SAINTS, SARACENS, AND THE RECONQUEST: RE-IMAGINING MARTYRDOM IN THE
ANTEPENDIUM OF DURRO

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ABSTRACT

KRYSTA BLACK: Saints, Saracens, and the Reconquest: Re-imagining Martyrdom in the Antependium
of Durro
(Under the direction of Dorothy Verkerk)

Previous scholarship of the early twelfth-century *Antependium of Saints Quiricus and Julitta* has

been limited to its inclusion in surveys documenting and categorizing the range of Catalan antependia from

the late eleventh to thirteenth centuries. This thesis suggests that by taking into account the history and

ideologies of the Reconquest and imbuing them with discourses on martyrdom, the antependium initiates a

dialogue with the past that intertwines the remote memory of persecution with the salient notion of crusade.

The presence of anti-Islamic sentiment, in part expressed by recasting contemporary Muslims as

persecutors and idolaters akin to the Roman persecutors of the early Christian past, allows the antependium

to be interpreted as visual manifestation of the changing ideology of the Reconquest. This thesis proposes

a multivalent reading of the antependium that weaves the timeless notion of Christian sacrifice with

contemporary perceptions of martyrdom and crusade.

This work is dedicated to my family, who has always encouraged me in whatever endeavor I undertake, and to Andrew, who has provided constant support during the writing of this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

"It is necessary that we suffer greatly for Christ's sake; clearly, this means misfortune, poverty, persecution, want, illness, nakedness, hunger, thirst and other tribulations. Christ so reminded his disciples; 'You must suffer greatly in My name and be not ashamed to accept Me in the presence of men, for I shall give you words of wisdom and, finally you shall receive great rewards,'"

Pope Urban II in Petrus Tudebodus's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* I[1]

Nestled in the picturesque landscape of the Pyrenees Mountains in the northern reaches of Lleida stands the diminutive hermitage church of Sant Quirc (Figure 1). Located in the sparsely populated town of Durro in the Vall de Boí, the hermitage serves as a distant echo of the region's medieval past. Situated a mere three kilometers southwest of the celebrated church of Sant Climent in Taüll, the hermitage is one of many Romanesque churches that remain an eternal part of the northern Catalan landscape. Originating from the hermitage of Sant Quirc, the *Antependium of Saints Quiricus and Julitta* currently resides in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona, while the hermitage retains a replica of the painted panel (Figure 2).[2] Previous scholarship of the altar-frontal has been limited to its inclusion in surveys documenting and categorizing the range of Catalan altar-frontals from the late eleventh to thirteenth centuries.[3] No study has sought to critically consider the altar-frontal apart from its place within the corpus of Catalan Romanesque panel and mural painting. Dating from the early twelfth century, the altar-frontal of Durro is one of the earliest extant Catalan antependia. The altar-frontal's "primitive" formal characteristics, which have been linked to the mural paintings in the churches of Sant Joan d'Boí and Santa Maria de València d'Àneu, and also to Mozarabic illumination,[4] have led to the assertion that the panel's

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[1] Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, translated by John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), p. 16.

[2] Eduard Carbonell and Joan Sureda, *Tesoros medievales del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Lunwerg Editores, S.A., 1997), pp. 44, 136-141.

[3] For a bibliography of the altar-frontal's early publications, see Joan Sureda, *La pintura romànica a Catalunya* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, S.A., 1981), pp. 331-2.

[4] The altar-frontal's relationship to Sant Joan d'Boí is discussed in Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 236 and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1993), p. 325. For the relationship to Santa Maria de València d'Àneu, see Walter W.S. Cook

artist was an "unaccomplished" painter working in an atelier in Urgell alongside more proficient artists.[5] The "inferior and countrified artistic ability on the part of the panel painter," as noted by Post, has led past scholars to overlook the painter's subtle genius with respect to the construction of altar-frontal's iconographic program.[6] Rather than pointing to the artist's "unskilled" hand, the panel's limited detail and iconographic peculiarities may instead suggest a more complex undertone residing beneath its surface.

The altar-frontal's sophistication begins to reveal itself when the work is considered outside the exclusive boundaries of stylistic attribution and connoisseurship. Although the panel displays the dedicatory saints of the church for which it was commissioned, the depth of its iconographic program and the manner in which it was executed cannot be so summarily read. Indeed, recent scholars have acknowledged the panel's didactic capability, noting the saints' roles as worthy Christian exemplars to be emulated by the faithful.[7] Nonetheless, the didactic and ideological functions of the altar-frontal as related to the manner in which the saints are depicted have not been sufficiently explored. On one level the saints serve as messengers of a timeless notion of good triumphing over evil, but when considered in-depth their presence reveals multiple layers of meaning. Not only does Quiricus's role as the tortured martyr-son convey the suggestion of *imitatio Christi* to the pious, but the focus on the torture itself forcefully brings the distant early Christian past forward. This renewed past becomes fused with the present when the unerring faith of the saints is paralleled with the steadfast resolve of the Christians of the Reconquest and the tortuous aims of the Romans are analogized to the "unfaithful" acts of the Muslims. Past and present exist simultaneously on the brutally conceived surface of the antependium.

By taking into account the history and ideologies of the Reconquest and imbuing them with discourses on martyrdom, the altar-frontal initiates a dialogue with the past that intertwines the remote memory of persecution with the salient notion of crusade. I propose a reading of the altar-frontal that takes

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and Jose Gudiol, *Pintura e imagineria romànicas* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1950), p. 194 and Sureda, *La pintura romànica*, p. 243.

[5] For discussions on the hypothetical atelier of Urgell and associated works, see Post, *Spanish Painting*, p. 236; Sureda, *La pintura romànica*, pp. 240-3; Walter W.S. Cook and Jose Gudiol, *Pintura e imagineria romànicas* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1950), pp. 193-202; Anna Maria Blasco, *La pintura romànica sobre fusta* (Barcelona: Dopesa 2, 1979), pp. 28-34; Walter W.S. Cook, *La pintura románica sobre tabla en Cataluña* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velazquez, 1960), pp. 14-6; Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967), p. 187.

[6] Post, *Spanish Painting*, p. 236.

[7] Carbonell and Sureda, *Tesoros*, p. 44.

into account not only theological concepts such as *imitatio Christi*, but also considers how contemporary perceptions of martyrdom and crusade may be incorporated into its subject matter. Through this lens, the altar-frontal reveals a complex layering of meaning that reflects the social and ideological situation in which it was produced. The seemingly simplistic panel exposes a significance that perhaps suggests an intricate weaving of past with present that equates the role of the martyr with that of the Christian warrior and likewise places the Islamic community alongside the Romans of the Great Persecution.

CHAPTER TWO
THE ANTEPENDIUM OF DURRO AND ITS SAINTS

Viewing the Antependium

The antependium of Saints Quiricus and Julitta provides the viewer, first and foremost, with a visual representation of the tortures of the saints as told in the *Acta Apocrypha*. The scenes of horrendous torture are only magnified by their execution in broad strokes of pure and daring color. Before turning to the tortures themselves and their relationship to the *Acta Apocrypha* from which they originate, it is necessary to discuss the visual characteristics of the panel as a whole in order to draw out not only its similarities, but also its difference from contemporary panel painting.

Surrounding the entire rectangular composition is a wide border composed of the same deep colors that mirror those in the central compartments of the panel. Large interconnected diamonds of deep red define the width of the border. Four lightly painted yellow lines radiate outward from two sides each of the diamonds, while radiating inward on the other two sides. The yellow lines diminish in intensity as they move further from the diamond, thus creating the illusion of depth. Contained within each diamond and connected by a red line is a floral motif, simply outlined in white. Each flower resembles a simplified *fleur-de-lis* with one large rounded petal extending upwards out of two smaller triangular petals. Each flower points to the red line connected to the next flower, creating a sense of quick, clockwise, movement along the length of the border. Flanking the red diamonds are open triangular sections containing two sharp peaks, also outlined in white. The peaks extending from the interior edge of the border point outwards towards the frame, while those extending from the exterior edge point inward towards the main composition. The entire linear border design is set against a black background, causing the reds, whites, and yellows to blaze brightly from its surface. A single thin, white line delineates the border from the main composition.

A black border edged in white continues into the main composition as the dividing mechanism of each of the five compartments. The black divider, rimmed in a white, scalloped border pointing inward from each edge, constructs the overall layout of the central composition. The central area of the

antependium is divided into four equilateral compartments, surmounted in the center by a large, mandorla-shaped compartment. The vertical and horizontal dividers meet to create the central mandorla.

The overall palette of the panel consists primarily of red, yellow, black, and two shades of green, with hints of white and blue-green used for the clothing of the saints and outlining. The palette seems to derive from that of Mozarabic painting, as seen in the tenth- through twelfth- century Beatus Apocalypses from Northern Iberia. Like in the Apocalypses, it is unlikely that these color choices stemmed from any fixed symbolic significance associated with a particular color, but were chosen based on hue rather than value.[8] Although it may not appear that observation of the natural world would influence the choice of colors used in the panel, Bolman has observed that colors were chosen to represent lightness and darkness and common physical substances, such as blood.[9] It is therefore possible that the choice to use a "light" color (i.e. white, yellow, red, or orange) over a "dark" color (i.e. blue, black, brown, and perhaps green) would be meant to signify a source of light.[10] Looking to the Durro antependium, while blood indeed appears red, it does not look as if there is a pattern of colors based on their relationship to the natural world. Rather, it seems that colors functions primarily as a means of organization. Not only is the illusion of symmetry and balance transmitted by the division of space and the arrangement of figures, but color also assists in this role. A different color is used for the backgrounds of each of the four different torture scenes. Clockwise from the upper right, light green backs the *passio clavorum*, red backs the laceration with swords, yellow backs the boiling in pitch, and dark green backs the sawing. The compartment inside the mandorla is backed by a darker red infused with slightly more black than the red of the laceration scene. Notably the spandrels surrounding the mandorla are colored so as to mirror the background color of the opposing scene across the mandorla. Clockwise from the upper right, the yellow spandrel opposes the yellow-backed boiling in pitch, the dark green spandrel opposed the dark green-backed sawing, the light green spandrel opposes the light green-backed *passio clavorum*, and the red spandrel opposes the red-backed laceration with swords. The colors used in the central mandorla also connect opposing corners. The dark red background of the mandorla compartment continues the red of the upper left spandrel to the

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[8] On color in the Beatus Apocalypses, see Elizabeth S. Bolman, "*De coloribus*: The Meanings of Color in Beatus Manuscripts," *Gesta* 38, no. 1 (1999), pp. 22-34.

[9] Bolman, "De coloribus," pg. 26.

[10] Bolman, "De coloribus," pg. 26.

background of the laceration scene. Likewise, the yellow of Julitta and Quiricus's robes connects the yellow of the spandrel to the background of the boiling scene. This alternation of red and yellow across the panel seems to derive from manuscript illumination.[11] Just as color creates symmetry and balance in the overall composition, it also enhances the symmetry of each individual scene. Each torture scene places the victim, or the means of their torment in one case (i.e. the large pot), in the center position, while the tormentors flank the victim. The victim is always dressed in blue-green (or encased in a large, black pot) and the flanking torturers, dressed in red, are positioned in near mirror symmetry.

Turning to subject matter, the panel is centrally dominated by the image of what seems to be the Virgin and Child (Figure 3). The inscriptions flanking the two figures provide their identification. To the left of the figures, the inscription reads S[ANCTA] IOLITA and to the right, the inscription reads S[ANCTUS] QUIRICUS, thus informing the viewer that the two figures are not the Virgin and Child, but rather Julitta and Quiricus. Julitta and Quiricus appear as the Virgin and Child seated on a slender wooden throne, pointing to the surrounding scenes and the inscriptions bearing their names. Each is dressed in matching grey-green and yellow robes. The folds of their garments are linearly conceived, with series of black lines suggesting the layering of fabric on their yellow robes and a mixture of black and white lines on their blue robes. The white accents perhaps suggest the presence of light illuminating or emanating from the mother and child. Julitta appears frontally seated, her feet resting on the edge of the mandorla border. She wears a white headdress that falls in tight folds over her shoulders and drapes down the right side of her head. In her left arm, she holds the young Quiricus, twisted to the right and looking up at his mother. In her right hand, she holds a white scepter with an ornate finial, resembling a stylized *fleur-de-lis*.[12] The scepter suggests that Julitta appears as the Virgin, Queen of Heaven, due to its associations with contemporary imperial regalia and the presence of the lily as a common Marian attribute. By the twelfth century, the knob had been replaced by the *fleur-de-lis* on most French scepters and up to the time of Alfonso X, the *fleur-de-lis* was the most common finial of Iberian scepters.[13] Thus, Julitta is not only associated with the

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[11] Post, *Spanish Painting*, p. 218, notes that the alternation of red and yellow is common on the painted panels of Catalonia and is inherited from Spanish illumination.

[12] Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Catalan Painting*, v. 1 (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), p. 12, also notes the scepter's resemblance to a *fleur-de-lis*, but suggests that the artist "forgot to omit the unmistakably Marian attribute of a scepter ending in a *fleur-de-lis*."

[13] Edward Francis Twining, *European Regalia* (London: Batsford, 1967), pp. 178-182.

Queen of Heaven, but may also be associated with contemporary Iberian ruling families. Julitta stares straight out at the viewer, meeting the viewer's gaze. Her features are primarily linear, executed in the same black paint that outlines the figures. The only attempt at modeling seems to be the red dots on her cheeks and chin, a common method for suggesting volume in contemporary mural and panel painting.[14] Julitta's skin is painted in a light flesh tone that is used for all of the figures on the panel. Twisting in his mother's grip, the young Quiricus tilts his head to look up at her. His clothing and features are similarly conceived to those of his mother, but his black, and possibly wavy, hair is left uncovered, but barely noticeable against the deep blue-green of his halo. He points towards his right with both hands, using two fingers on his right hand and one on his left. It is unclear whether he points to his mother's scepter, her inscription, or perhaps their tortures in the nearby compartments. Quiricus, like his mother, is barefoot. Each is nimbed with a blue disk bordered in white dots that stand out in contrast to the red background.

As the saints sit peacefully in the central compartment, their tortures take place in the four compartments surrounding them. The scenes of torture are those as described in the *Acta Apocrypha*.[15] Beginning with the upper right compartment, Quiricus[16] undergoes the *passio clavorum*, in which iron nails are hammered into his eyes, nose, mouth, and ears (Figure 4).[17] Quiricus stands calmly in-between his two torturers, whose gestures mirror one another. He is barefoot and wears a white pleated robe topped with a simple grey-green shift. Quiricus is twisted towards the torturer to his right, who tightly grasps his hands together. Although twisted, Quiricus turns his head, pierced with seven nails, towards to viewer and his hands remain downward, almost as if in a modified gesture of prayer. The two torturers mirror each other's pose and are similarly dressed in simple, red robes, although the torturer to Quiricus's left wears a thick, white belt that connects at each hip and sags beneath his midsection. The calm repose of the tortured Quiricus is juxtaposed with the active gesture of hammering by his torturers. Each torture scene retains this

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[14] On this convention, see, Post, *Spanish Painting*, p. 229.

[15] *Acta Sanctorum*, June 16, 1867, pp. 24-8.

[16] While some scholars, including Post and Schuler, have described the victim as Julitta, it is more likely that its is Quiricus, as noted by Carbonell and Sureda. In the *Acta Apocrypha*, the torture of Quiricus is emphasized rather than that of his mother. See, Post, *Spanish Painting*, p. 236; Karl F. Schuler in *Art of Medieval Spain*, p. 325; Carbonell and Sureda, *Tesoros*, p. 136; *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 24-8.

[17] "Praeses iterum ait ad suos, Afferte mihi quatuordecim clavos ferreos, acutos, ferventes: et septem infigite matri et totidem filio; duos insuper mittite in aures pueri, et perforate auditum ejus, ut caecatis oculis perveniat dolor usque ad calcaneum ejus. Ministris itaque jussionem Praesidis implentibus, ex jussione Dei frigidi facti sunt clavi quasi cristallus nivis; et puer sanctus laudavit Dominum in tam magnis mirabilibus suis." *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 24.

same combination of the martyr's stillness and the torturers' dynamic brutality. While Quiricus is contrasted with his torturers, his torturers are also contrasted with one another. The torturer to Quiricus's right, has wavy black hair and is beardless, unlike the torturer to Quiricus's right whose hair is articulated strand-by-strand in black lines and subsequently filled-in with the same red paint that composes his clothing. This torturer remains unshaven, his long beard growing down his neck. Although the torturers contrast one another in terms of physiognomy, they stand as equals in their ability to torture the soon-to-be martyr before them.

Directly beneath the compartment depicting the *passio clavorum*, Quiricus stands dripping blood from lacerations in his flesh (Figure 5).[18] He stands between his torturers as in the previous scene, but turns his eyes to look at the torturer to his right. Quiricus is dressed in a simple grey-green garment, similar to the red garments worn by his torturers. He is barefoot with two parallel lines on each ankle hinting at the presence of a rope binding them. Fifteen bloody lacerations populate his body: one on his forehead, one on his left cheek, one across his throat, one across his chest, one at each elbow, wrist, thigh, shin, and foot, and one in the process of being opened across his midsection by the torturer to his left. The torturers appear in near mirror symmetry, similar to those in the previous scene. To the martyr's right, the torturer, with a black beard and hair, meets Quiricus's gaze and holds his sword upwards. On the martyr's left, the torturer, beardless and with curly black hair, holds Quiricus's left arm and opens a wound along his midsection. Quiricus remains calm with his hands facing upward, again suggesting prayer. The torture's bloody result is only magnified by the bold, red background against which it is set.

Progressing on to the upper left compartment, Quiricus is sawn in half by his torturers (Figure 6).[19] Set against a dark green background, Quiricus stands between his torturers, whose distorted poses stand in opposition to Quiricus's peaceful, orant stance. Quiricus wears only a long, dark loincloth around his midsection, help up by a rope belt. The cloth is highlighted in white to differentiate it from the similarly colored background. Quiricus looks directly out at the viewer, a red, hatched line bisecting his face and noting where the blade has passed through. The line continues down his chest where the saw is found. The

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[18] This episode deviates from the *Acta Apocrypha* account.

[19] "Tunc indignatus Praeses dixit ministris afferte serras, et secate eos. Fecerunt ergo ministri secundum praeceptum Praesidis afferentes serras, ut secarent Martyres Christi por medium." *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 26.

yellow saw, whose jagged edged is tinged with blood, passes through Quiricus's chest and out his back. Quiricus's raised arms become intertwined with the bars of the saw. To Quiricus's right, a black-haired, bearded torturer grasps at the martyr's right leg to gain the leverage needed to pull the saw through his victim's back. To Quiricus's left, a shorn torturer grasps at the martyr's left leg to pull the saw through the victim's chest. The illusion of depth is minimally provided by the subtle overlapping of Quiricus and the saw. This scene, perhaps more so than any before it, displays the martyr's calm, prayerful frontal stance in opposition to the torturers' menacingly twisted bodies.

Below the torturous scene of sawing, Quiricus suffers alongside his mother, Julitta, in a large pot full of boiling pitch (Figure 7).[20] The moment illustrated is that which comes after Quiricus has entreated his mother, despite her reservations, to join him in the pot. Set against a bright yellow backdrop, the scene is a powerful culmination to the series of tortures depicted on the panel. The torturers stand in mirror symmetry, piercing the martyrs with red-hot sticks. The bearded torturer on the left holds out his stick to pierce Julitta, her head covered in a barely-visible cloth, seated on the right side of the pot. The shorn torturer on the right holds out his stick to pierce Quiricus, depicted similarly to the previous scenes, seated on the left side of the pot. The stick passes through the hook suspending the pot. The pot containing the martyrs is suspended from a long, looped chain, hung from a wooden frame. The frame itself is outlined in red, perhaps suggesting that heat. Three flames, appearing as red leaves on a long stem, come up from the ground to lick the base of the pot and heat up the pitch in which the martyrs sit. Julitta's left hand nearly touches Quiricus's right at the point where the torturers' sticks meet. The eye is drawn to this central point in order to draw the distinction between the persecutors' tortuous tools and the martyr's hands raised in prayer. The scene, represented with great care and forethought, provides a powerful message about the power of faith in the midst of great suffering.

The antependium of Durro, although seemingly simplistic, reveals itself as a work whose color palette, compositional layout, and subtle juxtapositions were carefully considered by the artist who painted the panel. Once thought to be a product of a less proficient hand, the antependium, perhaps lacking the aesthetic allure of other panels, is a sophisticated design. The artist utilized symmetry not only to create balance in the overall compositional layout, but also to create meaning in each individual scene. Quiricus,

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[20]See, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 27.

the center-point of each scene, is set up in opposition to those surrounding him. Likewise, the two torturers of each scene each have a different physiognomy that is ultimately neutralized by their position as mirror images of one another. The bearded torturer and the beardless torturer, although opposing one another in facial appearance, are essentially equated with one another in terms of dress, and more importantly, symmetry. They are visibly different men, but both equally capable of persecution. Sophistication of design is likewise demonstrated in the central mandorla, wherein the titular saints are equated with the Virgin and Child. Although aspects of the design have been considered mistakes, such as Julitta's carrying of the scepter,[21] it is more likely that these choices were intentional in order to further convey Julitta and Quiricus's association with the Mary and Christ. On one level, Julitta and Quiricus serve as types for the Virgin and Child. Quiricus not only sits as the holy child on Julitta's matronly lap, but in the surrounding scenes he also serves as a visible reminder of Christ's own suffering. The scenes of torture united by the central mandorla, thus serve not only to tell the story of Quiricus and Julitta, but also to suggest the notion of *imitatio Christi*. Quiricus's faithful suffering is Christ's faithful suffering, which the pious should also accept for themselves should the necessity arise. In all things, the pious should follow the model of Christ, just as young Quiricus did 800 years before. On another level, Julitta and Quiricus, represented as the Virgin and Child, demonstrate the heavenly reward bestowed upon the martyrs for their sacrifice. The image suggests that the martyrs reside in heaven alongside the Virgin. Not only do the saints reside alongside the Virgin, but, like her, they are also capable of acting on ones behalf as intercessors. On a further level, Julitta, holding the imperial scepter, is brought to contemporary Iberia as a powerful symbol of pious imperial triumph over the unfaithful. Thus, the "naïve" artist becomes the sophisticated composer, perhaps considering the powerful message that his compositional nuances deliver. The antependium of Durro, initially visually unappealing, has considerably more to articulate when considered in terms of the transitional period of Iberian history in which it was created.

The Antependium in the History of Catalan Painting

The antependium of Durro, on first glance, appears typical of the Catalan antependia of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It measures 100 x 130 centimeters, the approximate size of the other

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[21] See above, note 11.

contemporary antependia. As with the majority of other examples, the antependia originally served as the wooden front to a rectangular altar with an open back, although the sides to the altar have not survived. While some altars consisted of shelves that housed statuettes of the Virgin and Child (Figure 8), this was unlikely the original arrangement of the Durro altar. Likewise, while some altars were surmounted by baldachins (Figure 9), there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case with the Durro altar.

In addition to size, the Durro antependium is also consistent with other contemporary antependia in the overall layout of its composition. Centrally positioned are the titular saints in a mandorla-shaped compartment, surrounded by four compartments of equal size. The same layout can also be seen in the early twelfth-century Montgrony antependium with scenes from the legend of St. Martin (Figure 10).[22] On this panel, the Christ Pantocrator is seated on a cushioned bench and enclosed in a mandorla central to the composition. Surrounding the central Pantocrator are four equally sized compartments containing scenes from the life of St. Martin.

While similar in size and layout to other twelfth-century antependia, the Durro antependium is the first to place the saints to whom it is dedicated in the central compartment. In the majority of twelfth-century antependia, the central compartment is reserved for the image of the Pantocrator or the Virgin and Child. The Durro antependium is the earliest panel to allow other figures to enter into the sacred space of the central compartment. Not only do the saints enter into the central mandorla, but they also appear in the form of the Virgin and Child. The saints might otherwise be mistakenly identified as the Virgin and Child were it not for the flanking inscriptions betraying their true identity. No other antependium represents the titular saints in the form of the Virgin and Child. Later antependia, such as the thirteenth-century frontal of St. Martin from Huesca (Figure 11), [23] allow the saint to enter into the central compartment, but do not attempt so close a correlation between the saint and Christ or the Virgin. This format of allowing the saint to enter into the central compartment, along with the elimination of the central compartment altogether in order to focus on the narrative scenes, becomes increasingly popular in later antependia.

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[22] The Montgrony antependium is discussed in Walter W.S. Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (I)," *The Art Bulletin* 5, no. 4 (Jun., 1923), pp. 85-101.

[23] On the St. Martin antependium, see Carbonell and Sureda, *Tesoros*, pp. 64, 188-9 and Marcel Durliat, *El art catalán* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, S.A., 1967), pp. 159-160.

Like the other contemporary antependia, the antependium of Durro attempts to replicate, in paint, costly gold and silver and Limoges enamel antependia. The ornate metal antependia would have been out of reach to any sanctuary but the great cathedrals and monastic communities. Oftentimes, the emulation of intricate metalwork was attempted through the use of stucco, as seen in the St. Martin frontal from Huesca (see Figure 11).[24] The artist could press various shapes into the wet stucco, later painted in gold, to duplicate the finely executed details of an antependium of precious metal. Painted antependia, lacking the three-dimensional articulation allowed by the use of stucco, instead use painted decoration to emulate jewels or enamel. The Durro antependium, although a rather modest example of this tendency, attempts to mimic the costlier frontals by including a somewhat illusionistic border. The diamonds on the border are surrounded by parallel lines of diminishing intensity in order to create the illusion that they are three-dimensional open boxes, each containing a white *fleur-de-lis*. The saints' haloes are also edged with white dots, perhaps suggesting pearls.

While similar to contemporary antependia in size, layout, and intention to emulate costly metal frontals, the antependium of Durro has been noted for its "primitive" characteristics and, in comparison, "less proficient" execution. This has led to the assumption that the artist was less-experienced painter working alongside more proficient painters in a theoretical atelier in Urgell.[25] The association of this panel to the atelier at Urgell, situated near the cathedral of Seo de Urgell, was based primarily on the panels stylistic affinities to one another and their similarities to nearby mural painting, also executed by painters within the atelier. Associated with the atelier are masterworks such as the *Ix* and *Seo de Urgell* frontals (Figures 12, 13), the frontal of *San Saturnino de Tabérnoles* (Figure 14), and other frontals by so-called secondary masters, such as the frontal of *Martinet* (Figure 15) and the Durro frontal.[26] The linear quality and elongated figures of the Durro antependium have led to its connection to the mural paintings at Santa Maria de València d'Àneu[27] and Sant Joan de Boí.[28] Nonetheless, the modeling of figures in the murals of

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[24] An early discussion of the stucco antependia is Walter W.S. Cook, *The Stucco Altar-Frontals of Catalonia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924).

[25] On the Urgell atelier, see note 4.

[26] Walter W.S. Cook, *La pintura románica sobre tabla en Cataluña* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velazquez, 1960), pp. 14-6.

[27] Cook and Gudiol, *Pintura e imagineria*, p. 194.

[28] Post, *Spanish Painting*, p. 236.

St. Joan de Boí (Figure 16), is more thoroughly conceived through the use of light and dark shades to suggest volume. The same is true of the murals at Sant Climent and Santa Maria de Taüll in the Boí Valley, although the understated modeling and linear design of the *Triumph of David* at Santa Maria de Taüll bears a resemblance to the scenes of torture on the Durro antependium, perhaps suggesting a closer relationship between the two works (Figure 17).

The Durro antependium is similar to contemporary Catalan antependia in terms of size, layout, and intention to emulate costly antependia of precious metals and enamel. Like other antependia, the panel has been linked stylistically to Romanesque mural painting. Despite the Durro antependium's similarities to contemporary antependia, it presents a novel iconography. The panel is the earliest extant antependium to allow the titular saints into the central compartment. Furthermore, the panel is the only example to represent the saints as the Virgin and Child. The antependium also focuses on the torture of the saints in a manner that is unparalleled in contemporary Iberian panel painting. Although the panel has been noted for its primitive characteristics, the acute attention to symmetry and iconographic innovation on its surface perhaps sets it apart from other antependia not due to its so-called naivety but rather for its inventive quality.

Saints Quiricus and Julitta

The Durro antependium is the only extant antependium to depict Saints Quiricus and Julitta and their *Acts*. Despite the lack of other antependia depicting the saints, numerous other Romanesque churches in addition to Sant Quirc at Durro, including such examples as San Quirce at Pedret,[29] San Quirce near Burgos,[30] and Sant Quirze i Santa Julita at Muntanyola,[31] testify to their continued popularity in Romanesque Iberia. The cult of Saints Quiricus and Julitta began much earlier than is evidenced by the Romanesque churches. There is epigraphic evidence to suggest the popularity of their cult in Visigothic

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[29] On the murals at San Quirce at Pedret, see Betty Al-Hamdani, *Los frescos del abside principal de San Quirce de Pedret* (Barcelona: Anuario de Estudios Medievales, 1972).

[30] Justo Pérez de Urbel and Walter Muir Whitehall, *La iglesia románica de San Quirce* (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1931).

[31] The site of Sant Quirze i Santa Julita at Muntanyola has been dedicated to the saints since the ninth century, but a Romanesque church was built there in the late twelfth century. See, Josep Maria Vila Carabasa, "Església de Sant Quirze i Santa Julita de Muntanyola: noticia històrica," *Estudis, informes i textos del Servei del Patrimoni Arquitectònic Local* 17 (1996), pp. 71-91 and Albert Lopez Mullor, "Resultados de la investigación histórico-arqueológica en la iglesia de Sant Quirze i Santa Julita de Muntanyola," *Estudis, informes, i textos del Servei del Patrimoni Arquitectònic Local* (1993), pp. 85-96.

Iberia. An inscription at Medina Sidonia in the Hermitage of the Saints attests to the presence of at least one saint's relics.[32] The inscription, on what has been described as an old Roman altar, reads:

> Here are placed the relics of the saints; that is of Stephen, Julian, Felix, Iustus, Pastor, Fructuosus, Augurius, Eulogius, Asciclus, Romanus, Martin, Quiricus and Zoylus the martyrs. This basilica was dedicated on the 17th day before the kalends of January in the second year of the pontificate of Pimenius, era 668.[33]

Thus, not only were numerous martyr cults popular in Visigothic Iberia, but the presence of Saint Quiricus's relics was noted by the seventh century. Aside from this early inscription, the origin of the cult of Saints Quiricus and Julitta in Iberia is rather obscure. The saints' popularity continued after the Arab-Berber conquest, noted by their inclusion in the Mozarabic calendars.[34]

Although the origin of the saints' cult is obscure, the evidence provided by the churches dedicated to them attests to their popularity in eleventh- and twelfth-century Iberia. The antependium of Durro also attests to their status and veneration. The antependium demonstrates the version of the saints' *Acts* that must have been popularly known at the time. Various versions of the story had been transmitted and the *Acta Sanctorum* includes numerous versions.[35] The sixth-century version by Bishop Theodore of Iconium tells the story of a mother, Julitta, and her three-year-old son, Quiricus, fleeing Iconium for Tarsus to escape persecution.[36] Upon arriving in Tarsus, Julitta was arrested and ordered to renounce her beliefs by decree of the governor, Alexander. She was tortured due to her refusal. As his mother was tortured, young Quiricus sat upon Alexander's lap and rejected Alexander's attempts to befriend him. Quiricus eventually proclaimed that he, too, was a Christian. In desperation to be free from the governor's grip, the young child scratched at Alexander's face, so infuriating the governor that he threw Quiricus against the tribunal's steps. Seeing her murdered son, Julitta praised the Lord for giving her son the crown of martyrdom. Consequently, Julitta was beheaded.

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[32] Carmen Garcia Rodriguez, *El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966), p. 214.

[33] Mark A. Handley, *Death, Society, and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Iberia, AD 300-750* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003), p. 149.

[34] Rodriguez, *Culto de los santos*, p. 214.

[35] *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 13-31.

[36] *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 19-20. A translated summary of this version can be found in Lesley Jessop, "Pictorial Cycles of Non-Biblical Saints: The Seventh- and Eighth-Century Mural Cycles in Rome and the Contexts for their Use," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 67 (1999), pp. 241-2. For a similar version, see Herbert Thurston S.J. and Donald Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons, 1962), pp. 552-4.

The saints' cult in Europe was perhaps prevalent as early as the fourth century, when supposedly on his way back from Antioch, Bishop Amator brought Quiricus's relics to Auxerre.[37] The *Acts* of Saints Quiricus and Julitta were denounced as early as the sixth-century *Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum* in which the saints' legend is not only mentioned in the list of apocryphal lives, but also noted in the text preceding the list.[38] The decree apparently did little to stifle the popularity of the cult in Europe, as multiple versions of the story continued to be conveyed.[39] The saints' tale, as told in the *Golden Legend*, is much the same as that in the sixth-century version by Theodore, although instead of just being beheaded, Julitta is flayed alive and boiled in pitch beforehand.[40] An additional story in the *Golden Legend* emphasizes the child's loquaciousness by suggesting that although the child was not of speaking age, the Holy Ghost, through the boy's mouth, pronounced that the child was a Christian. The governor, confused by the child's ability to speak, asked him how he had been taught to speak so suddenly. According to the story, the child answered, "Thy lack of wit is a wonder to me, that, seeing my age, thou askest who instructed me in the knowledge of God!"[41] The child continued to profess his faith until his martyrdom. The bodies of the mother and child were cut-up and scattered, but an angel collected the pieces and they were buried by the faithful. After the peace brought by Constantine the Great, the saints' burial place was venerated openly. In a third story of the *Golden Legend*, Quiricus was seen in a dream by the emperor Charlemagne. The child purportedly saved the emperor's life from a wild boar on a hunt, thus providing the inspiration for his representation as a naked child riding a boar.[42]

While the preceding versions of the story attest to the saints' popularity in Europe, especially France, they do not equal the brutality represented in the Durro antependium. The story, as retold on the Durro antependium, most closely follows the *Acta Apocrypha* as included under June 16 in the Bollandists'

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[37] David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 132.

[38] "Sed ideo secundum antiquam consuetudinem singulari cautela in sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripsere nomina penitus ignorantur et ab infidelibus et idiotus superflua aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit esse puntantur; sicut cuiusdam Cyrici et Iulittae, sicut Georgii aliorumque eiusmodi passiones quae ab hereticis perhibentur conpositae." Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de Libris Recipiendis* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912), pp. 3-13.

[39] Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origins du culte des martyrs* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1933), pp. 167-8.

[40] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, translated by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1941), p. 316.

[41] Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, p. 317.

[42] Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Saints*, p. 132.

Acta Sanctorum. The eighth-century paintings in the Theodotus Chapel in Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, also seem to follow a more vicious version of the legend (Figure 18).[43] Unlike the paintings in Santa Maria Antiqua, the Durro antependium does not include images of the saints' arrest in Tarsus. Rather the focus is on the tortures they underwent and ultimately survived.[44] The panel, however, does not depict the moment of their beheading and dialogue with the Savior as told in the *Acta Apocrypha*.[45] Nor is the cutting out of the loquacious Quiricus's tongue represented.[46] The emphasis on the tortures, including the *passio clavorum*, laceration, sawing, and boiling, and the ultimate reward, as represented by the central compartment, suggests that the intention was not to highlight the death of the saints, but rather their steadfast adherence to their Christian beliefs in the face of overwhelming suffering. The saints' unfaltering resolve to support their Christian faith led to their final reward in heaven.

As noted in the preceding text, the Durro antependium is perhaps more sophisticated than previously thought. The panel's visual characteristics, focused on balance, symmetry, and subtle juxtapositions of meaning, alongside its iconographic innovativeness, suggest that a greater significance may lie below the painted surface. The concentration on the particularly brutal moments of torture in the *Acta Apocrypha* and the subsequent reward reveals a desire to remind the pious of the interrelatedness of suffering, sacrifice, and salvation in the Christian faith. While the notions of sacrifice and salvation are, in and of themselves, an indivisible part of the language of the antependium, the juxtaposition of torturer and victim bring to light the opposition of the faithful Christian versus the "infidel." The concept of Christian versus "pagan" is one which was particularly salient in eleventh- and twelfth- century Iberia and when considered with respect to this historical setting, the antependium of Durro becomes all the more meaningful.

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[43] Jessop, "Pictorial Cycles," p. 242, suggests that these paintings seem to concur with a version of the story as contained within a ninth-century manuscript in Turin (Turin, Bib. Naz. mem. A 436).

[44] For the sections of the *Acta Apocrypha* relating to the scenes of the panel, see above, notes 16, 17, 18.

[45] "Veniens autem S. Cyricus cum matre sua ad locum ubi decollandi erant, oravit cum lacrymis, ut Deus omnipotens mitteret Angelos suos, as suscipiendas animas eorum…Complevit itaque sanctus Cyricus martyrium suum, una cum matre sua Julitta, nocte media: et decollatus, coronatus est de manu Salvatoris die Iduum Junii; et ab Angelis ad requiem vitae aeternae perlatus est." *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 28.

[46] *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 27.

CHAPTER THREE
HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Shifting Powers: The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries in the Iberian North

The eleventh and twelfth centuries in northern Iberia constituted a transitional period that saw the shifting of power, not only between the Christian north and the southern taifa kingdoms, but also among the northern Christian kingdoms. While Navarre and León dominated the majority of the eleventh century, by the second quarter of the twelfth century, the combined territory of Aragon-Catalonia arose as a formidable power able to rival the suzerainty of León. By 1077, Alfonso VI of León had proclaimed himself King of Iberia and impelled a continued alliance with Cluny through Abbot Hugh the Great.[47] In the period following Alfonso VI's death in 1109, the leader of the small kingdom of Aragon, Alfonso I "Batallador," was able to seize territory from the Almoravids, thus establishing Aragon as an impressive rival for control of Christian Iberia. Upon his death, Alfonso I, heirless, left his territory to be divided among military orders of the Templars, Hospitallers, and Knights of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Against the wishes of Pope Innocent II, Alfonso's brother, Ramiro II "The Monk," inherited the territory and married Agnes of Poitiers, who, in 1136, gave birth to the couple's daughter, Petronilla. Following failed attempts by the Leonese aristocracy to secure a marital union with Aragon, the young Petronilla was betrothed to Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona in 1137, consequently resulting in the unification of Aragon and Catalonia, or the Crown of Aragon.

The political shifts in power of the Christian kingdoms were mirrored by the constant flux of supremacy between the *taifa* kingdoms and the Christian north. The decades following the death of al-Mansur in 1002 saw the rapid decline of the Umayyad caliphate until its collapse in Córdoba under the caliph Hisham III in 1031. The collapse was followed by a rapid disintegration of Muslim territory, characterized by the formation of twenty petty states, or *taifas*. Taking advantage of the situation of fragmentation, Sancho the Great of Navarre developed a tributary system, requiring the *taifas* to provide

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[47] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 92-3. Alfonso IV doubled his father's annual gift to the order and began converting Leonese and Castilian monasteries into Cluniac houses.

payments of gold (*parias*) to the northern Christian kingdoms. The prosperity of Navarre and León was built off of these *parias* from the Muslim *taifas*. Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona also benefited from *parias*, increasing pressure on the neighboring *taifas* of Lérida, Tortosa, and Zaragoza. Christian forces gained ground in their movement south and in May of 1085, Alfonso VI of León captured Toledo. This acquisition put Alfonso in the position to conquer the bordering *taifas*, thus leaving the *taifa* rulers in a precarious position. The fall of the caliphate and the subsequent fragmentation in the eleventh century indeed indicated that power had shifted from the caliphate to the competing Christian kingdoms of the north.

Unable to adequately defend themselves, the *taifa* leaders were forced to seek assistance from the radical Murabit Berbers of Saharan Africa, or Almoravids. In 1086, the Almoravids, led by Yusuf ibn Tashufin, marched northward to Bajadoz instigating Alfonso's halting of his campaign in Zaragoza. At the Battle of Zallaqa, Alfonso saw defeat, which led to the *taifa* leaders refusal to continue paying *parias*. Yusuf ibn Tashufin and his forces returned to North Africa and the *taifa* leaders were once again unable to defend their territory. In 1090, Yusuf returned to the Iberian peninsula and began to take over the *taifa* kingdoms for the Almoravids. Yusuf united the kingdoms under his rule, leaving only Zaragoza, Bajadoz, and Valencia independent. The Almoravid campaigns in Valencia were staved off until the Cid's death in 1099. From 1002, Barcelona was threatened by Almoravid raids. Under Alfonso I of Aragon, Zaragoza was wrested from al-Mustain in 1110, but subsequently lost until 1118 when Alfonso was able to regain the *taifa*. Almoravid decline, Christian invasions, and the rise of the Muwahhid Berbers, or Almohads, in North Africa led to the end of Almoravid rule in the mid-twelfth century. By 1171, the Almohads established a capital at Seville, but were ultimately unable to advance against the now strong Christian forces.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw shifting alliances and transfers of power that created a situation of constant transition in the northern kingdoms. Prior to the unification of the Crown of Aragon, the western counties of Catalonia composed the frontier region between the two provinces. Although part of the suffragan diocese of Urgell and Catalan-speaking, the county of Ribagorza, in which lies the Boí Valley, was, from the ninth century, pressured to become part of Aragon.[48] As part of the county of

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[48] Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 22.

Ribagorza and thus the suffragan diocese of Urgell, the Boí Valley fell under the control of Alfonso I, who served as the Count of Ribagorza until his death in 1134. By the mid-twelfth century, the regions of Aragon and Catalonia were combined to form the Crown of Aragon.   Although, following the fall of the caliphate, the Christian kingdoms, particularly León and Navarre, gained the upper hand, the coming of the Almoravids in the late eleventh century restored some of the *taifas*' lost power. In the early twelfth century, Catalonia saw itself threatened by the encroaching Almoravid raids. With the rise of Alfonso I, the Christian kingdom of Aragon began to successfully conquer Muslim territory and weaken Almoravid control. The unification of Aragon and Catalonia in the second quarter of the century not only established the Crown of Aragon as a power to rival León, but also helped to secure Christian domination in the north. Barcelona, under the lead of Ramon Berenguer III, became the seat of power for the newly unified kingdom. By the late twelfth century, the Almohads had deposed the Almoravids, but they were not able to wrest control from the Christian kingdoms or advance against them successfully.

In the eleventh century the Christian kingdoms were, for the first time, able to forcefully advance on the Islamic kingdoms to the south due to the change in the balance of power brought on by the fall of the caliphate and the subsequent fragmentation of Islamic territory. While this allowed the Christian kingdoms to control the neighboring *taifas*, the late eleventh-century raids by the Almoravids once again made the Islamic kingdoms to the south a tangible threat into the early twelfth century. The constantly shifting balance of power, alongside the intense religiosity of the Almoravids, created a situation in which the security of Catalonia, and notably Barcelona, was under threat. In addition to being a struggle over territory, the Reconquest became a dispute over beliefs. The Reconquest, originally seen as a battle to recover lost land, became a crusade, spurred on in no small way by the influence of Cluny and closer ties to the papacy, which had perceptibly changed the face of northern Iberian Christianity by the late eleventh century.

The Influence of Cluny and the Papacy

Northern Iberia was increasingly brought into the orbit of Western Christendom in the eleventh century by the influence of Benedictine reform, namely the influence of Cluniac monasticism. Not only did Iberia's close relationship with the Cluniac houses of Southern France bring about the change from the Mozarabic rite to the Roman rite, but its enhanced ties to Europe also strengthened its connection with the

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papacy. In the late eleventh century, these closer bonds enabled Gregorian reform in Catalonia and the influx of a crusading ideal into the northern Christian kingdoms. By the early twelfth century, the papacy's involvement in the Iberian reconquest had noticeably changed the tenor of the war, transforming it from a recovery of land to an "alternate crusade."[49]

The most marked influence of Cluniac reform on Northern Iberia was the abolition of the Mozarabic rite for the acceptance of the Roman rite. The change in rite was brought about by both papal authority and the belief that the Spanish rite had been defiled by years of Muslim domination.[50] In the early eleventh century, Sancho I of Navarre promoted the founding of the first Cluniac house outside of Catalonia at San Juan de la Peña. Despite the founding of the house years earlier, the Roman rite was not officially adopted at San Juan de la Peña until 1071, the same year that Sancho I of Aragon adopted the Roman rite. Following his father's lead, Ferdinand I of Navarre paid an annual tribute to Cluny, thus resulting in the change of all monasteries to Benedictine rule. This flowering of Benedictine monasteries led to an influx of French monks into northern Iberia. Soon after the abolition of the Mozarabic rite by Sancho I of Aragon, Alfonso VII of León confirmed the Roman liturgy at the Council of Burgos in 1081. Alfonso VII also maintained a policy of alliance with Cluny under Abbot Hugh the Great.[51] The change to the Roman liturgy was, in part, stimulated by the increased influence of Cluniac and papal reform.[52]

While the Roman rite was not officially confirmed in the western kingdoms until the eleventh century, it had been predominantly used in Catalonia for at least two hundred years. From the time of the conquests of Charlemagne in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Catalonia was closely tied to its northern neighbors in France. These ties were strengthened since Catalonia remained relatively isolated from the rest of Christian Iberia. The mountainous area was largely surrounded by the Muslim territories of Huesca, Zaragoza, Lérida, and Barbastro.[53] In the ninth century, Narbonne served as the metropolitan see of the suffragan dioceses of Elne, Gerona, Barcelona, Vic, and Urgell.[54] Thus, the use of the Roman

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[49] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 34.

[50] Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1958), p. 22.

[51] Reilly, *Medieval Spains*, pp. 92-3.

[52] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 310.

[53] Donovan, *Liturgical Drama*, p. 25.

[54] Donovan, *Liturgical Drama*, p. 26.

rite in Catalonia had been established with the conquests of Charlemagne, but the influx of French monks in the eleventh century also helped to solidify ties to the powerful northern monastic houses, such as Moissac and Cluny.

While the establishment of the Roman rite in Iberia helped to bring the northern Christian kingdoms into the arms of Western Christendom, closer ties to the papacy allowed them to figure more prominently in papal objectives. Reform under the Cluniac pope, Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), in part sought to bring the Spanish kingdoms and reconquered lands more tightly under papal control by considering them fiefs of the papacy.[55] Gregory VII, along with Cluny, supported the Spanish reconquest and French involvement in it, consequently supporting the interpretation of the war as a crusade against the Muslim world.[56] Papal support of the Reconquest continued into the early twelfth century, as Alfonso I of Aragon accepted military aid from the papacy.[57] The assertion by the reform popes, such as Gregory VII, that labeled Muslims as anti-Christian occupiers of Christian land, transformed the war from being primarily territorial to being a sanctioned holy war supported by the papacy.[58] The close ties to the papacy that were solidified in the mid to late eleventh century, allowed for papal support of the Reconquest and its conversion into indulgenced crusade, an ideology that was strongly held well into the twelfth century.

From Reconquest to Crusade

The arrival of Arab-Berber forces on the Iberian peninsula in the early eighth century quickly led to the defeat of the last Visigothic king, Roderick, in 711. By the late eighth century, Muslim forces had already reached as far north as Catalonia, stimulating Charlemagne's campaigns in the regions south of the Pyrenees, including Gerona in 785 and Barcelona in 801.[59] After the recovery of the northern Spanish regions, the *Marca Hispánica* served as a barrier between al-Andalus and southern France. As early as the

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[55] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 29.

[56] Archibald R. Lewis, "The Papacy and Southern France and Catalonia, 840-1417," *Medieval Society in Southern France and Catalonia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), pp. 1-10.

[57] Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, p. 15. The aid offered by the papacy included crusading indulgences and military aid in the form of foreign knights, including Count Centulle II of Bigorre and Viscount Gaston IV of Béarn.

[58] O' Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 14.

[59] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 19.

ninth century, the idea of reconquest to recover lost Visigothic territory emerged.[60] It was not until the second half of the eleventh century that the Reconquest began to gain some of the privileges associated with the later crusades. In the early twelfth century, the Reconquest was officially accorded crusade status by Pope Calixtus II.[61]

Prior to the eleventh century, the Reconquest was primarily considered a campaign to recover territory lost to the Muslims in the eighth century.[62] Significant expansion of the Christian kingdoms did not begin until after the fall of the caliphate in the early eleventh century and, at this time, the success of the war largely rested on the amount of territory that was recovered.[63] The crusading ideal did not truly begin to enter into the ideology of the Reconquest until later in the eleventh century. The earliest instance of indulgences offered to participants in the Reconquest was in 1063 when Pope Alexander II granted privileges to soldiers participating in the Norman led campaign in Barbastro.[64] Soldiers from Iberia also participated in the campaigns in the East. Upon the turn on the century, Pope Paschal II proposed that the Reconquest was an "alternate crusade" and that Spanish soldiers should not abandon their land to fight in the East.[65] Although the late eleventh century saw the crusading ideal enter into the ideology of the Reconquest, the wars in Iberia were not accorded crusade status until at least the early twelfth century.

In an encyclical letter published in April of 1123, Pope Calixtus II accorded crusade status to the wars against the Muslims in Iberia.[66] Although the crusading ideal had been present prior to the early twelfth century, it was with Calixtus II's letter that the Reconquest was officially preached as a crusade. In 1124, Diego Gelmirez, archbishop of Compostela and papal legate, gave sermons that stressed the

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[60] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 4.

[61] Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 209-212. Pope Calixtus II first accords the war in the Iberian peninsula crusade status in an encyclical letter of 1123. After this letter, church officials, such as the papal legate Diego Gelmirez, begin to preach the crusade promising remission of sins and familial protection. Nonetheless, it was not until 1212 that Innocent III officially authorized the preaching of a crusade in Spain and extensive recruitment was undertaken.

[62] Henry J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (New York: AMS Press, 1969), p. 29.

[63] Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 206.

[64] Gabriel Jackson, *Making of Medieval Spain* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), p. 56; Brian A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 13; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 24; Lock, *Companion to the Crusades*, p. 206; Chaytor, *History of Aragon and Catalonia*, p. 37.

[65] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 34.

[66] Lock, *Companion to the Crusades*, p. 209; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 38.

remission of sins and protection of the property and family of those who wore the cross and fought in Iberia.[67] At the Council of 1125, Gelmirez suggested the war in Iberia as a path to the Holy Sepulcher.[68] Alfonso I of Aragon enjoyed papal support for his campaigns into the Muslim south and, upon his death in 1134, left his domain to the military orders of the Templars, Hospitallers, and Knights of the Holy Sepulcher.[69] Following the launch of the Second Crusade by Pope Eugenius III at Vezelay, the Pope issued a crusading bull in 1147 that listed the Iberian peninsula as an area of crusade.[70] Before the launching of the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux, while preaching the crusade in 1146, linked the war in Iberia to the campaigns elsewhere.[71] Therefore, while the crusading ideal was present in the late eleventh century, it became official in the first half of the twelfth century and continued to be part of official language of the crusades well into the thirteenth century.

The ever-changing balance of power between the Christian kingdoms and the Muslim south, the influx of Benedictine monks into Christian Iberia, and the peninsula's close ties to the papacy in the eleventh century set the stage for Iberia to become an official part of crusading ideology in the twelfth century. While the Reconquest began as a battle to recover territory, by the twelfth century it had become a battle to expel the Muslims from Christian territory. Soldiers participating in the "Spanish Crusade" would be accorded the same privileges, such as remission of sins and familial protection, as those fighting in the East. The contemporary *chansons de geste*, such as the *Song of Roland* and *Cantar de mio Cid* reflect the "crusading spirit" of the time.[72] While the crusading spirit of the twelfth century comes through in the *chansons de geste*, the preaching of the Second Crusade by Bernard of Clairvaux also emphasized the benefits of crusading. In addition to acquiring protection for their property and families, crusaders, should they perish in battle, would also be considered martyrs.[73] The warrior accorded eternal life for his acts in support of the Christian faith, whether fighting in the East or in Iberia. The twelfth century also saw the

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[67] Lock, *Companion to the Crusades*, p. 209.

[68] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 39.

[69] Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, p. 16.

[70] Reilly, *Medieval Spains*, p. 115.

[71] Lock, *Companion of the Crusades*, p. 148-9.

[72] According to Chaytor, *History of Aragon and Catalonia*, p. 23, "The *Song of Roland* is wholly inspired by the crusading spirit of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and does not reflect either the historical facts or the prevailing temper of the eighth century."

[73] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 199.

invocation of saints in battle, the most notable instance being the transformation of Santiago into Santiago *Matamoros*. Thus, with the transformation of the Reconquest into a crusade, not only were saints invoked as intercessors in battle, but soldiers who died in combat with what they considered the "pagan" aggressor were also accorded the status of martyrs.

CHAPTER FOUR
MARTYRDOM AND MEMORY

The violent imagery of the antependium of Saints Quiricus and Julitta is an intimate look at the pain and suffering and subsequent reward of the ultimate Christian sacrifice. The panel, although produced in the early twelfth century evokes the memory of the early Christian martyrs, particularly those crowned during the systematized persecutions of the late third and early fourth centuries. The evocation of the early Christian martyrs on the surface of the panel not only compels the viewer to remember the saints' sacrifice, but also brings forward notions of martyrdom and self-sacrifice established in the early days of the Church. This collective memory of martyrdom persists throughout Christian history not as a codified institution, but as a group of ever-evolving concepts concerning what constitutes true martyrdom resulting in the ultimate heavenly reward. These memories of martyrdom, spanning from the early days of the Church to twelfth-century Iberia, constantly shift in form, but remain an intrinsic part of spirituality. The antependium, while recalling early Christian martyrdom, also re-imagines and modernizes the memory of martyrdom to correspond to the polemics of the twelfth-century Christian north. In this chapter, I will explore the changing memory of martyrdom from early Christianity to twelfth-century Iberia in order to make clear the varied nuances that are incorporated into the panel and how they combine to provide a powerful statement about Christian sacrifice.

On Early Christian Martyrdom

Ye are about to undergo a good fight, wherein the President is the living God; the Trainer the Holy Spirit; the crown, Eternity; the prize, of angelic being, the citizenship of the Heavens; the glory for ever and ever.

Tertullian, *Ad martyri* 3:7[74]

Written prior to the commencement of systematized persecution, Tertullian's apologetic work *To the Martyrs* not only expresses the belief that prison might provide a reprieve from the idolatrous world for the pious Christian, but also that the martyr is a soldier or athlete, fighting to protect the faith from a

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[74] Tertullian, *Ad martyri* 3:7. As translated in Rev. C. Dodgson, *Apologetic and Practical Treatises*, Library of the Fathers, vol. 1 (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1842), p. 154; See also, Robert D. Sider, *Christian and Pagan in the Roman Empire: The Witness of Tertullian* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), pp. 111-2.

demonic power. The soldier's battle was not one without reward; his prize was his automatic entry into heaven, free of sin and without judgment. Tertullian's work, above all, underscores early Christian thoughts on martyrdom, wherein the Christian approaches persecution as the soldier approaches war – the Christian prepares for martyrdom his entire life and should the opportunity arise for him to serve as a witness to the faith, he will be rewarded with eternal life in heaven. Martyrdom was, in essence, a second baptism in blood,[75] and the only way in which a Christian might arrive in heaven completely free of sin. The cleansing fire of martyrdom's second baptism made the act a desirable one for many and, in the years to come, led not only to worthy Christian's preparation to witness if necessary, but also the highly controversial seeking out of one's own death to attain one's heavenly reward.

Although martyrs were a part of church history from very early on, the systematized persecution of Christians began in the mid-third century under Decius. During these persecutions, Christians were forced to sacrifice to the state-worshipped gods in order to demonstrate imperial loyalty. While some Christians indeed gave in to the state's demands, others found other means to obtain certificates of compliance, and still others faced the tortures and death associated with the failure to sacrifice to the pagan gods. A Christian's willingness to succumb to martyrdom was perceived as being directly related to his loyalty to the church and those who gave into the state's demand were seen almost as guilty of apostasy. According to Tertullian, since martyrdom is God-sent, attempting to flee from it is wrong.[76] In 304, the first edict of persecution under Diocletian was promulgated and the "great persecution" was begun in the east. It was during this persecution that the saints of the Durro antependium, Quiricus and Julitta, underwent their tortures and ultimate beheadings. Quiricus and Julitta serve not only as examples of those who were crowned under Diocletian, but also saints who function as a conceptual type of early Christian martyr that persisted in memory throughout the following generations. They faced persecution and refused to deny their faith, underwent a series of tortures and survived, and succumbed to death to obtain the reward of heaven.

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[75] See, Josef Ton, *Suffering, Martyrdom, and Rewards in Heaven* (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1997), p. 359; Lucy Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004), p. 18. In his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, Origen though of martyrdom as a "chalice of salvation" capable of cleansing one from sin. In fact, martyrdom was second only to baptism.

[76] Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*, p. 20. Origen also saw the choice as simple: either one chose God or one chose idolatry. Fleeing was equivalent to renouncing one's faith.

The martyr cults established around the remains of the persecuted martyrs of late antiquity spoke to the saints' ability to be present in the world of the living.[77] The martyrs, in sacrificing themselves for their faith, exemplified the sacrifice of the original martyr, Christ, and gained the ability to intervene of the behalf of those still living. The saints, in their *imitatio Christi*, were able to inspire future generations to follow the template of Christ in the manner of an *imitatio martyris*.[78] The example of the martyr directly served as an example of Christ, thus reminding Christians to be prepared to sacrifice themselves for the church if necessary. The martyr stood for Christian virtue and loyalty in the face of persecution. In addition to serving as an example of *imitatio Christi*, the martyr-saint was capable of intervening in the affairs of the living by protecting the city, praying for the church on earth, and becoming patrons of the dead buried near them. The martyrs have the ability to make their past of suffering present to the living and thus affect the lives of the pious outside of the constraints of time.

In early medieval Iberia, martyr cults were particularly prominent, while the veneration of more recent saints seems to have been less popular.[79] Prudentius's *Peristephanon*, a collection of martyr poems, attests to the interest of the early martyrs not only from Iberia, but also martyrs from elsewhere.[80] Prudentius speaks of the martyrs as patrons of cities, exercising nurturing maternal power and paternal protection over their charges.[81] Prudentius's work does more than simply chronicle the lives of the saints he has chosen to include. According to Michael Roberts in his volume on Prudentius' *Peristephanon*, the written text is capable of bringing the past life of the saint to the modern world, much as a martyr's shrine

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[77] The *praesentia* of the saints among the living is discussed in Peter Brown, *Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 86-105.

[78] See Johann Leemans, "Introduction," in *More Than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity* (Dudley: Peeters, 2005), pp. xi-xvi.

[79] Handley, *Death, Society, and Culture*, p. 143.

[80] On Prudentius's *Peristephanon*, see Michael Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993) and Anne-Marie Palmer, *Prudentius, On the Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

[81] Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 2:69-72:
ceu praesti semper adsies
tuosque alumnus urbicos
lactante conplexus sinu
paterno amore nutrias.
(As if you were always present, and held your city foster-children in the embrace of your milky bosom and fed them with your father's love.)
Selection and translation from Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*, p. 23.

is similarly a place that exists outside of time.[82] The saint's life is able to transcend time, thus allowing the saint to serve as not only as an active intermediary between God and the living, but also as an example of the victorious reward of actively defending one's faith in the eternal struggle between good and evil. Whether the struggle takes place in fourth-century Tarsus or twelfth-century Iberia, the martyrs represent the triumphant Christian champion as something to be not only emulated, but also venerated regardless of historical period.[83]

The conceptual framework of Christian martyrdom was established by the examples of the early Christian martyrs during the period of systematic persecution of the early church and by the teachings of the early church fathers. The martyrs were seen as "perfected" imitations of Christ's own martyrdom, thus deserving of immediate entrance into heaven.[84] This framework, in which the martyr was asked to renounce his faith, was subsequently tortured and put to death, and finally venerated as one who had touched the divine, was by no means codified and writers avidly discussed the more dubious aspects of the ways of attaining martyrdom. Nonetheless, the framework of the prototypical Roman martyr persisted in the Christian cultural memory and subsequent generations both invoked the image of the early Christian martyr and revised what acts were necessary to attaining the sanctity of martyrdom. In Iberia, the ideal type of early Christian martyr was evoked and challenged by the Córdoban martyrs in the ninth century. The discourse on sanctity was infused with new ideas on what it meant to attain martyrdom and these new concepts became part of the collective memory of Christian martyrdom that would continue to be influential in the following generations and available for alteration according to the needs of the day.

The Córdoban Martyrs' Movement

> At the time when the savage rule of the Arabs miserably laid waste all the land of Iberia with deceit and imposture, when King Mohammed with unbelievable rage and unbridled fury determined to root out the race of Christians, many terrified by fear of the cruel king and hoping to allay his madness, by a cruel use of evil will endeavored to assail Christ's flock with various and ingenious temptations. Many by denying Christ threw themselves into the abyss; others were shaken by severe trials. But others were established and confirmed in

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[82] Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*, pp. 1-39, uses the framework set out by Peter Brown in *The Cult of the Saints* in order to construct his argument that the written text of the saint's life is capable of obtaining the saint's *praesentia*.

[83] According to Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*, p. 43, the process of reading the saint's life has the effect of bringing the past to the present: "The events of the individual passion transcend the historical moment, reenact a conflict between good and evil that has immediate relevance to every Christian's daily experience, and link, through repetition of the passion/judgment and victory themes, the biblical past, the time of the martyrs, and the eschatological future in a single line of text that moves easily between heaven and earth, the past, present, and future."

[84] Ton, *Suffering, Martyrdom, and Rewards in Heaven*, p. 364. According to Eusebius, perfection was reached through martyrdom. Therefore, a martyred saint was perfected, not killed.

flourishing virtue. In his time, as we have said, the martyrdom (or, testimony) of the faithful shone gloriously, and the error of the gainsayers was as shifting as waves.

Paulus Alvarus, *Life of Eulogius*[85]

The conceptual framework of martyrdom and the ideal-type of martyr were challenged in Córdoba in the ninth century by a movement that brought forth a wave of Mozarabic voluntary martyrs reacting to what they perceived as persecution from the ruling Muslim population. Not only did the martyrs' actions challenge *who* could be considered a true martyr, but also *what* constituted persecution. The reconfigurations of martyr and persecutor as expressed by the martyrs' movement may not have superceded all previous definitions of each type, but they did become part of the collective memory of martyrdom that persisted into the twelfth century. The appropriation of persecutor and martyr to describe Muslim and Mozarab, respectively, influenced the perception of Muslim as heretical persecutor in the following centuries. While the Córdoban martyrs were not fully accepted as such even by contemporary Christians, their reconfiguration of the persecutor and martyr allowed the following generations to further interpret the roles of persecutor and martyr as they pertained to each generation's social demands.

In 822, upon the death of the emir Al-Hakam I, Abd al-Rahman II ascended to power and inherited a kingdom that, by the closing years of his reign, faced the open denouncement of Islam by a contingent of the Mozarabic population residing in the most significant city of the emirate, Córdoba. Blasphemy against Islam and apostasy were offenses punishable by death and the majority of the fifty martyrs of the movement openly sought capital punishment by publicly denouncing the Prophet and his teachings. These unprovoked martyrdoms were recorded by two contemporary sources: Eulogius, a priest, who became a martyr himself by the end of the movement, and Paulus Alvarus, an educated layman and friend of the former. Eulogius composed not only a martyrology of the Córdoban martyrs, the *Memorial sanctorum*, but also a hortative treatise for two of the condemned.[86] Eulogius was compelled by unsympathetic Christians to respond to the assertions that the Córdoban martyrs did not, so to speak, fit the mold of the early Christian martyrs.

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[85] Translation in Carleton M. Sage, *Paul Albar of Córdoba: Studies on His Life and Writings* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1943), pp. 201-10. The translation is also reprinted in Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 51-5.

[86] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 66. The hortative treatise is the *Documentum martyriale* composed for Flora and Maria while imprisoned.

The so-called protomartyr of the Córdoban martyrs' movement was an unlikely prototype for the voluntary martyrs to come, but provided the catalyst from which the martyrs' could draw their righteous indignation.[87]   The monk Perfectus, while running errands for his monastery in the city market, was approached by a group of Muslims who asked him to give his opinion of Islam and its Prophet. After some apprehension, Perfectus responded by pointing out the errors of Islam. Despite promises of confidentiality by the group, the next time Perfectus entered the market he was betrayed by the group and apprehended. His execution was postponed until the celebration commemorating the end of Ramadan on April 18, 850, at which he was beheaded. While Perfectus may have served as protomartyr, Isaac was the zealous prototype and the first martyr that can truly be ascribed to the movement. Isaac, once the secretary of the covenant (*katib al-dhiman* or *exceptor reipublicae*) for the government, was beheaded on June 3, 851. The once powerful Christian gave up his position in the government three years prior to his death in order to join a monastery in nearby Tabanos. In 851, he returned to Córdoba and approached the *qadi* (judge) and asked him to instruct him about some topics regarding Islam. In the middle of the *qadi*'s response, Isaac began denouncing Islam and professing the damnation of the Prophet. Upon slapping Isaac, the *qadi* was rebuked by another minister convinced of Isaac's drunkenness. The matter was referred to the amir, who subsequently condemned Isaac who claimed he was compelled by the "zeal of righteousness."[88]

After the first of the spontaneous martyrdoms, Abd al-Rahman II reminded the population of the prohibition on blasphemy by issuing an edict restating the penalty of such a crime. Despite the issuance of the edict, seven Christians followed Isaac's public denouncement of Islam in the few days following his death. The clergy was soon deemed at least partially responsible for the wave of unprovoked martyrs and the clerical leadership was detained by order of the amir. By the last month of 851, the clerical leaders were freed and a new group of martyrs came forward in the summer of 852. Following this new wave of martyrs, a council of bishops was convened under Reccafred, the metropolitan of Seville, in 852. Under pressure from the amir, the council forbade Christians to seek martyrdom.[89] Nonetheless, the decree did little to deter would-be martyrs and the movement continued. Abd al-Rahman's death in September of 852

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[87] Norman Daniel, *The Arabs of Mediaeval Europe* (London: Longman Group, Ltd., 1975), pp. 23-4., describes Perfectus as a protomartyr for the martyrs' movement.

[88] Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 23-4.

[89] Those who had already died seeking martyrdom were not censured. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 110.

brought about drastic changes in the government's response to the voluntary martyrs. Al-Rahman's successor, Muhammad I, enforced more stringent measures against the Christian community than his predecessor. The *dhimma* restrictions, laxly enforced in the past, were reinvigorated in light of the acts of the new Christian martyrs.[90] Muhammad I not only strictly enforced the *dhimma* restrictions, but also ordered the destruction of recently built churches and required all those in the service of the government to convert to Islam. After a new wave of martyrs in the summer of 853, the amir considered requiring all Christian men to convert to avoid capital punishment and the enslavement of their families, but his ministers quickly dissuaded him from this course of action.[91]

Eulogius' martyrology chronicles the martyrdoms until his own beheading in 859 for proselytizing and assisting the martyr Leocritia.[92] The history of the martyrs and their respective ways of seeking out their martyrdoms is less important to the overall changing concept of martyrdom than is the Mozarabic community's response to the martyrs and Eulogius and Alvarus' justifications of their actions. The martyrs' actions did not receive widespread support from the entirety of the Mozarabic community of Córdoba. Many questioned whether the martyrs could truly be considered as such since they did not adequately fit what they considered the Roman prototype for a martyr. Likewise, they argued that unlike the early Christian martyrs, the Córdoban martyrs were not subjected to persecution, but rather sought out their deaths without provocation from the Muslim rulers. In the face of these heated debates over the authenticity of Córdoba's "martyrs" and "persecutors", Eulogius and Alvarus rose to the challenge of legitimizing the voluntary martyrs as martyrs and the Muslim rulers as persecutors, thus questioning the conventional assumptions of what each of these terms entailed. It was Eulogius' charge to reconsider the

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[90] According to Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 17 , the *dhimma* restrictions, at this moment, applied specifically to Christians. Although Jews were also subject to the restrictions, the Christians were considered to be the troublemakers. See also, O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 110.

[91] Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 18. The emir, troubled by rebellions elsewhere in his kingdom felt compelled to treat the involuntary martyrdoms as equivalent to the organized uprisings in the northern regions. His ministers advised against this equating of disorganized martyrdoms with organized uprisings.

[92] Paulus Alvarus' description of the martyrdom of Eulogius from his *Life of Eulogius* appears in translation in Sage, *Paul Albar of Córdoba,* pp. 201-10 and in Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, pp. 51-55. Leocritia's martyrdom is an interesting case as it represents another facet of the voluntary martyrdoms: apostasy. Leocritia was a young girl of Muslim parentage who fled her family to live as a Christian. The first time she was captured she was beaten heavily against the neck. Eulogius, upon touching the scars, describes the experience as one in which he is in the presence of a holy person who has experienced the divine firsthand. Eulogius' harboring of the girl leads not only to her second detainment, but also to the pair's ultimate sacrifice. Apostasy, in itself, was a crime punishable by capital punishment, but when re-framed in the context of the Córdoban martyrs, apostasy is less a secret conversion to Christianity than one that is publicly professed. See also Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 66; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, p. 110; Daniel, *The Arabs of Mediaeval Europe*, p. 29.

nature of sanctity with respect to these new martyrs. Those unsympathetic to the martyrs' actions brought

their sanctity into question by suggesting that because their martyrdom failed to follow the Roman

prototype, the martyrs could not be considered in the same light as the early Christian martyrs. The martyrs

deviated from those that came before in that they actively sought martyrdom,[93] failed to undergo a number

of tortures without dying before their actual beheading, and most importantly failed to produce miracles

after their deaths. Eulogius responded to these criticisms by proposing that the production of miracles was

not requirement of proving sanctity and furthermore that miracle working belonged to the "*primordium* of

church history."[94] In other words, the time for miracles had passed with the early years of the church.

According to Eulogius,

> Truly the Lord performed miracles through his servants at a suitable time in [the history of] the world since he
> knew, by means of a divine prescience, that they would have an effect on the people; he knew that those who
> worked his miracles would not be acting in vain. And indeed those who had at first rejected the salutary
> precepts of the sacred law gave way before the wonders of the prodigies. In those times it was suitable for the
> martyrs of God to shine with signs since they were trying to solidify the original diffusion of Christianity with
> solid roots in the hearts of the believing people by means of verbal instruction, scriptural exhortation, and the
> revealing signs as well as the rewards of passion.[95]

Perhaps even more troubling than the martyrs' sanctity was the idea that the Muslims were being equated

with the Romans as persecutors. Many Christians failed to see their own community as one that could be

deemed persecuted, thus justifying the martyrs' actions as witnesses to their faith. Few saw the parallels

between the systematized persecutions in which sacrifice to the pagan idols was a function of imperial

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[93] Voluntary martyrdom, as a questionable aspect of the overall conception of martyrdom, was also debated in late antiquity. Tertullian, *Epistle to Scapula* 5, conveys the story of a group of Christians who come forward to a strict governor and profess that they are Christians and should be executed. See, Aideen Hartley, *Gruesome Deaths and Celibate Lives: Christian Martyrs and Ascetics* (London: Bristol Phoenix Press, 2005), p. 26.) Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 8:9, also relates stories of Christians fanatically professing their faith after seeing the sentencing of other Christians. See, Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, translated by G.A. Williamson (New York: Dorset Press, 1984), p. 338. As a young man, Origen tried to present himself to the Roman authorities to achieve his own martyrdom. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.2, speaks of Origen's attempted martyrdom after his father's martyrdom. While voluntary martyrdom was a commonly accepted form, later writers seemed to question its validity as a true form of martyrdom. For example, Saint Augustine of Hippo is critical of voluntary death. Augustine stood firmly against the Donatists who used the writings of Tertullian to justify the voluntary martyrdoms of their members. According to Augustine, *City of God* 1:20, "It is significant that in the sacred canonical books there can nowhere be found any injunction or permission to commit suicide either to ensure immortality or to avoid or escape any evil." See, Augustine, *City of God*, translated by Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin Putnam, Inc., 2003), p. 31. Augustine speaks more directly against the Donatists' martyrdoms in his treatise *Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum*. See, Augustine, *Traités Anti-Donatistes*, vol. 5, translated by G. Finaert (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer,1968). For Augustine on voluntary martyrdom, see also Michael Perham, *The Communion of Saints: An Examination of the Place of the Christian Dead in the Belief, Worship, and Calendars of the Church* (London: Alcuin Club, 1980), p. 27. Arthur J. Droge and James D. Tabor, *A Noble Death: Suicide and Martyrdom Among Christians and Jews in Antiquity* (San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1992.) also offers a study of the subject of voluntary martyrdom in the early years of the Church.

[94] See, Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 83-4. In proposing that miracles were not necessary to prove sanctity, Eulogius followed the logic of Gregory I in the *Dialogues*, but the fact that none of the martyrs had produced miracles was nonetheless difficult to counter.

[95] *Memoriale sanctorum* 1:14, as translated in Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 83-4.

loyalty and the actions of their Muslims rulers who, after all, worshipped the same God. The first step for Eulogius and Alvarus was to demonize the Prophet as a heresiarch and false prophet. On a trip to Navarre, Eulogius discovered an *Istoria de Mahomet* in the library of the monastery at Leyre.[96] While the history follows some of the main events of the life of the Prophet according to Muslim tradition, the Christian author has drastically altered the tenor and content of the narrative to reflect his own purposes. Introduced as the "heresiarch," the author quickly describes the Prophet as an "avaricious usurer" and a "shrewd son of darkness" for attending Christian assemblies.[97] On Muhammad's first acts as a Prophet, the author suggests,

> the spirit of error appeared to him in the form of a vulture and, exhibiting a golden mouth, said it was the angel Gabriel and ordered Muhammad to present himself among his people as a prophet. Swollen with pride, he began to preach to the irrational animals and he made headway as if on the basis of reason so that they retreated from the cult of idols and adored the corporeal God in heaven. He ordered his believers to take up arms on his behalf, and, as if with a new zeal of faith, he ordered them to cut down their adversaries with the sword.[98]

While the Prophet had brought the light of God to the pagans, the author believed that his heretical message traveled in the guise of truth. According to the author, Muhammad "wove a story of spider webs for catching flies" and composed the *suras* to "season his error."[99] Upon the Prophet's death (or as the author states, "when he gave his soul to hell"), his body began to rot and the dogs "followed his stench and devoured his flank."[100] The author completes his life of the Prophet by opining,

> It was appropriate that a prophet of this kind fill the stomachs of dogs, a prophet who committed not only his soul, but those of many, to hell. Indeed he accomplished many sins of various kinds which are not recorded in this book. This much is written so that those reading will understand how much might have been written here.[101]

Such a demonizing account of the Prophet's life undoubtedly assisted Eulogius' reconfiguration of the Prophet as a wicked false prophet preaching his lies while draped in a veil of truth. Indeed, the Prophet's

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[96] The *Istoria de Mahomet* of c. 850 is fully reproduced and translated by Kenneth Baxter Wolf in Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, pp. 48-50 and Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," in Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi, eds., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), pp. 89-102.

[97] *Istoria de Mahomet*, "The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," p. 98.

[98] *Istoria de Mahomet*, "The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," p. 98.

[99] *Istoria de Mahomet*, "The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," p. 98.

[100] *Istoria de Mahomet*, "The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," p. 99.

[101] *Istoria de Mahomet*, "The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," p. 99.

administration of his "sugared poison"[102] to the pagan community inspired Eulogius to deem him anathema in accordance with Paul's letter to the Galatians.[103]

More significant to Eulogius' attempt to reconfigure Córdoba's Muslim rulers as equivalent to the Roman persecutors, was his ability to represent the Christian community as a persecuted community. The Christians of Córdoba were certainly not persecuted in the same systematized way as the early Christians of Diocletian's "great persecution" in the opening years of the fourth century, but Eulogius attempted to construct the illusion of persecution by listing the offenses that the Muslim community perpetrated against the Christians. In specific reference to the Córdoban "protomartyr", Perfectus, Eulogius claimed that the movement was in fact a response to that martyr's persecutory treatment.[104] Eulogius also claimed that Muhammad I's destruction of churches, taxation of the *dhimmi* (*jizya*), strict *dhimma* restrictions, and the overall denigration of the Christian community by the Muslim community constituted persecution. In response to unsympathetic Christians claiming that there was no persecution, Eulogius responded,

> You do not regard as provocation the destruction of churches, the hate directed towards the priests, and the fact that we pay a monthly tribute with great hardship? Death is more profitable for us than the laborious peril of such a deprived life…Who, among all the persecutors of the faithful, has assailed the church as cruelly as this abomination? Who has heaped up so much subversion of the catholics as this unfortunate one? For no one of us may walk secure in their midst, no one is left in peace, no one may pass through their walls without being dishonored. Whenever the need for an ordinary thing compels us to go forth in public, when it is necessary to go out into the forum from our abodes for any household necessity, the moment they notice the symbols of our sacred order, they attack, as if madmen or fools, calling out derision; not to mention the daily mockery of children, for whom it is not enough to inflict verbal abuse and heap up shameful examples of scurrility, but who do not even refrain from pelting us with rocks from behind. Which reminds me of what they do as an insult to the holy sign. For when the psalmody schedule dictates that we give the signal to the faithful, and the approaching hour of prayer obliges us to make the customary indication, these liars, misled by superstition, listen intently to the clang of the reverberating metal and begin to exercise their tongues in every curse and obscenity. Therefore, not unsuitably are they cursed who, with such hate, direct their followers against the clergy. We are calumnied incessantly by them, and everywhere we suffer their ferocity for the sake of religion. Many of them judge us unworthy to touch their garments and curse to themselves if we approach too closely. They deem it pollution if we mix in any of their affairs.[105]

As evidenced by his portrayal of Christian life in Muslim Córdoba, Eulogius considered the derogatory treatment of the Christian community to constitute persecution. Although the Córdoban persecution had little in common with the early Christian paradigm, Eulogius transformed the way in which the Christian community constructed their view of a persecuted community. It was, so to speak, Eulogius' way of

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[102] According to Paulus Alvarus, the Prophet's teachings consisted of untruths masked in the truth constituting a "sugared poison." See, Daniel, *Arabs of Mediaeval Europe*, p. 41.

[103] "If anyone preach to you a gospel besides that which you have received, let him be anathema." See, Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 87.

[104] Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 102.

[105] *Memoriale sanctorum* 1:21 as translated in Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 100.

modernizing the prototype in order to fit his polemic. By converting the Córdoban Christians into a persecuted community, Eulogius likewise converted the Muslim rulers into persecutors following the teachings of a "false prophet." The pagans of antiquity were traded in for the "heretical" rulers of ninth-century Córdoba. Furthermore, the miracle-working martyrs of the past were exchanged for the Mozarabic voluntary warriors for all of Christendom.

Whether the voluntary martyrdoms reflected the tension of conversion and the desire to express Christian identity,[106] the resentment Christians felt for their Muslim rulers, or the perceived persecution by the Muslim community, the ninth-century martyrs' movement in Córdoba invoked the classical ideal of the early Christian martyr. The fanaticism of the martyrs brought into question the notion of sanctity and what it meant to be a martyr or a persecutor. In his writings Eulogius reconfigured this notion of martyrdom to reflect a modernized type that underscored his polemic.[107] The martyr could now seek out his own demise against the new Muslim persecutor. The demonization of not only the Prophet, but also the Muslim community as a whole, created a setting through which religious tensions could be deemed as persecutions and the Muslim rulers could be labeled as persecutors. While the works of Eulogius and Alvarus were not necessarily directly taken up by later polemicists, the ideas they express are salient in later generations. The authors' forthright creation of a persecuted community dominated by Muslim "infidels" is a notion that persists into the following centuries, thus allowing for the later evocation of the early Christian martyr as a soldier for Christ against the Muslim "aggressor."

The Memory of Martyrdom: Remembering and Re-imagining

> Archbishop Turpin comes forward then to speak.
> He spurs his horse and gallops up a hill,
> Summons the Franks, and preaches in these words:
> "My noble lords, Charlemagne left us here,
> And may our deaths do honor to the King!
> Now you must help defend our holy Faith!
> War is upon us—I need not tell you that—
> Before your eyes you see the Saracens.
> Confess your sins, ask God to pardon you;
> I'll grant you absolution to save your souls.
> If you should die, that will be martyrdom,
> And you'll have places in the highest Paradise."

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[106] According to Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), p. xiii., the voluntary martyrdoms are "best understood in the Islamic context: they represent an attempt to resist assimilation and conversion to Islam and to strengthen Christian identity by invoking the heroic image of the Roman martyr."

[107] Eulogius changed the paradigm while simultaneously maintaining nostalgia for antique attitudes, such as those expressed in Eusebius. See, Daniel, *Arabs of Mediaeval Europe*, p. 34.

The memory of martyrdom, spanning from the early years of the Church to the later Middle Ages and beyond, reflects both the continuity of tradition from late antiquity and the dynamic transformation of that tradition to appeal to the Christian present. A martyr's story, the historical record of an early imitator of Christ's sacrifice, persists in the collective memory of martyrdom in order to be remembered, re-invoked, and re-imagined in accordance with the societal needs of the time.[109] The stories are not forgotten, but received by different ears that interpret their message in a way that creates meaning in accordance with their present. The stories of the early Christian martyrs, such as those of Quiricus and Julitta, are read to make the past present and to allow the martyrs to transcend time to assist the needs of those on earth. The invocation of the early Christian martyr prototype in ninth-century Córdoba not only demonstrated the continued value of and reverence for the early martyrs, but also repackaged that martyrial prototype to justify the actions of the voluntary martyrs against what they perceived as the new modern persecutor, the Muslim amirate. Continuing from the ninth century, although not in any direct or systematized way, the collective memory allowed the Muslim to remain a persecutor and the embittered memory of their "domination" of the Iberian peninsula did not subside. The martyr remained a warrior for the faith, although this time, in addition to the faithful Christian refusing to deny his faith, the martyr was also the active soldier, literally engaging in the battle to reclaim Christian territory.

As the martyr stories changed over time to reflect a more spectacular quality of suffering,[110] the memory of their past suffering, as gruesome as it may have become, served as a base from which to recast contemporary events. The evocation of past suffering, even if the story barely resembled its original form, helped to create meaning in the uncertain present.[111] The story of Saints Quiricus and Julitta, in its many forms as seen above, reflects the transformation of a martyr story into a gruesome narrative, littered with heinous tortures and monstrous persecutors. The sixth-century version by Theodore of Iconium minimizes

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[108] *The Song of Roland*, translated by Patricia Terry (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), p. 45, lines 1124-1135.

[109] On the idea of martyrdom as a collective memory, see, Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 1-69.

[110] Castelli, "Martyrdom and the Spectacle of Suffering," *Martyrdom and Memory*, pgs. 104-34, speaks of this spectacle of suffering.

[111] According to Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, p. 173, "…there is a critical link between the memory of suffering, on the one hand, and Christian culture making on the other. This link has to do with what happens to stories and traditions as they are transmitted, repackaged, and deployed into new situations, making meaning as they go. The reception histories of early Christian martyrdom do not stop in the late ancient or medieval periods; they continue into modernity and, as it turns out, into postmodernity…Martyrdom is, as we have seen over and over again, rhetorically constituted and discursively sustained."

the tortures while one of the versions in the *Golden Legend* adds that Julitta was flayed and boiled in pitch. The *Acta Apocrypha* in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the story that is most closely affiliated with the imagery on the panel, spends a significant amount of time describing the tortures in detail, from the *passio clavorum* to the boiling in pitch. The panel, with its great attention to these sufferings also partakes in this sensationalizing of the story and acts as a contribution to this "spectacle of suffering." Just as the text/image of the ideal Roman martyr created meaning (and controversy) in ninth-century Córdoba, the representation of Quiricus and Julitta bring the past of early Christian suffering to twelfth-century Catalonia in order to demonstrate their sacrifice and reward so that Christians could reframe the story to align with contemporary polemic.

The use of the early Christian martyr in the writings of Eulogius and Alvarus in ninth-century Córdoba allowed the writers to recast the Mozarabic Christian and the Muslim government in the roles of the early Christian martyr and the Roman persecutor. The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries also saw the reconfiguration of a martyr who would face the non-Christian or heretical persecutor. With the dawning of the First Crusade, the Christian soldier, *cruce signati* (marked with the cross), would fight the enemies in the East. While early on the notion that death on crusade served as martyrdom was not always widely accepted, by the twelfth century martyrdom had become indivisible from the act of crusading.[112] The suggestion that those who died in battle gained life in Paradise was not an entirely new idea,[113] but after 1095 the concept of martyrdom through warfare was further contextualized in the fight against Islam.[114] The late eleventh-century *Song of Roland* reflects this spirit in its representation of Charlemagne's ninth-century expeditions into the *Marca Hispánica*. In Bishop Turpin's address to the troops, he clearly promises martyrdom in the case of a soldier's death. The proposition that one could attain martyrdom, the ultimate sacrifice for the love of God, while committing violent acts in support of the Church was one that had been under discussion for some time.[115] The martyr warriors fit predominantly into three categories: those who died of disease on crusade, those who refused to renounce their faith when captured by Muslims,

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[112] H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," in *Crusade and Settlement,* edited by Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1983), pp. 46-57.

[113] For example, in the ninth century, Popes Leo IV and John VIII promised eternal life to those fighting the Muslims or Northmen for the Church. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," p. 48.

[114] Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," p. 53.

[115] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, (London: Athlone Press, 1993), p. 115.

and those who were killed in battle.[116] Thus the warriors, or those fatally affected by the war, were recast as martyrs succumbing to a Muslim persecutor. To the Christians of the Iberian peninsula the image of the Muslim as persecutor would have seemed all too familiar, while the chance at martyrdom by fighting in the crusade would have been tempting to say the least. The desire to fight in the Holy Land indeed enticed many Spanish Christians to leave Iberia for the East thus prompting Pope Paschal II in 1101 to forbid soldiers to leave their land to fight elsewhere when an alternate crusade with similar benefits was available to them at home.[117] Alfonso I, *Batallador*, was disappointed that he was unable to fight in the East and upon his death he bequeathed his kingdom to the military orders of the Templars, Hospitallers, and Knights of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Furthermore, martyrdom by refusing to renounce one's faith would have directly mirrored the glorious sacrifices of the early Christian martyrs and the Spanish Christians may have also seen something of their own past in this, although the issue of forced conversion is questionable. In this transitional time, the prototype of the early Christian martyr was once again re-imagined. Some of the early martyr's original character remained, but the acts warranting martyrdom were expanded to reflect contemporary needs. Tertullian's martyr-warrior-athlete had become a literal soldier for the Faith.

The evocation of the early Christian martyr in the twelfth century is more than simply a need to represent a church's dedicatory saints. As one may begin to see, the representation of an early Christian martyr would involve not only the bringing forward of the late antique past, but also the collective memory of martyrdom that was infused with the various nuances and alterations that had, over time, become a part of the discourse of martyrdom. In Iberia this may have meant that the occupying Muslims could easily be considered persecutors although their actions did not necessarily fit the paradigm of the systematized persecutions of the third and fourth centuries. Likewise, the faithful could see something of their present in the story of the martyr. Although they were no longer forced to sacrifice to the state-worshipped gods, the Spanish Christians might see the continued presence of the Muslim "persecutors" as reason enough to come forward and fight in the hopes of martyrdom. The way to martyrdom had undeniably expanded from trials *in aperta passione* (public sufferings) and *in occulta animi virtute* (secret, heroic virtue)[118] to allowing for

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[116] These categories are proposed by Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 114-5.

[117] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 34.

[118] These are the ways to martyrdom in the early years of the Church according to Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," p. 46.

martyrdom when persecution was questionable and when one was engaging in violent acts for the Church. The representation of the martyr would vividly recall the suffering of the martyr and likewise the suffering of Christ, thus reminding the pious to follow their lead by self-sacrifice should the opportunity arise. Furthermore, the image of the martyr would remind the faithful of the reward of their sacrifice and also the saint's presence as a protective figure.

The reading of the martyr's acts was fully able to bring their story to the present in a very real way.[119] Likewise the image of the martyr, such as that represented by the Durro antependium, is also capable of the same effect.[120] The image of the martyr has authority inasmuch as it is able to recreate the past and break down the boundaries of time to allow the saint to enter into the present. Prudentius, in his *Peristephanon*, tells of the image of the martyr as he stands at the shrine of St. Cassian of Imola, "…and there stood confronting me a picture of the martyr painted in colors, bearing a thousand wounds, all his parts torn, and showing his skin broken with tiny pricks."[121] As Prudentius is confused by the image, the custodian of the shrine explains, "What you are looking at…is no vain fable, no old wife's tale. The picture tells the story of what happened. It is recorded in books and displays the true faith of ancient times."[122] Thus the image, as much as the text, serves to tell the story of the martyr and bring the saint to the present. This notion can readily be applied to the Durro frontal insofar as the visual representation of the martyrs makes them present to the faithful as effectively as a textual reading. The panel, by making the saints present, allows for them to be recast and re-contextualized for contemporary needs. The malleable collective memory of martyrdom emerges to not only recall what has occurred but how those events relate to current events. The martyr, real and present through the image, embodies all of martyrial history including all the transformations the paradigm of the martyr has undergone through the ages. The image of the martyr-saint is at once early Christian martyr, ninth-century Córdoban martyr, twelfth-century soldier-martyr, and everything in between. Regardless of the multitudinous forms the saint may take, the martyr stands for the ultimate act of Christian love for God and in twelfth-century Iberia this act involved the

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[119] Roberts suggests that the written text of martyrdom can make present the events from the past. See note 84.

[120] Grigs, *Making Martyrs*, pp. 111-35, notes that a "persistent tradition regards images functioning as alternatives or replacements for texts" and applies this notion to martyr images. In short, the image has its own authority.

[121] *Peristephanon* 9:9-12. Translation in Grigs, *Making Martyrs*, p. 114.

[122] *Peristephanon*, 9:17-20. Translation in Grigs, *Making Martyrs*, p. 114.

battling of the Muslim "persecutor." The manner in which this "persecutor" was represented may also add another lens through which to view the Durro frontal. The frontal involves not only a discourse on martyrdom and Christian victory through reconquest, but also a discourse on Christian views of the Muslim "persecutor."

CHAPTER FIVE
REPRESENTING "SARACENS" AND CREATING PARALLELS

Pagans are wrong, the Christian cause is right.

The Song of Roland[123]

The acerbic discourses of Eulogius and Alvarus regarding the nature of Islam and its Prophet may not have garnered wide acceptance from the contemporary Córdoban Christians, but the tenor of their language and the manner in which the arguments were constructed not only drew on past vilifications against Christian heretics, such as Arius, but also inspired future polemical treatises against what Christians considered the next in a long line of heresies.[124] By the twelfth century, perhaps inspired by the fall of Toledo in 1085 and other events, polemical texts in the same vein as those of Eulogius and Alvarus gained popularity and found wider acceptance.[125] While the representation of Muhammad as *pseudopropheta*, heresiarch, and Antichrist was a major contribution to the polemic against Islam, the assertion that the religion was a direct descendant of the pagan beliefs of the past assisted in connecting it to the persecuting Romans of the past. Although Muslims considered Christians and Jews as "peoples of the Book" according to the Qu'rân, Christians tended to represent the Prophet as one who had only used Christian teachings to achieve his own licentious aims. In the twelfth century, Muslims were characterized as idolaters in order to further their association with their pagan "ancestors." The placement of Islam in the continuum of heresies after that of Arius and before that of Antichrist gave ample justification for Christendom's fight against the

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[123] *Song of Roland*, line 1015.

[124] Eulogius directly likened Muhammad to Arius, thus opening up for himself a body of polemical material that he could adapt for his own writings. See, Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam in Early Medieval Iberia," in John Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), p. 97. Gerald of Wales likewise linked Muhammad to Arius. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1993), p. 210.

[125] According to Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 171, "It was the twelfth century that saw a real awakening of interest in Islam in the Latin world: polemical lives of Muhammad, in response to the successes of crusade and reconquista; celebrations of crusader victories over the idols of a supposed Saracen paganism; the translation and adaptation of the Mozarabic anti-Islamic polemical tradition into Latin."

religion.[126]   In contrast to the Córdoban Christians' argument that the "persecutors" were in fact

monotheists, whether or not Muslims were actually pagans seems to have made little difference until Peter

the Venerable of Cluny chose to refute the Muslim faith more along the lines of traditional anti-heretical

treatises such as those of Augustine or Jerome.[127]   The degree to which the Muslims, popularly referred to

as Saracens,[128] came to be associated with pagans is illustrated by the fact that the term Saracen, and even

the Spanish *moro*, was used not only to refer to the Muslims, but also to the pagans of antiquity.[129] By the

twelfth century the identification of Muslims with the pagans of classical antiquity was indeed strong. The

Lives of the Prophet, the *chansons de geste*, and the polemical treatises of the twelfth century all take up the

challenge of interpreting Islam as something to be opposed as anti-Christian. Writers increasingly drew on

primary Islamic sources in order to support their claims, especially in the polemical treatises treating Islam

as a heresy.[130]   While the polemical treatises focused more on preparing theological debates, often

regarding the Trinity,[131] with the object of opposing Islam in the form of conversion, the *chansons de geste*

and perhaps even the *Lives* of the Prophet had a more popular, amusing flavor.[132] In this chapter, I intend

to survey some of the ways in which Muslims were demonized as pagans and how their perceived

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[126] Islam is related to previous heresies according to the Cluniac *summula*. It is part of the continuum of heresies that gets progressively more offensive. See, Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 165.

[127] In other words, Peter chose to focus more fully on Islam as a monotheist heresy, thus denying that Islam was a pagan religion. See, John Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 155.

[128] I use the term "Saracen" here as a contemporary term for Muslims without specific ethnic boundaries. I follow the usage of Normal Daniel wherein Saracen means "a man who holds the same religion as Muhammad," but is more ethnically inclusive than "Arab." For Daniel's usage, see, Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 32-3. *Saraceni* is of biblical derivation from the Book of Genesis in Latin sources. It was thought that Muslims considered themselves to be descendants of Sarah, while Christians considered them descendants of Hagar. See, O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 15.

[129] According to John Tolan, the terms Saracen and pagan became interchangeable. For a detailed study, see, Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 126-134.

[130] One notable example is Peter the Venerable's request for the Qu'rân and other writings, such as the *Apology of al-Kindî*, the most oft-used Arab-Christian writing against Islam, to be translated into Latin after his visit to Iberia in the 1142-3. An additional example is Petrus Alfonsi, a Spanish Jew who converted to Islam in 1106, who supported the use of Eastern texts and Arabic science. Although Alfonsi is hostile to Islam (see, for example, his *Dialogue of a Christian and a Jew*), he attempts to deny Islam on a more objective basis and even allows that it is an option to a man without ties to a specific faith. For a brief discussion on Alfonsi's more rational approach in terms of larger discussions on Christian perceptions of Islam, see Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 35-6 and Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 154.

[131] For example, the author of the *Tathlîth al-wahdânîyah* ("Confessing the Threefold Nature of the Godhead") of 1120-1200 drew on the Hadîth with isnâd, Middle Eastern Christian theological and apologetic works in Arabic, and contemporary Latin theology to demonstrate the existence of the Trinity. Thomas E. Burman, "*Tathlîth al-wahdânîyah* and the Twelfth-Century Andalusian-Christian Approach to Islam," in Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, pp. 109-130.

[132] Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), p. 10, regards the polemical writings as harnessing a more official view while the *chansons de geste* embodied one that was more unofficial and fantastical.

inheritance from anti-Christian traditions may have led them to be represented as equivalent to the non-Christian persecutors of the past and "infidels," incorporating both textual and visual sources.

The *Istoria de Mahomet*, utilized by Eulogius in his denouncement of Islam, appears alongside another life of the Prophet, *Tultusceptru de libro domni Metobii*, in the eleventh-century Codex of Roda (Biblioteca de la Academia de Historia).[133] Both serve as early example of the *Lives* of the Prophet from which later authors were able to draw fodder for their polemic. While the *Istoria* is more extensive and focuses more on the Prophet's licentious intentions, the *Tultusceptru* acknowledges the revelatory nature of the teachings of Islam. The *Tultusceptru* begins with Bishop Osius's vision of an angel asking him to go out and speak to the satraps in Erribon who were straying from God. Being weak, Bishop Osius sent one of his monks, Ozim, to go speak the words of the angel. Arriving in Erribon, Ozim mistook an evil angel for the angel that appeared to the bishop and received instructions to change his name to Muhammad and tell the satraps, "Alla occuber alle occuber situ Leila citus est Mohamet razulille." Unknowingly, the monk had conjured demons every time he uttered "alle occuber" and thus abandoned God and lost the teachings the angel had bestowed on the Bishop. The *Tultusceptru*, unlike the *Istoria*, seems to emphasize the inadvertent error of Ozim/Muhammad that had, in effect, damned all who heard his teachings. According to the *Tultusceptru*, "And so what was to be a vessel of Christ became a vessel of Mammon to the perdition of his soul. And all who were converted to the error and all those who, through his persuasion, shall be, are numbered among the company of hell."[134] The *Tultusceptru* suggests that Islam is the "product of a corrupted revelation"[135] incited by the words of an evil angel. It comes as little surprise that this version of the life of the Prophet did not serve the needs of Eulogius, nor other polemicists, in terms of emphasizing the heretical intent of the Prophet. Furthermore, the *Tultusceptru* fails to bring out some of the most popular traits assigned to the Prophet, and likewise to all Muslims, in order to set Islam in contrast to Christianity.

The *Istoria* serves as a type that was to become more popular in later generations, especially the twelfth century. In brief, the *Istoria* focuses on the supposed characteristics of Islam on which polemicists

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[133] Latin and English copies of each story, from which I derive my summaries, are included in Wolf, "Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," pp. 89-102.

[134] *Tultusceptru de libro domni Metobii*, Wolf, "Earliest Latin Lives," p. 100.

[135] Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam," p. 102.

could focus, namely lust and violence. The *Istoria* views the *pseudoproheta*'s *pseudorevelation* as one inspired by his wish to justify his lust and subsequently his appropriation of the Zaynab, the wife of Zayd. According to the *Istoria*,

> And while he sweat in the great error of his prophecy, he lusted after the wife of a certain neighbor of his by the name of Zayd, and subjected her to his lust. Her husband, learning of the sin, shuddered and let her go to his prophet, whom he was not able to gainsay. In fact Muhammad noted it in his law as if from divine inspiration, saying: 'When that woman was displeasing in the eyes of Zayd, and he repudiated her, he gave her to his prophet in marriage, which is an example to the others and to future followers wanting to do it that it be not sinful.'[136]

Thus, in its supposed sexual wantonness, Islam was not only heretical, but also corrupting. Furthermore, Eulogius and Alvarus found that the Prophet's alteration of the Christian heaven to resemble a brothel was a further evidence of his sinful nature.[137]

Perhaps more troubling than lust, was the suggestion that Islam was inherently violent. In the *Istoria*, the fault of violence is exposed through the Prophet's order that his followers should take up the sword against their enemies: "He ordered his believers to take up arms on his behalf, and, as if with a new zeal of faith, he ordered them to cut down their adversaries with the sword."[138] Therefore, the Prophet, by legitimizing his own lust and violence through a *pseudorevelation*, damned his constituency by condoning sinful activities. Peter the Venerable thought the violence of the Muslims to be the most troubling aspect of the religion. The Cluniac Qu'rân comments on *sura* 88 ("For you are one who teaches, not one who coerces.") by noting, "So why do you teach that men are to be converted to your religion by the sword? Why do you subject men by force, like animals and beasts, and not by reasoning, like men."[139] Christians did not only see the violent threat of Islam in the teachings of the Prophet, but also in their swift conquest of Iberia. Although the conquest had less to do with military prowess or religious motivation than with the offering of attractive terms of surrender offered to gain territory,[140] Christian writers were later able to use the supposed violence of the religion as a contributor to the speed of conquest.[141] As suggested by Norman

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[136] *Istoria de Mahomet*, Wolf, "Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," pg. 98.

[137] Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam," p. 99.

[138] *Istoria de Mahomet*, Wolf, "Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad," p. 98.

[139] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 94.

[140] Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam," p. 90.

[141] This was certainly not the case in the early years following the conquest. The early chronicles of the conquest more or less ignore the religion of the conquerors. See, Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam," pp. 85-8.

Daniel, the *Lives* of the Prophet, whether from the ninth century or beyond, serves as a kind of "reverse hagiography" in which the main character is demoralized rather than lauded.[142]

What came out of these early *Lives* of the Prophet was more than just an amusing story about a violent and licentious "heretic". Eulogius and Alvarus's contributions, based in part these early sources, more firmly placed the Prophet and his teachings in the framework of a dangerous heresy threatening the Church. Alvarus was vehement in his articulation that Muhammad was Antichrist. In his *Indiculus luminosus* of 854, Alvarus not only defends the Córdoban martyrs, but also uses the books of Daniel and Job to position Muhammad as the Antichrist.[143] Alvarus claims that the eleventh horn of the fourth beast in Daniel 7 refers to Muhammad and that the eleventh king's lust for women describes the Prophet. Furthermore, the leviathan and behemoth of Job symbolize the Antichrist Muhammad and the persecution of the Christians. The sentiment that Muhammad held a special place in relation to the Antichrist was later reiterated by Peter the Venerable and the Cluniacs. The rejection of Christ's divinity was enough to prove Islam as a heresy and thus the religion became a part of the sequence of heresies leading up to the final one, that of Antichrist. According to the Cluniac *summula*, the Prophet was "regurgitating almost all the dregs of ancient heresies which, infected by the Devil, he had swallowed, with Sabellius he denied the Trinity, with his own Nestorius he rejected the divinity of Christ, with the Manicheans he disavowed the death of the Lord, although he did not deny His return to Heaven."[144] The *summula* also notes Arius's legacy in the Prophet by stating that the heretical ideas "first sown by Arius, and then advanced by this Satan, that is, Muhammad, would indeed be wholly completed by Antichrist, according to the diabolical intention", which is a sentiment mirrored in Robert Ketton's annotation for *sura* 76 of the Cluniac Qu'rân in which he comments, "in this man the Arian heresy lived again."[145]

The Saracens were not merely heretics in Christian eyes, but they were also pagans alongside those of classical antiquity. While Eulogius went to great lengths to establish that the Córdoban Muslims were persecutors on par with the Romans of the early years of the Church, others agreed by making no

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[142] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 272. Furthermore, according to Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 106-7, Muhammad's death was depicted as particularly horrible and grotesque to emphasize his unholiness in contrast with a saintly death.

[143] This particular aspect of Alvarus's *Indiculus luminosus* is discussed by Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam," pp. 98-9. Alvarus's life and writings are also discussed in Sage, *Paul Albar of Córdoba.*

[144] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 210.

[145] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 210.

clear attempt to highlight the differences between the two. Aimoin, a Frankish monk recording the translation of the relics of three Córdoban martyrs to Saint Germain de Prés for Charles the Bald, does not distinguish the Roman and Muslim persecutors. For Aimoin, the martyrs were merely victims of "pagan persecution" and served as apt substitutes for early Christian martyrs.[146] The differences between the pagans of old and the Muslim "pagans" were of little concern. In fact, the entourage had originally traveled to Iberia to find relics of St. Vincent of Saragossa, but brought back the relics of the Córdoban martyrs as substitutes. While the relics produced no miracles in Iberia, they began to produce miracles upon entering Gaul.[147]

The Saracen persecutors take on a more classical flare with other hagiographers. Around the year 1000, a Frankish nun, Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, wrote the *Acts* of the Córdoban martyr Pelagius in a manner that attempt to parallel the *passiones* of the early Christian martyrs.[148] In her *Passio Thiemonis*, Hrotsvitha speaks of the attempted seduction of Pelagius by Abd al-Rahman III. Pelagius rejects the king and is warned of his blasphemy.[149] The king attempts to kiss the boy and the boy responds by slapping him. For this offense, Pelagius is flung over the city wall but remains unharmed. He undergoes other tortures, but remains unscathed. At last he is beheaded and ordered to be burned, but his severed head proclaims that God will not allow his body to burn. The story undoubtedly follows the framework of the *Acts* of the early Christian martyrs, but in place of the Roman governor, the Muslim king appears. In fact, the story seems to bear some resemblance to the story of Quiricus as told by Bishop Theodore of Iconium and included in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[150] The governor Alexander attempts to befriend the young Quiricus only

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[146] In his discussion of Aimoin's description, Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 100-2, regards the treating of the translation as equivalent to those of the early Christian martyrs and the failure to distinguish between the two types of persecutors as evidence of their equivalence.

[147] Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 100-2.

[148] See John Tolan's discussion of Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim in *Saracens*, pp. 106-9. Included is a short summary of the *passione* from which I have drawn mine. Tolan notes not only the use of the imagined paganism of the Saracens to justify resistance, but also that Hrotsvitha was the first Latin author to use the misconception in such a dramatic manner.

[149] Pelagius's response:
"It is not proper for a man purified through baptism in Christ
To bow down his unsullied neck to a barbarous love,
Nor for a Christian anointed with holy oil
To be captured by the kiss of the Demon's filthy associate.
Therefore embrace licitly the stupid men
Insane and rich, who frolic with you on the lawn;
Let the slaves which are your idols be your friends."
The excerpt appears in Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 106-7.

[150] This is not to say that the two stories are related in any direct manner. See Chapter One: Saints Quiricus and Julitta.

to be rejected by the child. After the governor's repeated attempts, the child responds by scratching at Alexander's face. For this violent response, Quiricus is thrown against the steps of the tribunal. In this version, Quiricus is martyred by the blow, but in others he undergoes tortures without being harmed until his final beheading. Returning to Hrotsvitha's *passio*, the Roman governor is replaced by the homosexual king, whose licentious behavior is a product of the demons with whom he consorts due to his religion. His behavior is also indicative of the belief in the loose sexual mores of Muslims in general as discussed above. Furthermore, the king's assertion that Pelagius must beware of blaspheming his "idols"[151] also suggests the practice of idolatry, the ultimate foil to Christian loyalty in the early Christian *passiones*. Thus, the rejection of the pagan idols by the early Christian martyrs is combined with the blasphemy against Islam of the Córdoban martyrs in Hrotsvitha's account of Pelagius's martyrdom.

The assertion of the Saracen's "paganism" is more popularly furthered in the *chansons de geste* of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.[152] The *chansons* not only elaborate upon the idolatry of the Saracens, but also accentuate their lusty and violent natures.[153] The Saracens' idolatry is overtly displayed, and according to Norman Daniel, the creators of the convention "intended to portray a pagan religion; but it seems that they did not know how to do so, having retained from the past no idea at all what paganism is like."[154] Despite the fact that Muslims are monotheists, the *chansons* typically give them a group of gods to worship including Cahu, Apollo, Tervagant, and Muhammad himself. In highlighting the mythical paganism of the Saracens and their violent behavior towards Christians, the *chansons* try to justify the Christian soldiers treatment of the "pagans". In the *chansons* concerning Guillaume d'Orange, the hero justifies his killing of the "pagans" by suggesting that they hate God and charity and he, by destroying them, is working in the service of God.[155] In *Aliscans*, Baron Guillaume recognizes his need to fight, not only for the love of Lady Guiborc, but also for the honor of God:

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[151] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.107.

[152] The *chansons de geste* are poems of heroic deeds generally concerning the battles against the Saracens led by Charlemagne, his son Louis, or even Charles Martel.

[153] This is not to say that the *chansons* unequivocally portray the Saracens as condemnable. In the *chansons*, Saracens are often monstrous with great strength and size, but they are also sometimes handsome and even blond. Moral virtues were also attributed to them as well. In fact, Saladin was praised for his clemency. See, Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, pp. 173, 188.

[154] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 136.

[155] *Guillaume d'Orange: Four Twelfth-Century Epics,* edited and translated by Joan M. Farrante (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 26.

> "God," says the count, "now I will prove myself!
> But, by Him, who holds all in His keeping,
> I will not stop, if my head is cut off,
> if I must be cut apart while I live,
> without fighting them now in front of her.
> For her love, I must endanger myself;
> in order to exalt and lift high God's law,
> I must endure pain and toil with my body."
> He laces his helmet and lets the horse go,
> as fast as he can race under him,
> he rides to meet and attack the pagans.
> In the shield of the first he makes a hole
> and tears his hauberk and rips off the edge;
> he thrusts iron and wood right through his body,
> the standard comes out on the other side.
> He throws him over, dead, his legs in the air.
> Then he draws the sword that he took from a Slav
> and sends the head of a pagan flying;
> he cuts deep into another's brain,
> and then he knocks a third over dead
> and strikes the fourth so he has no time to speak.
> Pagans see him, they can't help fearing him;[156]

In addition to the emphasis on his motive for fighting, the preceding selection also graphically retells the fervor with which Guillaume overcomes his enemies. He does not even wait for his enemy to speak, but strikes him down in order to "exalt and lift high God's law." While Norman Daniel asserts that the absurdity of the Saracen religion as depicted in the *chansons* served to amuse, since Islamic beliefs, in part due to their similarity to Christianity, were not sufficiently exotic,[157] the belief in Islam's pagan heritage was altogether serious although as time passed the representation of these pagan beliefs became increasingly fantastic. The inventive nature of the poet's work allowed for over thirty gods to be attributed to the Saracens in the sum of all of the literature.[158]

The Bible also held an answer to the heritage of the Saracens. In Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the author suggests that the Saracens are descendants of Hagar, the Egyptian wife of Abraham.[159] While the Jews were traditionally held to have descended from Hagar and Abraham's son, Ishmael, the Saracens were believed to be his literal descendants.[160] As Ishmael was a wild man living outside the Covenant, so

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[156] *Aliscans*, lines 1681-1702 as translated in Farrante, *Guillaume d'Orange*, pp. 213-4.

[157] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, pp. 121-3.

[158] Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 32. Eventually readers came to know that Islam was strictly monotheist, but early on the equation of Saracens with paganism was the result of Christian views of a non-Christian belief taking on a traditional hue of what it meant to be non-Christian. In short, being non-Christian was equated with being pagan, at least in the *chansons*. While the assertion of Saracens' paganism was originally thought to be true, in later generations the absurd pagan beliefs as described in the *chansons* were known to be fantastical.

[159] Hagar's immodesty is also related to the belief that Saracen women were sexually immoral.

[160] Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 16-8. The view is originally based on Paul's allegory on Genesis in Galatians 4 in which Hagar and Ishmael are the Old Covenant.

too were the Saracens seen in opposition to Christian life, prefigured by Isaac. As Isaac and Ishmael are seen as foils, so too do Christianity and Islam serve as two opposing forces. Bede's description of the heritage of the Saracens brought the discussion to the realm of Biblical exegesis, defying the Muslim tradition in which Ishmael was the son who traveled with Abraham to Mt. Moriah.[161] In his discussion of the south tympanum at the Collegiate Church of San Isidoro in León dated to the early twelfth century (Figure 19), John Williams uses the exegetical belief in the Saracens heritage from Ishmael to regard the sculpture as a social message to affirm Christian's faith in the Reconquest.[162] Williams suggests that the symbolic parallelism along the horizontal axis, with Ishmael and Hagar on the left and Sarah and Isaac on the right, creates a opposition of Old and New Covenant, respectively. By incorporating the historical interpretation of Paul's allegory as passed down through Josephus and subsequently Isidore of Seville,[163] the tympanum likewise connects the exegesis to contemporary history. The opposing sides are divided by Abraham's sacrifice of the lamb and the Agnus Dei, thus suggesting the triumph of the New Covenant and, following from that, the coming triumph of Christendom in Iberia. Certain other visual aspects draw the viewer to conclude that Ishmael and Hagar are connected to the Saracens. In a demonstration of her questionable morals, Hagar lifts her skirt, while Ishmael is depicted wearing a turban (Figure 20).[164]

The Saracen rejection of the New Covenant, and thus opposition to Christianity, often came through in the literary and visual depictions by emphasizing their idolatry. As discussed above, the *chansons de geste* uniformly represent the Saracens as idolaters. The *Song of Roland* provides the Saracens with three gods: Tervagant, Mahomet, and Apollo. Although the Saracens are indeed given a book of scripture, the teachings are attributed to numerous gods:

> A book was brought by King Marsile's command:
> Laws of Mohammed and Tervagant, his gods.
> On this he swore, the Spanish Saracen,
> If he found Roland was named to the rear-guard,

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[161] For a brief discussion of this point and its relationship to the tympanum sculpture at the Collegiate Church of San Isidoro, León, see John Williams, "Generationes Abrahae: Reconquest Iconography in Iberia," *Gesta* 16, no. 2 (1977), pp. 3-14. The tympanum is also discussed with respect to the Genesis episode in Ruth Bartal, "The Image of the Saracen in Romanesque Sculpture: Literary and Visual Perceptions," *Assaph* 8 (2003), pp. 85-102.

[162] Regarding the tympanum, Williams, "Generationes Abrahae," p. 10, states, "Thus a new expression of Christian triumph was fashioned out of visual and exegetical traditions. The tympanum affirmed for Christians in the capital of the Reconquest the righteousness of their crusade and assured ultimate victory."

[163] Josephus traced the heritage of the Saracens to Ishmael. See, Williams, "Generatione Abrahae," p. 7.

[164] For a discussion of these aspects, see Williams, "Generatione Abrahae," p. 8.

He would attack with all his pagan knights,
And do his utmost to see the Frenchman die.[165]

The Saracens erroneous beliefs are further emphasized in their gods' failure to protect them in battle. In an episode in which King Marsile had just been forced to flee a battle with Charlemagne's men, he returns to Saragossa with his hand severed and his men blame their idols:

Now they attack Apollo in his crypt,
Reviling him, disfiguring his form:
"Why, evil god, have you brought us to shame?
Why have you suffered the downfall of our King?
For faithful service you give a poor reward!"
Then they take off his scepter and his crown,
And to a column they tie him by the hands;
They knock him down, stamping him with their feet,
And with great clubs they smash him into bits.
They take the ruby away from Tervagant,
And then Mohammed they thrust into a ditch
Where he'll be trampled and gnawed by dogs and pigs.[166]

The men's destruction of their idols is all the more set in opposition to the virtuous Christian beliefs of Charlemagne and his men in its placement directly after Charlemagne's visions of the coming battle bestowed upon him by the angel Gabriel.[167] Furthermore, the placing of the idol of Mohammed in a ditch to be viciously eaten by dogs and pigs resonates with the *Lives* of the Prophet that had regained popularity by the twelfth century. Most significant is that the Saracens' paganism is set in direct contrast to the Franks' Christianity. Although the Muslims were strictly monotheist, the *chansons* have appropriated the traditional non-Christian prototype: idolatrous paganism. This is not to say that the Saracens were never equated with Jews, as they were often considered in the same terms. Nonetheless, the parallel with the paganism of classical antiquity allowed for Christians to more easily justify their outward offensive against the Saracens. The Christian opposition could be based on their continuing struggle against paganism and heresy that had been brutally made evident in the Roman persecutions of late antiquity. While it was not so clear that Islam could be seen as so diametrically opposed to Christianity, paganism had proven its antagonism in the early years of the Church.

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[165] *Song of Roland*, lines 610-615.

[166] *Song of Roland*, lines 2580-2591.

[167] *Song of Roland*, lines 2525-2569.

Saracen idolatry was sometimes visually expressed. Two thirteenth-century examples, the *Hereford Map*, 1290, (Figure 21) and William of Tyre's *Estoire d'Eracles*, 1295, (Figure 22),[168] depict the worshipping of idols. While the *Hereford Map* illustrates a man, labeled as a Jew, worshipping an idol in the form of a little dark beast defecating coins, the idol itself is labeled *Mahum*, a name used to designate the Prophet.[169] More direct is fol. 1 from the *Estoire d'Eracles* in which Pope Urban II is depicted preaching the First Crusade. The lower register contains an opposition of scenes; to the left is a Chrisitian praying at the Holy Sepulcher and to the right is a group of Saracens worshipping an idol.[170] The juxtaposition of the preaching of a crusade with the idolatry of the Saracens reiterates the use of the pagan prototype to justify war as is literarily expressed in the *chansons*. This proclivity for war did not altogether inhibit the possibility of conversion. The pagan Saracen, sometimes depicted with dark skin to symbolize his evil nature,[171] can be converted to Christianity through baptism. An illustration in the thirteenth-century *Vidal Mayor* (Figure 23), the Aragonese law code, represents the baptism of a Muslim by a priest and accompanied by his godparents.[172] The Muslim's skin is dark, set in stark contrast with the light skin of his Christian godparents and priest. While his dark skin represents his "spiritual impurity," the suggestion is that the spiritual change he undergoes through baptism will wash away these impurities. Despite conversion, the fear of idolatry was not necessarily subverted. An illustration from Gautíer de Coíncí's thirteenth-century *Miracles de Notre Dame*, displays a converted Muslim kneeling before an image of the Virgin and Child (Figure 24).[173] While the image of the kneeling converted Muslim may not have been intended as a commentary on the fears of Muslim idolatry, the familiar pose cannot help but to resonate

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[168] William of Tyre, *Estoire d'Eracles*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 137.

[169] Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 166.

[170] Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 167.

[171] It has been suggested that Saracens depicted with dark skin are related to similar depictions of Ethiopians. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 173, asserts that the "Saracen/Ethiopian hybrids" represent "the extent to which a common pejorative visual vocabulary is applied across different enemy types." The use of dark skin in such a way is not a convention unique to the twelfth century. As Dorothy Verkerk, "Black Servant, Black Demon: Color Ideology in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 57-77, has suggested of the black figures of the illustration for the *Slaying of the Firstborn* in the sixth-century *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Paris, Biblíothèque Natíonale, M.S. nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol, 65v), the exotic black servant of the Roman world becomes the sinful black Egyptian when contextualized with the writings of the patristic fathers. The writings use binarisms of light and dark and white and black in order to differentiate between spiritual purity and impurity. In short, skin color became "indicative of interior spiritual state."

[172] *Vidal Mayor*, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ludwig XIV 6, f. 242v.

[173] Gautíer de Coíncí, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, Biblíothèque Natíonale, M.S. fr. 1533, fol. 100v.

with images of Muslims worshipping idols. Perhaps such an image, not in intent, but in form, reiterates that converted Muslims, like Jews, should be looked on with suspicion.[174]

The derogatory representation of Saracens suggests that images played a role in the polemic against Islam. While foul features may have followed conventions for imagining the monstrous races, the depiction of idolatry was the most effective means of equating the Saracens with the pagans of classical antiquity, despite the fact that they were not idolaters. In both literary and visual sources the Saracens were considered as heretics and idolaters in order to set them in opposition to Christian virtue. The means of representation, whether through strange features, idolatrous poses, or a demoralizing account of the life of the Prophet, constituted a "code of rejection"[175] wherein the Saracens stood for a general non-Christian entity. Placing the Saracens within the scope of the history of heresy leading up to the coming of Antichrist allowed Christians to more readily oppose them. In the ninth century, Eulogius and Alvarus had transformed the Saracens into persecutors on par with those of late antiquity. By the twelfth century, in no small part due to the fervor of crusade, the Saracens were closely connected to paganism and seen as direct descendants of the pagan persecutors of the past. Although the reality of persecution may have been questionable, the ideological basis for considering the Saracens in such a way had been present at least since the time of Eulogius. The misconceived heritage and beliefs of the Saracens allowed them to be equated with the Roman persecutors of the past and, in the scheme of providential history, they could be considered by contemporary Christians to be the last great adversary prior to the arrival of Antichrist. In the crusading spirit of the time, the characterization of the Saracens as idolaters was another facet of their imaginary character that helped to place them in the position to be considered Christendom's greatest threat.

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[174] Strickland's reading of the image proposes that the image shows a double uneasiness: the uneasiness regarding converted Muslims and idolatry and the uneasiness of the use of images even in a Christian context. According to Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 168, "This image of a virgin-worshipping Saracen raises the thorny issue of how to distinguish between an idol and an icon, a problem never satisfactorily resolved by the [Western] Church. And given their supposed idol-worshipping tendencies, the image perhaps also suggests that like converted Jews, converted Muslims are to be regarded with suspicion…the positioning of the Muslim in the familiar pose of idol-worship reinforces the Saracen's image as idolater and probably also expresses a certain uneasiness concerning the function of images in a *Christian* context."

[175] Here I use Strickland's phrase to convey the manner in which negative ideas about non-Christians were expressed. See, Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 241-2.

CHAPTER SIX
CONTEXTUALIZING THE ANTEPENDIUM

Saints, "Saracens", and the Reconquest: Reading the Antependium in Context

The multivalent interpretation of the antependium of Durro representing Saints Quiricus and Julitta is bound by a dialogue between the past and the present. The image of the martyr-saints alongside their persecutors begs the question of not only why these saints are represented, but also what their significance is for twelfth-century Catalonia. The preceding chapters have attempted to present a vision of the cultural economy of the time, including the ways in which history and ideologies of martyrdom and "paganism" work together to incorporate contemporary needs into the collective memories of the past. Despite the suggestion that the artist of the panel was an "unaccomplished" painter, when considered in terms of the discourses on martyrdom and Islam present in Iberia contemporary to its execution, the "lowly" painter begins to reveal his sophistication. In terms of composition, the artist has emphasized symmetry and balance. When this emphasis of symmetry and balance is combined with subject matter and contemporary cultural considerations, the panel emerges as a fitting historical document of how twelfth-century Iberian Christians may have regarded the newly re-imagined Reconquest and their place within the scheme of Christian history.

On a level that exists free from the restraints of time and place, the image of Saints Quiricus and Julitta stands as a generic type of *imitatio Christi*, wherein the martyrs have achieved their heavenly reward. The representation of the saints and their tortures brings to mind Christ's own suffering, compelling the viewer to follow His pattern. The suffering of the saints mirrors the suffering of Christ and their presence on an altar panel reiterates Christ's sacrifice of blood that is now being offered for the salvation of the faithful. The viewer is also reminded that the martyrs, having sacrificed themselves as Christ once did, have attained their due reward and heaven and are now available to assist the living to achieve salvation. The martyrs, in their *imitatio Christi*, inspire *imitatio martyris* in the pious. The martyrs sit in the central compartment disguised as the Virgin and Child undoubtedly referencing not only the triumph of their automatic admittance to heaven, but also their similarities to the Virgin and Christ. As the

Virgin stood as witness to the sacrifice of her Son, so too did Julitta witness the martyrdom of young Quiricus. Although in the early *Acts* of the saints, Julitta was tortured, in the more vicious versions Quiricus's suffering is emphasized. The same is true of the Durro antependium on which Quiricus is the primary target of the persecutors' advances. Quiricus is also depicted as a young man, differing from the stories in which he is but a toddler, in order to emphasize his similarity to Christ. In the scenes of torture, Quiricus is an imitator of Christ either gazing outward at the viewer to denote his intercessory role or looking up to the heavens, piously awaiting his "perfection." In the central compartment Quiricus is the Christ child peering up at his mother while gesturing to his own tortures at their right. Julitta, as the Virgin Enthroned, gazes out at the viewer to offer intercession, an ability gained through her martyrdom. She holds a scepter, a common Marian attribute, in order to not only reiterate her similarity to the Virgin, but to also connect her to contemporary Iberian Christian ruling families. Julitta is the triumphal Virgin, "perfected" martyr, and the hopeful personification of victorious Iberian Christendom over the non-Christian "enemy." The presence of the notion of *imitatio Christi* in the panel, while significant, does not go far enough in explaining the antependium's overall meaning.

The history of twelfth-century Iberia, its closer ties to the papacy, and its position within crusading ideology open up a new realm of inquiry with regard to the antependium. The early twelfth century represented a time of transition, wherein the borders of Christian-dominated territory were in constant flux with that of the Islamic south. This continued ebb-and-flow created a tension, present in both the Christian north and the Islamic south, underscored by the perceived threat of conversion. Not only did Christians fear their assimilation into Islamic culture, but the Islamic population had similar worries about being subsumed by the dominant northern Christian culture that was quickly advancing southward.[176] The threat of conversion, whether genuine or not, and the dawning of the Crusades in the east inspired the northern Christian kingdoms to begin to look at their own situation in largely religious terms. This marked a shift in Reconquest ideology, from primarily territorial to outwardly religious in nature. Produced in Urgell, and subsequently placed in the hermitage of Sant Quirc in the county of Ribagorza, the antependium existed in

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[176] After the fall of Toledo in 1085 and the progressively greater influence of Cluny in the Christian north, some in the Islamic south became increasingly more nervous about the threat of apostasy. See Hanna E. Kassis, "Roots of Conflict: Aspects of Christian-Muslim Confrontation in Eleventh-Century Spain," in Gervers and Bikhazi, eds., *Conversion and Continuity*, pp. 151-60.

a context well acquainted with the Reconquest and the new crusading ideology.[177]   Visigothic territory would be regained, but now this territorial battle was infused with a religious fervor inspired by a polemic proclaiming the heretical nature of Islam and its followers. It was in this context of increased fear and intolerance that the Durro antependium was produced and it is to this context that the work must be married.

Thus, a panel depicting a couple of early Christian martyrs from a small hermitage that bears their names becomes something more meaningful. The remembrance of early Christian persecution resonates within the panel's darkly stained borders. Yet that memory is infused with discourses of martyrdom, in Iberia and elsewhere, that tint the meaning of the representation of the martyr. On one level, the image of the martyrs serves as a window into the past, reawakening their *Acts*, just as the image of St. Cassian of Imola brought the event to life before Prudentius's eyes. The image, therefore, represents the story of the hermitage's titular saints, perpetually retold on the surface of the panel. The image of the martyrs also demonstrates their position as martyrial prototypes on which subsequent discourses of martyrdom are based. In ninth-century Córdoba, this prototype was challenged by the voluntary martyrs. Likening the martyrs to the Roman prototype was necessary in order to legitimize their actions in the eyes of the Mozarabic Christians. More significant was the need to justify the martyrs' actions by convincing those unsympathetic to their cause that there was indeed a situation of persecution perpetrated by the Umayyad administration. Following the Roman paradigm, the presence of persecution was questionable, thus forcing polemicists, such as Eulogius and Alvarus, to demoralize the Islamic community and create a discourse in which the "heretical" beliefs of the Muslims might seem to be antagonistic to the Christian community. Therefore, the image of the early Christian martyr was invoked in ninth-century Córdoba and subsequently augmented so that it might cast the voluntary martyrs and the Islamic community in the roles of martyr and persecutor, respectively. Nevertheless, it still remains unanswered what significance the panel itself may have when contextualized in terms of martyrdom and perceptions of Islam.

As discussed in chapter four, the collective memory of martyrdom would not only bring forward the early Christian past, but become altered with each generation. As the paradigm became infused with

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[177] Until 1134, Alfonso I "Batallador," the pious Aragonese ruler who donated his territory to military orders in the east, controlled Ribagorza, which was part of the suffragan see of Urgell and under the archiepiscopal see of Tarragona from 1117. Furthermore, the leadership of the county of Urgell, such as Count Armengol III who helped to capture Barbastro in 1064, actively participated in the Reconquest from an early date.

the new notions of what constituted persecution and who played the roles of martyr and persecutor, new types of martyrs could be accorded similar status to those of late antiquity. While the martyrdoms of Córdoba occurred nearly two hundred years before the fall of the caliphate, the precedent set by Eulogius and Alvarus prefigured the polemic to come in the twelfth-century. In Eulogius' own time, the relics of the Córdoban martyrs would be accorded equivalent status to the fourth-century martyrs by the envoys of Charles the Bald. At the turn of the millennium, Hrotsvitha made no distinction between the Roman and Islamic "persecutors" and clothed her *Passio Thiemonis* in the garb of an early martyr's *passio*. By the twelfth-century, the Muslims were commonly represented as heretics and idolaters, thus playing the role of Christendom's adversary. Therefore the image of the martyr would bring with it not only the story of the early Christian martyrs, but also the discourses of similar to those that had come out of ninth-century Córdoba. The roles of martyr and persecutor could be modernized in order create meaning in the twelfth-century present. The image of Saints Quiricus and Julitta is multilayered. On one level, the saints are bringing the past to the present. On another level, they are accompanied by reinvented notions of martyrdom that had become part of its collective memory. On a third level, the saints create meaning in the twelfth-century present by allowing contemporary Christians to see something of the past, namely early Christian history, in terms of the Reconquest. A powerful juxtaposition occurs on the surface of the panel; the martyrs serve as a general prototype for the persecuted Christian, while the persecutors flanking each torture scene equate the Roman with the Muslim perpetrator.

The equation of Muslim with Roman was not only conceptual, but also visual. As discussed in chapter five, the "Saracens" were popularly characterized as idolatrous both to generally set them in opposition to Christianity and also to more closely align them with the historical enemies of Christendom, the Roman pagans. In each scene of torture on the antependium, the victim is flanked by two persecutors. Each persecutor bears a different physiognomy, but retains an almost identical pose to the other in the scene. This mirroring of action neutralizes the distinct physiognomies to make the persecutors equivalent in their ability to harm. On a very basic level, the paralleling of bearded and beardless persecutor may signify a juxtaposition of ways of representing each cultural group. For example, members of the Islamic community were often represented with dark beards and hair, although at times they were also depicted

with blond hair.[178] The consistent juxtaposition of the two types, bearded and beardless, may imply a conscious paralleling of physically distinct forms. Although each torturer is physically distinct and separated by several hundred years, the suggestion is that they are somehow equal in character. When the discursive background is united with this visual juxtaposition, the boundaries of past and present begin to break down. The bringing together of Roman and Muslim under the umbrella of paganism equates them not only in terms of their supposed idolatry, but also in terms of their ability to react to Christianity's refusal to accept those beliefs. The suggestion that Muslims were somehow like the Romans of the era of persecution is present in the rhetoric, literature, and as evidenced by the antependium, the visual culture of twelfth-century Iberia. Just as Julitta and Quiricus refused to accept the Roman idols, so too do they arrive in twelfth-century Iberia to once again reject the mythical idols of the Muslim "persecutor."

The paralleling of Roman and Muslim "persecutors" is only one example of the ways in which symmetry and juxtaposition create meaning on the panel. As mentioned in chapter two, the use of large blocks of color guides the movement of the eye from scene to scene and creates visual stability. The most striking use of symmetry is within each individual torture scene. As previously noted, each torturer stands in near mirror symmetry. This symmetry, in effect, creates a frame around the central figure, thus focusing attention on the suffering of the martyr. The martyr, while being tortured, stands calmly, accepting his fate. This calm countenance is juxtaposed with the twisted poses of the torturers. When compared to the quiet stillness of the saints, the torturers seem all the more monstrous. The monstrosity of the torturers and the violence in which they partake also relates to twelfth-century polemic against the Islamic community. Muslims were often represented with monstrous features and, as noted above, were criticized for what polemicists considered an intrinsic characteristic of their religion: violence. The twisted poses of each torturer framing the calm stance of the martyr emphasize this criticism.

The central mandorla containing Julitta and Quiricus connects the past with hope for the future. The presence of the titular saints brings to life the story of their martyrdom. Their resemblance to the Virgin and Child reiterates their heavenly reward. Combined with the subtle mixing of past and present in the surrounding scenes of torture, the enthroned vision of the early Christian saints suggests a meaning that

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[178] Saracens are usually depicted with dark features, although at time the *chansons de geste* describe them as blond and handsome. See, Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, p. 173.

exists outside of the constraints of time. While the saints in a traditional pose of the Virgin and Child reiterates their similarity and likewise their *imitatio Christi*, they also remind the viewer of his potential salvation. The pious Christian can follow their lead as faithful soldiers and attain the same heavenly reward. Perhaps more significant is the double meaning of the scepter in Julitta's grasp. While the *fleur-de-lis* scepter is undoubtedly a Marian attribute, it also doubles as a marker of the imperial families of northern Iberia, who at this time were focused heavily on the Reconquest. Seemingly emerging from the center of the panel against the backdrop of suffering, Julitta and Quiricus personify Christian victory and the dawning of Christian rule on the Iberian peninsula.

The antependium is an image bound by and born in the rhetoric of the Reconquest. The stories of the early Christian saints, as Castelli notes, are "transmitted, repackaged, and deployed into new situations, making meaning as they go."[179] Castelli's understanding of the memory of martyrdom holds true on the surface of the panel. The early Christian martyrs are re-contextualized according to the needs of twelfth-century Christian Iberia in order to create new meaning for contemporary Christians. The panel is at once a gruesome spectacle of suffering and an image of hope. Nonetheless, it is an image of hope informed not only by the past, but also by extreme misconceptions. The images of torture connect the present to the past in part by equating the Roman and Muslim "persecutors" and the early Christian and contemporary martyr. Therefore, although the tortures supposedly occurred in the fourth century, through the panel they represent persecution by a new "enemy" of the Church, the Islamic community. The ever-increasing attempts to connect Islam and its followers not only to past heresies, but also to ancient pagan beliefs underscores this reading. Thus, the images of torture modernize the early Christian story and directly apply it to the contemporary polemic. A simple message emerges, one that is reiterated again and again in the *Song of Roland*: "Pagans are wrong, the Christian cause is right."[180] In essence, by equating the Islamic community to the Romans of the era of persecution, the imagery of the panel partakes in a now common polemic whose goal is largely to paint the Islamic community as one to be fought. By combining the notions of *imitatio Christi/imitatio martyris* with the contemporary polemic, a striking suggestion materializes: Like the faithful martyrs of the early years of the Church stood up against the Roman

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[179] Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, p. 173.

[180] *Song of Roland*, line 1015.

idolaters, contemporary Christians should also be prepared, like Tertullian's soldiers, to serve as witnesses to their Faith against the Muslim "idolaters." Intermingled with this message is the fact that martyrdom had indeed changed shape since the fourth century. Instead of awaiting one's opportunity for martyrdom, the Christian might now actively participate as a true soldier in the battle against the persecutor. Overlying this tortuous backdrop, there is an image of hope and salvation. The enthroned Julitta and Quiricus represent not only the martyr's heavenly reward, but also a subtle confidence that Christendom will emerge victorious from the struggle. Holding the *fleur-de-lis* scepter, Julitta appears as a triumphal queen bringing with her the dominance of Christendom over the Iberian peninsula.

Such hope for the future was expressed by visual representations other than the antependium of Durro.[181] The south tympanum of Saint Isidore at León, as briefly discussed in chapter five, also expresses Christian victory. The opposition between the Old Covenant and the New, visual expressed by the juxtaposition of Ishmael and Isaac, reiterates the perceived position of the Islamic community within the scheme of Christian history. The central position of the sacrifice of the Lamb and the Agnus Dei signifies Christian triumph, thus affirming Christian faith in the Reconquest. The west tympanum of San Pelayo de Mena (Figure 25), near Santa Cruz, can also be said the represent Christian victory.[182] The left side of the tympanum displays a man attacking a lion, while the right side displays a lion attacking a man. Four prisoners stand between the two altercations while a group of angels reside above. The lintel inscription below the scene reads: EGO SUM PELAGIUS CORDUBA. Bartal asserts that the scene does not specifically refer to Pelagius's martyrdom, but that the inscription refers to the church itself. The scholar also recognizes the man attacking the lion as Samson while the lion attacking the man as the conquering lion. Therefore, the two scenes, inversely constructed, are both images of triumph. The captives in-between, Bartal suggests, are Saracen captives as denoted by their physical characteristics, such as beards and headgear. The defeated enemy here stands in-between two images of Christian victory.

Christian triumph over the "Saracens" is presented in varied ways in all of the previous examples. The manner in which Christians were constructing Reconquest iconography was fluid and open. What is

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[181] As noted previously, John Williams relates the iconography of the Saint Isidore south tympanum to Reconquest iconography in "Generationes Abrahae." Ruth Bartal, "Image of the Saracen," likewise relates a number of contemporary Iberian tympana to anti-Islamic polemic, thus reading them as expressing a Christian triumph. For a survey of multiple example of Reconquest iconography in Castile, see Luciano Huidobró, "The Art of the Reconquest in Castile (Valle de Mena)," *The Art Bulletin* 13, n. 2 (June 1931), pp. 160-176.

[182] On the victorious aspect of this tympanum, see Bartal, "Image of the Saracen," pp. 90-1.

certain is that the perceptions underlying the triumphal representations were built on many generations of anti-Islamic polemic that allowed for the Saracen to be placed in a position to become an acceptable adversary to Christendom. Likewise, images incorporating martyrdom into this triumphal paradigm contain nuances of the collective memory of martyrdom wherein the roles of martyr and persecutor have been recast over and over again to suit the needs of the generation by whom their stories are heard. The Durro antependium, like the Romanesque tympana, incorporates generations of Christian perceptions of Islam into its painted surface. A scene that might initially seem to be an austere account of the *Acts* of Saints Quiricus and Julitta is transformed into a multivalent image containing nuances of *imitatio Christi*, Christian faith and salvation, martyrial discourse, perceptions of Islam, and Reconquest ideology. The martyrs are invoked as prototypes, as they were invoked in ninth-century Córdoba, for faithful Christians to follow. Whether Christians saw within the panel a call to actively battle or rather an appeal to retain their faith, they were able to recognize their own place in Christian history. Like the early Christian martyrs, twelfth-century Iberian Christians would triumph over adversity even if the adversary was, in reality, mythical and non-existent.

The Legacy of the Antependium

The antependia of twelfth- and thirteenth- century Catalonia had a profound effect of the production of the painted *retablos* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[183] The immediate precursors to the painted *retablos* were the comparatively simplistic antependia. While the antependium resided on the altar's front, a change in liturgy necessitated the decorated panel to now be placed behind the altar.[184] Perhaps more significant than the actual placement of the *retablo* was its iconography. Just as the Durro antependium expressed an anti-Islamic polemic, so too did some of the *retablos* function as a type of religious propaganda. Even in the waning centuries of the Reconquest, there was still a relatively large non-Christian presence and the tension caused by this presence can still be seen in the contemporary *retablos*.

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[183] An extensive survey of the *retablo* can be found in Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989).

[184] Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, pp. 4-5.

As noted by Sobré, the militant anti-Islamic sentiment often permeated the decoration of the *retablos*, particularly those containing scenes of martyrdom within their narratives.[185] In fact, Muslims appear as the non-Christian persecutors in most *retablo* martyrdom scenes and can be easily identified by their beards, turbans, and robes. Two notable examples of this convention are Tomás Giner's *Retable of Saint Vincent*, 1465-80 (Figure 26) and Bartolomé Bermejo's *Flagellation of Saint Engracia*, 1468-95 (Figure 27). On the *Retable of Saint Vincent*, the titular saint is seen standing atop his defeated enemy, the Roman consul Dacian appearing in the guise of a Muslim man. Something of the monstrous also comes through in this representation of a Muslim. The man's large, porcine nose and full, parted lips give him an animalistic appearance, a characterization that is unsurprising considering the history of negative representation of the Islamic community. Here, the Muslim is equated not only with the Romans, but also with a monstrous animal. More violently conceived is Bermejo's *Flagellation of Saint Engracia* in which the martyr is shown being whipped in the presence of Dacian, again in the guise of a Muslim. Similar to Giner's *Saint Vincent*, Bermejo's *Saint Engracia* places a Muslim in the place of a Roman persecutor, but Bermejo, rather than emphasizing the man's monstrosity, highlights his violent tendencies.

An earlier *retablo*, the *Retable of Saint Vincent* (Figure 28) from the church of Sant Vicenç d'Estamariu near Urgell more closely resembles a painted antependium.[186] Dating from 1360, the *retablo* presents Saint Vincent in the central compartment surrounded by scenes from his life. In the upper left compartment, the saint is stretched on a wooden cross and persistently pierced by his two torturers. Like the Durro antependium, the two torturers differ in physiognomy but are similar in action, perhaps suggesting that Muslims and Romans are once again paralleled. The upper right compartment in which the saint is burned on an iron grid contains a similar equation of Muslim and Roman.

"Saracens" did not only appear in martyrdom scenes, but also in representation of biblical events. A *Crucifixion* attributed to the workshop of Jaume Ferrar II and dated to around 1450 (Figure 29), includes representations of Muslims at the event.[187] In particular, seated on the ground at the base of the cross, a turbaned man sits with a group of other men opposite the scene of the fainting Virgin. He carries a curved

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[185] Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, pp. 170-3.

[186] For the Retable of Saint Vincent of 1360, see Carbonell and Sureda, *Tesoros*, pp. 268-9.

[187] On the *Crucifixion* attributed to the workshop of Jaume Ferrar II, see Maria Rosa Manote i Clivilles, *Bagliori del Medievo: Arte Romanica e Gotica dal Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* (Rome: Fondazione Memmo, 2000), pp. 124-7.

sword and is depicted with enlarged and somewhat grotesque features. To the left of the crucifixion, a troop of men on horseback ride in carrying a dragon banner, commonly attributed to the "Saracen" army. Thus, not only were the "Saracens" equated with the persecuting Romans of the systematized persecutions, but they were likewise included in biblical history, serving as Christianity's adversary.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

The antependium of Durro, displaying the tortures and final triumph of Saints Quiricus and Julitta, stands as a painted emanation of the cultural economy of the time in which it was produced. Its painted surface brings the past forward to the present and is accompanied not only by discourses of martyrdom, but also by generations of anti-Islamic polemic. Similar to tympana on contemporary churches, the antependium is capable of incorporating a social message into its religious subject matter. The theme underlying the tortuous subject matter is that of Christian triumph over the Islamic "other," who has been recast in the role of pagan persecutor. It is a powerful affirmation of faith in the Reconquest. The antependium's reliance on anti-Islamic polemic is only one instance of the permeation of negative perceptions into the visual culture of the Christian north. As evidenced by the later *retablos*, the retention of these perceptions did not cease after the twelfth-century, but persisted into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As the perceptions survived, so too did the visual expression of these negative sentiments. Therefore, as much in the late centuries of the Reconquest as in the early years of crusade, the *Song of Roland*'s assertion of that the Christian cause is right, while the pagan beliefs are wrong, still remains strong in the visual culture. The antependium of Durro, although originally thought of as an "unsophisticated" work by a inexperienced artist, emerges as a testament to a body of ideas regarding martyrdom, persecution, and Reconquest, that have been reused and re-imagined since the original "perfection" of its titular saints.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3
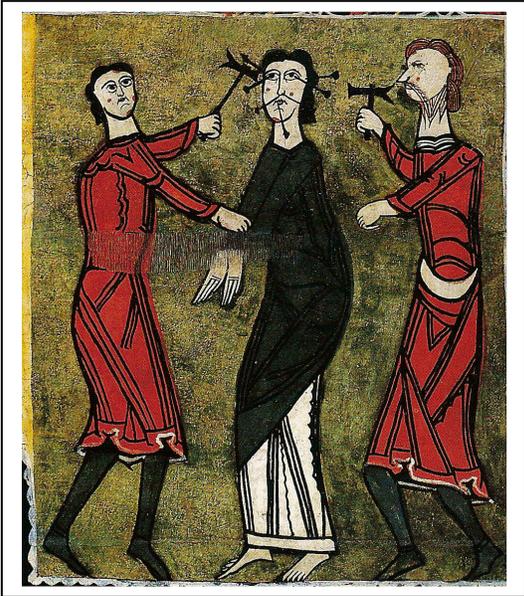
Figure 4
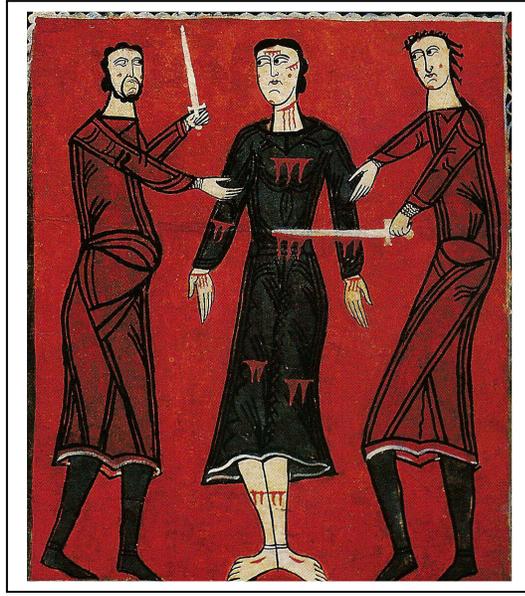
Figure 5

Figure 6
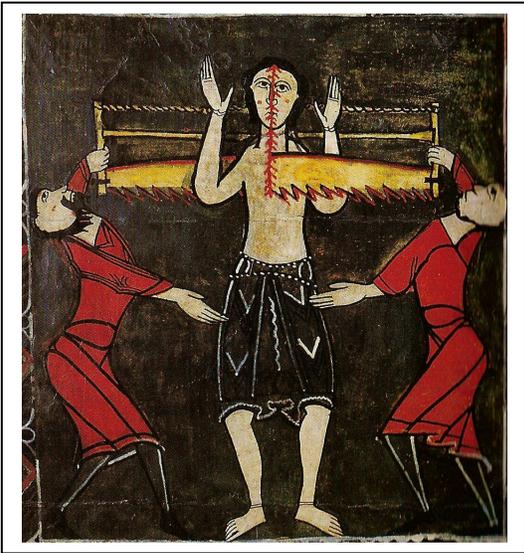
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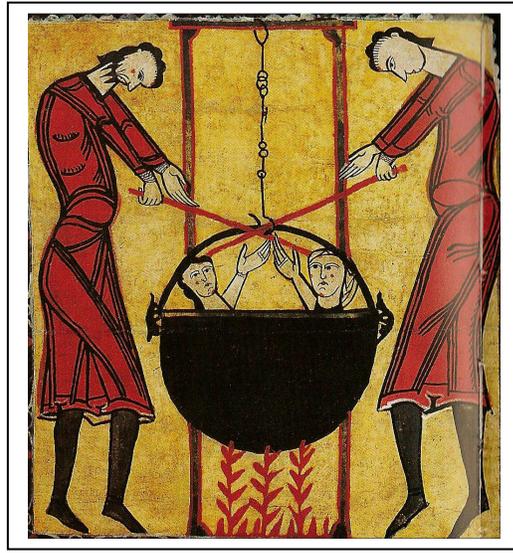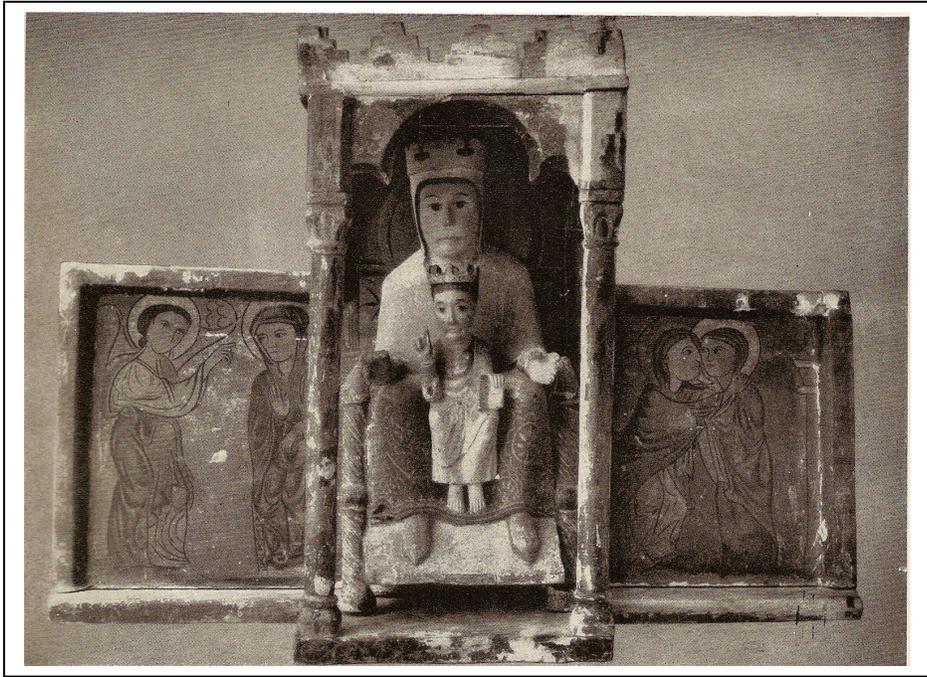
Figure 8

Figure 9
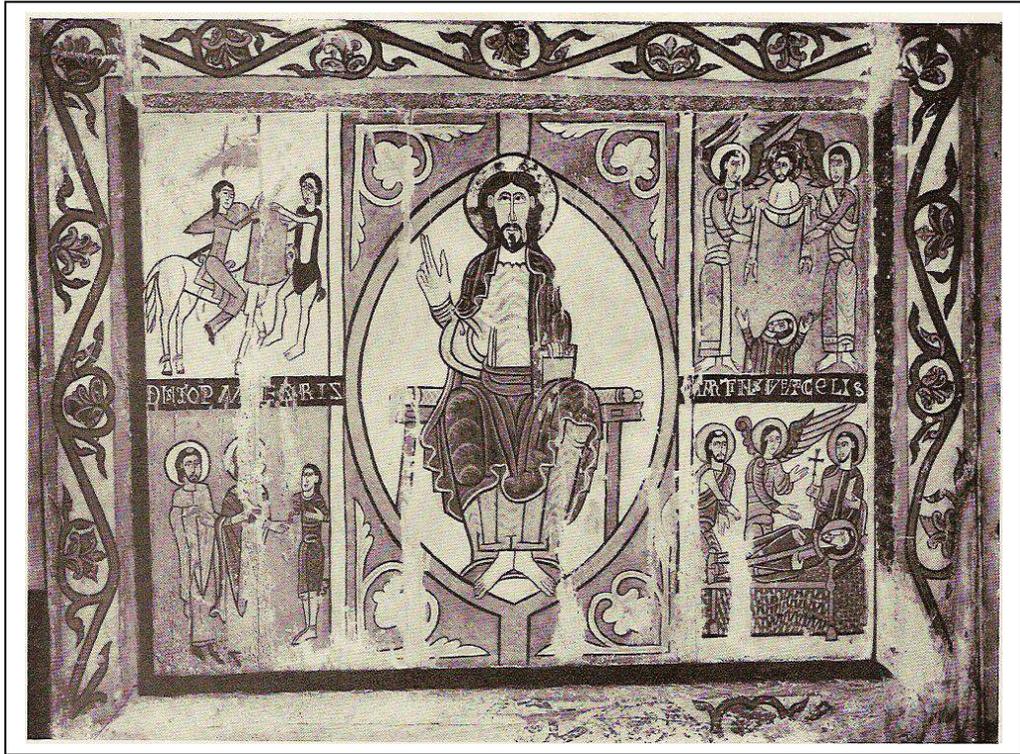
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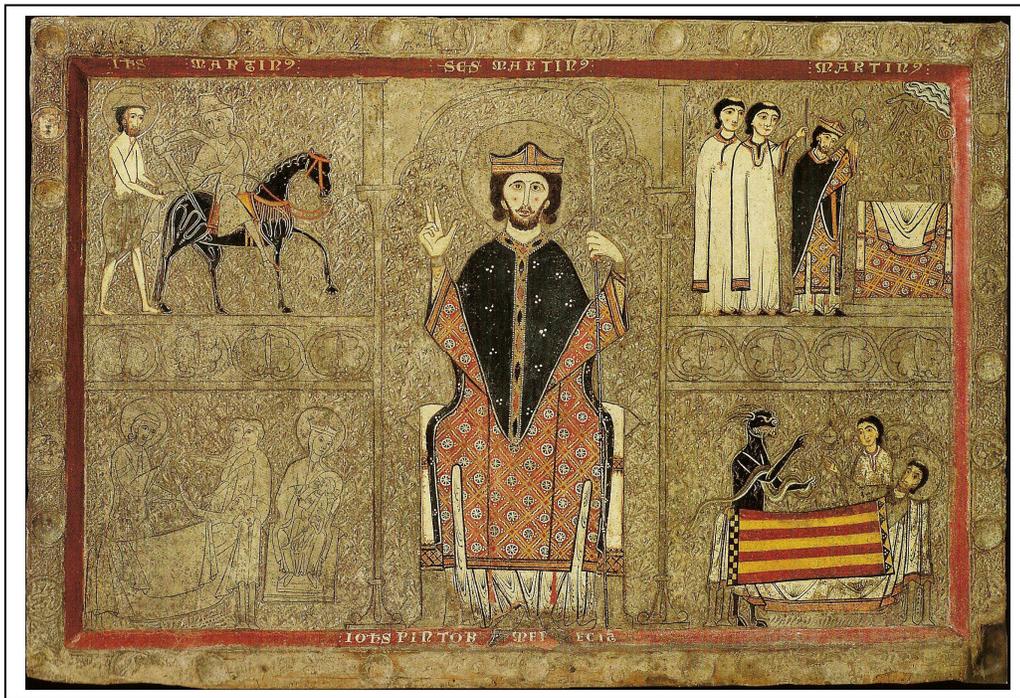
Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13
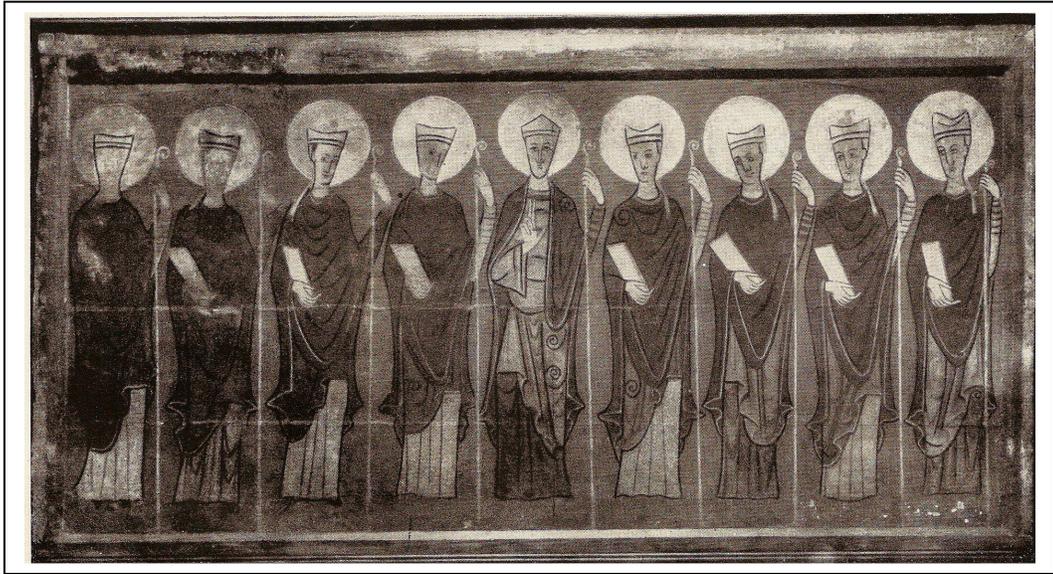
Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 17
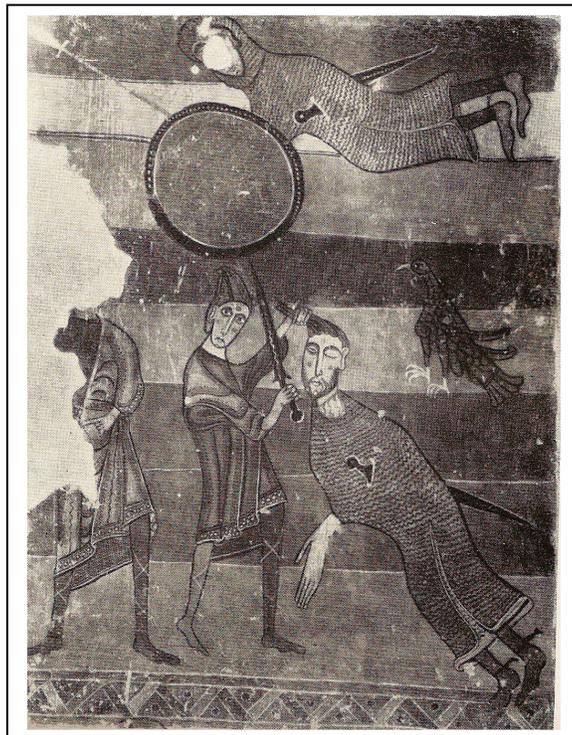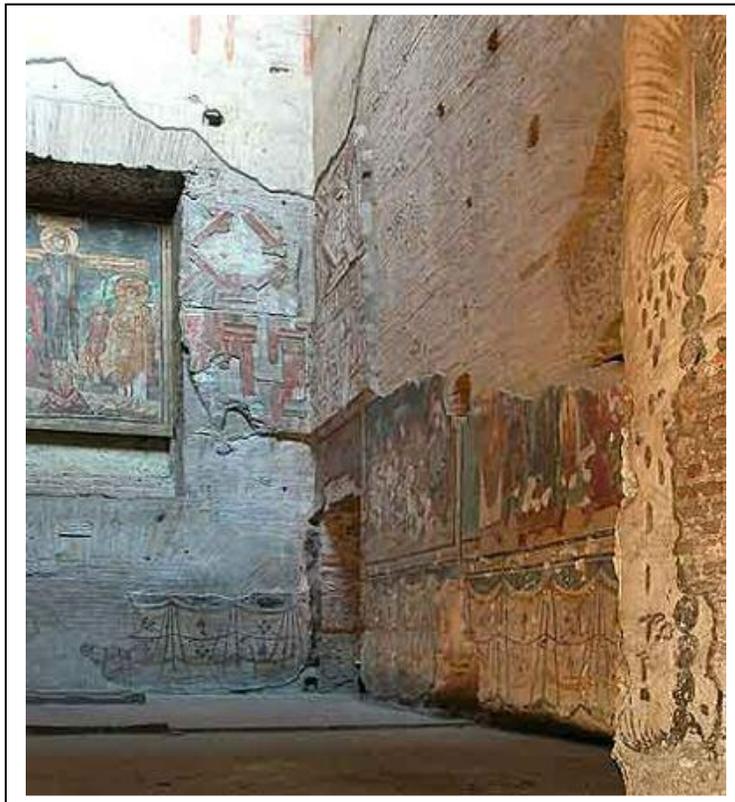
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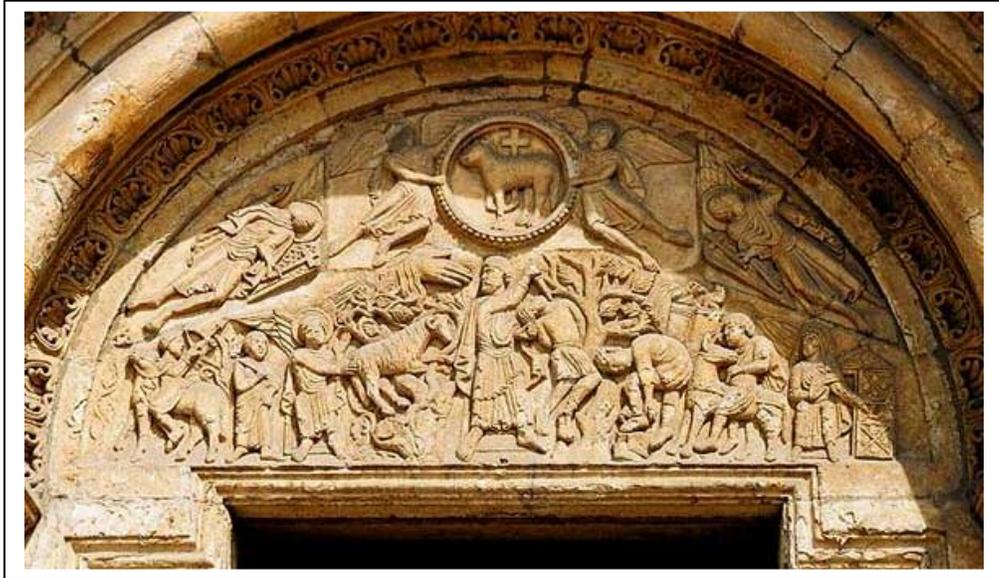
Figure 19

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 22
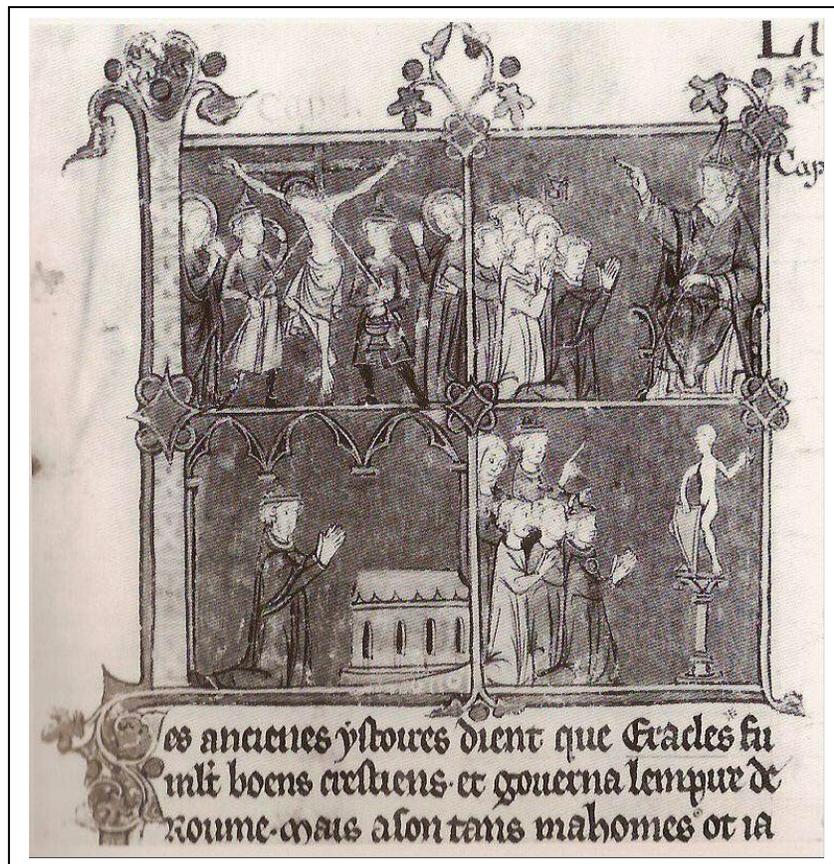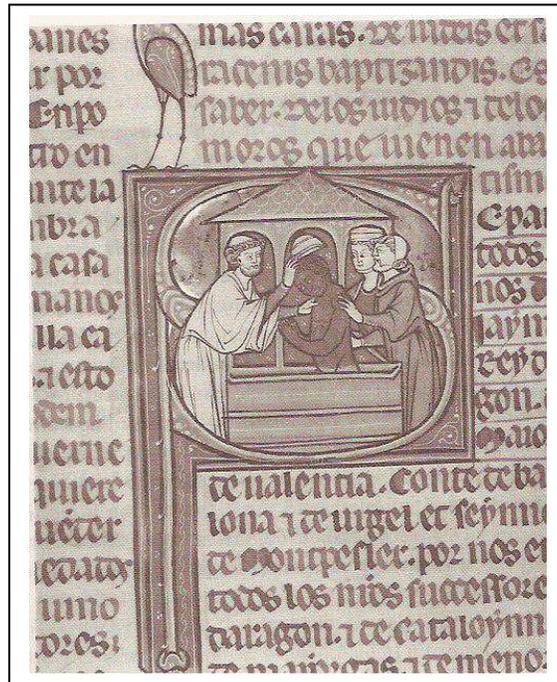
Figure 23

Figure 24


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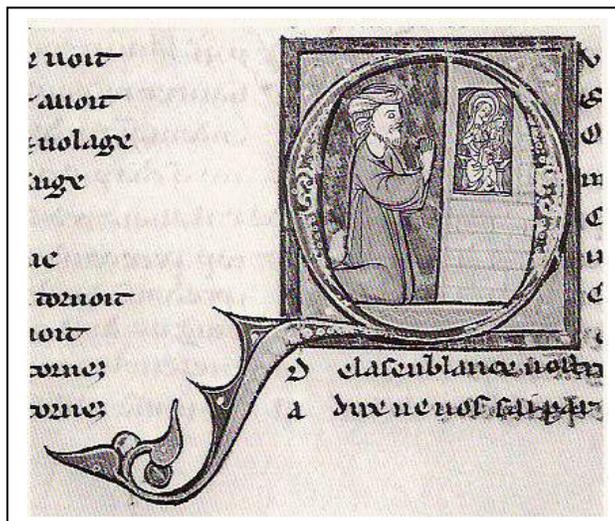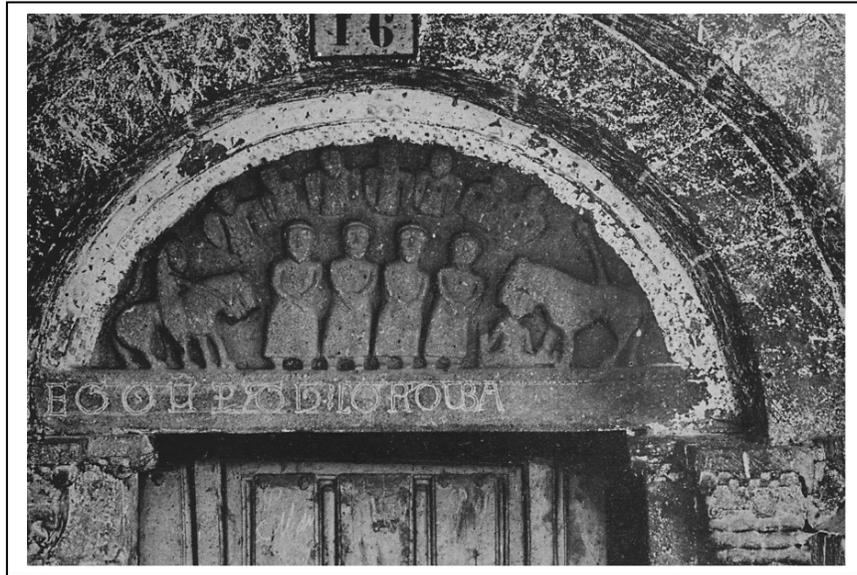
**Figure 25**

Figure 26
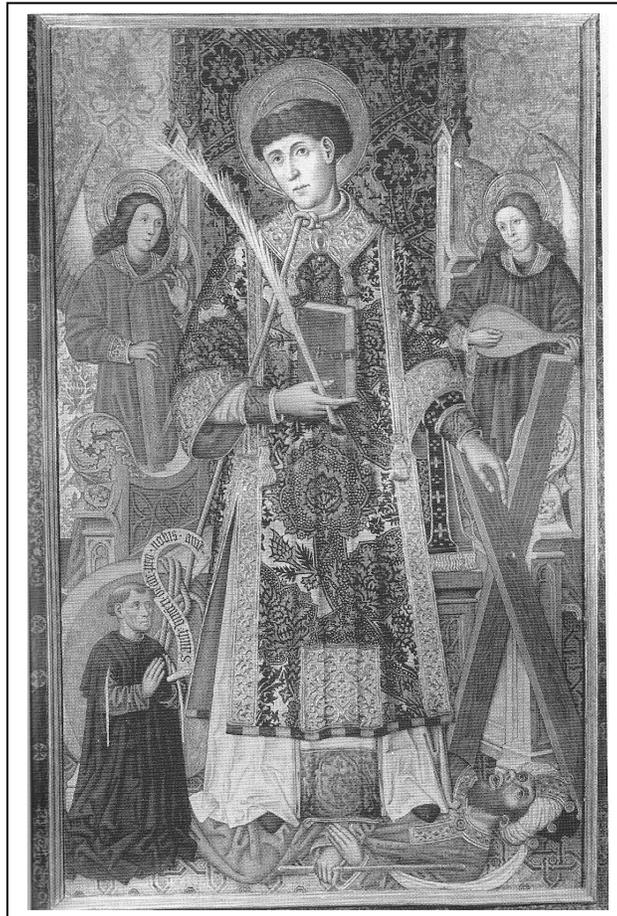
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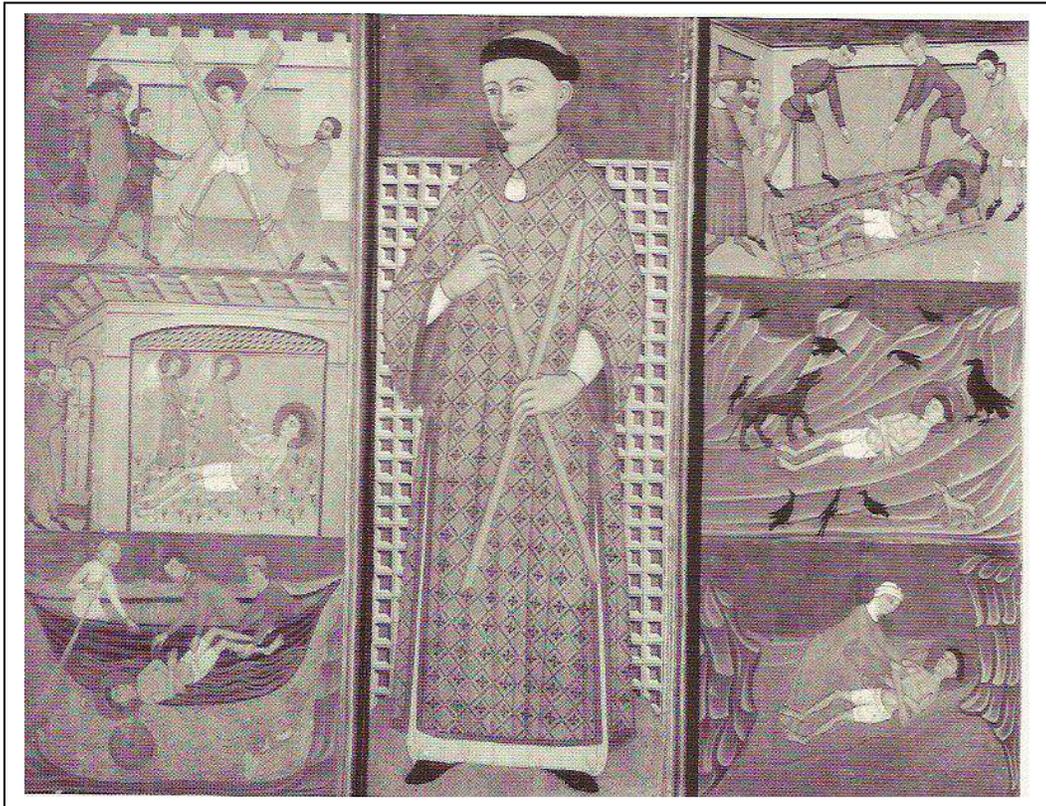
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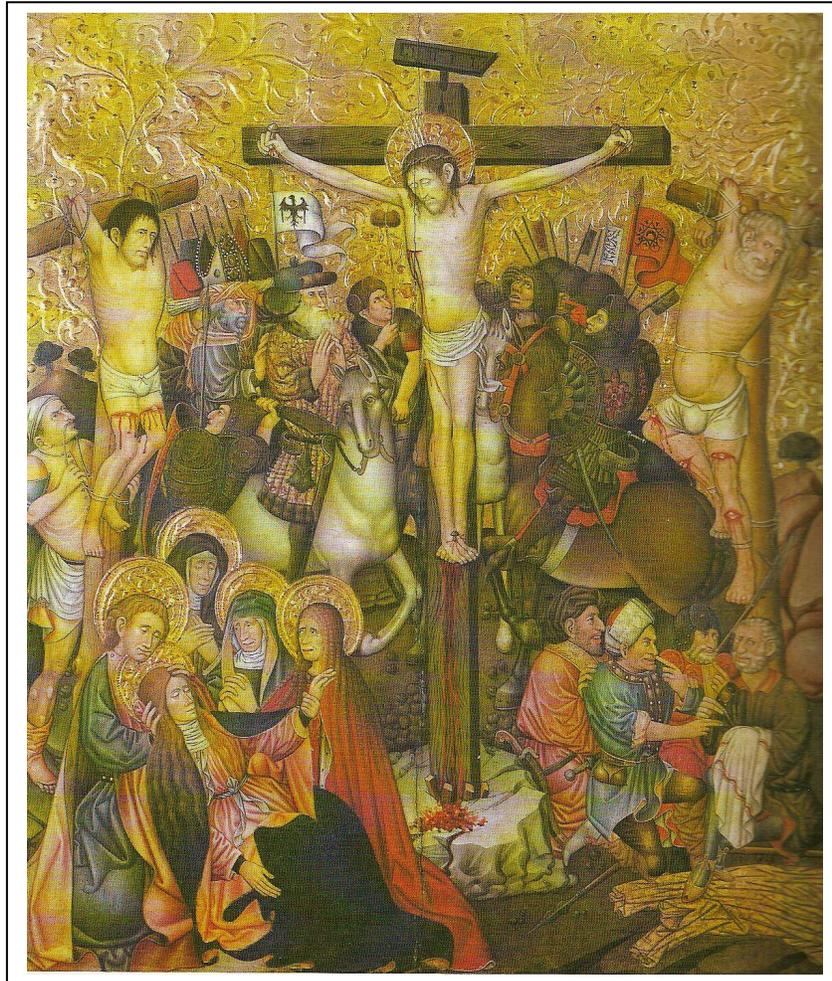
Figure 29

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