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Los Angeles

A Gallery of Stones: The Castilian Frontier City of Ávila

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

by

Hannah Maryan Thomson

2024

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2024

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Gallery of Stones: The Castilian Frontier City of Ávila

by

Hannah Maryan Thomson

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2024

Professor Meredith Marie Cohen, Chair

At the close of the eleventh century, Ávila emerged as a strategic Christian city on the arid Castilian Meseta as part of the centuries-long struggle for control of the Iberian Peninsula. Along with other nearby polities, Alfonso VI granted Ávila the privileged status of founded city as part of the program of frontier settlement (*repoblación*). This period of urban development, which spanned the end of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth, witnessed a construction and population boom responsible for the erection of over two dozen parish churches, a small handful of monasteries or convents, a fortified cathedral, city walls, bishop's palace, alcazar, and number of mosques and synagogues that no longer survive. Despite Ávila's exceptionally preserved medieval architectural landscape, studies on medieval Castile tend to privilege documentary sources at the expense of art-historical evidence. Moreover, Ávila's existing architectural scholarship primarily focuses on stylistic analysis and construction history,

overlooking the unusual distribution and utilization of local stone, and to a lesser extent, brick, across Ávila's medieval monumental landscape—a scholarly lacuna I correct in this dissertation.

This dissertation takes a novel approach to the medieval city's art history, one that engages with the materials of each of the city's surviving monuments to argue that material was used as an expression of status, social division, as well as solidarity for Ávila's Christian society. The city walls, cathedral, and urban churches all prioritize different local building materials in construction—a topic as yet unstudied in the scholarly literature— which I argue symbolized the structures of authority responsible for their building. That is, *spolia* in the city walls conveyed ancient glories for the emerging city's nascent lay government, the *concejo*; *piedra sangrante*, or "bleeding stone," in the cathedral's sanctuary bolstered episcopal status through associations to Christ and wartime victories; the pragmatic employment of combining *piedra caleña* and grey granites in the city's parish churches paralleled the solidarity of the city's parish-militia organization; and brick was used in a single parish church outlier to affirm the parishioners place of origin. Looking beyond traditional studies of Ávila as a "frontier city," my project instead analyzes urban social boundaries through a material lens.

The dissertation of Hannah Maryan Thomson is approved.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ii

List of Figures vi

Acknowledgements xi

Vita xv

Introduction 1

Part I: Intramural Space

Chapter One: Beyond Defense: Power, Identity, and Spolia in Ávila's City Walls 40

Chapter Two: Blood and Stone: An Examination of Ávila's Cathedral as Fortress and Religious Sanctuary 101

Part II: Extramural Space

Chapter Three: Expressions of Frontier Ingenuity and Unity: Parish Church Materiality 149

Chapter Four: Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza: A Brick Outlier in a Gallery of Stones 196

Conclusion 250

Appendices 258

- Wall Appendix 258
- Cathedral Appendix 259
- Church Appendix 289
- Brick Appendix 292
- Digital Map Appendix 294

Images 324

Bibliography 506

List of Figures

Figure 1: The walls of Ávila, northwest corner
Figure 2: *Cimorro*, the fortified east end that protrudes through the walls, Ávila
Figure 3: *Piedra sangrante*, south double ambulatory, Ávila cathedral
Figure 4: Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza Interior, central nave facing east, Ávila
Figure 5: *Verraco* in situ below the gate of San Vicente, Ávila
Figure 6: Lower level of walls of granite ashlars between tower 2 and 83, Ávila
Figure 7: A combination of granite ashlars interrupted by smaller stones and funerary *spolia, b*etween towers 5 and 6, Ávila
Figure 8: North face of the southern tower 8 flanking San Vicente Gate, Ávila
Figure 9: The south side of the north tower 9, Ávila
Figure 10: Roman walls of Lugo in Galicia
Figure 11: The Puerta del Carmen (Porta Miña), Lugo
Figure 12: Segments of city walls, Reccopolis, c. 578
Figure 13: León's medieval city walls
Figure 14: The city walls of Zamora
Figure 15: The wall of Marrubial in Córdoba
Figure 16: The Islamic walls of Murcia, Verónicas section
Figure 17: Ávila's walls, eastern section looking north
Figure 18: Alcazar Gate, Ávila
Figure 19: San Vicente Gate, Ávila
Figure 20: Pre-restoration photographs of the city walls from Emilio Roya (1929), Ávila
Figure 21: Tower 4, northwest corner, Ávila
Figure 22: Tower 6 meeting the straight section of walls, Ávila
Figure 23: Tower 14, on the north arm, looking west, Ávila
Figure 24: Towers 65, 64, on the southern arm, looking west, Ávila
Figure 25: Rocky outcroppings between Towers 56 and 57, Ávila
Figure 26: *Piedra caleña* in the archway of the gate of San Vicente, Ávila
Figure 27: *Spolia* between towers 85 and 86, Ávila
Figure 28: *Cistae* in the city walls between towers 4 and 5, Ávila
Figure 29: Funerary *stele*, tower 10, Ávila
Figure 30: *Cuppae* between towers 4 and 5, Ávila
Figure 31: Funerary pieces with possible Arabic lettering visible on the lower part of tower 81, Ávila
Figure 32: *Verracos* in the walls between towers 85 and 86 and between towers 86 and 87, Ávila
Figure 33: *Verraco* in the lower portion of tower 84, Ávila
Figure 34: *Verraco* head jutting out from tower 11 Ávila
Figure 35: Roman altar at San Segundo , Ávila
Figure 36: A group of Roman *spolia* in San Martín, Ávila
Figure 37: *Verraco* in the base of the tower of the parish church of San Nicolás, Ávila
Figure 38: "First coat of arms known for the city, 1221," Ávila
Figure 39: The original Christian settlement plan of Ávila surrounding intramural parish churches, after Pedro Feduchi Canosa
Figure 40: Inner pathway of double ambulatory, south side facing north, Ávila cathedral
Figure 41: Nave and aisle vaults, Ávila cathedral

Figure 42: Historiated capitals, cathedral chevet, Ávila cathedral
Figure 43: Ambulatory north side facing west, Ávila cathedral
Figure 44: Floorplan and ambulatory of San-Martin-des-Champs, Paris
Figure 45: Plan and exterior chevet of Saint-Denis, Paris
Figure 46: Cathedral choir vaults, Ávila cathedral
Figure 47: Floorplan and east end of Vezelay Abbey
Figure 48: Comparison of Vezelay's vaults and Ávila's
Figure 49: West façade with towers, Ávila cathedral
Figure 50: Family tomb in north tower base, San Miguel chapel, Ávila cathedral
Figure 51: *Cimorro*, exterior from outside city walls, Ávila cathedral
Figure 52: Mason marks on tower and *cimorro,* Ávila cathedral
Figure 53: North nave windows, Ávila cathedral
Figure 54: Toledo cathedral nave windows and two-part elevation
Figure 55: Parable of Lazarus sculpture, Ávila cathedral
Figure 56: Cenotaph of San Vicente, Ávila
Figure 57: Emilio Rodríguez Almeida's Hypothetical Romanesque Cathedral and Floorplan, Ávila cathedral
Figure 58: Pedro Feduchi Canosa's hypothetical tower where the central apse is now located, Ávila cathedral
Figure 59: Ávila's cathedral floorplan
Figure 60: Pathway running along the city walls which pass directly above the exterior radiating chapels of Ávila's cathedral (from city walls south of the chevet)
Figure 61: Comparing choirs east of the crossing, San Vicente and the cathedral of Ávila
Figure 62: *Piedra sangrante* choir and vaults, Ávila cathedral
Figure 63: Apse-echelon floorplan of San Vicente and San Pedro compared to Ávila's cathedral
Figure 64: Window-less east end of San Segundo, Ávila
Figure 65: San Vicente of Ávila, view from southwest corner
Figure 66: The quarry at La Colilla
Figure 67: *Piedra sangrante* in the east end, Ávila cathedral
Figure 68: *Piedra sangrante* ceiling of the north porch of the semi-extant parish church of Santiago, Ávila
Figure 69: *Piedra sangrante* window in the sixteenth-century Convent of Nuestra Señora de Gracia, Ávila
Figure 70: Archway of the west façade of Convent of Santa María de Jesús (Las Gordillas), Ávila
Figure 71: Underground passage connecting the northeast side of the cathedral with the *episcopio*, Ávila
Figure 72: Bishop's palace (*episcopio*), west façade, Ávila
Figure 73: Barrel vaults in *piedra sangrante* at the *episcopio,* Ávila
Figure 74: Rose-pink marble columns at St. Thomas Becket's shrine, Canterbury cathedral
Figure 75: The grey granite *cimorro* with *piedra sangrante* interventions, Ávila cathedral
Figure 76: Anton van den Wyngaerde's painting of Ávila, 1570
Figure 77: Map of Ávila by Francisco Coello, 1864
Figure 78: The consecration stone from the lost church of Santo Domingo in the Museo de Ávila
Figure 79: The extramural parish church of San Nicolás, north façade, Ávila

Figure 80: West façade of San Nicolás, Ávila
Figure 81: Floorplan of San Nicolás, Ávila
Figure 82: South façade of San Nicolás, Ávila
Figure 83: Sculpted portals of San Nicolás, Ávila
Figure 84: The exterior of the chevet of San Nicolás, Ávila
Figure 85: Tower of San Nicolás, Ávila
Figure 86: San Andrés, south façade, Ávila
Figure 87: San Andrés's architectural sculpture, Ávila
Figure 88: Floorplan of San Andrés, Ávila
Figure 89: West portal of San Andrés, Ávila
Figure 90: The three terminating apses of San Andrés's east end, Ávila
Figure 91: The north exterior wall of San Andrés's nave, Ávila
Figure 92: The west façade of San Andrés, Ávila
Figure 93: San Esteban, south façade and floorplan, Ávila
Figure 94: San Esteban, east end exterior, Ávila
Figure 95: Rocky outcropping foundation of San Esteban, Ávila
Figure 96: San Esteban, south façade, Ávila
Figure 97: San Esteban, south portal, Ávila
Figure 98: The southeast exterior corner of San Esteban, Ávila
Figure 99: South side of San Vicente parish church in *piedra caleña* with posterior grey granite additions, Ávila
Figure 100: The west portal of San Juan Bautista, Ávila
Figure 101: Architectural remains of stone walls at the site of Santa Maria la Antigua, Ávila
Figure 102: Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, south façade and chevet exterior, Ávila
Figure 103: West façade of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 104: Floorplan of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 105: Interior nave of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza facing east, Ávila
Figure 106: North nave arcade of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 107: South portal entrance of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 108: Horseshoe arch in the southwest wall of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 109: Interior entry arches to apse chapels of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 110: Exterior apses of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 111: Central exterior apse of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 112: Bowl-shaped brick protruding from the springing of the arch in the western-most north aisle bay of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 113: Interior of La Lugareja, Arévalo
Figure 114: Sculpted string course of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 115: The exterior cornice of the apse of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 116: Marble chrismon above the south entrance of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 117: El Tránsito Synagogue, interior, Toledo
Figure 118: Cristo de la Luz in Toledo, north façade
Figure 119: Brick tower at San Martín, Ávila
Figure 120: Milagros Aqueduct in Mérida, fourth or fifth century
Figure 121: Church of San Miguel de Lillo in Oviedo, 848
Figure 122: Brick at Madinat al-Zahra, Córdoba, tenth century
Figure 123: Alcazar of Seville

Figure 124: Santa María la Mayor, Arévalo
Figure 125: San Nicolás de Madrigal de las Altas Torres, Arévalo
Figure 126: Exterior of La Lugareja, Arévalo
Figure 127: Chapel of San Mancio in the ruins of the monastery of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagún
Figure 128: San Martín, Cuéllar
Figure 129: San Miguel, Cuéllar
Figure 130: Santa María de la Cuesta, Cuéllar
Figure 131: *Alfiz*, San Miguel, Cuéllar
Figure 132: Santiago, Cuéllar
Figure 133: Santa Marina, Cuéllar
Figure 134: El Salvador, Cuéllar
Figure 135: San Esteban, Cuéllar
Figure 136: Santísima Trinidad, Cuéllar
Figure 137: North arcade ending against the triumphal arch of central apse of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 138: Entry arch of the southern apse, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 139: Northern apse entry arch, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Ávila
Figure 140: San Andrés, Cuéllar
Figure 141: Andalusi fortification in Fresno de Cantespino
Figure 142: Brick towers of La Moraña in the province of Ávila
Figure 143: Curved piece of wall on the exterior of the "first sacristy," Ávila cathedral
Figure 144: Arrow slit window now in curved piece of wall, Ávila cathedral
Figure 145: Window in the chapel of St. Ildefonso in the south transept, Ávila cathedral
Figure 146: Window in the sacristy, Ávila cathedral
Figure 147: Tower and staircase comparisons
Figure 148: Facing the "first sacristy" from the antesacristy, Ávila cathedral
Figure 149: Door in the chapel of John the Baptist (San Juan Bautista), Ávila cathedral
Figure 150: Angel Gabriel surrounding the key stone of the sanctuary's sexpartite vaults, Ávila cathedral
Figure 151: Portico de la Gloria, Santiago de Compostela
Figure 152: Daniel, Portico de la Gloria, Santiago de Compostela
Figure 153: Exterior chevet with sculpted capitals, Ávila cathedral
Figure 154: Bifurcated windows in the clerestory level of the transept, Ávila cathedral
Figure 155: Merino de Cáceres's ideal floorplan, Ávila cathedral
Figure 156: The base of the west end towers highlighting planned narthex, Ávila cathedral
Figure 157: Tomb, chevet, 1271, Ávila cathedral
Figure 158: Arcosolium in the south tower base, 1231, Ávila cathedral
Figure 159: Tomb in the north wall of the cloister, 1278, Ávila cathedral
Figure 160: *Piedra sangrante* in double ambulatory, south side looking east, Ávila cathedral
Figure 161: Wooden beams within the smaller pathway of the double ambulatory, Ávila cathedral
Figure 162: Chevet chapel capitals compared, Ávila cathedral
Figure 163: Tower vaults, Ávila cathedral
Figure 164: Material seam between grey granite and the *piedra sangrante* entrance to the double ambulatory, north side, Ávila cathedral

Figure 165: The string course that runs above the nave arcade "breaks," Ávila cathedral
Figure 166: String course "break" west of the crossing, Ávila cathedral
Figure 167: Flyers on the north side, Ávila cathedral
Figure 168: Pinnacles on the north tower, Ávila cathedral
Figure 169: The sculptural frieze at the top edge of each flyer, Ávila cathedral
Figure 170: Nave, two part elevation, south arcade looking east, Ávila cathedral
Figure 171: Y-shaped rib vault to accommodate different widths of nave and aisle bays, Ávila cathedral
Figure 172: Remnants of earlier window tracery above the choir, Ávila cathedral
Figure 173: Portal de Apóstoles, north façade, Ávila cathedral
Figure 174: Map of non-extant churches in medieval Ávila
Figure 175: Map of semi-extant churches in medieval Ávila
Figure 176: Map of extant churches in medieval Ávila
Figure 177: Map of medieval Islamic Ávila
Figure 178: Map of medieval Jewish Ávila
Figure 179: Map of city walls including gates and *verracos,* Ávila
Figure 180: Map of episcopio and alcázar, Ávila
Figure 181: Map of information from diocesan archival documents, Ávila
Figure 182: Map of information from the *Becerro,* Ávila

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Dissertation Introduction

The medieval walls of Ávila interrupt the expansive plains of Castile like a petrified crown perched above the Adaja river (Figure 1). This fully intact, massive *spolia*-laden border seamlessly integrates with the city's cathedral on its eastern arm, uniting a watchtower and chevet into one architectural structure (Figure 2). The fortified cathedral's grey granite exterior, resembling a fortress more than a religious center, conceals a luminous interior space full of red and white mottled stone. Surrounding the towering cathedral-wall structure, tucked between *cafeterías* enticing the passersby with hanging cured ham legs, a series of pinkish-orange masonry churches adorn the arid landscape, belying the modern city's medieval origins. As a counterpoint to the ten surviving stone churches, a modest majority-brick-constructed outlier occupies an inconspicuous corner of the northern periphery of the urban center. Delighting in the palimpsest of one of the best preserved twelfth- and thirteenth-century monumental landscapes in Iberia, the modern viewer is allowed a rare glimpse back in time at the architectural composition, urban layout, and material choices of a walled city on the Castilian frontier.

At the close of the eleventh century, Ávila emerged as a strategic city at the foothills of the Guadarrama mountains as part of the centuries-long effort to expand Christian territory south into al-Andalus, what historians later came to refer as the Reconquest or *Reconquista*.[1] After the

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[1] I repeat the term "*Reconquista*" or Reconquest when discussing Spanish historiography of this period, however I generally avoid the term and instead prefer "Christian conquest" to refer to the prolonged effort by Christians to conquer Iberian Muslim territory. The term "Reconquista" first appeared in Old French in twelfth-century writing, but is not found in medieval Spanish writing, see David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002-1086*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985): esp. chap 9. The motivations and history of Christian conquest are still debated, for canonical studies on the topic see: Abilio Barbero, and Marcelo Vigil Pascual, *Sobre los orígenes sociales de la Reconquista*, (Esplugues de Llobregat: Editorial Ariel, 1974); Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, (New York: Longman, 1978); Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*, (New Studies in Medieval History, London: MacMillán, 1977). See also: Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*, (Manchester University Press, 1995); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

pivotal Christian takeover of Toledo in 1085, Christian territory jumped from the Duero River to the Tagus in one fell swoop creating a new southern frontier in the sparsely populated lands of Castile, which King Alfonso VI (r. 1065-1109) had once referred to as harsh, inhospitable, and "full of vermin."[2] Around 1088, Ávila, along with other nearby polities, was granted the status of founded city as part of the royally-sponsored program of frontier settlement (*repoblación*).[3] Under this new type of settlement, Alfonso VI issued law codes, or *fueros*, that focused primarily on defense and offered multiple privileges to incentivize settlers to establish themselves in the region.[4] Alfonso VI set his daughter, Queen Urraca of León (r. 1109-1126), and son-in-law, Raymond of Burgundy (d. 1107), in charge of the official settlement program of the towns of the

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[2] José Antonio Ruiz Hernando, *Historia del urbanismo en la ciudad de Segovia del siglo XII al XIX*, (Segovia: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Segovia, 1982), 21, 51. Ruiz takes "*llena de alimañas,*" from the *Anales Toledanos Primeros*.

[3] Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350)," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by Angus MacKay and Robert Bartlett, (Clarendon Press, 1989), 53. The term "*repoblación,"* or "resettlement," is a controversial term because it follows an outdated theory that the area was completely empty when Christian kings set about this settlement program. While Ávila was not a major city before this settlement effort, it was not uninhabited, as archeology and architectural heritage clearly prove. However, the term "*repoblación"* is still ubiquitous in Spanish historiography to refer to this specific new type of settlement structure, and therefore (like *Reconquista*) it is unable to be avoided. Contemporary medieval written sources coined the terms "*populare, repoblación*" to refer to this novel settlement structure, however Barrios reminds his readers that "*populare*" meant to "organize" rather than "settle" in the earlier Middle Ages, see Ángel Barrios García, *Estructuras agrarias y de poder en Castilla: el ejemplo de Ávila*, vol. 1, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1983), 120. See also, Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, "Early Medieval Landscapes in North-West Spain: Local Powers and Communities, Fifth–Tenth Centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 19, no. 3 (2011): 303. According to the *Anales Toledanos Primeros*, the resettlement of Segovia was initiated in 1088, therefore this year is often cited as the year Ávila was also established as an urban center for the Crown of Castile, see Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de las murallas: análisis morfológico y propuesta cronológica," in *La Muralla de Ávila*, edited by Ángel Barrios García, 57-113, (Madrid: Fundacion Caja Madrid, 2003), 57. *La Crónica de los estados peninsulares* (1305) also says that Salamanca, Segovia, and Avila, were settled during the reign of Alfonso VI, but does not give an exact year, Barrios suggests likely c.1087-1089, Angel Barrios García, *Estructuras,* 129.

[4] Ávila's original law code has been lost and with it the precise nature of the establishment of the Christian city, however Ricardo Blasco has compared it to the *fuero* of Évora (1166), see "El problema del fuero de Avila," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos. LX-I,* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 1954). Up until this point, land was typically settled for the purposes of cultivation, whereas the primary focus of Christian settlement of the *Extremadura Castellana* was developing a human system of defense. The frontier required "fighting men," not just peasants capable of cultivating the land, and thus the *fueros* made special exceptions in order to attract the appropriate kinds of people, see Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 54, 57. On incentives and settlement see also, Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300*, (CUP Archive: 1984), esp. chapter one.

Extremadura Castellana, and it was within this context that Ávila emerged as a Christian hub at the foothills of the Guadarrama Mountains.[5] It was a period of immense social, political, and economic upheaval that flooded the city with new Christian settlers as well as Muslims and Jews and ushered in a substantial building boom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Within the span of a century, Ávila became home to over two dozen parish churches, a small handful of monasteries or convents, a Gothic cathedral, city walls, bishop's palace, alcazar, and a number of mosques and synagogues that no longer survive.[6] The nascent city was inhabited by a majority Christian demographic, originating from other parts of the peninsula, in addition to a robust community of Muslims, first brought as enslaved workers, and one of the largest population of Jews in Old Castile, who would, hundreds of years in the future, establish a rich Kabbalistic tradition.[7] The architectural construction and urban expansion of the first period of settlement

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[5] This term might be translated as "The Far Reaches of Castile." The *Extremadura Castellana,* were lands conquered by Christians, beginning under King Alfonso VI, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries between the Duero and Tagus river. It had previously been sparsely populated and never fully under Islamic control. These lands shared environmental characteristics including poor agricultural output and harsh weather and were settled by immigrants coming from other parts of the peninsula. Urraca became queen upon her father's death in 1109, however even before that time she was active in politics as evidenced, in part, by her role in settling Ávila. Her first husband, Raymond, was a count from Burgundy who ruled Galicia. This information is recorded in the thirteenth-century chronicle called *La crónica de la población de Ávila*, see Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedents," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113, no. 1 (1943).

[6] See the digital map and Map Appendix accompanying this dissertation for a list, entries, and locations of these non-extant structures. The documented mosques include Almagid de la Villa, Almagid de la Solana, Almagid de la Alquibla, and Almajid Nuevo, see Javier Jiménez Gadea, Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, and Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta. *La memoria de Alá: mudejares y moriscos de Ávila, Museo de Ávila (15 de diciembre de 2011 a 18 de marzo de 2012)*, (Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2012); Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila;* Duero Mudejar, http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/almagi-de-la-villa/index.html. Accessed 17 August 2023. The documented synagogues include that of Don Samuel, Belforade, Lomo, and Calandrín, see Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Excma. Diputación Provincial de Avila, Instituto" Gran Duque de Alba", 1963); Blas Cabrera González, Jesús Caballero Arribas, and Jorge Díaz de la Torre, "El cementerio judío medieval de 'la Encarnación'en Ávila," *Sefarad* 73, no. 2 (2013): 309-38; Serafín de Tapia, "Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsion," *Sefarad* 57, no. 1 (1997): 135-78.

[7] Circa 1300, Ávila was home to one of the largest population of Muslims and Jews in Castile. Interestingly, Santa Teresa of Ávila's family heritage was Jewish—Saint Teresa's grandfather, Juan Sánchez of Toledo, was a *converso* (converted Jew) and his son, Alfonso Sánchez de Cepeda, Saint Teresa's father, became a successful merchant and bought a patent of nobility enabling his daughter to become one of Spain's most important saints and mystics, see Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society: The Case of Ávila," in *Interfaith Relationships and Perceptions of the Other in the Medieval Mediterranean,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 231, 256.

began to alter the landscape while simultaneously becoming the landscape—the biography of a frontier society was etched into a gallery of stones.

In this dissertation, I argue that materials, particularly local ones, highlighted the medieval city's specific internal boundaries, or in other words, frontiers—both physical and social. A local perspective, achieved through privileging an analysis of the architecture's material, is especially compelling because frontier studies, of which Ávila is often included, typically look to interactions with "foreign" enemies to explain the social, cultural, or political realities of this region. While Ávila was home to a heterogenous population, especially since early settlement attracted inhabitants from all over the peninsula, I look to materials as a reflection of particularly local societal conflicts and stratification. In four chapters, I demonstrate how careful utilization of materials, especially different types of stone, reinforced complex social divisions, upheld structures of authority, and communicated difference and unity within the urban expanse of medieval Ávila.

The construction materials that make up medieval Ávila's preserved architectural heritage, the majority of which date from the mid-twelfth to the late-thirteenth century, are asymmetrically distributed across monuments. *Spolia* dot the towering walls built in granite and bedrock; iron oxide permeates the blood-red *piedra sangrante*, or "bleeding stone," that makes up the cathedral's sanctuary; and, with the exception of a single brick aberration, the city's (mostly parish) churches combine hard and soft granites in conscientious ways. More curiously, these materials rarely overlap— *spolia* is lacking in church architecture while *piedra sangrante* appears almost exclusively in an episcopal context. In Ávila, wealth, power, and prestige were all communicated through stone hewn on site as opposed to imported materials.[8] The alluring

[8] It is not uncommon to use local building materials to build the architectural landscape of medieval Castilian cities, but what *is* uncommon is the fact that a single location has three geologically/mineralogically distinct stones and

materiality of Ávila's well-preserved medieval monumental landscape enthusiastically invites a material approach, a perspective as yet lacking in the city's art historical scholarship. By centering materials and materiality, my project deepens our knowledge of traditional frontier themes—expressions of power, socio-cultural conflicts in a plural society, and architectural language at the meeting point of politically opposed communities.

Broadly, my dissertation centers around one overarching question: how can a material analysis of Ávila's urban monuments shed light on medieval frontier society? Medieval Ávila has sometimes been heralded as a quintessential frontier city within the robust field of Castilian frontier studies, yet despite the fact Ávila boasts such a well-preserved monumental landscape, art-historical, and especially material perspectives, are comparatively lacking. A material approach offers new insight into the study of this urban landscape by considering human and nonhuman entanglement, the exploitation of resources, and environmental particularities. Simultaneous to humans acting on the landscape, the landscape acted on the settlers. An in-depth analysis of the entire urban zone's use of materials in medieval sacred and civil architecture, and the conspicuous preference of some materials over others depending on monument type, fills a scholarly lacuna in Ávila's architectural and social history.

Materiality Studies

Anthropologist Tim Ingold was instrumental in developing the field of material studies. Noticing that investigations into material culture were so often devoid of a consideration of materials themselves, he argued his case for a return to materials. He aims to "distinguish

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also that each of these stone types only minimally overlap in their employment in different types of monuments. In contrast, for example, in Zamora, another city founded under similar conditions as Ávila although about a century earlier, the local stone, *pudinga zamorana*, is used for churches *and* city walls. There are only rare cases that *pudinga zamorana* is not used, and they are usually in cases of significant sculpture. This is the opposite of what we see in Ávila in which the city walls and sacred landscape are erected using distinct stone.

between the material world and the world of materials."[9] Separate from objects and artifacts, Ingold showed that the properties of any given material—elasticity, density, thermal conductivity, fragility—are in fact histories of the material. That is, through a material's interaction with its environment, including with the viewer, the essence of the material emerges—a jagged stone is smoothed over time through its submersion in water, a tree's branch reaches for the sun, twisting as it stiffens into wood, iron turns molten with heat only to harden as it cools.[10] Material properties change over time through interventions by humans and nature. Tim Ingold's work has inspired historians to study materials in art and architecture which I outline below.

In recent decades, the "material turn" in art history has led medievalists to consider the ways in which materials conveyed meaning in objects and architecture in the Middle Ages. Within a European milieu, academic inquiry into the relationship between meaning and material began through the lens of medieval Christianity. The Bible makes few, but significant, references to material: Revelations 21:19 describes the walls of Heavenly Jerusalem decorated with precious stones; Ezekiel 28:13 and Exodus 39:10 similarly recount the precious stones adorning priestly coverings. Medieval theologians were well aware of the power of materials to access spirituality, as illustrated in Abbot Suger's oft-quoted contemplations of "many-colored gems" which had the ability to transfer "that which is material to that which is immaterial."[11] These spiritual gems were rooted in Suger's famous choir, a sacred physical location. The importance of a fixed building for medieval Christianity, like Suger's St. Denis, was first articulated in

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[9] Tim Ingold, "Materials Against Materiality," *Archaeological dialogues* 14, no. 1 (2007): 14.

[10] Ingold, "Materials Against Materiality," 13.

[11] Excerpt from *De Administratione* (c. 1140), translated by Erwin Panofsky in *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 20.

scholarship by ecclesiologist Dominique Iogna-Prat. He argued that the "church" as a place was defined by its building rather than its community. Power became consolidated in the built environment and in the hands of the one able to consecrate the building, rather than personal devotion.[12] The shift from community to building initiated a momentous evolution in medieval Christianity—one that was defined by architecture and territory. Dominique Iogna-Prat paved the way for art historians to approach materiality through the process of the study of the monumentalization of the church.

Beyond architecture, objects within ecclesiastical contexts have also inspired art historians to examine Christian materiality with respect to medieval understandings of matter. The popularity of pilgrimage and the animated miraculous objects that attracted swaths of pilgrims created anxieties over iconophilia and the need to differentiate between objects as intercessors, not as God himself. Caroline Walker Bynum has demonstrated that late medieval Christianity was paradoxically expressed through materials by transforming that which is inherently invisible and matter-less (God) into humanly, Earthly matter.[13] Ittai Weinryb has turned to medieval philosophical texts to argue that primordial matter was likened to minerals, paint, and bronze, so that the medieval maker, like the Creator, formed an animated entity from formless ooze. Weinryb developed his thesis to focus on bronze in particular, arguing that the medieval revival of the ancient lost wax technique of bronze metallurgy paralleled the *ex nihilo*

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[12] Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu: une histoire monumentale de l'Eglise au Moyen Age*, (Seuil, 2006). This shift first occurred in the Carolingian period, but had immense impact throughout the ensuing centuries of the Middle Ages.

[13] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality – An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe,* (New York: Zone Books, 2015). See also, Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

creation of Christ and Adam.[14] In a medieval Christian context, specific materials could convey specific messages.

Material-specific studies conducted by medieval art historians have shown the symbolic potential of materials like mother of pearl, ivory, stone, and wood, opening up a corpus of studies dedicated to individual materials. Beate Fricke, for example, investigates the mutable meanings of a mother of pearl object from fifteenth-century Paris. Because pearls were believed to have been created through virginal conception in the medieval period, she argues that the use of pearl is a metaphor for the immaculate conception of Christ.[15] Sarah Guérin's scholarship on medieval ivories argues that ivory objects acted as synecdoche for the elephant and bore "real, effective powers for medieval users."[16] Tracing the entire production process of small Gothic ivories from the Sub-Saharan ivory trade to altars and personal devotion, Guérin highlights the rich social history that material helps discover. Emma Le Pouésard, has published on the gendering and moralizing qualities of ivory in personal grooming tools, arguing that material contributed to the identity formation of the tools' female users, drawing gender studies into the investigation of materiality.[17] The material specificity of these scholarly antecedents informs the structure of my present work which primarily concerns stone, and to a lesser extent, brick.

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[14] Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[15] Beate Fricke, "Matter and Meaning of Mother-of-Pearl: The Origins of Allegory in the Spheres of Things," *Gesta* 51, no. 1 (2012): 35-53. Her work is heavily informed by Friedrich Ohly's work on allegory. See also Sarah M. Guérin, *French Gothic Ivories: Material Theologies and the Sculptor's Craft*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022): 3.

[16] Guérin, *French Gothic Ivories,* 2.

[17] Emma Le Pouésard, "Contested Sites of Feminine Agency: Ivory Grooming Implements in Late Medieval Europe," (Columbia University, H. Klein, A. Shalem). She also has an article on this topic forthcoming in *Medieval Feminist Forum*.

Stone was the most common material to construct architecture and objects in the Middle Ages, and similar to ivory, had the ability to communicate powerful and specific messages. The eleventh-century stone relief of Christ on the North Portal of the church of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, Germany contains the telling inscription: “Since Christ is called a rock on account of his firm majesty, it is fitting enough that his image be made in stone.”[18] This architectural sculpture exemplifies the self-referential quality of many pieces of medieval art—the sculpture’s sacredness is doubly expressed through the representation of Christ as well as through its material, stone, which mimics his “firm majesty.” Medieval lapidaries not only attest to the importance of stone, but attest to the specific importance of specific stones—*vermidor* cured swelling and magnetite was used to confirm virginity.[19] Archeologist Christopher Tilley’s phenomenological examination of prehistoric European stone monuments has shown the immense potential of material to unlock clues of culture.[20] The sensuous properties of built stone landscapes and humans’ experience of, in, through, and with them contributes a deeper knowledge of premodern societies and their connection to their material environment. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has similarly examined the relationship between humans and rocks, one that dates back to our earliest history; “Through abiding alliance humans become stone’s time travelling companions.”[21] Investigating stone material culture invites both a specificity of time and context of the object/building in question, but also an expansive history of millions of years unlike that

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[18]Aden Kumler, "Materials, Materia, “Materiality,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe,* edited by Conrad Rudolph, 95-117, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2019), 98.

[19] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Stories of Stone," *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 1 (2010): 59.

[20] Christopher Tilley, *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*, (Routledge, 2004).

[21] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Introduction: Stories of Stone,” in *Stone: An Ecology of the Inhuman*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2015): 8.

of ivory or bronze.[22] Rocks, stones, and gems carry much more than the human history that quarried, shined, or etched into them, they carry with them the history of the formation of the landscape and even the planet.

Despite Ávila's distinctive lithic landscape, the city's medieval writers remained silent on material topics. Buildings are mentioned only in passing, and materials or visual descriptions are entirely lacking, as exemplified in one of the *Crónica*'s only references to a church: "And Zurraquin Sancho is laid [to rest] in San Silvestre in the most honorable sepulcher."[23] The art historians of medieval Castile are left to envy the artistic ekphrasis in the writings of Abbot Suger or Bernard of Clairvaux; the monuments, instead, are our primary sources. The rarity and unusual distribution of the city's medieval construction materials makes Ávila particularly apt for material analysis. Notably, the majority of the materials used to construct medieval Ávila came from local sources.

In many ways, materiality tends to highlight networks, connectivity, and global frameworks and offers much to a global Middle Ages discourse.[24] However, the case-study of material in Ávila's medieval monumental landscape directs analysis towards a particular attention on local social-historical pressures which in turn guides this work. Ávila's unique quarry supplied the city with a variety of distinguishable stones that were then utilized in specific ways to highlight distinct categories of architecture and their makers. Arguably, the richness and variety of the quarry negated the need for importing other foreign materials as indicators of prestige. Similarly, the rock quarried near Ávila is nearly non-existent outside the immediate

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[22] Cohen, "Introduction: Stories of Stone," 7.

[23] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedents," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113, no. 1 (1943): 20/30: "E este Çorraquin Sancho yaze en san Silvestre en la mas onrrada sepultura."

[24] See, for example, Sarah M. Guérin's work cited above.

bounds of the bioregion (explained below); thus, the utilization of granite from La Colilla was a particularly localized tradition in the medieval construction of the city's urban development. Despite the fact that Ávila's population arrived willingly from elsewhere or were forcibly brought to settle Ávila, the diverse population, at least the multi-regional Christian population, found meaning and use in on-site building materials.[25] The local nature of the construction parallels, in my view, internal urban pressures and conflict, a viewpoint often overlooked because of Ávila's rich historical tradition as a "frontier" city during the so-called Reconquest. Nevertheless, the question of how a foreign population interacted with autochthonous materials is one I hope to examine further in subsequent studies.

Bioregionalism

Using the buildings' material as a point of departure for research, I define Ávila as a bioregion delimited by its rare local granites. As defined in Peter Berg's own words, "A bioregion is a geographic area defined by natural characteristics, including watersheds, landforms, soils, geological qualities, native plants and animals, climate, and weather."[26] An environmentalist and activist, Berg founded the bioregionalist movement as a grassroots approach to sustainable living in local communities.[27] In contrast to the overly broad reach of government agencies or environmental organizations, his cure for today's climate disaster was rooted in small communities understanding their local ecologies, or bioregions, and developing

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[25] As I mention above, unfortunately, cultural heritage from Ávila's robust medieval plural populations does not exist and thus it is difficult to include in my analysis.

[26] Cheryl Glotfelty and Eve Quesnel, "Bioregionalism Comes to Japan: An interview of Peter Berg by Richard Evanoff, 1998," in *The Biosphere and the Bioregion: Essential Writings of Peter Berg Series: Routledge Environmental Humanities*, edited by Cheryll Glotfelty and Eve Quesnel, 138-48, (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 138.

[27] Cheryl Glotfelty, "Introduction," in *The Biosphere and the Bioregion: Essential Writings of Peter Berg Series: Routledge Environmental Humanities*, edited by Cheryll Glotfelty and Eve Quesnel, 1-11, (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 1.

practical relationships and sustainable practices within those unique environments. His work not only inspired a shift in approaches to sustainability, but also laid broader foundations for fields like environmental humanities. Building on Berg's ideas, I argue that the environmental conditions that created the colorful granites used to monumentalize medieval Ávila are exceptionally rare on earth and therefore delimit their own bioregion.

Ávila's medieval monuments are overwhelmingly constructed using three types of distinctive granites sourced from the village of La Colilla, eight kilometers west of the capital. Setting Ávila apart from other medieval locations, three varieties of granites in varying colors are found in a single location, providing the medieval makers of Ávila a varied palette to develop the city's built environment. Due to environmental conditions in millennia past, the La Colilla quarries consist of three types of stone in three distinct layers: *piedra sangrante*, *piedra caleña,* and grey granite. The red-white marbled *piedra sangrante* and *piedra caleña*, with its orange-pink hue, received their distinctive coloration because the site of La Colilla experienced excessive "paleoweathering" (rain, snow, wind, sunlight, etc.) during the Mesozoic period. [28] As the weathering event struck the surface of the earth, it altered the mineralogic properties of the upper layers of the quarry and created the most striking marbled sub-type, *piedra sangrante*, and underneath, a vein of the orange-pink *piedra caleña*. As a result of the geologic process, iron oxide infused the *piedra sangrante* and *piedra caleña* with its peculiar red-marbled and ochre-pink hues.[29] In addition to producing the colorful stones, paleoweathering also degraded the granite, damaging the integrity of the stone in the quarry's upper layers. Although sometimes

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[28] Jacinta García -Talegon, et al., "Heritage Stone 5. Silicified Granites (Bleeding Stone and Ocher Granite) as Global Heritage Stone Resources from Ávila, Central Spain," *Geoscience Canada* 43, no. 1 (2016): 54. "Paleoweathering" refers to environmental or atmospheric disruption like rain, snow, wind, and sunlight that happened millions of years ago, J. García-Talegón, et al., "Granitos empleados en Ávila-España," *Materiales de construcción* 44, no. 233 (1994): 23.

[29] J. García-Talegón, et al., "Granitos empleados," 26.

mistakenly referred to as sandstone (*arenisca*) because of their grainy, erodible quality, these rocks are more accurately understood as "weathered granites," or "silicified granites," a term coined by Jacinta Garcia-Talegon et al.[30] Below the upper quarry layers of weathered granites, the final foundation of grey granite remained unaffected by weathering and retains its hard, sturdy character.

Through human intervention of hewing, transporting, and building, the bioregion extends from the material's origin in the village of La Collila to the capital city of Ávila, encapsulating the quarry village as well as the urban zone of Ávila made up of Colilla-built structures. Within the bounds of Ávila city, porphyry bedrock and *spolia* leftover from cultures past additionally delimit the bioregion's material availability. Such human interference is what Ian Hodder calls human-thing entanglement, whose defining aspect is that "humans get caught in a double-bind, depending on things that depend on humans."[31] Hodder builds off of the work of Bill Brown, inserting human-thing entanglement into the overarching thing theory that relates to subject-object relationships and how inanimate objects affect human experience.[32] The stone-built

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[30] J. García-Talegón, "Granitos empleados," 26; José Ignacio García de los Ríos Cobo and Juan Manuel Baez Mezquita, *La piedra in Castilla y León*, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), 29. These authors describe the stone as somewhere "between" a granite and a sandstone. Geologically speaking, a sandstone is defined as a depositional stone compared to a granite which is an igneous rock formed from magma. Therefore, while weathered granites share some characteristics with sandstone, La Colilla rock is a true granite formed by magma that has been semi-eroded by atmospheric effects then re-cemented over the course of millennia. As the granite eroded during the paleoweathering event, silica (quartz) resisted degradation, meaning *piedra caleña* and *piedra sangrante* have higher concentrations of silica than the grey granite below. The sand grains that were then cemented back into rock as hydrated silica (opal) bound the quartz crystals and other minerals together, forming the *piedra caleña* and *piedra sangrante*, J. García-Talegón, et al., "Granitos empleados en Ávila-España," 26. As explained to me by UC Davis soil scientist, Iris Holzer, on January 25, 2021, it is rare in the geologic record for a weathering event like this to be interrupted; typically the granite would continue to be eroded fully into sand, but here in La Colilla, the *piedra caleña* and *piedra sangrante* were stopped in an intermediate stage between weathering and full erosion making it a very unusual rock and attracting the attention of many scientific studies. Today the quarry is endangered and can only be exploited with special permission for the restoration of historic buildings.

[31] Ian Hodder, "Human-thing Entanglement: Towards an Integrated Archaeological Perspective," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17, no. 1 (2011): 154-77, esp. 155; Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry*, 28, no. 1, Things (Autumn, 2001): 1-22.

[32] Hodder, "Human-thing Entanglement," 154.

monuments of medieval Ávila, constructed with human hands, are dependent on the quarries, especially the three separate granite types that conveyed distinct messages within medieval society. Berg describes the ecological importance of a bioregion, while Hodder and Brown provide the foundation for studying man-made structures within that landscape. Through human intervention, resource (stone) becomes thing (wall, building, sculpture). In this way, the city emerged as an interplay between human and nonhuman, human and stone.

A bioregion is bounded by specific environmental features that create their own frontier. Though part of a larger geographical region, that is the arid, high elevation landscape of the Central Meseta which extends across the provinces of Madrid, Castile and León, Extremadura, and Castilla-La Mancha, Ávila occupies a more specific bioregion defined by the location and use of stone originating in the quarries of La Colilla, eight kilometers west of the city's center.[33] In this way I adopt the idea of a bioregion as a lens through which to examine medieval Ávila as a frontier city. As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen explains, stone "invites world-building."[34] In fact, historians Bernard Reilly and Lucy Pick have both suggested that the ability of Christian rulers to successfully found cities is what ultimately led to successful Christian conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.[35] Moreover, Berg notes, "Humans adapt themselves to the natural characteristics of a bioregion in an appropriate way,"— a concept that is apt in Ávila where the settlers exploited

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[33] The region of La Colilla is part of a larger geologic formation known as the Iberian Hercynian Basement which underlies much of the western peninsula.

[34] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Inhuman Nature*, (Washington, DC: Oliphaunt Books, 2014): iii.

[35] Bernard Reilly, "French Influence in Leon Castilla," in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, edited by Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris, 85-109, (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

local materials in very specific ways to build a new town, a fortified town, a frontier town, but also to assert power structures, divide urban and social space, and tell a narrative.[36]

Through material, Ávila functions as a frontier within a frontier—the boundary of the bioregion lies within the boundary typically featured in Iberian studies, that is, the frontier between Christian and Muslim Iberia. Understanding medieval Ávila through the lens of bioregionalism highlights an environmental boundary that had consequences for architectural and material choices. The thread of bioregionalism underscores my project with a local focus, implementing limits and encouraging my dissertation research to engage more with internal themes rather than concentrate solely on Ávila's role in the broader Iberian or global context. Moreover, a material focus acknowledges the importance of the environment in city building and encourages a reexamination of definitions of boundaries, barriers, and frontiers.

Frontier Studies

The history of Ávila tends to be studied through the lens of "frontier" without critically engaging with a nuanced consideration of the term. More specifically, the field of "frontier studies" was born out of an American imperialist perspective at the end of the nineteenth century when Fredrick Jackson Turner argued that the westward movement of American expansionism into "free land" is what produced the American character of individualism, egalitarianism, and democracy.[37] The same colonial attitude was translated into Spanish historiography as the field of frontier studies developed hand in hand with studies of the "*Reconquista.*" In the 1950s,

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[36] Glotfelty and Quesnel, "Bioregionalism Comes to Japan," 138.

[37] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, (Penguin UK, 2008). Originally published in 1893. For a summary of Turner's thesis and its scholarly impact, see William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1987): 157-76. Wilbur R. Jacobs, though critical of Turner, asserts that his theory "remains one of the most important contributions to historical thought ever made by an American," in Robert I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by Robert Bartlett, and Angus MacKay, 307-30, (Oxford, 1992; online edition, Oxford Academic, 2011), 309.

Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz defined the Castilian frontier as a previously uninhabited "buffer zone," newly conquered and populated by free Christian peasants whose new-found freedoms, the result of liberal benefits offered to frontier colonists, constituted a "whirlwind of liberty."[38] Sánchez-Albornoz's or Turner's vision of the frontier was one of "empty" land to be colonized through military means and settlement—the Manifest Destiny of Turner's American West or the "whirlwind of liberty" of Sánchez-Albornoz's medieval Castilian no-man's land.[39] Sánchez-Albornoz's work linked frontier, "*Reconquista*," and "*repoblación*" for generations of medievalists, and while flawed, this connection still persists in much of the scholarship devoted to the history of Ávila today.[40]

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars within a variety of fields have recognized the need to define "frontier," acknowledging the term's complex interplay between geographical boundaries, military history, political structures, and cultural contact. Geographers distinguished between "converging frontiers" and "frontiers of separation," sometimes also called "frontiers of settlement" and "political frontiers."[41] The former refers to "land of opportunity" in which humans battle nature, the elements, and themselves in order to settle it—

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[38] Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Espana, un enigma historico*, (Editorial Sudamericana, 1956). For a summary of Sánchez-Albornoz and his scholarly impact see especially Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Second Revised Edition*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[39] Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier: Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, Eighth to Eleventh Centuries," in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700,* edited by Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, 32-54, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1999), 35. Manzano himself brings up the failings of this definition of frontier. He also notes that while there is no evidence Sánchez-Albornoz knew of Turner's work, his theories fall within Turner's thesis.

[40] María del Carmen Carlé also acknowledges "*la Reconquista y la repoblación en la raíz de los procesos históricos del medieval español*," in *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1968), 45.

[41] Daniel Power, "Introduction," in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700,* edited by Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, 1-31, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1999), 2-3. These terms were coined by Daniel Power. Eduardo Manzano refers to "frontiers of settlement" as "expanding frontiers," see Manzano, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 35.

like Turner's outdated understanding of the American West, as an example. In contrast, "political frontiers," a more European application of the term, constitutes a militarized barrier between states or peoples.[42] Eduardo Manzano, historian of Islamic Spain, additionally defines two other frontier categories often studied in the field: "unstable frontiers" are volatile boundaries dependent on political, military, or diplomatic factors while "enclosing frontiers" divide fixed, mutually exclusive, well-defined social, cultural, economic, or political regions.[43] Magdalena Naum, writing from the perspective of an historical archeologist, provides a more inclusive definition relating not only to the premodern world: "Frontiers thus emerge as fragmented landscapes, distinguished by fluidity in social and cultural spheres and by the multiple loyalties and identities of their inhabitants."[44] The varied definitions highlight an all-too-common problem in which, as Nora Berend points out, so many studies hinge on the idea of "frontier," while few take the time to define the term which can alternately refer to cultural, military, political, gender, social, or racial boundaries.[45]

The emergence of the *Annales* School and social history as a field affected how we conceive of and study frontiers and marked the beginning of recognizing their cross-cultural potential. Fernand Braudel was foundational in establishing an approach to history that looked

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[42] Power, "Introduction," 2-3.

[43] Manzano, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 35.

[44] Magdalena Naum, "Re-emerging Frontiers: Postcolonial Theory and Historical Archaeology of the Borderlands," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 17 (2010): 102. However, as scholars before me have noted, much of the research carried out by geographers or political scientists on frontiers comes from modern perspectives and does not well apply to the premodern world which tended to lack sovereign polities or even strong centrally-controlled governments. Even in the Roman Empire, Daniel Power points out, that while borders were important administratively and some had defensive structures, ultimately the "Romans' universalist creed divided the world into lands already conquered and lands to be conquered, rather than into the empire and its neighbours," see Power, "Introduction," 3-4. Therefore, our modern idea of frontiers with unsurpassable walls and violent immigration agents meant to keep people out cannot equally be applied to medieval contexts.

[45] Nora Berend, "Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier," *The Medieval History Journal* 2, no. 1 (1999): 55-72.

beyond a study of political figures and isolated events, and instead placed kings and wars, queens and battles within the broader context of society and geography. Braudel's groundbreaking work, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, set forth a three-level model of history that recognized the interaction between the *longue durée* of the environment, societies and cultures, and historical events—a methodological shift that transformed historical inquiry, including frontier studies.[46] Co-founder of the *Annales* School, Lucien Febvre, also elucidated an important contribution when he traced the history of the relationship between "political frontiers" and "boundaries," which he asserted did not merge as one concept until the nineteenth century.[47] Therefore, a frontier was not a fixed boundary between civilized and uncivilized realms, but rather a construct dependent on "the rise of the nation-state, which accentuated the moral differences in nationalities."[48] The impact of the *Annales* School redefined a frontier as a cross-cultural space, as opposed to a stagnant dividing line and set the stage for subsequent studies from a more holistic point of view.

Several volumes edited by historians published at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century have established frontier studies as a central theme in the field of history. In 1989, Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay published *Medieval Frontier Societies*, containing a variety of essays concerning different geographic regions within Europe, including work written by Robert I. Burns and Manuel González Jiménez dedicated to medieval Spain.[49] A

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[46] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* (Oakland: University of California Press: 2023).

[47] Power, "Introduction," 4. Febvre's study focused on the French terms for these—*limites* and *frontières*—and also notes that because of different languages, different terms had different meanings over time.

[48] Charles Richard Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994): 7f.

[49] Angus MacKay and Robert Bartlett, eds., *Medieval Frontier Societies*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). See also, Robert I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages;" Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and

few years later, Bartlett published his highly impactful, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, drawing peripheral frontier areas of Northern and Eastern Europe into the field, arguing that these expanding frontiers "made" Europe.[50] Both of these books skew towards northern European societies providing a lacuna to be filled by Daniel Power and Naomi Standen's volume, *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, which centers on Eurasian communities including Northern China and Syria.[51] This volume's focus tends toward military and political history and investigating mechanisms of control in frontier zones. David Abulafia and Nora Berend's volume, *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, focuses on religious and cultural encounters in frontier zones and acknowledges the ambiguity and imprecision of frontier definitions.[52] The recent publication edited by historian Cynthia Radding and anthropologist Danna A. Levin Rojo, *The Oxford Handbook of Borderlands of the Iberian World*, incorporates essays that concern race, enslavement, indigeneity, and environmental studies within the imperial spheres of the Iberian world, demonstrating a critical move away from Euro-centric research on frontiers.[53] The dozens of essays within these varied volumes have provided a vast corpus for investigating global medieval

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Settlement." Robert I. Burns describes two versions of frontier theories which he calls "Neo-Turnerian": one version understands frontier as the relocation of people in order to settle a new place and the resultant cultural shifts that evolved from it, the other sees cultural interaction through the lens of "osmotic interchange" after violent conquest. In this first group, Burns placed Bishko and his publications, "Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History" and "Medieval Ranching Frontier." In the latter category he placed his own work and that of Thomas Glick.

[50] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[51] Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, eds., *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1999).

[52] David Abulafia and Nora Berend, eds., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, (New York: Routledge, 2017). The geographic center of the majority of the essays in this publication is the Mediterranean world, however it also includes chapters on the Baltic region, Poland, and the British Isles.

[53] Danna A. Levin Rojo and Cynthia Radding, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Borderlands of the Iberian World*, (Oxford University Press, 2019).

frontiers and borders. While historians have played a key role in developing the field of frontier studies, political frontiers and their military history have been their primary concern, while archeologists, anthropologists, and art historians have advanced the field with novel methodologies.

Postcolonial theories have greatly strengthened the field of frontier studies by correcting the outdated, colonialist, and racist theories that originally defined the field. For one, scholars now recognize the perspectives of the marginalized and colonized—neither was the American west "empty" nor the Castilian "buffer zone" uninhabited.[54] Using postcolonial theories, anthropologists and archeologists have reframed our understanding of processes of acculturation, namely that a dominant culture did not *impose* their way of life on a subordinate one. Anthropologists pushed to reframe frontiers as "zones of interaction" in which the focus of study concerns inter-ethnic relationships and the (re)forming of identities under frontier conditions.[55] Anthropologists have also been critical in challenging the "core-periphery" foundation of frontier studies that views the frontier as a peripheral zone dependent on a central governing or controlling body.[56] Naum presents postcolonial theories as a broad "conceptual toolbox" for scholars across disciplines to consider the confrontations, incompatibilities, ideologies, tensions,

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[54] Manzano Moreno, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 32-54. For a summary of these developments, see Naum, "Re-emerging Frontiers," 101-31, esp. 105.

[55] Magdalena Naum, "Re-emerging FArontiers," 105-06. For her own work, she finds the work of Homi Bhabha especially useful, in particular his concept of the "Third Space" which she applies to two vastly different frontier zones later in her article: medieval Denmark/Northwestern Slavic area and North American Praying Indian Towns in the seventeenth century.

[56] Magdalena Naum, "Re-emerging Frontiers,"104. Naum herself is a historical archeologist and she specifically cites the work of anthropologists Kent Lightfoot and Antoinette Martínez, "Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective," *Annual review of Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (1995): 471-92. See also the work of Oona Paredes who focuses on the indigenous Lumad people of the southern Philippines: "More Indigenous than Others: The Paradox of Indigeneity among the Higaunon Lumad," *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia,* 2022 (forthcoming). Core-periphery ideas are also greatly influenced by Immanuel Wallenstein's World Systems Theory (WST).

and also common ground between culturally distinct peoples and the responses of material culture within such contexts.[57] Over time, and with the groundbreaking work of scholars in a variety of fields, the understanding of frontier as a geographical boundary, or fixed militarized line, expanded to become a permeable contact zone with complex social, cultural, political, and artistic interaction.

The intersection of art history and frontier studies provides a necessary visual component to examine the fluid, hybrid, and complex nature of frontiers espoused by historians and anthropologists above. English-language art historical scholarship has been at the forefront of developing a broader understanding of frontiers, especially as contact zones. Eva Hoffman's research highlights the connecting side of frontiers—the extensive cross-cultural trade networks and shared visual languages across culturally and religiously distinct areas in the medieval Mediterranean world. She argues that "identity and meaning were informed through circulation and networks of connection rather than through singular sources of origin" with reference to small portable objects circulating throughout the Mediterranean basin.[58] While many portable objects originally made for Islamic audiences ended up in Christian treasuries and have since been examined through a triumphalist lens, art historians have shown that exchange was not monodirectional. Miriam Rosser-Owen describes the possibility for additional modes of transfer beyond booty, including relic translation as a politically-motivated exchange between ever-

[57] Magdalena Naum, "Re-emerging Frontiers," 105-06.

[58] Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (2001): 21. Her study focuses on small portable objects from the medieval Mediterranean and highlights how so many "appear indistinguishable" despite being attributed to different provenances. Another important publication in this field is Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), which concerns the mobility and translation of objects between frontier territories of Hindu and Muslim South Asia.

shifting allied kingdoms.[59] Her goal is to broaden our perspective beyond the "terms of opposing binaries" of Christian vs. Muslim. Therese Martin and her team have devoted the past few years to analyzing medieval European church treasuries and have demonstrated the value of objects in representing the high level of transculturality between medieval Christendom and Islam.[60] Objects crossed frontiers in all directions as gifts, *spolia*, booty, and commercial goods. The above examples hail from a medieval Iberian context, an epicenter for investigating artistic and cultural exchange across frontiers that also raises particular challenges.

As explained at the beginning of this section, frontier studies in Spain are many times synonymous with study of the so-called *Reconquista*, that is, a militarized Christian-centric point of view. In fact, maps of shifting frontiers and incremental conquests are omnipresent in textbooks and articles alike, framing the history of medieval Iberia as a series of mercurial military boundaries.[61] The military interpretation of frontier has greatly impacted medieval Spanish historiography including through the work of Charles Julian Bishko who argued that the

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[59] Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translation and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia," *Art in translation* 7, no. 1 (2015): 56. For example, many Roman, Visigothic, and Byzantine objects were reappropriated in medieval Islamic contexts—Roman spolia in Medina-al-Zahra; Visigothic capitals in a Toledo mosque; and Byzantine marbles as gravestones for medieval Muslims of Egypt, see Susana Calvo Capilla, "The Reuse of Classical Antiquity in the Palace of Madinat al-Zahraʾ and Its Role in the Construction of Caliphal Legitimacy," *Muqarnas Online* 31, no. 1 (2014): 1-33; Susana Calvo Capilla, "La Mezquita de Bab al-Mardum y el proceso de consagración de pequeñas mezquitas en Toledo (s. XII-XIII)." *Al-Qantara* 20, no. 2 (1999): 299-330; Finbarr B. Flood, "The Medieval Trophy as an Art Historical Trope: Coptic and Byzantine 'Altars' in Islamic Contexts," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 41-72.

[60] Therese Martin, "The Medieval Iberian Treasury in Context: Collections, Connections, and Representations on the Peninsula and Beyond," National Research Challenge Grant, Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation, and Universities, AEI/FEDER, RTI2018-098615-B-I00 (2019-2022). One recent publication that came out of this project is: Therese Martin, ed., *The Medieval Iberian Treasury in the Context of Cultural Interchange (Expanded Edition),* (Leiden: Brill, 2020). Another of the project's focus is female patronage in the establishment of church treasuries.

[61] See Ann Christys, "Crossing the Frontier of Ninth-Century Hispania," in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, (New York: Routledge, 2017): 51-70. Rose Walker also highlights this issue in her textbook: *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages*, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016).

Christian expansion south was mainly dependent on Iberia's military orders.[62] Elena Lourie's canonical essay, "A Society Organized for War," argued that Iberian culture was born from military needs.[63] These ideas continue to permeate understandings of medieval Iberian realities, attracting terms like "frontier society," which Nora Berend warns are so broad and vague as to become useless.[64] Mediating medieval Spanish frontiers through the lens of Christian conquest also imposes a false narrative of a Christian vs. Muslim medieval Spain.[65]

Examining medieval Iberia's frontiers in terms of battles won by Christian forces privileges the side of the conquering Christians. However, on the "other" side of any given frontier Muslims had their own relationship to it and the peoples beyond it. David Wasserstein writes, "the Umayyads saw in the Christians on their borders and their struggles with them simply a protracted border problem, without any implicit religious or ideological content or promise for themselves."[66] Moreover, Manzano points out that the frontier between Muslim and

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[62] Charles Julian Bishko, "The Castilian as Plainsman: The Medieval Ranching Frontier in La Mancha and Extremadura," in *The European Opportunity*, edited by Felipe Fernández-Armesto, 255-77, (New York: Routledge, 1995).

[63] Elena Lourie, "A Society Organized for War," *Past & Present*, vol. 35, 1 (1966): 54–76.

[64] Berend, "Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier," 60.

[65] What historiography recognizes as the Iberian *Reconquista* was the gradual conquest of the Iberian Peninsula by Christian rulers conducted over several centuries. Its details and definitions are debated, but it is generally agreed that it was motivated by *both* a desire for territorial expansion and a belief that Christian rulers were the "rightful" heirs to the Visigothic kingdom which had been overthrown by Muslim forces in 711 CE, thus justifying conquest (reclaiming) of al-Andalus. At the same time, Christian conquest of Iberia was not a unified nor linear effort. Fragmented Christian kingdoms battled each other, many times allied with Islamic polities to overthrow another Christian power. Additionally, cities and regions were alternately conquered and reconquered by Christian or Muslim forces many times over across decades and centuries. Although an ideology of "reconquest" was very real in the medieval Iberian Christian psyche, especially outlined in medieval chronicles, it was not the defining characteristic of medieval Spain. On the topic of "Reconquest Ideology," see David J. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002-1086*. He argues that the eleventh century, and in particular the conquest of Toledo in 1085, was a significant turning point for the Christian kingdoms of Iberia which marked a point where military action caught up with a preexisting belief of Christian supremacy and a desire for territorial expansion that had endured since the eighth century.

[66] David J. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings,* 22; Peter Linehan, "At the Spanish Frontier," in *The Medieval World*, edited by Peter Linehan, Janet Laughland Nelson, and Marios Costambeys, 33-54 (London: Routledge, 2001): 38.

Christian medieval Spain was imagined differently for each ruling power: Christians saw the frontier as an expanding frontier or frontier of settlement, while Islamic rulers viewed the frontier as an enclosing one, a fixed boundary. He explains that the term for "frontier" in Arabic, *thagr* (pl. *thugūr*), defines the separation between the territory of *dār al-Islam*, Muslim lands, and the land of non-believers.[67] Arabists like Wasserstein and Manzano have been crucial in drawing the Islamic perspective into frontier studies of premodern Iberia. Their work also highlights a historiographic and linguistic problem that plagues the study of medieval Spain—that is, that "Christian Spain" and "Muslim Spain" have been studied from distinct perspectives as two separate realms.[68]

Linguistic limitations and academic divisions impose an inaccurate binary of Christian vs. Muslim in medieval Iberia. However, in terms of political alliances, neither Christian nor Islamic kingdoms were united and co-religionists fought each other as often as they fought the "other."[69] During the reign of Queen Urraca (r. 1109-1126), for example, the Castilians and Leonese engaged in war against Urraca's estranged husband, Alfonso I of Aragon (r. 1104-1134), and his Aragonese supporters in the early twelfth century.[70] Furthermore, while independent Christian and Islamic kingdoms populated the peninsula, there was always contact, crossover, and exchange between these culturally distinct polities. In fact, Manzano Moreno

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[67] Manzano, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 37-39.

[68] Manzano highlights this issue in his article, "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier." The study of either Latin *or* Arabic continues to divide the field between Hispanists and Islamicists. A flaw I myself am guilty of, having only studied Arabic in a preliminary way.

[69] Manzano describes the Christian kingdoms of Iberia as "unstable frontiers," "The Creation of a Medieval Frontier," 37.

[70] See Angus Mackay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*. This is just one example of many wars between Christian kingdoms in Iberia. Fratricidal kings were especially common in medieval Iberia because of the tradition of splitting up kingdoms between brothers and heirs after the death of a king.

challenges the idea of a Christian-Muslim frontier predating the early-eleventh century in the Duero River valley, where instead diverse rural populations roamed and commingled.[71] Frontiers between Christian-controlled and Muslim-controlled lands were not impassable barriers. As highlighted above, objects and ideas journeyed freely across cultural, religious, and geographic frontiers. Examples of the permeability of Iberian Christian/Muslim frontiers are omnipresent: Navarrese royalty and Cordoban emirs shared bloodlines; Subh, the Christian concubine mother of Caliph al-Hakam became regent of the Caliphate of Córdoba after his father's death; the minor noble, El Cid, gained celebrity fighting for Muslim rulers against Christian and Almoravid enemies alike; Alfonso X sponsored translations of Arabic and Hebrew texts into Latin and Castilian.[72] Medieval Iberia was characterized by cultural exchange rather than restrictive frontiers where kings, queens, emirs, and caliphs did not discriminate when it came to declaring enemies, and self-interest was not bound by religious beliefs.

Nora Berend calls for a move away from the term "frontier" if not clearly defined. Her article, "Medievalists and the Notion of Frontier," traces the pitfalls so many of us make while embarking on a so-called frontier study. Frontiers can be linear or zonal, imprecise or well-defined, they encapsulate military campaigns but also social interaction, they can delimit administrative, religious, cultural, or social boundaries, with or without infrastructure indicating such limits. She questions the usefulness of the term, challenging whether a traditional

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[71] Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "Christian-Muslim Frontier in al-Andalus: Idea and Reality," in *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe,* edited by Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock, 83-99, (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1994); Berend, "Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier," 63.

[72] See Kim Bergqvist, Kurt Villads Jensen, and Anthony John Lappin, eds., *Conflict and Collaboration in Medieval Iberia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020).

understanding of "frontier" even exists, or if it can be described in other more precise terms.[73] Thus, it is crucial that I define my terms before proceeding.

And now to return to the subject of this dissertation: Ávila. How do we understand Ávila within this complex historiographic sphere? Medieval Ávila lay on a political frontier—it was a militarized city built with clear intent to create a system of defense for Castile against its aggressive neighbors, both Christian and Muslim. The city itself was also a frontier of settlement, though not completely depopulated—Sánchez-Albornoz's theory having been disproven many times over—it was still a relatively rural region, in a climactically harsh environment that outsiders moved to in droves in order to take advantage of the opportunities that new settlement provided. The city was controlled by Christian administrators—local, royal, ecclesiastical—and therefore, while simultaneously home to a large plural population, in fact one of the largest in all of Castile, where many Jews and Muslims gained significant wealth and influence, medieval Ávila comprised a cultural frontier as a Christian outpost abutting Andalusi populations to the south and east (though across some distance). Before the arrival of Christian settlers beginning at the end of the eleventh century, spurred by the *fuero*'s enticements, Ávila had never boasted such significant urban development nor royal interest. Its position in a newly strategic geographical area, which I define as a political and settlement frontier for the Crown of Castile, was precisely what engendered the city's existence, re-establishment of the diocese, and monumental growth. In other words, the context of frontier—that is a military campaign that led to territorial expansion and the redrawing of administrative lines—was responsible for Ávila becoming an urban center beginning at the end of the eleventh century. However, throughout this

[73] Berend, "Medievalists and the Notion of Frontier."

dissertation, heeding Berend's advice, I avoid the term "frontier" without more specific descriptors.

In addition, I challenge the notion of Ávila as an archetypical "frontier city," a term originally coined by José María Lacarra in 1963.[74] Firstly, its walls do not contain the city. The majority of the city's monuments lay unprotected on the outside of the walls. Based on the locations and chronology of Ávila's parish churches which acted as central nodes of a given neighborhood and therefore also loci of population density, the city walls excluded significant preexisting urban expansion when they were raised in the twelfth century. Secondly, Ávila lacks hybrid architecture so recognizable in other conquered lands. While Ávila may share some characteristics with so-called frontier cities around the globe—walls, defenses, fortified spaces, martial iconography—it cannot be considered an "archetypal" or "quintessential" frontier city. Such an example does not exist. Every historical context is unique and complex. Therefore, instead of investigating precisely how Ávila may or may not be an "archetypal" frontier city, I ask what can frontier studies offer as a methodological tool?

By merging material studies and frontier studies, I bring new insight to traditional themes: frontier and settlement, urban fortifications, regional parish church architecture, and fortified sacred structures. Analyzing materials enables me to look beyond the purely defensive roles of fortifications to uncover the symbolic messages and social narratives fortified structures simultaneously conveyed. Ávila was not only, maybe not even primarily, a city representing overarching Christian dominion over newly-won Andalusi land; it was a city full of internal borders with complex social relationships and conflicts, playing out through, and reflected in,

[74] José María Lacarra, "Les villes-frontière dans l'Espagne des XIe et XIIe siècles," *Le Moyen Age* 75 (1963): 205-22. He is cited by later historians who employ the structure of his publication which includes sections on urban layout, economic, and social structures.

architectural, urban, and material choices. Examining the concept of frontier through an environmental lens by defining bioregional borders encourages a focus on hyper-local realities and how a socially diverse, plural society responded to life on a dangerous, but opportunistic, frontier. Despite significant growth, the nascent city was still very much an unstable environment in which political and religious powers were built slowly, and raids and battles were common place. [75] I take "frontier" as a jumping off point to consider novel theoretical applications of the term, in this particular case with refence to material and environmental boundaries.

Art and Architectural Historiography in Ávila

While Ávila has attracted scholarly attention from a frontier studies perspective, its art history is dramatically less studied. Ávila's exceptional preservation of so many medieval monuments, including both sacred and civil examples, provides rich source material for art historical study, yet the existing historiography on medieval Ávila lacks sufficient art historical perspectives. The prevailing art historical scholarship on Ávila's medieval architecture has prioritized analysis of style, particularly focused on the identification of Romanesque and Gothic elements, over materiality.

Manuel Gómez-Moreno's *Catálogo Monumental de la Provincia de Ávila* was the first to recognize Ávila's medieval architectural value. He catalogued Ávila's medieval buildings combining textual evidence and visual analysis. His careful study, although a century old, is the foundation on which subsequent art historical research is built, in some cases to the detriment of

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[75] The *Crónica* lays out many of the skirmishes that Ávila's earliest inhabitants experienced—Muslim raids, attempted incursions from rival Christian kings including that of Alfonso I of Aragon, mounted raids on the part of Ávila's knights into other's territory. In addition, archival documents as well as chronicles describe clerics of Ávila dying on the battlefield for the Crown of Castile. According to Carramolino, one nineteenth-century chronicler, Ávila continuously changed hands between Muslim and Christian rulers; seven times under Christian rule, seven times under Muslim rule, however this information does not have documented proof, see J. Martín Carramolino, *Historia de Ávila, su provincial y su obispado,* (Madrid: Librería Española, 1872-1873). Many of these events are discussed throughout this dissertation, especially in chapters one and two.

novel investigative paths, as you will read throughout this dissertation. More recently, María Margarita Vila da Vila's 1999 study is the most comprehensive survey on Ávila's medieval landscape.[76] In it, Vila da Vila categorizes Ávila's surviving parish church sculpture and among other conclusions, she establishes a relative dating system organizing Ávila's parish churches into two chronological groups; a dating system that I employ in this dissertation.[77]

Architectural surveys like Vila da Vila's are commonplace in Spanish-language historiography and are typically regionally specific, aimed at identifying stylistic characteristics particular to one area, city, or province. The most widely-used survey is the multi-volume *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León* (*The Encyclopedia of Romanesque in Castile and León*), in which informative entries on so-called Romanesque structures of each of Castile and León's provinces (Ávila, Segovia, Zamora, etc.) are listed in encyclopedic form. Each volume of the *Enciclopedia* also includes auxiliary chapters, including José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo's opener to Ávila's volume: "Románico y mudéjar en las tierras de Ávila" ("Romanesque and Mudejar in the Lands of Ávila").[78] Here, Gutiérrez Robledo highlights the preponderance of stone-built churches in the capital city in contrast to the more common brick-built architecture throughout the rest of the province—a topic I will address at length in chapter four of this dissertation. The primary goal of these surveys is to define a regional style and compile building

[76] María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999). It should also be noted that English-language art-historical studies on Ávila's medieval monuments are non-existent, in this way my dissertation makes another significant contribution to the field.

[77] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica,* 92. Vila da Vila compares sculpture from San Pedro and San Vicente of Ávila to the collegiate churches of Santillana del Mar, San Martín de Elines, and Cervatos in the north of the peninsula to establish this stylistic system of dating. See also *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea and José María Pérez González, coordinated by José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 181.

[78] José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudéjar en las tierras de Ávila," in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea and José María Pérez González, coordinated by José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, 39-62, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002).

histories, yet they often lack in-depth socio-cultural analysis or even extensive citations. While Gutiérrez Robledo's and Vila da Vila's knowledge of Ávila's buildings and archives are unmatched, their surveys are beholden to stylistic categorizations that do not well apply in Ávila, thus necessitating review from novel perspectives.[79]

In addition to Ávila's surviving parish churches, the city's fortified cathedral has similarly inspired architectural analysis. María Ángeles Benito Pradillo's 2011 dissertation submitted in the school of architecture in Madrid's Polytechnic University is the most recent investigation of the cathedral's construction.[80] Though a comprehensive study from an architect's structural perspective, her art-historical analysis lacks a critical eye, pigeonholing cathedral architecture into the limitations of Romanesque and Gothic categories and repeating debated art historical theories as fact.[81]

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[79] On the Iberian Peninsula, "Romanesque" architecture was still being constructed well into the thirteenth century, long after the Île-de-France had adopted the new "Gothic" style in the second half of the twelfth century. For example, in Ávila, the construction of San Vicente, considered a paragon of Castilian Romanesque, stretched well into the second half of the twelfth century, making its later building campaign contemporaneous with the initiation of Ávila's so-called "Gothic" cathedral. For recent discussions about the terms "Romanesque" and "Gothic" see Eric Fernie's textbook, *Romanesque Architecture: the First Style of the European Age*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Matthew M. Reeve, "Gothic," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 233-46; Stephen Murray, "The Study of Gothic Architecture," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe,* edited by Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006): 382-402. On San Vicente see, Daniel Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones),* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1999).

[80] María Ángeles Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila: evolución constructiva y análisis estructural," PhD diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2011. Benito Pradillo's dissertation is the most recent comprehensive study on the cathedral's architecture. Unfortunately a monograph has yet to be written on this cathedral. The other major works on the cathedral date from the 1960s and 70s: Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, *Ensayo sobre la evolución arquitectónica de la catedral de Ávila* (Ávila: Caja Central de Ahorros y Préstamos, 1974); Ángel Barrios García, *La catedral de Avila en la edad media: estructura socio-jurídica y económica:(hipótesis y problemas)*, (Obra Social y Cultural de la Caja Central de Ahorros y Prestamos de Avila, 1973); Felix de las Heras Hernández, *La catedral de Ávila: Desarrollo histórico-artístico. Según documentos contenidos en el Archivo catedralicio* (Diputación Provincial: Instituto Gran Duque de Alba. 1967).

[81] In some cases, Benito Pradillo misquotes Gómez-Moreno and I take particular issue with her uncritical acceptance of Rodríguez Almeida's theory of a possible anterior cathedral which I discuss in chapter two and in the Cathedral Appendix.

Furthermore, Ávila's city walls are renowned for their size and preserved perimeter and are thus the subject of several studies from a range of scholarly perspectives. Most research approaches the walls from a quantitative perspective, like José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo's essay in the *Historia de Ávila* which lists all the gates, records the shape and size of each tower, charts distances, measures heights of different segments, and catalogues crenellation typology.[82] José María Monsalvo Antón compares Ávila's walls to other walled medieval Iberian cities and is especially concerned with the relationship between walls and topography.[83] Serafín de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra analyze the city walls through the perspective of legend and myth, offering a progressive approach to the study of the walls.[84] These studies are foundational for my own analysis, however recent developments in the study of materiality have yet to be included in this discourse.

In contrast to the field of Art History, Ávila has received its fair share of attention in the field of history in both English and Spanish as the subject of multiple social, economic, and political studies of the Castilian frontier during the period of Christian conquest. In the study of the "*Reconquista*," which arguably underlies all studies of medieval Christian Iberia, Ávila has often played the role of protagonist because the city appears in medieval textual sources relating

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[82] José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas de Ávila," in *Historia de Ávila*, vol. ii, coordinated by Ángel Barrios García, 483-515, (Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, Obra Cultural: Diputación de Ávila, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1998). See also Ángel Barrios García, ed., *La muralla de Avila*, (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003).

[83] José María Monsalvo Antón, "Espacios y poderes en la ciudad medieval. Impresiones a partir de cuatro casos: León, Burgos, Ávila y Salamanca," *Los espacios de poder en la España medieval. XII Semana de Estudios Medievales* (2002): 97-147.

[84] Serafín de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra. "Imágenes mitológicas e históricas del tiempo y del espacio: las murallas de Ávila," in *Para entender las murallas de Ávila: una mirada desde la historia y la antropología*, edited by Serafín de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra, graphics by Jesús María José Sanchidrián Gallego, 11-56, (Valladolid: Ámbito, 2007).

specifically to Christian conquest and frontier settlement.[85] The most notable source is *La crónica de la población de Ávila* (c.1255-1256) which records the legendary Christian founding of the city by heroic knights—a rare, albeit biased, near-contemporary account of Christian conquest and establishment of a frontier city.[86] The *Segunda leyenda de la muy noble, leal y antigua ciudad de Ávila* (1315) is another pertinent source which, relevant to the present study, outlines an early construction of the city's cathedral and walls.[87] Likewise, Ávila appears as the primary subject of a handful of post-medieval antiquarian sources including Fray Luis Ariz's *Historia de las Grandezas de la Ciudad de Ávila* (1607), a heavily biased though detailed account of Ávila's monuments.[88] The aforementioned sources are nowhere near neutral, and are particularly concerned with glorifying the city's founding and its founders. They are also written by elite, Christian men and therefore have a very one-sided perspective that must be considered when analyzing their pages. While the city's medieval monuments are my primary sources, textual sources complement my art historical and material analysis, in fact, some of the chivalrous perspectives contained within them contribute greatly to the historical context necessary for my study, albeit purely from the ruling class's fallible point of view.

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[85] To specify this point more, this is particularly true in the Central Middle Ages (tenth to thirteenth century) in Castile.

[86] Manuel Gómez-Moreno has edited and published the full text here: "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedents," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113, no. 1 (1943).

[87] The *Segunda leyenda* is a legendary text about the founding of Ávila. Barrios has compiled the pieces from various manuscripts into a published edition (2005) using the manuscript 1991 from the University Library of Salamanca as the foundation. This manuscript explains that the *Segunda leyenda* was written by Hernando de Illanes in 1315. It was discovered in 1599 and was copied by an Ávila elite, Luis Pacheco de Espinosa. Barrios notes that Pacheco's intervention was not purely as a copiest, but that he likely added and embellished parts during a time when chroniclers were glorifying the early history of Ávila and its founding knights. In addition, Ávila is briefly mentioned in other medieval chronicles including *La crónica de los estados peninsulares* (1305) and *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (c. 1153-1157) while the city is noticeably absent in Arabic chronicles with the exception of al-Idrisi's geography, addressed in chapter one.

[88] Luis Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas de la Ciudad de Ávila*, (Alcalá de Henares: Luys Martínez Grande, 1607). See also, Gonzalo de Ayora, *Epílogo de algunas cosas pertenecientes a la ilustre e muy magnífica e muy noble e muy leal ciudad de Ávila*, (Madrid: Antonio del Riego, 1851), written in 1519.

The written sources discussed above have laid the foundation for historical studies, including the still relevant canonical work by Ángel Barrios García, *Estructuras agrarias y de poder en Castilla: el ejemplo de Ávila*. This dense two-volume work of history addresses economic and social structures of power in Ávila during the time of Christian conquest and settlement.[89] Essential for contextualizing my architectural and material analysis, Barrios's research is the basis for my understanding of the conflicts between the civil and religious authorities in Ávila's emergent urban society. In addition, since the early aughts, Barrios has published several volumes of Ávila's archival documents including *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII)* (2004) and *Becerro de visitaciones de casas y heredades de la Catedral de Ávila* (2007), encouraging a new generation of scholars like myself to more easily access Ávila's written history.[90] Ávila's archival sources are drawn up by the city's ecclesiastical Christian elite and are lop-sided in that they show only the sale, donation, or transfer from the cathedral or chapter, without input from regular citizens and especially minorities. Nevertheless, archival sources, more than the aforementioned chronicles, have at least shed limited light on names, professions, and interactions of some of Ávila's less-elite or non-Christian inhabitants. In the field of history, such rare medieval textual sources coupled with Barrios's ardent dedication to Ávila's history through archival study has secured the medieval city's place in the

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[89] Barrios García, *Estructuras agrarias*. See also, María Margarita Vila da Vila, "*Repoblación y estructura urbana de Ávila en la edad media*," In *La ciudad y el mundo urbano en la historia de Galicia*, coordinated by Ramón Villares Paz, 137-54, (Universidad de Vigo: Tórculo, 1988). On the minority population of medieval and early modern Ávila, see Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society: The Case of Ávila;" Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1991).

[90] Ángel Barrios García, *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII),* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 2004); Ángel Barrios García, *Becerro de visitaciones de casas y heredades de la Catedral de Ávila,* (*Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba*, 2007). The *Becerro* dates to 1303 and was a census of the cathedral's landholdings which also helps describe much of the city's early-fourteenth-century urban layout.

historiography of Christian conquest including in the works of other eminent historians such as Teofilo Ruiz, Bernard Reilly, and Ana Rodríguez.[91] Because textual evidence has dominated the study of Ávila's medieval history, the city's uncommon monumental survival demands art historical, and especially material, study in order to fill the gaps in the current historiography.

Chapter Summaries

My dissertation is split into two parts (I & II) consisting of four chapters in addition to an annotated digital map. The four chapters present case studies of the city walls, cathedral, and parish churches and examine the employment of divergent local materials in their construction. I use the city walls as a guiding feature for the organization of the present work: Part I concerns the intramural space and includes chapters on the massive city walls and fortified cathedral; Part II relates primarily to extramural space, divided between stone parish churches and the unicum Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza constructed mostly in brick. The spatial division of my dissertation structure serves to reinforce the material divisions seen across Ávila's medieval urban landscape.

To open my dissertation, in chapter one, *Beyond Defense: Power, Identity, and Spolia in Ávila's City Walls*, I argue that the massive city walls were built to express the local secular power, or *concejo.* Their strength was doubly expressed through material, in this case, *spolia* embedded into the city walls. Because *spolia* is incorporated in the walls but is lacking in sacred architecture, it suggests these reused blocks of varying shapes and sizes are a special reflection civil identity and power. Furthermore, I propose that the *concejo* literally and symbolically divided the urban space with the city's walls as a way to privilege a central core populated with

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[91] See: Teofilo F. Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth The Reordering of Castilian Society, 1150-1350*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2016); Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Ana Rodríguez, "La valeur d'habiter Matérialité et identité dans la Castille du XIIIe siècle," in *Les fruits de la terre: Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Laurent Feller*, edited by Marie Dejoux, Harmony Dewez, Emmanuel Huertas, and Cédric Quertier, 253-61, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2023).

the parishes expressly associated with Ávila's infamous founding knights as related in *La Crónica*.[92] Rather than interpret city fortifications through a broader of lens of expressions of Christian domination over Islam, or as a purely defensive structure, my method of analysis takes a particularly material approach with an analysis of local history to examine medieval Ávila's most recognizable monument as a symbol of lay power.

In chapter two, *Blood and Stone: An Examination of Ávila's Cathedral as Fortress and Religious Sanctuary*, I analyze Ávila's fortified cathedral. Firstly, I posit that the architectural elements seen for the first time on the Iberian Peninsula here—integrated radiating chapels and sexpartite vaults—were implemented in part because of the need to accommodate a tower and cathedral chevet in an overlapping area. That is, I propose that Ávila's unique dual religious-military requirements engendered the creation of the novel tower-chevet (*cimorro*) that protrudes through the city walls. Secondly, I argue that the utilization of the autochthonous *piedra sangrante,* or "bleeding stone," in the holiest part of the church elevated the bishop's status through Christological associations connecting stone, cathedral, bishop, and city to God's only son (Figure 3). Incorporating medieval beliefs surrounding color symbolism, I argue that the red and white marbled *piedra sangrante* symbolizes Christ through blood (red) and innocence (white). In addition to Christological associations, a material reference to blood in a martial context like Ávila's, undoubtedly simultaneously highlighted the unusual militarized role of Ávila's soldier-bishops. Architecture and material paralleled the double function of Ávila's cathedral-cum-fortress.

[92] Pedro Feduchi Canosa identifies the locations of the original Christian settlement in, "La construccion de la murallas: analysis morfologico y propuesta cronologica," in *La Muralla de Ávila*, coordinated by Angel Barrios García, (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003): 68.

Moving to the extramural side of Ávila's urban center, chapter three, *Expressions of Frontier Ingenuity and Unity: Parish Church Materiality,* focuses on the materiality of the stone parish churches—the dominant type of sacred architecture in the city, dotting mostly the exterior side of the city walls. I argue that the pragmatic and ingenious way in which grey granite and *piedra caleña* were combined in parish church construction reflects the social bonds formed through parochial society. While each church is distinct in its own way, there is an undeniable similarity in material composition across most of Ávila's parish churches. I argue that the atypical proliferation of parish churches in Ávila's extramural urban landscape can be explained by the fact that they operated as military hubs as much as religious or social centers. A shared architectural language in parish church architecture, I argue, mirrors a commitment to solidarity and frontier defense.

Exceptional in the group of twelfth- to thirteenth-century parish churches is the singular majority-brick construction of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza (Figure 4). Thus, in the final written chapter of my dissertation, *Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza: A Brick Outlier in a Gallery of Stones,* I ask, why build mostly in brick when such sought-after stone was used in every other extant church? Scholars have solved the "problem" of brick construction in this small church by applying Muslim makers to its construction, an approach I reject. Instead, I argue that this parish church reflected the community that built it, likely a group of newly-arrived rural settlers who wished to distinguish themselves from the other parish communities by employing a well-established architectural vernacular of rural Castile and León. An examination of this brick structure simultaneously offers an entry point for me to analyze the history of mudejar architecture in Iberia and the convoluted definition that has so tightly fused "brick" with "Muslim" in medieval Spanish historiography.

In addition to the four written chapters, my dissertation includes an annotated digital map. The digital map charts all of Ávila's known medieval monuments—extant, non-extant, and semi-extant— along with basic annotations and citations. Entries rely on architectural heritage, archeological evidence, graphic sources, and textual documentation that altogether form a clearer picture, both literally and figuratively, of Ávila's medieval urban layout between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Annotations also include information gleaned from fourteenth-century archival documents that reveal property ownership, names, gender, and religious affiliation of certain citizens, that although incredibly rich, did not end up appropriate to my dissertation's overarching questions concerning materiality.[93] The annotated map provides a visual representation of the urban distribution of medieval Ávila's known monuments and places of interest. In particular, it is easy to see that so much of city life took part and was built up on the opposite side of the walled barrier, challenging traditional narratives of walled medieval cities and defensive functions of city walls. This map is a generative tool that on the one hand provides a way to organize and store spatial information, and on the other hand acts as a primary source document.

Investigating the materiality of the city's architecture contributes to the corpus of material studies by highlighting the social value of local materials in an emergent medieval city. My method highlights the preferential use of local materials in constructing the city's medieval urban landscape. A material approach also demonstrates how construction materials created boundaries and formed bonds throughout the monumental Christian city—despite the unification of the walls and cathedral chevet, materials create a separation between the buildings; regardless of the walled barrier, granite construction techniques visually connect intra- and extra-mural churches;

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[93] These consist of four unpublished fourteenth-century property transfers from the Diocesan Archives of Ávila, see the Digital Map Appendix.

a singular example uses brick to set its parish apart from the city's other stone churches. Each chapter is dedicated to a distinct material and together argue that material acts as a signifier of the societal group responsible for each monument's construction. In addition to these contributions, one of this dissertation's added strengths is drawing art-historical investigation of Ávila into the English language, scholarship that as yet does not exist.

Part I: Intramural Space

Chapter One: *Beyond Defense: Power, Identity, and Spolia in Ávila's City Walls*

Chapter Introduction

Nowhere else on the Iberian Peninsula do complete medieval city walls of Ávila's magnitude perdure, cementing their significance in both academic discourse and tourist guidebooks. Moreover, the waning importance of the city as it ceased to be a strategic frontier location ensured the survival of much of its medieval heritage including the city walls; a fate that many cities with medieval origins did not enjoy as the modern city grew over, through, and beyond its medieval structures. Despite centuries of academic interest, scholarly attention has traditionally lacked an investigation of the walls' materials and how they may have reflected the social contours of the nascent medieval city.

Today, Ávila's city walls still dominate the modern landscape, their full perimeter in an excellent state of preservation. In 1884, the city walls were declared a national monument, opening up the opportunity for government funding to maintain them, setting the stage for the tourism industry they enrich today. While the walls preserve the layout and a majority of their original (albeit restored) structure, they do not appear to today's visitor as they once did to their premodern audience who would have seen many houses, shops, and administrative buildings attached to the walls' circumference. [94] While the walls no longer serve their original function (to be addressed throughout this dissertation), the walls continue to be a living monument and an

[94] While providing financial support for the upkeep of this rare historic structure, the declaration of the city walls as a national monument simultaneously led to "cleaning" them of their accretions—in other words removing private homes and other urban properties that had been built directly onto the walls' surfaces. For example, the sixteenth-century Alhóndiga (grain exchange building) which was attached to the Alcázar gate was demolished in 1882 along with adjoined houses after a long dispute. On the contrary, the late-sixteenth-century Casa de las Carnicerías along with the Casa de Misericordia (or Caballo) and some sixteenth-century chapels in the cathedral survived this fate and offer one glimpse into the post-medieval afterlife of the city's stone barrier. See José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas de Ávila," in *Historia de Ávila*, vol. ii, coordinated by Ángel Barrios García, 483-515, (Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, Obra Cultural : Diputación de Ávila, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1998): 485.

active part of urban life. Their history spans millennia, from the legendary defenses built by Hercules's son, to ramparts frequented by nineteenth-century troops in the Carlist Wars.

For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on the walls' initial construction in the mid-twelfth century as an expression of urban lay authority during a period when the Castilian crown sought to settle the lands of the *Extremadura Castellana*.[95] In this chapter, I propose that the walls, in addition to their fortified use, also served as a strategic marker of the city's secular authority, the *concejo* (town council). I argue that the *concejo* constructed the walls to exercise their dominance over urban life. More specifically, I argue that the power of the *concejo* was doubly expressed through *spolia* embedded throughout the circumference of the walls. The choice of *spolia* underscored the authority of the *concejo* by harnessing the ancient glory of the reused stones' real and imagined origins in order to express the council's own contemporary glory.

I join a growing body of literature concerned with examining traditional fortified structures beyond their protective roles by applying a material analysis to the city walls and

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[95] This term might be translated as "The Far Reaches of Castile." The *Extremadura Castellana* were lands between the Duero and Tagus river conquered by Christians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, beginning under King Alfonso VI. It had previously been sparsely populated and never fully under Islamic control. These lands shared environmental characteristics including poor agricultural output and harsh weather and were settled by Christian immigrants coming from other parts of the peninsula. In addition to Christian settlers, early Muslim settlers were brought as slaves. In Ávila, erecting robust city walls seems to have been delayed. Ávila's establishment as a Christian city was achieved through the issuance of a royal *fuero* which might typically mobilize wall construction as one of the first acts of city founding. However, major monumental urban development in the city overall did not begin until the mid-twelfth century. The earliest church construction, similarly dating to the mid-twelfth century, despite the founding of the city occurring as early as 1088, seems to corroborate the hypothesis that major urban infrastructure projects were postponed. The city founding date of 1088 is recorded in Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de las murallas: análisis morfológico y propuesta cronológica," in *La Muralla de Ávila*, edited by Ángel Barrios García, 57-113, (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003), 57. Feduchi Canosa cites the *Anales Toledanos Primeros*, a digitized version can be found here: https://realacademiatoledo.es/publicaciones/anales-toledanos/. In chapter three, I discuss church chronology in detail—although some parish foundations seem to pre-date the twelfth century, the earliest surviving church fabric dates to the mid-twelfth century.

offering new interpretations.[96] While the sheer enormity of Ávila's twelve-meter-tall and three-meter-thick walls betray a fortified silhouette, defensive utility was not their only function. They encapsulate a relatively small internal nucleus of a much larger city, suggesting that while the walls protected a privileged urban core, they never defended the entire medieval city.

The walls have traditionally been interpreted as protectors against foreign forces especially because the study of Ávila is often mediated through a focus on the overarching Christian conquest occurring across the peninsula in the High Middle Ages. On the contrary, my approach looks inside the city to help understand the relationship between walls, materials, and expressions of particularly local power. More specifically, I show how the use of local materials expressed local power in a newly founded city actively developing novel governing structures at a time when multiple authorities were vying for control. As I elaborate on throughout this chapter, the walls were not only a symbol of Christian domination over Islam on an amorphous frontier, but they specifically communicated the authority of the home-grown *concejo*.

To open this chapter, I review the literature on the walls' chronology and assess the disparate textual sources, archaeological evidence, and visual comparisons that have traditionally been used to date Ávila's walled perimeter. The 1154 geography of Spain written by Muslim geographer, al-Idrisi; and two chronicles dating to the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries have traditionally been the primary sources scholars have used to establish a building history for Ávila's city walls. More recently, scholars have looked to twelfth-century archival documentation which appears to allude to a walled structure in the second half of the twelfth

[96] See Charles Richard Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Rachel Askew, "Biography and Memory: Sandal Castle and the English Civil War," *European Journal of Archaeology* 19, no. 1 (2016); Jonathan Bloom, "Walled cities in Islamic North Africa and Egypt with particular reference to the Fatimids (909–1171)," in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective,* edited by James D. Tracy, 219-46, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

century. I collate and evaluate each source of evidence to conclude, in accordance with more current research, that the majority of the walls' construction likely belongs to the mid-twelfth century, over one hundred years after the city's initial organized Christian founding.

Additionally I address the question of the walls' pre-medieval origins. Historians had previously suggested the walls had Roman origins, yet archaeological evidence confirms that a full perimeter of more ancient walls did not exist, with the exception of strata near the Gate of San Vicente. In this eastern area around the fortified gate, stones attest to an isolated portion of pre-twelfth-century defenses that were later incorporated into the current structure. While primitive fortifications defended an early settlement, the full perimeter as we see it today was not erected until the mid-twelfth century.

A mid-twelfth-century date places the construction of Ávila's walls within the emergent city's broader historical and architectural context. I argue that one motivating factor in wall initiation at this particular time was in order for the lay *concejo* to assert their control in a recently re-established diocese (c. 1120) that saw multiple societal groups vying for power. Outlining the walls' building history as accurately as possible through a review of all written and material evidence is an essential first step for my later arguments that propose the walls represented lay power in the mid-twelfth century and that, as I argue in chapter two, the walls and cathedral were constructed concurrently.

Following the discussion of chronology, I analyze wall construction, in particular, the materials used to erect the walls. The massive architectural feat, built mostly out of blocks of bedrock hewn on site, required tons of material and hundreds of hands over thousands of hours to complete the 2.5 km perimeter. In addition, *spolia*, including *stele*, *cistae*, and *verracos* dot the walls' surface—a material almost entirely absent in Ávila's contemporaneous sacred

architecture.[97] Because of the particular use of *spolia* in the city's walled infrastructure, I argue that *spolia* act as a symbol for the distinct secular authority responsible their construction—the *concejo.*

Drawing on the scholarship of Dale Kinney and Avinoam Shalem, I argue that for the medieval inhabitants of Ávila*,* the walls' mosaic of *spolia* communicated a message of antiquity that carried with it past glories. Foundation myths were a vital aspect of the glorification of the burgeoning city and building walls was an essential aspect to founding a new city. Spoliated stones from Ávila's past cultures incorporated into the walls' circumference served as tangible links to a legendary past put on clear display. In particular, *spolia* came to represent the strength of the *concejo,* particularly at the entrance to the newly established city.

Furthermore in this chapter, I propose that one key factor in placing the walls where they stand today was motivated by the *concejo*'s wish to enclose and favor the land specifically associated with the city's legendary founding knights—the heart of Ávila's foundation myth and members of the *concejo*'s own ancestors. This theory helps explain the unusual route the walls take through the city which has not been sufficiently explained in previous scholarship. Alternate hypotheses argue that the walls' path was influenced by topography or that it retraced the course

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[97] *Cistae* in this case were stone basins typically used for ashes in a funerary context. *Verracos* are animal-shaped monoliths sculpted by the local Celtiberian Vetton tribe that coexisted in Ávila during the Roman period. *Verracos* may have held religious or funerary significance, functioned as markers of good pastures or water sources, or signaled the strength and wealth of family groups. Jesús R. Álvarez-Sanchís, "Oppida and Celtic Society," *e-Keltoi: Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2005): 268. These sculptures exist throughout the province of Ávila and elsewhere on the peninsula and were typically bulls or pigs. For more on these unique sculptures see: Pilar Arias Cabezudo, *Catalogo de la escultura zoomorfa protohistorica y romana de tradicion indigena de la provincial de Ávila*, (Ávila: Institución "Gran Duque de Alba" de la Diputación Provincial, D.L., 1986). An interactive resource including map with locations of *verracos* across the peninsula is available online here: José Cuervo, "Verracos," http://www.verracos.es (accessed 16 March 2024).

of ancient corridors. I elaborate on both theories to develop my own that focuses on the *concejo*'s role in wall construction and the incorporation of *spolia* as a result.[98]

Dating of the Walls

The origin of Ávila's walls continues to spark debate, some suggest a Roman origin, while others recognize a Vetton settlement pattern.[99] Below I review the known evidence for dating Ávila's most recognizable monument—written, archaeological, and visual— and conclude in accordance with recent literature that places the majority of construction in the mid-twelfth century. A firm start date in the second half of the twelfth century is significant because it establishes that wall construction coincided with the construction of the cathedral's east end, also initiated in the mid-twelfth century, demonstrating that these two monuments went up in tandem, a topic discussed at length in the following chapter.

Documentation

Earlier research traditionally relied on chronicles to place the walls' initial construction in the late-eleventh century. The fourteenth-century *Segunda leyenda de la muy noble, leal y antigua ciudad de Ávila* dedicates a number of chapters to describing the workers, chronology, and materials of wall construction. According to this source, between 1090 and 1097 masters came from around Europe together with enslaved Muslim workers to remodel a walled structure built centuries before.[100] Fray Luis Ariz's 1607 chronicle, *Historia de las Grandezas de la*

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[98] This idea is picked up in additional detail in chapter three of this dissertation. Of the twenty-nine twelfth- to thirteenth-century churches I have identified, only four plus the cathedral lay inside the walls, despite the fact many of these structures were built contemporaneously.

[99] For more on the Vetton tribe and their cities, see: Jesús R. Álvarez Sanchís, "Ciudades vettonas," *Complutum* 22, no. 2 (2011): 147-84.

[100] Ángel Barrios García, *Segunda Leyenda de la muy noble, leal y antigua ciudad de Ávila*, (Ávila: Caja de ahorros de Ávila, 2005): 65, 84, 86. The author describes a certain Fernando de Yllanes arriving with slaves from Toledo specifically to remodel the ancient walls already standing. He also includes the names of the bishop's nephews who arrive with Fernando and all three in turn are given arms as knights. A description of the cathedral construction in

Ciudad de Ávila, relies on the *Segunda leyenda* as a source and similarly describes how Alfonso VI ordered Count Raymond of Burgundy to build the walls. Ariz claims that foreign masters worked daily alongside 800 men, including 200 enslaved Muslims, to complete the walls in 1099.[101] However, current historical consensus generally interprets the late eleventh-century construction start date recorded by the *Segunda leyenda* and Luis Ariz in the early-seventeenth century as too early. Important to note as well is that these texts are biased towards a glorification of the city and its founders, and may have altered numbers and dates, or were simply inaccurate when writing several hundred years after the fact.

More accurate than the chronicles listed above, archival documents spanning 1144 to 1197 include some details that appear to allude to a walled structure. In 1144, reference to gate tolls ("*portaticis*") appears in documentation in Ávila, that is, money collected when entering the city with goods. A mention of gate tolls suggests that by 1144 there was some type of barrier to pass through and collect money.[102] Similarly, an 1146 document is signed by a "*portero*," or "gatekeeper," which has led some to hypothesize that gates, and therefore walls, existed by this

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the same text also includes fifty enslaved Muslims brought to work, which I discuss in more detail in chapter four of this dissertation.

[101] Luis Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas de la Ciudad de Ávila*, (Alcalá de Henares: Luys Martínez Grande, 1607), segunda parte, 7, 12. Ariz names Casandro, master of geometry from Rome, and Florin de Pituenga, French master as working on the walls. Additionally, Ariz refers to engineers, construction officials, masters, and stone arriving in Ávila in order to "build the city": "carruaje de ingenious, e oficiales de fabricar, e piedras tallar…para la fabrica de la Ciudad…E viajauan veynte y dos maestres, de piedra a tallar, e doze de jometria…, " Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 5. Ariz even explains that the eastern section was the first segment of walls to be built: "E la primera tela, fue de la Oriente…" Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas*, segundo parte, 12. On this point, I will return below.

[102] Ángel Barrios García, *Estructuras agrarias y de poder en Castilla: el ejemplo de Ávila*, vol. 1, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1983), 159. The full document is published in Ángel Barrios García, *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII),* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 2004), 31-32, doc. 6, AHN. Sección Clero. Pergaminos. Carp. 18, n. 4. The Latin word is "*portaticis*" and Barrios translates it as "*portazgos*" in Spanish.

date.[103] Furthermore, María Margarita Vila da Vila and José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo have interpreted an 1193 document that states, "*fundantur opida et turres fortissime*" (very strong towers were established in the town), as referring to the construction of the city's walls.[104] In 1197, another document named the gates of Grajal and San Vicente, providing a possible *terminus ante quem* for wall construction.[105] The aforementioned archival sources point to a mid-twelfth-century chronology for Ávila's walls c. 1144-1197.

In addition to archival sources, Ávila is mentioned in Muslim geographer al-Idrisi's 1154 text which has become an invaluable resource for the study of Ávila's founding and dating its walls as well as the history of medieval Spain more broadly.[106] Specifically, the text has been

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[103] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 32-33, doc. 7, AHN. Sección Clero. Pergaminos. Carp. 18, n. 5. However, it is not known if the 1146 structure with gatekeeper was the same piece of infrastructure that survives today.

[104] This document is held in the Archivo de Asocio in Ávila and has been published in Jesús Molinero Fernández, *Asocio de la Extinguida Universidad y Tierra de Ávila: bosquejo histórico del mismo y reglamento por que ha de regirse su Junta Administrativa*, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2009): 51. It was María Margarita Vila da Vila who first recognized its importance in dating the walls: Margarita Vila da Vila, "Repoblación y estructura urbana de Ávila en la Edad Media," in *La ciudad y el mundo urbano en la historia de Galicia*, coordinated by Ramón Villares Paz, 137-54. Universidad de Vigo: Tórculo, 1988): 140. See also, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las Murallas: El Caso de Ávila," in *Congreso Internacional "Ciudades Amuralladas" Pamplona, 24-26 noviembre 2005*, vol. 1 (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2007): 144. However, Gutiérrez Robledo calls this document a controversial source.

[105] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las Murallas: El Caso de Ávila," 144.

[106] Following the *mappae mundi* tradition, al-Idrisi's text is made up of descriptions of seven different "climates" of the world completed under the patronage of Roger II of Sicily. Al-Idrisi was probably born in Ceuta in North Africa near the end of the eleventh century. He began work for Roger II of Sicily in 1138 which included travels that he made first hand as well as compiling other travel accounts and historical sources. Al-Idrisi completed the *Tabula Rogeriana*, a description of the world plus a map in the *mappa mundi* tradition, in 1154 and later expanded it. The text was made up of descriptions of the seven different "climates" of the world (north of the equator) which included geographical and climatic details, descriptions of the peoples and their customs, as well as the products produced in those regions. He also made map discs in the Hellenistic tradition. The first Arabic edition with a French translation of al-Idrisi's work was published in 1836-1840 and then a more reliable version in 1866 by Dozy and Goeje. Eduardo Saavedra published a Spanish translation of the fifth climate which included Christian Spain and France in a series of articles which was later compiled into *La geografía de España del Edrisi* in 1881. Antonio Blázquez translated the fourth climate in 1901, yet Antonio Ubieto Arteta notes that some of his place names are incorrect. Each of these texts was compiled into an edition by Ubieto Arteta in 1974 which is the source that I am using and the source I have seen all current Spanish-language scholars use: Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Geografía de España/Idrisi*, text by R. Dozy y M.J. Gooje, translated by Eduardo Saavedra and Antonio Blázquez y Delgado-Aguilera, (Valencia: Anúbar, 2009). Unfortunately modern politics likely played a role in how these texts were translated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, thus I recognize the shortcomings of this research without reading the original Arabic. Also important to note, Ávila is not mentioned in other Arabic sources until the city

used as evidence to suggest that in 1154, when the text was written, Ávila's walls were not yet constructed because it states: "Salamanca is some fifty miles from Ávila, which is nothing more than a group of villages whose inhabitants are strong horsemen."[107] The omission of a description of Ávila's walls offers possible evidence that fortifications had not yet been built at the time al-Idrisi was writing, especially because al-Idrisi describes strong fortresses and castles in other cities. In addition, "Nothing more than a group of villages" seems to indicate that the burgeoning urban center of Ávila was a series of small, unwalled, disconnected and underdeveloped nodes of population.[108] Al-Idrisi's writing has in many cases been used as the primary piece of evidence for dating Ávila's walled enclosure.[109]

While Christian chronicles pinpoint wall construction at the end of the eleventh century, these dates may be more oriented towards a legendary history, a topic I return to later, rather than an accurate timeline. Al-Idrisi's 1154 text, on the other hand, appears to contradict some of the archival documentation listed above that may reference a walled structure as early as 1144.

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appears in al-Idrisi's twelfth-century text, further suggesting that Ávila was far from an urban hub before the arrival of organized Christian settlement under Alfonso VI, Urraca, and Raymond, see Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2007): 23, 26n96. Feduchi cites these Arabic sources in which Ávila does *not* appear: Abu'l-Qasim Muhamed b. Hawqal's *Configuración del Mundo*; and Amhad ibn Muhammad ibn Mùsa al-Razi's *Ajbar Muhek al-Andalus*, also known as *Crónica del moro Rasis*, both written in the tenth century; Almanzor's histories written by al-Udri and Ibn Hayyan in the eleventh century. Abu'l-Qasim Muhamed b. Hawqal, *Configuración del Mundo*, translated by María José Romani Suay, (Valencia: Textos Medievales 26, 1971); Amhad ibn Muhammad ibn Mùsa al-Razi. *Crónica del moro Rasis*, (*Ajbar Muhek al-Andalus*). *Al Qantir: Monografías y documentos sobre la historia de Tarifa* 10 (2010): 20-24; Al-Udri, *Campañas de Almanzor contra el reino de León 981-986,* edited by Ruiz Asencio, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 5 (1968): 56-62; Hayyan ibn Khalaf Ibn Hayyan (al Kurtubi). *Al-Muqtabas de Ibn Hayyan*, edited by P Chalmeta, Federico Corriente, and M. Subh, (Facultad de Letras, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1979).

[107] Ubieto Arteta, *Geografía de España*, 154. Saavedra's Spanish translation reads: "Salamanca está a cincuneta millas de Ávila, que no es más que un conjunto de aldeas cuyos habitantes son jinetes vigorosos." English translation is my own.

[108] Cf. chapter three of this dissertation in which I argue that this may have been reference to the early settlement pattern of the city. That is, urban nodes centered around a parish church.

[109] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas de Ávila," 505. Gutiérrez Robledo may have been the first to highlight the importance of al-Idrisi's text which has been repeated in scholarship since.

However, an important point to note, and information that many scholars have failed to explain is that al-Idrisi did not make these observations first hand—he never visited Christian Spain.[110] Instead, his text is a second-hand account gathered from other sources, perhaps between the 1130s and 1140s.[111] Therefore, when Ávila was visited by al-Idrisi's sources c. 1130-1140 (as opposed to 1154), perhaps the city was in fact a small group of unwalled settlements. It is possible then that by 1154, Ávila was well on its way to boasting a large walled enclosure, corroborating the archival evidence that refers to gate tolls and a gatekeeper in 1144 and 1146. Before continuing with an archaeological and comparative overview of Ávila's walls' chronological evaluation, I want to pivot to address the issue of the walls' labor force brought up by both Ariz and in the *Segunda leyenda.*

Who Built the Walls?

The *Segunda leyenda* and Luis Ariz's early-seventeenth-century chronicle both include descriptions of enslaved Muslims (*encadenados*) being brought in to construct the walls as well as other instances of slave labor in medieval Ávila.[112] In addition to the mention of 200 Muslims "in chains" building the city walls, Ariz includes a paragraph labeled in the left margin: "The count Don Raymond distributes the captives."[113] Here, among others, Ariz describes Raymond bestowing the bishop with twenty enslaved "Moros" to work on the cathedral.[114] Elsewhere, Ariz details how Alfonso of Aragon gave fifty "Moros" to contribute to erecting the cathedral of

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[110] Vila da Vila, *Repoblación*, 139; Ubieto Arteta, *Geografía de España*, 9. Vila da Vila is explicit about this point, while those listed above have omitted this critical piece of information.

[111] Ubieto, *Geografía de España*, 9.

[112] See Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda*, 65, 84; Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas de Ávila," 504; Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 7, who writes: "ducientos moros encadenados."

[113] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 7, 15.

[114] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 15.

Ávila as well.[115] In addition to the aforementioned specific instances of relying on forced labor to build Ávila's monumental landscape, an archival document from 1197 records the will of a certain Don Martín who leaves beds, bedding, and grain to "duabas mauris mei" (my two Moors), suggesting these women may have been enslaved and that Ávila's Christian population participated in the Iberian slave trade.[116]

It is not surprising to find written accounts describing enslavement and slave labor in medieval Ávila. Slavery of both Muslims and non-Muslims in Iberia was common practice in the Middle Ages, and it appears the knights of Ávila similarly participated in taking Muslim captives during raids.[117] Ana Echevarria argues that Muslims originally arrived to Ávila as slaves, and only later did a free Islamic population develop through manumission and immigration.[118] I

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[115] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 11.

[116] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 85-87, doc. 43, AHN. Sección Clero. Pergaminos. Carp. 18, n. 7. Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda*, 65, 84.

[117] William D. Phillips Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013): 106, 108. The term "slave" carries with it differing meanings and conditions across time and space. In much of medieval Europe the feudal system that replaced Roman hierarchies created a new form of slavery with serfs and serfdom. However serfs and slaves were distinct groups. In Iberia, as other places in Europe, captives were taken in times of war and held as slaves—their freedoms were suspended, they were deprived of rights, and their masters were subject to compensation should they die or be injured. Phillips explains that Iberian slaves were permitted to learn certain trades, yet they were prohibited from joining guilds. However, even as enslaved non-Muslims were allowed to learn specified guild trades, enslaved Muslims were not. There was a long established slave trade in Iberia that began in the Roman period and continued in the kingdoms of the Visigoths and the courts of Muslim rulers. Enslaved people came from all over, especially Slavic lands, and in the later Middle Ages, they were incorporated into Mediterranean trade off the coast of Aragon (modern day Catalonia). However, Castile, as an inland territory, was less involved in the Mediterranean slave trade, instead the majority of enslaved people in Castile were most likely Muslims captured in raids against al-Andalus. Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, 21. An alternative perspective argues that after the conquest of Toledo and the surrounding cities, Muslims were not forced into slavery, but were allowed to live relatively freely as long as they paid taxes to the king. Slavery also existed in Islamic Spain, one famous Christian slave being Subh, who was able to gain significant power. See, Glaire D. Anderson, "Concubines, Eunuchs, and Patronage in Early Islamic Córdoba," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as' Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, edited by Therese Martin, 633-69, (Leiden: Brill, 2012). For more on slavery in the Islamic world, see, John O. Hunwick, "Black Africans in the Islamic world: An understudied dimension of the Black diaspora," *Tarikh* 5, no. 4 (1978): 20-40. For more on medieval slavery in Europe see: Marc Bloch, *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages: Selected Essays*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023); Samuel S. Sutherland, "The Study of Slavery in the Early and Central Middle Ages: Old Problems and New Approaches," *History Compass* 18, no. 11 (2020).

[118] Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, *The City of the Three Mosques: Ávila and Its Muslims in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011), 15. Cf. chapter four of this dissertation.

discuss this topic further in relation to medieval brick production in Ávila in chapter four of this dissertation. Based on the textual support and historical context, it seems likely that a combination of forced and free labor contributed to the production of Ávila's medieval built landscape.

The walls' massive size certainly necessitated an equally massive labor force over several decades, which Gutiérrez Robledo notes simply may not have existed even many years into established settlement.[119] The city may not have had the population necessary to support such a substantial building project so early on in Ávila's history. Additionally, *Segunda leyenda*'s and Ariz's mention of engineers, masters of geometry, etc. arriving from elsewhere may be an indication that either there was not sufficient talent nor labor within Ávila itself to undertake a public works project of this scale.[120] A lack of labor may have incentivized the importation of forced laborers for the construction of the walls and cathedral—primary actions of founding a city.

After their initial construction, a late-medieval source suggests that the entire city was responsible for the walls' maintenance as part of their civic duties. A 1481 municipal document relating to the upkeep of the Alcázar, and by extension, also the maintenance of the city walls, explains that duties were to be carried out by Ávila's diverse population.[121] More specifically,

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[119] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas: el caso de Ávila," 143: "No parece razonable pensar que en los primeros años fuera possible acometer a la vez las tareas de organizar el territorio, construir casas y palacios, reedificar los templos y levantar tan colosales defensas."

[120] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 5; Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda*, 65. It might also indicate that importing labor and knowledge from abroad was prestigious.

[121] Gutierrez Robledo, "Las Murallas: El caso de Ávila," 145. See also, "Alfares de la calle Ajates," *Duero Mudéjar*, http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/alfares-de-la-calle-ajates-avila/index.html, (accessed 21 September 2021). The document is found here: Archivo Municipal de Ávila, sección histórica, leg. 1-77 (9-VIII-1483). See also, C. Luis López, *Documentación del Archivo Municipal de Ávila*, vol. iii (1478-1487), (Ávila: Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, Obra Cultural: Diputación de Ávila, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), doc. 287. The alcázar is no longer extant, but it once stood in the southeast corner of the walled perimeter, see the accompanying digital map.

knights and citizens (*vecinos*) kept watch (*velaban*), farmers were in charge of repairing the parapets (*adarves*), Jews were responsible for metalsmithing, and Muslims performed the manual labor needed to maintain the walls. This same document states that this was the way it was done "since time immemorial" ("*desde tiempo inmemorial*"), revealing a potentially more ancient system in which the different groups of Ávila's plural society were each responsible for distinct tasks as they related to wall construction and upkeep.[122] While the aforementioned 1481 document may also explain Ávila's approach to maintaining its walls in an earlier period, divvying up wall maintenance among the distinct social and ethnic groups of Ávila may be more a product of the time rather than evidence of a long-standing tradition.[123]

However, other medieval sources corroborate the type of organization outlined in Ávila's 1481 municipal document. Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* (1256-1265), a law code aimed at standardizing rules across the kingdom of Castile-León, states that every inhabitant was responsible for maintaining a city's castles and walls.[124] Fourteenth-century Montpellier in

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[122] Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "Personalidad étnica y trabajo artístico: los mudéjares abulenses y su relación con las actividades de la construcción en el siglo XV," in *Medievalismo y neomedievalismo en la arquitectura española, actas del 1er congreso,* coordinated by José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo and Pedro Navascués Palacio, 245-52, (Salamanca: UNED, Universidad de Salamanca, 1990), 249; Gutierrez Robledo, "Las murallas de Ávila," 508. "*Vecino*" refers to an urban inhabitant that contributed to the town's taxes, often described in the *fuero* (foundation charter or law code). Typically *vecinos* were Christian residents of Ávila, however, fifteenth-century documentation reveals Muslims, Jews, and Conversos were also often referred to as *vecinos* showing a certain status and social integration of religious minorities in Ávila, at least by the fifteenth century. See, Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society: The Case of Ávila," in *Interfaith Relationships and Perceptions of the Other in the Medieval Mediterranean,* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 252-53.

[123] The ethnic division of labor may have also been a result of societal attitudes towards minoritized groups brewing in Castile and beyond at the close of the fifteenth century, which may not accurately reflect prior traditions. More specifically, in the same year, for example, bishop Alfonso de Fonseca of Ávila published the synod of Ávila outlining the rules and regulations of Christian devotion under the direction of the Catholic Kings. Fonseca's 1481 synod included a section devoted to "*iudaeis et saracenis*" which forbade Christians from residing with Jews and Muslims, as well as prohibited giving milk to their offspring. See José Antonio Calvo Gómez, "Contribución al estudio de la reforma católica en Castilla: el Sínodo de Ávila de 1481," *Studia historica. Historia medieval* 22 (2004): 223.

[124] Serafín de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas e históricas del tiempo y del espacio: las murallas de Ávila," in *Para entender las murallas de Ávila: una mirada desde la historia y la antropología*, edited

France retains significant documentary sources concerning the use of city walls which similarly describe upkeep as a shared responsibility among city dwellers. More specifically, Montpellier's different trade unions rotated defensive shifts on the walls' ramparts, while the administrators (*obriers*) were responsible for wall maintenance.[125] Despite Montpellier's geographical and chronological distance from Ávila, the survival of such detailed written records may shed light on the organization of duties related to urban walls in other fortified cities like Ávila. As argued below, the walls' construction was likely initiated under the direction of the town council, carried out by forced and free labor, but continued upkeep appears to have been the responsibility of the entire diverse city.

To return to the question "Who built the walls?"— the answer seems to be that some early laborers were enslaved, and perhaps enslaved workers were even the predominant labor force at the initiation of wall construction. A late-medieval document suggests that continued maintenance was an urban responsibility divided among the city's diverse ethnic enclaves, perhaps also intended to boost civic identity. While this is purely hypothesis, the planned project to build the walls may have also been an incentive to attract settler-laborers to reside in twelfth-century Ávila where work would be steady. Overall, the initiation of the construction of the city walls could not have begun until there was a sufficient labor force, whether forced or free—this detail is another argument for a mid-twelfth century start date which would have corresponded to a time when the population and subsequent workforce had stabilized.

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by Serafín de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra, graphics by Jesús María José Sanchidrián Gallego, (Valladolid: Ámbito, 2007): 179n38. They cite *Siete Partitas,* III, tit. XXXII, law XX, (Valdeón, 1991), 82.

[125] Kathryn L. Reyerson, "Medieval Walled Space: Urban Development vs. Defense," in *City walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective,* edited by James D. Tracy, 88-116, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 98.

Archaeology

Archaeological analysis carried out over the decades has helped to shed light on the walls' chronology. However, while archaeological investigation has yet to reveal firm dating, it has demonstrated that some sections, mostly in the eastern segment, appear to be remnants of pre-twelfth-century fortifications. In 2012, archeologist Pilar Barraca de Ramos put it simply: "it's obvious that nothing is clear about the origins of the construction of the walls."[126] With this in mind, I review the archaeological data below, clarifying debates about the walls earliest iterations, and showing that while a small segment was likely built up early in the medieval period, the full perimeter did not take shape before the mid-twelfth century.

Until the twentieth century, it was generally believed that Ávila's city walls had a Roman origin, corresponding to fortifications surrounding an original *castrum*.[127] However, this theory was primarily based on the rectangular shape of their perimeter and the fact that so many stones

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[126] Pilar Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad tardía*, (Valladolid: Junta De Castilla Leon, 2017), 69-70: "Parece obvio que no esté nada claro el origen constructivo de estas murallas."

[127] See Federico Bordejé Garcés, "Las murallas de Ávila," (Madrid: Estudios de Arquitectura Militar, 1935); José María Quadrado, *Salamanca, Ávila y Segovia*, (Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo y Cª, 1884), Copia digital, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2009-2010). In 1980, Emilio Rodríguez Almeida strengthened this theory by using archaeology of architecture to identify different layers of construction, in particular arguing that the foundations were Roman, see Rodríguez Almeida, *Ávila romana: Notas para la arqueología, la topografía y la epigrafía romanas de la ciudad y su entorno*, (Ávila: Caja General de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Ávila, 1980): 26-33. The question of a full Roman *castrum* is also debated. Some scholars have identified what they believe were the *cardo* and *decumanus*, while others refute these theories. María Mariné believes the surviving urban layout shows a clear urban pattern of a Roman castrum with *cardo* and *decumanus*, yet there are no archaeological remains to support this. Therefore she theorizes that Ávila was never a fully-fledged permanent Roman military camp, but rather a temporary stop over, see María Mariné, "Epoca Romana" (Cap. V), in *Historia de Ávila*, vol. 1, coordinated by María Mariné, 273-327, (Ávila: Ediciones de la Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 2003). Pilar Barraca De Ramos, on the other hand, identifies an urban layout more true to Vetton settlements. However, both scholars point out that it appears the Roman town was built *ex novo*, it was not previously a Vetton settlement, but that local Vettons and Romans lived side by side during the Roman period. Names in epigraphy, overlapping archaeological strata, some objects that show a hybridization of Roman and Vetton styles, and construction support cohabitation, see Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*.

of Roman origin adorn their surface (see Wall Appendix).[128] Archaeological evidence, on the other hand, does little to support the theory of a Roman *castrum*.[129] María Mariné explains that even though the shape of Ávila's walled perimeter resembles the expected form of a Roman *castrum*, the archaeological record shows nothing specifically related to a military camp. Rather than an established *castrum*, Mariné suggests that Ávila was never permanently occupied, but was rather a seasonal or temporary post that did not develop "municipal life" (*vida municipal*) during the Roman period.[130]

Nonetheless, the 1999 archaeological discovery of a large *verraco* carved *in situ* in the bedrock of the foundations of the gate of San Vicente attests to a premedieval history at this particular entrance into the city's interior core (Figure 5).[131] *Verracos*, animal-shaped monoliths sculpted by the local Celtiberian Vetton tribe—which coexisted in Ávila during the Roman

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[128] For reference, see the Wall Appendix and map which shows the rectangular shape of the walls and numbers each tower.

[129] For example, excavations on the western edge of the walled perimeter as well as within the internal nucleus near Santo Domingo street (locations hypothesized as being part of the original Roman wall) revealed no vestiges of a Roman structure. No Roman wall was found, yet significant ceramics from the Late Antique period were found on the western edge of the city. On the other hand, the interior excavations, though limited in scope, only revealed medieval and modern archaeological evidence, see Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*, 70; Elías Terés Larrén Navarro and Hortensia Larrén Izquierdo, "Excavaciones de urgencia y documentación de hallazgos arqueológicos en la ciudad de Avila. 1986," *Cuadernos abulenses* 7 (1987): 165-218. Barraca de Ramos also notes that other Roman *castra* in the Castilian Meseta do not exceed twenty-five hectares, while Ávila's walled space measures about thirty-six hectares, see Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*, 71. While Barraca De Ramos measured the space as thirty-six hectares, others and myself in this dissertation, cite thirty-three hectares.

[130] María Mariné, "Epoca Romana," 299-300. She also notes that given Ávila's lack of a large modern city atop its medieval foundations, this does not account for the loss of archaeological remains, but rather that they simply were not there in great quantity to begin with. She also notes also that unlike the clear Roman wall foundations found in places like Astorga, León, or Lugo, much of the Roman material excavated in Ávila has been displaced from its original location to be used later as filler elsewhere, thus complicating archaeological and chronological analysis. Mariné has also pointed out that the areas of the walls rich in Roman stones cannot in fact be part of an original Roman wall, because those Roman stones are *spolia.* That is, many spoliated elements are funerary stones, not ashlars, and therefore would not have been used to build the original walls, they would have been peacefully at rest as their intended function in the necropolis. Her studies refute some theories in Rodríguez Almeida's earlier work, *Ávila romana*, that did not acknowledge the pitfalls of the evidence found.

[131] Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 5; Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las Murallas: El caso de Ávila," 120.

period and was colonized by the Romans—also appear as *spolia* dotted throughout Ávila's walls, which I will return to shortly. This particular discovery carved into the bedrock suggests that the gate of San Vicente had ancient importance, possibly as a primary entrance to the city, dating as far back as the first or second century CE.[132] Research conducted by Barraca de Ramos and Mariné corroborates the fact that the full perimeter of Ávila's city walls does not appear to have been built directly atop Roman foundations, but the *verraco* discovered under the gate of San Vicente confirms that some areas predate a medieval foundation.

Using an archaeology of architecture analysis, Barraca de Ramos suggests the most detailed chronological frame proposed for Ávila's walls thus far. She identifies four general methods of construction and strata that she attaches to distinct periods. The first layer consists of granite ashlars found mostly in the lower levels of the gate of San Vicente (Figure 6) which Barraca de Ramos attributes to a "not very late chronology" ("*una cronología poco tardía"*), which I understand as an Imperial Roman date. The second method, a combination of granite ashlars interrupted by smaller stones and funerary *spolia* (Figure 7), she compares to extant Visigothic fortifications similar to Reccopolis and thus dates that area to the sixth or seventh century but explains that it is very difficult to discern between late Roman and Visigothic methods of construction. The third level comprises yellow and pinkish stones hewn on site which Barraca de Ramos associates with the "first medieval Christian period" ("*medieval cristiano de primera época*") which I understand as the earliest settlement at the turn of the twelfth century. The fourth and final stratum returns to a utilization of Roman funerary *spolia* which Barraca de

[132] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las Murallas: El caso de Ávila," 120. This discovery has led scholars to hypothesize that the same may be true of the other gates throughout the walls, suggesting a continuity and integration of local and Roman cultural practices in Ávila.

Ramos links with a later high medieval period.[133] Additionally, the upper most crenellations she dates to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.[134] While Barraca de Ramos argues that the entire perimeter of the walls do not correspond to a Roman route or Roman foundations, her analysis reveals that some areas on the east and south sides have pre-medieval or Visigothic origins.[135]

One area where a clearly defined architectural stratum showing indications of an earlier chronology in Barraca de Ramos's analysis is at the gate of San Vicente. On the north face of tower 8, flanking the entrance arch, approximately eleven irregular courses of large grey granite ashlars form a visibly defined rectangular configuration in the gate's straight segment before the curvature of the tower's rounded termination. It appears as if the semicircular form has been tacked on to a preexisting square fortification (Figure 8). Similarly, on the south side of tower 9, thirteen irregular courses abruptly end, displaying a clear seam in construction before the springing of the curve (Figure 9). In 1980, Emilio Rodríguez Almeida first posited that this markedly different construction corresponded to original square towers which he hypothesized were then encased within the larger semicircular gated entrance we see today.[136] Barraca de Ramos follows Rodríguez Almeida's assessment, dating this area to "not very late," or perhaps, an Imperial Roman chronology. However, epigraphic studies have dated some of the spoliated

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[133] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*, 72. Barraca de Ramos attributes the upper levels to the Christian settlers, dating them between the late-eleventh and into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at the tallest crenellations.

[134] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*, 98. Unfortunately she is very imprecise with her dating which is then reflected in my own summary of her analysis.

[135] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*, 98. In fact, she notes this area of earlier construction might relate to one of Theodosius's decrees dating to 397 that expressly dictated utilizing reused materials from ruined buildings and necropolises for structural renovations.

[136] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*, 98. See also, Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, "La primitiva memoria martirial de los santos Vicente, Sabina y Cristeta," in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Christiana*, 781-97, (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Instituto di archeologia cristiana, 1965).

funerary stelae within the walls, although not in the exact section at hand, to the second or third century CE, subsequently suggesting a *terminus post quem*.[137] A post-third-century Roman wall certainly may have reused funerary elements from an earlier Roman period, however it also calls into question the theory of a Late Roman chronology for this section. The method of construction, material, clear break in coursing, as well as the buried *verraco*, leave no doubt that the San Vicente entrance into the walled enclosure has more ancient origins than the surrounding construction. Yet a firm date remains elusive.

Compiling the above information, I interpret the dozen or so courses of granite ashlars composing either side of San Vicente's flanking towers as part of a continuously remodeled fortified gate originally dating to the earliest Roman-Vetton settlement. Because the flat topography of this zone required, or perhaps facilitated, a gateway in order to control movement into the temporary military camp of Ávila, a major gate with fortifications was erected. However, the natural jagged rocks to the north and south likely delimited defenses without the need for human intervention. In addition, the *verraco* marks this area as an entrance by at least the first or second century CE and may have been accompanied by earthen, rubble, or diminutive ashlar fortifications. This primary gate, and possibly some surrounding areas on the flat plateau least protected by natural defenses, may have been continuously refurbished throughout the Late Roman and Visigothic periods, reutilizing tomb stones and stone urns as needed as the now-lost

[137] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*, 59. See also J. Caballero Arribas, "La plaza de San Vicente de Ávila: Necrópolis parroquial y nivel romano," *Numantia* 6 (1993): 139-52.

second- or third-century Roman cemetery fell into disuse.[138] Additional comparative visual analysis promises to uncover further data about the walls' construction history.

Comparanda

Comparative analysis has not previously been conducted for this monument. The analysis below complements the chronological discussion and promises to deepen the historical interpretation of Ávila's city walls. However, techniques of wall building used across centuries and regions depended on the availability of materials or the topography of the site and often did not change dramatically over time, imposing challenges for dating walls without textual support. The following section compares Ávila's walls to other examples in Lugo, Reccopolis, León, Zamora, Córdoba, Murcia, and Paris to position the walls at hand within their European context. In turn, I draw chronological conclusions from these comparisons that affirm a mid-twelfth-century time frame.

Like in Ávila, Lugo's walls in Galicia, in the northwest corner of the peninsula, retain the full perimeter of their original structure—a rare occurrence in Europe, and one that offers a useful comparison, especially because Lugo's walls are known to date to the third century (Figure 10, 11). While Lugo's late Roman walls share similarities with Ávila's, especially in terms of dimension, shape, and the large ashlars supporting their ancient gates, their technique of

[138] Funerary *spolia* suggest Ávila was home to a Roman cemetery. As described above, epigraphy has dated some funerary elements to the second or third century CE, however, archaeological evidence has yet to discover the precise location of the Roman necropolis.

stacked slate and sloping form differs, suggesting that Ávila's walls likely do not belong to so early a chronology.[139]

Barraca de Ramos's aforementioned archaeological analysis compares some elements of the eastern section of Ávila's walls to the extant sixth-century remnants from Reccopolis (Figure 12).[140] I agree with Barraca de Ramos's assertion that the distinct courses at Ávila's Gate of San Vicente (or the lowest strata on tower 2 and 83), each made up of consistent yet non-uniform substantial ashlars, bear a resemblance to Reccopolis's remaining walled perimeter that includes large irregular ashlars lain horizontally forming quoin corners and what may have once been bases of rectangular towers. In this way, comparative visual evidence might indicate that early-medieval Ávila included some level of fortifications on the flat eastern side of the city before the arrival of organized Christian settlement in the latter eleventh century. The primitive defenses

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[139] Manuel Pardo de Vera, "La muralla romana de Lugo," *Hidalgos: la revista de la Real Asociación de Hidalgos de España* 540 (2014): 62. Lugo's late Roman walls measure just over two kilometers in perimeter, contain 34.4 hectares, average 4-7m thick, and stand 8-12m high, though the second story of most of the towers has been lost and many sections have been remodeled over the centuries. The majority of construction is realized in slate flagstones, a material still found on roofs in Galicia today. Granite ashlars offer added support and defenses in some areas including in certain gates. Within the slate and granite shell, rammed earth fills out the thickness of the walled structure. The length of Lugo's perimeter (2km vs. 2.5 km in Ávila) and the enclosed area (34.4 ha vs. 31 ha in Ávila) do not deviate much from Ávila's figures and additionally, Lugo's majority rounded towers (74 rounded, 11 square) are not unlike Ávila's semicircular ones. The Puerta del Carmen, the oldest surviving of Lugo's gates, resembles Ávila's San Vicente gate, flanked by two thick towers, courses of asymmetrical ashlars defend a double arched entrance. According to Vallejo Pérez, the walls follow a generally rectangular shape, corresponding to the form of a Roman military camp. A cross-section of Lugo's walls shows a sloping inner bulwark and covered access to its watchtowers in comparison to Ávila's inner wall that is straight and its towers contain open air staircases. Gema Vallejo Pérez, "La titularidad estatal de la muralla y cercas de la ciudad de León," in *Historia de una excavación horizontal: el hallazgo y la extracción de material lapidario en la muralla de León*, 29-39, (Menoslobos, 2016): 43; José Ignacio López de Rego y Uriarte, "La muralla de Lugo: sistema constructive," *Boletín do Museo Provincial de Lugo* 12, no. 1 (2005): 71-108, esp. 86-87. The form of in Lugo's walls is well illustrated in an image here: López de Rego y Uriarte, "La muralla de Lugo: sistema constructive," 102.

[140] Segments of city walls survive in Reccopolis, the once urban capital of Visigothic Iberia founded by King Leovigild (r. 568/569-586) in 578. Very few monuments from the early Middle Ages are extant in Iberia today, therefore Reccopolis's walls offer an excellent comparative example for Ávila's. The chronicler John of Biclar is responsible for much of the dating of this site; from him comes the foundation date of 578, the same year in which the walls are traditionally dated. John of Biclar (c. 540-621) was a Visigothic chronicler educated in Constantinople who was also later the Bishop of Girona. I am grateful to my friend, the historian and archaeologist, Henry L. Gruber, for sharing his photos and knowledge of this Visigothic city with me.

around the area of the gate of San Vicente may have been built atop of during the High Middle Ages, when Ávila's inhabitants strengthened their defenses and erected the full walled circumference.

City walls from the High Middle Ages of other Christian-controlled cities, including León and Zamora, vary in form and offer counterpoints to Ávila's behemoth structure. In León, an earlier earthen structure was likely reinforced in the thirteenth century that consisted of two concentric rings constructed using round pebbles held together with mortar and adorned with crenellations (Figure 13). Although exact dating of the medieval extension is imprecise, the entire expansion was completed between 1350 and 1355.[141] Apart from the crenellations, León's pebble walls built to incorporate urban growth stray from Ávila's appearance and context.

In contrast to the examples listed above, much of Zamora's walls (Figure 14) are built using ashlar blocks. They correspond to the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, when the city also experienced a boom of sacred architectural construction, and the segments built in rubble may date to the fourteenth century or later as the construction boom waned.[142] Neither ashlar, nor rubble, Ávila's walls rest somewhere in between Zamora's two techniques, perhaps pointing to an intermediary chronology in the twelfth century.

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[141] Vallejo Pérez, "La titularidad estatal de la muralla," 43, 49. León's city walls, which also have Roman origins, were expanded during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Similar to Ávila, León experienced a period of population decline following the dissolution of the Roman Empire which was reversed in the beginning of the tenth century. By the end of the twelfth century, a new neighborhood, *Burgo Nuevo*, emerged on the outside edge of the original Roman walls, and the inhabitants of this neighborhood built an earthen fortification around their settlement.

[142] Teresa Martínez Martínez, "El material de una ciudad: la construcción en piedra de Zamora entre los siglos XI y XIII," in *Construir para perdurar. Riqueza petrificada e identidad social. Siglos XI-XIV*, edited by Gobierno de Navarra, 411-23 (Estella, 2022). The city walls of Zamora, another Castilian city founded under similar conditions as Ávila, consist of three distinct iterations potentially corresponding to the eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. However, modern interventions make the city's walled defenses difficult to date. Analysis of the masons' marks present on these ashlars has led Teresa Martínez Martínez to suggest these blocks were cut specifically for wall construction and not reused from sacred construction.

The Iberian Peninsula is also home to several surviving Islamic urban walls that once encircled the vibrant cities of al-Andalus. Differing from the examples listed above, Islamic Iberian city walls were often built entirely out of rammed earth.[143] The remaining 400 meter section of earthen walls attributed to the Almoravid period in Córdoba date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Figure 15).[144] The walls of Murcia—the first iteration of which was originally constructed in the early-ninth century, yet today only preserve excavated fragments dating to the later Almoravid period—reveal the same rammed earth technique used in Córdoba (Figure 16).[145] The examples from Córdoba and Murcia clearly show a distinct construction method from the coursed masonry frame and fill walls of Ávila, reinforcing the fact that Ávila was not an established Islamic polity before Christian settlement in the late-eleventh century.

The well-studied walls of Philip Augustus in Paris offer another useful comparison for Ávila's urban perimeter, despite being geographically distant and historically distinct. Built c. 1200, Philip Augustus's royal program of wall construction expanded the city's physical barrier to encapsulate new density north and south of the Île de la Cité. The walls promoted royal dominance in the city, in part through protection and as a symbol of the monarch, but also by dividing land previously controlled by lay and religious elites. Moreover, many of the religious foundations excluded from the internal core were monastic, allowing for a level of independence

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[143] This construction technique is called "*tapial*" in Spanish and used planks held in place on wooden beams to create a mold for earth and mud that formed the rectangular cross section of walls. For an overview on how the "*tapial*" method worked see, Francisco Javier López Martínez, "Tapias y tapiales," *Loggia, Arquitectura & Restauración* 8 (1999): 74-89.

[144] Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave and Pedro Marfil Ruiz, "Aportaciones al estudio de las murallas medievales de Córdoba. Estructura y técnicas de construcción en el sector Ronda del Marrubial," *Meridies. Estudios de Historia y Patrimonio de la Edad Media* 2 (1995): 145-77.

[145] José García Antón, *Las murallas medievales de Murcia*, (Real Academia Alfonso X El Sabio, 1993): 54. Throughout the centuries the walls were consumed by the city, buried or reappropriated as other spaces, and only in the past several decades have excavations re-revealed sections that has allowed for further study. I am grateful to my friend, Antonio José García Cano, for giving me a tour of Murcia's cultural heritage including its walls, and for gifting me the book cited in this footnote.

that intramural churches did not enjoy, while simultaneously leaving them disadvantaged from royal favor.[146] Philip Augustus's thirteenth-century wall expansion, though shorter but covering a much longer distance than Ávila's, had consequential effects not just on the urban topography of Paris, but also for power struggles within the city—themes parallel to the impact city walls had on urban society in Ávila. Rather than represent royal power as Philip Augustus's walls did in Paris, I argue below that Ávila's walls displayed the authority of the burgeoning lay government, or *concejo*.

Chronological Summary

By the mid-twelfth century, city organization and population density had improved to a point that a massive construction campaign was able to be carried out. Al-Idrisi's 1154 text based on data collected c. the 1130s can be used as a *terminus post quem* for wall construction, while the 1193 reference to *turres* acts as a *terminus ante quem*, pointing to a mid-twelfth-century chronology. Archaeological and visual comparisons corroborate the textual sources, similarly pointing to a mid-twelfth-century date for the majority of construction. However, on the eastern arm, material evidence of an earlier fortification points to a more ancient history of the walls, and establishes a preexisting partial path that was followed during the twelfth-century wall construction.

To review, the Gate of San Vicente appears to have been an ancient fortified entrance leading into an early settlement, based on Barraca's analysis of the archaeological strata, the

[146] Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy*, (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 25-28. Although only fragmented segments survive today, compared to Ávila's enclosure, the 253 hectares of the Parisian walls enveloped a considerably larger area than Ávila, yet were slightly shorter measuring in at about eight meters tall. Philip Augustus's walls contained seventy-seven rounded crenellated towers, less than the eighty-eight in Ávila despite covering more distance. They were constructed out of coursed ashlars and filled with rubble and mortar.

1999 discovery of the buried *verraco*, and my own visual analysis. This area seems to have been maintained to some degree in order to have survived until the mid-twelfth century when the new fully walled perimeter enveloped this earlier structure.[147] Therefore, when the small familial groups of Ávila's first Christian settlers arrived at the end of the eleventh century, I hypothesize that they may have found partly ruined fortifications at the site of the gate of San Vicente, repaired them, and slowly began adding more protections over time. Notably, any earlier defensive structure did not encompass the full perimeter of today's walls. It was not until the population and cumulative know-how stabilized in the twelfth century that a more ambitious construction campaign began. At this point, the rest of the fully walled project began, likely spanning decades and following a relatively regular pattern throughout, which I analyze further below. Unfortunately, archaeology and visual analysis has failed to provide exact dates, but sheds light on a more complex and disjointed construction history that documents had not been able to elucidate.

The route the walls take is especially important for my later argument concerning the relationship between walls and *concejo*, and chapter two's discussion of the connection between walls and cathedral. Having established a twelfth-century chronology helps to explain the unusual path the walls take which excluded so many contemporaneous churches.[148] As I argue

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[147] There is but one other case of architectural remains pre-dating the twelfth century which I describe in chapter three—a semicircular wall discovered adjacent to San Pedro possibly dating to the fourth or fifth century, see Pilar Barraca de Ramos, "Excavación arqueológica en el circuito de San Pedro, (Ávila) 1989-1990," *Numantia: Arqueología en Castilla y León* 4, (1989-1990): 239-56; Barraca de Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila,* 104-08. Visigothic slates have been discovered in the area of the cathedral's cloister showing Visigothic habitation despite a lack of architectural evidence, see Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 17. See also, A. Rodríguez, *Informe: excavación arqueológica de urgencia en el claustro de la catedral de Ávila*, (Delegación de Cultura de Ávila, 1993); Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, "Early Medieval Landscapes in North-West Spain: Local Powers and Communities, Fifth–Tenth Centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 19, no. 3 (2011): 297.

[148] Wall construction in the latter half of the twelfth century also coincides with the present cathedral's earliest construction, an important point that I develop in the following chapter.

below, the *concejo* determined a route that encircled and privileged pre-established neighborhoods directly associated with Ávila's founding knights. But before delving into a discussion of the relationship between walls and *concejo*, it is essential to first understand what the walls look like and how they were built. Their material analysis, especially with respect to the use of *spolia*, is critical to my later argument about expressions of power on the part of the *concejo*.

Wall Construction

Ávila's imposing city walls form a lithic seam across the parched landscape, their surface betraying a relatively consistent pattern despite being composed of asymmetrical blocks. Ávila's technique of wall construction generally adheres to regular coursing retaining a consistent pattern of courses of large, roughly shaped blocks interrupted by rows of smaller stones (Figure 17) while also incorporating some irregular pieces of *spolia.*[149] Not insignificant, Ávila's walls stand out from the other examples examined above because none use a regular pattern of coursed rough-cut stone nor do they loom as high as Ávila's twelve meter bulwark. In fact, roughly 236,000 tons of stone were used to complete the three meter thick walls that stand at an average of twelve meters tall, and extend as high as twenty meters at the gates of the Alcazar (Figure 18) and San Vicente (Figure 19).[150] Nineteenth- and twentieth-century pre-restoration photographs attest to the fact the majority of wall construction uses a frame and fill technique that utilizes larger, flatter stone blocks to create a frame which is then filled with mortar and rammed earth (Figure 20). A cohesive design and technique throughout the majority of the walls suggests a

[149] Barraca de Ramos suggests the courses of smaller stones were placed in this way to achieve consistent course heights for the irregularly shaped larger blocks to be placed onto. Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila,* 72.

[150] Martín Escorza, "Geología de la Muralla de Ávila," *Senderos GeoArqueológicos* 4 (2007): 29, 32.

continuity in construction, perhaps a relatively short building phase or an extended campaign that mindfully adhered to a consistent pattern.

Compared with other walled medieval Iberian cities, Ávila's circumference is rather diminutive. The 2.5 km walls form a roughly rectangular shape, containing a relatively small interior nucleus of only thirty-three hectares or .33 km2, pierced by nine gates.[151] For comparison, Salamanca's interior space contained 110 hectares.[152] Within Ávila's medieval walled perimeter lay the cathedral, four parish churches, the alcázar, bishop's palace, in addition to now-lost synagogues and mosques, along with at least one market square, and shops and homes belonging to Christians, Muslims, and Jews.[153] Today many of these monuments have disappeared including all but one of the parish churches, the alcázar, much of the bishop's complex, and all of the city's once rich architectural tradition of synagogues and mosques. The intramural zone also included significant arable land and non-developed space, likely to provide a source of sustenance in the event of a seige.[154]

The walls originally included eighty-eight towers, distributed at intervals of about twenty-one meters, the largest of which is locally known as the *cimorro*, a unique construction

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[151] The nine gates are: San Vicente, Alcázar, Adaja, Mariscal, Malaventura, Carmen, Rastro, Santa, Obispo (Peso de la Harina). See also the Map Appendix.

[152] José María Lacarra, "Les villes-frontière dans l'Espagne des XIe et XIIe siècles," *Le Moyen Age* 75 (1963): 216. Although Lacarra cites thirty-one hectares in his study.

[153] See the digital map and Map Appendix accompanying this dissertation for non-extant structures. Some of this information is revealed within fourteenth-century archival documentation from the Diocesan Archives of Ávila. Although none are extant today, textual sources attest to several synagogues and mosques in medieval Ávila including the synagogues of Don Samuel, Belforade, Lomo, and Calandrín, see Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Excma. Diputación Provincial de Avila, Instituto" Gran Duque de Alba", 1963); Blas Cabrera González, Jesús Caballero Arribas, and Jorge Díaz de la Torre, "El cementerio judío medieval de 'la Encarnación'en Ávila," *Sefarad* 73, no. 2 (2013): 309-38; Serafín de Tapia, "Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsion," *Sefarad* 57, no. 1 (1997): 135-78. On Muslims in Ávila, see Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1991); Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, *The City of the Three Mosques*.

[154] Lacarra, "Les villes-frontière dans l'Espagne," 216.

that combines cathedral chevet with an extra-large watchtower.[155] Today only eighty-seven towers survive; in 1594 one cathedral-adjacent tower was demolished in order to construct the chapel of San Segundo (see Wall Appendix).[156] Each of the city's semicircular towers, including the *cimorro,* are connected by ramparts and topped by a platform with a parapet and crenellations run along the entire upper walled perimeter.

The city walls' towers had both structural and defensive purposes. The towers doubled as buttresses, acting as counterweights to the massive sections built between them. Gutiérrez Robledo highlights how, especially on the northern arm, the towers appear to have been erected first, and the ramparts subsequently filled in between them. The tilted axis of the corner towers (for example, tower 11) reinforces the hypothesis that they were built independently of the walls' straight segments (Figure 21).[157] In addition, the coursing of the towers does not align with that of the straight areas, and in many cases even follows a distinct lithic pattern (Figure 22). In some areas, the towers are much taller than the adjacent ramparts, similarly demonstrating they were built as separate structures (Figure 23). Because of the discontinuity between towers and

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[155] Feduchi Canosa describes the "*ritmo*" (rhythm) of the towers about every twenty-one meters, "La construcción de las murallas," 84. The term *cimorro*, with unknown origins, originally referred to the outer wall, but has come to mean the entire east end protruding through the city walls that combines wall tower and chevet, unique to Ávila's cathedral complex. The additional defensive wall of the *cimorro* is traditionally dated to the thirteenth century and was added sometime after the initial construction of the chevet in order to better protect the radiating chapels. Gutiérrez Robledo dates it to the middle of the thirteenth century and relates it to the master of works, Don Varon, whose name appears in an archival document in 1269, however this brief mention says nothing about what work he was responsible for in the cathedral complex. Gutiérrez Robledo goes on to say that by the middle of the fifteenth century, the upper artillery platform was added with the invention and arrival of gunpowder which had already appeared in al-Andalus as early as 1340. The machicolations seen today were also added at this time according to Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas: el caso de Ávila," 132. See also, Pedro Navascúes Palacio and José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "La cathedral de Ávila: proceso constructive. *Fortior Abulensis*. Lugar y carácter," in *Testigos*, (Ávila: Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, 2004): 556, who argue that the earliest iteration of this structure included a barbican. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the makers continued to improve the design that linked walls and cathedral by adding the three-level ramparts and cylindrical outer wall that are visible today.

[156] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las Murallas: El caso de Ávila," 129. After the discovery of San Segundo's relics in the parish church of San Segundo, the chapel of San Segundo in the cathedral was constructed in order for the translation of San Segundo's relics from the parish church to the cathedral, which occurred in 1594.

[157] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las Murallas: El caso de Ávila," 129-32.

ramparts, I propose that the workflow for building the walls began with tower construction: two towers were built first, and then as the straight section of wall was being completed between them, the next tower would be initiated. This method of construction may explain the large number of towers in a relatively small perimeter (Paris's longer over-five kilometer perimeter had only seventy-seven towers) in addition to the off-axis corner towers, irregular coursing, and differing heights.

Ávila's walls are primarily constructed out of locally-hewn stone, quarried both on- and off-site. They are constructed atop a naturally occurring porphyry dyke, especially noticeable on the southern arm (Figure 24).[158] In fact, the towers on the southern section are shorter and less robust, likely because additional buttressing and defenses were unnecessary in an area laden with jagged bedrock that provided extra structural support and natural protection (Figure 25). The porphyry dyke provides construction material as well as natural defenses. Utilizing this bedrock as the foundation of the walls themselves, stones were hewn directly from it in order to continue building upwards, thus in part dictating the path of the walls.

Although less common, in some areas granite from the nearby quarry village of La Colilla, sometimes in ashlar blocks, is also integrated into the walls' majority porphyry fabric.[159] For example, at the gate of San Vicente, ashlars of orange-hued *piedra caleña* form the double arched entrance, echoing the construction of its eponymous church directly to the east (Figure 26). In addition to the onsite porphyry and off site *piedra caleña* listed above, *spolia* from cultures past are ubiquitous in the city walls, particularly noticeable in the eastern quadrant.

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[158] Porphyry here does not refer to the reddish-purple stone originating in Egypt that was a favorite for Roman imperial contexts, but rather a type of rock that is compositionally related to granite. A dyke occurs when magma intrudes into a weak point of another rock then cools forming a new geologic element. Conversation with UC Davis soil scientist Iris Holzer, January 25, 2021.

[159] Escorza, "Geología de la Muralla de Ávila," 30.

Spolia in Ávila's City Walls

In the seventeenth century, Luis Ariz took note of the mosaic effect of different stones incorporated into the walls surfaces:

> Berroqueña stones, formed into ashlars, and on them Arabic letters: and on others stars and half-moons…these stones, some different from others, worked into ashlar, but not set in any order, as if they fell into their place, and even some upside-down…plundered from ancient Roman buildings.[160]

As illustrated in this quote, Ávila's city walls are replete with *spolia* in all forms—Roman ashlars, Roman and Islamic funerary elements, and carved monolithic *verracos* from the local pre-Roman Vetton tribe. *Spolia* appear throughout the entire surface of the walls, but the eastern area surrounding the gate of San Vicente and the Alcazar have the highest concentration—an area likely corresponding to the earliest phase of the walled construction (Figure 27).[161] Spoliation is sometimes explained by a practical reutilization of available building material. However, the spoliated stones in Ávila's walls are conspicuously placed, often right-side-up and facing outwards, indicating that they were meant to be seen and represented more than a utilitarian construction choice.

In some areas, large reused Roman ashlars are placed as supportive foundations, and throughout the walls' circumference, different types of funerary elements including *cistae*, *stelae*, and *cuppae*, in addition to large and small *verracos,* ornament the behemoth structure. *Cistae* are a broad group of objects used as receptacles for various contents, but were often used in a funerary context to hold the ashes of the dead (Figure 28).[162] *Stele* are tombstones, many of

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[160] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 12. Berroqueña refers to the grey granite that is also used throughout Ávila's built environment which I discuss at more length in the following chapters.

[161] This led to the conclusion that this area was likely once the location of a Roman necropolis, however, further archaeological evidence seems to refute this, see above.

[162] Maddalena Paggi, "The Praenestine Cistae," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–): http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/prae/hd_prae.htm (October 2004).

which in this case include epigraphic messages or anthropomorphic imagery (Figure 29).[163] *Cuppae* are cylindrical or half-moon shaped funerary monuments with pre-Roman origins that arrived to the peninsula through the Carthaginians and which have been found throughout medieval Spain (Figure 30).[164] Both the *stelae* and *cuppae* found in Ávila's walls have been attributed to the second or third century CE.[165] In at least one instance, funerary fragments with possible Arabic lettering are also visible on tower 81. They contain letters within a frame running along the exterior edge of the slab, echoing the fifteenth-century tomb of Abd Allah ibn Yusuf now preserved in the Museum of Ávila (Figure 31).[166]

The zoomorphic sculpted monoliths of bulls and pigs found incorporated into the city walls are called *verracos* and belong to a pre-Roman local practice of the Vetton people. *Verracos* exist throughout the province of Ávila and are often freestanding sculptures. Although their original functions are not definitively known, they may have held religious or funerary significance, acted as markers of good pastures or water sources, or signaled the strength and

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[163] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila,* 64. While their chronology is also debated, they can be compared to some *stele* from Mérida dating to the second to third century. See also: Enrique Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres and María Cruz, "La plástica indígena y el impacto romano en la Lusitania," in *Actas de la I Reunión sobre escultura romana en Hispania* edited by T. Nogales Basarrate, 159-78, (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, 1993). María Mariné mentions fifty-four epigraphic *stele* in the walls, Mariné, "Epoca Romana," 301. See also, J. Francisco Fabián García and María Mariné Isidro, "Novedades de epigrafía latina abulense," *Cuadernos Abulenses* 29 (200): 119-32.

[164] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila,* 64. See also: M. Bendala Galán, "Las necrópolis de Mérida," *Augusta Emerita* (1976): 141-61.

[165] Barraca De Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila,* 53. These funerary elements have also been associated with Vetton, or non-Roman, funerary practices while simultaneously displaying Roman cultural influence and therefore have been used as evidence for the Romanization of the Vetton people and the biculturality of Late Antique Ávila.

[166] Thanks to the tomb inscription and preserved judicial documents, it is known that Abd Allah ibn Yusuf died by homicide in 1492. His tomb is located in the Museum of Ávila and includes the Arabic inscription: "In the name of Allah, the merciful, the forgiving. This is the sepulcher of Abd Allah ibn Yusuf, the rich, unjustly murdered. May Allah have mercy on him! He died…in the year of our prophet Muhammed. May Allah bless and protect him! 897. May Allah reunite with him in Paradise! There is no God but God, the highest, the wise, there is no victor but God," (My translation from the Spanish). J. Jiménez Gadea, "Acerca de cuatro inscripciones árabes abulenses," *Cuadernos Abulenses* 31 (2002): 25-71. https://museodeavila.com/pieza/sepulcro-de-abd-allah-ibn-yusuf-el-rico/.

wealth of family groups.[167] There are at least four spoliated *verracos* in the city's walls—smaller than the free-standing examples seen elsewhere in the city or in the countryside of the surrounding province.[168] Two are placed in profile between tower 85 and 86 (Figure 32), while a third is situated in the lower portion of tower 84 with just its back visible, discernible only by small carved protrusions of ears, spine, and tail (Figure 33). In tower 11, an animal head juts through the stone courses to surveil the landscape below (Figure 34). While the utilization of *spolia* is common throughout the medieval Castilian architectural landscape, as in Ávila's walls, reused stones are especially marked in this particular context because they are generally absent in sacred structures.

The meaningful placement of *spolia* throughout the walls make it all the more conspicuous that they are relatively lacking in Ávila's contemporaneous twelfth- and thirteenth-century church construction. While reused stones do exist in isolated cases in Ávila's medieval churches, the instances are few and inconspicuous. To my knowledge, there are just three examples: a Roman altar at San Segundo (Figure 35), a group of Roman stones in San Martín (Figure 36), and a *verraco* in the base of San Nicolás's tower (Figure 37).[169] The Roman altar in San Segundo was discovered face-down, incorporated as a stair leading up to the west portal.[170] The *verraco* in the northwestern corner of the tower at San Nicolás rests on its side, belying its natural form. In San Martín, the Roman stones are discreetly integrated into the southern wall, now highlighted through onsite didactics. Because of the major post-medieval restorations

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[167] Álvarez-Sanchís, "Oppida and Celtic Society," 268.

[168] The National Archaeological Museum of Madrid also has a collection of *verracos*.

[169] Didactics on-site in Ávila explain that San Martín was left in a ruined state and then heavily remodeled in the sixteenth and early-eighteenth century. The tower is dated to the fourteenth century.

[170] Fabián García and Mariné Isidro, "Novedades de epigrafía latina abulense," 120.

carried out in San Martín, it is unclear whether or where the *spolia* may have existed in the original fabric of the church. In each of these examples, the reused stones are integrated in church architecture in an obscured, utilitarian way—entirely contrary to how they conspicuously appear in the medieval walls. There is great contrast between the frequency and use of *spolia* in the city's walls and the city's churches— the noticeable lack of *spolia* in sacred architecture makes their presence in the city walls all the more noteworthy.

Ávila's lack of spoliation in its religious Christian architecture also stands in contrast to other Iberian examples. The sequence of conquests of Iberian cities resulted in significant opportunities to incorporate *spolia* into architectural construction. For example, Ahmad ibn Hadidi placed Visigothic capitals in his small mosque, Bab al-Mardum, in Toledo, built c. 999/1000.[171] Roman sculpture proliferated in the tenth-century Islamic palatial city of Madinat-al-Zahra.[172] Closer to home, the eleventh-century church of San Esteban de Gormaz in Soria visibly reuses multiple Roman stones, including an inscribed slab as a stair and decoratively sculpted Roman fragments as doorway lintels.[173]

Examples of deliberate exclusion of *spolia* also exist in the historical record which offer a comparative model relevant for the present study. Kate Mees has identified cases in England where there was a particular aversion to including Anglo Saxon *spolia* in later medieval contexts.

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[171] For more on this monument see, Susanna Calvo Capilla, "La Mezquita de Bāb al-Mardūm y el proceso de consagración de pequeñas mezquitas en Toledo (s. XII-XIII)," *Al-Qanṭara*, 20 no. 2, (1999): 299-330; Gregory S. Hutcheson, "Contesting the Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz," *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 43, no. 1 (2014): 201-29.

[172] See Susana Calvo Capilla, "The Reuse of Classical Antiquity in the Palace of Madinat al-Zahraʾ and its Role in the Construction of Caliphal legitimacy," *Muqarnas Online* 31, no. 1 (2014): 1-33.

[173]Josemi Lorenzo Arribas and José Francisco Yusta Bonilla, "La Iglesia de San Miguel (ca. 1070) en San Esteban de Gormaz (Soria). Reflexiones sobre su origen y particularidades arquitectónicas," *Biblioteca: estudio e investigación* 34 (2019): 59-82, esp. 64-69.

Early- and mid-Anglo Saxon funerary evidence is absent in later megalithic monuments, suggesting potential superstitious beliefs surrounding the ancient elements.[174]

In the following pages, I propose that spoliated stones were omitted from twelfth- and thirteenth-century sacred construction in Ávila because of their association with the secular power of the city. Despite a handful of spoliated stones in Ávila's surviving medieval churches, the practice was not widespread, singling out *spolia* as a construction material more or less exclusive to the city walls. Thus, the avoidance of integrating *spolia* into church architecture in Ávila, especially when they are so visible in the walls, begs the question, why?

The meaning of *spolia* in medieval construction continues to elicit debate. The term *spolia* appeared in art history around the sixteenth century to refer to Classical Roman marbles found in medieval contexts.[175] Today, the term communicates a broader definition and can generally refer to any material reused in a later context, be it Islamic capitals in Christian palaces, or Roman ashlars in medieval church foundations. However, debate about the term persists in scholarship—whether *spolia* should only refer to materials deliberately displaced from their original contexts (as the Latin word implies), or if the term can encompass the pragmatic reuse of construction materials as well. For the purposes of my argument, I draw on the work of Dale Kinney and Avinoam Shalem to argue that in Ávila's walls, *spolia* conveyed messages of ancient glories which the secular power, or *concejo*, drew on to bolster their own contemporary status. In order to contextualize my argument, I will review some historiography of *spolia* below.

Dale Kinney has summarized the different theories proposed by scholars for the integration of *spolia* in medieval settings: convenience, profanation, Christianization, political

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[174] Kate Mees, *Burial, Landscape and Identity in Early Medieval Wessex*, (Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 17.

[175] Dale Kinney, "Roman architectural spolia." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 2 (2001): 138.

legitimation, aesthetics, pragmatism, ideology, or a combination of any of the above.[176] In an Iberian context in particular, the transfer of Islamic objects into Christian hands or the Christian adoption of Islamic architectural forms tends to attract arguments for triumphalism, a point I will return to in chapter four.[177] For Kinney, who specifically analyzes colorful Roman stones and marbles, *spolia* “conferred an aura of antiquity upon new buildings and associated their sponsors with the authority and legendary splendour of the past.”[178] The implementation of conspicuously placed Roman cultural heritage in a post-Roman setting projected the glory, power, and legends of Rome into a new building. Outside of Rome, Ávila’s *spolia*-filled walls similarly expressed past greatness.

Avinoam Shalem takes an alternate approach and calls for a method of analysis that recognizes “the thoughts that objects carry with them, not only physical, tangible evidence, but ideas and memories, be they contrived, legendary or semi-historical.”[179] Shalem’s approach is geared specifically towards objects identified as “hybrid,” for which he argues that instead of parsing each of a so-called hybrid object’s assembled parts, one must focus on the object as a

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[176] Dale Kinney, “Spolia in Medieval Art and Architecture.” Published online: 16 September 2010. See also the scholars she is citing: A. Esch, “Spolien. Zur Wiederverwendung antiker Baustücke und Skulpturen im mittelalterlichen Italien,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 51 (1969): 1–64; M. Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages,* (London: Duckworth, 1989); F. B. Flood, “The Medieval Trophy as an Art Historical Trope: Coptic and Byzantine ‘Altars’ in Islamic Contexts,” *Muqarnas*, 18 (2001): 41–72.

[177] See Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian interchange from the tenth to the twelfth century." *Art History* 24, no. 1 (2001): 17-50.

[178] Kinney, “Spolia in Medieval Art and Architecture.” See also: Dale Kinney, " ‘Spolia. Damnatio’ and ‘Renovatio Memoriae,’" *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 117-48.

[179] Avinoam Shalem, "Multivalent Paradigm of Interpretation and the Aura or Anima of the Object," in *Islamic Art and the Museum: Approaches to Art and Archaeology of the Muslim World in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber, and Gerhard Wolf, 101-15, (London: Saqi, 2012), 103.

whole.[180] Shalem's model provides a fruitful avenue to consider the "personal histories" of objects which include its memory, as well as form. I apply this approach to the city walls in which the *spolia* embedded within them carried memories "be they contrived, legendary or semi-historical," to create an entirely new object, or in this case, structure.[181]

María Cátedra and Serafín de Tapia describe Ávila's walls as "literally a museum or library relating the history of the city."[182] The history of the peoples that built Ávila are represented through the walls' *spolia*. Roman ashlars attest to the engineering feats of the people that may have been responsible for the city's first roads and infrastructure; *stele* and other funerary elements, many of which combine diverse cultural burial practices, recall the early human lives that settled here; and *verracos* may have announced the strength of a particular family groups or the abundance of workable land. More important than the individual stones' provenance, as Shalem points out, the conspicuous antiquity of the stones as a group communicated the ancient origins of the city, a crucial message for the glorification of twelfth-century Ávila and its secular administrators. The creation of the new wall as a whole, as an assemblage of diverse, older objects integrated with the new, that encircled a previously undefined nucleus, generated meaning. A message of antiquity, mystery, and grandeur was communicated through the whole of the walls' *spolia*-laden surface, a surface which lent itself well to exalting legends and myths associated with Ávila's history, and in the service of the walls' makers—the *concejo*.

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[180] Shalem, "Multivalent Paradigm of Interpretation," 105. For example, he analyzes the monstrance reliquary from the German National Museum in Nuremberg to demonstrate that the object "radiated intimacy," invited private and personal devotion, and evoked a magical quality.

[181] Shalem, "Multivalent Paradigm of Interpretation," 103, 107.

[182] De Tapia Sánchez and Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas e históricas," 151: "*literalmente un museo o una biblioteca sobre la historia de la ciudad.*"

I argue that the walls were constructed by the *concejo* in part as a symbol of their secular authority within the city and to circumscribe the neighborhoods where Ávila's knights originally settled. Picturing the quintessential medieval city conjures images of imposing walled enclosures separating the civilized interior realm from the dangers of the wild beyond. The hostile realities of medieval Europe and the broader global landscape suggest a need for fortified architecture, yet scholars in the past decades have questioned a strictly defensive role of walls and other fortified structures, as I have outlined above. In addition to acting as protective shields against an intruding foe, city walls could serve as staging zones from whence to launch attack, or even as symbols of power and political legitimation. The sheer size of Ávila's walls attest to their defensive function, yet the unusual exclusion of the majority of the city's churches as well as the fact they were never redrawn to accommodate urban expansion defy a traditional explanation of a frontier city's walls defending Christendom. Therefore, I seek an alternative or additional explanation for the construction of such massive walls in this burgeoning city.

Walls: Beyond Defense

Across the globe, alternative scholarly perspectives that look beyond defensive functions of city walls are becoming more prevalent which are especially useful in understanding Ávila's walls because were never expanded after their initial construction and never contained the entire city. For example, Roman historians have countered the traditional view of the *limes* system as a linear defense, suggesting they had more to do with surveillance and control.[183] Johnathon

[183] Nora Berend, "Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier," *The Medieval History Journal* 2, no. 1 (1999): 61; Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, "Introduction," in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, edited by Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, (Macmillan International Higher Education, 1999), 4. See also Charles Richard Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), who highlights the "zonal" nature of the *limes* system as opposed to demarcated lines.

Bloom outlines the functional multiplicity behind walled cities in early tenth-century Islamic North Africa. He includes a description of Mansuriyya, the first Fatimid urban capital, as "a theme park within high walls for [the ruler's] private pleasure."[184] Yet another example, of the eighth-century Round City of Baghdad, demonstrates how the placement of the congregational mosque within the walled boundary undermined the caliph's security by inviting the public into his inner realm every Friday.[185] In this context, the walls in fact hindered protection and subverted their original intention of safeguarding the ruler. Furthermore, Rachel Askew has shown that the seventeenth-century fortifications added to Sandal Castle during the first English Civil War were not meant to defend a strategic monument, but to protect the fortress because of its symbolic connection to Richard III and other monarchs.[186] Owen Lattimore argued that the Great Wall of China was in fact an expression of "Chinese state theory," rather than a barrier to fend off Barbarian raids.[187] Across time and space, the function of fortifications, and walls in particular, was not straightforward—they were not simply or ever *only* a defensive barrier.

In medieval Iberia more specifically Edward Triplett has shown that the intervisibility of fortifications was at times more important than the efficiency of a martial construction.[188]

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[184] Bloom, "Walled cities in Islamic North Africa," 235. Mansurriyya is outside Kairouan, Tunisia.

[185] Bloom, "Walled cities in Islamic North Africa," 229. Eventually the city's main mosque was transferred to a suburb a few years later to avoid this problem.

[186] Askew, "Biography and Memory," 49. "The decision to fortify Sandal can be directly linked to the Battle of Wakefield in 1460, when Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, the father of King Edward IV and Richard III, was killed outside its walls," 48. Within the sub-field of castle studies, which is especially popular in medieval English contexts, a debate called the "war or status debate" persists concerning the function of castles.

[187] Berend, "Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier," 60. She cites Owen Lattimore, "Origins of the Great Wall of China: A Frontier Concept in Theory and Practice," *Geographical review* 27, no. 4 (1937): 529-49. Moreover, Arthur Waldron suggests that the Great Wall was in fact a compilation of defenses and never one *single* wall: Arthur Waldron, *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth*, (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[188] Edward Triplett, "Mapping Spheres of Influence on Medieval Iberia's Religious Frontier via Viewshed Analysis and Cost-Distance Analysis," *Historical Geography* 45, no. 1 (2017): 66-91. See also, Edward Triplett, "Visualizing Medieval Iberia's Contested Space Through Multiple Scales of Visibility Analysis," *Digital Methods and Remote Sensing in Archaeology: Archaeology in the Age of Sensing* (2016): 199-227.

Inscribing the land with symbolic markers was an essential tool for conquest and territorial control, and one which twelfth-century rulers in Iberia, both Christian and Muslim, harnessed to great success. In this way, walls and forts functioned as symbolic representations delimiting Christendom from Dar al-Islam or vice versa. Through viewshed analysis, Triplett demonstrates that the intervisibility of fortresses and walled settlements in Iberia created what he calls "spheres of influence" that extended and overlapped in contested or war-torn land.[189] The ability of a fortress to exert control (or influence) through surveillance and fear, was directly related to how far they could be seen, not necessarily the size or durability of their defenses. Additionally, these forts were not fundamentally connected to one religious power or the other, but continuously changed hands between Christian and Muslim control thus consistently shifting the sphere of influence.[190] Even today Ávila's walls can be seen for miles as one approaches the city by car. Drawing on Triplett's research, the enormous size of Ávila's walls may not necessarily have been solely for defense, but to visibly communicate a Castilian sphere of influence throughout the region. In this way, Ávila's walls can certainly be understood as a symbol of power, but not necessarily a symbol of Christendom. They communicated local secular power as much as, if not more than, serving as a marker of general Christian dominance, as I will show.

Walled fortifications elsewhere on the globe have elicited investigation that look beyond functional defenses which have helped shed light on the atypical characteristics of Ávila's walls— they never encased the majority of urban development and their perimeter was never enlarged to absorb additional urban growth. However, scholars remain undecided about their

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[189] Viewshed analysis measures the area that is visible from a given location using a computational algorithm.

[190] For example, the Almohad (Muslim dynasty in Iberia beginning c. 1146) castle of Qal'at rabah which had a strategic view of the city of Toledo was converted into the castle of Calatrava and controlled by the Christian Military Order of Calatrava. However in 1195, after the Almohad victory at the battle of Alarcos, the castle moved back into Muslim hands. After this, the Order moved to a different nearby fortress, that of Salvatierra, which became a Christian bastion deep inside Muslim-controlled territory. Triplett, "Mapping Spheres of Influence," 79.

exact function within the city. For example, an early theory to explain the exclusion of the majority of the city's churches, suggested simply that the intramural space became overcrowded forcing extramural expansion. However, this theory has since been refuted, in part because documentation suggests several of the churches' original construction in fact predated the walls.[191] Furthermore, it appears that medieval Ávila continued to have extensive undeveloped land on the interior of its walls even as the extramural community grew.[192] Ávila's unusual route cannot be explained by outgrowing a too-small walled nucleus—why then does the walled perimeter form this shape?

José María Monsalvo Anton took a differing perspective when he argued that the walls' path in Ávila was determined by topography. In his comparative study of the medieval walled spaces of León, Burgos, Salamanca, and Ávila, Monsalvo Anton discovered that there was not always a correlation between population growth and medieval walls. Challenging a popular assumption that walls were drawn or redrawn depending on settlement size allowed Monsalvo Anton to discover an alternate explanation for the course of Ávila's walls based on topographical logic.[193] A topographical map confirms that Ávila's city walls generally align with the natural landscape—they are built atop geologic formations of rocky ridges. As described earlier, these rocky outcroppings assisted with natural defenses, especially on the walls' southern arm (Figure

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[191] Specifically, a document from 1103 and an inscription from 1065 attest to several of Ávila's churches predating the mid-twelfth-century wall construction. See chapter three for more on these documents and the city's urban churches.

[192] José María Monsalvo Antón, "Espacios y poderes en la ciudad medieval. Impresiones a partir de cuatro casos: León, Burgos, Ávila y Salamanca," in *Los espacios de poder en la España medieval. XII Semana de Estudios Medievales,* coordinated by Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte and José-Luis Martín Rodríguez, 97-147, (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2002), 124.

[193] Monsalvo Antón, "Espacios y poderes." Carlos Martín Escorza has also suggested that the porphyry dyke is what determined the route of the walls, and therefore ultimately the size and shape of the medieval city itself: Martín Escorza "Geología de la Muralla de Ávila."

24, 25) and the native porphyry bedrock provided the majority of the building materials for the walls, facilitating on-site dressing of stones. However, topography is not a sufficient explanation for Ávila's city walls' placement, in part because the eastern path veers from the jagged rocks to bisect the highest, flattest area in the city. As explained previously in this chapter, the need for additional defenses in the eastern quadrant may in part explain this area's concentration (both intra- and extramural) of strongly fortified structures and earliest fortifications.[194] However, the flatness and vulnerability of the eastern edge of the walled barrier challenge Monsalvo Anton's purely topographical explanation for the route of Ávila's walls.

In Iberia, Triplett's study on intervisibility and spheres of influence offer a jumping off point to consider Ávila's walls as mutable expressions of power, not necessarily, or only, tied to an overarching Christian conquest ideology. Monsalvo Anton's foundational comparative study also set the stage for studying Ávila's walls independent from their defensive role—in this case, he analyzed their shape in relation to natural topography. Building off of both of these scholars, I demonstrate how the walls did not only fulfill the traditional protective role so often attributed to medieval walled cities. In addition to their fortified function, Ávila's city walls represented the powerful local civil authority—their path and material make up an expression of urban lay dominance. In particular, as I elaborate on below, *spolia* served to enhance the *concejo*'s message of particularly local power by communicating an ancient and legendary urban honor.

The *Concejo*

On the most basic level, the *concejo* was an assembly of lay individuals that were responsible for administrating and overseeing the common interests of a given territory, distinct

[194] See above. The Gate of San Vicente, the Gate of the Alcázar, and the Alcázar are all on the flat eastern plateau that was more vulnerable to attack and may have necessitated stronger fortifications.

from royal or ecclesiastical control.[195] *Concejos* functioned differently across regions, so before describing the more specific role of the *concejo* in Ávila and its connection to the city walls, I will first briefly summarize the socio-urban evolution that brought about its development in the *Extremadura Castellana.* New medieval settlements required a certain level of communal decision making, as seen through the earliest documentation concerning *concejos* which relate to defense, irrigation, maintenance of canals, donations to monasteries, working mills, organizing livestock for grazing, or nominating a representative in a legal battle.[196] First originating simply as a group of all the settlements' members, over time the *concejo* evolved into a specific body made up of elite male citizens.[197] The *concejo* was also split into subgroups consisting of specific positions including the "*alcalde,*" or mayor, which essentially functioned as a judge. In other cases, the *concejo* included both an *alcalde* and judges.[198] In addition to the *concejo*'s responsibility of judicial oversight, the council drew territorial boundaries and oversaw economic affairs, examples of which I highlight further below.[199] The *concejo* received an income from

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[195] See María del Carmen Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1968). Her work describes the complex and still debated origins and functions of the *concejo* in medieval Castile and León. In her opening page she simplifies this complex body as such: "En efecto, para las gentes de los siglos X, XI y siguientes, en aquella población donde una asamblea de habitants tenía cierta participación en el manejo de los asuntos de interés común, existía un concejo." The bibliography on *concejos* is extensive, see also: Luis Garcia de Valdeavellano, *El Curso de Historia de las instituciones españolas,* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Revista de Occidente, 1975); José María Monsalvo Antón, "Parentesco y sistema concejil. Observaciones sobre la funcionalidad política de los linajes urbanos en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV)," *Hispania* 53, no. 185 (1993): 937-69.

[196] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, 28-29. In preexisting cities, the emergence of the *concejo* came to fruition through a different method: the appointment of royal delegates. Instead of an economy based on common land use in more rural areas, urban environments relied on a mercantile economy. However, each case was unique and documentation is not always entirely clear. Carlé uses León and Coimbra as urban examples where there was still a regularly meeting delegation in which all city inhabitants had to measure their foodstuffs and dole out justice: *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, 30.

[197] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, 34-35.

[198] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, 114-15.

[199] Teofilo F. Ruiz, "The Transformation of the Castilian Municipalities: The Case of Burgos 1248-1350," *Past & Present* 77 (1977): 22.

rents on property assets or through royal taxes ceded to a city's *concejo* which they used to pay its civil servants, to repair the city's infrastructure, and, most importantly for the present study, to build defenses.[200] However, the exact duties and organization of any given *concejo* are complex, debated, and not uniform across medieval cities.

The *concejo* played a fundamental role in the social, political, economic, as well as structural development of Ávila and other Castilian cities. In Ávila, Barrios García explains that after Urraca and Count Raymond left the city, the *concejo* took over governing control, perhaps due to a power vacuum left behind especially after Alfonso VI's death.[201] Barrios García posits that many of the settlers who arrived to newly conquered lands in Ávila (and elsewhere) were farmers and family groups, and while attracted by privileges, they were not directly brought by lords or magnates and thus the settlements' population was made up of mostly free peasants.[202] The familial environment, the natural result of this new method of settlement, left the means of production in the hands of individual or small collectives of farmers, often family groups, who were free from feudal vassalage.[203] Over time, these free peasants gained wealth, intermarried, and eventually consolidated power as a more structured council, or *concejo*.[204]

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[200] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, 205-06.

[201] Ángel Barrios García, "Colonización y feudalización: el Desarrollo de la organización concejil y diocesana y la consolidación de las desigualdades sociales (Cap VII)," in *Historia de Ávila, vol. 2. Edad Media (siglos VIII-XIII),* coordinated by Ángel Barrios García, 337-410, (Ávila: Caja de ahorros de Ávila, Obra Cultural. Diputación de Ávila, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1998), 346. The *Segunda leyenda* describes several conflicts as well as marriages between different noble families.

[202] As discussed previously, there were likely also enslaved Muslims in Ávila's early settlement which I describe in more detail in chapter four.

[203] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 342.

[204] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 342. Ariz similarly reports that the incipient *concejo* of Ávila was made up of soldiers who were able to enshrine their power through royal favor, intermarriages, and land accumulation. Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 344-45. Ariz includes specific names like Ximen Blázquez from Asturias and Alvaro Alvarez. *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 5. While the trustworthiness of these names is debated, Barrios Garcia cites passages from the *Crónica* as corroborating evidence for the organizing structure of the *concejo*.

The role of the *concejo* was instrumental in cities founded under conditions of conquest and settlement like Ávila because of its ability to organize defense and settlement of the terrain. Luis Ariz's seventeenth-century text outlines much of Ávila's early society in the wake of organized Christian settlement, including the formation of the *concejo*. After the Christian conquest of Toledo, Ariz recounts how Alfonso VI offered privileges to men and their families to settle the surrounding lands. For example, a certain Ximen Blázquez from Asturias and Álvaro Álvarez from Burgos arrived with their families and livestock, under royal guard, to govern the new settlement. "Governing" included keeping the peace between all the settlers and obeying the customs of the Castilian *fueros*.[205] Ariz goes on to describe Count Raymond delimiting the boundaries of different lands which included assigning individual *concejos* to the newly defined territories. [206] Ariz's source is the *Segunda leyenda* which similarly records the same events:

> The good count called on Ximén Blázquez and Alvar Álvarez and Sancho d'Estrada and Juan Martínez del Abrojo and made them in charge of how to distribute the companies that had come with Sancho Sánchez Zurraquines and those that arrived from Vizcaya and Castile with Fortún Blázquez and others that arrived with Fernán López, mayor [*alcalde*], which he had brought from León, Asturias and Galicia. *And it was up to them to make councils and settlements of these people and companies and to show them the council boundaries and pastures and hunting areas and the limits between neighborhoods and the workable land.*[207]

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[205] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 5: "les mando ouiessen el gouierno en la terra, e la Ciudad: manteniendola en paz, con todos los moradores, conforme a las costumbres, e foros de Castilla." The *Segunda leyenda*, likely Ariz's source, also names these same men under similar circumstances: Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda*, 79.

[206] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 10.

[207] Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda*, 79: "E el buen conde mandó llamar a Ximén Blázquez y a Alvar Álvarez e a Sancho d'Estrada e Juan Martínez del Abrojo, e les fizo sabidores de cómo havía voluntad de repartir las compañas que fueron venidas con Sancho Sánchez Zurraquines e las que arribaron de Vizcaya e Castilla con Fortún Blázquez e otrosí las que arribaron con Fernán López, alcayde, que las ovo traído de León, de Asturias e Galiçia. E que era su voluntad fazer concejos e poblaciónes de estas gentes e compañas e señalarles térmynos conçejiles y pastos e señalar los cotos, señales e lindes entre unas y otras aldeas, y señalarles las tierras de rromper y labranças." Translation by author. Italics are my own. These same names are recorded by Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 5.

This quote illustrates how Count Raymond put certain elite laymen in charge of carrying out administrative duties, likely constituting the earliest iteration of Ávila's *concejo*. According to Ariz, each territory with *concejo* was similarly assigned two mayors (*alcaldes*) and secretary (*alguacil*, here: "*aguazil"*) who were responsible for "governing" and under the *concejo*'s jurisdiction.[208]

Up until the end of the eleventh century, Iberian land was typically settled for the purposes of cultivation, whereas the primary focus of Christian settlement of the *Extremadura Castellana*, what Spanish historiography calls the "*repoblación*," was developing a human system of defense. Settlement became "an essential part of a policy of establishing and defending a formally constituted frontier system."[209] The danger of raids and military activity in the *Extremadura Castellana* required a new mode of government to defend and secure the land and its inhabitants, a phenomenon that ancient aristocratic lines were not successful at maintaining.[210] In fact, María del Carmen Carlé characterizes the environment of Ávila and other comparable cities as in a "state of semi-permanent war."[211] As such, the role of defense was a primary concern of the *concejo*, or burgeoning government. Thus the *concejo*'s original role in the *Extremadura Castellana* was that of urban defense and their initial members appear to have been newly arrived inhabitants experienced in war and weapons.

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[208] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 10. Ariz writes "e nombraron en cada población dos Alcaldes, con su aguazil, se mandò que fincasen so el juzgado de los Alcaldes mayores de Avila; e que estos solos atañesen en el gouierno" which is not entirely clear about what the governing responsibilities were. These elite roles were also granted a ten year tax exemption and given sturdy beasts of burden.

[209] Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350)," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by Angus MacKay and Robert Bartlett, (Clarendon Press, 1989), 54.

[210] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 341.

[211] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, 141.

Passages from the *Crónica* similarly highlight the military duty of the *concejo,* for example: "During this season, Enaviello was not in Ávila and when he came back *he asked the concejo of Ávila to go with him on a mounted raid to Talavera and fifty knights went*."[212] The men named by Ariz above –Ximen Blázquez, Álvaro Álvarez, as well as Sancho de Estrada, and Iuan Martínez del Abrojo— are mentioned with respect to mounted raids as militia leaders, leaders of the "*compañas de a cavallo,*" and apparently early members of Ávila's burgeoning *concejo*.[213] Textual descriptions paint a picture of the *concejo* developing out of the military needs of new settlements and demonstrate the *concejo*'s principal duty as defender of the city. In return, the knights, either as members of the *concejo* or under its control, that participated in defending the city were revered and held in special regard.

The phenomenon of "popular knighthood," or *Caballería Villana*, that emerged in the *Extremadura* and other parts of Castile also helped consolidate political power within the *concejo*. In medieval Castile, becoming a knight was not reserved only for nobles, but was a profession open to any man with enough money for a horse.[214] The role popular knights played in conquest won them royal privileges, including legal protections and tax exemptions previously restricted to nobility.[215] By the mid-thirteenth century, these popular knights had access to the

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[212] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedents," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113/1 (1943): 22/32. Cf. chapter two. Italics are my own.

[213] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 343; Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 5, 10. Barrios highlights how Ariz records the intermarriages of these men's families and how they were also offered property and ranching by Count Raymond, thus they were able to gain more wealth and power.

[214] González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 57-58: "By the fifteenth century in Castile, men with a certain amount of means were even conscripted into knighthood." For more on this subject see, by the same author, "La caballeria popular in Andalucia (siglos XIII-XV)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 15 (1985): 315-29.

[215] Ruiz, "The Transformation," 6.

same privileges as noble knights, [216] and by the fourteenth century, in Burgos at least, they began entering ranks of low-nobility, yet were still officially considered part of the peasant class.[217] The newly-declared non-noble knights reaped the benefits of conquest, accumulating wealth and forming an integrated association of warriors as the *concejo*.[218] Teofilo Ruiz notes that the rise of Burgos's medieval *concejo* went hand in hand with the rise of the "*caballeros villanos*" as a result of favors awarded to the knights for successful conquests (in Seville in particular) and tax exemptions. The city's governance—municipal officials, *concejo*, and royal administration—was exclusively controlled by popular knights by 1322.[219] In this way, two aspects of settlement in Ávila—freedom from vassalage and the need for sustained military support —created the conditions necessary for a new form of urban organization to emerge: the *concejo*.[220]

The *concejo* developed as a new structure of authority because of the specific context of a freshly conquered landscape free from deep-rooted, traditional systems of authority. Unlike other parts of the peninsula, the Castilian Meseta was never fully under Islamic control and so social mobility and lay accumulation of wealth was possible on the Castilian hinterlands in ways that up until then had not been achievable. Yet, new found lay power left distinct social groups vying for control in the emergent city, especially clashing with the religious elite after the re-establishment of the diocese c. 1120.[221] In the case of the *concejo*, one way to exercise their

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[216] González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 58. See also Elena Lourie, "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain," *Past & Present* 35 (1966): 54-76.

[217] Ruiz, "The Transformation," 7.

[218] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 342.

[219] Ruiz, "The Transformation," 21.

[220] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 341-42.

[221] The limits of the bishoprics in Castile during these early years post-conquest of Toledo were ever shifting. While Ávila is listed as a bishopric in the seventh-century councils of Toledo, its episcopal status is unclear from the end of the Visigothic period until the mid-twelfth century. Barrios explains that the *Segunda leyenda* picks up on Ávila's

power was through the erection and maintenance of the city walls. Not only were they a massive monument to surveil the vast landscape for enemy-led assaults, but they served as an imposing barrier within the city to remind its citizens, clergy, and visitors who held power. The walls symbolized the strength of the lay governing body, the *concejo*, and, as I will demonstrate, the use of *spolia* underscored that strength.

The *Concejo, Spolia,* and The Walls in Legendary History

While there is no irrefutable evidence of who was responsible for the construction of Ávila's walls, I contend that the construction of Ávila's fortifications may have been administered by a secular power, first under Count Raymond and Urraca, and after their death, continued under Raymond's handpicked allies that were consolidated into a more official town council, or *concejo*. As explained above, the *concejo* typically oversaw many types of communal needs including land jurisdictions, economic and mercantile life, and the maintenance of land and infrastructure, including, among others, the city walls. *Concejo* responsibilities were often outlined in the town's *fuero*, or law code, the original of which does not survive for Ávila, however other examples provide comparable scenarios likely similar to Ávila.[222] Alfonso VIII (r. 1158-1214) ceded 200 *maravedis* to Toledo for the construction of walls, towers, and other walled structures.[223] In Cuéllar, a Segovian village near Ávila which I discuss again in chapter four of this dissertation, used funds collected from certain fines to finance building city walls and

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murky early diocesan history which was in its infancy during the beginning of organized settlement within the *Extremadura Castellana*. It appears as if Jeronimo, bishop of Salamanca, also had jurisdiction over Ávila and Zamora from 1103 until his death in 1120, at which time both cities gained ecclesiastical independence; Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 358-60. For this reason, the re-establishment of the diocese is traditionally dated to 1120.

[222] Ávila's original law code has been lost and with it the precise nature of the establishment of the Christian city, however Ricardo Blasco has compared it to the *fuero* of Évora: "El problema del fuero de Avila," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos. LX-I,* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 1954).

[223] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés,* 206-07.

bridges.[224] Madrid's walls were paid for with rents from baths ("*rentas de los baños*").[225] Zamora's 1208 fuero describes certain levies being split towards funding the walls and paying judges.[226] More directly, Ariz claims that Count Raymond of Burgundy was responsible for the construction of Ávila's walls and a castle in Rafueros—two civil monuments.[227]

The leaders of medieval Ávila dealt in a currency of legends that played a major role in developing an imagined past and honorable history. One method of promoting a glorious history of the city was through the construction of walls, and in Ávila's particular case, incorporating *spolia* within the city's walls. The relative absence of *spolia* in surviving church architecture compared to the abundance in wall building allows us to interpret *spolia* as a material specifically linked with wall architecture. Therefore, as the body responsible for the construction of the city walls, *spolia*, I argue, simultaneously acts as a symbol of the *concejo*. While the enormous size of the walls conveyed a message of power specifically for the *concejo*, the use of *spolia* doubly conveyed and nuanced that message through the ability to transmit the stones' original glory. *Spolia* in the city walls not only evoked a general sense of glorious antiquity, but formed a tangible link to founding legends particularly involving Hercules and San Segundo described below. *Spolia* were the glue, or mortar, that tied a mythical past with physical

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[224] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés,* 206-07. With respect to Cuéllar, the fines were collected from people who trespassed on *concejo* property, see also Antonio Ubieto Arteta ed., *Colección diplomática de Cuéllar*, (Segovia: Publicaciones históricas de la excma. Diputación provincial de Segovia, 1961), 63, doc. 21 (1269).

[225] Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés,* 206-07.

[226] J. Rodríguez Fernández, *Los fueros locales de la provincia de Zamora*, (Zamora: Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Junta de Castilla y León, 1990): 252, 266: "E quien por él rogar, cayele en periuro e peche I maravedí, elos medios para los iuyzes que fueren de la villa, e la otra metade para los muros" and "E aquel que contra esto venier, peche C maravedís de la moneda meyor que corrir enna tierra, la meatade pora los muros de la villa, e ela otra meatade de los iuyzes, e emendar el danno que la animalia fezier."

[227] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 10.

evidence, creating a concrete link between contemporary makers and an heroic ancient past and legitimizing and exalting Ávila's Christian foundation.

Ávila appears in a number of legends dating back to the Middle Ages and gaining popularity through the early modern period. According to myth, and recorded in the fourteenth-century *Segunda leyenda*, the son of Hercules, Alcideo, and his wife, Abyla, mistress of Gibraltar, conquered the peninsula, christening the city "Ávila" in his mother's honor.[228] Ariz repeats the same tale in his seventeenth-century work, similarly describing how after his mother's death, Alcideo inherited her lands and fought off his uncle for their control, eventually settling in Ávila.[229] The sixteenth-century writer quoted at the top of this chapter, Gonzálo de Ayora, also goes on to say that "Ávila will be among the most ancient cities of Spain, which was founded by a noble leader (*caudillo*), the son of Hercules."[230] He even notes that the "clubs and cradle" of Hercules appear in the city walls, potentially referring to spoliated stones still visible in their perimeter today.[231] Ariz echoes de Ayora when he explains that "the Poets" claim Hercules built the walls.[232] Ávila's noble status, one which its early modern chroniclers were deeply concerned with and which ancient and medieval writers also show interest in, in part hinges on the antiquity of the city's founding and its association with an ancient hero.

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[228] María Estela González de la Granja, "Construcción y evolución temporal de la muralla de Avila: últimas aportaciones historiográficas," *Norba: Revista de arte* 30 (2010): 11.

[229] de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas," 153; Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 7.

[230] de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas," 155.

[231] de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas," 153. He refers to "cuñas y clavas," which may have been literal or symbolic.

[232] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 12. The left hand margin reads "Ficcion de las cunas de Hercules," showing that Ariz knew and was explicit when writing that Hercules's hand in construction was purely myth.

In addition to the city's ties to Hercules, Ávila also appears as a protagonist in Early Christian history. According to legend, Ávila was evangelized by San Segundo, one of the seven disciples of Saint James. The seven men convened in Acci (Gaudix) and divided the peninsula between them in the first century; San Segundo was sent to evangelize Ávila. While the story became more important in Ávila after 1519 when San Segundo's relics were "discovered" in the parish church of the same name (previously named San Sebastián), the tale dates as far back as the seventh century.[233] F. A. Ferrer García has identified documents from the fourteenth century attesting to an altar dedicated to San Segundo in the cathedral, providing evidence of a pre-sixteenth-century interest in this early Christian saint as well.[234] It is not unlikely that by the time the walls were built in the mid-twelfth century, the legend linking Ávila to the early Christian evangelist had an established oral, if not written, tradition. Therefore, in the conscience of Ávila's medieval residents, their city was hallowed ground—they shared a history with one of Saint James's closest confidants. Communicating that history visually would have been a critical aspect for identity building and expressing power in a similar way as the visibility of the walls over long distances expressed regional control.

It is possible that spoliated material from past settlements held particularly significant importance to Ávila's mid-twelfth-century inhabitants as actual or perceived remnants of a city visited by Hercules's son or San Segundo. The fourteenth-century *Segunda leyenda* recognized the walls as a remnant of Hercules's intervention in the city. While the *Crónica* does not describe

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[233] Manuel Abeledo, "Ávila 1517-1519, la fundación de un pasado legendario: La invención de san Segundo," *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes* 33 (2019). The relics were translated in 1594 and placed in the new San Segundo chapel in the cathedral built for this purpose.

[234] F. A. Ferrer García, *La invención de la iglesia de San Segundo: cofrades y frailes abulenses en los siglos XVI y XVII.* (Ávila: Diputación Provincial de Ávila. Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 2007), 55.

the construction of the walls in the same detail as the *Segunda leyenda*, the text opens with the use of augury in determining a settlement location, demonstrating a belief that the city was celestially "chosen," and introducing the reader to a society with deeply-rooted superstitious beliefs.[235] Medieval sources reveal the relevance of myth in founding the new city and by the sixteenth century, an emphasis on writing about Ávila's legendary past was an important aspect of exalting the city.

Not just the individual stones, but walls as a singular piece of architecture were a crucial aspect of city formation, their construction an act of inscribing the land and making foundation myths tangible. Walls create limits—they delimit the cultured and safe against the unknown wild. The *Segunda leyenda* describes Ávila's first bishop, Pelayo, blessing the city's walls, which consequently fortified them with God's protection, simultaneously sacralizing and legitimizing the urban zone.[236] The *Siete Partidas* (1256-1265) describes walls as sacred and a walled city as more honorable, indicating the level of importance walls held for a medieval urban environment.[237] Ávila's enormous monument became a vehicle ripe for constructing myths, and whether "true" or "false," de Tapia Sánchez and Cátedra argue that the persistence of those myths throughout the centuries was a crucial aspect of the walls' significance.[238] Using walls to make myths tangible helped glorify the city, which in turn glorified its masters.

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[235] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 11/21.

[236] Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda*, 65.

[237] de Tapia Sánchez and María Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas," 157. See also the *Siete Partitas*.

[238] de Tapia Sánchez and Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas," 151. This article investigates the walls of Ávila through the lens of myth and legends. In addition, one of the tools for developing a legendary history in the mindset of a concerned medieval and early modern audience was a *description* of walls. On urban panegyric see: Paul Oldfield, *Urban Panegyric and the Transformation of the Medieval City, 1100-1300*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Moreover, the walls themselves may have come to represent the city and urban identity. A seal from 1221 depicts Ávila's city walls, demonstrating that as far back as at least the mid-thirteenth century, the walls stood in for the city and may have acted as a visual cue for secular power and urban identity (Figure 38).[239] Robert Maxwell argues in his study of Romanesque Parthenay that architecture went hand in hand with developing an urban identity. He shows how the commune, a distinctly urban phenomenon, chose imagery developed from Pathenay's architectural forms to be placed on their seals. In this small French town, architecture visually represented the commune in legal form. In other words, a lord or commune created "his public persona hand in hand with urban domain markers."[240] By the thirteenth century, the image of the walls on an urban seal demonstrates that a similar phenomenon appears to have taken root in Ávila as well.

Intramural Space and Ávila's Founding Knights

Now that I have established the relationship between *concejo* and walls and the reliance on *spolia* to additionally express localized lay power, in the final pages of this chapter, I argue that the walls' unusual path inscribed an internal core that corresponded to the founding knights' original settlements. Ávila's urban layout challenges traditional views of medieval walled cities because the walls did not protect the majority of the city. In fact, Ávila's city walls are set apart from other European examples because they never widened to encapsulate extramural growth and they only ever encircled a small minority of churches and their respective population nodes.

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[239] de Tapia Sánchez and Cátedra, "Imágenes mitológicas e históricas," 176. For more on urban identity, the rise of cities in the Middle Ages, and their connection to architecture and urbanism, see, Robert A. Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); Paul Oldfield, *Urban Panegyric and the Transformation of the Medieval City*.

[240] Robert Maxwell, "The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine," *Speculum* 84, no. 4 (2009): 179.

Most of the city's churches, although constructed prior or contemporaneously to wall construction, lay beyond the walled boundary. The population density related to parish church neighborhoods therefore also spread over the suburban outer limits.[241] As described earlier in this chapter, the walls' path was neither solely determined by defense nor by topography; the walls also functioned to communicate the local council's secular power. I propose that in order to further promote lay dominance, the *concejo* spatially privileged an interior zone by inscribing a small portion of the city with a walled perimeter that had initially been populated by their predecessors.

The few intramural churches of San Silvestre, Santo Domingo, San Juan Bautista, and San Esteban were centers of some of the earliest established neighborhoods, which I argue were especially associated with Ávila's heroic founding knights by the time the wall were constructed in the twelfth century. My analysis builds off of Pedro Feduchi Canosa's theory for an early settlement pattern which he developed by cross referencing the text of the *Crónica* with architectural evidence and toponyms.[242] Ávila had been inhabited since at least the first century CE, first by the local Vetton tribe who lived side by side with the colonizing Romans, then later by a semi-rural Visigothic population, and frequented by Christian and Muslim ranchers and shepherds throughout the early Middle Ages.[243] Declining population and ruralization were

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[241] In chapter three I argue that parish church locations also indicated urban development nodes.

[242] The most extensive urban study that exists for medieval Ávila is Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," in *La Muralla de Avila,* edited by Angel Barrios García, 57-113, (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003). While archeologist Pilar Barraca de Ramos has published several studies on Late Antique and Roman Ávila (see above), many of which discuss the urbanism of pre medieval and early medieval settlements, however Feduchi's analysis is the primary medieval urban study.

[243] Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "Christian-Muslim Frontier in al-Andalus: Idea and Reality," in *The Arab influence in Medieval Europe*, edited by Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock, 83-99, (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1994). On Roman and Late Antique Avila: Barraca de Ramos, *La ciudad de Ávila*. She highlights the importance of the local population in the city as well. On post-Roman Castile and the effects of the dissolution of the Roman empire: Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, "Early Medieval Landscapes in North-West Spain: Local Powers and Communities, Fifth–Tenth Centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 19, no. 3 (2011). On Visigothic Ávila: Iñaki Martín Viso, "The

major realities in early medieval Iberia after the fall of Roman social hierarchies, however scholars today accept that this Castilian region was not entirely abandoned.[244] Feduchi theorizes that when Christian settlers arrived c. 1088 with the royal support of Alfonso VI, Urraca, and Count Raymond, their first settlements formed a triangle in the suburbs around a preexisting urban nucleus in an area that is today adjacent to the Mercado Chico. This initial settlement was set up in an area inside the walls, but at the time it was established, the walls were nothing more than a primitively fortified eastern entrance (Figure 39).[245]

Feduchi Canosa has analyzed descriptions taken from the thirteenth-century *Crónica* in order to chart the location of the founders' settlements. The *Crónica*'s opening lines make references to the first Christian settlers of Ávila, their regions of origin, and the locations of their initial settlements:

> in the first settlement a great company of good men from Cinco Villas and Lara and some from Covaleda came to settle the villa closest to the water; and those from Covaleda and Lara made a mistake and settled the lower area near water…they were not so powerful or honorable as those [from Cinco Villas] that settled the higher middle part of the villa[246]

'Visigothic' Slates and Their Archaeological Contexts," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2013): 145-68.

[244] The theory of complete depopulation originated with textual sources which describe Ávila as a barren region: "despoblada y yerma" in the *Primera Crónica General*; "no es más que un conjunto de aldeas," by al-Idrisi; "llena de alimañas," in the *Anales Toledanas.* Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz's publication was seminal to this theory which has since been disproven through archaeological and art historical evidence: *Despoblación y repoblación del Valle Duero*, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1966). Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo describes how after the fall of Rome, the Roman agricultural villa system and corresponding hierarchical societal structure also collapsed in Iberia. Urban areas were abandoned and populations moved to hilltop fortresses. The Duero basin was devoid of urban areas in the Roman period as well. Quirós argues there was still a complex system of rural aristocracy, but authority was not concentrated in cities in this region during the Visigothic period. "Early Medieval Landscapes in North-West Spain." See also Barrios, *Estructuras*, 111-24. For a summary of the depopulation debate on see, Kelly L. Watt, "Medieval Churches on the Spanish Frontier: How Elite Emulation in Architecture Contributed to the Transformation of a Territorial Expansion into Reconquista," PhD Diss., University of Louisville, 2011: 57-69.

[245] This is a square plaza in the intramural zone adjacent to the parish church of San Juan Bautista, today surrounded by bars and restaurants that plays host to weekend open air markets. As described earlier in this chapter, the walls were not fully constructed until nearly one hundred years after the initial wave of Christian settlement c. 1088. Thus, the initial settlement triangle was not originally "intramural;" it came to be once the walls were built.

[246] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 11/21: "en la primera puebla vinieron gran compaña de buenos omes de Cinco Villas e de Lara e algunos de Covaleda…e [los de Covaleda y de Lara] fueron poblar en la villa lo mas cerca

Feduchi follows Barrios in identifying the aforementioned places as such: Cinco Villas refers to five towns in La Rioja (Brieva, Mansilla, Montenegro, Ventrosa, Viniegra); Covaleda, a municipality in Soria on the banks of the upper Duero; and Lara refers to the Arlanza river which originates in Burgos.[247] Using toponyms and the information in these opening lines of the *Crónica*, Feduchi hypothesizes what he believes to be the first nodes of Christian settlement (Figure 39).

Feduchi outlines an original "*repoblación*" settlement in the form of a triangle inside the area of what later became the medieval city walls, an urban structure I follow in the following chapters. He associates each regional settlement with a parish church within the bounds of the city walls. On higher ground, Riojanos from Cinco Villas formed a neighborhood around the parish church of San Silvestre in the north and Puerta de Montenegro in the south.[248] Sorianos from Covaleda established themselves on lower ground where the church of San Esteban may

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del agua; e los de Cinco Villas…herraron en possar en lo baxo cerca del agua…no serien tan poderossos nin tan honrrados como los que poblasen de la media villa arriba."

[247] Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," 58.

[248] Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," 65, 68. The key point for Feduchi is the fact that the Riojanos of Cinco Villas "settled in the middle upper city" (*poblasen de la media villa arriba*). A current topographical map shows that Ávila's western intramural space is lower than the zones to the north, south, and east. Both areas Feduchi connects to settlers from La Rioja—San Silvestre in the north and the gate of Montenegro in the south—are on higher ground than that of San Esteban "in the lower area" (*en lo baxo*). Also, the gate of Puerta de la Santa on the southern section of city wall was known as Montenegro Gate until the end of the thirteenth century, therefore, Feduchi associates this area with Riojanos from the Cinco Villas because one of those villages is named Montenegro. He also suggests that Riojanos additionally settled to the north near the no-longer-extant church of San Silvestre inside the gate Puerta del Carmen. The *Crónica* refers to the tomb of a certain Çorraquin Sancho in San Silvestre, a name with a potential Riojan origin because a mountain of the same name lies between La Rioja and Soria. The text reads: "E este Çorraquin Sancho yaze en san Silvestre en la mas onrrada sepultura." Gómez-Moreno, "La *crónica*," 20/30; Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," 109n71. Çorraquin is also sometimes spelled Zorraquin.

still attest to their original settlement.[249] The Burgaleses from Lara may have settled near Santo Domingo, on relatively lower land not far from the Sorianos at San Estaban.[250]

Important to highlight is that Feduchi's analysis hinges on parish church location. As I show in chapter three, Feduchi and myself correlate parish churches with urban development and inhabitation, and thus the parochial landscape forms a basis for understanding the early Christian city's urban layout and growth.[251] Feduchi Canosa associates each regional group named in the *Crónica* with a neighborhood related to a parish church, despite the text never explicitly stating those connections. According to Feduchi and accepted for my own analysis, the settlement area focused on in the *Crónica* —that is, the neighborhoods of the four intramural parish churches, San Esteban, San Silvestre, Santo Domingo, and San Juan Bautista—were founded specifically by the most elite members of Ávila's first lay Christian settlers. Thus when the walls were built nearly a hundred years later, their path encircled this particular privileged area, and left out other equally ancient extramural communities because those were not specifically associated with the original founding groups.[252]

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[249] Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," 65-67. Covaleda street still exists and runs adjacent to the medieval parish church of San Esteban in the center of the walled area, therefore Feduchi suggests that the Sorianos from Covaleda first settled in this area. The *Crónica* describes that the people of Covaleda (Soria) and Lara (Burgos) "misread" (*herraron*) their omens and settled near water but "in the lower area near water" (*en lo baxo cerca del agua*). Feduchi interprets this passage to mean it would have been in an area of natural deluge as water flowed through the low land of the central area of the settlement en route to the river. Feduchi argues that the area "closest to the water" refers to a well, not to the river (as previously interpreted), and offers a variety of possibilities for where the wells may have been located, all inside the city walls not far from San Esteban.

[250] Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," 67. Feduchi suggests the neighborhood encircling the church of Santo Domingo (now the Military Archive) was inhabited by those from Lara (Burgos), because it is not far from San Esteban "*en lo baxo.*" See above.

[251] I develop this idea further in chapter three and also criticize Feduchi's bias towards an intramural space.

[252] As I elaborate on in chapter three, the internal nucleus was not the only settled zone early on, but it was the area specifically associated with the founding knights, as I argue.

I argue that the curious spatial relationship between city walls and urban layout that excludes so many of the city's parish churches is partly the result of the twelfth-century secular power encompassing the parish church neighborhoods specifically associated with the city's founding knights—the early members of Ávila's nascent *concejo*. At the time of the settlers' arrival at the end of the eleventh century, the walls were yet to be built; nevertheless, important, regionally-specific neighborhoods began to emerge surrounding newly-constructed parish churches.[253] According to the opening lines of the *Crónica*, the area settled by these first arrivals was determined by a good omen ("and those that knew how to read omens understood that it was good to settler there"), suggesting that this was hallowed land even before the construction of city walls.[254] These parish neighborhoods, I suggest, gained special significance because of their affiliation with the city's original heroes. Thus, in the mid-twelfth century, when the walls were finally planned and erected, they encapsulated the neighborhoods related to Ávila's founding knights, the likely predecessors of Ávila's medieval *concejo*.[255] To offer a point of comparison for Ávila's own socio-spatial distribution, the non-noble knights of Burgos who came to make up the *concejo* were explicitly required to reside within the city walls.[256] The construction of the walls demarcated the intramural core as a privileged space, one associated with Ávila's founding

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[253] As described above, there were likely ruined fortifications when the early Christian settlers arrived but nowhere near a massive complete perimeter that stands today.

[254] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 11/21: "…venien delante e ovieron sus aves a entrante de la villa, e aquellos que sabian catar de agüeros entendieron que eran buenos para poblar alli…".

[255] The text of the *Crónica,* our primary written source for understanding urban form in early Christian settlement Ávila, is almost exclusively focused on chivalrous secular life. Thus the neighborhoods described therein are exclusively tied to the city's founding knights. Conspicuously, the *Crónica* does not speak of the religious life of the city except in brief mentions.

[256] Ruiz, "The Transformation," 8. Ruiz notes that this was not a pan-Castilian phenomenon, however. For example, some of Segovia's elites lived outside the walls but also shared tax privileges.

legends and controlled by the lay authority.[257] The *concejo,* made up of descendants of Ávila's original eleventh-century heroes, created a favored space related to Ávila's hero-knights when they set the course for the walls in the twelfth century.

Conclusion

As described in the preceding pages, walls served several functions, not mutually exclusive, in Ávila. They responded to very real threats as a defensive barrier protecting a limited core, they acted as an offensive battlement to surveil and launch attack, but they also conveyed the power of the local civil authority. Walls and fortresses in medieval Christendom are often looked at as symbolic markers of Christianity's defeat over Islam. That is, walled territory, especially in Iberian frontier zones, is too often considered from a top-down perspective that sees the settlement of *Extremadura Castellana* as a monolithic strategy of Christian conquest. Informed by the omnipresent "Reconquest" in Iberian studies, conflict tends to be viewed through the lens of Christian vs. Muslim, flattening and, often times misreading, the complexity of settlement in this region. Rather than interpret the walls through the broad lens of "Christendom," my analysis looks to local realities and focuses on materials. While the walls certainly conveyed a militaristic and powerful message to Ávila's threatening foreign enemies, which included, but were not limited to, Islamic polities, their construction was underpinned by the local emerging *concejo* announcing their unique identity and enduring strength.

Drawing on the work of Dale Kinney, Avinoam Shalem, María Cátedra, and Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, I propose that the builders of Ávila's walls incorporated *spolia* in wall construction for its capacity to convey the glory of past civilizations, especially the legendary

[257] While an internal core was spatially and symbolically privileged, Monsalvo Antón states that the inhabitants of Ávila's interior walled space did not enjoy any special financial benefits, "Espacios y poderes en la ciudad medieval," 130.

figures of Ávila's ancient founding. The "clubs and cradle" of Hercules were contained in the walls, potential tombstones of San Segundo's followers graced their perimeter, and together they chronicled a heroic and early Christian past to a medieval audience greatly concerned with their own place in history. The novel formation of a strong *concejo*, the urban authority most likely responsible for the building of the walls, necessitated a bold act to assert their status as ruling body in a newly founded city. Size and material relayed the strength of the secular authority of the city, one that, as we will see in the following chapter, at times clashed with Ávila's religious elite.

As Shalem reminds us, it was the act of creating a new "whole" that communicated meaning. Just as a collage becomes a whole through the assemblage of disparate parts, the walls became whole through the laying of misaligned or oddly shaped stones. It was not just the individual stones imbued with glory, but the act of altering the landscape that transferred power to the *concejo* administrators. More than a sum of all its parts, including the stones' histories and city's legends, the walls drastically reshaped the landscape creating a brand new urban schema. In this way, the medieval walls of Ávila acted as a gallery of stones meant to display the long biography of the city, both real and imagined. The city's narrative is forged through stone—material, in this case, *spolia*, was privileged as a conveyer of history.

In addition, analyzing the city walls through a lens of local expressions of power may provide novel answers for their unusual path. They did not contain the city and never did—as I elaborate on in chapter three, the extramural zone was equally as ancient as the intramural space and was home to just as many early parish foundations. I argue that the walls contained the area where Ávila's first heroes settled. The *Crónica* describes the locations of these early knights, their early establishments evidenced through parish church architecture. These early knights can

be related to the elite men drawing territorial boundaries, leading mounted raids, and serving justice described in Ariz's history of Ávila. The descendants of the initial settlers continued to consolidate power and form a stable lay governing body in the form of the *concejo*. By the mid-twelfth century, concerned with foundation myths and past glories, the *concejo* took the opportunity to privilege the revered zone of their ancestors through the physical protection and symbolic importance created by encircling specific land with building massive walls.

This opening chapter sets forth a structure for the ensuing pages. The walls created boundaries, or frontiers—social, physical, and material—within the nascent Christian city. Other urban monuments and their makers responded to such boundaries in unexpected ways and the themes presented in this chapter will be repeated throughout this dissertation: materials as synecdoche for urban authorities of power, materials' ability to express meaning and social hierarchies, and local conflict reflected through an architectural prism.

Chapter Two: Blood and Stone: An Examination of Ávila's Cathedral as Fortress and Religious Sanctuary

Chapter Introduction

In the early-twentieth century, Manuel Gómez-Moreno secured the place of Ávila's cathedral in Spain's architectural canon as the first so-called Gothic cathedral on the peninsula when he wrote,

> not only was it the first example of Gothic in Castile, but France herself would uphold it as one of the earliest and most refined examples of Parisian architecture in the mid-twelfth century; its general layout and skeleton is totally Parisian, the accessories, the certain sobriety and classicism of the elements, and the sculpture, appear to indicate a foreign education very related with the Cluniac school in the master who laid out and directed [the work].[258]

The father of Spanish medieval art history's declaration of Ávila's French character ensured the cathedral's architecture would continue to be examined by comparisons—whether more or less "true" to French models. Studies often focus on how the floorplan "erred" here or the vaults "misaligned" there. While Ávila cathedral's double ambulatory, integrated radiating chapels, pointed arches, cross-rib vaults, and flying buttresses show a clear relationship to architecture originating in France in the mid-twelfth century, the cathedral's historiography has placed a disproportionate importance on the record of a potentially French named master of works in a

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[258] Pedro Navascúes Palacio and José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral de Ávila: proceso constructivo. *Fortior Abulensis*. Lugar y carácter," in *Testigos*, (Ávila: Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, 2004), 555: "no solamente fue quizá lo primero que se vio de gótico en castilla, sino que Francia misma puede vindicarla como uno de los incunables más preciosos de su arquitectura parisién a mediados del siglo XII; si su traza general y osatura es del todo parisién, los accesorios, así como cierta sobriedad y clasicismo en los miembros y en la escultura, parecen indicios, en el maestro que la trazase y dirigiese, de una educación extraña, que tiene mucho de la escuela cluniacense." See also, Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Ávila*, vol. 1, (Ediciones Institución Gran Duque de Alba, Dirección general de bellas artes y archivos, 1983).

document dating to 1192—"*Fruchel, magister operis in cathedrali ecclesia*"— in order to explain its traditional "Gothic" categorization.[259]

In contrast, the primary aim of chapter two is to highlight the social-historical conditions within Ávila that engendered the construction of a novel architectural model of the chevet-cum-tower *cimorro* and to foreground the local materials employed to construct it.[260] The east end of the cathedral juts through the barrier of the city walls, integrating with them to double as an extra-large tower—an architectural design that seems to be unique to medieval Ávila within the Iberian landscape. I argue that the architectural experimentation first seen on the Iberian Peninsula in Ávila's east end was in part the result of the combined local religious-military conditions, and cannot simply explained by the intervention of a French master of works. Furthermore, I contend that the symbolic potential of the mottled red and white surface of the locally-sourced *piedra sangrante* granite used in the choir bolstered episcopal power.

I begin this chapter with an overview of the traditional building history of the cathedral and establish that its earliest construction history overlapped with the building campaigns of the city walls. I agree with the traditional start date c. 1160, however, I challenge the established

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[259] Christopher Wilson and Jean Bony have compared Ávila's east end to Saint Denis's twelfth-century choir; Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, (Thames & Hudson, 2005): 157; Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, No. 20. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). The Fruchel document is published here: Ángel Barrios García, *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII),* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 2004), 80, doc. 40, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 19, n. 4.

[260] The *cimorro* originally referred to the protective cylindrical wall added at a later date smoothing out the protruding surface of the exterior east end, but now encompasses the entire structure of cathedral east end jutting through the walls and doubling as a tower. The original appearance of the exterior east end is unknown; perhaps the undulating form of its radiating chapels was initially visible, similar to Saint Denis, or perhaps a more rudimentary covering served as protection before the addition of the *cimorro* possibly in the mid-thirteenth century. Nevertheless, even before the sleek covering of the *cimorro*'s outer wall finalized the cathedral's fortifications, the contiguous arc of the hemicycle plan allowed for a communicating pathway across the exterior roof level along the city walls. The plan was improved upon in later interventions, upgrading the fortifications and communications between walls and cathedral. There were both upper and lower levels of this pathway. See María Ángeles Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila: evolución constructiva y análisis estructural," PhD diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2011, 128-29.

theory of an anterior ashlar construction, the so-called "Romanesque" cathedral, based on a lack of rigorous archaeological evidence. I complement this discussion with a Cathedral Appendix that lists, in fuller detail, each piece of archival, archaeological, and architectural evidence that scholars have previously used for establishing a construction timeline.[261] Opening with a review of the cathedral's chronology is significant for the rest of my argument because it places construction in the latter half of the twelfth century, contemporaneous with the initiation of wall building. As I will show, building the cathedral's concurrently with and physically intersecting with the city walls led to the novel architectural solution of the multifunctional and innovative *cimorro*.

Following a chronological review, I turn to an analysis of the architectural response seen played out in the east end of Ávila's cathedral as a result of the social-historical demands of the medieval city. More specifically, I outline how the need to build a cathedral's east end and wall watchtower in an overlapping location created conditions ripe for architectural experimentation. The *cimorro* protruded through the limits of the city walls, on the interior, a religious sanctuary, on the exterior, a massive tower complete with ramparts and barbican. The innovative blueprint of the cathedral's chevet allowed Ávila's clergy to enjoy a larger, brighter choir, while Ávila's knights and soldiers simultaneously benefitted from a military platform with uninterrupted access across the city walls. I argue that, inspired by northern techniques, a new rounded chevet with integrated radiating chapels simultaneously formed a semicircular floorplan apt for tower design, giving rise to the multivalent structure locally referred to as the *cimorro* (Figure 2).

[261] Cf. Cathedral Appendix.

Moreover, the privileged interior of the *cimorro* features the autochthonous *piedra sangrante* granite, emphasizing an additional local character highlighted in cathedral construction. I dedicate the second half of chapter two to an in-depth analysis of *piedra sangrante,* or bleeding stone, and its near-exclusive use in episcopal contexts in medieval Ávila. I hypothesize that this marble-esque stone in the interior chevet communicates, through material, a symbolic relationship between cathedral, bishop, and Christ, boosting the status of the episcopate in particular. The granite's unusual red coloring recalls evocations of blood, highlighting a particular connection to Christ's Passion, thus linking the bishop directly with Christ's sacrifice. In addition, conjuring bloody associations through material also parallels this building's double function as cathedral and fortress and echoes Ávila's role as Castilian stronghold on a newly-formed political frontier plagued by the dangers of war and conquest. Building on themes discussed in chapter one, highlighting military symbolism through material in the bishop's sanctuary draws the episcopate into Ávila's heroic history, further bolstering the bishop's own status.

Where chapter one addressed *spolia* in the walls and its link to the secular power of the city; in a similar way, *piedra sangrante* might be read as a material expression of episcopal power. I argue that the utilization of *piedra sangrante* simultaneously divided, through material, two intertwined constructions in order to signal a separation of space even as, or especially because, both walls and church are physically connected. Although the east end of the cathedral fuses with the city walls, there is a clear division of material between these interconnected but individual monuments: *piedra sangrante* is not used in wall construction despite the intersecting space and interwoven functions of both structures. In this way, chapter two continues this

dissertation's theme relating to how materials reflected and reinforced social stratification in Ávila's newly established urban society.

Brief Building History and Historiography

Like all of Ávila's medieval monuments, an exact chronology is impossible to reconstruct with certainty. While a limited number of archival documents and some tomb inscriptions record helpful dates, there are few references to construction and no foundation or consecration documents to shed light on a meticulous timeline. Nevertheless, traditional historiography dates the initiation of cathedral construction to c. 1160-1180 which is primarily extrapolated from a 1192 document referring to a deceased master of works. My intention in this section is not to challenge the traditional chronology, but to highlight how the 1192 document has been overinterpreted in scholarship. In addition, I outline and challenge the theories set forth concerning a preexisting cathedral, usually referred to as the "Romanesque" cathedral, in Ávila's architectural historiography. The information contained in this section is complemented in the Cathedral Appendix.

Initiation of construction on the present cathedral is usually placed c. 1160-1180. This date range is directly linked to an 1192 document that posthumously references a certain Fruchel, master of works. Recorded in 1192, Alfonso VIII, in a deal with the bishop Juan, exchanged the inheritance of Fruchel, "master of works," for inheritance in Toledo: "*Dono et concede Sancti Salvatoris ecclesie Abulensi et vobis, domino Iohanni…hereditates quas Fruchel*, *magister operis in cathedrali ecclesie, possedit dum viveret."*[262] Scholars have interpreted the date of the document—1192— as the death date of Fruchel and have made the assumption that he was the

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[262] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 80, doc. 40, see note above. "I [Alfonso] give and concede to San Salvador church of Ávila and its master Juan, inheritance which Fruchel, master of works of the cathedral, possessed while he was alive." It appears that Alfonso VIII exchanged Fruchel's inheritance with another inheritance in Toledo which had been given by the previous bishop, Sancho, to a certain Tello Pérez de Meneses.

first master of works, responsible specifically for the *piedra sangrante* choir, and calculating back the initiation of construction a few decades before his death to c.1160 – 1180.[263] For example, John Harvey's entry on Ávila places the start of construction to c. 1160 under the French master Fruchel.[264] A decade later, Felix de las Heras Hernández, whose 1967 investigation of the cathedral's architecture was the most in-depth at the time, similarly places the beginning of construction under Fruchel in the 1170s.[265] Gutiérrez Robledo, the most prolific scholar on Ávila's medieval architecture, employs the same dating, citing the Fruchel document as evidence.[266] The most recent study on the cathedral's architecture, María Angeles Benito Pradillo's 2011 dissertation in the architecture school of the Polytechnic University of Madrid, also complies with the traditional dating schema of c. 1160-1180 based on Fruchel's reference.[267] While a disproportionate importance has been placed on this document for the cathedral's chronology as well as used as evidence of French involvement in architectural production, the 1192 record does not actually discuss cathedral construction nor the master's land or origin.

While the original 1192 document records the specific name of the master of works, it makes no mention of cathedral construction and is in fact written in reference to the master's inheritance, not a specific record of his death or works. Nevertheless, a named master of works

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[263] Felix de las Heras Hernández, *La catedral de Ávila: Desarrollo histórico-artístico. Según documentos contenidos en el Archivo catedralicio,* (Diputación Provincial: Instituto Gran Duque de Alba. 1967), 11. Monsalvo Antón also employs this dating, stating that the church began as a Romanesque construction and ended as a Gothic one: José María Monsalvo Antón, "Espacios y poderes en la ciudad medieval. Impresiones a partir de cuatro casos: León, Burgos, Ávila y Salamanca," in *Los espacios de poder en la España medieval. XII Semana de Estudios Medievales,* coordinated by Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte and José-Luis Martín Rodríguez, 97-147, (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2002), 134.

[264] John Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain,* (London: Batsford, 1957).

[265] Felix de las Heras Hernández, *La catedral de Ávila*, 11.

[266] José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," in *Historia de Ávila*, vol. 3, coordinated by Gregorio del Ser Quijano (Obra Cultural, 2006): 527.

[267] Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila."

in an era where so few artisan identities survive has led to an overreliance on this short reference in Spanish medieval art history, with implications far beyond the confines of Ávila's cathedral.[268] While this document shows us that Fruchel was an important member of society (the king took a personal interest in his affairs!), that cathedral construction was underway before 1192, and that a master of works was able to achieve a high level of wealth and status in twelfth-century Castile, it explicitly does not reveal how old he was when he died, how long he had been master of works, whether he was the first, second, third (etc.) master of works in Ávila, nor is his name unequivocally French.[269]

Nevertheless, the traditional date range of c. 1160-1180 deduced from the aforementioned document coincides with a series of donations made by Alfonso VIII in the 1170s-80s outlined in the accompanying Cathedral Appendix, suggesting construction was progressing in the latter decades of the twelfth century. On the other hand, scholarship tends to ignore the fact that a c. 1160-1180 start date simultaneously disregards donations made in 1126, 1142, and 1144 by Alfonso VII, suggesting that planning and even preliminary construction may have begun slightly earlier than traditionally argued.[270]

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[268] Rodríguez Almeida believed Fruchel was also responsible for the construction of the parish church of San Vicente of Ávila, as well as the martyrs' cenotaph inside it. He also believed a "master Fulgerius" referred to in a document from the Spanish Pyrenees region is the same as Ávila's Fruchel. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, *Ensayo sobre la evolución arquitectónica de la catedral de Ávila,* (Ávila: Caja Central de Ahorros y Préstamos, 1974), 14. Fruchel has also been confused with "Fulcher" who appears in Zamoran documents between 1172 and 1204 (disregarding the fact that Fruchel died in Ávila before 1192). Javier Martínez de Aguirre addresses these historiographical problems in his article, "Investigaciones sobre arquitectos y talleres de construcción en la España medieval Cristiana," in *Anales de Historia Del Arte*, extra vol. (2009): 127-63, esp. 135. For more on Fruchel, see also Guadalupe Ramos de Castro, "En torno a Fruchel," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología: BSAA* 40 (1975): 189-200.

[269] For example, a preliminary search on Ancestry.com reveals Fruchel is a much more common German surname than French, although the accessible records do not pre-date 1500. On the other hand, Martínez de Aguirre claims that Fruchel was not an uncommon name in twelfth-century France, "Investigaciones sobre arquitectos," 135.

[270] Cf. Cathedral Appendix for the full discussion of these documents.

Comparative visual analysis sheds additional light on construction chronology, especially given the lack and ambiguity of the textual sources. The stylistic elements in the east end, including bulkier ribs in the chapel vaults (Figure 40) compared to the nave and aisles (Figure 41), a few historiated capitals[271] (Figure 42), and asymmetry in the ambulatories (Figure 43), suggest that the east end was the earliest (and an experimental) phase of construction. Comparatively, Ávila's east end shares characteristics with Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin-des-Champs in the Île-de-France. For example, Ávila's rudimentary double ambulatory is reminiscent of Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Figure 44) and the nine interconnected radiating chapels are similar to Saint-Denis (Figure 45), both attributed to the early 1140s.[272]

The sexpartite vault design in Ávila's east end, the oldest surviving sexpartite vaulting in Spain, has typically been compared to the choir of Vezelay Abbey which was rebuilt c. 1165-1180, corroborating a later twelfth-century period of construction for the upper levels of Ávila's chevet (Figure 46).[273] However, Ávila's vault design that combines one quadripartite and one sexpartite vault in the choir is the reverse pattern of Vezelay's, resulting in corbels supporting the transverse arches and possibly affecting the structural integrity of the east end more broadly (Figure 47-48). Architectural comparisons to Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Saint-Denis, and especially Vezelay in Burgundy, combined with royal donations under Alfonso VIII beginning in

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[271] For more on these capitals and the interesting fact they were carved out of gesso and not stone, see, Miguel Sobrino González, "La catedral de Ávila, una escuela secular para la escultura en yeso," *Cuadernos abulenses* 44 (2015): 167-94.

[272] Bony, *French Gothic Architecture,* 49-60. On the ambulatory, see also: Anselme Dimier, "Origine des déambulatoires à chapelles rayonnantes non saillantes," *Bulletin monumental* 115 (1957): 23–33; Pierre Heliot, "Les Déambulatoires dotés de niches rayonnantes," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 4 (1961): 303–22.

[273] Arnaud Timbert, "Vézelay, Église Sainte-Marie-Madeleine," *Mapping Gothic France*, https://mcid.mcah.columbia.edu/art-atlas/mapping-gothic/vezelay-eglise-sainte-marie-madeleine (accessed 13 March 2023). For a more complete discussion of Vezelay Abbey see also: Arnaud Timbert, *Vézelay: Le Chevet de La Madeleine et Le Premier Gothique Bourguignon. Art et Société*, (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes), 2009. For more on Ávila's cathedral architecture and its comparisons to Burgundian architecture, see: Elie Lambert, "L'Architecture bourguignonne et la cathédrale d'Ávila," *Bulletin monumental* 83 (1924): 263–92.

1176 suggest construction flourished on the cathedral's *piedra sangrante* east end in the final quarter of the twelfth century.[274]

After a hiatus in royal giving between 1187 and 1221, when work on cathedral construction may have stopped or significantly slowed, the thirteenth century saw renewed progress on the cathedral project.[275] On the west end, the first phase of tower construction reached the bottom of the first row of windows, where a difference in construction techniques leaves a clear seam in construction (Figure 49). The lower tower portions were likely complete by 1261, the date recorded in the will of Esteban Domingo that can be linked to a surviving tomb in the north tower base (Figure 50).[276] The grey-granite ashlar construction of the towers' lower levels might also be compared to the *cimorro*'s exterior defensive wall covering the radiating chapels of the chevet (Figure 51). That, coupled with the appearance of mason marks on both towers and the protective wall of the *cimorro* (when they are absent in the majority of the

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[274] One will often see this initial phase of construction referred to as "Fruchel's Plan."

[275] The last royal donation of the twelfth century dates to 1187 when Alfonso VIII conceded royal rents from the town of Plasencia to the cathedral of Ávila and its bishop: Barrios García, *Documentos,* 72-73, doc. 33: AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos. Carp. 18, n. 4. A series of subsequent documents show prolonged conflict between Plasencia and Ávila and the repeated papal intervention to remind Plasencia that they are under the episcopal control of Ávila. Royal giving resumes in 1221 when Fernando III makes the first of three royal donations to the cathedral. These documents correspond to Barrios García, *Documentos,* 110-11, doc. 61, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos, Carp 19, n. 16; 119-20, doc. 70, this document does not survive but is reproduced in Cristóbal Rodríguez y Solano, *Bibliotheca universal de la polygraphia Española*, (Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1738); 121-22, doc. 71, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos, Carp 19, n. 18. In 1221 the king, his wife Beatriz, and her brother Alfonso, donated the royal crops of Olmedo and Arévalo to the cathedral chapter and bishop. Again in 1230, King Fernando III with his wife, sons, and mother, donated land near the parish church of San Salvador in Arévalo to the chapter and bishop. A year later, Fernando III continued his donation campaign with his wife, sons, and mother, to give the villa of Guijo and its *castro* to the cathedral chapter and bishop. The same year, 1231, Pope Gregory IX confirms this donation, see Barrios García, *Documentos*, 122-23, doc. 72, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos. Carp 19, n. 19.

[276] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 183-87, doc. 99: AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos. Carp 20, n. 11. Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo suggest that the south tower base was complete by 1193 and the north tower by 1211 because of burials, however these dates are debated. Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo, "*Fortior Abulensis*," 562.

church) suggests that these structures may date to a similar period (Figure 52).[277] Similarities in construction in the towers and exterior *cimorro* demonstrate that while progress was being made on the west end, fortifications were simultaneously being bolstered on the east side of the church in the mid-thirteenth century.

The final stages of nave and aisle construction were carried out at the end of the thirteenth century based on visual comparison of the nave windows. The nave window tracery the consists of two rows of six lancet windows topped with intricate geometric infill tracery (Figure 53) is reminiscent of nave windows in Toledo's cathedral just west of the crossing (Figure 54). Tom Nickson has dated this area of Toledo's cathedral to the last decade of the thirteenth century, c. 1290 indicating Ávila's nave and aisles may date to a similar period.[278]

The use of *piedra sangrante* only in the choir of the cathedral suggests a single phase of construction beginning in the east end. Likely this section was the first to be built sometime in the latter part of the twelfth century based on documentation and comparison to French models. Visual analysis of the interior east end, especially comparisons to Vezelay Abbey, corroborate the 1170s-80s archival sources, similarly pointing to a c. 1160-1180 initiation of construction. However, earlier constructions like Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin-des-Champs also clearly played a role in the architectural development that reached Ávila a few decades later. Similarities in construction between the towers and outer protective wall of the *cimorro*, point to a related chronological frame at both extremes of the church as construction progressed simultaneously east and west in the later thirteenth century. The final stages of the construction took place in the

[277] An analysis of masons' marks in the cathedral has not been carried out, however the appearance of this banker mark system, which is nonexistent in the *piedra sangrante* chevet, may indicate a new building phase because a new building technique is being initiated and perhaps a new or different vein of the quarry was being accessed.

[278] Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile*, (Philadelphia: Penn State Press, 2015), 67.

nave and aisles at the turn of the fourteenth century. In terms of an anterior cathedral pre-dating the current twelfth-century construction, textual sources and historical context suggest its existence, yet material evidence remains elusive.

The Question of a Romanesque Antecedent

Given that traditional medieval architectural historiography tends to split the construction history of Ávila's cathedral between the "Romanesque" phase and the current cathedral's "Gothic" phases, the present discussion merits a brief overview concerning the question of a so-called Romanesque antecedent. Publications like the *Historia de Ávila* include separate chapters on the "Romanesque architecture" (*Arquitectura Románica*) and the "Gothic cathedral" (*Catedral gótica*) despite a lack of material evidence for a previous church.[279] An earlier church *is* referenced in text, however, which has led scholars to label it the "Romanesque" cathedral, following traditional art historical terminology because it came *before* the present "Gothic" cathedral, despite the fact its visual elements are unknown.[280]

One archival source refers back to the construction of a cathedral during the time of Count Raymond, Urraca, and Alfonso VI. In 1126, King Alfonso VII (r. 1126-1157) donated to the cathedral: "*ferę per tricennium et eo ampluis a pastorę et ab ovibus orbata, modernis vero*

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[279] In "*Fortior Abulensis,*" Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo also breakdown the "La cathedral románica" and "La cathedral gótica" into separate chapter sections. This is especially confusing because in a different publication, what Gutiérrez Robledo refers to as "Romanesque" campaigns are placed in the "Gothic" section, highlighting exactly the issue and confusion that these categorizations can create.

[280] In Ávila, something characterized as "Romanesque" does not necessarily indicate it was built "before." Within the small radius of Ávila we see architectural and sculptural forms traditionally associated with Romanesque practices like rounded arches, historiated capitals, and chunky walls, being built late into the twelfth century, and possibly into the first decades of the thirteenth. For example, San Vicente's campaigns in the later twelfth century overlap with the cathedral's initial phases, and some of Ávila's "Romanesque" parish churches, including San Nicolás, postdate the "Gothic" cathedral. On San Vicente see, Daniel Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones),* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1999). A lost consecration stone from San Nicolás records an 1198 date. María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 144, 176; Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* primera parte, 37; 36.

temporibus a meo genitorę nobiliter edificata, ut alias ffeci et facta didici tercium partem tocius regalis census et ereditatis..." In this document, the king notes that the church, which was built by his father, Raymond of Burgundy (c. 1070-1107), had been lacking a shepherd and sheep for over three hundred years, alluding to the construction of a previous cathedral in the early-twelfth century under Raymond, but with an ancient diocesan history extending back as much as 300 years.[281]

The narrator of the *Segunda leyenda de la muy noble, leal y antigua ciudad de Ávila* (1315) similarly explains that bishop Pedro Sánchez Zurraquines of Ávila, having arrived to the city at the end of the eleventh century and seeing the deteriorated state of the cathedral ("*asolado, maltratado, e malparado*"), asked Alfonso VI to provide funds to repair and rebuild the existing cathedral ("*reparo e mejora*;" "*fazer e rehedifficar*"). [282] Alfonso VI agreed, sought funding far and wide, including from France and Italy, and bishop Pedro and Count Raymond put a certain Alvar García from Estella (Navarre) in charge as the master of works, and construction is said to have begun in 1091.[283] Despite the aforementioned textual evidence citing

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[281] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 23-24, doc. 1. "*ferę per tricennium et eo ampluis a pastorę et ab ovibus orbata, modernis vero temporibus a meo genitorę nobiliter edificata, ut alias ffeci et facta didici tercium partem tocius regalis census et ereditatis*..." (for more than three hundred years being deprived of a shepherd and sheep, truly in modern times having been built nobly by my father, thus I make other deeds and I give a third part of all royal rents...). Barrios notes that Bernard Reilly is responsible for dating this document with certainty to 1126 based on the reference to Queen Urraca who died in 1126, and Alfonso's wife is left out, who he married in 1128. Barrios, *Documentos,* 23n1. It appears that Gutiérrez Robledo interprets this document as suggesting that his father had restored the previous cathedral after *that* one had been empty for over 300 years. Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," 527.

[282] Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda,* 83-84, 86-87, 105, 116-117. It is unclear if this text implies a complete reconstruction of an ancient church, or simply repairs—the terms *reparo* and *mejora* suggest repairs, while *fazer* and *rehedifficar* might indicate a fully rebuilt cathedral. It is important to remember too that the *Segunda leyenda* was written over a hundred years after initial construction of the cathedral and the text is biased towards glorifying the city, which includes highlighting the construction of its infamous monuments. Therefore names and dates should be taken with a grain of salt. Luis Ariz's early-seventeenth-century history similarly explains that bishop Pedro Sánchez Zurraquines was responsible for rebuilding and remodeling ("*renobó y reedifico*") the cathedral. Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* primera parte, 35.

[283] Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda,* 83-84, 86-87, 105, 116-17. Also Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 85. Barrios seems to doubt the existence of bishop Pedro Sánchez Zurraquines altogether, possibly he was entirely

construction as early as the late-eleventh century, archaeological vestiges belonging to a cathedral from this period are conspicuously lacking.

Several scholars have put forth theories in order to tie material evidence from the present church to the potential "Romanesque," or eleventh-century, building referenced in the written sources discussed above. Gutiérrez Robledo posits that a group of sculpture high in the sanctuary's vaults was part of a program belonging to an abandoned west façade from the previous, so-called Romanesque cathedral. However, Gutiérrez Robledo stylistically dates the sculpture to the latter half of the twelfth century, a period within the construction range of the current cathedral, not an earlier iteration.[284] A handful of reused sculptural reliefs depicting biblical scenes including the Parable of Lazarus, appear above some of the double horse-shoe arch windows in the choir which Emilio Rodríguez Almeida asserts must have originated from the so-called Romanesque cathedral (Figure 55).[285] I find stylistic similarities between this relief and the sculptural program on the cenotaph of San Vicente (a paragon of Romanesque architecture and sculpture in Ávila) including the circles made in the drapery and the use of

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legendary. Ángel Barrios García, "Colonización y feudalización: el Desarrollo de la organización concejil y diocesana y la consolidación de las desigualdades sociales (Cap VII)," in *Historia de Ávila, vol. 2. Edad Media (siglos VIII-XIII),* coordinated by Ángel Barrios García, 337-410, (Ávila: Caja de ahorros de Ávila, Obra Cultural. Diputación de Ávila, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1998), 358. Additionally, Barrios used manuscript 1991 for his edition, but there are three others with different dates. Barrios mentions in a note that while 1091 is the date given for the start of the "Romanesque" (re)construction of the ancient church in one manuscript, the other three existing manuscripts of the *Segunda leyenda* provide the start year of 1107, complicating the above chronological question even more. Barrios, *Segunda leyenda*, 87n24. The *Cathologo Sagrado de Obispos* (1788) echoes the *Segunda leyenda*, stating that Pope Urban II asked Alfonso VI to contribute funds to pay for the building of a cathedral: Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 81.

[284] Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," 599-600. I explain this theory in more detail in the Cathedral Appendix, but Gutiérrez Robledo compares the sculpture with figures in the Portico de la Gloria at Santiago de Compostela which was constructed under Master Mateo who worked on the cathedral between 1168 and 1211, suggesting a chronology within the last few decades of the twelfth century. For more on the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela see, José Luis Senra, ed., *En el principio: génesis de la catedral románica de Santiago de Compostela: contexto, construcción y programa iconográfico*, (Consorcio de Santiago, 2014).

[285] Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, "La Catedral del Conde," *Deavila*: *Revista de Caja Avila* n5 (2003): 42-43.

three-lobed arches (Figure 56). However the cenotaph is traditionally dated to the mid-twelfth century, possibly placing the Parable of Lazarus relief within the same period instead of the early-eleventh century that would have coincided with the so-called Romanesque cathedral.[286] Finally, Rodríguez Almeida published a hypothetical floorplan of Ávila's supposed previous cathedral in 2003, which he calls the "Count's Cathedral," referring to Count Raymond of Burgundy (Figure 57).[287] Rodríguez Almeida's floorplan is dependent on a curved piece of wall which my own analysis interprets as part of a spiral staircase that communicated with a now-lost unknown structure, not part of a lost Romanesque cathedral.[288] The limited architectural evidence described above is insufficient, in my view, to extrapolate about a Romanesque building. A lack of material evidence challenges the use of the term "Romanesque" for a cathedral whose visual elements are unknown.[289]

Nevertheless, Ávila is listed as a bishopric in the seventh-century councils of Toledo, confirming Ávila's status as a diocese early in the medieval period. Therefore, despite the fact that material remains of an early cathedral have yet to be discovered, there must have been a temple for worship dating hundreds of years before the erection of the current twelfth-century

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[286] Unfortunately, the cenotaph poses its own chronological challenges. This unique sculpture is understudied and has few models to compare it to and no direct documentation about its initial construction, thus it is hard to date with certainty, *Cenotafio de San Vicente de la Basílica de los Santos de Ávila, Cuadernos de Restauración 6*, (Valladolid: Fundación del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, 2008).

[287] Rodríguez Almeida, "La Catedral del Conde," 40-43. Based on the size of this section, the entire Romanesque cathedral has been hypothesized in a drawing by Rodriguez Almeida and reproduced by Benito Pradillo. The piece of wall was brought to his attention during work conducted on the cathedral between 1998-1999. Benito Pradillo uncritically accepts Rodríguez Almeida's floorplan in her extensive dissertation on the cathedral's construction, passing his theory firmly into the cathedral's established historiography: Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 81-84.

[288] Window slits at varying heights is a common design for enclosed spiral staircases.

[289] The cathedral's floorplan does show clues of a planned Romanesque construction including narthex, which was changed at a later date resulting in some architectural anomalies. See, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 527.

structure.[290] Given the lack of archaeological evidence, I hypothesize that rather than the "Romanesque" cathedral so often described in scholarly literature, more likely there was a simpler structure pre-dating the re-establishment of the diocese c. 1120, perhaps with significant wooden infrastructure, or non-ashlar rubble masonry that has been lost to time.[291] The earlier structure likely occupied a smaller outline in the same location as the current building and was razed when the plan for a larger fortified cathedral was proposed in the mid-twelfth century; a time when, as Ana Rodríguez's team has shown, the "petrification" of southern Europe was transforming the landscape and altering collective identity through a proliferation of ashlar masonry churches.[292]

Two Monuments in an Overlapping Location

As is well established, sacred sites and major thoroughfares were not so easily moved—Córdoba's sixteenth-century cathedral stands within an eighth-century mosque which was built atop a Visigothic cathedral; the main street in my hometown was drawn centuries earlier when Spanish colonists received land grants in California in the eighteenth century—and twelfth-century Ávila was no different.[293] The twelfth-century walls and cathedral retraced the footsteps

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[290] As explained in chapter one as well, Ávila's episcopal status is unclear from the end of the Visigothic period until the mid-twelfth century. Barrios explains that the *Segunda leyenda* picks up on Ávila's murky early diocesan history which was in its infancy during the beginning of organized settlement along the *Extremadura Castellana* at the end of the eleventh century. Similarly, the limits of the bishoprics during these early years post-conquest of Toledo were also ever shifting. It appears as if Jeronimo, bishop of Salamanca, also had jurisdiction over Ávila and Zamora from 1103 until his death in 1120, at which time both cities gained ecclesiastical independence. Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 358-60.

[291] Without visual or architectural remains, it is impossible for me to refer to the earlier church as the "Romanesque" one, although I recognize the ease that the stylistic terms provide: Romanesque= earlier, Gothic= later. Unfortunately, because so little Castilian architecture survives from before around the end of the eleventh century, our knowledge of medieval architecture in Castile in fact begins in the late-eleventh to early-twelfth century and thus it is very hard to extrapolate what this earlier phase of construction may have looked like.

[292] Petrifying Wealth. The Southern European Shift to Masonry as Collective Investment in Identity, c.1050-1300 is an European Research Council Advanced Grant (GA Nº 695515). https://www.petrifyingwealth.eu/.

[293] Alameda de las Pulgas in Menlo Park, California, which still exists today, was part of the Rancho de las Pulgas Spanish land grant distributed to José Darío Argüello in 1795. Hunt Janin and Ursula Carlson, *The Californios: A*

of previous sacred and significant space, requiring an architectural solution that would accommodate the more ancient pre-established pathways of walls and cathedral—the result became a conjoined monument linking cathedral and walls in an overlapping area.

While the exact chronology for both the city walls and cathedral are imprecise, the construction of both was well underway in the latter half of the twelfth-century, going up in tandem. As described in chapter one, while firm dating of the current walled structure is still debated, I proposed that some eastern fortification, albeit significantly less robust, existed well before the mid-twelfth century witnessed the construction of the rest of the massive walled perimeter. That is, when the present walls were built larger, wider, and longer in the mid-twelfth century, the makers followed a partially predetermined path in the eastern quadrant, charting the gate of San Vicente atop a much more ancient route. In the same way, the current cathedral of Ávila was likely built on the site of an earlier church, although a lack of physical remains suggests it was much more rudimentary than today's building, and very likely significantly smaller.[294] An earlier settlement thus hypothetically laid out a sacred temple on the interior edge of a defensive gateway, yet both church and walls considerately less grand in their earlier iterations. When both the unyielding walls and monumental cathedral were expanded in the mid-twelfth century, at a point when the city gained wealth, power, and a sufficient labor force, the larger blueprints of both essential urban monuments ended up overlapping. The east end of the cathedral expanded into the pre-determined path of the walls, and the twelve-meter-thick walls encroached into sacred cathedral space. The need to construct both monuments in an intersecting

History, 1769-1890, (McFarland, 2017). See also, Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, vol. 81, (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1959).

[294] Although we cannot know what this earlier church may have looked like, Visigothic churches tend to be much smaller than Ávila's present cathedral. In fact, unfortunately, because so little Castilian architecture survives from before around the end of the eleventh century, our knowledge of medieval architecture in Castile of this period is severely limited.

zone resulted in an architectural "problem," the solution to which was the chevet-cum-tower *cimorro* that doubled as wall watchtower on the exterior, and religious sanctuary on the interior.

However, because of the chronological ambiguity of both the city walls and cathedral, a debate has emerged within Ávila's architectural history: what came first, the cathedral or the walls?[295] As I outlined in the beginning of this chapter as well as in chapter one, we know that both cathedral and city walls were built in the mid-twelfth century, initiated c. 1160-1180 and c. 1150 respectively. Thus construction of both overlapped chronologically.[296] However, as careful as I have tried to be in determining an accurate chronology, these dates are still approximate and debated. In turn, the question of what came first centers around whether the walls were already built when construction began on the east end of the cathedral, necessitating demolition in order to fit within the walls, or if both structures were built contemporaneously and construction "met" at the site. In contrast, I propose a third option: that they were planned and built in tandem.

Architect Pedro Feduchi Canosa and art historian Gutiérrez Robledo both agree that the city walls predate the east end of the cathedral. Feduchi Canosa argues that the walls were already built when construction began on the east end of the present cathedral, therefore requiring the demolition of a portion of the walls, including a tower, in order to accommodate the east end of the cathedral. This hypothesis is based on the fact that given the distribution of the

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[295] It is important to remember that in medieval Ávila all dating systems are indirect and inexact. There are no foundation documents of monuments and only a few foundation inscriptions were recorded. Therefore while I argue that the walls and cathedral overlap, there is still a margin of error of several decades that requires explanation and has led to debate. This debate is also deeply connected to two other questions within Ávila's architectural history: are the medieval walls built atop Roman ones? And, what did the a potential Romanesque cathedral look like? I address the issue of Roman walls in the previous chapter, but to reiterate, I disagree that there were robust city walls in the Roman period or that the medieval walls were built on their foundations. Although it's clear some pathways are ancient, evidence of heavily built up defenses prior to the mid-twelfth century have not been found. I address the question of a Romanesque cathedral more in the Cathedral Appendix, but similarly I doubt the existence of a heavily sculpted ashlar cathedral in the style of Jaca or Santiago predating the current one. Thus, both monuments likely date to the mid twelfth-century, and as I argue below, their construction history suggests they were built in tandem.

[296] Cf. chapter one.

towers somewhat evenly dispersed about every twenty-one meters throughout the perimeter of the walls, one would expect a tower to be precisely where the choir is now located (Figure 58).[297] Gutiérrez Robledo states that the protrusion of the *cimorro* "is the result of the construction of a bigger temple on the site of another previous smaller one."[298] These theories suggest the integrated wall-chevet structure was somehow an accident. Both scholars imply that the current cathedral, arguably built atop a smaller, earlier version, was simply too large to fit inside the perimeter of the walls and therefore necessitated partial demolition of already-built walls in order to make room.[299] However, I see a different possibility. Perhaps ruins of ancient fortifications were dismantled to adapt for the protruding choir, but a twelve-meter-thick behemoth of a wall had not yet been built and therefore was not demolished. My chronological analysis has shown that the walls and cathedral were built contemporaneously. As both monuments were going up in

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[297] Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," in *La Muralla de Avila,* edited by Angel Barrios García, 57-113, (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003), 84. Feduchi includes an illustration of this phenomenon on pp. 85. While his map shows a potential tower in the center of the apse, it is off-axis with the plan of the cathedral, demonstrating that while both monuments were built simultaneously, they followed their own plans. When the chapel of San Segundo was added to the cathedral in the sixteenth century, a tower was demolished (1594). Today there are eighty-seven towers plus the cathedral's chevet, originally there were eighty-eight. Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas: el caso de Ávila," in *Congreso Internacional "Ciudades Amuralladas" Pamplona, 24-26 noviembre 2005*, vol. 1 (Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2007): 129.

[298] Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," 596: "*es el resultato de la construcción de un templo mayor en el solar de otro anterior y menor*." Elsewhere, Gutiérrez Robledo acknowledges that without archaeological evidence, it is impossible to say for certain whether the walls and cathedral were built as one, but he suggests that the current cathedral was built atop a smaller version, extending into the walled defenses, the chevet becoming an extra-fortified mega-tower perhaps replacing a preexisting one. He acknowledges the builders' incentive to turn the chevet into a tower, but assumes that the current cathedral must have replaced a smaller one that had fit inside the walls, therefore if walled defenses predated the cathedral, it must have necessitated the dismantling of at least one tower and some straight sections of wall, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas: el caso de Ávila," 144. The other scholars who have addressed this issue, Benito Pradillo and Rodríguez Almeida, disagree with Feduchi Canosa and Gutiérrez Robledo based on the hypothetical "Romanesque" floorplan developed by Rodríguez Almeida in 2003. Rodríguez Almeida's conjectural "Romanesque" cathedral already extended beyond the limits of what later became the city walls meaning that the walls must have "met" at the site during construction of the current cathedral. As I address in the Cathedral Appendix, I challenge Rodríguez Almeida's hypothetical so-called "Romanesque" cathedral plan, however I do agree that no walls were harmed in the making of the current episcopal seat. See: Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 84; Rodríguez Almeida, "La Catedral del Conde," 42-43.

[299] Though not explicitly stated, I believe both of these scholars are also relying on the earlier theory that the walls were built c. 1099 which is what Ariz's text records, but which I have refuted in chapter one.

tandem, I hypothesize that space was left open in the walls' trajectory in order to accommodate a newly planned extensive east end. To take this theory one step further, I suggest that both monuments' makers in fact took advantage of the spatial limitations in Ávila to construct two independent yet integrated structures more ideal for both parties' needs: the east end functioned simultaneously as cathedral choir and massive watchtower in the city walls.

The Architectural Innovation of the *Cimorro*

In an area referred to as the *cimorro*, the cathedral's east end sits within, and protruding through, the perimeter of the city walls, thus doubling as a religious sanctuary on the interior, and a tower on the exterior. From the outside, the upper levels of the cathedral chevet form a military platform within the city walls from whence soldiers could keep vigil or launch attacks. The rest of Ávila cathedral's three aisle basilica plan includes a protruding transept, domed crossing, and two western towers, yet the innovation of Ávila's cathedral floorplan is attested to by the nine integrated radiating chapels connected through pointed arches opening onto a second, diminutive "ambulatory" (Figure 59).[300] In fact, what sets the building especially apart from other contemporary Iberian examples is the *piedra sangrante*-built chevet with rudimentary double ambulatory, interconnected radiating chapels, eastern choir, pointed arches, and cross-rib vaults—the first iterations of such architectural elements known on the peninsula, although they were developed decades earlier in modern-day France.[301]

Traditional historiography has firmly tied the east end's novel architectural elements to French models, explaining their presence far from the northern border as the result of Fruchel's

[300] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 594. The two ambulatory passages are asymmetrical, the north entrance to the ambulatory measures twenty-eight feet wide while the south measures thirty-three.

[301] Because of these features in the east end, Ávila is typically recognized as the first surviving Gothic cathedral in modern-day Spain.

intervention, the (assumed) French master of works. However, previous studies have overlooked the social-historical pressures taking place in Ávila that brought about the conditions necessary to experiment with northern architectural advancements. While a Castilian-French connection is well documented, as I outline below, I contend that neither that relationship alone, nor a potentially-French master can explain the adoption of northern architectural advancements in Ávila. I argue that while the Castilian-French connection certainly must have facilitated the arrival of foreign technical advancements to Ávila, the city's dual religious-military needs in an intersecting space—a cathedral sanctuary and watchtower—demanded architectural experimentation resulting in the novel rounded chevet-cum-tower known today as the *cimorro*.

The relationship between Ávila and the cultural and architectural milieu north of the Pyrenees is supported through King Alfonso VI's strong connection to France, especially Cluny. Since 1077, Alfonso VI was the largest donor to Cluny, using tribute (*parias*) from Islamic kingdoms to fund the French monastery and thus helped facilitate the expansion of Cluny III.[302] In fact, Alfonso VI's second wife, Constance of Burgundy, was niece to Hugh of Cluny. In addition, Alfonso VI installed Bernard of Sédirac, former Cluniac monk turned abbot of Sahagún, as archbishop of Toledo after Christian conquest of the city in 1085, a powerful role that carried with it the title of primate of Spain and papal legate.[303] Alfonso VI and Constance's children married Burgundian dukes; the king's heir, Urraca, and her first husband, Raymond of

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[302] Otto Karl Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27, no. 1/2 (1988): 104. Barton has written that the threat of the loss of financing was an incentive for Christian leaders to keep Muslim polities to pay *parias* and not invade. See Thomas W. Barton, *Victory's Shadow: Conquest and Governance in Medieval Catalonia*, (Cornell University Press, 2019).

[303] Bernard Reilly, "Santiago and Saint Denis: The French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain," *The Catholic Historical Review* 54, no. 3: 468. This article specifically highlights the French influence in Santiago under bishop Diego Gelmírez. Constance's political and religious role is well-documented. Angus Mackay explains that conflicting accounts attribute Constance and Bernard as the instigators of mosque conversion in Toledo which had political ramifications. See Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire*, 1000-1500, Part I.

Burgundy, became the named administrators of founding Ávila, and their son, Alfonso VII, grew up to be one of the primary royal donors to the cathedral in the twelfth century.[304] In addition to direct royal interference, *fueros* simultaneously attracted French settlers and crusaders to cities like Ávila, bringing with them northern traditions in art, culture, and combat.[305] Knowledge exchange and migration across the Pyrenees, aided by royal sponsorship, facilitated the arrival of the technological advancements in architecture that were employed to build the new type of chevet found in Ávila for the first time on the peninsula.

Installing a chevet with communicating radiating chapels, the first example on the peninsula but well-established north of the Pyrenees, allowed for an elongated east end, better illumination, and a rounded floorplan apt for a military platform. Gutiérrez Robledo has noted that supplanting the more common three-apse axial plan, discussed below, for an integrated chevet with intersecting radiating chapels, elongated the east end and allowed for the choir to be placed east of the crossing—a design with a long-established tradition in France, but unknown in Iberia until now (Figure 60). [306] The new choir was not only longer, but received better illumination. The increase in light was also aided through the implementation of cross-ribbed sexpartite vaults, which allowed for grander elevation and larger windows in the extended east end (Figure 61). An expanded semicircular chevet design allowed for the implementation of the

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[304] Reilly, "Santiago and Saint Denis," 468.

[305] The extent of French crusaders' impact on Christian conquest in Iberia is debated and has a rich historiography, see for example, Joseph O'Callaghan who argues the Christian conquest in Spain constituted a crusade and was in part brought about by the fanaticism of French knights arriving as colonists to newly settled Iberian Christian lands, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[306] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 594. Although the choir was later moved to the nave where it is now located, as is shown through sixteenth-century documents that record the hiring of Cornelius of Holland to build the new choir. Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 350. Medieval Spanish cathedrals typically had their choir's in the nave: Santiago, Leon, Burgos, and Toledo all follow this format. Therefore Ávila's choir's original location east of the crossing was another indication of French inspiration and the originality of such a plan on the Iberian Peninsula.

dual “colossal and light” aesthetic taking hold north of the Pyrenees during the same period of the twelfth century.[307] For the cathedral chapter and bishop, the enlarged sanctuary allowed for more chapels, brighter light, larger stained glass windows, and an illuminated choir, all with the protection of a fortified exterior wall.[308] The novel semicircular form of the improved sanctuary could simultaneously support the construction of a mega-tower within the city’s walled fortifications.

The functional success of the cathedral’s dual religious-military east end lay in the rounded design of intersecting radiating chapels that allowed for a continuous pathway to run atop the upper exterior levels of the hemicycle. The route across the rounded east end seamlessly connects the ramparts of the city walls both north and south of the protruding chevet, allowing soldiers or watchmen easy access and travel across the walls’ perimeter. The rounded exterior of the protruding *cimorro* also mimics the semicircular shape of the walls’ other towers, albeit significantly larger. Although the access route across the exterior east end is inaccessible to visitors today, the entrance is still easily visible from the south side of the walls’ ramparts (Figure 62). Gutiérrez Robledo suggests that the integrated radiating chapels that helped form the rounded structure were also a stronger architectural form, strengthening the structure’s overall defenses.[309] However, at the time of the east end’s initial construction, a pre-established “apse-echelon” model of fortified architecture was common in medieval Castile, and in Ávila in particular (Figure 63). The more common non-communicating three apse plan was ill-adapted

[307] Bony, *French Gothic Architecture,* 61.

[308] Felix de las Heras Hernández says that the first stained glass was added to the ambulatory in 1495. Of those, the ones in the Chapel of Nuestra Señora de Gracia and part of the chapel of Saint John the Evangelist survive. These are attributed to Juan de Valdivielso, because he worked in the cathedral in this era. Later Arnao de Flandes and Diego de Santillana helped. *La catedral de Ávila.*

[309] Gutiérrez Robledo, “Catedral gótica,” 594.

for the needs of tower fortification. Therefore, I argue, that the need to unify tower and chevet design required a novel architectural solution which the makers found through employing northern architectural technology, including intersecting radiating chapels and cross-rib vaults.[310]

The nine-chapel semicircular east end was in fact a grand deviation from the expected three axial apses so popular in Ávila and nearby architectural landscapes of the twelfth century. In fact, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, sacred fortified architecture in Iberia was common and typically expressed through forms associated with the Romanesque style, including in Ávila. [311] The thick, practically window-less, impenetrable apses of Ávila's parish churches might be expected, and were in fact commonplace as fortified sacred structures on newly conquered land prone to military assault (Figure 64). The most exemplary of this type of architecture in Ávila is San Vicente which rivals the cathedral in size and ornament (Figure 65). The church's thick walls, towers, passageways, and extramural location have been explained by Daniel Rico Camps as a "third line" of defense that allowed soldiers on the walls to

[310] This term is coined by Conrad Rudolph, "Medieval Architectural Theory, the Sacred Economy, and the Public Presentation of Monastic Architecture: The Classic Cistercian Plan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78, no. 3 (2019): 264.

[311] There are many examples of fortified churches throughout the provinces of Castile and I address this more specifically in the following chapter. Isidro Bango Torviso has written extensively on the fortified sacred monuments of medieval Iberia. He explains that fortified sacred architecture incorporated elements that assisted in activities of war: thick walls to protect against armed assaults, narrow windows make arrow attacks difficult, hidden passages provide escape routes, church towers double as watchtowers, and direct roof access allows soldiers to access high ground from whence to launch attacks. Additionally, fortified churches need not necessarily have an obvious "military silhouette" with turrets, battlements, or crenellations even if built for an express defensive of martial purpose. See, Isidro Bango Torviso, *Edificos e imagenes medievales,* (Temas de Hoy, 1995), 41-49; Isidro Bango Torviso, "El verdadero significado del aspecto de los edificios: De lo simbólico a la realidad funcional, la Iglesia encastillada," *Anuario del departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (1998): 53-72; Isidro Bango Torviso, "La iglesia encastillada, de fortaleza de fe a baluarte militar," in *La fortificación medieval en la Península Ibêrica: Actas del IV Curso de Cultura Medieval*, (Aguilar de Campoo: Centro de Estudios del Románico, 21-26 September 1992); M. Dimanuel Jiménez, "La investigación de la arquitectura religiosa fortificada medieval española: estado de la cuestión y metodología," in *Anales de la Historia del Arte, volumen extraordinario*, (2009): 295-308; J. Nuño González, "Detrás de lo artístico: otras formas de mirar el edificio románico," in *Perfiles del Arte Románico*, (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real. Centro de Estudios del Románico, 2002): 111-43; Alejandro Piñel Bordallo, "Alamudes en el románico, ¿elementos de fortificación ecclesial?" in *Actas de la Semana Internacional de Estudios Medievales, XLVII, Estella, Spain, July 22, 2021.*

communicate directly with those in the church towers.[312] San Vicente's second phase of construction in the later twelfth century overlapped with the early stages of cathedral construction, yet its floorplan, especially in the east end, is notably different, instead employing the more common "apse-echelon" fortified model.

The partial overlap in construction between the cathedral and San Vicente demonstrate that the "apse-echelon" model was still in use locally and that the cathedral's semicircular plan was a grand departure from the local architectural vernacular.[313] San Vicente's contemporaneous construction illustrates just how innovative and groundbreaking the architectural choices of the cathedral's chevet were. The *cimorro* was a new type of fortified design that accommodated the particular needs of the clergy while simultaneously blending seamlessly into wall architecture.

In order to address the spatial challenge that necessitated an east end and walled enclosure in an overlapping area, the cathedral's planners integrated novel architectural advancements with the military requirements that Ávila's shared wall-cathedral zone demanded. The architectural solution materialized as a fortified cathedral whose east end would double as tower battlements—the *cimorro*—a novel architectural response in Castile in the mid-twelfth century. The chevet-tower allowed soldiers not only a safe unimpeded view to better protect the

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[312] Daniel Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones),* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1999), 222. The natural topography and city walls were the first two lines of defense. Rico Camps elaborates on this claim to argue that San Vicente was not just *used* for martial purposes, but was *planned* as a defensive and offensive fortified church dating back to the twelfth century. Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila,* chap. VI, esp. 212-22. In 1676, Bartolomé Fernández Valencia described San Vicente's dual fortified purpose: "this sacred temple and its towers were made fortified against some of those Muslims that dominated the city, and they resisted the Mohammadan fury," which Rico Camps cites from Bartolomé Fernández Valencia, *Historia de San Vicente y Grandezas de Ávila*, *Fuentes Históricas abulenses,* 13, (Ávila: Ediciones del Instituto Gran Duque de Alba. Diputación de Avila. Caja de Ahorros de Avila, 1992), 196. See also, Daniel Rico Camps, " *'Clerici vero habeant mores militum*': Notas en torno al primer Proyecto de San Vicente de Ávila," in *La cabecera de la Cathedral Calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano: Simposio sobre la Cathedral Calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano*, (Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 2000): 421.

[313] Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila,* 222. Rico Camps dates San Vicente's primary construction phase to the 1120s, but its second phase extended into the latter half of the twelfth century.

city below, but created a large platform for offensive attacks as well, all while clerics performed their duties undisturbed from within. Direct communication between cathedral and wall must have also been an asset for the militia men that may have needed quick access to safety or to relay information swiftly.

When the time came to strengthen and amplify both preexisting monuments in the twelfth century, a solution was required to accommodate the space where larger walls and grander cathedral would now intersect. In this way, I demonstrate that it was not only a Castilian-French connection, or the unsubstantiated intervention of a potentially-French master of works, that explains the adoption of northern architectural techniques in Ávila so far from the border or pilgrimage route. It was those human connections coupled with unique spatial, religious, and military circumstances in a burgeoning city on a frontier prone to conflict that engendered a novel Iberian architectural model. In addition to the local pressures that brought about architectural experimentation in the *cimorro*, the builders of Ávila's cathedral employed autochthonous materials with symbolic meaning in this particular and privileged space.

***Piedra Sangrante*—The Bishop's Stone**

In the second half of chapter two, I argue that the colorful *piedra sangrante* granite from La Colilla not only allowed for expressions of episcopal power through its Christly symbolism, but that it also recalls the violent and dangerous history of the city. The rock evokes the blood of the soldier-clerics killed defending the city, an appropriate material for a sacred space that simultaneously functioned as a fortress.

At the quarry, the narrow vein of *piedra sangrante* is about one meter thick and positioned in the top layer, meaning that by volume it is the most rare of all the La Colilla granites (Figure 66). However, it is also the easiest to access since it sits closer to the surface of

the quarry.[314] The rock receives its unique coloration from an accumulation of iron oxide unevenly distributed through the stone by water, producing its distinctive red and white marbled effect.[315] The weathering that produced the marbled coloring also weakened the granite, making it more workable, similar to its cousin *piedra caleña*, discussed at length in the next chapter. Therefore, *piedra sangrante* is relatively soft and easy to extract due to its position and "highly unstable, fragile" quality.[316] Yet, despite its workability, it is rarely used for sculpted elements suggesting the stone held value as an architectural resource in its own right. As I argue below, the stone was used nearly exclusively in episcopal contexts in order to convey episcopal power by generating Christly symbolism and metaphors of sacrifice.

Stepping foot into the cathedral's east end, one is struck by the busy, almost gaudy, quality of the vibrant *piedra sangrante* (Figure 67). Walls, vaults, ribs, and key stones of Ávila's twelfth-century cathedral choir with nine chapels and two ambulatories are all carved from this mottled rock. More striking still is the contrast between the radiating chapels and ambulatories in colorful stone, and the austere, almost dreary, grey of the cathedral's nave, towers, and west façade.[317] The cathedral's material diversity is similarly set against the backdrop of muted ochre-

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[314] Jacinta García-Talegón, Adolfo C. Iñigo, Santiago Vicente-Tavera, and Eloy Molina-Ballesteros call for the stone from this quarry to be recognized as a "Global Heritage Stone Resource" in "Heritage Stone 5. Silicified Granites (Bleeding Stone and Ocher Granite) as Global Heritage Stone Resources from Ávila, Central Spain," *Geoscience Canada* 43, no. 1 (2016): 53.

[315] J. García-Talegón, A.C. Iñigo, J.L. Pérez-Rodríguez, E. Molina, M.A. Vicente, and M. Vargas, "Granitos empleados en Ávila-España," *Materiales de construcción* 44, no. 233 (1994): 26.

[316] J. Caballero Arribas, I. S. De Soto García, R. García Giménez, and R. Vigil de la Villa Mencía, "Alteration Processes of Historical Granitic Rock Found in Ávila, Spain," *Mediterranean Archaeology & Archaeometry* 13, no. 1 (2013): 112. The degradation was caused by paleoweathering attacking the weak part of the rock, making it softer and easier to work, but also more susceptible to continued erosion. Conversation with Iris Holzer, UC Davis soil scientist, 25 Jan., 2021. Gómez-Moreno notes also that its use on the interior of the cathedral space may have in part been determined because it is more susceptible to damage from humidity and water: Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 293; Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental*, 73-75.

[317] The cathedral also employs other materials in its construction, including *piedra caleña* in the aisle vaults and cloister, however the *piedra sangrante* choir is a unique application which stands in great contrast to the cathedral's fortress-grey exterior.

hued imposing city walls, through which the chevet protrudes, doubling as a behemoth tower in the walled defenses. Nowhere else in Ávila's medieval monumental landscape is so much *piedra sangrante* utilized, underscoring its importance in this special location.

The use of *piedra sangrante* is exceedingly rare in Ávila's monumental landscape, appearing in only two significant locations, both relating to the bishop—the cathedral's interior east end and framing the windows and vaults in the surviving section of the bishop's palatial complex. A handful of other isolated *piedra sangrante* ashlars appear around the city, likely the result of restorations.[318] In addition, there are, to my knowledge, three post-medieval architectural applications of *piedra sangrante* elsewhere in Ávila: the ribbed ceiling of the north porch of the rebuilt parish church of Santiago (Figure 68), a window in the sixteenth-century Convent of Nuestra Señora de Gracia (Figure 69), and the archivolts of the west façade of the Convent of Santa María de Jesús (Las Gordillas), also dating to the sixteenth century (Figure 70).[319] In these later buildings, the twelfth-century context and original meaning of the stone had been lost. While isolated post-medieval instances of *piedra sangrante* pop up in the urban zone, the original monumental landscape of Ávila at the beginning of organized settlement only contained two applications of *piedra sangrante*—the cathedral's chevet and the bishop's palace.

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[318] Aside from the *piedra sangrante* in the bishop's palace and its use in the cathedral, this specialty stone is only found in isolated places throughout Ávila. For example, one capital on the south portal of San Pedro is made out of *piedra sangrante*. A wall delimiting the plaza at San Segundo contains a piece of *piedra sangrante* as well as an exterior wall from the Parador de Ávila, which once was the Palacio de Piedras Albas. An individual *piedra sangrante* ashlar block lies in the curved exterior of the apse of San Esteban, but when looking closely it lacks the same curvature as the surrounding ashlars and therefore was likely added during a posterior restoration and not part of its original construction. These examples appear to show that *piedra sangrante* stones have been used as individual ashlar replacements in restoration and conservation efforts throughout the city. The quarry of La Colilla is nearly depleted and its stone is endangered, therefore it can only be accessed with special permission usually only for restorations on medieval buildings: Jacinta García-Talegon, et al., "Heritage Stone 5," 55.

[319] The chapel on the southeastern corner of the cloister of the cathedral also has *piedra sangrante* vaults and also likely dates to the sixteenth century suggesting that there was a resurgence of using *piedra sangrante* in this century, perhaps in an attempt to associate with the wealth and status of the cathedral, but the original bishop connection appears to have been lost.

Therefore, I argue, *piedra sangrante* had a very specific episcopal association in the twelfth century and conveyed messages of power, religion, and war in support of the bishop.

In 2010, a thirteen meter long underground passage was discovered through a narrow opening near the ground of today's Sacred Heart chapel in the northeast side of the cathedral which may have once connected the *episcopio* with the cathedral by subterranean means (Figure 71).[320] A material connection through *piedra sangrante* parallels the physical connection that links *episcopio* with cathedral through underground tunnel—an physical connection between episcopal spaces.

The *Episcopio*

Apart from the cathedral's choir, the only other instance of *piedra sangrante* being employed is within the remaining structure of the bishop's complex—significantly, another episcopal building. *Piedra sangrante* frames the narrow windows and the west portal of the edifice locally referred to as the *episcopio* (Figure 72). Located behind the modern city's principal post office, what was once part of the bishop's complex is a relatively simple two-story rectangular hall built directly attached to the interior of the city walls. Although the exact chronology is unknown, the building likely dates to the end of the twelfth century. In an 1191 document concerning certain rights and tithes between the cathedral chapter and bishop, multiple mentions of a "*refectorium*" are made in addition to a "*conventus canonicorum.*"[321] Barrios García has interpreted these as references to a communal life of canons which would have necessitated a shared dormitory and mess hall; Barrios suggests the *episcopio* once served as the

[320] "Hallan un pasadizo secreto de 13 metros en la Catedral de Ávila," 19 April 2010 in *La Información*, https://www.lainformacion.com/arte-cultura-y-espectaculos/hallan-un-pasadizo-secreto-de-13-metros-en-la-catedral-de-avila_1h4C1RtXfqbmU0Nn6bjV02/. This path perhaps offered the bishop a private escape route in case of invasion or revolt. The final section is inaccessible so it is unclear if the passage did reach the *episopio*, although one can deduce that that's likely where it led.

[321] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 78-80, doc. 39, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos. Carp. 19, n. 1.

common living space of the canons.[322] The rounded windows and small doorframe are articulated with *piedra sangrante* in addition to the barrel vaults in the lower level.

In the *episcopio*, *piedra sangrante* emphasizes the thresholds leading into the building—door and windows—which are often especially associated with sacred space.[323] Material, more specifically, *piedra sangrante*, thus highlights the importance of these openings. Additionally, the *piedra sangrante* vaults of the lower level might arguably reflect a heavenly sky in a secular space devoted to religious individuals (Figure 73). *Piedra sangrante* appears to be especially connected to an episcopal context. It is found only in the cathedral's sanctuary and the portals and vaults of the original structure of the bishop's complex. Nowhere else in the twelfth-century city do we see *piedra sangrante* utilized in such a way outside of an episcopal context, strengthening and reinforcing a link between both of these buildings, as well as a link between bishop and material, and in turn, sacrifice, as argued below.

Color Symbolism

Piedra sangrante was able to represent episcopal power and identity because of the symbolic potential of its red and white surface. The red and white marbled colors of *piedra sangrante* lent themselves well to evoking symbolic messages of death and purity. It is well established that color carried meaning in the Middle Ages, however medieval conceptions of color differed greatly than our modern understandings. In a world devoid of the RGB spectrum of screens and pixels, medieval ideas of color were determined by the natural world. Color in nature is neither fixed nor consistent. The pre-modern palette was thus typically defined by intensity and value rather than hue, as might be expected if describing the visual qualities of

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[322] Barrios García, *Estructuras*, 249. This document is also used as evidence to mark the shift to communal living for the canons, or regular canons.

[323] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*.

gemstones, plants, or the sky.[324] For example, Isidore describes the Red Sea as close to the color of blood ("*rubra est et sanguineo colori proxima*") with red waves ("*roseis undis*") using both "ruber" and "roseus" to convey the color "red."[325] Medieval color vocabulary is especially difficult to parse for the modern reader because a term often relates to the intensity or saturation, but could refer to a variety of hues. Heather Pulliam explains that the Latin *glaucus* referred to brightness, and Elizabeth Bolman notes that *purpureus* related to saturation within the range of what we would consider red, blue, or purple.[326] In fact, John Gage points out that *purpura* in medieval Spain could refer to a silk textile itself, having appropriated the name from the dyed color.[327] With dyed fabrics, in many cases it was the saturation of the color, rather than hue, that conveyed status and value and was therefore the more important aspect to describe.[328] Gage points out that color terminology was often associated with, derived from, or became standardized through descriptions of objects of value including horse treatises and heraldic vocabulary.[329] For example, a new word for red, *gules*, from the Latin for throat, *gula*, appeared in thirteenth-century armorial rolls because it described fox fur collars, presumably referring to the color of the fur as well as the location of where it was worn.[330] While not always the primary

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[324] Heather Pulliam, "Color," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 4.

[325] Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIII.xvii.2. Interestingly, Elizabeth S. Bolman's analysis of Beatus manuscripts shows that rivers and oceans are usually painted in blue except for the Red Sea which is depicted in red, " De Coloribus: the Meanings of Color in Beatus Manuscripts," *Gesta* 38, no. 1 (1999): 26.

[326] Pulliam, "Color," 4; Bolman, "De Coloribus," 24. John Gage explains that perception is bound together with terminology, and therefore across time and cultures, how a people express a color varies greatly, *Color and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 79.

[327] Gage, *Color and Culture,* 80. A similar phenomenon occurred in the medieval German realms to refer to a specific type of wool cloth called a "scarlet," but which was available in an array of colors.

[328] Pulliam, "Color," 5, 12 n19. Pulliam notes that only the wealthy could afford the colorfast textiles that could retain the dye more effectively, and thus color saturation indicated wealth.

[329] Gage, *Color and Culture,* 79, 82. For example the thirteenth-century French Bigot Roll and English Glover Roll.

[330] Gage, *Color and Culture,* 82. Armorial rolls described heraldry extensively.

descriptor of color to medieval writers, hue was an important aspect which conveyed value and notable, yet fluid, symbolism.

Both red and white hues carried negative and positive associations. In a religious setting, red was often associated with the flames of hell and therefore often used to represent demons in wall paintings.[331] For example, a bright red demon is surrounded by his cronies and red flames in the 1365 fresco from Cappellone degli Spagnoli in Florence, or the red and brownish-red devils contrasted against Saint Michael painted on the late-thirteenth-century altar at Sant Miquel de Soriguerola in Catalunya. At the same time, fire could also relate to God, as, for example, when God revealed himself to Moses as the burning bush or as the Holy Spirit in the flames of Pentecost.[332]

Apart from fire, red was unequivocally linked with blood. In antiquity, blood was first linked to human corruption through menstruation—connecting blood, women, Eve, and sin in the ancient psyche which was then carried over to medieval writers including Gregory the Great.[333] In the Middles Ages, blood evoked new meaning, for example its associations with both blood and Pentecostal fire led Pope Innocent III to suggest in the year 1200 that red be used as a liturgical color during feasts of the Apostles and martyrs.[334] In the Beatus manuscripts, in which the same scenes are often painted in a variety of colors depending on the manuscript,

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[331] Michel Pastoureau, *Red: The History of a Color*, (Princeton University Press, 2017), 58.

[332] Pastoureau, *Red,* 61. Exodus 3:1-14; Acts 2:3-4.

[333] Pastoreau, *Red,* 62.

[334] Gage, *Color and Culture*, 84. This is included in Innocent III's *De sacro altaris mysterio* written before his election in 1198.

blood is almost always illustrated in red.[335] By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, blood became associated particularly with Christ's blood on the cross, his sacrifice for humans' sins. As artistic representations of the Passion became more frequent later into the Middle Ages, the connection between Christ, blood, and the color red only increased.[336] This is illustrated through red representations of wine. Through transubstantiation, wine became Christ's blood and was therefore typically rendered in red even though, as Michel Pastoureau points out, medieval Europeans often drank white wine or red so watered down it was no longer red.[337] In this case, red was used by medieval artists as a way to symbolize blood even if it did not reflect the true hue of the wine.

White, on the other hand, was associated with purity, innocence, chastity, brightness, and therefore, like red, could symbolize Christ. Pulliam explains that true white was nearly impossible to come by in the Middle Ages—white wool, blank parchment, or ivory, for example, are not truly white. However, an "aspiration to an unobtainable ideal" of an absence of color, that is, the pursuit of "pure" white, in itself became a symbol for the unearthly perfection of Christ.[338] Similarly, vellum could represent Christ's own flesh and purity through its material (animal flesh) and color (near-white).[339] Bolman's analysis of Beatus manuscripts reveals that twenty-one of the twenty-six lambs that appear in their folios are rendered in white, drawing on, in part, the natural world, but also clearly connected to the symbolic meaning of Jesus as the lamb of

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[335] Bolman, "De Coloribus," 26.

[336] Pastoureau, *Red,* 62-64.

[337] Pastoureau, *Red*, 64.

[338] Pulliam, "Color," 5-6.

[339] Pulliam, "Color," 5.

God.[340] The polyvalent meanings attached to red and white hues in the Middle Ages would have been clear to the medieval clergy and congregants of Ávila's cathedral. It is no accident then that the red and white marbled *piedra sangrante* composes the sacred heart of the episcopal seat and is exclusive to the city's highest religious authority.

Blood of Christ

Although, to my knowledge, there is no textual evidence of the term *piedra sangrante*, or "bleeding stone," in medieval sources, the visual connection to blood is undeniable. As described above, blood was consistently rendered in red, and around the twelfth century, that is, the same century the chevet was begun, liturgical vestments, crusader banners, and the like, all incorporated the color red to ally with the son of God.[341] The connection between red, blood, and Christ in the medieval mind is clear. The use of *piedra sangrante* in constructing the cathedral's sanctuary likewise linked Ávila's cathedral, bishop, and even the city, to Jesus Christ.

In 2004, Paul Binski argued that the use of red and white marble in Thomas Becket's Trinity Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral was a symbol of blood, and in particular, Becket's martyrdom. Becket's shrine chapel is imbued with color symbolism that directly correlates to the gruesome first-hand accounts of the martyr's murder. One of Becket's biographers, Edward Grim, describes the colorful murderous concoction when Hugh of Hosea (Mauclerk) smeared the archbishop's brains on the cathedral's floor[342]: "the third knight inflicted a grave wound on the

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[340] Bolman, "De Coloribus," 27. Sheep of course come in a variety of colors including brown and black, not only white.

[341] Pastoreau, *Red,* 63.

[342] Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170–1300*, (Paul Mellon Centre, 2005), 8. Edward Grim, a monk from Cambridge, was present at Canterbury when Thomas Becket was murdered. He published a *Vita* on Becket c. 1180 which included witness testimony of the gruesome murder.

fallen one; with this blow he shattered the sword on the stone and his crown, which was large, separated from his head so that *the blood turned white from the brain yet no less did the brain turn red from the blood*."[343] The choice of rose-pink marble for the pavement and columns at St. Thomas's shrine as well as columns of polished white pelletal limestone echoed the red of Becket's blood, the white of his brain, and the pink of the two substances mixing together (Figure 74).[344]

Grim continues that the mixing of blood and brain "purpled the appearance of the church with the colors of the lily and the rose, the colors of the Virgin and Mother and the life and death of the confessor and martyr."[345] This quote makes explicit the color symbolism that is mirrored in the material of the chapel. The color red is able to relate the death, blood, and martyrdom, of Thomas Becket to Christ while white is associated with lilies and life. Thus the goodness of St. Thomas is likened to Mary, as pure virgin and mother, through color symbolism. In the Trinity Chapel, not only is it Becket's martyrdom that is conveyed through colored stone, but symbols of Christ and Mary are imbued within and conveyed through the red, white, and pink marbles. Like the Trinity Chapel, the red and white of the *piedra sangrante* expressed the life and death of Jesus, bringing Christ's crucifixion to Ávila's doorstep.

Binski notes that the use of colored marble in the Trinity Chapel, but nowhere else in the cathedral, acknowledges serious forethought and importance. Similarly to Canterbury, within the cathedral, *piedra sangrante* is only used in the interior east end, conveying the blood of Christ

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[343] Edward Grim, *Vita S. Thomae, Cantuariensis Archepiscopi et Martyris,* in *Materials for the Life of Thomas Becket*, vol. II. (7 vols.), edited by James Robertson and translated by Dawn Marie Hayes, (London: Rolls Series, 1875-1885): https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/grim-becket.asp. Italics are my own.

[344] Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 3. Grey-green Purbeck marble columns are also present in the chapel. Pelletal refers to "pellets" that are found in many limestones—they are spherical or oval pieces of mud that create a pattern in the stone.

[345] Grim, *Vita S. Thomae*.

precisely in the heart of the cathedral. As outlined above, the utilization of *piedra sangrante* outside the cathedral only appears in the bishop's palace, staking claim to this rare stone as the bishop's exclusive property. *Piedra sangrante* stands in for the bishop—a connection between *piedra sangrante* and Christ is thus the same as a connection between Ávila's bishop and Christ.

The combination of red (blood, death, crucifixion) with white (life, purity, innocence) parallels medieval Christianity's complex associations and representations of Christ's violent death and sanctified life. Binksi goes on to explain that the messages conveyed through colored stone are not simply symbols, but that the ideas are *embodied* in the cathedral "through built stones…as something beyond representation—as a form of 'real presence.'"[346] In Ávila this is doubly true; *piedra sangrante* used in this specific location forms a "real presence" of Christ, yet the local conditions that led to the formation of the red-white stone additionally link the land, that is, the bioregion of Ávila, to Christ and the Passion. It was precisely the environmental conditions of La Colilla millennia ago that engendered this rare coloration that allowed for such Christological symbolism. Featuring local material in such a prominent way would have carried a special kind of prestige. Red and white granite does not only relate the seat of the bishop to Christ through its color, *piedra sangrante* granite connects Ávila as a place, as defined by its bioregion, to the location of Christ's Passion, Holy Jerusalem.

Blood of War

The red-veined granite's ability to symbolize blood was not limited to Christological associations, but to dangerous frontier realities as well. In fact red and white were crusader colors that came to play a significant role in Castilian medieval iconography. Twelfth-century Ávila, when the east end was begun, was a war-torn period marked by violence and conquest.

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[346] Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 9.

The farmers arriving to the city as part of the conscientious settlement effort were militarized by necessity, as described in chapter one. The primary focus of Christian settlement in Ávila, and other cities founded under similar conditions in this period, was developing a human system of defense.

The frontier required "fighting men," not just peasants capable of cultivating the land, and thus *fueros,* or law codes, made special exceptions in order to attract the appropriate kinds of people. This type of society is outlined in the articles of the *fuero* of Sepúlveda (1076), a city which Manuel González Jiménez has characterized as "a refuge for assassins, adventurers, and outlaws."[347] Multiple passages offer forgiveness for violence, for example, article V explains "if any rich man or knight commits force within the territory of Sepúlveda, and anyone else hurts or kills him because of that, they won't pay any fine."[348] The law code allowed vigilante justice among the citizens of Sepúlveda even if the stranger harmed was someone of means. In Cáceres, it was the conquering Christian army itself who in 1227 remained and settled the newly-won city between the Tagus and Guadiana rivers; the soldiers were given land allotments as an incentive to stay.[349] Therefore, through multiple methods, "fighting men" acquainted with bloodshed formed the population of newly-conquered cities like Sepúlveda, Cáceres, or Ávila.

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[347] González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 54. He refers especially to clauses 10, 11, 13 of the *fuero*. This law code was issued in 1076 by King Alfonso VI and is often cited since it is one of the only original documents of this type to survive. This *fuero* is edited by Emilio Sáez, *Fueros de Sepúlveda*, (Segovia, 1953). Sepúlveda lies halfway between Madrid and Burgos in the province of Segovia.

[348] Don Feliciano Callejas, "Fuero de Sepúlveda," *Boletin de jurisprudencia y adninistración* 6 (1857): 18: "Si algun Ric-omme ó caballero ficiere fuerza en término de Sepulvega, é alguno lo firere ó lo matare, sobre ello, non peche por ende calonna ninguna." Translation by author.

[349] James F. Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers: The Interaction of Urban and Military Organization in the Militias of Mediaeval Castile," *Speculum* 46, no. 4 (1971): 645-66. Powers explains that the army population was not large enough to settle the town so land was allotted to attract more new settlers in grants called *particiones de concejo* distributed by the town council.

Once settled, all citizens (*vecinos*), regardless of background or profession, were required to take part in military activity when called upon by the king or noble. Military obligations were a fundamental part of urban life in newly established Christian cities like Ávila.[350] The Carta Puebla of Peñafiel dating to 942 is the first example to outline this system which required both cavalry and foot soldiers to take part in the military service (*fonsado)* or risk a fine.[351] The *fuero* of Sepúlveda states that it was voluntary for residents to take part in the *fonsado* "unless they are knights, or it's a royal siege or pitched battle, then knights, peasants, and citizen residents (*vecinos*) all advance."[352] Évora's 1166 *fuero*, which has been compared to Ávila's, similarly explains that two thirds of the knights must go on *fonsado*, while a third part remains to protect the city.[353] A royal privilege granted to Ávila's citizens in 1256 required that men have horses and weapons of value (thirty *maravedis*) in order to benefit from stated tax exemptions. In other words, fighting and participation in raids (especially in spring and summer) was required of

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[350] Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 57. *Vecinos* were usually Christian men defined by residence or home ownership in the town (*villa*) and were exempted from certain taxes, see James F. Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers: The Interaction of Urban and Military Organization in the Militias of Mediaeval Castile," *Speculum* 46, no. 4 (1971): 650. However, Ruiz shows that non-Christians also were referred to as *vecinos* in early-modern Ávila, see Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society: The Case of Ávila," in *Interfaith Relationships and Perceptions of the Other in the Medieval Mediterranean,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 252-53.

[351] Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers," 643. *Fonsado* or *fonsadera* is the term used to refer to the military service requirement of citizens of newly founded frontier towns and cities especially in *fueros* and *Cartas de Pueblas.* The military requirement of infantry or mounted men changed over time and place. For example, Powers notes that foot soldiers (*peones*) are lacking in Leonese *fueros* compared to Castilian ones, potentially suggesting they were a less exploited resource in Leonese cities.

[352] *El fuero Latino de Sepúlveda*, Proyecto de digitalización bibliográfica, University of Buenos Aires: http://iham.institutos.filo.uba.ar/sites/iham.institutos.filo.uba.ar/files/Fuero_Latino_de_Sepulveda_3.pdf. Clause 30: "*Et ad fonsado de rege si uoluerint ire non uadan nisi los caualleros, si non fuerit a cerca de rege aut lide campal, et ad isto uadan caualleros et pe[dones los] uezinos*." Translation by author.

[353] Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila,* 225: "*Ut duas partes dos cabaleiros vadant in fossado et tercia pars remaneat in civitate*." Translation by author.

Ávila's *vecinos* if they wanted to reap the rewards detailed in the privilege.[354] Martial activity was a fundamental part of life in cities like Ávila founded as part of the Christian effort to conquer al-Andalus.

Constant threat of violence meant that the survival of cities like Ávila required a robust military force.[355] In one episode of violence, the *Crónica* recounts how the city of Ávila and its knights took a major role in protecting Queen Urraca's son and heir, Alfonso VII (b. 1105), in his infancy against his stepfather, Alfonso I the Battler of Aragon (r. 1104-1134). Alfonso I of Aragon hoped to claim Castile for himself as the new husband of Queen Urraca, but she fled to Ávila with her young son to guard him from his regicidal stepfather. The *Crónica* describes a cruel scene in which Alfonso I of Aragon arrives to Ávila and demands to see that the infant Alfonso VII is alive, the knights of Ávila make a deal with Alfonso I who takes hostages to ensure safe passage out of the city, but then murders the hostages by boiling them alive "in caldrons."[356] The *Historia Compostelana* similarly recounts this event and claims that even churches were attacked by Alfonso I as part of his cruelty, confirming a need for fortified sacred architecture as well.[357] Alfonso VII survives, and after Ávila's heroic act in defending the future

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[354] Ana Rodríguez, "La valeur d'habiter Matérialité et identité dans la Castille du XIIIe siècle," in *Les fruits de la terre: Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Laurent Feller*, edited by Marie Dejoux, Harmony Dewez, Emmanuel Huertas, and Cédric Quertier, 253-61, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2023). Her article also outlines how citizens were required to reside at least a few months of the year in their houses in Ávila to encourage and maintain permanent settlement.

[355] War and conquest were also an essential part of the economy in frontier lands. The *fuero* of Cuenca (1190), a city between Madrid and Valencia in Castilla la Mancha, describes the taking of booty and sharing of wealth among the roving knights: González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 55. The *fuero* of Cuenca is edited by Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, *Fuero de Cuenca*, (Madrid, 1935). It appears as if military service and obligation was standardized with the *fuero* of Cuenca, but before the end of the twelfth century, frontier cities likely had diverse and changing requirements of its citizens. See, Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers," esp. 651.

[356] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 24-25/34-35: "*en calderas*."

[357] Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila,* 224. He cites *Historia Compostelana*, I, 83: "*Ecclesias etiam armata rabie violabat.*"

emperor, the city became known as "Ávila of the King."[358] Ávila's knights were tasked at protecting the city from violent incursions, a great responsibility that involved significant risk.

Teofilo Ruiz points out that Ávila's militias were the most active of all Castilian cities in terms of mounted raids.[359] The instability of Castile, especially after the death of Alfonso VII in 1157, necessitated extensive militias to defend the nascent territory against raiding Almoravid, and later, Almohad forces, as well as the Leonese and Aragonese.[360] In addition to the episode described above, the *Crónica* describes several other events that illustrate the danger and brutality of life in Ávila. One incident recounts the kidnapping of a Christian woman by the Muslim ruler of Talavera:

> Another time, on a Monday, the day of Saint Leonard, they went to San Leonardo on pilgrimage, when the leader of Talavera, with a great company of Muslims, arrived to Ávila and killed the guards and carried away those killed outside and in particular kidnapped the wife of Enalviello [*sic*] and that Muslim [leader of Talavera] married her. During this season Enaviello was not in Ávila and when he came back he asked the *concejo* of Ávila to go with him on a mounted raid to Talavera and fifty knights went.[361]

This account highlights both the need to defend the city against marauding foes, but also the offensive acts that Ávila's knights took in retribution.

Much of Ávila's history is learned through medieval and antiquarian chronicles whose details may be exaggerated or mythologized. In the nineteenth century, for example, Martín

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[358] To read about this legend, visit the well-researched site: http://muralladeavila.com/en/legends/el-rey-nino.

[359] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 250-51.

[360] Alfonso VI became king of León, Galicia, Portugal, and Castile by 1072 after fratricidal wars. However, at the death of his grandson, Alfonso VII, son of his heir Urraca, in 1157, restarted the tradition of leaving different kingdoms to his different sons thus splitting up a unified Castile-León. This caused rivalry and war until Fernando III reunited the kingdoms in 1230. During the reign of Urraca until 1126, Castile had a civil war with her husband Alfonso I of Aragon, and between 1157 and 1230, Castile was positioned against León—therefore in addition to fighting Almoravid and Almohad incursions, Ávila, as a Castilian stronghold, was also positioned against other Christian kingdoms.

[361] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 22/32. There are many other raids and battles detailed in the *Crónica* that illustrate a dangerous life where many people were killed or kidnapped. Talavera was also conquered by Alfonso VI at the end of the eleventh century, however it returned to Muslim control between 1109 and 1113. Translation by author.

Carramolino wrote a history of Ávila which similarly includes the terrorization carried out by Alfonso I as well as other battles. He claims that before the conquest and founding under Alfonso VI, the city was lost to Muslims and then "re-conquered" seven times over, alluding to a turbulent early history.[362] Despite a clearly legendary slant to much of these texts, archival sources confirm the violent past reflected in Ávila's chronicles and the role of its citizens, even clerics, in battle.

Military duties extended to the religious class in Ávila. For example, a quote originating from the *fuero* of Évora, which Ricardo Blasco has compared to the lost founding *fuero* of Ávila, describes how the religious class of the frontier took on characteristics of soldiers: "*clerici vero habeant mores militum*" (indeed, clerics shall have the customs of soldiers).[363] In the case of Ávila, even bishops acted as soldiers, as attested to in the written record. An archival document records the ratification of an agreement that the previous bishop, Iohannes (John or Juan), was unable to complete because he died in battle at Alarcos in 1195: "The abovementioned Juan was laid to rest…but because of his death at Alarcos he was not able to sign."[364] Similarly, Luis Ariz writes that bishop Pedro of Ávila died in the battle of Las Navas de la Tolosa in 1212, serving alongside the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.[365] Later, the terms of the Synod

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[362] Juan Martín Carramolino, *Historia de Avila, su provincia y obispado*, Tomo I, Madrid : Librería Española, 1872-1873 (Imprenta, Fundición y Estereotipia de D. Juan Aguado), copia digital, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2009-2010): 28.

[363] Rico Camps, " '*Clerici vero habeant mores militum,*'" 448. See also Ricardo Blasco, "El problema del fuero de Avila," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos. LX-I,* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 1954).

[364] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 88, doc. 44, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos. Carp. 19, n. 2: "*predictus archidiaconus Iohannes in episcopatum sublimatus…sed morte preventus apud Alarchos sigillum non apposuit*." This document dates to 1197. See also, Rico Camps, *"Clerici vero habeant mores militum*," 448-49. This was a pivotal battle that took place in 1195 in which the Almohads defeated Alfonso VIII and his Castilian forces setting Christian advancement back and allowing the Almohads to conquer several cities. Translation by author.

[365] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* primera parte, 37. Ariz elaborates that Pedro, brother to Domingo Gil who founded the Franciscan convent of Rapariegos, consecrated the parish church of San Bartolomé (later Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza) in his first year as bishop. Ariz refers to Pedro as "*caudillo*" on the battlefield.

of Ávila from 1384 and 1481 denounced clerics who carried "weapons by day and by night...in the choir…in the chapter."[366] In a militarized society, what Elena Lourie and later James Powers famously described as a "society organized for war," bloodshed, battles, violence, and death were commonplace. In Ávila, all members of society were forced into military roles—peasants and clerics shared the frontlines with knights and soldiers.[367] Ávila's clerics doubled as soldiers, just as the cathedral doubled as a fortress.

In a city full of militarized citizens, blood symbolism would have carried a multivalent message. Not only would *piedra sangrante* communicate a connection between bishop and Christ, Ávila and Jerusalem, it was also an acknowledgement of the military role of the members of society, but most especially the soldier-bishops. A similar message is conveyed in the French poem *L'ordene de Chevalerie* dating to the mid-thirteenth century which describes how a "knight would first be dressed in a white robe to show his cleanliness of body, then in a scarlet cloak to remind him of his duty to shed blood in the defence of the Church."[368] Particularly within the cathedral, blood symbolism embedded within *piedra sangrante* reflected the duty of soldier-clerics in Ávila's society. For the congregants, red and white rock carried a message of their battlefield bloodshed, bringing them closer to Christ and his sacrifice. For the canons, and especially the bishop, *piedra sangrante* not only held religious significance, but may have even

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[366] Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila,* 210, 210n4, 210n6. He cites the *Synodicon Hispanum, VI: Ávila y Segovia*, directed by A. Garcia y Garcia, (Madrid: 1993): "*los clerigos llevasen 'armas de noche y de día…en el coro…en el cabillo.'*"

[367] Elena Lourie, "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain," *Past & Present* 35 (1966): 54–76; James F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). While Ávila's written sources don't mention women or ethno-religious minorities actively fighting, women and minoritized groups still experienced and witnessed frontier violence and also would have worked in support of the conquest and defense effort in a variety of ways. For a study on women on the frontier, see Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society,* (CUP Archive, 1984).

[368] Gage, *Color and Culture,* 84.

acted as an homage for Ávila's soldier-bishops' ultimate sacrifice. As described in chapter one, Ávila's heroic past and legendary glories were of the utmost importance in the Middle Ages, thus linking the bishop with the honor of battle and conquest through the material symbolism of *piedra sangrante* simultaneously glorified the episcopal presence in particular.

Separation in Stone

As I have argued above, *piedra sangrante* is found exclusively in episcopal contexts; it is conspicuously lacking in wall construction. The clear division of material—*spolia* in the walls and *piedra sangrante* in the interior cathedral delineated two distinct, yet permeable spaces in a single conjoined structure.[369] The aforementioned narratives illustrate how secular and religious classes, duties, and space were in many ways blurred in Ávila. Bishops acted as soldiers and the cathedral operated as a fort. Despite converging responsibilities, material remained distinct for the primary monuments of each respective sector of society. In order to assert and clarify their authority, the city's opposing powers, that is, the *concejo* and bishop, employed different materials in the construction of their principal monuments.[370] The segregation of materials reflects and affirms the conflict seen played out in documents between the city and cathedral chapter over access to the cathedral's privileged space. Material echoed the conflicting attitudes between these two structures of authority—one lay, one religious.

Textual sources make clear that the military function of the walls fused with the cathedral angered the religious elites of the city. Since the cathedral was integrated into the city walls, pathways running on top of the cathedral's east end are positioned directly along the walls'

[369] Today, the exterior *cimorro* includes a section of *piedra sangrante* likely the result of sections of the exterior chevet dismantled/remodeled to accommodate this later wall addition.

[370] Before c. 1185 the cathedral chapter and bishop were united, however a series of lawsuits in 1185-1187 resulted in taxes being split into different pots: the chapter and the bishop. See Barrios, *Estructuras*, 214; Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo, "*Fortior Abulensis*," 558. For the documents, see Barrios García, *Documentos*, 65-73, docs. 29-33.

ramparts.[371] Given their integration into the city walls, until 1534 the roofs of the cathedral were in fact under the exclusive jurisdiction of the mayor (*alcaide*), a lay official under *concejo* supervision.[372] This meant that a civil authority controlled at least one part of the city's most sacred building, the upper-most levels of the cathedral. A 1512 complaint made by Ávila's cathedral chapter to the king against the *alcaides* illustrates the problems caused by the ambiguous control over the city's holiest building. The chapter complained that soldiers, who had access to the highest parts of the church, left windows open, disrupted church services, and generally wreaked havoc in privileged space.[373] Though the source is late, it is plausible that these problems may not have been exclusive to the sixteenth century. The segregation of material may in fact act as evidence of earlier conflict and a desire to signal a separation of space even as, or especially because, the structures were physically connected.

Barrios García explains a shift in social hierarchies in Ávila c. 1170 which also resulted in documented conflicts between societal classes. At the beginning of Christian settlement in Ávila, power rested in the hands of the military elite, the founding soldiers, but by the end of the twelfth century, there were multiple instances of friction between religious and civil urban authorities. More specifically, the lay elite objected to the increased interference of ecclesiastical bodies into civil affairs, especially with respect to attempts to augment certain levies.[374] Barrios García argues that c. 1170, with the consolidation of power and wealth among the military elite

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[371] This area consists of multiple levels. Because of extensive later reformations and additions to the cathedral, including the additions of the Capilla Velada and San Segundo, the original structure in this exterior area of the chevet is complicated to understand. Benito Pradillo identifies a number of possible entry points from within the cathedral itself, including possibly from the chapel of San Marcial, "La catedral de Ávila," 130-32.

[372] Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila*, 213.

[373] Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila*, 213-14. See also by the same author, "'*Clerici vero habeant mores militum.*'"

[374] Barrios, *Estructuras*, 214. He cites specific cases in 1184-85 and 1209.

through agricultural production, and the religious elite through tithes and property donations, the social pyramid became more complex and caused internal struggles across social classes.[375] The artisans and merchants, for example, though part of a lower social class, joined forces with the lay military elite, against the powerful ecclesiastics.[376] The 1170s is also the decade in which Alfonso VIII (r. 1158-1214) made donations to the cathedral, which may have coincided with the current cathedral's first phase of construction that included the *piedra sangrante* east end. The social changes described by Barrios García taking place around this time in Ávila, and likely brewing much earlier, may have been a catalyst for building the cathedral and one reason for utilizing a special type of granite unfamiliar in wall construction.

Materials communicated difference even while the individual monuments merged. Through material—*piedra sangrante*—ecclesiastics evoked their authority, in direct contrast to the bedrock and *spolia* walls administered by the *concejo* (Figure 75).[377] Each distinct structure of authority was represented by a local stone—as described in chapter one, the *concejo* relied on deeply historical *spolia* in the city walls to bolster their strength, while the episcopate selected ferrous granite to portray blood and sacrifice.

Chapter Conclusion

A French-centric view of Ávila's cathedral has obscured other architectural questions especially with respect to the building's local character. Traditional historiography often explains French inspiration in Ávila as simply a byproduct of the Castilian royal family's deep ties to France and Cluniac monasticism or the attribution of the cathedral's early construction to

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[375] Barrios, *Estructuras*, 215.

[376] Barrios, *Estructuras*, 214.

[377] From a modern vista much of this material division is obscured through auxiliary buildings and the addition of later chapels on the cathedral. From a public viewpoint, there's no access to see the exact seam where these different materials meet.

Fruchel, the documented twelfth-century master-of-works whose name is traditionally interpreted as French. These simplified explanations are not wrong, but lacking. Instead, I have argued that the new *cimorro* which incorporated some early Gothic elements, at least in part, was motivated by the intent to fortify the cathedral within the walled defenses. In order to achieve the geometrically complex east end necessary to mimic tower architecture, the builders incorporated novel architectural advancements of interconnected radiating chapels, sexpartite vaults, and an elongated choir in combination with local materials. In other words, the cathedral's fortified east end functioned as a direct response to local dual religious-militaristic pressures, engendering the type of architectural complexity that scholars now recognize as the first Gothic cathedral in Spain.

To flatten Ávila's cathedral architecture as a crude copy of French models, or to characterize the construction as "lacking planning and stone-cutting knowledge," erases the local creativity that played such a large part in its construction.[378] The need for fortifications in the location of the east end forced the makers to imagine a new type of cathedral that was equally fortress and sacred center thus producing the opportunity to experiment with new architectural forms. Reframing the cathedral in terms of its local context, both historical and material, sheds new light on the complex fabric of this cathedral-fortress.

Local expressions extend to the material chosen for the cathedral's east end. The choir walls of rare autochthonous *piedra sangrante* are imbued with symbolism. Just as red, white, and pink marble evoked the martyrdom of Thomas Becket in the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury, the red and white *piedra sangrante* may recall the blood of Christ, bringing the Passion to the

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[378] Rocío Maira Vidal, *Bóvedas sexpartitas : los orígenes del gótico,* (Ph.D diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2015): 180. She explains the displaced sexpartite supports as "*la falta de planificacion y conocimiento estereotómico*."

threshold of Ávila's cathedral. As wine could transubstantiate into Christ's actual blood, perhaps the bloody red stone had similar spiritual qualities, turning the entire east end of the cathedral into a holy relic, housed within the fortified reliquary of the cathedral-fortress.[379]

In 1914, the *Madrid Gazette* (*Gaceta de Madrid*) published a declaration from the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando announcing that "the complex character that comprises such a distinguished construction, imposes a necessity to study it from a dual artistic-religious and military perspective." [380] Not only does the fortress-like architecture recall a "military perspective," but the *piedra sangrante* construction evokes the violence of war and conquest. The dangerous frontier and militarized role of soldier-clerics are reflected in the blood-like spattered stone walls of the choir and ambulatories. The sacrifice of Ávila's soldier-bishops and knights is imbued in the ferrous dappled walls. By centering the unique *piedra sangrante*, we deepen our understanding of both the religious and militaristic functions of this polyvalent space. Material links the "dual artistic-religious and military perspective" that the *Madrid Gazette* demanded more than 100 years ago.

As is repeated throughout this dissertation, it was specifically local material that expressed both difference and power within Ávila's built environment. The natural geology of Ávila's bioregion is so rich that even while diverse leaders employed different materials in their principal architecture, each material was locally sourced. Locality of material helped root each separate authority to place—to the city, the land, the conquered territory— yet had the flexibility to express distinct structures of authority through specific identifiable types of stone. In the next

[379] Pastoreau, *Red*, 64. Christ's blood as a holy relic appeared in the twelfth century.

[380] Pedro Navascúes Palacio, "Sección de la cabecera de la catedral de Ávila Biblioteca E.T.S. de Arquitectura," Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 111: "*El complejo caracter que ofrece tan insigne fabrica, impone la necesidad de estudiarla en el doble concepto artistico-religioso y militar*." This declaration was written in 1900 after the declaration of Ávila's walls as a National monument in 1884.

chapter, I delve into yet another stone—*piedra caleña*—used in Ávila's built landscape which mirrors the solidarity of Ávila's parochial community.

Part II: Extramural Space

Chapter Three: Expressions of Frontier Ingenuity and Unity: Parish Church Materiality

Introduction

Between the end of the eleventh century, which ushered in the beginning of organized Christian settlement in Ávila, and the early-thirteenth century, no less than twenty-nine churches had been constructed or rebuilt within the emergent city. Today, a fraction of that number survive in varying states of preservation dating from the mid-twelfth century to the beginning of the thirteenth.[381] Most of these smaller churches, both surviving and lost, were parish churches.[382] Additionally, the overwhelming majority of Ávila's smaller churches lay beyond the city walls, breaking with more traditional urban patterns that might expect extramural religious foundations to be monasteries or convents.[383] The outsized prevalence of parish churches in

[381] Previous structures may have existed before the buildings that stand today, as textual sources allude to, however archaeological evidence of earlier construction is largely lacking. This may simply be due to a lack of excavations, or, those earlier constructions may not have been significant ashlar structures to withstand the trials of time. I am inclined to believe the latter, since the absence of monumental remains is conspicuous. As I discuss later, there is only one possible example of monumental remains pre-dating the twelfth century. Also as I discussed in the previous chapter, it seems possible, and in my opinion likely, that before the restructuring of the diocese and stable urban administration and organization, structures were probably rubble built and simply have not survived the nearly one thousand years of intervening time.

[382] I use the term "smaller" churches to apply to the medieval churches in Ávila besides the cathedral. Typically they are referred to as the Romanesque churches, but I am purposefully avoiding stylistic titles. The vast majority of Ávila's medieval sacred Christian landscape was made up of parish churches but there may have also been hermitages, hospitals, or convents. So as not to exclude the few other potential church types, I use "smaller" churches to include all. We do not have foundation documents for any of the city's medieval churches, making their original function hard to discern. According to José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, La Magdalena may have been a convent or hospital, and today is home to Franciscan nuns; Santa Maria la Antigua (or la Vieja) has traditionally been considered a Benedictine monastery. The non-extant San Clemente and re-modelled Sancti Spiritu were monasteries: "Románico y Mudéjar en las Tierras de Avila," in *Ávila*: *enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo VII,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, 39-62, (Aguilar de Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 40-41. The rest of the known Christian monuments were parish churches, therefore only potentially four out of twenty-eight smaller churches were not parish churches. Today many once-parish churches are now hermitages like Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and San Segundo. See also the Church Appendix.

[383] Extramural religious foundations might be expected to be monasteries, but this is not the case in Ávila. In some cases monasteries have also been the catalyst for urban development, for example Santo Domingo de Silos and San Millán de la Cogolla. For more on monasticism in medieval Western Europe, see Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *The Cambridge history of medieval monasticism in the Latin West*, (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Ávila suggests a pronounced significance of the parochial system within the social context of the medieval city. Their placement and material composition are of particular interest because, despite the placement of these churches, whether nestled inside the walls or situated beyond them, the presence of a consistent method of construction is found across nearly all of Ávila's smaller surviving churches. In this chapter, I argue that the uniformity in church construction aligns with and reflects the function of Ávila's parish system as an integrated institution geared towards frontier defense and community solidarity.

Ávila's examples of exceptionally preserved smaller churches, typically referred to as the city's Romanesque churches, have primarily elicited stylistic analysis as the subjects of regional art-historical surveys. One defining characteristic of "*románico Abulense*" laid out in the historiography is the use of the local ochre-pink weathered granite, *piedra caleña*. In fact, the art-historical literature on Ávila's smaller churches has traditionally considered material indicative of architectural style—monuments constructed in *piedra caleña* are classified as Romanesque, while the use of grey granite signifies the transition to Gothic.[384] For example, Gutiérrez Robledo states clearly: "this ochre granite is, in Ávila, also a sign of Romanesque."[385] However, an in-depth examination of stone construction reveals that despite a clear preference for *piedra caleña* in Ávila's smaller twelfth- to thirteenth-century churches, the erodible ochre-pink granite is almost always juxtaposed with robust grey granite, underscoring the fact that Ávila's churches

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[384] This interpretation has been repeated in scholarship, tourism websites, and local architecture guides. The cathedral is also written about in terms of its "Gothic" phases and "Romanesque phases. Additionally, as I investigate in the following chapter, the brick buildings of Ávila province are the subject of separate architectural surveys dedicated to "mudejar" architecture. One exception to this is Rico Camps's excellent monograph on San Vicente which discusses the architectural, art historical, and social history of Ávila's grandest parish church.

[385] José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila," in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41: "Este granito ocre es, también en Ávila, señal del románico."

were not materially homogenous.[386] Relying solely on a stylistic lens to investigate the materials employed in this group of churches is an antiquated approach that does little to advance a broader understanding of collective parish needs and attitudes.

In the following chapter, I break with the conventions of traditional historiography to argue that materials were employed not just for stylistic reasons, but to promote structural integrity in a harsh climate. Simultaneously, the combination of specific granites came to express shared traditions in Ávila's twelfth- and thirteenth-century parochial society. The communal bonds forged through parish membership found a visual manifestation in a cohesive architectural language across Ávila's medieval churches. This visual language is characterized by ingeniously combining *piedra caleña* walls supported by a sturdy grey granite base, reflecting the strata of the quarry itself, in order to guarantee the long endurance of the structure.

To open chapter three, I begin with describing the location of the extant, non-extant, and semi-extant churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in order to set the scene of the medieval city. Recreating the most accurate plan possible of medieval Ávila's urban layout is a critical first step for later analyzing the patterns of material composition across the sacred landscape. Because parish churches served their immediate communities, their locations simultaneously indicate nodes of medieval urban density. In this way, the parochial map displays the extent of urban development, which, in the case of medieval Ávila, was predominantly located outside of the walls. As complement, I chart Ávila's extramural phenomenon, as well as additional points of interest, on a digital map included as an appendix to this dissertation.[387]

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[386] Furthermore, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, the subject of the following chapter, lacks the ochre granite altogether as a structural entity, breaking with the typical pattern and is instead built in brick and grey granite.

[387] The map can be found here: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation.

Parish churches represented loci of religious, social, and as I argue below, miliary life, which extended beyond the walled perimeter.

I continue chapter three with an outline of the functions of parishes throughout medieval Europe and in particular, I argue that Ávila's parishes doubled as militias. Unfortunately, documentation concerning the individual parochial conditions in eleventh- and twelfth-century Ávila are lacking, yet, using comparative material, I argue that parishes also served as militia organization. In a newly founded city, the parish and its physical walls served the community in a myriad of ways, including defensively—parish members together built communal churches and formed militias to defend the city. The resistant granite walls of the parish church acted as the embodiment of the parochial community's unwavering commitment to defensive objectives.

After establishing the parishes' locations and functions, I address the material composition of Ávila's parish churches, focusing specifically on their sophisticated utilization of two varieties of autochthonous granite. Where the previous chapter focused on *piedra sangrante*, this third chapter is dedicated to the other two types of granite from the quarry village of La Colilla— *piedra caleña* and grey granite. Stronger grey granite served as the church foundations, while ashlars of the softer and more workable *piedra caleña* composed the walls and sculpture. The technically specific and resourceful method of incorporating these two granite types not only underscored the durability of church construction, but also showcased a pragmatic understanding of the landscape and its material availability. The churches' material composition align with what Peter Berg has aptly emphasized as a fundamental tenet of a bioregion—an intimate human knowledge of local materials and desire to live in harmony with a region's environmental particularities.[388] Furthermore, a practical approach to construction reinforced a collective

[388] Cheryl Glotfelty, "Introduction," in *The Biosphere and the Bioregion: Essential Writings of Peter Berg Series: Routledge Environmental Humanities*, (Routledge, 2014): 1.

mentality focused on community solidarity that is attested to through textual sources as well. A material analysis provides a fresh lens through which to explore the social bonds fostered by the parish system.

To end chapter three, I return to an argument I made in chapter one that associates the limited parish churches of the internal walled core with Ávila's founding knights. I look at the same urban anomaly of so few intramural churches, but from the extramural perspective. In comparison with other cities founded under similar conditions, Ávila's number of extramural churches is outstanding. [389] Segovia, for example, had only four extramural churches out of twenty-four total between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.[390] Salamanca's twelfth-century *Cerca Nueva* wall excluded ten churches while it included thirty-six.[391] Of Zamora's twenty-four preserved medieval churches, only eight are extramural.[392] I contend that much of the urban development beyond the walls predates the construction of the walls, providing further evidence that the walls' route had not just defensive goals, but also social implications by reinforcing privileged areas and social hierarchies. Furthermore, I also argue that the parish-militia model

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[389] Rico Camps points out that the church density in frontier cities was much higher than that of the urban areas north of the Duero. Daniel Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones),* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1999)*,* 243.

[390] José Antonio Ruiz Hernando, *La arquitectura de ladrillo en la provincia de Segovia, siglos XII y XIII*, (Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1988): 36, 79, 81. These include parish churches, cathedral, and convents.

[391] Nicolás Benet and Ana I. Sánchez Guinaldo, "Urbanismo medieval de Salamanca: ¿ continuidad o reconstrucción?," in *Codex aquilarensis: Cuadernos de investigación del Monasterio de Santa María la Real 15, 1999 (Ejemplar dedicado a: La Península Ibérica y el Mediterráneo entre los siglos XI y XII (III): El urbanismo de los estados cristianos peninsulares*, coordinated by Fernando Valdés Fernández, 119-52, (Fundación Santa María la Real: Centro de Estudios del Románico, 1999): 136.

[392] Teresa Martínez Martínez, "Masons' Marks, Echoes of the Labour Force: Medieval Construction and Workshop Organisation in Zamora, 11th-13th century," PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2023. A comprehensive urban study of extant and non-extant churches in Zamora has yet to be done, however Florián Ferrero Ferrero suggests there may have been as many as seventy between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, see Florián Ferrero Ferrero, "La configuración urbana de Zamora durante la época románica," *Studia Zamorensia* 8, (2008): 9-44.

might account for so many extramural parish churches because on the exterior side of the walls, churches similarly acted as fortified bastions of defense as well.

The Churches

The precise number and type of churches that served Ávila's early Christian settlement remain elusive. Many have been lost to time or only survive through secondary sources. However, using a combination of architectural evidence, textual references, and one graphic source, I have identified twenty-nine churches constructed in the period of Christian settlement between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (see Church Appendix).[393] In contrast, only eleven remain standing today. I have also identified an intermediate group of six "semi-extant" churches which have been rebuilt, but with the exception of one, still occupy their original site. Finally, I have counted twelve other churches that are no longer extant but whose existence is attested to through a variety of sources.

The list of churches is as follows. The eleven extant churches are San Vicente (extramural), San Pedro (extramural), San Andrés (extramural), San Segundo (extramural), Santo Tomé (extramural), San Nicolás (extramural), La Magdalena (extramural), Santa Maria la

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[393] Multiple scholars provide slightly varying lists of churches: Maria Sonsoles del Olmo lists San Martin, San Lazaro, San Vicente, San Andres, San Esteban, San Pedro, La Magdalena, San Pelayo (San Isidro/Isidoro), Catedral San Salvador, San Nicolas, Santo Domingo, Santo Tome, Santa Cruz, San Roman, San Cebrian, San Gil, San Silvestre, and Santiago, in *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE); José María Monsalvo Anton lists the cathedral, San Sebastian (San Segundo), San Bartolome, San Andres, San Vicente, San Silvestre, San Esteban, Santo Domingo, San Juan, Santo Tome, San Gil, San Pedro, Santa Trinidad, Santiago, Santa Cruz, San Nicolas, San Pelayo, San Martin, San Roman, Magdalena, San Marcos, Vacas, San Millan, San Miguel, Nuestra Senora la Vieja, and San Francisco, in "Espacios y poderes en la ciudad medieval. Impresiones a partir de cuatro casos: León, Burgos, Ávila y Salamanca," in *Los espacios de poder en la España medieval. XII Semana de Estudios Medievales,* coordinated by Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte and José-Luis Martín Rodríguez, 97-147, (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2002); The *Enciclopedia del románico* lists San Vicente, San Pedro, San Andres, San Segundo, San Isidoro, San Esteban, Santo Tome el Viejo, San Nicolas, Santa Maria Magdalena, Santo Domingo, San Martin, Sancti Spiritu, the cathedral and also the bishop's palace (*episcopio*), in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002). Luis Ariz includes a list made by the Chapter General of San Benito in 1258: S. Tome, S. Gil, S. Vicēte, San Andres, S. Bartolome, S. Sebastian, S. Iuan, S. domingo, S. Silvestre, S. Esteuā, S. Nicolas, S. Cruz, Sātiago, S. Pedro, La Trinidad, S. Pelayo. Luis Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas de la Ciudad de Ávila*, (Alcalá de Henares: Luys Martínez Grande, 1607).

Antigua (extramural), Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza (extramural), San Esteban (intramural), and the cathedral (intramural). The "semi-extant" list consists of San Juan Bautista (intramural), San Martín (extramural), San Francisco (extramural), Sancti Spiritu (extramural), Santiago (extramural), and San Isidoro (extramural, ruins now located in Retiro Park in Madrid).[394] Finally, the non-extant group, those only attested to in written or graphic sources are San Silvestre (intramural), Santo Domingo (intramural), San Millán (extramural), San Gil (extramural), San Miguel (extramural), Santa Cruz (extramural), San Lázaro (extramural), San Clemente (extramural), San Leonardo (extramural), Santa Trinidad (extramural), San Cebrian (extramural), and San Román (extramural). Some of the locations for these churches are known, while others are still unidentified. Each of these monuments is located on the accompanying digital map with additional annotations outlined in the Church Appendix.

The non-extant group has been established using a combination of primary and secondary sources. The most useful source in identifying Ávila's lost churches has been the *Carta de consignacion de rentas de la diocesis* of Cardenal Gil Torres which lists the rents of nineteen parish churches paid to Ávila's cathedral coffers in 1250.[395] In addition to recording still extant

[394] With the exception of San Isidoro, each of these are still standing in their original location, however they have experienced near complete make overs. San Martin retains a half-brick tower and antique stones, yet much of its fabric was rebuilt in the sixteenth century. Similarly, Sancti Spirtus was totally rebuilt from ruins in the modern era. These examples reused many of the same ashlars and appear medieval, but since their original structure is compromised, I have included them in the "semi-extant" group. I also include San Isidoro, previously San Pelayo, in this list which survives as ruins in Madrid, moved there in 1896. See José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Sobre San Isidoro de Ávila: La iglesia románica y su traslado a Retiro de Madrid," In *Homenaje a Sonsoles Paradinas*, pp. 133-145, coordinated by María Mariné Isidro and Elías Terés Navarro, (Asociación de Amigos del Museo de Ávila, 1998).

[395] Ángel Barrios García, *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII),* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 2004), 146-57, doc. 83, AC, Sección documentos, no. 15. Ávila's parish church rents are on pp. 150-51. Gil includes a list of sixteen churches on pp. 148-49, and another list on pp. 150-51 includes nineteenth parish churches with their rents: Sant Pedro (120), Sancto Thome (30), Sancto Domingo (30), Sant Vicent (50), San Juan (35), Sant Yague (Santiago) (40), Sant Nicholas (30), Sancta Cruz (10), Sant Pelayo (San Isidoro), Sant Estevan (8), Sant Sebastian (later San Segundo) (6), Sant Bartholome (later Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza) (2), Sant Martin (2), Sant Andres (5), Sant Gil (later San Jeronimo) (1/2), Sancta Trinidat (1/2), Sant Silvestre (15), Sant Cebrian, Sant Roman.

churches, this list attests to the existence of Santo Domingo,[396] Santa Trinidad,[397] San Román,[398] and San Cebrian. The parish church of Santa Cruz also appeared in Torres's 1250 document and was additionally recorded in the *Becerro de Visitaciones de Casas y Heredades de la Catedral de Avila*, a 1303 census of the cathedral's landholdings.[399] San Millán is recorded alongside the still extant churches of San Vicente, San Juan Bautista, San Pedro, and San Martín in a document dating to 1103, discussed further below.[400] Moreover, San Millán also appears in the aforementioned *Becerro* in relation to another lost church, San Gil: "In the street from San Millán to San Gil."[401]

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[396] Santo Domingo was demolished in 1947 to make room for the Academia de Intendencia and some of the stones were reused in the church of the Inmaculado Corazon de María including capitals that later ended up in the church of Las Gordillas. There are also two capitals in the Palace of Superunda-Caprotti, ashlars in the Asocio building, and a piece of molding in the city hall that originated from Santo Domingo, see *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, 201-02. The Academia de Intendencia is adjoined to the Palacio de Polentinos which is today a museum and location of the Archivo General Militar (Military archives) of Ávila. The 1954 rediscovery of Santo Domingo's once-lost consecration stone includes the foundation date of 1208, one of very few examples of a recorded date for any of Ávila's medieval heritage. This inscription is now held in the Museo Provincial of Ávila, see *Cien piezas del museo de Ávila*, 57. The book is available online here: https://en.calameo.com/read/0006369550114fd9e75ed (last consulted 30 Sept 2021).

[397] Santa Trinidad was demolished in 1837 in order to use its material to strengthen wall fortifications in the midst of the Carlist wars, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudejar," 41.

[398] In 1803 there were still mentions of the church's fountain. Today it no longer exists but Gutiérrez Robledo and Sonsoles del Olmo locate it in the south of the city near San Nicolás and Santiago, perhaps at the Plaza de la Feria, Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion*, 60; Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudejar," 41.

[399] Santa Cruz disappeared in 1769, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudejar," 40. The *Becerro* has been edited by Ángel Barrios García, *Becerro de visitaciones de casas y heredades de la Catedral de Ávila,* (*Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba*, 2007).

[400] This document is found in the *Becerro Galiciano of San Millán de la Cogolla* (c. 1195), a digitized copy can be found through the University of Pais Vasco here: https://www.ehu.eus/galicano/?l=es. The Colegio de San Millán, which would later become the Seminary of Ávila, annexed the houses belonging to the church in the late sixteenth century, however today the Seminary has moved and now shares a location with the Archivo Diocesano on Avenida de la Inmaculado. "Historia," Seminario de Ávila San Juan de la Cruz y Santa Teresa Blog, published 17 November 2010, http://seminarioavila.blogspot.com/2012/02/historia.html; Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion*, 88.

[401] Barrios García, *Becerro*, 28. "En la calle de Sant Millán a Sant Gil con barrio de Sant Gil." A plaza and street still attest to the existence of San Millán.

The oft-cited *Crónica* makes remarkably few references to Ávila's churches, yet there are three clear ecclesial mentions: San Silvestre, San Clemente, and San Leonardo.[402] San Silvestre appears in the *Crónica* with reference to the tomb of an important knight.[403] San Clemente is mentioned in reference to donations of wheat made to the female masters of the monastery in return for privileges: "they were given to the ladies of San Clemente of Ávila in exchange for privileges."[404] Finally, San Leonardo is attested to in the *Crónica* when the city honors San Leonardo on his saint's day: "they went to San Leonardo on pilgrimage."[405]

In addition to the aforementioned textual sources, the sixteenth-century painting of Ávila by the Flemish court painter, Anton van den Wyngaerde, corroborates the existence of San Leonardo and similarly attests to an extramural San Lázaro, in addition to other still extant churches (Figure 76).[406] Finally, the hermitage of San Miguel is attested to in a 1278 document and while the church has since been destroyed, it still appeared on an 1864 map of Ávila (Figure

[402] On San Leonardo: "yuan a sant Leonardo en rromeria" (*they went to San Leonardo on pilgrimage*), see, Gomez Moreno, "La crónica," 22/32. See also Vila da Vila, *Repoblación,* 144. "yuan" is "iban." On San Clemente: "fueron dados a las dueñas de Sanct Clemente de Ávila por previllejios" (they were given to the ladies of San Clemente of Ávila in exchange for privileges), see, Gomez Moreno, "La crónica," 16/26. See also Barrios, "Documentación del Monasterio de San Clemente de Adaja (siglos XIII-XV)," *Cuadernos abulenses* 1 (1984): 91-135. This quote is in reference to donations of wheat that were made to the female masters of the monastery in return for privileges.

[403] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 20/30. The *Crónica* refers to the tomb of a certain Çorraquin Sancho in San Silvestre, "E este Çorraquin Sancho yaze en san Silvestre en la mas onrrada sepultura." See also, Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," 109n71. San Silvestre was later converted into the Convento del Carmen Calzado in 1378, and in 1852 it became a provincial prison. Today the Archivo Histórico Provincial, located there since 1999, stands on the site. See Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 20/30; Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudejar," 41. The archive's website gives the alternate date of 1361 as the foundation of the Convent: "Historia del Archivo," Archivo Histórico Provincial, Junta de Castilla y León, https://archivoscastillayleon.jcyl.es/web/es/nuestros-archivos/avila/historia.html (accessed 13 March 2023).

[404] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 16/26: "fueron dados a las dueñas de Sanct Clemente de Ávila por previllejios."

[405] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 22/32: "yuan a sant Leonardo en rromeria."

[406] Wyngaerde's painting, which dates to 1570, is reproduced in Richard L. Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van Den Wyngaerde*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 356-58. Wyngaerde's legend reads "San Lorente," which is an alternate version of "San Leonardo."

77).[407] Furthermore, a street named San Miguel still remains in use in the city just north of the large surviving parish church of San Pedro.

The vast majority of Ávila's sacred Christian structures were parish churches (twenty out of twenty-nine, or 70%). The exact function or type of all of Ávila's Christian buildings is unknown, however four may have been monasteries or convents (14%), and Gutiérrez Robledo identifies three hermitages (10%). There was one potential hospital, and, of course, the cathedral.[408]

While parish churches were the most abundant type of sacred architecture in Ávila, the city was also home to multiple synagogues and mosques during the same medieval period. At least four known mosques were documented from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, although there were likely several predating the late-medieval period as well.[409] Similarly, at least five synagogues appear in Ávila's written sources, while physical remains are now lost.[410] Unfortunately, due to iconoclastic acts, erasure, as well as issues of survival, none of these survive today. The temples were just one aspect of the rich communities of ethnic minorities in

[407] Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion*, 62; Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudejar," 41. Unfortunately these authors don't provide additional information about this 1278 document and I have been unable to locate it myself. The 1864 map was drawn by Francisco Coello.

[408] See Church Appendix. I follow Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar," 40-41: La Magdalena may have been a convent or hospital; Santa Maria la Antigua (or la Vieja) has traditionally been considered a Benedictine monastery; the non-extant San Clemente and re-modelled Sancti Spiritu were monasteries. The rest of the known Christian monuments were parish churches, therefore it is clear is that parish churches were the overwhelming majority in medieval Ávila.

[409] See the digital map and Map Appendix accompanying this dissertation for a list, entries, and locations of these non-extant structures. The documented mosques include Almagid de la Villa, Almagid de la Solana, Almagid de la Alquibla, and Almajid Nuevo.

[410] See the digital map and Map Appendix accompanying this dissertation for a list, entries, and locations of these non-extant structures. The documented synagogues include that of Don Samuel, Belforade, Lomo, and Calandrín, see Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Excma. Diputación Provincial de Avila, Instituto" Gran Duque de Alba", 1963); Blas Cabrera González, Jesús Caballero Arribas, and Jorge Díaz de la Torre, "El cementerio judío medieval de 'la Encarnación'en Ávila." *Sefarad* 73, no. 2 (2013): 309-38; Serafín de Tapia, "Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsion," *Sefarad* 57, no. 1 (1997): 135-78.

Ávila during the medieval and early modern period who also owned a significant portion of urban property and ran mercantile industries. The Museum of Ávila holds in its collection a number of tomb stones with Arabic and Hebrew writing originating from Islamic and Jewish cemeteries, however there is little more surviving cultural heritage that attests to these populations. Therefore, architectural analysis is limited to the Christian realm, although, as I discuss in the following chapter, Jews and Muslims played an integral role in architectural production and Ávila's medieval society more broadly.[411]

Church Chronology

Like the city walls and cathedral, dating of the city's churches is inexact. However, in order to reconstruct the most accurate picture of urban Ávila between the late-eleventh and thirteenth centuries, establishing a timeframe of construction is critical to establish where churches were located and when, and to formulate a relative timeline showing which monuments predated others. Church chronologies rely mostly on stylistic comparisons which have been conducted most recently and most thoroughly by María Margarita Vila da Vila. Her analysis compares sculpture from San Pedro and San Vicente of Ávila, the two most heavily sculpted churches—in a city which notably lacks significant sculptural decoration—to the collegiate churches of Santillana del Mar, San Martín de Elines, and Cervatos in the north of the peninsula.[412] This comparison has enabled her to split Ávila's surviving twelfth- to thirteenth-century churches into two groups, a classification which I follow in my own analysis.

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[411] In fact, based on tax contributions to the Crown of Castile, Ávila's population of Muslims as well as Jews, was one of the largest in Castile, at least by the fourteenth century. Ruiz shows the significant economic contributions that Muslims and Jews made to the city of Ávila throughout the medieval and early modern periods. For example, religious minorities were major actors within Ávila's "urban real estate market," accounting for owning nearly 75% of properties sold to ecclesiastics c. 1300, see Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 230, 240.

[412] María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999): 92; *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León,* 181. For more on

The first group dates to about 1125-1160 and includes the largest and more ornate examples: San Vicente, San Pedro, and San Andrés, as well as the smaller San Segundo, San Esteban, and San Isidoro, now in Madrid. The latter group dates to after c.1150 and includes Santo Tomé, San Nicolás, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, Santa María la Antigua (la Vieja), San Martín, and La Magdalena. Of this group, several examples do not preserve their original fabric in their entirety, complicating chronological and architectural analysis. Santa María la Antigua retains only fragments from its original construction. The heavily restored La Magdalena, today part of an active monastery, preserves only a north portal and eastern apse, and San Martín, whose tower likely dates to the fourteenth century, was completely rebuilt in 1705.[413] For my own analysis, I have categorized San Martín as semi-extant.

Stylistic analysis is useful since written records relating to church chronology are so scarce, nevertheless, a few church inscriptions provide useful bookends for church dating. In the early-seventeenth century Luis Ariz recorded a handful of inscribed consecrations stones: one from San Bartolomé (now Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza) recording the year 1210; one from San Nicolás which records an 1198 consecration date; and one from San Isidoro, consecrated in 1232, providing potential chronological information for otherwise unknown dates.[414] Finally, the

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sculpture see Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica,* whose survey includes extensive appendices of all extant architectural sculpture. More research still needs to be done to investigate sculptural workshops in medieval Ávila.

[413] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 171-72. The interior of San Martín appears as if the rebuilders tried to stay true to the original form which is similar to its nearby neighbor, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. Interestingly, San Martín includes wall paintings on the eastern wall on either aisle that share stylistic similarities with the twelfth-century murals at San Baudelio de Berlanga, which might call into the question the accepted extent or date of reconstruction of this church. Moreover, these amazing pieces of art have not been academically studied, likely in part because this church is rarely open to the public.

[414] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 144, 176. Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* primera parte, 37; 36. Ariz writes, "In honorem S. Nicholaii dedicavit hanc Ecclesiam iacobus Abulensis Episcopus in qua venerantur. Recondite de Reliquis eiusdem S. & gloriossisime Virginis Mariae atq; sepulcri Domini nostril & S. Martine, & S. Ilarii, & S. Ceciliae. 6. Calend. Novembris, era. 1236;" "In honorem S. Bartholomei Aposto, dedicavit hanc Ecclesiam Petrus, in qua venerantur recondire de reliquiis eiusdem santi, & sancta Lucie, & sancta Xisti, Iusti & Pastoris, Valentini, Pancratii vite, & modesti .7. idus decembris. Era 1248. Año. 1210;" "In honorem S. Maria, Deo Christi, Pelagio

consecration stone from the non-extant church of Santo Domingo survives in the Museo de Ávila and records the date 1208, even though the church's fabric was demolished in the twentieth century (Figure 78).[415] These few recorded dates are all we have to corroborate stylistic and archaeological analysis. Stylistic analysis coupled with scant consecration inscriptions suggests that the construction of Ávila's small urban churches spanned about eighty-five years between 1125 and 121, but only began to take shape in earnest after the re-establishment of the diocese c. 1120 as the city's organization stabilized and population increased.[416]

While none of the current buildings predate the mid-twelfth century, evidence shows a more ancient history for several churches based on an inscription from 1065 as well as one document dating to 1103. An inscription from a door at San Isidro de León records the translation of the relics of the early Christian martyrs Vincent, Sabina, and Cristeta from San Vicente of Ávila to San Isidoro de León. The inscription tells us the event occurred on 10 May 1065, suggesting that an earlier iteration of the parish church of San Vicente pre-dated the current building.[417] The *Becerro Galiciano of San Millán de la Cogolla* includes a donation made to the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla and testifies to the existence of the churches of San Millán, San Vicente, San Juan Bautista, San Pedro, and San Martín in Ávila in 1103.[418]

Ipseme Pedro Abulense quedamq; varones vere Christiani confirmavit atq; consecravit Ecclesiamq; Reducta est Isidorum, Chalendis nobēbris. Era. 1270. año. 1232."

[415] See above. *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, 201-02; *Cien piezas del museo de Ávila*, 57.

[416] The early diocesan history of Ávila is murky, however it appears that Jeronimo, bishop of Salamanca, also had jurisdiction over Ávila and Zamora from 1103 until his death in 1120, at which time both cities gained ecclesiastical independence, Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 358-60.

[417] Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 29. This translation and the appearance of the relics in other religious institutions are also referred to in a handful of other documents. For example the *Primera Crónica General* also records this translation event and describes Ávila as "depopulated and barren" at this time, Barrios, *Estructuras*, 119.

[418] This document is found in the *Becerro Galiciano of San Millán de la Cogolla* (c. 1195), its opening text reads: "De ecclesia Sancti Emiliani cum aldeas in Avila et in Socovia. Sub nomine Christi redemptoris nostri. Nos, omnes de civitate Avila, una concordia collatione de sancti Vincenti et de sancti Iohannis et de sancti Petri et de sancti

While the aforementioned written records show earlier church foundations for a hand full of Ávila's parishes, the surviving church fabric of each dates to a later period.

The Parish in Ávila

The parish system that guided the construction of so many of Ávila's churches offers insight into the medieval urban layout as well as the societal norms of the medieval city's Christian population. Because parish churches were the most common type of sacred architecture in the city, both inside and outside of the walls, in order to understand the city and its architecture, one must first understand parochial functions in medieval Castile and Europe more broadly.

With a church at its center, parishes were a geographical unit or neighborhood, serving the immediate community in their environs. Parishes served both lay and religious members and were funded through tithes. They held baptismal and burial rights, were able to give sacraments, and were the locus of religious instruction for the local community.[419] Fernando López Alsina identifies five specific characteristics necessary for what he calls a "classic parish": a community of faithful parishioners, the overseeing of a bishop, a sacred building as a spiritual and liturgical base of Christian worship, borders delimiting individual parish neighborhoods, and the obligation of the faithful to pay tithes.[420] In addition, parishes were also an organizing body, aiding in town administration and military organization, as discussed further below.

Martini, et omnes collaciones, placuit nobis et donamus ecclesia vocata Sancti Emiliani, cum introitus et exitus, et pastum armenta nobiscum, ad honorem Sancti Emiliani de Cercio, ubi corpus beatus est tumulatus." This text is published online here: http://www.ehu.eus/galicano/id485&l=en&tmp=1587155429503 (Last consulted 1 June 2021).

[419] Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish. Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012): 2.

[420] Fernando López Alsina, "La reforma eclesiástica y la generalización de un modelo de parroquia actualizado," in *La Reforma Gregoriana y su proyección en la cristiandad occidental: siglos XI-XII. XXXII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 18 a 22 de julio de 2005*, 421-50 (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006), 423. He argues that

In Ávila, the specific details concerning the foundation of each parish and its church building are unknown. In fact, the overall nature of the parish system in the whole of *Extremadura Castellana* is largely hypothesis. However, textual clues, surviving architecture, and comparative study allows us to imagine what parochial life may have looked like in medieval Ávila. Likely, many of the city's parishes were formed when settlers moved into the emerging city post-Christian conquest. The *Crónica* describes Ávila's founders and early settlers as regional groups hailing from elsewhere on the peninsula, as detailed in chapter one. As they arrived, they settled in a particular neighborhood and likely built a church to serve their nuclear group. Some of Ávila's churches appear to be more ancient, potentially predating organized Christian settlement c. 1088, including San Vicente, San Juan Bautista, San Pedro, San Martín, and non-extant San Millán, which are attested to in the aforementioned sources from 1065 and 1103. However, a formalized organized parish structure likely did not come to dominate the city until the later twelfth or thirteenth century, especially after the reinstitution of the diocese c. 1120.[421]

As described above, there is very little evidence to elucidate detailed parish church history in Ávila beyond the architectural fabric of the surviving buildings. For example, there is but one surviving consecration plaque from the lost intramural church of Santo Domingo which

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specifically this "classic parish" type began to emerge as a result of, the Gregorian reforms. See also, María José Lop Otín, "Los estudios sobre la vida parroquial castellana. Una aproximación desde la Edad Media," in *Castilla y el mundo feudal: homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, vol. 3, coordinated by María Isabel del Val Valdivieso and Pascual Martínez Sopena, 525-40, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, Universidad de Valladolid, 2009), 526.

[421] Juan Luis de la Montaña Conchiña describes the vague and slow development of the parish system in the Castilian Extremadura: "Iglesia y repoblación. la red parroquial de la transierra extremeña (1142-1350)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 28 (1998): 857-73. Fernando López Alsina includes "overseeing of a bishop" as a requirement for the parish system, therefore a formal system likely did not take hold until after the diocese was stable in Ávila c. 1120. Additionally, the English parish system, which has been well-studied, has been shown that it did not firmly develop until the mid-twelfth century, until which point local churches may have been structured around a "minster model," see Megan Bernstein, "Civil Service: English Parochial Architecture, 1150-1300," (PhD diss., UCLA, 2019), esp. chap 1.

says “Peter [Pedro], Bishop of Ávila, consecrated this church in honor of Santo Domingo the confessor, where the relics of the holy martyrs Justo and Pastor, San Sebastian, and Saint Sixtus, Pope, rest, on the Ides of April, in the year 1246 [1208].”[422] This inscription highlights the scant surviving information about Ávila’s parish churches—the bishop is named, along with the relics the church housed, and the year of consecration (which is not necessarily synonymous with construction), but no mention of patrons or community members is recorded. The principal documentary source we have about Ávila’s parish churches is the aforementioned list from Cardenal Gil Torres which provides the amount of rent each parish paid to the cathedral in 1250. This is invaluable data, however, any details about parishioners or patrons again are excluded. Despite little evidence, Monsalvo Antón has estimated that about 2-5% of the population of medieval Castilian cities were made up of Christian ecclesiastics, and in Ávila, he calculates there were thirty to forty parish clerics around 1300.[423] Despite a historical lacuna, we can confirm that parish churches made up the majority of Ávila’s sacred medieval landscape, suggesting an important, potentially outsized, role in society.

Parish Communities

In many ways, the basis of Christian society in medieval Ávila was likely rooted in the parish system. Each parish developed into a tight-knit community and likely functioned as a hub of religious, social, and as I will show, military life. The parish system was one of the main organizing structures of medieval Christian European society. Parishioners were often tasked with maintaining aspects of the church building in addition to attending liturgical functions and

[422] *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, 202. Now held in the Museo Provincial of Ávila, see *Cien piezas del museo de Ávila*, 57: “Consegró esta iglesia Pedro, obispo abulense, en honor de Santo Domingo confessor, donde descansan las reliquias de los santos martires Justo y Pastor, San Sebastian y San Sixto, Papa y martir en la era de MCCXLVI, idus de abril.”

[423] Monsalvo Antón, "Espacios y poderes en la ciudad medieval,” 132, 132n83. His study compares Salamanca, León, Burgos, and Ávila, thus his information relates to these four cities only.

paying tithes. Thus, members of a given parish needed to and learned to organize to administer and fundraise for these needs.[424] The large number of parish churches constructed in Ávila demonstrates the importance of parochial life in the social contours of the medieval Christian city.

The traditions and patterns generated through communal parish organizing helped develop social bonds beyond religious life. Katherine L. French explains, "the desire for salvation that could be advanced through involvement in the church was infused with the desire to honor the traditions of the particular parish."[425] French argues that in this way parishes constituted a *community*, that is an association brought together through the formation of a group mentality, collective traditions, and social interaction.[426] She builds off of ideas developed by Miri Rubin and Gary Shaw who argued against an outdated idea that defined community as a homogenous "special interest group;" instead, "communities reflect a process of social interaction directed at common goals," an attitude very present within Ávila which I elaborate on throughout this chapter.[427]

María José Lop Otín laments the lack of monographic studies on parish life in medieval Spain overall, yet several regional histories investigate the evolution of local religious institutions which shed light on the varying contexts that led to parish development across the

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[424] Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish*, 20.

[425] French, *The People of the Parish*, 21.

[426] French, *The People of the Parish*, 21-22.

[427] French, *The People of the Parish*, 21. See also, Miri Rubin, "Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages," in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England,* edited by Jennifer Kermode, 132-50, (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1991); David Gary Shaw, *The Creation of a Community: The City of Wells in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

peninsula.[428] In most cases in medieval Iberia, it appears as if a parish system developed out of preexisting religious collectives. In Galicia, for example, around the tenth century, groups of rural inhabitants surrounding *villas* began to pool tithes to support local rural churches. By 1100, influenced by the Gregorian reforms, power was transferred from community hands to those of the bishops and monasteries.[429] José Ángel García de Cortázar explains that elsewhere in northern Iberia, in the valleys of the Basque Country, Asturias, and Cantabria, the parish grew out of a division of land dedicated to agriculture around the middle of the twelfth century. Family groups of farmers created population nuclei which typically built a church often dependent on a larger monastery, and with time, albeit slowly in these isolated mountainous regions, the parish took on other organizing roles of a more political nature.[430] In Catalonia, parish development seems to have been stimulated by magnates and knights interested in controlling territory, its inhabitants, and their tithes.[431] Late-tenth-century to early-eleventh-century documents from the region of León reveal a church community associated with regulating mercantile activity, demonstrating the beginnings of parish social organization beyond purely religious needs.[432] Though spurred for different reasons, parochial life across the peninsula had broad implications for social, economic, and agricultural development in the Middle Ages.

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[428] María José Lop Otín, "Los estudios sobre la vida parroquial castellana," 527. She notes the lopsided focus on bishops, chapters, monasteries, or military orders at the expense of parish research, and also, that other European countries have more studies on the topic.

[429] Pascual Martínez Sopena, "La Reforma de la Iglesia y las comunidades campesinas: León y Castilla en el siglo xi," in *A. Dierkens, N. Schroeder et A. Wilkin (dir.), Penser la paysannerie médiévale, un défi impossible*: 347-61. Online version, 6.

[430] José Ángel García de Cortázar Ruiz de Aguirre, "Espacio y hombre en la España norteña en la Edad Media," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 6 (1987): 71-72.

[431] Sopena, "La Reforma de la Iglesia," 5, online version.

[432] Sopena, "La Reforma de la Iglesia," 8, online version

Juan Luis de la Montaña Conchiña has highlighted the prominent role parochial organization held in colonizing lands conquered by Christians on the Iberian peninsula—a context which applies to Ávila.[433] He notes that after conquest, sparsely populated, ill-defined territory became regulated and systematized through the establishment of the diocesan map and its parochial dependencies.[434] While a more concentrated history of Ávila's parish establishment has yet to be written, using other Iberian and European comparisons, it is possible to hypothesize that parishes, with their churches at the center, served as the locus of social life for Ávila's Christian inhabitants. The sheer number of parish churches in Ávila suggests that their buildings and their potential for organizing were an especially significant aspect of Christian society in the emerging city, especially considering every Christian in Ávila would have belonged to a parish.

The parish church, as the locus of community activity, was a crucial element in the non-religious functions of daily life. Castilian churches have long been the subject of studies concerning their additional functions. For example, mercantile, administrative, judicial, or government assemblies took place on church property in medieval Castile, showing that sacred space could and often did double as lay community centers. Isidro Bango Torviso's seminal article on Romanesque porches identifies the myriad functions of porches as burial zones, auxiliary liturgical spaces, or areas of leisure ("*lugar de esparcimiento*"), in addition to their role as administrative or judicial meeting points.[435] José Arturo Salgado Pantoja points out that by the

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[433] de la Montaña Conchiña, "Iglesia y repoblación," 857.

[434] de la Montaña Conchiña, "Iglesia y repoblación," 858-59.

[435] Isidro G. Bango Torviso, "Atrio y pórtico en el Románico español: concepto y finalidad cívico-litúrgica," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología:* BSAA, tomo 40-41, 1975: 181-83. Bango argues that the latter function was expressly prohibited in the twelfth century, and it was not until the thirteenth century that covered porches took on an additional secular character. See also, José Arturo Salgado Pantoja, *Pórticos románicos en las tierras de Castilla,* (Fundación Santa María la Real Centro de Estudios del Románico: 2014).

thirteenth century, the secular use of covered porches was in fact common place.[436] For example, jurors in Jaca convened at the church of San Pedro in 1223; judges in Zamora routinely met at the portal of Santa María Magdalena according to a 1208 document;[437] a document from 1260 Segovia was signed at the portal of San Martín ("*esta carta fue hecha en el portegado de Sant Martin*");[438] and the 1238 *fuero* of Navarre makes clear that legal cases should take place at the threshold of the church ("*portegado de la glesia* [sic]").[439] While Ávila's extant parish churches lack the arcaded covered porches so typical in Segovia or Soria, that does not preclude the possibility that exterior, or even interior, church space functioned as a secular meeting area as well.[440] In fact, Monsalvo Antón suggests that San Juan Bautista was the meeting point of Ávila's *concejo*, either inside or at the church's exterior.[441]As outlined in chapter two, the cathedral blurred the lines between sacred and civil space and similarly, Ávila's parish churches likely offered much more than religious salvation as well.

Religious institutions served secular needs as well. This is a critical point, because as I will argue below, Ávila's parish system also doubled as militia organization. Acting as a law court, a market, or a town hall epitomizes the additional role of parish church grounds as community centers—they were the ideal location for community members to meet and discuss

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[436] José Arturo Salgado Pantoja, "Las dimensiones simbólica y funcional de la galería porticada románica," *Codex aquilarensis: Cuadernos de investigación del Monasterio de Santa María la Real* 26 (2010): 40.

[437] Bango Torviso, "Atrio y pórtico en el Románico español," 182.

[438] Salgado Pantoja, "Las dimensiones simbólica," 41n48.

[439] Salgado Pantoja, "Las dimensiones simbólica," 43.

[440] San Vicente's narthex is the only covered area of one of Ávila's medieval parish churches; its covered south porch was added later. Salgado Pantoja's survey of covered porches of Castilian churches only describes one example in the entire province of Ávila, that of San Martín in Arévalo, compared to dozens in Segovia, Soria, and Guadalajara.

[441] Monsalvo Antón, "Espacios y poderes en la ciudad medieval," 139n104.

the most important societal issues and current events. The social life of the parish is well-documented in a fascinating 1379 text from Lancashire parish in Walton, England. The text records the attendants of a baptism and their reason for being at the church which included to hear mass, to buy corn, to watch a cockfight, to meet someone, and to hear news from overseas.[442] Medieval parish churches were sacred public forums that physically offered protection from harsh weather and encouraged social mingling that resulted in the development of collective values, social bonds, and shared traditions.

Parish Militias

The ability of parishes to also function as the basis of militia organization may account for the high density of parish churches in Ávila's urban landscape. Ávila's cathedral also functioned as a fortress mimicking the military role of its clerics; in a parallel way, the parish system with a church at its center, simulated a company of soldiers. Parish churches were built to serve the souls of their local community as well as, in some newly-conquered territories, and as I argue in Ávila, to act as the organizational structure for local militias.

Militia organization often corresponded to the neighborhoods within a particular city or town. Depending on the individual city, these districts followed slightly different structures and went by different names including *collación*, *sexmo*, *barrio*, and sometimes *parroquia*, or parish.[443] For example, the *fuero* of Cuenca refers to militia districts as parishes (*parroquias*).[444] In this way, the position and rank of an individual militia member was decided by where he lived in addition to what equipment he owned. As James F. Powers explains, a soldier "fought

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[442] French, *The People of the Parish*, 1.

[443] Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers," 649.

[444] Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers," 649.

alongside his neighbors in time of war."[445] While Ávila's documentary sources do not definitively connect parish and militia, the aforementioned 1103 donation document from San Millán de la Cogolla explicitly refers to the "*collaciones*" of each of Ávila's listed churches: "*Nos, omnes de civitate Avila, una concordia collatione de sancti Vincenti et de sancti Iohannis et de sancti Petri et de sancti Martini, et omnes collaciones*."[446] Such rhetoric might be referring to the broader parish community associated with each church, not the "*iglesia*" alone.

The circumstances of settling Ávila required a streamlined system to organize new arrivals efficiently on the conquered land, both in order to settle it and defend it. Powers illustrated how the urban layout of a newly-conquered city was closely linked to the military organization of the city.[447] In some cases land allotments were used to organize militias—conquering knights were granted property in the territory they conquered, especially in strategic positions.[448] Such land allotments, in addition to other land distribution systems, in turn resulted in an urban makeup of various interrelated yet independent martial districts which were then called upon to assemble troops when battle was required. Similarly, I argue that the proliferation of parish churches in Ávila reflected a need to organize an influx of militarized inhabitants.

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[445] Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers," 649. Powers explains that the owning of a horse was of major importance here too, if he owned a horse he fought in the cavalry of his neighborhood/parish militia, if he did not, then he was a foot soldier.

[446] This document is found in the *Becerro Galiciano of San Millán de la Cogolla* and is published online here: http://www.ehu.eus/galicano/id485&l=en&tmp=1587155429503 (Last consulted 1 June 2021). *"Omnes de civitate"* is reference to the *concejo*, see chapter one of this dissertation which describes early *concejo* activity including making communal donations to monasteries, see Carlé, "Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés," 29.

[447] Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers," 648.

[448] Powers, "Townsmen and Soldiers," 647-48. Powers's study depends on later thirteenth-century conquests including Cáceres and Seville, noting that earlier law codes are devoid of mentions of land divisions, however it can be assumed that the system adopted in Cáceres and Seville would have had precedents in other places, especially considering booty was distributed in a similar way.

I theorize that as the settlers established themselves in their respective districts, those districts simultaneously represented a parish *and* militia. While documents do not explicitly describe a parish-militia organization in Ávila, the abundance of parish architecture suggests a system like the one recorded in Cuenca may have been present in Ávila as well. This system could account for Ávila's high ratio of parish churches (70%) compared to other types of sacred Christian architecture in the city. Not only would this explain the majority parish churches in the broader sacred landscape of medieval Christian Ávila, but the considerable number of them—twenty-nine inside a radius of approximately only 1.5 km2.[449] As I further expand on in Part III of this chapter, the location of parish churches in Ávila's urban landscape also indicated population density. As settlers made their homes in specific neighborhoods, they built churches that also served as the center of religious, social, and military life. The parish community doubling as militia also supports the construction of fortified churches in medieval Iberia more broadly—soldiers prayed together and fought together, defending the city, but also their parish.

Though unprotected by the city walls, the extramural location of so many parish churches may also in part be explained by the militarized organization of its respective parish. González Jiménez has argued that Ávila and other cities in the *Extremadura Castellana* made up a "system of defense" for the Castilian frontier to protect against raiding armies.[450] On a smaller scale, I argue that Ávila's parish churches managed by their soldier-parishioners made up a "system of defense" within the urban center. The fortified elements of many of Ávila's parish churches have

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[449] I calculated this number using google maps. This includes both intramural and extramural space, bounded by the extramural churches.

[450] Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350)," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by Angus MacKay and Robert Bartlett, (Clarendon Press, 1989), 54. Cf. chapter two.

not gone unnoticed in scholarship.[451] Thick walls, narrow window slits, and tall towers, particularly at San Vicente, led Daniel Rico Camps to argue that the extramural parish church functioned as a "third line" of defense for urban protection in conjunction with the city walls and natural geology.[452] In this way, the well-defended parish-militia churches ensured that the walls need not protect them, they were independently guarded by their own community-at-arms. To return to French's quote above, "the desire to honor the traditions of the particular parish" was a motivating factor of medieval Christian life which also meant defending the city.[453] Protecting the city was synonymous with protecting the parish.

Piedra Caleña in Parish Church Architecture

I argue below that the near ubiquitous construction method that utilizes stronger grey granite in church foundations was equally reflective of the need for structural integrity and a shared defensive duty of Ávila's parish-militias. Of the eleven surviving urban churches in Ávila, seven share a distinct composition of clear grey granite foundations supporting *piedra caleña* walls.[454] The series of case studies I include below illustrates a material coherence—a combination of *piedra caleña* and grey granite—across Ávila's urban churches regardless of

[451] I cite these studies in chapter two as well: Isidro Bango Torviso, *Edificos e imagenes medievales,* (Temas de Hoy: 1995); Isidro Bango Torviso, "El verdadero significado del aspecto de los edificios: De lo simbólico a la realidad funcional, la Iglesia encastillada," *Anuario del departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (1998): 53-72.

[452] Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila,* 222.

[453] French, *The People of the Parish*, 21.

[454] San Andrés, San Nicolás, San Pedro, San Segundo, and Santo Tomé all contain very clear and robust grey granite foundations, especially visible from the exterior. San Esteban has some, as I discuss more below, but later interventions make it difficult to read the original fabric of the church. La Magdalena's apse supposedly has a grey granite foundation, but I have not seen it for myself since it is part of a modern convent without public access. San Vicente conspicuously does not have grey granite foundations in its construction, although a porch and other post-medieval additions are erected in grey granite. Santa Maria la Antigua and San Isidoro, both of which only exist in ruined form, do not retain any grey granite foundations. Sancti Spiritu is all grey granite, and has been completely rebuilt, but potentially with many reused ashlars from its original construction. Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is majority brick but with a significant grey granite apse, a unique composition within the city discussed at length in the following chapter.

location. While each parish building was unique in its own way, the near conformity in material and construction techniques shows a relative standardization across Ávila's medieval urban churches that mirrors collective solidarity and promotes community bonds.[455]

The majority of Ávila's surviving medieval churches favor, but do not exclusively employ, *piedra caleña,* a weathered granite subtype hailing from the quarry village of La Colilla inside Ávila's bioregion. *Piedra caleña* is characterized by a pinkish-orange or ochre coloration caused by an accumulation of iron oxide in the stone. *Piedra caleña* lies in an intermediary layer of the quarry, below its red and white cousin, *piedra sangrante,* discussed in chapter two. These two weathered granites, along with the sturdier grey granite, each have distinct properties but were all sourced from the same location. The deeper quarry vein of *piedra caleña* experienced less paleoweathering and thus contains less iron oxide than the bleeding stone type, creating its distinct orangish-pink appearance rather than the deep red marbled surface of *piedra sangrante* (Figure 66).[456] The weakened structure of *piedra caleña* granite makes it a more workable rock. Its soft properties create a highly sculptable stone, but also ensure it is more susceptible to damage by the elements, producing potential structural problems in *caleña*-built architecture and necessitating the implementation of sturdier foundations. Before examining the case studies that illustrate the consistent and resourceful ways the different granites were employed in church architecture, I first disrupt the common-held assumption that medieval Ávila's parochial environment was one of material homogeneity.

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[455] There is one glaring outlier—Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza—the subject of the final chapter.

[456] To refresh, these weakened but colorful granites became this way through a mysterious weathering event millions of years ago. Because of this, the La Colilla granites exist in an intermediate stage of erosion between granite and sandstone. Cf. Introduction.

Despite the fact that this group of preserved churches is more commonly identified with the use of *piedra caleña,* the city's urban churches are better defined by combining two distinct local granites to promote structural longevity. The city's twelfth- to thirteenth-century architectural landscape was defined not by a singular material, as the historiography would lead us to believe, but by combining stone types in practical and conscientious ways. In most of Ávila's urban churches, two types of stone, *piedra caleña* and grey granite*,* were employed simultaneously but not interchangeably. The more durable grey granite was typically used for church foundations, while the softer, but more erodible, *piedra caleña* was used for the walls, portals, and sculpture. The grey rock that rests at the bottom of the same quarry is a hard and durable granite, undisturbed by the weathering that affected the layers above, ensuring a sturdy foundation. While easily accessible in the same location, each stone at La Colilla embodies distinct geological qualities that were better suited for specific uses. Popular literature categorizes Ávila's urban churches as homogenous *piedra caleña* structures, when in fact Ávila's parochial architecture combines granites in a sophisticated construction technique.

Using the stronger, more sturdy grey granite, which resists atmospheric degradation, for the monumental foundations was an ingenious response to the frequently severe environment. The Castilian *meseta,* where Ávila is located, can be a harsh, cold place, at times prone to snow and ice, which can be catastrophic to stone. On average, there are 210 days per year that have a temperature below 0°C, which can be incredibly damaging to Ávila's medieval stone monuments.[457] The soft, fragile surface of *piedra caleña* made it an ideal material to carve, easy to extract for building, as well as aesthetically interesting for its coloration, but it was also

[457] J. Caballero Arribas, et al., "Alteration Processes of Historical Granitic Rock," 109.

vulnerable to erosion.[458] Therefore, a mixture of granite types was a pragmatic response to the climate. Grey granite resists the harsh cold of Ávila's windswept bioregion and is thus employed as sturdy church foundations. However, this harder stone may have been more difficult to work or more expensive and therefore unideal for erecting the entire church fabric. Employing the softer *piedra caleña* for the majority of construction apart from the foundations may have sped up construction and reduced costs, allowing many churches to go up quickly as new settlers continued to immigrate to Ávila. The construction technique that placed the more structurally sound grey granite as the foundations, and the more workable *piedra caleña* as walls and sculpted elements required not only a comprehensive knowledge of the material, but also demonstrated a deep understanding of the climate and environment of Ávila.

The following three parish church case studies in Ávila—San Nicolás, San Andrés, and San Esteban—demonstrate the regional structural technique of mounting *piedra caleña* walls atop grey granite foundations. They also represent the ubiquity of this construction design regardless of location; both intramural and extramural examples follow the same pattern. As a note, my research focuses on the exterior of the churches as a data sample for analysis. Many of Ávila's church interiors have limited access to the public or are covered in plaster, complicating investigation. Nevertheless, church exteriors show unmistakable lithic strata significant to architectural and material analysis.

Case Study: San Nicolás

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[458] Its porous quality is susceptible to damage: moisture seeps into the face of the stone, then expands as it freezes, cracking, and disfiguring the stone surface. In fact, analysis of multiple stone samples taken from the cloister of the cathedral of Ávila have shown additional weathering continues to damage the stone even in the modern day: Jacinta García-Talegón, et al., "Granitos empleados en Ávila-España. I Composición química de las distintas variedades," *Materiales de construcción* 44, no. 233 (2010): 24, 27. Modern mortars used in restorations which have a high pH have exacerbated erosion on some monuments, see Isabel Sonsoles de Soto García, María de los Reyes de Soto García, and Rosario García Giménez, "Mineralogical Analysis of Mortars in the Walls of Ávila (Spain) and its Surroundings," *Minerals* 9, no. 6 (2019): 381.

One prime example that clearly illustrates this layered building technique is the extramural parish church of San Nicolás (Figure 79). Built c. 1198, San Nicolás, located in the south of the city, was one of the last monuments built in Ávila's group of medieval churches traditionally referred to as "Romanesque."[459] The church consists of a nave, two side aisles, a single semicircular apse with a single narrow window, and a tower on its northeast corner. Its west façade was likely redone subsequent to its original construction, perhaps sometime in the thirteenth century as proposed by Vila da Vila (Figure 80).[460] The nave and aisles of the church are significantly wider than the single eastern apse, possibly indicating distinct construction campaigns (Figure 81). The current structure also includes auxiliary constructions on the southeast, clearly added at a later date because of the difference in construction techniques (Figure 82). The majority of the exterior walls of San Nicolás, including sculpted portals (Figure 83), are composed of *piedra caleña* ashlar masonry that rest atop a grey granite ashlar base.

The exterior of the chevet provides an ideal example to highlight the clear stratification between *piedra caleña* and grey granite in parish church architecture. At least four courses of grey granite ashlars act as the base for its curved *piedra caleña* walls (Figure 84).[461] The grey granite ashlar foundation acts as the sturdy footing for the rest of the *piedra caleña* apse which

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[459] In the sixteenth century, Luis Ariz documented the inscription of the consecration stones from San Nicolás which recorded an 1198 consecration date, although today it is lost, this is the best evidence we have for a fixed date, Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 176. See also, Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* primera parte, 37: " In honorem S. Nicholaii dedicavit hanc Ecclesiam iacobus Abulensis Episcopus in qua venerantur. Recondite de Reliquis eiusdem S. & gloriossisime Virginis Mariae atq; sepulcri Domini nostril & S. Martine, & S. Ilarii, & S. Ceciliae. 6. Calend. Novembris, era. 1236."

[460] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica,* 148-49.

[461] The exterior chevet and tower are where the different layers of different granites are most evident. However the same layers are evident especially on the west and south exterior nave walls. The south wall is also damaged and appears to have been rebuilt or modified, an auxiliary-building-shaped scar traces the southwest face. The difference in construction techniques may also indicate a campaign or workshop shift. On the interior, the grey granite base is not visible in the apse, and the majority of the church is covered in plaster, however the rectangular nave piers are also constructed in visible grey granite.

includes a narrow slit window. Here too, the consequential differences in stone properties are evident—the *piedra caleña* crumbles to the touch while the grey granite resists erosion.

Similarly, the church's tower is made up of a grey granite base of at least six courses to support the tall structure above. The northwest corner incorporates a hidden grey granite *verraco*, one of the only known instances of *spolia* used in sacred architecture, but in this case it is placed simply as a sturdy building block (Figure 85, 37).[462] The tower of San Nicolás has been recognized for its notable height especially in comparison to the relatively small size of the church. Due to its height, the tower also likely functioned as a watchtower, which is common for fortified religious architecture.[463] Like the apse, the tower required a robust grey granite base, but interestingly, the taller tower construction is independent from the apse, utilizing six courses instead of four. The additional granite base for the lofty tower further highlights the effectiveness of the layered method of construction—a stronger, more solid grey granite foundation was needed to support the more substantial tower above, while the shorter apse required less courses of the grey granite foundation for support.

Case Study: San Andrés

The extramural parish church of San Andrés, located on the northern edge of the urban zone, similarly highlights the construction method of combining a grey granite foundation with *piedra caleña* walls so effective in Ávila (Figure 86). Sculpted portals, window capitals, corbels, and string course set San Andrés apart from Ávila's more austere, less ornamented parish

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[462] Cf. chapter one for more on *verracos*: zoomorphic monoliths sculpted by the indigenous people of Castile. This is one of the only known instances that *spolia* is used in sacred architecture, however different from the walls, it's laid in an obscured way.

[463] For frontier towers see, Edward Triplett, "Mapping Spheres of Influence on Medieval Iberia's Religious Frontier via Viewshed Analysis and Cost-Distance Analysis," Historical Geography 45, no. 1 (2017): 66-91. Also see, Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press, 1997).

churches including San Nicolás analyzed above (Figure 87).[464] A three-aisle basilica with three terminating apses, María Margarita Vila da Vila dates the beginning of construction to c. 1130, identifying it as one of the oldest surviving parish buildings in Ávila (Figure 88).[465] Stylistically dated to the mid-twelfth century, the first documented mention of the church does not appear until Gil Torres's list from 1250. Curiously though, as one of the few more sculpted churches, Torres records very low rent compared to other less ornate churches.[466] Nevertheless, despite the more complex plan and richer decoration, the same technique of grey granite base and orange-ochre *caleña* walls is employed.

The exterior walls of the nave, tower, and apses share a robust grey granite foundation supporting *piedra caleña* walls above. The south façade (Figure 86) and west portal very clearly display at least four courses of gray granite (Figure 89). The grey ashlars are longer than the *caleña* blocks atop, illustrating a potential variation in stone dressing based on granite type, a chronological difference, or a shift in masonry workshop. The three terminating apses, including the engaged columns articulating their surfaces, similarly contain a grey granite foundation of at least four courses (Figure 90).[467] On the exterior south nave wall, a buttress is likewise

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[464] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 123. Vila da Vila and Gutiérrez Robledo place this church in a chronological group with San Vicente, San Pedro, and San Segundo. For example, arched lions, griffins, and winged sirens sculpted on the church's capitals are similarly found at San Vicente. Sculpted capitals like these are unusual in Ávila's medieval architecture overall.

[465] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 122. Her dating is based firstly on the fact that the diocese was not re-established until c. 1120, and additionally by comparing sculptural decoration in the southern apse to San Isidoro de León, Santa Maria del Mercado del León, and Silos.

[466] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 114. Five *morebetinos* compared with thirty for San Nicolás for example.

[467] Photos from the interior of the church's central apse appear to show grey granite bases as well, possibly with more below current ground level that are no longer visible.

constructed exclusively in grey granite.[468] Interestingly, the north side of the exterior nave is lacking a robust grey granite foundation, and the walls appear to be leaning due to a lack of foundational support (Figure 91).[469]

The west façade is joined by a tower on the northwest corner (Figure 92). Like San Nicolás, the exterior of the tower consists of a heftier twelve course grey granite base, compared to the four courses surrounding the primary fabric of the church. The taller tower necessitated a stronger foundation, and thus more courses of grey granite were employed. The structural supports that include the aforementioned buttress and tower base are clearly delineated in grey granite, creating a sturdy foundation for the heavy stone walls.

These two case studies show that one of the earliest (San Andrés, c. 1130) and one of the latest (San Nicolás, c. 1198) parish churches built during the process of Christian settlement in Ávila both adhered to the same practical method of construction despite a near seventy-year time span. Laying *piedra caleña* ashlars over a grey granite foundation was a consistent construction method that proved successful and was repeated throughout the sacred Christian architectural landscape regardless of chronology, size, or, as the next example highlights, location.

Case Study: San Esteban

Of the four original parish churches that graced the interior of the city walls, only one, San Esteban, is still extant today (Figure 93). Similar to many of Ávila's churches, the first documented mention of San Esteban is in Torres's 1250 list of parish rents, yet stylistic analysis of apse decoration has led Vila da Vila to place its construction sometime in the second quarter

[468] The north and south exterior edges of the nave, immediately before the curved apses, contain additional buttressing in grey granite, however they appear to mostly be the work of restorations from the 1970s, see Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 115.

[469] This area also shows indications of interventions so it's unclear exactly what the original structure may have looked like.

of the twelfth century.[470] Its diminutive size suggests it was likely built quickly, Vila da Villa proposes perhaps under the direction of two distinct workshops corresponding to the apse and south side (Figure 94).[471] However with almost no written evidence and clear successive interventions (the south façade is a mosaic of displaced stones), it is impossible to confirm Vila da Vila's theory.

San Esteban is built directly atop a rocky outcropping, providing a sturdy foundation upon which to place the ashlar walls of *piedra caleña* (Figure 95). The bedrock base that the church is built on allowed for a less robust layer of granite ashlars, yet the technique is still visible from the exterior, although to a much lesser degree than the two previous case studies.[472] The initial strata of the plinth on the exterior southeastern nave wall is composed of grey granite. Above, grey granite ashlars combine with roughly cut stones to make up the first four errant courses of the church's foundation (Figure 96). The southeast exterior corner delimiting the rectangular nave from rounded apse is also made up of grey ashlars, acting as a frame to support the structure of the church. Finally, the south portal arch is supported by vertical monoliths of grey granite.

Clear evidence of later interventions make this building, and especially its exterior south wall difficult to read. Although this area of the church may have been remodeled, an evident attempt to recreate its original form is visible. The archway above the south portal has been

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[470] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 140. This church belongs to the same stylistic group as the aforementioned San Andrés, as well as San Vicente and San Pedro, as outlined by Vila da Vila.

[471] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 143-44. She suggests that the apse work was carried out by a Cantabrian workshop or mason, the same as who worked on San Segundo, and that the south portal is related stylistically to San Andrés. In particular, she notes that San Esteban and San Andrés are the only two churches that have foliate sculptural decoration with only four petals.

[472] Images of the interior appear to show that much of the church is covered in plaster. Interestingly, this church retains finely sculpted capitals, rare in medieval Ávila's architectural program.

reconstructed; its sculpted foliate voussoirs carefully placed to form an entrance although some of the voussoirs have been displaced elsewhere in the façade (Figure 97). Subsequent architectural interventions call into question whether the disordered lower courses are original or post-medieval, however if the current construction's grey granite plinth is in fact a later intervention, the rebuilding effort likely stayed true to the original composition just as the portal did.

Despite its intramural location, San Esteban shares the structurally-focused stone composition of its extramural neighbors. While this church does not display the same clear-cut courses of grey granite in its foundation as does San Nicolás or San Andrés, we still see the implementation of grey granite ashlars on the lower level of the south façade and supporting the southeast exterior edge of the nave. The southeast corner's grey granite edge contains cleaner cut stones and thicker mortar, perhaps an original segment but refurbished over the centuries (Figure 98). Likely the natural bedrock, upon which San Esteban was built, in part accounts for a lesser foundation of grey granite. Therefore, these three examples demonstrate a unity in construction techniques despite location, chronology, or size and demonstrate a visual connection across churches whether contained within the city walls or not.

Material and Bioregionalism

The choice of material in Ávila's medieval urban churches was a structural one that took the varied types of stone into consideration depending on which architectural element was being constructed. Environmental conditions likely informed this choice thus reflecting a key concept of bioregionalism—creating practical relationships with the ecological realities of a given area—that is, interacting sustainably with the landscape. Bioregionalism is a belief and practice of living sustainably rather than exploitatively. It involves adjusting social behavior in order to

ensure continued habitation and enrichment of the natural world as well as: to "establish an ecologically and socially sustainable pattern of existence within it [the bioregion]."[473] Peter Berg's development of bioregionalism was born out of a desire to live responsibly in a natural environment, both for the ecosystem as well as human inhabitation. Although the concept of bioregionalism developed in the 1970s as part of the environmentalist movement, I argue that Ávila's early settlers respected the same tenets through the careful handling of the region's granites in church construction.

The consistent use of grey granite in church foundations suggests that longevity and integrity of construction were critical to building. The grey granite was heavier and deeper in the quarry, thus more difficult and likely more expensive to extract, but intentionally applied as a robust base of construction to avoid structural issues that a weathered granite base may have caused. This construction technique grew out of a synthesis with the natural environment—if humans wished to inhabit this harsh, cold climate, it was necessary to adapt stone construction to the environment's unique conditions. The builders of Ávila's small urban churches mirrored the strata of the quarry in church architecture when they placed grey granite below the *piedra caleña*, suggesting a high level of coordination, cooperation, and local know-how. The medieval makers of Ávila's churches responded directly to the environmental demands of the city's bioregion, insisting on a practical and longstanding method of construction to ensure continued access to shelter, defense, religion, and community.

This practical architectural response to the landscape developed into an aesthetic of contrast in Ávila's monuments so much so that later interventions to these churches continued a

[473] Peter Berg and Raymond Dasmann, "Reinhabiting California," in *The Biosphere*, 36. This essay calls for "living-in-place" and "reinhabiting" land that has suffered the ills of destruction in order to restore both human and natural thriving life.

two-toned visual tradition.[474] For example, San Vicente's fifteenth-century southern porch is constructed in grey granite set against the *piedra caleña* sculpted facades (Figure 99). The sixteenth-century west portal of San Juan Bautista, the baptismal church of Santa Teresa of Ávila, also boasts an elegant two-toned entry arch (Figure 100). While I would argue that in the modern era Ávila has embraced the aesthetic of a two-toned monumental landscape and deliberately reinforced it, the visual aesthetic was likely not originally a primary factor in the original selection of material. On the contrary, the grey granite base was a pragmatic solution to a harsh environment that allowed for a potentially less expensive and arguably more beautiful material, *piedra caleña,* to construct the remainder of the church without serious structural consequences.

San Nicolás, San Andrés, and San Esteban are exemplary of the fact that Ávila's twelfth- and thirteenth-century parochial landscape was not defined by a singular material, *piedra caleña,* as some have suggested, but by a combination of materials employed in specific, conscientious ways to maximize the materials' potential in a structurally sound process. Important to note as well is that the material language of Ávila's parish churches also remained consistent regardless of location. Moreover, the coherence in material application across Ávila's smaller churches may have simultaneously reflected a trend towards parish solidarity—parish bonds, as reflected through structural-material choices, transcended the walled urban boundary.

Solidarity in Parish Communities Reflected through Material Composition

[474] While no evidence of polychromy has been found on the exterior walls of Ávila's twelfth and thirteenth-century monuments, painted walls in the medieval period cannot be ruled out, thus potentially undermining an aesthetic choice of material. For more on medieval polychromy in Iberia see Melissa R. Katz, "Architectural polychromy and the painters' trade in medieval Spain," *Gesta* 41/1 (2002): 3-13; Carlos J. Martinez Álava, "Una Fachada Pintada," in *La portada de Santa María de Olite, de la vid a la Piedra*, coordinated by Carlos J. Martinez Álava**,** 85-100, (Principe de Viana, 2019).

I argue that in addition to the structural benefits, a shared application of local materials within Ávila's smaller twelfth- to thirteenth-century churches reflected a unified bond between interdependent parishes as bastions against invading foes. As a whole, Ávila's surviving medieval urban churches share many architectural and decorative qualities, but most notably they share the stratified employment of La Colilla granites in their construction. Each surviving church is single or triple aisled, incorporates narrow windows, contains foliate voussoirs in the portals, and most importantly for my project, combines grey granite and *piedra caleña* in the structural fabric of the church. While their similarities are striking, every church also contains specific characteristics that sets themselves apart, perhaps the result of individualized patronage or expressions of parish identity. For example, San Nicolás has an extra-tall tower, Santo Tomé has figural voussoirs, San Vicente is replete with sculptural decoration especially in its narthex, and San Pedro is famed for its rose window. Yet, whether large, small, rich or poor, mid- or late-twelfth century, or intra- or extramural, the majority of Ávila's surviving urban churches share the basic but ingenious material composition described above. Traditional art historical analysis might attribute structural similarities to a shared workshop or similar chronology, which I do not dispute, however, looking through the lens of a "material frontier," I argue that the shared material language of medieval parish architecture in Ávila also highlights the communal goal of frontier defense.

In Ávila, battling the unforgiving climate and living life in an overarching threatening atmosphere of violence led to the development of a shared visual language in parish architecture. What began as a pragmatic response to the environment—durable grey granite holding up more easily quarried *piedra caleña* ashlar walls—evolved into a notable visual language across medieval church architecture. The security and protection achieved through the same pragmatic

application of local construction materials across the city's churches, in turn, through a *de facto* process, may have reflected shared values across parishes as well. In this way, given the parishes' mutual role in defending the new city, a shared visual language can also be interpreted though a social lens as a marker of community solidarity. The parish churches that were built as sturdy fortified structures and simultaneously served as centers of religious neighborhood instruction and loci of militia management, came to parallel the overarching frontier system of defense described by González Jiménez, of which Ávila played an integral role on the broader Castilian borderlands.[475]

Reinforcing the visual continuity in parish architecture as a reflection of parish solidarity, Ávila's medieval textual sources attest to a similar attitude of solidarity. For example, the *Crónica* recounts the story of the knights of Ávila coming together for the common goal of protecting Alfonso VII in his infancy against Alfonso I, king of Aragón. After Alfonso of Aragon had killed hostages, Ávila's brave knights "defended the city for their lord and caused great damage against those who came to battle against the city."[476] The Christian knights of Ávila banded together against a common foe despite originally hailing from different parts of the peninsula and despite, likely, being members of distinct parish-militias.

One can also find a sense of solidarity in an archival document from 1126 discussed in chapter two. It states that the cathedral was "for more than three hundred years being deprived of a shepherd and sheep" implying a desire to form a vibrant Christian community, or flock of

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[475] González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," 54.

[476] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 25/35: "*e assi defendieron la villa para su señor e fizieron gran daño en aquellos que vinieron combater la villa.*" I recount this event in more detail in chapter two: Alfonso I of Aragon arrives to Ávila and demands to see that the infant Alfonso VII is alive and the knights of Ávila make a deal with Alfonso I who takes hostages to ensure safe passage out of the city, but he then murders the hostages by boiling them alive "in caldrons," Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 24-25/34-35.

"sheep."[477] In this case the community mentioned is with respect to the cathedral, but those "sheep" would have also been parishioners in Ávila's parish-militias.

A consistent visual language, most clearly displayed through the church's material composition, mirrors the themes of solidarity found in the written record. A shared visual language also transcends the city's walled boundaries, demonstrating that whether interior or exterior, location did not lessen the strength of parish bonds in the city's Christian community. San Esteban is the only surviving intramural parish church and thus provides a useful counterpoint for the extramural examples of San Nicolás and San Andrés. My comparative analysis highlights another unexpected response of Ávila's medieval architecture—that is, that the small, austere San Esteban, though intramural and perhaps expected to express a more privileged status and possibly more wealth, is actually quite diminutive and simple compared to some of the extramural churches including the very large and ornate San Vicente and San Pedro. Below, I highlight the value of the urban development beyond the walls and hypothesize about its outsized significance to urban life.

The Importance of the Extramural Zone

Spiro Kostof defined city walls as boundaries between an urban nucleus and urban edge, yet Ávila's parochial landscape contradicts the idea that extramural is synonymous with peripheral.[478] In the final part of chapter three, I challenge the assumption that the extramural hinterland was "peripheral" or "fringe." As outlined above, parish churches indicated population

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[477] Published in Barrios García, *Documentos,* 23-24, doc. 1, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos. Carp. 18, n. 1: "ferę per tricennium et eo ampluis a pastorę et ab ovibus orbata, modernis vero temporibus a meo genitorę nobiliter edificata, ut alias ffeci et facta didici tercium partem tocius regalis census et ereditatis..." (*for more than three hundred years being deprived of a shepherd and sheep, truly in modern times having been built nobly by my father*, *thus I make other deeds and I give a third part of all royal rents…)*.Cf. chapter two.

[478] Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: the Elements of Urban Form through History*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), esp. chapter one.

density because they were the central hubs of religious, social, and military life for Ávila's medieval Christians. Consequently, mapping parish church locations shows that the extramural zone was an equally active part of communal life and urban development in medieval Ávila. In chapter one I argued that the unusual route of the walls is in part related to the *concejo* privileging the neighborhoods associated with Ávila's heroic founding knights by enveloping them into an internal core. In this chapter, I further develop this idea from the perspective of the extramural zone.

As Christian settlers arrived to Ávila, attracted by the privileges or freedoms of founded settlements, groups landed in individual neighborhoods, creating a patchwork of small dense population pockets, or what Kevin Lynch would consider "nodes."[479] This urban layout of concentrated foci might have even been documented by Muslim geographer, al-Idrisi, when he wrote, "Salamanca is some 50 miles from Ávila, *which is nothing more than a group of villages* whose inhabitants are strong horsemen."[480] The "group of villages" might be interpreted as settlement nodes, and as argued above, these settlements were likely administered and organized through a parish church system which doubled as hubs for social and military life. The city walls were built later in the mid-twelfth century, postdating the initial settlement pattern of urban parish nodes begun c. 1088 when the first wave of organized Christian settlers arrived. Therefore, I demonstrate that the original urban development was not organized into "intra" or "extra" mural space, but developed around parish churches that only later became located inside or outside of the walls in the twelfth century.

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[479] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, (MIT press, 1964).

[480] Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Geografía de España/Idrisi*, text by R. Dozy y M.J. Gooje, translated by Eduardo Saavedra and Antonio Blázquez y Delgado-Aguilera, (Valencia: Anúbar, 2009), 145. The Spanish translation reads: "que no es más que un conjunto de aldeas cuyos habitantes son jinetes vigorosos."

The city's earliest settlement pattern was distributed both inside and outside of what later became the walled enclosure. In chapter one I outlined Feduchi Canosa's settlement pattern hypothesis of the first organized Christian arrivals which he developed by cross referencing the locations of intramural parish churches with textual sources and toponyms. Even before, archaeological evidence shows continuous occupancy within the space that later became intramural since the Roman period. In 1993, excavations at the old site of the Palacio de los Velada revealed a Roman coin from the fourth-century reign of Valentin (375-392) in addition to *terra sigillata* from the third to fourth centuries, colored stuccos, and slates with numerals.[481] Visigothic slates have also been discovered in the cathedral cloister, dating to the sixth or seventh century, which Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo ties to administrative duties of aristocratic rural estates.[482] Thus, when the walls were constructed in the second half of the twelfth century, there were already centuries-old preexisting settlement nodes within the internal nucleus.

Simultaneously, archaeological evidence attests to habitation dating back to Roman and Vetton occupation in what only later became the extramural area. Ceramics dated as early as the second half of the first century CE painted in the Vetton tradition has been found outside the walls.[483] Urban renovations in the plaza south of San Vicente revealed a second-century Roman layer with ceramics and *opus signinum* floor.[484] In 1975, a necropolis from the third to fourth

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[481] Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 11.

[482] Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 17. See also, A. Rodríguez, *Informe: excavación arqueológica de urgencia en el claustro de la catedral de Ávila*, (Ávila: Delegación de Cultura de Ávila, 1993); Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, "Early Medieval Landscapes in North-West Spain," 297.

[483] Barraca de Ramos, "La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía," 67. These ceramics have been noted for combining Roman production techniques with indigenous painting traditions, and have thus been used as evidence of cohabitation of indigenous and Roman populations as well as acculturation on both sides.

[484] Barraca de Ramos, "La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía," 111. This was carried out in 1994. They also found a twelfth-century medieval cemetery unknown before, suggesting that from the time of construction of the church they were burying bodies on the exterior of the church. Interestingly, one motivation for archaeological investigation in this zone was the search for the Roman necropolis which had been hypothesized in this area because

centuries was discovered outside the walls in the southern part of the city at the Hospital de Dios Padre.[485] Another necropolis was excavated between 1987 and 1990 near the parish church of San Pedro outside the gate of the Alcázar, whose oldest material dates to the Late Roman period.[486] Barraca de Ramos thus places early Roman occupation adjacent to the exterior side of the *cimorro* and today's Plaza de Italia, demonstrating that the first Roman and Vetton settlement stood on the highest flattest area—a small natural plateau now artificially bifurcated by the city walls.[487]

The zone located outside the city walls was also continuously inhabited throughout the Late Antique and Visigothic periods as well. An early Christian tombstone was discovered in the street between the extramural churches of San Pedro and Santa Maria la Antigua that has been dated to the fourth or fifth century, however it appears to have been reused in this location.[488] Similarly, *terra sigillata* dated to the sixth century were discovered in the Plaza Santa Teresa outside the walls, confirming sustained settlement through the Roman, Late Antique, and Visigothic periods.[489]

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of the concentration of reused Roman funerary stones on the eastern section of wall. However, a Roman cemetery was not discovered during these excavations.

[485] Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 9. See also, María Mariné, "Epoca Romana" (Cap. V), in *Historia de Ávila*, vol. 1, coordinated by María Mariné, 273-327, (Ávila: Ediciones de la Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 2003), 303-04.

[486] Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 9. See also Pilar Barraca de Ramos, "La necrópolis del circuito de San Pedro de Ávila," *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval* 4, (1990): 321-31; Pilar Barraca de Ramos, "Excavación arqueológica en el circuito de San Pedro (Ávila) 1989-1990," *Nvmantia. Arqueología en Castilla y León* 4, (1993): 239-56.

[487] Barraca de Ramos, "La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía," 133.

[488] *Cien piezas del museo de Ávila*, 48.

[489] Barraca de Ramos, "La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía," 67

There is only a single example of monumental architectural remains that pre-date the twelfth century, and they are located outside the walls. Remains of stone walls including a semicircular structure were found during the excavations surrounding the parish church of San Pedro in 1989-1990 (Figure 101). Barraca de Ramos has dated these ruins to the fourth or fifth century and hypothesizes that they may have belonged to an apse of an earlier church at the site of Santa Maria la Antigua, adjacent to San Pedro.[490] This archaeological intervention also uncovered Late Antique tombs dating to the third and fourth centuries as well as Visigothic tombs from the fifth and seventh centuries, again offering proof of continued extramural occupancy throughout the early medieval period.[491]

Textual sources likewise confirm the antiquity of extramural settlement through references to parish churches. The aforementioned document from 1103 names the churches San Millán, San Vicente, San Juan Bautista, San Pedro, and San Martín, all but San Juan Bautista are extramural.[492] San Vicente's name is similarly recorded in the aforementioned inscription in León from 1065. Written sources combined with grave sites and the potential early Christian church excavated in the environs of San Pedro and Santa Maria la Antigua would suggest that even more than habitation, the area beyond today's walls was associated with religious devotion from as early as the third- to seventh-centuries. The examples outlined above demonstrate that the area that only later became extramural was home to continued human occupancy and worship, a point Feduchi Canosa omits in his urban analysis.

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[490] Barraca de Ramos, "La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía," 104-08. An image of the excavation can be found on pp. 104. See also Barraca de Ramos, "Excavación arqueológica en el circuito de San Pedro."

[491] Barraca de Ramos, "La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía," 106.

[492] See above, *Becerro Galiciano of San Millán de la Cogolla,* (c. 1195).

The same written sources that led Feduchi Canosa to argue that there were urban nuclei surrounding San Silvestre, San Esteban, Santo Domingo, as well as San Juan Bautista and the Mercado Chico inside the walled space, also point to urban development beyond the walls. In addition to the first wave of elites arriving to Ávila, the *Crónica* refers to what Feduchi Canosa and Barrios García consider the arrival of a second wave of Christian settlers. It reads: "Meanwhile, many others came to settle Ávila, and specifically infantes, and good men from Estrada and Brabezos and other good men from Castile."[493] The text tells us the region of origin of these later groups of settlers, but not where their settlements were located. Feduchi associates those from Estrada with Asturias and suggests they may have settled in an area near the current Estrada street which runs between the Mercado Grande and the Plaza de Italia in front of the extramural parish church of Santo Tomé el Viejo.[494] While Feduchi acknowledges a potential neighborhood beyond the walls, his urban analysis specifically privileges evidence that points to intramural settlement while ignoring evidence of settlement outside the walls.[495] In my opinion, Feduchi's analysis is biased towards the assumption that the interior walled space was more "important." On the contrary, significant data— architectural, archaeological, textual— reveals that in areas outside what later became the walled perimeter similarly had steady, well-established habitation from the earliest moments of human settlement in Ávila.

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[493] Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica," 22/32. "E entre tanto vinieron otros muchos a poblar a Avila, e senaladamente infancones e buenos omes d'Estrada e de los Brabezos e otros buenos omes de Castilla…" Barrios explains that in the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, a different stage of frontier settlement occurred which was not defined by a massive increase in population, but more of a "re-adaption and consolidation" especially of rural nuclei, *Estructuras*, 137. Translation by author.

[494] Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," in *La Muralla de Avila,* edited by Angel Barrios García, 57-113, (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003), 68.

[495] Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de la murallas," 69.

Before the construction of the current walled structure, the city simply was not divided between "inside" and "outside." Although there may have been some pre-twelfth-century defenses, especially near the gate of San Vicente, the urban form divided by massive walls was a mid-twelfth-century creation.[496] As I argue in chapter one, the enclosed area was associated with the knightly heroes described in the *Crónica,* but those parish neighborhoods were not the only ones in existence at the time the walls split the city. The urban layout of Ávila reveals extensive and ancient extramural communities associated with wealthy parishes like San Vicente and San Pedro.[497] These communities appear to be rooted in Christian devotion pre-dating the arrival of organized Christian settlement in the late-eleventh century. When the walls were erected in the mid-twelfth century, they created a new internal core to separate the founding heroes' specific parishes—the nerve centers not just of religious life, but of social and military life as well. It may be that the groups who established themselves in the areas that only later ended up outside the internal nucleus were not directly associated with the chivalrous knights described in the opening lines of the *Crónica*. The later arrivals described by Feduchi Canosa and Barrios, like the Asturians near extramural Santo Tomé, may have oriented themselves away from the parishes associated with the first group of founding knights, or may have even been excluded from those privileged communities. In this way, the city walls likely intensified social distinction when they enveloped the knights' parish neighborhoods, yet that did not hinder a visual and material uniformity across urban churches. Parish identity was not primarily differentiated through architectural expression, but by later spatial division. The zone we now recognize as extramural

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[496] Cf. chapter one for a discussion of wall chronology in particular. Important space was still distinguished in certain ways—the excavated *verraco*, for example, points to an ancient pathway and possible principal entrance to the city. Earlier fortifications also likely existed, however, as I outline in chapter one, they were in all probability less robust, and did not encompass the same perimeter.

[497] See Church Appendix for parish rents.

was always a significant aspect of the urban layout and greatly contributed to the development of the city, disrupting the premise that exterior areas are peripheral or secondary to an internal core.

Chapter Conclusion

Dominique Iogna-Prat argued that the church building defined medieval European Christianity—it rooted devotion to a particular place.[498] In Ávila, church buildings were further defined through their material. In all the surviving examples, a combination of local materials were utilized, forming a very particular connection to the natural environment. Beyond a connection to a particular building or neighborhood, the local materials that formed the church walls rooted the community to the bioregion. Through this special connection, bonds were formed between Ávila's inhabitants and a harsh environment, creating a mutual relationship between human and nature which was then reflected in the communal defense of the parish-militias.

Ávila's parish churches are often defined by their use of *piedra caleña* so much so that the "Romanesque" landscape of Ávila has become synonymous with the ochre hue characteristic of this unusual rock. The type of stone, though undoubtedly favored in certain contexts, is not in itself a reliable indicator of style nor chronology. More accurately, Ávila's urban churches combine two types of granite: *piedra caleña* and grey granite. Parish churches in Ávila share a lithic design regardless of chronology, size, or location, apart from one significant brick outlier, the focus of the following chapter. The more resistant grey granite is key to the structural integrity of church construction which supports the more workable but erodible *piedra caleña*, creating enduring sacred structures on the newly won landscape for the Crown of Castile. Overtime the pattern of combining grey granite with *piedra caleña* came to signify parish

[498] Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu: une histoire monumentale de l'Eglise au Moyen Age*, (Seuil, 2006).

identity, a de facto process that endured throughout the decades of urban expansion and church construction.

The sturdiness of construction reflects the unbreakable social bonds of parishes that share traditions, including urban defense. Parish churches simultaneously operated as militia bases. Settlers arrived, militarized by necessity, and organized themselves into kinship or regional groups with a parish church as their religious and defensive center. A common material language persisted across internal and external examples highlighting collective defensive duties across parishes, neighborhoods, and region of origin. All groups of Ávila's militarized Christian society were working towards a common goal of survival and conquest, and that shared aim was reflected in the architectural fabric of Ávila's medieval parish churches.

Ávila's parish-militia system helps explain the unusual urban layout of Ávila that included so many parish churches mostly on the exterior side of the city walls. Ávila as a city was formed as a series of populated parochial pockets that grew outward to meet—not as an interior space that outgrew its walled boundary. In chapter one, I argued that the intramural zone was created to encapsulate the founders' parishes when the walls were eventually built in the mid-twelfth century. From chapter three's extramural perspective, the city walls were superfluous to the defense of the parish churches, as communities of soldiers as well as parishioners. The material composition of hearty granites formed a physical protective shield and parishioners were devoted to parish defense—synonymous with city defense.

The building of walls did not suppress urban development beyond their outer periphery. The walls followed a social and topographical course, but by no means constituted an urban edge or limiter of growth. Neighborhoods and churches continued to expand on the exterior side of the walls, including the largest and wealthiest parishes of San Vicente and San Pedro that had

concentrated human settlement centuries before wall construction expelled them to the suburbs. In fact, such social differentiation may have been a catalyst for the extramural churches of San Vicente and San Pedro to construct such ornate buildings, so large to rival the intramural cathedral.

This third chapter has highlighted the other granite types available within Ávila's bioregion and quarry village of La Colilla: *piedra caleña* and grey granite. The makers of the walls, cathedral, and parish churches each consistently relied on materials to convey messages, reinforce hierarchies, and express social standing. In this chapter I focused on the combination of grey granite and *piedra caleña* in urban church construction, an unmistakable composition compared to *spolia* and bedrock walls and *piedra sangrante* in the fortress-like cathedral. While individual instances of material overlap appear in all monuments—occasional *piedra sangrante* ashlars outside the cathedral, areas of *piedra caleña* in the walls—on the whole, there is a clear preference for differentiation of materials among the differing types of Ávila's surviving medieval monuments. Materials were employed in practical and symbolic ways and the conditions of the bioregion enabled varied materials to be sourced from a single location. In this chapter, a material focus highlights how makers understood and worked within the bounds of the environment while simultaneously drawing on material to generate meaning and express community bonds.

Chapter Four: Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza: A Brick Outlier in a Gallery of Stones

Chapter Introduction

In the shadow of the city walls in the north of Ávila lies the small brick and granite hermitage of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza (Figure 102). The once-parish church's plain exterior plaster walls and post-medieval bell tower weighed down by stork nests obscures the singularity of this church's medieval construction: it is the sole example of a majority-brick construction within the group of Ávila's surviving churches from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Figure 103).[499] Despite its status as an architectural outlier, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza has attracted minimal scholarly attention. The studies that focus on this humble brick-granite construction exist only as short entries in the handful of surveys dedicated to "Ávila Romanesque" or "Ávila Mudéjar." Within this context, the church has been characterized as "*de poco interés*" (of little interest) because of its brick construction and lack of sculpture—two traits seen as relatively less notable compared to its ashlar-built neighbors.[500] Contrary to this view, the present chapter draws this unicum out from the metaphorical and literal shadows to highlight the church's architectural importance as the one example of a preserved parish church built in brick in Ávila's capital.

Within the specific social and urban context of the Christian settlement of Ávila, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is a significant counterpoint to the overwhelmingly stone-built monuments discussed throughout this dissertation. This lone brick example in the capital city is especially compelling for two important reasons. Firstly, there was an extraordinary quarry nearby which,

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[499] San Martín, adjacent to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, includes a partial brick tower which is discussed later in this chapter. The medieval city walls also have some decorative brick adornments.

[500] María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 170.

as I have already shown in the previous chapters, was exploited to construct the majority of Ávila's medieval sacred Christian landscape. Secondly, beyond the capital city, in the province of Ávila and throughout Castile and León, there is a robust corpus of contemporary brick churches. These facts raise two questions: why build in brick when stone was available and used in every other extant church? And if brick construction was a common technique in the wider *Extremadura Castellana*, why is there only one brick-built church in the city of Ávila?

In chapter four, I argue that the use of brick was utilized to differentiate Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's parish identity from its neighboring communities. Brick communicated a distinct Christian identity, likely linked to the region of origin of the parish founders. By combining in-depth stylistic comparison, a revised chronology, and material analysis of the structure's brick, I hypothesize that the Christian patrons of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza arrived from the vast rural lands of Castile during the second wave of Christian settlement in Ávila. Installing themselves in the extramural urban zone in the north of the city, they built their parish church in a preexisting architectural tradition of brick common in their region of origin.

In contrast to this view, the utilization of brick in this church has traditionally been explained through a connection to a possible community of Muslim artisans in the area. The church is often labeled "mudejar" because of its brick construction which has consequently led to theories of Muslim craftsmanship.[501] Here in the present chapter I challenge this hypothesis. I demonstrate that the evidence given for the church's affiliation with Islamic culture is flawed and merits re-evaluation. Because an Islamic connection has apparently "solved" the question of the

[501] I discuss this term and its historiography at length in this chapter. Mudejar is an architectural style indigenous to Iberia and a term used to describe buildings erected for non-Muslim patrons in lands conquered by Christians that had once belonged to the vast realm of al-Andalus. The stylistic, decorative, and construction techniques that characterize mudejar have origins in histories of Islamic art and architecture and are often associated with brick architecture.

church's unusual choice of building material, further research or alternative analytical avenues have been ignored, relegating this fascinating church to the sidelines of Ávila's medieval art history. As the only example of a preserved brick-granite structure, this church demands investigation into the social contexts that brought about its unique construction.

I open chapter four with an overview of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's art historical historiography and especially a review of its debated chronology. The church's dating is particularly important because the century in which it was erected is closely related to its designation as mudejar, which I dispute throughout this chapter. Reassigning the church's chronology to the early-thirteenth century places Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza firmly within a period when brick construction was popular across the rural territories of Castile and León.

Following this discussion, I engage with the long-held debate within the field of medieval Iberian art history concerning the relationship between brick construction, Muslim makers, and the term "mudejar."[502] The historiography of Spanish medieval architecture often over-associates the use of brick with an Islamic origin, and like most medieval brick constructions in modern-day Spain, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is typically categorized as mudejar. Although mudejars dominated the brick and tile trade in Ávila by the fourteenth century, the construction of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza likely predates this period and also allies much more closely with other rural church models in the surrounding region. After a synopsis of the history of Muslims in Ávila and a revision of the evidence connecting Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza to Muslim brick workshops, I argue that the mudejar epithet should be removed from this church's description. Instead, the

[502] For the purposes of this chapter, I follow María Judith Feliciano and Leyla Rouhi in removing the tilde and italics from this term "in a conscious attempt to usher these terms into mainstream English usage, and to lighten their exotic or foreign resonance." María Judith Feliciano and Leyla Rouhi, "Introduction: Interrogating Iberian Frontiers," *Medieval Encounters*, 12, no. 3 (2006): 317n2.

brick-granite construction corresponded to an established rural architectural vernacular of brick in twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches throughout medieval Castile and León.

Next, I outline a distinct type of brick architecture that was common in the quarry-less regions north of Ávila. I compare Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza to many of these churches and find that it is especially similar to brick churches dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the village of Cuéllar, about 100 kilometers northeast of Ávila in the neighboring province of Segovia. To complement my visual comparisons, I also took measurements of a data set of bricks inside Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in order to compare against brick sizes in Cuéllar's churches, and while more data is needed to make firm conclusions, at least one church, San Miguel, showed similar brick dimensions. Textual sources also corroborate a relationship between Ávila's and Cuéllar's religious elite, demonstrating a possible route for artistic exchange. Therefore, I posit that the patrons of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza originally hailed from Cuéllar, erecting a parish church that mirrored both the architectural style and cultural identity of their homeland.

To conclude this chapter, I propose that brick construction in Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza reflected a distinct parish identity. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, in Ávila, material symbolized the makers responsible for monument construction. Because Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's material composition is so distinct from the other surviving parish architecture in the capital city, its fabric signified difference.

The overall the goal of the following chapter is twofold. On the one hand, it is a critique of the traditional understanding of mudejar architecture which has complicated the study of brick architecture on the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, this chapter constitutes the most in-depth art-historical analysis to date of Ávila's understudied brick parish church. My analysis

offers a novel hypothesis for the building's origins which in turn can shed light on the structures of parochial identity expression and rural-urban migration.

Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza: Architecture and Material

The hermitage of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, previously the parish church of San Bartolomé, consists of a central nave and two side aisles, each terminating in a semi-circular apse (Figure 104).[503] The structure measures just over thirty meters in length and just shy of nine meters tall. The interior of the building consists of a two-part elevation with small semi-circular clerestory windows topped by a modern wooden ceiling (Figure 105).[504] The asymmetrical nave arcades consist of wide rounded arches with thick, rectangular piers that divide the church into three bays (Figure 106). The primary entrance lies on the south wall, customary of medieval Castilian parish churches (Figure 107). In 1992 a small horseshoe arch portal that once led to a sacristy was discovered adjacent to the west entrance (Figure 108), which remains closed except on special feast days. The apses are vaulted and covered in posterior decoration (Figure 109). The lateral apses are windowless while the larger, central apse has a single narrow slit (Figure 110), now covered on the interior by a later retable.[505] Behind the retable an earlier stone altar is found, embedded into the coursing of the central apse, leftover from a period when the priest's back faced the parishioners during mass.[506] Much of the interior and exterior is now covered in

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[503] Also called Santa María de la Cabeza, it was converted into a hermitage in 1647. *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 206. Throughout this chapter I will refer to the church by its current name to avoid confusion, but apply its original function as parish.

[504] A fire in the 1970s damaged the church and destroyed the wooden ceiling that was once there, although the one destroyed was likely not original either.

[505] Ávila's cold temperatures and fortified character of its churches likely account for the lack of windows in the apses.

[506] I am grateful to the president of the confraternity, Juan Carlos, for opening up the area behind the retable for us to see the altar and interior central apse.

white plaster, complicating analysis, however significant aspects of the building's fabric are still visible, including its unusual combination of materials. Brick is the material of choice for the construction of the rectangular body of the church, while the church's chevet is constructed out of large granite ashlars of irregular coursing (Figure 111).

Running bonds of bricks with thick mortar comprise the nave and aisles. However, the majority of the fabric is now covered in plaster except for the intrados and extrados of the nave arcades and window arches, as well as the *alfices*, a framing technique typical of Islamic and medieval Iberian architecture, surrounding the nave arches.[507] The nave arcades are framed by protruding *alfices*, their width determined by the header of the brick (short side) lined up in a stack bond pattern. The west and south portals are also contained within *alfices*, utilizing the shape of the bricks themselves to make patterns in the walls (Figure 103, 107). The stretcher side of the brick (the wide flat side) faces outwards at the springing of the arches of the nave arcades as if mimicking a capital. Another notable element in this church is the half-moon-shaped bricks used at the springing of the arches of the nave arcade piers, similar to an abacus, to create a horseshoe arch form (Figure 112).[508] Today, that protruding horseshoe edge has been demolished except in the western-most north aisle bay. A similar technique is seen in other churches in the province of Ávila, including San Miguel in Arévalo and La Lugareja (Figure 113). Although brick does not lend itself well to sculptural forms, the rectangular shape of the bricks have been ordered in such a way as to articulate the building's surfaces.

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[507] Examples include the framing of the portals at the Great Mosque of Córdoba, the entrance to the Mozarabic church of Santiago de Peñalba, and a window in the ninth-century Asturian church of San Salvador de Valdediós.

[508] I am grateful again to Juan Carlos, the president of the confraternity, for pointing out this feature to me. Juan Carlos suggested this shape was torn away to erase the Islamic character of the church or to widen the interior space.

The material properties of its brick construction indicates that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza generally lacks sculptural decoration. In isolated areas, carved fragments of *piedra caleña* adorn the church, possibly examples of semi-massed produced elements used to decorate many of Ávila's urban churches.[509] In the interior central apse, remnants of a geometric-design string course of *piedra caleña* are visible (Figure 114) as well as an exterior *piedra caleña* cornice with corbels (Figure 115). The only other sculpted ornamentation is a marble Chrismon that embellishes the exterior south portal (Figure 116).

The combination of granite and brick construction does not appear elsewhere in the capital city. The church's diminutive three-apse form is typical of other parish church architecture of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iberia; however what makes this church unique is the utilization of brick in the nave combined with a grey granite chevet. No other surviving churches in Ávila are constructed in brick.[510] As discussed in the previous chapter, grey granite is an essential building block in Ávila's urban churches, yet while other examples stand on granite foundations, no other churches distribute distinct materials between nave and chevet.[511]

A Debated Chronology

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[509] Ávila's church architecture generally lacks sculpture with the exception of San Vicente. The sculpted elements that do exist are relatively similar and consistent across many churches, including geometric string courses and foliate voussoirs. The question of stone workshops and mass production is a fascinating research avenue to be pursued in the future. Vila da Vila's 1999 study is the most comprehensive study on Ávila's medieval architectural sculpture, see her appendices especially for more. Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica.*

[510] Although this does not imply that there never were others, it is significant that out of a large number of surviving churches there is but one that deviates so drastically from the established architectural vernacular of the same period. San Martín, adjacent to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza has a tower half constructed in brick although from a later chronology.

[511] A combination of granites is ubiquitous in Ávila's medieval sacred landscape, combining grey granite foundations with *piedra caleña* walls as I discussed in the previous chapter. However combining materially distinct nave and chevet is only comparable in the cathedral. Moreover, grey granite is only used in the cathedral and in Sancti Spiritu out of the surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches in Ávila.

Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is typically categorized as part of Ávila's later or second group of so-called Romanesque churches, dating to c. 1200-1210.[512] As detailed below, this chronology is based on a lost inscription, the church's material composition, and the building's layout. A now-lost inscription recorded by Luis Ariz in the early-seventeenth century lists the consecration date as 1210.[513] It is possible the consecration could have happened before the construction of the church was completed or years after, but Ariz's record is useful for an otherwise unknown date. Moreover, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza appears in Cardenal Gil Torres's appropriation of revenues for the diocese of Ávila from 1250, a document I refer to in the previous chapter, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of this parish church.[514] Although there is no way to be certain that the current fabric correlates to this documented mention from 1250.

With such limited written information, it has proved difficult to firmly establish this church's chronological history. María Margarita Vila da Vila suggests that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's original construction began at the end of the twelfth century and was then completed by 1210. However, for Vila da Vila, the only vestiges of the original church are the granite chevet, the marble Chrismon above the south portal, and the fragments of the sculpted *piedra caleña* string course in the central apse. Though her details are vague, she implies that the granite apses predate the brick nave which, having replaced an earlier structure, she situates within a

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[512] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica,* 171.

[513] Luis Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas de la Ciudad de Ávila*, (Alcalá de Henares: Luys Martínez Grande, 1607), primera parte, 37. Ariz records this inscription: "In honorem S. Bartholomei Aposto, dedicavit hanc Ecclesiam Petrus, in qua venerantur recondire de reliquiis eiusdem santi, & sancta Lucie, & sancta Xisti, Iusti & Pastoris, Valentini, Pancratii vite, & modesti .7. idus decembris. Era 1248. Año. 1210." See also, *Ávila: Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, 206. The date 1210 is the modern equivalent to the Spanish era 1248.

[514] This primary source is reproduced in Ángel Barrios García, *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII),* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 2004), 146-57, doc. 83, AC, Sección documentos, n. 15. Ávila's parish church rents are on pp. 150-51.

broad later timeframe between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.[515] Part of the issue for Vila da Vila is that the unusual combination of construction materials—brick and grey granite—pose a challenge for interpretation. The traditional system of dating used by scholars of Ávila's architectural history attaches grey granite with so-called Gothic architecture, and as I will demonstrate below, brick is associated with mudejar, often dated to after 1492. Therefore, for Vila da Vila and others, the floorplan of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza that coincides with a twelfth- to thirteenth-century model contradicts its material composition which is more often correlated with a later chronology.

In addition to Vila da Vila's analysis, the most extensive study of this under-studied church, the few that have written about Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza have variably proposed a building chronology between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. The church underwent extensive alterations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries including the addition of the steeple on the west façade, but Manuel Gómez-Moreno, in the early twentieth century, suggested the floorplan retained its original layout.[516] Alternatively, in 1935, Antonio Veredas Rodríguez suggested the brick construction dated to the sixteenth century, which José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo was inclined to believe in 1982: "I'm simply echoing the information given by Veredas, who perhaps is the one who wrote with the most authority about this church," although it seems he later changed his mind.[517]

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[515] Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica*, 167.

[516] *Ávila: Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León,* 206.

[517] José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "El Segundo románico en Ávila," in *Guía del románico de Ávila y primer mudejar de La Moraña*, coordinated by C.L. López, J.L. Gutiérrez Robledo, M. Revilla Rujas, and T. Gómez Espinosa, 111-26, (Ávila: Institucion Gran Duque de Alba, 1982), 126. "Me limito a recoger los datos que da Veredas, quizás quien con más autoridad escribe sobre la iglesia." Translation by author. Gutiérrez Robledo is citing Antonio Veredas Rodríguez, *Ávila de los Caballeros : descripción artístico-histórica de la capital y pueblos más interesantes de la provincial*, (Avila: Librería "El Magisterio" Adrián Medrano, 1935), digital copy, (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2009-2010). In a later publication, Gutiérrez Robledo

The question of chronology highlights the first challenge when assessing the historiography of this church. A later chronology would help confirm that the use of brick here was directly related to Muslim brick workshops in the area which are documented in the fifteenth century, a point I return to later in this chapter.[518] For many, textual evidence of local Muslim artisans justifies the utilization of brick and the label of mudejar, creating a circular argument: because Muslim brick layers had a workshop in the area in the fifteenth century, the church must date to the fifteenth century. On the other hand, an earlier, thirteenth-century timeframe of construction that conforms with the lost 1210 inscription, calls into question the relevance of a fifteenth-century document describing Muslim-owned brick kilns. In order to contextualize the issue of chronology, Muslim workmanship, and brick construction at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, I must address the complex and fraught term in the field of medieval Iberian art history: mudejar. However, before I turn to a review and critique of the historiography of mudejar and its origins in Islamic artistic traditions, I want to first offer a summary of Ávila's medieval Islamic past.

History of Muslims in Ávila

The Muslim community in Ávila had a long rich history dating back to the twelfth century that is inseparable from the city's development.[519] The *Extremadura Castellana* was

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attributes Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's nave to the early thirteenth century but notes it its difficult to date: José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, *Sobre mudéjar en la provincial de Ávila*. *Papeles de Arquitectura Español 4*, (Ávila: Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa & Instituto de Arquitectura Juan de Herrera, 2001), 24-26.

[518] A document from 1483 refers to Muslim-owned brick ovens, but not to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in particular. I discuss this at length below. See, Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "Personalidad étnica y trabajo artístico: los mudéjares abulenses y su relación con las actividades de la construcción en el siglo XV," in *Medievalismo y neomedievalismo en la arquitectura española, actas del 1er congreso,* coordinated by José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo and Pedro Navascués Palacio, 245-52, (UNED, Universidad de Salamanca, 1990), 248.

[519] Echevarria also notes that Ávila's Muslim population is unusual in the historical record because its evolution can be traced from its creation in the twelfth century to the conversion to Christianity in the sixteenth. Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, *The City of the Three Mosques Ávila and Its Muslims in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011), 14.

never fully controlled by Andalusi authorities and Ávila was never an Islamic urban center, yet Muslims, as well as Jews, were a significant part of Ávila's population as early as the end of the eleventh century when the Christian settlers arrived. Muslims appear to have been brought to Ávila first as enslaved individuals in the twelfth century.[520] This practice is described by both Luis Ariz and in the *Segunda leyenda* which record enslaved Muslims contributing to the construction of city infrastructure.[521] Ariz explains that Count Raymond gave the bishop twenty enslaved "Moros" to work in the cathedral in a paragraph labeled "The count Don Raymond distributes the captives."[522] He also described how Alfonso of Aragon gave fifty "Moros" to aid in cathedral building.[523] The 1197 will of a certain Don Martín which left beds, bedding, and grain to "*duabas mauris mei*" (*my* two Moors), suggesting these Muslim women may have been enslaved, similarly shows possible evidence of slavery in Ávila's archival record as well.[524]

Ávila's Islamic history had violent origins but over the course of decades and centuries, enslaved Muslims in Ávila fought for their freedom establishing a rich Muslim community far

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[520] Echevarría Arsuaga, *The City of the Three Mosques,* 15; Javier Jiménez Gadea, Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, and Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta, *La memoria de Alá: mudéjares y moriscos de Ávila, (Museo de Ávila [15 de diciembre de 2011 a 18 de marzo de 2012]*, 2012), 7. The term "slave" carries with it differing meanings and conditions across time and space. In much of medieval Europe the feudal system that replaced Roman hierarchies created a new form of slavery as serfs. However serfs and slaves were distinct groups. In Iberia, as other places in Europe, captives were taken in times of war and held as slaves—their freedoms were suspended, they were deprived of rights, and their masters were subject to compensation should they die or be injured. For more on medieval slavery in Europe, see: Marc Bloch, *Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages: Selected Essays*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023; Samuel S. Sutherland, "The Study of Slavery in the Early and Central Middle Ages: Old Problems and New Approaches," *History Compass* 18, no. 11 (2020).

[521] Ángel Barrios García, ed., *Segunda Leyenda de la muy noble, leal y antigua ciudad de Ávila*, (Ávila: Caja de ahorros de Ávila, 2005), 65, 84.

[522] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 7, 11.

[523] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 15.

[524] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 85-87, doc. 43, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos. Carp 19, n. 7.

from their homelands.[525] A later wave of Islamic migration saw Muslims settling in Ávila as refugees from southern lands. With the arrival to the Iberian Peninsula of the more religiously conservative North-African Islamic dynasties in the mid-twelfth century, the Almoravids and Almohads, many Andalusi Muslims were expelled or fled north including to Ávila.[526] It is also important to note that the Muslim community of medieval and early modern Ávila was an ethnic and cultural mix, likely comprising Arab and Amazigh (or, Berber) Muslims, multi-generational families of Iberian or even Castilian Muslims, as well as newly arrived Andalusis or North Africans.

Muslim life in Ávila centered around the mosque which served as a religious as well as social center. Three mosques are documented in Ávila, and likely a fourth was constructed after the 1480 Cortes of Toledo banished Muslims, as well as Jews, to separate segregated neighborhoods.[527] Each mosque had an *alfaqui*, or religious leader and expert in Islamic law,

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[525] Echevarría Arsuaga, *The City of the Three Mosques,* 15. Additionally, in 1256 Alfonso X decreed Muslims be manumitted across the realm. See, Jiménez Gadea et. al., *La memoria de Alá,* 7.

[526] Jiménez Gadea et. al., *La memoria de Alá,* 7.

[527] The Order of 1480 in the Cortes de Toledo issued by the Catholic Kings demanded that Jews and Muslims live in separate neighborhoods, respectively called "*juderías*" and "*morerías*." Therefore, by 1483 Muslims who had previously lived distributed throughout the city, including near Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, were segregated to the southern part of Ávila. A digitized version of this section of the Cortes reads: "Los Reyes Católicos, a petición de los procuradores, mandaron que todos los Judíos y Moros de sus reinos tuviesen sus juderías y morerías distintas y apartadas de la vivienda de los cristianos; diputaron personas de confianza para hacer la separación dentro de dos años; dieron licencia de construir sinagogas y mezquitas en los barrios destinados a la habitación de los Judíos y Moros, en equivalencia de las que tuviesen en los lugares que abandonaban, 'tamañas como de primero;' facilitaron la edificación apremiando a los dueños de las casas y suelos señalados al efecto a venderlos por precio de tasación convenido entre dos personas, una designada por los cristianos a quienes importase, y otra por la aljama respectiva, dirimiendo la discordia, si la hubiese, el diputado o diputados que entendiesen en el apartamiento de las moradas; prohibieron a los Judíos adornar con oro o plata las toras o libros de su ley, salir con vestiduras de lienzo sobre las ropas a recibir a los Reyes, llevar a enterrar los suyos cantando a voces por las calles, etc." See "Capítulo XXII: Reinado de Don Fernando V y Doña Isabel I, los católicos," Biblioteca Virtual, Miguel de Cervantes, https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/cortes-de-los-antiguos-reinos-de-leon-y-de-castilla--2/html/fefc50d0-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_104.html, accessed 21 August 2023. Jews and Muslims were granted permission to replace the religious structures "in the same size as the original" that stood outside the newly defined *judería* or *morería*.

many of which are named in documentation beginning in the early-fourteenth century.[528] In addition, written sources provide clues as to where the mosques originally lay despite no surviving material evidence.[529] Originally Ávila's mosques lay both inside and outside the city walls, but after Muslims were banished to the *morería* in the fifteenth century, at least one mosque was rebuilt within the new extramural neighborhood.

Based on tax contributions to the Crown of Castile, Ávila's population of Muslims as well as Jews, is known to have been one of the largest in Castile, at least by the fourteenth century.[530] Teofilo Ruiz suggests that likely Muslims, and certainly Jews, in Ávila were more numerous proportionately to the minority populations of larger cities like Toledo or Burgos.[531] Much more than a robust population, Ruiz shows the significant economic contributions that Muslims and Jews made to the city of Ávila throughout the medieval and early modern period as well. For example, religious minorities were major actors within Ávila's "urban real estate market," owning nearly 75% of properties sold to ecclesiastics c. 1300.[532]

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[528] Jiménez Gadea et. al., *La memoria de Alá,* 12; "Almagí de la Villa," Duero Mudejar, http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/almagi-de-la-villa/index.html, accessed 17 August 2023.

[529] See the accompanying digital map and appendix for where these buildings may have once stood.

[530] Teófilo F. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society: The Case of Ávila," in *Interfaith Relationships and Perceptions of the Other in the Medieval Mediterranean/ Essays in Memory of Olivia Remie Constable,* edited by Sarah Savis-Secord, Belen Vicens and Robin Vose, 227-54, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 230. There is significantly more information on Jewish residents of Ávila than Muslim residents. Ruiz explains that the majority of the information we have on minority groups in Ávila come from property transactions specifically on properties eventually purchased by the cathedral chapter or other churches, thus the information is often skewed, showing sales *to* Christians from Muslims or Jews, but rarely vice versa. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 238.

[531] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 231. Ruiz estimates the population of Ávila at the end of the thirteenth century to be about 2,000-3,000, much smaller compared to Toledo's 10,000 or Burgos's 10,000-13,000. After the fifteenth century, Ávila's Jewish population was the largest in Castile.

[532] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 240. Some of their landholdings are recorded in the 1303 *Becerro*, and some in archival documents from Ávila's Diocesan Archives, which I have charted as well on the digital map accompanying this project.

Until 1360 when the Black Death and civil war greatly affected Castilian society, there is no documentation of violence against either religious minority in Ávila.[533] Even after religious violence swept Iberia in 1391 which resulted in many Castilian populations of Jews and Muslims dramatically declining, Ávila's plural population remained steady.[534] The city also did not contain a permanent Inquisition tribunal as other Castilian cities did.[535] Additionally, before the establishment of segregated neighborhoods in the fifteenth century, Jews, Muslims, and Christians lived side by side. As Ruiz notes, the small interior walled nucleus, where many Muslims and Jews lived prior to 1480, would have facilitated daily interactions between religious groups, and likely promoted peaceful relations.[536] The accompanying digital map also charts an intermingling of property owned by Christians, Muslims, and Jews outside the walls based on fourteenth-century documentation. For example, Ali, "Moor of Ávila," and his wife Almudena are recorded to have rented houses from Alfonso García, cleric of San Vicente, in 1379 adjacent to the Mercado Mayor (today's Mercado Grande in front of San Pedro); their neighbor's houses belonged to Benjamin, Jew of Ávila.[537] Thus daily interactions among the plural population extended beyond the walled barrier as well.

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[533] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 237.

[534] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 230. Antisemitic fervor, incited by Catholic figures including the archdeacon of Seville, Ferrán Martínez, reached a fever pitch in 1391 when riots broke out first in Seville in which the Jewish quarter was attacked by a violent mob killing thousands, with many others enslaved or forced into baptism to escape death. The riots spread to other cities including Barcelona, Girona, Lérida, Valencia and Córdoba where the Jewish quarter was similarly set aflame. See Benjamin R. Gampel, *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response, 1391–1392*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Maya Soifer Irish, "Towards 1391: The Anti-Jewish Preaching of Ferrán Martínez in Seville," in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism,* edited by Jonathan Adams and Cordella Heß, 306-19, (London and New York: Routledge, 2018).

[535] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 229.

[536] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 235-36.

[537] Archivo Diocesano de Ávila, caja pergaminos, doc. 16: "Dotacion de unas casas que estan en la plaza de San Vicente (24 mayo de 1379)."

In Ávila, it was clear that from a social and economic perspective there was a level of peaceful coexistence throughout much of the medieval period. Ruiz explains this relative harmony, which stood in contrast to other Castilian cities, as the result of living in close proximity and having little economic competition. Medieval Ávila's Christian elite earned the majority of their income from land rents and transhumance which allowed Jews and Muslims to dominate trade and commercial pursuits without Christian antagonism.[538] Yet, while a level of coexistence and economic freedom existed in Ávila, Christians still controlled the governing bodies of the city. With the implementation of segregated neighborhoods in 1480, the urban fabric of the city was altered resulting in more prejudice and social conflict. Additionally, after the trial of the Holy Child of La Guardia in 1491, a catalyst for the Edict of Expulsion of 1492, took place in Ávila and resulted in the death of three Jews and six Conversos, attitudes towards Jews as well as Muslims changed dramatically.[539] Ávila's Jews and Muslims sold their properties, many converted, and today, lamentably, Jewish and Muslim material culture is limited to fragmented tombstones.[540]

Distinct from the major Islamic cities conquered by Christian forces which retained robust Muslim populations, Ávila was a city founded by Christian power structures where Muslims were brought against their will and then later migrated to voluntarily. Unlike in Toledo,

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[538] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 250-51. However Ruiz explains this was in fact neither "tolerance nor Convivencia," but rather economic pragmatism.

[539] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 227-28; 256-57. The victims were condemned to death for the supposed murder of an eleven-year-old Christian boy, which turned out to be a hoax.

[540] Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 256. As an example, Saint Teresa's grandfather, Juan Sánchez of Toledo, was a *converso* (converted Jew) from Toledo, and his son, Alfonso Sánchez de Cepeda, Saint Teresa's father, became a successful wool merchant in Ávila and bought a patent of nobility enabling his daughter to become one of Spain's most important saints and mystics. See José Gómez-Menor Fuentes, *El linaje familiar de Santa Teresa y San Juan de la Cruz : sus parientes toledanos*, (Toledo: Fundación Juanelo Turriano, 1970). Many of the surviving tombstones reside in the Museo of Ávila today.

or other major Andalusi urban centers, Muslims in Ávila always lived under Christian control, thus an established visual tradition for Islamic architecture did not exist prior to the foundation of Ávila as a Castilian stronghold in the eleventh century. Mudejar, as I will argue below, was a hybrid style of architecture born out of the confrontation of Christian conquest and a rich preexisting visual language in al-Andalus. Ávila's original Muslim population was not native to the region, rather they arrived first as enslaved individuals and then as refugees, eventually building a vibrant local community over many centuries. But the conditions to engender a hybridization of architecture simply were not present in medieval Ávila as they had been in other conquered cities with a preexisting metropolitan identity and architecture.

Mudejar: The Summary and the Problem

In the most simplified sense, mudejar is an architectural style native to Iberia and a term used to describe buildings erected for non-Muslim patrons in lands conquered by Christians that had once belonged to the vast realm of al-Andalus. The stylistic, decorative, and construction techniques that characterize mudejar have origins in Islamic artistic traditions and include geometric and vegetal motifs, the use of stucco and tile, polylobed arches, wooden roofs, and most importantly for this discussion, brick.[541] However, as I demonstrate below, the use of brick

[541] It is important to note too that mudejar art is differentiated from Islamic art by the fact that it is created under conditions of Christian dominion as opposed to Islamic art which is typically understood as created under Islamic rule. In fact it should be noted here as well that Islamic art need not be constructed by Muslims. The term "Islamic" is also debated. Here is one definition: "When applied to art, it refers to the monuments and remains of material culture made by or for people who lived under rulers who professed the faith of Islam or in social and cultural entities which, whether themselves Muslim or not have been strongly influenced by the modes of life and thought characteristic of Islam. 'Islamic' unlike 'Christian' identifies not only a faith but also a whole culture…" in *Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250,* edited by Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, (New Heaven: Yale Universtiy Press), 2001. 3. For more about the debate concerning the term "Islamic" see also chapter 1 of *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, I, edited by Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2017). In reference to mudejar vs. Islamic art, Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualís explains, "in this essay, mudejar art is defined as a creation of medieval Christians in Spain," in "Mudejar: An Alternative Architectural System in the Castilian Urban Repopulation Model," *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3 (2006): 329. Jerrilyn Dodds makes clear that after Christian conquest, "Christian rulers presided over an artistic tradition that had been developed under Islamic rule," in "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain," in *Convivencia:*

in architectural expression of Iberia predates Islamic conquest of the peninsula and may have had an art-historical evolution in rural parts of Castile and León independent of an Islamic cultural impact. Moreover, Islamic architecture was not exclusively constructed in brick in Iberia, while in places like Toledo, it certainly was the material of choice for the upper echelons of urban society.

In order to analyze this church, we must also unpack the term "mudejar" and understand its relationship to brick construction, which, in Iberia, has become synonymous with mudejar. Since the first use of the term mudejar to refer to a medieval architectural style in 1859, the concept has aroused heated debate. Although mudejar is applied almost unanimously to brick architecture in Iberia that dates from 1085 to the sixteenth century, I (and others) contend that these two things—medieval brick architecture and mudejar architecture—are distinct and separate.

When José Amador de los Ríos applied the term "mudéjar" to describe medieval architecture in post-conquest Toledo during his inaugural speech at the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in 1859, "El estilo mudéjar en la arquitectura," he argued that what was once considered "Mozarabic" architecture was in fact built by *mudejares*, Muslim artisans who had remained in conquered territory.[542] Having been adapted from the Arabic term "*mudajjan*" meaning "those who remain behind," the term was already in use in other fields of scholarship to

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Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain, edited by Thomas F. Glick, Vivian B. Mann, and Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, 113-31, (New York: George Braziller Inc, 1992), 113.

[542] Pre-1859, Toledo's brick, hybrid architecture was thought to be a result of Mozarabs building in an Islamic style. María Isabel López Fernández, *La arquitectura mudéjar en Ávila*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 2004): 15. Mozarabs were Arabic-speaking Christians living in al-Andalus, many of whom later migrated north. There are a group of churches labeled "Mozarabic" in the canon of medieval Iberian architecture, however this term sparks its own debates. For an overview, see the article on Grove Art Online, I. G. Bango Torviso, "Mozarabic," 2003.

describe medieval Muslims who continued to live in lands conquered by Christians.[543] But Amador de los Ríos was the first to apply mudejar in the context of art history. Amador de los Ríos's theory resolved the supposed contradiction of Islamic artistic traditions being integrated into the Christian and Jewish sacred buildings of medieval Toledo's monumental landscape—though the patrons were not Muslims, the artisans were. Amador de los Ríos's speech and subsequent work affirmed that Muslims were indivisible from Castilian society and played an integral role in the development of the rich artistic culture of medieval Toledo, a radical perspective for some in the nineteenth century. From a nationalist perspective, mudejar was an expression of the intermarriage between Islamic and Christian cultures that was inherently Castilian, and therefore fundamentally Spanish.[544] For Amador de los Ríos, mudejar architecture was also proof of the political tolerance on the part of the Christian conquerors even as they violently encroached into al-Andalus.

Since the inauguration of the term in the nineteenth century, mudejar art and architecture provoked generations of debate and scores of studies. In 1906 the architect Vicente Lampérez y Romea described mudejar as purely ornamental—to him, it did not affect the structure of the Romanesque, Gothic, or Plateresque buildings it adorned; in 1970, Henri Terrasse explained that mudejar represented the continuity of Islamic workmanship in Christian Spain regardless of the ethnicity of the artist; in 1994, Fernando Chueca Goitia described mudejar as a fusion of Christian and Islamic traditions in opposition to Amador de los Ríos's "marriage," because a fusion cannot be separated, but a marriage can; and Dede Fairchild Ruggles argued in 1997 that

[543] Maria Rosa Menocal, "Just what is Mudéjar, really?," in *Spain's Multicultural Legacies. Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, edited by Adrienne L. Martín and Cristina Martínez Carazo, 148-61, (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2008), 151.

[544] Menocal, "Just what is Mudéjar, really?," 152.

mudejar architecture was used by medieval Castilian and Aragonese patrons to distinguish themselves by using a style seen more specifically as "not French," rather than Islamic.[545]

By the 1930s, the original understanding of mudejar art as the product of Muslim artists working for non-Muslim patrons was dismantled once and for all with Elie Lambert's discovery of Christian artist signatures in the so-called mudejar chapel in the cathedral of Toledo.[546] No longer could the Islamic elements of mudejar art be explained simply by the tastes and traditions of their Muslim makers—it was much more complex than a continuity of Muslim artisans working for non-Muslim patrons. At present, scholars accept that mudejar art need not be created by Muslims, but how one defines mudejar and what the style *means* continues to spark debate in the field of medieval art history. Moreover, the political aspects of mudejar that Amador de los Ríos originally inspired in the nineteenth-century remain—does this style express *convivencia* or triumphalism or tolerance or intolerance?

My primary interlocutor for the interpretation of this complex historiography is María Rosa Menocal who suggests that tying mudejar to religion is an error; mudejar is in fact an expression of the complex *culture* of medieval Castile. Following Roger Wright, Menocal proposes that in medieval Iberia, rather than linking mudejar fundamentally with Islam, it was a cultural expression of a complex identity that speaks to the "symbiosis and intimacy of the

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545 Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media: según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos*, vol. 1, (J. Blassy y cía, 1908); Henri Terrasse, "Formación y fuentes del arte Mudejar Toledano," *Archivo Español de Arte* 43, no. 172 (1970): 385; Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Consideraciones varias sobre el arte mudejar papeles de arquitectura esponola,* (Separata: Centros Universitarios de la Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa, Ávila, 1994); Dede Fairchild Ruggles, "Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain: Beatus Manuscripts and the Mudejar Churches of Teruel," in *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, edited by Ross Brann, 77-106, (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997). For a more robust summary of the debates and historiography see López Fernández, *La arquitectura mudéjar en Ávila*, 15-22; and José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudéjar en las tierras de Ávila," in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 52-53.

546 David Raizman, "The Church of Santa Cruz and the beginnings of Mudejar architecture in Toledo," *Gesta* 38, no. 2 (1999): 137.

conqueror and conquered."[547] She argues that for a patron like Samuel Halevi, the founder of the fourteenth-century El Tránsito synagogue in Toledo, the mudejar elements would not have been seen as signifiers of Islam, but of the plural, hybrid culture that defined medieval Castile (Figure 117).[548] When Christian conquerors arrived in Toledo, they became enamored with the local architectural vernacular of brick—adapted it, altered it, and spread it throughout the Christian realms. That is, brick was not necessarily a signifier of "Muslim" at the time of Christian conquest, but rather, the material communicated an overall message of prestige and esteem in the local milieu. This hybrid style came to be an indicator of Castilian dominance, and for Menocal, mudejar was, in its most refined sense, an expression of Castilian high culture and the preferred style used in the court of Alfonso X and other powerful monarchs.

Menocal considers mudejar through a cultural lens, yet other scholars apply varying definitions. David Raizman describes the mudejar style of the twelfth-century church of Cristo de la Luz in Toledo as "an architectural esthetic characterized by integration and modification of materials and techniques of Islamic art" (Figure 118).[549] María Elena Díez Jorge defines mudejar

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[547] Menocal, "Just what is Mudéjar, really?," 152.

[548] Menocal, "Just what is Mudéjar, really?," 151n5. She uses the example of El Tránsito synagogue in Toledo and questions whether the mudejar style there is an expression of the "tres culturas" as it is held up in tourist fare, or if it is more accurately an expression of *one* culture. For a different perspective see Jerrilyn Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain," who argues that the Jewish patrons of Iberia's few surviving medieval synagogues purposefully chose to build their temples in the mudejar style as a way to link Toledo's Jewish community to the Muslim community. She suggests that the Jewish patrons of Toledo's synagogues understood mudejar as a signifier of Islamic culture, and chose that architectural style deliberately because Jews were treated better under Islamic rule and they saw themselves as sharing a culture with Muslims. See also, Daniel Muñoz-Garrido, "The prevalence of Islamic Art amongst Jews of Christian Iberia: Two Fourteenth-century Castilian Synagogues in Andalusian Attire," in *Synagogues in the Islamic World, Architecture, Design, and Identity,* edited by Mohammad Gharipour, 127-44, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2017). He also shows the ways in which elite Jews like Samuel Halevi "performed" Castilian nobility through architectural expression.

[549] Raizman, "The Church of Santa Cruz," 138. For more on Cristo de la Luz, which has its own complicated history and historiography, see: Susanna Calvo Capilla, "The Mosque of Bab-El-Mardum," *Al-Qantara* 20, no. 2 (1999): 299-330; Gregory S. Hutcheson, "Contesting the Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz," *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 43, no. 1 (2014): 201-29.

as "a field covering all artistic expression in the areas of Al-Andalus that were conquered by Christian Kingdoms."[550] Notably, the definitions above do not point to the specific *formal* elements that might define what the style actually looks like.

If an artistic style is defined not by its formal elements, but by the cultural contexts in which the work of art was created, how do we identify and catalogue it? Menocal explains that mudejar "is self-evidently not a coherent artistic or aesthetic style, in the conventional sense of that term," meaning that it is a hybrid style defined by cultural and geographical conditions rather than a set of formal features.[551] The term mudejar originally applied to a group of people, Muslims who remained in conquered territory. As the term was translated into the field of art history, it could not contain the ambiguity of its original meaning and it became flattened into a traditional artistic style defined by specific formal qualities which originated in Islamic artistic expressions: in particular, brick. Herein lies the unique problem directly at the heart of our study of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and medieval Iberian brick architecture more generally—from an art historical perspective, they are the formal elements that determine an artistic style, but mudejar art, according to Menocal, is better understood as a byproduct of cultural and geographic conditions.

There is also the issue of chronology when it comes to defining mudejar architecture. Grove Art describes mudejar as "the art and architecture of Islamic inspiration produced for non-Muslim patrons in the areas of the Iberian Peninsula reconquered by Christians *between 1085*

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[550] María Elena Díez Jorge, "Women and the Architecture of Al-Andalus (711-1492). A Historiographical Analysis," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as Makers*, edited by Therese Martin, 479-521, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), 479.

[551] Menocal, "Just what is Mudéjar, really?" 150.

and the sixteenth century."[552] Díez Jorge explains: "the new Christian rulers made use of the architectural legacy bequeathed to them by the Muslims, a legacy accompanied by a more intangibly acquired knowledge of techniques, organization, and formal solutions that continued to be applied *during the mudéjar period from 1492 onwards*."[553] Significantly, Díez Jorge defines the mudejar period *after* 1492 when the last Muslim dynasty, the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, was conquered by the Catholic Kings. For Díez Jorge, mudejar art and architecture did not develop until the end of the fifteenth century when Christians had decisively gained control over the entire peninsula, while Grove Art and others date the origins of mudejar to the Christian conquest of Toledo in the late-eleventh century. This chronological inconsistency becomes significant when trying to date Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and other medieval brick buildings.

The complexity of the term mudejar, its transformation from a term used to categorize a social group to describing an artistic style, has left students and scholars of medieval Spanish art history in a confused position trying to dissect what is or is not mudejar—especially when it comes to brick structures. Brick architecture and mudejar architecture are not one and the same. However, the local elite tradition of brick construction in (arguably) the birthplace of mudejar architecture—Toledo—created a permanent link between brick construction, mudejar architecture, and Muslim practitioners. In this way, brick construction has become synonymous with mudejar which is synonymous with Muslim. Because of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's majority-brick construction, it is included in surveys of mudejar architecture, and in other publications it still retains that label, despite the fact, as I argue below, it falls into a distinct category—that of brick, *non*-mudejar churches.

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[552] Basilio Pavón Maldonado, "Mudéjar," 2003, Grove Art Online. Italics are my own.

[553] Díez Jorge, "Women and the Architecture of Al-Andalus," 481. Italics are my own.

Mudejar Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza: A Revision of the Evidence

The brick construction at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza—the lone example in the capital city—has led the church to be labeled as mudejar. For example, it is a subject of study in José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo's 2001 survey, "Sobre el mudéjar en la provincia de Ávila," as well as in the chapter entitled "Románico y mudéjar en las tierras de Ávila" in the *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León,* also penned by Gutiérrez Robledo. The inclusion of the term mudejar when cataloguing Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza automatically implies (intentionally or not) an explicit and direct connection to Islamic culture that is not necessarily accurate. The use of brick to construct the majority of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza has inaccurately forced the study of this monument through the lens of mudejar. Consequently, an assumed Muslim connection has been bolstered by a fifteenth-century archival source brought to light by Serafín de Tapia Sánchez examined below.

Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's association with Islamic culture dates back to the early twentieth century when Manuel Gómez-Moreno first characterized this church as "one of the small and humble gems of Moorish-Romanesque."[554] Further reinforcing a connection to an Islamic origin is his description of the marble Chrismon embedded above the south portal with vegetal designs as having "*hojitas árabes*" (small Arab leaves) (Figure 116).[555] This early designation by Gómez-Moreno has affected the way in which Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza has subsequently been studied and interpreted. In my opinion, research has focused on discovering "proof" of a Muslim connection to justify its "*mudejarismo*" (i.e. brick construction) which in turn has obscured other pathways of investigation and ignored other critical questions.

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[554] *Ávila: Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, 206: "una de las pequeñas y humildes joyas de nuestra albañilería románico-morisca." Translation by author.

[555] *Ávila: Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, 206.

In 1990 Serafín de Tapia Sánchez solidified Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's direct Islamic lineage through archival evidence. De Tapia Sánchez links Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and her neighbor, the parish church of San Martín, to Muslim workmanship through a 1483 document that records that Muslims operated brick kilns in the vicinity.[556] In the document which is housed in the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Ávila (Municipal Archives), Muslim artisans ask the city council (*concejo*) to allow them to sleep in their brick workshop (*alfares*) which is located outside of the designated *morería*, in order to protect their goods from damage during the night; a fate they had unfortunately been subjected to previously. For de Tapia Sánchez, this document recording a brick workshop in the same neighborhood of the only surviving majority-brick church is significant for explaining the unusual use of this material. Connecting the documented brick layers from 1483 to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza as well as San Martín, which includes a brick tower, for de Tapia Sánchez offers evidence of a clear and direct example of Muslim artisanship responsible for building religious Christian architecture, creating an exemplar of mudejar architecture in Amador de los Ríos's most traditional sense. However, I argue that the church was built around 200 years before this document was written and that the proximity of brick ovens was not necessarily an indication of involvement in construction.

A gap of two centuries calls into question the relationship between these disparate pieces of evidence: an early-thirteenth-century church and late-fifteenth-century archival source. While de Tapia Sánchez does not explicitly explain his position, his article implies that he believes Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza dates to the fifteenth century, falling into a category of mudejar closer to that defined above by Díez Jorge, that is, beginning after the period of ultimate

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[556] de Tapia Sánchez, "Personalidad étnica," 248. Ruiz also provides documented evidence of Muslims as particularly important tile and brick makers in the fifteenth century: Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society," 253.

peninsular conquest by Christian forces (post-1492).[557] Situating Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza within a late-fifteenth-century chronology might justify the connection to a late-fifteenth-century archival record of Muslim brick makers in the surrounding area. However, while the exact chronology of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is still debated, I argue below that it was likely built c. 1200, over 200 years before the 1483 archival source was penned.

Beyond the chronological issue, de Tapia Sánchez's theory hinges on a location-based argument that I dispute. The brick workshop referenced in 1483 was located on Luenga Street, today called Ajates street, which is located to the north of the city outside of the walls close to the parish churches of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and San Martín. These two buildings are the only extant parish churches with significant elements constructed in brick.[558] According to de Tapia Sánchez, the location of brick ovens near these parish churches justified the utilization of brick in their construction. However, a location-based argument for construction material is a generally faulty line of argumentation considering materials were transported all over the city and beyond. What is also always left out of this particular conversation is the fact that another parish church, San Andrés, is equally close to the location of the documented brick ovens, yet it is not made out of brick (Figures 86-91), further challenging an argument dependent on proximity. Furthermore, although Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's nave and San Martín's tower (Figure 119) both include brick construction, they diverge greatly in style, suggesting their brick campaigns may not be related.[559] While this document is undeniably an valuable source for

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[557] Tapia Sánchez, "Personalidad étnica y trabajo artístico," 248.

[558] "Alfares de la calle Ajates," *Duero Mudéjar*, http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/alfares-de-la-calle-ajates-avila/index.html, (Last consulted 21 September 2021). The document is found here: Archivo Municipal de Ávila, sección histórica, leg. 1-77 (9-VIII-1483).

[559] San Martín's tower is usually dated to the fourteenth century, posterior to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, but still about a century before the brick ovens are documented in 1483.

understanding Ávila's history, most importantly highlighting daily life experiences for Muslims and *moriscos* in the late-medieval and early-modern city, its direct relevance to the construction of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is questionable.

Finally, the church's historiography raises a further issue. Later publications including the *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León* and *Ávila: Todo el Románico* pick up and rely on de Tapia Sánchez's citation. They uncritically repeat the assertion that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza was constructed by Muslim brick artisans. However, these sources also contradict themselves because they include Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in their surveys of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Romanesque churches of Ávila yet cite a historiographical data point based on a fifteenth-century document.[560] The limited studies conducted for this exceptional case study have allowed a flawed theory to take root and become fact. My intention has not been necessarily to disprove the theory of Muslim artisans working on this church, but to challenge it. In this way, I open up other avenues of investigation and look at other possible explanations for Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's unusual brick usage that have so far been overlooked—namely its stylistic connection to other nearby rural churches and a hypothesis about the parish's original patronage.

Brick Analysis

> What is traditionally qualified as mudejar architecture is often made of brick, but Romanesque brick architecture and other medieval brick traditions also exist in a great number of monuments in Castile and León. *Thus not all medieval Spanish brick architecture is mudejar, nor is all mudejar architecture built of brick*.[561]

This quote from Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualís very succinctly sums up the challenge of categorization that has plagued Iberian architectural history in a way that is not true in other parts

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[560] Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is jointly included in the surveys of Romanesque architecture of the city of Ávila and the mudejar architectural surveys of the province of Ávila.
[561] Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualís, "Mudejar," 332. Italics are my own.

of Europe. The many examples of medieval brick churches in Italy, France, Germany, and elsewhere have generally not elicited a debate about the ethnic origin of this material or construction technique.[562] But in Spain, where a brick building tradition is associated with mudejar which then simultaneously has come to denote an Islamic origin, a crisis of understanding emerges. In the final part of chapter four, I outline the history of brick production on the peninsula, the typology of rural brick churches that are not mudejar, and include an in-depth analysis of bricks at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and other *comparanda*. Based on this analysis, I argue that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza fits firmly within a twelfth- and thirteenth-century architectural tradition of rural churches constructed in brick. I argue that the appearance of the brick architectural vernacular in the capital city was a reflection of the rural origins of the parish, not proof of Muslim workmanship.

Brick Production in Iberia: A Brief History

Bricks are regularly-shaped building blocks made out of clay that have been fired in molds in order to maintain a standardized size and shape. Brick is distinct from adobe which is simply sun-baked clay. In order to vitrify, the clay must be heated to between 900-1150 degrees Celsius for eight to fifteen hours and left to cool gradually to avoid cracking. The exact temperature and bake time varies depending on the type of clay—heat the clay too low and it crumbles, too high and it turns nearly to glass. The firing process hardens, strengthens, and

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[562] For example, the German towns of the Hanseatic League produced brick Gothic architecture in the thirteenth century: see Harreld Donald, *A Companion to the Hanseatic League*, (Leiden: Brill, 2015). For more on brick architecture in northern Europe, see also: Vincent Debonne, "Brick Production and Brick Building in Medieval Flanders," in Fresh *Approaches to Brick: production and Use in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the session 'Utilization of Brick in the Medieval Period – Production, Construction, Destruction. Held at the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) Meeting,29 August to 1 September 2012 in Helsinki, Finland*, edited by Tanja Ratilainen, Rivo Bernotas, and Christofer Herrmann, 11-26 (Oxford: Archeopress, 2014); Alexander Lehouck, "The Very Beginning of Brick Architecture North of the Alps: The Case of the Low Countries and the Question of the Cistercian Origin," in *Actes de colloque de Clairvaux-Troyes-Fontenay, 1er-5 septembre 2015*, 41-56, (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2019).

waterproofs the bricks. The precision and consistency of the temperature and long bake time meant the kilns, or brick-firing ovens, had to be accurately built, tended to, and watched by skilled and knowledgeable craftspeople.[563]

Brick production was introduced to Iberia by the Romans around the middle of the first century. From then until around the third or fourth centuries, there is evidence of sustained widespread brick production in Roman Iberia. However from the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, evidence of brick production becomes much less common, with a particular decrease in the sixth and seventh centuries.[564] This timeline coincides with the weakening of the Roman empire, and was likely the result of large Roman-run brick and ceramic production centers ceasing to exist. Brick building did not disappear entirely, however. There are examples of brick buildings in Mérida in the fifth century (Figure 120); documented cases of Roman style ovens, yet of a smaller size, used to make both ceramics and building materials exist in the sixth and seventh centuries in places like Alameda del Señorío;[565] bricks were integrated into Asturian architecture between the eighth and tenth centuries (Figure 121); and in Madinat al-Zahra, brick counted among the building materials used to construct the lavish mid-tenth-century Islamic palatial city (Figure 122). In each of these examples there are both reused and new bricks included in construction. It has been theorized that the continuity of brick production post-Roman decline depended on small fragmented urban centers and itinerant brick layers between

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[563] James W.P. Campbell, *Brick: A World History*, (Thames & Hudson, 2003), 14.

[564] Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, "Building Archaeology and Social Change: Medieval Tiles and Bricks in Spain," in *Technik des Backsteinbaus im Europa des Mittelalters*, edited by Rene Gutteridge, 39-45, (Imhof Verlag, 2004); Enrique Daza Pardo, "Construir con ladrillo en la periferia de al-Ándalus hacia el año 1000. La actividad fronteriza califal y la 'mampostería encintada cajeada,'" *Arqueología de la Arquitectura* 15, (2018): 3.

[565] Daza Pardo, "Construir con ladrillo," 3.

the fifth and tenth centuries.[566] By the tenth century, the production of brick was reestablished on a larger scale on the Iberian Peninsula especially in large Andalusi cities like Córdoba that needed an easy, cheap material to keep up with urban growth.[567]

By the twelfth century, a resurgence of brick production is seen in scale on the peninsula as well as in other parts of Europe. A twelfth-century treatise written by Ibn Abdun outlines standards of brick quality and kiln use.[568] By the middle or end of the twelfth century, kilns are documented in Castile, indicating a stable tradition of brick and ceramic production in the area by that time. Municipal privileges including from Teruel (1177) and Cuenca (1194) include regulations of brick size, production, price, and location of workshops. Brick kilns associated with the monasteries of Sahagún in León and San Pedro of Villanueva in Asturias are documented from the thirteenth century. There is even a textual source forbidding the import and export of bricks in Castile in order to protect the local markets.[569] These sources describe medieval brick production in Christian realms as well as in al-Andalus in the High Middle Ages.

Though fragmented, brick production in Iberia was practiced continuously in Iberia from the first century; it did not arrive with the Islamic conquest in the eighth century. In other words, Iberian brick architectural production does not have an exclusively Islamic origin and thus brick should not be synonymous with Muslim. Many brick buildings had an entirely separate art historical trajectory distinct from the architecture we call mudejar which developed in Toledo within the context of conquest and cultural confrontation at the end of the eleventh century.

Brick Architecture in Castile and León

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[566] Quirós Castillo, "Building Archaeology and Social Change," 39-45.

[567] Daza Pardo, "Construir con ladrillo," 3.

[568] Quirós Castillo, "Building Archaeology and Social Change," 43.

[569] Quirós Castillo, "Building Archaeology and Social Change," 45.

Although Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is the only surviving majority-brick built church in Ávila, beyond the borders of the capital city, the province of Ávila and other nearby regions boast many twelfth- and thirteenth-century brick churches outside major urban centers. This group of churches has challenged traditional architectural categorizations because they were built between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with floorplans consistent with a Romanesque tradition, yet instead of the more expected ashlar masonry, they are constructed out of brick. Lacking a more accurate term or category, Spanish art historians collate this group of brick monuments into surveys of "mudéjar" or "mudéjar-Romanesque" architecture. These surveys include *Guía del románico de Ávila y primer mudéjar de la Moraña*, *Sobre el mudejar en la provincia de Ávila,* and *Arte mudéjar* (Tomo IV of *Historia del arte de Castilla y León*), among others.[570] As described above, the complex historiography of mudejar has become permanently linked with brick construction. The utilization of brick forces Spanish art historians into stylistic constraints of applying the term "mudejar" simply because of the construction material, regardless of any evidence of direct Islamic inspiration or origin.

Though the term is flawed, as I have outlined above, I fall into the school of thought that identifies a "true" mudejar structure as a culturally hybrid expression of art or architecture with a traceable Islamic origin. Manuel Valdés Fernández attempts to distinguish the brick churches that adorn the countryside of Castile and León from mudejar buildings with a clear Islamic origin. Valdés Fernández prefers the term "*albañilería románica*" (brick masonry

[570] Carmelo Luis Lòpez, José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, Matilde Revilla Rujas, and Teresa Gómez Espinoza, eds., *Guía del románico de Ávila y primer mudéjar de la Moraña,* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1982); José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo*, Sobre el mudéjar en la provincia de Ávila. Papeles de Arquitectura Español 4,* (Ávila: Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa, Instituto de Arquitectura Juan de Herrera, 2001); *Historia del arte de Castilla y León, Tomo IV, "Arte Mudéjar,"* directed by F.J. de la Plaza Santiago y S. Marchán Fiz, 9-128, (Valladolid: Ámbito, 1996).

Romanesque)[571] over "mudéjar-Romanesque" to describe the aforementioned group because "the conception of the spaces and volumes [of the churches] have their origins in Romanesque models."[572] In this way, he is purposefully avoiding the confusing title "mudejar" even though the churches are built using brick. He goes on to say, "there is no conceptual nor methodological nor any necessary reason to force the inclusion of this group of buildings under the umbrella of mudéjar architecture."[573] In this introductory section, Valdés Fernández is conscientiously differentiating between the group of rural "brick-Romanesque" churches which have floorplans and volumes reminiscent of a northern-European Romanesque architectural tradition and structures with direct Islamic inspiration. Ironically, this essay is included in the volume "Arte Mudéjar" as part of the larger series, *Historia del Arte de Castilla y León*, highlighting a major categorical problem scholars face with mudejar in medieval art history.

Valdés Fernández associates the rural brick churches of Castile and León specifically with the "repoblación," or the Christian resettlement that took place between the Duero and Tagus rivers after the conquest of Toledo in 1085. He argues that the construction of these brick churches coincides with and is intimately tied to the settlement of these areas under Alfonso VI, and especially in the second phase of settlement which saw the reorganization of the diocese and the organization and expansion of territory under Alfonso VII, Alfonso VIII, Fernando II, and

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[571] This term poses a problem of translation. "Albañilería" is often translated into English as "masonry," however in Spanish this is a term used to describe any type of regular, aligned construction, not necessarily referring to a specific material, and can refer to either brick or stone. Here it is used specifically to contrast against ashlar construction, and in this particular context it refers to brick.

[572] Manuel Valdés Fernández, "Arte de los siglos XII a XV y cultura mudejar," in *Historia del arte de Castilla y León*, Tomo IV, "Arte Mudéjar," directed by F.J. de la Plaza Santiago and S. Marchán Fiz, (Valladolid: Ambito, 1996), 30: "la concepción de los espacios y volúmenes tiene su origin en modelos románicos." Translation is my own.

[573] Valdés Fernández, "Arte de los siglos XII a XV y cultura mudejar," 30: "no hay razones de necesidad, conceptuales o metodolóicas, para forzar la inclusión de este conjunto de edificios dentro de la arquitectura mudejar." Translation by author.

Alfonso IX.[574] Váldes Fernández recognizes these rural brick structures as a type of popular architecture characterized by a collective, anonymous, and economical quality.[575] Daniel Rico Camps follows this assessment when he differentiated between “arte de frontera” (frontier art) and “arte *rural* de frontera” (*rural* frontier art) which he points out is overwhelmingly “mudejar,” meaning brick, in the regions of Ávila, Salamanca, Segovia, and Valladolid.[576]

The use of brick in rural parts of León and Castile is also related to environmental conditions. Manuel Gómez-Moreno recognized the brick churches of Ávila province as “imposed by the nature of the soil, [that is,] popular architecture,” meaning the brick construction was the product of the available resources of that particular environment.[577] For Gutiérrez Robledo, mudejar simply refers to the local brick tradition of a region absent of stone quarries, not necessarily with any direct connection to Islamic culture. In his study of brick architecture in the province of Ávila, Gutiérrez Robledo uses the term mudejar (confusingly, in my opinion) simply as a synonym for brick. He clarifies that while it is possible that a local brick tradition may have originated in Islamic society centuries earlier, it was the result of regional conditions that kept up the tradition. The custom continued because of practicality—access to materials, knowledge, and a lack of quarries—rather than any specific ethno-cultural significance.[578] José Antonio Ruíz Hernando follows the same model in his 1988 survey of brick

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[574] Valdés Fernández, “Arte de los siglos XII a XV y cultura mudejar,” 28.

[575] Valdés Fernández, “Arte de los siglos XII a XV y cultura mudejar,” 28-29.

[576] Daniel Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones),* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1999), 243. Rico Camps is here using the term “mudejar” as shorthand for brick architecture built in post-conquest lands.

[577] López Fernández, *La arquitectura mudéjar en Ávila*, 24. She is citing Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Ávila*, vol. 1, (Ávila: Ediciones Institución Gran Duque de Alba, Dirección general de bellas artes y archivos, 1983), 223-26: “impuesta por la naturaleza del suelo, arquitectura popular.” Translation is my own.

[578] Gutiérrez Robledo, “Románico y mudéjar en las tierras de Ávila,” 53.

architecture in a quarry-less region of Segovia, explaining that brick architecture "covers the south-western zone of the province—a land of sand and pine trees."[579] He distinguished brick architecture in this area free of quarries as distinct from the Islamic-inspired brick architecture especially prominent in Andalucía and Aragón under the Trastámara dynasty (Figure 123).[580] Ruíz Hernando also makes clear that within his survey he uses the term "mudejar" simply as a synonym for "brick" to "avoid confusion."[581] Although in my opinion, his use of mudejar promotes more misunderstanding.

Because of the history of the term, when scholars attempt to use mudejar simply as a synonym for brick, the term inherently also carries with it the double meaning of "Muslim." Thus the outcome is that when one labels the rural brick churches in Ávila or elsewhere, and Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in particular, as mudejar, they transfer an unspoken assumed direct link to Islamic society simply through ambiguous terminology. The continued haphazard use of mudejar generates false narratives for complex buildings—even those who recognize the limitations of the term are still confined by the limitations of the field.

Ávila and the Lack of Hybrid Architecture

I find it critical to point out the vast difference in urban history between Ávila and the traditional narrative of mudejar's origins. Some, including David Raizman, paint Toledo as the

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[579] José Antonio Ruiz Hernando, *La arquitectura de ladrillo en la provincia de Segovia, siglos XII y XIII*, (Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1988), 15: "la arquitectura de ladrillo que cubre la zona sur occidental de la provincia-tierra de arenas y Pinares." Translation by author.

[580] The House of Trastámara came to power in 1369. Among their monarchs was Enrique IV (Henry) who won the civil war against his brother Pedro I (Peter the Cruel). Both were patrons of well-known "true" mudejar architecture including the Alcazar of Seville.

[581] Ruiz Hernando, *La arquitectura de ladrillo en la provincia de Segovia*, 15: "evitar confusiones."

birthplace of mudejar architecture.[582] The conventional story goes that when Alfonso VI took over the city from al-Qadir in 1085, the local tradition of brick architecture during the *taifa* period was adopted by Christian elites in the Christian period.[583] In particular, the monument of Cristo de la Luz is held up as the paragon of mosque-turned-church conversion that initiated the development of mudejar architecture as a hybrid style. When the brick mosque of Bab al-Mardum was converted into the church of Cristo de la Luz c. 1183, the builders matched the style of the earlier mosque when they added the rounded apse to the northeast side (Figure 118). In this way, the builders of the new Cristo de la Luz church successfully fused the liturgical needs of the Order of St. John with the preexisting visual language of Toledo's Islamic elite. Although this reading is over-simplified and in many ways problematic, we can see how the visual tradition of the urban, brick architecture of Toledo during its time as the capital of the *taifa* kingdom was adopted by the Christian conquerors at the end of the eleventh century, and from there spread through the courts of the Castilian kings.[584] After the conquest of Toledo, brick mudejar architecture was inseparable from Castilian high culture.[585] However, the rural Leonese and Castilian brick churches that I described above were constructed far from the cultural,

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[582] Raizman, "The Church of Santa Cruz," 128-41.While the origins of mudejar architecture are debated, many agree that the mudejar style began in Toledo. Toledo was the topic of Amador de los Ríos's original speech in 1859 when he coined the term in Art History.

[583] It should also be noted that the Christian "conquest" of Toledo was not the great conquest that it is often hailed to be in the literature. It "...can scarcely be said to have conquered the city...he simply waited for it to dissolve from within..." David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002-1086*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 256.

[584] Susanna Calvo Capilla and Gregory Hutcheson have adeptly demonstrated the problematic approach to this building. See: Calvo Capilla, "The Mosque of Bab-El-Mardum," 299-330; Gregory S. Hutcheson, "Contesting the Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz," 201-29. Through archival evidence, Calvo Capilla has proven that before the building was converted into a church for the Order of St. John, it was first converted into a private home after Christian conquest of the city. The architectural additions were not added until the 1180s, nearly 100 years after the city was taken and the building ceased to be a mosque.

[585] Menocal, "Just what is Mudéjar, really?," 153.

artistic, and political centers of Toledo or Seville that had produced an architectural hybridization through the confrontation of cultures and artistic styles.

Toledo was an important Islamic metropolitan city that continued to be a cultural and artistic hub under Christian rule. On the contrary, Ávila was never a bustling Islamic city nor cultural hotspot with an established architectural vernacular to be adopted, altered, and disseminated by the conquering Christians. The *Extremadura Castellana* did not have major cities before the arrival of the Christians conquerors at the end of the eleventh century, but instead was a sparsely populated, relatively harsh environment mostly frequented by semi-nomadic people practicing transhumance.[586] The cities of the *Extremadura Castellana* grew out of a military need of conquest and defense, as opposed to places like Toledo, Seville, or Córdoba which were preexisting urban and cultural capitals in al-Andalus, violently repackaged as Christian cities. Therefore, mudejar architecture did not and could not have developed in Ávila the same way as in Toledo: there was no well-established architectural vernacular to adapt nor a large preexisting plural population to produce the cultural conditions necessary for the emergence of a hybrid architecture style.[587]

Mudejar style architecture could have traveled to Ávila as an established visual language in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries after its initial phases elsewhere, but my goal here is not to enter into the debate of the origins of mudejar architecture. Instead, I aim to contextualize Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza with other contemporary rural "non-mudejar" brick churches of the neighboring regions. By lumping Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza into the category of "mudejar," it

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[586] Although Ávila was inhabited prior to Alfonso VI's founding, it did not achieve the status of city until the Castilian crown built it up as a fortified military outpost that later grew into an urban hub.

[587] As previously described in this dissertation, a monumental architectural footprint simply did not exist before the mid-twelfth-century construction boom. There may have been fragments of walls, or a ruined Visigothic church, but it was nothing compared to the metropolis of Toledo or other Andalusi capitals.

carries with it the historiographic baggage of that term. The term inadvertently and erroneously associates the church with the same type of hybridization of an elite plural society reminiscent of Toledo's. On the contrary, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is likely more closely linked to her rural neighbors than the elite brick architecture which María Rosa Menocal argues was a conveyor of Castilian high culture. Yet the collapsing of the term "mudejar" with "brick" has eternally linked Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza with all the implications that such a weighty term implies.

Comparanda

Contrary to a fifteenth-century chronology that de Tapia Sánchez adheres to, there is significant evidence that points instead to a construction date in the twelfth- or thirteenth-century for Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. Firstly, there is the aforementioned stone that lists the church's consecration in 1210, recorded by Luis Ariz in the seventeenth century. Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza also appears in Gil Torres's list of revenues for the diocese of Ávila from 1250, however this document does not mention what the church looked like at that time.[588] As complement to these scant pieces of textual documentation, churches similar in form and technique present useful comparative material to aid in dating Ávila's Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

As detailed above, a number of rural brick churches exist outside of the capital in the province of Ávila, as well as in other regions of Castile and León. In Ávila province, the brick churches of Arévalo and in the La Moraña region are well documented. Some examples include Santa María la Mayor de Arévalo (Figure 124), San Nicolás de Madrigal de las Altas Torres (Figure 125), and the small chapel known as La Lugareja (Figure 126).[589] These examples characterize a provincial rural landscape of brick architecture and share some stylistic similarities

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[588] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 150-51, doc. 83, AC, Sección documentos, n. 15.

[589] See Gutiérrez Robledo, "Sobre mudéjar en la provincial de Ávila."

with our object of study. Unfortunately these churches similarly lack textual sources and firm chronologies, but Gutiérrez Robledo suggests they date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[590] Nevertheless, some examples have more solid chronologies that enable us to build a relative dating schema.

Critical to the exercise of relative dating is the chapel of San Mancio within the ruins of the monastery of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagún in León (Figure 127).[591] A consecration inscription dated to 1184 survives from this structure showing indisputable evidence that brick church construction existed in twelfth-century León. A surviving arcade is made up of simple rounded arches framed by brick headers in stack bond form, what might be considered *alfizes*. Though more numerous and more narrow than the nave arcades at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, the design is comparable. Additionally, what was once the clerestory of this ruined structure consists of small, rounded windows with two archivolts composed of arched brick bands, very similar to the clerestory windows found in Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza; however in San Mancio these windows are set within a frame, while those in Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza are not. A firm twelfth-century date for this chapel and its architectural elements that are similar to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza suggest Ávila's church may also fall within the same twelfth-century chronological frame.

Three closely related churches to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in terms of style are located in the village of Cuéllar in the province of Segovia: San Martín (Figure 128), San Miguel (Figure 129), and Santa María de la Cuesta (Figure 130). Recent work on San Martín in 2021 revealed a previously hidden wall consisting of an arcade of wide, rounded arches constructed in

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[590] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Sobre mudéjar en la provincial de Ávila," 9.

[591] See Javier Pérez Gil and Juan José Sánchez Badiola, *Monarquía y monacato en la Edad Media peninsular: Alfonso VI y Sahagún*, (León: Universidad de León, 2002).

brick, similar in form and style to the interior nave arcades at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. This church is attested to in documents from 1322, and the specialists working on this church have dated this new discovery to the thirteenth century. [592] A similar three-arch rounded arcade of brick also exists at San Miguel (Figure 131), which was first documented from 1313, but may have been constructed earlier.[593] Santa María de la Cuesta similarly contains an arcade of wide rounded arches with three archivolts composed of brick bands that has been heavily restored and remodeled into a north portal and porch. Documentation attests to these Cuéllar churches from the early fourteenth century, and their building fabric may date to an earlier period in the thirteenth century. The three-arch rounded arcades found in each example, as well as Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, provide a comparative model that dates to the thirteenth or early-fourteenth century.

Beyond the three aforementioned examples most closely related stylistically to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, the village of Cuéllar is replete with more medieval brick churches, some of which appear in additional documentation from the thirteenth or early-fourteenth centuries. Antonio Ruíz Hernando has also published the first textual mentions of the other brick churches in Cuéllar: Santiago in 1244 (Figure 132), Santa Marina in 1273 (Figure 133), El Salvador in 1299 (Figure 134), San Esteban in 1302 (Figure 135), and Santísima Trinidad also in 1322 (Figure 136).[594] Furthermore, Antonio Ubieto Arteta's published edition of archival documents from Cuéllar provides added documentary evidence, recording church mentions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: San Esteban in 1247; San Sebastián, Santa Marina, and Santo Tomás in

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[592] Ruiz Hernando, *La arquitectura de ladrillo*, 69.

[593] Antonio Ubieto Arteta ed., *Colección diplomática de Cuéllar*, (Segovia: Publicaciones históricas de la excma. Diputación provincial de Segovia, 1961): XXIV.

[594] Ruiz Hernando, *La arquitectura de ladrillo*, 63-79.

1272; San Andrés in 1277; San Pedro in 1302; Santa María in 1308; San Juan in 1325; San Bartolomé in 1332; Santo Domingo and San Gil in 1363; and finally, Santa Aguedo in 1403.[595] Though these records are not equivalent to construction dates, they offer a *terminus ante quem* that, combined with stylistic analysis, aids in constructing a relative timeline for medieval Castilian brick churches in general and Ávila's Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in particular. The dates listed above make clear that by the mid-thirteenth century, brick was the well-established material of choice for constructing Cuéllar's sacred Christian landscape.

A Revised Chronology

I argue for an early-thirteenth-century chronology for the brick portion of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza based on the 1210 consecration date recorded in the early-seventeenth century coupled with stylistic comparisons from Cuéllar dating to the thirteenth or early-fourteenth centuries. The better-documented brick churches of Cuéllar verify Ariz's testimony of a consecration in 1210. While construction is not synonymous with consecration, a thirteenth-century chronology does not seem unreasonable when one places Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in the broader milieu of medieval Castilian and Leonese brick churches. An early-thirteenth-century date for Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is further corroborated by the 1184 inscription in San Mancio that undeniably shows brick construction in the style of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza as early as the end of the twelfth century. In addition to a revised chronology of the brick portion of the church, I also propose that the brick nave and aisles predate the granite chevet.

The distinct materials and construction methods that divide nave and apses likely point to at least two separate building campaigns. There is a clear seam in the building that indicates a break in construction between the brick nave and granite chevet (Figure 137). Part of the brick

[595] Ubieto Arteta, *Colección diplomática,* XXIII-XXIV. In some cases, like San Esteban, the dates differ from those recorded by Ruiz Hernando.

frame (*alfiz*) that encapsulates the eastern-most arch on the northern nave arcade is clearly hidden beneath later-added stone and plaster. On the southern arcade, the corresponding *alfiz* is clearly visible because the north and south aisle are slightly different lengths, which demonstrates that the northern arcade should terminate with an *alfiz* at the triumphal arch of the central apse just as it does on the south side. Because this edge of the northern *alfiz* is missing, it appears that when the granite chevet was added, it was overlain on top of a preexisting brick nave, suggesting that the central apse had been tacked onto the nave at a later date. In addition, the entry arches into the apsidal chapels are slightly pointed compared to the very wide, perfectly rounded arches of the nave arcades, implying a potentially later date as well.

Veredas, de Tapia Sánchez, and Vila da Vila doubted Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's chronology in the thirteenth century, in part because the use of brick inspires a connection with mudejar architecture and is often associated with a later chronology. Many mudejar buildings date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when mudejar solidified as the favored architectural expression of Spanish royal identity.[596] As described above, for many art historians, mudejar as a style did not fully come to fruition until Christians had completed their conquest of the peninsula after 1492. Therefore, many brick buildings, upon initial investigation, are assumed to have a later chronology, especially because the twelfth- and thirteenth-century brick churches in rural Castile and León are less studied and less known. Though it is not made explicit, I assume that the reason Vila da Vila suggests the granite chevet is the only vestige of the original church and that it predates the brick nave is because of the material. It seems that for some who have analyzed Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, the "mudejar" brick nave must have come after the "Romanesque" granite east end because, for them, these are two mutually exclusive, and

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[596] Fairchild Ruggles, "Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain," 77-106. See also Dede Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 87-98.

chronologically as well as materially distinct architectural styles. On the contrary, brick was a well-established material for sacred Christian architecture as early as the twelfth century in the surrounding provinces, and visible sutures in the church's fabric suggest the brick portion in fact predates the granite apses.

Brick Measurements at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza

In order to shed additional light on the church's construction phases and establish points of comparison I measured a data set of bricks at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza to compare to brick measurements from related churches. On the interior of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, with assistance from my colleagues, I took measurements of two bricks from each pier as well as samples from each apsidal entry arch and the small horseshoe arch portal on the southwest wall.[597] My findings are listed in the accompanying Brick Appendix, but I have summarized the most significant findings below.

Although the organic nature of the bricks made exact measurements down to the millimeter impossible, a clear trend emerged: brick sizes throughout the nave ranged from 32-35 cm x 3-4.5 cm x 21-24.2 cm. The brick widths of the small horseshoe arch door deviated from the norm, measuring 12 cm, about half the width of the nave arcade bricks (21-24.2 cm). However, the height and length of the portal's horseshoe arch bricks remained consistent with the nave data. The brick measurements taken from the entry arch of the southern apse (Figure 138) also diverge from the nave arcade bricks, the horseshoe arch portal, as well as the corresponding northern apse entry arch (Figure 139). While their length and height are within the

[597] I am forever indebted to the careful work and unwavering support of Teresa Martínez Martínez and Tori Jean Schmitt in addition to Tomás Vergara and Paul Princen who helped measure and photograph this church during a blizzard in November of 2021.

standard range of the nave brick set, the width of one is 18cm and the other is 15.5 cm; placing these bricks outside the type used in the nave arcades or the horseshoe arch portal.

The near consistency in brick sizes throughout Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's nave suggest the same brick mold was used for their creation and thus likely the same workshop and time period. The style of the horseshoe portal with granite jamb monoliths indicates a separate construction phase to that of the nave arcades, and the anomalous brick widths confirm this. The divergent widths of the bricks in the south apse triumphal arch may indicate a location of rebuilding, for example we know a fire damaged the church in the 1970s. Or it might also point to a distinct phase of construction, brick mold, or workshop. On the other hand, perhaps the varying sizes indicate that the bricks were reused from different eras or were salvaged bricks of inconsistent size. With a larger data set of brick sizes and additional investigation into brick workshops in medieval Castile, in the future I hope to learn more about Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's construction and its connection to other examples of brick architecture.

Brick Measurements Outside of Ávila

In order to further compare Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's architecture with the related examples in Cuéllar, I measured bricks in six churches there as well: El Salvador (Figure 134), San Andrés (Figure 140), San Martín (Figure 133), San Miguel (Figure 129, 131), Santiago (Figure 132), and Santísima Trinidad (Figure 136).[598] Of the six churches, measurements ranged from 28-32.5 cm in length; 15-22.5 cm in height; and 3-5 cm in width with the majority of heights measuring in at 19 cm (lengths were more difficult to record so there are less data).[599]

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[598] Once again I am indebted to my colleagues and friends Teresa Martínez Martínez, Alejandro Piñel Bordallo, and Antonia Repec who accompanied me on this rural journey and assisted in measuring and photographing the many brick churches of Cuéllar in March 2022.

[599] By contrast, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza has this range: 32-35 x 21cm – 24.5 x 3-4.5 cm. All measurements were taken from the exterior of the churches and in many cases it was impossible to record all three sides of the brick. Overwhelmingly, most of the bricks I measured from standing height on the exterior appeared to be modern

While the brick widths at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and Cuéllar's sample set appear to be more or less consistent, the lengths and heights are quite different. Though the ranges overlap due to some outliers on either end, the most common numbers do not. Interestingly, of the entire data set from Cuéllar, the bricks measured from the *alfiz* at San Miguel (Figure 131), one of the most stylistically similar churches to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, are closest in dimension to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's bricks: 30 cm x 19 cm x 4 cm.[600] Without further research into medieval brick workshops in Castile, the significance of these comparisons is unknown, however the comparable architectural forms and brick sizes might be used as evidence for a similar chronology—a helpful new piece of evidence for these understudied churches. I have compiled Cuéllar's data in a table in the Brick Appendix as well.

Data collected from scholars in previous studies can also be compared against Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's bricks. Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo has measured bricks from both Islamic and Christian constructions from the tenth to twentieth centuries and none contain the exact measurements found at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.[601] Enrique Daza Pardo has studied a specific method of construction in al-Andalus known as "*mampostería encitada cajeada*" (stone lacing brickwork) which layers brick in between stone courses.[602] His study similarly does not reveal an exact match for Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, but the closest comparison are bricks

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bricks, likely added during posterior restorations. The edges were sharp and clean, and the composition of the brick was smooth as opposed to the more grainy quality found in Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza or in some of the churches.

[600] The church of San Miguel of Cuéllar has an exterior wall which once was an interior arcade—now exposed and filled in. Like Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, the arcade is constructed of three brick arches framed by an *alfiz*. San Miguel's arches are composed of three archivolts of brick courses while Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza only has two archivolts of the same type. The distance between piers is half that of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza: 2.3 m versus 4.6 m (in Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's north west bay). Based on appearance and composition, these rough bricks also look to be original, or at least older, than many of the others measured.

[601] Quirós Castillo, "Building Archaeology and Social Change," 44, fig. 6.

[602] Daza Pardo, "Construir con ladrillo."

from a ruined Andalusi fortification in Fresno de Cantespino (Figure 141).[603] Of these two studies, Fresno de Cantespino's bricks are the closest in size to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, however it is in no way an exhaustive comparison, and may not be significant. The style of this Andalusi fortification is a very specific layered brick technique as opposed to the running bonds of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. In addition, the ruins of Fresno de Cantespino are from an Andalusi military structure compared to Ávila's Christian church, further challenging a direct comparison. However, it should be noted that Fresno de Cantespino is a rural area in the province of Segovia, not exceedingly far from Cuéllar, whose brick churches closely resemble Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. Future research can hopefully shed more light on the relationship between brick production in Roman, Islamic, and medieval Christian contexts, both within sacred and civil monuments.[604]

Alternative Theories of Brick Construction

As the lone surviving medieval brick church in the capital city, and possibly the only one ever built, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is a curious architectural gem set against the imposing stone walls that lie on the ridge overlooking the petite hermitage. In order to distill the most information possible from this small structure, it was first necessary to release the church from the grips of a mudejar categorization and the continued claim that it was built by Muslim brick layers. The church is made of brick, but apart from the single horseshoe arch, it does not display

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[603] Daza Pardo, "Construir con ladrillo," 16, tabla 1. See also, Alonso Zamora Canellada, "El castillo de Ayllón (Segovia): Estudio arqueológico e histórico," *Estudios segovianos* 34, no. 90 (1993): 5-522. Zamora Canellada recorded the bricks as 33 x 20 x 4-5 cm in 1993, however Daza Pardo's own measurements from 2018 differ slightly at: 31 x 20 x 4 cm.

[604] Quirós Castillo, "Building Archaeology and Social Change," 40. Roman and Islamic brick molds were distinct, so comparing brick sizes may also shed light on the origin of the brick workshops or whether there was continuity of certain brick-making traditions over time and domains.

Islamic-inspired forms.[605] In fact, it is much more stylistically similar to rural brick churches in León and Castile rather than the elite hybrid-style constructions typical of Toledo or Seville. Therefore, I argue that the community that built the parish church likely originated from the rural lands outside the capital city, and that the brick design reflected their lands of origin.

Why use brick when an exceptional quarry is so close and accessible? In my view, there are two likely explanations for the utilization of brick at Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza: it may have been the most cost-effective choice or, as I suspect, a method of construction typical of the region of origin of the church's patrons. Using brick may have indicated a less wealthy parish, or been evidence of a particularly difficult decade to build in. By the mid-thirteenth century, along with San Martín, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza paid the least amount of rent to the episcopal coffers; it was clearly in a less privileged financial position than the other parishes listed. For example, in Cardenal Torres's list, "Sant Bartholome" paid only two "morabetinos" in rent to the bishop in 1250, significantly less than the 120 paid by San Pedro, or even the five paid by San Andrés.[606] However, at a certain point, the parish seems to have raised enough funds to add a more costly granite apse, which was integrated into its preexisting brick nave construction.

An opposing perspective is provided by the research of Elena Merino Gómez who challenges the idea that brick was a less expensive or less desirable material. In particular, she argues that the amount of fuel (wood) required to heat the ovens which fired the bricks was very

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[605] The origin and meaning of the horseshoe arch is similarly debated in medieval Spanish art historical historiography. Horseshoe arches were present in Visigothic architecture from the sixth to eighth centuries, as well as Islamic architecture from the eighth to fifteenth. Just like brick, the Iberian horseshoe arch has an independent trajectory from Islamic architecture on the peninsula. It is debated whether later iterations of the horseshoe arch, outside of Visigothic or Islamic contexts, were cultural references or part of an established architectural lexicon. In Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, the horseshoe arch is the only example of a possible Islamic-inspired or hybrid form, itself alone not a sufficient indicator of mudejar.

[606] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 150, doc. 83, AC, Sección documentos, n. 15. Sant Bartholome was Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's original name.

costly. She notes that structural problems in brick construction were often the result of the builders' attempt to save money by using less brick and positioning them too far apart thus compromising stability, rather than an issue with the material itself.[607] In the joint study conducted by Merino Gómez and José Ignacio Sánchez Rivera on the brick towers of La Moraña in Ávila province (which they call mudejar) (Figure 142), they conclude that there was an appreciation of brick "as a particularly valuable material" in the towers' construction.[608] Nevertheless, Gil Torres's 1250 document confirms that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza was a less wealthy parish, and therefore it seems logical that in the case of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, brick may have been a more economical choice, even if the decision to use brick in the towers of La Moraña was guided by different motivations.

The choice of material may also be indicative of who the church's patrons were, not just the most economically expedient construction method. The material and style of construction (wide rounded arches, small inset clerestory windows, *alfizes*) might be explained by the fact that the church's patrons came from the lands of Arévalo or Cuéllar. Stylistically, the churches most similar to Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza are found in the village of Cuéllar as I have highlighted above. Additionally, nearby Arévalo also boasts a significant number of medieval brick churches.[609] Arévalo and Cuéllar are both listed alongside Ávila (in addition to Salamanca, Coca, Olmedo, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and Iscar) as the lands of the *Extremadura* settled under

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[607] Fernando Moral-Andrés and Elena Merino Gómez, "Opus Aeternum. The Material Culture of Brick," *Arquitectura Viva* 191 (2017): 63.

[608] Elena Merino Gómez and José Ignacio Sánchez Rivera, "Dibujando torres mudéjares de La Moraña (Ávila): de la construcción defensiva de frontera al campanario tardomedieval," *Románico: Revista de arte de amigos del románico (AdR)* 26 (2018): 17: "el aprecio del ladrillo como material especialmente valioso." Their study is based on a group of rural towers with shared characteristics of brick construction in Aldeaseca, Castellanos de Zapardiel, Espinosa de los Caballeros, San Cristóbal de Trabancos, San Esteban de Zapardiel, Sinlabajos, and Villanueva del Aceral.

[609] See Gutiérrez Robledo's survey of these churches: *Sobre el mudéjar en la provincia de Ávila.*

Alfonso VI in the twelfth-century *Crónica del obispo don Pelayo*.[610] These cities were founded and settled around the same time under similar conditions.

Cuéllar's archival documents also show a connection with Ávila. For example, in 1210, Bishop Pedro (Petrus) of Ávila "confirms" ("*confirmat*") a document of king Alfonso VIII recognizing the limits of the *concejo* of Cuéllar and Aguilafuente.[611] Similarly in 1256, Bishop Benito of Ávila "confirmed" an accord of king Alfonso X's amendment of the *fuero* given to Cuéllar's *concejo,* and again in 1258 when the king solidified certain borders.[612] The bishops of Ávila who "confirmed" these documents were just two of the many attendees signing the document, not revealing any exceptional link between the clerics of Ávila and Cuéllar in particular. However, another document from 1337, which unfortunately is now labeled "illegible" by Antonio Ubieto Arteta, once recorded that the archdeacon of Ávila, Sáncho Sánchez, donated houses to the chapter of Cuéllar, showing a more direct relationship between the ecclesiastics of both cities.[613] Though some of these documents might postdate the construction of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and do not reveal direct evidence of artistic exchange, they do help verify the connection between these founded cities—a connection that has been on record, at least since Bishop Pelayo's early-twelfth-century chronicle. These documents indicate that the bishops of Ávila, Cuéllar, as well as Segovia and others, existed in the same political and religious circles and may have known each other personally. The 1210 and

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[610] Ubieto Arteta, *Colección diplomática*, XX. Pelayo was the bishop of Oviedo from 1101-1130. His *Liber testamentorum* is also an incredible source of Romanesque manuscript miniatures. See Franisco Javier Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo: edición crítica de la Chronica y su pensamiento politico,* (Gijón: Trea, 2020).

[611] Ubieto Arteta, *Colección diplomática*, 17-20.

[612] Ubieto Arteta, *Colección diplomática*, 42-47; 49-53. These documents include a long list of names, including other bishops and nobles; Ávila's bishop is not unique to the list.

[613] Ubieto Arteta, *Colección diplomática*, 189.

1256 document were both drawn up in Segovia, and the one from 1258 in Medina del Campo, north of Ávila and west of Cuéllar, demonstrating that these elite clerics traveled throughout Castile, which could very likely have facilitated artistic exchange. It is not just modern scholarship that recognizes the historiographical ties between the medieval lands of Castile, but contemporaneous documents support the art historical evidence that relates these regions.

A direct link between Ávila and Cuéllar is especially significant because the narrative of mudejar architecture describes a brick building tradition originating in Toledo through the hybrid mixing of Christians and Muslims post-Christian conquest. The connection between Cuéllar and Ávila, both architecturally and historically, proves that the brick tradition of church building need not originate from Toledo nor come directly from Muslim hands. A shared visual language in Cuéllar and Ávila circumvents Toledo and other major metropoles and shows the importance and extent of exchange among rural or so-called "peripheral" zones.

A Parish Identity Expression

As I argued in the preceding chapter, parish churches were built by the communities that founded them. As settlers arrived to Ávila from elsewhere, they installed themselves in specific neighborhoods, built a church, formed a parish, and participated in militia defense. The *Crónica* describes settlers arriving in a second wave, some of whom came from areas of Castile ("Meanwhile, many others came to settle Ávila, and specifically infantes, and good men from Estrada and Brabezos *and other good men from Castile")*, as opposed to some of the earlier settlers who all came from farther, northern provinces.[614] It is a mystery as to who settled in the

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[614] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedentes," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113, no. 1 (1943): 22/32. The *Crónica* reads: "E entre tanto vinieron otros muchos a poblar a Avila, e senaladamente infancones e buenos omes d'Estrada e de los Brabezos e otros buenos omes de Castilla…". As described in chapter three, a second wave of settlement also included a group from Asturias which Feduchi has suggested settled in the vicinity of Santo Tomé el Viejo, an extramural parish church. Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de las murallas: análisis morfológico y propuesta cronológica," in *La Muralla de Ávila*, edited by Ángel Barrios García, 57-113, (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003), 68.

neighborhood surrounding Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, however, in this case, the church's atypical material and unique construction may be used as a method for theorizing the provenance of the church's patrons. Though it cannot be argued with absolute certainly, based on Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's similarities to Cuéllar's churches and documents backing up at least a loose connection, as well as the *Crónica* describing a second wave of other Castilian settlers, it is plausible that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's original parishioners arrived from rural Segovian lands in the northeast.

I propose that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's patrons hailed from Cuéllar, and the brick construction reflected their individual identity. We know from Bishop Pelayo that Cuéllar was also founded around the same time as Ávila. Therefore, perhaps Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's founders had originally settled in Cuéllar, but faced challenges and moved south to the larger urban center of Ávila where they built their humble sacred home. It may also be significant that Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza lay on the north edge of the city, which would have been near the medieval road leading north to Arévalo and Cuéllar.

As proposed in the previous chapter, the consistency and durability of construction among Ávila's urban churches reflected community solidarity. Despite being members of distinct parishes, Ávila's Christian inhabitants fought for a common goal—one that focused on successful conquest, settlement, and defense. Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's architecture and material choice break from the established granite pattern, at least among the preserved twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples.[615] Nevertheless, we can understand the church's architecture and material composition as reflective of the specific parish community that worshipped (and

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[615] Of course we cannot know what the non-extant churches looked like, or if there were other brick examples. However, the ratio of surviving churches and the fact there is only this one brick example points to brick being an overall atypical or less utilized architectural material.

more) inside its walls. Instead of conforming to the traditional design of grey granite foundations and *piedra caleña* walls, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's parish community differentiates itself through an unusual material composition. Perhaps as comparatively local settlers (coming from elsewhere in Castile as opposed to the far reaches of the peninsula), they were more concerned with asserting their distinct identity, or perhaps the parish brought brick layers with them when they settled. Nevertheless, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's parishioners used material to distinguish their parish group, which also likely coincided with kinship ties and militia organization, from a broader Castilian culture. They implemented a local brick tradition associated with their homeland and distinct from Ávila's other stone parish churches.

More important still is the fact that it was material that conveyed difference. The architectural plan of a three-part nave with three axial east end apses conforms with other twelfth- and thirteenth-century parish church architecture in Ávila built in ashlar masonry. While Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's floorplan is comparable to Ávila's other parish churches, the material composition is unique. The makers of this singular structure retain crucial aspects of fortified architecture like thick walls and small windows, yet utilize material in such a way that the sacred building simultaneously expressed difference to highlight their individual parish community and discern their distinct regional identity within the broader parochial landscape of medieval Ávila.[616] The church is still devoted to city and parish defense, but singles itself out from the more unified architectural group. Throughout Ávila's medieval monuments, material is chosen as the privileged conveyor of social hierarchies and community identity.

Chapter Conclusion

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[616] I have personally witnessed the thick brick walls protect against a relentless blizzard in November of 2021.

The study of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, until now, has been inextricably linked to the history of mudejar architecture on the Iberian Peninsula. For lack of a more accurate term, this church has been labeled mudejar and analyzed through that lens since the beginning of the twentieth century. As I have shown, the confusion and debate surrounding the term has led to inadequate conclusions concerning the church of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. The 1483 document brought to light by Serafín de Tapia Sánchez solidified Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's connection to Islamic society cementing the church's *mudejarismo* once and for all in Amador de los Ríos's original sense—built by Muslims for Christian patrons. However, the record of Muslim kilns in the neighborhood were documented over 200 years after the church was built, showing no relation to the church's original construction. Moreover, the closeness of Muslim-owned kilns or Muslim artisans is not indicative of or irrefutable proof that Muslims did in fact build the church.

Furthermore, attaching Muslim hands only to brick production in fact minimizes their role in the development of the city and Spanish history and culture at large. In an attempt to correct the brutal history of expulsion and the Spanish Inquisition, modern Spanish tourism as well as academics have made a concerted effort to identify, highlight, and publicize the role of Islamic culture in Spain's history.[617] It has been a noble and necessary achievement to revise the centuries of erasure of interconnected histories and the destruction of material culture. However, at times an honorable effort becomes an overcorrection, as in the case of many examples of so-called mudejar architecture and Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza in particular. In an attempt to feature Islamic artisanry in Ávila's medieval built landscape, Muslim artists have been relegated to minor works of brick production. On the contrary, since the arrival of the first enslaved

[617] See Hutcheson, "Contesting the Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz." His article outlines the role of tourism in promoting specific narratives which are historically flawed, especially the "Tres Culturas" campaign in Toledo.

Muslims to Ávila, they critically contributed to city building. Chronicles describe enslaved Muslims constructing and maintaining the walls and cathedral, and archival sources show Muslims likely enslaved as domestic workers. Property transfers demonstrate that the Muslim population were major landowners, contributing to the urban economy and settlement expansion.[618] By the fifteenth century, the aforementioned 1483 document held in the municipal archives of Ávila provides evidence of Muslim-controlled brick workshops, which may have been in operation for decades or centuries. I do not wish to single out any particular research as lacking in this regard, but many studies are the byproduct of a scholarly culture in which isolated symbols like bricks or horseshoe arches are the sole indicators of Islamic culture while ignoring the "invisible" ways in which minoritized communities were integral to medieval society. The development of medieval Ávila was inextricable from Muslim as well as Jewish handiwork, wealth, intellect, and culture, but the brick-built Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza was not, in my opinion, an expression of Islamic Ávila.

Contrary to popular opinion, I demonstrate that this parish church was much more likely built in the first half of the thirteenth century within the brick vernacular common in the rural landscape of medieval Castile and León. There are many comparable examples of brick churches in the surrounding region including San Martín and San Miguel in Cuéllar that appear to have had a distinct architectural trajectory compared to the elite brick architecture with resplendent Islamic forms popular with Castilian kings in cities like Toledo and Seville. What makes Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza an interesting architectural case study is not the fact that it is mudejar or built by Muslims, but that fact that it was built in an economically prudent format reminiscent of rural churches in León and Castile, yet in a booming city, during a time of staggering growth and

[618] See Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society."

accumulation of wealth, in an area with easy, proven access to a high-quality quarry. This church is a paradox.

The makers of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza need not be Muslim to explain its brick construction; more likely the patrons of this church were Christian settlers who originated from a more rural and quarry-free zone north of the capital city, perhaps from Cuéllar in particular. They arrived to another newly founded city and here they built a humble structure in their local tradition. Not exclusively an economic choice, although Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza does seem to be a relatively poor parish at least by 1250, brick construction and an austere form signaled an homage to the patrons' home as a way to distinguish themselves from the many other parish churches that populated this medieval city. Detaching Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza from the assumed link to Islamic culture opens up a wealth of investigative opportunities.

The lands of Arévalo or Cuéllar, the potential origin of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's parish, lacked quarries, but Ávila did not. In fact, as I laid out in the introduction, Ávila's bioregion is delimited by its access to specialized stone hewn from the neighboring village. The inclusion of brick in Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza enhances the bounty of Ávila's bioregion and provides yet another building material with which Ávila's makers could draw on to build sturdy and evocative structures.

In the final case study of this dissertation, we see one more application of how material was used as a method to communicate social stratification and to express power and identity. Not only did the major authoritative structures, the *concejo* and episcopal leadership, engage in architectural construction as a means to announce or reinforce influence, the everyday Christian inhabitants of Ávila used parish buildings to participate in the construction of social values in a newly founded city. Though the majority of parish architecture may not have competed with the

expressions of civil or episcopal power (walls and cathedral), they communicated laterally between each other.[619] The makers of Ávila's ashlar churches found statements of individuality, mostly in the form of architectural sculpture, yet adhered to a material composition that reflected the strong bonds of solidarity across the city's parish membership. In contrast, while the parish of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza still likely formed part of the city's integrated militias, their members found it expedient to deviate from the established architectural norm and employ brick and grey granite, likely as a statement of tangible regional identity reflective of the recently displaced parish founders.

[619] An exception to this would be San Vicente, whose ornate architecture rivaled that of the cathedral. I do not focus on this church, in favor of understudied topics, since San Vicente has been the focus of an adept and detailed study by Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila*.

Dissertation Conclusion

This dissertation argues that the use of material was integral to the construction of medieval society, not just as building blocks, but as visual cues for social divisions and shared traditions. Stone, and to a lesser extent brick, conveyed authority, difference, and unity among Ávila's diverse population. Not only that, material also acted as a signifier for the social groups and power structures behind the building, maintenance, and use of each surviving monument type in medieval Ávila. I approach Ávila's unusual material composition from a social history perspective as an entry point to reconsider urban social hierarchies and expressions of power and show that material was a primary mode of communication in the nascent urban center.

My project highlights the atypical distribution of local materials across Ávila's surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century monuments, a topic that has so far been overlooked in scholarship. With little crossover, *spolia* in the city walls, *piedra sangrante* in the cathedral, and *piedra caleña* and brick in the city's smaller urban churches show a clear material preference based on monument type. Despite the city's fascinating material arrangement, Ávila's art-historical scholarship has traditionally considered material purely through a stylistic lens. Stone is tied to the architectural styles of Romanesque and Gothic, while brick is linked to *mudejarismo*—the consequences of a long-standing historiographical tradition that is often resistant to alternate perspectives. My project pushes beyond the bounds of stylistic analysis to demonstrate how material generated meaning in medieval society. *Spolia* was preferred in the city walls as a way to announce elite lay power; *piedra sangrante* connected the bishop to sacrifice, the site of the cathedral to the site of Christ's passion; a consistency of *piedra caleña* and grey granite in Ávila's smaller churches reflected parish bonds and mirrored frontier defense; and brick stood as an outlier, proclaiming Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's parish

community as distinct. In this way, the preceding pages add to the growing corpus of art-historical literature that examines materials as conduits of meaning in medieval Europe.

Ávila's distinctive environmental characteristics laid the foundation for erecting a materially diverse, yet locally-sourced monumental landscape apt for art-historical and material study. The borders of Ávila's bioregion are bounded to the west by the geological features of La Colilla's quarry. The deliberate transportation of La Colilla's granites to the capital city for planned medieval construction expanded the bioregion's scope eastward, thus encapsulating the porphyry bedrock and ancient *spolia* used in the city's medieval monumental landscape as well. The unique natural composition of Ávila's bioregion granted its settlers the ability to communicate, through material, distinct expressions of power, symbolic messages, and social divisions within the city's architectural landscape. I recognize the material frontiers within Ávila's medieval built environment and leverage frontier studies as a jumping off point to develop new definitions, in particular, by applying Peter Berg's concept of the bioregion.

Reflected in the study of medieval Ávila is a tension between traditional frontier perspectives and deviations from conventional definitions. While Ávila has all the ingredients of a so-called frontier city—massive city walls, heroic knights, fortified architecture, chronicles of military actions—as I have shown throughout these pages, Ávila also challenges its label as frontier city in that the city walls never encapsulated the urban environment and growth was not hindered by an unstable period of continuous conflict, nor an imposing wall. In addition, frontier studies as a field was born out of nationalistic and colonial attitudes that I reject. For example, for decades the *Extremadura Castellana* was believed to have been empty at the time of the arrival of Christian settlers in the late-eleventh century because it fit the narrative of an expansive no-man's-land open for the taking, just like Fredrick Jackson Turner's American

West.[620] Despite the problematic origins of frontier studies and the unique ways Ávila grew beyond imposed lithic boundaries, Ávila's urban rise was undeniably tied to the medieval Castilian frontier as a military, cultural, and political entity. The nascent eleventh-century settlement would not have grown into the twelfth-century city if not for Ávila's key role as a Castilian bastion at the base of the Guadarrama Sierra.

Ávila's history is firmly rooted in the concept of frontier because conquest and defense were leading factors in Ávila's urban development as part of the organized effort to tip the scales in favor of Christian control on the peninsula. Over the course of completing this dissertation, I have asked myself how to reconcile the tension between studying a fortified city built as the direct result of a plan to populate a hostile landscape with Christian colonizers and the historiographic baggage that comes with the term "frontier city." Examining material frontiers in Ávila offers an original investigative viewpoint free from the colonial undertones that originally characterized many studies of medieval frontiers. A material approach has allowed me to redefine Ávila's frontiers and investigate the limits of stone and brick architectural composition in order to tell the story of the medieval city's rise in a novel way.

Material-driven research breaks with traditional historical inquiry that has valued Ávila as an entry point to understand the "*Reconquista*." Ávila's few but rich textual sources and the beautifully preserved city walls, cathedral-fortress, and fortified churches contribute to a narrative of a "frontier context" that sees Christians vs. Muslims in cycles of conquest and re-conquest. Without removing the backdrop of very real religious violence and invasive acts of territorial expansion, my project looks at the city's internal social struggles and particularly local conflicts. Expressions of power, socio-cultural pressures, and architectural language at the

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[620] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, (Penguin UK, 2008). Originally published in 1893.

meeting point of politically opposed communities, take on new meaning when the perspective shifts to a material focus rather than based on an overarching "reconquest" paradigm. By organizing my dissertation around a series of monumental case studies, I prioritize material culture in a city that has so often been defined by its medieval chronicles in previous scholarship.

In chapter one I showed how the *concejo*, an organization in its infancy, constructed defensive walls laden with *spolia* to stake their claim on the land. In particular, the walls, and *spolia* within them, formed a structure not just for defense, but for asserting and demarcating social hierarchy. The past imbued within *spolia* carried meaningful legendary histories—ancient glories that were then transferred to the walls' lay makers, the *concejo*. The path the walls' take enveloped the settlement associated with the founding knights in particular, circumscribing a spatially privileged area to further advantage a subset of secular elites and underline the importance of the lay authority.

The utilization of granite from La Colilla and architectural advancements in the cathedral's east end are the focus of chapter two which resituates the cathedral within its local context. The need for a fortified tower overlapping with the area of the chevet provoked experimentation producing the architecturally-advanced hemicycle of integrated rib-vaulted radiating chapels. The choir is further accentuated through the utilization of *piedra sangrante,* only applied to such an extent in this privileged location, which I argue announced episcopal power. The ornate "bloody" coloration of *piedra sangrante* promised a symbolically-rich material backdrop for the liturgical actions performed within the choir. The granite not only conveyed messages of Christ's passion but also paid homage to Ávila's soldier-clerics who fatally defended the city alongside its knights. In chapter two, I highlight that even where the two individual monuments merge at the *cimorro*—equally tower and chevet—the differentiation in

material reinforced the division between *concejo* and episcopate. The city council and bishop appropriated material to distinguish their respective jurisdictions as two distinct structures of authority vying for urban control in the power vacuum that emerged in a newly founded city free from feudal traditions.

Parish members similarly utilized material to reflect community values. In chapter three, I argue that the solidity of the parish buildings mirrored the solidarity of the parish system which simultaneously doubled as social centers and militia organization. The material make-up of the majority of Ávila's urban churches prioritized structural integrity through solid grey granite foundations combined with more-easily carved *piedra caleña* walls and sculpted elements. Though each church expressed aspects of their parochial individuality in architecture and sculpture, the material composition across churches, despite location inside or outside the walls, remained relatively consistent, echoing shared defensive goals and the strength of community bonds.

The makers of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza broke with Ávila's established visual tradition when they constructed a radically different church in brick and grey granite, the subject of chapter four. Where others have claimed the utilization of brick was the result of Muslim artisans, I argue that the church is much older than generally accepted and instead employed the popular architectural vernacular of the nearby region of Cuéllar, from whence Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza's parishioners may have originated. The appearance of brick architecture in medieval Ávila, where all other surviving examples are comprised of combined granites, reveals novel patterns of exchange as Christian society migrated between the cities of the *Extremadura Castellana.* Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza represents an established architectural tradition of brick in medieval Castile and León that is often miscategorized as "mudejar." This architectural outlier

stands in contrast to the other surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches that employ a shared material composition of granite, demonstrating an interest in utilizing material for identity expression even among coreligionists.

The connections my project brings to the fore between social history and material also generate novel avenues for future study. One particularly interesting finding in my research is the fact hybrid architecture did not develop in Ávila despite the robust plural population, breaking with another common assumption of frontier cities. Unfortunately, while Islamic and Jewish medieval architecture does not survive in Ávila, the contribution of Ávila's ethnic minorities, forced and voluntary, are present throughout the medieval city as part of the overall labor force, integral members of the economy, and society at large. Rather than isolating bricks or a horseshoe arch as signifiers of Muslim artisanry or Jewish craft, more research is needed to investigate the "invisible" ways in which minoritized communities contributed to medieval city building.

This dissertation has advanced material studies in medieval Castile, yet further research into quarry structure can continue to shed light on societal hierarchies and artist networks. For example, questions still abound whether certain stones were limited to certain social strata, whether cost determined who could afford which granites, or who controlled access and how materials were distributed. The 1180 *fuero* of Zorita de los Canes described the quarry as common property and thus under the jurisdiction of the *concejo*, a fascinating model that might also apply to Ávila.[621] Further research into Ávila's quarry and its potential relationship with the city's burgeoning government would have tremendous implications for understanding the

[621] María del Carmen Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés*, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1968), 204. Zorita de los Canes is located in the southern part of the province of Guadalajara in Castilla–La Mancha. In 1180, Alfonso VIII issued the city's first *fuero*, known as the *Fuero Breve*.

unusual distribution of materials throughout the capital city's medieval monuments. Examining quarry structure can also deepen an understanding of how material developed meaning over time in the emerging urban environments of medieval Europe.

Ávila's urban layout and social divisions are timely themes in today's global context in which walls and borders are weaponized to violently exclude specific groups of people. In Ávila, the walls artificially split the city, creating a physical, material, and social divide, a topic very apropos to modern society's imposed national boundaries. As asylum seekers traverse physical barbed boundaries only to be met with political, linguistic, racial, and cultural barriers in Jacumba, CA today, my project offers historical context for contemporary crises.[622] The imposed social and symbolic limits of borders, boundaries, and frontiers are just as tangible as physical presence, both then and now.

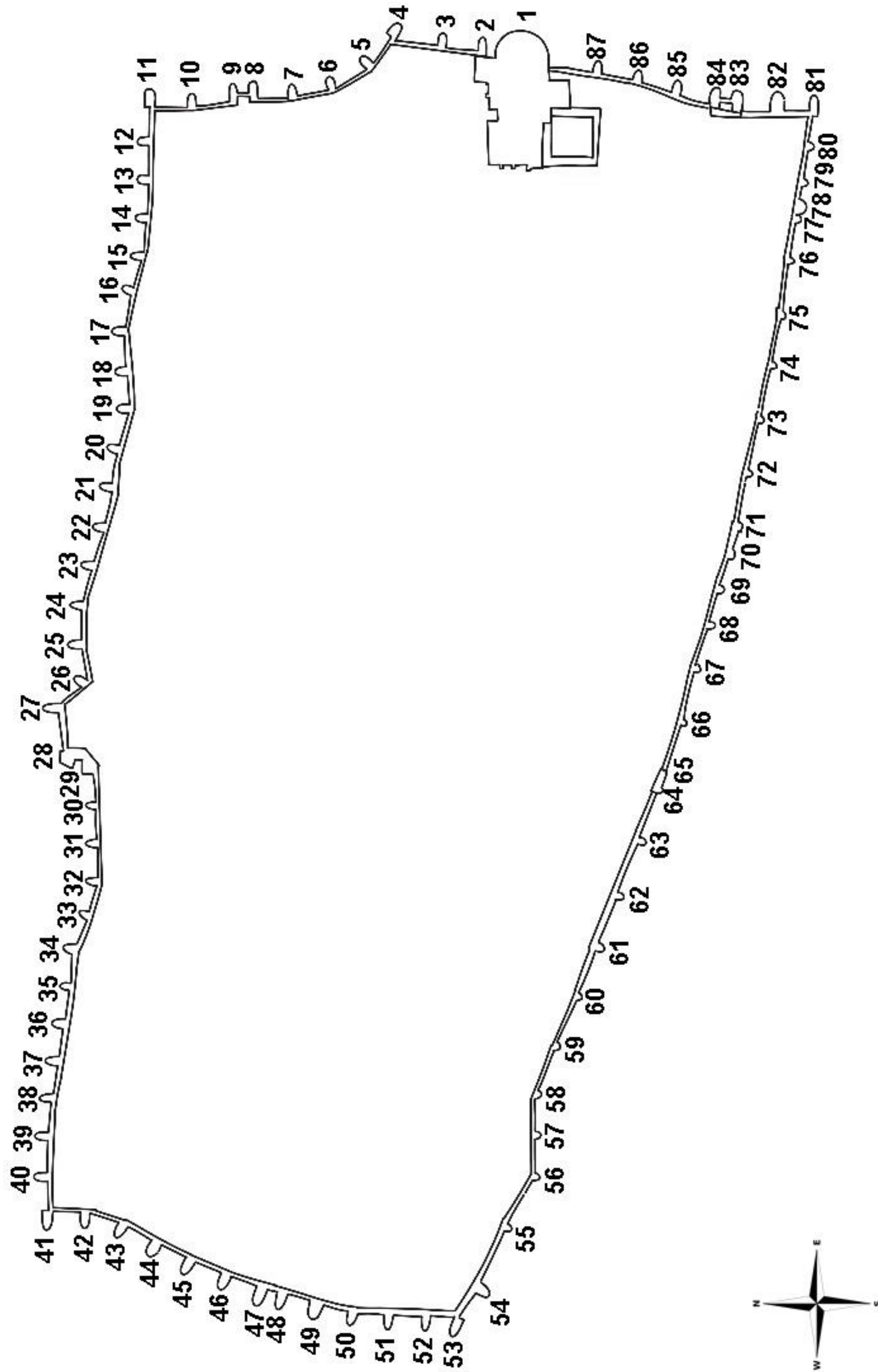
A material approach has provided a refreshing perspective for the study of Ávila, one of medieval Spain's most emblematic medieval frontier cities. The thread of bioregionalism underscored my project with a local focus, demarcating limits and encouraging my dissertation research to engage more with domestic conflicts. The makers of the city's buildings harnessed material to express and reinforce internal boundaries, social hierarchies, and community bonds within Ávila. Material took on a symbolic function to convey local structures of authority through architectural construction. The quarry of La Colilla is reflected above ground in the city's stone churches—a man-made mirror-image of the quarry's distinct strata. The semi-weathered granite will continue to be victim to the elements, enduring the process begun millions of years ago, eventually eroding into sand and reforming into sandstone over the next millennia.

[622] To help the crisis unfolding in southern California, Al Otro Lado NGO is providing on-the-ground translation services, legal help, family reunification, food, and shelter: https://alotrolado.org/

The importance of a city may wane, but the natural materials linger as a gallery of stones on a changing landscape.

Wall Appendix

Image: Teresa Martínez Martínez



Building Timeline

1091	According to the MSS 1991 of the *Segunda leyenda*, construction began on remodeling or rebuilding of Ávila's cathedral
1107	According to other manuscripts of the *Segunda leyenda*, construction began on remodeling or rebuilding of Ávila's cathedral
1109	Urraca becomes Queen, marries Alfonso I of Aragon, civil war ensues
1120	Ávila gains ecclesiastical independence/restoration of the diocese
1126	Alfonso VII donates funds to the cathedral (archival doc)
1142	Alfonso VII makes two more donations to the cathedral (archival doc)
1144	Alfonso VII made his last documented donation to the cathedral of Ávila (archival doc)
1146	Juan Gómez donated his body and belongings to the cathedral (archival doc)
1150	Don Justo and his wife Maria donated their bodies and belongings to the cathedral (archival doc)
1157	Death of Alfonso VII, kingdom is split, crisis of inheritance
1167-1169	Bishop Alejandro III orders the *vecinos* (citizens) of Ávila to pay taxes on the fruit they collect (archival doc)
1170	Eleanor Plantagenet marries Alfonso VIII
1171	The archdeacon of Olmedo donated houses, lands to the cathedral of Ávila (archival doc)
1176	A canon named Calvetus donated houses, land to the refectory of the cathedral (archival doc)
1176	Alfonso VIII conceded royal rents in the city to the cathedral and bishop (archival doc)
1181	Alfonso VIII absolved all the clerics of his realm from the responsibility of certain payments (archival doc)
1182	Papal bull from Lucius III to remind the knights of Ávila and other cities that they must pay tithes to their churches (archival doc)
1187	Alfonso VIII conceded royal rents from the town of Plasencia to the cathedral of Ávila and its bishop (archival doc)
1192	Will of Fruchel, master of works (archival doc)
1193	The treasurer of the Cathedral of Toledo, Pedro, mentioned the cathedral of Ávila as partial beneficiary in his will (archival doc)
1195	Battle of Alarcos, massive defeat of Castilian troops by Almohads
1197	Cathedral of Ávila was a beneficiary in the will of Martín, prior of the cathedral (archival doc)
1199	Innocent III compeled Muslim property owners to pay the certain parish taxes (archival doc)
1212	Battle of Las Navas de la Tolosa, Christians win
1221	Fernando III donated crops to chapter and bishop (archival doc)
1230	Fernando III donated land to chapter and bishop (archival doc)
1231	Tomb inscription, south tower chapel
1231	Fernando III donated a villa to Ávila's chapter and bishop (archival doc)

1247	Taxing system changed which allocated funds previously slotted for construction to go to war instead (Gutiérrez Robledo and Karge)
1253	Alfonso X made a donation of houses in Seville to the bishop of Ávila (archival doc)
1256	Alfonso X exempts the bishop and chapter of Ávila from certain taxes (archival doc)
1261	Will of Esteban Domingo; chaplains, tombs in chapel of San Miguel, north tower base (archival doc)
1262	Tomb inscription, south nave aisle
1269	"Don Varon," master of works, was included as a witness on a document (archival doc)
1271	Tomb inscription, chevet
1278	Tomb inscription, cloister, north wall
1285	Guilelmo Pérez, master of works, was listed as a witness in a property exchange (archival doc)
1292	Tomb inscription, chevet
1293	Sancho IV exempted the church of Ávila from certain taxes (archival doc)
1300	Tomb inscription, south nave aisle
1303	Tomb inscription, chevet
1315	*Segunda leyenda* written

*This information can also be found on as part of the Enriched Timeline Project: https://enrichedtimelines.humspace.ucla.edu/

Building History

The cathedral of Ávila lacks a monograph. Instead, its building history is sewn from a patchwork of articles, surveys, and dissertations, that at times contradict each other. The complex architecture of Ávila's cathedral merits much deeper research, especially with rigorous visual analysis and comparative study beyond the scope of the present project. Below, I discuss the primary source documents, architectural debates, and historiographic questions to provide further insight into the canonical architectural history topics related to Ávila's cathedral. In particular, I analyze the question of a Romanesque predecessor, outline the archival and architectural primary sources as they relate to the building's chronology, and provide a preliminary look at visual comparisons. This appendix is a more in-depth discussion of the topics introduced in chapter two.

The Question of a Romanesque Antecedent

The current cathedral structure may not have been the first cathedral built in Ávila. Ávila is listed as a bishopric in the seventh-century councils of Toledo, suggesting there had been a cathedral in Ávila during the Visigothic period, despite the fact physical evidence does not exist for it.[623] The city's episcopal status is unclear from the end of the Visigothic period until the mid-twelfth century. Sometime in the mid-twelfth century, the city's diocesan status was re-established after Jeronimo, bishop of Salamanca, who had jurisdiction over Ávila and Zamora from 1103, died in 1120, granting both cities ecclesiastical independence c. 1120.[624] Architectural remains of a church predating the re-institution of the diocese c. 1120 are dubious, yet textual sources refer to a building at the end of the eleventh century or earlier, which the architectural literature typically refers to as the "Romanesque" church, the "Count's" church, or "Fruchel's" church.[625]

A Earlier Cathedral: Text

Textual sources refer to a cathedral built during the reign of Alfonso VI at the end of the eleventh century at the time when the city's organized Christian settlement began. The earliest written source alluding to a cathedral dates to 1126. In an 1126 archival document, King Alfonso VII (r. 1126-1157) donated to the cathedral which he notes was built by his father, Raymond of

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[623] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 358-60. Visigothic slates have also been found in the area of the cathedral's cloister showing Visigothic habitation despite a lack of robust architectural evidence, see Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila," 17.

[624] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 358-60. The limits of the bishoprics during these early years post-conquest of Toledo were also ever shifting.

[625] As explained in chapter two, traditional historiography splits the construction history of Ávila's cathedral between the lost "Romanesque" phase and the present cathedral's "Gothic" phases. See Pedro Navascúes Palacio and José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "La cathedral de Ávila: proceso constructive. *Fortior Abulensis*. Lugar y carácter," in *Testigos*, (Ávila: Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, 2004); José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," in *Historia de Ávila*, vol. 3, coordinated by Gregorio del Ser Quijano (Obra Cultural, 2006). Emilio Rodríguez Almeida coins the name "the count's church," in "La Catedral del Conde," *Deavila*: *Revista de Caja Avila* n5 (2003): 40-43.

Burgundy, after lacking a shepherd and sheep for over three hundred years.[626] This document does not outline the function of the donation, whether for building, rebuilding, or something else, but it shows a royal interest in the cathedral project. The 1126 date also conveniently falls around the time the diocese was reestablished c. 1120 and is also the first year of Alfonso VII's reign as king of León and Castile, Emperor of Spain.[627] Alfonso VII's donation may have been a politically expedient action to assert power at the beginning of his reign, but based on visual analysis described more below, likely did not indicate the initiation of construction. Nevertheless, this document suggests interest and intent in a twelfth-century cathedral project and may indicate preliminary plans for construction were already being undertaken at this time. It is important to note also that this document was issued in the first year of Alfonso VII's reign and soon after the re-establishment of the diocese c. 1120, and thus may have been more politically motivated than a true reflection of construction activity. More royal donations made in the 1140s, 1170s, and 1180s, which I describe below, indicate sustained construction throughout the twelfth century, however the aforementioned document is the only one to refer specifically to the building, if even indirectly.

The fourteenth-century *Segunda leyenda* describes cathedral construction beginning in 1091. The narrator describes Bishop Pedro Sánchez Zurraquines finding a dilapidated cathedral upon his arrival to the city, and thus with the help of Count Raymond, they put a certain Alvar

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[626] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 23-24, doc. 1, AHN, Sección Clero. Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 1: "ferę per tricennium et eo ampluis a pastorę et ab ovibus orbata, modernis vero temporibus a meo genitorę nobiliter edificata, ut alias ffeci et facta didici tercium partem tocius regalis census et ereditatis..." (*for more than three hundred years being deprived of a shepherd and sheep, truly in modern times having been built nobly by my father*, *thus I make other deeds and I give a third part of all royal rents…)*. Barrios notes that Bernard Reilly is responsible for dating this document with certainty to 1126 based on the reference to Queen Urraca who died in 1126, and the fact that Alfonso's wife is left out, who he married in 1128, Barrios, *Documentos,* 23n1. It appears that Gutiérrez Robledo interprets this as his father had restored the previous cathedral after *that* one had been empty for over 300 years, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 527.

[627] He had already ruled as king of Galicia since 1111.

García from Estella (Navarre) in charge as the master of works.[628] When describing the poor state that Bishop Pedro found the cathedral, the narrator specifically mentions rotten timber ("*todo el maderaje podrido por las aguas*"), potentially the only written reference to any type of material in construction.[629] This is not to suggest that an earlier cathedral was entirely built of wood, however it might indicate that the structure was not ashlar-built. The *Segunda leyenda* also details other aspects of cathedral construction including the fact that laborers of the cathedral included fifty enslaved Muslims.[630] Luis Ariz's seventeenth-century chronicle reiterates the information found in the *Segunda leyenda*: that bishop Pedro Sánchez Zurraquines was responsible for rebuilding and remodeling ("*renobó y reedifico*") the cathedral.[631] Similarly, Ariz also explains that Count Raymond gave the bishop twenty enslaved "Moros" to work in the cathedral in a paragraph labeled "The count Don Raymond distributes the captives."[632] He also described how Alfonso of Aragon gave fifty "Moros" to aid in cathedral building.[633] Finally, the 1788 *Cathologo Sagrado de Obispos* recounts a similar construction history, using the *Segunda leyenda* as a source.[634]

[628] Barrios García, *Segunda leyenda,* 83-84, 86-87, 105, 116-117. Also Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 85. Barrios seems to doubt the existence of bishop Pedro Sánchez Zurraquines altogether, possibly he was entirely legendary, "Colonización y feudalización," 358. Additionally, Barrios mentions in a note that while 1091 is the date given for the start of the "Romanesque" (re)construction of the ancient church in one manuscript, the other three existing manuscripts of the *Segunda leyenda* provide the start year of 1107, complicating the above chronological options even more, Barrios, *Segunda leyenda*, 87 n24.

[629] Barrios, *Segunda leyenda*, 84.

[630] Barrios, *Segunda leyenda*, 86. Cf. chapter four.

[631] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* primera parte, 35.

[632] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 7, 11. Cf. chapter four.

[633] Ariz, *Historia de las Grandezas,* segunda parte, 15. Cf. chapter four.

[634] Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 81.

With the newly re-installed diocese in the twelfth-century, a new cathedral building likely would have replaced an older one, but any architectural remains of a temple pre-dating the second half of the twelfth century, when the current building's construction began, are debatable. Additionally, while textual sources suggest the existence of a church that predates the current construction, apart for the single line about rotten timber, they do not describe its appearance, size, or style, calling into question the designation of a hypothetical earlier church as "Romanesque."

An Earlier Cathedral: Material Culture

Scholars have dedicated significant research hours to "proving" the existence of the earlier cathedral recorded in the sources listed above. However, as opposed to written evidence, archaeological evidence is severely lacking. The paucity of physical evidence has not stopped scholars like Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, Pedro Navascúes Palacio, José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, and José Miguel Merino de Cáceres from extrapolating extensive "Romanesque" clues, even while simultaneously acknowledging a lack of material evidence.[635]

Emilio Rodríguez Almeida developed a hypothetical floorplan of the "Count's Cathedral" which has been accepted by subsequent researchers including María Ángeles Benito Pradillo (Figure 57).[636] Rodríguez Almeida's 2003 plan is based primarily on a curved piece of wall which was brought to his attention during work conducted on the cathedral between 1998-

[635] Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo, "*Fortior Abulensis*," 557. "A modo de hipótesis y con todas las reservas, puede pensarse en un primer templo de triple cabecera, quizas similar a San Vicente…" and later "No creemos que, contra lo que algunos afirman, se pueda sostener que resta nada del templo inicial en el edificio actual salvo material de construcción reutilizado y algún relieve."

[636] Rodríguez Almeida. "La Catedral del Conde," 40-43; Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 81-84. The name is in reference to Count Raymond of Burgundy, the patron of the anterior cathedral according to the written sources.

1999.[637] The wall in question is the exterior wall of what is now referred to as the first sacristy (*primera sacristía*) or the "Romanesque sacristy," in an area inaccessible to the public (Figure 143).[638] It contains what appears to be an arrow slit window (now filled in), and large buttresses on either side; on its western edge, its buttress makes contact with the interior of the city walls (Figure 144). Rodríguez Almeida interpreted this wall as a section of a rounded terminating apse from the south transept of the earlier Romanesque cathedral, saying that "without a doubt it's a Romanesque construction" (Figure 143).[639]

Furthermore, Rodríguez Almeida identifies a window in the wall that separates the chapel of St. Ildefonso in the south transept from the sacristy on the other side, that he similarly identifies as Romanesque (Figure 145).[640] From the inside of the cathedral nave, this window is imperfectly integrated into the fabric of the church, therefore Rodríguez Almeida links this window with his newly discovered potential apse, suggesting it too belonged to an earlier cathedral's exterior south wall. From the interior of the cathedral this window appears off center within the bay that makes up the chapel of St. Ildefonso in the south transept, however, this window is in fact the reverse side of a window from the sacristy (Figure 146). The sacristy shows clearly that this window was built as part of the sacristy perhaps in the thirteenth century, and cut through into the cathedral interior. Although the window has a rounded arch, the slender

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[637] Rodríguez Almeida. "La Catedral del Conde," 40-43. Based on the size of this section, the entire Romanesque cathedral has been hypothesized in a drawing by Rodriguez Almeida and reproduced by Benito Pradillo.

[638] I am grateful to the cathedral employees who graciously allowed me to enter this space to photograph it.

[639] Rodríguez Almeida, "La Catedral del Conde," 41. "Que se trata de una construcción románica está fuera de duda."

[640] Rodríguez Almeida, "La Catedral del Conde," 41. "de estilo eminentemente románico."

colonettes, deep vaulting, and foliate capitals suggest a much later chronology than a late-eleventh-century Romanesque cathedral that Rodríguez Almeida has proposed.[641]

I disagree with Rodríguez Almeida's hypothesis for several reasons. Firstly, a rounded transept simply has no comparable form in Romanesque Iberia.[642] Secondly, my own analysis of this area suggests that what Rodríguez Almeida interpreted as a transept chapel is in fact the remains of a cylindrical shaped structure with narrow slits at incremental heights—very common in a tower structure or staircase (Figure 147). Therefore, I suggest that this structure belonged to city infrastructure, perhaps a staircase that communicated with the ramparts of the walls above, or to an ancillary building related to the now-lost alcazar. The cylindrical structure clearly predates the current doors that have been cut through it as well as the surrounding walls because it consists of different sized and shaped ashlars (Figure 148).[643] It was not part of the original cathedral construction, and in fact may have provided access to other structures while purposefully avoiding passing through any cathedral space.[644]

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[641] Rodríguez Almeida, "La Catedral del Conde," 40-43; Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 81-84. Gómez-Moreno, cited by Pradillo, had already identified this window as one of four "Romanesque" windows in the "Gothic" cathedral; Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 81-84. According to Rodríguez Almeida's analysis, the curved wall's axis is shifted twelve degrees from that of the current cathedral and aligns with this window, and therefore he assigns these pieces to an entirely different, anterior structure.

[642] The curvature's north-south axis excludes the possibility that it is a remnant of a terminating apse at the east end of a typical Romanesque church plan—we would expect the chapels to face east-west, aligned with the central apse. For that reason, Rodríguez Almeida suggests this curved wall is a south-facing chapel at the end of the south transept. However, looking at comparisons, if a protruding transept exists at all, they are square. Examples: Jaca cathedral (begun 1077) lacks a protruding transept; Zamora cathedral (c. 1140-1170) has a barely protruding rectangular transept; Old Salamanca cathedral (c. 1120-1236) has a square protruding transept; Santiago (c. 1075-1211) has a massive rectangular protruding transept; San Isidoro de León (remodeled c. 1095) has a rectangular protruding transept; San Vicente and San Pedro in Ávila (c. 1130s) both have square protruding transepts. However, curved transept chapels are not unknown in other medieval constructions, Saint Germain des Pres in Paris, for example, had rounded transepts.

[643] This is another location where we see a small handful of reused ashlars of *piedra sangrante*, perhaps reused in the medieval period, however later than the initial construction phase of the east end, supporting the theory that this structure does not belong to an earlier cathedral.

[644] As discussed in chapter two, sixteenth-century textual sources indicate clashes between cathedral and the city about soldiers accessing privileged areas of the church—this same attitude may have necessitated access points to

As an alternate explanation for this unknown structure, it is possible that in the sixteenth century, when one of the city walls' towers was demolished in order to build the chapel of San Segundo precisely adjacent to this location,[645] this cylindrical staircase was also demolished because it was no longer functional; there was now a chapel where the stairs would have reached the area it communicated with. After the construction of the chapel of San Segundo in the late-sixteenth century, in order to take advantage of the intermediary space between wall, staircase, and sacristies, this area was enclosed, creating a new "room" now referred to as the "first sacristy." The doorway that leads to this room from the cathedral is also posterior, cut through the *piedra sangrante* ashlars of the southwestern-most radiating chapel, the Chapel of John the Baptist (San Juan Bautista) (Figure 149). A later-added doorway additionally suggests that there was not originally an entrance here and that this "room" is a posterior creation, not a "Romanesque sacristy" as it is also sometimes called.[646] The newly enclosed space was put to use as the cathedral complex expanded.[647] Despite major flaws in Rodríguez Almeida's theory, María Angeles Benito Pradillo uncritically accepts Rodríguez Almeida's floorplan in her

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the walls or other structures separate from the cathedral. Access to sacred space was a fraught topic and may have encouraged the erection of other access points for soldiers to move up and down the walls without passing through the cathedral.

[645] When the chapel of San Segundo was constructed in 1594, a tower was demolished. Between the towers on either side of the current *cimorro*, there should have been two within the area now occupied by the cathedral's chevet and the chapel of San Segundo. The chapel was built after the relics of San Segundo were found in the parish church now of the same name near the river. See Manuel Abeledo, "Ávila 1517-1519, la fundación de un pasado legendario: La invención de san Segundo," *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes* 33 (2019); Luis Cervera Vera, "La capilla de San Segundo en la catedral de Ávila," *Boletín de la Sociedad española de excursiones* 56 (1952): 181–232.

[646] This secondary title is confusing to visitors, suggesting it must be the sacristy for the original cathedral.

[647] Additionally, Teresa Martínez Martínez pointed out two masons marks on this structure, an "A" and a cross or "X." This combination of mason marks is repeated on the interior of the lower levels of the north tower where it meets the west façade suggesting a similar chronology of construction in the thirteenth century. However, a fuller study of mason marks would be required in order to date these constructions together with any certainty. Interestingly as well, and fodder for a further study, it appears that mason marks only show up on granite ashlars, not *piedra caleña* or *piedra sangrante*, perhaps suggesting different payment or workshop structure depending on the type of stone.

extensive dissertation on the cathedral's construction, passing his theory firmly into the cathedral's established historiography.[648]

In addition to a proposed floorplan of the so-called "Romanesque" cathedral, pieces of sculpture found reused in the present construction have also been tied to this earlier structure. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida points out three sculptural reliefs above the double horse-shoe arch windows in the choir. They depict biblical scenes including the Parable of Lazarus, and are clearly displaced from their original location based on their irregular shape and placement, suggesting reutilization (Figure 55). Thus Rodríguez Almeida asserts that these examples of relief must have come from "Raymond's cathedral," that is, the so-called Romanesque one.[649] On the contrary, while these reliefs clearly do not reside in their intended location, stylistically they appear to date to the same chronology as the current cathedral.

I recognize shared stylistic approaches between the Parable of Lazarus and the sculptural program on the cenotaph of San Vicente, including the way the drapery is rendered with circles and the use of three-lobed arches (Figure 56). Without any additional information for the Parable of Lazarus relief in the cathedral, San Vicente's cenotaph, which is traditionally dated to the mid-twelfth century, may offer help in relative dating.[650] Based on the stylistic similarities between the Parable of Lazarus relief and the cenotaph of San Vicente, the cathedral's reused sculpted elements identified by Rodríguez Almeida may likewise date to mid-twelfth century,

[648] Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 81-84.

[649] Rodríguez Almeida, "La Catedral del Conde," 42-43.

[650] The cenotaph unfortunately it poses its own chronological challenges. This unique sculpture is understudied and has few models to compare it to and no direct documentation about its initial construction, thus it is hard to date with certainty, see *Cenotafio de San Vicente de la Basílica de los Santos de Ávila, Cuadernos de Restauración 6*, (Valladolid: Fundación del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, 2008).

postdating the hypothetical "Romanesque" cathedral attested to in written sources dating to the late-eleventh century.

A similar problem arises with other spoliated sculpture within the cathedral that has been identified as "Romanesque," but stylistically dates to the late-twelfth century. Restorations carried out in 2002 revealed a group of sculpted heads and an angel surrounding the key stone of the sanctuary's sexpartite vaults that had been hidden under wood for centuries (Figure 150). Clearly reused in this location, Gutiérrez Robledo has suggested that the sculpture originated from the previous so-called Romanesque cathedral because the flattened areas on the top of their heads suggests that they were originally sculpted as column figures. In turn, Gutiérrez Robledo argues that they may have belonged to an abandoned sculptural program of a previous west façade. Gutiérrez Robledo points out that these heads share stylistic similarities with the "Romanesque" cenotaph of San Vicente and Santiago de Compostela's "Romanesque" Portico de la Gloria (Figure 151).[651] I agree with Gutiérrez Robledo's analysis of the stylistic similarities between the keystone Angel Gabriel in Ávila and Daniel in Santiago's Portico de la Gloria, especially in the way their hair is rendered (Figure 152). The Portico is part of the works conducted under Master Mateo who worked on the cathedral of Santiago between 1168 and 1211. There is an inscription from 1188 in the Portico, suggesting a chronology within the last few decades of the twelfth century. [652] Gutiérrez Robledo claims the cathedral's sculpted heads to be stylistically "Romanesque" and therefore belonging to a previous "Romanesque" cathedral. However, based on his own comparisons, they should be dated to the second half of the twelfth

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[651] José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," in *Historia de Ávila*, vol. 3, coordinated by Gregorio del Ser Quijano (Obra Cultural, 2006), 599-600.

[652] For more on the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela see, José Luis Senra, ed., *En el principio: génesis de la catedral románica de Santiago de Compostela: contexto, construcción y programa iconográfico*, (Santiago de Compostela: Teófilo Ediciones, 2014).

century; a chronology that coincides with the current cathedral construction, that is, in his own words, the "Gothic" one.

The adherence to stylistic terms but the lack of fixed dates corresponding to those terms creates confusion and contradictions when trying to understand the constructive evolution of Ávila's cathedral. Instead of these important discoveries being evidence of the demolition of an early Romanesque cathedral dating to the late-eleventh century, as the traditional historiography has claimed, I see them as clues to the architectural experimentation and continuous changes that plagued the building project and today defines Ávila cathedral's complex.

Ávila's cathedral floorplan (Figure 59) also includes certain structural anomalies which are often explained as the result of the application of "Gothic" elevations on a "Romanesque" plan.[653] The question of a tribune (*tribuna*) is a classic debate—a more common Romanesque element, its inclusion potentially demonstrating evidence of an original "Romanesque" plan. Sculpted capitals now on the exterior of the chevet clerestory and evidence of archways suggest that there was originally an enclosed structure creating an interior pathway in the upper levels of the east end (Figure 153).[654] Gutiérrez Robledo and Navascúes Palacio propose that the first bay on either side of the ambulatories was originally meant to be part of the crossing bays and the

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[653] Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo, "*Fortior Abulensis*," 561.

[654] Rodríguez Almeida, *Ensayo sobre la evolución arquitectónica de la catedral de Ávila* (Ávila: Caja Central de Ahorros y Préstamos, 1974), fig. 7. See also Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 138-40; 390-98. In fact this debate has dominated much of the architectural discourse about this church. The question of tribune relates to the question of an original "Romanesque" character of the cathedral—tribunes are wider than a triforium, occupying the same width as the lateral aisles, and are typically associated with Romanesque architecture while triforia are narrower and associated with Gothic architecture. Thus an original tribune could be proof of a Romanesque plan that was changed at a later date. At some point the tribune was dismantled, Gutiérrez Robledo and others suggest in the sixteenth century, and the stones were reused to form the flyers, see Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," 594. Pradillo also addresses this issue at length in another publication, "Proceso constructivo del cimorro de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIV). Hipótesis verificadas a partir del análisis de estabilidad estructural," *Informes de la Construcción 69, no. 548 (December 30, 2017)*: 1-10. San Vicente in Ávila has a tribune, for more on the relationship between the basilica and cathedral as it relates to the tribune, see Daniel Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones),* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1999): 44-45.

bifurcated windows in the clerestory level, visible today from the transept, were once the entrances to this passage (Figure 154).[655]

José Miguel Merino de Cáceres hypothesized that the original "ideal" cathedral plan had only five radiating chapels and four nave bays based on a geometrical analysis of the measuring standards of the period (Figure 155).[656] The switch to the current plan with nine radiating chapels, Merino de Cáceres theorized, then necessitated an intermediary double ambulatory and affected how the vault supports aligned. However, Daniel Rico Camps is not convinced by the ideal plan proposed by Merino de Cáceres and similarly questions the necessity of a tribune.[657] Another possible connection to a Romanesque floorplan is that fact that the base of the west end towers shows a planned narthex, more typical of Romanesque design, which was later converted into its current layout (Figure 156).[658] The debate surrounding the proposed plan and its potential later changes remains unsettled today and merits further architectural investigation in subsequent publications.[659] However, it is clear that the cathedral was built in complex construction phases that were continuously interrupted and remodeled many times over.

Given the lack of archaeological evidence and the ambiguous textual references, instead of the existence of a separate "Romanesque" cathedral consistently attested to in the historiography, I suggest that the previous cathedral may have in fact been a restored ancient rubble structure. This antique building was continuously intervened upon until construction

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[655] Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo, "*Fortior Abulensis*," 560.

[656] José Miguel Merino de Cáceres, "Metrología y composición en las catedrales españolas," *Papeles de arquitectura española* 3 (2000), 25-26. Rodríguez Almeida, *Ensayo*, figs. 8-10.

[657] Rico Camps, *El románico de San Vicente*, 44-45.

[658] Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 527.

[659] The cathedral lacks a monograph, and while its complex architecture merits one, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

finally began on the current church in the mid- to late-twelfth century. Instead of a fully-realized monumental "Romanesque" cathedral in the style of Jaca or Santiago, I suggest that the structure that predated the current cathedral was in fact the ancient construction heavily restored under the direction of bishop Pedro, Count Raymond, Urraca, and King Alfonso VI during the early days of Christian settlement of the city.[660] Likely, this early cathedral was a smaller structure to accommodate a small population, perhaps with significant wooden or rubble construction, which would explain its complete disappearance today. It would have been important to remodel this essential building, especially as the city served an important Christian center on newly conquered land. However, it seems more likely that the building was less sturdy than the ashlar churches that became commonplace at the turn of the twelfth century.[661] Unfortunately, because so little Castilian architecture survives from before around the end of the eleventh century, it is quite difficult to reconstruct what an earlier structure, especially an ancient one that was reformed over the centuries, may have looked like.

The Current Cathedral Building

Documentation: Twelfth-Century

Documentation helps establish a timeline of construction for the current cathedral building which I outline chronologically below. The medieval documentation relating to Ávila's

[660] My colleague, Teresa Martínez Martínez, is also finding a similar pattern to be true in Zamora, where very little (if any at all) fabric from pre-twelfth-century churches survive, suggesting possibly a more widespread lack of ashlar monuments before this period in Castile. See her recent dissertation: "Masons' Marks, Echoes of the Labour Force: Medieval Construction and Workshop Organisation in Zamora, 11th-13th century," PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2023.

[661] Also important to note is that a church of scale may not have been possible at the very beginning of new Christian settlement given a lack of expertise or labor as I have outlined throughout this dissertation. Gutiérrez Robledo notes also, in challenging Ariz's walls start date of 1099, that it is unlikely a new settlement could have had the manpower to accomplish so much at once: "No parece razonable pensar que en los primeros añoa fuera possible acometer a la vez las tareas de organizer el territorio, construer casas y palacios, reedificar los templos y levanter tan colosales defensas," Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas: el caso de Ávila," 143.

cathedral has been compiled from disparate sources by Ángel Barrios García in his 2004 publication, *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII)*. These textual sources offer clues to the cathedral's construction history. Barrios's volume includes a series of royal donations that form the earliest recorded funding sources for the cathedral of Ávila and the first entries in his volume. The first of these has already been discussed above: the donation of royal rents and inheritance to the cathedral made by King Alfonso VII (r. 1126-1157) in 1126. In the first year of his reign, the king records: "for more than three hundred years being deprived of a shepherd and sheep, truly in modern times having been built nobly by my father, thus I make other deeds and I give a third part of all royal rents…"[662] The document does not specify the purpose of the donation, but it may mark the beginning of a fundraising campaign or planning stage for the construction of a brand new cathedral after the restoration of the diocese c. 1120, or it may simply be a politically motivated act at the beginning of his reign.[663] Nearly twenty years later, in 1142, the same king makes two more donations to the cathedral—one of land adjacent to the Adaja river and the other of rents from windmills attached to the bridge of the city as well as cereal crops.[664] The 1142 donation of lands coupled with a 1139 papal bull from Innocent II confirming possessions of the bishop of Ávila, shows the first written instance of the cathedral owning land.[665] In 1144, Alfonso VII made his last documented donation to the cathedral of

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[662] See note above.

[663] Barrios, "Colonización y feudalización," 358-60. The exact history, dates, and boundaries of Ávila's diocese at the time of Christian settlement are unclear. Alfonso VII had already been king of Galicia since 1111. Based on stylistic comparisons, 1126 is too early for the cathedral's existing fabric, but it demonstrates a royal interest in the cathedral project from at least this date.

[664] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 28-29, doc. 4, AC, Sección Documentos, n. 2. Barrios acknowledges that Reilly doubts the authenticity of this document, 28n7. Barrios, *Documentos,* 29-31, doc. 5, BN, Sección Manuscritos, n. 712, fols. 314v-315. The bridge referenced is probably the Puente Adaja.

[665] Ángel Barrios García, *La catedral de Avila en la edad media: estructura socio-jurídica y económica:(hipótesis y problemas)*, (Obra Social y Cultural de la Caja Central de Ahorros y Prestamos de Avila, 1973), 56, 97.

Ávila—that of a third of royal rents, a tenth part of commercial taxes and fines on both Jews and Christians, as well as annual Jewish taxes.[666]

In addition to royal donations, by the 1140s other members of society had begun donating to the cathedral project. A certain Juan Gómez donated his body and belongings to the cathedral in 1146 and promised to remain faithful and obedient in exchange for interring his body in the church. In 1150, Don Justo and his wife María similarly donated their bodies and belongings to the cathedral in order to be buried within its walls.[667] Non-royal members of society bequeathed their belongings and bodies in exchange for prayers to the cathedral which would have helped raise funds. Additionally, it suggests some sort of structure was imminent lest their bodies have nowhere to be laid to rest.

Clerics also participated in donating funds and properties to the cathedral in the twelfth-century, concretely in 1171 and 1176.[668] In 1171, the archdeacon of Olmedo, a village north of Ávila in its "historical territory," donated houses, lands, vineyards, wine press and vats, blacksmiths, and vegetable gardens to the cathedral of Ávila and its canons. In that same year, 1176, a canon named Calvetus donated houses, land, and vineyards that he owned in the neighborhood (*aldea*) of Domingo Peláez to the refectory of the cathedral.[669] 1176 also marks the year that royal intervention resumes: Alfonso VIII concedes royal rents in the city to the

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[666] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 31-32, doc. 6, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 4.

[667] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 32-33, doc. 7, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 5; 35, doc. 9, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 6.

[668] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 33-39, doc. 12, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 8; 42-43, doc. 16, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 10.

[669]For more on the historical territory of Ávila, see José María Monsalvo Antón, "Concejos castellano-leoneses y feudalismo (siglos xi-xiii). Reflexiones para un estado de la cuestión," *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 10 (1992): 203-44.

cathedral and bishop, Sancho II.[670] Later, in a letter addressed to the cathedral of Burgos in 1181, Alfonso VIII absolves all the clerics of his realm from the responsibility of certain payments;[671] and in 1187, Alfonso VIII concedes royal rents from the town of Plasencia to the cathedral of Ávila and its bishop.[672]

Episcopal and papal intervention on two occasions in the twelfth-century additionally show a concerted effort to raise funds, possibly in order to support the construction of the present cathedral. A document that dates between 1167-1169 written by Bishop Alejandro III orders the citizens (*vecinos*) of Ávila to pay taxes on the fruit they collect.[673] Though not a direct indication of funding, this document demonstrates that the cathedral and bishop were in need of cash, perhaps to continue construction. About a decade later, Pope Lucius III intervened to remind the knights of Ávila and other cities that they must pay tithes to their churches, suggesting the cathedral was so zealous in seeking funding by 1182 that it sought papal intervention.[674]

Another critical twelfth-century document, especially for the historiography of Ávila cathedral's early construction history, is the 1192 reference to the master of works, Fruchel ("*magister operis in cathedrali ecclesie*"), which I discuss in chapter two.[675] As described in

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[670] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 42-43, doc. 15, AHN. AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 4: "terciam partem integram de omnibus regalibu Avile redditibus: de quintis videlicet et portagiis, de homicidiis el calumpniis, de monetis et tendis, et de omni marzazgo et vedivazgo iudeorum…"

[671] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 46-48, doc. 18: AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 11: "ab omni posta et fazendera et ab omni alterius modi pecta que ad regem pertinent."

[672] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 72-73, doc. 33: AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 4. A series of subsequent documents show prolonged conflict between Plasencia and Ávila and the repeated papal intervention to remind Plasencia that they are under the episcopal control of Ávila.

[673] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 37-38, doc. 11: AC. Sección Documentos, n. 4.

[674] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 53, doc. 21: AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 18, n. 13.

[675] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 80, doc. 40: AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 19, n. 4. Alfonso VIII exchanged Fruchel's inheritance with another inheritance in Toledo which had been given by the previous bishop, Sancho, to a certain Tello Pérez de Meneses. Cf. chapter two.

chapter two, this document has played a key role in the architectural history of the cathedral of Ávila, especially with reference to its initial construction phases, in addition to the rest of the city's medieval structures and even beyond. This document demonstrates that as master of cathedral works, Fruchel was an important member of society and was able to achieve a certain level of wealth and status, however, unfortunately it does not reveal any more clues about the master's life or the cathedral's building progression.

A few more financial transactions appear for the cathedral's benefit before the end of the twelfth century. In 1193, the treasurer of the Cathedral of Toledo, Pedro, mentions the cathedral of Ávila as partial beneficiary in his will.[676] The cathedral of Ávila is again a beneficiary in the will of Martín, prior of the cathedral, in 1197.[677] In 1199, more papal intervention is recorded when Pope Innocent III compels Muslim windmill and vegetable garden owners who had purchased their properties from Christians to pay the same parish taxes that the Christian landlords were obligated to ("*quarta parte parochialibus ecclesiis*").[678]

Based on these surviving documents, there are two periods of clear royal intervention for the cathedral of Ávila in the twelfth century —the 1140s donations made by Alfonso VII and the 1170s-1180s donations made by his grandson, Alfonso VIII. These two donation campaigns, though not explicitly recorded as construction financing, may correspond to a twelfth-century

[676] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 81-84, doc. 41: AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 19, n. 5.

[677] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 85-88, doc. 43: AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 19, n. 7. The contents of this will also point to Muslims living in Ávila, as well as a reference to "my Moors" ("*mauris meis*") Zeme and Fatima, which might indicate enslaved women, cf. chapter four.

[678] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 89-90, doc. 46: ASV. Registros Vaticanos, 4, fol. 170v, n. 70. This document specifically refers to "parish taxes," however it addressed the bishop and cathedral chapter in particular, so it's unclear if these funds would have gone only to the parishes or if they were split between parish, cathedral, and chapter. This document is also an important example for the economy of religious minorities in Ávila, see Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society: The Case of Ávila," in *Interfaith Relationships and Perceptions of the Other in the Medieval Mediterranean*, (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2021): 227-54.

building campaign for the cathedral. Interspersed with these royal donations are citizen donations, papal bulls, and wills that may have supplemented royal financing for cathedral construction. It appears that by 1126 the King of Castile was invested in supporting the construction of a new cathedral in the strategic new Christian city in the first year of his reign. Erecting the religious center of a new city was critical for building a successful line of defense for the Castilian crown. It is an especially timely date considering the restoration of the diocese likely happened c. 1120.

By the 1140s royal intention translated into more significant monetary contributions both from the royal coffers as well as the city's citizens. The conflict that followed the death of Alfonso VII in 1157 may have halted cathedral construction and may account for the multi-decade absence of royal donations until they began again in 1176.[679] However, by the 1180s, the cathedral appeared to be in financial hardship, necessitating papal intervention to impel citizens to pay the church what it was owed. Evidence of financial hardship may indicate a slowdown in construction. In the intervening years after Almohad defeat of Castilian forces in the battle of Alarcos in 1195, where Ávila's own bishop was killed, any cathedral construction in Castile may have slowed significantly.[680]

Documentation: Thirteenth-Century

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[679] As was tradition, when Alfonso VII died he split his territory between his sons—Fernando II became king of León and Galicia while his brother, Sancho III, inherited Castilian territories which ushered in fratricidal conflict. Conflict was worsened when Sancho III died in 1158 and his two year old son, Alfonso VIII became king of Castile. The minor king's rule was threatened by noble houses, as well as Fernando II, vying for the regency. Alfonso VIII was put under protection in the royal town of Ávila until the time he could rule strongly. See Peter Linehan, *Spain 1157 – 1300: A Partible Inheritance (A History of Spain)*, (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).

[680] Gutierrez Robledo and Henrik Karge argue that royal donations to cathedral construction throughout Castile diminished significantly in the second half of the thirteenth century because in 1247 the taxing system changed which allocated funds previously slotted for construction to war instead, "Cathedral gótica," 605; Henrik Karge, *La catedral de Burgos y la arquitectura del siglo XIII en Francia y España*, (Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1995).

After the 1187 source listed above, we do not have written evidence of royal donations again until 1221 when Fernando III makes the first of three royal donations to the cathedral during his reign, potentially ushering in renewed cathedral construction in earnest.[681] Until the pivotal Christian win at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, the Almohad threat was ever constant, and significant royal resources would have gone to military campaigns and away from religious initiatives and urban development.[682] But by 1221, the Christian realm was more stable and Fernando III reinstated royal donations to the cathedral. Fernando III's successors follow in his footsteps in supporting the cathedral through royal donations and tax exemptions—Alfonso X in 1253 and 1256, and Sancho IV in 1293. In 1253, Alfonso X made a donation of houses in Seville to the bishop of Ávila. In 1256 Alfonso X exempts the bishop and chapter of Ávila from certain taxes in exchange for praying for his soul and that of his parents. In 1293, Sancho IV similarly exempts certain taxes "so that the church of Ávila become richer and more honorable" (*por que la eglesia de Ávila sea más rrica e más onrrada*). [683]

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[681] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 110-11, doc. 61, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos, Carp 19, n. 16; 119-20, doc. 70, this document does not survive but is reproduced in Cristóbal Rodríguez y Solano, *Bibliotheca universal de la polygraphia Española*, (Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1738); 121-22, doc. 71, AHN, Secciòn clero, Pergaminos, Carp 19, n. 18. In 1221 the king, his wife Beatriz, and her brother Alfonso, donated the royal crops of Olmedo and Arévalo to the cathedral chapter and bishop. Again in 1230, King Fernando III with his wife, sons, and mother, donated land near the parish church of San Salvador in Arévalo to the chapter and bishop of Ávila. A year later, Fernando III continues his donation campaign with his wife, sons, and mother, to give the villa of Guijo and its *castro* to the cathedral chapter and bishop. The same year, 1231, Pope Gregory IX confirmed this donation, see Barrios García, *Documentos*, 122-23, doc. 72, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 19, n. 19.

[682] The Battle of Las Navas de la Tolosa in 1212 was won by an alliance of Christian troops (Castilian, Navarrese, Aragonese, etc) against the superior Almohad military force. It was pivotal in the Christian conquest of the peninsula, tipping the balance of power in favor of the Christian cause. As an anecdotal aside, after Alfonso VIII's win, he informed Pope Innocent III that the French soldiers who had joined the effort defected before the battle began, Peter Linehan, "At the Spanish Frontier," in *The Medieval World*, edited by Peter Linehan, Janet Laughland Nelson, and Marios Costambeys, (London: Routledge, 2001), 41.

[683] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 162-63, doc. 88, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp. 20, n. 3; 171-74, doc. 95, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp 20, n. 7; 286-87, doc. 165, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp 28, n. 14.

In addition to royal giving, citizens also continue to contribute financially to the cathedral and chapter throughout the thirteenth century, the earliest record from 1229. In this year, María Pérez donated all her belongings from the *aldea* of Arroyo de San Pedro to the bishop of Ávila.[684] The mid-thirteenth century is also marked by an overall uptick in recorded activity on the part of the cathedral chapter, bishop, and clerics—property transactions and lawsuits.[685] By 1261, the will of Esteban Domingo suggests construction was well advanced on the west end of the church.

The requests and donations listed in the will of the king's mayor ("*alcalde del rey*"), Esteban Domingo, from 1261 are invaluable for understanding the extent of cathedral construction at this time.[686] Esteban Domingo paid forty *moravedis* to name two chaplains to the chapel of San Miguel which lies within the north tower base.[687] Farther down the document, he also paid to create a family tomb in this same north tower chapel (Figure 50). This information is critical for the building history because it suggests that by 1261, tower construction was at least partially underway, suggesting that west end construction had also progressed.[688] The use of the chapel's specific name, "Sant Migael," suggests that the chapel had already been consecrated and was in use at this time. The wording "*en la paret de la torre de la eglesia*" (in the wall of the

[684] Barrios García, *Documentos,* 118-19, doc. 69, AHN, Sección Clero, Pergaminos, Carp 19, n. 17.

[685] This uptick in records is likely the result of a more established record keeping system as well, and also, as is always true, the luck of survival.

[686] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 183-87, doc. 99: AHN. Seccièn clero. Pergaminos. Carp 20, n. 11. Original, muy deteriorado.

[687] A highly sculpted tomb is still present here which has been attributed to this burial, although the inscription is difficult to decipher.

[688] Gómez Moreno refers to a 1211 document that speaks of the chapel of San Miguel, therefore he had given the completion date as much earlier. However this document is now lost, or, as Rico Camps suggests, it was a misread of this 1261 will of Domingo Esteban. Rico Camps, *San Vicente*, 125 n244.

tower of the church), a direct reference to a built structure, also implies that the north tower may have been complete, or near complete, when this document was drafted.

In the thirteenth century, two more masters of works are also recorded in written form. In 1269, a certain "don Varon" is included on a document witness list as master of works ("*maestro de la obra*").[689] Similarly, Guilelmo [sic] Pérez, ("*maestre de la obra*") is listed as a witness in a property exchange from 1285.[690] These references suggest that construction was active and progressing in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Additional building continued on the cathedral past the thirteenth century, including significant campaigns and remodeling into the early modern and modern era. However, for the present dissertation project, my analysis of documentation relating to the cathedral ends in the thirteenth century. Below, I look at tombs and visual analysis to continue to refine the timeline of cathedral construction.

Cathedral Tombs

A number of tomb inscriptions survive within Ávila's cathedral fabric providing *termini ante quem* for certain areas. From the discernible dates, in almost all parts of the cathedral, tombs date throughout the medieval period: in the chevet, tomb burials spanned 1271 (Figure 157) to 1303; in the south side of the nave, 1262 and 1300; in the south transept, the fourteenth and fifteenth century; an *arcosolium* in the southern tower may date to 1231 (Figure 158);[691] in the cloister, embedded onto the backside of the wall shared with the south nave aisle, a burial date

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[689] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 197-98, doc. 106: AHN. Secciòn clero. Pergaminos. Carp 20, n. 15. Original. See also, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 605.

[690] Barrios García, *Documentos*, 235, doc. 139: AHN. Secciòn clero. Pergaminos. Carp 22, n. 1. Original. See also, Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 605. The name is published by Barrios thusly, "Guilelmo," but it's unclear if this is a misspelling in the original document, or a typo in the transcription.

[691] Fictive masonry is painted here which partially obscures the date, there may be an "L" covered up which would date the burial to 1281 instead.

of 1278 is visible (Figure 159). Many of these sepulchers clearly replace earlier entombments, and there are other tombs that include dates that are either too difficult to decipher or which have succumbed to the trials of time.[692]

Visual Analysis and *Comparanda*: An Introduction

As described at the beginning of this appendix, Ávila's cathedral of San Salvador merits a careful monographic study which has yet to be undertaken. What follows is a preliminary visual analysis of the architecture, some of which has not been noted before in scholarship. It is by no means an exhaustive analysis, but instead is meant to offer an introductory look at the structure's architectural anomalies that I hope to pursue further for a longer form project.

As described in chapter two, the chevet of the cathedral contains bulkier ribs in the chapel vaults (Figure 40) compared to the nave and aisles (Figure 41), rounded arches, a few historiated capitals (Figure 42), and asymmetrical ambulatories (Figure 43), suggesting construction began here in the east end. Additionally, the near homogeneity of material, *piedra sangrante*, might suggest that the chevet was built in a single phase (Figure 160). Some architectural elements are reminiscent of Saint-Denis (Figure 45) and Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Figure 44) in the Île-de-France, including Ávila's nine interconnected radiating chapels and rudimentary double ambulatory.[693] While placing Ávila's start date in the 1140s to coincide with these French

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[692] Many of these tombs include sarcophagi with a dogtooth pattern which may also point to a relatively early date, or even a Norman stylistic connection. I have also observed this same tomb pattern inside the parish church of Santo Tomé (now the Museo de Ávila) and outside the parish church of Santiago. These tomb designs merit additional study. Gutiérrez Robledo says that the burials of the thirteenth century are all located in the towers, choir, or ambulatory, suggesting that the nave, aisles, and crossing were still under construction at this time, see Gutiérrez Robledo, "Catedral gótica," 605. However, my analysis found at least one nave tomb dating to 1262. Additionally, the issue of the Spanish Era dating system, which is the Common Era year minus thirty-eight, complicates the dating. Spain did not adopt the standard until the fifteenth century, however some of these inscriptions appear to have been added later, and scholars rarely explain if they are referring to the common era date, or the actual Roman numerals inscribed. Therefore it's unclear if any of these visible inscriptions are recorded with a Common Era or Spanish Era date, which would cause a thirty-eight year dating discrepancy.

[693] Bony, *French Gothic Architecture,* 49-60.

models would complicate well-established historiography of Gothic architecture, Ávila's east end may indicate that so-called early Gothic architecture could have been more widespread than previously acknowledged, especially given the established connection between Castilian and French politics and religious life.[694]

When royal donations began again in Ávila in the 1170s (according to the written sources), phase one of construction may have begun (or restarted) in earnest, accounting for more evolved architectural forms including the choir vaults with a sexpartite double bay.[695] The sexpartite vault design in Ávila's east end has typically been compared to the choir of Vezelay Abbey which was rebuilt c. 1165-1180 (Figure 47).[696] Like at Vezelay, Ávila's east end combines one quadripartite and one sexpartite vault in the choir, however in Ávila's east end, the quadripartite presbytery is directly east of the crossing followed by a sexpartite double bay—the reverse pattern of Vezelay's vaults (Figure 48). The displacement of Ávila's sexpartite vault ensures the most weight is held up by weaker corbels, rather than piers—the supports that carry the weight of the transverse arches, window arches, and diagonal ribs, on either side rest upon an

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[694] Cf. chapter two. Since 1077, Alfonso VI was the largest donor to Cluny, many of the Castilian royal family married French or Burgundian nobles, and many French clerics, knights, and immigrants migrated to the peninsula in the High Middle Ages. See Otto Karl Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27, no. 1/2 (1988): 103-12; Bernard Reilly, "Santiago and Saint Denis: The French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain," *The Catholic Historical Review* 54, no. 3: 468.

[695] As far as we know, this is the first use of sexpartite vaults on the Iberian Peninsula, certainly they are the earliest that survive.

[696] Arnaud Timbert, "Vézelay, Église Sainte-Marie-Madeleine," *Mapping Gothic France*, https://mcid.mcah.columbia.edu/art-atlas/mapping-gothic/vezelay-eglise-sainte-marie-madeleine. (Accessed 13 March 2024). For a more complete discussion of Vezelay Abbey see also: Arnaud Timbert, *Vézelay: Le Chevet de La Madeleine et Le Premier Gothique Bourguignon. Art et Société*, (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes), 2009. Elie Lambert was the first to point out that the vault design found in Ávila's east end is similar to that of the Abbey of Vezelay, see *El arte gótico en España*, (Editorial Labor, 1985). His work, originally published in French, was translated to Spanish in the 1980s.

engaged column supported by a corbel.[697] In contrast, Vezelay's design aligns the transverse arches with the supportive piers. Ávila's more inefficient design may point to an experimental stage, a change of plan, or inexperienced masters and masons. A lack of standardized ribs in the vaults also suggests an experimental design.[698] Even today, structural issues are visible in the chevet which may be the result of insufficient supports (Figure 161). Nevertheless, despite its weaknesses, Ávila's cross-rib vaulted choir allowed for added profundity of Ávila's east end which was entirely new and accomplished through architectural advancements arriving from abroad.[699] Ávila's cross-rib vaulted choir also accounted for additional light and height which added liturgical and aesthetic importance in the sanctuary.

A preliminary look of molding profiles in the hemicycle chapels might help determine construction evolution, yet a more rigorous study is still needed. At first glance there are at least four distinct types of molding profiles in the rib vaults of each radiating chapel (Figure 149). The two western-most chapels on the north and south side contain simplified rectangular ribs, perhaps indicating those chapels may have been built first, aligning with city wall construction, and then chevet construction emanated towards the center. Similarities in the rectangular molding profiles of some of the radiating chapels (Figure 162) and the vaulted tower chapels

[697] Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila," 6-8; 89-95. Gutiérrez Robledo explains the displaced supports in Ávila's east end by arguing that it's the result of constructing a Gothic sexpartite vault superimposed on top of a Romanesque foundation, "Catedral gótica," 596.

[698] Rocío Maira Vidal, in her dissertation on Iberian sexpartite vaulting systems, highlights the ways in which Ávila's vaults show an early experimental phase of this technology. For example, the ribs of Ávila's vaults lack standardization, they each have a slightly different curvature. She explains that this would have complicated the building process, at the very least by requiring different wooden arch frame supports for each rib when the vaults were being erected. She points out too, that the other sexpartite vault systems studied in her dissertation show a standardization of ribs that Ávila lacks, indicating that Ávila's vaults were certainly an early iteration of this architectural technology, Rocío Maira Vidal, *Bóvedas sexpartitas : los orígenes del gótico,* Ph.D diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2015: 175, 178.

[699] Compared to the more common barrel vault design of San Vicente or even at Santiago which also has radiating chapels.

(Figure 163) point to a related chronological frame at both extremes of the church. In turn, it appears that construction likely began in the east end of Ávila's cathedral and moved west. However, the possibility of a planned narthex on the west end may indicate that the narthex layout had been established much before the erection of the tower walls actually began, possibly concurrently with work proceeding on the east end.

In the transept there is a clear seam between the *piedra sangrante* entrances to the double ambulatory and the protruding grey granite bays that extend north and south on either end (Figure 164). This clear break suggests that the first building campaign ended here with no intention of a protruding transept, possibly to imitate a floorplan that may have resembled the slim design of Saint-Denis (Figure 45) or Notre Dame of Paris. Construction in *piedra sangrante* in the hemicycle appears to have progressed to the entrance of what is now the transept; the seam indicates construction stopped or slowed at this point, perhaps with no intention of an elongated transept. This potential pause in construction may coincide with the Castilian defeat at Alarcos in 1195, when financing was geared more towards war and conquest rather than city building.

After a hiatus, by the 1220s, royal funding had restarted when the realm was more stable and work likely resumed on cathedral construction. Later construction on the cathedral is completed mostly with grey granite, including in the towers. On the exterior, both towers show a clear break in construction indicating at least two building phases even though the south tower was never completed (Figure 49). The first phase of tower construction reached the bottom of the first row of windows, which was likely complete by 1261, the date recorded in the aforementioned will of Esteban Domingo whose tomb lies in the north tower base (Figure 50).[700]

[700] Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo suggest the south tower base was complete by 1193 and the north tower by 1211 because of burials, however these dates are debated, see note 55 above. Navascúes Palacio and Gutiérrez Robledo, "*Fortior Abulensis*," 562.

The construction technique of the towers' lower levels also shows similarities to the protective wall of the protruding *cimorro* (Figure 51). In addition, the appearance of mason marks in both the towers' lower levels and the *cimorro*'s outer wall, especially when they are absent in much of the church, suggests that these structures may date to a similar period (Figure 52).[701] Simultaneous work on the east and west ends in the thirteenth century may indicate that these areas were completed first, leaving the central nave and aisles to be completed at a later date.

Architectural evidence indicates that the west end up to the level of the first windows predated the completion of the nave and aisles as well. The thick bulky rib vaults in both tower chapels (Figure 163) differ greatly compared to the slender ribs found in all of the lateral nave aisles (Figure 41). In addition, in the first bay east of the tower chapels, the simple string course that runs above the nave arcade "breaks" halfway above the arch (Figure 165). This anomaly may have been caused by the construction moving west and east simultaneously and meeting at slightly different levels in this first bay. The same form is also found in the bay immediately west of the crossing on the south side, but not on the north (Figure 166).

The upper exterior levels of the towers, distinguished by narrower ashlars, thicker mortar, and spherical ornamentation, are clearly a separate construction campaign, distinct from the

[701] An analysis of masons marks and if they overlap has not been carried out, however the appearance of this banker mark system, which is nonexistent in the *piedra sangrante* chevet, similarly may indicate a new building phase. This additional outer defensive wall of the *cimorro* is traditionally dated to the thirteenth century and was added sometime after the initial construction of the chevet in order to better protect the radiating chapels. Gutiérrez Robledo dates it to the middle of the thirteenth century and relates it to the master of works, Don Varon, whose name appears in an archival document in 1269, however this brief mention says nothing about what work he was responsible for in the cathedral complex. Gutiérrez Robledo goes on to say that by the middle of the fifteenth century, the upper artillery platform was added with the invention and arrival of gunpowder which had already appeared in al-Andalus as early as 1340. The machicolations that also exist today were also added at this time according to Gutiérrez Robledo, "Las murallas: el caso de Ávila," 132. See also, Pedro Navascúes Palacio and José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, *Fortior Abulensis*, 556, who argue that the earliest iteration of this structure included a barbican. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the makers continued to improve the design that linked walls and cathedral by adding the three-level ramparts and cylindrical wall to the exterior that is visible today.

towers' lower levels (Figure 49). The thick mortar technique and decoration of the tower coincides with the flyers on the nave, suggesting a shared chronology (Figure 167). Similarly, the pinnacles on the north tower are found in diminutive atop the nave's flying buttresses on both the north and south sides (Figure 168). The decorative frieze at the top edge of the quadrangular buttress of the flyers is repeated across each, indicating a cohesion in design and possibly construction (Figure 169). Though the relief design of the buttresses is not identical to the frieze design found on the top edge of the north tower, it is similar, suggesting that these upper levels of the nave, including flyers, as well as the upper towers, may have been constructed during the same phase.

The two-part elevation in Ávila's nave is also comparable to Toledo's late thirteenth-century nave elevation (Figure 170). Furthermore, as I described in chapter two, the nave window tracery (Figure 53) is reminiscent of nave windows in Toledo's cathedral just west of the crossing which Tom Nickson has dated to the last decade of the thirteenth century, c. 1290 (Figure 54).[702] The structural connection between external flyers and the upper levels of the nave and windows, and the fact that, from the exterior, the upper level of the north tower, nave, and flyers all share architectural and decorative motifs, suggest that these sections were all built within the same phase in the late-thirteenth century. Before the upper levels were completed, the nave aisles were vaulted, likely relatively concurrently, based on the uniformity of rib molding profiles in the lateral aisle vaults.

Two notable architectural anomalies appear in the fabric of the first bays west of the crossing that have not been noted elsewhere. On either lateral aisle, immediately west of the transept bays, on the eastern corners of the current choir, a y-shaped rib vault compensates for

[702] Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile*, (Penn State Press, 2015), 67.

arcades of differing widths connecting the nave and aisle (Figure 171). In the same longitude of the church, in the clerestory level of the central nave, the remains of a corner of demolished window tracery is visible which has now been replaced by the current window (Figure 172). This structure is indicative of a change in plan or remodel. Perhaps the original plan, as hypothesized above, followed a non-protruding transept design. However, when construction restarted (perhaps c. 1221), the makers decided to expand the transept north and south—adding bays on either end (although they are different sizes because the original lengths of the double ambulatories on either side are asymmetrical) which did not perfectly align with the crossing. It seems that foundations for the crossing may have already been set prior to a transept expansion, therefore when the transept bays were added, their sizes did not coincide with the size of the crossing foundations established earlier. Thus, when the aisles were vaulted, the y-shaped rib was needed to accommodate the webbing of the oblong vault connecting misaligned central nave and side aisle arcades. The windows in the same location may have also needed to be replanned or resized, or perhaps simply the makers decided to change the design.

Summary of a Hypothetical Building Evolution

To summarize, Ávila, whose diocese dates back to the Visigothic period, was likely home to a more ancient cathedral than the current structure, but whose fabric has been completely lost. At the beginning of the reign of Alfonso VII, in 1126, the king found it critical to donate to the cathedral reconstruction effort thus ushering in a period of planning, fundraising, and donating to an as-yet-to-be-remodeled cathedral. Construction began on the *piedra sangrante* chevet in the second half of the twelfth century in tandem with the initial stages of city wall construction. At the same time, the foundations of the west end's planned towers and narthex may have been placed. Construction slowed due to the military woes plaguing the Crown of Castile in the 1190s,

but resumed in earnest in a second construction phase c. 1221 with renewed royal attention. By 1261, construction likely reached the lower level of the first line of windows of the towers, whose chapels were dedicated to Esteban Domingo and his family. Stylistic similarities suggest the exterior *cimorro* wall was also constructed at the same time as the lower level of the towers. This evidence shows that work progressed to build up the west end and fortify the east end's chevet simultaneously in the thirteenth century.

A distinct third phase of construction oversaw the completion of the upper levels of the tower, nave, and aisles based on similarities between construction techniques and decoration in the flyers and towers. The windows and elevation can be compared to a c. 1290 segment of Toledo's nave, providing a relative date at the end of the thirteenth century. The physical connection between nave windows and nave flyers in turn suggests a c. 1290 chronology for the exterior nave areas as well. The Portal de Apóstoles, once the ornate entrance to the west façade, has been dated to c. 1300, suggesting a construction completion date for the primary cathedral structure at the turn of the fourteenth century (Figure 173).[703] By this period, Ávila was no longer located on a frontier. As Christian forces pushed farther south into al-Andalus, the city's needs and religious history changed dramatically, therefore my analysis ends here. However, auxiliary buildings and remodels continued on the cathedral into the eighteenth century.

[703] Stylistic analysis dates this sculpted portal to 1300. It was later moved and now graces the northern entrance. Sculptural analysis of tombs may also provide additional chronological information and merits further study.

Church Appendix

	Church	Status	Location	Type	Notes	Source	Date
1	San Vicente	Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	c. 1125-1160**
2	San Pedro	Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	c. 1125-1160
3	San Andres	Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	c. 1125-1160
4	San Segundo	Extant	Extramural	Parish	Previously San Sebastián	Gil Torres	c. 1125-1160
5	Santo Tome el Viejo	Extant	Extramural	Parish	Now a museum	Gil Torres	after c.1150
6	San Nicolas	Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	1198 (1602 Bishop's catalogue)
7	Santa Maria la Magdalena	Extant	Extramural	Hospital	Only fragments of its original chevet		after c.1150
8	Santa Maria la Antigua/Vieja	Extant	Extramural	Monastery	Only a portal, now a residence		after c.1150
9	Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza	Extant	Extramural	Parish	Previously San Bartholomé	Gil Torres	1209/1210 (1602 Bishop's catalogue)
10	San Esteban	Extant	Intramural	Parish		Gil Torres	c. 1125-1160
11	Cathedral	Extant	Intramural	Cathedral			
12	San Martin	Semi-extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	after c.1150
13	San Juan	Semi-extant	Intramural	Parish		Gil Torres	
14	Santiago	Semi-extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	
15	San Francisco	Semi-extant	Extramural	Monastery			
16	Sancti Spiritu	Semi-Extant	Extramural	Monastery	Rebuilt		1209 (1602 Bishop's catalogue)
17	San Isidoro or Pelayo	Extant	Extramural	Parish	Ruins in Retiro Park in Madrid	Gil Torres	c. 1125-1160
18	San Silvestre	Non Extant	Intramural	Parish		Gil Torres; *La Crónica*	
19	Santo Domingo	Non Extant	Intramural	Parish		Gil Torres	
20	San Miguel	Non Extant	Extramural	Hermitage		1278 doc (Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y mudejar," 41); Coello map	
21	San Lazaro	Non Extant	Extramural	Hermitage		Anton van den Wyngaerde	
22	San Clemente	Non Extant	Extramural	Convent		*La Crónica*	
23	San Leonardo	Non Extant	Extramural	Hermitage		*La Crónica;* Anton van den Wyngaerde	
24	San Millan	Non Extant	Extramural	Parish		*Becerro*	

25	San Gil	Non Extant	Extramural	Parish	Later became monastery	Gil Torres; *Becerro*	
26	Santa Trinidad	Non Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	
27	San Cebrian	Non Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	
28	San Román	Non Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres	
29	Santa Cruz	Non Extant	Extramural	Parish		Gil Torres; *Becerro*	

20/29 (70%) Parishes
4/29 (14%) Monasteries*
3/29 (10%) Hermitages*
1/29 (3%) Hospital*
1/29 (3%) Cathedral

*Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila," 41.

** This dating system is based on the analysis by María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999).

Brick Appendix

Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza

Location	Length	Height	Width
North apse triumphal arch	32.5	3	24
South apse triumphal arch, S side	32	4.5	15.5
South apse triumphal arch, N side	35	4	18
N Pier 1.1	34	4.5	23.25
N Pier 1.2	35	4.5	22
N Pier 2.1	33.75	4	24.2
N Pier 2.2	33.5	4.2	24
N Pier 3.1	33.2	3	23
N Pier 3.2	34.25	4	22
N Pier 4.1	34	3	23.5
N Pier 4.2	34	4.25	24
Horseshoe arch, right	23.5	3.5	12
Horseshoe arch, left	23.5	3	12
S Pier 4.1	34.5	4	23
S Pier 4.2	32	4	23
S Pier 3.1	33	3.5	21.5
S Pier 3.2	34	3.75	21.5
S Pier 2.1	34	4	23
S Pier 2.2	33	4.5	24
S Pier 1.1	33.5	4	21.5
S Pier 1.2	32	4	21
Central nave floor	27	-	27
North nave floor	29.5	-	15

Range: *32-35 x 3-4.5 x 21-24.2 cm*

Cuéllar

Location	Length	Height	Width
El Salvador	29	4	
	29	4	
		4	15
		3.5	19

		3	18
San Andres W. Portal		4	19.5
		4.5	19.5
	28	4.5	
		4	20
		4.5	19.5
San Andres S. façade		4	19
		4.5	18
		4.5	19.5
San Andres Chevet S. Apse		4.5	18.5
		4	19
San Andres Chevet Central Apse		5	19
		4.5	19
San Andres Chevet N. Apse		4	19
		4	19.5
San Andres Weird Brick	29	4	18
San Martin Central Apse		4	21.5
		4	22
		4	21
		3.5	22
San Martin North Apse	30	3.5	
		4	20
San Martin South Apse		4	21.5
		4	22
San Martin N. Portal	28.5	4	22.5
San Martin S. Portal	28.5	4	22
	28.5	4	22
San Martin W. Portal	28.5	4	22
Wall inside tower	28	3.5	19
		4	19.5
		3.5	19
San Miguel E. Bay		4	19
		4	19
		4	18.5
		4	18
San Miguel Alfiz	30	4	19
	30	4	19

Santiago Chevet N. side		3	19
		3	20
Santiago Chevet S. side		3.5	19
		3.5	19
Santisima Trinidad		3.5	20
		4	20
	32.5	4	18.5
	32.5	5	17.5
New Brick @ Obras San Andres	18	4	14.5

Range: *28-32.5 x 15-22.5 x 3-5*

*All measurements in centimeters

Digital Map Appendix

Map link: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

The annotations found in the map linked above are also compiled below.

********************************CHURCHES**********************************

Non-Extant (Figure 174)

San Silvestre:

One of the few original intramural parish churches, mention is made to San Silvestre in the *Crónica* with reference to the tomb of an important knight: "*E este Çorraquin Sancho yaze en san Silvestre en la mas onrrada sepultura*," (And Zurraquin Sancho laid [to rest] in San Silvestre in the most honorable sepulcher). María Sonsoles del Olmo suggests that a church there existed before the arrival of Christian settlers (although she does not explain her reasoning, I assume this is based on its intramural location). José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo also recognizes it as one of the earlier churches but does not suggest a specific date. Pedro Feduchi Canosa suggests that the Christian settlers from La Rioja were parishioners of this church. San Silvestre was later converted into the Convento del Carmen Calzado in 1378, according to Gutiérrez Robledo, although the archive's website gives the alternate date of 1361 as the foundation of the Convent. In 1852 the building became a provincial prison. Today the site home to the Archivo Histórico Provincial, located there since 1999.

Sources:

Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La construcción de las murallas: análisis morfológico y propuesta cronológica," in *La muralla de Ávila*, ed. Ángel Barrios García, (Fundación Caja Madrid, 2003), 68.

Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedents," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113/1 (1943): 20/30.

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila," in *Ávila*: *enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* dir. Miguel Ángel García Guinea and José María Pérez González, coord. José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41.

Maria Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE), 50.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

http://censoarchivos.mcu.es/CensoGuia/archivodetail.htm?id=24585

Santo Domingo:

Santo Domingo, one of the few intramural parish churches, appears in Gil Torres's 1250 list of rents. The church was demolished in 1947 to make room for the Academia de Intendencia and according to the *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León*, some of the stones were reused in the church of the Inmaculado Corazon de María including capitals that later ended up in the church of Las Gordillas. The *Enciclopedia* also claims that there are two capitals in the Palace of Superunda-Caprotti, ashlars in the Asocio building, and a piece of molding in the city hall that originated from Santo Domingo. The 1954 rediscovery of Santo Domingo's once-lost consecration stone includes the foundation date of 1208, one of very few examples of a recorded date for any of Ávila's medieval heritage. This stone is now held in the Museo Provincial of Ávila and reads: "*Consegró esta iglesia Pedro, obispo abulense, en honor de Santo Domingo confessor, donde descansan las reliquias de los santos martires Justo y Pastor, San Sebastian y San Sixto, Papa y martir en la era de MCCXLVI, idus de abril*" (Peter [Pedro], Bishop of Ávila, consecrated this church in honor of Santo Domingo the confessor, where the relics of the holy martyrs Justo and Pastor, San Sebastian, and Saint Sixtus, Pope, rest, on the ides of April, in the year 1246 [1208]). The Spanish Era date of 1246 is equivalent to 1208. Today, the site of the former church is now home to The Academia de Intendencia and is adjoined to the Palacio de Polentinos which is today a museum and location of the Archivo General Militar (Military archives) of Ávila.

Sources:

Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 201-02.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

https://en.calameo.com/read/0006369550114fd9e75ed

https://www.flickr.com/photos/avilas/4884372787/in/album-72157624623273898/

Image: "Mayoral Fernández: Ávila. Derribo de la iglesia de Santo Domingo. 1948. Colección Jose Luis Pajares."

San Millán:

San Millán appears in the *Becerro* of 1303 ("En la calle de Sant Millán a Sant Gil con barrio de Sant Gil"/ In the street from San Millán to San Gil) and was likely located where a street is still named San Millán today. San Millán is also one of the few churches that appears in the 1103 *Becerro Galiciano of San Millán de la Cogolla,* an excerpt of which reads: "*De ecclesia Sancti Emiliani cum aldeas in Avila et in Socovia. Sub nomine Christi redemptoris nostri. Nos, omnes de civitate Avila, una concordia collatione de sancti Vincenti et de sancti Iohannis et de sancti Petri et de sancti Martini, et omnes collaciones, placuit nobis et donamus ecclesia vocata Sancti Emiliani, cum introitus et exitus, et pastum armenta nobiscum, ad honorem Sancti Emiliani de Cercio, ubi corpus beatus est tumulatus*." ("From the church of San Millán with the neighborhoods of Ávila and Segovia. In the name of Christ, our redeemer. We, all the citizens of Ávila, in an agreement with the 'collations' of San Vicente, San Juan, San Pedro, and San

Martín, because it pleases us, we donate to the said church of San Millán, with all the entries and exists and with our herds and pastures, to honor San Millán of Cercio, where the blessed body is lain"). The "Seminario Conciliar de S. Millan" appears on Coello's 1864 map as well. According to the Seminary of Ávila's website, the Colegio de San Millán, which would later become the Seminary of Ávila, annexed the houses belonging to the church in the late sixteenth century, however today the Seminary has moved and now shares a location with the Archivo Diocesano on Avenida de la Inmaculado.

Sources:
Jesús Bermudez Ramiro "Documentación latina acerca de los Monasterios de San Millán, Santa Escolástica y Santa Ana de Ávila," Universidad de Valencia, 1985.

Maria Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE), 88.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

http://seminarioavila.blogspot.com/2012/02/historia.html

San Gil

San Gil is mentioned in the *Becerro* in relation to the church of San Millán: ("*En la calle de Sant Millán a Sant Gil con barrio de Sant Gil*"/ In the street from San Millán to San Gil)." According to archival sources in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), in the sixteenth century, the parish had become a hermitage and hospital in ruins which was thus donated to the Jesuits by its confraternity (Sección Clero, legajo 529). In 1553 the Jesuit Colegio de San Ignacio de Ávila was built atop the site of the original parish church, but in 1623 the Jesuit College was moved inside the walls to the architectural complex of the Palace of the Dávilas. Later in the seventeenth century, monks of the Order of Saint Jerome moved onto the site of the previous Jesuit College, establishing a monastery renamed El Monasterio de San Jerónimo de Jesús de Ávila. This parish-turned-college-turned-monastery now lay in ruins as a park in the modern city, original ashlars of *piedra caleña* hidden within the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century remains. Coello's 1864 map includes "*Ex cnvo. de Geronimos*" in the same area that the *Becerro* alludes to San Millán. There appears to be some confusion over the site of the original parish church: Francisco Vázquez García seems to confuse the later intramural location of the Jesuit College with the original parish church, stating that the hermitage and hospital of San Gil, as its referred to in the later archival sources, were distinct from the parochial San Gil. However based on the description in the *Becerro*, which places the church on the road to San Millán and the *piedra caleña* ashlars so typical of twelfth-century parish church construction in today's ruins, it seems more likely that today's ruins of San Jerónimo indeed mark the location of the medieval parish.

Sources:
AHN, Sección Clero, legajo 529

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

Francisco Vázque García, "El monasterio de San Jerónimo de Jesús de Ávila." *Cuadernos abulenses* 50 (2021): 169-196. (https://www.igda.es/docus/publicaciones/ca/50/el-monasterio-de-san-jeronimo-de-jesus-de-avila.pdf)

http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/autoridad/19925

San Miguel

The hermitage of San Miguel is attested to in a 1278 document according to Gutiérrez Robledo. Its building no longer exists, however the street and plaza of San Miguel are located close to where San Millán once stood. Additionally, the church still appeared on Francisco Coello's 1864 map of Ávila, where I have placed it on this present map.

Sources:
José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila," in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41.

Maria Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE), 62.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

Santa Cruz

Santa Cruz appears in Gil Torres's list from 1250 as well as in the 1303 *Becerro*. The *Becerro* includes Santa Cruz in reference to other churches in the south of the city including San Nicolás and Santa Trinidad, thus suggesting this parish church was also located in the southern quadrant of Ávila, perhaps where there is still a street "de la Cruz" today (where I have placed it on this map). According to Gutiérrez Robledo, the church disappeared in 1769.

Sources:
Ángel Barrios García, *Becerro de visitaciones de casas y heredades de la catedral de Ávila*, (1981): 36.

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila," in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 40.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

San Lázaro
The hermitage of San Lázaro is attested to in an 1146 document which is conserved in Santiago de Compostela and records the donation of the church of San Lázaro to Compostela by the bishop of Ávila in agreement with the *concejo*. This document has been published by López Ferreiro. According to María Margarita Vila da Vila, the church was also a hospital. The church is also included on Anton van den Wyngaerde's 1570 drawing (H), located to the west of the city just outside the Puerta de Adaja. María Sonsoles del Olmo suggests that this church was located on the site of the old eighteenth-century flour factory, which, based on van den Wyngaerde's drawing, seems like a likely location and where I have placed it on this map.

Sources:
Ángel Barrios García, *Estructuras agrarias y de poder en Castilla: el ejemplo de Ávila*, 253.

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila," in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41.

Richard L. Kagan, "Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde," (1989): 356-58.

A.Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de la Iglesia de Compostela*, IV, 41-42

María Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE), 59.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "El arrabal del puente, los judíos y la industria del cuero en Ávila (siglos XII-XVII)," 2012.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Repoblación y estructura urbana de Ávila en la edad media*, (1988): 144.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

San Leonardo
San Leonardo is attested to in the *Crónica*: "*yuan a sant Leonardo en rromeria*" (they went to San Leonardo on pilgrimage). San Leonardo is also included on Anton van den Wyngaerde's 1570 drawing (E) as "San Lorente," to the northwest of San Segundo.

Sources:
Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedents," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113/1 (1943): 22/32.

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila," in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García

Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41.

Richard L. Kagan, "Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde," (1989): 356-58.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Repoblación y estructura urbana de Ávila en la edad media*, (1988): 144.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

San Clemente
The Cistercian convent of San Clemente is mentioned in the *Crónica*: "*fueron dados a las dueñas de Sanct Clemente de Ávila por previllejios*" (they were given to the ladies of San Clemente of Ávila in exchange for privileges). This quote is in reference to donations of wheat that were made to the female masters of the convent in return for privileges. Vila da Vila asserts that San Clemente de Adaja was a Cistercian convent founded after 1148. However, its foundation date is debated: Gutierrez Robledo agrees with the 1148 date, Sobrino suggests 1175, and Ángel Barrios thinks it was founded c. 1223. Based on documentation analyzed by Barrios, by 1331 the church appears to have lain in ruins and the nuns moved to the Monastery of San Benito (later renamed Santa Ana) to the north of the city. San Clemente likely lay to the west of the city next to the Adaja river, where Vila da Vila suggests some ruins have been found, however its location on this map is mostly hypothesis since I was unable to locate the aforementioned ruins.

Sources:
Ángel Barrios García, "Documentación del monasterio de San Clemente de Adaja (siglos XIII-XV)," *Cuadernos abulenses*, 1984, Número 1.

Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La crónica de la población de Ávila: antecedents," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 113/1 (1943): 16/26.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Repoblación y estructura urbana de Ávila en la edad media*, (1988): 145.

Santa Trinidad
Santa Trinidad appears in Gil Torres's 1250 document. According to Gutiérrez Robledo, the church was demolished in 1837 in order to use its material to strengthen wall fortifications in the midst of the Carlist wars. Sonsoles del Olmo places this church where there is still a street with its name, a location which I follow here.

Sources:

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, “Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila,” in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41.

María Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE), 62.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

San Román
San Román appears in Gil Torres’s 1250 document, but according to Gutiérrez Robledo, it was no longer a parish by 1258. In 1803 a written mention of its fountain still existed. Gutiérrez Robledo and Sonsoles del Olmo locate San Román to the south of the city near San Nicolás and Santiago, at the Plaza de la Feria, where I locate it on this map as well.

Sources:
José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, “Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila,” in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41.

Maria Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE), 60.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

San Cebrián
San Cebrián appears in Gil Torres’s 1250 list, but according to Gutiérrez Robledo, it was no longer a parish by 1258. Its location is completely unknown, however in order to include it on this map I have placed it next to San Román. Along with San Román, San Cebrián makes up the end of Torres’s list and does not include an amount of rent to the right of the name.

Sources:
José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, “Románico y Mudejar en las Tierras de Avila,” in *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 41.

Maria Sonsoles del Olmo, *Aproximacion a la ciudad de Ávila a traves del dibujo* (Ávila: COACYLE), 60.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 173-75.

Semi-Extant Churches (Figure 175)

San Juan Bautista
The 1103 document found in the *Becerro Galiciano of San Millán de la Cogolla* names five churches, including San Juan Bautista which is the only intramural church named. This is also the baptismal church of Santa Teresa of Ávila.

Sources:
This 1103 document is published online here:
http://www.ehu.eus/galicano/id485&l=en&tmp=1587155429503 (Last consulted 1 June 2021).

San Martín
San Martín is one of the five churches listed in the 1103 document from *San Millán de la Cogolla*. San Martín and Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza are the only two parish churches with significant brick campaigns—San Martín's upper brick tower rests atop a sturdy grey granite ashlar base. Also incorporated into the south wall of the church building are a series of Roman *spolia*, one of the only instances of *spolia* incorporated into sacred architecture in Ávila, however it's unclear if these stones date to the original fabric, or are part of a later intervention. Didactics on site in Ávila explain that San Martín was left in a ruined state and then heavily remodeled in the sixteenth and early-eighteenth century. The tower is dated to the fourteenth century. San Martín includes wall paintings on the eastern wall on either aisle that in my opinion share stylistic similarities with the twelfth-century murals at San Baudelio de Berlanga, which might call into the question the accepted extent or date of reconstruction of this church. Moreover, these amazing pieces of art have not been academically studied.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 209-11.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 171-72.

San Francisco
Sources:
https://www.avilaturismo.com/que-ver/monasterio-de-san-francisco

Sancti Spiritu
Sancti Spirtus, was enitely rebuilt from ruins in the modern era.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 211-12.

Santiago
This rebuilt parish church is one of the three post-medieval architectural applications of *piedra sangrante* in the city: the ribbed ceiling of the north porch is built in *piedra sangrante.*

San Isidoro
San Isidoro, previously San Pelayo, originally stood outside the Gate of Malaventura. It lay in ruins when, at the end of the nineteenth century, it was purchased by the state and then relocated to Retiro Park in Madrid in 1896, where is still resides today.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 184-86.

María Dolores Teijeira Pablos, "La conservación de San Isidoro de Ávila y su frustada reconstrucción en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional," *Atrio. Revista de Historia del Arte* 20 (2014): 170-77.

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Sobre San Isidoro de Ávila: La iglesia románica y su traslado a Retiro de Madrid," In *Homenaje a Sonsoles Paradinas*, pp. 133-145, coordinated by María Mariné Isidro and Elías Terés Navarro, (Asociación de Amigos del Museo de Ávila, 1998).

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 133-39.

Extant Churches (Figure 176)

San Vicente
San Vicente, the largest and most heavily sculpted parish church in Ávila, rivals the cathedral in size and ornament. San Vicente is also characteristic of the fortified sacred architecture common to the medieval Castilian landscape. Daniel Rico Camps argues that San Vicente was not just *used* for martial purposes, but was *planned* as a defensive and offensive fortified church dating back to the twelfth century. The church's thick walls, towers, passageways, and extramural location have been explained by Daniel Rico Camps as a "third line" of defense that allowed soldiers on the walls to communicate directly with those within the church towers. Daniel Rico Camps dates San Vicente's primary construction phase to the 1120s, but its second phase extended into the latter half of the twelfth century, contemporaneous to the early stages of cathedral construction. María Margaria Vila da Vila and Jose Luis Gutiérrez Robledo place this church in a chronological group with San Pedro and San Segundo. For example, arched lions, griffins, and winged sirens sculpted on the San Segundo's capitals are similarly found at San Vicente. Sculpted capitals like these are unusual in Ávila's medieval architecture. Also of note is the ornately sculpted twelfth-century cenotaph that rests in the church's crossing, dedicated to the church's martyred saints: Vicente, Sabina, and Cristeta. The cenotaph includes exquisite sculpted scenes that narrate the popular legend that the Jew responsible for the martyrdom of the three young Christians regretted it, converted, and ordered the church to be built. There is also an inscription recounting this story within the church.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002),141-65.

Daniel Rico Camps, *San Vicente de Ávila en el siglo XII (estructuras, imágenes, funciones),* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1999).

Daniel Rico Camps, *" 'Clerici vero habeant mores militum*': Notas en torno al primer Proyecto de San Vicente de Ávila," in *La cabecera de la Cathedral Calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano: Simposio sobre la Cathedral Calceatense y el Tardorrománico hispano*, (Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 2000),

Pedro Feduchi Canosa, "La Basílica de San Vicente de Ávila." PhD. diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2007.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 71-95.

San Pedro
Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 165-73.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 96-112.

San Andrés
Sculpted portals, window capitals, corbels, and string course set San Andrés apart from the more austere, less ornamented parish churches of Ávila. A three-aisle basilica with three terminating apses, Vila da Vila dates the beginning of construction to c. 1130, identifying it as one of the oldest surviving parish buildings in Ávila. Stylistically dated to the mid-twelfth century, the first documented mention of the church does not appear until Gil Torres's list from 1250. Curiously though, as one of the few more sculpted churches, Torres records very low rent compared to other less ornate churches.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 173-80.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 113-23.

San Segundo

Built in the mid-twelfth century (1135-1160), San Segundo is part of the first architectural group based on Vila da Vila's analysis. The church is stylistically and architecturally comparable to San Andrés and San Pedro, however there are no documentary sources for foundation dates. Vila da Vila suggests that because of the homogeneity of the chevet, it was likely constructed in one campaign. There are irregularities in the floorplan of the church—the southern apsidiole is on a different axis as the others, and the northwest corner of the plan is extended. This may have been due to irregular terrain, especially since it is built on marshy land next to the Adaja river, or may have been the result of a miscalculation when setting the plan for the *capilla mayor*, which then had to be compensated for.

The first time the church shows up in documentary evidence is in Cardinal Gil Torres's 1250 list in which San Segundo is recorded as paying 6 *morebetinos* "*a la mesa capitular*." In 1519, major restorations were conducted on the church including adding a passageway to connect the three axial apses. It was also during this restoration campaign that the body of San Segundo was miraculously found and the dedication changed from San Sebastian to San Segundo. San Segundo, Ávila's legendary first bishop, evangelized the city in the first century CE. This discovery ensured the church's importance in the history of the founding of Ávila, and renewed the parish's importance in the city. During this restoration, the Romanesque interior nave piers were removed and replaced with contemporary ones which dramatically altered the interior space of the church. In 1594, San Segundo's remains were translated to the newly built San Segundo chapel in the cathedral, and the parish church of San Segundo rapidly lost importance. Between 1600 and 1610, San Segundo became the temporary home for the Order of Discalced Carmelites after which time it lost importance again and was converted into a hermitage and fell into disrepair. In 1923, the church was declared a national monument.

Sources:

Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 180-83.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 124-32.

Santo Tomé

In the sixteenth century, this church's structure was greatly altered. It passed into private hands after the Spanish confiscation in the eighteenth century and was a mechanic shop until 1960. Today it is the location of the Museo de Ávila, filled with the city's material culture from centuries past.

Sources:

Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 190-93.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 153-58.

San Nicolás

Built c. 1198, San Nicolás was one of the last monuments built in Ávila's group of medieval churches traditionally referred to as "Romanesque." In the sixteenth century, Luis Ariz documented the inscription of the consecration stone from San Nicolás which recorded an 1198 consecration date, although today it is lost. The church consists of a nave, two side aisles, a single semicircular apse with a single narrow window, and a tower on its northeast corner. Its west façade may have been redone subsequent to its original construction, perhaps sometime in the thirteenth century as proposed by Vila da Vila. The nave and aisles of the church is significantly wider than the single eastern apse, potentially indicating later architectural interventions, or distinct construction campaigns. The exterior of the chevet provides an ideal example to highlight the clear stratification between *piedra caleña* and grey granite. At least four courses of grey granite ashlars act as the base for its curved *piedra caleña* walls. Similarly, the church's tower is made up of a grey granite base of at least six courses to support the tall structure above. The northwest corner incorporates a hidden grey granite *verraco*, one of the only known instances of *spolia* used in sacred architecture, but in this case, it is placed simply as a sturdy building block. The tower of San Nicolás has been noted for its extreme height especially in comparison to the relatively small size of the church. The tower also likely functioned as a watchtower.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 193-98.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 144-48.

La Magdalena (Santa María Magdalena)

The heavily restored La Magdalena, today part of an active monastery, preserves only a north portal and eastern apse. La Magdalena may have been a convent or hospital, and today is home to Franciscan nuns.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 198-200.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 159-62.

Santa Maria la Antigua (Santa Maria la Vieja)

To my knowledge there is only a single example of monumental architectural remains that pre-date the twelfth century and they may have been an early iteration of Santa Maria la Antigua.

The remains discovered include a semicircular structure that Pilar Barraca de Ramos has dated to the fourth or fifth century and hypothesizes that it may have belonged to an apse of an earlier church at the site of Santa Maria la Antigua. An early Christian tombstone was also discovered in the street between the extramural churches of San Pedro and Santa Maria la Antigua that has been dated to the fourth or fifth century, however it appears to have been reused in this location. Santa Maria la Antigua has traditionally been considered a Benedictine monastery. Today the site is home to a senior residence.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 204-05.

Pilar Barraca de Ramos, "Excavación arqueológica en el circuito de San Pedro, (Ávila) 1989-1990," *Numantia: Arqueología en Castilla y León* 4, (1989-1990): 239-56.

Barraca de Ramos, "La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía," 104-108. Image on pg. 104.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 149-52.

Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza
The hermitage of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, previously the parish church of San Bartolomé, consists of a central nave and two side aisles, each terminating in a semi-circular apse. Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is typically categorized as part of Ávila's "later" or "second" group of so-called Romanesque churches, likely dating to c. 1200-1210. Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza appears in Cardenal Gil Torres's appropriation of revenues for the diocese of Ávila from 1250. A now-lost inscription recorded by Luis Ariz in the early-seventeenth century lists the consecration date as 1210. This Christian structure is just over thirty meters in length and just shy of nine meters tall. The interior of the building consists of a two-part elevation with small semi-circular clerestory windows topped by a modern wooden ceiling. The asymmetrical nave arcades consist of wide rounded arches with thick, rectangular piers that divide the church into three bays on either aisle. In 1992 a small horseshoe arch portal that once led to a sacristy was discovered adjacent to the west entrance. For the construction of the rectangular body of the church, brick is the material of choice while the church's chevet is constructed out of large granite ashlars of irregular coursing. No other twelfth- or thirteenth-century churches in Ávila are constructed in brick and the combination of granite and brick construction also does not appear elsewhere in the capital. The only places we see sculpted forms are two fragments of surviving impost in the interior central apse, interestingly carved in *piedra caleña,* and a marble Chrismon that adorns the exterior south portal. The church is traditionally considered "mudejar" because of the material—brick—and thus tied directly to Muslim workmanship, however I challenge this theory in this dissertation.

Sources:

Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 205-08.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "Personalidad étnica y trabajo artístico: los mudéjares abulenses y su relación con las actividades de la construcción en el siglo XV," *Medievalismo y neomedievalismo en la arquitectura Española, actas del 1er congreso,* 1990, 248.

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, "Sobre mudéjar en la provincial de Ávila," *Papeles de Arquitectura Español* 4, (Ávila: Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa & Instituto de Arquitectura Juan de Herrera, 2001), 24-26.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 167-70.

San Esteban

Of the four original parish churches that graced the interior of the city walls, only one, San Esteban, is still extant today. Similar to many of Ávila's churches, the first documented mention of San Esteban is in Gil Torres's 1250 list of parish rents, yet stylistic analysis of apse decoration has led Vila da Vila to place its construction sometime in the second quarter of the twelfth century. This church belongs to the same stylistic group as San Andres, as well as San Vicente and San Pedro, as outlined by Vila da Vila. She suggests that the apse work was carried out by a Cantabrian workshop or mason, the same as who worked on San Segundo, and that the south portal is related stylistically to San Andrés. In particular Vila da Vila notes that San Esteban and San Andrés are the only two churches that have carved floral decoration with only four petals. Its diminutive size suggests it was likely built quickly, Vila da Villa proposes perhaps under the direction of two distinct workshops corresponding to the apse and south side. San Esteban is built directly atop a rocky outcropping. The interior of the church is covered in plaster. Interestingly, this church retains finely sculpted capitals, rare in medieval Ávila's architectural program.

Sources:

Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 187-89.

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 140-43.

Cathedral

Sources:

Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 216-24.

María Ángeles Benito Pradillo, “La catedral de Ávila: evolución constructiva y análisis estructural” (PhD diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2011).

José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo, “La catedral gótica,” in Historia de Ávila, Vol. 3, Edad Media (siglos XIV-XV), coord. Gregorio del Ser Quijano (Obra Cultural, 2006).

María Margarita Vila da Vila, *Ávila Románica: talleres escultóricos de filiación hispano-languedociana*, (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1999), 68-70.

********************************ISLAMIC ÁVILA*********************************
(Figure 177)

Almagid de la Villa (Mezquita de la Villa)
This mosque is documented from 1303 in the *Becerro* which refers to it as the “*almagid mayor*.” Of the three known medieval mosques in Ávila, this was the only intramural one and likely the Friday mosque, and perhaps also the oldest. The *Becerro*’s reference alludes to an intramural location near the road leading from San Silvestre (non-extant) to the Rúa de los Zapateros (“Shoemakers’ Street,” modern-day Calle Vallespín). The same 1315 source mentions “*el almagid de los moros que dizen de Sant Stevan*” (the aljama of the Muslims which is called Saint Steven) thus De Tapia Sánchez places this mosque near San Esteban (extant) in the western area of the walled nucleus. De Tapia Sánchez notes that this zone predates the later *morería* located to the south of the city beyond the walls. The *morería* was created in the fifteenth century when Muslims were forced to live in separate neighborhoods. In 1315, the mosque’s *alfaqui*, or specialist in Islamic law, is recorded as Ali Hamat.

Sources:
“Almagí de la Villa,” Duero Mudejar,
http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/almagi-de-la-villa/index.html.
Accessed 17 August 2023.

Javier Jiménez Gadea, Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, and Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta. *La memoria de Alá: mudéjares y moriscos de Ávila, Museo de Ávila (15 de diciembre de 2011 a 18 de marzo de 2012)*. 2012: 10-13.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, 61-63.

Almagid de la Solana (Mezquita de la Solana)
This mosque once lay next to La Magdalena church, just outside the city walls in the eastern part of the city. De Tapia Sánchez deduces that this mosque was located where today stands the convent of Nuestra Señora de Gracia because Luis Ariz, in 1607, wrote that when the convent was constructed, wood with Arabic letters was found at the site. According to De Tapia Sánchez, social life is documented here until 1476. He also notes that although it existed outside the walls, this mosque was not located in the *morería*, a segregated neighborhood where Muslims were forced to live beginning in the fifteenth century.

Sources:

“La mezquita de La Solana,” Duero Mudejar, http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/la-mezquita-de-la-solana/index.html. Accessed 17 August 2023.

Javier Jiménez Gadea, Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, and Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta. *La memoria de Alá: mudéjares y moriscos de Ávila, Museo de Ávila (15 de diciembre de 2011 a 18 de marzo de 2012)*. 2012: 17.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, 61-63.

Almagid de la Alquibla
This mosque first appears in documentation in 1402 or 1403 and was located inside what later became the *morería*, the segregated neighborhood of Muslims imposed in the late-fifteenth century. Even before this time, this neighborhood was home to many Muslims. The Alquibla mosque became especially important after the mosques that lay outside the *morería* were lost, and from 1482 it was the neighborhood of the richest Muslims in the city according to de Tapia Sánchez. De Tapia Sánchez places this mosque in the environs of the parish church of San Nicolás, where today’s street names still attest to powerful Muslim inhabitants of Ávila. In a small urban block on Empedrada steet, ruins reveal *spolia* that de Tapia Sánchez associates with fifteenth-century buildings from the *morería*, potentially a mosque (although no direct evidence attests to this), as well as reused Islamic funerary stele like we also see elsewhere in the city. While I question whether it’s possible to assign this mosque to these ruins, I have placed it on the map here since its location is otherwise unknown.

Sources:
“Almagí de la Alquibla,” Duero Mudejar, http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/mezquita-de-la-alquibla-avila/index.html. Accessed 17 August 2023.

Javier Jiménez Gadea, Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, and Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta. *La memoria de Alá: mudéjares y moriscos de Ávila, Museo de Ávila (15 de diciembre de 2011 a 18 de marzo de 2012)*. 2012: 14-15, 17.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, 61-63.

Almajid Nuevo
After 1482, likely another mosque was built within the *morería*, the defined segregated neighborhood of Muslims imposed in the late-fifteenth century. According to the agreement that established the *morería*, if mosques were left outside the newly defined *morería,* new mosques were able to be built within it to replace those lost. De Tapia Sánchez locates this mosque near the parish church of Santa Trinidad (non-extant), a placement I have followed on this map.

Sources:
“Almagí Nuevo,” Duero Mudejar, http://www.jcyl.es/jcyl/patrimoniocultural/dueromudejar/almagi-nuevo/index.html. Accessed 18 August 2023.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, 61-63.

Muslim Cemetery (*Maqbara*)
In 2002 and 2003, excavations were carried out before imminent construction in the south of the city near the parish church of San Nicolás revealing a *maqbara*, or Muslim cemetery. More than 3000 individuals were found interred, making it the largest Islamic cemetery in medieval Castile. The oldest tombs date to the thirteenth century. Some funerary stele from this excavation now reside in the Museum of Ávila. Also in the Museum of Ávila is a large pottery oven excavated from this *maqbara* constructed out of reused funerary pieces dating to the sixteenth century. In 1502, the Edict of Conversion officially prohibited practicing Islam, at which point the cemetery fell into disuse, and likely this is when many stele were reused to construct the oven. By the twentieth century, this area was used as agricultural land. The site was not preserved after excavation—today, houses and a Mercadona lay atop it.

Sources:
Junta de Castilla y León, Patrimonio Histórico de Ávila, box 00256, "La maqbara de San Nicolas;" box "informe arqueologico del plan parcial arup 1/1/ 'san Nicolas-1'."

J. Jiménez Gadea, "Espacios y manifestaciones materiales de los musulmanes castellanos: presencias y ausencias de una minoría medieval," (Museo de Ávila, 2016): 67-95.

Museo de Ávila, "Almacabra de San Nicolás," in *Cien piezas del Museo de Ávila*, (Junta de Castilla y León, 2011): 62.

*********************************JEWISH ÁVILA*********************************
(Figure 178)

Don Samuel Synagogue
This synagogue is mentioned in the 1460 cathedral book of anniversaries. It was said to be made by don Symuel in the houses where Gonzalo González used to live. It's location is unknown, however popular opinion places this old synagogue at number 2 Pocillo street. Here, a ruined fifteenth-century house is visible which contains a brick archway which Pilar León Tello compares to the west façade of the palace of the Dávilas.

Sources:
P. León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Ávila: Diputación, 1963), 13-14.

Ben Forad (Bilforado, Belforade) Synagogue
This synagogue is attested to in a document from 1482. It was located in the neighborhood of Covaleda street near the monastery of Santa María del Carmen (previously the parish church of San Silvestre and now the municipal archives). Because much of the locations of Ávila's synagogues are hypothesis, Ávila's tourism website locates the Ben Forad synagogue where today the Chapel of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves sits, where I have placed the Caldeandrín synagogue instead. Pilar León Tello offers more specific location information, thus I have followed her in mapping this synagogue near the now-lost parish church of San Silvestre.

Sources:
P. León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Ávila: Diputación, 1963), 13.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsion," 153.

https://www.avilaturismo.com/en/jewish-avila

Lomo Synagogue

This synagogue is attested to in a document from 1471. It was located inside the city walls near the gate of San Vicente on Yuradero street (today Lope Núñez street). Both a Lomo synagogue and Yuradero synagogue are referenced in documentation and it is unclear if they were the same or if there were two separate synagogues in close proximity. The 1303 *Becerro* records damage done to a house next to the synagogue from water coming off the synagogue's own roof. Pilar León Tello recognizes the "Yuradero" as the most Jewish neighborhood in Ávila in the early fourteenth century. This neighborhood also included the Jewish butcher as well as many houses inhabited by Jewish families. After the Cortes of 1480, Jews and Muslims were banished into segregated neighborhoods and this synagogue was forced to be abandoned. At this point, Lomo synagogue was converted into a dormitory for the nuns of Todos los Santos. In 1495 it was then ceded to Carmelite nuns.

Sources:
P. León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Ávila: Diputación, 1963), 13, 143, doc. 282.

Blas Cabrera González, Jesús Caballero Arribas, and Jorge Díaz de la Torre, "El cementerio judío medieval de 'la Encarnación'en Ávila." *Sefarad* 73, no. 2 (2013): 310.

M. A. Ladero Quesada, "Deudas y bienes de judíos de Ávila y Segovia en 1492," in *Minorités juives, pouvoirs, littérature politique en péninsule ibérique, France et Italie au Moyen Âge*. (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2006), 309-327, esp. 316.

J. Castaño, " 'Subordinación y parcialidades durante los "Tiempos rotos:' Mosé Tamaño y el juzgado mayor de los judíos de Ávila," en F. Sabaté y C. Denjean (eds.), *Cristianos y judíos en contacto en la Edad Media: Polémica, conversión, dinero y convivencia* (Lleida: Editorial Milenio, 2009), 821-857, esp. 821-824.

Ángel Barrios García, *Becerro de visitaciones de casas y heredades de la Catedral de Ávila,* (*Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba*, 2007): 32-33.

Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Late Medieval Society: The Case of Ávila," In *Interfaith Relationships and Perceptions of the Other in the Medieval Mediterranean,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 250.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsion," 153.

de Moçón Synagogue

This synagogue is only referenced in one document from 1417, it was located near the Caldeandrín synagogue.

Sources:
P. León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Ávila: Diputación, 1963), 13.

Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, “Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsion,” 153.

Caldeandrín Synagogue
This synagogue was located near the *Judería* or Jewish neighborhood on Caldeandrín street (calle Andrín). I have placed this synagogue where today the Chapel of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves sits which was built in the sixteenth century. Behind the chapel is a La Sinagoga hostel whose door retains what appears to have been a star of David etched over by a cross. This may have once been the house of the rabbi attached to the synagogue. Because many of the locations of Ávila’s synagogues are hypothesis, Ávila’s tourism website states that the Ben Forad synagogue was at this location, not Caldeandrín.

Sources:
P. León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Ávila: Diputación, 1963), 13.

https://www.avilaturismo.com/en/jewish-avila

***Judería* (Jewish neighborhood)**
From the second quarter of the fifteenth century, a distinct Jewish neighborhood is alluded to. Before this, Jews, Muslims, and Christians lived intermixed in the city. According to documentation in 1438, Rabi Zulema, a Jewish bookseller, had his shop on the primary street of the *Judería* which stretched from the monastery of Santa Escolástica to the Adaja gate (today’s Santo Domingo street).

Sources:
P. León Tello, *Judíos de Ávila*, (Ávila: Diputación, 1963), 13.

Jewish Cemetery
A large Jewish necropolis existed from the twelfth century to 1492 in the area around the Convent of the Incarnation in the far north of the city’s periphery. The full extent of the cemetery is still not known considering it lays under the modern city, but in 2012, archeological excavations discovered and analyzed 108 tombs. There may have been an additional Jewish cemetery in the city, but it has yet to be discovered.

Sources:
Blas Cabrera González, Jesús Caballero Arribas, and Jorge Díaz de la Torre, "El cementerio judío medieval de ‘la Encarnación’en Ávila," *Sefarad* 73, no. 2 (2013): 309-38.

Tanneries
In 2003, Ascensión Salazar excavated tanneries next to the Adaja River on the western edge of the city. These may have been operated by Ávila’s Jewish community and installed after the

1480 Cortes that segregated Jews to separate neighborhoods. A 1482 document refers to the removal of tanneries from the old Jewish neighborhood to the river. Additionally, there is robust fifteenth-century documentation from Ávila linking the Jewish community to leather work including shoe and sandal making.

Sources:
Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "Los judíos de Ávila en vísperas de la expulsion," *Sefarad* 57, no. 1 (1997): 135-78.

********************************CITY WALLS*********************************
(Figure 179)

Spolia in the Walls

Verraco Between Tower 85 and 86

Verraco Between Tower 86 and 87

Verraco at the Base of Tower 84

Verraco on Top of Tower 11

Stele at the Base of Tower 4

Stele Heads Between Tower 4 and 5

Stele Heads Between Tower 85 and 86

Cuppae and Cistae Between Tower 4 and 5

Stele Base of Tower 10

Spolia Base of Tower 81

Cistae Gate of San Vicente

Gates

Obispo, Peso de la Harina, Leales
Originally the Gate of the Bishop (*Obispo*), it was enlarged and reopened in the sixteenth century as the Gate of Weighing Wheat (*Peso de la Harina*). The door opens through the only two adjoined houses to the city walls that survived the “cleaning” of the walls in the nineteenth century: *Casa de las Carnicerías* and *Casa de la Misericordia*.

San Vicente

This gate and the Gate of the Alcazar are the most heavily fortified and largest. The San Vicente entrance shows strata of earlier fortifications and an ancient *verraco* carved into the bedrock.

Mariscal
Named for Don Álvaro Dávila, marshal (*mariscal*) to the king, whose palace was attached to the inside of the walls here.

Carmen
Carmen comes from the name of the old convent of Carmelite nuns (which originally had been the parish church of San Silvestre) which stood near this gate and is now the Archivo Provincial de Ávila.

Adaja, Puente
This gate was remodeled around 1500.

Malaventura
The name of this gate comes from the legend described in the *Crónica* of a cruel scene in which Alfonso I of Aragon arrives to Ávila and demands to see that the infant Alfonso VII is alive. The knights of Ávila make a deal with Alfonso I who takes hostages to ensure safe passage out of the city, but then murders the hostages by boiling them alive "in caldrons." This gate was closed and re-opened many times to protect from invasion and disease.

Santa, Montenegro
Named for Santa Teresa of Ávila.

Rastro, Gil González Dávila, Grajal, Estrella

Alcázar
Named for the alcazar that used to sit on the interior of the walls here.

*********************************OTHER*********************************
(Figure 180)

Episcopio
Located behind the modern city's principal post office, what was once part of the bishop's complex is a relatively simple two-story rectangular hall built directly attached to the interior of the city walls. Although the exact chronology is unknown, the building likely dates to the end of the twelfth century. In an 1191 document concerning certain rights and tithes between the cathedral chapter and bishop, multiple mentions of a "*refectorium*" are made in addition to a "*conventus canonicorum."* Barrios García has interpreted these as references to a communal life of canons which would have necessitated a shared dormitory and mess hall; Barrios suggests the *episcopio* once served as the common living space of the canons. The rounded windows and small doorframe are articulated with *piedra sangrante* in addition to the barrel vaults in the lower level. With the exception of the cathedral's choir, this is the only other instance of *piedra sangrante*—significantly, another episcopal building.

Sources:
Ávila: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, tomo vii,* directed by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, coordinated by José María Pérez González and José Manuel Rodríguez Montañés, (Aguilar del Campoo: Santa María la Real, 2002), 212-16.

Angel Barrios García, *Estructuras agrarias y de poder en Castilla: el ejemplo de Avila (1085-1320)*, vol. 1 (Universidad de Salamanca, 1983), 249.

Ángel Barrios García, *Documentos de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIII*), (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 2004), 78-80, doc. 39, AHN, Sección clero, pergaminos, carp. 19 no. 1.

Alcázar
Ávila's alcázar once stood in today's Plaza Adolfo Suárez, in the southeast corner of the walled interior. Likely originally dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century, it lay in ruin throughout the early modern period until it was finally demolished between 1857 and 1858.

Sources:
http://muralladeavila.com/es/historia/de-recinto-defensivo-s-xix-xx

https://masquemurallas.com/2013/11/23/el-alcazar-de-avila/

https://www.flickr.com/photos/avilas/4912641139/in/album-72157624623273898/

Image: "Ávila. Muros en ruina del desaparecido Alcázar. 1943. Colección JL Pajares. Foto sin identificar autor. 1943. Colección JL Pajares."

**************************DIOCESAN ARCHIVES**************************
(Figure 181)

Doc 10: "Censo del "moro Ali" sobre unas casas a la Sogueria (6 de Marzo de 1332) [era de 1370]"
Caja pergaminos, doc 10

An archival document in the Diocesan Archives in Ávila dated to 1332 shows Ali, "Moor of Ávila" and his wife Almudena renting houses to Alfonso García, cleric of San Vicente in the "Sogueria." The exact location is not clear but the document explains that the front door opens onto the Mercado Mayor. On one side are houses belonging to the cathedral and on the other side are houses belonging to Benjamin, Jew of Ávila.

Doc 16: "Dotacion de unas casas que estan en la plaza de San Vicente (24 mayo de 1379)"
Caja pergaminos, Doc. 16

An archival document in the Diocesan Archives in Ávila dated to 1379 records Thoda, the widow of Ffaran Alian (names that could be Muslim, or perhaps *conversos*), endowing three houses that once belonged to her mother, Urraca, to Bartolome Fernandes, the "*mayordomo*" and

"*luminaria*" of San Vicente in order for the clerics of San Vicente to pray for the soul of her mother. Their exact location is not clear, but the houses are in the plaza of San Vicente. At the time the document was written, Maria Dominges, widow of Bartolome Sanches lived in one of the houses which is bordered by houses of San Vicente and a public street.

********************************BECERRO**********************************
(Figure 182)

The *Becerro* dates to 1303 and is a census of the cathedral's landholdings which helps describe much of the city's early-fourteenth-century urban layout. It also describes many of the people who lived in or rented the properties, showing significant intermixing of Christians, Muslims, Jews, and men and women. For this portion of my map and entries, I have followed the organization of Barrios García's published edition of the *Becerro* and created a map point for each respective neighborhood entry described in pages 27-37. There is even more detailed information about many of the inhabitants and their houses on pages 192-223, which I have not included in the map. The following entries are English translations from Barrios García's published volume that I have simplified to focus on the names and professions of the inhabitants listed and the area of their homes or shops; it is not a direct translation of the entire document. In many cases I have adjusted the word order to put the name of the inhabitant first as a way to organize for clarity. I have also omitted some data including the amount of rent paid. See, Ángel Barrios García, *Becerro de visitaciones de casas y heredades de la Catedral de Ávila,* (*Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba*, 2007): 27-37; 192-223.

At the chevet of San Pedro (27)

Martín Domínguez, cleric of San Pedro, lives in houses which Estevan Domingo gave
Also the cellar of those houses
And the houses of the Pasara
Nearby, the wife of Don Blasco, lives in houses which Estevan Domingo gave
Nearby, Domingo Mínguez, lives in houses which the dean, Gómez Sánchez, left
Behind, Migal Ferrández, cleric of Santo Tomé, lives in houses
Alí Cano, lives in houses at the chevet of San Pedro

Neighborhood of San Millán (28)

One property which Estevan Domingo gave at the edge of Dominga Migal
Donna Katerina, lives in the inn (*mesón*) by San Millán which Fortún Blasco left
Nearby, Martín Domínguez, cellarer (*racionero*), has houses which Domingo Martínez, canon, left
Martín Domínquez has a wall in the middle which Yagüe Gil left
Below, faza market, which Mrs. Yusta left
An oven which Gil Ferrández left

On the street from San Millán to San Gil in the neighborhood of San Gil (28)

Nexme, used to live in a courtyard (*corral*)

Below, Matheo Guillelmo, used to live in houses
Nearby, Climeynte Pérez, used to live in houses which Domingo, Mínguez, cellarer (*racionero*), left
Nearby, the mother of Pedro Román, lives in a house
Later, the house and oven of San Gil
The "Contrecho" (Deformed), lives in the neighborhood of San Gil
Don Pasqual lives in houses

On the street from San Gil to Santo Tomé with the neighborhood of San Miguel and with the plaza (*coso*) of San Pedro and D'estrada street in the neighborhood of Santo Tomé (28)

Mrs. Pedrona, candle maker (*ciriera*), has houses
Later, Pedro Román, stone mason (*pedrero*), lives in houses
Below, Gonçalo Sánchez, lives in houses which Blasco Blásquez, cleric of Santo Tomé, left
Nearby, Johán Domínguez, has houses
Below, Martín Pérez, lives in a hanging house
Farther below, Don Sancho, lives in houses which Domingo Abat left
Nearby, four stores and their cellar
Nearby, Dean don Sancho Ferrández, made houses

Also to Santo Tomé (29)
Blasco Ferrández by the cellar, used to have in the plaza, which Domingo Abat, comrade (*conpannero*), left
Nearby, Fortún Blásquez, mayor (*alcalle*), has another three shops which Domingo Migal, comrade (*conpannero*), left
Later, the ones that the Bishop don Domingo left
Nearby, another shop which don Portales gave
Yzmel, has shops by San Miguel which the treasurer Don Lope gave
Mira, has a shop
Duenna of Çayde lives in that street
The houses where they move the horses which Andieraço Blasco left
don Lope, treasurer, gave shops in d'estrada street
Archdeacon Domingo Estevan, gave others near
Don Gil, lives in the houses above calle d'estrada, which Sancho Iuanes Tacón gave
Bishop don Pasqual of Cuenca, gave houses in this street
Don Gil has a wall in the middle of others
Nearby, Gomar, cantor, has some
Sancho Martín, lives in those at the other part of the plaza, which bishop Pedro gave
At the border of the houses that Blasco Ferrández has by the cellar. Elías Giraldo
Later, another that Abrahem has. Elías Giraldo
Nearby, those of Abdalla. Elías Giraldo
Later, Alfonso Martín has some. Archdeacon Martín Domínguez
Later, Martín López, has some. This archdeacon
Nearby, Mari Lloreynte, lives. Archdeacon Martín Domínguez
Nearby, Master Johán, lived in the houses on the other street that Johán Pérez gave
Martín Munnoz, canon, lives in houses in front which Blasco Munnoz gave

At the border of these, at Santo Tomé, Sancho Pérez lives
The archpriest, lives in houses in the neighborhood of Santo Tomé which were exchanged for those that don García used to live
Nearby, those that Johán Domínguez, canon, left

Also to Santo Tomé (30)

Nearby, another shop that was bought for the anniversary of Master Domingo, archdeacon
The archpriest has an oven near Santo Tomé
The houses which Alfonso Munnoz gave to his brother Domingo Munnoz
Ferrant Abat, lives near the church of Santo Tomé
Below, Johán Matheos used to live in those which Master Pedro, archdeacon, gave
Albéytar used to live farther up

Gascos street with the neighborhood of Cesteros and of Papalava and with the crossing of the plaza (*coso*) and the dump (*muradal*) and San Vicente and "Barrio Nuevo" (30)

The daughter of Johán Pasqual lives in them
Domingo Domínguez, scribe, lives in houses near which Domingo Pérez, comrade (*conpannero*), gave
Another house of the treasury at the foot of San Gil
A large courtyard (*corral*) in the neighborhood of Cesteros which was exchanged for houses which Domingo Cardiel gave
Other houses that Pedro Estevan gave
Other houses that Blasco Munnoz gave
Other houses in the neighborhood of Papalva that Pedro Meléndez gave
Nearby, others that Munno Blasco gave
Nearby, others that Johán Domínguez, canon, bought
Martín Domínguez lives in others in the crossing
Domingo Martínez, canon, left others in the courtyard (*corral*)
At the dump (*muradal*), those of the Treasury
Nearby, the work oven with its houses
The ox yard (*bueyría*) of the work near the Painter
The bath (*banno*) of San Vicente. The bishop don Yagüe
Johán Blásquez, cellarer (*racionero*), gave others in the neighborhood of Papalva
Munno Martín lives in houses in the Barrio Nuevo which Estevan Domingo gave
Nearby, houses of the archpriest
One shoemaker lives in a house in the plaza (*coso*) of San Vicente of the houses of the Treasury
Abraham, iron smith, lives nearby
Almohadiellas lives in the houses given by Domingo Martínez near the Gate of the Alcazar
Archdeacon of Arévalo bought others for don Gil Pérez

The street that goes from San Vicente to San Salvador (cathedral) with the chevet of the church and the street which goes from the Tablado until the cellar of the treasurer which is at the gate of San Pedro (31)

Ferrant Martínez, scribe, lives in houses which Dominga Bartolomé gave
Nearby, those which Sancho Pérez, cellarer (*racionero*), bought
Four shops that Andieraço Blasco gave
Four more shops which Antón, canon, made
Don Pelayo lived in houses nearby. The chantry Martín Pérez
Martín Domínguez lives in houses which don Nicolás, canon, left
Migal Sánchez, cellarer (*racionero*), lives near those of the Work
Johán Pérez Alfayate lives in the street below. Don Rendón, canon
Sancho Galíndez bought others nearby for the chapel of Migal Blásquez
Johán Pérez, school master, lived in those which Master Pedro, archdeacon, left
Later, those in which Domingo Martínez, chantry, lives and now Gómez Gil, archpriest,
Migal Pérez, companero, and now schoolmaster, lives in others which Santos Fortún left
At the end of the street the houses of the cellar which Donnina Sancho gave
Nearby, another shop which Donnina Sancho left
Another shop beyond the cellar which Donnina Sancho gave
Nearby, the shop which don Yagüe Alfayate has which Donnina Sancho gave
A wall in the middle of a courtyard (*corral*) with eight houses near the castle which Domingo Blasco Crespo left
The treasurer has a cellar outside this courtyard (*corral*) by the gate of San Pedro which Estevan Domingo gave

From the gate of San Pedro, inside the villa, with those that are near the Alcazar and with the street of the Gradiellas of San Salvador (cathedral)

A fallen property near the houses of Xemén Fernando
Simuel Orebze lives
Viceynta Álvarez lives in houses near the street which the dean Gómez Pérez left
Others which Migal Blásquez left to Andieraço Sancho, his wife
Johán Estévanez lives in houses nearby which Yoanes Sancho left
The archdeacon of Olmedo lives in houses nearby
Archdeacon of Ávila has two pairs at the other end of the street, and some are from the anniversary of Pedro Gascón, treasurer
Migal Blásquez lives in houses near Gradiellas which Fortún Blasco, canon, left for his anniversary and others

From the Gate of the Images, the plaza of San Salvador (cathedral) with Lomo (synagogue) and with the street that goes to the Gate of San Vicente (32-33)

Sancho Galíndez lives in houses which Gometiça Blasco left
In front, Fernando, canon, lives
Pasqual Sánchez lives at the end of the plaza which Garci Gómez left
His niece lives near the houses of Yuçaf Dávila (her uncle)
Nearby, the Farriella (Daniela) lives in another house
Mari Domingo lives in another on the edge
Nearby, at the cathedral, Domingo Martínez, canon, lives in a house which Acenar Blasco left
Nearby, the cellar of archdeacon of Arévalo

One ruined property with this cellar. First house at the end of the street is his other
Later, a house above
The wife of Acenar Xemeno has another house in that courtyard (*corral*)
Don Domingo, archpriest, lives in houses on this street which Domingo Sancho Levita left
Further down, at the Lomo (synagogue)*, the courtyard (*corral*) which Sancho Matheos left
Below, the house of the frague which Master Giraldo left
Later below, Yuçef lives in the shop which donna Toda left
Later, donna María lives in another which donna Toda gave
Another which donna Toda left
Near the staircase of the castle, another house which the prior Martín Migal left
Migal Pérez, comrade (*conpannero*), left houses to the Church for his anniversary at the other side of the Gate of the Castle (Alcázar Gate)

*We know from other documentation that Lomo refers to one of the city's synagogues although in the *Becerro* it is not specified as a synagogue, simply referred to as "el Lomo."

In the street which begins at the corner of Mrs. Ledicia and goes through Yuradero (street) with all the neighborhood of Yuradero and with the Fishmarket, until the shops of the barbers (*alfagemes*)

Pedro García, cellarer (*racionero*), lives in houses with Domingo Munnoz Carrión gave
Below, the shop which Xemén Gómez left
Pasqual Yennego left houses in this street
Near the houses of Vidales, a property had three houses
The Stampmaker (*Sellero*) lives in houses in the street to Yuradero
Later, Fermosa lives in a shop
Haziz, locksmith, lives at the border of this shop
Mose, son-in-law of the father-in-law, lives further up
Nunno Pérez lives near these houses
Nearby, Migal Pérez, chaplain, lives
The Ceramic shop (*alfatería*), which dean Pasqual Sánchez made
Nearby, Fidela Roma lived in a house
Vicent Pérez lives in a house in front of Manuel's house
The Escaçavia lives in the shop at the other part of Yuradero*
The Milliner (*Chipelero*) lives at the wall in the middle
The son of Alva Cova lives at the border of this house
Later, the Roman (*la Roma*) lives
The father-in-law lives on the edge
Two shops which the bishop of Badajoz left in the Fishmarket (*pescadería*)
Nearby, dean Gómez Sánchez left others
Below, don Bernabé lives
At the barbers, Rrodrigo Alfonso lives in others
Donna Mari Blásquez with Valdeyusta left houses in the Fishmarket (*pescadería*)
In Yuradero the houses and two shops belonging to the Giganta ("the Giant") were bought by the dean don Velasco Velásquez

* Pilar León Tello recognizes the “Yuradero” as the most Jewish neighborhood in Ávila in the early fourteenth century.

From the houses of Blasco Núnnez, which are in the Yuradero with limestone (*calenna*) shops and with two streets which go until the Jewish Butcher shop, until the Gate of San Martín and above the street which goes from San Silvestre to the Shoemaker’s street and the street of Román Pérez and with the houses that the son of Alvo Todo has

Lancera lives in a house. Don Domingo Villalebrí
Yagüe Rrodrigo has houses of the Treasury where they sell bread
Later, the courtyard (*corral*) of Pocasangre
The house of Alva Cova is on the street that goes to the bucher
Below, two houses pass the courtyard (*corral*) of Pocasangre
Below, the house of the Arch (*del Arco*)
Nearby, the sons of Yuçef Abceror live in houses
Below the butcher, the houses of Ferragudo
Others bought for the archdeacon of Arévalo
The oven of Cebollón, two houses
The principal courtyard (*corral*)
The courtyard (*corral*) of Corça
Donna Adeva lives in a house at the gate of Rrebí Haym which was bought which Blasco Ferrández gave for the house of Santo Tomé
The son of Alvo Todo has other houses at the gate of San Martín
Johán Benito had lived in houses in the neighborhood of San Silvestre
Alvo todo used to live in others
Alí Tazmón is said to have others in the street that goes from San Silvestre to the Shoemaker’s street*
Alí Caro is said to have houses in this street
The first fallen house at the Friday mosque (*almagid mayor*)
Domingo Yagüe and Yuçaf Sedano live in houses of the anniversary of the bishop don Fernando in the street of Román Pérez

* The “rúa de Zapateros,” or Shoemaker’s street, is today’s Vallespín street.

In the Shoemaker’s street, with the shops of ceramic and with the plaza of San Juan and the tables of that butcher shop

The mattress maker (*colchero*) has a house on the [Shoemaker’s] street*
Nearby, Mrs. Elvira is said to have houses
Above, Migal Yagüe lives in others
Nearby, Yaco Corça
Later, Estevan Domingo left two shops
Four small houses at the back of the street
One property before the house of Johán Núnnez in the plaza
Domingo Martín lives in the houses of the Treasury on the street
Domingo Johán, scribe, lives in houses above

Above, more houses of the Treasury
Nearby, houses given by Garci Ferrández
Others given by archdeacon of Olmedo
Below, Yennego Nunno lives
Martín Munnoz made two shops with the borders of those
Above, another Treasury shop
Nearby, don Pascual, shoemaker, lives
Later, Domingo Sancho, of the Treasury, lives
Another shop
Four shops in the Ceramic quarter which Fernando, canon, gave
Tables in the butcher shop of San Juan
A Muslim woman (*mora*) of Blasco Xemeno lives in houses at the foot of the church
Aborrabe, broker (*corridor*), operates the shop at the chevet of this church
The shop of the Stamp maker (*Sellero*)
Nearby, the shop of Mazalcón

* The "rúa de Zapateros," or Shoemaker's street, is today's Vallespín street.

Dandrín street with Berrueços street and the street of Garci Estevan

Near the tower of Dandrín street, Martín Munnoz fixed (*adobó*) houses
Farther up, five houses of the Treasury; two below and three above them
Later, Maderuelo lives in one on the edge
In front, Muça has one of the Treasury
A small shop farther up
Don Guillelmo made some in Berrueços street
Vellida lives at the border of these
On the street, those which Domingo Núnnez gave

Those of Brieva Street, with the Gate of Grajal, inside and outside, with the neighborhood of San Marcos and of San Nicolás and Santa Cruz and Toledana street and Santa Trinidad and the Tower of Espina and those of Santa María Magdalena, until the cellar of the treasurer, with the tables of the principal butcher shop and the tanneries and the gardens and windmills

The dean Gómez Sánchez gave those in Brieva street
Another house in the courtyard (*corral*) of the Tower
Near the castle, don Fernando gave two houses
Above the Gate of Grajal Munno Munnoz gave one
Martín Pérez has a courtyard (*corral*) at San Marcos
Reyna lives in the house at Santa Cruz
The Cook (*Cozinera*) gave a bath (*banno*)
Mrs. Andieraço left one at San Nicolás
Garci Ferrández has some in Toledana street
Garci Ferrández has some at Santa Trinidad
The Tower of Espina of Garci Ferrández

Vidales lives in others
Yaco lives in another
Other are on the edge
Nearby, Marchán lives
Master Pedro left others a Santa María
Semuel and another live below
Above, textile shop (*panno*)
Nearby, Pedro Ferrández has others
Later, the one of Lázaro Pasqual
Tables in the principal butcher shop
The tanneries
Estevan Domingo left a garden
Blasco Iuannes's garden
The archpriest has another
Gil Martín has another
The archpriest has a meadow
Windmills of the Adaja [River]
A small house near the Tower of Espina which Johán Blásquez, chaplain gave
Pedro Blásquez, cellarer (*racionero*), gave houses which were don Apariçio's, which are at Santo Domingo

Figure1:

The walls of Ávila, northwest corner.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 2:

Cimorro, the fortified east end that protrudes through the walls.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 3:

Piedra sangrante, north double ambulatory of the cathedral.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 4:

Interior, central nave facing east of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 5:

Verraco in situ below the gate of San Vicente.

Source: José Francisco Fabián García, 30 de mayo de 1999, available online:

http://www.verracos.es/verraco/054

Figure 6:

Lower level of walls of granite ashlars in between Tower 2 (south side of Gate of Alcazar) and

83. According to Pilar Barraca de Ramos this bonding is the oldest type in the city walls which

may date to the Late Antique or Visigothic period. The upper levels she dates to a later medieval chronology.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 7:

A combination of granite ashlars interrupted by smaller stones and funerary *spolia, b*etween towers 5 and 6. According to Pilar Barraca de Ramos, this area can be compared to extant Visigothic fortifications similar to Reccopolis. Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 8:

North face of the southern tower 8 flanking San Vicente Gate, approximately eleven irregular courses of large grey granite ashlars form a visibly defined construction before the curvature of the rounded tower.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 9:

On the south side of the north tower 9, thirteen irregular courses abruptly

end, displaying a clear seam in construction.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 10:

Roman walls of Lugo.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 11:

The Puerta del Carmen (Porta Miña), Lugo.

Source: Google Earth

Figure 12:

Segments of city walls, Reccopolis, c. 578.

Photos: Dr. Henry L. Gruber

Figure 13:

León’s medieval city walls.

Source: Wikimedia commons

Figure 14:

The city walls of Zamora, twelfth to thirteenth century.

Photo and diagram: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 15:

The wall of Marrubial in Córdoba.

Source: https://sientecordoba.com/muralla-del-marrubial/

Figure 16:

The walls of Murcia, Verónicas section.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 17:

Walls, eastern section looking north, uniform pattern.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 18:

Alcazar Gate.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 19:

Gate of San Vicente.

Source: Wikimedia commons

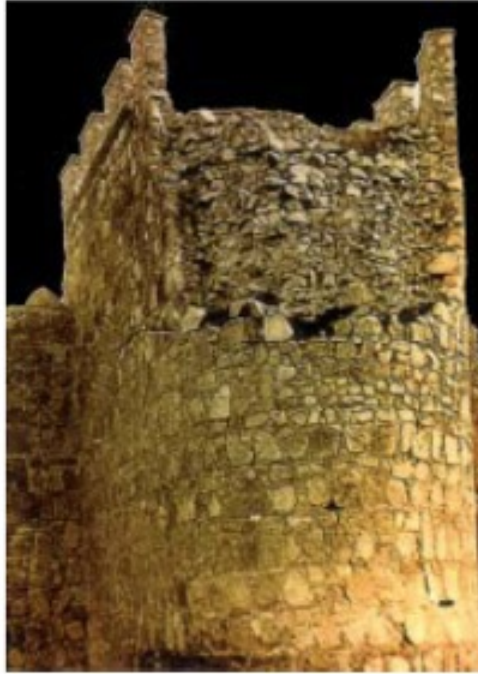


Figure 20:

Pre-restoration photograph from the twentieth century shows the rubble interior of the tower structures. Photo from Emilio Roya, 1929.

Source: Sanchidrián Gallego, *La Muralla de Ávila: Fotografía Histórica y Monumental*, 51.

Figure 21:

Tower 4, northwest corner showing the misalignment of the towers with straight sections.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 22:

Misaligned coursing of tower 6 (right) and straight walls (left).

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 23:

The towers are much taller than the straight areas as if they were built independently. Tower 14, on the north arm looking west.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 24:

Shorter and less robust towers on southern side of walls with natural rocky outcroppings. West of the Gate of La Santa, towers 65, 64, looking west.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 25:

South section of city walls with rocky outcroppings/natural defenses,

between Towers 56 and 57.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 26:

Ashlar masonry, including *piedra caleña*, in the archway of the gate of San Vicente.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 27:

Spolia between towers 85 and 86.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

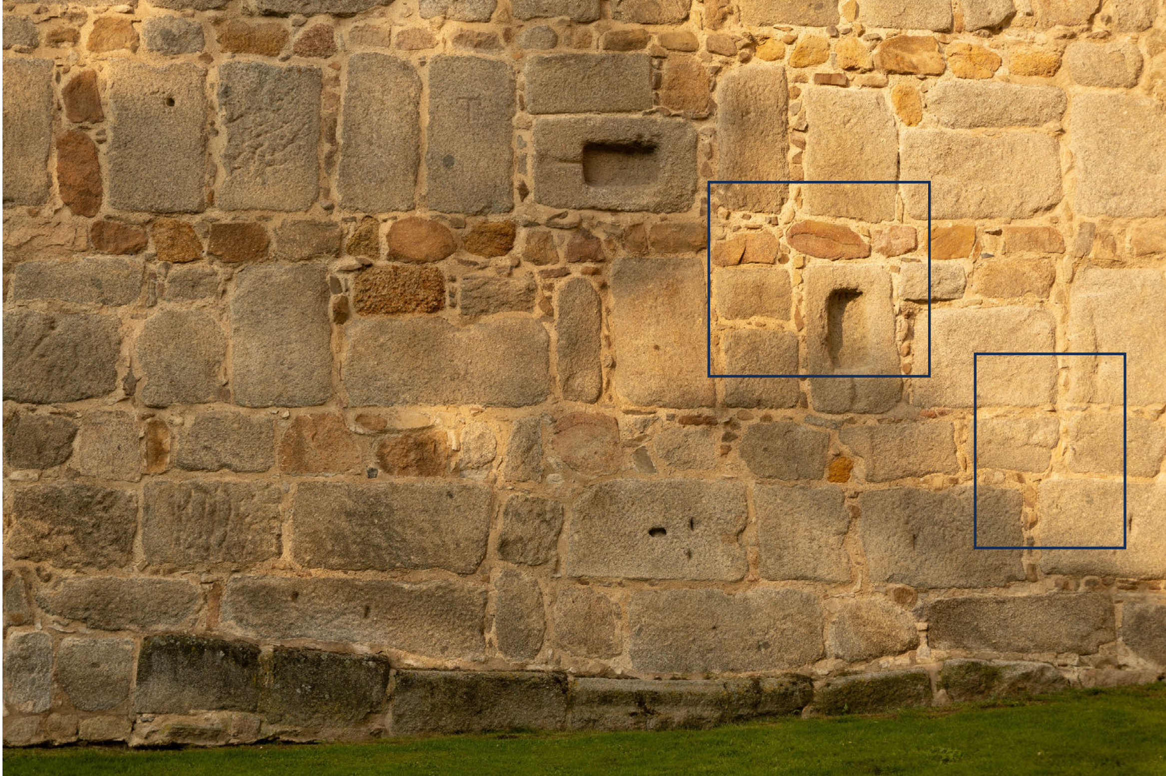


Figure 28:
Cistae spolia in the city walls between towers 4 and 5
Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 29:

Funerary *stele*, tower 10.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 30:

Cuppae between towers 4 and 5.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

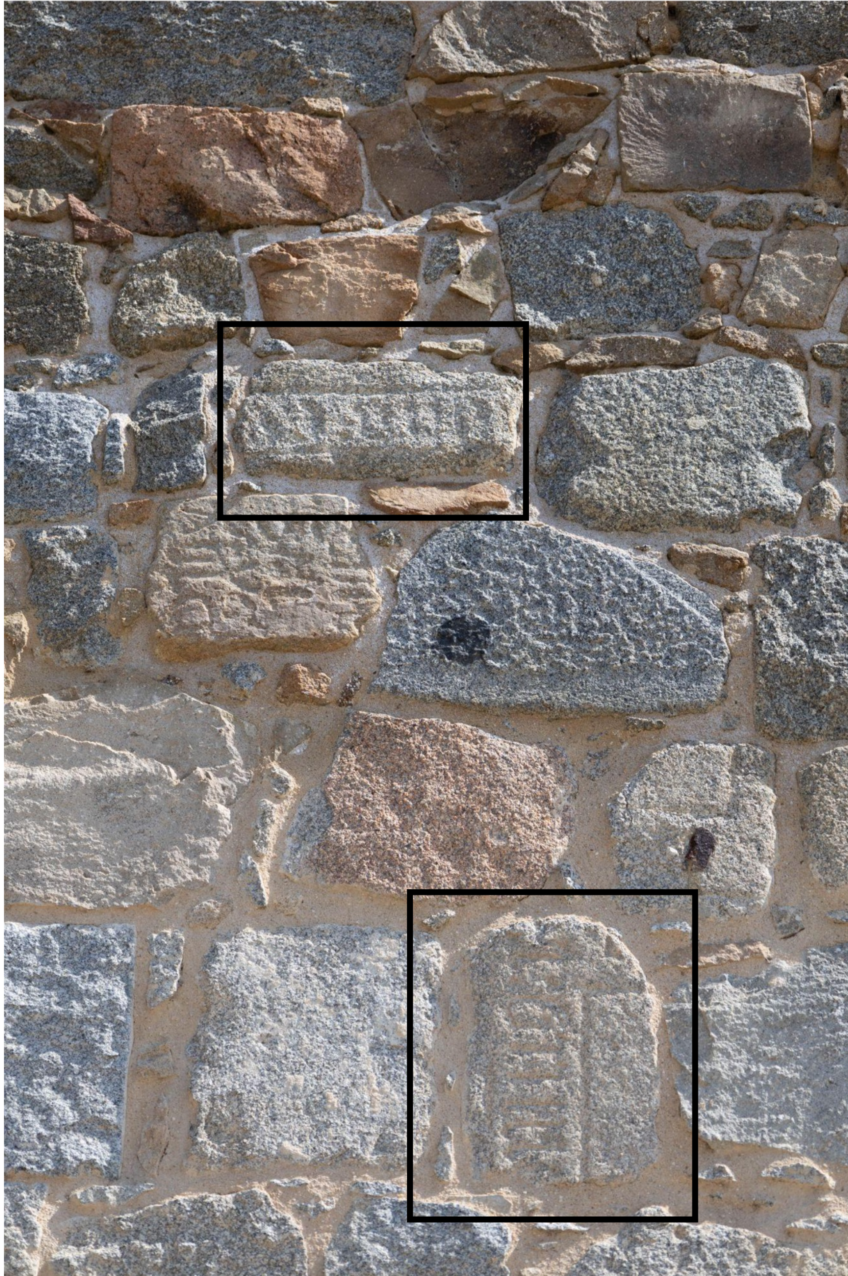


Figure 31:

Funerary pieces with possible Arabic lettering visible on the lower part of tower 81 similar to the tomb of Abd Allah ibn Yusuf now preserved in the Museum of Ávila.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 32:

Verracos in the walls.

Left: Between towers 85 and 86 (missing its head).

Right: Between towers 86 and 87.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 33:

Verraco back recognizable by small carved protrusions of ears, spine,

and tail in the lower portion of tower 84.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 34:

Verraco head jutting out from tower 11.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 35:

Roman altar at San Segundo, now removed from where it was found in a staircase.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 36:

A group of Roman *spolia* in San Martín.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 37:

Verraco in the base of the tower of the parish church of San Nicolás.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

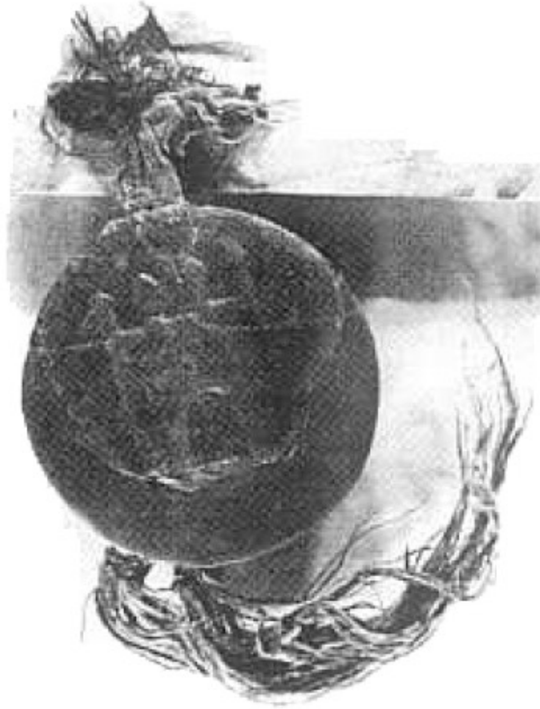


Figura 4. **Primer escudo conocido de la ciudad. Año 1221**
No incluye el rey-niño (A Barrios, 1985).

Figure 38:

“First coat of arms known for the city, 1221.”

An image of the city walls is visible and it does not include “the boy king.”

Source: Tapia Sánchez and Cátedra, “Imágenes mitológicas e históricas del tiempo y del espacio: las murallas de Ávila,” 183.

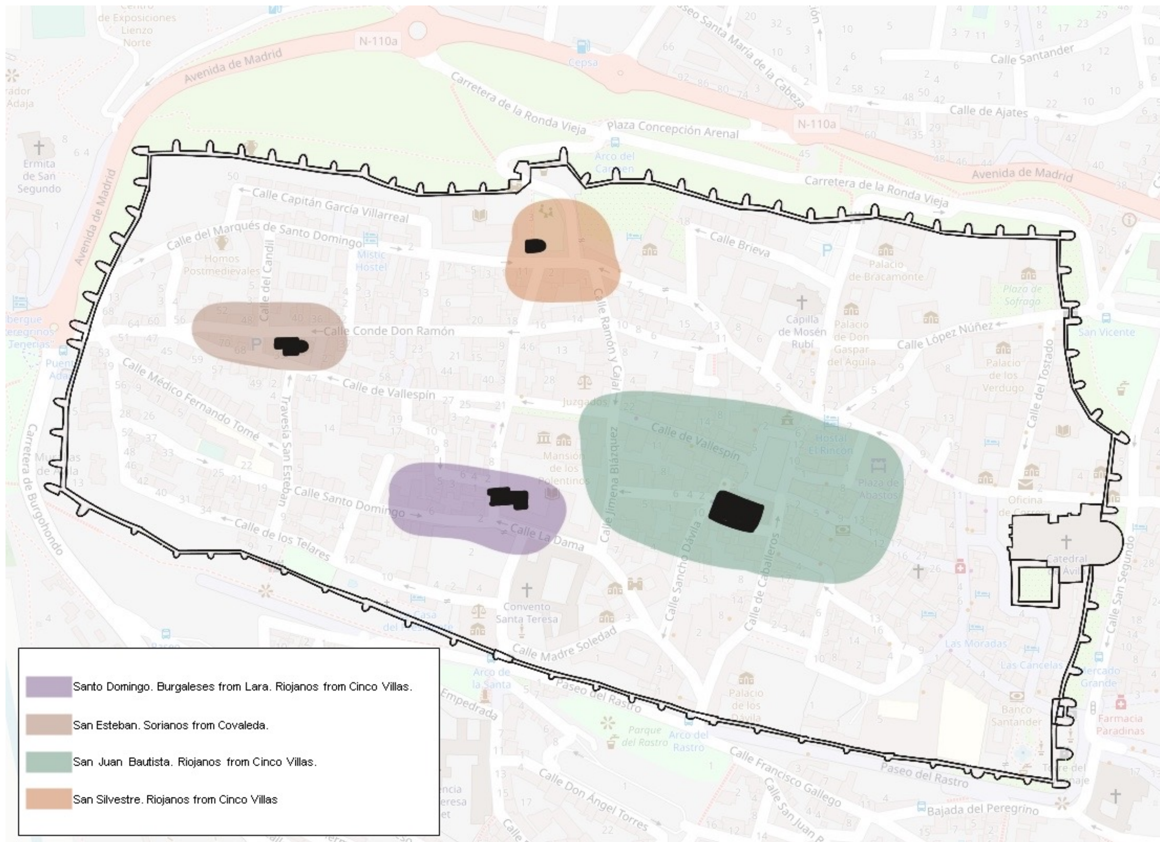


Figure 39:

The original Christian settlement plan surrounding intramural parish churches, after Feduchi Canosa, “La construcción de las murallas: análisis morfológico y propuesta cronológica,” 68.

Diagram: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 40:

Inner pathway of double ambulatory, south side facing north in front of the chapel of San Esteban.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 41:

Nave and aisle vaults.

Left: Nave looking east.

Right: North aisle bays facing west.

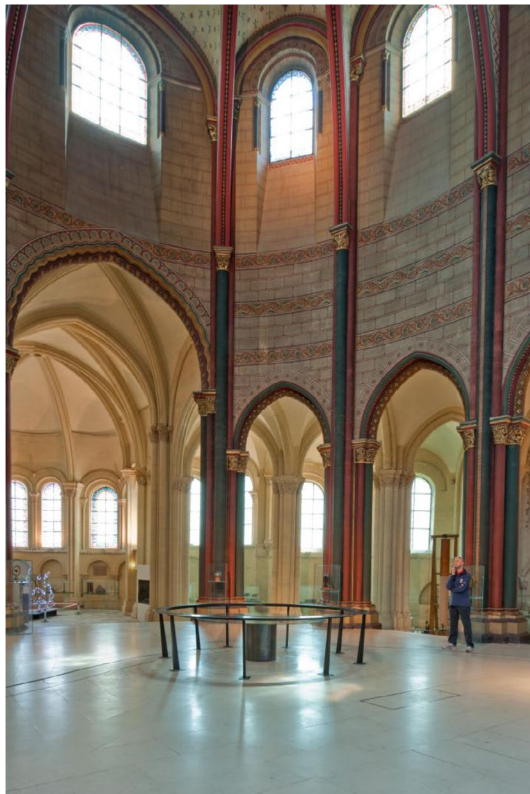
Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 42: Historiated capitals, possibly carved in gesso, chevet ambulatory, pier between the chapel of S. Esteban and St. John the Evangelist (3 and 4). Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 43:

Ambulatory north side facing west, asymmetrical pathways, notice the left side is significantly wider than the right.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson



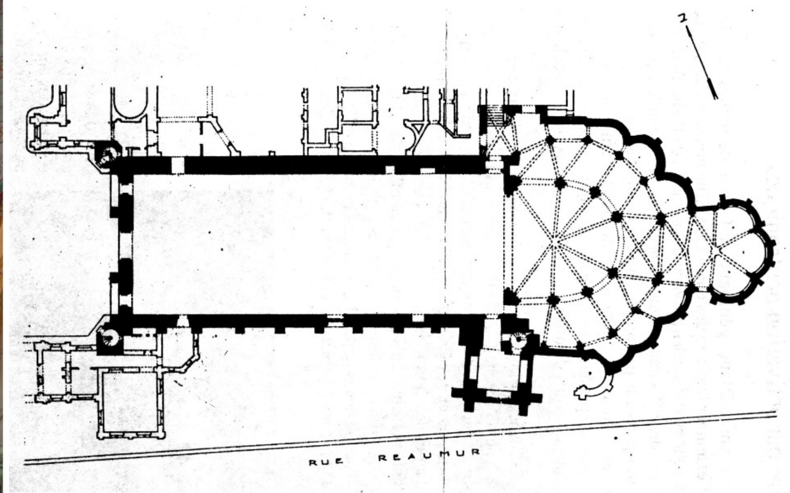


Figure 44:

Left: Chevet with double ambulatory at Saint-Martin-des-Champs.

Right: Floorplan of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.

Source: Mapping Gothic France

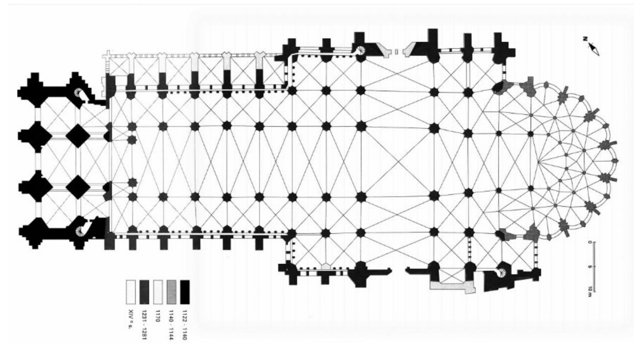


Figure 45:

Left: Plan of Saint Denis.

Right: Exterior chevet of Saint- Denis with nine radiating chapels.

Source: Mapping Gothic France

Figure 46:

Choir vaults. Directly east of the crossing is the quadripartite

presbytery followed by a sexpartite double bay.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

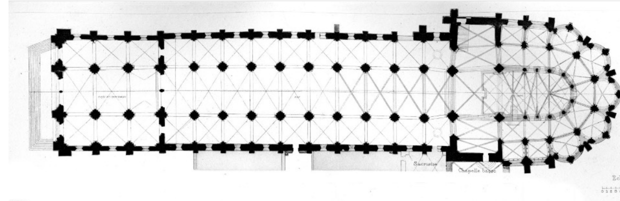


Figure 47:

Top: Floorplan of Vezelay Abbey.

Bottom: East end of Vezelay Abbey (Vézelay, Église Sainte-Marie

-Madeleine).

Source: Mapping Gothic France

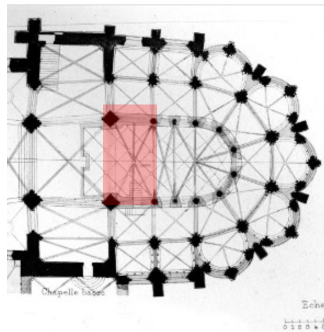


Figure 48:

Comparison of Vezelay’s vaults (left) and Ávila’s (right). Sexpartite vaults highlighted to show the misalignment of Ávila’s supports compared to Vezelay’s.

Source top/left:: Mapping Gothic France

Photo right: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 49:

West façade of the cathedral with towers. Both towers show a clear break in construction.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 50:

Family chapel of Esteban Domingo in the north tower base,

San Miguel chapel

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 51:

Cimorro.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

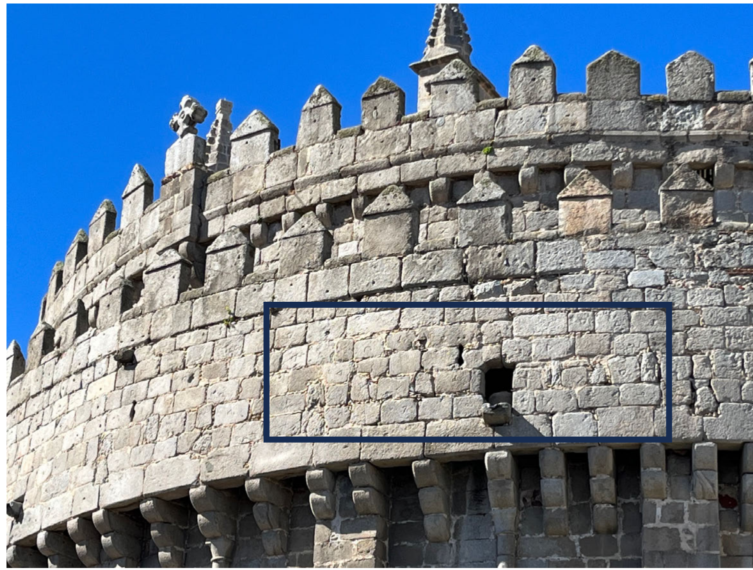


Figure 52:

Top: Mason Marks on exterior cimorro.

Bottom left: Mason marks on interior north tower base.

Bottom right: Mason marks on exterior north tower base.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 53:

North nave windows, two rows of six lancet windows topped with complicated tracery.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 54:

Toledo cathedral nave windows and two-part elevation.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 55:

Parable of Lazarus reused sculpture.

South transept triforium.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 56:

Cenotaph of San Vicente, south face, scenes of the martyrdom of Vicente, Sabina, and Cristeta.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

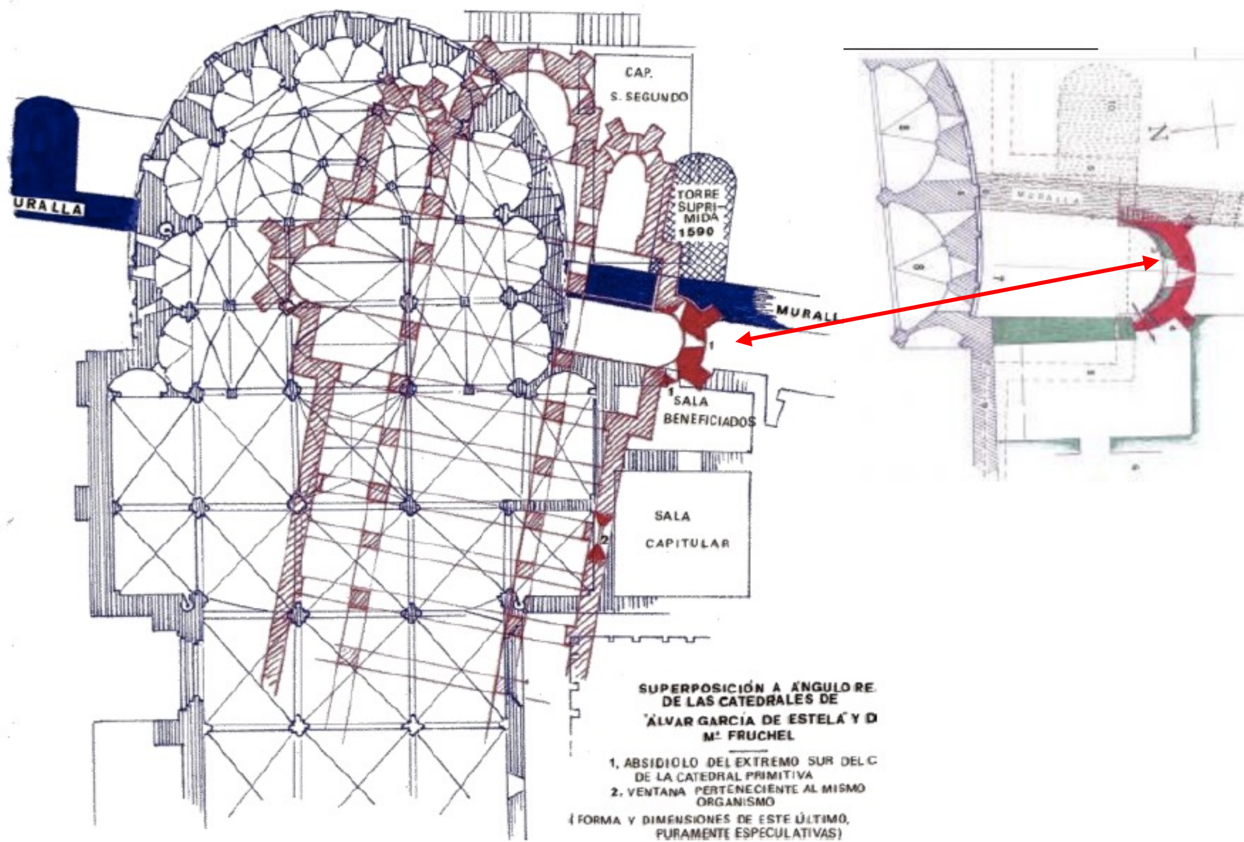


Figure 57:

Emilio Rodríguez Almeida’s Hypothetical Romanesque Cathedral and Floorplan.

Rodríguez Almeida’s hypothetical floorplan of the previous Romanesque cathedral (red) based on a surviving piece of curved wall (opaque red) which he interprets as an anterior transept apse.

Source: Benito Pradillo, “La catedral de Ávila: evolución constructiva y análisis structural,” 84.

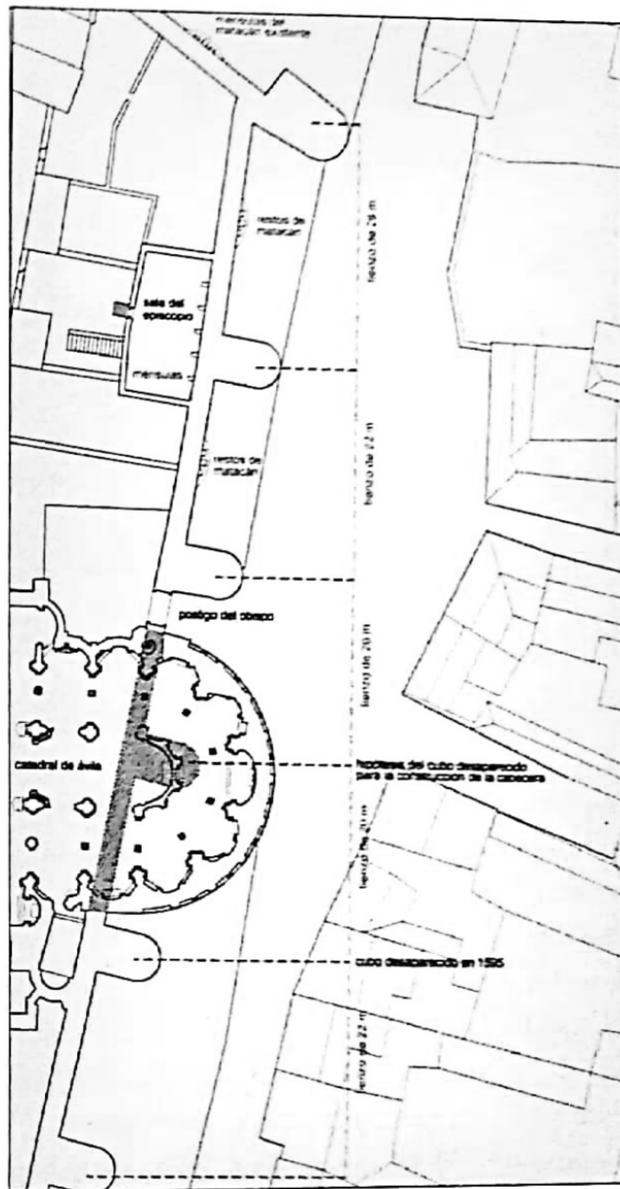


Figure 58:

Distribution of the towers throughout the city walls about every twenty-one meters. Pedro Feduchi Canosa suggests one would expect a tower to be precisely where the apse is now located

Source: Feduchi Canosa, “La construcción de las murallas: análisis morfológico y propuesta cronológica,” 85.

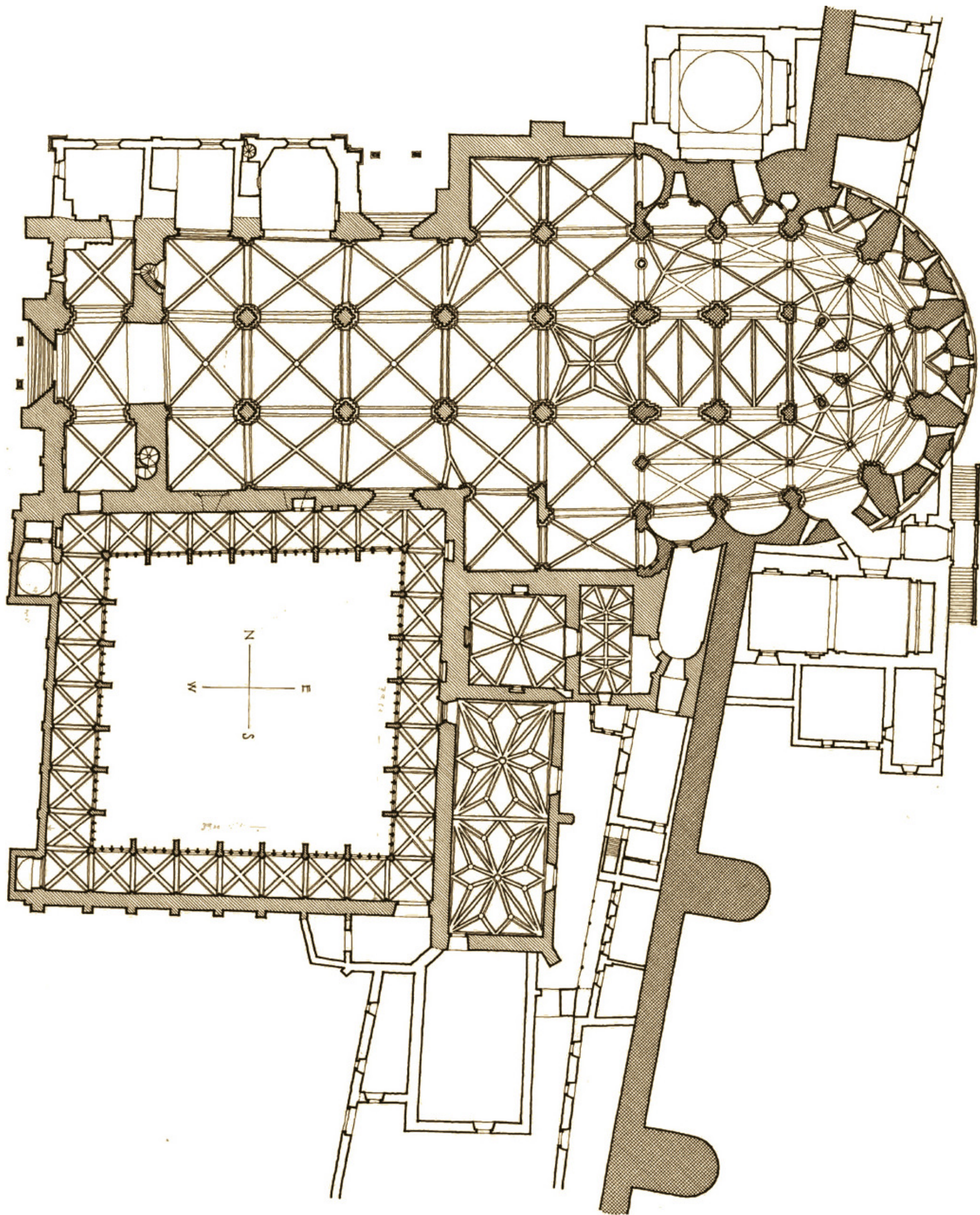


Figure 59:

Avila cathedral plan

Source: Benito Pradillo, “Proceso constructivo del cimorro de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos

XII-XIV),” 2 (after Merino de Cáceres, 1981).

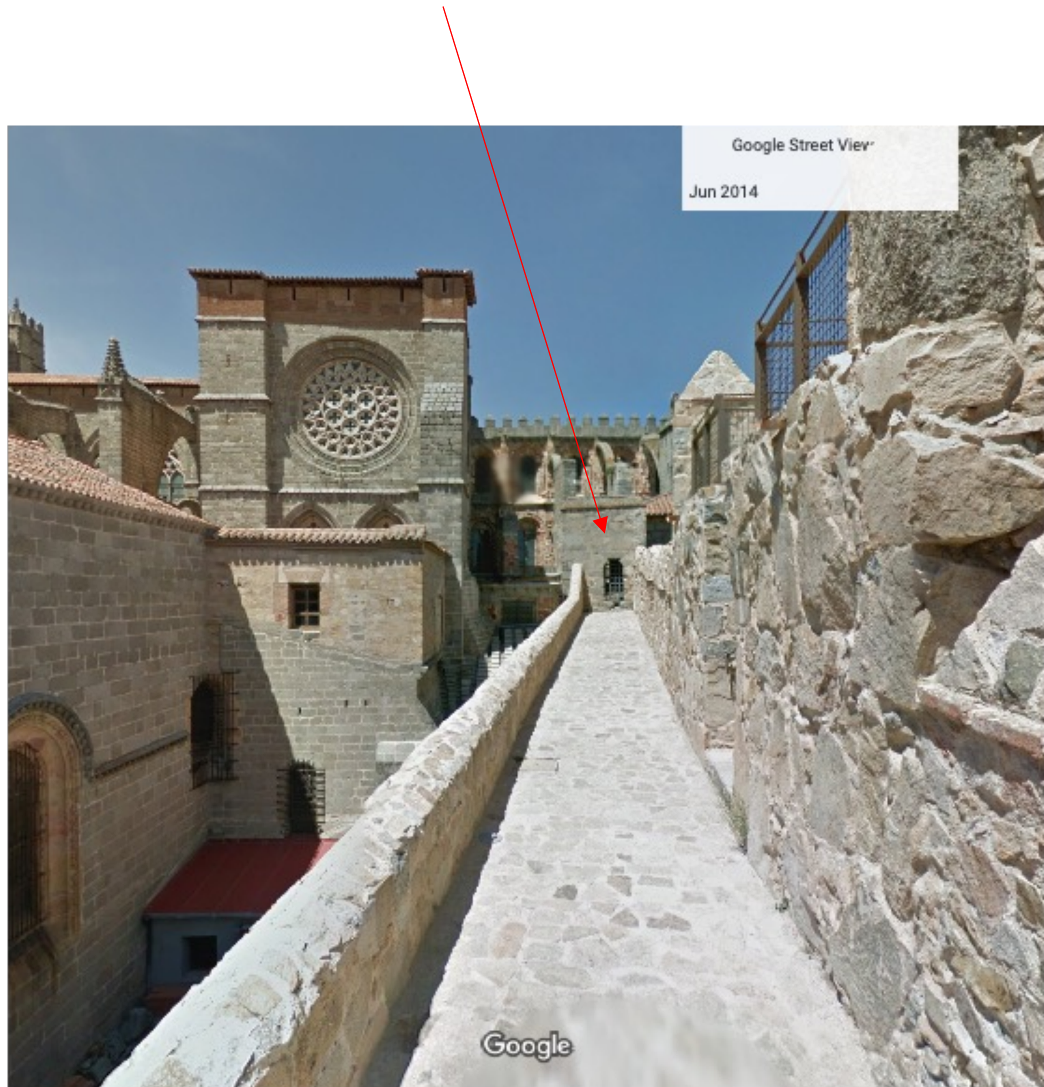


Figure 60:

Pathway running along the city walls which pass directly above the exterior radiating chapels of Ávila's cathedral, from the city walls south of the chevet.

Source: Google street view

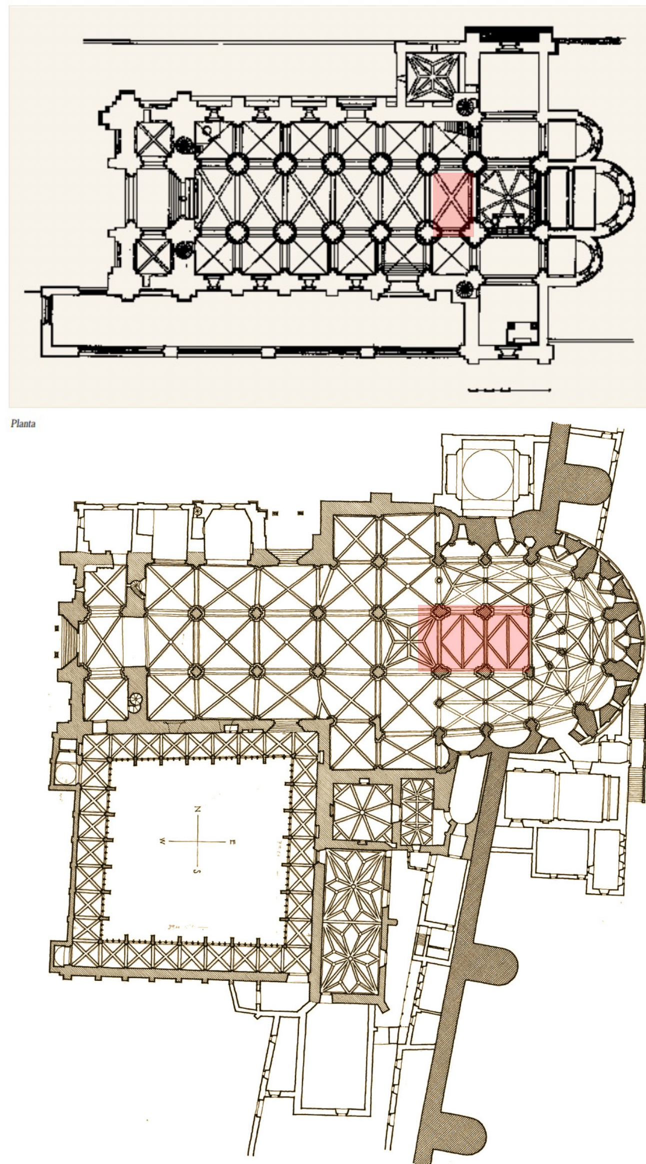


Figure 61:

Cathedral plan (bottom) vs. San Vicente (top). The cathedral chevet is elongated, the choir placed east of the crossing (see shaded red squares). Also the three -terminating apse plan of San Vicente is not well-equipped for a tower structure on the east end like the cathedral's polygonal chevet.

Top source: *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII* , 142.

Bottom source: Benito Pradillo, "Proceso constructivo del cimorro de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIV)," 2 (after Merino de Cáceres, 1981).

Figure 62:

Additional light as the result of bigger windows and sexpartite vaults

in the colorful *piedra sangrante* choir.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

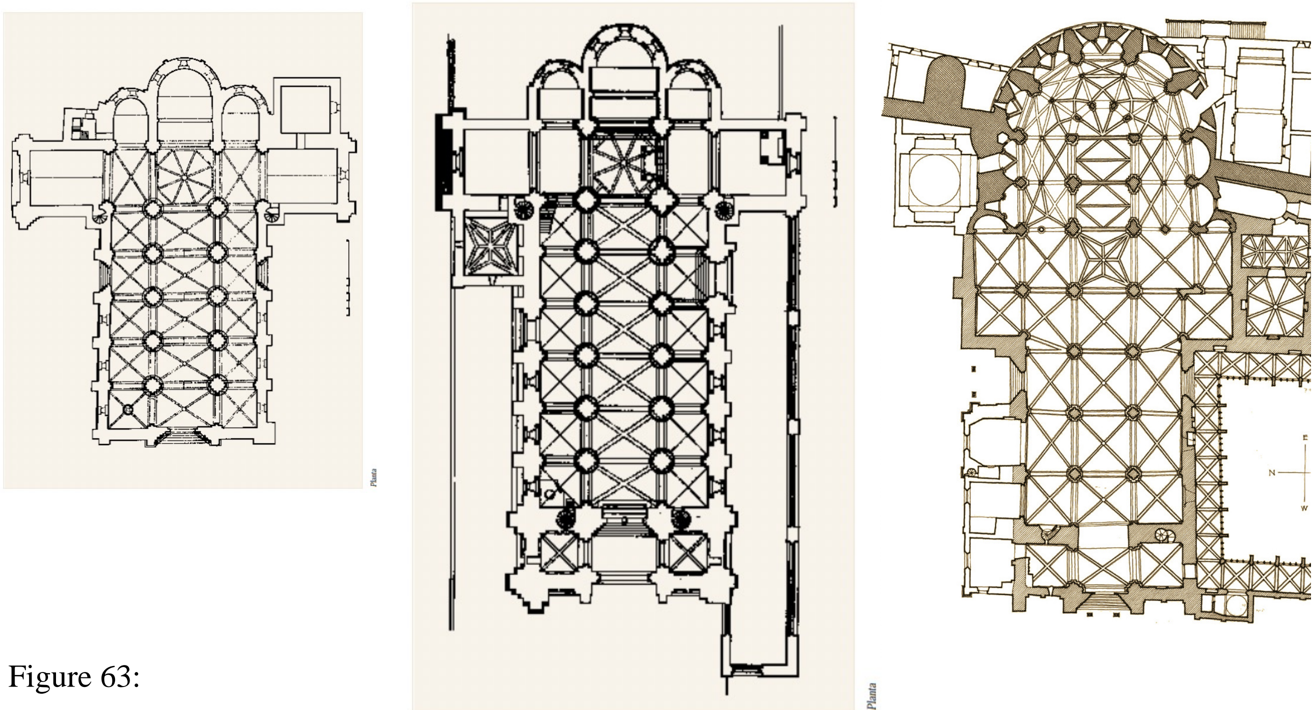


Figure 63:

San Pedro (left), San Vicente (middle); cathedral plan (right). The three-terminating apse plans of San Pedro and San Vicente is not well-equipped for a tower structure on the east end like the cathedral's polygonal chevet.

Left source: *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII* , 166,

Middle source: *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII* , 142.

Right source: Source: Benito Pradillo, "Proceso constructivo del cimorro de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIV)," 2 (after Merino de Cáceres, 1981).

Figure 64:

Window-less east end of San Segundo, an extramural parish church near the Adaja river.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 65:

San Vicente of Ávila, view from southwest corner.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 66:

Piedra sangrante is about one meter thick and located on the top layer of the quarry at La Colilla.

Left: Strata of quarry and types of granites at La Colilla

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 67:

Piedra sangrante in the cathedral's east end.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 68:

Piedra sangrante ceiling of the north porch of the semi-extant parish church of Santiago.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 69:

Piedra sangrante window in the sixteenth-century Convent of Nuestra Señora de Gracia.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 70:

Archway of the west façade of Convent of Santa María de Jesús (Las Gordillas) .

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

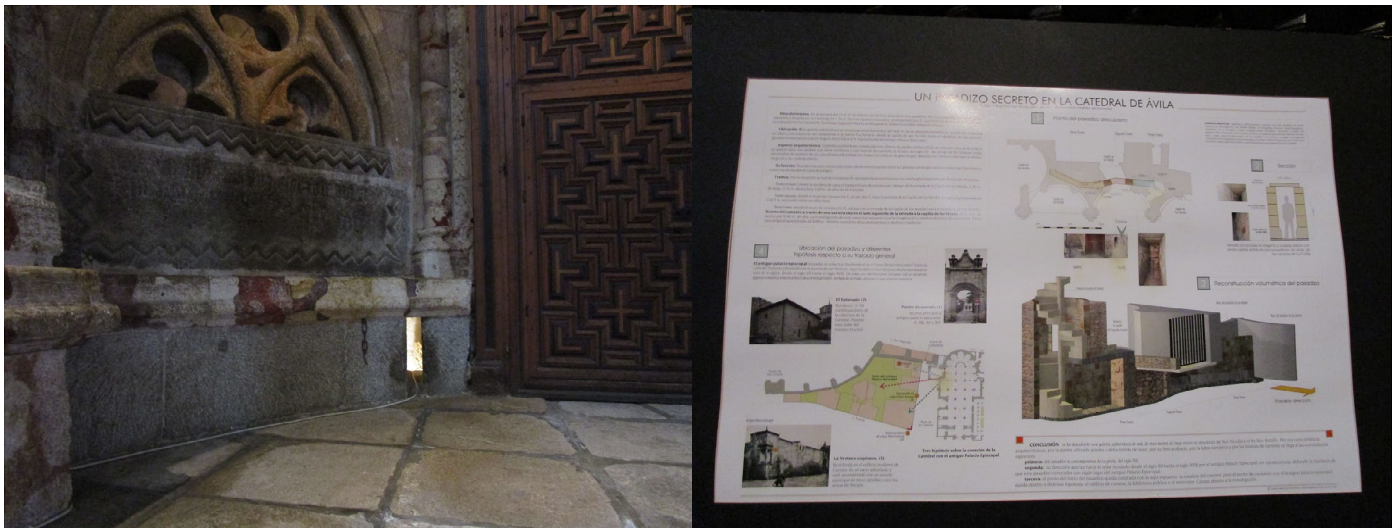


Figure 71:

A thirteen-meter-long underground passage was discovered through a narrow opening near the ground of today’s Sacred Heart chapel in the northeast side of the cathedral which may have once connected the *episcopio* with cathedral by subterranean means.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 72:

Bishop’s palace (*episcopio*), twelfth century. *Piedra sangrante* frames the narrow windows and the west portal.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 73:

Barrel vaults in *piedra sangrante* at the episcopio.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 74:

Rose-pink marble columns at St. Thomas Becket's shrine, Canterbury Cathedral.

Source: Mapping Gothic France

Figure 75:

Separation in stone: the grey granite *cimorro* with *piedra sangrante* interventions contrasts against the orange-toned *piedra caleña* towers peeking through attached buildings to the right.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 76:

Anton van den Wyngaerde’s painting of Ávila, 1570.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 77:

Map of Ávila by Francisco Coello, 1864.

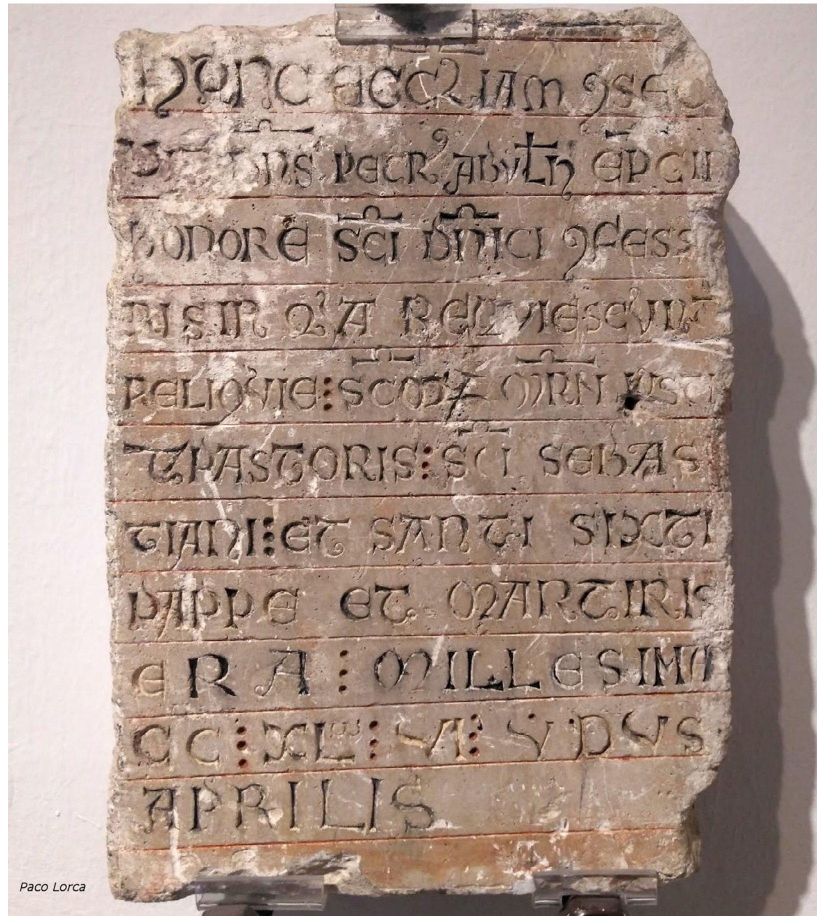


Figure 78:

The consecration stone from the lost church of Santo Domingo in the Museo de Ávila. It reads: “Peter [Pedro], Bishop of Ávila, consecrated this church in honor of Santo Domingo the confessor, where the relics of the holy martyrs Justo and Pastor, San Sebastian, and Saint Sixtus, Pope, rest, on the ides of April, in the year 1246 [1208].” “Consegró esta iglesia Pedro, obispo abulense, en honor de Santo Domingo confessor, donde descansan las reliquias de los santos martires Justo y Pastor, San Sebastian y San Sixto, Papa y martir en la era de MCCXLVI, idus de abril.” Santo Domingo, the last of the intramural parish churches, appears in Gil Torres’s 1250 list of rents. The church was demolished in 1947.

Source: https://aqmapacolorca.blogspot.com/2019/10/iglesia-de-santo-domingo-en-avila.html

Figure 79:

The extramural parish church of San Nicolás.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 80:

West façade of San Nicolás.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

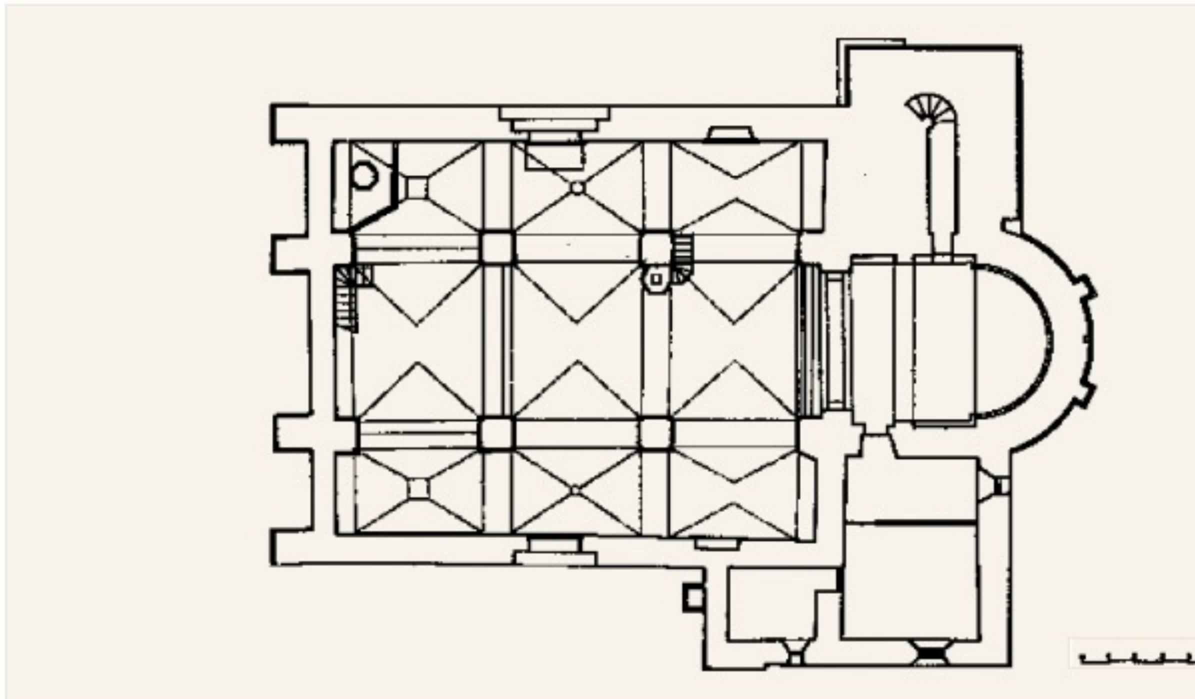


Figure 81:

Floorplan of San Nicolás.

Source: *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII* , 196.

Figure 82:

South façade of San Nicolás, post-medieval auxiliary constructions on the southeast, and scars of another construction on the southwest.

Source: https://www.juntasemanasanta-avila.com/iglesia-de-san-nicolas

Figure 83:

Sculpted portals of San Nicolás in *piedra caleña.*

Left: North portal.

Right: South portal.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 84:

The exterior of the chevet of San Nicolás. One can see the clear stratification between *piedra caleña* and grey granite—at least four courses of grey granite ashlars act as the base for its curved *piedra caleña* walls.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 85:

Tower of San Nicolás, north façade.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 86:

San Andrés, south façade.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

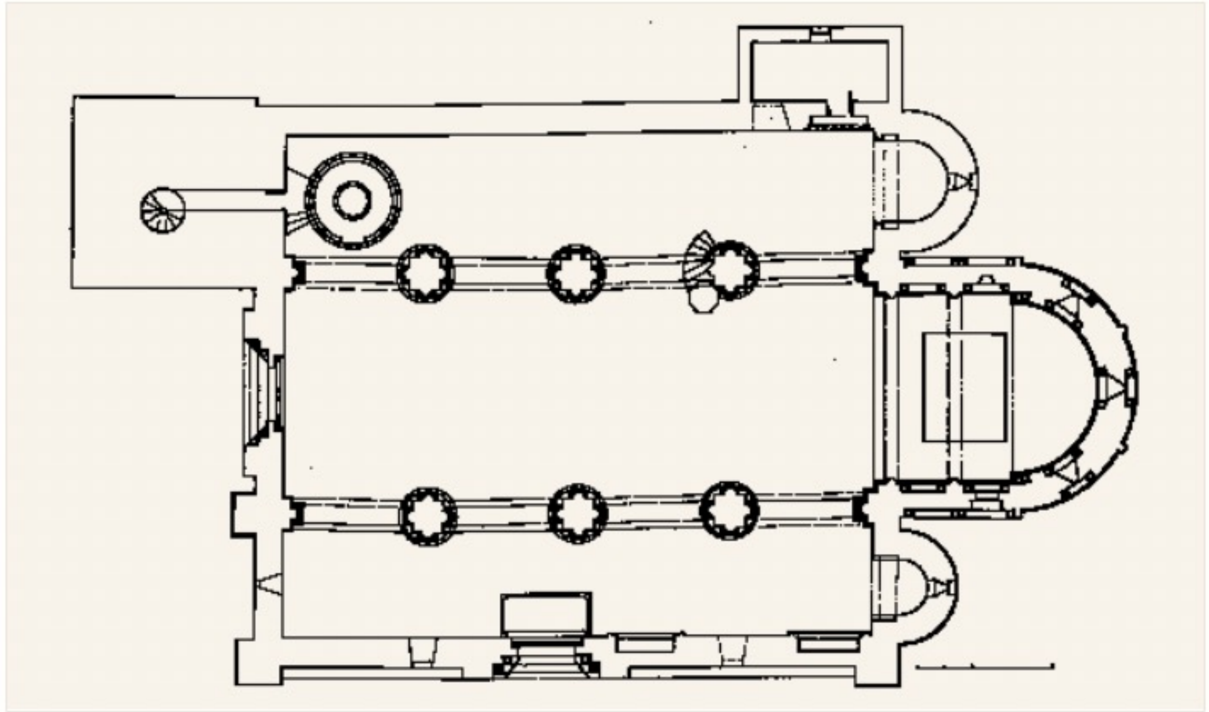
Figure 87:

Examples of San Andrés's architectural sculpture.

Top: Sculpted voussoirs on San Andrés's west portal

Bottom: Windows and capitals on the south side of the central apse.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson



Planta

Figure 88:

Floorplan of San Andrés.

Source: *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII* , 174.

Figure 89:

West portal of San Andrés.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 90:

The three terminating apses of San Andrés's east end.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 91:

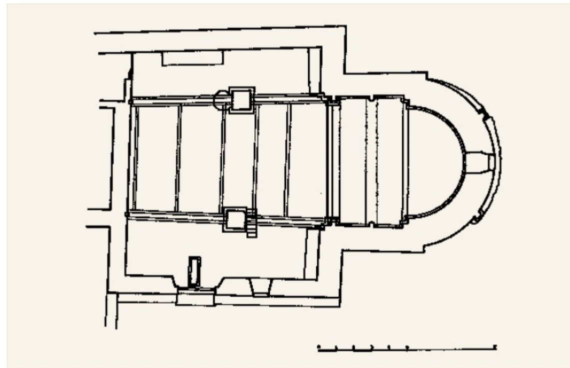
The north exterior wall of San Andrés's nave which is lacking a robust grey granite foundation, perhaps as a result, the walls appear to be leaning.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 92:

The west façade of San Andrés with tower with grey granite base and grey granite buttresses.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson



Planta

Figure 93:

Top: San Esteban, south façade.

Bottom: Floorplan.

Source bottom: *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII* , 188.

Photo top: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 94:

San Esteban, east end.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 95:

Rocky outcropping foundation of San Esteban.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 96:

South façade, on the southeast corner you can see grey granite ashlars combine with roughly cut stones to make up the initial strata of the plinth foundation.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 97:

San Esteban, south portal.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

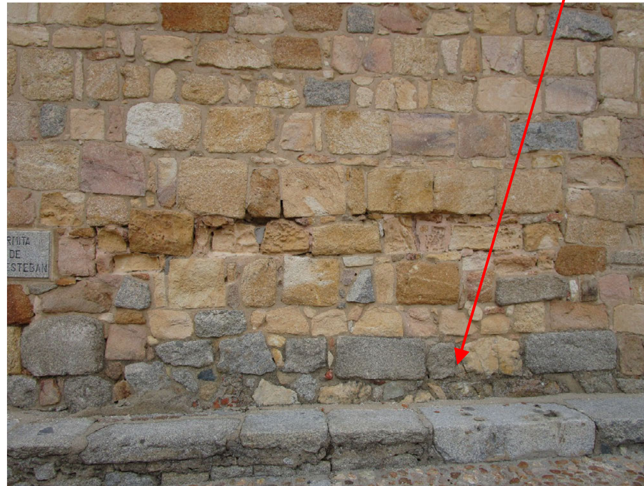


Figure 98:

The southeast corner of San Esteban where a grey granite edge appears to be a later intervention, however this structure/ashlars may have also appeared on the original church as well.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 99:

South side of San Vicente parish church in *piedra caleña*, fifteenth-century grey granite southern porch as well as later grey granite arcosolia.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 100:

The sixteenth-century two-toned west portal of San Juan Bautista, the baptismal church of Santa Teresa of Ávila.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 101:

Architectural remains of stone walls including a semicircular structure dating to the fourth or fifth century which may have belonged to an apse of an earlier church at the site of Santa Maria la Antigua, adjacent to San Pedro.

Source: Barraca de Ramos, “La ciudad de Ávila en la antigüedad Tardía,” 104.

Figure 102:

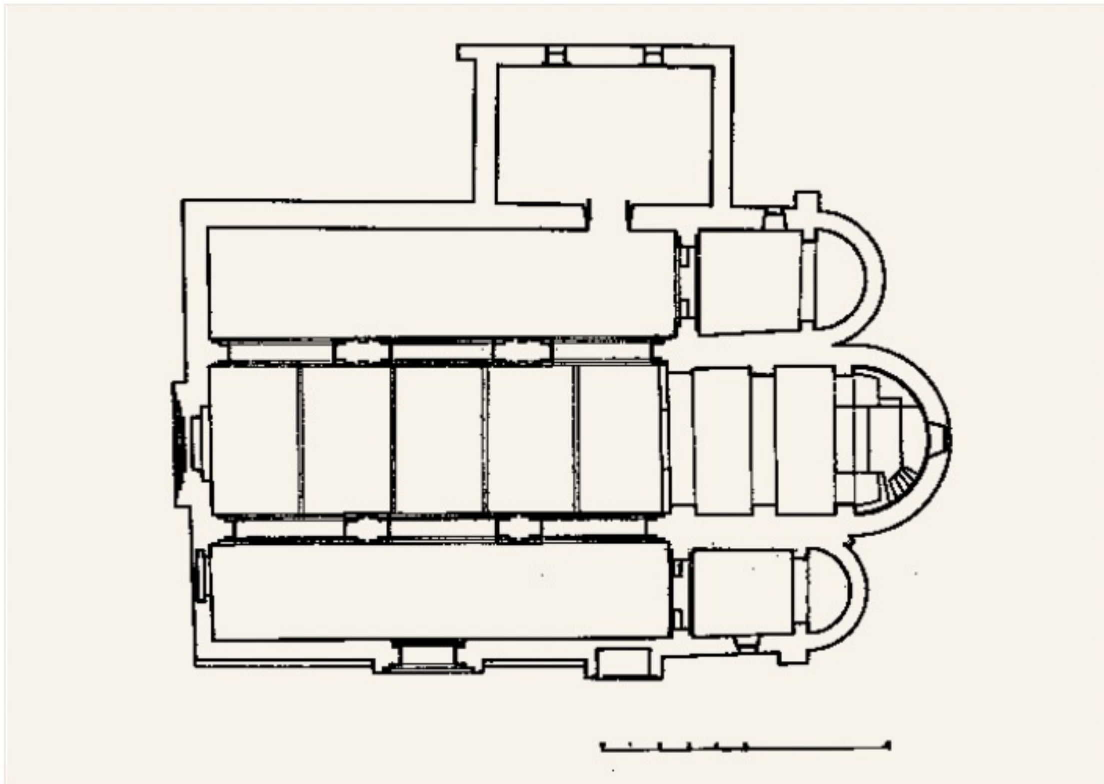
Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, south façade.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 103:

West façade, covered in post-medieval plaster and bell tower.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson



Planta

Figure 104:

Floorplan of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Source: *Ávila*: *Enciclopedia del románico en Castilla y León, Tomo VII* , 207.

Figure 105:

Interior nave facing east of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 106:

North nave arcade dividing Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza into three bays on either aisle.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 107:

South portal entrance of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 108:

Right: Horseshoe arch in the southwest wall discovered in 1992 that once led to a sacristy of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Left: Photos of the discovery on display inside Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

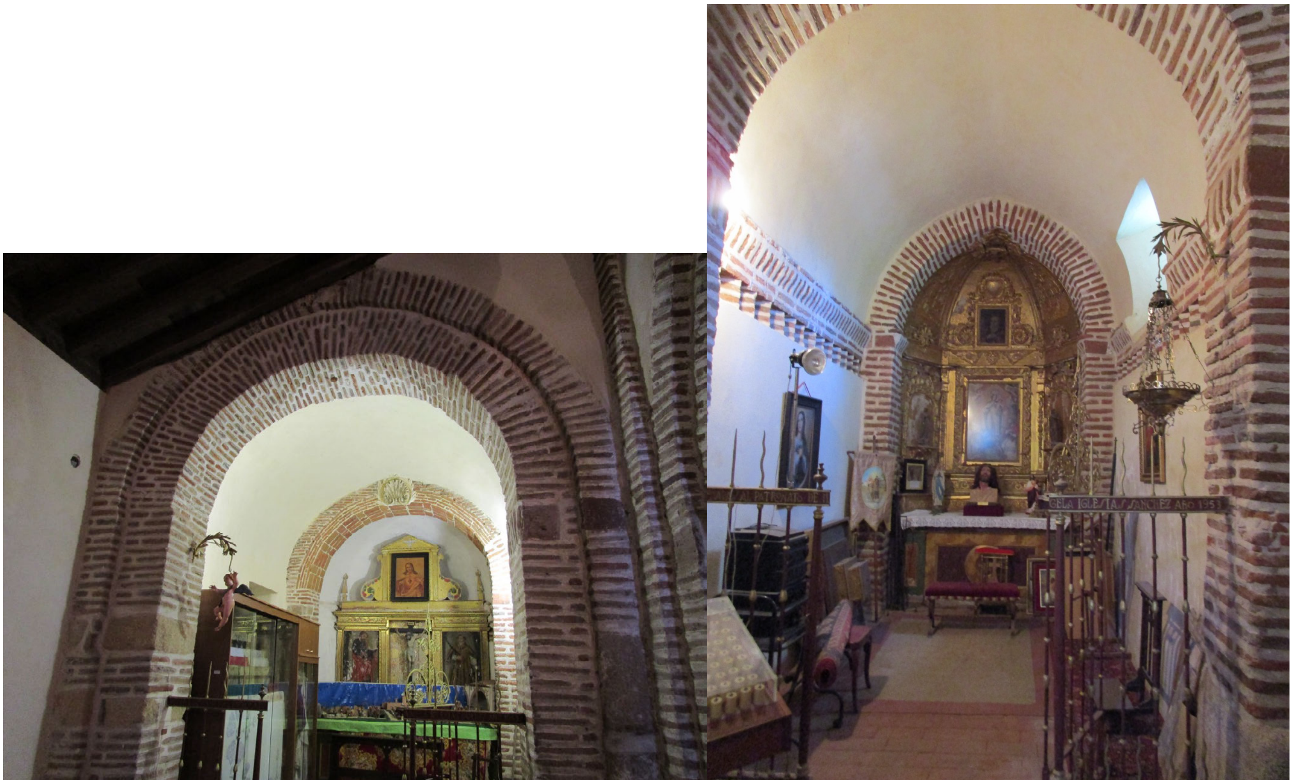


Figure 109:

Left: North interior apse of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Right: South interior apse of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 110:

Exterior apses in grey granite of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. Windowless except for a small slit in the central apse.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 111:

Exterior apses in grey granite of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 112:

Bowl-shaped brick creating a horseshoe edge in Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza. It has been demolished throughout the church except in the western most north aisle bay.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 113:

Asymmetrical brick shape, interior of La Lugareja, Arévalo.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 114:

Sculpted string course in *piedra caleña* in the central apse of

Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Top: North side   Bottom: South side

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 115:

Piedra caleña in for the exterior cornice of the apses of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza,

view from the northeast side.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 116:

Marble chrismon above the south entrance portal of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 117:

El Tránsito Synagogue, Toledo, islamic inspired interior stucco.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 118:

Cristo de la Luz in Toledo.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 119:

Brick tower above grey granite base at San Martín.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 120:

Milagros Aqueduct in Mérida, c. 4th-5th century.

Source: Wikimedia commons

Figure 121:

Brick in the Church of San Miguel de Lillo, 848, Oviedo.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 122:

Evidence of brick in construction at Madinat al-Zahra, the mid-tenth-century palatial city in Córdoba.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 123:

Alcazar of Seville.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 124:

Santa María la Mayor, Arévalo.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 125:

San Nicolás de Madrigal de las Altas Torres, Arévalo.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 126:

La Lugareja, Arévalo.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 127:

Chapel of San Mancio in the ruins of the monastery of Santos Facundo y Primitivo in Sahagún.

Source left: arteguias.com.

Source right: Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 128:

San Martín, Cuéllar.

Top: Exterior chevet.

Left: South portal.

Right: North portal

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 129:

San Miguel, Cuéllar.

North exterior wall (previous interior nave arcade).

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 130:

Santa María de la Cuesta, Cuéllar.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 131:

San Miguel, Cuéllar.

Top: North exterior wall (previous interior nave arcade).

Bottom : Detail of eastern arch.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 132:

Santiago, Cuéllar.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 133:

Santa Marina, Cuéllar.

Now only a tower survives, the church has been converted into a hotel.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 134:

El Salvador, Cuéllar.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 135:

San Esteban, Cuéllar.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 136:

Santísima Trinidad, Cuéllar.

Now converted into a private home.

Photos: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 137:

Left: Brick "*alfiz*" of north arcade of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza that abruptly ends when meeting triumphal arch to central apse.

Right: Complete brick "*alfiz*" in south arcade of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 138:

Entry arch to the southern apse of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 139:

Northern apse entry arch of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 140:

San Andrés, Cuéllar.

Left: South façade.

Right top: West façade.

Right bottom: Northeast exterior chevet.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figura 10. Restos de la fortificación de Fresno de Cantespino, realizados en mampostería encintada cajeada. Fotografía de Gonzalo López-Muñiz (2009). https://doi.org/10.3989/arq.arqt.2018.021

Figure 141:

Stone lacing brickwork ("mampostería encitada cajeada") at an Andalusi fortification in Fresno de Cantespino.

Source: Daza Pardo, "Construir con ladrillo en la periferia de al-Ándalus hacia el año 1000. La actividad fronteriza califal y la 'mampostería encintada cajeada,'" 10.

Figure 142:

Brick towers of La Moraña in the province of Ávila.

Left: San Esteban de Zapardiel.

Right: Espinosa de los Caballeros.

Source: aragonmudejar.com

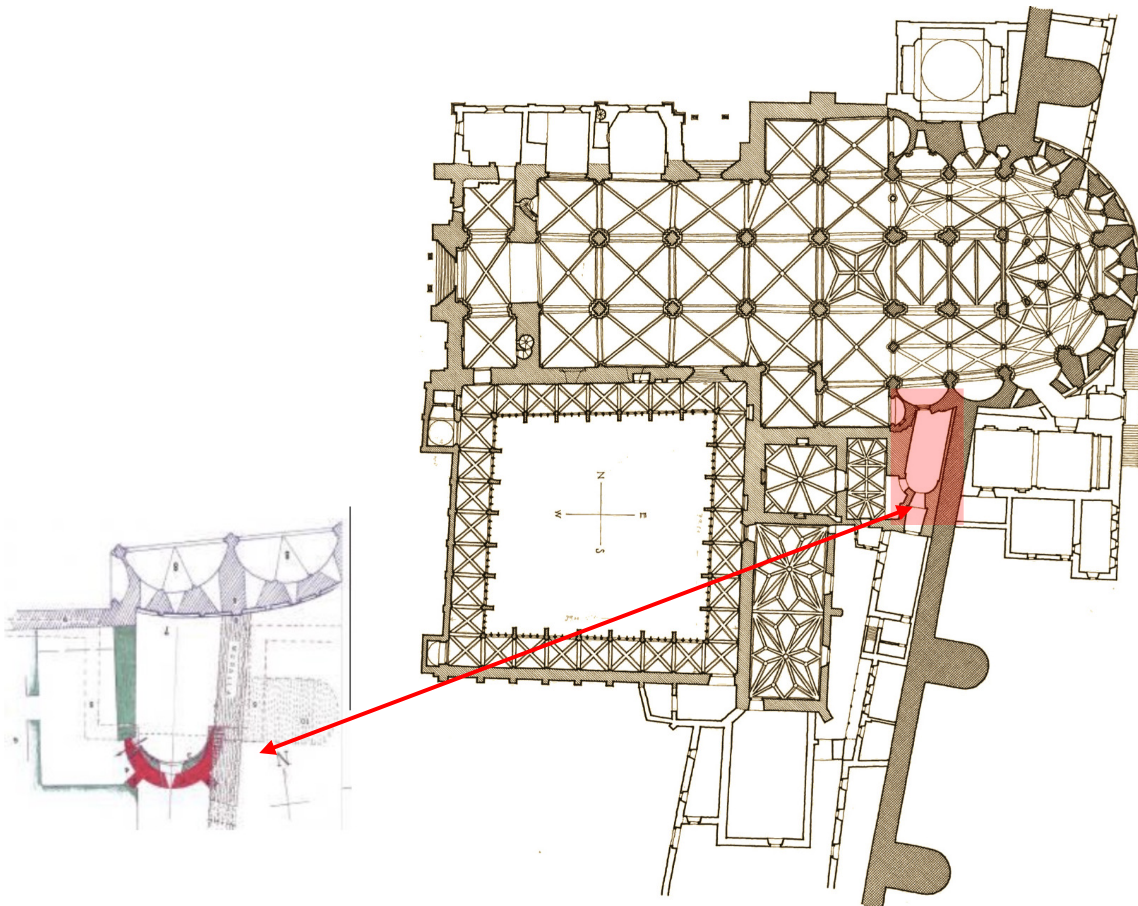


Figure 143:

The curved piece of wall that Rodríguez Almeida hypothesizes as a rounded apse of the transept of the so-called Romanesque cathedral.

Left: Benito Pradillo, "La catedral de Ávila: evolución constructiva y análisis structural," 84.

Right: Benito Pradillo, "Proceso constructivo del cimorro de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIV)," 2 (after Merino de Cáceres, 1981).

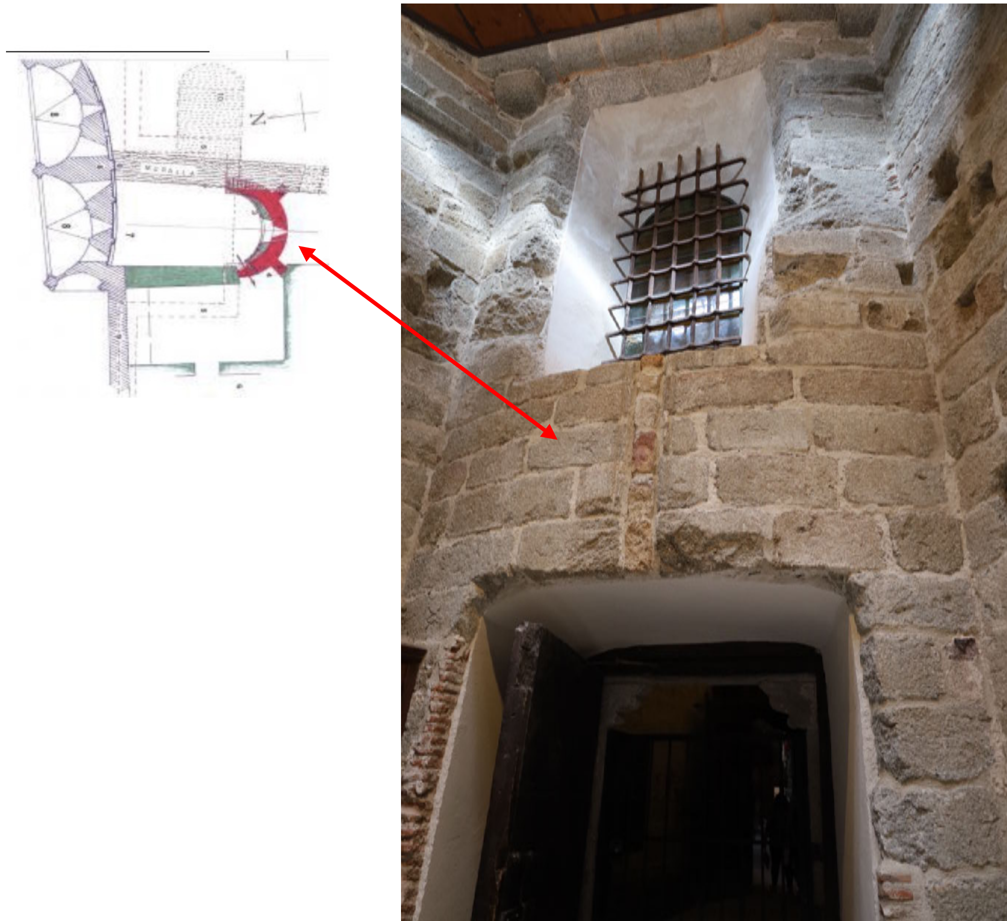


Figure 144:

The curved piece of wall in question. Arrow slit window now filled in with *piedra sangrante* in the middle. The right side buttress intersects with the interior of the city walls.

Photo right: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 145:

Window in the wall that separates the chapel of St. Ildefonso in the south transept from the sacristy on the other side. Off-center within the transept bay.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 146:

Window in question identified as Romanesque by Rodríguez Almeida from the interior side of the sacristy which is traditionally dated to the thirteenth century.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Ermita de San Pedro de Tejada. Puente Arenas (Burgos). 12th c.

Castillo de los Mur. Formigales (Huesca). 15th c.

San Martín de Tours. Frómista (Palencia). 11th c. (rebuilt in the 19th c)

Figure 147:

Staircase comparisons for Ávila's mysterious cylindrical structure.

Source left: Ramón Muñoz, 2017, https://www.flickr.com/photos/rmunoz_yeti/37497400244

Source middle: Wikimedia Commons

Source right: Wikimedia Commons

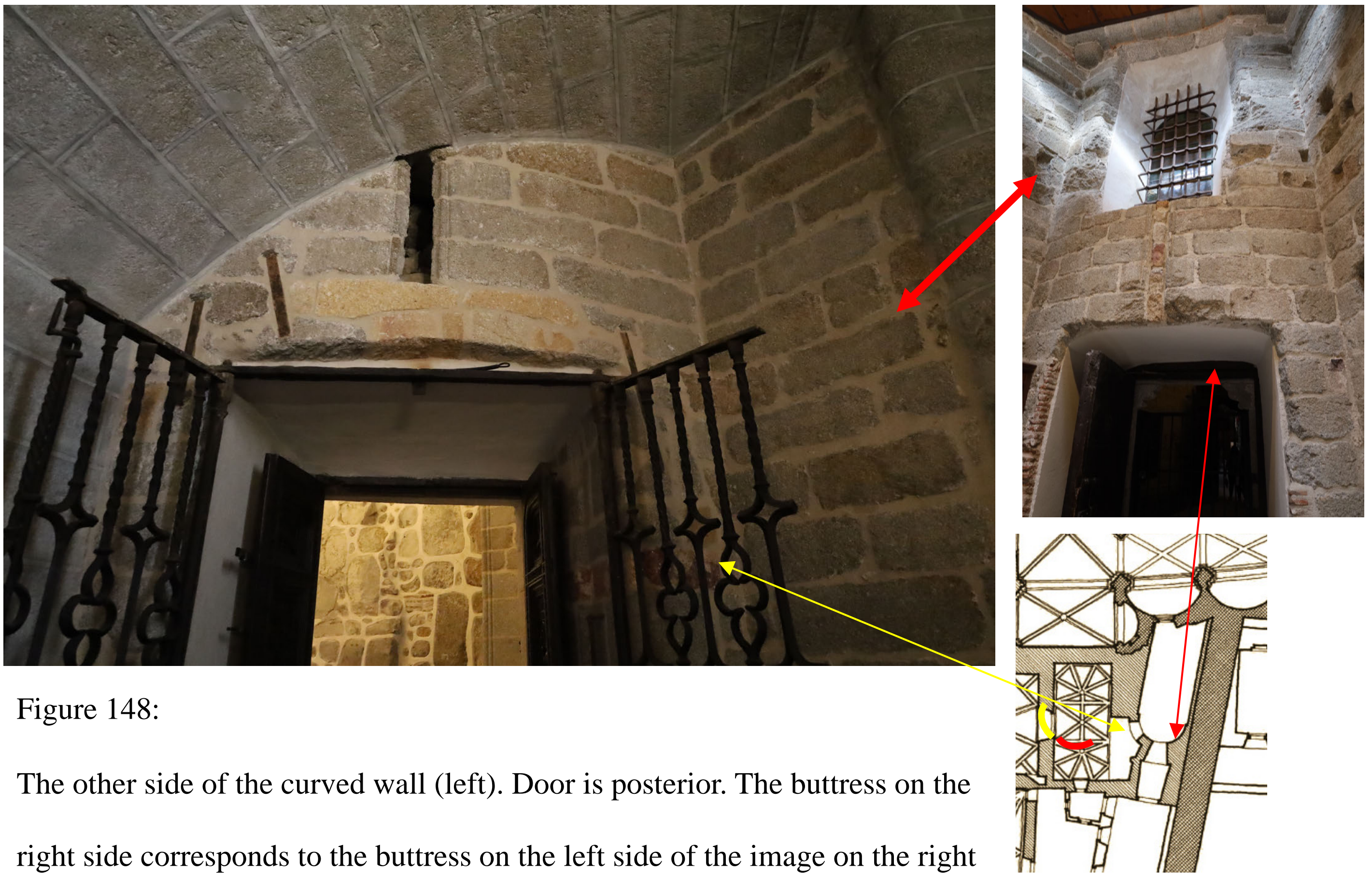


Figure 148:

The other side of the curved wall (left). Door is posterior. The buttress on the right side corresponds to the buttress on the left side of the image on the right That is, each image depicts either of the visible sides of this cylindrical structure. This picture is taken from inside the ante-sacristy, looking through into the “first sacristy.”

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 149:

The doorway leading into the “first sacristy” in the Chapel of John the Baptist (San Juan Bautista).

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

598 José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo

Foto 3.– Figura en la clave central de la bóveda sexpartita del presbiterio (Cortesía del Cabildo de la Catedral de Ávila).

Figure 150:

Angel Gabriel surrounding the key stone of the

sanctuary's sexpartite vaults discovered in 2002

Source: Gutiérrez Robledo, "La catedral gótica," 598.

Figure 151:

Santiago de Compostela’s Portico de la Gloria.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 152:

Daniel (second from left) and the other prophets in the Portico de la Gloria

Santiago de Compostela, c. 1188

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 153:

Exterior chevet.

Left: Sculpted capital now on the exterior of the chevet.

Right: Flying buttresses from the chevet.

Left source: Rodríguez Almeida, *Ensayo sobre la evolución arquitectónica de la catedral de Ávila* , fig. 7.

Right Source: https://www.terranostrum.es/turismo/el-romanico-en-avila-la-cathedral)

Figure 154:

Bifurcated windows in the clerestory level of the transept.

Top: North side.

Bottom: South side.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

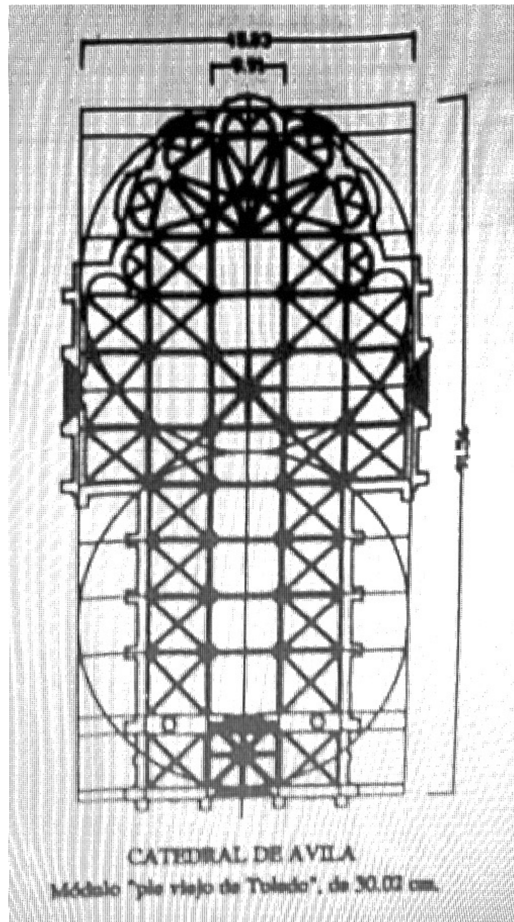


Figure 155:

Merino de Cáceres's ideal floorplan.

Source: Merino de Cáceres, "Metrología y composición en las catedrales españolas," 18.

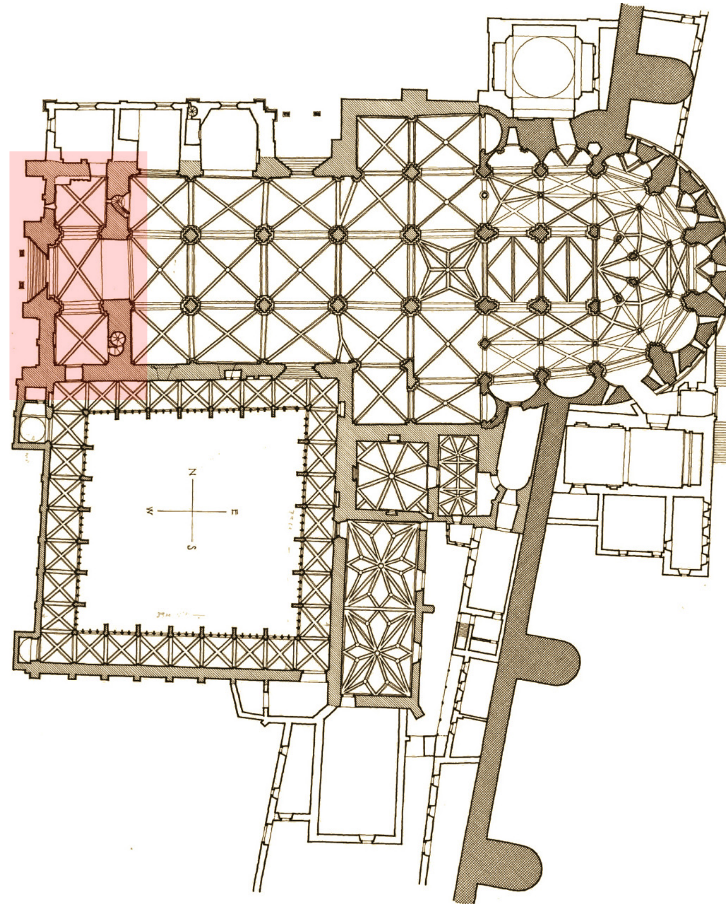


Figure 156:

The base of the west end towers (highlighted in red) of the cathedral of Ávila shows a planned narthex, more typical of Romanesque design.

Source: Benito Pradillo, “Proceso constructivo del cimorro de la Catedral de Ávila (siglos XII-XIV),” 2 (after Merino de Cáceres, 1981).

Figure 157:

Tomb, chevet, 1271.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

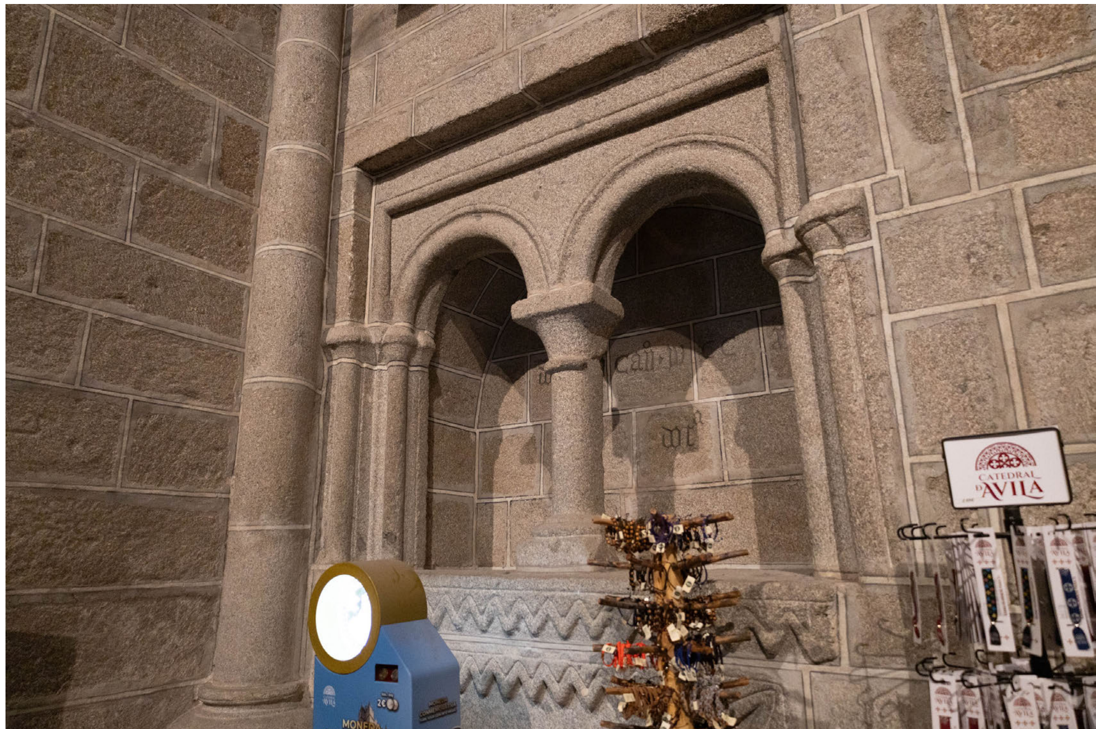


Figure 158:

Arcosolium in the south tower base, 1231.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 159:

Tomb in the north wall of the cloister, 1278.

Photo: Teresa Martínez Martínez

Figure 160:

Piedra sangrante in double ambulatory, south side looking east.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 161:

Wooden beams within the smaller second row of the double ambulatory showing structural issues.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

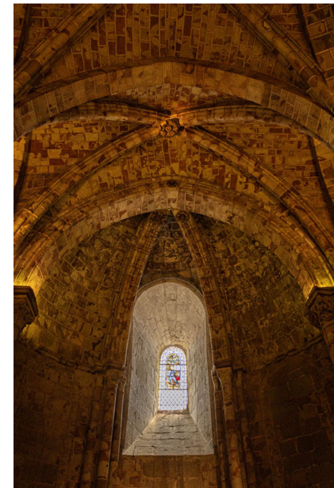
Chapel 1

Chapel 2

Chapel 3

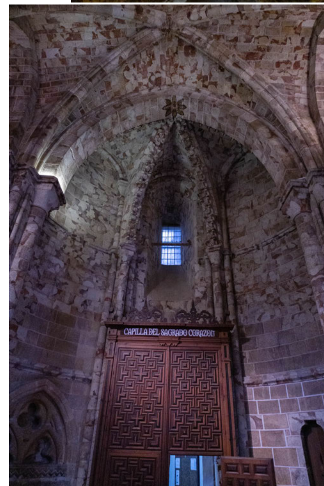
Chapel 4

Chapel 5



Chapel 6

Chapel 7



Chapel 8

Chapel 9

Figure 162:

Chevet chapel vaults (Numbered from southeast moving counterclockwise).

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 163:

Tower vaults.

Left: South tower (Photo: Tomás Vergara).

Right: North tower (Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson)

Figure 164:

Material seam between grey granite (left) in protruding transept north bay and the *piedra sangrante* entrance to the double ambulatory.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

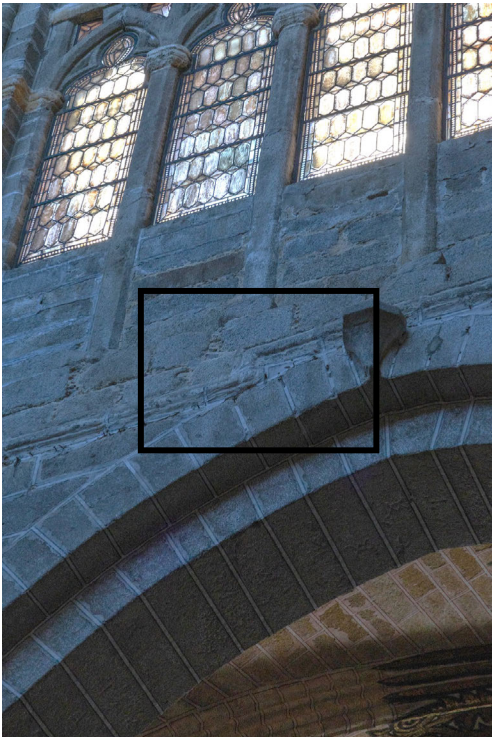


Figure 165:

The string course that runs above the nave arcade “breaks.”

Left: South nave bay east of the tower.

Right: North nave bay east of the tower.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 166:

The same “break” is found is one other bay, west of the crossing, on the south side, but not on the north.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 167:

Cathedral flyers on the north side. The thick mortar technique and decoration is similar to the upper levels of the towers.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 168:

Pinnacles on the north tower (right) is found in diminutive atop the nave's flying buttresses on both the north (left) and south sides.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 169:

The sculptural frieze at the top edge of each quadrangular flyer.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 170:

Cathedral nave, two part elevation. South arcade looking east.

Photo: Hannah Maryan Thomson

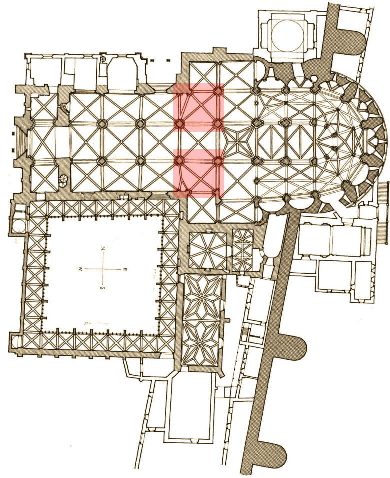


Figure 171:

Y-shaped rib vault to accommodate different widths of nave and aisle bays.

Left: North aisle.

Right: South aisle.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

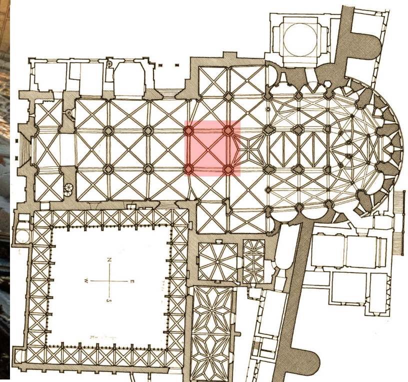


Figure 172:

Remnants of earlier window tracery above the current choir.

Top: North aisle.

Bottom: South aisle.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

Figure 173:

Portal de Apóstoles, c. 1300. Originally the west portal, now it rests on the north side of the cathedral.

Photos: Hannah Maryan Thomson

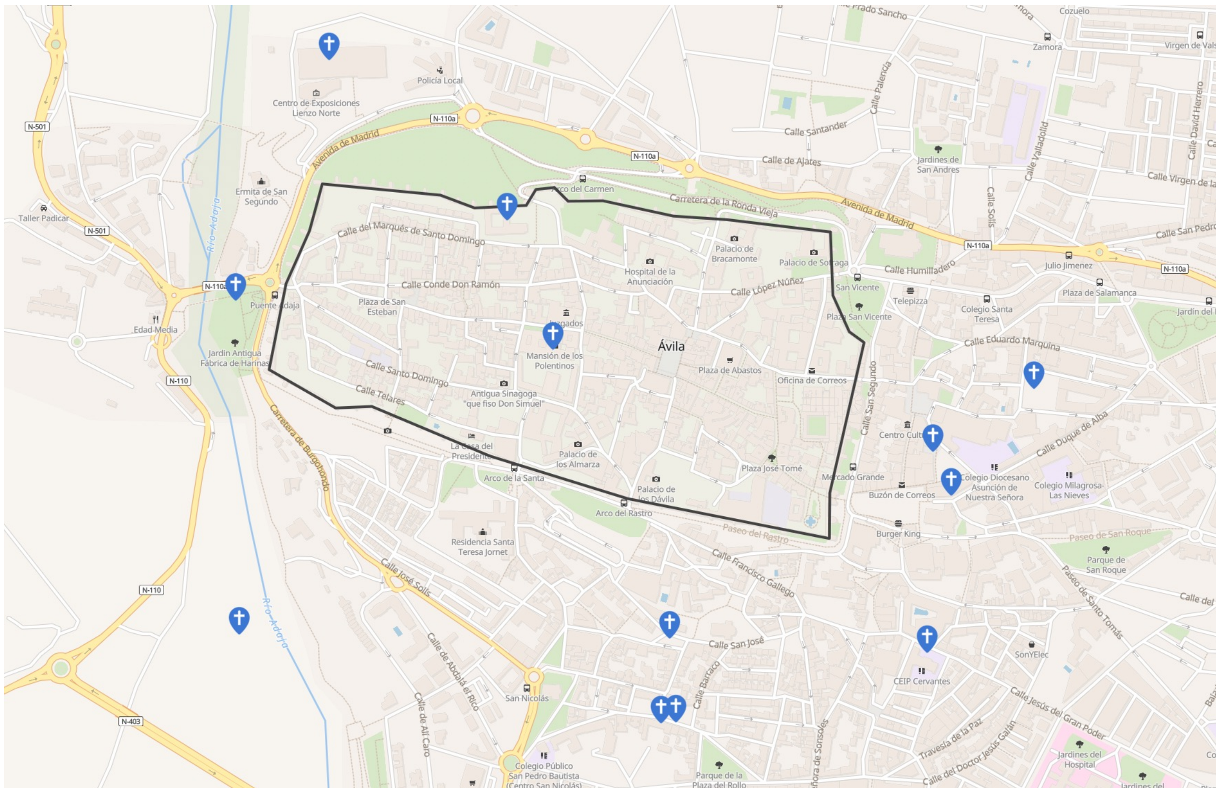


Figure 174:

Non-extant churches.

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

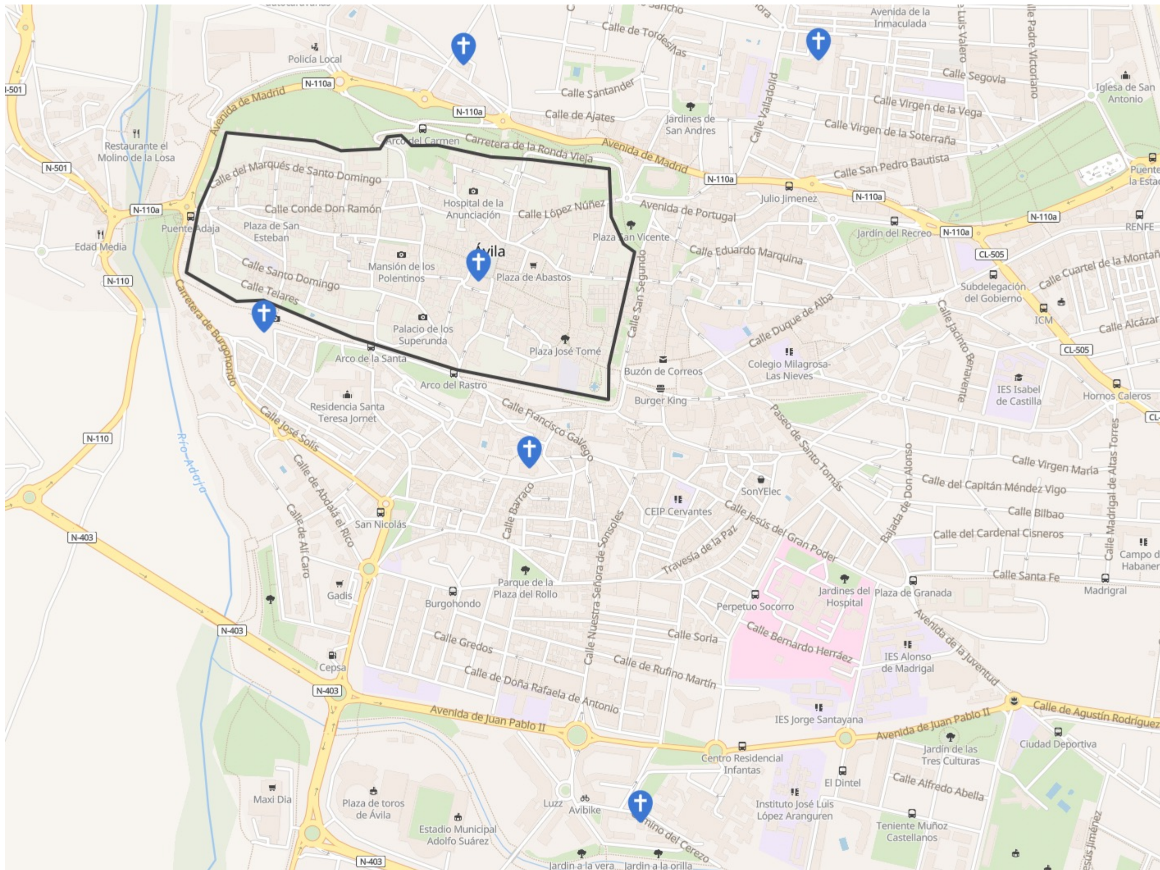


Figure 175:

Semi-extant churches.

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

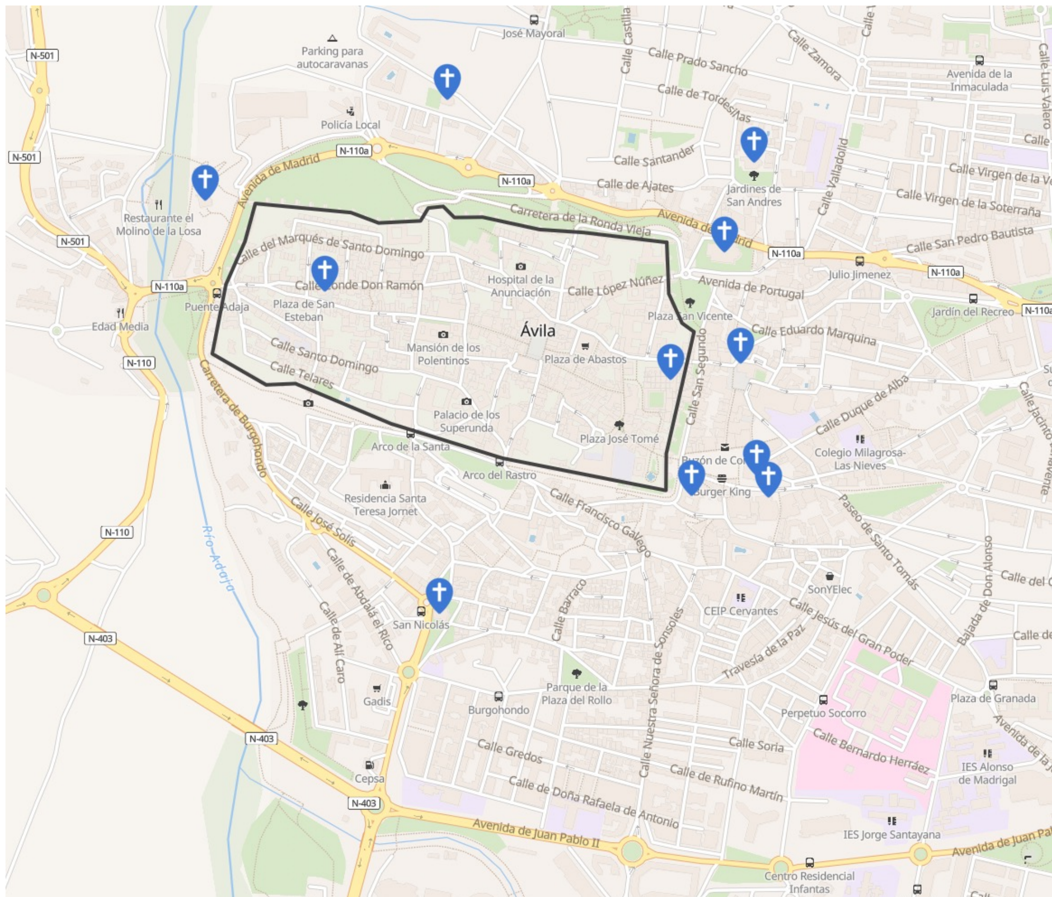


Figure 176:

Extant churches.

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

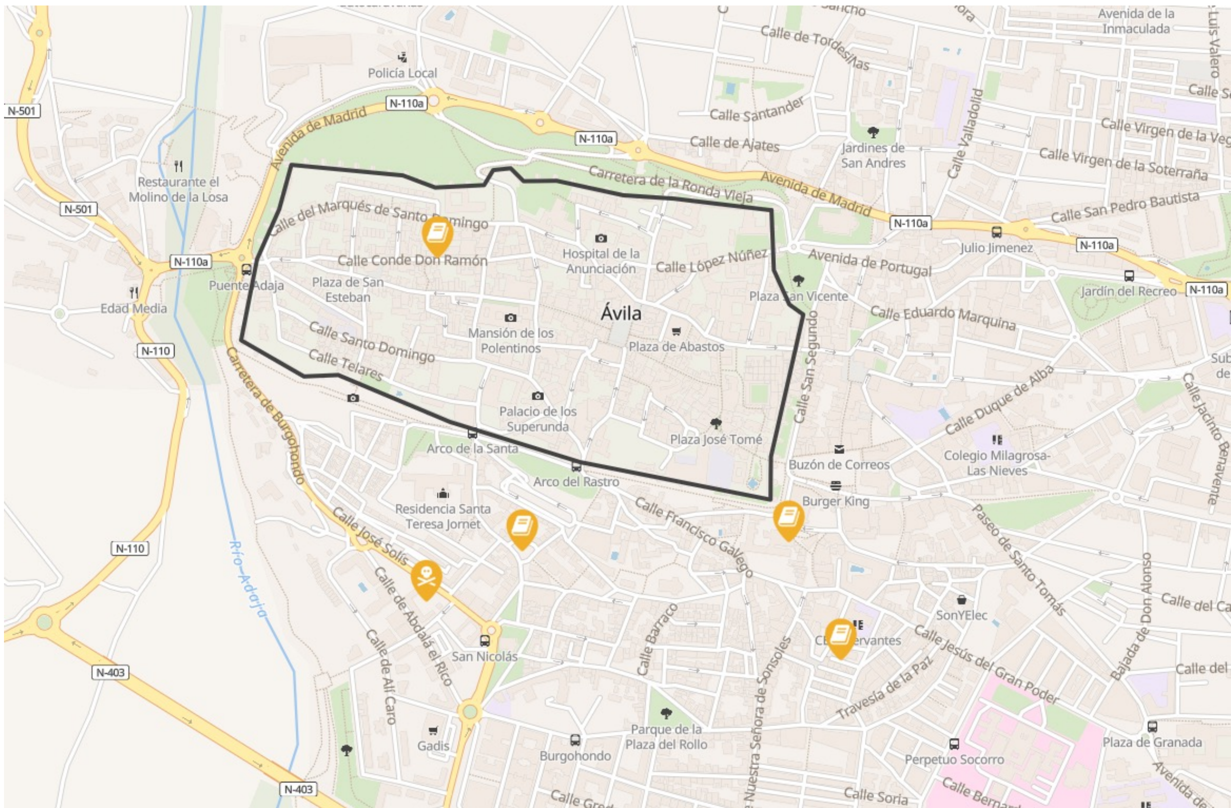


Figure 177:

Medieval Islamic Ávila.

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

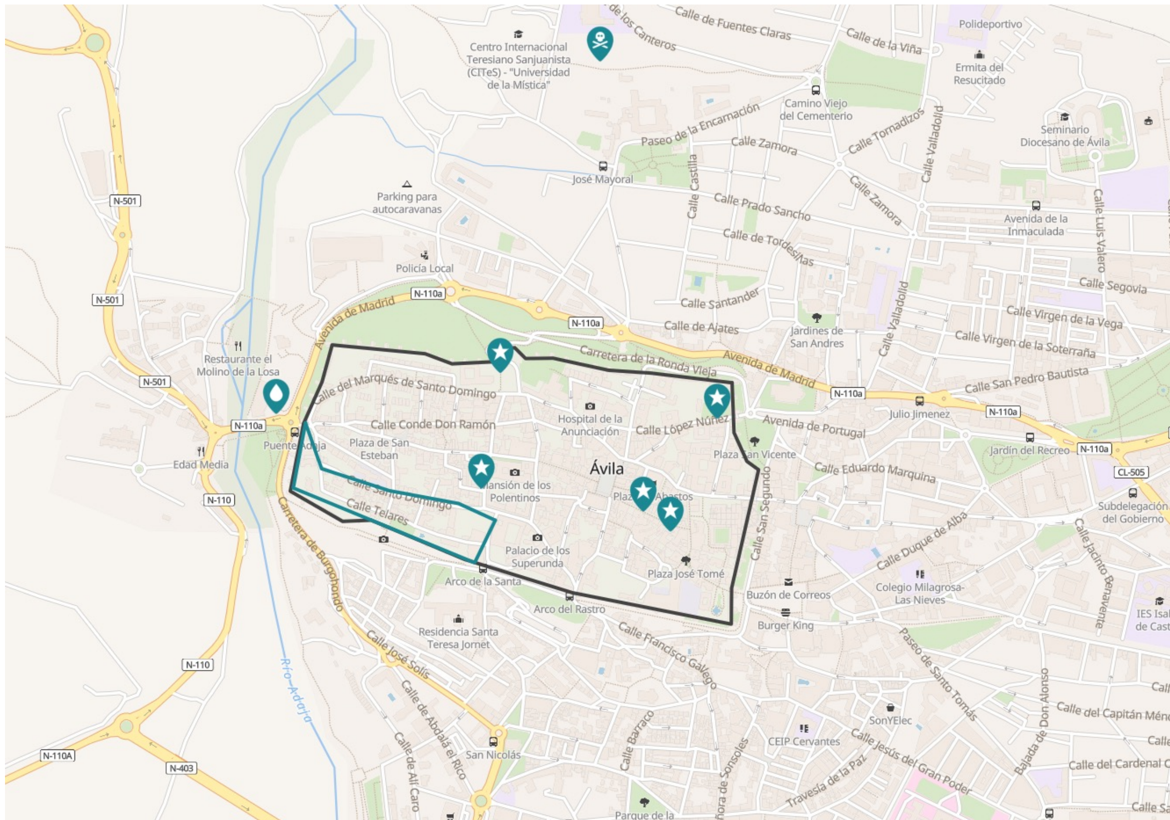


Figure 178:

Medieval Jewish Ávila.

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

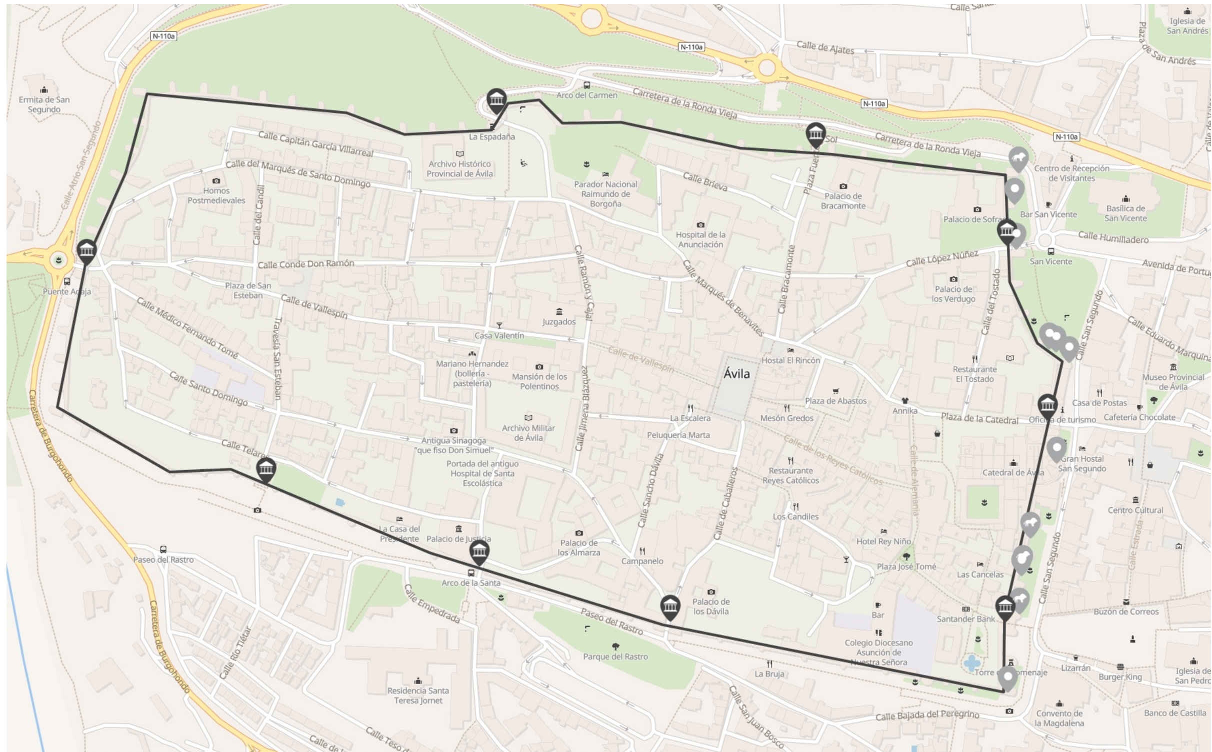


Figure 179:

Ávila’s City Walls.

(Gates and *verracos* noted)

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

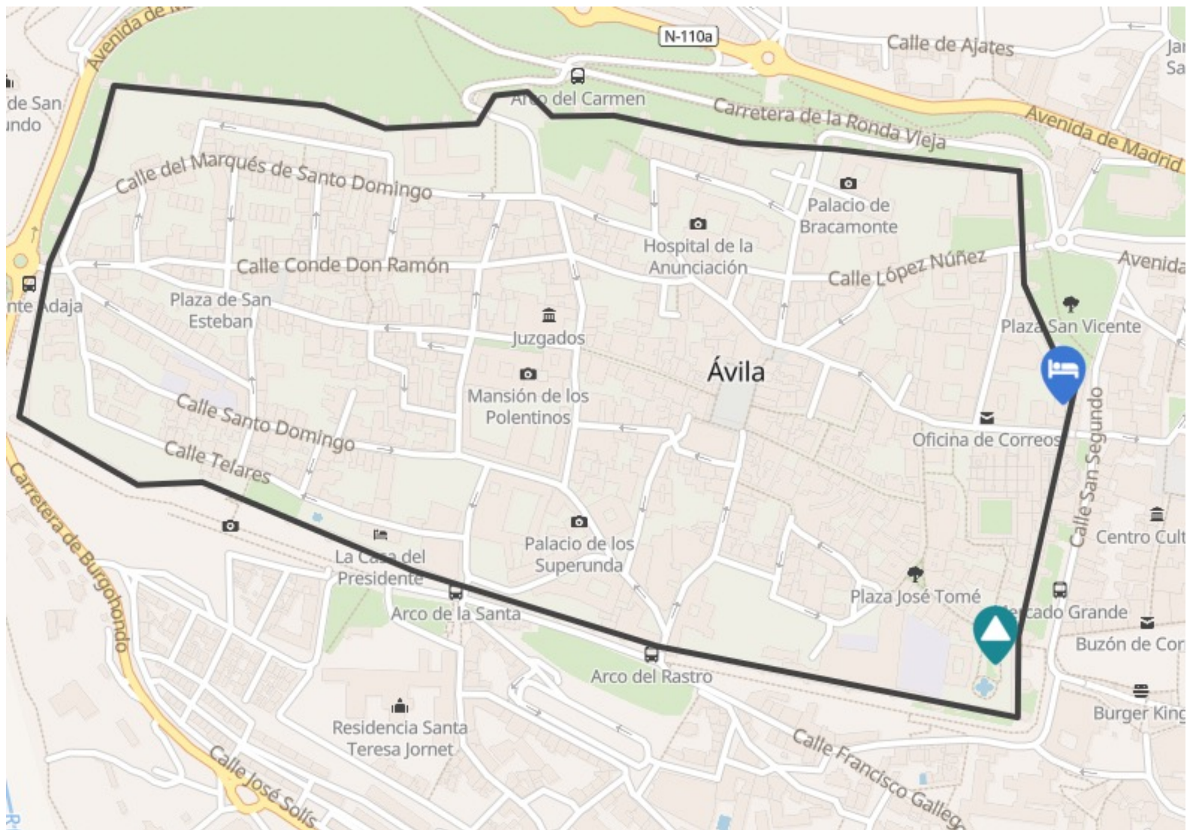


Figure 180:

Episcopio (blue) and Alcázar (green).

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

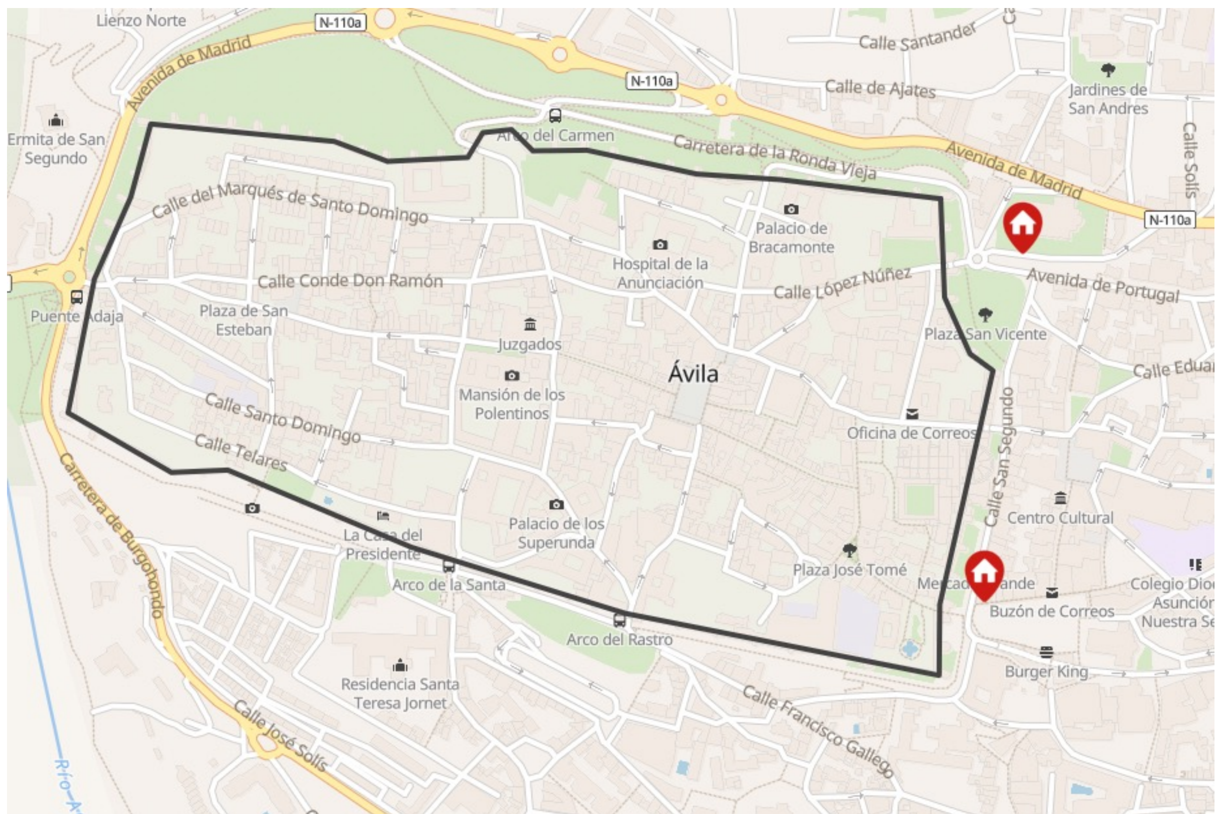


Figure 181:

Illustrated Diocesan Archival Documents.

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

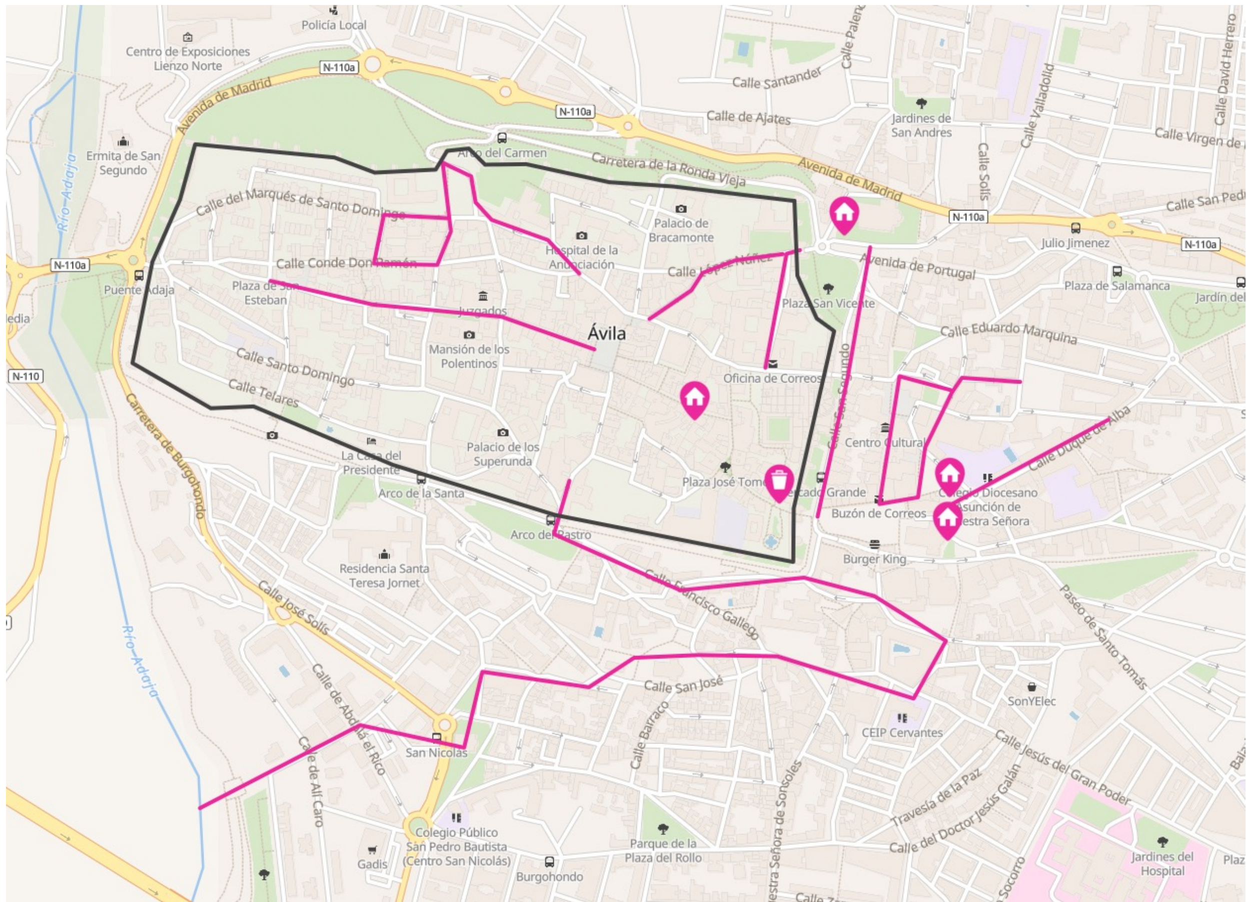


Figure 182:

Illustrated *Becerro.*

Source: https://maphub.net/Hannahmthomson/dissertation

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