittere dignare"; for this version of the introductory trope see Iversen, *Corpus Troporum XII*, vol. 1, p. 187.

<sup>45</sup> Gunilla Iversen, "Supera agalmata: Angels and the celestial hierarchy in sequences and tropes," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), pp. 95–133.

<sup>46</sup> DELABO, p. 324: "Nominis fersque tuo permagnum nomen Olive, quod pacem portat, nomine fersque tuo. Angelus in facie semper dinosceris esse; pares cum luce, angelus in facie." Beyond the focused interpretation that I propose in this chapter, the reference to "pacem portat" might also refer to the Peace and Truce of God movement. For the reference to Oliba's angelic face, see also Manuel Castiñeiras, "Illuminant l'altar: Artistes i tallers de pintura sobre taula a Catalunya (1119-1150)," in *Pintar fa mil anys: Els colors i l'ofici del pintor romànic*, ed. Manuel Castiñeiras and Judit Verdagué, exh. cat. (Vic: Museu Episcopal de Vic; Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2014), p. 33.

The book held by Oliba in the portal relief is partially inscribed “PA(X)” (**fig. 7b**). It is possible that this inscription, when complete, might have read “TERRA PAX,” referring to the verse, “et in terra pax hominibus” of the *Gloria in excelsis* chant.<sup>47</sup> Due to its poor condition there is no way to be certain whether the inscription contains the words recited in the Angelic hymn or in the prayer for the dedication of the church, but in either case we can also read the inscription as a prompt to the choir. The monks at Ripoll were frequently identified in eleventh- and twelfth-century charters by their office, and in turn by their position in the choir. The titles *cantor* and *primicerius* are the most common and are recorded at Ripoll and at the cathedral in Vic.<sup>48</sup> While only a limited group of names appears in charters and in acts of church dedications, a wider group of sources on the different grades of ordination based on Hispanic, Roman, and Insular examples was known in Catalonia.<sup>49</sup>

The title *paraphonista* also appears in the twelfth century at Ripoll around the time the portal was fabricated. The monk Ponç (Poncius) is recorded as *paraphonista* in the miscellany BNF Ms. Lat. 5132 in an undated twelfth-century notice on the use of vestments from the time of abbot Gausfred (fl. 1153 to 1169).<sup>50</sup> This term is known elsewhere in the twelfth century and is also used in descriptions of miraculous icons and other miracle stories in ACA Ms. Ripoll 193. The practical meaning of the term

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<sup>47</sup> “Gloria in excelsis deo, et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.” As already discussed, Manuel Castiñeiras reads this inscription as “PAX (HUIC DOMUI).” This inscription is not discussed in Marquès and Fernández, *Pantocràtor de Ripoll*.

<sup>48</sup> See María del Carmen Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, Colección DeMusica 6 (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001), p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> Roger Reynolds, “The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain: Hispanic, Roman, and Hybrid,” in *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), pp. 131–56.

<sup>50</sup> Paris, BNF, Ms. Lat. 5132, f. 107.

*paraphonista* as a station in the ranks of the choir is debated, yet the term implies that seats were arranged according to an acoustic plan on either side of the central aisle. This would facilitate antiphonal singing, a staple of the style of monastic chant well known at Ripoll.<sup>51</sup> Its use in this sense appears in Rome at Santa Maria Maggiore by the eighth century.<sup>52</sup>

Just as monks formed their identities through their status as singers, books and sculptures at Ripoll were also given personhood through voice. Like personification, prosopopeia also imparts speech to inanimate things, and to stones in particular. The rhetorical device of *prosopopeia* is evoked in a dedicatory poem in leonine verse in the celebrated *Breviarium de Musica*, a tract on theoretical music written by the monk Oliba at Ripoll in the mid-eleventh century in ACA, Ms. Ripoll 42 (not to be confused with Abbot Oliba).<sup>53</sup> As a grammatical device related to personification, prosopopeia was known from late antique grammar books by Donatus and Cicero that were popular across the Middle Ages. The grammatical definition of prosopopeia was best known to monastic readers through Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*.<sup>54</sup> Eleventh-century sources closely

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<sup>51</sup> On these offices at Ripoll and Vic, see Higiní Anglès, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona: Institute d'estudis Catalans, 1935), pp. 47–58.

<sup>52</sup> See Joseph Dyer, "Boy Singers of the Roman Schola Cantorum," in *Young Choristers, 640-1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 19–36, especially p. 20, note 4.

<sup>53</sup> Barcelona, ACA, Ms. Ripoll 42. This text is also known as *Musica cum rhetorica*; see Susana Zapke and Maria José Moutinho Santos, eds., *Hispania Vetustas: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th-12th Centuries)* (Bilbo: Fundación BBVA, 2007), pp. 348–49, with bibliography. The monk Oliba is sometimes confused with the abbot-bishop Oliba. Higiní Anglès was the first to unravel their identities; see Anglès, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII*, Vol. 2, pp. 64–6.

<sup>54</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, Book II, chapter 13; translated in Stephen Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 74: "1. Prosopopeia occurs when personality and speech are invented for inanimate things. Cicero in the Catiline Oration (1.27): 'If, in truth, my fatherland, which is far dearer to me than my life, were to speak with me, saying,' etc. 2. Thus we bring in speaking mountains and rivers or trees, imposing personhood on a thing that does not have the capacity for speech. This is common in tragedies and found very frequently in orations."

follow Isidore in defining its use as a specific form of metaphor, one that, says Alberic of Monte Cassino (d. 1088), “ascribes to things qualities which nature does not bestow.”<sup>55</sup>

Differing from Isidore, Alberic specifies that prosopopeia can also be “a phrase about an inanimate object [that] attributes one of the senses to it.”<sup>56</sup>

The leonine verses titled “PROSOPOPEIA” in ACA Ms. Ripoll 42 lists the names of Abbot Oliva, Arnaldus, and Gualterus and compares this triad to the Holy Trinity through Latin and Greek inscriptions.<sup>57</sup> Each person has a role in the creation of the manuscript:

#### PROSOPOPEIA

Sede sedens diva comes, abbas, praesul, Oliva,  
Rimans cum studio quid musicet eufonia Clio.  
Me fore delegit, Arnaldus iussa peregit,  
Qui iussus peragit quicquid laudabile sentit.  
Gualterus vero, de fonte regressus Hiberno,  
Formis signavit, numeris signata probabit.

“Sitting upon a divine seat, count, abbot, prelate Oliva  
Eagerly prying into that which Clio harmoniously sings  
He [Oliva] ordered me, Arnaldus carried it out  
By whose command he carried out whatever he deemed praiseworthy  
Yet Gualterus, returning from the source of the Ebro

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<sup>55</sup> Alberic of Monte Cassino, *Flores Rhetorici*, translated in Joseph M. Miller, Michael H Prosser, and Thomas W. Benson, *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), p. 155: “Nor would I be silent regarding prosopopeia, for it is not a technique to be ignored. It is a method of applying foreign characteristics to objects; that is, it ascribes to things qualities which nature does not bestow. It often happens, for instance, that a phrase about an inanimate object attributes one of the senses to it. Thus we say, ‘The mountain pricks up its ears,’ ‘the river pays attention,’ ‘the wolf shouts in reply,’ ‘the tiger is conciliated,’ ‘the answer presents itself.’ This is the usage which leads us to say, ‘If you would repeat a thing often enough to a stone, the stone would understand; let not the heart be harder or deafer to an appeal.’ ... ‘There are some who maintain that this is the same thing as metaphor; in reality, thought the two seem much alike, yet it is clear that they are different: the metaphor can be used in many ways, but this is extremely limited, in that it is an expression attributing senses to things which lack them.’”

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, *Flores Rhetorici*, p. 155.

<sup>57</sup> Tri[ni]tas and P[ater]/VI[os]/P[neuma], according to d’Olwer. See Lluís Nicolau d’Olwer “L’escola poètica de Ripoll en els segels X–XIII,” *Anuari del Institut d’Estudis Catalans* 6 (1923), p. 34.

Inscribed the forms, which the number signs will demonstrate.”<sup>58</sup>

Discussion of this epigram has focused on the identities of the names diagrammed in the trinity, however, more can be said about the role of prosopopeia in the Ripoll scriptorium and other workshops.<sup>59</sup> As the given title of the dedicatory inscription the term seems to imply a poetic exercise.<sup>60</sup> The title plainly indicates how the poem is written to act as the voice of the codex – as if the book were speaking about the circumstances of its own creation. It states that Oliba “me fore delegit” (“ordered me”).<sup>61</sup> Through rhyme and meter the poem breathes metaphorical life into the codex so that it may express gratitude for the means behind its creation.

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<sup>58</sup> My translation. On this dedication see d'Olwer, “L'escola poètica de Ripoll,” p. 34. For an alternative English translation see Kristine Utterback, “Music Treatises from Eleventh Century Ripoll,” MA thesis, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, 1977. Manuel Castiñeiras suggest that the source of the Ebro refers to Cantabria; see Castiñeiras, “Le nouveau testament de la Bible de Ripoll et les traditions anciennes de l'iconographie chrétienne: Du scriptorium de l'abbé Oliba à la peinture romane sur bois,” *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 40 (2009), p. 2. Another possibility is the Benedictine abbey of San Salvador de Oña in Burgos, founded in 1011 by Sancho III of Pamplona who was buried at the monastery after his death in 1035. The abbey was reformed by Ponce of Tavèrnoles who introduced monks from Cluny there in 1033. Initially a monk at Ripoll and protégé of abbot Oliba, Ponce became the bishop of Tabèrnoles in Aragon and later the bishop of Oviedo. Ponce is the author of a letter to John of Fleury around 1020 asking for the return a psalter and of a rare set of quires from Pavia. It is possible that while Ponce was involved in the reform of the abbey at Oña he called upon the help of the monks at Ripoll, giving reason for Gualterus to travel there around 1033 to 1035. Oña lies on the Oca River near its confluence with the Ebro and two other tributaries, the Nela and Jerea. On Ponce as an agent of artistic exchange in Aragón see Guardia, “L'héritage d'Oliba de Ripoll dans l'art roman d'Aragon,” pp. 1–19. On the role of Ponce in the reform of Oña see Manuel Riu, “Poncio de Tabèrnoles, obispo de Oviedo,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 3, no. 4 (1989): 425–36.

<sup>59</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras and Immaculada Lorés, “Las Biblias de Rodes y Ripoll: Una encrucijada del arte románico en Catalunya,” in *Les Fonts de la pintura romànica*, ed. Milagros Guardia and Carles Mancho (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2008), pp. 219–60.

<sup>60</sup> d'Olwer, “L'escola poètica de Ripoll,” p. 34; Anglès, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII*, p. 65; Michel Zimmerman *Ecrire et lire en Catalogne (IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2003), vol. 1, p. 470; and Rico, *Signos e indicios en la portada de Ripoll*, p. 37. See also Jaime Villanueva *Viage literario à las iglesias de España*, vol. 8 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1821), appendix 9.

<sup>61</sup> Zimmerman makes this observation in *Ecrire et lire*, p. 470: “L'oeuvre musicale, dotée de parole pour la circonstance, est reconnaissante à l'abbé de lui avoir donné l'existence.”

Following the recent turn to materiality in the humanities, prosopopeia has been explored as a critique of the traditional subject-object boundary (between human and non-human or between the realms of sacred and profane, for example).<sup>62</sup> The utility of prosopopeia in this regard is reinforced by Alberic of Monte Cassino's comments; opposed to metaphor, Alberic says that prosopopeia "is extremely limited, in that it is an expression attributing senses to things which lack them."<sup>63</sup> Here the emphasis is on the senses as something granted to an inanimate object, activating a limited personhood tied to one specific sensory faculty – the ability to speak. In this passage Alberic also paraphrases a saying that imparts the sensation of hearing (and even *gnosis*) to stone, albeit in an inexplicable fashion, saying: "if you would repeat a thing often enough to a stone, the stone would understand; let not the heart be harder or deafer to an appeal."<sup>64</sup> While the straightforward metaphor equating unreceptive hearts with stones is presented as a moral lesson, Alberic points to the potential of animated stones capable of hearing and understanding. This same proverb giving stones the ability to shed tears is referenced in one of the many prefatory texts to the psalms in the Ripoll Bible, beginning "Psalmorum liber."<sup>65</sup> Here, among the spiritual benefits of praying the psalms, it is said

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<sup>62</sup> Finbarr Barry Flood, "Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam," *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally M. Promey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 483. Also see Calvin Kendall, "The Portal as Christ: Personification or Real Presence?," in *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> Alberic of Monte Cassino, *Flores Rhetorici*, translated in Miller, Prosser, and Benson, *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric*, p. 155.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 5729, fol. 258r.

that the psalter (harp) “draws tears from the heart of stone” (“ex corde lapideo lacrimis movet”).<sup>66</sup>

The use of prosopopeia to impart speech to inanimate things, and to stones in particular, is also found in Jerome's prologue to psalms copied in the bibles at Ripoll. Here the psalms are an object – a great house – waiting to be unlocked and inhabited by the cantor. The preponderance of prophet figures and Old Testament imagery – or imagery from the psalms that re-present episodes from the books of Exodus and Kings – gives the overall impression of the portal as prefiguration or prologue.

#### EXODUS AND THE PERSONIFICATION OF THE PSALMS

Considering the portal as a personification of the monastic choir with Oliba's voice at the fore (**plate 7**) imparts a movement towards other sections of the portal, beginning with the Exodus reliefs. In the sermon “On the Benefit of Psalmody,” Moses is said to be the first to establish choruses and to teach the correct way of singing the triumphal canticles when he and his sister stood before the group of Israelites after crossing the Red Sea.<sup>67</sup> The beginning of the Exodus cycles in both the portal and in the bible frontispiece portray Moses as choirmaster who directs the canticle sung by

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<sup>66</sup> Teofilo Ayuso, *La Vetus Latina Hispana*, vol. 5, *El Salterio: Introduccion general y edicion critica* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1962), p. 346.

<sup>67</sup> Turner, “Niceta of Remesiana II,” p. 234: “Si autem quaeramus quis hominum primus genus cantionis invexerit, non inveniemus alium nisi Moysen, qui canticum Deo insigne cantavit quando percussa Egypto decem plagis et Pharaone demerso populus per insueta maris itinera ad desertum gratulabundus egressus est, dicens: Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim honorificatus est, neque enim illud volumen temerarie recipiendum est cui inscriptio est Inquisitio Abrahae ubi cantasse ipse et animalia et fontes et elementa finguntur, cum nulla sit fide liber ipse, nulla auctoritate, subnixus. Primus igitur Moyses, dux tribuum Israhelis, chorus instituit, utrumque sexum distinctis classibus, se ac sorore praeunte, canere Deo canticum triumphale perdocuit.”

Miriam.<sup>68</sup> In the frontispiece Moses and the people are shown facing the same direction (**fig. 4**). This orientation is reversed in the Exodus cycle portion of the portal so that Moses on the flank abutting the church wall faces out to the people (and the portal viewer) here reduced to just two figures (**fig. 10**).

Moses also directs the viewer from this flanking side around to the front side, where the Exodus narrative continues (**plate 8**). In the Ripoll bible, each scene in the Exodus frontispiece is labeled with a *titulus*, in this case “transitu” for the crossing of the Red Sea.<sup>69</sup> Here Miriam, or Marie in the Vulgate, is drawn with a mysterious arm protruding from between her legs that plays a tambourine along with her, perhaps an awkward allusion to Mary the Mother of God, and that here reinforces the exegesis on ancient music as a prefiguration of Christian song. The gesturing figure at the top of the portal flank, probably Isaiah (**fig. 10**), adds another prophetic voice announcing the advent of the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God in the canticle of Isaiah, *Confitebor tibi Domine* (which was reserved for the office hours of Lent, perhaps also referring to the monastery's papal privilege).

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<sup>68</sup> The fact that the monks at Ripoll thought Miriam/Mary to be the sister of Moses might be confirmed in the rubric for the “Canticum of Moses and his sister Marie” in the Roda Bible, BnF, Ms. Lat. 6, II, f. 158 (*Canticum Moysi et Marie Sororis eius*); however, the rubric for this canticle in the Ripoll Bible is different, instead saying “Canticum of the Prophet Moses” (*Canticum Moysi Prophete*), BAV, Ms. Lat. 5729, f. 280. This canticle is taken from Exodus 15:1–19.

<sup>69</sup> Anscari Mundó identifies nine scenes in the five registers of the Exodus frontispiece and analyzes these scenes in close proximity to the text of the Exodus story; Mundó, *Les Bibles de Ripoll: Estudi dels MSS. Vaticà, Lat. 5729 i París, BnF, Lat. 6*. Studi e Testi 408 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2002), pp. 224–25. Following Mundó, the *tituli* are as follows: “transitu” for the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 14:23–28); “Murmur populi” and “Aqua Mara” for the sweetening of the waters at Mara (Exodus 15:23–25); “Helim” for the eight palms at Elim; “Murmur populi” for the twelve Israelites murmuring against Moses and Aaron (Exodus 16:2–12); “Coturnix” for the Quail from heaven (Exodus 16:13); “Manna” (Exodus 16:13–18); “Petra Oreb” for the rock of Horeb (Exodus 17:27); “Moyses, Ur, Aaron” where Moses’ arms are elevated while the Israelites battle; “bella Iosue contra Amalec” for the battle at Rephidim (Exodus 17:8–16). Manuel Castiñeiras comments on these *tituli* in “Portal at Ripoll Revisited” (pp. 127–8) but omits the *titulus* “Helim” for the scenes with the eight palms at Elim.

Outside the Ripoll Bible's Exodus frontispiece, the illustration of Miriam and other dancers with a tympanum after crossing the Red Sea appears in the León Bibles of 960 and 1162.<sup>70</sup> The León Bible of 1162 depicts three women holding drums in the same way as Miriam in the Exodus frontispiece (**fig. 11**). Elsewhere, the Polirone Psalter, an illustrated late eleventh-century psalter from San Benedetto Po (Polirone, Italy) also depicts women and other prophet figures with drums (**fig. 12**).<sup>71</sup> In this case the figures with drums are painted along the margins around the text for the first psalm, creating a visual and textual commentary. This and other Italian psalter manuscripts show clear affinities with illustrated Byzantine psalters, some created in Italy by Greek artists.<sup>72</sup> Among the marginal Byzantine psalters the eleventh-century Barberini Psalter (Rome, BAV, Barb. Gr. 372) shows Miriam dancing with small cymbals while Moses leads the Israelites (**fig. 13**).

The top register of the Exodus frontispiece in the Ripoll Bible also depicts a blue cloud and a red flaming column (**fig. 4**). The column is also sculpted in the top register of the portal Exodus scenes (**fig. 14**). Both the cloud and the red column are details best known from Late Antique and Byzantine manuscripts, including Cosmas Indicopleustes's

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<sup>70</sup> The León Bible of 1162 (León, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, Ms. I.3) is copied from the so-called León Bible of 960 (*Codex Biblicus Legionensis*, León, Archivo Capitular de la Colegiata de San Isidoro, Ms. 2); on these bibles see John Williams, "The Bible in Spain," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 179–88; also Krysta L. Black, "Sacred History and Christian Kingship in the León Bible of 960" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2014). The León bibles present a scenario not unlike the one at Ripoll, where a twelfth-century work engages in a reinterpretation of an older and highly prized work.

<sup>71</sup> The Polirone Psalter is dated to c. 1087; Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 340. See Sibylle Walther, *Histoire et théologie enluminées. Les psautiers illustrés italiens de l'époque carolingienne à l'âge grégorien. Le psautier de Polirone (Mantoue, bibl. com., ms. 340) et son commanditaire Anselme de Lucques* (Weimar: VDG, 2004).

<sup>72</sup> Anthony Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 13 (Paris: Picard, 1984), pp. 61–62. Another example is Palermo, BN, Fondo Museo 4, a twelfth-century Byzantine psalter with Miriam dancing, f. 287v.

*Christian Topography* and in the marginal Byzantine psalters.<sup>73</sup> In *Christian Topography* the Exodus scenes illustrate parts of this text's fifth chapter, which circulated independently in some manuscripts as a predecessor of the Byzantine prophet books popular in later centuries.<sup>74</sup> Cosmas's narrative draws heavily on the psalms in his explication of sacred history; perhaps following the elaborate illustrations of these scenes in Byzantine psalters, this text most often refers to the psalms when describing the crossing of the Red Sea, rather than to the Exodus narrative itself.

These resonances in the Exodus cycles of the frontispiece and the portal at Ripoll suggest that the imagery sculpted in the right side of the portal relies the visual representation of the Psalms and just as much as the visual representation of the narrative of Exodus. The visual representation of Psalms, however, does not follow any single established tradition. The question then becomes: how did the monks incorporate the psalms into musical and liturgical imagery at Ripoll? To approach this question it is necessary to briefly survey the manuscripts from Ripoll and the textual and illustrated versions of the psalms, prologues, and paratexts that surrounded the monks' readings. Although studies of the psalms in the visual arts are well known, this subject has not been examined in detail at Ripoll.

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<sup>73</sup> Maja Kominko, *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the "Christian Topography"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 90. Kominko notes that the flaming column rendered as a red architectural column with capital appears in, amongst others, the Chludov Psalter (Moscow, Hist. Mus. MS D.129), f. 107r, the Bristol Psalter (London, BL, Add. MS 40731), f. 127v, the Theodore Psalter (London, BL, Add. MS 19352), f. 142, and the Barberini Psalter (Rome, BAV Barb. gr. 372), f. 130v and f. 180v. In the *Christian Topography*, the flaming red column appears in Florence, Laur. Plut. IV.28, f. 103, f. 103v, and f. 104, Mount Sinai, Sin. gr. 1186, f. 73, f. 73v and f. 74. Kominko further notes (p. 90) that after the ninth century the column of fire is rendered as an elongated flame, not as an architectural column, perhaps suggesting that the red column in the Ripoll Bible is based on a source that pre-dates the ninth century.

<sup>74</sup> John Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books: A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988).

## PSALTERS, PSALMODY AND THE SENSES

The problem of depicting the psalms and canticles is deeply rooted in Christian iconography. It might be said that the desire to envision the psalms stems from the intimacy, comfort, and familiarity that different communities found in these texts.<sup>75</sup> For Benedictine monks the psalms formed the basis on which their day-to-day lives were based in both private and public prayer.<sup>76</sup> It is a commonly accepted fact that monks memorized all the psalms and canticles before professing their monastic vows.<sup>77</sup>

As stated, the bible's Exodus frontispiece is divided into five registers, and of these the sculpted portal closely follows the lower three.<sup>78</sup> The exceptions to this are notable and suggest that the fabricators were working with multiple sources, one of which might have been an illustrated psalter; the scenes without a parallel in the bibles from Ripoll are the scenes with the transporting the Ark of the Covenant on the chariot of

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<sup>75</sup> For an introduction to this topic see Nancy van Deusen, ed., *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

<sup>76</sup> Joseph Dyer, "The Psalms in Monastic Prayer," in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 59–89; and Harold Attridge and Margot Fassler, eds., *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>77</sup> Regulation that the religious had memorized psalms. Stegmüller 3325, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, ed. Friedrich Stegmüller and Nikolaus Reinhardt, vol. 9, *Supplementi altera pars, Glossar ordinaria* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1977), p. 120. Rule of Benedict proscriptions on the psalms, as a tool of instruction for *pueri*.

<sup>78</sup> Josep Pijoán, "Les miniatures de l'Octateuch a les Biblies romàniques Catalanes," pp. 475–508. See also Xavier Barral i Altet, *Josep Pijoan: Del salvament del patrimoni artístic català a la història general de l'art* (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Secció Històrico-Arqueològic, 1999), pp. 19–21 passim.

Aminadab and with King David and musicians dancing before the Ark from 2 Samuel 6:1–16 (**fig. 15**).<sup>79</sup>

Noting the model-copy paradigm among the eleventh-century Ripoll Bible, the obscured (if extant) eleventh-century painted portal, and the twelfth-century stone portal, one wonders why only a handful of scenes in the Old Testament cycles of the portal have no clear pictorial model in the bibles copied at Ripoll. Manuel Castiñeiras has recently reiterated this model-copy paradigm, further suggesting that the *tituli* added to the Exodus frontispiece were included as an aid to the mural painters who were given the task of translating the Exodus illuminations on parchment into a monumental painted portal that framed the doorway to the church that was dedicated in 1032.<sup>80</sup> If this was the case one also wonders what kind of imagery was presented to these painters for their work on other sections of the painted portal.

If the Kings cycle imagery was indeed taken from an illustrated psalter there are tantalizing records documenting what once existed. The inventory taken in 1047 after the death of Oliba records twenty-four psalters, any of which might have been illustrated.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> This lack of correspondence between the portal and the Ripoll Bible in these scenes is noted by Joaquín Yarza, “Lectura Iconográfica,” in *Catalunya Romànica*, vol. 10, *El Ripollès*, ed. Jordi Vigué (Barcelona: Funcació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1987), p. 244. See also Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” p. 124.

<sup>80</sup> Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” p. 127: “In all probability, the main objective of the *tituli* was to facilitate the translation of the illuminated biblical scenes into a monumental painting.” This painted portal is now hidden behind the stone portal. The painted portal would predate the sculpted stone portal by at least one hundred years, likely dating to the church dedicated 1032. Unfortunately there is no way to know what this painted portal looked like and the current research on this topic is speculative.

<sup>81</sup> Rudolf Beer, *Die Handschriften des klostere Santa Maria de Ripoll*, vol. 1 (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1907), pp. 101–09. On the gold and silver salter, see Anscari Mundó, “Importacion, exportacion y expoliaciones de codices en Cataluña (siglos VIII al XIII),” In *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península en los siglos VIII-XIII* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1988), p. 98–9.

First among these is the famous silver and gold psalter that was lost the fire of 1835.<sup>82</sup>

Also listed in 1047 is a triple psalter, a Mozarabic (or Toledan) psalter, a Greek prophet book (“Prophetarum grecum”), and two Decadae manuscripts (containing groups of ten psalms, usually for specific purposes or prayers).<sup>83</sup>

It is thought that a large number of codices were removed from Santa Maria de Ripoll after it was reformed and placed under Saint Victor de Marseille by the count of Besalú in 1070. Some of these are recorded in a late-twelfth-century inventory from Saint Victor that almost certainly includes the astrological miscellany Reg. Lat. 123, a manuscript certainly created in the Ripoll scriptorium.<sup>84</sup> Like Ripoll, this inventory from Saint Victor similarly records twenty-four psalters (“Viginti et quatuor Psalteria”).<sup>85</sup>

The only surviving copies of the psalms from Santa Maria are found in the Ripoll and Roda Bibles. Both of these include the Gallican version of the psalms. In addition the Roda Bible also includes a complete second copy of the Hebrew psalter, or *Versio iuxta Hebraicum*. In this case the Roda Bible's two versions with separate prologues were likely copied from more than one exemplar, perhaps including one of the lost psalters. Both the Roda and Ripoll Bibles contain an uncommon collection of prologues and

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<sup>82</sup> For the 1047 inventory, see DELABO, pp. 396–98, with “Psalterium argenteum.”

<sup>83</sup> Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 87. Farfa manuscript, Perugia, Bibl. Comm. Augusta, I 17, ff. 7v-8v; see Boynton, “Prayer as Liturgical Performance,” p. 904.

<sup>84</sup> The inventory survives in Marseille, Arch. dép. Bouches-du-Rhône, 1 H 97. See Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille, XIe-XVe siècle* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005), pp. 145–55. That manuscripts from Ripoll were later found in the library of Saint Victor is known through the provenance of BAV, Reg. Lat. 123.

<sup>85</sup> Numbered 27–50 in Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*. Beyond psalters the Saint Victor inventory includes books for specific purposes or groups of prayers and also psalm commentaries, including one *Alleluarium* (“Alleluarium unum”) and many other books related to the psalms that could have been available at Ripoll or were originally copied there.

prefatory texts. As Susan Boynton has commented on similar collections of materials in psalters, these texts straddle our modern divisions between liturgical and devotional texts: “the rich array of didactic and liturgical materials in these manuscripts exemplifies the multipurpose nature of such collections and their many potential uses in monastic communities.”<sup>86</sup>

This is especially true of the Ripoll Bible, where an impressive thirty-two prologues and other texts are copied across ten folios (253r-264v).<sup>87</sup> The first prologue of the Ripoll Bible is a fulsome recension of the sermon “On the Benefit of Psalmody,” attributed in modern times to Nicetas of Remesiana (as discussed earlier).<sup>88</sup> Alcuin's sermon “On the Use of the Psalms” (*De psalmodia usu* or *De usu psalmodia*) is also included; this text gives clear scenarios in which certain psalms are to be recited, and it is one of the key inspirations of Dhuoda's *Manualis*.

Copied among the final prefatory texts are excerpts from Bede on the six ages of man (from Adam to Christ, including Moses and David). Immediately following this are genealogies of David's priests and musicians (Ezra, Eman, Asaph, Ethan, and Idithun). After these genealogies is a unique dedicatory poem that hints at the importance of the psalter manuscript as a gift in the Carolingian period and later.<sup>89</sup> These verses are copied

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<sup>86</sup> Boynton, “Prayer as Liturgical Performance,” pp. 899–900.

<sup>87</sup> Each of these prefatory texts are listed in Mundó, *Les bibliés de Ripoll*, pp. 206–08.

<sup>88</sup> Text in Ripoll Bible fols. 253r-254v, is closest to the recension copies in the 9th-century La Cava Bible (or *Codex Cavensis*, Cava di Tirreni, Bibl. statale de Monumento Nazionale Badia di Cava, Ms. memb. I, f. 100v). See Morin, “Le *de psalmodiae bono* de l'évêque saint Niceta,” pp. 385–97; Burns, *Niceta of Remesiana*; and Turner, “Niceta of Remesiana II,” pp. 233–41.

<sup>89</sup> See Lawrence Nees, “Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe,” in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 121–78.

among the last prefatory texts before the Gallican psalter in the Ripoll Bible with a rubric attributing the text to Pope Damasus:

En tibi psalterium dulcissime presbiter alnum,  
 Accipe iucundis manibus et pectore laeto.  
 Proque tuo scriptore novo, qui nomina vatum  
 Sacrorum prima repetens ab origine pinxit,  
 Supplicibus Christum votis orare memento,  
 Ut mihi det scelerum veniam mentisque salutem,  
 Ut sine fine suas concedat pangere laudes.

(Come, accept for yourself, most sweet priest, with cheerful hands and happy heart, this nourishing psalter, and for your new scribe, who has painted the first names of the sacred prophets, seeking them out from their origin, remember to pray to Christ with suppliant prayers that he grant you pardon for sins and mental salvation, and that he allow you to sing his praises without end.)<sup>90</sup>

Anscari Mundó identifies these as unique verses likely composed at Ripoll, and perhaps by abbot Oliba.<sup>91</sup> If composed at Ripoll it is likely that the “most sweet priest” addressed in the poem would be Oliba, making these verses a dedicatory inscription by the scribe or painter of the Ripoll Bible, the monk Guifré, or perhaps of an earlier psalter codex. The reference to the recipient's “happy heart” (*pectore laeto*) is similar to a dedicatory inscription added to a psalter at Saint Gall, donated by the abbot Hartmut in the late ninth century.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Ripoll Bible, BAV, Ms. Lat. 5729, f. 264. English translation courtesy of Classical Turns.

<sup>91</sup> Mundó, *Les bibliés de Ripoll*, pp. 114–15, 127–28n47.

<sup>92</sup> "Hoc ego psalterium quod iure vocatur hebreum Hartmotus gallo donavi pectore laeto." St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 19, f. 134.

Just after this dedicatory poem are verses from Prudentius's ninth poem of the *Cathemerinon*, known as a Hymn for All Hours (beginning "Da puer plectrum").<sup>93</sup> This poem describes in visceral terms David's jubilant song and dance during the translation of the Ark, the same scenes sculpted on the left side of the portal:

Christus est quem rex sacerdos affuturum protinus  
infulatus concinebat voce corde et tympano,  
spiritum caelo influentem per medullas hauriens.

(It is Christ whose imminent coming the priest-king, wearing  
the sacred headband, sang of, with voice and strings and tambour,  
drinking into his very marrow the spirit that flowed from heaven.)<sup>94</sup>

These verses beautifully conflate sacred chant with bodily performance. Here David's singing is divinely influenced and described as a flowing down from heaven into the pith or marrow of his bones, not unlike the image of John in ecstasy before the throne from Apocalypse, as rendered in the Turin Beatus (**fig. 1**).

Other unique texts in the Roda Bible also offer further evidence of the intensely personal (and personified) readings of the psalms at Ripoll. Jerome's prologue to the psalms in the Roda Bible ends incomplete but is closed with a four-line poem very likely written at Ripoll (**fig. 16**)<sup>95</sup>: "Eo quod non sit prologus ad nullo signo, propter hoc

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<sup>93</sup> Anscari Mundó erroneously attributes this poem to Oliba; Mundó, *Les bibliés de Ripoll*, pp. 127–28.

<sup>94</sup> *Days Linked by Song: Prudentius' Cathemerinon*, trans. Gerard J. P. O'Daly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 252–53.

<sup>95</sup> Anscari Mundó suggests this is a *unicum* and that it was composed by Abbot Oliba; Mundó, *Les bibliés de Ripoll*, pp. 114–15, and note 47 on pp. 127–8. See also Teofilo Ayuso, *La Vetusta Latina Hispana*, vol. 5, p. 286.

sapientes constituerunt ipsum organum” (“Because a foreword is not given where there is not a sign, the wise have established this instrument”).<sup>96</sup>

Like the prosopopeia verses in the *Breviarium de musica* in ACA Ms. Ripoll 42, the reference to wisdom (*sapientia*) and “this organ” (*ipsum organum*) in this poem no doubt are personifications intended to bring the text to life. In this case they also are given form by two figures; a hooded figure who sits with a book at a lectern under a baldachin while a woman kneels at his foot in a gesture of *proskynesis* (**fig. 17**). Here the “organ” might be represented by the book and lectern (or even the baldachin). The “wise” is then represented by the female personification of Divine Wisdom and also the hooded figure. Relating to the psalms, this portrait could be Jerome (as translator or scribe) or either David or Solomon (traditional authors of the psalms), but the large monastic hood worn by this figure also suggests a monastic identity. Manuel Castiñeiras identifies this figure as David in endless psalmody and notes the similarity of the hood to renderings of Benedictine monks in manuscripts from Monte Cassino.<sup>97</sup> A similarly hooded figure is illustrated in a frontispiece to a psalm commentary from Farfa presenting a book to Christ enthroned (**fig. 18**).

The pose of the personification of Divine Wisdom also compares to images of enthroned figures tied to revelation. The page with John's commission to write in the Turin Beatus depicts John at Christ's feet (**fig. 19**).<sup>98</sup> The figure of Divine Wisdom attending to the hooded figure might also be compared to the enigmatic image from the

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<sup>96</sup> My translation.

<sup>97</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras, “Le nouveau testament de la Bible de Ripoll,” p. 10. Castiñeiras cites an eleventh-century copy of the Rule of Saint Benedict, Monte Cassino, Cass. 442, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, vol. 4, *The eleventh and twelfth centuries*.

Moutier-Grandval Bible with an angel holding a horn to the mouth of a veiled enthroned figure (**fig. 20**).<sup>99</sup>

It is perhaps more likely that the figure from the psalms in the Roda Bible is an image of David. An illustration for psalm 32 in the Stuttgart Psalter depicts David enthroned with his harp and a tonsured priest at a lectern (**fig. 21**). In this case the priest's actions are equated with David's music. The juxtaposition of these two recalls the mental image of Oliba described in the prosopopeia verses in the *Breviarium de musica*: here the book that Oliba ordered described its creator as eagerly searching for what it is that Clio muses about. The Stuttgart Psalter illustration seems to bring together these two ideas of performing and musing, elevating the actions of the psalmist at the lectern to the strumming of David.

Having noted the cases of personification in the psalms at Ripoll, the importance of illustrated psalters remains to be analyzed as a genre of imagery that informed the sculpted portal at Ripoll. At the center of a vast domain that rivaled the resources of ancient Benedictine houses like the abbeys of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire at Fleury, Saint Pierre in Moissac, Saint Martial in Limoges, or San Millán de la Cogolla, Ripoll was one of the great centers of liturgical development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Ripoll scriptorium gathered and copied many materials from abroad to support their projects. Abbot Oliba acquired rare books on his journeys to Italy and was no doubt the impulse behind the many artworks and decorative projects at the abbey.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Kessler, "Facies bibliothecae revelata," pp. 149–89.

<sup>100</sup> Anscari Mundó speculates that Oliba acquired books in Italy that were copied at the Ripoll scriptorium; see Mundó, *Les bibliés de Ripoll*, pp. 132–38. See also Mundó, "Importacion, exportacion y expoliaciones de codices en Cataluña (siglos VIII al XIII)," in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península en los siglos VIII-XIII* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 87–134. Manuel Castiñeiras compares Oliba's method and mode of gathering of

Anscari Mundó suggested that illustrations in the Ripoll Bible are comparable to illustrated Carolingian psalters.<sup>101</sup> Mundó pointed out similarities in the illustrations of Joab commanding the Israelites in the Valley of Salt in the late ninth-century Golden Psalter of St. Gall (Cod. Sang. Gall. 22) (**fig. 22**) and Ripoll Bible (**fig. 23**). Both illustrations feature two crenellated circular walls with towers surrounded by soldiers and mounted knights with lances. In both cases a king gesturing towards his face is shown at the center of the lower tower. In the Ripoll Bible this image is adjacent to the prologue for the book of Daniel, and there appears to be no concordance between the image and the text.

The sculpted scenes in the portal might also be modeled on imagery common to illustrated psalters. A number of illustrated monastic psalters and psalm commentaries with marginal illustrations and frontispieces survive from this period, including the Polirone Psalter (**fig. 24–25**) and a psalm commentary from Farfa (**fig. 18**).<sup>102</sup> Supposing that the famous gold and silver psalter recorded in the Ripoll library inventories was illustrated it might have contained imagery similar to those found in surviving illustrated Carolingian psalters (for example, the Utrecht, Stuttgart, and the Golden Psalter of St.

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pictorial imagery to the hagiography of St. Pancras of Taormina; see Castiñeiras, “Le nouveau testament de la Bible de Ripoll,” p. 14.

<sup>101</sup> Mundó, *Les bibliés de Ripoll*, pp. 139–40.

<sup>102</sup> Polirone Psalter, c. 1087, Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 340. See Walther, *Histoire et théologie enluminées*. And the Farfa psalter, c. 12th century, Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 2508. See Hélène Toubert, “Contribution à l’iconographie des psautiers: Le commentaire des Psaumes d’Odon d’Asti, illustré à l’abbaye de Farfa,” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome: Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 88 (1976): 581–619.

Gall) and perhaps Byzantine psalters (Khudov, Barberini, Bristol, and Theodore, among others).<sup>103</sup>

Full-page illustrations with cycles from Kings and Exodus were sometimes used to divide the psalter into sections, like large colored or gilded initials. This is the case with the Golden Psalter of St. Gall for psalms 28 and 29 with the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant (**figs. 26–27**) and with David and the Ark (**fig. 28**). The Barberini Psalter is also broken into large sections by a full-page illumination with the Crossing of the Red Sea for psalm 77, as in other Byzantine psalters.<sup>104</sup>

#### KING DAVID AND THE CHOIRS OF THE KINGS CYCLE

Counterpart to the portrait reliefs, the left side of the portal depicts King David and his musicians (**plate 6**). This iconography is often associated with the repetition of *Alleluia* in the final laudatory psalms.<sup>105</sup> David is shown enthroned as priest-king and prophet, and like Oliba, David holds a curved staff and book. As already discussed, the singing of the psalms was the staple of the monastic life for young and old, and David embodies the idea of terrestrial songs as prefigurations of heavenly choruses. A primary objective of the Benedictine rule was to structure the course and mindset of the monks in

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<sup>103</sup> For an introduction to the so-called family 2400 group of Byzantine psalters, with the Khudov as the earliest, see Antony Cutler and Weyl Carr, “The Psalter Benaki 34.3: An Unpublished Illuminated Manuscript from the Family 2400,” *Revue des études byzantines* 34 (1976): 281–324. For the so-called marginal Byzantine psalters see Kathleen Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Barberini psalter, Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 372; Theodore psalter, London, BL, Add. Ms. 19352; and Bristol psalter, London, BL Add. Ms. 40731.

<sup>104</sup> Barberini Psalter, Barb. Gr. 372, fols. 249–249v.

<sup>105</sup> See, for example, Pellicer, *Santa María del monasterio de Ripoll*, pp. 351–2.

their singing of psalms. The entirety of the psalter was performed once every week, or sometimes more than once, and this chore is often characterized as a physical labor. The continual recitation of the psalms was also considered as a way of forming and protecting the soul.<sup>106</sup>

Above David's portrait relief, the scenes from the Book of Kings also begin on the portal flank, in this case at the lower register with three musicians holding stringed instruments while another figure either sings, conducts, or dances (**fig. 15**). The sermon "On the Benefit of Psalmody" points to David as the next great choirmaster in the lineage of Moses, saying that David was "found worthy to be a leader of singers and a treasury of song."<sup>107</sup> David is again shown as the lead cantor in the outward-facing side, where he is shown dancing before the Ark (**fig. 29–30 and plate 9**). Unlike the brief *tituli* in the bible's Exodus frontispiece, here the portal is inscribed in full leonine hexameter, "ARCHAM CANTANTES DEDUCUNT ET IUBI[LANTES]" ("Singing and shouting, they conduct the Ark").<sup>108</sup> This inscription, beginning directly above a horn-blowing figure to the left of the Ark, puts biblical voice into verse in a way that parallels the psalms and canticles in replicating how a biblical text can be modified and set to music to create a new composition. The inscription further draws a distinction between the differences of singing and shouting that reinforces the special status of monastic voices in

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<sup>106</sup> On the psalms as formative of the soul and body in twelfth-century sculpture, see Thomas E.A. Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa," *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 402–36. More generally, see Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

<sup>107</sup> Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, p. 129.

<sup>108</sup> The different transcriptions of this inscribed verse are published in *Pantocràtor de Ripoll* (2009), p. 416. For this translation see Kendall, *Allegory of the Church*, p. 262.

song as somewhere between heavenly and terrestrial. This distinction is supported by the *Voces animantium* text copied at Ripoll in the twelfth-century.<sup>109</sup>

The top register of the left flank also includes a prophet with banderole, in this case probably Jeremiah, the author of the Book of Kings, whose canticle *Audite verbum*, features a prophecy with a singing and dancing virgin, echoing Moses and Miriam's choirs in the Exodus flank (**fig. 15**). The left flank also concludes the Kings narrative with Elijah being taken to heaven in a whirlwind, with an angel grasps Elijah's arm to pull him up.

The image of David dancing before the Ark (**fig. 30**) is the same as that evoked in the final prologue to the psalms in the Ripoll Bible. As the bookend to Nicetas's opening sermon "On the Benefit of Psalmody," the bible contains a single verse from Prudentius's *Hymn for All Hours*. As discussed, in this poem David as the mitred priest-king sings with voice, strings, and timbrel as he drinks the spirit flowing from heaven into the very marrow of his bones. The selection of this single verse as the final prologue to the psalms in the Ripoll Bible shows that the notion of divine inspiration as something that is imbibed or breathed into the matter of one's body was an idea developed in the liturgy. Etymologically, the words for singing, inspiriting, and breathing in are closely related, so that the inhalation and exhalation during song becomes an instrument of divine action acted through the body.<sup>110</sup>

Although beautifully evoked in verse, the visual image of David dancing before the Ark is not found in the Kings cycle of the Ripoll Bible (**fig. 29**). It is depicted in one

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<sup>109</sup> Madrid, BN, Ms. 19; Peris and Sort y Jané, "La lista de *Voces animantium*," p. 423: "Rustici iubilant."

<sup>110</sup> On this conception of *pneuma* and corporeal experience, see Thomas E.A. Dale, *Romanesque Corporealities: Sculpture, Embodiment, the Senses and Religious Experience in Western Europe, ca. 1050-1215* (forthcoming). Also see Pentcheva, *Sensual Icon*, esp. pp. 53–55.

of the two full-page frontispiece illuminations in the Polirone Psalter (**fig. 25**). It is possible that the portal relief is based on this kind of monastic psalter frontispiece, similar to the Exodus reliefs. The two oxen pulling the cart in the Polirone Psalter and the figure with the horn are similar iconographic details. While this connection is purely speculative it helps to reframe the portal imagery within the tradition of the psalms, helping to shed the traditional idea of the portal as a “bible in stone.”

Psalter imagery also can be compared to other images in the portal. Solomon's dream of with Christ in a mandorla (**fig. 31**) recalls psalms 28 and 29 that describe the construction and dedication of David's temple in Jerusalem. In the Utrecht Psalter Christ is depicted in a mandorla in the hands of angels (**fig. 32**). A similar image appears in the Byzantine marginal psalters, like the Barberini Psalter (**fig. 33**). Also related to the dedication of David's temple, the Stuttgart Psalter's depiction of psalm 28 (**fig. 34**) contains direct parallels to the relief portraits of the counts of Besalú (**plate 7**). In the Stuttgart Psalter illustration Christ holds a scroll as a kneeling figure holds out an offering. Two men carry a column, the first with two flaming candles, not unlike the portrait of Bernat I.

#### THE PORTAL PSALMIST AND MEDIATOR OF DIVINE VOICE

This connection between the body of the cantor and the singing of psalms is also apparent in the inner archivolt with scenes from Jonah and Daniel.<sup>111</sup> The archivolt include brief inscriptions that pinpoint particular moments not commonly pictorialized,

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<sup>111</sup> See my discussion of the portal in chapter 2.

including Jonah vomited and naked, inscribed with the verb "evomuit" (**fig. 35**). Jonah is popularly associated with the psalm *De profundis*, a cry to God to hear one's prayer from the depths. Augustine famously comments that the voice of Jonah must have burst through all physical things to reach the ears of God from the depths of the sea, including the flesh of the whale.<sup>112</sup> In the archivolt Jonah wraps one arm around his torso and gestures towards his face with the other, a pose similar to the prone body of John in the Turin Beatus in the moment of divine inspiriting (**fig. 36**). In this sense both Jonah and John experienced direct auditory encounters with the divine, and the archivolt successfully pictures the terrestrial voice that reaches the ears of the enthroned Christ.

The Daniel archivolt also pictorializes a direct auditory experience with the divine where the voices of the Three Children in the Furnace are joined by an angel said to have the appearance of Christ. The canticle of the Three Children was performed in office hours on all Sundays and it assumes the biblical voice where the three children praise God in perfect unison, as if they sang from a single mouth.<sup>113</sup> In the archivolt the heads of the three children are shown below a cone-shaped conflagration with a fourth head emerging at the top (**fig. 37**). This idea of perfect vocal harmony in the model of the Three Children is transformed into a practical observation in the sermon on "The Benefit of Psalmody," saying that those without the ability to adapt their voices with skill should

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<sup>112</sup> Augustine, *Ennaratio in Psalmis*, PL 131, col. 1695: "Etenim vox haec ascendens est, pertinens ad canticum graduum. Debet itaque unusquisque nostrum videre in quo profundo sit, de quo clamet ad Dominum. Clamavit de profundo Jonas, de ventre ceti. Erat non solum sub fluctibus, verum etiam in visceribus belluae; nec tamen illud corpus et illi fluctus intercluserunt orationem ne perveniret ad Deum, et venter bestiae non potuit tenere vocem deprecantis. Penetravit omnia, disruptit omnia, pervenit ad aures Dei: si tamen dicendum est quia disruptis omnibus pervenit ad aures Dei, quando aures Dei in corde precantis erant."

<sup>113</sup> On the expression "Ex uno ore," see Sarah Whitten, "Quasi ex uno ore: Legal Performance, Monastic Return, and Community in Medieval Southern Italy," *Viator* 44 (2013): 49–63.

sing in a low voice, allowing the better voices of others to dominate. In the monastic community this would resemble the office of the lead cantor or choirmaster, also tasked with caring for choir books and liturgical implements.

## CONCLUSION

In closing, it is helpful to return to Moses's mask and the flexibility of its visual and auditory effects (**fig. 2**). Drawn from the "sounding through" of masks and ancient instruments, this personification ties the experience of the singer and the audience to an embodied object in the "members of man." The psalms were also considered in a literal sense to be the decoration of the church, as stated in a homily copied among the many prefatory texts in the Ripoll Bible beginning *Canticum psalmodum*: "Psalm singing...takes away tedium from the soul, it is a wonderful horn (*tuba mirabilis*)."<sup>114</sup> This seemingly mystical horn is perhaps the same as the instrument visualized in the hands of the angels in the illumination with the presentation of the laws to Moses (**fig. 3**).

The enduring voice of abbot Oliba is a product of successive communities that wrote new histories to sing the praises of their illustrious abbot. By embedding an inscribed representation of the abbot's voice inside a biblical lineage, the portal portrays an exegesis of sacred song – not to enforce a hierarchy of voices, but to outline a miraculous space where the monastic choir was integrated into a history that illustrates exactly how and why their voices have special resonance with the heavenly choir. Like Jonah's voice permeating the belly of the whale and David soaking up the spirit of heaven

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<sup>114</sup> Ripoll Bible, fol. 260v: "Canticum psalmodum...taedium animae detrahit, tuba mirabilis est." Teofilio Ayuso, *La Vetus Latina Hispana*, vol. 5, p. 325; "Mundó, *Les bibliés de Ripoll*, p. 208.

in to his marrow through song, monastic voices at Ripoll dared to straddle human and divine realms. As a persona of the celestial choir, the portal masks histories at once ancient and medieval, permitting the voice of the church to “sound through” by creating a space for the monastic singers to exercise their instruments.

## Religious Experience and Monastic Identity in Romanesque Sculpture at Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1030-1180

### Chapter 2

#### From Reconquest to Reconciliation: Dynastic Memory and Spiritual Kinship in the Ripoll Portal Archivolts

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Inhabiting a different space from outward-facing imagery of the west portal, a series of sculpted reliefs and archivolts frame the doorway to the abbey church of Santa Maria de Ripoll, as if to pull the viewer inside. A sculpted cycle with the lives of Saints Peter and Paul terminates at each side with life-size statues set directly in the space of the viewer (**plate 10**). Set further inside the series of archivolts are cycles from the books of Jonah and Daniel (**plate 11**). Flanking the stone portal and abutted to the church walls are narrow relief panels with Elijah and the Fiery Chariot and a group of mandorla-shaped roundels with birds and beasts (**fig. 15**) at left and Moses Parting the Red Sea and the Parable of Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham (**fig. 10**) at right. How these spiritual analogies in the historiated cycles fit within the monastic life at Ripoll has yielded little discussion in the rich historiography on the portal. Inhabiting a space close to eye level, these archivolts and flanking reliefs are the most visible, tangible, and available for engaged and repeated encounters when entering and exiting the abbey church, the adjoined parish church of Sant Pere, and the nearby cloister (**plates 2 and 3**). The repeated emphasis on the conquering of death in these scenes and on bodily revivification and incorruptibility cements the funerary functions of the parish church, abbey church, and the cloister within the monastery's royal patronage.

Close study of the exegetical resonances in the archivolt cycles allows for a renewed consideration of the Ripoll portal's specific focus on the practical motivations for its creation and on the specific notions of spirituality and materiality implicit in the imagery. I argue that the portal was intended to appeal to the senses of the viewer and to engage medieval theories of materiality the depth of sculpted relief in the archivolts. I also argue that the sermons, miracle collections, and liturgical documents penned by the abbots and monks, most notably Abbot Oliba (d. 1046), and especially funerary encyclicals, frame the monk's ritualized memorials in terms of the closing of corporeal eyes and the unveiling of spiritual vision.<sup>1</sup> Marian miracle stories recorded in the twelfth century, unique to Ripoll, elaborate the efficacy of ritualized actions, prostration and crying, as keys to salvation and the relief of pain and old age, as in the case of the arthritic one hundred year-old monk who the Virgin Mary miraculously returns to boyhood.<sup>2</sup> Here corporeal vision, which can be interpreted as the visual along with the adjunct bodily senses, is continuously conflated with spiritual revelation. Corporeal vision at the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll is at the same time embedded within larger systems of biblical history (in the portal) and cosmogonic knowledge (in the cloister, as discussed in chapter 4).

The desire to move beyond the eyes of the body towards the achievement of spiritual insight is illustrated in the portal reliefs through prophetic visions, the blindness of Jews, and the incorruptibility of holy bodies, specifically those of Jonah, Daniel,

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<sup>1</sup> For the type of spiritual seeing in medieval art I address here, see Herbert Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (Peterborough, Ont., and Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Cebrià Baraut, "Un recull de miracles de Santa Maria, procedent to Ripoll, i les Cantigues d' Alfons el Savi," in Estanislao M. Llopart et al., *Maria-Ecclesia regina et mirabilis*, Scripta e documenta 6 (Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1956), pp. 127–160; number seven, "De quodam monacho sene," p. 146.

Elijah, and Lazarus the Leper. The portal reliefs that illustrate biblical episodes of overt corporeal nature are also those that engage the sight, touch, and hearing of the audience. The ideal religious body is signaled chiefly through the monastic tonsure and images of hair and hairlessness, allowing the monks to forge the way for their lay and royal counterparts to follow. This paradigm is echoed in the verse-inscribed book held in the hands of the jamb statue of Saint Peter: “Peter leads the way and the people ascend to the stars” (PETRUS ITER PANDIT ET PLEBS AD SIDERA SCANDIT). Indeed, well-worn areas at the base of this statue attest to hundreds of years of touch, evidence of the untold experiences of those reaching out to lay their hands on Peter’s feet as they enter and exit the portal to the abbey church.

As the historiography reads, the most widely accepted interpretation of the portal program holds that it manifests a triumphal arch built to memorialize the twelfth-century re-conquest of anciently held Christian lands by the Counts of Barcelona. These conquests are illustrated through scriptural allegories to Old Testament victories in the books of Kings and Exodus. In this chapter, by contrast, I seek to explore a theme of spiritual and dynastic reconciliation available to those of the Abrahamic faiths and to apostates. The theme of reconciliation between faiths and dynasties had a particularly strong resonance at a time when the House of Sunifred, headed by Guifré el Pilós and founder the monastery at Ripoll in the ninth century, was being reconstituted by Ramon Berenguer III and Berenguer IV. The theme of reconciliation is expressed through images of bodily salvation and allegories of spiritual kinship from the book of Daniel and, most notably, in the relief panel with the Parable of Lazarus and the Bosom of Abraham. As I will show, the portal imagery closely recalls the liturgy for the dead and for the

reconciliation of apostates documented in the twelfth-century sacramentary and linked to the identity of the monks and abbots of Ripoll.

My broader analysis of the portal's iconography, its immediate textual and pictorial sources, and its focus on scriptural exegesis complicates the received notions that link the portal directly to the militaristic encounters of the Catalan reconquest. Focusing on the act of preaching, the power of spiritual vision and the incorruptibility of holy bodies in the sculpted cycles, I argue that the sculpted archivolts of the portal express the monastic community's positions concerning their papal protections and the efficacy of their Benedictine legacy in an era of newly founded military orders and newly promulgated concepts of holy war aimed at the Iberian peninsula from Italy and France. As I will show, at the same time that the portal honors the monastery's benefactors, it also visualizes the monk's roles as the caretakers of the spiritual concerns of what is envisioned at Ripoll as a cohesive Catalan nobility, including the counties of Urgell, Cerdanya, Besalú, and Barcelona, united within a single site of burial and commemoration and drawn from a common ancestor in Guifré el Pilós (c. 840-897). These concerns are expressed in the portal imagery only a few decades before the establishment of a royal pantheon for the newly-created Crown of Aragón at Poblet, a Cistercian house that would deprive Ripoll of its long-held honor as burial site for Catalan counts. In 1141, when Ramon Berenguer IV promised his body to the monks at Ripoll along with the revenues from an important *alodium* in Molló (binding the exchange of spiritual intercession to the fruits of the land), the sculpted portal was very likely underway or in the early stages of fabrication.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Testament Ramon Berenguer IV 1141, "wherever on earth I may die" (*ubicumque terrarum me mori contigerit*); MH, col. 1287–1289.

## RECONQUISTA AND THE RIPOLL PORTAL AS TRIUMPHAL ARCH

The modern understanding of the portal as a triumphal arch commemorating Christian victories over Muslim enemies was popularized in the nineteenth century. Jacint Verdaguer (1845–1902), the eminent figure of the Catalan Renaixença, exemplifies this position in his poem *Canigó*, written in 1872.<sup>4</sup> Verdaguer addresses the portal as a living witness to the vicissitudes of history, speaking to the “triumphal arch of Christianity” in the second-person: “Té son arc de triomf lo cristianisme; / al rompre el jou feixuc del mahometisme, / Catalunya l’aixeca a Jesucrist.”<sup>5</sup> *Canigó* establishes a direct correlation between Christian victory and the “yoke” of what Verdaguer characterized as Islamic occupation.

After Verdaguer, the historian Josep Pellicer promoted the paradigm of triumph in his descriptions of the portal, written as part of a larger project on a comprehensive history of the monastery with nationalistic motivations.<sup>6</sup> In the 1888 text, Pellicer authored the most comprehensive institutional history of the monastery to date. His

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<sup>4</sup> For an in English translation, see Jacint Verdaguer, *Mount Canigó: a tale of Catalonia*, trans. Ronald Puppo (Woodbridge, UK: Tamesis, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> “Now Christendom will have its arch of triumph, / Once broken Mohammedanism's yoke – / Catalonia's arch to Jesus Christ.” Jacint Verdaguer, *Canigó*, cant XI, as in Junyent, *El monestir romanic de Santa Maria de Ripoll*, p. 161. English translation by Ronald Puppo, *Mount Canigó: a tale of Catalonia*, p. 173.

<sup>6</sup> José María Pellicer y Pagés wrote several texts concerning the history of the monastery, beginning in 1873, see Pellicer, *El Monasterio de Ripoll: Memoria descriptiva de este célebre monumento en sus relaciones con la religión, las ciencias y el arte* (Gerona: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Manuel Llach, 1873). For the purposes of this study, I will refer to his 1888 text *Santa María del monasterio de Ripoll*, as this text was the most complete and widely circulated; Pellicer, *Santa María del monasterio de Ripoll: Nobilísimo origen y gloriosos recuerdos de este célebre santuario, hasta el milenario de su primera dedicación: reseña histórica* (Mataró: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Feliciano Horta, 1888).

descriptions of the architecture and sculpture and his references to historical documents from the monastery established a fixed canon of texts that to this day remain the standard references in historical and art historical inquiry at Ripoll. Shortly after, in 1909, Josep Gudiol followed Verdaguer and Pellicer by adopting the terms of triumphal in his voluminous description of the portal's imagery.<sup>7</sup>

While a tradition of describing the Ripoll portal as a triumphal arch had existed for decades, direct visual comparisons to extant Roman triumphal arches were only proposed in the twentieth century. Yves Christe brought this discussion to the fore by proposing the destroyed Carolingian Arch of Einhard, a silver triumphal arch that served as the base of a cross, as a direct visual source.<sup>8</sup> More recently, Manuel Castiñeiras has convincingly proposed the *Porta Nigra* in Besançon and the Triumphal Arch of Orange as the most likely Roman models, based on both decorative schema and geographic proximity.<sup>9</sup>

The direct association between the Roman notion of triumph and specific events of the twelfth-century social-political encounters of the *reconquista* are only made explicit by authors late in the twentieth century. Eduardo Junyent identifies the episode of Moses at the Battle with the Amalakites as a direct reference to Ramón Berenguer IV's

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<sup>7</sup> Josep Gudiol i Cunill, *Iconografia de la portalada de Ripoll* (Barcelona: Centre de Excursionista de Catalunya, 1909). A summary on the early historiography is provided by Xavier Barral i Altet, see Barral, "Le portail de Ripoll: Etat des questions." *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 4 (1973): 139–61 ; and Joaquín Yarza, "Notes introductòries i aspectes generals sobre la portalada de Santa Maria de Ripoll," in *Catalunya Romànica*, vol. 10, *El Ripollès*, edited by Jordi Vigué (Barcelona: Funcació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1987), p. 241–43.

<sup>8</sup> Yves Christe, "La colonne d'Arcadius, Sainte-Pudentienne, l'Art d'Eginhard et le portail de Ripoll," *Cahiers archéologiques* 21 (1971): 31–42.

<sup>9</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras, "Un passaggio al passato: Il portale di Ripoll," in *Medioevo: Il tempo degli antichi. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 24-28 settembre 2003*. I convegni di Parma 6, edited by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2006), pp. 365–81.

conquests over his Taifa kingdom neighbors, specifically his victories over Tortosa in 1148 and Lleida in 1149.<sup>10</sup> Francisco Rico, Joaquin Yarza, Melisa Melero, and Montserrat Pagès all follow this line of reasoning in their studies of the portal.<sup>11</sup>

There is little doubt that the format and decorative elements of Roman arches played heavily in the decisions of the patrons and sculptors who created the Ripoll portal. The written sources from the period of the portal's construction are understandably silent, however, as to the pictorial models on which the portal was based. In his recent rethinking of the Ripoll portal, Manuel Castiñeiras importantly identifies the continued associations with Roman triumphal arches as a literary *topos*, "according to which the program of the portal of Ripoll is an allegorical manifesto of the Catalan reconquest through the representation of Old Testament scenes from Exodus and Kings."<sup>12</sup> As Castiñeiras points out, the twelfth-century monastic community at Ripoll primarily desired to commemorate their own institutional history and identity above all else. Indeed, the repetition of this *topos* and its correlated association to specific military victories has served more to obscure than to illuminate the multivalent readings available in the portal's imagery.

Further problematizing the accepted *topos* of triumph, Castiñeiras has demonstrated that the Ripoll portal might best be considered as a "painted figurative

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<sup>10</sup> Eduardo Junyent, *La Basílica del Monasterio de Santa Maria de Ripoll* (Ripoll, 1955), pp. 57–58.

<sup>11</sup> Francisco Rico, *Signos e indicios en la portada de Ripoll* (Barcelona: Fundación Juan March, 1976); Joaquín Yarza et al., *Claustros románicos hispanos* (León: Edilesa, 2003); Maria Luisa Melero Moneo, "La propagande politido-religieuse du programme iconographique de la façade de Sainte-Marie de Ripoll," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 46, no. 182 (2003): 135–57

<sup>12</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras, "The Portal at Ripoll Revisited: An Honorary Arch for the Ancestors," in *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (Leeds: Published for the British Archaeological Association by Maney Publishing, 2013): 121–41.

wall” or a “gigantic panel painting” that transposes the elements of an earlier painted portal into stone, commemorating the dedication of abbot Oliba’s church of 1032.<sup>13</sup> Castiñeiras convincingly compares the Ripoll portal to the painted portal of Sant Joan de Boí (fig. 38) and argues that the painted portal at Ripoll likely became a model for portals and altars at many Catalan churches.<sup>14</sup> Accepting that the sculpted portal at Ripoll is very likely a transposition into stone of an earlier *porta picta*, the genesis of the sculpted archivolts and projecting flanks demands further consideration. As seen at Sant Joan de Boí, the relative flatness of the painted portal offers a limited visual space for surface decoration. The outward-facing Old Testament imagery is closely drawn from the Ripoll and Roda Bibles. Castiñeiras also offers evidence that a cycle with the Labors of the Months was painted along the inside of the doorway, much as it appears in the twelfth-century sculpted portal.<sup>15</sup>

Between the outward-facing Old Testaments episodes and the Labors of the Months inside the door jamb, the question arises if there existed sufficient decorative space within the (theoretical) scheme of the eleventh-century painted portal for the imagery seen in the sculpted archivolts and projecting flanks of the twelfth-century stone portal. Accepting Castiñeiras’ arguments, we might consider the possibility that the archivolt cycles with the lives of Peter, Paul, Jonah, and Daniel and the flanking reliefs with the Parable of Lazarus did not exist in the painted portal of 1032 but were new additions when the stone portal was sculpted sometime between ca. 1135 and ca. 1155.

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<sup>13</sup> Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” p. 137; and “Un passaggio al passato,” p. 377.

<sup>14</sup> The painted portal remains in situ while the vast majority of the wall paintings from inside the church of San Joan de Boí are now in the collections of the Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya (015953-CJT).

<sup>15</sup> Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” pp. 131–32.

The archivolt scenes also find close comparisons in the illuminations in the eleventh-century Ripoll and Roda bibles, for example the spear-bearing figures at the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 37 and fig. 39). In the Jonah archivolt, the stylized whale (*cetus*) more closely resembles the profile of a trout, a feature consistent between the Ripoll and Roda Bibles and the archivolt rendering yet transformed to fit the space of the archivolt (figs. 40–42). The continued reliance on the pictorial traditions in these bibles illuminated at Ripoll echoes the desire to renovate and transpose into stone the eleventh century painted portal by adding new imagery drawn from the same sources yet modified to conform to the exigencies of the portal format.<sup>16</sup>

The differences between the imagery of the archivolts and bible illustrations shows a skillful use of architectural space to heighten the significance of these biblical episodes within the portal as a site of liturgical interaction, as discussed in chapter 1. The ‘projecting’ flanks and sloping plane of the archivolts and intrados make full use of the affective power of sculpture and the ability of the sculpted image to convey sensory experiences and the changing of bodily states (blindness to sight, devoured to vomited, etc.).<sup>17</sup> The archivolts evoke themes of bodily salvation, incorruptibility, and revivification found in the funerary liturgy at Ripoll, referencing the monks’ roles as caretakers and intercessors.

The creation of the portal’s archivolt cycles also coincides with a period of profound changes in royal patronage at Ripoll when the dynastic union of the counts of

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<sup>16</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras has argued that the Ripoll Bible was in fact commissioned at the same time as Oliba’s church, consecrated in 1032; see Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” p. 129, and “Un passaggio al passato,” pp. 374–77.

<sup>17</sup> I choose here to refer to the twelfth-century addition of the archivolts and flanking relief panels as ‘projecting’ in order to emphasize the intention on the part of the fabricators of the portal to fashion a layering of history and identity that enhances the traditions upon which the monastery continued to build.

Barcelona and the kingdom of Aragón in 1157.<sup>18</sup> In the midst of these institutional changes and anxieties, the portal archivolt projects a powerful visual bridge to the imagery of the eleventh-century painted portal while including a newly devised commentary on the role of monks as bridges of dynastic continuity, who promoted a cohesive vision of the Catalan counts. These projecting archivolt and flanks simultaneously enfold the theme of salvation inside a parallel commentary on spiritual kinship among divergent lineages and between Christians and non-Christians.

The Peter and Paul archivolt cycles are thematically grouped into pairs with repeated motifs and visual echoes within the Jonah and Daniel cycles, presenting the viewer with an exegetical framework that I explore here. Proceeding from left to right, these pairings are as follows: raising of Tabitha/healing of the Paralytic (fig. 43), the altercation with Nero/Fall of Simon Magus (fig. 44), the arrest of Peter/inverted Crucifixion of Peter (fig. 45), Saul on the road to Damascus and Ananias baptizing Saul (fig. 46), Paul's disputation with Greeks and Jews and Paul's arrest (fig. 47), and the blindfolding of Paul before Martyrdom/beheading of Paul (fig. 48). Eroded inscriptions roughly contemporary with the portal's creation also accompany the archivolt scenes, the majority of which are now illegible.<sup>19</sup> These inscriptions offer significant insights into the

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<sup>18</sup> On the marriage of Petronilla of Aragón and Ramon Berenguer IV, and the broader dynamics of marriage medieval Catalonia, see Marin Aurell *Les noces du Comte. Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne, 785–1213* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995) and "Jalons pour une enquête sur les stratégies matrimoniales des comtes Catalans (IXe-XIes.)," in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya, segles VIII-XI* (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 281–364.

<sup>19</sup> Transcriptions of the portal's epigraphy are published in Pellicer, *Santa Maria del monasterio de Ripoll*, pp. 344–61; Josep Gudiol y Cunill, *Iconografía de la portalada de Ripoll* (Barcelona: Centre de Excursionista de Catalunya, 1909), pp. 93-110, 124-37, 157-73, 197-212; Josep Puig i Cadafalch, et al., *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, vol. 3, *Els segles XII y XIII* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Catalans/Palau de la diputació, 1918), pp. 815–48, esp. 826–33; and Xavier Barral i Altet, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: Escrits d'arquitectura, art i política* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), pp. 699–718. A wonderful synopsis of these sources is published in Salvador Alimbau and Antoni Llagostera, et al., *Pantocràtor de Ripoll: La portada romànica del monestir de Santa Maria* (Ripoll: Centre d'Estudis

typological and exegetical readings abundant in the portal imagery and the relation of the archivolt scenes to their immediate sources in the Ripoll and Roda bibles.

## THE MONASTIC SCRIPTORIUM AND LIBRARY

As Josep Gudiol noted in 1908, the bibles written and illuminated at Ripoll in the eleventh century served as the primary pictorial source from which the imagery of the portal archivolt was based.<sup>20</sup> The Ripoll Bible (Rome, BAV, Lat. Vat. 5729) and the Roda Bible (Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 6) include illustrated cycles and initials for most of the cycles seen in the sculpted portal, including the book of Daniel and the book of Jonah. The Peter cycle of the Ripoll portal archivolt depicts both canonical and apocryphal episodes drawn from a range of texts, including the biblical *Acts of the Apostles*, the apocryphal texts of Pseudo-Marcellus known as the *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, the *Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* of Prudentius, and the *Acts of Peter*. The Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar cycles are based in non-canonical versions of *Bel and the Dragon* often found in medieval Spanish bibles and in copies of Beatus of Liebana's *Apocalypse*. An incomplete illustrated Beatus, known as the Turin Beatus (Turin, BNU, Sgn. I.II.1), was also produced at Ripoll in the first quarter of the twelfth century from the more famous Gerona Beatus (Girona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 7). The Turin Beatus includes an illustrated Daniel cycle most likely copied at Ripoll or in Girona by a

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Comarcals del Ripollès, 2009), pp. 411–29, with bibliography. The dating of the inscriptions is based on epigraphic comparisons and correspondences to liturgical texts from Ripoll.

<sup>20</sup> Josep Pijoán first noted the model/copy relation between the Ripoll Bible and the portal in Pijoán, “Les miniatures de l'Octateuch a les Biblies romaniques Catalanes,” *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911–12): 475–508; also see Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn and Leipzig: K. Schroeder, 1922).

scribe/painter from Ripoll that perhaps served as a model for some of the portal imagery.<sup>21</sup>

Another substantial genre of sources used in establishing a context for the creation of the twelfth-century portal is the written histories. A chronicle compiled at Ripoll in 1147, the *Brevis historia Rivipullensis*, recounts the sequential consecrations of the abbey churches and frames the monastery's history around the flourishing of Oliba, abbot of Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Miguel de Cuixà, and bishop of Vic.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps the motivation for the writing of an institutional history coincided with efforts to build a monumental sculpted stone portal that similarly honored the abbey's history and all of its benefactors.<sup>23</sup> While the *Brevis historia* makes no explicit reference to twelfth-century building activities, the final paragraph dates the writing of the document within a sequence of church dedications spanning hundreds of years. The concluding section states that the document was written 117 years after the dedication of Oliba's church in 1032 and 261 years after the first dedication of the abbey church, likely in 888.<sup>24</sup> The act of dating a document in this manner strongly suggests that the compilation of the *Brevis*

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<sup>21</sup> John Williams attributes the Turin Beatus illuminations to the scriptorium at Ripoll; see Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 4, *The eleventh and twelfth centuries* (London: Harvey Miller, 2002), p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> *Brevis historia* edited in *Marca hispánica* (MH), see Pierre de Marca, Etienne Baluze, and Nicolaus Specialis, *Marca hispánica; sive, Limes hispanicus, hoc est, geographica & historica descriptio Cataloniae, Ruscinonis, & circumjacentium populorum*. (Paris, 1688; Reprint Barcelona: Base, 1972).

<sup>23</sup> See Thomas Bisson, "Unheroed Past: History and Commemoration in South Frankland before the Albigensian Crusades," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 281–308, and Martin Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012) on the historical context of the *Brevis Historia* and *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensis*.

<sup>24</sup> "Fuerunt autem à prima dedicatione eiusdem coenobii usque ad secundam anni XLVII. à secunda usque ad tertiam XLII. à tertia usque ad quartam LVI. ab ipsa usque ad praesentem dominicae incarnationis annum, qui est millesimus centesimus quadragesimus septimus, sunt anni CXVI. Sunt etiam à prima dedicatione eiusdem loci usque ad hunc ipsum dominicae incarnationis annum, quo haec superius scripta digesta sunt, anni CCLXI," MH, col. 1301. To my knowledge, the relation between the *Brevis historia* and its dating within the chronology of church dedications at Ripoll has not previously been used to establish more concrete dates for the portals creation, as I argue here.

*historia* coincided with some kind of new consecration. The later *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, also composed at Ripoll, draws upon the *Brevis historia* to construct a narrative account describing how Guifré el Pelos received his honor from the Carolingian dynasty (claiming him to be a descendent of Charles the Bald), how he established his domains, and how his domains were later divided. The *Brevis historia* and *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium* were the first documents to bring Guifré el Pelos to fame and the first to use his personage as the ultimate progenitor of all the Catalan counts and also a model for the twelfth-century counts.

Only a relatively small group of liturgical sources from Ripoll survive from the tenth to twelfth centuries compared to what is known to have been produced.<sup>25</sup> An eleventh-century sacramentary from Ripoll (Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Ms. 67) includes texts for baptismal and funerary rites along with a rare *ordo* for the reconciliation of apostates (the *Ordo ad reconciliandum apostata a Iudaismo, Heresi, uel Gentilitate conuersum*).<sup>26</sup> Also surviving from the Ripoll scriptorium is a breviary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 742),<sup>27</sup> a record of the dedication of the abbey church in 1032, inventories of liturgical objects, books, and relics from 1047 and 1066, and a funerary encyclical written by abbot Oliba.<sup>28</sup> Later twelfth-century sermons both

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<sup>25</sup> See Miguel Gros i Pujol, “Els manuscrits litúrgics de l’Antiga Biblioteca del Monestir de Ripoll,” *Annals del Centre d’Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès* (1983): 109–12. Eleventh-century inventories give clues as to how much of the liturgical output of the monastery has been lost or destroyed.

<sup>26</sup> See the edition by Alejandro Olivar, *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Litúrgica 7 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas/Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1963).

<sup>27</sup> See the edition by Joseph Lemarié, *Le bréviaire de Ripoll: Paris, B.N. lat. 742, étude sur sa composition et ses textes inédits*, Scripta et Documenta 14 (Montserrat: Abadia de Montserrat, 1965).

<sup>28</sup> For the acts of the 1032 dedication, see DELABO, pp. 165–70; the inventories of 1047 and 1066, DELABO, pp. 396–98 and pp. 414–15, respectively; and for Abbot Oliba's funeral encyclical of Seniofred, DELABO, pp. 310–17.

copied and composed at Ripoll also survive, most notably a Marian sermon known as the *Multociens contingit* (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ms. Ripoll 193).<sup>29</sup>

The imagery of the Peter and Paul archivolt and its inscriptions can also be compared closely to the neumed (i.e. noted) chants for the solemnity of Saints Peter and Paul, celebrated on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June in the Roman and Old Hispanic calendars. Chants composed for this solemnity at Ripoll, the *Versus in natale apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, date to the second half of the eleventh century. Today these chants are preserved at the (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (hereafter ACA) as Ms. Ripoll 40, folio 63 verso. There is long standing interest in these chants and the concordance of the inscription on the book held in the hands of the jamb statue of Peter to the verses found in the Ripoll 40 manuscript was observed by Francisco Rico in his study of the portal from 1976.<sup>30</sup>

#### PATRONS AND RELICS IN THE PORTAL ARCHIVOLTS AND FLANKS

I propose that the motivation for the addition of the historiated archivolt and projecting flanks when the eleventh-century *porta picta* was transformed into stone in the twelfth century was primarily to propagate the idea of dynastic memory. The centennial of the dedication of the abbey church in 1032 offered an opportunity for the monastery to also commemorate multiple benefactors by creating a sculpted stone portal.<sup>31</sup> Also in 1131, the count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer III died and was buried at Ripoll.

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<sup>29</sup> See a transcription and discussion of this sermon in Kathleen Anne Stewart, “*Domina Misericordiae?* Miracle Narratives and the Virgin Mary, 1130-1230” (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> Rico, *Signos e indicios en la portada de Ripoll*, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup> See note 8.

Twenty years earlier Berenguer III had come into possession of the county of Besalú after Bernat III of Besalú died without heir. The monastery had the opportunity to recognize both Berenguer III as the dynastic successor to abbot Oliba and Bernat I together the two instigators of Ripoll's golden age. While the houses of the counts of Besalú and Barcelona were separate in the early twelfth-century, they both traced their lineage to the house of Sunifred and count Guifé el Pilós (d. 890), the founder of the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll and the parish church of Sant Pere. The fabrication of this lineage is indeed the main goal of the *Brevis historia* of 1147.<sup>32</sup> There is little reason to exclude Berenguer III from the circle of monastic patrons that Ripoll could plausibly associate with the lands and donations of Besalú.

The deep resonances between the portal's imagery and the monastery's funerary practices have led historians to date the portal according to the significant moments of the deaths of the Catalan counts entombed at Ripoll. Previous attempts to date the portal have focused primarily on the three figures on the lower right side, seeking to identify in each a contemporary personage.<sup>33</sup> In the cases where these personages are identified as the counts of Barcelona, scholars tend to argue for later dates that coincide with significant military campaigns of the second half of the twelfth century, or around 1162.<sup>34</sup> Others date the portal as early at 1130-40 based on the affinities between the portal and altar

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<sup>32</sup> The *Brevis historia* can also be seen as establishing the monastery of Ripoll's "fiscal independence," as argued by Thomas N. Bisson, "Unheroed Past: History and Commemoration in South Frankland before the Albigensian Crusades," *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 301.

<sup>33</sup> These three "enigmatic personages" are variously suggested to depict either the counts of Besalú or of Barcelona. See Castiñeiras, "Portal at Ripoll Revisited," pp. 121–24.

<sup>34</sup> Francesca Español, who identifies Ramon Berenguer IV and archbishop Oleguer Bonestruga amongst these three figures, accordingly dates the finishing of the portal to ca. 1161, around the death of Ramon Berenguer IV. Español, "Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l'époque romane: Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 42 (2011), pp. 103–14.

frontals painted in the Ripollès area and the stylistic similarity to the Tomb of Ramon Berenguer III, assuming the tomb was fabricated immediately after the death of the count.<sup>35</sup>

Situating Peter and Paul within a topography of sites consecrated to their names begins to address the question of how the twelfth-century audiences at Ripoll approached the “new” imagery of the portal archivolts and jamb statues. The jamb statues flanking the image of Christ in the portal (**plate 4**) have been identified as a “prefiguration” of the *traditio legis* iconography, or Christ the giver of laws.<sup>36</sup> The dedication ceremony for the monastery church of Ripoll from 1032 documents the consecration of the altar with the relics of Peter and Paul, among many others. In this consecration rite Peter is referred to as the prince of the apostles (*apostolorum principis*) and Paul as the teacher of the gentiles (*doctoris gentium*).<sup>37</sup>

As the most generous patrons of the monastery, the counts of Besalú played a key role in the newfound emphasis on Saint Peter and Paul at Ripoll in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Under the guise of reforming the monastery and removing the

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<sup>35</sup> See my discussion of the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III in chapter 3. The earliest date for the portal, c. 1134-51, is proposed by Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” pp. 133.

<sup>36</sup> See Maria Luisa Melero Moneo, “La propagande politido-religieuse du programme iconographique de la façade de Sainte-Marie de Ripoll,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 46, no. 182 (2003), p. 153.

<sup>37</sup> Original now lost. Jaime Villanueva and Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, vol 8, *Vique y Solsona* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet/ Real Academia de la Historia, 1821), pp. 210–15; Junyent, *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l’abat i bisbe Oliba*, pp. 362–69, cat. 27. Junyent’s edition is taken from Villanueva with additions from the notes of Roc d’Olzinelles (the last archivist monk of Ripoll). Relics of Peter and Paul are mentioned on p. 364: “Simul quoque conditae sunt in eodem altare, reliquiae proprii corporis beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, deque vestimentis eorum; clavigieri, videlicet, regni celestis, apostolorum principis, potestatem ligandi atque solvendi in celo et in terra post Deum plenissime possidentis; suaeque gloriae consortis, doctoris gencium praecipui praedicatoris veritatis eximii. Quod totum quantae sanctitatis excellentia splendeat, nullus recte credentium dubitat.” I highlight the text in bold to note how Peter and Paul are explicitly called the key-bearers to heaven, showing that Ripoll was similar to Cluny in underscoring their direct dependence on the pope and the inviolable rights granted to the monastery before and during the time of abbot Oliba.

simoniacal abbot Miro, Bernat II placed Santa Maria de Ripoll under the jurisdiction of Saint Victor of Marseilles in 1070.<sup>38</sup> Later, in 1078, Bernat II of Besalú placed the abbeys of Sant Pere de Camprodon, Sant Pau de Vallosa, and Sante-Marie d'Arles (not affiliated with Ripoll) under the umbrella of Cluny.<sup>39</sup> In the records of this translation, Bernat II adopts the title *miles peculiaris sancti Petri*, signaling his special affiliation with the reforming popes.<sup>40</sup>

The adjacent parish church of Sant Pere offers further context for how twelfth-century viewers interpreted and responded to Peter's presence in the archivolt scenes. As a parish church, Sant Pere was the major point of contact between lay and monastic communities. The consecration of the parish church from the 26<sup>th</sup> of June in the year 890 (two years after that of the abbey church of Santa Maria) refers to the dual role of the services to be shared by priests and monks (*sacerdotibus et monachis*) who would together defend the faith and offer testament inside this space.<sup>41</sup> Stemming from the

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<sup>38</sup> Pellicer, *Santa María del monasterio de Ripoll*, p. 108; PL 149, col. 419, "Bernardi Comitum Epistola ad Bernardum Abbatem Massiliensem, Ad eliminandum ex Rivipullensi monasterio simoniam, orat ut illud per suos monachos regendum suscipiat."

<sup>39</sup> It should be noted that Cluny, dedicated to Peter and Paul, was placed under the direct authority of the papacy and maintained a Roman emphasis in the iconography of church decorations. The *Translatio Legis* theme is associated with the apse of Old Saint Peter's and also with various monastic institutions dependent on Rome: San Pietro in Monte at Civitate portrays this theme over the main entrance, the Cluniac priory of Berze la Ville features Peter and Paul flanking Christ in the apse, and Peter and Paul also appeared in the spandrels of the great west portal of Cluny.

<sup>40</sup> Zimmerman *Ecrire et Lire*, vol. 2, p. 778. The special status of Besalú continues after the creation of the Crown of Aragón when queen Petronilla is granted the lands of Besalú as a dowager after the death of Ramon Berenguer IV, perhaps honoring the similarly special veneration of her namesake, Pedro I (d. 1104), who used a similar title and had also granted his lands to the pope and had them returned as a papal fief.

<sup>41</sup> Marca, Baluze, *Specialis, Marca hispánica*, p. 822, (original lost): "...Ideo nos jamdicti haec omnia quae superius inserta et ea quae dicta sunt ob amorem Dei, ut nos a vinculis peccatorum nostrorum absolvere dignetur, et propter dedicationem sancti Petri Apostoli Ecclesiae et ejus sacrationem, sic tradimus haec omnia ad domum jamdicti sancti Petri et a Daquino Abbati sive sacerdotibus et monachis cunctis qui ibidem modo Deo deserviunt, et adhuc in futuro tempore sunt servituri, eodem modo, ut deinceps usque in perpetuum quid de haec omnia seu de alia quae al eandem domum Dei praedictam aliquis homo Deo

accounts of the consecration ceremonies and from the written histories of the monastery from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there is a clear confluence of parish and monastic missions in the vicinity of the portal, an idea that is illustrated in the historiated archivolt cycles with Peter and Paul. The narrative reads from left to right (as opposed to the Jonah and Daniel archivolt which reads from center to sides).

A final point of reference that unites the identity of patrons and pastoral missions at Ripoll is the presence of important relics, most notably a fragment of the holy cross (*sancta crux*), the hairs of Saint Peter's beard, and the bones of Saint Paul. The relic of the holy cross almost certainly came to the monastery along with abbot Oliba due to the special relationship of the holy cross to the counts of Besalú. In 1016–17, Bernat I of Besalú, eldest brother of Oliba, traveled to Rome with a large entourage to celebrate Christmas at the church of Saint Peter. On this expedition, Bernat I reportedly received relics of the *sancta crux* from Pope Benedict VIII.<sup>42</sup> The holy cross then became a fixed image on coinage from Besalú, prominently displayed on the reverse as a large cross with inscription.<sup>43</sup> Only five years earlier, in 1011, Oliba had traveled to Rome to secure privileges from Pope Sergius IV for the monastery at Ripoll.<sup>44</sup> The papal bull confirming these rights is preserved in copies and is also referenced in the *Brevis Historia* of 1147.

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inspirante dare vel tradere voluerit et tradiderit, omnes sacerdotes praesentes et futuri ad partibus domum sancti Petri Apostoli ipso patrocinante recipiant, teneant, possideant, atque per ipsius nomen defendant, usuandi laborandique et offerendi potestatem teneant offerre, vel ab olim minime.”

<sup>42</sup> On the 1011 and 1016 journeys to Rome and on the politics between the Catalan counts and the papacy, see Paul Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der Katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926). See also Thomas Deswarte, “Rome et la spécificité catalane: La papauté et ses relations avec la Catalogne et Narbonne (850-1030),” *Revue historique* 294, fasc. 1 (July–Sept. 1995): 3–43.

<sup>43</sup> Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, *Del manuscript 129 de Ripoll: Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó. Regles de trobar, tractat poetic, colecció de poesies* (Barcelona: L’Avenç, 1911).

<sup>44</sup> See above note 36.

The record of the dedication of the abbey church in 1032 lists the *lignum Domini* first among the abbey's relics, housed within a special altar.<sup>45</sup> Treasury inventories of 1047 and 1066 further record the primary role of this relic at Ripoll.<sup>46</sup> Other references to reliquaries at the monastery from 1066 mention the holy cross and also the beard of Saint Peter and bones of Saint Paul.<sup>47</sup> The imagery of the holy cross anchors the exegetical commentary of the archivolt scenes through references to the cross as the key to the salvation of humanity: Peter's inverted crucifixion, Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the tree, and Jonah's ivy canopy. The relic of Paul in the abbey church (*ossibus sancti Pauli egregii doctoris*) highlights the importance of bodily incorruptibility and spiritual vision depicted in the Daniel archivolt cycle and in the Parable of Lazarus on the projecting right flank. Finally, the relic of Peter's beard (*de pilis barbae sancti Petri apostoli*) unites the theme of hairlessness (by way of ritualized monastic shaving) between the Jonah archivolt cycle and the relief panel with Elijah on the projecting left flank, both being prophets known for their hairlessness.

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<sup>45</sup> Junyent, *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, p. 363: "Conduntur ergo ibi reliquiae ligni Domini, illius videlicet ligni, in quo pro nobis mortem carnaliter pertulit ipse Deus, de cuius beatissimae carnis afflixione, et de profluentis ad nostram redemptionem sanguinis...."

<sup>46</sup> 1047 treasury (from Olzinelles notes), Junyent, *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, p. 396: "In altario sanctae Crucis tabulam coopertam argento." 1066 (from Olzinelles notes) Junyent p. 414: "In altare Sancte Crucis ac Sancti Poncii, necnon et Sancti Salvatoris...aliam parvissimam argenteam cum ligno Domini."

<sup>47</sup> Junyent, *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, p. 416: "et de ligno crucis eius," "ac de pilis barbae sancti Petri apostoli sanctique Ioannis Evangelistae; et ex ossibus sancti Pauli egregii doctoris." Continues later: "Sunt autem reliquiae de corporibus beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli." Also: "In cruce sancti Salvatoris, in superiori parte, sunt reliquiae de sepulchro Domini, et de eius praesipio...et in alia rota superiori habentur reliquiae de corpore Domini...et de veste illius, et de linteo unde tersit pedes discipulorum, et ex ligno crucis ipsius, et de lapide monumenti, atque de corpore sancti Martialis ipsius discipuli."

PETER, JONAH, AND ELISHA/ELIJAH: PREACHING, AUTHORITY, AND  
REVIVIFICATION

The Peter cycle of the sculpted archivolt is comprised of six voussoirs that create a narrative trajectory from left to center. The first two episodes from the life of Peter depict the healing of the paralytic and the raising of Tabitha (**fig. 43**), narrated in *Acts* 3:1-11 and 9:36-43, respectively. A second nimbed figure is included in the scene of Peter healing the paralytic, identified as John in *Acts* and in the inscription that runs along the left arch: “PETRUS ATQ(UE) IOH(ANNE)S ERIGU(N)T CLAUDUM” (Peter and John raise the lame).<sup>48</sup> Peter’s body dominates the composition and gently mimics the sloping contour of the archivolt as he holds the *clavis caeli* and leans inwards. The paralytic stands roughly half Peter’s height with a full beard and pigeon-toed stance, perhaps to indicate his previously crippled state. At left, a crenellated architectural feature is included, likely referencing the beautiful gate (*speciosam portam templi*) of *Acts*. This would also reinforce the identification between the monastery gates and the entrance into the heavenly Jerusalem. John stands above and behind the paralytic holding his gospel book and perhaps wearing the pallium over his right shoulder. The following voussoir with the raising of Tabitha depicts a nimbed Peter standing at left and holding Tabitha’s hand as he lifts her up from tomb-like bed.<sup>49</sup> Two figures stand behind Tabitha with their

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<sup>48</sup> Pellicer, *Santa Maria del monasterio de Ripoll*, pp. 357; Yarza, “Notes introductòries,” *Catalunya Romanica* X, p. 243. Barral, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch*, p. 708; Salvador Alimbau Marquès, Antoni Llagostera Fernández, et al., eds. *Pantocràtor de Ripoll: La portada romànica del monestir de Santa Maria* (Ripoll: Patronat de Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll; Ajuntament de la Comtal Vila de Ripoll: Centre d’Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès, 2009), p. 190.

<sup>49</sup> Tabitha’s bed can be compared to the bed of Nebuchadnessar in the inner archivolt and also to the sarcophagus of Ramon Berenguer III in the first socle of the *exitum animae* cycle.

hands over their chests, likely the two men who hastily summon Peter in *Acts* 9:38. An inscription reads “PETRUS DE(F)U(N)CTAM SUSCIT TABITAM” (Peter awakens Tabitha from death) using a nested script for the first two letters of Peter name.

The choice to present together these two scenes from the life of Peter is unusual for sculpted stone portals of the twelfth-century. Peter and the paralytic at the beautiful gate appears on the left side of the portal at Tudela.<sup>50</sup> The raising of Tabitha also appears in a fragment from the portal of Sant Pere in Vic.<sup>51</sup> The choice to present these two in tandem, however, might be explained through the connections between Ripoll and the kings of Aragón. Manuel Castiñeiras has recently hinted at the importance of the granting of an annual rent from the kings of Aragón from lands in Alasquarre to commemorate the healing of King Pedro I (1094-1104) by the abbot of Ripoll.<sup>52</sup> Pedro I was also the namesake of the infanta Petronilla, whose father King Ramiro II (“the monk,” 1134–1157) confirmed this donation to Ripoll in 1102, which had then risen to 505 solidi.<sup>53</sup> These 505 solidi very likely were a large part of the funds needed to begin the construction of the sculpted stone portal. Reading deeply into the archivolt imagery (and taking Roc d’Olzinelles’ literally), it is possible that the healing of the paralytic scene references the story of the abbot of Ripoll healing King Pedro I.

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<sup>50</sup> On St. Peter at Tudela, see Pamela Patton, *Pictorial Narrative in the Romanesque Cloister: Cloister Imagery and Religious Life in Medieval Spain* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 113–14.

<sup>51</sup> On the fragments of the Vic portal, see Marilyn Stokstad, “Three Apostles from Vich,” *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin* 4, no. 11 (1970): 3–24, and Miquel Sants Gros, “L’antic retaule romanica de la catedral de Vic. Assaig de reconstrucció,” *Studia Vicensia* 2 (1989): 99–126.

<sup>52</sup> Castiñeiras, “The Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” p. 136.

<sup>53</sup> See Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” pp. 136, 144nn56 and 57. The only surviving evidence for these donations comes from the notes of Roc d’Olzinelles (1784-1835), archivist and monk at Ripoll, transcribed and translated into Spanish, now at the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 430.

The next two voussoirs depict Peter's confrontation with emperor Nero and the fall of Simon Magus (**fig. 44**). The appearance of Nero in sculpted portals is rare in Romanesque sculpture and at Ripoll the episode is drawn from non-canonical sources including Pseudo-Marcellus's *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*.<sup>54</sup> Both Nero and Simon Magus are also featured in the *Versus in natale apostolorum Petri et Pauli*,<sup>55</sup> helping to place the context within the archivolt.

The Nero voussoir shows a nimbed Peter again holding the *clavis caeli* and standing in a frontal position (**fig. 44, lower left**). Nero is shown at left in partial profile sitting on a throne with elaborate drapery holding a scepter, with legs facing inwards. Above Nero and separated by a series of undulating clouds are two demons with horns and full mustaches, echoing Nero's facial features. The inscription at left reads "ALTERCACIO PETRI ATQ(UE) NERONIS" ("dispute between Peter and Nero") along the outside edge. The following voussoir depicts both Peter and Paul and the fall of Simon Magus (**fig. 44, upper right**). Peter stands at center gesturing with his right hand holding his left hand on his torso. Paul stands behind Peter's body and nimbus holding a gospel book. At right, Simon Magus is shown inverted but equal to Peter's height and stature, and with the same hand gestures. Simon's tunic opens up around his thighs and his right hand, indicating his inverted state and the velocity of his descent. Two demons again appear at top with Simon's feet echoing the curve of the undulating folds. At

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<sup>54</sup> Richard A. Lipsius and Maximilian Bonnet, ed., *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, pars prior (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1959).

<sup>55</sup> Clemens Blume and Guido Dreves, ed., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi L*, Hymnographi Latini, Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1907), pp. 141–43; verse 6: "Simonis horrida praestigia / Voce fugantur apostolica / Inferus haud cohibere valet / Quem Petrus inde redire jubet / Terrea, coelica quique tenet." Nero verse 18: "Hi simul ergo duo proceres / Salvificos recreando greges / Martyrio subiere polum / Quos Nero traxit ad interitum / Daemonis esca, pater scelerum."

bottom right, adjacent to Simon's head and to Peter's left foot, three spheres are shown, likely referencing the *Via Sacra*, on which, according to Pseudo-Marcellus, Simon Magus fell and broke into four pieces, thus uniting "four stones," presumably the four gospel books.<sup>56</sup> These four stones of the gospels are perhaps alluded to in the book held by Peter. In the archivolt scene, Peter's left foot can be seen to act as the fourth stone, alluding to Peter as the rock of the church from the well-known play on words in Matthew 16:18.<sup>57</sup> Along the bottom of the voussoir an inscription reads "UBI SIMON CELO RRUIT [sic]" ("Where Simon falls from the sky"). Differing from the other archivolt inscriptions in its placement at the lower edge rather than the outside arch, *ubi* further highlights the placement of Peter's feet. The inclusion of *ubi* is also notable for its connections to liturgical formulae that employ locative designations, an idea to which I will return.

The final two voussoirs of the Peter cycle depict the arrest and inverted crucifixion from *Acts* 12:1-17 and from the apocryphal *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* of Pseudo-Marcellus, respectively (**fig. 45**). In the arrest scene, Peter stands at left with the *claves caeli* in his right hand and his eyes downcast. A soldier armed with a lance in his right-hand grasps Peter's left hand across the wrist. Dressed in a short tunic, the soldier's lance transverses Peter's decorated nimbus. A second soldier stands behind the first also with a lance. The inscription reads "PETRUS TR(ADI)TUR AD

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<sup>56</sup> Lipsius, *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, para. 56: "Et continuo dimissus cecidit in locum qui Sacra Via dicitur, et in quattuor partes fractus quattuor silices adunavit, qui sunt at testimonium uictoriae apostolicae usque in hodiernum diem." For an English translation see Valerie Heuchan, "All Things to All Men: Representations of the Apostle Paul in Anglo-Saxon Literature," PhD dissertation (University of Toronto, 2010), appendix A.

<sup>57</sup> Matthew 16:18; On inscriptions on Romanesque portals and their allegorical significance, see Calvin Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998), especially chapter 4, "'I am the door': Typological Alegory and the Design of the Romanesque Portal," pp. 51-69.

CARCE(RE)M,” (“Peter is delivered to prison”) referencing *Acts* 12:4 in using the words *carcerem* and *traditur*.<sup>58</sup> By depicting only two soldiers (not the four referenced in the arrest scene of the text) and no chains, the arrest voussoir can also be linked to Peter’s escape from prison in *Acts* 12:6-9. Here Peter sleeps “inter duo milites” before he is set free by angelic means. This is the same episode mentioned in the funerary prayer, *Oratio ad exitum animae* from the Ripoll Sacramentary.<sup>59</sup> In addition, the feast of Saint Peter in Chains was celebrated in August at Ripoll, as documented in a twelfth-century manuscript from Ripoll at the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya that records the date and rationale for this celebration following the unusual election of Pope Alexander II in 1061 at the church of Saint Peter in Chains (fig. 49).<sup>60</sup>

The inverted crucifixion concludes the Peter cycle (fig. 45, right). Following the standard iconography and the description from Pseudo-Marcellus, Peter is shown fixed to an inverted cross.<sup>61</sup> Two soldiers stand on the arms of the cross, both holding hammers. The soldier on the left side reaches up with both hands in the action of nailing Peter’s feet. Near the base of the cross are the heads of four figures, their bodies hidden behind a celestial veil. Notably, the crucifixion scene is the only voussoir of the Peter cycle not to

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<sup>58</sup> *Acts* 12:4: “quem cum adprehendisset misit in carcerem tradens quattuor quaternionibus militum custodire eum volens post pascha producere eum populo.”

<sup>59</sup> *Acts* 12:6: “cum autem producturus eum esset Herodes in ipsa nocte erat Petrus dormiens inter duo milites vincus catenis duobus et custodes ante ostium custodiebant carcerem.”

<sup>60</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya Ms. 944, “Qua ratione celebratur festiuitas s(an)c(t)i Petri apo(stol)li K(alendas) augusti,” fol. 134v. A note explaining the relation of this festival to the election of pope Alexander II is recorded on fols. 134v-135r.

<sup>61</sup> Lipsius, *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, para. 60: “Petrus autem dum uenisset ad crucem ait: Quoniam dominus meus Iesus Christus de caelo ad terram descendens recta cruce sublimatus est, me autem quem de terra ad caelum euocare dignatur, crux mea caput meum in terra debet ostendere, et pedes ad caelum dirigere: ergo quia non sum dignus ita esse in cruce sicut dominus meus, girate crucem meam. At illi uerterunt crucem et pedes eius sursam fixerunt, manus uero deorsum.”

include an inscription. This lacuna gives added emphasis to the inscription held in the hands of the Peter statue below the archivolt, stating “PETRUS ITER PANDIT ET PLEBS AD SIDERA SCANDIT” (Peter leads the way and the people ascend to the stars). Details from the archivolt scene of Peter’s crucifixion also find comparison in the *Acts of Peter* in the focus on the hammers held in the hands of the men who nail Peter to the cross, a detail not mentioned in Pseudo-Marcellus.<sup>62</sup>

The themes of preaching, apostolic authority, and revivification present in the Peter cycle are amplified when put in dialogue with the Jonah cycle of the inner archivolt. The intentional concordances between these cycles are attested most noticeably in the readings for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

The paired episodes of the Peter cycle (Paralytic/Tabitha, Nero/Simon Magus, and Arrest/Crucifixion) enter into a typological and exegetical dialogue with Jonah, who acts as Peter’s prophetic antetype. Owing to the exegetical tradition, it is possible that the monks at Ripoll read deeply into Matthew 16:17 where Christ refers to Peter as the son of Jonah, conflating Peter and Jonah as kin, as did Isidore in his prologue to the book of Jonah.<sup>63</sup> References in both the Peter and Jonah cycles to liturgical events and textual acts of preaching and conversion highlight the twelfth-century emphasis on the efficacy of the monastic vocation. Interestingly, the narrative of the Jonah cycle progresses from the

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<sup>62</sup> The apocryphal *Acts of Peter* survives in only one source, the *Actus Vercellenses*. On the issue of the “nail” and the cross in this text, see Matthew Baldwin, *Whose Acts of Peter?: Text and Historical Context of the Actus Vercellenses* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), pp. 287–88.

<sup>63</sup> Matthew 16:17: “respondens autem Iesus dixit ei beatus es Simon Bar Iona quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi sed Pater meus qui in caelis est.” Interestingly, this passage from the Roda bible includes a crossed “k” beginning the word *caro*, the abbreviation often used for the *Kyrie eleison*, indicating that the scribe saw a connection to this significance of this passage in the liturgy.

center to each side, in contrast to that of the Peter cycle which moves from left to center (and continues from center to right with the Paul cycle).

Illuminations from the Ripoll and Roda bibles give uncommon emphasis to Jonah.<sup>64</sup> In the Ripoll Bible, Jonah is shown in three scenes: Jonah receiving the word of God (in the form of an angel), Jonah in the belly of the fish/whale, and Jonah beneath the umbrella of ivy (fig. 41).<sup>65</sup> The Roda Bible depicts an extended cycle that also includes an unusually prominent ivy scene. Included in the Roda illumination are the word of God upon Jonah, the sailors casting Jonah overboard, Jonah swallowed by the whale, bald Jonah vomited by the whale, and bald Jonah preaching at Nineveh in the company of the King who is depicted inside crenellated walls (fig. 42).<sup>66</sup> The final illustration of the Roda bible Jonah cycle includes an enigmatic inscription that reads “TEGIT VERMIS VM/BRA” (“the pest touches the canopy”) at left from top to bottom and moving to the right with the final three letters. At center the inscription reads from center to top and then again from center to bottom, “IONE | ILLVC.” The inscription ends “TRIS/TARI/CE/PI/T” (“here is the place Jonah took to be sad”).<sup>67</sup>

The Jonah cycle begins at center with the first and smallest voussoir of the archivolt cycle, comprised of four in total. This first voussoir shows the word of God coming upon Jonah as the hand of God descends from an undulating heavenly veil

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<sup>64</sup> Peter Klein notes the unusually elaborate Jonah cycle in the Roda Bible and the similarities in the illuminations of the books of the prophets in the Roda Bible to twelfth-century English bibles. See *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), p. 190.

<sup>65</sup> Ripoll Bible, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5729, fol. 241v.

<sup>66</sup> Roda Bible, BnF, Ms. 6, vol. 2, fol. 83v.

<sup>67</sup> See Neuss, p. 24: “...ist nur zur letzten Szene die Beischrift erhalten, links mit übereinander gestellten Buchstaben TEGIT VERMIS VMBRA, rechts von Jonas, so daß von der Mitte nach oben und unten gelesen werden muß, IONE ILLVC TRISTARI CEPIT.”

towards the book held in Jonah's left hand (fig. 50). Jonah stands at left in a frontal pose, fully clothed and gesturing with his right hand. Although the eroded stone has lost many of the details, it is clear that Jonah is shown with a beard and decorated nimbus. An inscription along the left arch reads "HIC FIT VERBUM D(OMI)NI SU(PE)R IONAM," alluding to the first lines of the vulgate book of Jonah.<sup>68</sup>

Moving outwards and left, the next voussoir depicts Jonah as he is swallowed by the whale in Jonah 1:15-2:2 (fig. 40). An abbreviated inscription along the left arch reads "IONAS IN VENT(RE) C(E)TE" ("Jonah in the belly of the whale"). Notably, the inscription refers to the whale (*cetus*) rather than the large fish (*piscem grandem*) in the Vulgate. At top, three figures peer over the edge of a boat with voluted bow and stern. Jonah is shown reaching out his arms toward the boat as he is swallowed by the whale, here rendered in a fashion with a wide tail and four fins that closely resembles the illuminations of the Ripoll and Roda bibles (figs. 41 and 42).

The third voussoir depicts an unclothed Jonah in partial profile with legs turned, his right hand across his torso and left hand raised (fig. 35). The nakedness, and probable baldness, of Jonah in the voussoir is a significant feature, drawing upon extra-biblical sources including the commentaries of Augustine. This feature perhaps also draws on the Jewish Midrash in which Jonah is interpreted to be both bald and entirely hairless. Jonah's nakedness and baldness is better known in visual depictions and perhaps existed independently from the textual tradition.<sup>69</sup> This pose is very similar to that of Nero in the

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<sup>68</sup> Jonah 1:1: "et factum est verbum Domini ad Ionam filium Amathi dicens." The text of these first lines in the Ripoll Bible includes an interlinear addition of the word *clamor* beneath that of "praedica," perhaps associating Jonah's preaching with the liturgical act of the clamor.

<sup>69</sup> See Friedman, "Bald Jonah," pp. 129–33. Another explanation for the baldness of Jonah is its basis in the Jewish celebration of Yom Kippur, wherein the book of Jonah is read in its entirety. The Yom Kippur liturgy is recorded in the *mahzor*, a liturgical book containing selected prayers for the high holy days.

Peter cycle (fig. 51). Jonah's right foot is placed on a rectangular platform with scrolled decoration. An indiscernible feature can be seen near Jonah's posterior, resembling the horns of the demons found in the Peter and Paul cycles. Along the left arch of the voussoir an inscription reads "EVOMUIT PICIS [sic] IONAM" ("the fish vomits Jonah") (fig. 35) closely following the biblical text and now referring to the creature as a fish.<sup>70</sup>

The fourth voussoir depicts Jonah preaching to the people of Nineveh (fig. 52). Jonah is shown standing at left, fully clothed, with right hand gesturing towards a crenellated city structure inhabited by two figures. The city walls recall the healing of the paralytic and its allusion to the "beautiful gate" of the Peter cycle. An eroded inscription at the top of the voussoir (a feature shared only by the inscription for the fall of Simon Magus of the Peter cycle) reads "HIC PRAEDICAT [...]NINIVE" (here [Jonah] preaches at Nineveh) following the scriptural phrase "praedica in ea praedicationem."<sup>71</sup>

The final voussoir of the cycle depicts Jonah sitting below an ivy canopy (fig. 53).<sup>72</sup> An inscription along the top left arch reads "EDRA [sic] IONAS" ("Jonah's ivy").<sup>73</sup> Jonah is shown in partial profile with his feet atop a rectangular platform and his

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Illustrated copies of the *mahzor* are well represented in examples from medieval Catalonia from the Jewish communities of Girona and Barcelona. See the Catalan Micrography, National Library of Israel Ms. Hebrew 8° 6527, and also British Library Add. MS 21160, fol. 292. Also see Delia-Ruth Halperin, *Illuminating in Micrography: The Catalan Micrography Mahzor* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>70</sup> Jonah 2:11: "et dixit Dominus pisci et evomuit Ionam in aridam."

<sup>71</sup> Jonah 3:2-3: "surge vade ad Nineven civitatem magnam et praedica in ea praedicationem quam ego loquor ad te et surrexit Iona et abiit in Nineven iuxta verbum Domini et Nineve erat civitas magna Dei itinere dierum trium."

<sup>72</sup> Jonah 4:5-7: "et egressus est Iona de civitate et sedit contra orientam civitas et fecit sibimet ibi umbraculum et sedebat subter eum in umbra donec videret quid accideret civitati et praeparavit Dominus Deus hederam et ascendit super caput Ioniae ut esset umbra super caput eius et protegeret eum laboraverat enim et laetatus est Iona super hedera laetitia magna et paravit Deus vermem ascensu diluculo in crastinum et percussit hederam et exaruit."

<sup>73</sup> In the inscription "EDRA," ivy, is closer to the Occitan *èdra* than it is to the Latin *hedera*.

arms held in a gesture of unease. Above, an ivy canopy comprised of scrolling vegetal forms and folded foliage arches from left to right. At bottom a monstrous head is shown as the source of the ivy, referencing the abyss of creation in Genesis, a feature common to both the Ripoll and Roda bibles. The ivy depicted in the archivolt scene, however, differs from the depiction of the ivy in the Ripoll Bible which appears to spring from behind or above Jonah's partially bald head, and more closely follows the Roda Bible version. The inclusion of this scene in the archivolt and in both bibles demonstrates the importance of this episode to the monk-exegetes who created the portal's program as a unifying typological feature to bring together the Peter, Daniel, and Jonah groups.

The largely eroded sculpted relief with Elijah and the Fiery Chariot (2 Kings 2:1-12) engages in an exegetical dialogue with the Peter and Jonah archivolts of the portal program. The relief inhabits the middle register of the projecting left flank (fig. 15), beneath an unidentified elder from the first book of Kings cycle and above a group of four musicians that continues the translation of the Ark cycle of the book of Samuel from the outward-facing registers of the portal. At left Elisha is seen gesturing towards his teacher/father Elijah as his left arm is grasped by a hovering and nimbed angel. The undulating lines at bottom likely represent the whirlwind (*turbinem*) described in the vulgate text. The composition of the sculpted scene closely follows the illuminations of the same scene from the Ripoll Bible (fig. 54), particularly in the detail of the angel grasping Elijah's arm and the pictorial convention of layering the horses. To a lesser extent the sculpted scene also follows the Roda Bible which also includes a detail not included in the Ripoll illumination, that of Elisha healing the waters of Jericho in 2 Kings 2:19-22.

The Peter and Jonah archivolt cycles emphasize the themes of authority and bodily restoration/revivification that makes reference to the dynastic and funerary motives behind the creation of the new sculpted cycles of the twelfth-century at Ripoll. Within the context of the source illustrations from the Ripoll and Roda Bibles and the liturgical sources surviving from the twelfth century, parallels between the Peter, Jonah, and Elisha/Elijah scenes establish shared typologies within the imagery of the projecting twelfth-century portal additions.

The Ripoll and Roda bibles are the most likely sources for the archivolt imagery and also provide a context for the typological connections between Elisha/Elijah and Peter by way of four prologues to the book of Jonah written by Jerome and Isidore, each included in the Roda Bible (v. 3, ff. 82v–83, fig. 42). Both Jerome and Isidore state that the Jews understood Jonah to be a follower of Elisha.<sup>74</sup> Saint Peter was also known to be the son of Jonah, leaving open a reasonable conflation within the conventions of twelfth-century exegesis. The Roda Bible's Jonah prologues provide a link to the exegetic tradition that conflates episodes from the life of Jonah and Elisha as prophetic antetypes of baptism.<sup>75</sup> Near the end of the Kings narrative, Elisha is mocked for his baldness by two boys who chant “ascende calve, ascende calve.”<sup>76</sup> The detail of Elisha's baldness is difficult to discern in the now eroded portal relief, but Elisha was very likely sculpted

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<sup>74</sup> RodB, v. 3, ff. 82v–83; Albertus Magnus later commented on the prologues to the Book of Jonah and affirmed this interpretation. See Émile Borgnet et al ed. *B. Alberti Magni Ratisbonensis episcopi, ordinis Praedicatorum, Opera omnia* (1892), pp. 287–312.

<sup>75</sup> See John B. Friedman, “Bald Jonah and the Exegesis of 4 Kings 2.23,” in *Traditio* 44 (1988), p. 136. Friedman also examines the twelfth-century Alton-Towers triptych at the Victoria and Albert Museum, noting how Elisha and Jonah are united as prefigurations of Christ's resurrection. Friedman notes the Roda bible as a key example of the link between Elijah and Jonah and notes in other examples that the boys who mock Elisha and the sailors who throw Jonah overboard are often depicted as Jews.

<sup>76</sup> 2 Kings 2:23–25

with a bald head following the convention of the Ripoll and Roda bibles (see, for example, fig. 54).<sup>77</sup>

Parallels to the *arbor vitae* link the Elisha/Elijah, Peter and Jonah cycles through a typological hermeneutics born out in the projecting portal flanks and in the Ripoll liturgy. Isidore's prologue to Jonah posits that Jonah was the same boy raised from the dead by Elijah, establishing a plausible link of kinship.<sup>78</sup> Jerome's prologue to the book of Jonah, also copied in the Roda Bible, compares Jonah's three days in the belly of the whale to Christ's three days in the tomb. Psalm 68, *Salvum me fac*, and psalm 129 (130), *De profundis*, are frequently conflated in medieval sources with Jonah's devouring by the whale, most notably in Carolingian psalters.<sup>79</sup> In the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod.bibl.fol.23), Jonah is shown devoured in illuminations for both psalms 69 (fol. 79) and 130 (fol. 147v) (figs. 55 and 56). The eleventh-century treasury inventories from Ripoll mention a gold and silver psalter (*psalterium scriptum cum auro et argento*) that was likely based on the gold and silver scripts found in ninth-century exemplars.<sup>80</sup> In the same manner that the Ripoll Bible

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<sup>77</sup> Christopher Hughes explores Jonah within visual exegetical practices in "Art and Exegesis" in Conrad ed. *Companion to Medieval Art*. Hughes, like Friedman, also comments on the Jonah scenes in the Alton-Towers triptych. Friedman, "Bald Jonah," p. 136.

<sup>78</sup> 3 Kings: 17-25; Roda Bible, vol. 3 fol. 82v: "Jonas int(er)p(re)t(at)ur) columba sive dolens...Ipse e(st) (et) amathi sareptene vidua(e) fili(us) ut iudei adfirmant quem resuscitavit helias." This passage is taken from Isidore's *Etymologies* book VII; see Wallace Martin Lindsey *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarvm sive Orginivm* vol. XX, VII, viii "de prophetis." Also see PL 83, coll. 144: "Tradunt Hebraei, hunc esse viduae filium quem a mortuis suscitavit Elias."

<sup>79</sup> The Carolingian and Ottonian influence on manuscripts produced in the eleventh-century scriptorium at Ripoll can be found in the use of archaizing scripts and majuscule *tituli* with deep coloration, as noted by Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn and Leipzig: K. Schroeder, 1922), p. 53–54.

<sup>80</sup> The gold and silver psalter is mentioned in both the 1047 and 1066 inventories. See Junyent, *Diplomatari i Escrits*, pp. 396-398 and pp. 414-415, respectively.

served as an example of the monastery's golden age under Abbot Oliba, the monks at Ripoll surely drew upon the *psalterium scriptum cum auro et argento*, and the links between the psalms and Jonah surely would resonate in the eleventh century.

The psalm *De profundis* played a key role in the liturgy at Ripoll, featured in prominent moments of funerary rites and in the reconciliation of apostates and the conversion non-Christians. The *Ordo ad reconciliandum apostata a iudaismo, heresi, vel gentilitate conversum* provides rubrics that localize its performance to specific spaces both inside and outside the church.<sup>81</sup> Beginning with the aspersion of water and three-fold insufflation before the door (*ad ostium ecclesiae*) that resembles the rite for the initiation of catechumens, the celebrant is led inside (*introducatur eum in ecclesiam*) and prostrates himself on the floor of the church (*prostrato eo in pavimento aecclesiae*). Prostration is followed with the reading of psalms, including *De profundis*.<sup>82</sup> I suggest that the associations with Jonah in this psalm make it likely that the Jonah archivolt cycle was intended to greet an audience arriving from the adjacent parish church of San Pere and entering the abbey church during a reconciliation rite. The presence of both Jonah and

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<sup>81</sup> ABEV Ms. 67, ff. 163v-164v. The is reproduced in *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, ed. Alejandro Olivar, pp. 197–99. The ordo is comparable to the formula of a similar rite found in the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*: *Primum conspergatur aqua benedicta ab episcopo, et insufflet tertio in fatiem eius ad ostium ecclesiae dicens:*

Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus, per deum patrem omnipotentem, et per Iesum Christum filium eius, et spiritum sanctum, ut recedas ab hoc famulo dei ill., quem deus et dominus noster Iesus Christus ab erroribus et deceptionibus tuis liberare dignatur. Ipse tibi imperat, maledicte, dampnate, qui pro salute hominum passus, mortuus et sepultus, te et omnes vires tuas superavit, atque resurgens caelos ascendit, unde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et s(ae)culum per Ignem. Amen.

*Tunc introducatur eum in ecclesiam.*

Ingredere templum dei vivi, quod male deseruisti, et exutus ab errore tenebrarum evasisse te laqueos mortis letus agnosce. Tu autem, omnipotens et misericors deus, hanc ovem tuam de fauci lupi subtractam clementer suscipe, et gregi tuo benignus reforma, ne de familiae tuae dampno inimicus exultet, sed de conversione eius et liberatione aecclesia tu uti mater de filio perditio et recepto gratuletur. Per.

*Tunc prostrato eo in pavimento aecclesiae, dicatur psalmus:*

Miserere mei deus. Benedixisti domine. De profundis.

Kirrieleison. iii. Pater noster. Salvum fac servuum tuum. ....

Saint Peter in the left side of the archivolt cycle, the same side as a viewer would approach from the church of San Pere, introduces bodily salvation as a salient subject of the portal's exegetical program.

As seen in the typology exemplified in the Alton Towers triptych, the prophet Jonah symbolizes the continuity of the body in the twelfth-century conception of Christian salvation. As early as the writings of Irenaeus and Tertullian, the story of Jonah had been used as evidence that the body was resurrected in its entirety, with every identifiable feature intact.<sup>83</sup> In *De resurrectione carnis* Tertullian relates Luke 21:18 to the Jonah story, "but a hair of your head shall not perish."<sup>84</sup> Interestingly, Tertullian also cites Jonah not being digested by the whale in addition to the three boys not being burned in the furnace from Daniel, a scene which appears in the Old Testament counterpart of the Ripoll archivolts.

The most abundant examples of Jonah imagery come from ambos (or raised pulpits or platform) from southern Italy. Jonah appears on the panels for an ambo at Sessa Aurunca that show a mostly-naked, but not hairless, Jonah swallowed by the whale. Directly above is a panel with Jonah preaching at Nineveh.<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, Sessa Aurunca is also known for its Romanesque portal with the life of Saint Peter.<sup>86</sup> A depiction of bald Jonah also appears on an ambo from Ravello. Nino Zchomelidse has

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<sup>83</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum discusses Tertullian's use of Jonah in *De resurrectione carnis* as an example of a more philosophically-minded discourse on the continuity of matter. See Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 34-43.

<sup>84</sup> "Et capillus de capite vestro non peribit."

<sup>85</sup> Dorothy Glass, "Jonah in Campania: A Late Antique Revival," *Commentari* 27 (1976): 179-193; see also Glass, "Pseudo-Augustine, Prophets, and Pulpits in Campania," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41, *Studies in Art and Archaeology Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (1987): 215-26.

<sup>86</sup> Dorothy Glass, "The Archivolt Sculpture of Sessa Aurunca," in *The Art Bulletin* 52 (1970): 119-31.

recently examined the links between the exultet liturgy and the Jonah imagery, localizing the significance of these ambos to the specific forms of Easter celebration in Southern Italy.<sup>87</sup>

The repetition of the backwards-curving figures of Jonah and Nero on the left side of the portal and its proximity to the parish church of San Pere opens the possibility that the monks at Ripoll viewed this liminal area as a site for preaching and conversion. Evidence that the monks prepared for the preaching against Jews survives in Barcelona, ACA, Ms. 193, a codex miscellany with records of the miracles of the Virgin and including sermons composed at Ripoll in the late twelfth century in praise of the Virgin and her effectiveness in disputation against Jews.<sup>88</sup> These sermons draw upon and state explicitly the importance of Ildefonsus of Toledo's *De virginitate* for this work.<sup>89</sup> While the preaching against Jews might only be a theoretical action in the minds of the monks, there is a plausible link to the conversion rite of the Ripoll Sacramentary and its performance in this space through the portal imagery.<sup>90</sup> The theme of Christian triumph over Jewish blindness is picked up in the Paul cycle.

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<sup>87</sup> See Nino Zchomelidse, *Art, Ritual, and Civic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy* (Penn State University Press, 2014).

<sup>88</sup> For the sermons, see A. Sinués Ruíz, "Advocaciones de la Virgen en un códice del siglo XII," in *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia XXI* (1948): 1–34. See also the transcription in Kathleen Anne Stewart, "Domina Misericordia: *Miracle Narratives and the Virgin Mary, 1130-1230* (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 2006).

<sup>89</sup> ACA MS. 193, f. 34r: "Est enim liber ille mirabilis ad disputandum contra iudeos. Credentibus est valde saluberrimus et sabbatis in ecclesiis ad legendum congruus. Continet namque cupitam copiam florum beate marie virginis qui in veteri et in nova lege scribuntur, que ad corroborandum fidem nostram valde necessarius." See also Stewart, *Domina Misericordia*, p. 144. The linking of this text is linked to the Saturday Office of the Virgin is perhaps a later echo of the institution of the Saturday feast in 1157; see chapter 3, and Francesc X. Altés "La institució de la Festa de Santa Maria en dissabte i la renovació de l'altar major del monestir de Ripoll a mitjan segle XII," *Studia Monastica* 44, no. 1 (2002): 57–96.

<sup>90</sup> Stewart notes that it is "difficult to tell if the monks of Ripoll were actually engaging in face-to-face disputes with living Jews, or if their debates were more on an intellectual plain." Stewart, "Domina Misericordia," pp. 144–45.

A final typological chain unites the scenes with Jonah under the ivy and Peter on the inverted cross to Christ's crucifixion. The presentation of salvation through persecution is tied to familial lineage and its analogue in spiritual kinship (or prophetic kinship in the case of Jonah and apostolic kinship in that of Peter). Here Peter, son of Jonah, announces to the viewer the triumph of Christ's crucifixion, itself not depicted in the portal program but only prefigured through the lens of the prophets. The image of the *arbor vitae* is again picked up in the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar on the right side of the portal archivolt.

#### PAUL, DANIEL, AND THE BOSOM OF ABRAHAM: *REVELATIO* AND SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

The archivolt and projecting flanks on the right side of the portal establish a typology which mirrors that of the left side by expanding the theme of lineage and authority towards that of fleshly and spiritual kinship. The culmination of this theme is found in the relief panel with the Parable of Lazarus. Here the viewer is able to see the location of Christian paradise in the Bosom of Abraham, patriarch of the Abrahamic religions. The archivolt also privileges spiritual vision, highlighting the ability of Paul to unveil spiritual meaning. This type of mystical seeing through the veil is paralleled in Dives/Epulon's vision of Abraham from his place in Hell.

The Paul cycle begins at the apex of the archivolt following the inverted crucifixion of Peter. As Paul appears in the scene with the fall of Simon Magus one might also read the Paul archivolt as a continuation of the Peter cycle. The flexibility of the apostolic imagery and the availability of the Peter and Paul archivolt to be read multiple ways (both left to right and center to sides) is indicative of the patterns of interaction between the portal imagery and liturgical performance, allowing spaces for rumination, embellishment, and repetition.

The first voussoir depicts Saul/Paul taken to Damascus in Acts 9:10-18 (fig. 57). An inscription along the inside left arch reads “UBI SAULUS P(ER)DUCITUR DAMASCUM” (“here Saul is led to Damascus”). Saul is shown surrounded by four figures bearing clubs and pikes as he looks upwards (fig. 58), or, within the space of the viewer, to the left – as if gazing upon the crucifixion of Peter, his companion and fellow apostle. One of the figures, likely that of Ananias, grasps Saul’s left arm, as described in Acts. An oval-shaped form appears at top right within a series of undulating lines, revealing the presence and image of God. Two figures at top, one bearing a pike and the other a blade, hold their hands to their heads in gestures of confusion or disbelief, likely representing the Jews who refused Christ and remained blind (2 Corinthians 3:13-18). These unbelievers are included here to contrast Paul’s reception of sight and they introduce a powerful discourse on the veiling and unveiling of spiritual vision.<sup>91</sup> The representation of the presence of God in the Paul cycle is in fact a key difference between

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<sup>91</sup> On the discourse of the unveiling of spiritual vision, see Herbert Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God’s Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); see also Hans Jørgensen, “*Velatio and Revelatio*. Hagioscopic Vision in Early Medieval Architecture on the Iberian Peninsula,” in *The Enduring Instant = Der bleibende Augenblick: Time and the Spectator in the Visual Arts = Betrachterzeit in den Bildkünsten*, ed. J. Nathan and A. Roesler-Friedenthal (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2003), pp. 177–91.

Peter and Paul cycles: where Peter sees and overcomes demons, Paul is repeatedly shown as the recipient of divine presence and spiritual vision.<sup>92</sup>

The second voussoir depicts the baptism of Saul/Paul (fig. 59). Paul is shown half submerged in a cistern as Ananias pours water from a vessel (fig. 60). At top left the hand of God descends from the heavens to indicate Paul's elect status. An additional figure embraces Paul while grasping his right hand, perhaps representing another disciple (Peter?), as referenced in Acts 9:19.<sup>93</sup> The prominent display of Paul's baptism lends added significance to the trope of baptism in the Jonah cycle. An inscription along the outside arch reads "UBI ANANIAS PAULUM BAPTIZAT" ("where Ananias baptizes Paul"). Nearby this baptism scene in the archivolt rinceau is a roundel with a rabbit inside the jaws of a beast (fig. 61). This likely relates to the *Ordo ad reconciliandum apostata a iudaismo, heresi, vel gentilitate conversum*, already discussed.<sup>94</sup> Paul, as the model reformed Jew, here serves as a type for the idea that Judaism is superceded by Christianity.

The third voussoir depicts a nimbed Paul disputing with Greeks and Jews, encapsulating Acts 9:20 and 9:29, and perhaps Acts 18:19, within a single scene (fig. 62). Paul stands to one side and gestures to his right while holding a gospel book. Three figures at left seem to hide behind an architectural wall resembling a similar feature in the Peter cycle, representing the "beautiful gate" at the Temple of Solomon (fig. 43). In this

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<sup>92</sup> Herbert Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), esp. pp. 166–7, 177, 182, 184–85.

<sup>93</sup> Acts 9:19: "et cum accepisset cibum confortatus est fuit autem cum discipulis qui erant Damasci per dies aliquot."

<sup>94</sup> See note 82: "Tu autem, omnipotens et misericors deus, hanc ouem tuam de faucibus lupi subtractam clementer suscipe."

case, one of the figures grasps an open panel as if it were a door. At top a mustached figure embraces the figure below, depicted with the tonsure and with deep-set features around the mouth. The prominent facial features suggest a representation of a particular likeness, perhaps that of a person involved in the portal's creation. The most likely candidate in this case would be abbot Pere Ramon (1134-1154).<sup>95</sup> Paul's pointed gesture adds further prominence to this personage and evokes the tradition of monastic vision discussed by abbot Oliba in the funerary encyclical composed for this predecessor, establishing the abbot of Ripoll as a *magister* of spiritual insight in the apostolic tradition of Paul. The embrace here also recalls the projecting right relief with Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham, establishing a typology between Paul and the spiritual father of Abraham. This embrace might also further parallel the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace and Daniel in the Lion's Den seen in the adjacent right archivolt.

An inscription along the outside arch of the third voussoir reads "PAULUS DISPUTAT CUM GRECIS ATQ(UE) IUDEIS" (Paul disputes with Greeks and Jews). The rhetoric of *disputatio* also has deep resonances in the monastic community at Ripoll.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras has alluded to abbot Pere Ramon as the "prime mover" of an artistic and cultural renaissance at Ripoll with connections to the counts of Barcelona. Pere Ramon also would have commissioned and overseen the composition of the *Brevis Historia* during his abbacy. See Castiñeiras, "Portal at Ripoll Revisited," pp. 136–37. As a party to the dedication of churches, Pere Ramon is recorded to have been present at the consecration on the second of November, 1150, of the new church for the Augustinian canons of Sant Joan de les Abadesses; see a translation of the dedication by Antoni Pladevall, in *El monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses*, ed. Marta Crispí and Miriam Montraveta, (Sant Joan de les Abadesses and Ripoll: Junta del Monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses and Consorci Ripollès Desenvolupament, 2012), p. 33.

<sup>96</sup> cf. ACA, Ms. Ripoll 193. Kathleen Stewart's study of this manuscript notes the ambiguity between the act of preaching and argumentation with Jews, questioning whether the monks in fact engaged in real disputes or if their sermonizing was entirely theoretical. See Stewart, "*Domina Misericordiae*," especially ch. 3.

The arrest of Paul in Acts 21:27 is depicted in the fourth voussoir (fig. 63). A nimbed Paul is again shown at top right with hands tied behind his back, gazing outwards to his left as if into the space of the viewer. Paul's arm is grasped by an axe-wielding figure and at bottom are two others, one with distinctive footwear and armor, who bears a large spear and decorated shield. Another smaller figure wields a sword and an elongated shield. The variety of arms included in the scene is perhaps intended to represent the various peoples of the holy land and, by analogy, medieval Catalonia.<sup>97</sup> An inscription along the outside arch reads "PAVLVS A MINISTRIS LIGATVR," using a compound A/U in Paul's name.

The fifth and sixth voussoirs portray a doubled representation of Paul's martyrdom by the sword (fig. 64).<sup>98</sup> The portal archivolt's emphasis on Paul's eyes find best comparison in the chants from ACA Ripoll 40. Verse 19 poetically alludes to the method of Paul's martyrdom and establishes a repeated analogy to his vision of God: "Petrus enim subeundo crucem / Paulus et ense ferendo necem / Sic simul astrea regna petunt / Coelica praemia semper habent / Atque Deum sine fine vident" (Because Peter hung on the cross / and because Paul suffered the violent death of the sword / so it is that together they conduct their mission with power and glory / and forever have their heavenly prize / and see no end of God).<sup>99</sup> Later, verse 23 continues: "Paule beate, fovens famulos / Da quoque mente subire polum / Quo videant sine fine Deum / Teque sui

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<sup>97</sup> A mix of round and elongated shields are painted in the Ripoll Bible.

<sup>98</sup> My translation. Pseudo-Marcellus states that Paul was beheaded on the Ostensian Way, see Heuchan, p. 251. In the *Troaire de l'Église d'Autun*, (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms. 1169, f. 46), ca. 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century. See Eric Palazzo, "Confrontation du répertoire des tropes et du cycle iconographique du troaire d'Autun," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici: atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici: Parigi (15-19 ottobre 1985), Perugia (2-5 settembre 1987)* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto di medioevo: 1990), pp. 95-123.

<sup>99</sup> My translation. See Blume and Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, p. 238.

teneant socium” (blessed Paul, cherished servant / give likewise intentionally to the sword / such that you see God face to face / where you embrace your companion).<sup>100</sup>

Paul’s beheading in the chant is twice paired to his vision of God (*videant sine fine Deum*). The archivolt’s double depiction of the scene further recalls the duplicate verses of the chants, allowing the viewer to witness in Paul’s death both the unveiling of fleshly eyes and the opening of spiritual vision.

In the fifth voussoir, Paul is shown partially kneeling before a sword-bearer who wraps a blindfold around Paul’s eyes. The blindfold is not included in the scriptural accounts nor does it appear in the apocryphal episodes, but is instead most similar to twelfth-century depictions of Synagoga, an iconography drawn from Paul’s letter to the Corinthians.<sup>101</sup> The rhyme scheme of the Ripoll 40 chants, pairing “mente subire polum” with “videant sine fine Deum,” establishes a link between the method of Paul’s martyrdom and his privileged vision of God, begun earlier in the archivolt cycle in the first voussoir with the face of God appearing behind the unbelievers (fig. 57). The damaged inscription on the fifth voussoir, beginning at the top and continuing along the outside arch, confirms the emphasis on Paul’s spiritual vision, stating “UBI OCCULI PAULI MAN[... ]OR[... ]UNTUR” (where Paul’s eyes...). The use of “ubi,” also seen in the Peter cycle, introduces the idea of a conflation of spaces, that of the viewer and of scriptural history. References to Paul’s eyes and the notion of corporeal versus spiritual vision can again be compared to funerary encyclicals for abbots of Ripoll, most

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p. 239.

<sup>101</sup> 2 Corinthians 3:13-16:

importantly the encyclical of Seniofred (or Sunifred, d. 1008), written by Abbot Oliba in the early eleventh century, to which I will return.

The final voussoir depicts the swordbearer holding Paul's severed head at left with the nimbed and headless body of Paul now standing at right (fig. 64). An inscription in a highly condensed and nested script at top reads: "HIC P(RE)SUS CAPITE TRU(N)CATUR" (here the prisoner is decapitated). Again the use of "hic" lends further emphasis to the locative, in this case pointing to Paul's decapitated head in order to recall to the viewer that Paul's relics were held inside the main altar of the abbey church.<sup>102</sup> The headless yet upright body also visually echoes the full-size statue of Paul just below the final voussoir (fig. 65).

The nearby archivolt comprised of four voussoirs with scenes from the book of Daniel features dramatic exegetical affiliations to the Paul cycle, much like the Jonah cycle adds to the Peter cycle. Unlike Peter and Paul that begins at left and concludes at right, the Daniel cycle begins at the center of the arch, in the same place as the Jonah cycle, with the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar from Daniel 4:7. In the smallest voussoir of the cycle an ingeniously compact rendering accommodates the limited space of the archivolt to depict Nebuchadnezzar reclining with a tree trunk that supports his bed and a canopy of foliage above his head (fig. 66). The heads and appendages of various animals are shown on the opposite side of the tree trunk and the body of a bird even acts as a support for Nebuchadnezzar's head. Along the top edge of the voussoir an inscription reads: "VISIO Q(UA)M VIDIT NABUGODONAZOR" ("the vision of Nebuchadnezzar"). Here the umbrella-like foliage demands a visual comparison to the

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<sup>102</sup> See note 37. These relics are mentioned in numerous eleventh-century inventories.

ivy canopy from the Jonah cycle (fig. 53) and this visual echo helps to explain why the second dream precedes the first. The inscription's reference to *visio* also ties into the theme of vision that runs through each of the cycles of the right side of the portal, that of Paul and the Parable of Lazarus. In the case of Nebuchadnezzar, however, we are presented with a dream vision, an important distinction in the political and dynastic context.

The second voussoir depicts Nebuchadnezzar's first dream from Daniel 3:1 (fig. 67). In two registers, the voussoir shows four figures, the crowned figure at top right representing Nebuchadnezzar with the heads of his subjects at his feet. At left in the top register is the gold statue of his dream, indicated by the inscription beneath:

“STATUA(M) AUREAM” (“golden statue”). In the lower register are two musicians with stringed instruments, referencing Nebuchadnezzar's command that all nations fall down (*cadentes*) and worship the golden statue. Each of these figures are rendered in rigid frontality. Another inscription begins along the top edge of the voussoir and bends downwards along the outside edge: “QVAM EREXIT NA[...]BUGO[DONOZOR]” (“that Nebuchadnezzar erected”).

The third voussoir shows the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace from Daniel 3:20 (fig. 37). The scene is rendered in profile, showing two soldiers tormenting the three Hebrews, perhaps stoking the fire with long poles, a detail likely drawn from the Ripoll Bible (fig. 39). In the voussoir, three heads protrude from the bottom of the conflagration while a fourth, representing that of an angel, appears above the flames. The turned heads of the soldiers stick out from the voussoir in high relief, as if referencing the upturned gaze of the portal's viewers. A damaged inscription begins at top left and finishes at

right: “TRES [IN] CAMINO IGNIS” (three in the furnace of fire). A more elaborate illustration of this scene is found in the Roda Bible where the three Hebrews are thrown into the fire with ligatures around their feet (v. 3 fol. 65; fig. 68). At the center of the fire the three figures are shown again in the style of clipeate busts in the presence of Christ, alluding to Nebuchadnezzar’s astonishment when the three Hebrews were not harmed in the fire and that a “fourth is like the son of God.”<sup>103</sup> The Roda Bible illustration is the closest visual comparison available to the bosom of Abraham relief on the right projecting flank and this detail was likely included to reference Daniel 3:35, in which the three Hebrews lament the lowly state of the people of Israel.<sup>104</sup>

The fourth and final voussoir of the Daniel cycle is also the largest (fig. 69). Here Habakkuk is transported by an angel to Daniel in the lion’s den in a scene closely related to the Roda Bible (v. 3 fol. 66v; fig. 70).<sup>105</sup> In the voussoir depiction, the angel is shown in profile appearing from the heavens while grasping Habakkuk’s hair and the lion’s den is rendered as a rectangular enclosure with Daniel inside yet partially obscured by a pair of addorsed lions. Inscriptions here act as separate *tituli*, the first identifying Habakkuk on the inside edge of the archivolt (“Abachuc”), another Daniel across the lintel of the lion’s den (“DANIHEL”). A third highly condensed inscription along the outside edge identifies the scene: “IN LACHU LEONUM” (in the lion’s den).

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<sup>103</sup> Daniel 3:92: “video viros quattuor solutos et ambulantes in medio ignis et nihil corruptionis in eis est et species quarti similis filio Dei.”

<sup>104</sup> Daniel 3:35: “neque auferas misericordiam tuam a nobis propter Abraham dilectum tuum et Isaac servum tuum et Israhel sanctum tuum.”

<sup>105</sup> On the iconography of Daniel in the Lion’s Den, see Juan Antonio Olañeta, “Pensamiento y lectura tipológica de la imágenes románicas. El caso de la iconografía de Daniel en el foso de los leones,” *Codex Aquilarensis* 27 (2012): 93–107; and forthcoming dissertation (University of Barcelona).

Completing the sections of the projecting right flank are relief panels with Moses parting the Red Sea and two horse-riding figures in battle (fig. 10), and a series of four roundels that depict the Parable of Lazarus, the topmost with Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham (fig. 71). The iconography of Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham is found in a wide range of Romanesque and Gothic monuments in France and Northern Spain, including San Miguel de Estella in Navarre (fig. 72), the cloister of Girona Cathedral and the cloister of the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès.<sup>106</sup> Most notably the bosom of Abraham image appears in the portal of Saint Pierre at Moissac.<sup>107</sup>

While the bosom of Abraham can also be considered a triumphal motif concerning victory over death, a wider consideration of the web of twelfth-century exegetical meanings related to the iconography reveals an interest in kinship and the reconciliation of old familial and spiritual lineages, including those shared by Christians, Jews, and Muslims from the patriarch Abraham. This is especially relevant at Ripoll, where the monks were the first to paint a picture of the Counts of Barcelona as the rebuilders of the historic unity found in the domains of Guifré el Pelos in the *Brevis historia* of 1147 and who envisioned themselves as front-line preachers against the

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<sup>106</sup> On the theme of the Parable of Lazarus and the bosom of Abraham in Catalan Romanesque art, see Montserrat Pagès i Paretas, "El Pobre Llätzer i el si d'Abraham en l'art monumental de la Catalunya Romànica," *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana* 15 (2007): 87–121. The parable of Lazarus and Epulon also appears in the metopes of the portal of San Martín de Tours, Artáiz, but here the bosom of Abraham scene is replaced with the Anastasis and the Sacrifice of Isaac; see also Jérôme Baschet, *La sein du père: Abraham et la paternité dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000).

<sup>107</sup> On the parable of Lazarus in the portal at Moissac, see Ilene Forsyth, "Narrative at Moissac: Schapiro's Legacy," *Gesta* 41 (2002): 71–93. Forsyth notes the "exceptional tangibility" of the torment scenes of Dives; also see Thomas E. A. Dale, "The Nude at Moissac: Vision, *Phantasia*, and the Experience of Romanesque Sculpture," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 61–76.

unbelieving Jews. A renewed consideration of the Parable of Lazarus relief at Ripoll, focusing on its placement and resonanc in funerary liturgy, adds a new layer of meaning on top of the prevailing interpretive paradigm of military conquest in the portal program.

Four roundels representing the Parable of Lazarus (Luke 16:1-31) comprise the lowest section of the right projecting flank that faces the entrance to the monastic cloister (fig. 71). The topmost and best preserved roundel depicts Abraham with a curtain or mantle and three small figures in his bosom (fig. 73). The mantle serves to separate the terrestrial space of the viewer from the heavenly space represented in Abraham's presence, often depicted as an embrace in later representations, as at San Miguel in Estella where three figures are shown in the lap of Abraham along with a mantle (fig. 72). At Ripoll the scene is shown more as a spatial proximity to Abraham on the other side of the celestial mantle. Similar representations with the celestial mantle are noted by Jerome Baschet in his wide-ranging iconographic study of the bosom of Abraham in Western medieval art.<sup>108</sup>

The relief panels occupy a low level in a tangible place. In fact the viewer must climb a set of stairs from the cloister to see the relief panel, in effect rising from beneath the level of the floor of the portal in a fashion itself similar both to the ascent of Lazarus' soul and to the vision of Dives/Epulon from hell who sees Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham (see fig. 71). The representation of the scene at Ripoll should be explored for how it evokes the dialectic of *velatio/revelatio* that Baschet connects specifically to the mantle dividing the terrestrial and celestial realms and the "possibility of its

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<sup>108</sup> Jérôme Baschet, *La sein du père: Abraham et la paternité dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), p. 182.

transgression.”<sup>109</sup> Baschet discusses the bosom of Abraham scene at Ripoll in a footnote, noting the similarity of the celestial mantle to the bosom of Abraham scene in Nicholas of Verdun’s *Klosterneuburg altar* (fig. 74). Interestingly, the bosom of Abraham is shown in the far right side of the *Klosterneuburg altar*, similar to its placement in the portal at Ripoll. Baschet further suggests that the rigid portrayal of the mantle might be compared to the table of the rich man Dives, also known as Epulon, shown in a lower roundel of the Ripoll relief, now badly eroded (fig. 73).<sup>110</sup> Even in their current state it is clear that the four roundels focus in greater part on the salvation of Lazarus rather than on elaborating the torment of Dives/Epulon as appears at Moissac.

Neither the parable of Lazarus nor the bosom of Abraham is depicted in the Ripoll or Roda bibles, but the portal relief finds a close comparison in the scene with the three Hebrews in the furnace from the Daniel cycle from the Roda Bible (fig. 68). Here, at the center of the conflagration and in the hearth of the furnace, the three Hebrews are shown in the proximity of Christ in a representation nearly identical to the portal relief with the bosom of Abraham. The configuration of three persons also recalls the enigmatic trio from the outward-facing register of the portal (plate 7). As noted previously, the attribution of these three contemporary personages has been fiercely debated.<sup>111</sup> As a trio, however, it is likely that the three figures shown behind the celestial mantle in the

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid Baschet, *La sein du père*, p. 188, “De même, une forme textile peut signifier la voûte du firmament, qui sépare la terre et le ciel. Le linge... suggère une dialectique de la *velatio/revelatio* bien adaptée au contexte du dévoilement apocalyptique. On retiendra de ce trop bref rappel la valeur d’indice théophanique de tissu et sa capacité à articuler le terrestre et le céleste, à la fois en traçant une délimitation et en ouvrant la possibilité de sa transgression.”

<sup>110</sup> Ibid Baschet, p. 372: “Un textile tombant en rideau, avec des plis verticaux, apparaît également au portail de Santa Maria de Ripoll. Un examen attentif suggère qu’il s’agit d’un pan de manteau, mais l’effet est strictement équivalent. Il se peut qu’un parallèle ait été recherché avec la nappe de la table du riche, aujourd’hui très endommagée.”

<sup>111</sup> See notes 33 and 34, above.

presence of Abraham were meant to be recalled, if not directly placed within the highly significant depiction of paradise, thus referencing the efficacy of the monk's intercessory prayers that likely took place within the cloister and within sight of the same relief panel.

The bodies of the Catalan counts were surely entombed at the monastery following long-held funerary traditions recorded in the Ripoll Sacramentary. While the privileged dead at Ripoll were said to lie in the cloister, as in the cases of Ramon Berenguer III and Ramon Berenguer IV, the less privileged dead were likely buried outside the portal entrance to the abbey church in a cemetery space that was in use until the late nineteenth century (plates 1 & 2).<sup>112</sup> Various funeral rites from the eleventh-century Ripoll Sacramentary tie together much of the imagery from the archivolts and projecting flanks.

Inserted at a later date from the sacramentary's initial composition is the *Oratio ad exitum animae*, a rubricated funerary rite.<sup>113</sup> The *oratio* refers to specific biblical episodes including Daniel in the lion's den and Jonah in the belly of the whale. The *oratio* also mentions Peter and Paul's liberations from prison, the three Hebrews in the

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<sup>112</sup> For the references to privileged dead at rest in the cloister see Eduard Junyent, "El Necrologi del Monestir de Ripoll," *Analecta Montserratensia* IX (1962): 217-225. The counts and honored monks and abbots all bear the caption "in claustra iacet" or "in claustrum iacet." Due to the late date of the necrology the locations of these burials is debated. For an alternative theory, see F. Español, "Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 42 (2011), 103-14. On the tomb monuments and decorations, see my chapter 4, "Memory in Actions: Liturgy and Ritual in the Sculpture of the *Claustro-Panteón*." For the monastery plans, see plates 1 and 2, a plan of the abbey compound drawn before the reconstructions of the late nineteenth century by architect Josep Artigas Ramoneda, published in 1886. On these plans and the liturgical routes through the monastery, see Marc Sureda, "*Ostium et Statio*. La portalada com a lloc arquitectònic i litúrgic," a paper presented at the Simposi Internacional *La Portalada de Ripoll: creació, conservació i recuperació*, October 2013 (forthcoming).

<sup>113</sup> ABEV, Ms. 67, ff. 210v-221. Olivari, *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, pp. 242-45. The structure is similar to the early medieval *Ordo commendationis animae*. See Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), especially pp. 38-54. Also on the *commendationis animae*, and particularly the importance of the parable of Lazarus, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 110-12 and 170-71.

furnace (*tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis*), and Elijah's ascension in the whirlwind.<sup>114</sup> Each of these scriptural episodes appears in the imagery included in the added cycles, those of the twelfth century, found in the portal archivolts and projecting flanks. Following these first parts of the *oratio*, a rubric calls for the body of the deceased to be carried into the church, making it likely that the incipient readings asking for deliverance in the manner of Elijah, Daniel, the three Hebrews, Jonah, and Peter and Paul were performed outside the church, perhaps directly in front of the portal to the abbey church.<sup>115</sup> While the *oratio* shares features with early medieval funerary rites, the fact that it was inserted in the sacramentary at a later date, perhaps in the late eleventh century or early twelfth, demonstrates the continued focus on the memory of ancestors through ancient formulae.

The later sections of the *Oratio ad exitum animae* evoke the parable of Lazarus through sung antiphons and psalms after moving to the place of the tomb (*tunc deportetur ad tumulum*), which in the case of the privileged dead at Ripoll the cloister (as discussed in chapter 3). Here the antiphon *In paradisum* is sung followed by psalm 24, *Ad te domine leuauit*. The antiphon sings of the angels leading the soul to the place of the martyrs in the heavenly Jerusalem. Medieval allegories often referred to the cloister itself as a paradise and this confluence of meanings was surely intentional on the part of the monks at Ripoll. Here again the celestial mantle of the parable relief stands as the divider between earth and heavenly Jerusalem, similar to the scene from the Klosterneuberg altar.

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<sup>114</sup> *Oratio ad exitum animae*, ff. 210v-221. These examples are listed in the *Libera* prayer from the Roman funeral rite; see Frederick Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

<sup>115</sup> Folio 218v, the rubric states: "His expletis lauatur corpus defuncti, et deportetur in ecclesiam, et agantur uigiliae, atque offeratur pro eo sacrificium." Prefacing the next section, the rubric states "Ante sepulturam:" indicating that the following responsories and verses were chanted in the presence of the deceased.

The following rubric takes the action to the placement of the body in the tomb (*tunc deponatur in tumulum*). Here the antiphon *Aperite illi* is followed by psalm 117, *Confitemini Domino*. The words of the antiphon are themselves taken directly from psalm 117 so that they are in effect doubled in this configuration: *aperite mihi portas iustitiae ingressus eas confitebor Domino, haec est porta Domini iusti intrabunt in eam*. Here the *portas iustitiae* can itself refer to the portal of the abbey church. The psalm establishes a familial chain to the portal of salvation through Israel and the house of Aaron. As Nebuchadnezzar demanded all nations to fall down to him, the psalm speaks of all nations (*omnes gentes*) surrounding the speaker, presumed to be David, like bees (*circumcederunt me quasi apes*). Also significant in this psalm is the stone which the builders rejected (*lapis quem reprobaverunt aedificantes*), a reference both to Christ and Peter, who draws on this image in depth in the first epistle (1 Peter 2). At St. Victor in Paris, Fassler has shown that twelfth-century liturgical references to the stone the builders found wanting are associated with the first dream of Nebuchadnezzar from Daniel (2:34-35), the same passages depicted in the portal archivolt (fig. 67).<sup>116</sup>

The *Oratio ad exitum animae* is the most elaborate funerary rite found in the Ripoll Sacramentary, perhaps indicating its use for special patrons, yet it is not the only rite that makes reference to the parable of Lazarus. Included earlier in the Ripoll Sacramentary are the *Missa ad infirmum ad exitum* (fols. 202-202v) and *Missa in deposicione unius defunci* (fols. 202v-204). Both of these shorter rites lack rubrics, antiphons or psalms, yet they are explicit in their descriptions of the sublimation of the soul to the bosom of Abraham. The *prefatio* for both masses describes the hands of

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<sup>116</sup> Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-century Paris* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 286.

angels leading the soul to Abraham. The *prefatio* for the *Missa in deposicione unius defunci* is nearly identical to the death rituals of Cluny, also based on the Gregorian sacramentary.<sup>117</sup> Here the bosom of the patriarch Abraham (*in sinu Abrahe patriarche*) is described as paradise, a place of light and refreshment (*locum lucis et refrigerii*) removed from the mist of darkness (*caligo tenebrarum*). At Cluny, this same passage was read in the cemetery along with sung antiphons and psalms.<sup>118</sup>

While no rubric is included for this passage in the Ripoll Sacramentary it likely was also performed in the cemetery, the place of deposition. The word *umbre* and the evocation of the cover of darkness (*tegat eum chahos et caligo tenebrarum*), also recalls the archivolt scene with Jonah beneath the ivy canopy, inscribed “EDRA IONAS.” The longer caption for this scene from the Roda Bible, “TEGIT VERMIS VM/BRA,” and the depiction of the ivy emerging from the head of the abyss, associated with the chaos of creation, is also analogous. The placement of this scene at the bottom left of the archivolt in parallel to that of Daniel in the lion’s den on the bottom right side (fig. 75) further demonstrates an affinity between these archivolt scenes and the death rituals at Ripoll.

The cult of dynastic memory at Ripoll remained a central part of the identity of the abbots and monks who followed in the wake of Oliba’s golden age, so much so that it is difficult to discern differences between the remembrance of the counts from the remembrance of the monastery’s own ranks. Although no longer extant, a rich source for the legacy of liturgical commemoration at Ripoll is found in the *Libro de refecciones*, a

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<sup>117</sup> See Frederick Paxton and Isabelle Cochelin, *The death ritual at Cluny in the central Middle Ages = Le rituel de la mort à Cluny au Moyen Âge central* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

<sup>118</sup> Frederick Paxton, *The Cluniac Death Ritual in the High Middle Ages: A Reconstructive Edition* (published by author, 2002), p. 25, note 52: “At Cluny, the monks assembled in the cemetery as they would in choir and sang the psalms and antiphons while, at the same time, the priest, the armarius and the conuersi who helped with the procession recited the burial prayers.”

fourteenth-century compendium of prayers and masses for the anniversaries of the dead.<sup>119</sup> The majority of the *refecciones* recorded in this document were instituted in the late twelfth century or later, yet the *Libro* did include an annual celebration of the institution by abbot Oliba of a feast for the raising of Lazarus and the washing of the feet of the thirteen paupers.<sup>120</sup> Through song the reading of the gospel of John the Evangelist, this feast celebrated the passing of “all the most worthy deceased brothers” (*omnium fratrum defunctorum dignissime celebretis*).<sup>121</sup>

The conflation of monastic and secular dynasties at Ripoll is also evidenced in the circulation of funerary encyclicals. The notion of corporeal versus spiritual vision on display in the doubled scene with the martyrdom of Paul is similar to the funerary encyclicals for abbots at Ripoll, most importantly the encyclical of Seniofred (or Sunifred, d. 1008), written by abbot Oliba in the early eleventh century.<sup>122</sup> In this encyclical a narrative is set out describing the death of Seniofred and the journey of his soul to the bosom of Abraham.<sup>123</sup> Other deaths from this period at the monastery are mentioned by Oliba, many with the poetic description of the closing of corporeal eyes at

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<sup>119</sup> On the book, see Miguel del Sants Gros, “El *Llibre de refecciones* del Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll,” *Studia Monastica* 46 (2004): 365–77.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 376. The *Libro de refecciones* was catalogued by Roc d’Olzinelles and published by Villanueva in *Viage*, VI, and by others.

<sup>121</sup> See DELABO, p. 340: *Lletra d’Oliba al seu successor a l’abadia de Ripoll*, dated October 1046.

<sup>122</sup> Printed in Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 310–17. On the circulation of these encyclicals, see Jean Dufour, “Les rouleaux et encycliques mortuaires de Catalogne (1008-1102),” in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 20 (1977): 13–48.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312, “Accedite senes et iuvenes, et plangite patrem senum et iuvenum et celo voces mitite nobiscum ut Christus hunc in gremio Abrahe pro nominis sui gloriam dignetur collocare.”

the moment of death (*oculos corporis claudens*).<sup>124</sup> The encyclical for Oliba employs a similarly florid description of soul's ascent.<sup>125</sup> As a commemoration of the institutions founded by Oliba, the Paul cycle in particular seems to keep alive the tone established by their admired abbot.

Abbot Oliba's memory at Ripoll also extends to his exchanges with potentates outside of Catalonia. In his exchange with King Sancho el Mayor in 1023 Oliba draws heavily on the Pauline epistles, going so far as to explicitly cite his source, an uncommon practice in the eleventh century. Sancho had sought the abbot's council in regard to the marriage he hoped to arrange between his sister Urraca and Alfonso, prince of León.<sup>126</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The chain of familial associations in the archivolt imagery, between Peter, Jonah and Elijah on the left side and between Paul, Daniel and Abraham on the right, displays an interest in elucidating dynastic and spiritual supersession. Where the patriarch Abraham stands as the common thread between Christians, Jews, and Muslims, the biblical King David reigns as the prototype of kings. As an archetype for the Kings of Aragón, united (by arrangement or contract) with the counts of Barcelona in 1137, King David represents a conflation of temporal, familial kinship and spiritual kinship. The

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., pp. 312–13. In the case of the monk Salomon, “III calendas ianuarii, claudens oculos corporis.” In the case of the priest Atto, “die VI idus augusti oculos corporis claudens.”

<sup>125</sup> Junyent, *Diplomatari*, pp. 341–55: “Cursores preterea nostri, diebus quibus vos adierint vicem quis obtineant mendicantis, et de mense vestre fragmentis expleant inediam animae esurientis, additoque eis qualicumque supplemento viatici, remittite illos in viam pacis, ut Deus pacis et karitatis sit semper cum omnibus vobis.” Junyent notes 93 instances where Oliba is commemorated in the funerary rolls of churches across Catalonia, Spain, and France, including in Cluny, Souillac, Poitiers, Limoges, Autun, and Moissac.

<sup>126</sup> Janice Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and its Sculptural Decoration*, pp. 57–59.

comparison of David and Abraham in this framework offers a glimpse of biblical exegesis as political prescience.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> This paradigm of fleshly versus spiritual kinship is taken from Jérôme Baschet, first outlined in his article “Medieval Abraham: Between Fleshly Patriarch and Divine Father,” *MLN* 108 (1993): 738–58, and expanded in *La sein du père* (2000), as noted above.

Religious Experience and Monastic Identity in Romanesque Sculpture at Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1030-1180

**Chapter 3**

*In paradisum*: Liturgy and Ritual in the Tomb of Count Ramon Berenguer III<sup>1</sup>

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The commemorative rituals performed by the monks at Ripoll were given a visual focus in the sculpted stone tomb of Ramon Berenguer III (d. 1131) (**fig. 1**).<sup>2</sup> The sound of the monk's voices in psalmody was communicated and mediated through the tomb of the count and the space of the church, portal, and cloister.<sup>3</sup> Although they were not saints, with the nominal exception of Berenguer IV, the bodies of the counts entombed at Ripoll received the perpetual prayers of the monks and were memorialized in literature that promoted a saintly image. The body of Ramon Berenguer III was received in a funerary *adventus*, depicted in the tomb relief with the count's body arriving on a mule – an image intended to resemble Christ's Entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday and the return of the Ark to Jerusalem in the Book of Kings (as sculpted in the stone portal, **plate 4**). The

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<sup>1</sup> A very early version of this chapter was presented at the 47th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI (2012) as “The Count's Two Bodies: Place and Narrative in the Sarcophagus of Ramon Berenguer III and the *Claustro-Panteón* of Santa Maria de Ripoll.” I am grateful to Robert Maxwell and Manuel Castiñeiras for their questions and comments at this session.

<sup>2</sup> While most often called a sarcophagus it is difficult to ascertain the original form of the tomb monument, or to be entirely certain that it was created for Ramon Berenguer III. An additional relief survives in the lapidary collection that features a flange on the left side, suggesting that the tomb is constructed of flat limestone relief panels that were layered at the edges. The construction of the stone portal shows a similar method of construction. This technique seems to be common to the Vic-Ripoll sculptural workshop. For the purposes of this chapter I refer to the monument as a tomb.

<sup>3</sup> For recent studies on the mediation of sound and synesthesia see Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly ed., *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), especially Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, “Hearing the Image at Santo Domingo de Silos,” pp. 71–90. See also Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Stephen Lamia's introduction to *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

enduring image of the count's inextricably itinerant corpse, I argue, reveals the sculpted tomb as a site of constant reinvention.

In 1020, the Count of Besalú, Bernat I, drowned on horseback attempting to ford the Rhône and his body was taken to the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll. The count was especially well regarded as the elder brother of Abbot Oliba and as a generous donor and benefactor (as discussed in chapter 2). The count's death set in motion a series of dynastic maneuvers that culminated in the aggrandizement (or re-aggrandizement) of a constellation of old Catalan territories in one person, Ramon Berenguer III (d. 1131), Count of Barcelona, and in his successor, Count-King Ramon Berenguer IV (d. 1162). This, at least, paraphrases part of the story written by an anonymous monk at Ripoll in the late twelfth century in the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*.<sup>4</sup> Quietly undergirding this carefully groomed historical narrative is a monastic tradition for the care of the dead through liturgy, song, and ritual (as discussed in chapter 1). Later abbots at Ripoll, including Pere Ramon (d. 1153), Gausfred (d. 1169) and Ramon de Berga (d. 1205)

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<sup>4</sup> The earliest source for the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium* is BnF Ms. Lat. 5132. See *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva), la Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2012). Here Ramon Berenguer III united Besalú and Barcelona with the verb “adiunxit” and “Rexit itaque V comitatus: Barchinonam, Provinciam, Amilianum, Cerriteniam, Bisildunum,” (p. 132). See also Stefano Maria Cingolani *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva crònica* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2006). The bibliography on the writing of history at Ripoll in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is vast. On political legitimation at the Ripoll scriptorium see Nikolas Jaspert, “Historiografia y legitimación carolingia. El monasterio de Ripoll, el Pseudo-Turpín y lost condes de Barcelona,” in *El Pseudo-Turpín; Lazo entre el culto Jacobeo y el culto de Carlomagno, actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, ed. Klaus Herbers (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003), pp. 294–315. For interpretations of the process of inheritance in the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*, see Martin Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Nathaniel Taylor, “Inheritance of Power in the House of Guifred the Hairy: Contemporary Perspectives on the Formation of a Dynasty,” in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350*, ed. Robert Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam Kosto (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 129–51.

would embellish the care for the dead and the memory of the counts with new feasts, decorations and sculpted tombs.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter explores the staging of rituals at the tomb, the architectural space of the monastery, and, more concretely, how these are given visual form in the sculpted tomb of Ramon Berenguer III. In his monumental history of Santa Maria de Ripoll, Josep Pellicer calls the architectural space for the dead the *claustro-panteón*.<sup>6</sup> I adopt this term to examine the various uses of memorial spaces in the monastery, being at once sacred and profane, between the mundane realm of the cloister and the sacred realm of the church. The funerary processions performed by the monks crossed this same threshold in the process of caring for and elevating the dead.

In a funeral encyclical written for Bernat I, Oliba laments his brother's drowning and leaves no question as to where the body of the count was to be entombed, saying that it was “to us, that is to say the monks of Saint Mary, he marched home—O how awful to say!—returning to us dead, such a handsome prince and father, leaving us to weep beyond measure.”<sup>7</sup> The emotions expressed by Oliba in his funerary encyclicals set the tone for

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<sup>5</sup> On the abbots at Ripoll see Antoni Llagostera i Fernández, “Notes sobre els Abaciologis del monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll (Nou abaciologi),” *Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès Annals* (1995-1995): 13–77.

<sup>6</sup> José María Pellicer y Pagés, *Santa María del monasterio de Ripoll: Nobilísimo origen y gloriosos recuerdos de este célebre santuario, hasta el milenario de su primera dedicación: reseña histórica* (Mataró: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Feliciano Horta, 1888), chapter 6, pp. 111–30.

<sup>7</sup> BnF, Ms. Lat. 2858, f. 67: “...et ad nos, videlicet Sanctę Marię monachis, reductus a suis, heu dolendum dictum, mortuus rediit, quos tante speciositatis princeps et pater nimium plorando reliquerat.” DELABO, p. 319; *Marca Hispanica*, col. 1024, et al.

the cult of memory for the counts and abbots entombed at Ripoll from the year 1008 through the beginning of the thirteenth century and later.<sup>8</sup>

Like the relics of a saint in procession, monastic community at Ripoll remembered the body of Ramon Berenguer III not as an “inert object” but continuously in a state of reception, creating a lively presence for later generations and audiences.<sup>9</sup> Traces of the experiences at the tomb are recorded in the folios of a manuscript miscellany copied at Ripoll between 1150 and 1190, with later additions, now in Paris (BnF Ms. Lat. 5132). This miscellany contains the earliest copy of the Acts of the Catalan counts (*Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*), sung texts such as *Mentem meam ledit dolor* (a lament for Ramon Berenguer IV), records of the restoration of the abbey church’s furnishings, and the institution of new feasts added in the late twelfth century and later.<sup>10</sup>

Ramon Berenguer III’s body was indeed an itinerant corpse, especially in the nineteenth century. Initially located in the cloister, the count and his tomb were moved

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<sup>8</sup> Abbot Oliba’s first recorded funeral encyclical was written for his predecessor as abbot of Ripoll, Seniofred, written in 1008. See DELABO, pp. 310–20. See chapter 2 for my discussion of this text and its description of the transition from corporeal to spiritual vision at death.

<sup>9</sup> I refer to the discussion of the personal nature of relics of saints in liturgical processions (as something other than “inert relics”) in Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), pp. 145–60, esp. p. 148.

<sup>10</sup> Other texts in Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132 were added in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the codex bound and possibly modified in the eighteenth century by Étienne Baluze. This codex is frequently cited for the various texts it contains but not as a witness to the process of recording memory and experience at Ripoll, as I seek to address it in this chapter; see Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), including a description and bibliography in appendix 3; for studies that refer to this codex, see, among others, Joseph Lemarié, *Chromace d’Aquilée. Sermons* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969); Francesc Xavier, “La institució de la Festa de Santa Maria en dissabte i la renovació de l’altar major del monestir de Ripoll a mitjan segle XII,” *Studia Monastica* 44, no. 1 (2002): 57–96; Nicolau d’Olwer, “L’escola poètica de Ripoll en els segels X–XIII,” *Anuari del Institut d’Etudis Catalans* 6 (1923): 3–84; and María del Carmen Gómez Muntane, *La música medieval en España* (Colección DeMusica 6. Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001).

inside the abbey church in the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup> In the nineteenth century the count's remains were translated at least three times – in 1803, 1837/8, and 1893.<sup>12</sup> The events of 1893 are perhaps the most revealing. Three years before the consecration (or re-consecration) of Elias Rogent's reconstructed abbey church in 1896 the count's remains were returned to Ripoll by railway in an elaborate procession.<sup>13</sup> These festivities were satirized in a cartoon in the magazine *La Campana de Gràcia* (fig. 77).<sup>14</sup> Here the count figuratively comes alive in the closing frames to lament the unfortunate events that have plagued his remains. The skeletal count is depicted at the Sunday procession gesturing to a cortège of corpulent bishops to express his fear that the train will derail en route, implying that his remains will never be at rest, even if the stated ambition of the

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<sup>11</sup> Francesca Español, "Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l'époque Romane. Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 42 (2001): 103–14. Español proposes that the tomb of Ramon Berenguer was initially located on the exterior walls of the west façade of the abbey church in a galilée portico, pp. 103–07. For the purposes of this study I have chosen to accept the location of the bodies of the counts as recoded in the surviving necrologies, as discussed below.

<sup>12</sup> Francesca Español discusses the tomb and its relocation in "Panthéons comtaux," pp. 103–114. An inspection of the tomb and remains took place in 1803, recorded by Jaime Villanueva and Joaquín Villanueva, *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, Vol. 8, *Vique y Solsona* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet/ Real Academia de la Historia), 1821, pp. 23–25. Roc d'Olzinelles recounts the placement of the tomb in the church in letter from 1822, printed by Eduard Junyent, "Notes inédites sobre el Monestir de Ripoll," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* X (1933), appendix 1, p. 214 (similarly noted in Español "Panthéons comtaux," p. 109).

<sup>13</sup> The acts of these festivities are published by Francesc Carreres i Candi, *Crònica de la traslació de les despulles de Ramon Berenguer III lo Gran comte soberà de Barcelona en 1893* (Mataró: F. Abadal y Cia, 1893). The remains of the count were deposited at the Archive of the Crown of Aragon between 1838 and 1893, as noted by Elías de Molins, "Epigrafía catalana de la Edad Media," *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos* 13 (1905), p. 112 (noted in Español "Panthéons comtaux," p. 109). Elías de Molins notes that the translation to Barcelona was carried out under the consultation of Próspero de Bofarull, who further authenticated the remains as those of Ramon Berenguer III.

<sup>14</sup> *La Campana de Gràcia* 24 (July 1, 1893), p. 8. The cartoon's *mise-en-page* resembles broadsheet publications of *goigs* celebrated in Catalonia in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century and earlier, like those of Sant Eudald at Ripoll. Antonio Fernandez Llagostera discusses these a cartoons and their historical context in the blog *Santa Maria de Ripoll*, "Las festas de Ripoll' (9 i 10 de juliol de 1893) vistes per la premsa republicana," Nov. 12, 2012 ([monestiripoll.blogspot.com/2012/11/la-festa-de-ripoll-1893-vist-per-la.html](http://monestiripoll.blogspot.com/2012/11/la-festa-de-ripoll-1893-vist-per-la.html)).

procession was the “definitive interment” of the count (or the final *adventus*).<sup>15</sup> The cartoon displays a mix of sacred and profane sentiments regarding the count's itinerant corpse that are as relevant to twelfth-century audiences of the count's tomb as they are today.<sup>16</sup>

## TOMBS, HISTORIES, AND NECROLOGIES AT RIPOLL

At the confluence of two rivers in a mountainous valley, Ripoll has been the site of a necropolis since late Antiquity. Crypts are situated beneath the nave of the abbey church of Santa Maria and beneath the attached church of Sant Pere.<sup>17</sup> A cemetery extending to the west of the sculpted portal of Santa Maria was in use well into the modern period. The founder of the monastery, however, was not entombed in the crypt but in the monastic cloister. Records of the location of the count's tomb in the eleventh and twelfth century were always point the cloister pantheon, itself a space defined by the pre-Romanesque walls of the cloister enclosure (as discussed in chapter 4).

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<sup>15</sup> The procession took place on Sunday, June 11th, 1893. The official acts are published by Francesc Carreres, where the translation is called an “enterramiento definitivo.” See Carreres *Crónica de la traslació*, pp. 72, 74n1.

<sup>16</sup> This cartoon in *La Campana de Gràcia* is itself a profanation of sentiments around the count's tomb in the late nineteenth century. See Giorgio Agamben, *Profanations*, trans. Jeff Fort (New York: Zone Books, 2015). Along these lines, the contested place of saints tomb in the middle ages is addressed in by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, “An Unsentimental View of Ritual in the Middle Ages Or, Sainte Foy Was No Snow White,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6 (1992): 63–85.

<sup>17</sup> On the crypts at Ripoll see Bibiana Agusti and Meritxell Suriñach, “Santa Maria de Ripoll: Població i pràctiques funeràries medievals,” *Empúries* 51 (1998): 267–80. The crypt of Sant Pere was renovated and opened to the public in 2016. The Ripoll necropolis is comparable to the burials at the ancient cathedral complex of Égara (Terrassa).

The tenth- and eleventh-century walls of the cloister at Ripoll make it clear that the *clauastro-panteón* was the preferred site for the tombs of the monastery's benefactors in the twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> In fact, the cloister was the nexus around which memorial rituals for the counts were imagined and visualized, as is the case at other ancient Catalan monasteries such as Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa and Sant Benet de Bages, and at royal monasteries founded in the twelfth century, such as Santa Maria de Santes Creus.<sup>19</sup>

Twelfth-century sources are unambiguous in stating that the tombs of the counts were located in the monastic cloister. A necrology compiled from multiple sources by Roc d'Olzinelles in the nineteenth century records the tombs of five counts with the designation *in clauastro iacet* or *in claustra iacet*: Guifré el Pilós, Count of Barcelona and founder of the monastery (d. 897), Bernat I of Besalú (d. 1020), Guillem I of Besalú (d. 1052), Bernat II of Besalú (d. 1097), and Ramon Berenguer III, Count of Barcelona (d. 1131).<sup>20</sup> An entry in the necrology for Count Ramon Berenguer IV (d. 1162) was added by a later hand and omits any details that localize his tomb, but it is known that a silver casket containing his remains was later housed inside the abbey church.<sup>21</sup> The necrology

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<sup>18</sup> The cloister walls at Santa Maria de Ripoll were restored between 2011 and 2012. In these restorations the plaster applied to the walls during the late-nineteenth century reconstruction of the abbey was removed to reveal the late tenth-century stonework. Fragments of medieval sculpted decorations and tombs that had been displayed in the cloister walls since the late nineteenth-century have since been inventoried and stored.

<sup>19</sup> See Francesca Español's introduction to Benedictine cloisters in Catalonia in *Claustros Románicos Hispanos*, ed. Joaquín Yarza Luaces and Gerado Boto Varela (León: Edileasa, 2003), pp. 271–79.

<sup>20</sup> Eduardo Junyent, “El necrologi del monestir de Ripoll,” *Analecta Montserratensia* IX (1962): 217–25. The necrology compiled by Junyent is from four sources copied by Roc d'Olzinelles around 1820, the same sources recorded by Villanueva, who dated the earliest necrology to the eleventh century; see *Viage Literario*, vol. 8, pp. 233–234. Junyent reproduces the so-called “primitive text” that Olzinelles dated to the twelfth century, titled *Necrologium monachorum et benefactorum monasterii Rivipulli*. This was the first text recorded in a manuscript (since destroyed) that also contained a ritual and a copy of the Rule of Saint Benedict.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of this silver casket see Español, “Panthéons comtaux,” pp. 110–111.

also gives special place to Ramon Berenguer III, saying that the count was “chosen in good memory by this community.”<sup>22</sup> The only other person recorded *bonę memorię* is abbot Ramon de Berga (fl. 1172-1205), suggesting that these notes were added to the necrology towards the end of the twelfth century.<sup>23</sup>

A wider range of sources than has previously be taken into account can be drawn upon too study the experiences of audiences at the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III. A flourishing of liturgy, poetry, and history occurred at Ripoll in the second half of the twelfth century. The author of the *Brevis Historia*, the first narrative history of the abbey, dates this work to 1147.<sup>24</sup> Around 1164 to 1184 the first version of the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium* (the acts of the counts of Barcelona, hereafter *GCB*) was written at Ripoll.<sup>25</sup> The *Gesta vel obitus Domni Petri Ducis Venetiae atque Dalmatiae* (Life and Death of Lord Pietro Orseolo, Doge of Venice and Dalmatia), was copied at Ripoll around 1160-80 but probably authored by a monk at Saint-Michel de Cuxa years before.<sup>26</sup> The two of these texts survive in the manuscript miscellany now in Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132.

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<sup>22</sup> “Raimundus bonę memorię istius cenobii electus,” see Junyent, “El necrology del monestir de Ripoll,” p. 222.

<sup>23</sup> “Raimundus de Berga, abbas istius cenobii bonę memorię,” Junyent, “El necrology del monestir de Ripoll,” p. 224.

<sup>24</sup> *Les Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium (versió primitiva), la Brevis Historia i altres textos de Ripoll*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani (2012), p. 180.

<sup>25</sup> Martin Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 26; see also *Les noces du Comte. Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne, 785-1213* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995) and “Jalons pour une enquête sur les strategies matrimoniales des comtes Catalans (IXe-XIes.),” in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya, segles VIII-XI* (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 281–364.

<sup>26</sup> *Gesta vel obitus Domni Petri Ducis Venecie atque Dalmacie*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 2016).

Naturally the *Brevis Historia* and the *Gesta Comitum* are the sources most often consulted in studies of the tombs of the counts at Ripoll. The miscellany Ms. Lat. 5132, however, offers a glimpse into the process of recording memory at Ripoll across multiple genres. The “memory machine” at Ripoll, as Nicholas Paul termed it, was an enduring enterprise that drew from many sources.<sup>27</sup> Key among these is the *Gesta vel obitus* of the former Venetian doge that sketches out a hagiographic model for the sanctification of secular rulers through monastic conversion and ritual, itself partly modeled on the miracles of Saint Benedict in *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*.<sup>28</sup> The secondary motivation of this gesta was the memory of Abbot Oliba, who is recorded in the closing sections of the text in language that echoes the description of Orseolo’s devoutness and generosity, both pre- and post-religious conversion. The liturgical and mystical aspects of the *Gesta vel obitus* of Pietro Orseolo have not been considered in regard to the counts of Barcelona. The imagery and auditory experiences that punctuate the two high points in the narrative, however, might easily inform the responses of lay and monastic viewers to the funerary events depicted in the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III. The *Gesta vel obitus* was copied and perhaps edited at Ripoll for its hagiographical content and that was tied to the memory of Abbot Oliba (who is framed as the spiritual successor of Orseolo). In the narrative, every inhabitant of Venice is “turned to mourning” upon learning of the loss of the Doge, and I argue it is this image, or emotional moment, that is immortalized in the

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<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Paul, “Triumph at Ripoll,” in *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 251–94, including a description and partial transcription of BnF Ms. Lat. 5231.

<sup>28</sup> PL 66, col. 125–204.

tomb reliefs inscribed with the *planctus* of the people of Barcelona.<sup>29</sup> As I will show, the awful sounds of popular lament in Barcelona are then mollified by the sacred sounds and actions the monks at Ripoll.

### THE *ARCA* OF RAMON BERENGUER III

Now installed on the south transept of the reconstructed abbey church, the reliefs of the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III are attributed to the same workshop that fabricated the stone portal around 1140-1150 (fig. 76).<sup>30</sup> Only the reliefs of this tomb and possibly fragments of the supports survive. Accepting the current arrangement of the tomb fragments, the six reliefs can be divided in two parts: **I**) death, absolution, and lament (*planctus*) in Barcelona on the left, and **II**) translation (*adventus*), funeral, and entombment at Ripoll on the right.<sup>31</sup> The poor condition of the reliefs make it difficult to read these scenes with certainty, however, the descriptions given by Villanueva and

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<sup>29</sup> "...omnia in luctu versa sunt." BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 96v; *Gesta vel obitus Domni Petri Ducis*, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> See Xavier Barral, "La sculpture a Ripoll au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* 131, no. 4 (1973): 311–359; Immaculada Lorés, "La decoración escultórica del monasterio de Santa Maria de Ripoll," in *Los grandes monasterios benedictinos hispanicos de época románica (1050-1200)*, ed. José Angel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre and Ramón Teja (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2007), 167–89; Español, "Panthéons Comtaux;" Castiñeiras "Portal at Ripoll Revisited."

<sup>31</sup> Photographs show that the reconstruction of fragments on right half of the tomb has changed since 1893 (see fig. 99a–b). A photograph from the *Crónica de la traslació* by Carreras, p. 71, shows sections on the right side of the tomb that are no longer in place. In "Epigrafia catalana" Elías de Molins notes that the fragment with the translation of the body on horseback was discovered in Ripoll in 1856 and stored in Girona (as noted in Español "Panthéons comtaux," p. 107); he also describes seven relief sections, one more than the current reconstruction, as does Pellicer, "*Santa María del monasterio de Ripoll*," p. 123; interestingly, the cartoon from *La Campana de Gràcia* also depicts seven relief panels. Photographs of the tomb in the later nineteenth century show the right side without the fragments seen in the 1893 photograph (fig. 104). The current installation dates to 1929.

others confirm the sequence of the subjects depicted and the fact that the tomb was raised on columns, like its modern reconstruction.

The cenotaph-like elevation of the count's tomb suggests that it was fabricated to promote religious devotion and encourage miraculous experiences.<sup>32</sup> It is known that the tomb was elevated on eight stone columns.<sup>33</sup> Lifted up in this way, pilgrims and other audiences would have had access to the underside of the sarcophagus, and perhaps associated the space underneath the tomb with miracles of restoration of health.<sup>34</sup> The overall size and height of the tomb also resembled later monuments like the tomb of San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma, the cenotaph at the church of Santa María Magdalena in Zamora (fig. 78) or the cenotaph of the martyr saints Vicente, Sabina and Cristeta at the Basilica of San Vicente de Ávila (fig. 79). Sections of spiral-fluted red marble columns survive in the lapidary fragments at Ripoll that might have served as the support columns (recreated in the modern reconstruction with polished red marble and granite, fig. 76). Although there are no records of miracles performed at the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III, there are accounts of miraculous events at the tomb of his successor, the count-king Ramon Berenguer IV.<sup>35</sup> Most accounts date after the twelfth century, when the odor of

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<sup>32</sup> On these kinds of experiences at the medieval tomb, see Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Imagery and Interactivity: Ritual Transaction at the Saint's Tomb," in *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, ed. Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 21–38.

<sup>33</sup> Villanueva, *Viage literario*, vol. 8 p. 24. Pellicer, Bofarull and Molinas concur with Villanueva's description of the tomb on columns (as noted in Nicolau d'Olwer, "L'escola poètica de Ripoll en els segles X–XIII," *Anuari del Institut d'Etudis Catalans* 6 (1923), p. 36), but count seven relief panels. Villanueva recorded his travels in 1806 and 1807, making his accounts among the only written descriptions of the abbey before the destructive fire of 1835.

<sup>34</sup> This is the case of the tomb of Santo Domingo de la Calzada in Burgos, under which the bodies of the sick were placed in the hope of restored health. See Ameijeiras, "Imagery and Interactivity," pp. 27–28.

<sup>35</sup> Villanueva, *Viage literario*, vol. 5, appendix 9, pp. 227; Bofarull, *Los Condes de Barcelona*, vol. 2, p. 105; Pellicer, *Monasterio de Santa Maria de Ripoll*, p. 125. Pellicer states: "El tercer sarcófago que honró

sanctity at the site of the tomb of Ramon Berenguer IV prompted the monks to move the later count's body inside the abbey church.<sup>36</sup>

The rigidly compartmentalized format of the tomb's six relief panels has been noted for its emotional restraint relative to the subjects portrayed, but this treatment of its pictorial narrative would be familiar to twelfth-century audiences in the form of reliquaries and altar frontals.<sup>37</sup> The tomb of Ramon Berenguer III's *arca*-type design employs the narratives as a vehicle to move the viewer around the object. In this sense the tomb's reliefs resemble figurative plaques that decorate eleventh- and twelfth-century casket reliquaries but scaled up to the size of architectural sculpture. Along these lines the format of the square reliefs of the tomb can be compared to the *Arca Antigua* of San Millán, created around 1060-1080 (fig. 80).<sup>38</sup> The square shape and heavy borders of the relief panels and their rinceaux frames are also comparable to the reliquary of San Isidoro from León, created around 1063 (fig. 81).<sup>39</sup>

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al cenobio en esta centuria fué el de Berenguer IV quien, por haber muerto en olor de santidad, fué colocado dentro del templo.” Bishop Josep Morgades (d. 1901), the prime mover behind the restoration of the abbey church in the late nineteenth century, continued to promote the cult of sanctity around Ramon Berenguer IV. In a letter addressed to and published by the Real Academia de la Historia, Morgades explains a new epitaph describing the count's incorruptible relics and cites a list of seventeen documents to justify the inscription; *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 26 (1895), pp. 477–86.

<sup>36</sup> Ramon Berenguer IV married Petronilla of Aragon, uniting the counties of Barcelona and the kingdom of Aragon to create the Crown of Aragon. Their son, Alfonso II, is entombed at the royal Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet (Tarragona), founded by his father in 1151.

<sup>37</sup> In comparing the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III to the sculpted tomb of Doña Blanca of Navarre at Santa María la Real in Nájera, Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo states that the tomb reliefs of at Ripoll treat their subject “with visual balance, dignity, and emotional restraint.” See Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, “Lament for a Lost Queen: The Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera,” *The Art Bulletin* 78 (1996), p. 317.

<sup>38</sup> Monasterio de Yuso, San Millán de la Cogolla, Logroño; *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), cat. 125a-g, pp. 260–66.

<sup>39</sup> Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León; see *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), cat. 110, pp. 239–44.

The tomb's sculpted reliefs also resemble eleventh-century figurative plaques made of enamel, metal, or ivory that were brought together and assembled into larger multimedia artworks, such as altar frontals. Altar frontals (or antependia) fabricated by the twelfth-century workshops in Ripoll and Vic adorned many churches within Ripoll's sphere of influence.<sup>40</sup> Like the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III, these altar frontals are painted in sections formed of square panels divided by heavy borders, often decorated on the outer edges with projecting frames decorated in rinceau patterns. The nearest comparison is the altar frontal recovered from the church of Sant Pere at Ripoll with projecting flanks embossed with rinceaux decorations (fig. 82), perhaps originally made for the abbey church of Santa Maria in Ripoll.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, Walter Cook compared the image of the elevation of the soul and absolution of the body in the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III to the altar frontal from Sant Martí in Puigbò (fig. 83).<sup>42</sup> The pattern of the painted zigzag rinceau on the frame of the Puigbò altar frontal is very similar to the sculpted projecting borders of the tomb of the count.

These painted altar frontals offer intriguing iconographic parallels to the count's tomb and suggest evidence for the existence of a workshop working in Ripoll with ties to the monastery, if not operated by the monks themselves. Manuel Castiñeiras and Verónica Abenza have noted Walter Cook's comparison in a close study of the Puigbò

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<sup>40</sup> On these workshops see Manuel Castiñeiras, "Catalan Romanesque Painting Revisited: The Altar-Frontal Workshops," in *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Tempe, AZ, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Princeton University, Princeton N.J.: Index of Christian Art, 2007), pp. 119–53.

<sup>41</sup> Vic, MEV 556. See Miquel dels Sants Gros, *Museu Episcopal de Vic. Pintura i escultura romànica* (Sabadell: AUSA, 1991), pp. 38–39.

<sup>42</sup> Vic, MEV 9. Ibid., *Museu Episcopal de Vic*, pp. 40–41; see also Walter Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (I)," *The Art Bulletin* 5 (1923), p. 89.

altar frontal and its imagery of the elevation of the soul and absolution of the corpse (fig. 84), suggesting that the iconography of this panel and its subject, Saint Martin, might relate to Ramon Berenguer III's biography.<sup>43</sup> The tonsured figures in the absolution scene holding a censer and a processional cross (fig. 84, right) draw on the life of Saint Martin but also represent the monastic care for the soul, or *cura animarum*. As Castiñeiras has discussed elsewhere, altar frontals required a blessing, the *benedictio tabulae*, that resembled the practice of activating icons in Byzantium.<sup>44</sup> This blessing equates the altar frontal to the tablets of the law received by Moses. Like altar frontals, tombs received a blessing after the placement of the body in the tomb that equated the sarcophagus to the bosom of Abraham, with the celebrant pleading to the Lord to keep watch over the "fabric of the tomb" (*fabricam sepulture*).<sup>45</sup>

The tomb of Ramon Berenguer III engaged the altar frontal of the abbey church by emulating miraculous icons and the way these serve as staging points for rituals enacted around them.<sup>46</sup> The treasury inventory of 1047, recorded after the death of abbot Oliba, describes a gold antependium (*tabulam coopertam auro*) decorated with sixteen

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<sup>43</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras and Verónica Abenza, "Sant Martí de Puigbò: una iconografia per a Ramon Berenguer III?," in *Pintar fa mil anys: els colors i l'ofici del pintor romànic*, ed. Manuel Castiñeiras and Judit Verdguer (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma Barcelona, 2014), pp. 71–86.

<sup>44</sup> Castiñeiras, "El altar románico y su mobiliario litúrgico," pp. 66–67. This blessing is recorded in the *Collectio Tarraconensis* manuscript, Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, Ms. 26, fol. 209.

<sup>45</sup> *Benedicchio sepulcri*, in Alejandro Olivar, ed., *Sacramentarium Rivipullense* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas/Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1963), p. 245. Cf. *Oratio ad benedicendum sepulcrum*, Vic Sacramentary, pp. 249–50, beginning "Deus qui fundasti terram."

<sup>46</sup> Alexei Lidov, "The Flying *Hodegetria*: The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Place," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance; Papers from a conference held at the Accademia di Danimarca in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana* (Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), pp. 273–304.

precious stones and enamels at the altar of Santa Maria, along with two silver panels.<sup>47</sup>

The subjects depicted in these enamels are unknown, if they were in fact figurative, and so is their origin.<sup>48</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras has speculated that Oliba commissioned the gold and silver panels for the front and sides of the altar consecrated in 1032, suggesting that it resembled a gold and enamel altar frontal at Girona Cathedral, now also lost.<sup>49</sup> The treasury inventory of 1066 at Ripoll describes this same frontal at the altar of Saint Mary but with twenty-four precious stones and enamels.<sup>50</sup> The eight additional gems counted by the monk Ramon must have been added to the altar frontal between 1047 and 1066.

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<sup>47</sup> DELABO, p. 396: “In primis, in altare sancte Dei genitricis Marie tabulam coopertam auro cum lapidibus et esmaltis XVI; tabulas coopertas argento II.”

<sup>48</sup> These enamels would most likely have come from abroad. A speculative possibility is that Oliba obtained the enamels from Cuxa by way of Venice. The *Gesta vel obitus* of Pietro Orseolo describes great treasures gifted to abbot Garí by Orseolo upon their departure from the doge's palace in Venice: “Tunc clam accipiens pallia plurima palatina, aurum, argentum, lapides preciosos, lampades, et maximam partem substantie sue cum diversis ornamentis ecclesiasticis et vasis, tradidit abbati.” *Gesta vel obitus*, op. cit. p. 9. It's more likely that the Catalan author of the *Gesta vel obitus* used these treasures as a rhetorical image to advance the narrative of the doge's monastic conversion and paradoxical rich-poor existence, but Oliba's mirroring of Orseolo in the *gesta* clearly conflates the abbot's decorative campaigns at Ripoll and Cuxa with Orseolo's connections to the Basilica at San Marco and its treasury. It is also possible that the mention of “diversis ornamentis ecclesiasticis et vasis” among the items Orseolo removed from the San Marco treasury is a commentary on Ramon Berenguer III's request in 1118 that Ripoll give to him a heavy gold chalice in exchange for an *alodium* that the count would later donate to the monastery in perpetuity upon his death. A charter of this exchange is recorded by d'Olzinelles, BC, Ms. 430, fol. 23: “Donacion al monasterio por el Conde Ramon, Dulcia Condesa, y Ramon Berenguer su hijo, del alodio sito dentro las parroquias de Setcasas y Lanars, que poseia por donacion de Bernardo Conde de Besalu, lo que da por ~~un~~ *su alma* [interlinear insertion], y por un caliz de oro de peso 550 morabatines.” See also Castiñeiras, “Portal at Ripoll Revisited,” p. 135.

<sup>49</sup> Castiñeiras, “Catalan Romanesque Painting Revisited,” p. 135n54. For a hypothetical reconstruction of the Girona altar frontal, see Castiñeiras, “El altar románico y su mobiliario litúrgico: frontales, vigas y baldaquinos,” in *Mobiliario y ajuar litúrgico en las iglesias románicas* (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2011), p. 47.

<sup>50</sup> Junyent makes this observation in his commentary on the 1047 inventory; see DELABO, p. 398. For the 1066 inventory, see DELABO, p. 414: “Et invenit in ipsa, in primis ad altare Sancte Marie tabulam cohopertam au[ro], cum lapidibus et esmaltis XXIII; tabulas cohopertas argento II.” The author of this inventory gives his name, the monk Ramon (Raimundus), and says that he assumed the care of the church decorations after the monk Pau.

This altar frontal and its enamels are not found in a later inventory from around 1190, but five silver and six gold panels are recorded without reference to enamels.<sup>51</sup> One can speculate that perhaps the gold altar was broken into six smaller panels and that the enamels escaped mention in the later inventory, or that the enamels disappeared at the same time that 200 pounds of silver was extracted from church furnishings at the request of Count Ramon Berenguer IV in exchange for the revenues from the alodium of Molló.<sup>52</sup> In this case, the altar frontal from Sant Pere at Ripoll dates to the same period that the treasury and church decorations were being restored.<sup>53</sup> The painted *pastiglia* (low-relief pastework) decorations along the borders of the Sant Pere altar frontal, with alternating gemstone-like oval and diamond patterns and gilded metal, are possibly a retrospective recreation of Oliba's gemstone studded gold altar (fig. 82).<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Junyent, "Notes inédites sobre el Monestir de Ripoll," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* X (1933), appendix II, no. 5, pp. 40–41: "Hic sunt conscripta ornamenta Virginis alme Marie cenobii Rivipollentis. In primis sunt ibi tabule 5 ex argento, et sexta ex auro, et sunt ibi tres cruces ex argento, excepta maiore, et sunt ibi tres cruces parvas cum lignum Domini et quarta de vivorio, et sunt ibi due are ex argento et tertia cum reliquias...."

<sup>52</sup> A record of the restoration of the silver furnishings (probably between 1146 and 1151) is recorded by the prior Guillelmus, BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 104. See F.X. Altés, "La institució de la Festa de Santa Maria en dissabte i la renovació de l'altar major del monestir de Ripoll a mitjan segle XII," *Studia Monastica* 44 (2002): 57–96, especially p. 64; see also Thomas Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia*, vol. 2, pp. 56–57; and Castiñeiras, "Catalan Romanesque Painting Revisited," p. 138, and Castiñeiras "Portal at Ripoll Revisited," pp. 135–36.

<sup>53</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras focuses on this period of restoration in analyzing the multimedia baldachin at Ripoll. The sculpted stone bases from the columns of this baldachin, formerly on display in the Ripoll cloister, are now on loan at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

<sup>54</sup> Further to this point, the iconography of the Sant Pere altar frontal with Christ Pantocrator and the apostles depicted under arches is also seen in the late eleventh or early twelfth century gilded silver *Arca Santa* of Oviedo Cathedral. The style of decoration with gemstones interspersed with globules or pearls, small medallion-sized colored enamels, and embossed rinceau frame is also seen in the Portable Altar of Saint Foy, c. 1100, and the Pala d'Oro of San Marco, c. 1000-1300 (**figure 26**). Further, the small gold roundels decorating the inside edge of the frame of the altar frontal from Sant Pere mimic the size and placement of enamel medallions.

The decoration of the altar of Santa Maria would have been at the center of liturgy and politics in the region (fig. 83).<sup>55</sup> Like other golden antependia the altar frontal at Ripoll was clothed for the larger part of the ecclesiastical year under a *pala feriale*.<sup>56</sup> The unveiling of the altar at important feasts, like the Purification of the Virgin Mary at Ripoll, would have made the experience of viewing the altar a highly significant and time-based encounter. Along these lines, the manuscript miscellany Ms. Lat. 5132 contains an interesting overlap between two texts describing the unveiling of the miraculous image of the Hodegetria in Constantinople, often known as the “habitual miracle,” and the institution of a Saturday feast for the Virgin Mary after the restoration of the abbey treasury in the twelfth century.<sup>57</sup> The text describes the icon as veiled in a silk shroud (*velatur sindone oloserica*) that is lifted by angelic means.<sup>58</sup>

Sections that describe this miraculous icon appear verbatim in the charter for the institution of the new solemn Saturday feast of the Virgin Mary by abbot Gausfred in 1157.<sup>59</sup> This newly instituted feast also pays respect to the monastery's dead with a

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<sup>55</sup> This is the case of the figurative enamel plaques assembled in Pala d'Oro and the acquisition of the relics of Saint Mark. See Thomas E. A. Dale, “*Inventing a Sacred Past: Pictorial Narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist in Aquileia and Venice, ca. 1000-1300*,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994): 53–104.

<sup>56</sup> Castiñeiras, “Catalan Romanesque Painting Revisited,” p. 134n52.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., Alexei Lidov, “The Flying *Hodegetria*: The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Place.” On the text of the habitual miracle see Venance Grumel, “Le “miracle habituel” de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople,” *Échos d'Orient* 30 (1931): 129–46. On the Saturday feast at Ripoll, see F.X. Altés i Aguiló, “La institució de la festa de Santa Maria en Dissabte i la renovació de l'altar major del monestir de Ripoll a mitjan segle XII,” *Studia Monastica* 44 (2002): 57–96.

<sup>58</sup> BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 23. Another account of the miraculous icon is recorded in the collection of miracles copied at Ripoll (Barcelona, ACA, Ms. Ripoll 193). This version differs slightly, but it notably says the icons was made by angelic means, being neither wood nor stone nor gold nor silver or any other metal: “que non ligno, aut lapide, aut auro, aut argento, aut aliquo metallo, set angelicis machinis fit.” See Baraut, “Un recull de miracles de Santa Maria procedent de Ripoll, i les Cantigues d'Alfons el Savi,” no. 11, “De Icona Constantinopolitana.”

<sup>59</sup> Cf. description of the synaxis at the Blachernae Basilica in Constantinople (*basilica cognomento lucerna famosa*): “donec veniatur ad .VI. feriam, crucis misterio purpuratam. Tunc sole iam ad occasam vergente,

procession through the cemetery that began at the altar of Saint Mary and no doubt also circulated through the cloister.<sup>60</sup>

## THE TOMB IN TRANSLATION

In the *Viage Literario* Villanueva voiced some skepticism as to the identity of the remains contained in the tomb, reporting that “those who recognize the sarcophagus [as that of Ramon Berenguer III] say that they found a complete corpse with curly red hair.”<sup>61</sup> A parchment fragment was recovered from the tomb of Ramon Berenguer IV that identified the corpse as that of the count. Ramon Berenguer IV is also said to have had curly red hair.

Villanueva's link between the physical attributes of the corpse and the identity of the person memorialized in the tomb raises the question of how the monastic community at Ripoll would have imagined the appearance of the count in memory. The twelfth-century caretakers of the royal pantheon certainly held an image in mind, or perhaps an overall sensation of the count's presence that included a visual component. This could be

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quando vespertina synaxis Marie sollempnia incipit,” (Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 23), to the charter establishing the solemn Saturday feast: “Vespera siquidem diei ferie sexte, que crucis misterio purpuratur, in qua vespertina synaxis Marie sollempnia incipit,” (Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 101v); the institution of the new feast is studied in Altés i Aguiló, “La institució de la festa de Santa Maria en Dissabte,” (p. 76). Further study of the overlaps in this miscellany between the earlier text of the Laetare Sunday liturgy, the description of Constantinople, and the later text for the institution of the Saturday feast at Ripoll is needed to better understand how the monks fashioned their liturgical processions on sacred geography and music.

<sup>60</sup> BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 102-102v: “Cui predictus venerabilis abbas Gaufridus succedens, singulis septimanis omni feria sexta, aut si festivitas ibi occurrerit alio quocumque precedentium dierum, missam a sacerdote super altare gloriosae virginis in conventu pro fratribus nostris et omnium fidelium spiritibus decantari, totumque nos inciruitu ecclesiae cimiterium benedicere, et fidelium animas Deo commendare in perpetuum instituit. Quibus ad presidium defunctorum, ultra solitum pensum noviter additis sufficiat eiusdem prefata dominicae Matris festivitate, certissima spes et confidentia Matris misericordiae.”

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.: “Reconocido el sepulcro dicen que se halló un cadaver entero con el pelo cresgado rojo.”

related to the count's clothing or jewelry; the body of the count was surely decorated with rich garments and jewelry when entombed.<sup>62</sup>

The dynastic histories written at Benedictine monasteries often included brief descriptions of the physical appearance of the counts. The *GCB* describes the count in relation to his father, saying that Ramon Berenguer III was “a sweet man, large and strong in arms.”<sup>63</sup> The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña notes that Ramon Berenguer IV “was handsome in appearance, with a large body and very well proportioned limbs.”<sup>64</sup> These terse descriptions only hint towards the physical attributes held in the minds of the monks and other visitors of the tombs, but the author of the *GCB* noted that Ramon Berenguer III resembled his male ancestors.<sup>65</sup> By contrast, the sculpted tomb offers little

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<sup>62</sup> Along these lines, the embellished corpse of Ferdinand de la Cerda (d. 1275) was photographed during the opening of his tomb in 1942. The woven silk garments bearing the coat of arms of Castile recovered from the sarcophagus are in the collections of the Museo de Telas Medievales in Burgos. See Manuel Gómez Moreno, *El Panteón Real de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946). On the issue of likeness in Romanesque tomb portraiture see Thomas E. A. Dale, “Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, Real Presence,” *Gesta* 46 (2007): 101–19.

<sup>63</sup> “virum etiam dulcissimum, largissimum et armis optinatissimum.” *GCB* 2012, p. 132. Only a few lines earlier in the text his father Berenguer II is described as “strong in arms, his body handsome in appearance” (“fuit vir armis strenuissimus, corpore et forme pulcherrimum”). *GCB* 2012, p. 131.

<sup>64</sup> Lynn Nelson, *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña: A Fourteenth-Century Official History of the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 51. “Fuit speciosus forma, magnus corpore, cum optima proporcione membrorum.” For this Latin version see *Historia de la corona de Aragon (la más antigua de que se tiene noticia) conocida generalmente con el nombre de crónica de San Juan de la Peña: Part Ilatina* (1876), available online ([www.cervantesvirtual.com](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com)). The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña was written around 1370 and includes compilations from many sources, but chief among these is the *GCB*, revised in 1310.

<sup>65</sup> “His igitur Raimundus Berengarii ex uxore quam accepit, filia scilicet Rotberti Guiscardi ducis Apulie et Meçene, genuit filium...” *GCB* 2012, p. 131. Height might also be used here as a mark of Ramon Berenguer III’s lineage to his maternal grandfather, the Norman conqueror Robert Guiscard. The *GCB* omits the name of RBIII’s mother Mafalda (or Matilda), simply calling her the daughter of Robert Guiscard. Mafalda was also the mother of viscount Aimery II of Narbonne, one of the *manumissores* of Ramon Berenguer III’s testament. On exogamy and strategic marriages by the Catalan counts, see Martin Aurell, *Les noces du Comte*.

indication of the count's physical appearance in the relief panels, although the overall length far exceeds that of other stone sarcophagi from the twelfth century.<sup>66</sup>

Originally located in the cloister, the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III would have been in close proximity to the memorial relief of abbot Ramon de Berga (fl. 1172-1205) facing the wall of the abbey church (fig. 85).<sup>67</sup> An inscription on the rinceau above a nearby capital, now mostly illegible, records abbot Ramon de Berga's name. This inscription is traditionally tied to the renovation of the cloister in the late twelfth century and used to date the sculpting of the cloister capitals.<sup>68</sup> The style of the relief portrait of the abbot, in a strictly frontal image, and its incorporation in the cloister pier has been compared to memorial reliefs for abbots at other wealthy Benedictine monasteries, like the pier relief in the cloister at Moissac for abbot Durandus (d. 1071),<sup>69</sup> or to a lesser extent the full-length tomb portrait of abbot Isarn at Marseille (d. 1047).<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> For example, the twelfth-century stone sarcophagus decorated with two peacocks from Sant Pere de Casserres at the Museu Episcopal de Vic (MEV 10623) measures less than three feet in length (see chapter 4). It is possible that the tomb was created to house more than one body, as is the case of Bernat I of Besalú and his son Guillem; if so then Ramon Berenguer IV would have initially been laid to rest in the tomb with his father before the later silver casket was created.

<sup>67</sup> The original site of the tomb is disputed. See note 11 for an alternative view, in which the tomb would have been located on the exterior walls of the west façade of the abbey church, and note 20 on the Ripoll necrologies that record locations of the tombs.

<sup>68</sup> On the cloister sculpture, see chapter 4. Immaculada Lorés suggests that the inscription could have been added at a later date; see Lorés, "La decoración escultórica," pp. 180–84.

<sup>69</sup> Xavier Barral notes the strictly frontal style of the relief and compares it to that of Durandus at Moissac in "La sculpture a Ripoll au XIIe siècle," pp. 338–39; on the relief of abbot Durandus, see M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 126; Meyer Schapiro, *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac I* (New York: G. Braziller, 1985) and *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture: The Charles Elliot Norton Lectures*, ed. Linda Seidel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 31–33; Thorsten Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1996), pp. 143–44; Ilene H. Forsyth, "The 'Vita Apostolica' and Romanesque Sculpture: some Preliminary Observations," *Gesta* 25 (1986): 75–82.

<sup>70</sup> Jacques Bousquet, "La tombe de l'abbé Isarn de Saint-Victor de Marseille. Un jalon essentiel pour l'histoire de la sculpture romane," *Provence historique* 46 (1996): 97–130. Santa Maria de Ripoll was a dependency of Saint Victor in Marseille for most of the twelfth century.

The closest comparison for abbot Ramon de Berga's memorial relief is the portrait of abbot Oliba on the Ripoll portal facade (plate 7).<sup>71</sup> Both figures wear elaborate vestments and are shown holding a book and staff. This simulacrum of the image of the abbot conceptually unites the two spaces that were used as passageways in funeral rites and other liturgical processions. A doorway in the south wall of the eleventh-century abbey church opens to the northeast corner of the cloister, near the memorial relief of the abbot (**plate 12**). This is very likely the door mentioned in the eleventh-century necrology published by Villanueva that places the tomb of Guifré el Pilós near a door to the church.<sup>72</sup> This door is also near the chapterhouse where monks would meet each day to read from the Rule of Saint Benedict.

The funeral rites at Ripoll shaped the movement of bodies living and dead across this space of the abbey church. The eleventh-century funeral rites at Ripoll are recorded in two sources, the Ripoll Sacramentary (Vic, ABEV, Ms. 67) and a manuscript fragment in Barcelona (ACA, Frag. num. 401).<sup>73</sup> A close reading of these funeral rites along with the story of Pere Orseolo's conversion, death and interment in the cloister at Cuxa illuminates the conversation between the sculpted tomb, the portal, and the rich fabric of memory recorded in literature and liturgy at Ripoll.

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<sup>71</sup> The identification of this figure as that of Abbot Oliba has been argued by Manuel Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," and "Un passagio al passato: il portale di Ripoll," and elsewhere. See also Lorés, "La decoración escultórica," p. 179. See chapter 1 for my discussion of these three figures and the question of their attribution.

<sup>72</sup> "Death of Guifré, count and marquis, founder of this monastery, whose body rests in the cloister before the church door" ("Obiit Guifredus, comes et marchio, fundator huius cenobii, cuius corpus requiescit in claustro ante fores ecclesiae.") Villanueva *Viage literario*, vol. 8, p. 234; Junyent "Necrologi," p. 223, note 21; Barral "La sculpture a Ripoll," p. 332.

<sup>73</sup> Alejandro Olivar, *Sacramentarium Rivipullense* (Madrid and Barcelona: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1964); Miquel dels Sants Gros Pujol, "Fragment d'un únic ordre d'enterrament del Monestir de Ripoll," *Annals de l'Institute d'Estudis Gironins* 54 (2013): 327–36.

## PART I) DEATH, ABSOLUTION, AND LAMENT IN BARCELONA

The far left section of the tomb depicts the death of the count and two angels carrying his spirit to heaven (fig. 86). A now illegible inscription runs vertically along the left border: “Marchio Raimundus moriens petat etera mundus.”<sup>74</sup> A swag-shaped mantle supports the image of the count's soul, or *eidolon*.<sup>75</sup> The next relief depicts the shrouded body on a funeral bier flanked by two ecclesiastical figures, with a smaller figure at center holding a processional cross (fig. 87). Here another inscription runs vertically along the frame: “Absolvunt isti comitem patres vice Christi.” The third relief, significantly damaged, depicts a walled enclosure and a crowd of human figures (fig. 88). This last surviving inscription also runs vertically along the frame: “Plangitur a turbis casum plangentibus urbis.”

According to the count's will and its confirmation, Ramon Berenguer III perished in Barcelona after illness confined him to the comital palace.<sup>76</sup> The will and its

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<sup>74</sup> Likely “ętera” or “aethera,” as noted by d'Olwer, “L'Escola poetica,” p. 36. The inscriptions on the tomb are recorded in a number of sources with relative certainty. See Español, “Panthéons comtaux,” p. 108.

<sup>75</sup> The soul as *eidolon* appears in other twelfth-century sculpted sarcophagi, including that of Doña Blanca at Santa María la Real in Nájera; see del Álamo, “Lament for a Lost Queen.” This relief in the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III is comparable to the portal's depiction of King Solomon's dream (I Kings 3:1-15; **plate 9**). The bodies of the two angels that emerge from undulating folds are similar to the angels and demons in the upper register and archivolt of the portal.

<sup>76</sup> A confirmation of the count's will was signed by the executors in 1131 at the altar of Saint Anastasia at Girona Cathedral, perhaps within view of the body of the deceased's father, stating that the executors swore the validity of “...quod nos vidimus et audivimus presentes quando prefatus Raimundus comes iacens apud Barchinonam in palacio suo detentus ab egritudine qua obiit....” A copy of this confirmation was made in 1154 at Girona Cathedral by the scribe Ermengaud, now in Barcelona, ACA, Cancelleria, pergs. Ramon Berenguer III, carp. 32, num. 316; Ignasi Baiges, et al, ed., *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona, de Ramon Berenguer II a Ramon Berenguer IV* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2010), vol. 3, no. 633, pp. 1058–65. The charters copied by Roc d'Olzinelles suggest that the library at Ripoll also possessed a later version of the 1154 copy of the confirmation of the will; see Barcelona, BC, Ms. 430, fol. 23v, “testamento sacramental del Conde Ramon Berenguer, a 14 de las calendas de Setiembre...”

confirmation both reiterate the count's desire that his body was to be entombed at Santa Maria de Ripoll “wherever my death takes place.”<sup>77</sup> Visitors to the tomb at Ripoll were no doubt aware that the count's death took place in Barcelona. I make this assumption in my interpretation of the tomb in order to examine the perceptions of place and movement on the part of the viewer. This approach follows studies of the “beholder's share,” as exemplified by Jackie Jung in a study of psychological pressure and bodily dynamism in the thirteenth-century north portal of Magdeberg Cathedral.<sup>78</sup>

There is no question that the monastic community had anticipated and prepared for the arrival of the count's body for decades. The documents reveal an aura of inevitability surrounding the resting place of the count, perhaps beginning as early as 1111, when Ramon Berenguer III gained control of Besalú, although the count of Barcelona's ancestors had also been entombed at Ripoll.<sup>79</sup> The value of this honor is rooted in the efficacy of the monk's tradition of intercessory prayer and the fruits of the “memory machine” that flourished in the twelfth century, often explicitly coded as an offshoot of Oliba's golden age, as in the case of the sculpted portal with Oliba's likeness and the praise given to the abbot in the *Brevis historia*. The commemorative prayers at Ripoll parallel but do not directly emulate Cluny's orchestration of monastic care of the

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<sup>77</sup> This is recorded “ubicumque me mori contingerit” in the testament and “ubicumque eum mori contingerit” in the confirmation, an interesting change in voice from first to second person (i.e. “me” versus “eum”); *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona, de Ramon Berenguer II a Ramon Berenguer IV* (2010), vol. 3, nos. 631 and 633.

<sup>78</sup> Jackie Jung, “Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral,” in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristin Marek, et al (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), pp. 135–60.

<sup>79</sup> Other than Guifré el Pilós, Berenguer Ramon I (d. 1035), count of Barcelona, is also recorded to be among those entombed at Ripoll.

dead.<sup>80</sup> Although Ripoll has long been a site for aristocratic burials, the development of the tomb complex in the twelfth century should be considered within the context of the establishment of comparable pantheons elsewhere in northern Spain at Benedictine monasteries and cathedrals, especially at San Pedro de Jaca and San Isidoro de León.<sup>81</sup>

The conditions of the donations made by the counts of Barcelona to the monastery were not always favorable to the monks, as witnessed by the depletion and restoration of the abbey treasury.<sup>82</sup> Not all of these exchanges, however, were entirely fiscal in nature. Among the charters copied by Roc d'Olzinelles is a curious record of a judgment made by Ramon Berenguer III in 1125 regarding a dispute over land rights between abbot Pere Ramon of Ripoll and Abbot Berenguer Arnau of San Juan de les Abadesses.<sup>83</sup> Here the count determined that abbot Berenguer Arnau should undergo the ordeal of hot water (*judicium Dei per aquam calidam*) to resolve their dispute.<sup>84</sup> The use of the trial by ordeal is not uncommon in eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it seems that the count was

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<sup>80</sup> A classic study of Cluny's intercessory liturgy and its relation to Spain is Charles Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León." *Studia monástica* 3 (1961): 53–76. On the congregational movement tied to Ripoll see Anscari Mundó, "Monastic Movements in the East Pyrenees," in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Noreen Hunt (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1971), 98–122.

<sup>81</sup> The issue of Cluniac impact on funerary practices in Spain is addressed in Debra Hassig, "He Will Make Alive Your Mortal Bodies: Cluniac Spirituality and the Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez," *Gesta* 30, no. 2 (1991): 140–53.

<sup>82</sup> Castiñeiras, "Portal at Ripoll Revisited," pp. 135–36. The charters copied by Roc d'Olzinelles record that Ramon Berenguer III requested from the monks a gold chalice weighing 550 *morabetinos* in exchange for lands in Sant Esteve de Llanars and Sant Miquel de Setcases. Also noted by Pellicer, *El Monasterio de Ripoll*, p. 114.

<sup>83</sup> Barcelona, BC, Ms. 430, fol. 23v, "Sentencia del Conde Ramon hallandose en Comprodon con consentimiento de sus monges y clerigos sobre la disputa que habia entre Pedro abad de Ripoll y Berenguer Arnall abad de S. Juan en presencia de Guillelmo abad de Comprodon..." dated 1125.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 23v. The charters are paraphrased in Spanish, but here d'Olzinelles records the Latin: "En cuanto al manso de Sennaruz declaró que se partiere, si el Abad de S. Juan *potuerit pidoare et probare judicium Dei per aquam calidam*..."

resorting to the Visigothic Code in order to defend the monastery's lands in lieu of written proof.<sup>85</sup> We do not know if the abbot of San Juan underwent the ordeal, but it is clear that the count was willing to subject the abbot of San Juan to extreme danger on behalf of the monks who were to guard and hold vigil over his tomb.

This exchange around the issue of bodily integrity also fosters the impression of a *quid pro quo* arrangement between the count and the monastery. At this time in other parts of the Iberian peninsula entire social classes were granted exemption from the ordeal, as granted in the *fuero* of Logroño.<sup>86</sup> Clerics often received blanket exemptions too, as is the case of the clerics of the cathedral in Astorga granted by Alfonso VI of León-Castile in 1087.<sup>87</sup> At the cathedral of San Pedro de Jaca in Aragon, by contrast, the ordeal was explicitly mandated in any instance where a person “advanced a claim against the church's property,” as the abbot of San Juan had done against Ripoll.<sup>88</sup> In the same manner that the kings of Aragon defended the properties of their newly obtained bishopric by the *iudicium Dei*, the counts of Barcelona considered the property of Ripoll to be a sacred object.<sup>89</sup> It's worth noting that among the properties Ramon Berenguer III

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<sup>85</sup> Like Santa Maria de Ripoll, the abbey of San Juan de les Abadesses was founded by Guifré el Pilós. Ramon Berenguer III's involvement in this dispute is perhaps tied to the count's role as descendant of the original donor of the lands in question. On the ordeal by hot water in the twelfth century, see Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). The guidelines for use of the ordeal are recorded in the Visigothic Code, or *Forum Iudicium*, copied in the late twelfth century at Ripoll in a manuscript dating to abbot Ramon de Berga's time, now Barcelona, BC, Ms. 944; see Gonzalo Martínez Díez, "Un nuevo codice del "Liber Iudiciorum" del siglo XII," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 31 (1961): 651-694.

<sup>86</sup> Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, Bartlett, p. 95.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, Bartlett, p. 96. Bartlett cites a charter published in *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca*, ed. A. Durán Gudiol (Zaragoza: 1965-69), no. 41, pp. 57-58.

<sup>89</sup> This also resembles the "sacred ban" around the monastery of Cluny, to which Ripoll is often compared in the historiography. See Barbara Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), especially chapter 8,

donated to the monastery were lands in Setcases and Llannars, explicitly given in exchange for the care of his soul.<sup>90</sup> Simply put, the exchange of land rights for intercessory prayers must be taken into account in how we frame our understanding of the monk's processions and devotions at the tomb.<sup>91</sup>

The count also intervened on the behalf of the monks in another dispute with the bishops of Girona and Barcelona that resulted in the excommunication of the monastery in 1132. In this case it seems the author of the *Brevis historia* looked back on every privilege and immunity granted to the monastery since its initial foundation by Guifré el Pilós in order hold the bishops at bay.<sup>92</sup> Spanning the years between 1130 and 1134, this dispute and excommunication coincided with the count's death, suggesting that the bishops took action against the monastery at a time when the count could no longer continue his "machinations" on their behalf.<sup>93</sup> The 1134 charter resolving the dispute reinforces the bishop's prerogative to bestow the care of souls (*cura animarum*) on the

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"The Making of the Sacred Ban," pp. 156-183. Rosenwein also notes the concept of the *sagrera* as it relates to the Peace and Truce of God, which functioned as a sanctuary space around cemeteries in Catalonia, p. 179.

<sup>90</sup> BC, Ms. 430, fol. 23. The lands in Setcases and Llanars are confirmed in the count's final testament in 1131, as witnessed by abbot Pere Ramon.

<sup>91</sup> On liturgical *memoria* as a form of gift exchange see Patrick Geary, "Exchange and Interaction between the Living and the Dead in Early medieval Society," in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Cornell, 1994), pp. 77-94.

<sup>92</sup> This dispute was initiated by Berenger Dalmau, bishop of Girona, Oleguer, bishop of Barcelona and archbishop of Tarragona. On this dispute see Antoni Pladevall, "Conflictes entre les exempcions monàstiques i els drets episcopals dels segles XII al XIV," in *I Col.loqui d'història del monaquisme català* (Santes Creus: 1967-69), 1:268-271, and Paul Freedman *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), p. 134.

<sup>93</sup> A section of the 1132 order of interdict (Vic, Arxiu de la Mensa Episcopal, 4, 75) is noted by Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, p. 134, note 44: "Et ad cumulum superbie sue [that of the abbot and monks of Ripoll] michi ad concilium domni pape proficiscenti machinati sunt ut domnus comes Barchinonensis per literas suas michi denunciaret ne aliquam de eis vel adversus eos ante domnum papam querimonim facerem, et si aliquid contra hoc temptarem nullam de cetero haberem in eo fiduciam."

abbot and monks, suggesting that the bishops resented the monk's long-held independence.<sup>94</sup> The agreement is supplemented in the *Brevis historia* with additional language, saying that the tombs, cloister, chapels, and other locations at and around Ripoll are never to be excommunicated by the bishop unless the Roman pontiff himself or his legate was to hear the case.<sup>95</sup> The language of the resolution, echoed almost verbatim in the *Brevis historia* of 1147, also draws directly on privileges and confirmations granted to Ripoll by Urban II in 1096, indicating that the monks were happy to furnish proof of their privileges from Rome.<sup>96</sup> The monks took pains to paint Ramon Berenguer III as the direct descendant of the first count to be buried at Ripoll, not only because he gave new donations, but because he defended Guifré el Pilós's original ones. These events make it clear why Ramon Berenguer III was held in *bonę memorię*.

The relief depicting the absolution of the count's corpse is in itself a condensed image of the care of souls (fig. 86). A drawing of the tomb published in 1882 shows the two ecclesiastical figures with distinguishing features (fig. 90).<sup>97</sup> Both exhibit gestures of benediction and hold curved staffs, but the left figure's mitre stands apart. It is possible that the mitre represents the bishop of Barcelona or the archbishop of Tarragona and the

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<sup>94</sup> Pladevall, "Conflictos entre les exempcions monàstiques," pp. 270-271: "Adissimus quoque ad hec ut ipsum claustrum et illic Domino servientes temerario ausu excommunicare, sed neque capellas que circa ambitum monasterii site sunt, sine Romani Pontificis vel legati eius audientia, interdicere vel excommunicare non debeant, neque ceteris ad idem monasterium pertinentibus locis, sine certis causis preiudicium canonicę ulcionis inferre. Deficientibus quolibet modo sacerdotibus in ipsis ecclesiis dommus Abbas vel Prior vel Prepositus eligant ibi sacerdotem, et presentent eo Episcopo, et ipse laudet eum, et commendet ei curam animarum, si nihil adversus ipsius personam unde repudiandus sit, opponi poterit." Canon 17 of the First Lateran Council of 1123 codified the bishop's prerogative to bestow the care of souls on the abbots and monks within each diocese.

<sup>95</sup> *Brevis historia* (2012), pp. 179: "Sepulturam quoque eiusdem loci, preter excommunicatos, liberam decrevit. Clastrum ipsius monasterii et eius capellanas vel cetera ad ipsum pertinentia loca sine Romani pontificis vel [legati] eius audientia omnibus episcopis interdicere vel excommunicare prohibuit."

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, *Brevis historia* (2012), pp. 178-179. For the 1096 papal confirmations, see *Patrologia Latina* 151, col. 472-474. The *Brevis historia* dates the privileges of Urban II to 1097.

<sup>97</sup> A drawing published by Walter Cook (1923) also confirms these details.

mitre-less figure a lesser bishop or abbot (if not Abbot Pere Ramon).<sup>98</sup> The inscription identifies the scene as the absolution of the dead and refers to two *patres*, underscoring a duality between ecclesiastical figures. Knowing that the count died at the palace in Barcelona, the absolution of the corpse would have taken place there, at the count's deathbed. The abbot of Ripoll is not documented as being present at the death of the count but is listed among the names who, six months later, swore an oath to the veracity of the count's will at the altar of Santa Anastasia in Girona Cathedral.<sup>99</sup>

The funeral rites for the absolution of the body recorded in the Ripoll Sacramentary feature the same chants as those intoned in Barcelona. Following the oration *Libera me domine*, the monks would sing the responsory *Subvenite sancti dei*.<sup>100</sup> The Roman *ordo defunctorum* ties the *Subvenite* responsory to the moment of death, and at Ripoll the rubric indicates that the monks are to continue singing psalms until the soul departs, but adds: "if however they persist [i.e. has not yet perished] other psalms may be sung in a joyful manner for as long as it takes for the spirit to be absolved of earthly corruption. At this point go out while singing these antiphons: *Chorus angelorum*. A. *Suscipiat te Christus*. PS. *In exitu Israhel* and others of this kind."<sup>101</sup> In this case the

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<sup>98</sup> Barral says both are bishops, as does Villanueva.

<sup>99</sup> Abbot Pere Ramon is a witness to the confirmation of the count's will in 1131. The oaths sworn at this altar in confirmation of the count's testament, near the body of the count's father, Ramon Berenguer II, would also evoke the intercession of Saint Anastasia, named for the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Constantinople. Similar to how this altar at Girona Cathedral refers to a holy site in Jerusalem, the altar of Santa Maria at Ripoll and its gold altar frontal emulated the Bachernae Basilica in Constantinople. See note 54.

<sup>100</sup> M.S. Gros, "Fragment d'un unic ordre d'enterrament," p. 330. This responsory also describes the angel of God collecting the soul of the deceased, as depicted in the tomb relief: "Subvenite sancti dei occurrere angeli domini suscipientes animam ejus offerrentes eam in conspectu altissimi."

<sup>101</sup> The *ordo* is close to the St.-Denis Sacramentary; see Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 176. Ibid., M.S. Gros, "Fragment d'un unic ordre d'enterrament," p. 330: "Si autem quidam supervixerit, canatur alii psalmi

sound of the monks' voices singing the antiphon *Chorus angelorum* accompanies the soul's ascent in the hands of the angels in the manner of the poor man Lazarus, as depicted in the Ripoll portal's right flank.

The absolution relief can be compared to a sarcophagus at the Panteón Real de las Las Huelgas, probably made for Ramon Berenguer III's great grandson, the young *infante* Sancho of Castile (d. 1181).<sup>102</sup> Here the image of the elevation of the soul is flanked by two figures in a state of lamentation, these flanked by two bishop figures with curved staffs (fig. 91). Alicia Miguelez Caveró has compared this detail of the sarcophagus and its two hair-pulling female figures to the funeral lament *Plange Castella misera*, written for the deceased's father, Sancho III, and recorded later in the Las Huelgas Codex:

Plange Castella misera  
 Plange pro rege Sancio  
 quem terra pontus ethera  
 ploratu plangunt anxio.  
 Casum tuum considera  
 Patrem plangens in filio,  
 qui etate tam tenera  
 concusso regni solio  
 cedes sentit et vulnera.<sup>103</sup>

Lament, wretched Castilla:  
 Lament for King Sancho  
 whom the earth, the sea, and the heavens  
 bewail with troubled weeping.  
 Consider your misfortune  
 Lamenting at the father in the son,  
 who, at such a tender age,  
 with the throne of the kingdom shaken,  
 experiences slaughter and wounds.

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vel agatur laetania usquequo anima corpore terrene corruptionis absolvatur. In cuius egressu dacantur haec antiphonas: Chorus angelorum. A. Suscipiat te Christus. PS. In exitu Israhel. Et ceteri huiusmodi."

<sup>102</sup> This sarcophagus was recently revisited by Alicia Miguelez Caveró, "Texto, images y música: El dolor ante la muerte del infante Don Sancho en el Panteón Real de Las Huelgas," in *Las inscripciones góticas. II colloquio internacional de epigrafía medieval*, León del 11 al 15 septiembre 2006, ed. María E.M. López and Vicente García Lobo (2010): 377-390.

<sup>103</sup> Translation by Susan Boynton. Although only recorded in later manuscripts, Boynton dates this lament to the late twelfth century. See Boynton, "Emblems of Lament in Latin and Vernacular Song," in *The Church and Vernacular Music in Medieval France*, ed. Dorothea Kullmann (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2008), pp. 222-248; also see Alicia Miguelez Caveró, "Texto, images y música," p. 384.

The lament of the people of Barcelona in the third relief of the tomb (fig. 88) visualizes a similar cue in *Plange Castella misera*. Contrary to the central scene of the elevation of the soul and absolution in the sarcophagus at Las Huelgas that creates a central focus and symmetry, the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III moves to the next relief in a narrative progression, seemingly to advance from one musical venue to the next, with the count's body as the portable focal point. This kind of movement across the face of the tomb is more akin to reliquaries, like the reliquary of San Isidoro in León (fig. 81). The nineteenth-century drawing of the tomb relief (fig. 90) shows figures holding their faces, covering their eyes, and pulling hair. These gestures are similar to those in the sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Nájera, including the touching image of Sancho's lament for his queen.<sup>104</sup>

The laments depicted in the tomb evoke the sound of weeping or shrieking as they look towards the count's body not only in the sculpted image but also in the sound of one's voice reading the tomb epigraphy. The doubling of the verb "lament" in the inscription for this relief solidifies its weight and also the sound of its vocalization. This verb is similarly repeated in *Plange Castella misera*, and here Susan Boynton has noted how the lament "straddles the boundaries between song and other forms of expression such as speech or wailing, engendering idiosyncratic inflections of sound."<sup>105</sup> The inscription on the tomb can be considered a one-line *planctus* tune, or perhaps a single line from a longer chant rendered in epigraphy. The inscription's grammatical

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<sup>104</sup> On Sancho's lament, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo. "Lament for a Lost Queen," pp. 317–25. Doña Blanca of Navarre was Ramon Berenguer III's niece.

<sup>105</sup> Boynton, "Emblems of Lament in Latin and Vernacular Song," pp. 223. Along these lines, María del Carmen Gómez Muntané compares the *Plange Castella misera* lament to *Mentem meam ledit* for Ramon Berenguer IV, one of the chants added to the manuscript miscellany in Paris, BnF Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 109, in *La música medieval en España*, p. 156.

construction, the ablative absolute, further implies the importance of a specific moment of time:

*Plangitur a turbis casum plangentibus urbis*  
(With the people turned to mourning, the cries of the city poured out)<sup>106</sup>

This image of high drama at the moment when the palace turns to mourning is based, I suggest, on the narrative of Pietro Orseolo in the *Gesta vel obitus*. Here the sadness of the people of Venice peaks at the moment that the doge's disappearance is made known. Earlier Orseolo is described as following the word of the apostles in his charity and displays of sympathy, "rejoicing with those who rejoiced, [and] weeping with those who weep," foreshadowing this theme before the dramatic moment.<sup>107</sup> The process leading to the revelation of the doge's disappearance is quasi-liturgical in itself: an official called the *primicerius* is the first to discover that the doge has disappeared in the middle of the night.<sup>108</sup> This episode is given significant weight as the *primicerius* searches for the doge at the office of matins, first knocking on the bedroom door and then anxiously searching a sequence of rooms.<sup>109</sup> The drama moves to the upper and lower

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<sup>106</sup> This translation, with some poetic license in "poured out" for *casum*, is my own. Pellicer highlights the idea of the brokenness of the city in his Spanish translation: "De las ciudades el llanto – muestra general quebranto," *Santa María del Monasterio de Ripoll*, p. 124.

<sup>107</sup> *Gesta vel obitus*, 2016, p. 5: "eratque iuxta dictum Apostoli, tamquam *nihil habens, et omnia possidens*, [2 Cor. 6:10] et gaudens cum gaudentibus, flensque cum flentibus." The later half of this passage echoes the Life of St. Ambrose, *PL* 14, col. 40.

<sup>108</sup> *Gesta vel obitus*, 2016, p. 10.

<sup>109</sup> The Doge's chapel had been dedicated to Saint Mark since the early 9<sup>th</sup>-century translation of the Evangelist's relics. The chapel known to Pietro Orseolo was a separate church on the site of the present church of San Marco; it was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, then again in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, consecrated 1094, and remained the Doge's official church until the nineteenth century; see Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson, ed., *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010); on the architecture of the Doge's chapel, see Otto Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1960); also see Roberto Cecchi, *La*

chapels and then the crypt, where the doge was "accustomed to pray in solitude."<sup>110</sup> The progression from palace bedroom to chapel and then crypt creates a movement towards the sacred and ecclesiastical, with the *primicerius* as the sole actor in a frantic procession that mimics the movements of a funeral.<sup>111</sup> It is this clever quasi-liturgical progression from palace to crypt that the designers of the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III might have gleaned from the story of the saint's life, copied in the miscellany Ms. Lat. 5132 among other liturgical texts as well as histories and accounts of miraculous icons.

The sudden, cacophonous grief of the city sculpted in the relief and voiced in the inscription can also be interpreted as an inversion of courtly music that is often beautifully described in the twelfth-century. In the *Gesta vel obitus*, the doge's disappearance instantly sours the pleasurable sounds of the palace musicians and turns the people to mourning, a reference to Job 30:31, in a passage that is easily projected on the tomb relief (fig. 90): "At word of his absence they wept, the palace harp fell, the

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*basilica di San Marco. La costruzione bizantina del IX secolo. Permanenze e trasformazioni* (Venice: Marsilio, 2003); Ettore Vio has commented on this passage and what it reveals about the architecture of San Marco in the time of Orseolo. The office of *primicerius* is the highest clerical office in the basilica of San Marco and was invested with episcopal regalia; the bishop of Castello was relegated to San Pietro di Castello. In a wider sense, the office of the *primicerius* has both secular and ecclesiastical meanings and it was surely the intention of the monastic author to have the reader compare these two. Pietro Orseolo's decision to become a monk is partly explained through the guilt he is said to have experienced after ordering the murder of his predecessor who was burned alive in the palace chapel (ostensibly this refers to the death of Pietro IV Candiano in 976). The *Gesta vel obitus* is also partly a hagiography of Abbot Oliba, who translates the saint's body from the cloister to the church at Cuxa. Oliba's fame is tied to his legacy as a builder of churches, and Pietro Orseolo is his counterpart in this regard, as one who derives saintliness from the penance performed after burning and then rebuilding the Basilica of San Marco.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.: "Cumque crastina dies inlucesceret, praestolabatur Dux ad matutinam synaxim: dumque tardaret, Primicerius festino gressu accessit ad palatii cubiculum, stansque ante fores coepit tremulo pulsu pulsare diutius, deindeque vocare, sperans cum post longas noctis excubias sessum, fragilitate corporis obdormisse. Ut autem non audivit responsum, aperuit ut potuit januas, celeriterque introiens accessit ad nobilissimum ejus stratum; et cum non invenisset, anxius currere coepit hac illacque, prospiciens superiorem et inferiorem capellam, simulque cryptam, in quibus solitus erat orare."

<sup>111</sup> This progression further plays into the doge's monastic conversion; the *ordo* for the profession of monks in the Roman Pontifical itself mimics funeral rite to symbolize the withdrawal from the world.

organ went mute, the tympanum punctured, the cymbal broke into pieces, the voices of the palace singers (*puellarum in palatio canentium*) went hoarse, all harmony of musical disciplines withdrew, all were turned to mourning, and all came to sadness."<sup>112</sup>

The reference to palace singers (*puellarum...canentium*) and the evocative list of palace instruments is also found in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* in two places, as noted by Higini Anglès.<sup>113</sup> The later of these two describes Ramon Berenguer III's sister, the Empress Berenguela of Barcelona (d. 1149), defending the *alcàzar* of Toledo from an Almoravid attack in 1139 by radiating an image of imperial power: "Around her there was a large group of distinguished women singing to the accompaniment of tambourines, lutes, cymbals and psalteries."<sup>114</sup> It is precisely this genre of courtly music projected on the figurative image of his sister that the tomb inverts with the image of the lament of Barcelona.

The paradoxically clamorous yet mute image of the people's lament is a result not only of sadness over the count's death but also the loss of the count's presence in general. In the case of Pere Orseolo, the doge's departure from Venice marked a symbolic death in Orseolo's monastic conversion, a ceremony that is modeled on the funeral ordo of the Roman rite to signify the monk's renunciation of the outside world. Immediately following the *planctus*, the drama of the tomb narrative turns to the translation, reception

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., *Gesta vel obitus* 2012, p. 10: "His verbis flentes absentiam eius, ruit cythara palatii, obmutuit organum, disruptum est tympanum, confracta sunt cymbala, raucae factae sunt voces puellarum in palatio canentium, defecit omnis musicae disciplinae harmonia, omnia in luctu versa sunt, cuncta ad maerorem devenerunt."

<sup>113</sup> Anglès, *El Codex Musical de Las Huelgas: Música a veus dels segles XIII-XIV* (Barcelona: Institute d'Estudis Catalans, 1931), p. 41, note 1.

<sup>114</sup> "et ornatum tamquam uxorem Imperatoris, et in circitu magna turba honestarum mulierum, cantantes in tympanis et cytharis et cymbalis et psalteriis." Ibid. Anglès, p. 41, note 1. For this English translation, see *The Chronicle of Alfonso the Emperor*, trans. Glenn Edward Lipskey, Book II, para. 150. The Library of Iberian Sources Online, [libro.uca.edu/lipskey/chronicle.htm](http://libro.uca.edu/lipskey/chronicle.htm).

and sacralization of the count's body through ecclesiastic music, and in particular, the resonant voices of the monks at Ripoll.

## **PART II) TRANSLATION, CLEANSING, AND ENTOMBMENT AT RIPOLL**

The third relief of the tomb from the right depicts the casket of the count mounted on a horse or mule guided by four figures, now severely damaged (fig. 89). This relief represents the ancient image of the ruler's departure (*profectio*) or entry (*adventus*), in both its secular and ecclesiastical forms.<sup>115</sup> The image of the mounted ruler is found on gold coins made especially for dispersal to the crowds that greeted the ruler at the city gates in the Roman Empire, like the gold *aureus* of Trajan inscribed "PROFECTIO AVGVSTI" (fig. 92) and of Constantine the Great inscribed "ADVENTUS AVGVSTI" (fig. 93).<sup>116</sup>

The composition with three figures flanking the horse or mule and one figure leading (only the head and part of torso remain of this figure in the relief) can be compared to Solomon anointed and mounted on the "king's mule" in the Ripoll Bible (*super mulam regis*, fig. 94). This same subject is sculpted in the portal (plate 9, see also chapter 1). In its other biblical context, the casket mounted on horseback in the tomb relief also represents Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The Ripoll Bible depicts this scene

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<sup>115</sup> The elucidation of the temporal and eschatological significance of the ruler's adventus in Christian iconography is the subject of Ernst Kantorowicz's lengthy essay "The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 207–31

<sup>116</sup> On the manufacture of these coins as *congiaria* for the explicit purpose of distributing them to crowds, see Theresa Gross-Diaz, "Cat. 24, *Solidus (Coin) Portraying Emperor Constantine I*: Curatorial Report," in *Roman Art at the Art Institute of Chicago* (Art Institute of Chicago, 2017), paragraph no. 6, <https://publications.artic.edu/roman/reader/romanart/section/481>.

with Christ mounted in a Byzantine-style sidesaddle (fig. 95).<sup>117</sup> Susan Boynton has discussed Christ's Entry into Jerusalem as a "visual echo" of the *adventus* ceremony at Farfa.<sup>118</sup>

The *adventus* was not limited to secular or lay rulers. Bishops are known to have toured the cities within their diocese and to have staged their entries. The funeral processions for important bishops also simulated the celebration of their entries in death.<sup>119</sup> A bishop's funeral might take the form of a posthumous *adventus* that retraced the processional routes initially followed at the time the bishop took office, often to the sound of ringing bells, as is the case of Bruno of Cologne at the monastery of St. Pantaleon.<sup>120</sup>

To a monastic audience the image of the ruler's reception would evoke the sounds of processions, or even the monk's obligation to greet the ruler when they arrived. The *adventus* ceremony recorded in the *Liber Tramitis* reveals liturgical features shared with the liturgy for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin. Barbara Rosenwein makes this observation at Cluny: "Both include processions dominated by candelabra and both use the antiphon *Ecce mitto angelum meum*, the text that was chanted when bishops brought new kings to church to give them blessings. These rites expressed the sovereignty of the

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<sup>117</sup> Castiñeiras notes this sidesaddle and its Byzantine iconography. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 157–58.

<sup>118</sup> Madrid, BN, Vitr. 20-6, fol. 25. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, pp. 156–58.

<sup>119</sup> David Warner, "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich: The Ceremony of Adventus," *Speculum* 76 (2001), p. 265.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, Warner, "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich," p. 265. The role of the funerary *adventus* in Romanesque sculpture has been revisited in the portals of Aquitaine by Robert Maxwell, "Le portail roman en Aquitaine et ses implications funéraires," *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 45 (2014): 117–29.

monks, who, chaste and paradoxically rich-poor, like Mary, went out from their church to 'lead in' the king."<sup>121</sup>

The antiphon sung at the king's reception from the book of Malachi, *Ecce mitto angelum meum*, is illustrated in an unusually direct representation of these verses in the Ripoll Bible (**fig. 96**).<sup>122</sup> Painted in bright colors, an angel stands to the left of an open gateway, behind which stand four figures displaying different gestures. A bearded figure receives the angel with a welcoming gesture, perhaps intended to represent the abbot; a figure in yellow gestures towards his mouth and a figure in red stands with an open armed prayerful pose. The far right figure with a half-head of hair is shown with the monastic tonsure and this figure's pointing gesture suggests that he sees, hears, and understands the eschatological significance of the angel's arrival.<sup>123</sup> If this angel were to also represent the arriving ruler, as recorded in the customs at Cluny, then these monastic figures are shown to be marking the ruler's arrival while singing the verses depicted in the illumination, "behold I send my angel, and he shall prepare the way before my face."

Abbot-bishop Oliba likely also deployed the *adventus* at his entrances to Vic cathedral and to his monasteries. The angel depicted in Malachi illumination might even represent the abbot-bishop, once described as having the face of an angel by Joan of Santa Cecília de Montserrat, a former monk of Ripoll, in a letter written in 1023 (around

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<sup>121</sup> Rosenwein, "Negotiating Space," p. 183.

<sup>122</sup> Illustrated in Kantorowicz, "The "King's Advent"," fig. 44/46.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. Boynton's discusses a tonsured figure with open mouth pronouncing the word "Osanna" in the Madrid Evangelistary (BN, Vitrina 20-6, fol. 25) in an illumination with Christ's Entry in to Jerusalem, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, p. 157.

the time that the Ripoll Bible was copied and illuminated).<sup>124</sup> Two years later, in a brief letter written by the monks at Cuxa to Abbot Oliba in 1025 to inform the abbot of the death of the monk Deilà, they request Oliba's presence, noting their anticipation of the abbot's "happy arrival" (*felix adventus*).<sup>125</sup> As bishop of Vic and abbot of both Ripoll and Cuxa, Oliba would certainly have traveled to each of these foundations throughout the year. The monks at Cuxa would certainly have received the abbot-bishop in an orchestrated procession with songs. Furthermore, Oliba was buried at Cuxa, like Orseolo, and it is likely that monks celebrated the abbot-bishop's funeral *adventus* on the anniversary of his death.

The ruler's *adventus* is also an image of consensus and its continual reaffirmation through ritualized gatherings. Dominique Iogna-Prat discusses the *adventus* in Rome in the Carolingian period as the “manifestation de consensus – parfois de restauration du consensus.” Along these lines, if we returning to the dispute between the bishops and the monastery between 1130 and 1134 that led to the excommunication of the monastery (a wrongful act, from the standpoint of the monks), the decision to portray Ramon Berenguer III's posthumous arrival at Ripoll in such explicit terms makes a profound statement on the inviolability of Ripoll's ancient foundations, here monumentalized in the space of the cloister for all to see. The viewers of the tomb, rustic or illustrious, would encounter this image as one of many past events, ingratiated into a sacred fabric.

A posthumous *adventus* in the form of the reception of saint's relics must have informed the choice to depict the arrival of the count's body in this manner. An early

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<sup>124</sup> DELABO, p. 324: "Nominis fersque tuo permagnum nomen Olive, quod pacem portat, nomine fersque tuo. Angelus in facie semper dinosceris esse; pares cum luce, angelus in facie." Also see Castiñeiras, "Illuminant l'altar," p. 33.

<sup>125</sup> Ms. Lat. 2858, fol. 66v, an 11th-century copy. DELABO p. 332. "Felix adventus" is inscribed on Roman

twelfth-century enamel plaque with the reception of the relics of Saint Mark from the Pala d'Oro similarly straddles the boundary between *adventus* and reception (fig. 97).<sup>126</sup> The inscription "Here Venice receives the blessed Mark" (HIC SUSCIPIT VE(NE)TIA BEATUM MARCUM) in the enamel could possibly evoke the verse *Suscipiat te* sung during the funeral rites when the body is placed in the church after absolution.<sup>127</sup> This chant describes the soul's journey led by angels into the bosom of Abraham. The arrival of the count's body at Ripoll is easily seen through this lens, with the monks embodying the angelic couriers and the monastery, the bosom of Abraham. The image of three souls in the bosom of Abraham sculpted in the right flank of the portal, facing the cloister (fig.98a) leaves little doubt that this was the intended role for the monks. The funeral procession for the anniversary of the count's death would very likely pass by this image.

A further link between the ruler's *adventus*, the golden altar of the abbey church, and the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III can be found in the manuscript miscellany Ms. Lat. 5132. Preceding the description of the "habitual miracle" that is redeployed in the institution of the Saturday feast for the Virgin Mary, the text gives brief directions for the arrival of a king or emperor: "If the king arrives (*inquiunt*) or the emperor arrives (*advenerit*)...adorn the front of the church with gold crowns, censers and candles ordered in procession."<sup>128</sup> This passage from Maccabees (I Maccabees 4:57) appears in biblical commentaries to describe the image of the people in processions as themselves

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<sup>126</sup> Hans Hahnloser ed., *Il tesoro di San Marco*, vol. 1, *La Pala d'oro* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965); also see Thomas E. A. Dale, "Inventing a Sacred Past," pp. 66–67.

<sup>127</sup> The application of funerary hymns to the *adventus* of relics is discussed by Marchita Mauck, "The Mosaic of the Triumphal Arch of S. Prassede: A Liturgical Interpretation," *Speculum* 62 (1987): 813–28.

<sup>128</sup> Ms. Lat. 5132, fol. 22v: "Si rex inquiunt vel imperator advenerit, que ecclesia est que non statim solitas procrastine ferias, faciem templi coronis adornatis turibulis et cereis ad processionem ordinatis."

embodying the decoration of the church. Carrying censers and candles while in song, the monastic cortège is envisioned as the angelic chorus.

#### THE BODY AND THE *CLAUSTRO-PANTEÓN*

A now lost relief depicting the second half of the count's funeral followed the *adventus*. This relief is documented in a photogravure published in 1893 in Francesc Carreres's *Crònica* (fig. 99 a–b).<sup>129</sup> The reliefs on the right side were probably removed at the same time that the sculpted capitals of the column supports were installed in 1896 (fig. 19a).<sup>130</sup>

Following the rubrics of the Ripoll Sacramentary, this second funeral scene might be read as a depiction of the body of the count inside the abbey church after arrival at Ripoll. In this case the funeral rites that began with the *elevatio animae* in Barcelona, in the care of the bishop, are completed at Ripoll with the count's body now in the possession of the monks. A detail of the 1893 reconstruction (fig. 99b) shows a relief with a funeral bier and with two flanking figures and a smaller figure at center. Although it is almost impossible to tell from the surviving photogravure, the flanking figures in this relief hold implements that seem to mirror the curved staffs of the earlier relief; these figures likely hold a censer and a candle. These both were a prominent feature of funeral rites and the ceremony for the *adventus*, as recorded at Cluny, where the procession was

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<sup>129</sup> The fate of this relief is unknown to me at this time. Francesc Carreres i Candi, *Crònica de la traslació de les despulles de Ramon Berenguer III*, p. 71, as in note 31.

<sup>130</sup> It is possible that this relief belonged to another tomb. Although I provide an interpretation of this relief, the problem of former arrangement of the tomb reliefs requires further study.

"dominated by candelabra."<sup>131</sup> In the portrait relief on the right side of the portal the figure to the right of Moses receiving the laws from Christ also holds a candle (plate 7)

<sup>132</sup>

The sanctification of the body in a monastic setting in the lost relief from tomb of Ramon Berenguer III parallels images of newly elevated saints elsewhere in the twelfth century. Two monks holding candles are depicted in an illustration from the Life of Matilda of Canossa (BAV, Vat. Lat. 4922), shown adjacent to the altar (fig. 100). In addition to the candle, the tonsured monk at left also holds a censer drawn with red ink. Like the tomb relief, this image mediates the various experiences involved in this bodily transformation, including the odor of incense, the flickering of candles and the modulating voices of the monks. In this case the lost tomb relief might correspond to the moment in the funeral rites when the body is washed and then taken to the church for a vigil where the responsory *Subvenite sancti dei* and verse *Suscipiat te* are sung.<sup>133</sup> The absolution and washing of the body is highlighted in the case of Bernat I of Besalú, also entombed in the cloister; following Oliba's funerary encyclical for his brother (that underlines the count's return to Ripoll in death), verses of an epitaph refer to the absolution of sins and the washing of the body (*probra laventur aquis*).<sup>134</sup>

The final tomb relief panels, on the far right, depict the monks carrying the count's body to be placed in the tomb. Only the arm of a figure carrying a casket, and

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, p. 183

<sup>132</sup> The identity of this figure as Bernat I of Besalú and significance of the candle is discussed by Castiñeiras, "The Portal at Ripoll Revisited," p. 128–31.

<sup>133</sup> See Olivar, *Sacramentarium Rivipullense* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas/Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1963), p. 244.

<sup>134</sup> BnF, Ms. Lat. 2858, fol. 67v; DELABO pp. 318-319; d'Olwer, "L'escola poetica," pp. 30-31.

perhaps one or two other figures at left, remain visible (fig. 101). Villanueva's description of the tomb lists the count's interment as one of the relief panels, surely referring to this fragment.<sup>135</sup> We can read this as continuing the funeral rites where they left off after the vigil inside the church. The body is then carried to the tomb and placed inside.

The relief might depict one or both of these actions, each a moment recorded in the funeral rites: carrying to the tomb (*deportetur ad tumulum*) and placing in the tomb (*tunc deponetur in tumulum*).<sup>136</sup> A slightly different funeral rite also survives in a manuscript fragment in Barcelona, studied by Miquel dels Sants Gros.<sup>137</sup> Dating to the late eleventh century, the rubrics here emphasize the chants to be sung during the procession of the body to the site of the tomb, saying "now with antiphons and psalms carry [the body] to the tomb, singing the following."<sup>138</sup> The chants *In Paradisum deducant te angeli* and *Ad te domine levavi* would be sung in procession, and in the case of the route to the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III, this very likely occurred while the body was transported through the doorway to the cloister, near the later twelfth-century relief of Abbot Ramon de Berga (fig. 85). The crossing of the cloister threshold is thus associated with the *In paradisum* chant, the monks embodying the angels who carry the soul to the bosom of Abraham. These symbolic associations are made literal in the placement of tombs near doorways, as recorded for the abbey's founder Guifré el Pilós (*cuius corpus requiescit in claustro ante fores ecclesiae*) and at other Romanesque

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<sup>135</sup> Villanueva, *Viage literario*, v. 8, p. 24.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., Olivari, *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, p. 245.

<sup>137</sup> Barcelona, ACA, Frag. num. 401. Miquel dels Sants Gros, "Fragment d'un únic ordgre terrament del Monestir de Ripoll."

<sup>138</sup> "Tunc cum antifonis et psalmis deportetur ad tumulum, canentibus haec: A. In paradiso. PS. Ad te domine levavi." Ibid., Sants Gros, "Fragment," p. 331.

foundations.<sup>139</sup> Interestingly, in comparing the funeral manuscript fragment with the rite from Ripoll to the pontificals from Roda and Vic, Miquel dels Sants Gros notes that the copyist might easily change the orations or rubrics but the chants needed to remain the same because the songs were memorized by the monks.<sup>140</sup> In this sense, the songs and their vocalization can be considered the primary vehicle of the entombment rituals.

Although no account survives to document inscriptions on the right half of the tomb, it's reasonable to assume that these were also inscribed with verses. One can speculate that these might have evoked the *In paradisum* or *Suscipiat te* chants in word choice or inflection.

These two closing reliefs of the tomb reliefs again echo and visualize the *Gesta vel obitus* of Pere Orseolo. At the saint's death the monks form a circle of singers, their voices trembling with tears.<sup>141</sup> After death the saint's body is carried and laid to rest "in the cloister, next to the church walls."<sup>142</sup> In the Cuxa cloister an arcosolium (inset niche with rounded arch) beneath the stairs to the abbey church is thought to be the place where the saint was entombed, later to be translated to the inside of the church by Abbot-Bishop Oliba.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Villanueva *Viage literario*, vol. 8, p. 234; Junyent " Necrologi," p. 223, note 21; Barral "La sculpture a Ripoll," p. 332; On the funeral functions of cloister spaces see Francesca Español, "La polifuncionalidad de un espacio restringido," *Claustros Románicos Hispanos*, pp. 11-29; on burials in and near doorways, see Robert Maxwell, "Le portail roman en Aquitaine et ses implications funéraires," esp. pp. 123-126.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, Sants Gros, "Fragment," p. 333.

<sup>141</sup> *Gesta vel obitus* 2016, p. 19: "Ad cuius transitum mox catervae fratrum alternanti concentu, ac tremulis lacrymantium vocibus, hymnidica solvebant obsequia."

<sup>142</sup> *Gesta vel obitus* 2016, p. 19: "sepelierunt eum in claustro, iuxta ostium ecclesiae." Noted by Codina i Giol, p. 185.

<sup>143</sup> Daniel Codina i Giol, "Mort, sépulture et culte de Saint Pierre Orséolo à Saint-Michel de Cuxa," *Les Cahiers des Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 42 (2011): 183–88.

Not long after Orseolo's death the monks noticed that his tomb began to radiate a divine light that illuminated every corner of the cloister. This section of the *Gesta vel obitus* and its description of a young monk's vision is, I argue, a type of ekphrasis that underlays the *clauastro-panteón* and how it was conceptualized in the mind of the monastic author. In his vision the monk witnesses a heavenly procession led by the Archangel Michael (patron of Cuxa) and countless angels, followed by the apostles Saint Peter, and later by Saint Benedict and the "most noble duke" (*nobilissimus dux*) Pietro Orseolo. Benedict leads a cohort of monks aligned in an elegant procession, "their voices resonating with a special harmony."<sup>144</sup> This dream-like passage describing a celestial monastic procession and their resonant voices represent an idealized vision of the funeral processions that crossed the threshold from the church to the cloister at Cuxa and Ripoll. In the following section the text describes the Abbot-Bishop Oliba's translation of Orseolo's relics, equating Oliba's procession with the celestial one from the monk's dream.<sup>145</sup> The abbot-bishop takes the relics "into the bosom of the church" (*transmutatum poneretur infra ecclesiae gremio*), evoking the description of the bosom of Abraham in the funeral rites.<sup>146</sup> The *gesta* further says that Oliba called upon all the people of the region to witness the elaborate procession (*maximo apparatu divini cultus*) of the saint's translation to a new tomb (*sepulcrum*) in the church.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> *Gesta vel obitus* (2016), p. 20, "...ac invinctas beatissimi Benedicti monachorum cohortes inter erat eleganti ac procerata forma, cum illis resonans speciales armonie odas."

<sup>145</sup> These same processions are connected liturgically and visually by Mauck, "The Mosaic of the Triumphal Arch of S. Prassede," pp. 813-828.

<sup>146</sup> *Gesta vel obitus* (2016), p. 22.

<sup>147</sup> *Gesta vel obitus* (2016), p. 22,: "Tunc dompnus Oliva pontifex advocavit omnem populum regionis illius et processionabiliter, cum maximo apparatu divini cultus, transmutavit corpus eius in sepulcrum ubi nunc requiescit."

The monk's vision of the celestial choir also has a physical component, but still within the frame of visionary experience. The monk attempts to tell his brothers of what he saw in his vision but they do not accept what he says. When the monk has the same vision of the celestial choir another night, Saint Peter steps forward to admonish the monk for being too quick to share his vision, saying “stand and hear your judgment” (*stantes iudicium audite*).<sup>148</sup> Because he is a monk, Saint Benedict himself steps forward to be the judge of this error, sentencing the monk to be lashed. At this moment Pere Orseolo steps forward and volunteers to receive the blows intended for the young monk. The image described in the *gesta*, with monks in prayer in the church and Saint Benedict striking a monk with his staff, might be compared to an illustration of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great from Monte Cassino where two monks (abbot Pompeianus and Saint Maurus) are not able to see the demon that plagues their brother (fig. 102).<sup>149</sup> In volunteering to receive the blows, Orseolo is painted as a predecessor to the Catalan counts, and especially Ramon Berenguer III, who was willing to defend the monastery's domains through the *iudicium Dei*.

Francesca Español has compared the placement of Ramon Berenguer IV's silver casket in the church at Ripoll to the translation of Pere Orseolo's relics inside the church at Cuxa.<sup>150</sup> As previously stated, there are no written accounts of miracles in the presence of the tomb, but one can speculate that the images sculpted on the relief panels of the enabled subsequent audiences to envision the later miracles ascribed to Ramon Berenguer

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<sup>148</sup> *Gesta vel obitus* (2016), p. 20.

<sup>149</sup> *Dialogues*, chapter 4, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1202, fol. 30v.

<sup>150</sup> Español, "Panthéons comtaux," p. 111, note 68.

IV. Although no description of the silver casket survives its inscription lays out the count's three-fold honor as duke, king and count (or marquis):

Dux ego matre Dux, Rex coniuge, Marchio patre,  
 Marte, fame fregi mauros, dum tempore degi,  
 Et sine iactura tenui Domino sua iura.  
 (A duke I was by my mother, a king from my wife, a marquis by my father,  
 While I lived my span I smashed the Moor with hunger and war,  
 and without loss I upheld the laws of the Lord.)<sup>151</sup>

The *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium* states that after his death in Italy Ramon Berenguer IV's body was returned to his patrimony and entombed at Ripoll with honor (*corpus eius ad patriam suam reportatum et in Rivipollensi cenobio honorifice tumulatum est*), perhaps echoing the phrase used by Oliba for his brother Bernat I of Besalú (*reductus a suis*).<sup>152</sup> Based on this account the last remaining fragment of a similarly designed stone tomb is sometimes thought to be a remnant of the count-king's first resting place (fig. 103). This fragment reveals more details as to how this type of tomb at Ripoll was fabricated.<sup>153</sup> At its left side a flange-like edge suggests that the relief sections were layered and held in place with some other material, like plaster or stucco. This method of assembling relief plaques into a larger multimedia object is more akin to the ivory or metal plaques affixed on reliquaries (figs. 80–81) or altar frontals (fig. 82–83, 97).

<sup>151</sup> English translation by Nicolas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, p. 272.

<sup>152</sup> *GCB* 2012, p. 137.

<sup>153</sup> It is unknown which tomb this fragment comes from. The stylistic similarity to the tomb of RBIII and the portal suggest that it dates to the mid-twelfth century. It could be from the original tomb of Ramon Berenguer IV.

## CONCLUSION

From its initial foundation near an ancient necropolis, this site, occupied by the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll founded in 879, was envisioned as an inviolable palace of refuge for both the living and the dead. Copied in the codex miscellany Ms. Lat. 5132, the *Gesta vel obitus* was copied among the same folios as the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*, texts recording the restoration of the abbey church's decorations, and, decades later, the lament *Mentem meam ledit dolor* for Ramon Berenguer IV. In this sense the codex and the cloister are objects continuously reinscribed and reimagined. Due to its damaged state and problems of dating scholars have avoided engaging in speculative readings of the tomb's imagery.<sup>154</sup> As I have demonstrated, however, a sustained reading of the tomb reliefs is not only possible but is necessary in order to recover what might be interpreted as the desired affects of the tomb sculpture. By visualizing the broken sounds of public mourning and the reception and sanctification of the body through monastic ritual and song, the beholder of the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III simulates the moments in which the monk's psalm-filled processions crossed the threshold of the *clauastro-panteón*.

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<sup>154</sup> The dating of the tomb has been called "un exercici més perillós" by Xavier Barral, *Catalunya Romanica* (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana), vol. 10, p. 260.

## Religious Experience and Monastic Identity in Romanesque Sculpture at Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1030-1180

### Chapter 4

#### Facing the Abyss: Monsters, Memorials, and Monastic Culture in the Ripoll Cloister Capitals

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The Ripoll *claustro-panteón* was the preferred site of entombment for the counts of Barcelona and Besalú but the cloister also fulfilled the traditional role of the monastic enclosure.<sup>1</sup> As the central hub of the monastery, the cloister structured the comings and goings of the community between the church, chapterhouse, and other rooms and outdoor spaces and served as a site for washing and other daily chores. Various plans of the cloister indicate the locations of many of the outer buildings that have been destroyed since the eighteenth century that the monks would have accessed by traversing the cloister walks (**plates 1, 2, and 3**).<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter I propose that a capital with four bust-length figures amid waves (**fig. 1**, no. 15) can be interpreted as a depiction of the monstrous Abyss and that this capital stands as a linchpin around which broader themes in the cloister can be analyzed.

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter 3 for my discussion of the tomb monuments and *claustro-panteón*. On the ritual uses and functions of Romanesque cloisters in Spain, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, *A Palace of the Mind: The Cloister of Silos and Spanish Sculpture of the Twelfth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Francesca Español, “La polifuncionalidad de un espacio restringido,” in *Claustros Románicos Hispanos*, ed. Joaquín Yarza (León: Edilesa, 2003), pp. 11–30; and, more generally, Paul Meyvaert, “The Medieval Monastic Claustrium,” *Gesta* 12, nos. 1 & 2 (1973): 53–59.

<sup>2</sup> The chapterhouse and other structures at Ripoll are no longer extant but their location is known through plans created in the eighteenth century; see Salvador Alimau and Antoni Llagostera, eds. *Pantocràtor de Ripoll: La portada romànica del monestir de Santa Maria* (Ripoll: Patronat de Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll; Ajuntament de la Comtal Vila de Ripoll: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès, 2009), pp. 848–58.

As paired with a capital sculpted with Sirens (**fig. 1**, no. 16), these two capitals relate to the unformed abyss of creation painted at the beginning of the Genesis cycle of the Ripoll Bible (BAV, Ms. Lat. 5729, f. 5v, **fig. 106**).<sup>3</sup> The Abyss and the Siren and the flanking angels (**plates 25 and 27**, nos. 14 and 18) form a cluster of capitals roughly centered at the meridian of the cloister garden that serve as a central focal point for the north walk. Informed by pictorial conventions from illustrated bibles and commentaries on the Hexameron, I argue here that the Abyss and Siren capitals represent the chaotic primordial waters of creation. These capitals can also be tied to the *mandatum*, or the washing of the feet, and I discuss this theme in other capitals; water obtained from a well or fountain located in the cloister was probably used for this ritualized washing. Although these capitals fall within the genre of the monstrous, the potency of these monstrous images is circumscribed by the angels in the counterpoised capitals. Extrapolating from this central cluster and its cosmological imagery, this chapter further discusses the engaged capitals in the northeast and northwest piers to examine how sculpted interlace, lion-like masks, and birds relate to funerary uses of the *clauastro-panteón* and the theme of resurrection through Early Christian tomb iconography – a theme that mirrors the hexameral imagery at the center of the walk. Finally, I argue that the variety and luxury of the veined and colored stones supporting the capitals of the north cloister further

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<sup>3</sup> Manuel Castiñeiras has suggested that elements of the Ripoll portal are drawn from classical themes represented in the second-century Porta Nigra of Besançon, including Oceanus, which perhaps also informed the mask of the Abyss in the Ripoll Bible; see Manuel Castiñeiras, “The Portal at Ripoll Revisited: An Honorary Arch for the Ancestors,” in *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013), p. 121, and “Ripoll et Gérone: Deux exemples privilégiés du dialogue entre l’art roman et la culture classique,” *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 39 (2008): 161–80, p. 178. On cosmological imagery elsewhere at Ripoll see Manuel Castiñeiras, “La iconografía de los planetas en la Cataluña de los siglos XI–XII,” *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins* 35 (1995): 95–122; on the Abyss as drawn from classical subjects, see Ariadna Lluís, “Un tema clàssic a les Bibles de Ripoll i Rodes,” *Les fonts de la pintura romànica*, ed. Milagros Guardia and Carles Mancho (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2008), pp. 291–300; and Manuel Castiñeiras, *The Girona Tapestry* (Girona: Cathedral of Girona, 2011).

embellishes the notion of eternity and paradise represented in the cosmological and eschatological imagery.

### SITUATING THE NORTH CLOISTER WALK

The north walk of the cloister at Ripoll, adjacent to the walls of Oliba's church, was richly decorated with sculpted capitals and arches, columns, and bases in the middle of the twelfth century, probably fabricated and installed between 1140 and 1160.<sup>4</sup> The thirty-two capitals of the north walk (**plate 3**, nos. 1-32) are sculpted in fine white marble; four other twelfth-century capitals originally from the north gallery are now moved to piers on the south side of the cloister (nos. 33-36).<sup>5</sup> These capitals are supported on polished columns made from a variety of stones, including mottled red breccia, pink and white variegated marble, and white marble flecked with grey.<sup>6</sup> Bases are made from marble or breccia and the abaci above the capitals from gray limestone. The arches, decorated with palm-leaves and corbel-like heads set between the springs

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<sup>4</sup> My justification for these dates continues below. A range of dates has been proposed for the north cloister walk, spanning the second half of the twelfth century. For a summary see Xavier Barral, "La sculpture à Ripoll au XIIe siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* 131, no. 2 (1973): 311-359, and Immaculada Lorés, "La decoración escultórica en el monasterio de Santa María de Ripoll," in *Los grandes monasterios benedictinos hispanos de época románica (1050-1200)*, ed. José Ángel García de Cortázar (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María de Real, 2007), pp. 169-189.

<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of this study the thirty-two capitals on the north walk are arranged as numbered in plate 3. Previous studies of the north cloister walk have tallied the capitals at twenty-eight in their numbering schemes, omitting the eight engaged capitals on either side of the northeast and northwest piers, as in *Catalunya Romanica*, vol. 10, p. 252. The numbering scheme proposed here for the thirty-six twelfth-century capitals of the lower level of the cloister is my own, adapted and modified in plate 3 from the plan published in Eduardo Junyent, *El Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll* (Barcelona: Rieusset, 1975), p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> The mineral composition and identification of these stones has not been studied using scientific methods of analysis, to the knowledge of the author. The terminology used for the purposes of this study (such as marble, breccia, and limestone) refers to general categories of stones and their appearance to the unaided eye. Future studies on the mineral composition of these stones will surely reveal new information.

(**plate 18**) were probably sculpted from the same fine white marble as the capitals.

The cloister is remarkable for its historiated but non-narrative imagery common to other cloisters in Roussillon, and especially Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa.<sup>7</sup> The major part of the twelfth-century capitals of the north walk are sculpted with monstrous and animal figures, including basilisks (**plate 22**, no. 7), griffins (**plate 24**, no. 11), lions (**plates 28 and 29**, nos. 20, 22), peacocks and other birds (**plates 20 and 36**, nos. 4 and 35), apes (**plate 23**, no. 10), and harpies (**plate 32**, no. 28). Other capitals are sculpted with quaternities of human, divine, or personified figures, such as angels (**plates 25 and 27**, nos. 14 and 18), squatting men entwined in vines (**plate 25**, no. 13), and standing men with arms in the maws of lions (**plates 21 and 31**, nos. 5 and 26). Foliate and interlace designs decorate capitals with ornate patterns, many with hanging fruits or pinecones and finished with decorative drill work (for example **plate 33**; foliate capitals are nos. 3, 8, 21, 23, 27, 31, 32). In some cases the eyes of the figures sculpted in the capitals were drilled and finished with inserts.<sup>8</sup>

The capitals of the north walk are attributed to a workshop active in Ripoll, Vic and many other sites on both sides of the Pyrenees in the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> In this regard the Ripoll cloister is similar to the monastic cloister of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, and other cloisters associated with artists in Roussillon, but this interpretive problem has not received the attention of scholars, as noted in the historiated capitals at Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa by Thomas E.A. Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 3 (2001): 403–436, esp. pp. 402-3.

<sup>8</sup> These inserts are most likely lead, but other sculpture from the twelfth century features eyes filled with jet. The eye inserts found in fragments of lost twelfth-century portal of Vic Cathedral are recorded as lead by Marilyn Stokstad, "Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections, XV. Kansas City, Missouri and Lawrence, Kansas," *Gesta* 16, no. 1 (1977), p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> For the purpose of this study I accept the generally recognized attribution of the cloister capitals to the Vic-Ripoll workshop. A forthcoming book by Jordi Camps will address this problem. For the most recent and comprehensive synthesis of the literature on the workshops and repertories at Ripoll, see Lorés, "La decoración escultórica en el monasterio de Santa María de Ripoll," pp. 180–85.

Sculptors affiliated with this workshop carved capitals and friezes at the cathedral cloister of Sainte-Eulalie-et-Sainte-Julie d'Elne and portals at Sainte-Marie de Corneilla-de-Conflent, Santa Eugenia de Berga, and Santa Maria de Lladó.<sup>10</sup> The Ripoll sculptors show affinities to workshops from Roussillon that created capitals at Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa and the tribune arch at the priory of Serrabona, but the relationship is unclear.<sup>11</sup> Other stylistic affinities to fragments of a sculpted portal from the cathedral of Sant Pere de Vic created around 1150 to 1160 suggest that the sculptors were well integrated to the Ripollès region.<sup>12</sup> At the same time the sculptors at Ripoll seem to be well attuned to the patterning and volumetric design seen in sculpture from Aragón and León.

It is clear that the cloister capitals were created from the outset to be installed in pairs. This is evident from the fact that the nearly hidden surfaces facing the narrow gaps between capitals are not finished to the same degree as the more visible faces. This is the case, for example, on the inside face of the capital with men entwined in vines, where the vines lack the helicoidal pattern elsewhere in the capital (**plate 25**, nos. 13); here the patterning on the vines terminates at the figure's arms, and the foliates near the console

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<sup>10</sup> Comparisons are also found in sculpture from Sant Pere de Rodes, San Pere de Camprodon, Sant Pere de Besalú, Sant Jaume de Querolbs, and, in the most geographically distant case, the Zurich Grossmünster; see Barral, "La sculpture à Ripoll au XIIe siècle," and *Catalunya Romanica* 10, pp. 252–61; Junyent, *El Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll*, pp. 287–92; Lorés, "La decoración escultórica," op. cit., Jordi Camps, "Reflexions sobre l'escultura de filiació rossellonesa a la zona de Ripoll, Besalú, Sant Pere de Rodes i Girona vers la segona meitat del segle XII," *Estudi General* 10 (1990): 45–69, and Camps and Manuel Castiñeiras, "Figura pintada, imatge esculpida. Eclòsió de la monumentalitat i diàleg entre les arts a Catalunya, 1120–1180," in *El romànic i la Mediterrània: Catalunya, Toulouse i Pisa (1120–1180)* (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2008), pp. 133–47.

<sup>11</sup> This issue will be addressed in a forthcoming book by Jordi Camps; on the Roussillon workshops in Catalan cloisters, see Camps, "Reflexions sobre l'escultura de filiació rossellonesa a la zona de Ripoll," op. cit.; also see Barral, "La sculpture à Ripoll au XIIe siècle," pp. 357–58. Marcel Durliat proposed that the Ripoll workshop was comprised of an isolated group of artists from Roussillon; see Marcel Durliat, *La sculpture romane en Roussillon* (Perpignan: La Tramontane, 1948), v. 2, pp. 72–6.

<sup>12</sup> On the status of artists and painters between lay and religious in twelfth-century Catalonia and beyond, see Manuel Castiñeiras, "Clergue o laic? Algunes reflexiones sobre l'estatus de l'artista i la qüestió de l'autoria a l'Europa Romànica," *Medievalia* 15 (2012): 83–87.

are similarly left unfinished with a sharp ridge.<sup>13</sup> With this in mind it is most likely that the cloister capitals on the north walk retain their original disposition.<sup>14</sup>

A perimeter of late tenth-century walls outlines the footprint of the Ripoll cloister (**plate 3**).<sup>15</sup> These early walls have continued to define the cloister space through successive building campaigns in the late fourteenth century, when a second level was added to the cloister beginning around 1383 and with work continuing to 1401.<sup>16</sup> The upper cloister was ultimately finished in the sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Probably during the work starting in 1383, four of the twelfth-century capitals were reinstalled in the corner piers of the south cloister walk of the lower level (nos. 33-36). Other twelfth-century capitals, probably from the lost cloister portals, were reused on the upper level of the cloister, and still others survive along with various fragments from at least one sculpted

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<sup>13</sup> This is at odds with paired capitals at other twelfth-century cloisters in Catalonia, such as Sant Cugat del Vallès or Sant Pere de Galligants, where a much wider space exists between columns, requiring that the capitals be finished on all sides.

<sup>14</sup> I am not aware of any arguments to the contrary, however, noting that four of the twelfth century engaged capitals were moved to the south side of the cloister and the broad reconstruction of that side of the cloister in the late nineteenth century it is possible that others capitals were rearranged after sustaining damage.

<sup>15</sup> The cloister walls were restored and conserved between 2011 and 2012. The late tenth century date for the early cloister walls is supported based on the appearance of early medieval stone construction methods, including sections of wall with *opus spicatum* stonework on the southwest side of the cloister. See “Restauració del claustre del Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll,” January 27, 2012 [online] <http://arcovaleno.org/> (accessed March 4, 2017). The early date of these walls is also supported by documents from the time of abbot Arnulf (d. 970), as discussed by Eduardo Junyent, “Notes inédites sobre el monestir de Ripoll,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 9 (1933): 185-225, noted by see Immaculada Lorès, “Decoración escultura,” p. 179, and note 47. It has also been proposed that the pre-Romanesque cloister existed further to the east, as suggested by Gerardo Boto Varela, “Santa Maria de Ripoll,” in *Claustros Románicos Hispanos*, ed. Joaquín Yarza and Gerardo Boto Varela (León: Edilesa, 2003), p. 297.

<sup>16</sup> The later cloister was initiated under abbot Galceran de Besora (d. 1383). The dates of the later cloister decorations are known through records transcribed by Roc d'Olzinelles and published by Eduardo Junyent, “Notes inédites sobre el monestir de Ripoll,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 9 (1933): 185–225, including a contract for eighty-six capitals in lower and upper cloister. Also see Pere Besera, “Un gòtic ‘neoromànic’ al claustre de Ripoll i en altres claustres,” in *L'Art medieval en joc*, ed. Rosa Alcoy (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 2016), pp. 127-144.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Junyent, “Notes inédits,” and Besera “Un gòtic ‘neogromànic.’”

portal, or perhaps from a decorated doorway to the chapterhouse.<sup>18</sup>

The transposition of twelfth-century capitals to later galleries of the cloister parallels the fact that the cloister arcades of the fourteenth century maintained the scale and proportions of the Romanesque work. These “neo-Romanesque” Gothic arcades deviate from the typically slender columns common in fourteenth-century cloisters.<sup>19</sup> This type of retrospection echoes the model-copy relationship between the sculpted west portal and the Ripoll bible.<sup>20</sup> The later monastic community no doubt desired to maintain these “old” features because the cloister space possessed a special soteriological significance; by keeping the look of the Romanesque stonework the later cloister solidified its association with the monastery's founder, Guifré el Pilós, and the other counts entombed at the monastery.<sup>21</sup> The later sculptors in the Ripoll cloister were also keen imitators of their predecessors; four capitals from the late fourteenth century are clearly modeled on twelfth-century capitals from the north walk. In one case the later sculptors imitated a foliate capital and installed the new iteration (**plate 39**, no. 37) in the

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<sup>18</sup> My focus in this chapter is on the twelfth-century capitals of the lower level. Theoretical reconstructions of the lost portals have not been proposed, to the knowledge of the author, and it is not within the aims of the present study to attempt one. The capitals reused in the upper cloister, and other fragments of a lost cloister portal, or possibly multiple portals, are discussed by Barral, “La sculpture à Ripoll au XIIe siècle,” pp. 340-52. A fragment of a voussoir from one of the decorated cloister portals with a monstrous head devouring a ram is in the collections of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona. This fragment bears close similarity to the decorations of the west portal.

<sup>19</sup> On the fourteenth-century cloister as a neo-Romanesque phenomenon, see Besera, “Un gòtic ‘neoromànic’ al claustre de Ripoll,” *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> See chapter 1 for my discussion of this issue. The classic study is Josep Pijoan, “Les miniatures de l'Octateuch a les Bibles romàniques Catalanes,” *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911–12): 475–508.

<sup>21</sup> On burials at Ripoll and the possibly at a lost galilée portico see Francesca Español, “Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l'époque romane: Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll,” *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 42 (2011): 103–14.

south-facing side of the northwest pier, directly adjacent to the model (**plate 20**, no. 3).<sup>22</sup>

The capitals and decorated arches of the north cloister walk have commonly been dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century, or around 1180 to 1190, however, this late twelfth century date has been called into question. These proposed dates are based on an inscription on the impost above the corner capital of the northeast pier (no. 32, **plate 35**), “BERGA DAT AUCTOREM...” that relates to the funerary relief of abbot Ramon de Berga (fl. 1172-1206; **plate 13**).<sup>23</sup> From this inscription it has been assumed that the cloister capitals were part of a building campaign completed in the time of abbot Ramon de Berga, but the inscription with abbot's name was probably added to the impost at a later date, around the time when the abbot's portrait relief was installed in the northeast pier and the stones around it reworked to accommodate the addition.<sup>24</sup>

Stylistic comparison and the survival of a brief record of payments to artists working at Ripoll around the middle of the twelfth century suggest that the workshops that fabricated the Ripoll portal, the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III, and parts of a lost mixed-media baldachin were also responsible for the cloister capitals, arches, and cloister portal (or portals).<sup>25</sup> Two sculpted column bases with human and lion figures (**plate 41**

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<sup>22</sup> These capitals are called imitations by Barral and Junyent; on the larger issue of the Gothic cloister, see Besera, “Un gòtic “neoromànic” al claustre de Ripoll.”

<sup>23</sup> See chapter 3 for my discussion of the relief of Abbot Ramon. The inscription on this relief is recorded in Pellicer, *El Monasterio de Ripoll*, p. 120.

<sup>24</sup> Immaculada Lorés, “La decoración escultórica,” pp. 182-84. Memorial inscriptions added to existing cloister decorations can be found in other Romanesque cloisters, as in the saint's capital at Santo Domingo de Silos that was inscribed with a cenotaph, as discussed by Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, “The Saint's Capital, Talisman in the Cloister,” in *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishment on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, ed. Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.), pp. 111-129, and also Valdez del Álamo, *A Palace of the Mind*, pp. 50–65.

<sup>25</sup> Castiñeiras, “The Ripoll Portal Revisited,” p. 133-35, and *passim*. Castiñeiras further points out that all of these works were fabricated under the prior Guillelmus, whose name is linked to the restoration of the treasury. Along similar lines and noting the stylistic similarities between the capitals, portal, and baldachin

and 42) and other fragments are probably from a baldachin created around 1151, if not before, that was intended to replace an eleventh-century baldachin from the time of abbot Oliba.<sup>26</sup> Twelve pounds of silver was applied to the columns that were supported by these sculpted bases.<sup>27</sup> Payments to the artist and workshop (*artifex istius opere...cum sociis suis*) who performed this metalwork were written down, and while it is unlikely that these metalworkers were affiliated with the stonecutting workshops that fabricated the cloister capitals, the payments rendered to these artists, in the form of wheat and water, reveals valuable information about how workers were compensated.<sup>28</sup>

Hoc est breve de Molione ad restaurandum thesaurum quod ego Guillelmus prepositus restauravi in ecclesia Sancte Marie. Primum in cruce VI libras de argento et octo moabitanos maris, et in teste II<sup>as</sup> libras, et in columpnis XII libras, et in cimborio septem libras et I solidum [...] Et artifex istius opere dispensavit cum sociis suis modium tritici et XII sextarios berguitanos, et cotidie inter argentum

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bases, Immaculada Lorés dates the cloister capitals to around 1160; see Lorés, "La decoración escultórica," pp. 184-85.

<sup>26</sup> Two of the stone bases were displayed in the Ripoll cloister with other fragments from the lapidary collection for many years. At the time of the cloister restoration in 2011 two bases were loaned to MNAC, Barcelona, where the head of one of the lions has been re-mounted and restored. On this baldachin see, Barral, "La sculpture du Ripoll," and Barral "El baldaquí del presbiteri," in *Catalunya Romanica* 10, pp. 257-8; Castiñeiras, "El altar románico y su mobiliario litúrgico: frontales, vigas y baldaquinos," pp. 48-50, figs. 22-23; and Begoña Cayuela, "Elementos del baldaquino de Santa Maria de Ripoll," in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Tolouse y Pisa (1120-1180)*, ed. by Manuel Castiñeiras and Jordi Camps (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2008), pp. 244-247.

<sup>27</sup> The silver that was applied to parts of this baldachin was obtained from revenues on lands in the vicinity of Molló, taken in by the monastery over a five-year period from 1146-1151. BnF, Ms. 5132, f. 104.

<sup>28</sup> Joan Duran-Porta has pointed out that the artist and his workshop were paid entirely in wheat – approximately 300 pounds in total – by reading the abbreviation "ss" as "sextarios," a fractional unit of a *modium* of wheat (not as "solidos," or coins, as do Bisson and Altes). Duran-Porta dissertation, pp. 112-114. Duran-Porta further notes that these artists working and washing at the monastery were most likely laymen, but this author also notes Manuel Castiñeiras's studies of artist-clerics working in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including at Ripoll. In the case of the metalwork executed during the restoration of the treasury it is less likely that the artist and workshop were clerics. On artist-clerics see Castiñeiras, "Clergue o laic? Algunes reflexions sobre l'estatus de l'artista i la qüestió de l'autoria a l'Europa romànica," *Medievalia* 15 (2012): 83-7.

[sic] ad abluendum et sibi ad potandum II canadels.<sup>29</sup>

The payment of two containers of drinking water (*et sibi ad potandum II canadels*) suggests that the workers, and probably other visitors, had access to a water source in the monastic cloister.<sup>30</sup> A plan of the monastery published by Josep Pellicer indicates a well that was located in the northwest quadrant (**plate 1**), labeled “pozo de agua riquísima.”<sup>31</sup> The two containers of drinking water given to the workers, if taken from the cloister, would likely have possessed a cleansing or thaumaturgical value, at least to the extent that it was necessary to recorded this as a form of payment. As I argue, the special quality of this water would have been associated with the monstrous Abyss (capital no. 15) and the capital with griffins standing at a font (**plate 24**, no. 11). In this sense the cloister water itself would have served as a potent (and potable) talisman of the monk's

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<sup>29</sup> BnF, Ms. 5132, f. 104. Bisson, Altes, Duran-Porta. The transcription reproduced here differs from Bisson and Altes: for "modium tritici," Altes and Duran-Porta read "modium." Duran-Porta omits "et sibi." Duran-Porta also notes the scribal error in "argentum," which is more logically "inter agendum ad abluendum," meaning "between working and washing." Joan Duran-Porta notes the significance of these staples as forms of payment, comparing the portions of wheat to the *cibum canonicale* recorded in payments to the Lombard master Ramon at the cathedral of La Seu d'Urgell around 1175-1181. The *cibum canonicale* was a meal given to guests by the cathedral canons in reciprocity for donations. Association with the religious community, this meal assumed a heightened spiritual value. See Joan Duran-Porta, "L'orfebreria romànica a Catalunya (950-1250)," (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), pp. 112-114.

<sup>30</sup> Wells, fountains, and lavabos survive in many Catalan cloisters, most notably in the large late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century lavabos at Santa Maria de Poblet and Santa Maria de Santes Creus. At Ripoll water could also have been channeled to the cloister through one of two underground canals that run parallel to the west portal, known from archeological studies. For a summary of these archaeological findings see *Pantocràtor de Ripoll*, pp. 848-56.

<sup>31</sup> Josep Pellicer, "Restauración de la basílica oliviana en Ripoll," *Revista de Bellas Artes: Periódico quincenal ilustrado* 1, no. 3 (Apr. 1886). This plan is stated to be drawn from an original dated 1731. On this plan see Antoni Llagostera Fernández, "Els estudiosos ripollesos i el monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll," *Annals del Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès* (2009/10), p. 193. The plan published by Barraquer in 1916 also notes a well in this location. In its current state a fountain is located at the center of the Ripoll cloister. Pellicer commented on the supposed tenth-century origins of the canal feeding water to the cloister: "Su recinto [el jardín del claustro] contenía además de un pozo cuya exquisita agua era celebrada en toda la comarca, el arroyo mencionado, por el que discurría abundante el agua procedente de la acequia abierta en el siglo X por Abad Arnulfo." Josep Pellicer, *Memoria sobre el objeto, convivencia y autorización de las obras realizads en Santa Maria de Ripoll* (Vic, 1883), p. 13, as in *Pantocràtor de Ripoll*, p. 852.

intercessory liturgy for the protection of the dead.

### THE ABYSS AND THE SIREN

In a new interpretation I propose that the capital with four figures with ape-like faces and torsos covered by waves (**fig. 105**, no. 15) is a representation of the monstrous Abyss.<sup>32</sup> The two capitals of this column unit are topped with an abacus sculpted with swirling foliate or aquatic patterns. The waves represented at the base of this capital and the mask-like face of the figures bear a clear resemblance to the watery Abyss painted in the Ripoll Bible (**fig. 106**) and Roda Bible (**fig. 107**), both illuminated at Ripoll in the early eleventh century. The sculptor interpreted these images of the watery Abyss within the repertoires common to twelfth-century capitals in Catalonia and Roussillon, accentuating the ape-like facial features and rendering their upper torsos in clothes. Like the Crossing of the Red Sea in the right flank of the Ripoll portal (**fig. 10**), the sculptor has adapted an image painted in the Ripoll scriptorium for a specific context within the space of the monastery. The ape-like faces of the humanoid figures in the Abyss capital are similar to the simian figures sculpted in the cloister capitals at Cuxa (**fig. 125**) and, to a lesser extent, the simian figure in the “Satyr Capital” at Jaca (**figs. 116a-b**), demonstrating the cloister context that the sculptor of the capital was obliged to follow. The faces of the Abyss figures, I propose, draw from co-existing traditions: the mask-like

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<sup>32</sup> This capital is described as four men struggling against waves by Barral, “El claustre,” in *Catalunya Romanica*, vol. 10, p. 254; and is similarly described by Junyent, *El Monestir*, p. 165. In describing the cloister in general, Pellicer lists Ulysses and the Sirens and Neptune and Naiads as subjects sculpted in the cloister capitals, but it is unclear if this refers to the twelfth-century or later capitals; see Pellicer, *El Monasterio de Ripoll*, p. 121.

face of Oceanus in ancient mosaics that informed images of the abyss in illustrations of the hexameron, and the convention of ape-like monstrous figures in Romanesque sculpture that intentionally served multivalent roles. The capital intentionally evokes this hybrid status in situating the face of the Abyss between these two traditions.

Like the Sirens in the adjacent capital, this twelfth-century rendering the Abyss encapsulates classical and biblical notions concerning the power of fecundity and nature, ultimately rendered in the cloister for more circumscribed meanings, and even practical uses (as in the case of ritualized washing in the *mandatum*, as I will discuss). Relating to the generative force of nature, the watery Abyss in the Ripoll Bible is inscribed “Abyssus retinens in se sua cuncta creata” (the Abyss holding in itself all its creatures), referring to the animated but chaotic nature of the world before it was given order by the cosmocrator.<sup>33</sup>

Andreina Contessa has analyzed the depiction of the mask-like Abyss in the Ripoll and Roda Bibles for its relation to illustrated manuscripts of the Hexameron.<sup>34</sup> Contessa's analysis is evocative in its synthesis: “The Abyssus depicted in the Ripoll and Roda Bibles represents the watery depth entangled in the darkness at the beginning of creation, the liquid primordial mass, where all the watery springs of the earth originate, the biblical *tehom*, whose deep is too great to be measured by men.”<sup>35</sup> Contessa compares this particular conception of the watery Abyss to the illustrations and diagrams in the *Liber*

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<sup>33</sup> This translation from the Ripoll Bible inscription for the Abyss is by Andreina Contessa, “Between Art, Faith and Science: The Concept of Creation in the Catalan Romanesque Bibles,” *Iconographica* 6 (2007): 19–43, at p. 25. See also Manuel Castiñeiras, “From Chaos to Cosmos: The Creation Iconography in the Catalan Romanesque Bibles,” *Arte medievale* 1, Issue 1 (2002): 35–50.

<sup>34</sup> Contessa, “Between Art, Faith and Science,” pp. 24–6.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26. Contessa cites three biblical references to the Abyss from which the artists of Ripoll Bible might have drawn: Job 23:25, Psalm 33:7, and Psalm 104:6.

*Floridus* of Lambert de Saint-Omer (**fig. 108**).<sup>36</sup> Within the schema of the *Liber Floridus* diagram, the Abyss occupies the lowest and most fundamental place at the bottom edge of the folio, below the altar of God and below the four elements with Christ and the Lamb of God in a central mandorla. This bottom roundel (**fig. 109**) describes the Abyss as the “depth of impenetrable waters” and paraphrases Psalm 44:8, “abyssus abyssum vocat in voce cataractum tuarum” (deep calleth on deep at the noise of thy floodgates). As relating to this concept of the Abyss in the Hexameron, and following Contessa's analysis, the representation of the Abyss in the sculpted capital can be associated with the biblical *tehom*, or watery primordial springs. A parallel to *tehom* is the biblical *sheol*, or bottomless pit, more often associated with Hell. *Sheol* has been noted as an intimidating aspect of the monstrous in representations of, for example, the Maw of Hell in Romanesque capitals.<sup>37</sup>

The Abyss capital, as related to *tehom*, is both monstrous and generative, and therefore does not connote a strictly negative meaning. Along these lines, Kirk Ambrose has explored the possibility of monsters as bearers of knowledge in a capital with centaurs from the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Mozac in Burgundy.<sup>38</sup> Here Ambrose suggests that knowledge of medicines and plants was encountered through depictions of monsters, including the centaur holding a medicinal plant, and that the “gesture of looking to a monster for knowledge,” could involve “looking to an Other with an open mind, not

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<sup>36</sup> Ghent, Universiteits Bibliotheek, Ms. 92, f. 88.

<sup>37</sup> See Thomas E.A. Dale, “The Monstrous,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 267.

<sup>38</sup> Kirk Ambrose, *The Marvellous and the Monstrous in the Sculpture of Twelfth-Century Europe* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), p. 60.

necessarily anticipating a negative message.”<sup>39</sup> As tied to imagery from the Hexameron, and noting its placement in the cloister – known to be a site for astronomical observation – I suggest that the Abyss capital encourages its beholder to meditate on the unknowable and chaotic watery depths that undergird the concept of the cloister paradise. The well (or fountain) located in the cloister in this case assumes a greater cosmogonic symbolism.<sup>40</sup>

The representation of the Abyss in the capital in the Ripoll cloister, although informed by this notion of the monstrous Abyss painted in the Ripoll Bible, must be analyzed as a work of sculpture and considered for its context and location in the cloister. This subject it represents is unusual and does not find clear comparisons in sculpted capitals in northern Spain, but can be compared to the “fish riders” represented in capitals from Cluny and Vézelay. A capital at the Wadsworth Athenaeum in Hartford, Connecticut, identified by Neil Stratford as originating from Cluny, depicts a large fish with a naked rider set above stylized waves (**fig. 110**).<sup>41</sup> The naked rider holds a rebec (stringed instrument) and a sword. Two disembodied human heads flank the rider at either side.<sup>42</sup> In the vein of interpretations that privilege the whimsy and play of the twelfth-century sculptor, Stratford has proposed that this capital relates to depictions of

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>40</sup> On the cloister as a site for astronomical observation, see Giles Constable, “Horologium Stellare Monasticum (saec. XI),” in *Consuetudines Benedictinae Variarum (Saec. XI–Saec. XIV)* (Francis Schmitt: Siegburg, 1975), pp. 1–18; this essay is cited in a generously footnoted essay by John McNeill, “The Continental Context,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 159, no. 1 (2006): 1–47, at p. 11, note 41.

<sup>41</sup> Neil Stratford, “A Cluny Capital in Hartford (Connecticut),” *Gesta* 27, no. 1/2 (1988): 9–21. In his essay Stratford traces this capital to Cluny based on the drawings of Jean-Claude Barat. On this capital also see Walter Cahn, “Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections, I Hartford,” *Gesta* 6 (1967): 46–52, pp. 48–49.

<sup>42</sup> Stratford notes these head have not been damaged, but were originally rendered without bodies; *ibid.*, p. 48.

Oceanus in mosaics from ancient Greece and Rome, yet Stratford identifies these elements only as an “antique marine repertoire,” refusing to attribute a fixed iconographic label to the capital beyond the designation “fish rider.”<sup>43</sup>

Stratford's analysis of the issue of interpreting monstrous subjects through fixed or static subject labels is instructive, and must also be considered in the capital at Ripoll. Although I propose that this capital might be interpreted as the Abyss, this follows a different judgment than one that might refer to the capital as “the Abyss capital” (even if I myself use that wording at different points in this chapter). The representation of the monstrous Abyss as monstrous has to be considered as a motivating factor. The re-emergence of classical themes through sculptural repertoires has been analyzed through the lens of *pathosformeln*, as I discuss later in this chapter with the capital with men entwined in vines – however, it is unclear how this methodology could be applied to this capital at Ripoll. Although the Abyss and Siren capitals within the funerary context of the cloister might be tied to funeral imagery from ancient sarcophagi, the Abyss capital can be more closely tied to the use of the cloister for washing.<sup>44</sup>

Considering the placement of the Abyss capital near the center of the north cloister walk at Ripoll, I propose that the Abyss capital can be tied to the ritualized washing and shaving of the monks and non-monastic visitors to the cloister. In the twelfth century the

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 48. The image of the fish rider has also been associated with phallic imagery from ancient bronze *tintinnabulae*, also related to representations of Oceanus; see Jean Wirth, *L'image à l'époque romane* (Paris: Éditions du CERF), 1999, p. 279–81.

<sup>44</sup> Further study is needed to elucidate the possible funerary context for the images of the Abyss and the Siren in the cloister at Ripoll, however, the re-use of ancient sarcophagi for eleventh- and twelfth-century royal entombments is well known. Neptune (or probably Oceanus) and Amphitrite (or probably Tellus) are represented on an ancient sarcophagus re-used to entomb Ramiro II of Aragón (d. 1157) at the Benedictine monastery of San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca. For recent studies of the funerary context at San Pedro el Viejo see Maria-Laura Figueras La Peruta, “San Pedro el Viejo de Huesca: estudio preliminar a un análisis iconográfico del claustro,” *De Arte* 10 (2011): 21–48, and David Simon, “Art for a New Monarchy: Aragon in the Late Eleventh Century,” *Anales de Historia del Arte*, Volumen Extraordinario 2 (2011): 367–390.

monks at Ripoll continued to follow a statute set in place by Abbot Oliba for the *mandatum pauperum*, or washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday.<sup>45</sup> The record from Ripoll associates the washing of the feet with the miracle of Christ healing the leprous man.<sup>46</sup> The *mandatum* ritual at Cluny is recorded as taking place on the north walk of the cloister, adjacent to the abbey church, and this same paradigm could easily apply at Ripoll.<sup>47</sup> It has been proposed that the washing of feet at Sant Cugat del Vallès took place in proximity of a capital depicting the Parable of Lazarus.<sup>48</sup> Although the Parable of Lazarus is also sculpted in the portal at Ripoll (**figs. 71 and 73**), as I discuss in chapter 2, it is unclear how this representation in the portal would relate to the cloister capitals, but this relief does face the doorway to the cloister from the west façade of the church.<sup>49</sup>

A sculpted relief in the central pillar of the monastic cloister of Saint-Pierre in Moissac, although not historiated, offers a provocative comparison for the central column

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<sup>45</sup> Miquel dels Sants Gros, “El llibre de refeccions del monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll,” *Studia Monastica* 46, no. 2 (2004): 365–378, esp. pp. 366–7 and 376.

<sup>46</sup> This miracle appears in Matthew 8:1–4, Mark 1:40–45, and Luke 5:12–16.

<sup>47</sup> Although I accept Neil Stratford's attribution of the fish rider capital at the Wadsworth Athenaeum to Cluny, I am not suggesting that this capital needs to represent the same paradigm of washing at Cluny. Further research would be required to make such an argument. On the *mandatum* in cloister sculpture at Silos and in general, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, *A Palace of the Mind*, pp. 249–260. On the *mandatum* at Cluny and in the north cloister walk, see the summary on the topic given in John McNeill, “The Continental Context,” p. 39, note 44.

<sup>48</sup> This is suggested by Immaculada Lorès, “La vida en el claustre: iconografia monàstica als capitells de Sant Cugat del Vallès i el Costumari del monestir,” *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 6 (2002): 36–46. Also see an argument along these lines offered by Peter Klein, “Topographie, fonctions et programmes iconographiques des cloîtres: la galerie attenante à l'église,” in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang: Architektur, Funktion, und Programm* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2004), pp. 105–156.

<sup>49</sup> Francesca Español has proposed that there were tombs for the counts on either side of the west portal at Ripoll in the twelfth century. If this was the case then the Parable of Lazarus relief would have a clear meaning, since it would have faced one of these tombs. See my discussion in chapter 3, and Español, “Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l'époque romane: Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll,” *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 42 (2011): 103–14.

unit at Ripoll with the Abyss and Siren figures and the wave-like swirls on the abacus. At Moissac the tall rectangular relief (**fig. 111**) is sculpted with ripple-like undulations. This relief has garnered less attention in studies of the cloister than the other cloister reliefs with figures of the Apostles, but has been discussed by Chantal Fraïsse as a representation of water.<sup>50</sup> Fraïsse speculates that the relief's visual evocation of water was intended to point to the water that was sourced from a well nearby to the north side of the Moissac cloister.<sup>51</sup> As already noted, a well had also existed near northwest quadrant of the cloister at Ripoll (**plate 1**). Fraïsse further suggests that the Moissac relief could support the theme sculpted in a nearby capital with the Miraculous Draft of Fish, itself associated with the washing of the feet in the *mandatum* ritual.<sup>52</sup> Because the layout and history of each cloister engendered its own uses in the Middle Ages, there is no clear consensus as to where washing in the cloister took place, however, the side of the cloister nearest the church is often referred to as the *mandatum* gallery in Spanish cloisters.<sup>53</sup> Other cloisters feature capitals near the chapterhouse that can be tied to washing rituals or to nearby fountains or wells.<sup>54</sup>

Other rituals performed at Ripoll describe experiences inside the church where celebrants were physically prostrated on the floor, perhaps in proximity to two whale-like

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<sup>50</sup> Chantal Fraïsse, "Le cloître de Moissac: a-t-il un programme?" *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 50, no. 199 (2007): 245–270, esp. pp. 256–7. Meyer Schapiro does mention the cloister well but does not discuss this relief in his landmark two-part *Art Bulletin* essay on the Moissac cloister, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," reprinted in *Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1977), pp. 131–264.

<sup>51</sup> Fraïsse, "Le cloître de Moissac," p. 256.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* p. 257.

<sup>53</sup> See Joaquín Yarza, "Iconografía del claustro románico," in *Claustros Románicos Hispanos* (León: Edilesa, 2003), pp. 47–66, esp. p. 57. Yarza suggests that the cloister of Santa Maria de l'Estany in Catalonia is another example.

<sup>54</sup> Yarza, "Iconografía del claustro románico," pp. 47–66, esp. pp.

fish depicted in twelfth-century mosaics from the Ripoll abbey church (**fig. 112**).<sup>55</sup> In this regard, the deep primordial waters of creation are evoked in the *Ordo ad reconciliandum*, a rite that was performed to restore Christian apostates and others into the church community (as discussed in chapter 2). The ordo states that the subject was to be led into the church and prostrated on the pavement (*prostrato eo in pavimento aecclesiae*), followed with the reading of psalms, including *De profundis* (Psalm 130: “Out of the depths I have cried to thee”).<sup>56</sup> In this specific case, allowing that the imagery of *De profundis* can be tied to the aquatic subjects depicted in the mosaic floor, the Abyss capital in the cloister could further be an extrapolation of this *mise-en-scène* from inside the abbey church and its restorative function.<sup>57</sup> As a decorated floor the pavement of the abbey church itself could have been perceived as an image the deep.<sup>58</sup>

The generative nature of the Abyss capital is echoed in its paired capital with four bare-breasted Sirens that grasp bifurcated tails (**fig. 105 [and plate 26]**, no. 16).<sup>59</sup> In

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<sup>55</sup> The mosaic floor of the Ripoll abbey church has been studied by Xavier Barral, *Els mosaics de paviment medievals a Catalunya Romànica* (Barcelona: Artestudi, 1979), pp. 55–94. Also see Barral, *Els mosaics medievals de Ripoll i Cuixà* (Poblet: Abadía de Poblet, 1971) and *Catalunya Romanica*, vol. 10, pp. 261–65.

<sup>56</sup> ABEV Ms. 67, ff. 163v-164v. See *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, ed. Alejandro Olivar (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas/Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1963), pp. 197–99, as in chapter 2, note 84.

<sup>57</sup> On twelfth-century liturgy and theatricality along these lines, see Donnalee Dox, “Roman Theatre and Roman Rite: Twelfth-Century Transformations in Allegory, Ritual, and the Idea of Theatre,” in *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 33–48.

<sup>58</sup> See Fabio Barry, “Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages,” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (2007): 627–656. Although the floor mosaics at Ripoll do not include wave patterns, the depiction of aquatic animals and the expanse of decorated space itself reference the continued interest in marine subject and variegated marbles that decorated floors in Roman basilicas.

<sup>59</sup> A very similar capital appears in the cloister at Elne Cathedral. Although the Ripoll and Elne Siren capitals are considered to be the work of the same sculptor by most authors, it is worth noting that the composition of the Ripoll Siren capital is different from the Sirens at Elne: the Siren tails terminate at the top of the console of the Ripoll capital, which is not the case in the Elne capital. The sculptor of the Ripoll

discussing the fish-rider capitals at Cluny at Vézelay, Neil Stratford noted that the fish rider theme is often found in the proximity of Sirens, especially in wall paintings.<sup>60</sup> Given this connection, the Sirens in the capital at Ripoll can be examined in the context of the more ancient notion of Sirens as personifications of the Earth (*Terra*) and Sea, which transformed over time into representations of lust and temptation in the twelfth century.<sup>61</sup> Images of sirens with snakes biting at their breasts are also well represented in the twelfth century and can be related to images of Luxuria, as in the portal at Moissac.<sup>62</sup>

In this context the Sirens can be considered as an image of powerful but ritually impure touch. The image of the Siren was thought to warn against the worldly pleasures of touch, or even represent “houses of pleasure.”<sup>63</sup> The Sirens capital has also been discussed as an image of lust that externalizes the *phantasmata* of sexual temptation experienced by monks.<sup>64</sup> In the genre of *phantasmata* it is notable that a series of goliardic love poems was copied (or perhaps authored) at Ripoll, found in ACA, Ms.

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Sirens used a greater portion of the capital's surface, which is also the case in the long tail feathers of the capital with peacocks that terminate at the astragal (no. 4, **plate 20**). The Ripoll Siren capital is also finished to a higher level of detail with leafy foliate patterns surrounding the heads of the figures, unlike the Elne capital.

<sup>60</sup> Stratford, “A Cluny Capital in Hartford,” p. 15. Stratford illustrates the painted apse at San Giacomo a Termeno (Tramin, Italy) as one example.

<sup>61</sup> See Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx, *La sirène dans la pensée et dans l'art de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age: Du mythe païen au symbole chrétien* (Brussels: Royal Academy, 2002).

<sup>62</sup> On the representation of luxuria and the female nude in the Moissac portal, see Thomas E.A. Dale, “The Nude at Moissac: Vision, *Phantasia*, and the Experience of Romanesque Sculpture,” in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 61–76.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas E.A. Dale, “Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms,” p. 419.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas E.A. Dale, “Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms,” *ibid.*

Ripoll 74.<sup>65</sup> The description of the sensation of touching women's breasts in these poems suggests that, for at least the scribe of the goliardic poems in Ms. Ripoll 74, the Sirens capital could have possessed an uncommonly clear-cut affective power, or even served as an object of ekphrasis.<sup>66</sup> Even if these love poems were not authored at Ripoll they were most certainly copied at the monastery in the late twelfth century.

Like the washing in the *mandatum*, the monks would have shaved in the cloister as well, and here the sensation of the razor might relate to the Sirens and the repulsive touch of their fishy scales, or the association of Sirens with long gatherings of luxurious hair.<sup>67</sup> The Siren as an image of illicit touch is illustrated in a painted image sewn into the opening folios of a manuscript in the archives of Vic Cathedral (**fig. 113**).<sup>68</sup> A Siren at the bottom edge of the folio holds a single fish-like tail and long hair. Above the Siren a man reaches upwards to the image of the Descent from the Cross. This figure appears to hold a pair of pliers, presumably to perform the act of removing a nail from the foot of Christ. Here the Siren seems to represent an inversion, contrasting the devotional act performed

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<sup>65</sup> The literature on the so-called Ripoll Love-Songs is vast and too rich to explore in depth here. The poems were first made widely known by Nicolau d'Olwer, "L'escola poética de Ripoll en els segles X-XIII," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 6 (1915–20): 3–84. An exemplary study but not entirely accepted thesis on the authorship of the poems is given by Peter Dronke, "The Interpretation of the Ripoll Love-Songs," *Romance Philology* 33 (1979): 14–42. For an argument that the poems were only copied at Ripoll in the late twelfth century see David Traill, "The Origin of the Ripoll Love Poems," in *IV Congreso Internacional de Latim Medieval Hispanico, Lisboa, 12-15 de Outubro de 2005: Actas* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Clássicos, 2006), pp. 905–912, with bibliography.

<sup>66</sup> One of these poems refers to "tacta papilla" within the context of dreams; *ibid.*, d'Olwer, p. 47. In general the poems in ACA, Ms. Ripoll 74 reference *papillae* at least a dozen times. This suggestion as tied to the Sirens capital is speculative and would require a more lengthy analysis to draw any conclusions.

<sup>67</sup> For a summary of sources relating to shaving in the cloister, see John McNeill, "The Continental Context," p. 11. Also see my discussion of the tonsure in chapter 2.

<sup>68</sup> ABEV, Ms. 6, f. 1v. On this manuscript and its miniatures see Eugenia Ibarburu, *De capitibus litterarum et aliis figuris: recull d'estudis sobre miniatura medieval* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1999), pp. 187–91. The Siren from Ms. 6 is also illustrated in Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx, *La sirène dans la pensée et dans l'art de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, ill. 46.

by the male figure. The kind of devotional act of seeing in the cloister is typified in the Descent from the Cross at Santo Domingo de Silos, in the reliefs with the Descent from the Cross in the northeast pier and Doubting Thomas in the northwest pier.<sup>69</sup>

The Abyss and Sirens in the cloister are isolated by counterpoised capitals with angels (**plate 25 and 27**, nos. 14 and 18). These angels stand at the corners of the capital with orant poses, their hands superimposed on highly detailed wings. The gestures with hands held upwards contrasts to the gestures of the Abyss and Siren figures that grasp at the undulating waves and the fishy scales, respectively (**fig. 105**). As counterpoised on either side of the Abyss and the Sirens, the angels can be associated with the days of creation, illustrated in the Genesis narrative in the Cotton Genesis recension, as reflected in the Creation Cupola of San Marco in Venice.<sup>70</sup> These angels might also be interpreted as performing an action similar to the angels from Apocalypse that stand on the corners of the earth in Apocalypse 7:1-4 to hold back the four winds that blow on the earth and sea in order to protect the servants of God. In this configuration the angels can also be compared to wind diagrams, especially from copies of Aratus's *De astronomia*.<sup>71</sup> Wind diagrams with angels were painted in at least two manuscripts copied at Ripoll.<sup>72</sup> As

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<sup>69</sup> On the devotional aspect of these pier reliefs at Silos, see Valdez del Álamo, *A Palace of the Mind: The Cloister of Silos and Spanish Sculpture of the Twelfth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 97–100 and 118–126.

<sup>70</sup> See Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library, 1999), pp. 15–22. Also see Kurt Weitzmann, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library, 1986), v. 1, pp. 22–23.

<sup>71</sup> A wind diagram was copied at Ripoll in the twelfth century among the miscellaneous astrological texts in Madrid, BNE, Ms. 19, f. 120. See Barbara Obrist, “Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology,” *Speculum* 72, no. 1 (1977): 33–84.

<sup>72</sup> A wind diagram was copied at Ripoll in the twelfth century among the miscellaneous astrological texts in Madrid, BNE, Ms. 19, f. 120. The diagram in Ms. 19 is noted by Obrist, “Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology,” p. 57, note 100. Also copied at Ripoll, wind diagrams appear in the astrological miscellany

flanking the Abyss and Sirens, the angel capitals might function in this scenario similar to the series of angels sculpted in the decorated white stone impost above the relief in the center pillar of the north cloister walk at Moissac (**fig. 111**), further suggesting that the north cloister walk at Ripoll was informed by Moissac.

Lastly, the formal composition of the angels in these two capitals at Ripoll is not unlike the composition of the Abyss and Sirens. In this sense the monstrous capitals do not focus on the repulsive aspects of these subjects but instead they imparted a level of dignity – the bust-length figures of the monstrous Abyss appear to be clothed to the neck, with the fabric in ruffles at the joints of their arms and wrists (**fig. 105**). The Sirens are also girded with loincloths and belts, decorated in sunken-relief.<sup>73</sup> In this sense the ambiguity of the Abyss and Sirens as somewhere between dangerous and generative is echoed in the formal qualities of these capitals.

#### PANTHEONS AT RIPOLL AND LLUÇÀ

In the twelfth century the cloister was allegorized as a paradise on earth, and this notion was extended to the burials that were situated there.<sup>74</sup> Contrasting the cosmogonic imagery of creation, the cloister capitals at Ripoll announce the space of the *claustr-*

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BAV Reg. Lat. 123, f. 131 and f. 132, along with personifications of the winds and of earth (*Terra*) at the edges and the center of the world map, ff. 143v-144.

<sup>73</sup> By comparison, a cloister capital with Sirens at Girona Cathedral is rendered without any easily recognizable clothing or coverings, accentuating the more monstrous or fish-like nature of the Siren.

<sup>74</sup> Francesca Español, "La polyfuncionalidad de un espacio restringido" and Joaquín Yarza, "Iconografía del claustro románico," in *Claustros Romanicos Hispanos*, ed. Joaquín Yarza (León: Edilesa, 2003), pp. 11-31 and 47-67, respectively; see also Paul Meyvaert "The Medieval Monastic Claustrium," *Gesta* 12, no. 1/2 (1973): 53-9.

*panteón* as a site of intercession on behalf of the dead through conventions of cloister decoration seen at other important Benedictine monasteries that evoke the resurrection of the body. The capitals at Ripoll were later emulated at the smaller canon's cloister of Santa Maria de Lluça, probably, I propose, to reflect the high status of Ripoll's resting place for the Catalan counts. The Lluça cloister dates to around 1190, about thirty years after the Ripoll cloister.

The northeast pillar of the cloister was the most significant in this regard, where four engaged capitals are sculpted with elaborate patterns (nos. 29-32).<sup>75</sup> These capitals are nearest to the tomb of Guifré el Pílos, whose tomb was placed to the north side of the chapterhouse in the eighteenth-century plans (**plates 2 and 3**). Two engaged capitals on the east face of the northeast pier are sculpted with interlaced lions, birds, and fruits, both finished with drill work. Of these the capital nearest the relief of abbot Ramon is sculpted in three registers; at center is a lion-like maw from which emerge the bodies of two lions, flanked by two other lions at the sides (**plate 35**, no. 32). Above, two pairs of birds reach down their heads towards hanging fruits (now lost on the right side and damaged at left). Flame-like tendrils rise above the drilled astragal at either side of the central maw. Similar motifs are sculpted in the adjacent capital (**plate 34**, no. 31) with the maw, foliage and fruits, and copious drilling to the astragal and consoles. One of the eyes of the lion-mask on the left side retains a dark insert.

These lion-like maws, although lacking the iconographic clarity of historiated reliefs, call attention to the theme of bodily resurrection in the space of the northeast corner of the cloister, closest to the church portal; this corner is associated with the theme

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<sup>75</sup> On the funerary significance cloisters in Spain, including the north cloister walk at Ripoll, see Español, "La polifuncionalidad," pp. 23-25.

of resurrection in other twelfth-century cloisters, as at Santo Domingo de Silos, where the northeast pier relief depict the Resurrection of Christ (**fig. 118**) also with engaged capitals sculpted with interlace and animals.<sup>76</sup> Lions are commonly associated with bodily resurrection through a handful of sources; for monastic viewers the association with Psalm 21:22, “save me from the mouth of the lion,” might be the most familiar. The lion in the *Physiologus* is noted for the fact that lion cubs are stillborn from the womb and then brought to life by the exhalation of the father into the cub's mouth.<sup>77</sup> Pictorially, Daniel in the Lion's Den is frequently carved in Romanesque sculpture in northern Spain, as in the Ripoll portal (**fig. 69**).<sup>78</sup> The theme of resurrection also appears at the cathedral cloister of Santa Maria de Girona, but here on the south cloister walk adjacent to the church, where friezes at the top of the central pier depict the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>79</sup> Both of these capitals are imitated in the northeast pier of the cloister at Santa Maria de Lluçà. The imitation of the capital with the lions emerging from a mask near the astragal is particularly notable (**fig. 119**).

A capital engaging the other side of the northeast pier at Ripoll with inverted *bucrania* and lion heads (**plate 33**, no. 30) references death and resurrection through an

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<sup>76</sup> On these reliefs and the theme of triumph over death in northeast piers at Silos, see Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, *A Palace of the Mind*, pp. 97-107.

<sup>77</sup> Michael J. Curley, trans., *Physiologus: A Medieval Book of Nature Lore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), revised edition 2009, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> On Daniel in the Lion's Den in Romanesque sculpture in Spain, see Juan Antonio Olañeta, “Pensamiento y lectura tipológica de la imágenes románicas. El caso de la iconografía de Daniel en el foso de los leones,” *Codex Aquilarensis* 27 (2012): 93–107, and this author's forthcoming dissertation.

<sup>79</sup> Immaculada Lorès, *Catalunya Romanica*, Vol. 5, *El Gironès* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1991), pp. 119-31; also see Lorès, “Escultura Gironina del cercle del claustre de la seu de Girona: alguns fragments de la catedral i del museu d'art,” *Estudi General: Revista de la Facultat de Lletres de la Universitat de Girona* 10 (1990): 71–93, and Gerardo Boto Varela, *Claustros Romanicos Hispanos*, pp. 328-9.

ancient motif from Roman sculpture found on altars for the dead.<sup>80</sup> *Bucrania* on Roman monuments often support fruit-bearing swags or garlands, not unlike the hanging fruits or pinecones decorating many of the cloister capitals.<sup>81</sup> Cows or oxen grazing on foliage are also represented in the celebrated “diner dels bous” minted by the bishops of Vic in the late eleventh century, where a shepherd with staff gestures in benediction to a pair of horned cows.<sup>82</sup> The northeast pillar's association with the theme of resurrection was likely the primary motive behind the later addition of the relief of abbot Ramon, but here the *bucrania* in the engaged capital can also be seen as a reason for placing the abbot's image in the pier, but the abbot's portrait in proximity to the *bucrania* also simulates the pastoral image imprinted on the “diner dels bous.”

The significance of the capital with *bucrania* engaged in the northeast pillar is reinforced by its imitation in an engaged capital in the northeast pillar of the cloister at Santa Maria de Lluçà (**fig. 120**), sculpted around a quarter of a century after the capitals at Ripoll.<sup>83</sup> Unlike Ripoll, the precise locations of burials and entombments in the cloister at Lluçà are well documented; most of the cloister burials are clustered around the

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<sup>80</sup> On *bucrania* in Roman monuments for the dead, see Glenys Davies, "Before Sarcophagi," in *Life, Death and Representation: Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Janet Huskinson (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 21-54; esp. pp. 28-30.

<sup>81</sup> These fruits or pinecones are widely found in twelfth-century sculpture. Ilene Forsyth has noted the appearance of pinecones as prizes in the Romanesque cockfighting capitals of Burgundy, where they can be seen as symbols of eternal life; see Ilene Forsyth, "The Theme of Cockfighting in Burgundian Romanesque Sculpture," *Speculum* 53, no. 2 (1978): 252-82, p. 281, note 91.

<sup>82</sup> Anna M. Balaguer, *Història de la moneda dels comtats catalans* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1999), pp. 415-16, and pp. 122-25. I also discuss the "diner dels bous" in chapter 2, with the images of Saints Peter and Paul on the portal archivolt.

<sup>83</sup> On the cloister at Santa Maria de Lluçà see *Catalunya Romànica*, Vol. 2, *Osona I*, ed. Jordi Vigué and Antoni Pladevall i Font (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1984), 251-74.

northeast pillar and the portal to the church.<sup>84</sup> The Lluçà cloister probably emulated the decorations of the *clautro-panteón* at Ripoll to create a provincial pantheon for the viscounts of Barcelona, the descendants of Guisla of Lluçà (d. 1054).<sup>85</sup> The capital with *bucrania* at Lluçà might also reference the "diner dels bous," which were known to be in circulation at the time that Berenguer Sunifred de Lluçà was bishop of Vic from 1078-1099.<sup>86</sup>

An engaged capital with three peacocks in the northwest pillar at Ripoll (**plate 20**, no. 4) continues the theme of resurrection at the other side of the cloister arcade. Peacocks are known in the medieval bestiary as symbols of bodily incorruptibility and are depicted in this context on Early Christian sarcophagi. The length of the tail feathers and prominence of the round eyelets in the tail are easily identified as the features of a peacock. The large scale of the body even gives the impression of an animal perched in a tree.<sup>87</sup> The heads (now lost at the neck) would have been sculpted in remarkably high relief, if not entirely free from the bell of the capital, inviting the viewer to pause and appreciate the plays of shadow. This capital also breaks with the balanced symmetrical designs elsewhere in the cloister; here the long feathers of the bird's tail terminate at the astragal, bisecting the foliate pattern around the lower section of the capital, on which the bird perches.

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<sup>84</sup> *Catalunya Romànica*, Vol. 2, *Osona* I, pp. 256–57.

<sup>85</sup> Guisla of Lluçà was married to the Berenguer Ramon I, Count of Barcelona (d. 1035). A record of Berenguer Ramon I as one of the counts entombed at Ripoll is published in *Marca Hispanica* but this tomb is unknown; see *Marca Hispanica*, col. 438.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, Balaguer, pp. 122-23. An earlier member of this family, Guillem de Lluçà, also served as bishop of Vic from 1046-1076.

<sup>87</sup> The effect could have been enhanced through polychrome paint, traces of which survive on other capitals in the cloister.

The peacock capital employs a genre of avian imagery also found on tomb monuments. Two peacocks are sculpted on a twelfth-century sarcophagus originally from Sant Pere de Casserres (**fig. 121**), a Cluniac priory in the twelfth century.<sup>88</sup> The occupant of this sarcophagus is unknown but it could have been made for a member of the family of viscounts of Cardona who recorded their wishes to be entombed at the priory.<sup>89</sup> Dated to the twelfth century, the peacocks on this sarcophagus reference an early Christian theme that the peacocks in the Ripoll cloister capital also evoke. The four circular emblems of varying sizes most likely depict stars, as found in a sarcophagus installed in the façade of Sant Feliu de Girona (**fig. 122**).<sup>90</sup>

The peacock further embodied associations with the protection of the dead and the expectation of future resurrection through the symbolism of the peacock's flesh. The bodily incorruptibility of peacocks is attested in medieval bestiaries, where they are described as having undecaying flesh. In the twelfth century this theme is picked up by Hugh of Fouillooy in the popular *Aviarium*, where peacocks are said to have "flesh which is hard and resistant to decay, [and] which the cook finds difficult [to cook] on the fire, or which can scarcely be digested in the stomach by the heat of the liver."<sup>91</sup> The notion of the flesh resistant to heat is also evoked in the Ripoll portal with the Three Hebrews in

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<sup>88</sup> On this sarcophagus see Miquel S. Gros i Pujol, *Museu Episcopal de Vic: Romànic* (Sabadell: Editorial AUSA, n.d. [1991]), p. 20. Sant Pere de Casserres is recorded before the eleventh century, but it became a priory of Cluny in 1080 by the viscounts of Cardona.

<sup>89</sup> See Francesc Rodríguez Bernal, *Els vescomtes de Cardona al segle XII: una història a través dels seus testaments* (Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2009), pp. 44-8.

<sup>90</sup> On the sarcophagus at Sant Feliu de Girona see Puig i Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, v. 4 (1918), pp. 553 and 558-59.

<sup>91</sup> "Duras habet carnes et putredini resistentes, quae vic a coco [coquantur] foco, vel a calore epatis coqui possint in stomacho;" Willene B. Clark, ed. and trans, *The Medieval Book of Birds: Hugh of Fouillooy's Aviarium* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), p. 247.

the Fiery Furnace in the inner archivolt (**fig. 68**). The peacock capital also stands nearest the doorway linking the cloister to the space of the west portal; in this case, audiences in the cloister, including monastic processions, would first encounter the peacock capital as they entered the cloister from outside the abbey church.

Like the capitals of the northeast pier, the peacock capital of the northwest pier at Ripoll was also imitated at the cloister of Lluçà (**fig. 123**). The peacocks at Lluçà lack the long tail and other details have been similarly abbreviated, but the similarity of the capitals suggests that the sculptor or sculptors had encountered the Ripoll peacock capital first hand.<sup>92</sup> Following the arguments that favor the date of the Ripoll capitals closer to the middle of the twelfth century, and thus at least one generation before that of the artists at Lluçà, one can speculate that the sculptor who fabricated the relief of abbot Ramon around his death in 1205 might have been involved in the decorations of the cloister at Lluçà and was tasked with emulating the Ripoll capitals there.<sup>93</sup>

#### RIPOLL, JACA, AND THE PROTECTION OF THE DEAD

A capital adjacent to the Abyss capital at Ripoll with four human figures entwined in vines (**plate 25**, no. 13) is one of the most alluring of the north cloister but similarly enigmatic. The bodies of all four figures are slightly contorted, their toes pointed to the astragal and legs splayed on either side of their arms to grasp at helicoidal vines with both

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<sup>92</sup> The concordance between these capitals is similarly noted in by Francesca Español, "L'escultura del claustre del Lluçà," in *Catalunya Romànica*, Vol. 2, *Osona I*, ed. Jordi Vigué and Antoni Pladevall i Font (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1984), p. 272.

<sup>93</sup> This would place the Lluçà capitals more than a decade after the most commonly accepted date of 1190, as in Francesca Español Bertran, "L'escultura del claustre del Lluçà," p. 265.

hands. The vines emerging from the astragal are varied, but on two sides they are bound together with decorated collets that resemble regal crowns. Of the four figures only one has distinct facial features, including curly hair, a mustache, and beard. The composition of the capital with entwined figures, with splayed leafs at top and with decorated shoes on the feet of the figures, is similar to a capital on the left side of the portal of Santa Eugenia de Berga (**fig. 114**). A similar type is also found at Sant Pere de Galligants, Sant Cugat del Vallès, and other cloister and portals in Catalonia.<sup>94</sup>

The capital with entwined figures at Ripoll can also be compared to capitals from the lost cathedral cloister of San Pedro de Jaca, including a capital with four human-hybrid figures entwined in vines (**fig. 115**) and the so-called “Satyr capital.”<sup>95</sup> The capital with entwined figures grasping at vines between their claw-footed feet from Jaca also features bearded and non-bearded figures, like the capital at Ripoll. Although its intended

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<sup>94</sup> Barral asserts that the capitals at Santa Eugenia de Berga were sculpted by the same workshop as the Ripoll cloister capitals, possibly after the portal at the cathedral of Vic; see Barral "Le sculpture," p. 349. Details of this capital at Berga, however, such as the hem line of the garments, are different. The similarities between the capitals are not clear enough to positively identify these capitals as being the work of the same artist or workshop.

<sup>95</sup> Both of these capitals were formerly located under the altar and have since been moved to the Museo Diocesano. The literature on the Jaca capitals is vast. For the present study I am most concerned with the analysis of the Jaca capitals in Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Saevum facinus: estilo, genealogía y sacrificio en el arte románico español," *Goya* 324 (2008): 173-199, and this author's subsequent essays, including "Del maestro de Orestes-Caín al maestro del sátiro: Una conferencia sobre la belleza de la tragedia y la memoria del future," in *Los maestros del Románico en el Camino de Santiago* (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2010), 9-36, and "Signum resurrectionis: la transfiguración de la belleza y la búsqueda de la eternidad en la escultura de Jaca," *Románico* 20 (2015): 212-222. Generally, see Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 2 vols. (Florence and New York: Pantheon / Brace, 1928), Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El arte románico español. Esquema de un libro* (Madrid: Blass, S.a., 1934); Serafín Moralejo, "Sobre la formación del estilo escultórico de Frómista y Jaca," in *España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico. Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de la Historia del Arte*, vol. 1 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1973), pp. 427-34, and "La sculpture romane de la Cathédrale de Jaca: Etat des questions," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 10 (1979): 79-106.

location at the cathedral is unknown, it was likely installed in the cloister.<sup>96</sup>

Although it is more complex than the Ripoll capital with entwined figures, the “Satyr capital” (**figs. 116a-b**) from Jaca also portrays four figures grasping at vines, in this case with two figures with ape-like faces and two others with women's faces, one with a diadem (**fig. 116b**). It is also sculpted with a nude figure on one side (**fig. 116a**) and a bird on the other (**fig. 116b**). In a recent analysis of this capital Francisco Prado-Vilar has suggested that the nude figure is derived from the classical *thiasos*, or funeral cortège, that are sculpted on Roman sarcophagi, often associated with marine settings.<sup>97</sup> Prado-Vilar also identifies the bird as a phoenix, the symbol of resurrection.<sup>98</sup> He emphasizes these aspects less as iconographic parallels than as embodying the *pathosformeln*, or emotionally affective images that here signify a particular conception of transcendence and resurrection.<sup>99</sup> At Jaca these images are sculpted in the capital, as Prado-Vilar argues, to represent the glory of the resurrected body of the dead. In this argument, the “Count's capital” from Jaca (**fig. 117a-c**) portrays Sancho Ramírez, Count of Ribagorza (d. 1110) (**fig. 117b**), along a representations of the Archangel Michael (**fig. 117c**). Another side of this capital depicts two enigmatic figures, perhaps representations

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<sup>96</sup> On the destruction of the cloister at Jaca and the displacement of its capitals, see Francisco de Asís García García, “Monarquía, reforma y frontera: aportaciones al estudio de la escultura románica de la catedral de Jaca” (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2016).

<sup>97</sup> Francisco Prado-Vilar, “Signum resurrectionis: la transfiguración de la belleza y la búsqueda de la eternidad en la escultura de Jaca,” *Románico* 20 (2015): 212-222

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Aby Warburg proposed the study of *pathosformeln* as a method of visual analysis, as discussed by Prado-Vilar in various essays, as in note 91.

of seasons or planets (**fig. 117a**).<sup>100</sup> Count Sancho Ramírez was entombed in a funeral chapel at the cathedral, now lost.<sup>101</sup> The capitals at Ripoll, by contrast, do not depict the glorious nude body of the resurrected (although the qualities of the bodies of the counts are recorded by the monks at Ripoll, as discussed in chapter 3) but do employ hybrid or monstrous and avian imagery like the “Satyr capital,” in the engaged capital of the northwest pier with peacocks (**plate 20**).

The crosscurrents seen in these capitals speak as much to the aims of patrons who promoted the cult of dynastic memory at both foundations as to the mingling of ideas and talents among the sculptors. San Pedro de Jaca is closely linked to the eleventh-century kings of Aragon and their descendants, including Sancho Ramírez, who was entombed in an undecorated sarcophagus at the cathedral of San Pedro dedicated to Saints Stephen, Nicholas, and Augustine.<sup>102</sup> The association of this memorial chapel, its sculpted capitals, and its proximity to the cloister at San Pedro de Jaca might give context to Alfonso II's decision to initiate a new pantheon for the Aragonese royal family. King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona, Alfonso II initially chose Ripoll for the site of his tomb and only changed his mind much later, in 1196, when he elected to be entombed at the more recently established Cistercian abbey at Poblet.<sup>103</sup> It seems that the abbots and monks at Ripoll had all expectation of continuing in the role of keepers of the royal pantheon of the

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<sup>100</sup> This interpretation is proposed by Sonia Simon, “Iconografía de un capitel del claustro de la catedral de Jaca,” *Actas del XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Vol. 3 (Zaragoza: Disputación General de Jaca, 1997), pp. 421–36.

<sup>101</sup> This chapel has been deconstructed. See García, “Monarquía, reforma y frontera,” *ibid.*, pp. 450–550.

<sup>102</sup> Count Sancho Ramírez was the illegitimate son of Ramiro I, king of Aragón. On this chapel and sarcophagus, see David Simon, “Le sarcophage de Doña Sancha à Jaca,” *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 10 (1979): 122–23, and Francisco Prado-Vilar, “Signum resurrectionis,” pp. 216–17.

<sup>103</sup> See Cingolani, *Les Gesta Comitum*, p. 194–5. Poblet was founded in 1151 by Alfonso II's father, Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona.

counts of Barcelona, who had only recently been joined with the kingdom of Aragón. This would have been true when the work on the cloister capitals was initiated around the middle of the twelfth century.

Interestingly, when Alfonso II retracted his pledge to the monks at Ripoll, part of his remuneration included the *honor* of Monzon, which had decades earlier belonged to Sancho Ramírez (entombed at San Pedro de Jaca).<sup>104</sup> As Manuel Castiñeiras has noted, the kings of Aragón were particularly generous to Ripoll, granting an annual payment of 300 gold *solidi* to be given to the abbot of Ripoll within the confines of Jaca, and presumably at the royal palace near the cathedral of San Pedro.<sup>105</sup> Translated into Spanish from the Latin charters, Roc d'Olzinelles paraphrases the record of these payments to the abbots, stating that they were given for the "Virgin Mary's restoration of [his] health, for his father, and for his eternal glory."<sup>106</sup>

These annual payments to Santa Maria de Ripoll from the kings of Aragón are similar in spirit and date to the well-known *parias* collected by the Kings of León, Castile, and Aragón and given to the abbey of Cluny, although they are nowhere near the same amount. The *parias*, or tributes, from the Fernando I and Alfonso VI of León are

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<sup>104</sup> As compensation for the loss of his body the monastery at Ripoll was given the rights to mills in Ribes de Freser (Cerdanya), vineyards in Barbastro (Aragón), and the honor of the Castle of Monzón (Aragón). See Nicolas Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 256 and note 15, who also speculates that these donations were directly tied to the "price of a stone sarcophagus" that this author assumes the monks at Ripoll had already created, at p. 257. Also see Pellicer, pp. 129-30.

<sup>105</sup> Castiñeiras, "Ripoll Portal Revisited," p. 136.

<sup>106</sup> "Escritura sin fecha en que se refiere que habiendo llegado el Rey D. Pedro a Jaca el dia de S. Lucas fue a visitar al Abad de Ripoll en la casa de Jacelino, en donde estaba enfermo, y Dios le inspiró que le diese al monasterio anualmente durante su vida 300 mancosos de oro de Valencia, o CCC sueldos de moneda de Jaca para que la Virgin Maria le alcanzase la salud, a su Padre y a el la gloria eterna," BN, Ms. 430, f. 44; also see Castiñeiras, *ibid.*, p. 136 and note 56. The veracity of these donations has not been confirmed against other copies of charters recording these donations, if any survive.

often characterized as the lifeblood of the campaign to construct the third church at Cluny (Cluny III).<sup>107</sup> The special status of Cluny's intercessory prayer for the dead has been noted as one of the prime motivations behind these donations.<sup>108</sup> The payments from the kings of Aragón to the monastery Ripoll were made in a similar paradigm – not necessarily based only on familial bonds but on the perceived efficacy of intercessory prayer at Ripoll.

Prayers for the protection and intercession of the dead were performed in processions through the cloister at Ripoll. A record of the institution of the Saturday Office of the Virgin Mary at Ripoll in 1157 is a valuable witness to the form of commemorative rites at Ripoll in the twelfth century, and it gives additional context for the decoration of the cloister around 1140-60.<sup>109</sup> Portions of this document resemble the structure and content of monastic customaries, which do not survive from Ripoll.<sup>110</sup> In instituting the new feasts for the Virgin Mary, Abbot Gausfred (d. 1169) says he was supplementing the customs of his predecessor Pere Ramon (d. 1153) with additional prayers for Mary as the Mother of Mercy and “guardian of the dead” (*presidium*

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<sup>107</sup> For a summary of the literature on the tributes to Cluny and their role in the transmission of medieval art, see John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27, no. 1/2 (1988): 93-101.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León," *Studia monástica* 3 (1961): 53–76; also see Debra Hassig, "He Will Make Alive Your Mortal Bodies: Cluniac Spirituality and the Tomb of Alfonso Ansúrez," *Gesta* 30, no. 2 (1991): 140–53.

<sup>109</sup> This document is also discussed in chapter 3, note 10. The record of the institution of the Saturday Office of the Virgin is found in Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 5132, ff. 101v-103v; see Francesc Xavier Altés, "La institució de la Festa de Santa Maria en dissabte i la renovació de l'altar major del monestir de Ripoll a mitjan segle XII," *Studia Monastica* 44, no. 1 (2002): 57–96.

<sup>110</sup> The customs of the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès do survive; see Efreu Compte, *El costumari del monestir de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 82 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2009). The cloister capitals at Sant Cugat have been analyzed in regard to this customary by Immaculada Lorès, "La vida en el claustre: iconografia monàstica als capitells de Sant Cugat del Vallès i el Costumari del monestir," *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 6 (2002): 36–46.

*defunctorum*).<sup>111</sup> These prayers for the protection of the dead are performed through a procession beginning at the main altar and proceeding through the cemetery.<sup>112</sup> This circuit of the cemetery might have passed through a galilée portico in the space of the sculpted portal, but it certainly would have included the cloister, where the most illustrious of the monastery's dead were entombed.<sup>113</sup>

This section of Gausfred's new feasts for the Virgin Mary can also be noted for the description of the monks as adorned with a variety of vestments in the service of greater devotion.<sup>114</sup> This passage has not received the attention of art historians but I propose that it can be read as evidence of the value of *varietas* in the decoration of the spaces for the dead, including the cloister at Ripoll – specifically through expensive variegated stones, but perhaps also in the sculpted imagery of the cloister capitals. In a general sense the issue of variety ties into twelfth-century debates concerning variety as variously

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<sup>111</sup> BnF, Ms. Lat. 5132, ff. 102-102v: “Cui predictus venerabilis abbas Gaufredus succedens, singulis septimanis omni feria sexta, aut si festivitas ibi occurrerit alio quicumque precedentium dierum, missam a sacerdote super altare gloriosae virginis in conventu pro fratribus nostris et omnium fidelium spiritibus decantari, totumque nos in circuitu ecclesiae cimiterium benedicere, et fidelium animas Deo commendare in perpetuum instituit. Quibus ad presidium defunctorum, ultra solitum pensum noviter additis sufficiat eiusdem prefata dominicę Matris festivitate, certissima spes et confidentia Matris misericordię;” Altés, “La institució de la festa de Santa Maria,” p. 77. This echoes Augustine's writings on the care of the dead in *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*; PL 40, chapter 22, cols. 608–10.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., Altés, p. 77.

<sup>113</sup> A galilée portico is known to have existed at Girona Cathedral, and the existence of a galilée portico at Ripoll has been proposed by Francesca Español, “Panthéons comtaux en Catalogne à l'époque Romane. Les inhumations privilégiées du monastère de Ripoll,” *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 42 (2001): 103–114, as discussed in chapter 3.

<sup>114</sup> Altés, p. 77: “Ad propositum igitur redeuntes, omnes prefati diei oras, sicut in xii lectionibus sollemniter decantari censemus. Missa vero maior, paulo sollempnior ac devotior quam in xii lectionibus apparet, non solum in divinae laudis hilaritate, verum etiam in ornamentis altaris, subdiachoni quoque diachoni et sacerdotis idonea vestium ac celebri varietate. Regina enim illa caelestis in his etiam exterioribus non inmerito varie honoratur, de qua non incongrue dici potest: ‘Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate’ (Ps. 44,10). Mira enim varietate precingitur, quam omnium sub caelo nationum populi, tribus et linguae certatim laudare et glorificare curantes, cum ipsa in conspectu summi regis ab eadem offerendi apparebunt, ubi omnis varietas populorum, omnis ordo religionum, omnis conventus sanctorum, mirabili eam varietate circumdabunt, quam mira ac varia in hoc mundo laude venerantes, devotissime coluerunt. In eadem etiam missa himnus angelicus, id est, ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo.’”

beneficial or distracting, often relating to the “reading in marble” famously derided by Bernard of Clairvaux. Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis is the best-known defender of luxury and variety in the twelfth century through the gold and gem-studded objects of the treasury, and Gausfred seems to be following Suger's line of reasoning in evoking the concept of variety in the decoration of sacred spaces.<sup>115</sup>

Abbot Gausfred dictates that his monks perform solemn devotions “not only in the cheerfulness of the divine praise, but even in the ornaments of the altar, as well as in the suitable vestments of the subdeacon, deacon, and priest and their celebrated variety.”<sup>116</sup> Here Gausfred equates the variety of vestments with the greater efficacy of the liturgy, seemingly at odds with monastic reformers of the twelfth century who argued against displays of wealth and variety in the mass. Gausfred further defends his instructions in calling for a display of variety by quoting Psalm 44:10: “Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate” (The queen stood at right hand in golden clothing, surrounded with variety).<sup>117</sup> Gausfred continues that the Virgin Mary's varied, golden clothing symbolizes the variety of worldly inhabitants (people, languages, faiths, religious orders). It is curious that Gausfred needed to justify his reason for wearing (presumably luxurious and multicolored) vestments while chanting the prayers for the dead. Noting that the earlier section describes the memorial processions as meandering through the cloister, the concept of variety in vestments might also give context to the variety of expensive variegated stones used in the columns and bases supporting the

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<sup>115</sup> Erwin Panofsky and Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979).

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, note. 114.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, note. 114.

sculpted capitals.

## LUXURY AND VARIETY

Through luxury and variety the veined marble columns themselves could signify eternity and were often associated with the Heavenly Jerusalem, reinforcing the idea of Paradise in the cloister.<sup>118</sup> Gerardo Boto Varela has recently discussed the notion of eternity in variegated stones in the cloister of Tarragona Cathedral.<sup>119</sup> The cloister at Ripoll was decorated with expensive colored stones and finely sculpted capitals around the same time as the institution of the new Saturday office of the Virgin in 1157. As this record shows, the cloister space was a site for solemn processions for the dead that began at the main altar of the abbey church. In these processions the priest and deacons would wear vestments valued for their variety (*varietas*). A desire for variety is also apparent in the colored and variegated stones used in the construction of the arcades of the north walk. The process of obtaining these stones would have involved significant labor and expense. A single double-column unit (bases, columns, capitals, abaci) can comprise up to five or six different types of stone, including mottled red breccia, veined red and white marble, and white marble flecked with gray.<sup>120</sup> Some of the capitals feature an unusually

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<sup>118</sup> Exegesis on columns along these lines is discussed in John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988. On marble and timelessness, see Fabio Barry, “The Mouth of Truth and the Forum Boarium: Oceanus, Hercules, and Hadrian.” *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 1 (2011): 7–37, and “Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (2007): 627–656.

<sup>119</sup> Gerardo Boto Varela, “*Metaphora*, mirar la materia para ver lo etéreo. La puerta claustral de la catedral de Tarragona,” *Románico* 20 (2015): 24–33.

<sup>120</sup> It is unclear where these stones originated. The website of the conservation firm Arcovaleno cites the breccia at Ripoll as coming from Montseny and the white marble columns as coming from Gualba. Both of

tall shaft below the astragal, as in the capitals with griffins and with foliate designs and human faces (**plate 24**, nos. 11 and 12). In the case of these two particularly elongated capitals it is possible that the unusual section of stone beneath the astragal was needed to accommodate a shorter column.<sup>121</sup>

The lavishness and even the variety of the monastery at Santa Maria de Ripoll is described, in passing, in the *Vita beati Mironis canonici regularis S. Augustini*, a hagiographical narrative written for Miró de Tagamanent, an Augustinian canon at San Juan de les Abadesses (d. 1161).<sup>122</sup> Before finding his ideal monastic enclosure at San Juan de les Abadesses, the vita describes how Miró passed through a church between two rivers (*inter duos rivos*) that was “built in a lavish way” (*sumptuoso modo constructam*). I suggest that this passage can be read as a brief ekphrasis of Santa Maria de Ripoll and its lavish decorations, described in terms of variety and affectivity:<sup>123</sup>

"Tunc surgens sanctus juvenis vidit inter nemores, prata, inter duos rivos,  
Ecclesiam quamdam sumptuoso modo constructam, in cuius prospectu prae loci

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these quarry sites are located to the south of Ripoll. A report from this same firm cites the veined red and white marble columns coming from Villefranche-de-Conflent, across the Pyrenees to the north of Ripoll. See Arcovaleno's report dated January 27, 2012, "Restauració del claustre del Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll," (published by the Generalitat de Catalunya, Bishopric of Vic, and Disputació de Girona).

<sup>121</sup> One can speculate that perhaps this column that was mistakenly cut to an inadequate length or was damaged en route.

<sup>122</sup> Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, v. 28 (Madrid, 1792), appendix 24, pp. 305-312. Flórez's edition reproduces this text from a fourteenth-century document in the archives of the cathedral of Tortosa. On this text see also Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum latinorum Medii Aevii Hispanorum, Pars Prior* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1958), pp. 403-404.

<sup>123</sup> Santa Maria de Ripoll is often described as located between two rivers in papal bulls and other documents. I identify this passage as a description of the monastery from this statement and from the geographical information in the vita. The description of joyfulness (*iocunditate*) in this passage might even be read as a reference to the reliefs with David and Moses in the Ripoll portal and the jocularity of this imagery (see chapter 1). Flórez also identified this passage as describing the monastery at Ripoll in *España Sagrada*, *ibid.*, p. 234.

iucunditate, et arborum varietate, cognovit magna affectum fuisse laetitia; sed erat alia interior ex loci spiritualis amoenitate causata."

(Then, rising up, the holy youth saw a church that was built in a lavish way, in a plain between forests, [and] between two rivers, a place filled with joy, and a variety of trees, the sight of which, he recognized, moved him towards feelings of great delight; but there was another place that stirred [Miró] to spiritual charms.)<sup>124</sup>

Written in the context of the monastic reforms of the twelfth century, this *vita* characterizes Santa Maria de Ripoll as place of luxury that rouses Miró's senses but not his spirit. Ripoll is situated among a "variety of trees" (*arborum varietate*) probably to continue a metaphor established earlier in the *vita* in which Miró is called to the monastic life by the songs of birds; in this regard the text implies that Miró rejected the monastery at Ripoll in favor of San Juan de les Abadesses in the manner that a bird might flit between trees in searching for a place to nest.<sup>125</sup>

Also written in the context of twelfth-century monastic reform, luxury and variety were key subjects critiqued by Bernard of Clairvaux in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum*.<sup>126</sup> Although thought to be directed at the abbey of Cluny, the reception of the *Apologia* has done much to shape modern interpretations of cloister sculpture, and his evocative passage on sculpted capitals in the cloister is perfectly applicable to the Ripoll cloister

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<sup>124</sup> Flórez, *España Sagrada*, *ibid.*, p. 306. This translation is my own. In the following passage the *vita* describes Miró as ascending the valley towards the site of San Juan de les Abadesses, continuing the theme of variety in the trees, streams, and mountains he witnesses along the way, in which he sees the "hand of the artist" (*ut viderentur manu Artificis esse fabricatos*, p. 307).

<sup>125</sup> The significance of bird songs in this *vita* is discussed in Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), repr. 2002, pp. 39, 56-7, 139-140.

<sup>126</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem*, trans. Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

capitals:

"[...] in the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read—what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity? What are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? The creatures, part man and part beast? The striped tigers? The fighting soldiers? The hunters blowing horns? You may see many bodies under one head, and conversely many heads on one body. On one side the tail of a serpent is seen on a quadruped, on the other side, the head of a quadruped is on the body of a fish. Over there an animal has a horse for the front half and a goat for the back; here a creature which is horned in front is equine behind. In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them than in meditating on the law of God."<sup>127</sup>

Mary Carruthers has suggested that Bernard's underlying motivation in writing this passage was the rhetorical concept of *varietas*, addressed both in his subject matter and the poetic nature of his prose.<sup>128</sup> Carruthers argues that Bernard's issue with monsters in the cloister, beyond their expense, was the sheer “variety of contradictory forms.” This is also echoed elsewhere in the *Apologia* where the use of expensive vestments is criticized. This is the same practice Gausfred defends in his institution of new feasts in 1157.<sup>129</sup>

Returning to the cloister capitals, the issue of variety and vestments is pictorialized in a capital with girded ape-like monsters (**plate 23**, no. 10). The furrowed foreheads of

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<sup>127</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum* trans. Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance,"* pp. 282-83, as cited in Thomas E.A. Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa," *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 402-36, p. 402.

<sup>128</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 146–150.

<sup>129</sup> The use of vestments at Cluny in this context is discussed by Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance,"* p. 106, and p. 165.

the mask-like faces of these figures are similar to the faces of the figures in the Abyss capital (**fig. 105**, no. 15), highlighting their hybrid, monstrous nature. Each of the four figures is sculpted with a different type of vestment or loincloth, but in each case the various details are sculpted between the squatting legs with claw-like toes that terminate at the chevron-patterned astragal. One wears a narrow belt across the waist. In this capital the issue of variety in vestments is inherently linked to the ape-like monstrous figures, suggesting a didactic meaning.

In analyzing cloister imagery Carruthers discounts the possibility for significant or didactic meanings in monstrous and hybrid imagery, disregarding the cloister context must be considered. Capitals sculpted with monstrous stimulated their viewers to reflect on rituals and liturgical texts often performed nearby. Carruther's focus on the aesthetic and sensory need not exist as a separate vein of interpretation, but this author's dismissal of the multivalent readings of monstrous capitals in the cloister unnecessarily limits the utility of monsters and hybrid forms that have been demonstrated to have stimulated sustained rumination for twelfth-century audiences. The explicit bodily gestures of apes and Sirens offered more than flashes of intrigue to relieve boredom. Studies of cloister sculpture that fail to address this issue inevitably fall back on approaches that privilege only the aesthetic qualities of sculpted capitals.<sup>130</sup>

One of these ape figures is depicted with a fringed loincloth decorated with three flowers in sunken-relief (**fig. 124**). Both the flowers and the use of sunken-relief are unusual, and it is especially notable that the ape-like hybrids of the Ripoll capital are

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<sup>130</sup> As noted earlier in regard to Neil Stratford's privileging of the whimsy of sculptors responsible for the so-called fish riders capital, the tendency to value the aesthetic over the ritual functions downplays the meanings of monstrous subjects. This tendency follows Meyer Schapiro's interpretations of twelfth-century sculpture that have been thoroughly revisited in more recent studies. See Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms," p. 403.

clearly rendered with clothing up to the neck and arms, giving the figures a more human appearance, yet the loincloths form a point between the monstrous feet that highlights the more animal-like features and points to the anus.<sup>131</sup>

This capital was probably intended as a representation of luxury and variety. In this case the monstrous apes can be interpreted as didactic or . A capital with a similar composition from the cloister of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa depicts four squatting apes without clothes (**fig. 125**). Knowing that the sculptors at Ripoll were presumably working from the same repertoires that the Cuxa workshop and others in Roussillon employed it is curious that the capital at Ripoll features clothed figures, suggesting a more circumscribed meaning. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo suggests that two capitals with chained apes next to the doorway to the chapterhouse in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos relate to the apes in the Old Testament evoked as luxury objects.<sup>132</sup>

The expensive marble from which the Ripoll capitals is made was itself an object of luxury and would have been a limiting factor in the extent to which the cloister was decorated. Very few cloisters in Catalonia feature capitals sculpted in marble.<sup>133</sup> The fine white marble and the veined pink and red marbles were probably imported from the north, in Villefranche-de-Conflent (France), or from the south near Gualba and Montseny (Catalonia).<sup>134</sup> In the case of the later decorations in the cloister, a contract with the stonecutter Pere Gregori states that fifty-six columns were to be made from stone from

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<sup>131</sup> A capital with apes at San Quirce de Burgos, by comparison, is sculpted with clearly defined anuses.

<sup>132</sup> Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, *A Palace of the Mind*, pp. 69–71. p. 56

<sup>133</sup> Fragments of sculpture made from white marble from Sant Pere de Rodes are an exception. The fragmentary portal from this monastery has long been attributed to the Master of Cabestany.

<sup>134</sup> See “Restauració del claustre del Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll,” (report at Arcovaleno.org) January 27, 2012 [online] <http://arcovaleno.org/> (accessed March 4, 2017).

Villefrance-de-Conflent, near the priory of Serrabone.<sup>135</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The washing of the feet and the performance of funeral processions in the Ripoll *claustro-panteón* have not previously been considered within the context of the cloister decorations. As I have discussed, both of these uses of the cloister space echo the more conceptual underpinnings with which they are associated – the cloister as paradise and place of repose until the resurrection of the dead. The notion of eternity implicit in these themes is further embellished in the veined and variegated stones that reflect the pleasure of variety and its sublime value. Taking cues from the clusters of meanings often tied to the piers, the northeast and northwest piers are Ripoll can be tied to soteriological theme of bodily incorruptibility and corporeal resurrection at the Last Judgment. At the core of this theme, the cluster of capitals at the center of the north walk present monstrous imagery that is, I argue, intentionally ambiguous. The capitals with the monstrous Abyss and Sirens represent the fecund but unknowable and chaotic depths that are ordered and circumscribed in the process of divine creation. As decorating the *claustro-panteón*, a refuge for the bodies of the Catalan counts, these sculpted capitals reflected the special value of the water drawn from the cloister well.

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<sup>135</sup> This contract is discussed by Junyent, “Notes inédites,” p. 192.

## **Conclusion**

The twelfth-century architectural sculpture of Santa Maria de Ripoll speaks on behalf of the communities of monks and abbots that wrote new histories and commissioned new works. These sculpted decorations illustrated how the monks at Ripoll envisioned their bodies, rituals, and voices, considered to have special resonance with the heavenly choirs. Although the twelfth-century sculpted portal at Ripoll is often studied as a late flourishing that reflected a golden age one hundred years prior, the portal, tomb monuments, and cloister capitals are far from derivative works. The purpose of this study has been to highlight how these sculpted decorations have engendered their own responses and resonances, as noted in other media or church decorations.

The two chapters in the first part of this study explored the miraculous space around the west portal where the monastic community was integrated into a tableau of biblical history to illustrate how and why their privileged voices resonated with the heavenly choir. Through the image of Jonah and his voice permeating the belly of the whale and David soaking up the spirit of heaven in to his marrow through song, the portal outlines how monastic voices at Ripoll straddled the human and divine realms. The chain of familial associations or spiritual kin in the archivolt imagery, between Peter, Jonah and Elijah on the left side and between Paul, Daniel and Abraham on the right, further displays a desire to outline the dynastic and spiritual linages that the monastic community drew upon to undergird their spiritual vocation.

The two chapters comprising the second part of this study examined the Ripoll *claustro-panteón* as paradise. From its initial foundation Ripoll was envisioned as an inviolable palace of refuge for both the living and the dead. Due to damage and problems of dating, scholars have avoided meaningful interpretations of the figural imagery sculpted on the tomb of Ramon Berenguer III. The sustained reading I offer in this study highlights the intentions and desired affects of the tomb sculpture. By visualizing the broken sounds of public mourning and the reception and sanctification of the body through monastic ritual and song, the beholder of the tomb simulated the moment in which the monk's songs and processions crossed the threshold of the *claustro-panteón*. Poignant liturgical moments further designate the functions of sculpted capitals in the cloisters through the washing of the feet of the poor and the performance of intercessory processions. As I have discussed, both of these uses of the cloister space echo the more conceptual underpinnings with which they are associated: the cloister as paradise and place of repose for the future resurrection of the dead.

PLATES

ANTIGUO PLANO INÉDITO  
DEL REAL MONASTERIO DE RIPOLL,  
CON UNA SUCINTA EXPLICACIÓN DE SUS DEPENDENCIAS

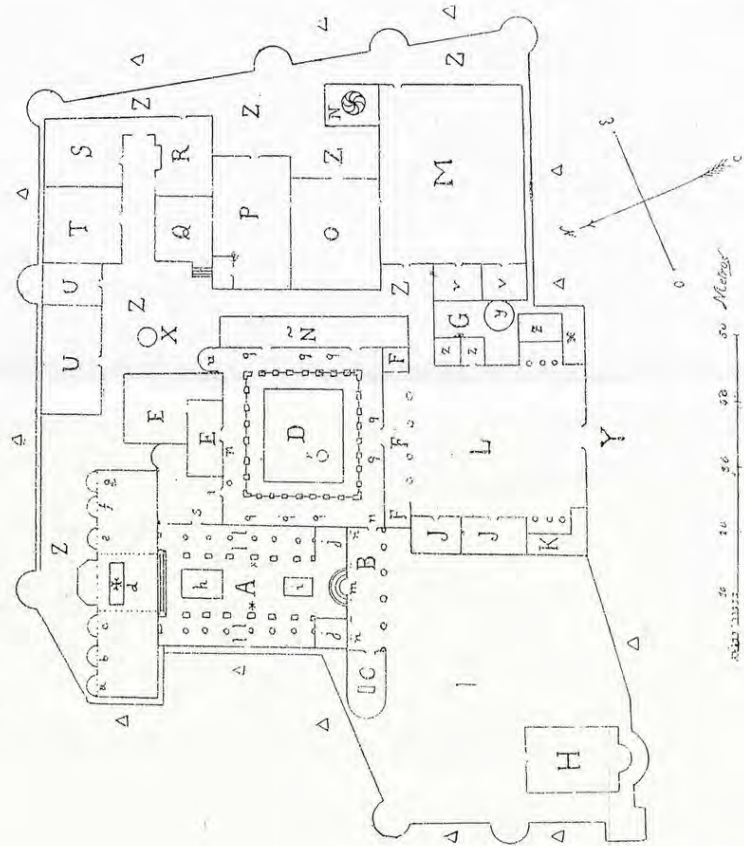
por  
D. JOSÉ M.<sup>a</sup> PELLICER Y PAGES.

EXPLICACIÓN DEL PLANO.

- A. Basílica de Santa María.
- B. Pórtico de Santa María.
- C. Capilla de San Vicente.
- D. Claustro-panteón.
- E. Capitulo.
- F. F. F. Pórtico del Claustro y Curia.
- G. Palacio del Abad.
- H. Iglesia de San Pedro (reducida á sus límites primitivos).
- I. Antiguo cementerio y plaza de Santa María.
- J. J. Cellería (alfofi y molino hidráulico).
- K. Real Escuela.
- L. Ovile (vulgo plaza del Corral).
- M. Viridarium (huerto del Abad).
- N. Otro molino hidráulico movido por el agua de la acequia del abad Arnulfo.
- Ñ. Paborda de Aja.
- O. Paborda de Berga.
- P. Enfermería.
- Q. Limosnero.
- R. Dispensator maior.
- S. Dispensator minor.
- T. Camarero.
- U. Scriptorium.
- X. Pezo del hilo.
- Y. Puerta de Santa Catalina.
- Z. Z. Jardines, patios y huertos.
- Δ Δ. Muralla del Cenobio.

PORMENORES DEL PLANO.

- (Iglesia) a. Altar de San Jaime.
- b. Altar de San Juan.
- c. Id. de San Benito.
- d. Frontal de oro y mosaico.
- e. Altar de San Poncio.
- f. Id. de Santa Cruz (Santo Cristo).
- g. Id. de San Miguel.
- h. Cripta de los abades.
- i. Tumba de bienhechores.
- j. j. Torres campanarios.
- l. l. l. l. Corredores laterales.
- ★. Urna de plata de Berenguer IV.
- X. Cenotafio de Oliva.
- m. Portada.
- ñ. Sarcófagos en los pozos de la Portada.
- n. Salida al Claustro-panteón (Claustro-panteón o. Altar de Wilfredo).
- p. Altar de Tallafarro.
- q. q. q. Sarcófagos de otros Soberanos de Cataluña.
- r. Pezo de agua riquísima.
- s. Salida lateral del templo.
- t. Puerta del antiguo dormitorio.
- u. Magnífica puerta románica.
- (Palacio) v. Biblioteca. y. Torre del homenaje. z. Capilla. x. Cárcel.



NOTA.—El original de este plano lleva la fecha de 1751.

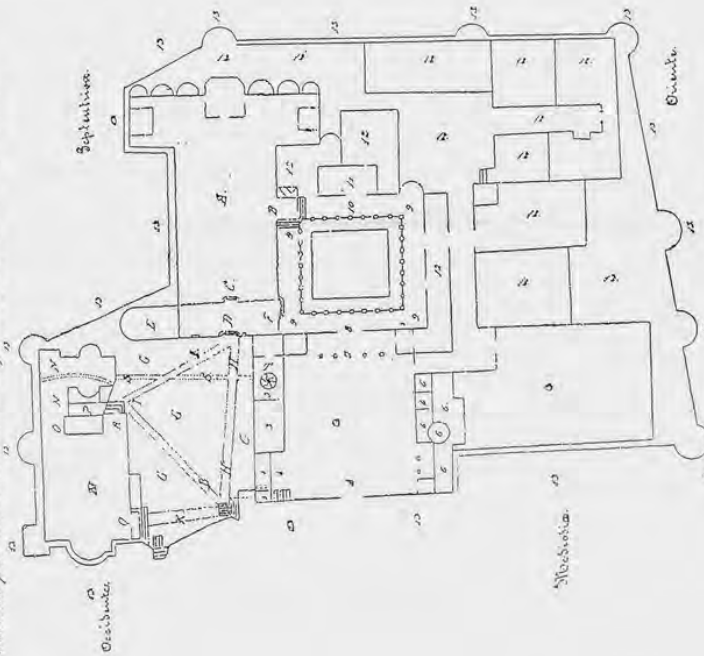
Plate 1

EXPLICACIÓN DEL PLANO TRADUCIDO DEL LATÍN

(EN CUYA LENGUA ESTÁ EN EL ORIGINAL)

**RE**ACSIMILÉ

del  
*plano del Real Monasterio de Santa María de Ripoll  
 levantado en 1728 siguiendo el modelo del celebre Abad Teix de Vilaplana  
 llamada por su autoridad la primera esmerita de los abades.*

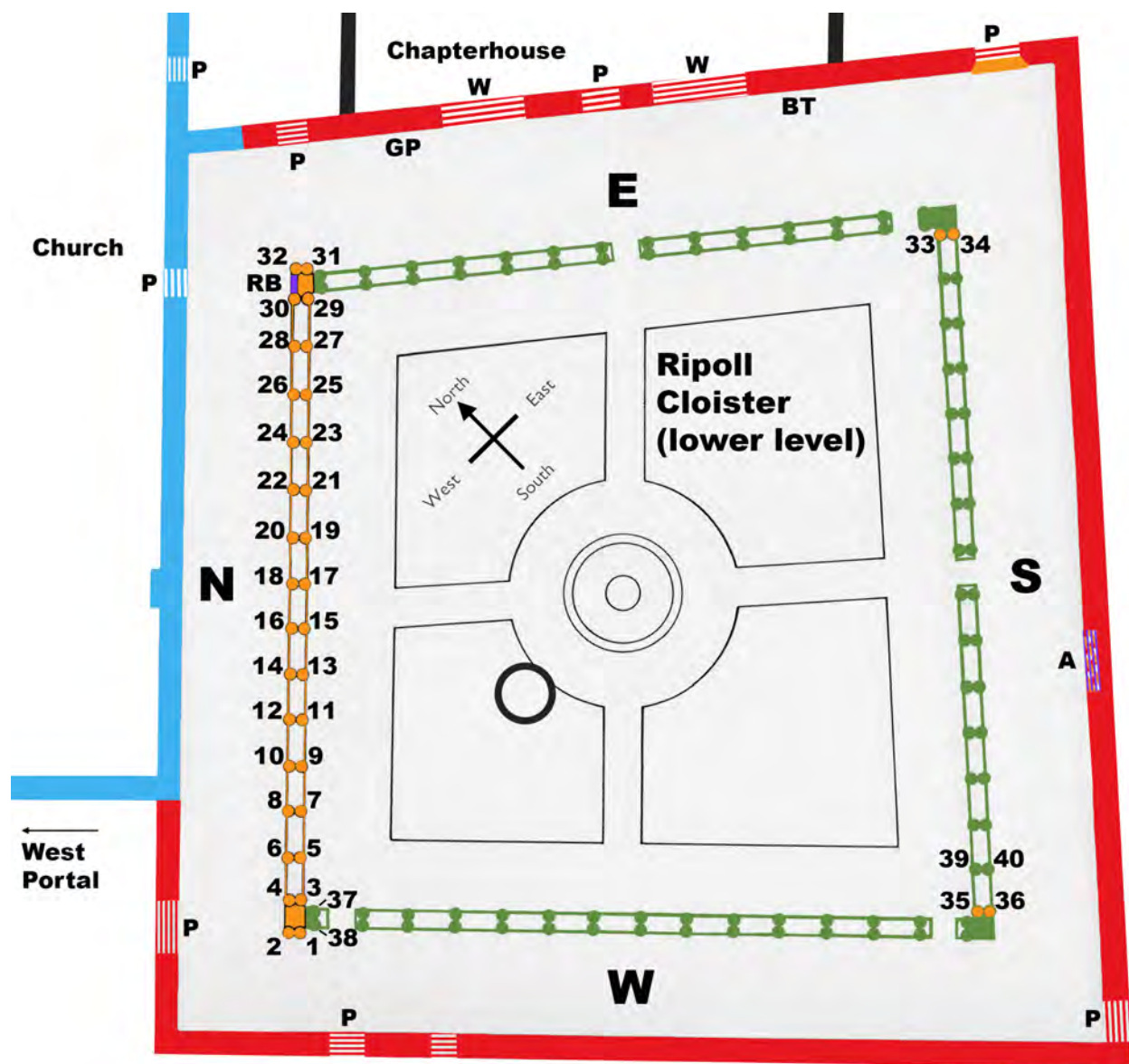


- A. Iglesia del Monasterio.
- B. Puerta menor de la iglesia del Monasterio en el ángulo del claustro.
- C. Puerta mayor de la iglesia del Monasterio que mira al único cementerio.
- D. Pórtico de la iglesia del Monasterio.
- E. Capilla de San Vicente, situada dentro de dicho pórtico.
- F. Puerta por la que se va desde dicho pórtico al claustro.
- G. Cementerio único, por el cual se va desde la iglesia del Monasterio á la iglesia de San Pedro, y desde la villa á ambas iglesias, sin que el pueblo pueda entrar por otra parte.
- H. Camino por el cual se va desde la villa á la puerta mayor de la iglesia del Monasterio.
- I. Camino por el cual se va desde la iglesia del Monasterio á la de San Pedro.
- K. Camino por el cual se va desde la villa á la puerta mayor de San Pedro.
- L. Camino por el cual se va desde la villa á la puerta menor de San Pedro.
- M. Iglesia de San Pedro, situada dentro de dicho cementerio.
- N. Capilla de la Congregación en la iglesia de San Pedro.
- O. Puerta llamada de la capilla de la Congregación.
- P. Sacristía mayor de la iglesia de San Pedro.
- Q. Puerta mayor de la iglesia de San Pedro, que mira al cementerio.
- R. Puerta menor de dicha iglesia que mira á la puerta mayor de la iglesia del Monasterio.
- S. Acequia del célebre abad Arnulfo, que conduce las aguas al molino del Monasterio.
- T. Molino del Iltrmo. Sr. Abad, construído en la casa de la cellería del Monasterio.

NÚMEROS

- 1. Puerta mayor del Monasterio. | 2. Gran plaza del Monasterio. | 3. Casa de la cellería con su molino. | 4. Colegio de *Humanidades*. | 5. Huerta del Sr. Abad. | 6. Palacio abacial. | 7. Pórtico delante del claustro. | 8. Puerta del claustro. | 9. Claustro. | 10. Puerta de la capilla del Capítulo. | 11. Capítulo. | 12. Diversos edificios, casas, huerta de los monjes y otros ámbitos y espacios del Monasterio. | 13. Muralla que rodea sin intermedios todo el Monasterio, la iglesia de San Pedro y el cementerio.

Plate 2



- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| c. late 10th-century | P - Portal  |
| c. 1032              | W - Window  |
| c. 1140-60           | A - Arcosolium  |
| c. 1206              | RB - Portrait relief of Abbot Ramon de Berga          |
| c. 1384-1401         | GP - Site of tomb of Guifré el Pilós (by tradition)   |
|                      | BT - Site of tomb of Bernat Tallafarro (by tradition) |

Plate 3



Plate 4



**Plate 5**



Plate 6



Plate 7



**Plate 8**



Plate 9



Plate 10



**Plate 11**



**Plate 12**



Plate 13



**Plate 14**



**Plate 15**



**Plate 16**



**Plate 17**



**Plate 18**



**Plate 19**



**Plate 20**



**Plate 21**



**Plate 22**



**Plate 23**



**Plate 24**



**Plate 25**



**Plate 26**



**Plate 27**



**Plate 28**



**Plate 29**



**Plate 30**



**Plate 31**



**Plate 32**



**Plate 33**



Plate 34



Plate 35



**Plate 36**



Plate 37



Plate 38



Plate 39



**Plate 40**



Plate 41



Plate 42

FIGURES



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



**fig. 7a**



fig. 7b



fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13



fig. 14



fig. 15



psalm. c. Beatus qui  
non abiit in consilio im-  
piorū. & in uia peccatorū  
non stetit. Et quod non sit  
plogus ad nullo signo.  
ppter hoc sapientes consti-  
tuerunt ipsū organum.



fig. 17



fig. 18

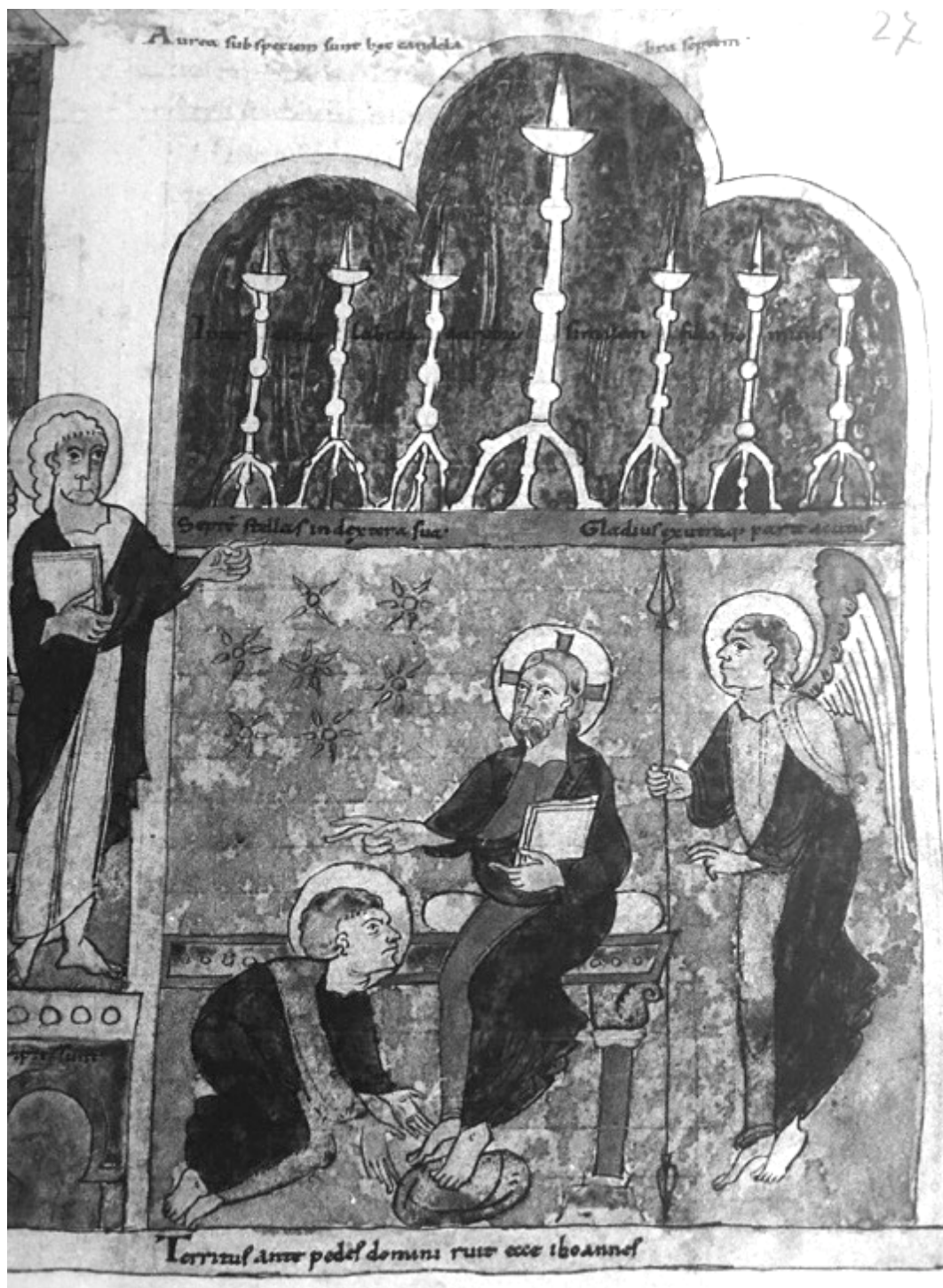


fig. 19



fig. 20



fig. 21



fig. 22



fig. 23



fig. 24



fig. 25



fig. 26



fig. 27



fig. 28



fig. 29



**fig. 30**



fig. 31





fig. 33



fig. 34



fig. 35



fig. 36



fig. 37



fig. 38



fig. 39



fig. 40



fig. 41





fig. 43



fig. 44



fig. 45



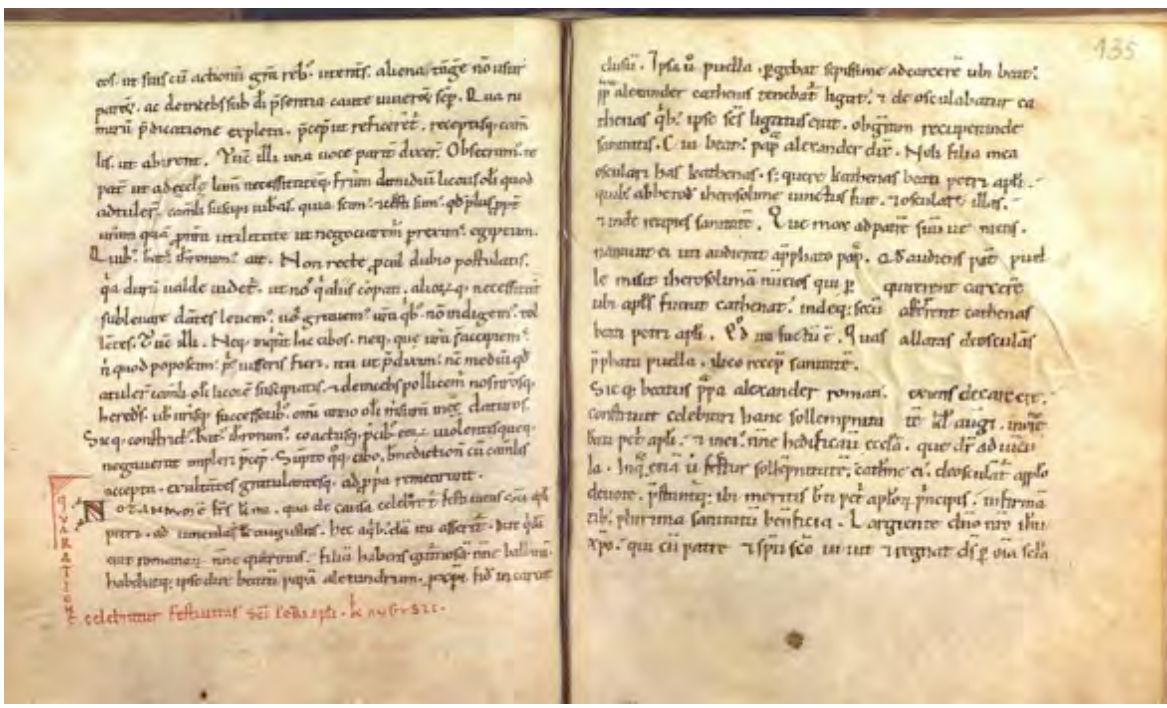
fig. 46



fig. 47



fig. 48



est ut sint cū actioni grā reb' ierent. aliena rāge nō utar  
 pareat. ac demochs sub di p'sentia caute uneros sep. Qua tu  
 murū p'duacione expleta. p'cepit refuerēt. recepissq; cum  
 lit. ut abirent. Tūc illi una uoce parit dicit. Obsecram. ne  
 par ut ad ecelē lum necessitateq; frum demidū leuansoli quod  
 aduiler. comā subyri nūbat. quia sum' rebh sim' qd plus p'p'e  
 uimū qmā p'na utilitate ut negociatū p'curat. egyptian.  
 Quib' hōc d'ronum' ait. Non recte p'cal dubio postulat.  
 qā d'na ualde uidet. ut nō q'atū copan. alioz q; necessitatē  
 subleuat dātes leuam. nō g'rauem' uia qd. nō indigem'. sed  
 licet. d' nō illi. Neq; uipit hōc abos. neq; que uia succipiem'.  
 n' quod popokm' p' uiffert fieri. na ut p'daxim nē medū qd  
 atuler' comā oīi loco ē sustipuat. demochs pollicem nostrū oīq;  
 heredi. ut uisq; succipiat. omī uisū oīi mōm' uicē d'atū oī.  
 Sic q; construat. hōc d'ronum'. co actūq; p'cib' em. uolentūq; ueq;  
 negociante impleri p'cep. Supra qd; abo. benedictio cu comā  
 accepta. caritateq; genulanteq; ad p'pa r'incuarunt.  
**Q**uārtūm ē hōc l'imo. qui de causa celest' ē festi uicē oīi qd  
 p'p'ri. ad iumentū ē angulū. hōc aq; d'ca uo offerre. hōc qd  
 que romanū. nōc q'atū. filiū habent q'atū nōc hōc uo.  
 habedūq; ip'calat. hōcū p'p'a alexandriam. p'cepit hōc in carue  
 celest' uicē festi uicē s'c'i leuansoli. hōc nōc d'ca.

135  
 clūū. Ipla ū puella p'p'bat spūstine ad corcere ubi hōc:  
 p' alexander carthous tēchāt hōc. r' de osculabatur ca  
 thenas qd; ip'ō s'c'i ligant' que. ob q'mōn recuperande  
 sanitatē. C. in hōc. pap alexander d'c'. Nōs filia mea  
 osculari hōc karthenas. s; quere karthenas beati petri ap'li.  
 quāle abberōt iherosolime iunctū fuit. r' osculat' illas.  
 r' inde recipit sanitate. Que mox ad parit suū uic' nōc.  
 nānūc ei ut audiret ap'phato pap. a d'andōs p'p'e. puel  
 le māt' iherosolima nūcū qui p' querebat carcerē  
 ubi ap'li fuit carthenas. indeq; s'c'i abberōt carthenas  
 beati petri ap'li. Ed' u' hōc ē. Quāle allat' d'oscular'  
 p'phatu puella. ubi recipit sanitate.  
 Sic q; beatus p'p'a alexander roman'. exort' decare etc.  
 constituit celebrari hanc sollempnitatē u' d' augi. in q'e  
 hōc p'c' ap'li. r' uic' nōc hōc hōc cōcā. que d' ad uicē  
 la. hōc etiā ū festi sollempnitatē. d'atūc ei. d'oscular' ap'lo  
 deuere. p'p'riūq; ubi mōrtū b'ū p'c' ap'loz p'ncipū. in firmā  
 tūc. plurima sanitatū beneficia. L'arguente d'no nōc illi  
 x'p'o. qui cū patre. r' spū s'c'o. ut ut r' regnat d' p' oīa s'c'la

fig. 49



fig. 50



fig. 51



fig. 52



fig. 53



fig. 54



fig. 55

benedictio dñi super uos / benediximus uob  
 130. in nomine dñi: **CXXVIII CANTICUM GRACIA**  
**D**e profundis clamaui ad te dñe.  
 dñe exaudi uocem meam



**F**iant aures tue intendentes.  
 in uocem deprecationis mee / nebit  
**S**iniquitates obseruabis dñe / dñe quis susti  
**Q**uia apud te propitiatio est /  
 propter legem tuam / sustinuit dñe  
**S**ustinuit anima mea uerba eius /  
 sperauit anima mea in dño:  
 custodia matutina usque ad noctem.  
 spera & israhel in dño  
**Q**uia apud dñm misericordia /  
 & copiosa apud eum redemptio

fig. 56



fig. 57



**fig. 58**



**fig. 59**



**fig. 60**



fig. 61



fig. 62



fig. 63



fig. 64



fig. 65



fig. 66



**fig. 67**



fig. 68



fig. 69

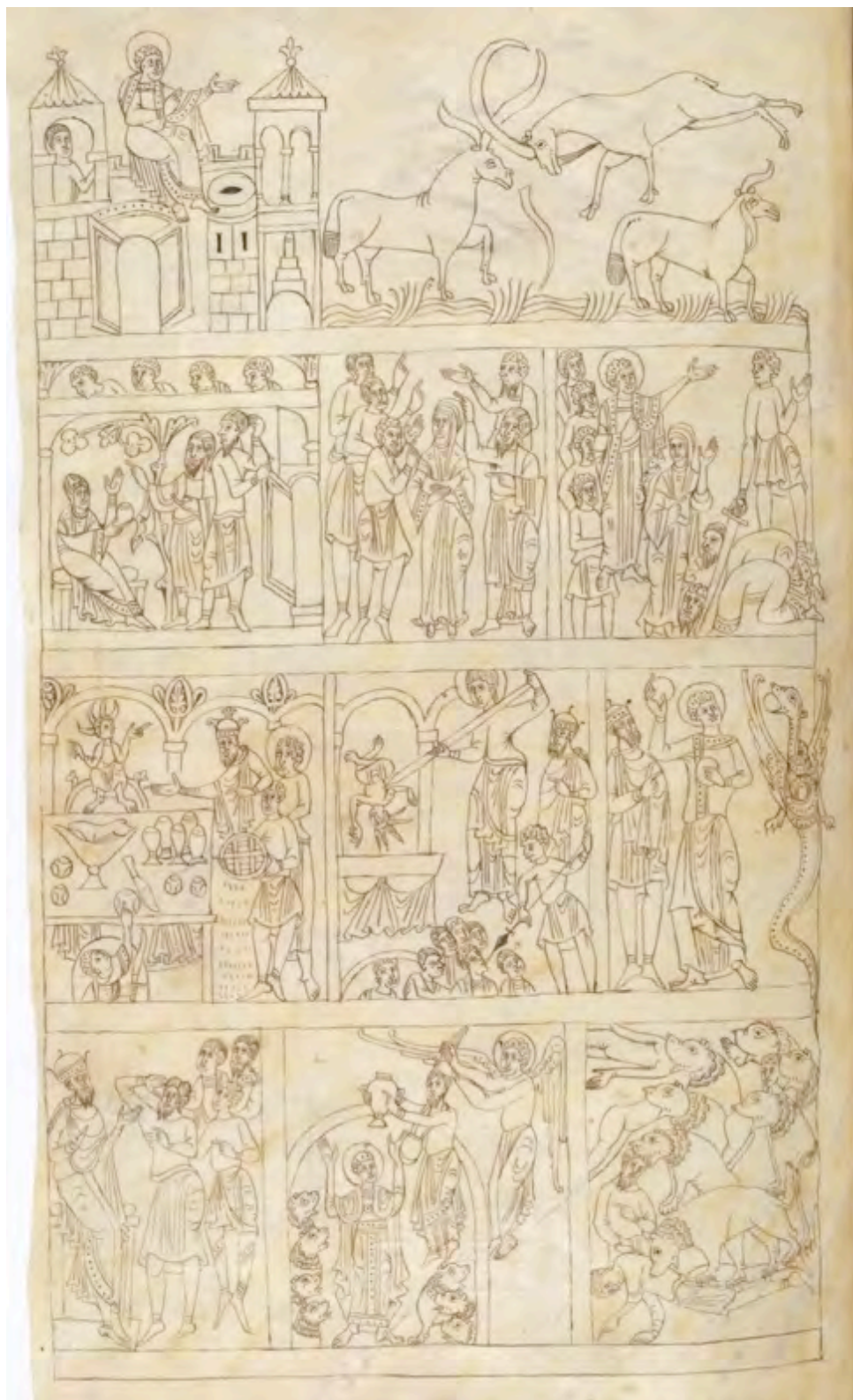


fig. 70



fig. 71



fig. 72



fig. 73

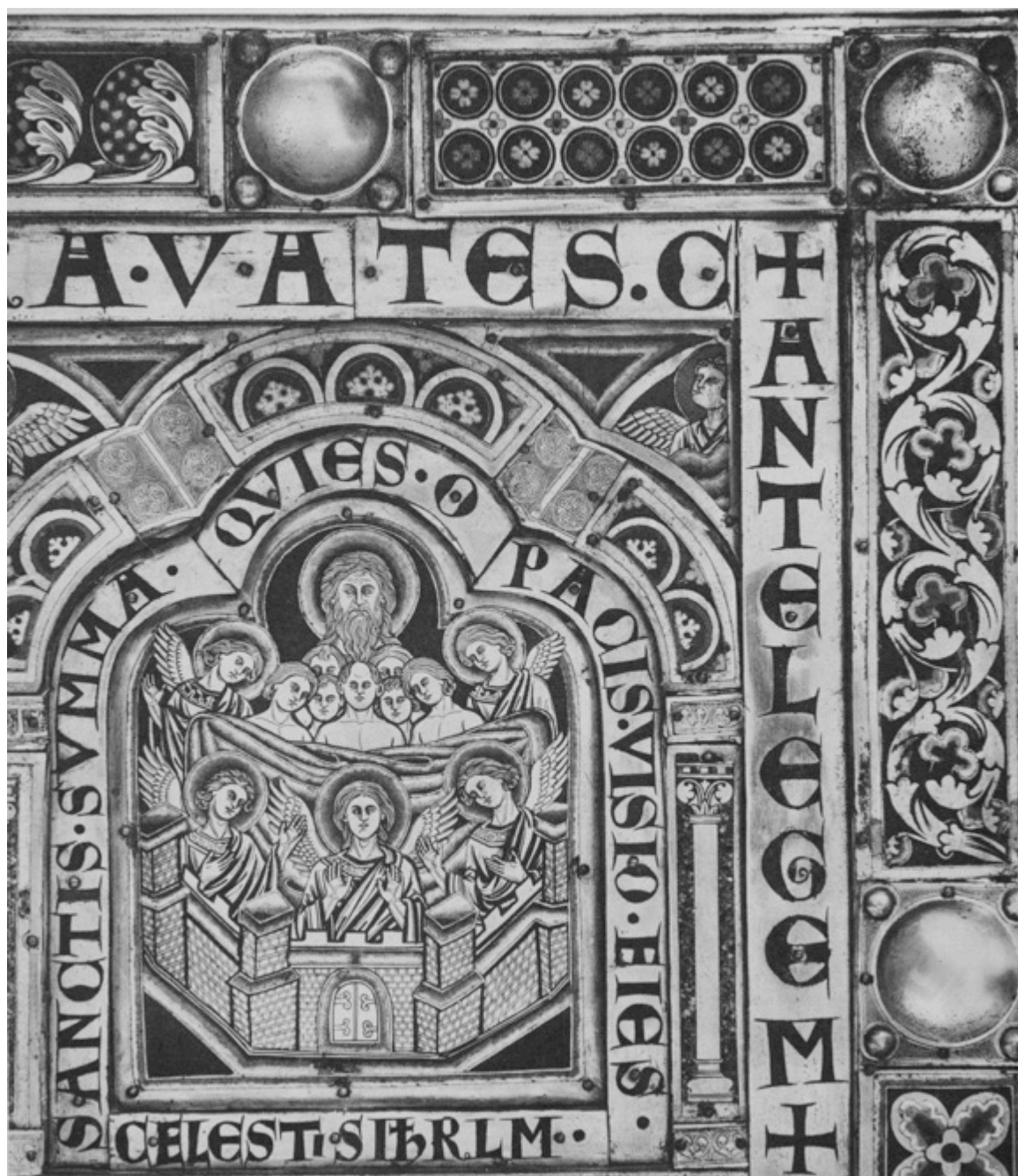


fig. 74



fig. 75



fig. 76



fig. 77



fig. 78



fig. 79



**fig. 80**



fig. 81

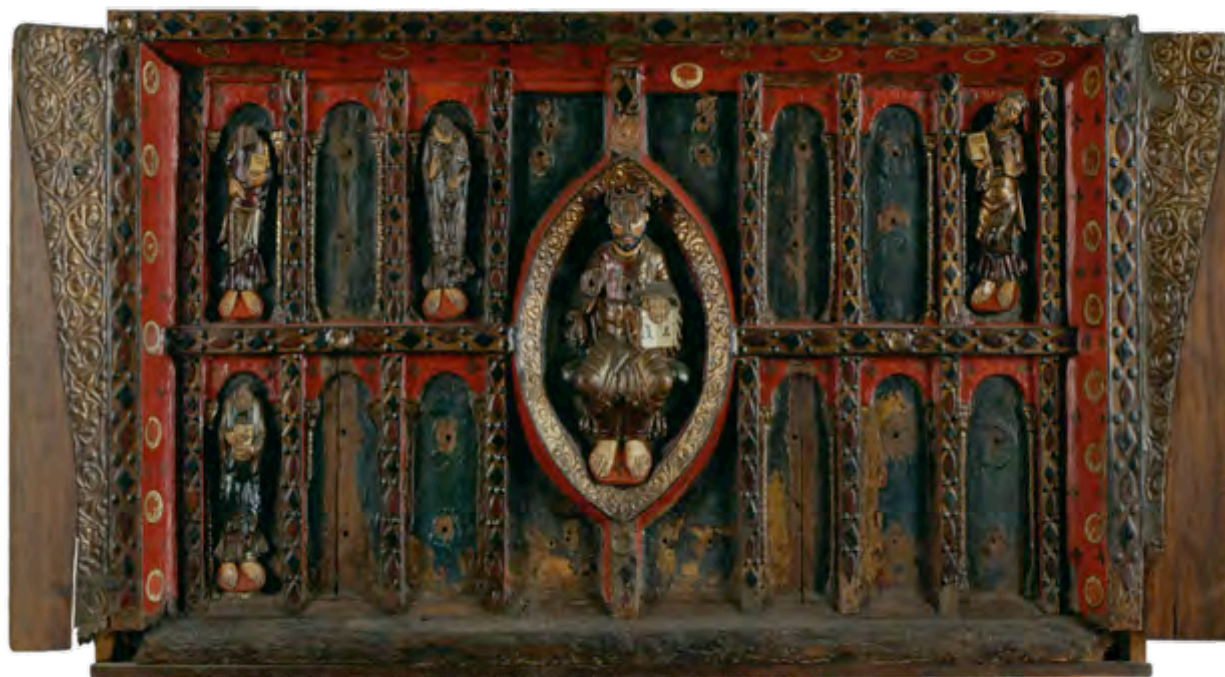


fig. 82



fig. 83



fig. 84



fig. 85



fig. 86



fig. 87



**fig. 88**



**fig. 89**



fig. 90



fig. 91



fig. 92



fig. 93



fig. 94



fig. 95



fig. 96



fig. 97



fig. 98 a



fig. 98b



fig. 99 a



fig. 99 b



fig. 100



fig. 101



fig. 102



fig. 103



fig. 104



Figure 105



Figure 106



Figure 107



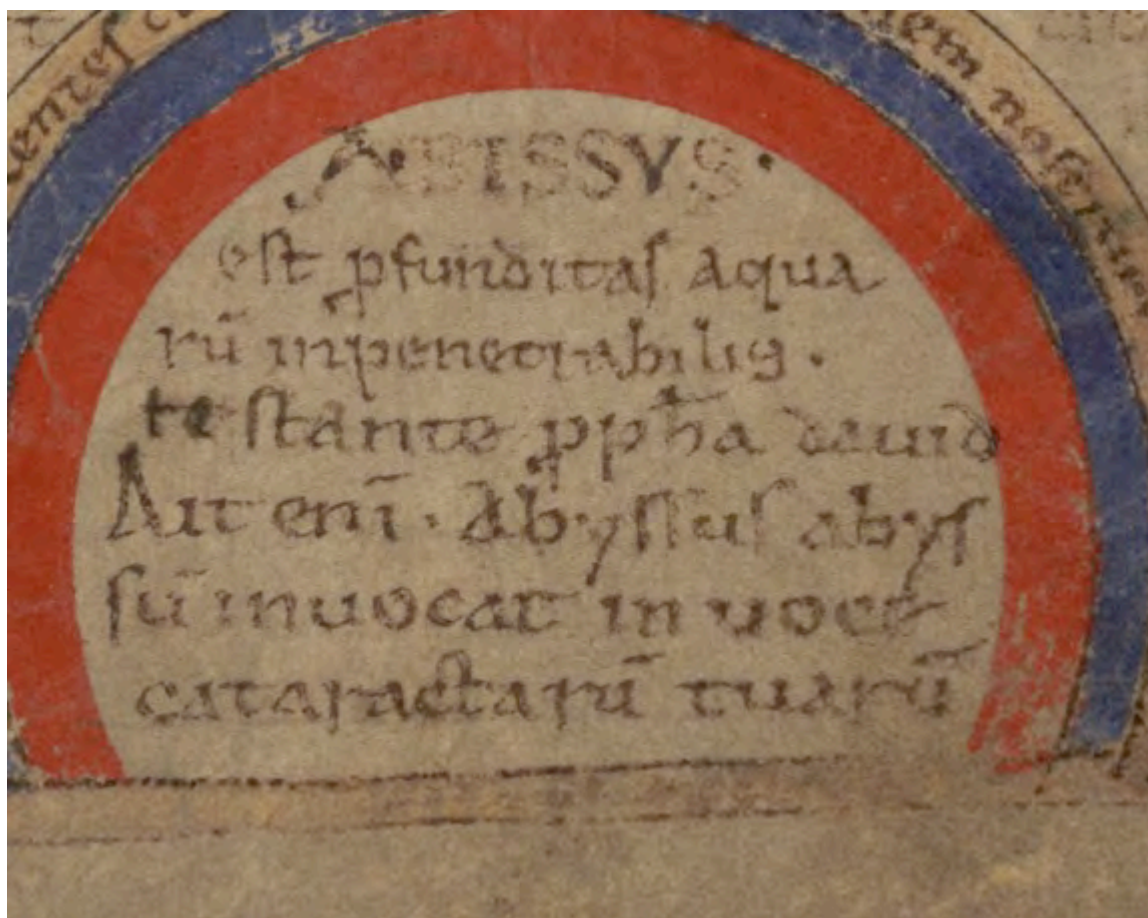


Figure 109



Figure 110



**Figure 111**

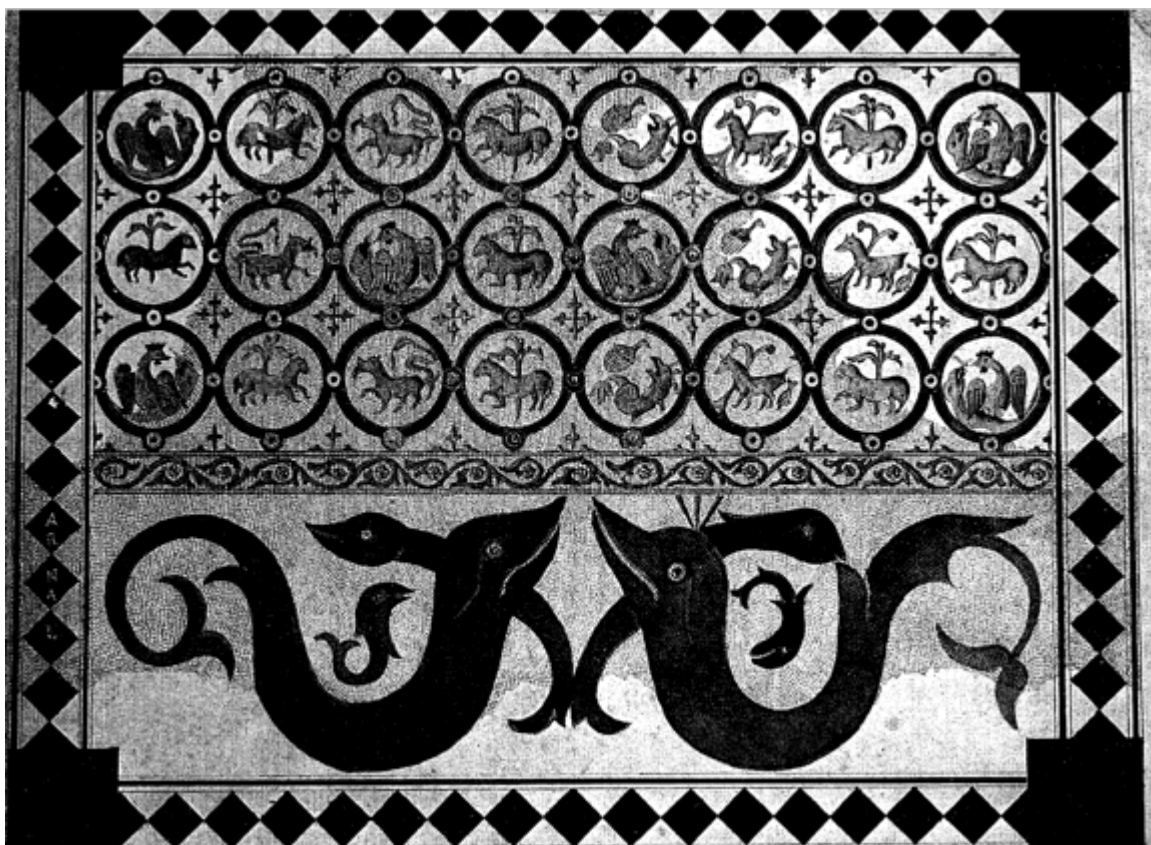


Figure 112

*Generus. &  
de ratione om  
ni necessarius*



**P**rovisi uel humani generis creator. & redemptor. uo  
no mihi. & uite altitudine & lingue effigra donare  
amore meus eloquio nec mihi p... esse specula  
uita. & alta debet semp. & curu sp... uenire  
reru amori subcumbat. alta sit. Necesse est hostis  
ferat. ex omni latere curu sp... hostis  
sufficit ut altu uiuat. nisi uelocundo assidue  
ditores suos p... co... inter adamore cele  
lo quendo succendat. Sed tuchre relectage. cul  
uitaei assert. Nam lucerna que in semetipso no  
rem cui subponit na accendit. Hinc eni dicitur ue  
lle eni lucerna ardeat & luceat. Ardeat uel eluc  
desiderium. luceat puerbum. Vig seueritq  
teneat. necesse est altitudo uiuendi. Unde res  
pale sponsi uoce incanta co cantu co... dr. Ma  
turus libani. Querogolaur e... km ut spo  
comparat. Sed q... p... semp o doret fetu  
Quid p... nisi speculato... discretio d... fig  
natus. sic turus libani ee dr. q... uidelicet i  
& munita semp debet ee excruu spectio  
uite consistere. idt in ualle infirmi op or  
en turus in monte idcirco ad specular  
quenuit longus uideant. sic predicat  
in altu debet fixa p manq. ut more  
nat fetores uitioy odore sq; uistitu.  
spirituu longe p... u comissis si  
u dentia cautat reddat. Et q... qd fac  
subdico. se liberu reddat. Surgat. iugul  
traducat. sic scriptu est discurre. festin  
cederis somnu oculis tuis. nec dor  
re dicat quippe contra eru... endā  
que pre nuntiando indicat. q... se modis

Figure 113



Figure 114



Figure 115



Figure 116a



**Figure 116b**



**Figure 117a**



**Figure 117b**



Figure 117c



Figure 118



Figure 119



**Figure 120**



Figure 121



Figure 122



**Figure 123**



Figure 124



Figure 125

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