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THE CAPITALS OF SAN JUAN DE LA PEÑA: NARRATIVE SEQUENCE AND MONASTIC SPIRITUALITY IN THE ROMANESQUE CLOISTER

Pamela A. Patton

Rarely, if ever, can the sculpted capitals of a Romanesque cloister be shown conclusively to have been governed by a unified iconographic program. More often, we must conclude either that positive evidence of such programs has been lost in the demolitions and reconstructions often inflicted upon medieval cloisters, or that few, if any, such monuments had ever possessed comprehensive programs at all. Because of this, the orderly interplay of subject and meaning so often and so confidently identified in many Romanesque portals and friezes is rarely hoped for in the Romanesque cloister, where the ensemble of historiated capitals seems to resemble, as it has been described, "more a collection of icons than the strict organization of a church facade."[1]

However, in the case of the Spanish cloister of San Juan de la Peña, a late twelfth-century structure located in the foothills of the Aragonese Pyrenees (Fig. 1), the question of a comprehensive program can be more effectively resolved. Despite the loss of two of its galleries and the confounding effects of several restorations, the cloister preserves both material and iconographic evidence of a systematic, overarching pictorial program. Rather surprisingly, this program appears to be one in which the arrangement of the capitals was dictated by a linear, or "historical," narrative sequence, perhaps the first such system in a Romanesque cloister for which convincing evidence can be found.

The date of the San Juan de la Peña cloister has been debated. Relying mainly upon stylistic criteria, scholars have proposed a variety of dates for the cloister, which range from the middle decades of the twelfth century to the first decade of the thirteenth.[2] However, the cloister's construction now may be placed reliably within the last two decades of the twelfth century on the basis of recently published monastic documentation as well as on the findings of archaeologists at the site.[3] This dating also is consistent with what is known of the chronology for the close-knit group of Aragonese and Navarrese monuments—including San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca, San Salvador in Ejea de los Caballeros, Santiago in Agüero, and Santa

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Figure 1. General view of the cloister from southeast, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

María in Sangüesa—which traditionally have been attributed to the so-called "Master of San Juan de la Peña."[4] Although the plausibility of this mass attribution to a single hypothetical "master" has for some time and with reason been disputed, strong stylistic, iconographic, and technical correspondences among these monuments do suggest the existence of a small circle of artists who must have been closely affiliated.[5] The documents related to the activity of this circle cluster between the years 1189 and 1201, indicating that the San Juan de la Peña cloister, most probably one of the earliest members of the group, was constructed not much later than 1190.[6]

The cloister's design is idiosyncratic. Because it is sheltered beneath the overhanging cliff for which the monastery is named, it was not vaulted, instead taking the form of four freestanding arcades set in a rectangle measuring seven by eleven meters. This is surrounded by a broad paved walk which once was entirely enclosed, bounded on the east by the church, on the south by the cliff, and on the west and north by monastic buildings.[7] The cloister arcades consist of semicircular arches carrying an abbreviated upper tier of masonry and supported by alternating double and single columns that rest on a low plinth. The arcades are enframed at the corners of the cloister by square piers with applied double columns on the inner faces and are punctuated at the center of each gallery by a pier composed of four clustered columns (Fig. 2).

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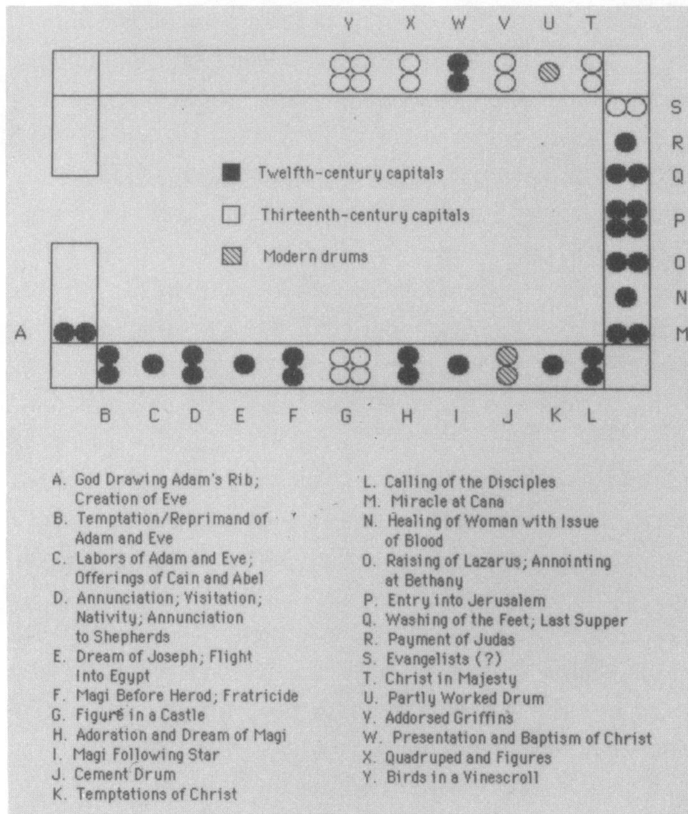

Figure 2. Current arrangement of capitals, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Design: Author.)

Despite its protected setting, the cloister is no longer intact. The original east and south galleries have been destroyed, most likely as a result of one of the three fires that by the end of the seventeenth century had badly damaged the monastic complex.[8] The surviving north and west galleries have been battered by wind and freezing temperatures, causing surface wear and fragmentation of the capitals, especially in the exposed north gallery. Further alterations to the cloister occurred in the course of several twentieth-century restorations, in which the positions of the north gallery capitals were shifted, and the south gallery was reinstalled with thirteenth-century capitals unconnected with the cloister's original design.[9] As a result, just seventeen of a possible thirty-six late twelfth-century capitals, along with several sculptural fragments discovered since the most recent restoration, now survive at San Juan de la Peña.[10] Of these remains only the capitals of the west gallery, where the masonry shows little sign of structural intervention, appear to have stood undisturbed.

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The cloister capitals of San Juan de la Peña persistently interest students of Spanish Romanesque art, primarily because of their unusual and engaging style. Invariably narrative in content, the capitals convey the events of biblical history with a vigorous urgency rendered particularly expressive by the figures' pantomimic gestures and characteristically bulging eyes (Fig. 3). This dramatic effect frequently is heightened by populous, expansive compositions in which individual scenes overspread two, three, and even four faces of the capital, with the climax of the action often reaching its focus at a corner. For example, in a broad quadruple-drum capital dedicated to the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 4), the triumphant figure of Christ appears precisely at the northwest corner of the drum, his dramatically outflung arm mirrored by the upraised sleeve of the garment that a bystander flourishes before him. The ass that Christ rides traverses two faces of the capital, its forward motion drawing the adjacent sides into a single, unified field. Such creative disregard for the physical restrictions of a four-sided form is evident in many of the cloister's scenes, endowing them with a dynamic unity that enhances their dramatic and narrative effects.

Even more remarkable than the style of the capitals, however, is the extent and variety of their thirty-one narrative scenes, which range from a small group of Genesis episodes to more than two dozen scenes from the Life of Christ. It is this unusual abundance of narrative material, as much as the immediacy and effectiveness with which the tales are told, that inspires the most interesting and yet also the most infrequently addressed questions about the San Juan de la Peña cloister.[11] How, to begin with, were these narrative scenes meant to be installed in the cloister? Were they, as their theatricality, literalness, and comprehensiveness of subject seem to suggest, intended to comprise a "historical" arrangement, a chronologically linear series consistent with the narrative sequence recounted in Scripture? If so, how extensive was this serial arrangement, and to what degree did it direct the organization of the entire cloister? Finally, considering the apparent rarity of such a system in Romanesque cloister design, what accounts for its manifestation here, in this remote Pyrenean monastery?

Although some Romanesque cloisters surviving today preserve rudimentary linear narrative cycles, these usually take the form of small clusters or sequences of narrative capitals embedded within a larger, non-linear ensemble.[12] At San Juan de la Peña, by contrast, several factors suggest that a linear narrative sequence provided the central organizational principle of the cloister's entire twelfth-century program. Not least of these is the story-telling character of the capitals themselves, sculptures which, as we shall see, present a collection of related biblical episodes in a lively, dramatic, and consummately legible manner ideally suited to a serial

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Figure 3. Dream of Joseph, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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Figure 4. Entry into Jerusalem, west gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

narrative context. Also favoring a linear arrangement is the unusual iconographic density of the scenes, which include not only major biblical events which might appear independently within a cloister setting, such as the Adoration of the Magi or the Last Supper, but also more unusual ancillary episodes, such as the Magi Riding to Bethlehem or the Calling of the Apostles, which rarely if ever appear outside the context of a narrative cycle. The fact that neither excavations nor early records have produced evidence of foliate, fantastic, or other non-historiated capitals in the cloister strengthens the likelihood that these narrative scenes were seen together as a group, and were not interspersed, as is often the case, with non-narrative capitals.

While these factors may favor the possibility that a linear narrative program existed at San Juan de la Peña, they alone clearly cannot confirm it. To do this, we must consider both comparative and physical evidence that might tell us more reliably about the cloister's original state. First, two monuments closely related to the San Juan de la Peña cloister, the north portal of San Salvador in Ejea de los Caballeros and the cloister of San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca, preserve sculptural ensembles that can be compared revealingly with the Pinatensian capitals. Each a product of the San Juan de la Peña circle, the two works are so similar to the

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Pinatensian cloister in their selection of subject matter, in their compositions, and in their iconographic details that their dependence upon a common iconographic model is clear.[13]

Because the narrative sculptures of Huesca and Ejea differ significantly from each other in format and condition, they offer correspondingly different insights with regard to San Juan de la Peña. At Huesca exposure to the elements and an insensitive early twentieth-century restoration have deprived the cloister of many original capitals, and those that now survive no longer can be assumed to stand in their original sequence (Fig. 5).[14] However, these capitals do include twenty-two Genesis and Gospels scenes, many of which compare closely in iconography with those of San Juan de la Peña. Therefore, while Huesca can tell us almost nothing about the original sequence of the San Juan de la Peña capitals, its surviving imagery does provide a reference for the identification of corresponding scenes and fragments at the Pinatensian cloister. Meanwhile, those scenes at Huesca that do not have counterparts at San Juan de la Peña may also be of use by providing some indication of the original extent of the iconographic model on which both cloister cycles seem to have been based.

The north portal of Ejea de los Caballeros, on the other hand, remains in fairly good condition, thanks in part to a featureless modern porch that today protects it from the elements (Fig. 6). Comprised of a slightly pointed tympanum depicting the Last Supper surrounded by four archivolts resting on columns with foliate and profane capitals, it has been altered only in the replacement of its original lintel with a low, wide arch. Still in their original sequence are thirty-seven scenes narrating the Life of Christ, which are disposed along the three outer archivolts. Read in a back-and-forth sequence from right to left on the inner archivolt, from left to right on the middle, and from right to left again on the outer, they present a historical narrative that may usefully be compared with the Christological capitals of San Juan de la Peña.[15]

A second aid in the reconstitution of the Pinatensian program is offered by the cloister's own architectural plan. Although many twelfth-century cloisters include narrative material that could be reordered to follow a hypothetical linear sequence, little or no physical evidence usually survives at these sites to confirm or deny such an arrangement. Such is the situation at Moissac, for example, where the uniform alternation of supports and the erasure of much of the cloister's original framework have made apprehension of its original program impossible.[16] At San Juan de la Peña, however, physical evidence facilitating the cloister's reconstruction does survive, most specifically in the distinctive plan of the cloister's intact west gallery. This plan, in which alternating single and double supports are subdivided by double

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Figure 5. Partial view of the west gallery, cloister, San Pedro el Viejo, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

columns at the corner piers and a central quadruple-column pier, indicates the original rhythmic pattern into which all of the cloister's single, double, and quadruple capitals must once have fit. That the same alternating arrangement may be extrapolated in the now-reordered north, south, and probably east galleries is supported by the contemporaneity of their surviving capitals with those of the west gallery, by the number and spacing of the supports that they would have accommodated, and by the existence in Spain and southern France of other cloisters with similar consistently alternating arrangements.[17]

This alternating plan constitutes the final test of any hypothetical reconstruction of the cloister, requiring that any sequence of capitals proposed—whether a linear narrative system or not—must observe the demands of its uniquely punctuated rhythm. The cloister of San Juan de la Peña thus stands apart from other Romanesque cloisters in that the reconstruction of its program rests upon complementary foundations: the iconographic content of its capitals and the physical parameters of its architectural structure.

Identification of the Capitals

One of the longest-standing problems in the literature on the San Juan de la Peña cloister has been a persistent confusion regarding the subjects of many

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Figure 6. North portal, San Salvador, Ejea de los Caballeros, Zaragoza. (Photo: Author.)

surviving capitals, particularly those which have been damaged. Of the thirty-one individual scenes represented by the cloister's capitals, only nineteen today have been conclusively identified. In the north gallery these include: an engaged double capital (cap. B) depicting the Temptation and Reprimand of Adam and Eve (Fig. 7); a single capital (cap. C) with the Labors of Adam and Eve and the Offerings of Cain and Abel (Fig. 8); a group of capitals relating to the Infancy of Christ (caps. D, E, F), including a double capital depicting the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 9); a single capital depicting Joseph's second dream and the Flight into Egypt (Fig. 3); and a double capital depicting the Magi before Herod along with a second, disputed scene that will be discussed below (Fig. 10). Finally, a single capital (cap. K) just preceding the pier at the west end of the north gallery depicts the Temptations of Christ. In the west gallery conclusively identified scenes include: a double capital of the Miracle at Cana, engaged to the northwest pier (cap. M); a double capital (cap. O) depicting the Raising of Lazarus and the Anointing of Christ at Bethany (Fig. 11); the magnificent central quadruple capital (cap. P) of the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 4); and a double capital (cap. Q) depicting Christ washing the feet of the Disciples and the Last Supper.

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Figure 7. Temptation and reprimand of Adam and Eve, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

The content of the remaining twelve scenes, which are not yet conclusively identified, obviously must be clarified prior to serious consideration of the cloister's general program. This, however, is not difficult, since in many instances the scenes correlate closely with the imagery of Huesca and Ejea de los Caballeros, and when not, with other well-known local models. Because these individual identifications are crucial to the successful decoding of the cloister's original program, it is well worth summarizing here the arguments pertaining to each.

Cap. A: God preparing to draw Adam's Rib; the Creation of Eve. Two scenes can be discerned on this badly damaged, applied double capital. In the first, God the Father stands over the nude, reclining figure of Adam, touching the latter's wrist and thigh (Fig. 12); in the second, separated from the first group by a tall, leafy plant, Eve appears beside another figure of God, who grasps her forearm. These scenes, usually overlooked in literature on the cloister, sometimes are identified as the Creations of Adam and Eve.[18] However, the opening scene, in which Adam reclines with eyes closed as God touches his wrist and thigh, is quite different from the Creation found more conventionally in twelfth-century Spain, in which God models a standing figure of Adam.[19] Instead, the Pinatensian image

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Figure 8. Offerings of Cain and Abel, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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Figure 9. Annunciation and Visitation, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

Figure 10. Magi before Herod, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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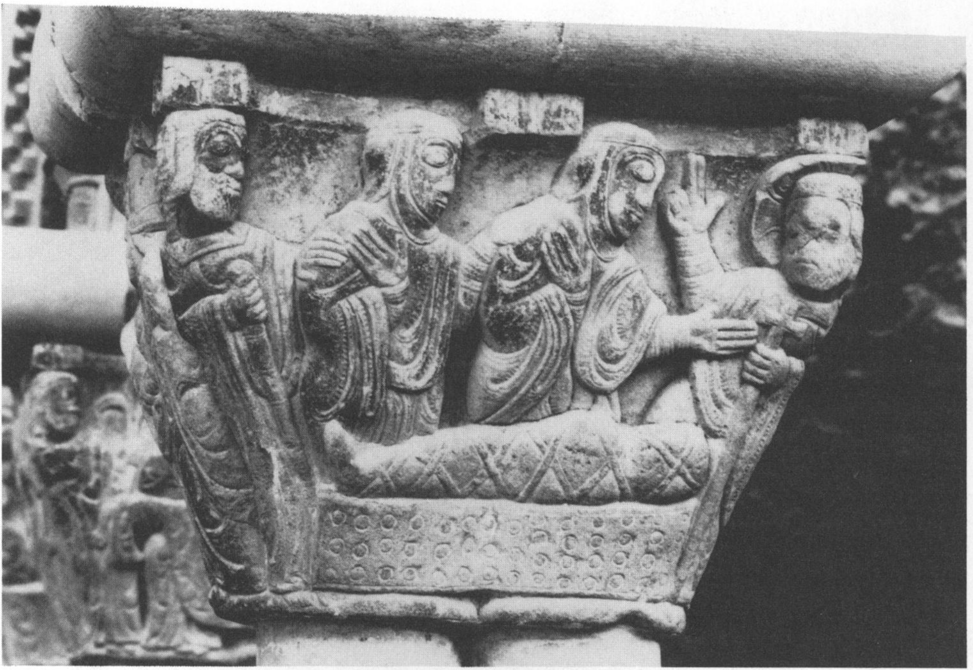

Figure 11. Raising of Lazarus, west gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

resembles the more rarely depicted episode of God casting Adam into sleep in order to draw the rib from which Eve will be created (Gen. 2:21). This scene is found in similar form in the late twelfth-century apse decoration of La Seo in Zaragoza, a monument sometimes ascribed to the San Juan de la Peña circle.[20]

Cap. F, north face: The Murder of Abel. This scene depicts a bearded man in a short laborer's tunic who brings a hoe or mattock down violently on the head of a beardless figure in similar dress (Fig. 13). Because of its placement on one face of a capital primarily dedicated to the Magi before Herod, it often has been identified as a Massacre of the Innocents.[21] However, this interpretation fails to account for several elements: the attacking figure is dressed as a laborer, not as a soldier; his weapon is a hoe rather than a sword; and the victim is not an infant but an adult. These details instead identify the scene as the murder of Abel by Cain (Gen. 4:8), a subject fairly common in twelfth-century Spain. On a mid-twelfth-century pier relief in the cloister of Girona Cathedral, for example, the image is reversed, but the figures wear the same short tunics and Cain wields a comparable hoe-like implement (Fig. 14); a similar composition depicts the fratricide on a badly worn capital in the cloister of Huesca.[22] In both of these cases the identification of the scene as that of Abel's murder is made evident by its context within a

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Figure 12. God preparing to draw Adam's rib, east gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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Figure 13. Murder of Abel and the Magi before Herod, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

Figure 14. Murder of Abel, pier relief, cloister, Girona Cathedral. (Photo: Author.)

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larger cycle of the brothers' conflict. Furthermore, in the Pinatensian scene specific details of the figures' hair and dress, such as Cain's beard and boots and Abel's smooth cheeks and light sandals, identify them closely with those of Cain and Abel in the earlier scene of their offerings. The scene's extraordinary juxtaposition with that of the Magi before Herod, which has little parallel in contemporaneous Spanish cycles, may possibly be attributed to a perceived typology between Cain and Herod or, perhaps more likely, between Abel and the Innocents whom Herod subsequently had slaughtered.[23]

Cap. H: The Adoration of the Magi and the Dream of the Magi. Severe damage to this capital has discouraged its identification.[24] However, the identity of its opening scene is revealed by the two crowned figures bearing caskets and the perceptible vestiges of an enthroned Virgin and Child (Fig. 15). The kings' regal dress is identical to that worn by the Magi in their interview with Herod, and their attitudes resemble those of the Magi in the Adoration scene at Ejea de los Caballeros, as well as on the numerous Adoration tympana produced by the San Juan de la Peña circle.[25] The often-overlooked scene on the reverse of this capital depicts a standing angel extending his hand toward the remains of a heavily draped bed, as if to wake the occupants (Fig. 16). Both its pairing with the Adoration of the Magi and a recognizable counterpart at Ejea de los Caballeros identify this as a depiction of the Dream of the Magi, in which an angel warns the kings to avoid Herod on their homeward route (Matt. 7:2).[26]

Cap. I: The Magi observing the star on the way to Bethlehem. This fragmentary capital preserves a single crowned figure on horseback along with traces of a second, similar rider, who points upward (Fig. 17), elements comparable once again with a scene at Ejea de los Caballeros, where they characterize a scene of the Journey of the Magi to Bethlehem (Fig. 18). A key detail is the pointing gesture of the second rider, who indicates the star by which the trio were led to the Christ child (Matt. 2:1–2). This serves to distinguish the scene from that of the kings' return journey, which also is depicted at Ejea. Unfortunately, the star has not survived at San Juan de la Peña, where it probably appeared on the impost block.

Cap. L: The Calling of Peter and Andrew and the Calling of James and John. Often mistaken as comprising a single scene, these mirror-like images are revealed to be separate episodes by the repeated figure of Christ at the two outer edges of the capital (Fig. 19). Each scene depicts the standing Christ saluting several male figures in a boat, which floats on serpentine waves populated by small incised fish. Christ's calling of the four Apostles at the Sea of Galilee is described in Matthew (4:18–22) as two separate events much like those shown here: first, that of Peter and Andrew (Matt.4:19), who man the boat at right; second, that of James and

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Figure 15. Adoration of the Magi, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

Figure 16. Dream of the Magi, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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Figure 17. Magi riding to Bethlehem, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

Figure 18. Magi riding to Bethlehem, north portal archivolt, Ejea de los Caballeros. (Photo: Author.)

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Figure 19. Christ calling Peter, Andrew, James, and John, north gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

John, who are accompanied by their father Zebedee (Matt. 4:21), a figure identified by the helmet-like cap characteristic of Jewish figures in the cloister.[27]

Cap. N: The healing of the woman with an issue of blood. Despite its very good condition, this capital's subject has been debated (Fig. 20). It depicts a heavily draped woman kneeling before Christ, who extends his right hand in a gesture of blessing. A party of disciples, distinguished as such by the bare heads and feet that identify them throughout the cloister, react with earnest conversation. Although sometimes interpreted as Christ pardoning the adulterous woman (John 8:3–11), the scene lacks the accusing Pharisees and scribes, who, like Zebedee, would probably be identified by Jewish caps.[28] More probably, this capital depicts the rather unusual episode of Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood (Matt. 9:18–22; Mark 5:21–34; Luke 8:43–48). According to the Gospels, Jesus and his disciples were on the way to the house of Jairus when a woman who had suffered from a flow of blood for twelve years crept forward to touch Christ's hem. At this he turned and blessed her, saying "Daughter, your faith has made you well."

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Figure 20. Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood, west gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

This identification would explain the woman's *proskynesis*, Christ's blessing gesture, and the walking staffs held by the disciples. Although rare in Spanish and French Romanesque traditions, this scene has a clear parallel in the portal of Ejea de los Caballeros, where it appears at a comparable point in the Ministry cycle. It is also found in the late twelfth-century *Pamplona Bibles*, where it is identified by an inscription.[29]

Cap. R: The Payment of Judas. The focus of this capital is a confrontation between a robed, bare-headed man and a seated man in Jew's cap and slippers identical to those of the agitated crowd around him (Fig. 21). Although this scene has been interpreted as either the arrest or interrogation of Christ,[30] neither identification is likely, since the bareheaded central figure lacks the requisite cruciform halo. Instead, a small triangular purse nearly hidden in the folds of the seated Jew's robe reveals this to be Judas demanding payment from the Pharisees for his betrayal of Christ (Matt. 26:14–15), a scene that appears in similar form at Ejea de los Caballeros and in the Navarrese cloister of Tudela cathedral.[31]

Cap. W: The Presentation in the Temple and the Baptism of Christ. This twelfth-century capital, which now stands alone among the thirteenth-century sculptures in the cloister's reconstructed south gallery, was discovered recently

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Figure 21. Payment of Judas, west gallery capital, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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during excavations at the monastic site, and thus is not discussed by most studies of the cloister.[32] Both of its scenes are fragmentary but recognizable. The better-preserved face depicts a youthful, beardless Christ immersed in a scalloped font; a plump dove rests atop his head (Fig. 22). Traces of a stream of water pour in from the right, and the remnant of a hand appears on Christ's breast. The representation of Christ seated in a font, rather than standing in the river Jordan (Matt. 3:13; Mark 1:9), closely parallels the same scene at Ejea de los Caballeros.[33] The badly damaged second scene of this capital still preserves the outlines of two robed figures who reach toward each other across a square, footed altar. These components, along with its proximity to the Baptism, identify the scene as the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Luke 2:22–27), a scene that takes similar form on the Ejea portal.[34]

The San Juan de la Peña Cloister Program

With the identification of these twelve scenes, the way is opened to reconstruct the San Juan de la Peña cloister in a manner that both satisfies the structure's alternating plan and confirms the hypothesis of a linear narrative program. When the surviving capitals are envisioned in a sequence that obeys the cloister's established double-single alternation, with double capitals at the corner piers and quadruple clusters in the center of each gallery, a linear narrative sequence falls easily into place (Fig. 23). Beginning in the east gallery with the three Genesis capitals clustered at the cloister's northeast corner (caps. A–C), the Genesis narrative is initiated with the Sleep of Adam, the Creation of Eve, the Fall of Adam and Eve, the Labors of Adam and Eve, and the Offerings of Cain and Abel, a sequence that accords completely with that of the scriptural narrative (Gen. 2:21–4:5). Slightly removed from this sequence, of course, is the subsequent scene of Cain killing Abel, which, because of its juxtaposition with the scene of the Magi before Herod, appears several capitals later in this gallery. This notable disruption of the narrative sequence is the only one in the cloister that cannot be resolved by the physical reordering of the capitals, and might have resulted, as suggested above, from a deliberate attempt to promote a typological association between Cain and Herod and Abel and the innocents.

Since the cloister's Genesis scenes begin *in medias res* with the Creation of Eve rather than the Creation of Adam, it may be supposed that they once were preceded by others depicting the beginnings of the Creation story. In many comparable twelfth-century Genesis cycles, such as that of the "Creation Tapestry" of Girona Cathedral or the late twelfth-century jamb capitals of Santo Domingo in Soria (Fig. 24), the creations of man and woman are preceded by several other

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Figure 22. Baptism of Christ, fragmentary capital currently in south gallery, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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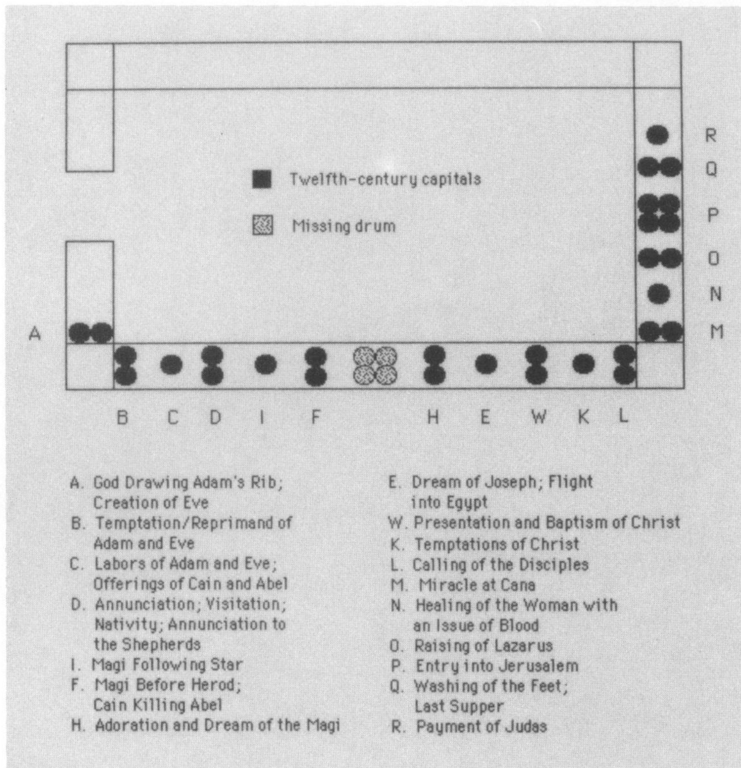

Figure 23. Proposed twelfth-century sequence of capitals, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Design: Author.)

Creation episodes, including those of the earth, stars, plants, and animals.[35] A similar series might well have existed in the east range of the San Juan de la Peña cloister, beginning perhaps at the entrance to the cloister garth at the midpoint of the gallery.

Immediately following the capital depicting the Labors of Adam and Eve, the cloister's Gospel cycle begins, continuing through the remainder of the cloister's north gallery and the whole of the west gallery. In their current arrangement, the north gallery capitals present a falsely logical narrative, which begins with the double capital (cap. D) of the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Annunciation to the Shepherds, followed by a single capital depicting Joseph's second dream and the Flight into Egypt (cap. E). This sequence, although not chronologically incorrect, is out of keeping with most northern Spanish Infancy cycles of this date, in which Joseph's second dream and the Flight usually are preceded by scenes of the journey of the Magi to Bethlehem, in accordance with Matthew (2:1–12). This

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Figure 24. Creation scenes, engaged capital flanking west portal, Santo Domingo de Soria. (Photo: Author.)

typical sequence is preserved in its entirety at Ejea de los Caballeros, which prefaces Joseph's dream with five Magi scenes: the kings observing the star as they ride to Bethlehem, their meeting with Herod, their adoration of the infant Jesus, the dream in which they are warned to avoid Herod, and their return homeward.

The identification of similar scenes at San Juan de la Peña (caps. F, H, and I) now reveals that a Magi cycle existed here as well. When placed in a sequence comparable to that found at Ejea de los Caballeros, the Magi capitals fall effectively into the narrative while retaining the cloister's alternating rhythm. Following the double Annunciation-Nativity capital would appear the single capital depicting the Magi observing the star, then the double capital of the Magi before Herod. The third Magi capital, depicting their adoration and dream, could not be placed in the next adjacent position at the center of the gallery, where a quadruple capital would be required, but instead would occupy the subsequent position immediately to the west of this spot.

The twelfth-century capital that once stood in the center of the cloister's north gallery is now missing, its place occupied by a thirteenth-century capital from the cloister's second campaign. Its subject, however, may easily be guessed: in keeping

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with many Magi cycles in late twelfth-century Spain, it probably depicted the Massacre of the Innocents. For northern Spanish artists this gruesome scene was virtually a compulsory component within the story of Christ's Infancy, and it often occupies an unusually prominent place within the narrative. At Ejea de los Caballeros scenes of struggling mothers and dismembered infants occupy several contiguous voussoirs; at Santo Domingo in Soria the scene overtakes an entire archivolt (Fig. 25). In many cases this concern for prominence of placement actually overcomes strict narrative consistency, as at Soria, where the episode's expansion to a separate archivolt removes it entirely from its place within the Infancy cycle.[36] It is well worth considering that the designer of the San Juan de la Peña cloister might have made a similar decision, choosing to showcase the Massacre scene on an expansive quadruple capital within the Magi cycle where, moreover, it would have appeared as the direct result of the adjacent conference of the Magi with Herod, perhaps also enhancing its typological resonance with the nearby fratricide scene.

The supposition that a Massacre capital once existed in the cloister is supported by the recent discovery at the monastery of a fragment that may be derived from such a scene (Fig. 26). This fragment, which displays the deeply incised, hatched drapery typical of the cloister's primary sculptor, preserves the proper left shoulder and upraised left hand of a human figure; it is identified as female by the remnants of a veil which appear at the fragment's upper edge. A second hand, clearly that of another figure, rests on the woman's shoulder, suggesting that it was part of a group. The figure's upraised palm, a traditional gesture of surprise or dismay, is consistent with those of the distraught mothers in the Massacre scene at Ejea de los Caballeros and might have originated in a comparable image.

Once the Magi series has been established in the center of the cloister's north gallery, it may be followed by the single capital of Joseph's dream and the Flight into Egypt (cap. E). Subsequent to this, and in place of the modern block now installed there, would have appeared the recently discovered double capital of the Presentation and Baptism of Christ (cap. W). Although the appearance of the Presentation scenes subsequent to that of the Flight into Egypt does not conform strictly to Gospel accounts, this has a precedent in the sequence at Ejea de los Caballeros, where the Presentation appears between the Flight into Egypt and Christ among the Doctors. In the cloister its pairing with the Baptism contributes the necessary link between the cycles of Christ's Infancy and Ministry, closing the Infancy narrative and initiating Christ's adult life.

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Figure 25. Massacre of the Innocents, west portal archivolt, Santo Domingo de Soria. (Photo: Author.)

Figure 26. Fragment of a woman possibly from the Massacre of the Innocents, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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From this point in the cloister to the end of the west gallery the cloister's remaining twelfth-century capitals (caps. K–R) have no need of restoration, for they remain in their original, undisturbed sequence, continuing the cloister's alternating arrangement while following closely both the sequence of events recounted in the synoptic Gospels and the pictorial cycle of Ejea de los Caballeros.[37] Following the newly installed Baptism capital near the west end of the cloister's north range, the single capital depicting the Temptations of Christ and the double capital of the Calling of the Apostles at the northwest pier form a short cycle of Christ's Ministry. This is then followed by a cycle depicting his miracles, beginning with the applied double capital of the Miracle at Cana, the single capital of Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood, and the double capital of the Raising of Lazarus and Christ's being anointed at Bethany.

The final three twelfth-century capitals, which include the quadruple capital depicting the Entry into Jerusalem, the double capital of Christ washing the feet of the Disciples, and the Last Supper, and the single capital depicting the Payment of Judas, introduce a fourth Christological cycle: the Passion of Christ. The abruptness with which this series today breaks off at the Payment of Judas capital underscores its unfinished character. As at Ejea de los Caballeros, where the episode of Judas' agreement to betray Christ introduces a further and more crucial series of Passion episodes,[38] it would seem likely that this scene stood at the beginning of a considerably more extensive Passion cycle that continued into the south gallery.

That such a cycle did indeed continue is suggested by two additional capital fragments. The first, a corner section of a capital, preserves the head and upper torso of a bearded male figure wearing a Jewish cap (Fig. 27). The figure appears to be part of a crowd: a raised forearm behind him signals the presence of a second figure, while before him appear the shoulder and torso of a third. Raising his hand in a manner reminiscent of the confrontational Pharisee in the Payment of Judas, the figure undoubtedly belonged to one of the several Passion scenes that might include a crowd of Jews, such as Christ bearing the Cross or Joseph and Nicodemus petitioning to bury Christ's body, two scenes that do appear in related Passion cycles.[39]

The second fragment includes the head, shoulder, and outspread wing of an angel, who flanks a segment of a curved, hatched band enframing the remains of a cruciform halo (Fig. 28). These elements clearly formed part of an image of Christ in a mandorla flanked by supporting angels, a formula that in this context could only represent the Ascension. A beautifully preserved version of this scene in the cloister of Huesca (Fig. 29) compares minutely with the San Juan de la Peña fragment, showing Christ in the same location at the corner of the capital, flanked by angels similarly framed by their own turned-back wings. The existence of this

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Figure 27. Fragment of a Jewish figure, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

Figure 28. Fragment with an angel from the Ascension of Christ, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

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Figure 29. Ascension of Christ, west gallery capital, cloister, San Pedro el Viejo, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

fragmentary Ascension at San Juan de la Peña program serves effectively as a narrative *terminus ante quem* that confirms the existence of Passion and Resurrection scenes well beyond that of the Payment of Judas.

If the narrative program at San Juan de la Peña was extensive enough to include a scene of Christ's Ascension, just how dense would its Gospels cycle have been? If the twenty-five Passion and Resurrection scenes that survive in combination at Huesca and Ejea are any indication,[40] it might well have extended far enough to occupy the cloister's entire south gallery, even continuing into the east to complete the cloister. Whether this actually was the case remains uncertain, since the unrelated thirteenth-century capitals now installed in the south gallery, which are identical in dimensions to the primary group, might have been produced to complete a gallery which for some reason was left unfinished.[41] What is significant, however, is that Passion and Resurrection capitals were a part of the cloister's twelfth-century design, and that as such they were intended to continue and complete the cloister's Christological cycle.

Both physical and iconographic evidence, then, argue strongly for the existence at San Juan de la Peña of a linear narrative program, specifically a Genesis-Gospels cycle that revealed how the Fall of newly created humanity was

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redeemed by the Advent, Passion, and Resurrection of the Savior. By means of a discrete, overarching narrative framework that governed the subjects and placement of its twelfth-century capitals, the cloister presented a sweeping visual compendium of Christian history that appears to have been unprecedented in its genre.

In developing this unusual decorative program, the cloister's designer was faced with the difficult challenge of adjusting a chronological series of episodes, the narrative character of which is most fully coherent in a two-dimensional setting, to the complex three-dimensional surfaces of the cloister capitals on which it is displayed. Recognizing the central problem in the viewing of any cloister capital—that only three sides of each drum can be seen in sequence by the viewer, who is prevented by the plinth from passing completely around each capital—the artist made strategic compositional adaptations to minimize this incompatibility between the tale told by the sculptures and the manner of their telling, the "tension," as Richard Brilliant has put it, between "narrative story" and "narrative discourse."[42] By enhancing the legibility of the narrative for a perambulating viewer, especially one passing along the cloister walk, these adaptations effectively preserve and emphasize the cycle's serial character.

The most important compositional adjustment of this kind is the artist's placement of narrative climaxes on the corners and oblique faces of the capitals, where they can be read from multiple viewpoints, and the avoidance in all but the most crowded capitals of placing key narrative scenes on a side facing into the walk or garth alone. Thus, in the scene depicting Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood, the Savior confronts his crouching suppliant on the west side and northwest corner of the capital, where the scene is best legible from the cloister walk, whereas the side facing into the garth, which is not visible to the viewer in the walk, is filled with attendant disciples.[43] Even when all of the scenes on a single drum, as in the four-scene Annunciation capital, cannot be seen at once by a viewer standing in either the walk or the garth, enough of the imagery—three entire scenes—remains visible to ensure an effect of narrative continuity, especially, as will be further argued below, for a monastic viewer to whom the scriptural stories already were fully familiar.

A second adaptation that is almost as important to the coherence of the cycle is the repetition of selected formal elements from capital to capital, a strategy that brings visual continuity to various groups of capitals and fosters a strong sense of serial progression. At times this repetition is subtle: in the Genesis capitals, for example, the tall foliate forms that sprout at intervals among the scenes of the Creation, Fall, and Labors of Adam and Eve create a consistent, vaguely paradisiacal, setting that visually unites these related episodes. At other times, the

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strategy is more obvious and even more effective, as in the west gallery, where four nearly identical figures of Christ blessing are repeated in four sequential capitals representing the Wedding at Cana, Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood, the Raising of Lazarus, and the Entry into Jerusalem. In each of these the figure appears on a corner of the capital which projects into the cloister walk—that in the Wedding at Cana on the southwest corner of the applied pier capital, the others on the northwest corners of each drum—so that all are seen simultaneously by the viewer upon rounding the cloister's northwest pier (Fig. 30). Echoing the counterclockwise direction of the cloister's narrative trajectory, this striking visual iteration reinforces the progression of Christ's miracles to climax with his arrival in Jerusalem while also emphasizing the role of Christ as protagonist in a manner entirely consistent, as we shall see, with the concerns of the cloister's medieval audience.[44]

The shrewd narrative strategies developed by the San Juan de la Peña artist speak clearly of the difficulties attendant upon the adaptation of a linear series of images to the three-dimensional cloister form, difficulties that probably account in some part for the rarity with which Romanesque artists seem to have attempted such a feat. Nonetheless, by the later decades of the twelfth century the increasingly frequent appearance throughout Europe of narrative cycles in manuscripts, wall paintings, and facades, providing a wealth of potential models easily accessible to artists and patrons, must have made such an experiment highly attractive. This surely was the case at San Juan de la Peña, which by the middle of the twelfth century stood less than a day's journey from a Genesis-Gospels program to which it bears many similarities: the frescoes of SS. Julián and Basilisa in Bagüés.

The frescoes of Bagüés, dated by most scholars within the first half of the twelfth century and more likely produced toward the latter end of that period,[45] comprised a series of Old and New Testament scenes that were disposed in four registers on the north and south walls of the nave and in the apse of the church (Fig. 31). Today preserved in the Diocesan Museum in Jaca, they can be seen in an installation that replicates their original arrangement, proceeding from the upper register of the south wall through the upper register of the north, then continuing in the same manner in the lower three registers of both walls to end in the apse. The Genesis scenes that inaugurate the program appear in the topmost registers of the north and south walls; more numerous overall than those at San Juan de la Peña, they contain virtually every Genesis scene that appears in the cloister, including the unusual sequence in which God draws Adam's rib and forms a standing Eve.[46]

The Christological series at Bagüés corresponds even more closely to the San Juan de la Peña cycle. Beginning on the second register of the south wall, it depicts

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Figure 30. Partial view of the west gallery, cloister, San Juan de la Peña, Huesca. (Photo: Author.)

Figure 31. General view, nave and apse frescoes from SS. Julián and Basilisa, Bagüés, Huesca; installed in the Diocesan Museum of Jaca. (Photo: Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, Barçelona.)

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the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi; on the north wall follows the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Baptism. In the third south register appear the Temptations of Christ, the Calling of the Apostles, and the Wedding at Cana, followed by an area of losses; in the north, after further losses, appears a fragmentary scene that may represent Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood, followed by Christ and the Samaritan Woman, Mary and Martha asking Christ to save Lazarus, and the Resurrection of Lazarus. The badly damaged fourth register today is virtually illegible, preserving only the remnants of an Entry into Jerusalem on the south wall and the Last Supper and the Arrest of Christ on the north. Additional episodes of the Passion and the Resurrection are found in the apse; these include Christ bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Holy Women at the Tomb, the Harrowing of Hell, and Christ's appearance to the Magdalen.

Because this fresco program so closely compares in content and sequence with the Genesis-Gospels program of San Juan de la Peña, it is tempting to ask whether the paintings might have served as a model for the cloister's sculptor. However, the two programs display sufficient differences in style and detail to render this possibility unlikely.[47] Instead, we must be satisfied with the recognition that a locally familiar iconographic model, perhaps one known originally from a manuscript, was the springing-point from which the decoration of both of these monuments developed, and therefore was probably also the source for the portal of Ejea de los Caballeros, the cloister of Huesca, and perhaps a number of other local monuments.[48]

That a linear narrative model should have been selected for the frescoes of Bagüés or even the facade of Ejea is not very surprising, for each provides a simple and legible planar setting ideal for a linear narrative cycle. At San Juan de la Peña, on the other hand, we have seen that the cloister format presented structural obstacles considerable enough to discourage such a selection. It is only logical to ask, then, what factors must have influenced the decision of the cloister's designer and patrons to make this selection. Why would a sequential narrative program have been seen as appropriate, or even desirable, within the framework of a monastic cloister?

Narrative Imagery in the Cloister and Monastic Spirituality

Of the many factors, both practical and ideal, that undoubtedly contributed to the selection of the cloister program at San Juan de la Peña, an especially important one must have been the role that it would play in the daily lives of the

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monks themselves. Although once a royal pantheon and a pilgrimage site of moderate importance,[49] San Juan de la Peña is a remote place, its perilous mountain setting rendering it difficult of access to travelers. A conventional Cluniac community dedicated to seclusion and contemplation, it would, in contrast to the numerous urban and secular foundations that sprang up in the Crown of Aragon during the twelfth century,[50] have had little opportunity to welcome lay visitors. Thus the cloister of San Juan de la Peña, even more perhaps than those of more accessible, worldly communities, must have been designed with the spiritual and practical concerns of the monks foremost in mind.[51]

Of these, one concern in particular surely was prominent as the decoration of the new cloister was planned: the desire of the Pinatensian monks to share in the new spiritual ideals that had overswept most European monastic communities in the course of the great monastic reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These ideals and their effects upon monastic life in general have been discussed at length by many scholars, among them Jean Leclercq, Giles Constable, and Carolyn Walker Bynum.[52] They discuss a widespread, nostalgic revival of interest in the Early Christian Church as a model for monastic life and a parallel concern with the behavioral example provided by Christ and his Apostles.[53] The text of the Bible, and particularly that of the synoptic Gospels, rose to a renewed prominence during these years as the ultimate source for understanding and emulation of these early Christian models. Indeed, for traditional Benedictines as well as for many of the new reforming orders, the Gospels, or "Regula Regularum," were promoted as the ultimate monastic rule.[54]

For Benedictine monks these concerns found clearest expression in personal meditation upon the actions of Christ and his disciples, particularly in the form of *lectio divina*, the careful scrutiny of the biblical text in pursuit of its higher meaning.[55] To spend a part of every day in exegetical reading was specifically prescribed by the Rule of St. Benedict, and the practice enjoyed a renaissance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when interest in direct study of the Bible was renewed.[56] In this case such *lectio* would have allowed the monks to ruminate extensively upon the Gospel texts, facilitating, in accordance with the goals of the monastic reformers, a sense of personal participation in the events of Christ's life and Passion. It is not unreasonable to assume that the influence of this revival might be seen in the decoration of the monastic cloister, the area of the monastery in which a great proportion of individual spiritual activity was carried out.[57]

Such a line of inquiry has been undertaken by several art historians, including Wayne Dynes, Ilene Forsyth, Léon Pressouyre, and Kathryn Horste.[58] Horste's examination of the later group of capitals from the lost Toulousan cloister of Notre-

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Dame de la Daurade is of particular relevance here. The twelve capitals of this cloister's later phase, completed circa 1130, make up a cycle of twenty-four episodes depicting the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. Unlike those of San Juan de la Peña, these capitals apparently were not placed in a direct sequential order.[59] Horste has argued convincingly that the La Daurade capitals are among the first cloister sculptures to display clearly a response to the new spiritual ideals, particularly the ideal of the *vita apostolica*, the communal life of the Apostles, as a model for the monastic brotherhood. This is particularly apparent in what Horste has termed the capitals' "dramatic realism," in which vivid, expressive figures and bold, sweeping compositions accentuate the affective qualities of the episodes, facilitating the monastic viewer's spiritual identification with, and therefore adherence to, the apostolic models upon which he meditated.[60]

Although the San Juan de la Peña capitals postdate the La Daurade Passion cycle by roughly sixty years, they display many similarly dramatic visual qualities. At San Juan de la Peña such vivid gestures as the broad sweep of Christ's arm as he enters Jerusalem or the stabbing finger of the pop-eyed Judas bring a theatrical energy to every scene, whether of triumph, of conflict, or of disaster. The tendency of the narrative to circle the drum of the capital, frequently building to a climax on the corner, reinforces this dramatic effect in a manner also evident to some degree at La Daurade.[61] In this way, the San Juan de la Peña capitals have an affective quality that is similar to that attributed by Horste to the La Daurade scenes, a theatrical immediacy and emotional appeal that would have allowed them to play a comparable role as meditative aids and models.

As Horste has shown, the reforming ideals that apparently underlay the iconography of the La Daurade Passion cycle were pervasive in Toulouse and much of southern France when the cloister was completed circa 1130.[62] However, at the same time in the adjacent Spanish kingdoms, such ideals were still scarcely known. Isolated from their European neighbors by both geography and politics, the Spanish monasteries had pursued a largely independent course until the beginnings of the eleventh century. It was only then, when the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the new attention of Cluny, and the increasingly successful Spanish "crusade" in Al-Andalus opened the peninsula to a new wave of ultra-Pyrenean influence, that the Spanish monasteries slowly began to conform to general European traditions, submitting to Continental Benedictine regulations and abandoning their Visigothic rites for Roman practice.[63] San Juan de la Peña itself, one of the first monastic houses to convert, adopted the Roman rite only in 1071, after a half-century of contact with Cluniac monks.[64] This may help to explain why it was not until the last decades of the twelfth century, in the wake of more fundamental reforms, that the

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ideals influential six decades earlier at La Daurade would find a comparable reception at San Juan de la Peña.

Moreover, just as these two monasteries differed in their reception and experience of reforming ideals, their cloister programs differ ultimately in the expression of those ideals. While the designers of both cloisters clearly sought to inspire spiritual engagement through the use of dramatic compositions and emotional appeal, we find at San Juan de la Peña additional strategies that heighten this affective quality. One of these is the inclusion in many scenes of contemporary costumes, attributes, and architecture. Mary and Martha at the tomb of Lazarus, for example, wear the distinctive linen cap and veil of twelfth-century Aragonese women;[65] similarly, the agile wine-bearer at the Wedding at Cana, with his short tunic and tall ceramic wine-jars, is clearly a medieval figure. The local note is even stronger in the cloister's Genesis capitals. The light sandals worn by Abel reproduce in meticulous detail the rope-soled *abarcas* characteristic of pastoral dress throughout medieval Aragon, Adam's wheel-less plow is of recognizable local type, and the horse collars worn by his team of mules reflect an innovation only recently imported into Spain.[66] The contemporary flavor of these details, which placed not only Christ's life and Passion, but also the beginnings of biblical history, within a familiar medieval context, must have made an empathetic response to their content all the more effective. Moreover, their vivid prominence suggests a visual parallel to the meditative practices of *lectio divina*, in which attentive examination of the smallest details of the biblical text fostered a rich appreciation of its broader spiritual meaning.[67]

This concern is expressed with particular clarity in the capital of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 4). Three sides of the capital are devoted to the figures of Christ riding the ass and a welcoming crowd, including the customary youths perched in the branches of a tree. The fourth side represents the city of Jerusalem itself. Like the city of Bethlehem on the capital of Joseph's dream, this representation follows a formula common to Spanish imagery: a simple square castle with pointed crenelations and a squared-off central turret. Here, however, the turret has been topped by a dome, presumably in reference to the Temple of Solomon, which many in the Latin West believed still stood in that city.[68] Representations of Jerusalem as a domed city would become common in art of the later Middle Ages as the physical characteristics of the city were more frequently and thoroughly reported by travelers, but in the late twelfth century, scarcely a century after the city's conquest by Crusaders, such specificity was quite rare.[69] Its appearance at San Juan de la Peña, one of the earliest such representations in Western art, accords fully with the new interest felt by many medieval Christians in sacred geography,

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in the actual locations and appearance of sacred sites of the Holy Land, particularly those at which the most important events of the Gospels had taken place.[70] Because monks were discouraged from undertaking their own pilgrimages,[71] the value of an image of the actual Solomonic Temple, the place where Christ had disseminated his revolutionary ideals and where his followers had established their exemplary religious brotherhood, must have been great for a medieval community, especially one which strove to recreate both ideals and brotherhood within monastic walls. As an "accurate" representation—not of the heavenly Jerusalem to which all faithful aspired, but of the earthly city to which they traced their own traditions—the cityscape of Jerusalem would have brought new life to the sacred history with which the monks were most deeply concerned.

Like La Daurade, then, but in an even more realistic and vivid form, the San Juan de la Peña cloister presented for the monks a striking visual summary of the sacred events on which current ideals of monasticism encouraged them to model their own lives. Like the scriptural text itself, the capitals appealed to both the head and the heart of the monastic viewer. Laden with abundant, specific, often homely details, they provided a rich field for rumination; theatrically composed and pantomimic, they invited the same intense emotional response that the Gospels inspired. In no part of the monastery could such imagery have been more fitting than in the cloister, where such thoughts and themes were so often pursued.

These effects could only have been heightened when the capitals were viewed in their original arrangement. In its chronologically sequential representation of the key events of Christian history, the cloister's carefully ordered program replaced the disjointed collection of episodic moments more typical of the Romanesque cloister with a single fully conceived story, a narrative in which a clearly defined beginning, middle, and end reveal the inherent "moral meaning" that, according to Hayden White, underlies all historical narrative.[72] By drawing together the central events of its two main biblical sources—Genesis and the Gospels—the cloister forged a unified serial discourse in which the life, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ were presupposed and justified by humanity's previous failures.

The juxtaposition of Old and New Testament pictorial cycles to form a single biblical narrative was certainly no innovation at San Juan de la Peña. One might cite any number of well-known examples, from Early Christian ivories to the bronze doors of St. Michael at Hildesheim, to demonstrate the ubiquitous and lasting popularity of this tradition. What is new here instead is the application of such a narrative to a series of cloister capitals, with results that were both unique and uniquely effective. Whereas the capitals' vivid, richly detailed imagery may have fired the monastic imagination, their combination into a unified, serial

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narrative, a transcendent biblical cycle of creation, decline, and salvation, would have given structure and significance to those imaginings.

This conceptual unity, too, finds a parallel in spiritual practice. Throughout theological literature of the eleventh and twelfth century is expressed the firm belief that the Old and New Testaments must be studied together in order to be fully understood.[73] As inseparable components of a larger sacred history, the two Testaments were perceived as evolutionary complements that could not be understood independently of each other. The events of the New Testament were inherent in those of the Old; those of the Old Testament were fulfilled and explained by the New.[74] It is this interdependent, evolutionary quality that finds expression in the Genesis-Gospels program of San Juan de la Peña, where the key narrative components of both Testaments, those directly related to the Fall and Salvation of humanity, are distilled into a coherent resume of sacred history imbued with, if not consciously inspired by, the principles of monastic exegesis.

A logistical problem might be raised in the face of this argument: the fact, noted earlier, that not every scene on every capital can be read in sequential order, since one face of each capital always remains hidden from a viewer standing in the cloister walk or garth. This, indeed, is one of the objections raised by Horste to the possibility of a linear narrative program at the cloister of La Daurade.[75] However, in the case of San Juan de la Peña, two issues should be borne in mind. First, as has been shown, the Pinatensian sculptor composed most of the capitals in such a way that their primary narrative elements would remain legible, or at least largely so, to a viewer perambulating the cloister walk, with the result that only two scenes, the Nativity and the Flight Into Egypt, would be completely invisible to a viewer there. Second, we must remember that no narrative was so completely familiar to the monastic viewer as was that of Christ's life; as Linda Seidel has pointed out with regard to La Daurade, such a narrative need not be viewed in strict chronological sequence to be recognized as a "programmatic whole."[76] Although we have no written record of how the Pinatensian monks understood the cloister's narrative structure, their response surely was not less perceptive than that of an early seventeenth-century lay viewer, the Spanish architect Pedro de Peralta, who, when he visited the already partly damaged cloister, fully appreciated its serial character:

> The capital[s] set out the entire Old and New Testaments as I could see displayed by what is still standing, because as one enters the door of the cloister begins the Creation of the World, and in this the sin of Adam and the death of Abel; in another part it begins with the Birth of our Lord, and later the Adoration of the Magi, and the circumcision.[77]

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The history of medieval art includes many similar instances in which the viewer apparently succeeded in grasping the holistic nature of a cycle in spite of its logistical obstacles,[78] and no less so at San Juan de la Peña, where the narrative completeness of the cloister could not have been lost on its educated monastic audience. For these viewers a comprehensive reading of each of the cloister's capitals surely was less important than the enriched meaning given to individual images by their situation within a recognized narrative progression.

The cloister program of San Juan de la Peña thus offered considerable attractions to its twelfth-century monastic patrons. Its detailed, theatrical presentation of events from the life of Christ echoed pervasive spiritual concerns, and the pairing of these events with Genesis scenes in a transcendent cycle of Christian history revealed them in their most meaningful context. In its reflection of current monastic ideals, particularly as expressed through the revitalized practice of *lectio divina*, the program displays a new awareness of the compatibility between the study of the Bible and the cloister that so often served as the locus for such study—an awareness perhaps shared by Honorius Augustodunensis, who in his *Gemma Animae* compared the fruit-bearing trees of the cloister with "the books of the Holy Scriptures."[79]

Conclusions

Medieval monuments always must remain to some degree indeterminate in the eyes of modern scholars, and our efforts to know such monuments therefore must admit a certain threshold of uncertainty. However, in the case of San Juan de la Peña, a serendipitous correlation of physical and comparative evidence offers the student of the Romanesque cloister more than the usual degree of "knowability." This evidence argues strongly that the sculpted capitals of the Pinatensian cloister were governed by a comprehensive iconographic program, one founded upon the very simplest and, in this context, perhaps the least expected of all iconographic systems, the linear narrative sequence. The development of this program apparently depended upon several factors: the availability of pictorial narrative cycles in neighboring monuments from the mid-twelfth century onward; the rise of new monastic ideals that emphasized a close examination of Scripture and the complementarity of the Old and New Testaments; and, most importantly, the recognition of the cloister structure as a challenging but appropriate new field upon which to inscribe those ideals. In its new architectural context the cloister's linear program expressed in a remarkable and unprecedented way the new precepts and practices that the monks of San Juan de la Peña were among the first in Spain to accept.

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These observations suggest further questions that must be reserved for a more extensive study. First is the issue of uniqueness: Is the cloister of San Juan de la Peña in fact the only one at which a linear narrative arrangement can be shown to have existed? Although the original condition of the cloister of Huesca may never be known, the sculpture of several other northeastern Spanish cloisters with significant series of narrative capitals, such as the extant cloisters of Tudela and Tarragona and the now-lost cloister of Pamplona, must be considered in this regard. Also significant are the relationships, both artistic and historical, that may be found between the narrative cloisters of northern Spain and their sometimes quite similar cousins to the north, particularly the cloisters of Toulouse and Provence. Is it possible, in fact, to speak of the rise of organized narrative in the Romanesque cloister as a general phenomenon, and if so, when and why did it develop? What, in the end, can this apparent preoccupation with visual narratives, which might be compared with contemporaneous developments in non-visual art forms, tell us about the cultural significance of narrative itself at the dawn of the new Gothic era? The investigation of these and related issues will shed further light not only on the specific iconographic problems of the Romanesque cloister, but also on the manner in which this exemplary medieval structure still can bring to life the practical and ideological concerns of its now-elusive audience.

NOTES

This article was developed in part from material presented in my dissertation on the cloister of San Juan de la Peña (Boston University, January 1994), as well as from a seminar on the Romanesque cloister which I taught at Southern Methodist University in the Spring of 1997. I would like to thank my nine seminar students for their fresh ideas and good humor in the face of old stones and new theories; Annemarie Weyl Carr for her keen eye and willing ear; Mike Reinhart and Phillip Eshelbrenner for help in producing my diagrams; and Eric Marshall White for assistance with the resources of the Bridwell Library at Southern Methodist, as well as for his effectiveness in distracting our baby daughter when I needed extra writing time.

1. Wayne Dynes, "The Medieval Cloister as the Portico of Solomon," *Gesta* 12/1 (1973): 68. This is particularly true in the later decades of the twelfth century, the period at issue here, when Spanish façades, such as those of Carrión de los Condes or the west portal of Santiago de Compostela, display a high degree of iconographic organization. On unified programs and the Romanesque cloister see Ilene Forsyth, "The Monumental Arts of the Romanesque Period: Recent Research," in *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*, ed. Elizabeth Parker (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the International Center of Medieval Art, 1992), 3–25.

2. See Ricardo del Arco, *La Covadonga de Aragón: El real monasterio de San Juan de la Peña* (Jaca: F. de las Heras, 1919), 69; Réné Crozet, "Recherches sur la sculpture romane en Navarre et en Aragon: Sur les traces d'un sculpteur," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 11 (1968): 56–57; and Jacques Lacoste, "Le maître de San Juan de la Peña," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 10 (1979): 178. The arguments of these and other authors are summarized and evaluated in my dissertation, "The Cloister

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of San Juan de la Peña and Monumental Sculpture in Aragon and Navarre" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1994), 26–41 and 162–64. See also the recent discussion by María Luisa Melero Moneo, "El llamado 'taller de San Juan de la Peña': Problemas planteados y nuevas teorías," *Locus Ameonus* 1 (1995): 53–58.

3. Monastic documentation records that the monastery suffered a serious economic crisis in the second quarter of the twelfth century, remaining in exceedingly oppressive financial straits until the last quarter of the century. This crisis, which became severe enough by 1157 to require the personal intervention of the Aragonese monarch, Ramón Berenguer IV, seems to have left the foundation without funds for any major financial undertaking before about 1180. Under these circumstances the expense represented by the construction of a new cloister seems to have been well beyond the monastery's means until the last decades of the century. See Ana Isabel Lapeña Paul, *El monasterio de San Juan de la Peña en la edad media (desde sus orígenes hasta 1410)* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1989), 79–82 and 228–30, and Ana Isabel Lapeña Paul, *San Juan de la Peña: Guía histórico-artística*, 5th ed. rev. (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1994), 39. Recent archaeological excavation at the site, which uncovered beneath the floor of the cloister a vaulted structure with massive supporting piers apparently dating to the mid-twelfth century, supports the likelihood of a late twelfth-century date for the cloister. See Patton, "Cloister," 168–69.

4. Other monuments with sculpture variably attributed to the San Juan de la Peña "oeuvre" include San Miguel in Biota, San Nicolás in El Frago, San Felices in Uncastillo, San Gil in Luna, San Martín in Uncastillo, and La Seo de Zaragoza. See Crozet, "Recherches," 41–57; Lacoste, "Maître de San Juan de la Peña," 175–89; Patton, "Cloister," 119–61; and Melero, "Llamado 'taller,'" 47–60.

5. The attribution of the entire San Juan de la Peña "oeuvre" to a single artist, most forcefully proposed by Crozet and Lacoste, was disputed as early as 1950 by Francisco Abbad Ríos, "El Maestro Románico de Agüero," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigación Estéticas. Universidad de Buenos Aires* 3 (1950): 15–25. My research on the cloister and its relatives ("Cloister," 119–61) has suggested the presence of at least three primary artists, one responsible for the cloister of San Juan de la Peña and Agüero, a second for Huesca and Sangüesa, and a third for the portals of Ejea de los Caballeros, Biota, and perhaps La Seo de Zaragoza, with other and later hands accounting for sculptures at El Frago, Uncastillo, and Luna. Melero ("Llamado 'taller,'" 50–53) likewise has proposed a division among three primary artists, although her distribution of the monuments among these individuals differs significantly from my conclusions.

6. Of the sculptures associated with the San Juan de la Peña cloister, only those of La Seo in Zaragoza, San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca, and San Miguel in Biota can be associated with documents. The apse sculptures of La Seo were presumably completed by 1189, when the apse and other early portions of the church were consecrated; see María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "La Seo," in *Guía artística de Zaragoza*, ed. Federico Torralba Soriano (Zaragoza: Anatole, 1974), 104–5. The cloister of Huesca appears to have been under construction in 1191, when a document directs that a certain Berengarius *piccador* was to be paid four *denarii* per day plus his meals for work at the monastery; see Federico Balaguer, *Un monasterio medieval: San Pedro el Viejo* (Huesca: Viuda de L. Pérez, 1946), 23–25. The church of Biota is first cited in documents of 1201 and 1216; see José Goñi Gaztambide, *Catálogo del Archivo de la Catedral de Pamplona* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, Inst. Príncipe de Viana, 1965), nos. 440–70.

7. The structures that once stood to the north of the cloister, now lost, are mentioned in the first published history of the monastery, written in 1620 by abbot Juan Briz Martínez. It describes a large, multiroomed dormitory standing to the north of the cloister, which apparently was constructed on the foundations of a much earlier medieval structure, the foundations of which have been excavated in this same area. To the west of the cloister Briz described an older building, apparently the monastery's

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original dormitory, which survives today in the form of two small vaulted chambers. See Briz Martínez, *Historia de la fvndación y antigvedades de San Ivan de la Peña, y de los reyes de Sobrarve, Aragón, y Nauarra que dieron principio a su real casa, y procuraron sus acrecentamientos, hasta que se vnió el principado de Cataluña con el reyno de Aragón, diuidida en cinco libros* (Zaragoza: Juan de Lanaja y Quartanet, 1620), 77–78; and Carlos Esco Sampériz and J. I. Lorenzo Lizalde, "II campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas en el monasterio de San Juan de la Peña (Botaya-Jaca, Huesca)," *Arqueología Aragonés* (1985): 141–42.

8. These fires took place in 1375, 1494, and 1675. By 1620, the cloister was already described by Briz Martínez as "bien maltratado" as a result of the 1494 conflagration. See Lapeña, *Monasterio*, 251–53, and Briz, *Historia*, 78. A description of the site written by an architect named Pedro de Peralta, which bears an inscribed date of 1576 but may have been written as late as the early seventeenth century, records that at that writing the cloister already lacked fourteen of its thirty-six capitals. See Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, folder 2445, fol. 8v; hereafter cited as AHN Clero 2445.

9. These capitals are distinguished from those of the twelfth-century campaign by their spindly figures and dry, flaccid technique. Stylistic similarities to the mid-thirteenth-century tympanum of the nearby parochial church of Botaya suggest that they were produced roughly half a century after the cloister's original campaign had ended. On Botaya see Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, "Estudios del románico aragonés: La érmita de Villars de Sarsa y los tímpanos de Botaya y Binacua," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 13–15 (1968): 37–47.

10. These fragments are preserved in storage at the monastery. I am grateful to José Luis Solano Rozas, the monastery's caretaker and guide, for drawing them to my attention.

11. To date, writers on the San Juan de la Peña cloister have avoided questions of iconography and program, focusing instead on stylistic concerns as they might relate to chronology and attribution. Several, however, have published abbreviated catalogues of the capitals. See, for example, Crozet, "Recherches," 44–45; Angel Canellas López and Angel San Vicente Pino, *Aragon Roman* (Vauban: Zodiaque, 1971), 78–79; and Lapeña, *Guía*, 67–68.

12. As, for example, in the Catalan cloisters of Sant-Cugat del Vallés and Girona Cathedral, where biblical episodes are interspersed with non-narrative capitals, as well as in the paradigmatic French cloister of Saint-Pierre de Moissac. While it has been argued by one scholar that the lost cloister of Nôtre-Dame de La Daurade might have included a short chronological Passion/Resurrection cycle, such a series nonetheless would have inhabited only a limited section of the cloister. See Linda Seidel, "Installation as Inspiration: The Passion Cycle at La Daurade," *Gesta* 25/1 (1986): 85–92. See also Kathryn Horste, "The Passion Series of La Daurade and Problems of Narrative Composition in the Cloister Capital," *Gesta* 21/1 (1982): 31–62; and Kathryn Horste, *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse: The Romanesque Sculpture of La Daurade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 184–90.

13. See Patton, "Cloister," 130–32, 142–43, and 215–21.

14. Eighteen of the cloister's original capitals today survive in situ; twelve others, most of which are totally or partially illegible, are in the Provincial Museum of Huesca. The Huesca cloister presents special problems because of its extensive restoration at the end of the nineteenth century, in which twenty-one original capitals were removed to the Provincial Museum and replaced in the cloister by loosely related copies carved by a local Zaragozan artist; those remaining in the cloister were heavily restored, often recarved. Perhaps because of this, no comprehensive catalogue of the Huesca capitals has been published, although incomplete descriptions may be found in Crozet, "Recherches," 46–47,

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and Canellas and San Vicente, *Aragon*, 343–45.

15. To date, San Salvador in Ejea de los Caballeros has not been the subject of a monograph, and although it has been compared stylistically with the San Juan de la Peña cloister, no previous author has made an extensive iconographic comparison of the two monuments. The north portal archivolts contain the following sequence of scenes:

Innermost archivolt, right to left—the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Nativity, Joseph's first dream, the Journey of the Magi to Bethlehem, the Magi before Herod, the Adoration of the Magi, the Dream of the Magi, and the Magi returning from Bethlehem.

Middle archivolt, left to right—the Massacre of the Innocents, Joseph's second dream, the Flight into Egypt, the Presentation in the Temple, Christ among the Doctors, the Wedding at Cana, the Calling of the Disciples (?), the Baptism of Christ, the Temptations of Christ, and Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood.

Outermost archivolt, right to left—the Raising of Lazarus, Christ anointed at Bethany, Judas receiving payment, the Apostles fetching the she-ass, the Entry into Jerusalem, Christ washing the feet of the Disciples, an unrecognizable scene, the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ, Peter cutting off Malchus' ear, Christ healing Malchus, Peter denying Christ (?), the Flagellation, Christ bearing the Cross, and the Crucifixion.

16. For a concise discussion of this problem see M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981), 121–23.

17. In France these include several Toulousan cloisters, among them Moissac, Saint-Pons de Thomières, Saint-Lizier (Ariège), and, according to Horste, La Daurade; see Kathryn Horste, "A New Plan of the Cloister and Rampart of Saint-Etienne, Toulouse," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45/1 (1986): 5–19; and Horste, *Monastic Reform*, 184–85. In addition to these, rhythmically subdivided or alternating systems survive in a number of Spanish cloisters, including the above-mentioned cloister of Huesca, in which double supports are subdivided by quadruple and octuple clusters at the center of each gallery, and the cloister of Saint Cugat del Vallès, where double columns are regularly punctuated by piers with applied double columns. Most closely comparable in spirit to the plan of San Juan de la Peña is that of the cloister of Tudela, in which double and triple columns alternate throughout; see Anne de Egry, "La escultura del claustro de la catedral de Tudela," *Príncipe de Viana* 20 (1959): 63–107.

18. See, for example, Lapeña, *Guía*, 67.

19. As, for example, in the south portal of Santiago de Compostela; see Marcel Durliat, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques: de Conques à Compostelle* (Mont-de-Marsan: Comité des Études sur l'Histoire et l'Art de la Gascogne, 1990), fig. 365.

20. Here it appears subsequent to a traditional Creation of Adam and clearly forms a separate episode preceding Eve's creation. A similar scene also appears in the early thirteenth-century Bible of San Millán de la Cogolla (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia II, III, vol. 1, fol. 12r); see John Williams, "A Castillian Tradition of Bible Illustration: The Romanesque Bible of San Millán," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 66–85. For arguments associating the sculptures of La Seo with the San Juan de la Peña circle see María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Maestro de Agüero," in *Gran Enciclopedia Aragonesa* (Zaragoza: Union Aragonesa del Libro, 1980), 1:73.

21. See, for example, Crozet ("Recherches," 44), who nonetheless admitted its resemblance to a Cain and Abel scene. Rarely, the scene has been given such alternate interpretations as the Beheading of John the Baptist or a representation of some contemporary event; see Lapeña, *Guía*, 67.

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22. In this case the figure of Abel has been reversed so that the brothers face each other, probably in an attempt to adapt the scene to the corner on which it is placed. The handle of the hoe held by Cain is now broken away where it had been undercut from the capital, with the result that the identity of the weapon is easily mistaken. As at San Juan de la Peña, Cain wears a full beard while Abel is smooth-cheeked.

23. Such an association may be implicit in the writings of Isidore of Seville, for example, who frequently and rather pointedly described Abel as "innocens." See Isidore, *Quaestiones in vetus Testamentum*, *PL* 83:223–30.

24. Only Crozet ("Recherches," 44) has identified this scene as that of the Adoration of the Magi.

25. These appear at Santiago in Agüero, San Miguel in Biota, and San Nicolás in El Frago. See Crozet, "Recherches," fig. 8. On this basis it may be supposed that the third and missing magus must have prostrated himself at the foot of the Virgin's throne, as he does in the parallel scenes.

26. A notable comparison for this popular scene appears in the cloister portal of Tarragona Cathedral. See Pedro de Palol, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), fig. 250.

27. Parallels for these scenes, often conflated so that the two boats are confronted by a single figure of Christ, are found in several northeastern Spanish works, including the frescoes of SS. Julián and Basilisa at Bagüés and the *Ripoll Bible* (Bibl. Vat., Vat. Lat. 5729). The Calling scene at Bagüés is now fragmentary but preserves fragments of Christ and two boats; see Gonzalo Máximo Borras Gualis and Manuel García Guatas, *La pintura románica en Aragón* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, 1978), fig. 70. For the same scene in the eleventh-century *Ripoll Bible* (fol. 367r) see Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des Ersten Jahrtausends und die Altspanische Buchmalerei: Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte des Auslebens der altchristlichen Kunst in Spanien und zur frühmittelalterlichen Stilgeschichte* (Bonn: Schroeder Verlag, 1922), pl. 49, fig. 143.

28. The scene has been identified by several authors as the pardoning of the adulteress; see, for example, Lapeña, *Guía*, 68. Canellas and San Vicente (*Aragon*, 78) have proposed that it represents Mary, the sister of Lazarus, begging Jesus to save her brother, a scene without much precedent in Spanish Romanesque cycles.

29. At Ejea, the scene follows the Temptations of Christ, concluding the second archivolt; the third archivolt begins with the Raising of Lazarus, the capital that follows the healing scene in the intact west gallery of the San Juan de la Peña cloister. For the *Pamplona Bibles* see François Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), vol. 2, pl. 403.

30. See, for example, Crozet, "Recherches," 45; Canellas and San Vicente, *Aragon*, 78; and Lapeña, *Guia*, 68.

31. At Ejea the scene appears in the third archivolt, prior to the Entry into Jerusalem. For the same scene at Tudela see de Egry, "Tudela," fig. 95.

32. The discovery of the capital was first cited by Lapeña (*Guía*, 108); I have presented and discussed its imagery in "*Et Partu Fontis Exceptum*: The Typology of Birth and Baptism in an Unusual Spanish Image of Jesus Baptized in a Font," *Gesta* 33/2 (1994): 79–92.

33. A similar scene of Christ baptized in a font is found in two related copies of the Commentary on the Apocalypse of Beatus de Liébana: a tenth-century manuscript in Girona Cathedral (Girona, Cathedral Archives, MS 7, fol. 189r), and a twelfth-century manuscript in Turin (Bibl. Naz., lat. 93,

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fol. 136r). See Patton, "Baptism," figs. 4–6.

34. At Ejea the Presentation is represented by the figures of Mary and the high priest flanking the Christ child, who stands on a low altar.

35. At Soria these include the creation of heaven and earth and the separation of the waters; a similar cycle in the somewhat earlier "Creation Tapestry" of Girona cathedral also includes the creation of birds and beasts. See Palol, *Early Medieval Art*, pl. 35.

36. See Abundio Rodríguez, *Castille Roman* (La-Pierre-qui-vire: Zodiaque, 1966), 1: 69.

37. The only exception to this scriptural order is the placement of the Payment of Judas, which according to the Gospels (Matt. 26:14–16) occurred before the Last Supper (Matt. 26:20–29). This episode precedes the Last Supper at Ejea los Caballeros; however, since the undisturbed masonry of San Juan de la Peña's west gallery suggests that its order has not been changed, and since the cloister's alternating plan does not allow this capital to be placed before the Last Supper, its present location must be accepted as original. The only other significant difference between the San Juan de la Peña and Ejea cycles derives from the cloister's omission—very probably for lack of space—of several minor scenes, such as that of Herod riding out to view the Massacre or the Apostles fetching the ass for Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.

38. At Ejea the Payment of Judas precedes the Entry into Jerusalem and is followed by various scenes of the Betrayal, Arrest, and Crucifixion.

39. These scenes survive at Huesca and Ejea but do not offer details that would allow the identification of the San Juan de la Peña fragment. It is unlikely that the fragment could have belonged to a lost capital depicting the Massacre of the Innocents, since in no surviving Romanesque example of the scene does an adult Jewish male appear.

40. See the comparative catalogue in Patton, "Cloister," 220–21.

41. Four of the thirteenth-century capitals are historiated, but their subjects are not drawn from Genesis or the Gospels and bear no evident relation to the imagery of the twelfth-century group, implying a certain unconcern, and thus a likely dissociation, with the intent of the cloister's original program.

42. Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), 90–123.

43. A similar strategy seems to have been intended at La Daurade, where narrative climaxes often appear at the capital faces which could be seen in either the cloister walk or garth (see Horste, "Passion Series"), as well as in a number of Catalan and Provençal cloisters, such as those of Estany and Saint-Trophîme in Arles, where a narrative capital facing the cloister walk is paired with an ornamental capital facing the garth. At San Juan de la Peña, however, this practice is raised to its most sophisticated level by the continuity of the compositions and the uninterruptedness with which the episodes can be viewed along a single trajectory in the cloister walk.

44. In his discussion of the column of Trajan (*Visual Narratives*, 90–123), Brilliant has analyzed an analogous instance in which strategic repetition of the protagonist within a pictorial narrative is made to compensate for the complexities of its physical setting.

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45. See María Pilar Falcón Pérez, "Una noticia acerca de las pinturas románicas de Bagüés (Huesca)," *Estudios de la Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón* 9 (1973): 443–53; and Borras and García, *Pintura románica*, 53–107.

46. At Bagüés the Labors of Adam and Eve and the Offerings of Cain and Abel do not now appear in the fragmentary Old Testament series; however, these two scenes very likely once occupied opposing positions at the west end of the nave, where much of the painted surface now is lost. The surviving Old Testament cycle now includes the following scenes: the Creation of Adam, God presenting the animals to Adam, God drawing Adam's rib, the Creation of Eve, God introducing Adam and Eve, God warning Adam and Eve not to eat from the Tree, Eve tempted by the Serpent, the Temptation of Adam and Eve, God reprimanding Adam and Eve, some lost scenes, the Murder of Abel, God reprimanding Cain, God speaking to Noah, Noah building the Ark, the animals entering the Ark, and Noah sacrificing to God. For individual images of the entire Bagüés cycle see Borras and García, *Pintura románica*, figs. 43–91.

47. Both the compositions and the details of individual scenes often differ dramatically between the two cycles. In the Raising of Lazarus at Bagüés, for example, the dead man bolts energetically from his sarcophagus, the lid of which is held by a throng of onlookers, whereas at San Juan de la Peña he lies supine on the sarcophagus lid, attended only by Christ and his two sisters.

48. Including, for example, the cloister of Tudela. Its iconographic similarities to San Juan de la Peña and Huesca have been attributed to a common prototype; see de Egry, "Tudela," 73.

49. See Lapeña, *Monasterio*, 63–97.

50. See Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 46–48.

51. It has been suggested recently that some cloisters, especially those of foundations frequented by pilgrims and those serving canonical clergy, were more open to the public than previously was believed. See, for example, O. K. Werckmeister, "The Emmaus and Thomas Pillar of the Cloister of Silos," in *El Románico en Silos: IX Centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088–1988*, Studia Silensia 1 (Burgos: Abadía de Silos, 1990), 149–71, esp. 159–60. San Juan de la Peña, by contrast, was prevented both by topography and by the traditional Cluniac bent toward seclusion from having much traffic with the lay public.

52. Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, 3rd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); Jean Leclercq, "La spiritualité des chanoines regulières," in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XIe, XII. Atti della Settimana de studio, Mendola, settembre 1959* (Milan: Società Editrice Vita e Pensero, 1962), 1:117–41; Jean Leclercq, "The New Orders," in *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, ed. Jean Leclercq, François Vandenbroucke, and Louis Bouyer (London: Burns and Oates, 1968), 127–61; Giles Constable, "Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 37–67; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies 31 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); and Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Jesus As Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

53. See Constable, "Renewal and Reform," 46–59; and Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in *Jesus as Mother*, 82–109. See also Charles Dereine, "La Vita Apostolica dans l'ordre canonial du IXe au XIe siècles," *Revue Mabillon* 51 (1961): 47–53; Marie-Humbert Vicaire,

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L'imitation des apôtres: Moines, chanoines, mendicants, IV–XIII siècles (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1963); and Glen W. Olsen, "The Idea of the Ecclesia Primitiva in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists," *Traditio* 25 (1969): 61–86.

54. The Gospels are termed "The Rule of Rules" by Stephen of Muret, "Prologus," *Regula Sancti Stephani, PL* 204:1135–36. See Léon Pressouyre, "Saint Bernard to Saint Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloister," *Gesta* 12 (1973): 74–75.

55. On the origin and evolution of this practice see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941): 13–57.

56. Leclercq, "Learning," 71–88.

57. See Paul Meyvaert, "The Medieval Monastic Claustrum," *Gesta* 12 (1973): 54–55.

58. Dynes, "Medieval Cloister as the Portico of Solomon," 61–70; Ilene Forsyth, "The *Vita Apostolica* and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations," *Gesta* 25/1 (1986): 75–82; Pressouyre, "Saint Bernard to Saint Francis," 71–92; and Horste, *Cloister Design*, 157–90.

59. Horste ("Passion Series," 53; and *Cloister Design*, 185–86) has contended that the irregular alternation of the capitals when placed in chronological order, coupled with the viewer's inability to see the Passion episodes in sequence because of the placement of chronologically adjacent episodes on opposite sides of the capitals, obviate a chronological narrative sequence. Seidel ("Installation as Inspiration," 83–89) has disputed this conclusion, arguing that the programmatic coherence of the capitals as a group argues in itself for a chronological installation. Because Horste's argument takes into account the evidence of early architectural drawings that reveal its regularly alternating plan, and in view of the preponderance of southern French cloisters in which narrative capitals do appear to have been installed in a non-linear arrangements, I concur with her conclusions on this issue.

60. Horste, *Cloister Design*, esp. 175–83.

61. At La Daurade the tendency of the artist to focus the narrative climax at single or opposing points on the drum, described by Horste as "circum-directed" and "dual-directed" compositions, apparently was meant primarily to enhance the legibility of the capitals. However, as Horste notes ("Passion Series," esp. 39–51), these strategies also tend to heighten the dramatic effect of some scenes.

62. Horste, *Cloister Design*, 157–82.

63. See H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 214–47. The single Iberian exception to this chronology is Catalonia, which because of its early annexation by the Franks had followed French Benedictine models since the ninth century. For Aragon see Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "La introducción del rito romano en Aragón y Navarra," *Hispania Sacra* 1 (1948): 299–324. For the reforms and the question of their effects on Romanesque art in general see John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27 (1988): 93–101.

64. Lynn H. Nelson, trans. *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 19. Earlier stages in the process of reform, which may have begun as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century, are discussed by Lapeña, *Monasterio*, 46–50.

65. See Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval española* (Madrid: Instituto "Diego Velázquez," 1956), 18.

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66. On traditional Aragonese dress, including the *abarca*, see Antonio Beltrán Martínez, "Sobre el traje popular aragonés," *Andalán* (1–15 June, 1982): 17–33; and Ramón Violant I Simorra, *El Pirineo español: Vida, usos, costumbres, creencias y tradiciones de una cultura milenaria que desaparece* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1949), 379–435. On the Aragonese plow see Violant I Simorra, "El arado tradicional de la comarca de Jaca y el esculpido en el claustro de San Juan de la Peña," *Pirineos* 6, nos. 15–16 (Jan.–June 1950): 187–215; also Jean Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 33–35; and Lynn White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 57–63.

67. Leclercq, "Learning," 75. Hans Belting discusses a similar, although understandably far more extensive, use of contemporary details to enhance narrative immediacy in the frescoes of the life of Saint Francis in the upper church of San Francesco in Assisi; see Belting, "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: *Historia* and Allegory," *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson, Studies in the History of Art 16 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 153–54.

68. See Carol Herselle Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem Before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 1–19.

69. Krinsky ("Temple," 7, 12–17) has observed that, for much of the Middle Ages, representations of the Temple reflect relatively few of the descriptive details brought to the West by Crusaders and pilgrims, noting that efforts to represent the Temple with accuracy were not frequent until the fifteenth century.

70. On sacred geography see Krinsky, "Temple," 1–7; and Dynes, "Medieval Cloister as the Portico of Solomon," 62–66.

71. Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Mélanges Gérard Fransen*, *Studia Gratiana* 19–20 (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1976), 1:125–46. Forsyth ("Vita Apostolica," 78–80) makes a compelling case for the importance of visual imagery in the monastery as inspiration for the spiritual pilgrimage (*peregrinatio in stabilitate*) endorsed by many monastic leaders as preferable to physical travel.

72. Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity," *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980): 24.

73. Leclercq, "Learning," 80–83.

74. Ibid., 82–83.

75. Horste, "Passion Series," 53; and *Cloister Design*, 185–87.

76. Seidel, "Installation as Inspiration," 85.

77. "El chapitel hacen puesto todo el testamento viejo y nuevo assi como he visto ser puestas por lo que está en pie porque entrando la puerta del claustro comienza la creación del mundo, y en esto el pecado de Adán, y la muerte de Abel, por la otra parte comienza por el Nacimiento de nuestro Señor, y luego la Adoración de los Reyes, y la circuncisión" (AHN Clero 2445, fol. 8v). The "circumcision" scene to which the architect refers most probably was the Presentation in the Temple, which in its original location would have followed the Magi scenes as he described.

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78. As, for example, in Middle Byzantine mosaic programs, in which the Byzantine cycle of feasts, the significance of which rests largely on its nature as a narrative of Christ's life, Passion, and Resurrection, is disposed throughout the church in a manner that discourages a sequential reading. See Ernst Kitzinger, "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 36 (1988): 51–73. Marcia Kupfer discusses similar manipulations of the Christological cycle in Romanesque France in *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: The Politics of Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). Although its topic is not Romanesque but Roman, Brilliant's essay on similar issues of narrative legibility in the column of Trajan also is highly relevant to this topic; see *Visual Narratives*, 90–123.

79. "Diversae arbores fructiferae sunt diversi libri sacrae Scripturae"; see Honorius Augustodunensis, "Gemma Animae," *PL* 172:590.

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