

Spain
1000–1200

Art at the
Frontiers of
Faith



The Metropolitan
Museum of Art Bulletin
Fall 2021



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Spain
1000–1200 Art at the
Frontiers of
Faith

Julia Perratore



The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York



Director's Note

Spain, 1000–1200: Art at the Frontiers of Faith celebrates the artistic exchange among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the medieval Iberian Peninsula. This exhibition is set in the majestic Fuentidueña Chapel gallery space in The Met Cloisters, which is crowned by the Romanesque apse of San Martín de Fuentidueña and displays several other monuments of the Romanesque style championed by Spanish Christians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Responding to this beloved gallery, *Art at the Frontiers of Faith* brings Islamic and Jewish works into the space for the first time, with the goal of telling a more nuanced story about Spain's dynamic, interconnected past.

Drawing together objects typically dispersed across various departments and locations at The Met, this exhibition provides an opportunity to appreciate the variety and richness of the Museum's holdings of medieval Iberian artworks. In fact, The Met has a long history of exhibiting medieval Spanish art—a legacy beginning with *Spanish Medieval Art: A Loan Exhibition in Honor of Dr. Walter W. S. Cook*, held at The Cloisters in the winter of 1954–55—and for the past thirty years, these exhibitions have led the way in exploring the intersections of medieval Iberia's different faith traditions. In 1992 the groundbreaking show *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* presented a diverse array of Iberian artworks. A year later, planning for the proposed exhibition *The Art of Medieval Spain: A.D. 500–1200* (ultimately not staged) resulted in a catalogue that remains highly influential. Today, The Met Fifth Avenue's galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia chart the complexity of artistic production in Islamic Spain. *Art at the Frontiers of Faith* continues this important work, bringing greater awareness of the global scope of the European Middle Ages to The Cloisters.

This exhibition is organized by Julia Perratore, Assistant Curator in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters. Research Assistant Amelia Roché Hyde provided essential support. We are grateful to the members of The Met's Department of Islamic Art, and especially Navina Najat Haidar, Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah Curator in Charge, for their generous cooperation. In addition, we thank the Morgan Library and Museum; the Hispanic Society Museum and Library; the Jewish Theological Seminary; Glencairn Museum; and Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, for their loans of objects that helped to tell the story of this incredible period of history. We are grateful for the endowment established by Michel David-Weill that made both the exhibition and this *Bulletin* possible. The Helen Clay Frick Foundation, too, made a very meaningful gift toward the presentation. We send our gratitude to Tom and Diahn McGrath for their additional support of this *Bulletin* and acknowledge the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of *Reader's Digest*, for its long-standing support of The Met's quarterly *Bulletin* program.

Max Hollein

Marina Kellen French Director,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



The medieval walled town of Fuentidueña extends down the slope of a craggy hill in the north-central province of Segovia, Spain (fig. 1).

About the eleventh century, the town's founders selected the site for its hillcrest, from which they could survey their surroundings with ease, and for its downward sweep toward the Duratón River, an important water source. Dislodging stones from the surrounding terrain to build a fortress, walls, houses, and churches, Fuentidueña's medieval inhabitants mastered the landscape and made it their home.

Perched on a rise within the town's walled enclosure, at a remove from the densest cluster of dwellings near the river below, the late twelfth-century church of San Martín de Fuentidueña exemplified this mastery of the land (fig. 2). Now in ruins except for the apse, San Martín was situated near Fuentidueña's fortress, located on the highest point of the terrain.¹ The church's west entrance faced a massive gate in the town's mighty walls that regulated outsiders' entrance. Largely built from the same tough construction materials as the castle

1. Fuentidueña, viewed from the northwest, Segovia, Spain





and walls—irregular, hand-placed stones, embedded within a rammed-earth framework—the church met worshippers with a no-frills facade.² Built alongside (and visually resembling) structures intended to defend but also control, the church formed part of a complex of buildings expressing political, military, and ecclesiastic power. Fuentidueña had arisen as part of the Christian-ruled kingdom of León-Castilla, which had laid claim to this land in the eleventh century by infiltrating a frontier, or border region, and overtaking the neighboring Muslim-ruled kingdom of Toledo. Built a century later, San Martín's construction occurred at an advanced moment in a long process of conquest, colonization, and urban development undertaken by Christian rulers who sought to expand their territory and control. Although Fuentidueña was no longer a frontier outpost by the time San Martín was built, the church carries the memory of the town's origins in a contested region.

This memory is evident in San Martín's eastern-facing apse, which was the most sacred part of the church, housing the high altar. In contrast to the nave, or space of congregation, the apse was constructed of smoothly cut stone blocks and decorated with fine sculptures (fig. 3). Its more polished construction and decoration, in contrast with the rest of the building, suggest that limited funds compelled its now-anonymous builders to concentrate the finest stonework on

the most sacramentally significant area of the building. The Romanesque style of the apse was used for churches throughout northern Spain, as well as most of western Europe, from the eleventh through the twelfth century. By embracing this style and, therefore, declaring stylistic solidarity with the rest of western Christendom, its builders placed Fuentidueña under the authority of Christian rule.³ The subjects of San Martín's sculpted decoration reinforced this message. On the apse exterior, a pair of corbels depicting a warrior and fortress or city gate recall León-Castilla's victorious military campaigns in northern Spain, underscoring the connection between the church and the control of the land (fig. 4).

Today, the apse of San Martín de Fuentidueña is on display at The Met Cloisters (fig. 5). Obtained as a loan from Spain in 1957, it was dismantled, transported to New York, and reconstructed at the Museum, creating a chapel-like gallery space that opened to the public in 1961.⁴ Since that time the apse has often been displayed with other European Romanesque artworks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, most of which come from Spain, in a gallery celebrating this specific style, period, and place (fig. 6). This *Bulletin* and the exhibition it accompanies expand that essential story by bringing together works that represent the full range of artistic styles available during this period in the frontier

2. San Martín, Fuentidueña, Spain, photographed in situ ca. 1957. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York

3. Capital with pairs of griffins, from the exterior of the apse of San Martín. Fuentidueña, Spain, ca. 1175–1200. Limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Exchange Loan from the Government of Spain, 1958 (L.58.86a–f)

4. Two corbels depicting a warrior and a castle or city gate, from the exterior of the apse of San Martín. Fuentidueña, Spain, ca. 1175–1200. Limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Exchange Loan from the Government of Spain, 1958 (L.58.86a–f)



zones and cities of Spain, where people of different faiths and backgrounds regularly encountered one another and exchanged ideas.⁵

Since the eighth century, Muslims had ruled the majority of the Iberian Peninsula—a territory known as al-Andalus—and communities of Muslims, Jews, and Christians lived and worked there side by side. The northernmost part of the peninsula had been left in the hands of local Christians, and more sparsely populated borderlands, or frontiers, separated

al-Andalus and the Christian north.⁶ Medieval people did not conceive of territorial borders as lines on a map, as we do today, but they did identify and describe regions between different polities. The northern frontier (Arabic: *thagr/thugur*) of al-Andalus was a buffer between the domain of Islam and the lands of other faiths, designated as such for administrative purposes but also to assert Muslim rule. Latin- and Romance-speaking Christians used the terms *marca* and *extremadura* to signal the limits of territorial control, while the Latin term *frontera*—



5. Exterior of the apse of San Martín. Fuentidueña, Spain, ca. 1175–1200. Limestone. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Exchange Loan from the Government of Spain, 1958 (L.58.86a–f)

6. Fuentidueña Chapel Gallery at The Met Cloisters





from which we get “frontier”—was coined in eleventh-century Aragón to designate military frontlines.⁷ Throughout the ninth to eleventh century, the small, Christian-ruled kingdoms in the north began to seize, settle, and build churches within the frontier zones of the Duero and Ebro river valleys. As Christian armies advanced southward starting in the eleventh century, so did the territorial buffers between powers (figs. 7, 8), and towns such as Fuentidueña were established in their wake.⁸

Politically, the Iberian frontier zones served as a means of separating territories, but people of diverse backgrounds often came together within them.⁹ The tension between separation and connection that characterizes these geopolitical regions became a source of creativity, and their art and architecture often reflect the meeting of visual traditions.¹⁰ But the frontier zones—which were never densely populated—were far from the only places in which people came together.¹¹ Throughout Spain, people of different faiths and backgrounds regularly interacted: Christians, Muslims, and Jews rubbed elbows in royal courts, jostled against one another in urban markets, and crafted beautiful objects in shared workshops. These interactions could be brief or sustained, friendly or hostile, but they were a fact of daily life for many.¹² As a result, art making was hardly a straightforward process, especially when it occurred at the frontiers of faith.

The Creation of al-Andalus

Armies of Arab and Berber Muslims from North Africa first crossed the Strait of Gibraltar into the Iberian Peninsula

in 711. In a few short years, they deposed local Visigothic rulers and conquered land as far north as the foothills of the Pyrenees and the Cantabrian Mountains. The newly Muslim-ruled territory, al-Andalus, became the westernmost outpost of the Umayyad caliphate, which was based in Syria and constituted the spiritual and political leadership of all the lands in which Islam was practiced. In 750, the collapse of Umayyad power and the rise of the Baghdad-based Abbasid caliphate brought the last heir of the Umayyad dynasty, ‘Abd al-Rahman I, to al-Andalus. Nominally allegiant to the Abbasids, the Andalusi Umayyads descended from ‘Abd al-Rahman I ruled as emirs (provincial governors) and sought to unify a fractious Iberian population. In 929, ‘Abd al-Rahman III, having consolidated power, sought to rival Abbasid authority by reestablishing the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus, which would endure until 1031.¹³

Muslim rule in Spain saw many locals convert to Islam, though conversion was never imposed, and some Christians and Jews elected to continue practicing their own religions. Islamic law allowed them to do so as the adherents of protected faiths, but they did not experience the same freedoms as Muslims.¹⁴ At the same time, Jews and Christians living under Muslim rule embraced many aspects of Islamic culture that did not entail religious practice, such as speaking Arabic. A capital inscribed in Arabic and Hebrew from a synagogue in Toledo demonstrates the extent to which Arabic was the language of daily life within al-Andalus (fig. 9).

Throughout the first three centuries of its existence, al-Andalus became powerful, prosperous, scientifically advanced, and culturally sophisticated, fortified by constant

7. Map of the Iberian Peninsula, mid-eleventh century

8. Map of the Iberian Peninsula, second half twelfth century

9. Capital with Arabic and Hebrew inscriptions. Toledo, Spain, early 14th century. Limestone, H. 8 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (21 cm). Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Inv. 50524



10. Interior of the Mosque of Córdoba. Spain, 8th–10th century



contact with other cosmopolitan and intellectual centers of the Near East and Mediterranean.¹⁵ Córdoba was its celebrated capital city and cultural hub, and the supreme architectural achievement of Umayyad al-Andalus was the city's congregational mosque, which was built and expanded by successive emirs and caliphs between 785/6 and 987/8 (figs. 10, 11). The palace-city of Madinat al-Zahra, founded in 963 by 'Abd al-Rahman III outside Córdoba and now an archaeological site, was the home of the caliphal court. Its surviving architectural fragments hint at the splendor of the ceremonial spaces and dwellings that once stood there.¹⁶

The distinctive architecture of al-Andalus reveals diverse origins. On one hand, builders took inspiration from foundational monuments of the Umayyad heartland, such as the congregational mosques of Damascus (built in 706) and Medina

(706–10).¹⁷ They also incorporated indigenous Iberian architectural forms, such as the horseshoe arch, which had been a standard feature of Visigothic church design, in addition to reusing antique marble columns and capitals from the remains of Córdoba's many Roman- and Visigothic-era buildings.¹⁸ A tenth-century marble capital featuring stylized plant forms (probably from Madinat al-Zahra) demonstrates Andalusí artists' interest and skill in reinterpreting antique models, in this case the Composite order (fig. 12).¹⁹

Iberian Jews and Christians embraced the vocabulary of Andalusí architecture to varying degrees. Jewish artists and architects willingly adopted this visual language, making it their own. One of the few surviving medieval Spanish synagogues, the congregational synagogue of Toledo (variously dated between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and later



11. Puerta de San Esteban (Bab al-Wuzara), Mosque of Córdoba. Spain, 9th century

12. Capital with acanthus leaves. Córdoba, Spain, 10th century. Marble, H. 14½ in. (36.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.95.134)



converted into the church of Santa María la Blanca), features horseshoe arcades and carved foliate and geometric decorations in stucco that were inspired by Andalusí Islamic architecture (fig. 13).²⁰ Forms such as horseshoe arches and geometric ornament continued to flourish in Spanish Jewish art even under Christian rule in the later Middle Ages. This is visible on the closing pages of a Hebrew Bible (Tanakh) copied in Castilla in the first half of the fourteenth century (fig. 14). Jewish people in Spain described the Bible as the “Sanctuary of God,” and the artist’s use of decoration inspired by buildings could have alluded to a sacred space, namely the Temple in Jerusalem.²¹

Christian art and architecture of the early medieval period is best observed not within the territory that constituted al-Andalus but in the frontier zone that existed in the Duero

River valley for much of the ninth through the eleventh century. Frontier church builders were just as inspired by Roman and Visigothic precedents as their Andalusí neighbors—their use of horseshoe arches is just one obvious example—but they also emulated Andalusí interpretations of this form, as seen in the church of San Cebrián de Mazote (fig. 15), where a doorway is painted with a striped arch (now heavily restored) similar to those of the Mosque of Córdoba.²² Early medieval engagement with Andalusí art and architecture is also visible in other media, such as a manuscript of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, illustrated by the artist-scribe Maius about 945. One page frames the feast of Belshazzar from the book of Daniel within a striped horseshoe arch (fig. 16), perhaps negatively associating the pagan Babylonian king with Islam.²³ In contrast, another page depicting the Heavenly Jerusalem



13. Synagogue later converted into the church of Santa María la Blanca. Toledo, Spain, 12th–14th century



14. Hebrew Bible. Spain, 1300–1350 (before 1366). Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment, $9\frac{5}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ in. (23.7 × 20.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 2018 (2018.59)

15. Interior of the church of San Cebrián de Mazote. Spain, 10th century





16. St. Jerome (died 420), author, and Maius of Tábara (died 968), principal scribe and artist. The Feast of Belshazzar, from *Commentary on the Book of Daniel* appended to the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Made in the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara, Spain, ca. 945. Vellum, 15¼ × 11 in. (38.5 × 28 cm). The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (MS M.644 folio 255v)

17. Beatus of Liébana (died 798), author, and Maius of Tábara (died 968), principal scribe and artist. The Heavenly Jerusalem, from *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Made in the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara, Spain, ca. 945. Vellum, 15¼ × 11 in. (38.5 × 28 cm). The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (MS M.644 folio 222v)

represents Andalusí architecture in a positive light, as the pinnacle of magnificence and splendor (fig. 17).²⁴ Together, these works indicate that artistic ideas flowed freely into and across Iberian frontiers.

The Art of the Courts

When the Umayyad dynasty's centralized rule definitively ended in 1031, following more than two decades of civil war, smaller sovereignties known as the *taifa* kingdoms asserted authority throughout al-Andalus. With the rise of the *taifas*, cities such as Seville, Toledo, Zaragoza, Almería, and Granada grew in importance.²⁵ Culturally, religiously, and ethnically diverse, these cities welcomed merchants, scholars, skilled craftspeople, poets, and ambassadors from the Near East, the Maghrib (composed of the Mediterranean coastal areas

of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya), and elsewhere in Europe, all of whom brought new ideas and objects with them. *Taifa* courts reflected the ethnic and religious diversity of their capital cities and were among the most important sites of exchange for elite Muslims, Jews, and Christians. Jewish courtiers played particularly prominent roles in the *taifa* era, and within a milieu of courtly refinement, Hebrew poetry by Shelomo ibn Gabirol and Moshe ibn Ezra, among others, reached new heights.²⁶ Among the most famous of the *taifa* poets, the scholar Shmu'el Hanagid (also known as Isma'il ibn Naghrela), served as a trusted adviser to the Muslim king of Granada throughout the 1030s and distinguished himself as a diplomat, military strategist, and linguist.²⁷

Although Andalusí in the eleventh and twelfth centuries still looked to the Umayyad past for inspiration—for example, a crenellated horseshoe arch on a twelfth-century grave

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18. Gravestone. Almería, Spain, 12th century. Marble, H. 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (35 cm). The Hispanic Society Museum and Library, New York (D223)

19. Courtyard of the Aljafería palace. Zaragoza, Spain, second half 11th century

20. Panel with calligraphy. Toledo(?), Spain, 11th century. Wood, W. 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (20.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Dr. Walter L. Hildburgh, 1951 (51.45.7)

21. Incense burner. Spain, 11th century. Bronze, W. 10 in. (25.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1967 (67.178.3a, b)

marker from Almería echoes the Mosque of Córdoba's facade (fig. 18)—the complex and sophisticated court culture once nourished in Umayyad Córdoba found new life in *taifa* cities, growing and changing within multiple palaces as well as through contact with Mediterranean centers.²⁸

Despite the period's political instability, *taifa* rule was luminous in its culture and learning, and *taifa* kings became important patrons of the arts. Within opulent palaces, rulers and courtiers enjoyed the artistry of beautiful, one-of-a-kind objects fashioned from costly and rare materials by the most accomplished craftspeople of the day. Jewish and Christian courtiers' positions of power and influence meant that they served as patrons of the luxury arts just like their Muslim counterparts, and many of these courtly objects were made for secular use.

Few *taifa*-era buildings remain, but the Aljafería palace in Zaragoza stands out as a dazzling (if much rebuilt) survivor.²⁹ Constructed by King al-Muqtadir of Zaragoza (reigned 1049–82), the palace features a large central garden courtyard, which is framed by elaborate carved stucco arches that merge the exuberance of nature with the organizational principles of geometry (fig. 19).³⁰ The courtyard's walls are also covered with words, including Qur'anic inscriptions carved into the

stucco surfaces. The use of inscriptions, or epigraphy, is a core feature of Islamic art and architecture, and Qur'anic texts in palatial settings reminded viewers that faith guides the powerful. In the Aljafería's exquisite garden, al-Muqtadir and his entourage were surrounded by the words of God.

A fragmentary wood panel, possibly from Toledo, provides a glimpse of the use of epigraphy in *taifa* arts elsewhere (fig. 20). Reading *lillah*, "to God," the letters layer over a symmetrical arrangement of vines with curling leaves. The leaves, however, defy strict symmetry, instead growing in various directions to echo the shapes of the letters, providing a viewing experience as stimulating as it is spiritually meaningful.

Taifa palaces were the settings for many convivial gatherings in which courtiers recited poems lauding their king, celebrating treasured friends, and exploring love and its many complications. Numerous courtly objects signal the multi-sensory pleasures of these events, such as a bronze incense burner (fig. 21)—a tiny architectural evocation, like a palace in miniature—that once perfumed the air in such spaces. A pair of thirteenth-century silk textile fragments, although post-dating the era of the *taifas*, celebrates the sounds and tastes appreciated throughout the medieval period. One shows two tambourine players seated cross-legged, knee to knee, within a



22. Textile with musicians. Found in Vic Cathedral, Spain; made in Spain, 13th century. Silk, gilt animal substrate around a silk core; lampas weave, $4\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.3 × 10.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1928 (28.194)

23. Textile fragment with cupbearers. Spain, 13th century. Silk, metallic thread (gilded parchment wound around silk core), $13\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ in. (34.9 × 17.8 cm). Gift of John Pierpont Morgan, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1902 (1902-1-82)



circular frame (fig. 22), both wearing long patterned gowns that complement the textile's geometric framework, while the other shows two similar figures raising glasses (fig. 23). It is easy to imagine a courtier at a party enveloped in this kind of festive cloth while drinking wine with friends, surrounded by real musicians playing to a lively tempo. Despite the compelling portrayals of these earthly pleasures, each silk's imagery also suggests a paradisiacal setting, which was often alluded to in the poetry performed at these court gatherings.³¹

Taifa rulers orchestrated rituals and ceremonies intended to reinforce their status and hierarchy, aspects of court culture that had already been firmly established in Umayyad Córdoba. Luxury objects played significant roles in this side of court life as well, articulating relationships among the inner circle.³² For

example, following time-honored traditions, rulers gifted robes inscribed with their names, known as *tiraz*, to demonstrate favor and establish ties with court members and visitors.³³

In addition to serving as places to build Iberian political relationships, the *taifa* courts formed part of a wider princely network that spanned the Mediterranean basin and extended northward to Christian Spain. Diplomatic envoys from afar brought and received gifts in order to assert power, reinforce hierarchies, and cement strategic relationships.³⁴ Regardless of where they came from, members of these courts shared a love of precious materials, exquisite craftsmanship, and images of elite leisure activities such as music making, hunting, and feasting.³⁵ Although Spanish Muslims avoided figural imagery in explicitly religious contexts, such as the space of the mosque

or the pages of the Qur'an, secular objects were viewed differently.³⁶ Many of the luxury goods produced in the Mediterranean in the eleventh and twelfth centuries exhibit similar features, occasionally making it difficult to determine where certain objects were made.³⁷

Gift giving was a powerful motor of exchange among courts, and an important by-product of these interchanges is the transmission of the game of chess to Europe.³⁸ Invented in India and played in Iran by the sixth century, chess quickly became popular in Islamic lands. As this was a game largely enjoyed by the upper echelons of society, chess sets would have been ideal gifts from Andalus to northern Christian elites.³⁹ Instruction in the rules of the game surely would have accompanied such gifts, making it clear that the exchange was not just about objects but also ideas—namely different strategies. An ivory chess piece made in the western Mediterranean region, dated to the eleventh or twelfth century, gives a sense of what these objects could have looked like (fig. 24).⁴⁰ Like most medieval Islamic chess pieces, it is abstract in design. The elegant cylindrical volume, carved from a solid piece of material, fits comfortably in the hand. The two protuberances from its curved top, now somewhat damaged, indicate that this is a *fil*, or elephant (a bishop in the European tradition).⁴¹

Gift giving had the potential to stimulate long-term artistic activity, as the transfer of novel objects could inspire local imitations of foreign crafts or styles.⁴² In addition, artists sometimes traveled with diplomatic missions, and such visits were an opportunity to study the crafts and traditions of a new culture and adapt them once back home.⁴³ On other occasions, diplomatic exchanges included “gifts” of human capital, such as enslaved people who carried a previously unintroduced craft or skill across a frontier.⁴⁴

Whether resulting from the movement of objects or of skilled people (willing or not), Andalus courtly arts made a significant impact on the artistic activities of the Christian north. This goes back to the Umayyad period, when carved ivory objects of all kinds were popular among elite consumers, although their production was necessarily limited by the supply of the material, which arrived from sub-Saharan Africa and was subject to the vagaries of long-distance trade. In the tenth century the Umayyad caliphate seems to have had a monopoly on ivory, and there is little evidence that this material was worked in the Christian north during this time, meaning that sculptors at the caliphal palace-city of Madinat al-Zahra did a brisk business in exquisite objects decorated with dense foliage, figures, and animals.⁴⁵ A pyxis, or cylindrical container, carved from a thick cross section of an elephant tusk, displays its carver's skill (fig. 25). The sides of the vessel show a leafy paradise peacefully inhabited by parrots, gazelles, and lions. Plotted with mathematical precision, the design of the exterior is divided into quadrants, each of which gathers foliage and creatures in a symmetrical formation that is delicate, harmonious, and charming all at once.



24. Elephant (bishop) chess piece. Western Mediterranean region, 11th or 12th century. Ivory, H. 3³/₁₆ in. (9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Alastair B. Martin, 1949 (49.36)



25. Pyxis. Madinat al-Zahra, Spain, ca. 950–75. Ivory, H. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1970 (1970.324.5)

26. Arm of a cross, from the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. La Rioja, Spain, 10th century. Ivory, H. 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (36.5 cm). Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Inv. 63935

27. Panel with San Millán, from the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. La Rioja, Spain, 1060–80. Ivory with glass inlay, H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (20.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1987 (1987.89)

Andalusi carvers, trained in the caliphal workshops, also produced work for northern Christian patrons. The carving style of a tenth-century ivory cross made for the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla in La Rioja, in northern Spain, is identical to that of the Umayyad caliphal ivory workshop (fig. 26). Recent scholarship suggests that in the later tenth century Queen Toda of Pamplona (died 959) commissioned the cross from the caliphal ivory workshop as a gift to the monastery that lay within her domain. Although a Christian, Toda was an aunt of Caliph ‘Abd al-Rahman III, and she could have used family connections to call on the talents of the finest ivory carvers of the day.⁴⁶

Though the brilliance of Andalusi ivory carving faded with the rise of the *taifas*, caliphal objects continued to galvanize new generations of artists working in the Christian north. By the mid-eleventh century, the monks of San Millán de la Cogolla, perhaps inspired by their magnificent cross, had formed a workshop to produce elaborate ivory works of their



own, including a large reliquary casket covered with ivory panels to house the remains of San Millán, the monastery's founder. At first glance, the caliphal objects and the reliquary's panel depicting the saint tending his sheep and receiving a blessing from God may seem worlds apart (fig. 27), but a closer look reveals that the treatment of the leaves and tendrils sprouting around the saint derives from the lively, stylized foliage of works such as the Andalusí pyxis.

As far as the movement of highly specialized craftspeople is concerned, a curious ivory box possibly made in the tenth or eleventh century raises more questions than it answers.⁴⁷ One of the box's long sides shows the judgment of Solomon, and the other depicts the young Solomon's journey to Gihon to be anointed king (fig. 28). The composition of the rarely depicted journey to Gihon—in which a long-haired Solomon, riding a mule, approaches figures carrying palm branches—resembles images of Jesus entering Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.⁴⁸ Because linkage of the Old and New Testaments is a core element of Christian theology, the connection drawn between Solomon and Jesus would have been intentional. Although the box likely was owned and used by Christians, it features no explicitly Christian marker: the lid includes two forms that resemble crosses, but in fact each has six arms. This, together with the fact that Solomon is revered by Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike, touches on difficult questions—such as who made and used this object—that may never be answered.

Contact between the Christian north and al-Andalus increased during the eleventh century, in large part because the political turmoil that led to the establishment of the *taifas* in al-Andalus emboldened northern Christian kingdoms to make demands on their neighbors to the south. As the balance of power shifted to the north over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Christian León-Castilla, Aragón,

Navarra, and Catalunya soon had the ability to demand *parias*, or tribute payments, from the *taifa* kings.⁴⁹ *Parias* made the northern kingdoms so rich that, by the late eleventh century, their rulers were launching full-scale conquests of Andalusí territory. *Parias* could be paid in coin, but gold shortages prompted by the paying of tribute meant that other riches could also serve as payment (the *taifa* of Almería seems to have paid *parias* in silk on occasion).⁵⁰ These tributes increased the spending power of the Christian north, where the wealthy also purchased imported goods from al-Andalus and the wider Mediterranean world.

The twelfth century saw the continued expansion of Christian-ruled lands, especially the kingdom of León-Castilla (which split in 1157) and the kingdom of Aragón (allied with Catalunya in 1137 as the Crown of Aragón). At the same time, two new unifying dynasties based in the Maghrib saw opportunities to overtake al-Andalus in succession: the Almoravids, whose control of Iberia spanned about 1090 to 1146, and the Almohads from about 1147 to 1248.⁵¹ These dynasties favored different capital cities (while the Almoravids' capital remained Marrakesh, the Almohads chose Seville), and though their rule brought about new perspectives on court life and aesthetics, al-Andalus continued to play a significant role in the production of luxury goods, especially for the Mediterranean open market.⁵²

The premier Andalusí luxury items of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were silks. Silk production had been introduced to Spain perhaps as early as the eighth century, and under the Umayyads the caliphal textile workshop created royal commissions at Madinat al-Zahra. By the first half of the twelfth century, centers of silk weaving had been established throughout al-Andalus, with the port city of Almería being the largest and most famous.⁵³ Although scholars often have difficulty identifying the location in which a given textile was



28. Casket with scenes from the book of Kings. Spain, 10th–11th century, with later metal fastenings. Ivory and gilt-copper alloy, 3½ x 5½ x 2½ in. (8.9 x 14 x 6.4 cm). Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pa. (04.CR.49)

29. Textile fragment with a man strangling two lionesses. Spain, early to mid-12th century. Silk, gilded vellum with silk core; lampas weave, 19¾ x 20¾ in. (49.3 x 52.7 cm). Gift of John Pierpont Morgan, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1902 (1902-1-220)

woven, owing to the similar techniques, motifs, and styles used throughout the Mediterranean,⁵⁴ they tend to associate a particular group of silks with Almería in the first half of the twelfth century.⁵⁵ The surviving textiles from this group share a core design that consists of a symmetrical figural composition within a circular frame surrounded by foliage, figures, and geometric patterns. One example is known as the “lion

strangler” textile because its central motif depicts a standing figure effortlessly clutching two lionesses by the neck, one in each arm (fig. 29). Geometricized flowers bloom in the spaces between the roundels, surrounded by palmettes. In the lower border an Arabic inscription reads *al-yumm*, meaning “good fortune.” Sections of gold brocade accent the bright colors, which were originally bright red, blue green, and ivory.⁵⁶





Al-Andalus participated fully in trading networks extending throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, exporting silks like the “lion strangler” in all directions. Andalusí traders largely devoted their energies to business with other parts of the Muslim world, but some Christian Iberian merchants found it more than worth their while to travel to Andalusí markets via both overland and coastal routes.⁵⁷ Tariff lists detail the variety and volume of imported goods for sale in the north, and textiles appear to have predominated.⁵⁸

Documents such as the 1068 will of the Catalan noblewoman Arsenda de Fluvià attest to the northern Spanish enthusiasm for fine textiles. Arsenda included among her most treasured items a long list of fabrics, whose descriptions suggest various origins in the Mediterranean and Spain.⁵⁹ Additionally, Andalusí and other Mediterranean silks have been found in northern Christian burials.⁶⁰ To take a later example, Don Felipe (died 1274), son of King Fernando III of Castilla, was buried in a silk garment with bold colors and alternating bands of different patterns, bordered with the word *al-yumn* repeated in mirror image on a horizontal band (fig. 30). Shot through with metallic threads, this fine robe was a fitting burial garment for a prince.⁶¹

The professions of silk farming, weaving, and trade were by no means restricted to Muslim craftspeople or to al-Andalus. Jewish weavers and textile traders flourished in Almería, occasionally working side by side with Muslims in the same workshops.⁶² By the eleventh century, silk weavers also seem to have established themselves in the Christian north. A workshop of Mozarabic (Arabized Christian) weavers from the village of Pajareros is recorded in the service of Alfonso V, Christian king of León (reigned 999–1028), suggesting that perhaps not all silks in the north came from afar, despite the significant market for imports.⁶³

30. Textile fragment from the tomb of Don Felipe, prince of Castilla. Found in Villalcázar de Sirga, Spain; made in Spain, second half 13th century. Silk, linen, metal-wrapped thread; *taqueté* weave, $5\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13×21 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1946 (46.156.8)

31. Reliquary casket of Santo Domingo de Silos. Cuenca, Spain (casket); monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, Spain (mounts), 1026 (dated A. H. 417) (casket), ca. 1150–75 (mounts). Ivory and wood with gilt-copper champlevé enamel mounts, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. ($19 \times 34 \times 21$ cm). Museo de Burgos, inv. no. 106

From Court to Church

Many of the surviving luxury art objects made and enjoyed in Andalusí and Mediterranean princely courts throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries were preserved in European church treasuries, where they lived out a second life in the service of the liturgy or the cult of the saints. The preservation of courtly objects in church treasuries, especially those made in Islamic lands, is a phenomenon observed throughout Europe; wealthy Spanish churches were no exception and often brimmed with Andalusí goods.⁶⁴ Many of these objects were physically transformed in order to fit their new functions. For example, an early eleventh-century ivory box made in

Muslim-ruled Cuenca was brought to the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, where it was fitted in the twelfth century with new enameled mounts and a figural plaque to become a reliquary, or container for sacred remains (fig. 31).

Luxury textiles frequently found new use in a church setting. Northern Christian elites—laypeople as well as high-ranking ecclesiastics such as bishops and archbishops—especially treasured silks. Unlike the fast fashions of today, these cloths could stay in the possession of an individual or a family for decades. Some were used as hangings or made into garments, but in other cases wear or display may have been infrequent.⁶⁵ Treasured textiles were gifted or willed to



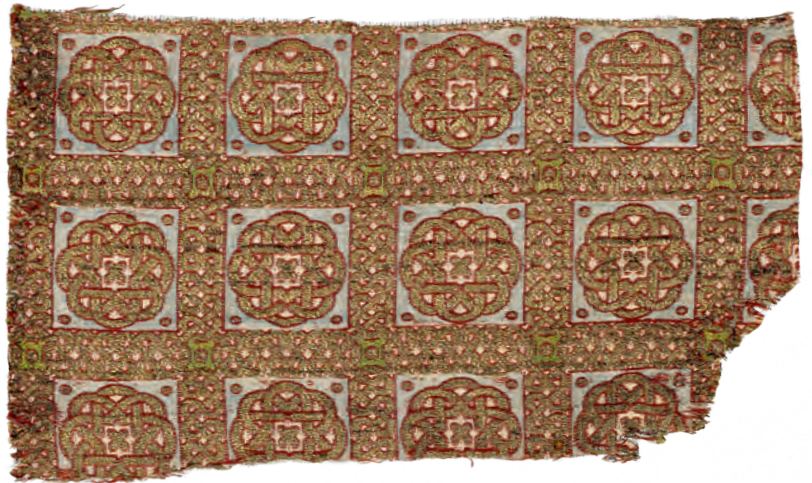
32. Textile fragment from the dalmatic of San Valero. Found in Lleida Cathedral, Spain; made in Spain, 13th century. Silk, gilt animal substrate around a silk core; lampas with separable layers in the ground weave, $3 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (7.6 \times 12.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1946 (46.156.4)

33. Textile fragment from the dalmatic of San Valero. Found in Lleida Cathedral, Spain; made in Spain, 13th century. Silk, gilt animal substrate around a silk core; tapestry weave, $3\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (8 \times 21 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1946 (46.156.10)

34. Textile fragment with birds. Found in the church of Santa Anna, Barcelona; made in Spain, second half 12th century. Silk, gilt animal substrate around a silk core; lampas weave, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16.5 \times 21 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1930 (30.94)

churches regularly; for example, Arsenda de Fluvià left her silks to several of the churches within her family's sphere of influence.⁶⁶ Once part of a church's inventory, fine textiles could become altar cloths, wall hangings, or priestly vestments. In The Met collection, fragments from a dazzling set of thirteenth-century vestments attest to the splendor of imported silks worn for the celebration of the feast of San Valero at Lleida Cathedral (figs. 32, 33).⁶⁷

Some luxurious textiles wrapped relics and lined reliquaries, and, in turn, could themselves be understood as relics.⁶⁸ When saintly tombs were exhumed and opened, burial garments could be removed, divided, and distributed as relics in their own right because they had come into physical contact with the body of the saint, which may in part explain why many of the examples in today's museums are fragmentary. This seems to have been the case with a small



fragment depicting pairs of birds from the thirteenth-century tomb of San Daniel Fasanella, who was buried in the church of Santa Anna in Barcelona (fig. 34).⁶⁹ Similarly, two textile fragments from Sigüenza Cathedral in central Spain (figs. 35, 36) were used in the reliquary of Santa Librada, an early Christian martyr saint whose relics were brought to Sigüenza from the French region of Aquitaine sometime around the mid-twelfth century, when a series of Aquitanian clerics took up the post of bishop.⁷⁰ Comparable in overall layout to the “lion strangler” example, each features a symmetrical composition within an ornate circular frame. One of the fragments contains a pair of addorsed griffins that turn their heads to look at each other, while the other depicts an eagle with outstretched wings.

Other textiles shrouded entire saints’ bodies. Sant Bernat Calbó, bishop of Vic (died 1243), was buried with multiple

silks, including the “lion strangler” cloth (see fig. 29) and a textile with a bold repeating pattern of double-headed eagles (fig. 37) that could have been made in Byzantium, although it also could have been an Andalusí imitation of a Byzantine exemplar.⁷¹ The latter is a distinct possibility, as motifs, patterns, and weaving techniques were frequently borrowed (or outright copied) from foreign workshops at this time.⁷² The textiles in Sant Bernat’s tomb were made perhaps a century or more before his burial, indicating that they were treasured objects, worthy of keeping for the long term and only used for a special reason.⁷³

The acquisition of textiles used in the cult of saints is often linked to contemporary battles between Christian and Muslim forces. Art historians have long hypothesized that the cloths used for the Santa Librada reliquary in Sigüenza were obtained by King Alfonso VII of León-Castilla as spoils of war





35. Textile fragment from the shrine of Santa Librada, Sigüenza Cathedral. Spain, first half 12th century. Silk, metal-wrapped thread; lampas weave, 17 × 12 in. (43.2 × 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Funds from various donors, 1958 (58.85.1)

36. Textile fragment from the shrine of Santa Librada, Sigüenza Cathedral. Spain, first half 12th century. Silk, metal-wrapped thread; lampas weave, 17 × 13 in. (43.2 × 33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Funds from various donors, 1958 (58.85.2)

37. Textile fragment with double-headed eagles. Found in the tomb of Sant Bernat Calbó in Vic Cathedral, Spain; made in Byzantium(?), 11th–12th century. Silk, 24¾ × 18 in. (62.9 × 45.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest Fund, 1941 (41.92)





following the conquest of Almería in 1147 because the relics were presumed to have arrived in Sigüenza around then—though in fact the precise date of their transfer is unknown.⁷⁴ In the case of Sant Bernat Calbó, because the saint himself had participated in the 1238 conquest of Muslim-ruled Valencia, scholars have embraced the idea that the bishop was buried in his own booty—despite a total lack of evidence. These textiles could have arrived in Vic through a wide variety of other channels, such as trade.⁷⁵

Modern scholars might arrive at these conclusions because of the ways in which northern leaders portrayed their conquests. Over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Christian rulers increasingly viewed their expansions into al-Andalus as divinely sanctioned efforts to “reconquer” a land that, in their view, ancestrally and rightfully belonged to them.⁷⁶ This viewpoint was supported by the Catholic Church, which defined these conquests as the western counterparts of the Crusades, or religious wars, launched by Latin Christians in the Holy Land.⁷⁷ Echoes of the Church’s integral role in these conquests are visible in monumental church decoration, such as a sculpture that casts an unknown, perhaps biblical, figure as a kneeling king in the armor of a twelfth-century warrior (fig. 38). Yet religious justifications for these

conquests took root only gradually. When the northern kingdoms first began to launch attacks on the *taifas*, they sought land and greater political control, as well as expanded economic resources, and the armies of Christian- and Muslim-ruled sovereignties could include both Christians and Muslims on each side.⁷⁸ To take only one famous example, the “soldier of fortune” Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the legendary El Cid (whose nickname comes from the Arabic *sayyid*, or “lord”), started his military career in the eleventh century fighting for the northern kingdom of León-Castilla, but he also did a stint commanding troops for Yusuf al-Mu‘taman, the *taifa* king of Zaragoza, before eventually conquering the city of Valencia and becoming, for a time, a “Christian *taifa* king.”⁷⁹

Although it is true that victorious armies enjoyed riches from battles and raids into enemy territory, many of the delicate luxury objects that came north via al-Andalus resulted from import and gifting.⁸⁰ In addition, the pieces that made their way into Christian hands had the potential to take on a variety of meanings that extended far beyond the triumphal.⁸¹ A pair of devotional panels commissioned by Queen Felicia of Aragón and Navarra (died after 1094) (figs. 39, 40) suggests this.⁸² On the frame of one panel, a faceted sapphire from Islamic lands is engraved in Arabic with four of the



38. Sculpture of a kneeling knight or king. Spain, ca. 1175–1225. Sandstone, H. 22 ⁵/₈ in. (57.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors, 1929 (29.158.758)

39. Panel with Byzantine ivory carving of the Crucifixion. Constantinople (ivory), Jaca, Spain (setting); 10th century (ivory), late 11th century (setting). Silver-gilt with pseudofiligree, glass, crystal, and sapphire cabochons, ivory on wood support, H. 10 ³/₈ in. (26.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.134)





40. Panel with an ivory Crucifixion scene. Jaca, Spain, late 11th century. Silver-gilt with pseudo-filigree, glass and stone cabochons, cloisonné enamel, ivory with traces of gilding on pine support, H. 10¼ in. (26.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.33)

41. Detail of figure 39, showing four of the Beautiful Names of God

42. Donation from King Pedro I of Pamplona and Aragón to the monastery of Irache, showing Pedro's signature in Arabic script. Aragón, Spain, October 1097. Parchment, 8⅞ × 15⅜ in. (22.5 × 39 cm). Royal and General Archive of Navarre, Pamplona (AGN, Clero, P.Irache, Adiciones, N.6)



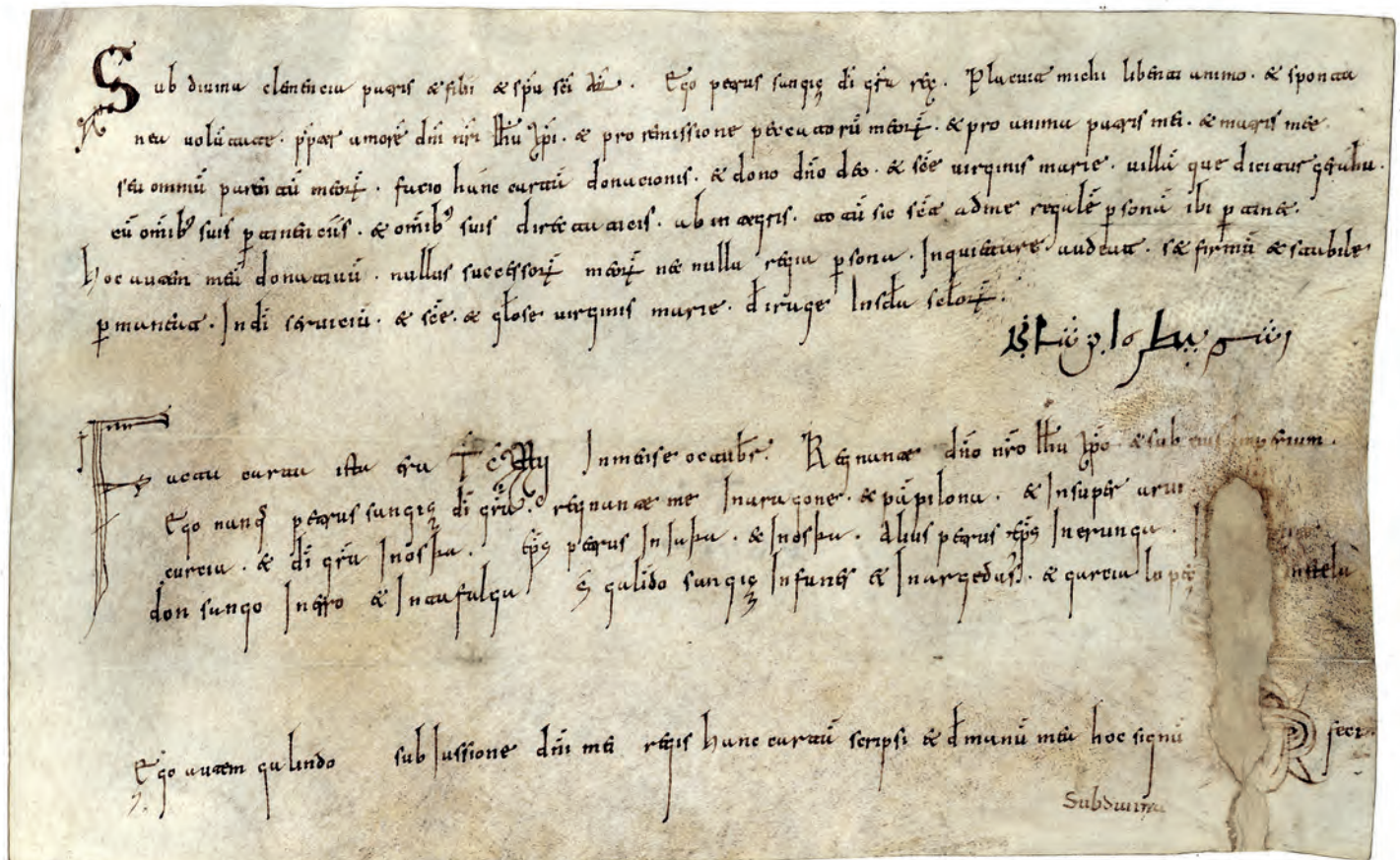
ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God (fig. 41). How would Aragonese Christians have understood the stone and its message? Would the inscribed names, a glorification of God, have appealed to its Christian owners? Would the laudatory names have further sanctified this object? Although tiny, the inscriptions are legible, and many people in Queen Felicia's circle could speak and read Arabic, including her stepson, Pedro, who signed his name in Arabic script on some official Latin documents (fig. 42). The inscribed stone could have been understood as an object with protective powers, an understanding that comes out of Islamic belief.⁸³ Indeed, for many non-Muslims in the medieval period and into the early modern period, Arabic writing had the potential to take on talismanic and magical properties.⁸⁴

A Monument of Many Frontiers

From the outside, the simple construction of the monastery church of San Baudelio de Berlanga, begun in the late eleventh century, utterly fails to prepare visitors for its complex

interior. Inside, at the center of the nave, a thick column resembling a petrified palm tree extends upward to the vaulted ceiling with branch-like stone supports (fig. 43).⁸⁵ The entire structure appears to have grown from the floor, almost as if it were an extension of the land on which it was built. The fact that San Baudelio lies on top of two natural features, a cave and a spring, makes this connection even more explicit; one could imagine the spring "nourishing" the "tree," especially as this location may have been considered sacred by local people long before the church was constructed.⁸⁶

The church also marked the land as the domain of Christian rule.⁸⁷ Located in the province of Soria, in the eastern Duero basin—a principal frontier between Muslim and Christian rule from the ninth to the eleventh century—San Baudelio appeared on the landscape at the end of a long period during which Christian settlers, both religious and lay, came together to stake a claim to the frontier with al-Andalus. By the late eleventh century, the kingdom of León-Castilla had taken the city of Toledo and asserted authority in the territory north of that city, Soria included. Although their





long-term control of these lands was far from assured, the rulers of León-Castilla systematically organized settlements, identifying regional centers, establishing law codes, and providing incentives for settlers to relocate there.⁸⁸ This process would lead to the development of towns such as Fuentidueña, located farther west in the Duero region.⁸⁹ Built about a century before San Martín de Fuentidueña, San Baudelio de Berlanga is the product of a far less stable period in León-Castilla's assertion of territorial control in the Duero.⁹⁰

San Baudelio's late eleventh-century builders, now anonymous, embraced local styles of church building, but they also included features imported from north of the Pyrenees, reflecting the participation of French clergymen in the development of Christian-conquered lands.⁹¹ Additionally, the builders also incorporated Andalusí forms, most notably the rib vault: a complex structural feature that first made a splash in the Mosque of Córdoba and had been used more recently in *taifa* constructions.⁹²

After completing San Baudelio's construction in the eleventh century, no further work on the church occurred until the later 1120s or 1130s. At this point, the frontier with al-Andalus had moved south of Toledo, and Soria no longer stood at the edge of Christian-ruled territory, but rather deep within its confines. Yet Soria was still a border region caught between two Christian sovereignties: the kingdom of León-Castilla to the west and the kingdom of Aragón to the east, the latter of which sought to gain control of this territory. For a time, an Aragonese noble, Fortunio Aznárez, controlled Berlanga. He seems to have left his own mark on San Baudelio, commissioning an extensive series of mural paintings from a workshop of painters based in Catalunya, which was closer to his home territory.⁹³ The painters' distinct figural style, which echoes Byzantine mural and panel painting, is visible in a series of narrative scenes of the life of Jesus, which crowned the upper levels of the church (figs. 44, 45).⁹⁴ The same workshop also decorated the lower sections of the walls with images of animals and hunting scenes.⁹⁵

Coming to the Sorian frontier from the far northeast of the peninsula, these painters had to adapt to a very different place, both culturally and artistically. San Baudelio's Andalusí architectural features would have been unfamiliar to them. Painting the palm vault must have presented a new challenge, but they gamely covered every inch in colors as if they had been painting palm vaults all their lives. At the same time, the painters registered and reacted to their new surroundings, and one image reflecting their experience stands out: a depiction of a camel (fig. 46).

Shown in profile against a white background and painted in a flattened, stylized manner that is characteristic of the time period, this one-humped camel (a dromedary) is a lively creature ambling forward on long legs, its curved neck dipping deeply. It formed part of a larger group of animal and hunt scenes arranged in bands around the church interior below the narrative paintings. Although their links to the biblical stories above may not seem obvious to modern viewers, the animal and hunt scenes, popular in church decoration, could offer enriching symbolic content. In this tradition, camels could represent humility, just as elephants, for example, could serve as emblems of self-restraint.⁹⁶ Perhaps the San Baudelio camel and the painted elephant across the nave, another creature in the church's menagerie, together symbolized these virtues.

Despite the ubiquity of animal imagery in western Christian art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, camels were not popular subjects. Their representation was generally limited to illustrations of certain biblical passages, books describing marvels of the East, and bestiaries (volumes of nature lore in which animals, both real and imaginary, figured prominently).⁹⁷ In many of these examples, the images of camels do not strongly resemble their real-life counterparts, and while lifelike naturalism was not usually the artists' goal during this time period, lack of familiarity with the real thing may have contributed to some of the less accurate camel imagery of the day. In contrast, the San Baudelio camel does approach the real thing, particularly in its tapered hind

43. Interior of the monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga. Spain, 11th century

quarters, deep chest, and downward-curving neck. Even if its features are exaggerated, the image is still more faithful to nature than most.⁹⁸

Dromedaries are not indigenous to western Europe, but they were brought to al-Andalus from North Africa to be used as beasts of burden along with horses and mules.⁹⁹ *The Chronicle of Alfonso the Emperor*, a twelfth-century account of the deeds of King Alfonso VII of León-Castilla (reigned 1126–57), lists camels among the spoils of war carried away after several of Alfonso’s confrontations with Andalusí armies.¹⁰⁰ Whether or not this reflects a common reality, the text makes it clear that northern Christians recognized the value of the animals and had some level of familiarity with them in the flesh. Perhaps, then, the San Baudelio painters actually saw a dromedary, and their painting powerfully attests to the frontier experience by highlighting an encounter that is at once unfamiliar and mundane.

In many ways, San Baudelio was the product of the border region in which it was built, and its appearance resulted from a series of sustained encounters among diverse people (and animals). At the same time, the church’s decorative program reflects courtly interactions across Iberia and the Mediterranean, as is evident in the abundance and large scale of the animal and hunt scenes, which were wildly popular in the luxury arts throughout the medieval world. In addition to celebrating hunting, depictions of animals and hunters could represent lordship or sovereignty over the land, an idea that resonated in contested areas and may have appealed as much to the church’s lordly patron, Fortunio Aznárez, as to the clergy ministering in the former frontier.¹⁰¹ Although the lower San Baudelio murals seem to have communicated primarily to the resident monks, given that the hunters, a falconer, and even two warriors also represented in the church wear monastic garb and tonsures,¹⁰² as was often the case, the seemingly “generic” categories of animal and hunt imagery could spark many different associations depending on the audience.

There is evidence that San Baudelio’s animal and hunt imagery was inspired by luxury goods, a category of objects probably familiar to the patron, image designers, and painters alike.¹⁰³ One section of the San Baudelio mural, originally displayed adjacent to the camel, explicitly imitates a textile (fig. 47), and the panel’s circular patterns strikingly resemble the medallion cloths so popular throughout the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The eagle textile used for the reliquary of Santa Librada offers a notably similar woven parallel (see fig. 36). Beyond this trompe l’oeil example, the painters also drew from circular-frame textile patterns to create a decorative border visible above the camel (fig. 48). Here, the roundels frame identical four-legged creatures, each facing the other. This design has a clear antecedent in the murals of the Catalan church of Santa Maria de Tahull (ca. 1123), which the painters had decorated with textile-inspired motifs just prior to traveling to Berlanga. Presumably,



44. *The Healing of the Blind Man and the Raising of Lazarus*, from the monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Spain, first half 12th century (possibly 1129–34). Fresco transferred to canvas, 65 in. × 11 ft. 2 in. (165.1 × 340.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of The Clowes Fund Incorporated and E.B. Martindale, 1959 (59.196)

45. *The Temptation of Christ by the Devil*, from the monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Spain, first half 12th century (possibly 1129–34). Fresco transferred to canvas, 69½ in. × 9 ft. 10 in. (176.5 × 299.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection and Gift of E.B. Martindale, 1961 (61.248)





46. Camel, from the monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Spain, first half 12th century (possibly 1129–34). Fresco transferred to canvas, 97 × 53½ in. (246.4 × 135.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1961 (61.219)

47. Decorative panel with textile pattern, from the Monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Spain, first half 12th century (possibly 1129–34). Fresco transferred to canvas, 60⅞ × 44¼ in. (154.6 × 112.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1957 (57.97.6)

48. Textile fragment with elephants, *senmurvs*, and winged horses. Found in the monastery of Santa Maria de l'Estany, Spain; made in the eastern Mediterranean region, 11th–12th century. Silk compound twill, 20¼ × 12⅞ in. (51.4 × 32.7 cm). Gift of John Pierpont Morgan, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1902 (1902-1-222)

the painters, or perhaps their teachers, would have had opportunities to admire and study real patterned silks as they incorporated them into their designs.

Continuity and Change

The later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries saw the continued expansion of the Christian-ruled kingdoms. Further capitalizing on instability in al-Andalus and the Maghrib, the joined forces of Castilla, Navarra, and Aragón accomplished a pivotal victory over the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). This battle paved the way for conquests of important Andalusí cities, notably Córdoba in 1236, Valencia in 1238, and Seville in 1248.¹⁰⁴ By the mid-thirteenth century, Spanish Christian kingdoms had definitively gained the upper hand on the peninsula, and only the kingdom of Granada remained under Muslim rule.

As territorial struggles unfolded in southern Spain, a growing population continued to organize and develop former frontier lands in the Christian north. This period of urbanization shaped the visual arts, particularly the building





49. Lion relief. Zamora, Spain, ca. 1200. Sandstone with polychromy, H. 84 in. (213.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1916 (16.142)

50. Bifolium from a Qur'an. Valencia or Granada, Spain, early 13th century. Ink, gold, silver, and opaque watercolor on paper, $12\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{3}{4}$ in. (31.8 × 50.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, 2017 (2017.232)

and decoration of churches, through the thirteenth century. In newer, less populous towns such as Fuentidueña, as well as in older, more established cities, like Zamora in the Leonese heartland, architecture and its decorations expressed communities' growing prosperity, confidence, and pride in their city. Residents of Zamora, an important political and ecclesiastic center, built several parish churches and chapels throughout the town that featured monumental decorations, such as a relief sculpture from the parish church of San Leonardo in The Met collection (fig. 49). Originally displayed adjacent to the main entrance, it depicts a grimacing lion trampling a serpentine dragon. This imagery primarily symbolizes triumph over sin, but perhaps the inclusion of the lion also nods to Zamora's history as a foremost city of León in this period. Above the lion is a row of small figures, which include the church's patron San Leonardo, the spiritual figurehead interceding for the community. A distinctive architectural topping evokes the magnificent scallop-patterned cupola of Zamora Cathedral—the spiritual heart of the city—and links the parish to the diocesan seat. Expressed in the Romanesque style, this sculpture lacks any clear connections to the art of al-Andalus.

Despite the expansion of Christian-ruled territory, al-Andalus continued to exist into the thirteenth century in

the kingdom of Granada, if in much reduced form, while Muslims living in both Muslim- and Christian-ruled territory continued to express pride in their own communities and traditions through their art. An early thirteenth-century bifolium, originally part of a sumptuous multivolume Qur'an (fig. 50), attests to the strength and enduring presence of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula during this time. Gold leaf and blue and red paint embellish the circular verse counters within the text and the teardrop-shaped prostration mark in the upper left margin. With only five lines of text per page written in the Maghribi script of the western Mediterranean, the abundance of paper needed for the manuscript, together with the liberal use of gold, indicate that this was an expensive book made for an elite patron. The paper's distinctive pink color indicates that it was made in Játiva, just outside Valencia, during the last decades of Muslim rule in this region.¹⁰⁵

By 1238 Christian rulers had conquered Valencia, though the region's Muslim-run paper mills continued producing the materials necessary for exquisite objects like this one. In this way, the pages powerfully speak to the constancy and resilience of faith in medieval Spain, despite shifting frontiers, and point to the enduring place of Islamic arts and culture in Spain in the centuries to come.





Notes

1. For comparative discussion of chapel-fortress relationships, see Mickey Abel, "Strategic Domain: Reconquest Romanesque along the Duero in Soria, Spain," *Peregrinations* 2, no. 2 (2007), pp. 1–57.
2. For the walls, see Alicia Sáinz Esteban and Félix Jové Sandoval, "Aproximación al sistema constructivo de la muralla medieval de Fuentidueña, Segovia," in *Construcción con tierra: Investigación y documentación XI CIATTI 2014; Undécimo Congreso Internacional de Arquitectura de Tierra en Cuenca de Campos y Valladolid*, ed. Félix Jové Sandoval and José Luis Sáinz Guerra (Valladolid: Cátedra Juan de Villanueva, 2015), pp. 55–64. For the church, see [Ignacio] Hernández García de la Barrera and Raimundo Moreno Blanco, "Tipologías y variantes de la construcción con mampostería en época medieval: Aproximación al caso segoviano," in *Actas del Quinto Congreso Nacional de Historia de la Construcción, Burgos, 7–9 junio 2007*, ed. Miguel Arenillas Parra et al. (Madrid: I. Juan de Herrera, 2007), pp. 513–18.
3. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, by Charles T. Little et al., exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), p. 33. See also Janice Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and Its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain, 1000–1200: Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 46–74, 177–88.
4. For the dismantling, transport, and reconstruction of the apse, see Carmen Gómez-Moreno, "History, Stylistic Analysis, and Dismantling," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 19, no. 10 (June 1961), pp. 268–89; Luis Cortés Meseguer, Julián Esteban Chaparría, Rafael Marín Sánchez, and Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Patrimonio arquitectónico español en Estados Unidos: El caso de San Martín de Fuentidueña (Segovia)*, exh. cat. (Valencia: Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València, 2016). See also the video by Christopher Noey et al., *The Fuentidueña Apse: A Journey from Castile to New York* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013); <https://www.metmuseum.org/metmedia/video/collections/med/fuentidueña-apse>.
5. In full recognition of the pitfalls of doing so, given that the modern nation of Spain is but one part of the Iberian Peninsula, for the sake of simplicity I use "Spain" interchangeably with "Iberia" throughout the text. For an alternate view, see Claire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Introduction," in *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Claire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. xxxiv, xxxvi.
6. For discussion of medieval perceptions of these lands, see Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 58–65.

7. For the concept of the medieval frontier, see Pierre Toubert, "Frontière et frontières: Un objet historique," in *Castrum 4: Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1992), pp. 9–17. For discussion of *thagr* and *frontera*, see Philippe Sénac, *La frontière et les hommes (VIII–XIIe siècle): Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Èbre et les débuts de la reconquête aragonaise* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000), pp. 109–10, 388–89. See also Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "Christian-Muslim Frontier in al-Andalus: Idea and Reality," in *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe: Folia scholastica mediterranea*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock (Reading, U.K.: Ithaca Press, 1994), pp. 85–88.
8. The role of the geopolitical frontier in the development of Iberian society remains a subject of discussion. For recent consideration, see Carlos Laliena Corbera, "Frontera y estado feudal en Aragón y Cataluña durante el siglo XII," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 11, no. 1 (2019), pp. 19–39.
9. Philippe Sénac summed up the meaning of the Arabic *thagr* as that which separates, and that which comes into contact. Sénac, *La frontière et les hommes*, p. 110 n. 3.
10. Oleg Grabar, "Two Paradoxes in the Islamic Art of the Spanish Peninsula," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 590.
11. In fact, the entire Iberian Peninsula is often described as a frontier, for example in *ibid.*, and Manzano, "Christian-Muslim Frontier," p. 96.
12. On interfaith relations, see Thomas F. Glick, "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, by Vivian B. Mann et al., exh. cat. (New York: George Braziller; The Jewish Museum, 1992), pp. 1–9. See also Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Convivencia in Medieval Spain: A Brief History of an Idea," *Religion Compass* 3, no. 1 (January 2009), pp. 72–85.
13. 'Abd al-Rahman III's actions were, in fact, preceded by the establishment of another rival caliphate to that of the Abbasids, led by the Fatimid dynasty in North Africa. For an overview of the emirate and caliphate, see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 91–134.
14. Benjamin R. Gampel, "Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Medieval Iberia: Convivencia through the Eyes of Sephardic Jews," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, by Mann et al., pp. 14, 35.
15. For a cultural portrait of al-Andalus during the first three centuries of Muslim rule, see María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (New York: Little, Brown, 2002), pp. 1–100, 284–85.
16. See Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Madīnat al-Zahrā': Transformation of a Caliphal City," in *Revisiting al-Andalus*, ed. Anderson and Rosser-Owen, pp. 3–26, pls. 1–4, color pl. 1.
17. Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Revival of Early Islamic Architecture by the Umayyads of Spain," in *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, ed. Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson (St. Cloud, Minn.: North Star Press of St. Cloud, 1988), pp. 35–41; Nuha N. N. Khoury, "The Meaning

- of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), pp. 80–98.
18. Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (London: V & A Publishing, 2010), p. 25. For reuse of antique materials, see Susana Calvo Capilla, "The Reuse of Classical Antiquity in the Palace of Madīnat al-Zahrā' and Its Role in the Construction of Caliphal Legitimacy," *Muqarnas* 31 (2014), pp. 1–33.
19. Olga Bush, "Capital," in *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, by Maryam D. Ekhtiar et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), p. 72, no. 40.
20. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, by Mann et al., pp. 115–16, 131. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Sinagogas sefardíes monumentales en el contexto de la arquitectura medieval hispana," in *Memoria del Sefarad: Toledo, Centro Cultural San Marcos, octubre 2002–enero 2003*, ed. Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2002), pp. 229–32.
21. Melanie Holcomb, "Hebrew Bible," in "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 2016–2018," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 76, no. 2 (Fall 2018), p. 17.
22. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (College Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), pp. 47–94.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
24. John Williams and Barbara A. Shailor, *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript* (New York: George Braziller, 1991), p. 209.
25. For a vibrant portrait of *taifa*-era Toledo, see Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 45–75.
26. See Peter Cole, trans. and ed., *The Dream of the Poem: Hebrew Poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain, 950–1492* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007).
27. Gampel, "Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Medieval Iberia," p. 19.
28. For the Andalusī court during the caliphal period, see Renata Holod, "Luxury Arts of the Caliphal Period," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, by Jerrilynn D. Dodds et al., exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 41–47; Cynthia Robinson, "Arts of the Taifa Kingdoms," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, pp. 48–50, 61.
29. For in-depth exploration of the *taifa*-era Aljafería's court culture, see Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
30. Robinson, "Arts of the Taifa Kingdoms," pp. 58–59.
31. Cristina Partearroyo, "Tejido de las músicas," in *Vestiduras ricas: El monasterio de Las Huelgas y su época 1170–1340*, by Concepción Herrero Carretero et al., exh. cat. (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2005), pp. 248–49, no. 59.
32. During the caliphal period, ivory boxes with

- intricately carved inscriptions and imagery expressive of the relationships between givers and receivers made popular gifts in the royal circle. See Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Circular Visions of Fertility and Punishment: Caliphal Ivory Caskets from al-Andalus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), pp. 19–41.
33. Louise W. Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7th–12th Century* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2015), pp. 85, 172–73.
34. For a medieval source describing princely gifts, see Ghada al-Hijjawi al-Qaddumi, ed. and trans., *Book of Gifts and Rarities (Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuhaf): Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).
35. Oleg Grabar, "The Shared Culture of Objects [1997]," in *Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*, vol. 2, *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100–1800* (Aldershot, Hampshire, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), pp. 51–67.
36. A classic study on the origins of this perspective is Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, rev. ed. (1973; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 72–98.
37. Eva R. Hoffmann, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (February 2001), pp. 17–50.
38. Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, 2nd rev. ed., *Ars faciendi* 7 (1995; New York: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 41. Though much of the early evidence of chess in Europe comes from Iberia, the game may have been introduced to western Europe through different channels simultaneously. Helena M. Gamer, "The Earliest Evidence of Chess in Western Literature: The Einsiedeln Verses," *Speculum* 29, no. 4 (October 1954), pp. 734–50.
39. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, p. 42.
40. Deborah Freeman Fahid, *Chess and Other Games Pieces from Islamic Lands* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2018), pp. 23–24.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
42. Anthony Cutler, "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 55 (2001), pp. 247–78.
43. Rose Walker, *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages: Routes and Myths* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 182–83.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
45. Avinoam Shalem, "Trade in and the Availability of Ivory: The Picture Given by the Medieval Sources," *Journal of the David Collection* 2, no. 1 [The Ivories of Muslim Spain: Papers . . . Copenhagen . . . 2003] (2005), pp. 29–30.
46. Glaire Anderson, "Sign of the Cross: Contexts for the Ivory Cross of San Millán de la Cogolla," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 6, no. 1 (2014), pp. 15–41.
47. Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, "Crismera," in *La Edad de un reyno: Las encrucijadas de la Corona y la Diócesis de Pamplona/Sancho El Mayor y sus herederos: El linaje que europeizó los reinos hispanos*, by Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso et al., 2 vols., exh. cat. (Baluarte, Pamplona: Fundación para la Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico de Navarra, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 84–85, no. 13.
48. Charles T. Little, "Casket," in *Art of Medieval Spain*, by Little et al., pp. 141–42, no. 69.
49. Walker, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, p. 276.
50. Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 48–50; Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translation and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia," *Art in Translation* 7, no. 1 [Translation and Hispanic Visual Culture] (March 2015), pp. 55, 62.
51. For an overview, see Manuel Casamar Pérez, "The Almoravids and Almohads: An Introduction," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, by Dodds et al., pp. 74–83.
52. Cristina Partearroyo, "Almoravid and Almohad Textiles," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, by Dodds et al., pp. 104–13.
53. Constable, *Trade and Traders*, p. 179.
54. Laura Rodríguez Peinado and Ana Cabrera Lafuente, "New Approaches in Mediterranean Textile Studies: Andalusí Textiles as Case Study," in *The Hidden Life of Textiles in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean: Contexts and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Islamic, Latinate and Eastern Christian Worlds*, ed. Nikolaos Vryzidis et al. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2020), pp. 17–44.
55. Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, pp. 174–77.
56. Cristina Partearroyo, "Textile Fragment: The Lion Strangler," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, by Dodds et al., p. 320, no. 88.
57. Constable, *Trade and Traders*, pp. 38–46, 178–80.
58. For example, see José M[aría] Lacarra, "Un arancel de aduanas del siglo XI," in *Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Estudios Pirenaicos, San Sebastián, 1950* (Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, 1952), pp. 21–36.
59. For the text of the will, see "A Letter from Arsenda [May 23, 1068]," in *Epistolae: Medieval Women's Latin Letters*; <https://epistolae.columbia.edu/letter/25929.html>.
60. See Francesca Español Bertrán, "Los indumentos del cuerpo a la espera del Juicio Final," in *Vestiduras ricas*, by Carretero et al., pp. 73–88.
61. María Judith Feliciano, "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings?: A Reassessment of Andalusí Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 113–16, Feliciano figs. 1–2.
62. Vivian B. Mann, "Textiles Travel: The Role of Sephardim in the Transmission of Textile Forms and Designs," in *From Catalonia to the Caribbean: The Sephardic Orbit from Medieval to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Jane S. Gerber*, by Federica Francesconi et al., Brill's Series in Jewish Studies 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 44–49.
63. Florence Lewis May, *Silk Textiles of Spain: Eighth to Fifteenth Century* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1957), p. 5. See also María Judith Feliciano, "Medieval Textiles in Iberia: Studies for a New Approach," in *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Honor of Renata Holod*, ed. David J. Roxburgh (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 55.
64. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "From Secular to Sacred: Islamic Art in Christian Contexts," in *Secular/Sacred 11th–16th Century: Works from the Boston Public Library and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, by Nancy Netzer et al., exh. cat. (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2006), pp. 115–19. For a detailed discussion, see Shalem, *Islam Christianized*.
65. For an overview of the use of luxury textiles, see Feliciano, "Medieval Textiles in Iberia," pp. 46–65.
66. Verónica Carla Abenza Soria, "Arnau Mir de Tost y Arsenda de Fluvià: El deseo y la acción de peregrinar a Compostela," *Compostellanum: Revista de la Archidiócesis de Santiago de Compostela* 63, nos. 3–4 (July–December 2018), pp. 371–72.
67. Olga Bush, "Textile Fragments: Vestments of Saint Valerius," in *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, by Ekhtiar et al., pp. 78–80, nos. 46A–C. See also Rosa M. Martín i Ros, "Vestments of San Valero," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, by Dodds et al., pp. 332–33, no. 95.
68. María Judith Feliciano, "Sovereign, Saint, and City: Honor and Reuse of Textiles in the Treasury of San Isidoro (León)," in *The Medieval Iberian Treasury in the Context of Cultural Interchange*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p. 143.
69. Rosa M. Martín i Ros, "La dispersió dels teixits medievals: Un patrimoni trossejat," *Lambard: Estudis d'art medieval* 12 (1999–2000), p. 173.
70. Feliciano, "Medieval Textiles in Iberia," p. 53.
71. Anna Gonosová, "Textile Fragment with Double-Headed Eagles," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, by Helen C. Evans et al., exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 413–14, no. 270; Rosa M. Martín i Ros, "Els teixits," in *Catalunya Romànica*, vol. 3, *Osona II* (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1986), pp. 724–27.
72. To take one well-known example, the inscription on an Andalusí-made silk found in the tomb of San Pedro de Osma in the Cathedral of Burgo de Osma indicates that it was "made in Baghdad." See Florence E. Day, "The Inscription of the Boston 'Baghdad' Silk: A Note on Method in Epigraphy," *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954), pp. 191–94.
73. Feliciano, "Sovereign, Saint, and City," p. 125.
74. Feliciano, "Medieval Textiles in Iberia," pp. 53–55, 59–64. Relic translation was also a vehicle for the transport of textiles and other fine objects. See Rosser-Owen, "Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts," pp. 50–55, 61–62.
75. Josep Gudiol i Cunill, "Lo sepulcre de Sant Bernat Calvó, Bisbe de Vich," in *Congrés d'Historia de la Corona d'Aragó, dedicat al rey en Jaume I y a la seua época*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Stampa d'En F. Altés, 1913), vol. 2, p. 974.
76. Manuel González Jiménez, "Sobre la ideología de la reconquista: Realidades y tópicos," in *Memoria, mito, y realidad en la historia medieval: XIII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, del 29 de julio al 2 de agosto de 2002*, ed. José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte and José Luis Martín Rodríguez (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2003), pp. 151–70.
77. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

78. Brian A. Catlos, *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain* (New York: Basic Books, 2018), pp. 244–49.

79. Catlos describes the Cid in these terms, *ibid.*, p. 247.

80. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, “Botín de guerra y tesoro sagrado,” in *Maravillas de la España medieval: Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, by Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso et al., 2 vols., exh. cat. (León: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 31–39, vol. 2, pp. 20–24.

81. Feliciano, “Medieval Textiles in Iberia,” pp. 46–65.

82. Verónica Carla Abenza Soria, “El Díptic de Jaca i la reina Felicia de Roucy,” *Síntesi: Quaderns dels Seminari de Besalú* 2 (2014), pp. 46–52.

83. For amulets with the Names of God, see Venetia Porter et al., *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 2011), pp. 132, 134–37.

84. For later examples in Spain, see Abigail Krasner Balbale, “Magical Words: Arabic Amulets in Christian Spain,” in *Religious Materiality in the Early Modern World*, ed. Suzanna Ivanič, Mary Laven, and Andrew Morrall (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), pp. 211–28.

85. Many have interpreted the palm vault as an evocation of Paradise. See Antonio de Ávila Juárez, “San Baudelio de Berlanga: Fuente sellada del paraíso en el desierto del Duero,” *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* 13, no. 26 (2004), pp. 363–64.

86. Milagros Guardia, *San Baudelio de Berlanga: Una encrucijada*, Memoria artium 10 (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2011), p. 66.

87. See Kelly L. Watt, “Medieval Churches on the Spanish Frontier: How Elite Emulation in Architecture Contributed to the Transformation of a Territorial Expansion into Reconquista” (Ph.D. diss., University of Louisville, 2011), pp. 189–97.

88. Manuel González Jiménez, “Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085–1350),” in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 52–59. See also Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, pp. 85–103.

89. For territorial organization in Soria and Segovia, see Ma[ría] Asenjo González and [José] Ma[ría] Monsalvo Antón, “Dos visiones de las villas de la Extremadura: Sectores occidental y oriental de la cuenca meridional del Duero (siglos XI–final XV),” *Boletín Arkeolan* 14 (2006), pp. 255–66.

90. For an overview of scholarly debates regarding the date of San Baudelio’s construction, see Marta Poza Yagüe, “San Baudelio de Berlanga, cien años después: Balance historiográfico y nuevas interpretaciones,” *Goya: Revista de arte*, no. 322 (January–March 2008), pp. 4–7. Guardia, *San Baudelio*, pp. 67–83, argues for a construction date in the late eleventh century, following the conquest of Toledo and coincident with the social and ecclesiastic reorganization of the Duero.

91. Most notably a tribune, or elevated platform (in use in northern Europe for centuries), was built at San Baudelio to accommodate lay worshippers. Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, *El arte románico en Castilla y León* (Madrid: Banco de Santander, 1997), p. 240.

92. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, “Algunas reflexiones acerca de las pinturas bajas de San Baudelio,” in *Pintado en la pared: El muro como soporte visual en la Edad Media*, ed. Santiago Manzarbeitia, Matilde Azcárate Luxán, and Irene González Hernando (Madrid: Ediciones Complutense, 2019), p. 115.

93. Guardia, *San Baudelio*, pp. 129–45, 178–80; Dodds, “Algunas reflexiones,” pp. 112–15.

94. For discussion of the narrative upper paintings, see Jerrilynn D. Dodds, “Wall Paintings,” in *Art of Medieval Spain*, by Little et al., pp. 223–28, no. 103; de Ávila Juárez, “San Baudelio de Berlanga,” pp. 333–96.

95. In the 1920s, restorers removed San Baudelio’s fresco paintings from the walls and mounted them on canvas. Today, the paintings are divided among collections in Spain and the United States. The Cloisters acquired nine paintings between 1957 and 1961 but later returned six to Spain as long-term loans (acc. nos. 57.97.1–6). These are currently on view in the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid. See Guardia, *San Baudelio*, pp. 28–52.

96. De Ávila Juárez, “San Baudelio de Berlanga,” p. 359.

97. See Elizabeth Morrison et al., *The Book of Beasts: The Bestiary in the Medieval World*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2019).

98. Dodds, “Algunas reflexiones,” p. 103.

99. Richard W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel*, new ed. (1975; New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 229–30.

100. Dodds, “Algunas reflexiones,” p. 103; Glenn Edward Lipskey, *The Chronicle of Alfonso the Emperor: A Translation of the Chronica Adefons imperatoris, with Study and Notes*, The Library of Iberian Resources Online; <https://libro.uca.edu/lipskey/chronicle.htm>.

101. Guardia, *San Baudelio*, pp. 378–90.

102. Dodds, “Algunas reflexiones,” pp. 103–11.

103. Juan Zozaya, “Algunas observaciones en torno a la ermita de San Baudelio de Casillas de Berlanga,” *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 12 (1976), p. 323; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, “Hunting for Identity,” in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval: Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces*, ed. María Luisa Melero Moneo et al. (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2001), pp. 95–96.

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Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

Publication title: <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>	
Publication number: 885-660	
Date of filing: October 1, 2021	
Issue frequency: Quarterly	
Number of issues published annually: Four	
Annual subscription price: \$30.00, or free to Museum Members	
Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10028-0198	
Complete mailing address of headquarters or general business office of publisher: 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10028-0198	
Full names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor:	
Publisher: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10028-0198	
Editor: Dale Tucker, Publications and Editorial Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10028-0198	
Managing Editor: None	
Owner: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10028-0198	
Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one percent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None	
Tax status: The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes has not changed during the preceding 12 months.	
Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months (Oct. 2020–Sept. 2021) / No. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date (August 2021)	
A. Total number of copies (net press run)	43,697/43,816
B. Paid circulation (by mail and outside the mail)	
1. Mailed outside-county paid subscriptions	40,500/40,600
2. Mailed in-county paid subscriptions	0 / 0
3. Paid distribution outside the mails including sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other paid distribution outside USPS	0 / 0
4. Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS	2,600/2,600
C. Total paid distribution (sum of B1–B4)	43,100/43,200
D. Free or nominal rate distribution (by mail and outside the mail)	
1. Free or nominal rate outside-county copies	0 / 0
2. Free or nominal rate in-county copies	0 / 0
3. Free or nominal rate copies mailed at other classes through the USPS	0 / 0
4. Free or nominal rate distribution outside the mail	0 / 0
E. Total free or nominal rate distribution (sum of D1–D4)	0 / 0
F. Total distribution (sum of C and E)	43,100/43,200
G. Copies not distributed	597/616
H. Total (sum of F and G)	43,697/43,816
I. Percent paid	100% / 100%

This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Spain, 1000–1200: Art at the Frontiers of Faith*, on view at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from August 30, 2021, through January 30, 2022.

The exhibition and the *Bulletin* are made possible by the Michel David-Weill Fund.

Additional support for the *Bulletin* is provided by Tom and Diahn McGrath.

The Metropolitan's quarterly *Bulletin* program is supported in part by the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of *Reader's Digest*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Fall 2021
Volume LXXIX, Number 2
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The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (ISSN 0026-1521) is published quarterly by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Membership Department, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198. Four weeks' notice required for change of address. The *Bulletin* is provided as a benefit to Museum members and is available by subscription. Subscriptions \$30.00 a year. Back issues available on microfilm from National Archive Publishing Company, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Volumes I–XXXVII (1905–42) available as a clothbound reprint set or as individual yearly volumes from Ayer Company Publishers, Suite B-213, 400 Bedford Street, Manchester, NH 03101, or from the Metropolitan Museum, 66–26 Metropolitan Avenue, Middle Village, NY 11381-0001.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Peter Antony, Associate Publisher for Production
Michael Sittenfeld, Associate Publisher for Editorial

Editor of the *Bulletin*: Dale Tucker
Edited by Kayla Elam
Designed by Rebecca Sylvers, Miko McGinty Inc.
Production by Paul Booth
Image acquisitions and permissions by Shannon Cannizzaro
Bibliographic editing by Penny Jones
Maps by Adrian Kitzinger
Typeset by Tina Henderson in Janson Text and GT Sectra
Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois
Printed and bound by Mittera, Parsippany, New Jersey

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art
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Front cover: detail of Camel, from the monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Spain, first half 12th century (see fig. 46). Inside cover: detail of Bifolium from a Qur'an. Valencia or Granada, Spain, early 13th century (see fig. 50). Page 2: detail of Pyxis. Madinat al-Zahra, Spain, ca. 950–75 (see fig. 25). Page 4: detail of Coffret with the Legend of Guilhem, Count of Toulouse. Southern France, ca. 1200–1225. Walnut, paint, and iron mounts, overall: 10¹/₁₆ × 17¹/₂ × 9⁷/₁₆ in. (27.1 × 44.5 × 24.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Promised Gift of Sir Paul Ruddock and Lady Ruddock, in celebration of the Museum's 150th Anniversary. Page 10: Maps of Spain by Adrian Kitzinger. Page 44: detail of Textile fragment from the dalmatic of San Valero. Found in Lleida Cathedral, Spain; made in Spain, 13th century (see fig. 33). Inside back cover: detail of Hebrew Bible. Spain, 1300–1350 (see fig. 14). Back cover: detail of Textile fragment with elephants, *senmurvs*, and winged horses. Found in the monastery of Santa Maria de l'Estany, Spain; made in the eastern Mediterranean region, 11th–12th century (see fig. 48).

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Acknowledgments

There are many to thank for their assistance with the exhibition and accompanying publication. Amelia Roché Hyde contributed to both, including meticulous textile research. Lola Fondbertasse also carried out research on Spanish monuments. The exhibition came to fruition thanks to the support, expertise, and creativity of Quincy Houghton, Andrea Bayer, C. Griffith Mann, Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, Christine D. McDermott, Hannah Korn, Andrew Winslow, Dan Kershaw, Kamomi Solidum, Elsie Alonso, Christina Alphonso, Christine Brennan, Christopher Dunbrack, and Joshua Feigin. The exhibition could not have happened without the participation of The Met's Department of Islamic

Art: special thanks to Navina Najat Haidar, Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah Curator in Charge, Martina Rugiadi, and Annick des Roches. A small army of conservators including Lucretia Kargère, Janina Poskrobko, Julia Carlson, Kathrin Colburn, Yana van Dyke, Janis Mandrus, Jennifer Schnitker, and Jean-François de Laperouse worked to prepare objects under challenging circumstances. Fellow Met curators Melanie Holcomb and Andrea Achi, as well as Helen C. Evans, Curator Emerita, and Nancy Wu, Educator Emerita, provided crucial feedback on various aspects of this project. I am deeply indebted to Barbara Drake Boehm, Curator Emerita, for her warm encouragement and advice at every step along the way. In preparing this *Bulletin*, I would like to thank the indomitable Kayla Elam, Dale Tucker, Paul Booth, Rebecca Sylvers, Penny

Jones, Anna-Marie Kellen, Adrian Kitzinger, and Michael Carter. Jerrilynn D. Dodds and Jeri Garbaccio offered kindness and support and also saved the day with their photography. In addition, I would like to thank the Michel David-Weill Fund for making both the exhibition and the *Bulletin* possible. I extend my gratitude to The Helen Clay Frick Foundation and to Tom and Diahn McGrath for their gifts toward the exhibition and the publication respectively. My thanks go as well to the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the co-founder of *Reader's Digest*, for its partial support of The Met's quarterly *Bulletin* program. This *Bulletin* is dedicated to the memory of my friend Catrina Hill.

Julia Perratore

אשר קדש אשר לא תהיה בעיני רשע ובדרך חסידים לא יעזב וכן מושב לא יעזב כי אם בדרך חסידים חלוצים ובעיני

ושאר קרי ויולדו במא ויולדו בנעם אובנות

יציא הקיץ יציא ממזרים כל ראש פסח ודספר

ספר ויק

פרשיותיו עשר
וסדריו כה ופס
ההגט ומליו
אל ותקב ואות
מד אל ותקב
והיצו והנעבב
הזב וכבס בדי
ועקרא ספר זה
הורתבה נעם
ימיו חדש ימים
אמשהוקם המש
עד השנה השנת
לצאת בני ישראל
מארץ מצרים
הרי חדש ימים

במזן סני

ספר חומש הפק
מאחד לחדש
בשנה השנת
ארבעים שנה
בעשתי עשר
באחד לחדש
וחי שנים וחדש
סבוס פרשיו
וסדר לגופו
ורפה ומליו
ותדן ואותו ס
אל ותקבט וחי
זה הדיש אשר
אבחר במטה
וכתוביו נקוד

כאן יבא אל האלהים ואלה האלהים ואלה האלהים

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