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**Comparison of texts and images of
Visitatio Sepulchri in the region of
Northern Spain and Southern France in
the Middle Ages**

Master Thesis

Thesis advisor: prof. Jan Royt

Prague 2023

Declaration

1. I declare that I have written this work independently and I have used only the cited sources and literature.
2. I declare that this work has not been used for acquiring of any other degree.
3. I agree that this work would be publicly accessible for the purposes of study and research.

In Prague 13.06.2023

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Abstract

The Bible tells of an event when several women meet one or two angels by the empty Tomb of Christ. Such motive in art is called the Holy Women at the Empty Tomb or sometimes the Three Maries at the Sepulchre. The goal of this thesis is to explore the connection between the images of this motive in the Southern France and Northern Spain to the Easter dialogues and liturgical plays that tell this story. The peculiarity in this region is the gestures of the angel and sometimes of the women: they are depicted in the action of lifting the lid of the sarcophagus to look inside. To my best knowledge, such an arrangement does not occur even once outside of this region. To achieve the goal of the thesis, the artworks and the drama texts from this region were surveyed. The artwork was analyzed, focusing mostly on the gestures of the figures, while the discussion of the drama texts focused mainly on the rubrics, instructing the performers what actions and how they are to carry out. This thesis argues that the greatest variety and originality of the artworks is where the liturgical drama was not present, and that people seem to have perceived the altar covering as the lid of the sarcophagus-type Christ's Tomb.

Keywords

Quem queritis, Visitatio Sepulchri, Holy Women at the Empty Tomb, Three Maries at the Sepulchre, Resurrection iconography, liturgical drama, Easter play, Christian iconography, Medieval art

Anotace

Porovnání textů a zobrazení motivu Visitatio Sepulchri v regionu jižní Francie a severního Španělska ve středověku

Bible vypráví o události, kdy několik žen potká jednoho nebo dva anděly u prázdné hrobky Krista. Takovému motivu se v umění říká "svaté ženy u prázdného hrobu" nebo někdy také "tři Marie u hrobu". Cílem této práce je prozkoumat souvislost mezi obrazy tohoto motivu v jižní Francii a severním Španělsku a mezi velikonočními dialogy a liturgickými hrami, které tento příběh vyprávějí. Zvláštností tohoto kraje jsou gesta anděla a v některých případech i žen: jsou znázorněny při zdvihání víka sarkofágu, aby nahlédly dovnitř. Podle mě dostupných údajů, k takovému uspořádání nedochází ani jednou mimo tento region. Aby bylo dosaženo cíle diplomové práce, byla zkoumána umělecká díla a dramatické texty z této oblasti. Byla analyzována umělecká díla, se zaměřením především na gesta postav, zatímco rozbor dramatických textů se soustředil hlavně na rubriky. Tato práce nabízí zjištění, že největší rozmanitost a originalita uměleckých děl je tam, kde liturgické drama nebylo přítomno, a že lidé zřejmě vnímali oltářní *pallium* jako víko Kristovy hrobky sarkofágového typu.

Klíčová slova

Quem queritis, Visitatio Sepulchri, Svaté ženy u hrobu, Tři Marie u hrobu, ikonografie
Vzkříšení, liturgické drama, velikonoční hra, křesťanská ikonografie, středověké umění

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Introduction

The Bible tells of an event when several women met one or two angels. It follows immediately the recount of how the body of Jesus was taken down from the cross and put away before Sabbath. It is followed by the apparition of Christ to the same women in Matthew, the journey to Emmaus in Luke and the apparition to Mary Magdalene in John. In the earliest manuscripts of Mark, it is the final event of his Gospel. This scene of the women and the angels was depicted numerous times during the two thousand years. In the Middle Ages it belonged to the most ubiquitous images and was the main image to evoke the Resurrection of Christ. Additionally, in the genre of liturgical drama, short sung plays from the Divine Office, the earliest and the most popular one also tells the same story. In many cases, more or less detailed rubrics are provided, allowing to explore not only what was sung, but what and how was done. The main elements in the images as well as in the dramas are the women, the angel or angels and the empty Tomb. Usually, the Tomb is depicted already open for the benefit of the women, and the angel is pointing either inside or upwards to the heavens. In the medieval Northern Spain and Southern France, however, it looks distinctly different. The angel is hard at work opening the Tomb at this very moment. The object of this research is precisely those images.

This thesis has a goal to explore the images of the Holy Women at the empty Tomb of Christ in the Southern France and Northern Spain, by collecting them, analyzing, comparing and contrasting among themselves and with the images outside this region, then to analyze the Easter play known as the *Visitatio Sepulchri* or the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue in that region, thinking, as did Karl Young, that the rubrics are the most varied and the most interesting part of the dramas. The question is posed, what is unique to the region in comparison with the rest of the world, what characteristics are typical to it as well as what are the unique characteristics of the individual artworks, both visual and dramatic.

To achieve this goal, the artworks and the drama texts from this region are surveyed. The artwork is analyzed, focusing mostly on the gestures of the figures, and the discussion of the drama texts focuses mainly on the rubrics or the didascalies, instructing the performers what actions and how they are to carry out. It is an interdisciplinary work, drawing on literary and musicological scholarship, as well as art historical.

My interest in this theme started in the second year of my bachelor studies, while writing a seminar work and preparing a presentation on the manuscripts of the queen Elisabeth Richeza. I came across an image which captivated me, because I had never seen anything like it before. It turned out to be the image of the Holy Women at the Empty Tomb, depicting an event which millions of people consider to be the central event of history. While writing a thesis on the history of this iconography, I was fascinated by the originality of this motive in the region, which is the focus of the present thesis.

The work is divided into two main chapters. In the first one, the artworks are analyzed. The second one is devoted to the dramas.

For the purposes of this work, besides field research, heritage databases such as Románico Digital of the Santa Maria de Real foundation (romanicodigital.com), Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de Espana (ceres.mcu.es), Biblissima (portail.biblissima.fr), POP : la plateforme ouverte de patrimoine (pop.culture.gouv.fr) and iconclass (iconclass.org) were consulted.

1. Literature review

The Easter drama in Spain has been thoroughly researched by Eva Castro (1993) and Richard Donovan (1958), but without considering any correlations with the depiction of this theme in art, while Susan Rankin and Grace Frank did the same for France.

The history of this motive in art has been presented by the authors of the general books on Christian iconography, such as Anna Jameson, Emile Male, Louis Réau, Luis Monreal y Tejada, Juan Carmona Muela, Gaston Duchet-Suchaux. However, Jameson, Monreal y Tejada, Duchet-Suchaux have not concentrated on this region at all. For example, Jameson focused her research on Italy and Germany. Male and Réau have researched this motive in France but have not remarked the originality of the composition discussed in this thesis.

Only Gertrud Schiller (1986) has noticed that the depiction of this scene in Spain and Southern France is significantly different from everywhere else. Schiller thought that the composition with the angel opening the sarcophagus originated in this region, but also did not point out its exclusivity - neither was she able to demonstrate the contrary by providing any examples of such a composition outside this region. Writing a general history of the Christian iconography, she limited her discussion on this theme in this region to a couple of paragraphs.

Miguel Angel García Guinea (1975), writing on Romanic art in Palencia, a region of Spain situated between Burgos and Leon, devoted a section of his work to decorative themes in art, further divided into Biblical scenes, animal scenes and other scenes. Considering this theme, he mostly focuses on enumerating the examples where it can be found in the Palencia region.¹

Fletcher Collins Jr. (1972), a theatre historian, has claimed that the angel's gestures indicate which moment exactly is being depicted, and outlined two moments: the angel saying *Non est hic*, while pointing to the empty Tomb, or the angel saying *Resurrexit*, while pointing upwards.² However, Collins did not develop this system further to include more episodes of the dialogue, neither did he notice other possible gestures of the angel and of the Marys.

Yves Esquiueu (1993) tried to find the connections between the Easter play and the iconography of this scene in this region, however, understanding the possible connections only as realistic depictions of the (highly stylized) *mise en scenes* in art. Young's edition (1933) was used as his source, although Lipphardt's, containing much more dramas, updated localization and dating, was already available at the time of his writing. Having significantly limited his image base, he might have arrived at completely different conclusions had he considered more images. In any case, he concentrated only on the clothes, props (thuribles, spice pots) and the space (e.g. arches, lamps and curtains), but completely ignored the gestures of the protagonists.

¹ García Guinea 1975, 65-66

² Collins 1972, 58

From this discussion it follows that, to my best knowledge, neither the composition with the angel opening the Tomb in this region as a whole has ever been systematically researched, neither has the question been posed whether there is a correlation between what the protagonists are doing in the artworks and the rubrics of the Easter plays.

2. The plays

2.1. Introduction to the Quem quaeritis dialogue

This following chapter will provide a brief survey of the history of the Quem quaeritis dialogue and the Easter play of *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

The Roman rite had the capacity, within its doctrinal limits and the regulation of the rite, to provide a space to local variations and free creativity. The medieval bishops, abbots and, I believe, abbesses had the right to include new items in the liturgy - this right did not change the established scheme of the rite, approved by the Church, but enriched it. The usage of such items was optional, not mandatory and depended as on the success of the new pieces, as on the technical capabilities of singing at each institution. To this category of optional rites belonged various musical-literary pieces: in the Mass it was tropes and proses, in the Divine Office it was, among others, liturgical dramas.³

In the 11th century tropes were defined just as "inserted chants" ("*inserta cantica*") by Adémar de Chabannes. In the context of the history of music, nowadays a trope is defined as "any textual or melodic figure that is added to an existing chant without altering the textual or melodic structure of the said chant".⁴ Earliest extant isolated examples of tropes come from the 9th century, as does a Synod of Meaux canon, forbidding to perform sequences and tropes. In spite of this initial disfavor, tropes were widely diffused in the medieval Europe, especially in the 10th and 11th centuries. It was a feature typical to the Roman rite, and tropes were connected to specific chants. Ca. 100 manuscripts with ca. 7000 examples of tropes are extant.⁵

It is probably necessary to mention that both "liturgical" and "drama" parts of the term "liturgical drama" have been criticized and substitutions suggested.⁶ The scope of this work does not allow to engage with these discussions. May it suffice to say that the arguments against using this term fail to convince and the suggested substitutions (such as "Latin sung reenactments"⁷) seem clumsy. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* play is liturgical when it is part of either the Divine Office (usually Easter Matins) or the Introit of the Easter Mass. It is drama when it has impersonation and dialogue. Rankin reminds us that the "play" and the "ceremony" are just two aspects of these creations and that the opposition between them is quite artificial.⁸

Visitatio Sepulchri, extant since the 10th century,⁹ from the Matins of the Easter Sunday, was both the first liturgical drama and the most popular in the whole Europe.¹⁰ It told us about one of the main events in the story of the Redemption: the Resurrection of Christ, declared by an angel to the holy women who had come to anoint the body of Jesus.¹¹

A text is called *Visitatio Sepulchri* when it has the dialogue *Quem quaeritis* together with rubrics, instructing how this play is to be performed. The earliest extant *Quem quaeritis* dialogue is from St. Martial monastery at Limoges, France. In this text, neither

³ Castro 1997, 12.

⁴ Haug 2018, 263

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ E.g. by Michael Norton (Norton 2017)

⁷ Batoff 2013, 6

⁸ Rankin 1990, 311

⁹ Rankin 1990, 310

¹⁰ Castro 1997, 15

¹¹ Castro 1997, 41

the women nor the angels have names, although in the Gospels the women are named, albeit slightly differently in each one; the angel or angels are also nameless in the Gospels. In the dialogue, the characters refer to each other as "christicole" and "celicolae" - followers of Christ and heavenly beings.¹² The heavenly beings pose a question "Quem queritis", which is answered by "Ihesum nazarenum". Even without being told explicitly, the reader understands that the scene takes place by the Christ's Tomb.¹³ The listener might have had some visual aids to help him - it is plausible that they are not written down because the performer knew what to do with the text. When the angels are sure of the women's goal, they tell about the Resurrection of Jesus and ask them to spread the news. The dialogue is finished with the joyful "Alleluia resurrexit Dominus" and "Deo gratias". Musically the dialogue is written in the second mode (D plagal)¹⁴ and has two climaxes, which both coincide with the climaxes in the text: "Non est hic surrexit" and "Alleluia resurrexit Dominus".¹⁵ Rankin thinks that the purpose of this dialogue was to celebrate in the present, rather than instruct about the past.¹⁶

The tradition since Karl Young thinks that this dialogue came before the Resurrexi, the Introit antiphon for the Mass of the Easter morning; Castro thinks that it came in the middle of the Resurrexi, because on the same page the Posuisti is visible, the second line of this antiphon. A dialogue differs from a drama in that the latter exhibits efforts of dramatizing the text: there are characters, costumes and/or stage directions. We cannot automatically assume that the dialogue from St. Martial was not dramatized; but the text alone does not give us any proof that it was. Our knowledge of the date and location of the creation of both this dialogue and this drama remains, as Castro reminds us, still on the level of hypotheses, not certainties.¹⁷ We might just mention in passing that Helmut de Boor thought it originated in the North of Italy, while Johann Drumbl thought it must be in the area around/close to Fleury,¹⁸ Karl Young had a theory that it must have been created at St. Gall, and David Bjork thinks that it was either in the Northern France or the Rhineland,¹⁹ to name just a few theories out of many. Drumbl also thought that Quem quaeritis was created as a monastic ceremony before the Mass of Easter, which would mean that it was played/performed before it was written down²⁰, and therefore its earliest transmission would have been oral. Melanie Batoff, for example, thinks that it was most likely created before the tripartite division of the Kingdom of Franks in the year 843, because after that the dissemination of the tropes and chants would have become more difficult.²¹ Daniel Rico Camps attributes the creation of Quem quaeritis, text and music, to Odón de Fleury.²² It is therefore possible to see that this question still does not have a satisfactory answer. However, this theme, although extremely interesting, is out of the scope of the present discussion.

The same dialogue Quem quaeritis, used as the nuclear of the drama at the Easter Matins, seems to also have been used as a trope of the Mass of the same day. Rankin thinks that at St. Gallen, uniquely, the dialogue might have been used in a procession

¹² Jungmann thinks that "christicole" was a reference to Prudentius. Jungmann 1978, 301

¹³ Rankin 1990, 312

¹⁴ On modes, see Hiley 2005, 454-477 or Hiley 2011, 168-170

¹⁵ Rankin 1990, 312

¹⁶ Rankin 1990, 313

¹⁷ Castro 1997, 13

¹⁸ Castro 1997, 38

¹⁹ Bjork 1980, 59

²⁰ Castro 1997, 38

²¹ Batoff 2013, 43

²² Rico Camps 2001, 182

before Mass,²³ while Batoff thinks that it might have had been used in a procession, but unclear when, in several more monasteries close to St. Gall.²⁴ Castro thinks that we will probably never know for sure whether the drama or the trope was created first.²⁵ In this, and I think she is right, she confronts the established tradition, existing at least since Young, which stated with certainty that the Quem quaeritis dialogue must have surely started as a trope, and was dramatized only later. If my reading is accurate, Rankin seems unsure whether this dialogue was really a trope. It was often written down together with other tropes, but tropes were usually very local, and no trope had such wide geographical dissemination as the Quem quaeritis dialogue.²⁶

The three places where the oldest extant Quem quaeritis come from are all Benedictine monasteries: St. Martial at Limoges (troper, ca. 933-936),²⁷ St. Gall (two tropers, both ca. 965) and Winchester (Regularis Concordia, written by Saint Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, for the monasteries in the South of England, ca. 965-975).²⁸ We also know that in the 10th century Quem quaeritis as a trope comes from three areas: South of France, North of Italy and around St. Gall. On the other hand, Quem quaeritis as a drama in that century is found in the sources from around Mainz (in Echternacht, Prüm and Trier) or the South of England.²⁹ From the 11th century, in both these forms, it becomes present not only at the monasteries, but also in the cathedrals.³⁰ This trend at the cathedrals really started already in the very end of the 10th century - Quem quaeritis as a drama is present at two tropers from the Winchester cathedral, from 978 and ca. 1000,³¹ therefore barely several years later when it was written down in the Regularis Concordia. Comparing the dates of these tropes with that of the Regularis Concordia, it is evident that in South England the move to cathedrals was very fast, if not immediate.

In the 11th century it still disseminates along the same geographical logic: as a trope in the South, as a drama in the North, but there are exceptions, such as a drama at Silos, Spain (Benedictine monastery), while at the same time at Vic, Catalonia a trope is found, as one might expect. In the 12th century the tropes almost disappear and almost all the cases of Quem quaeritis are as a drama, and also - this drama is suddenly everywhere, around all the Latin Christendom. According to Castro, it is especially abundant in the regions around Metz, Mainz and St. Gall.³² In total, approx. 400 of Visitatio Sepulchri dramas spanning from the 10th to the 17th century were known in the end of the 20th century, when Eva Castro was writing.³³ Naturally, the variations are numerous. The elements are added: both existing liturgical texts, such as antiphones and/or responsories, and newly created texts. New characters and scenes are added: e.g. race of Peter and John

²³ Rankin 1990, 314

²⁴ Batoff 2013, 74

²⁵ Castro 1997, 15

²⁶ Rankin 1990, 311

²⁷ Rankin thinks that reasonable precision for dating this troper is the first half of the 10th century. Rankin 1990, 311-312

²⁸ Castro 1997, 16. Troper from Limoges: Pa 1240; tropers from St. Gall: MS 381 and 484, monastery library. Regularis Concordia is extant only in two 11th century copies, at British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.III and MS Cotton Faustina B.III.

²⁹ Castro 1997, 16

³⁰ Castro 1997, 17

³¹ Castro 1997, 16. The tropers are MS 775, Bodleian Library Oxford and MS 473, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

³² Castro 1997, 18

³³ Castro 1997, 41

to the Tomb, buying the spices and the Apparition of Jesus to Mary Magdalen,³⁴ which was originally a scene from the *Peregrinus* liturgical play for the Vespers of Easter Monday, telling about the Apparition of the Risen Christ on the road to Emmaus.³⁵ Such addition of a scene from a different play posed dramatical problems with the logic of the flow of action and different writers tried to solve them in varied ways.

It is now an established tradition to classify the *Visitatio Sepulchri* plays according to the number of scenes and characters: it is called *Visitatio II* (of the second type) if it includes the race of Peter and John to the Tomb,³⁶ and *Visitatio III* (of the third type) if it includes the Apparition of the Risen Christ to Mary Magdalen, which is also known as the *Hortulanus* (Gardener) scene.³⁷ In the visual art this same scene is called *Noli me tangere*. The play is classified as *Visitatio I* if it has neither of these additional scenes, only the core *Quem quaeritis* dialogue.³⁸ According to Castro, the *Visitatio II* first appears in the end of the 11th century/start of the 12th in Regensburg, while Batoff thinks it might likely come from anywhere in the Salzburg diocese.³⁹ The Fleury drama then has another additional scene of the Apparition of the Risen Christ to the women (based on Mt 28:9),⁴⁰ which is very rarely dramatized.

The 12th century also sees the abundance of scholarly (or maybe better termed school) dramas, of a non-liturgical character.⁴¹ Castro sees as such the work of Hilarius about Daniel and St. Nicholas, *Ludus Danielis* from Beauvais, *Sponsus* from St. Martial, pieces about St. Nicholas from Hildesheim and Ensiedeln and the plays from Fleury and the *Carmina Burana*. On the other hand, in the field of the liturgical drama, according to her, precisely in this century the *Peregrinus* and the Christmas cycle plays, such as *Officium pastores* and *Officium Stellae* are added. For Castro, the liturgical dramas created after the 12th century become less sophisticated and more clichéd.⁴² On the other hand, at least regarding the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, she thinks that all the most important and interesting plays in all aspects: literary, musically, scenically, are written in the 12th and 13th centuries.⁴³ However, at the same place and the same time two very different *Visitatio*s could be used.

Another category that is applied to the Easter play is *Ludus paschalis*. The only criteria for a drama to fall in this category is its length and complexity, including additional scenes with the dialogue of Pilate, his wife, soldiers, the high priests, buying the spices, various apparitions of Christ, etc.⁴⁴ There are differing opinions as to which dramas fulfil the criteria for *ludus*: Meyer thought that all *Visitatio III* should be considered *ludus*, Karl Young and Eva Castro both think that only four known dramas fulfil such criteria: liturgical dramas from a women's cloister at Origny-Sainte-Benoite, a monastery at Klosterneuburg and a cathedral at Tours, and a scholarly drama from the *Carmina Burana* collection. Walter Liphart thought that twelve dramas could be considered such.⁴⁵

³⁴ Castro 1997, 41

³⁵ Castro 1997, 42

³⁶ described in Luke 24:12 and John 20:1-10.

³⁷ told in Matthew 28:9-10, Mark 16:9 and John 20:11-18.

³⁸ The limits of such a system have been pointed out by Michael Norton in Norton 1987a and 1987b.

³⁹ Batoff 2013, 184

⁴⁰ Castro 1997, 43

⁴¹ Religious drama can therefore be divided into two kinds: liturgical and scholarly dramas. Castro 1997, 30.

⁴² Castro 1997, 19

⁴³ Castro 1997, 42

⁴⁴ Castro 1997, 44

⁴⁵ Castro 1997, 43

According to Castro, *ludus* is the turning point, after which, on one hand, the liturgical drama becomes more minimalist and with a sharper focus on devotion, and on the other hand, theatre outside the liturgical ceremony gains firm ground.⁴⁶

Having provided a very brief introduction to the history of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue and the *Visitatio Sepulchri* Easter play, together with the established, even if challenged scholarly tradition of the classification of its examples, the history of this dialogue in the region of our focus will be discussed next. The following chapter will be devoted to that purpose.

2.2. The drama in Spain and France

This chapter will examine the history of the liturgical dramatic ceremonies in the Northern Spain and Southern France. The earliest extant text of the *Quem queritis* dialogue being from Limoges, Southern France,⁴⁷ the history of this dialogue and of the Easter play in this region largely coincides with their general history, and was partly covered in the chapter, dealing with the introduction to the *Quem queritis* dialogue. Hence, in this chapter more attention will be given to Spain.

Ann Freeman writes in a review of Fr. Richard Donovan's book "*Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain*" that "from now on anyone undertaking to treat liturgical drama in its European context will be obliged to deal at length with its notable manifestations in northeastern Spain".⁴⁸ Frequently the Spanish examples being "more complete and better documented", it is a happy obligation.

Turning our attention therefore to the Iberian Peninsula, we need to remember that the liturgical drama existed only in the Roman (or Franco-roman) Rite, not in the Visigothic or any other.⁴⁹ Catalonia, after its reconquering from the Arabs, agreed to accept the Roman Rite in the 10th century⁵⁰. Galicia, where Santiago de Compostela is, accepted the Roman Rite in the 6th century, but after the Arab conquest was isolated, so could not appropriate the new items, such as dramas and tropes. The Aragon, Leon, Huesca changed to the Roman Rite only in the 11th century, when it was reformed by Cluny, which was opposed to the optional items in the liturgy.

As Castro explains, one of the ways to classify the *Quem queritis* dialogues are by their number of phrases: five phrases are typical to the Aquitaine version, among others, while three are typical to the version found in St. Gall and North of Italy.⁵¹ The five-phrase type has numerous versions, because there is a variety of the phrases added to the "nucleus" of the text: Whom are you searching for? Jesus of Nazareth. He is not here, he is risen. Among these versions, for the Spanish and Aquitaine area were typical/usual the phrases "*Alleluya. Ad sepulchrum residens angelus*" and "*Ecce completum est*", found both in the trope and in the *Visitatio* play.⁵²

In Spain, we find examples of *Quem quaeritis* from the 11th to the 16th century. It was used both as a drama from the Easter Matins, and as a trope for the Introit of the Mass, these both uses could happen in the same community, as it was in Vic and in Seo de

⁴⁶ Castro 1997, 45

⁴⁷ For the purposes of this work, Southern France is understood as Occitanie and Nouvelle-Aquitaine.

⁴⁸ Freeman 1961, 122

⁴⁹ Castro 1997, 13

⁵⁰ Donovan 1958, 17

⁵¹ Castro 1997, 36

⁵² Castro 1997, 37

Urgel.⁵³ Considering the direction of influences, the Aquitaine version is found in tropes at Seo de Urgel (12th, 15th and 16th c.) Huesca (12th c.), Sant Joan de les Abadesses (15th c.) and Zaragoza (15th c.).⁵⁴ According to Castro, it can be established that the system of transmission was written. That can be clearly seen in e.g. in the case of a troper from Huesca cathedral, because the content of the codex and the type of writing indicate a French scribe and French originals - furthermore, originals coming from a monastery.⁵⁵ Meanwhile the cathedral of Vic presents a completely different case, because it demonstrates not Aquitaine, but Italian influences. It is not clear whether the transmission was oral or written.⁵⁶

All the *Visitatio Sepulchri* dramas from Spain belong to the *Visitatio I* type, i.e. they do not have either the race of St. Peter and John, nor the Hortulanus scene of St. Mary Magdalene meeting the Risen Christ. One of these *Visitatio I*, from the cathedral of Vic,⁵⁷ might be considered as a *ludus*, because of the long scene of buying the spices (earliest extant appearance of such a scene!) and walking to the Tomb and because it is followed by another play of Emmaus and Hortulanus, which might be considered as part of the *Visitatio* play, although the rubrics are clear enough on it being two different plays.⁵⁸ Peter Dronke, who edited the Vic play in 1994, seems unable to make up his mind whether it is two plays or one (because he prints the title of "*Versus de Pelegrino*" in his edition in a way sufficiently clear that it is a title of a play),⁵⁹ although in his discussion is leaning in the direction of one.⁶⁰

In Girona the *Visitatio* texts are extant from the cathedral and from the church of St. Felix. They demonstrate influences from Vic, direct Italian influences and use the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*. Text of this sequence started to be used in the *visitatio Sepulchri* plays in the 13th century, was especially popular in the 14th and the 15th, and continued up until the 17th. Girona is also special because there is written testimony that the *Visitatio* was still performed there as late as the beginning of the 16th century.⁶¹

There is a text of *Visitatio* from Urgel, which for the first time includes a rare chant *Adam nouus*. Castro says it is about the Harrowing of Hell,⁶² however it is mostly another narrative about the Marys' visit to the Tomb.⁶³ The manuscripts from Silos demonstrates a synthesis of a Visigoth script and Franco-roman content. There are two *Visitatio*s extant, and they themselves are written in the margins in a carolingian script and Aquitane musical notation. Castro thinks it possible that the scribe a Silos had direct experience of these ceremonies and was writing from memory, therefore that Silos is possibly an interesting case of oral transmission. The *Visitatio*s from Silos are typically North Italian:

⁵³ Castro 1997, 39

⁵⁴ Castro 1997, 39-40

⁵⁵ Castro 1997, 40

⁵⁶ Castro 1997, 40-41

⁵⁷ Sign. Vic 105. Although beautiful, for us it is of limited interest because it includes no rubrics, save the indications of which character is to say the lines: "dixit" and "respondet". Otherwise, it is interesting that the Marys agree to spend an enormous amount of money on something that turns out to be completely unnecessary. On the other hand, this demonstrate their generosity, should it turn out that it is needed.

⁵⁸ Castro 1997, 45

⁵⁹ Dronke 1997, 100-101

⁶⁰ Dronke 1997, 84

⁶¹ Castro 1997, 48

⁶² Castro 1997, 48

⁶³ [...] *Sed Maria Iacobi cum Magdalena / et Maria Salome ferunt unguenta. / Quibus dixit angelus in ueste alba / "Resurrexit Dominus morte calcata."* [...]. Castro 1997, 152

they have three phrases and typical Italian textual peculiarities. the scribe, therefore, was very probably coming from North Italy.⁶⁴

There are three *Visitatio*s from Santiago de Compostella: one from the 12th century and two from the 15th. The one from the 12th century is a fragment and demonstrates influences both from Vich and Aquitaine. As we know, we do not find Aquitanian influences at Vich.⁶⁵ The manuscripts from the 15th century repeat the earlier text, except adding the rubrics, but they are not as descriptive as that of the *Regularis Concordia*.

To resume, we see that the extant sources are mainly from Vic, Girona, Urgel, Santiago de Compostella and Silos. We see that a high concentration of these plays is in Catalonia, but that except Santiago de Compostella itself, the Camino de Santiago seems to lack them.⁶⁶ This data that Castro provides us is in accord with what Donovan claims: that after looking through 315 liturgical manuscripts from non-Catalan Spain, he found liturgical drama in none of them.⁶⁷

It is interesting to note that in the Spanish sources this play is often called the Representation of the Three Maries, not a "*Visitatio Sepulchri*": e.g. "*deinde fiat representatio de III Mariis si voluerint*"⁶⁸ at Vic or "*postea fiet (sic) representacio que fit in ecclesia de tribus Mariis per nouos de capitulo*" in Girona.⁶⁹

For the purposes of this work the most interesting is the rubrics. Vic 105 and Vic 106, as well as the Zaragoza version with *Quem quaeritis* lack them. In the processional from Urgel they do not indicate much action. Vic 134 with a *Quem quaeritis* is an interesting case in this respect and will be discussed later.

Regarding the *Visitatio*, the same Vic 105 that had a *Quem quaeritis* text, also has a beautiful remarkable *Visitatio*, Castro and Dronke think possibly with Austrian connections,⁷⁰ but with entirely uninteresting rubrics. Troper from Girona is too fragmentary to enlighten us much. *Visitatio* from a *consueta* from Urgel, 15th century is really original, including the action, because the Maries need to be called three times in order to appear, but for our purposes is of limited interest. The rubrics in a troper from Silos and from the three Santiago sources are uninteresting as well. *Visitatio* from Gandía amazes us with its originality, although it does not necessarily mean an improvement in quality; finally, a ceremony from the 16th century from Granada completely overwhelms us with its special effects. Regarding what was discussed in the last two paragraphs, Vic 134 *Quem quaeritis* and the *Visitatio*s from Gandía, Granada and possibly Urgel merit further attention.

It is necessary to supplement this knowledge with the survey of the motive, depicting the same event as the Easter ceremonies did, in the visual art in this region. This will be done in the following chapter.

⁶⁴ Castro 1994, 49

⁶⁵ Castro 1994, 49-50

⁶⁶ Silos is situated close to the St. James' Way - Camino Frances branch, but more to the South.

⁶⁷ Donovan 1958, 67

⁶⁸ Castro 1997, 134, Vic, *consueta*, 13th c., *breviary*, 14th c., *consueta* 15th c.

⁶⁹ Castro 1997, 142, Girona, *consueta*, 14th c. Cf. "*in presenti Ecclesia Gerundensi in matutinis singulis annis faciat Representationem, que vulgo Les tres Maries dicitur*" from as late as 16th century, *Actas Capitulares*, Castro 1997, 144.

⁷⁰ Castro 1994, 118. There is a unique rhythmic form and rhyme in this *Visitatio*, known only in two other pieces, one of them in German. Also, there are texts from Vic in the *ludus* and the *passion* in *Carmina Burana*; Castro says that the newest research shows that this manuscript might have originated in Tyrol. *Ibid.*

3. The images with the angel opening the Tomb

According to Andreas Petzold, the motive of the Holy Women at the Tomb was "one of the most common subjects of [C]hristian iconography in the Middle Ages".⁷¹ García Guinea is in accord with him, stating that it is also a frequent theme in France and Italy, but especially stressing the frequency of this motive in the Romanic art of Spain, as it is one of the most repeated themes.⁷² The selected examples of this motive will be presented and analyzed in this chapter, specifically, the artworks that depict the moment when the angel is opening the sarcophagus. The artworks will be analyzed, compared and contrasted among themselves as well as with analogies of detail from other compositions. Both common characteristics and unique traits will be identified.

After surveying the history of this motive, the following examples with the angel opening the Tomb were found:

1. Pamplona, cathedral, ca. 1130-1140, "master of the crossroads of the Cathedral of Pamplona", capital from the series of capitals from the cloister of the Old Cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre); Pamplona, Museo de Navarra
2. Dax, Saint-Paul church at Saint-Paul-lès-Dax, bas-relief, marble, 12th c. (?), Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France
3. Abbaye-aux-Dames, Saintes, capital, belltower, 12th c., Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France
4. Castelviel, church of Notre-Dame, double capital, portal, 12th c., Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France
5. St-Pons-de-Thomières, Benedictine monastery (double chapter), capital, marble, 1150-1175, Occitanie, France, presently at: Louvre Museum, Paris
6. Estella, church of San Miguel Arcángel, relief, North portal, end of 12th c., Navarre, Spain
7. Revilla de Santullán, church of San Cornelio y San Cipriano, capital, portal, end of 12th c.—beginning of 13th c., sandstone (?), Castille and León, Spain
8. Retable (?), 15th c., sandstone, Museum of Augustins, Toulouse (Occitanie), France
9. Oviedo, cathedral, capital, Camara Santa, 12th c. (With Saints Peter and Paul)
10. Tarragona, Cathedral of St. Tecla, capital, marble, cathedral portal from the cloister, end of 12th - beginning of the 13th c., Spain
11. Belena de Sorbe, church of San Miguel, capital, portal, column of the right side, ca. 12th c. Expulsion from Paradise on the other side.
12. Leon, church of San Isidoro, relief, tympanum, South portal (Puerta del Perdón), Master Esteban (attr.), Spain
13. Calahorra de Boedo, church of Nuestra Senora de las Candelas, baptismal font, 12th c. / 1180-1200 (?)
14. Olmos de Ojeda, Monasterio de Santa Eufemia de Cozuelos, female cloister of Las comendadoras de Santiago, double capital
15. Colmenares de Ojeda, church of San Fructuoso, baptismal font, 1150-1175⁷³

⁷¹ Petzold 1992, 149

⁷² García Guinea 1975, 65

⁷³ Dating by García Guinea 1975, 76

The examples mostly occur in the context of sculpture, specifically, in the historiated capitals. Their analysis is presented below. The location of the artworks can be seen in the maps in the Appendix (fig. 11 and 12).

In the portal of the church of San Miguel at **Belena de Sorbe** town the scene is divided into two capitals: the women are on one, the angel, the Tomb and the guards on the other. The women are three, looking, it seems, at the viewer. They are arranged symmetrically, one woman at the corner of the capital, other two at its both perpendicular surfaces. They are wearing wimples and shoes. They all have their right arm raised with an open palm and are holding their pots of spices in their left hands. The woman closest to the angel and the Tomb has her pot-holding hand draped with the garment. The woman in the center clearly does not. It is difficult to tell in the case of the third woman. Neither they nor the angel seem to have halos.

The angel is standing behind or hovering over the Tomb, opening the lid, but not towards the women but away from them. He is looking at the women and holding an unidentified object (a scepter with a lily?) in his hand. The veil is hanging, beautifully arranged, on the side of the sarcophagus. The guards occupy the whole right or outer side of the capital.

The arrangement is typical to provincial parish churches in the region: the capital(s) on the right side of the church portal depict the Resurrection in the form of the Holy Women at the Tomb, reminding the faithful the victory and the promises of Christ; on the left side there is some scene from the Old Testament - here, specifically, the Expulsion of Paradise, telling about the human situation both before and without Christ. This arrangement tells that upon entering the church, the faithful enter the Resurrection of Christ.

In the town of **Estella**, the church of San Miguel Arcangel, this motive is also depicted on the right side of the church portal; however, this time it is not on a capital, but in the form of a large relief (fig. 6). The angels are two, as in St. Luke and St. John. One is sitting, ankles crossed, on the side of the sarcophagus, one standing. The seated one is opening the lid and pointing inside with his other hand. Both are looking at the women and, as is the convention, are barefoot. The standing one is pointing to the heaven with one hand and either to the other angel or to the Tomb with the other. Both have wings in a shape of a triangle - they rise symmetrically, and then the left points down, the right points to the side.

The sarcophagus seems to have decorative legs. The veil, in a rich drapery, hangs on its side. The minuscule guards are below the sarcophagus.

The women are three, coming from the right. They all are carrying round pots in their hands. Their faces are delicate, and their dress is depicted elaborately and studiously - we can distinguish their veils and wimples (the head covering worn under the veil, covering the neck, partly resembling today's skier's balaclava). The third woman is surely wearing a veil, the first one is definitely without it and it is difficult to say it with certainty for the second woman. The women are interacting with each other. The first woman is looking at the angels, her hand raised, but the other two are looking at each other, as if about to discuss the situation or either giving or seeking reassurance. As usual, the women are wearing shoes. The third woman is holding the side of her cloak with her hand. The first woman seems to have her hands joined in prayer.

As in Belena de Sorbe, we might think that this motive was chosen to honor St. Michael the Archangel, as both these churches have the same title and our motive. The Scripture does not tell us the names of the angel that appeared to the women on Easter morning. Notably, three women and two angels do not exist in any of the Gospels. St.

Luke has four or more women; St. John has one; Sts. Matthew and Mark have one angel. This does not seem to have been a problem.

The town of **Revilla de Santullan** is situated between the two roads to Compostella, Camino del Norte, going through Oviedo, and Camino Frances, going through Pamplona, Burgos and Leon. The town has a church of San Cornelio y San Cipriano. On the right side of the church portal,⁷⁴ on a double capital is the Holy Women at the Tomb scene (fig. 7). It is unusual and original in that the angel is neither sitting nor standing, but swooping down from the heavens to open the Tomb, loosely reminding of Matthew 28:2: "And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone [...]".⁷⁵ One is inclined to think that the goal of the artist was precisely to picture this moment. The dynamic nature of the composition is further enhanced by the gesture of the angel: while opening the lid of the sarcophagus, the draperies of his clothing, especially his sleeve, swirling in movement, he seems to be pushing away the pot of spices and ointment of the first woman, as if indicating its uselessness.⁷⁶

The angel's hair is executed in detail, parted in the middle and slightly wavy. His face, what is possible to perceive against the wear of the ages, reminds of the "beau Dieu" of the French cathedrals or of the apostle sculpture at Oviedo's Camara Santa. The sarcophagus is standing on thin legs, the veil decoratively draped on its side. No guards are present.

The three women are coming from the left, holding their pots of spices up high in their draped hands, looking like a solemn procession bringing holy gifts. Their faces are lifted, they seem to be looking up, as if to God in Heaven. Only the first woman seems to have noticed the angel. Such a pose of the women is highly original.

Their dress and the shoes are usual. However, they do not have wimples, only the veils, topped with what seems like hats or possibly some sort of crowns. The hair on their foreheads is visible, effectuated in detail. The nose of the second woman is missing.

The church portal and the columns next to it are quite low, situating the capital just at about eye level and in close proximity to the viewer.

To conclude, the work is extremely original in the moment chosen for depiction and the women shown to be in a procession of an offering. Only St. Matthew tells us that the angel came down from heaven after the women have come; St. Matthew, however, tells of two women, while Revilla de Santullan church capital depicts three. This serves as evidence that, as Felicity Harley has remarked, the artists were not merely translators of texts into the visual language.⁷⁷ Concerning the procession with the pots in draped hands, there is a parallel with reliefs from Dax in France, the one on the tympanum from San Isidoro basilica at León in Spain, which will be discussed later.⁷⁸ Also, a relief by Bonano Pisano from Italy from the 12th century features women with similarly draped hands.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Placing this scene on the right part of the portal to the church can be also found in the church of Santa Cecilia at Aguilar de Campoo, in the vicinity of Revilla de Santullán. There a closed Tomb can be observed.

⁷⁵ King James version.

⁷⁶ Cf. "Why do you look for the living among the dead?", Luke 24:5, New International Version

⁷⁷ Harley 2011, 101

⁷⁸ And with a 11th century relief in the cloister in the Santo Domingo de Silos monastery in Spain. There the arms of the angel are missing, so we cannot know what he was supposed to be doing originally. The pots of spices also seem to be missing, but the women hold their draped hands the same way as in Dax and León and seem to point to the missing jars with their other hands.

⁷⁹ Bonano Pisano, end of the 12th century, bronze, Pisa, Porta di San Ranieri. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

A double capital from a former Benedictine abbey of **St-Pons-de-Thomieres** (fig. 5) close to Narbonne, now at the Louvre, has an angel in profile, sitting on the end of the sarcophagus, bowing his head slightly, while he is pushing the lid away from himself - and apparently on the first woman's feet! The lid is a powerful diagonal in the composition. He is wearing a cloak, which seems to be an original detail. His wings, with decorative ornamentation, are spread symmetrically above. Between them is a band with "Angelus" written on it, which is quite unusual.⁸⁰ The angel's hair is in equally decorative stylized curls. His robes, except the cloak, seem to cling tightly to his body, especially the legs, always with decorative draping. His arms seem to be covered with something resembling chainmail. He is conventionally barefoot. A part of one hand seems to be missing.

The sarcophagus is very plain. The veil is draped on its side in a triangular fashion. The sarcophagus is not hollowed out inside - probably there was no need, as a capital was likely supposed to be seen from below. There is a small round object on the sarcophagus, probably originally forming a part of the angel's hand. The guards, seemingly two, one in chainmail and a helmet, holding a sword, are behind the angel, standing. Likely the moment depicted is when, according to St. Matthew, the women have already come, the angel has already descended, is removing the cover of the Tomb and the guards are not yet struck by fear and appearing as dead men.⁸¹

The women are three. They all carry round pots of spices. The first one is holding her palm open, looking at the angel; the others seem to put their hands on their bosoms. The draperies of their dresses, like the angels are very stylized, the shape of their legs clearly visible, as also is the case with the angel. The head of the second woman is missing. The Deposition of Christ is on the other side.

In a relief which is in the chevet of Saint-Paul church in **Saint-Paul-lès-Dax** suburb of Dax town in Aquitaine in France, situated close to Biarritz and the Spanish border, the composition is almost symmetrical (fig. 2). The three women are approaching from both sides - two from the left, one from the right. The angels are two, with halos, which is unusual in this region. They are seated on what looks like square stools, turned to look at the women, lifting the lid of the sarcophagus and pointing inside with their other hands. The angels seem to be wearing cloaks and have stylized curly hair, as in the St-Pons-de-Thomieres example. They sit almost frontally, with their faces seen at three quarter angle, their wings spread symmetrically above. The wings look as if they were attached to their heads.

The sarcophagus is very plain. The lid, atypically, is in a shape of a triangle. Above the sarcophagus, very uncommonly, there are two hands with thuribles from above, censuring the sarcophagus, and a third hand, lowering a cross. A similar censuring from above, although where an entire angel is visible, not only a hand, can be seen at a manuscript illumination from Limoges.⁸² The scene contains no guards.

The women are carrying pots of spices in their draped hands, as they do in Revilla de Santullán, although this time not raised high up, but in the usual height, which we see in other depictions. They seem to wear wimples and veils, which float in the movement, have halos and are wearing crowns. To the best of my knowledge, crowns do not occur

⁸⁰ The curators of the Louvre think that the band is an arc of the entrance to the Tomb.

⁸¹ Cf. Matthew 28:1-4

⁸² Le Sacramentaire de Saint-Étienne de Limoges / Missel de Limoges, 1100, Limoges; BNF, sign. Latin 9438, nonfoliated (view 84-85)

in any other depiction of this scene. Schiller thinks that their purpose is to evoke a parallel with the Three Kings or the Three Magi.⁸³

The symmetrical composition, especially the women approaching from both sides, the hands from above with the censers and the cross and the crowns on the women's heads make this a highly original artwork.

A capital in the bell tower of **Abbaye-aux-Dames at Saintes** town in Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France depicts one woman, coming from the right (fig. 3). She is leaning towards the sarcophagus to look into it. Time has not been gentle to this artwork, so it is difficult to say if she is carrying anything in her hands and if she is gesturing. The angel is standing directly in front of the sarcophagus, an arrangement which we have not seen in other compositions, as the angel tended to be on the side of the tomb.⁸⁴ He is lifting the lid of the sarcophagus with the one hand and pointing inside it with the other. He is also bent while doing it, so he could be perceived as sitting on the lid of the sarcophagus at the same time as trying to lift it! His wings are symmetrically above him. The sarcophagus is narrow and is standing on short legs. There is no veil draping on its side. It is framed by two columns with what seems like a cupola. However, the heights of the columns do not reach all the way to the cupola. Mary Magdalene is behind one of the columns. Foliage covers the rest of the capital. No guards are depicted.

L'abbaye-aux-Dames de Saintes is an extant female Benedictine cloister. It used to be one of the most important female cloisters in the South-West of France, having close to a hundred nuns in its heyday, and was closed in 1789. Now the church is functioning again, and the cloister houses a music school. The bell tower is situated at the crossing of the nave and transept of the church, dedicated to Sainte-Marie. The capitals are invisible from below.

The scene is unusual in that it has only one woman, apparently following St. John. It is rare not only in the region under consideration, but in all the history of this subject in art. Another unusual moment is that she is inclining deeply towards the sarcophagus - it might also come from St. John, "she bent over to look into the tomb"⁸⁵. Although, if the scene does follow St. John, it does so very loosely, as the angel is one, while in the Gospel there were two, he is standing, while the Gospel angels were seated, also, they were not told to be opening anything. All these things observed point to the uniqueness of this artwork.

The double capital at the Camara Santa of the **Oviedo** cathedral is placed directly above the apostles Peter and Paul. There are two angels, one behind, another to the side of the sarcophagus. They are both lifting the lid - and not diagonally, as was observed in the previous compositions, but towards the back of the scene, as if the lid were connected to the sarcophagus by its longer side. The angel on the side seems to be using both his hands to lift the sarcophagus, while the angel in the center is lifting with his left hand, while pointing to the women with his right hand over his chest. The angels are looking neither to the women nor to the viewer, but heavenward. The sarcophagus has four short legs, joined together by arches. No veil is visible. There are four standing guards in the scene, two from both sides. They become visible only from the sides. If one observes the capital from the front, the guards are hidden from view. The guards behind the angels

⁸³ Schiller 1986, 36

⁸⁴ The only comparable artwork is the capital from St-Pons de-Thomieres, also France, where the angel is placed in front of the sarcophagus, but is seated not in the centre of it, but on the side of it further from the women.

⁸⁵ John 20:11 New International Version

have their swords raised, while the guards behind the women are barely perceivable behind their shields.

The women are three, coming from the right. They are tightly wrapped into their cloaks and wearing wimples. Actually, saving his labor, the sculptor depicted just two bodies and added an extra head on the second woman's shoulder. This, however, becomes apparent only after a careful inspection from all the sides and otherwise is not at all conspicuous. The first one is leaning slightly towards the sarcophagus, looking, however, in the same direction as the angels, somewhere far away. Her hand is raised, parallel to her face, with her palm open. The scene is quite static and apart from the first woman (presumably, Mary Magdalene) leaning towards the Tomb, there is no impression of movement.

The church of **San Isidoro at León** on the Camino Frances to Santiago has this motive in the right part of the tympanum its south portal, together with Deposition in the center and Ascension on the left.⁸⁶

The women are three, coming from the left. They have their hands enveloped in their garments and carry the jars of spices - similarly, as was observed in Saint-Paul-les-Dax. They are wearing loose wimples with veils over them and have halos. Vinayo Gonzalez thinks they are wearing tunics and capes.⁸⁷ Their faces are expressionless; they are slightly bending their heads towards the angel. The woman in the middle is raising her palm.

The angel, without a halo, is behind the sarcophagus, seemingly seated and is raising his face towards the women. He has raised the cover, turned it towards himself and is now holding it. This gives depth to the scene. The sarcophagus is hollowed out and depicted with a perspective, so that we can see both its front and side, which was not observed in previous examples. There are two columns with an arch over them, possibly making reference to the ciborium of the Holy Tomb in Jerusalem. The columns have Corinthian capitals and spiral decoration. A similar structure in this motive could be observed at the female Benedictine monastery at Saintes. Another interesting feature is that the angel is emerging in front of the arch. It adds dynamism to the whole composition. His wings are crossed, something that was also not observed before.

To conclude, this artwork is remarkable for a number of features: the use of perspective, the crossed wings of the angel, the angel emerging in front of the arc of the ciborium and the draped over hands of the women, carrying the spice jars.

Time has been very harsh to a relief in the church of Notre-Dame (Our Lady) at **Castelviel** (fig. 4) in nouvelle-Aquitaine, close to Bordeaux. Nonetheless, it is possible to say several things about it.

The depicted sarcophagus is either quite short or the viewer is seeing its short side. It stands on two thin legs, joined together by an arch.⁸⁸ On top of the sarcophagus is a sort of a baldachin formed by an ogive arch with a cross on top. The sarcophagus has a lid, which the angel is opening. The sarcophagus opens towards the angel, not towards the women, as is, e.g. in Saintes or Revilla de Santullán. An angel opening the sarcophagus towards himself was observed in St-Pons-de-Thomières or Estella.

The angel is standing, inclined forward, his front leg bent. This creates a very energetic impression that he has just landed. His wings are fluttering behind him. He is opening the sarcophagus with his left hand. The middle part of his right arm is missing, but it is quite

⁸⁶ On this church, see Vinayo Gonzalez 1972, 33-137. On this portal, see Vinayo Gonzalez 1972, 98

⁸⁷ Vinayo Gonzalez 1972, 98

⁸⁸ Arches joining the legs supporting the sarcophagus were also observed at the Oviedo cathedral.

clear that he is pointing inside the sarcophagus with his right hand. Neither he nor the women have halos.

The women are three, coming from the right. The first and the third women are carrying round pots of spices. It is difficult to say with certainty because of the state of the artwork, but the second woman seems to be holding the first one by the shoulder. The third woman is bending forward, also energetically as if to see the proof of the miracle better.

No guards are present. Behind the angel is a standing figure holding what seems like an open book in his hand. An inclusion of such a figure seems to be absolutely unique in the context of this motive.

A double capital from the former cloister walk of the **Pamplona cathedral**, now at the Museo de Navarra, holds a wonderfully dynamic scene (fig. 1). Its dynamism is not created by the angel, as in Revilla de Santullan or Castelviel. The majestic angel, seated on the right of the sarcophagus, is so calm that he seems to be sitting there for a long time. His hair is curly; his wings form a triangle - one spread forward in front of him over the sarcophagus, another behind him pointing down. The angel seems to be looking heavenward. His bare feet are resting on two acanthus leaves. With the one hand he is effortlessly lifting up one side of the sarcophagus' lid, with the other he is pointing inside it, in a somewhat disengaged manner.

The women are two, wearing seemingly only wimples, coming from the left. The first woman, very unusually, is also lifting the lid with her one hand and seems to be reaching deep inside with another one, seemingly grabbing the veil, which is not draped along the side of the sarcophagus but seems to be rolled up inside. The gesture of the woman lifting the lid of the sarcophagus is absolutely unique and no other similar example is known. The second woman seems to be holding out her hand with an open palm.

The soldiers are numerous, falling upside down, with their feet sticking in the air - apparently from fear, as the Evangelist tells us.⁸⁹ They have swords, shields, helmets, a banner, and their chainmail is depicted in detail.

The figures of the falling soldiers and of the first woman, approaching the Tomb in a resolute manner, lifting the lid herself and reaching inside give this artwork an exceptional dynamism. The gesture of a woman lifting the lid, with no analogy known, adds to its singularity.

In **Tarragona**, in a capital of the portal, connecting the cathedral cloister to the Cathedral of St. Tecla, the sarcophagus is standing on four legs. A veil draped in a single wave is hanging on its side. The angel, standing behind the right side of the sarcophagus, is lifting the lid towards the women with his left hand and pointing upwards with his right, a direction that was not observed in this region, except at Calahorra de Boedo, which will be discussed later. His wings are in a triangle: one in the front of him, pointing forward horizontally, another behind him, pointing down. He is looking at the women, who are three, coming from the left. They are carrying round pots of spices. The first woman is pointing to her pot with a finger of her right hand and looking at the angel. The other two women are on another, perpendicular surface of the capital. They are wearing shoes and veils, seemingly with the exception of the first one. The second one seems to be holding the pot with her both hands, draped with her garment, as we have seen in Revilla de Santullan and Dax.

The capital with the Holy Women at the Tomb is on the right side of the entrance to the cathedral. We have seen analogies of this placement in Revilla de Santullán, Belena

⁸⁹ Matthew 28:4

de Sorbe and Estella, although in Revilla de Santullán the capital with this theme was closest to the church door, and this is not the case in Tarragona.

On a baptismal font from the church of Nuestra Señora de las Candelas in **Calahorra de Boedo** there are two angels.⁹⁰ One angel is standing neither in front nor behind the sarcophagus, but at its end. He is just started to lift the lid of the sarcophagus - the lid is still closed, and the angel seems to be exerting considerable effort. His right hand is pointing above, to the sky, as in the cathedral of Tarragona. His hair is curly, his wings are symmetrical, both pointing down, one in front of him, one behind him. He is looking at the women. Another similarly looking angel, except with non-curly hair, is coming behind the women and censuring with a thurible, holding the censer like a rope with his both hands. Such a position and action of the angel seems to be a unique invention, absent not only in this region, but anywhere through all the history of this motive in art. However, a censuring angel exists in other examples, such as an illumination from a manuscript from Limoges. It is also possible to remember the example from Dax, where only the arms with thuribles coming from above were visible.

The sarcophagus is plain, but with a decorated outline, and is standing on three legs. The cloth is draped in quite a messy way, nothing like the decorative folds that were observed in other cases. The three women, coming from the left, are all behind the sarcophagus. They are carrying round pots of spices in their draped hands, as in Dax or Revilla de Santullán. They are all wearing veils and are looking at the angel. Their feet do not seem to be depicted under the sarcophagus, raised on the columns. Numerous guards, with very detailed armor, shields and spears, are fallen on their shields in quite an orderly fashion. There is a Descent into Hell on the other side of the font.

On a baptismal font from **Colmenares de Ojeda** there are three women and two angels. The artist has broken a universal tradition spanning all the Middle Ages in the whole Europe by picturing the women with bare feet. Such a depiction is found only in the Baroque art, e.g. Rubens,⁹¹ or outside Europe, e.g. Syriac Lectionary from the 13th century⁹², with one exception known to me: an ivory from the first half of the 12th century from Asturias or Leon.⁹³ In that ivory, the angel is not depicted opening the sarcophagus. This baptismal font would call for further research.

In **Olmos de Ojeda**, a former female cloister of Santa Eufemia de Cozuelos of the order of the Comendadoras de Santiago, the female branch of the Caballeros de Santiago, this scene is found on a double (or, one might say, quadruple) capital over four columns.⁹⁴ The angel is seated at the end of the sarcophagus, as was observed in Pamplona. He is lifting the lid with his left hand, opening the sarcophagus towards himself, and pointing upwards with his right, as the Pamplona angel. His wings are behind him, pointing downwards. He has straight hair, with a probably fashionable curl over his ears, bare feet and is looking at the women. The artist has made sure that the angel's garment cover both his arms as well as his wings, evidence of attention to detail.

The sarcophagus is placed in the space between the two columns, supported by two legs, which rest on the two separate columns. Its lid is decorated with a geometrical motive.

⁹⁰ More on the Calahorra baptismal font in García Guinea 1975, 76-77

⁹¹ Peter Paul Rubens, 1611-1614, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California. Previously at the Czernin collection in Vienna.

⁹² Syriac Lectionary, Northern Syria or Northern Iraq, 1216-1220, British Library, London, sign. BL Add. MS 7170, f. 160.

⁹³ Currently at State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Published by RDK Labor.

⁹⁴ On the cloister of Santa Eufemia de Cozuelos, see Vidal Díaz del Riguero 2021

The three women are coming from the left, holding their spice pots up high in their draped hands, as was observed in Revilla de Santullán. The women also have draped hands in Dax or Calahorra de Boedo, but there they are carrying the pots not up high, but at chest height. One of the women is behind the sarcophagus, the other two are by the side. They are looking at the angel and are wearing the same headgear as did the women in Revilla de Santullán, which seems like hats of some sort over wimples. Over the heads of the protagonists is fantastic architecture, its trefoil arches framing the heads of each of them. This artwork exhibits many similarities with the one at Revilla de Santullán.⁹⁵

In **Toulouse**, in a sandstone relief from the 15th century (fig. 8), part of which seems to be lost, which was likely a retable, this scene is depicted together with the Lament over the Dead Christ, the Entombment and a very symbolic Resurrection.⁹⁶ There is a victorious banner over the closed sarcophagus, which stand on a pedestal, with three soldiers crouched below in various poses. There is foliage in the free space between the soldiers, while the lid of the sarcophagus is decorated with three roses. On the right of this there is a vertical composition: in the top, there is an angel, with symmetrical diagonal wings and a fashionable hairdo, a flower-shaped brooch fastening his cloak. He is lifting open the lid of the sarcophagus, opening it towards the viewer and the women, who are standing below. The middle woman is holding onto the edge of the open sarcophagus with her both hands and looking inside. She is depicted taller than others, as if standing on tiptoe to reach the high-placed sarcophagus to get a better look. The other is touching the first woman's shoulder, as if to comfort her, and looking at the angel. The third woman, standing next to the others, is turned towards the viewer, but we can hardly see her face, as her hood is covering almost all of it. She is holding one hand up, the open palm towards the viewer, and has a square object in her other hand, which does not look similar to a pot, presumably with spices and ointments, that a lady is holding in the Lament over Dead Christ scene in the left of the artwork. The scene has strong emotional appeal because of expressive gestures and faces.

To conclude this chapter, it was observed that artworks with this specific composition of this motive, depicting the moment when the angel is opening the Tomb, come from a variety of contexts: Benedictine cloisters (especially in France: St-Pons-de-Thomières, Saintes), cathedrals (especially in Spain: Tarragona, Pamplona), a pilgrimage basilica on the Camino Frances to Santiago (San Isidoro at León) and parish churches (Saint-Paulles-Dax, Castelviel, San Miguel Arcángel at Estella, San Cornelio y San Cipriano at Revilla de Santullán).

They never have thuribles. In two cases (Dax and Callahorra de Boedo) either an angels or arms from above are censuring the scene. In no example the depicted women seem to wear any liturgical robes, such as copes or albs, but what seems to be usual garments of the 12th century.

The scene could be depicting one of two possible moments: 1) the angel opening the Tomb, as told in Matthew 28:2; 2) the women having gone inside the Tomb, cut out from a rock, have met the angel, who has transmitted them his message and now is providing

⁹⁵ The distance between those two places is 30 km.

⁹⁶ An analogy of a retable with Passion and Resurrection scenes can be found in the retable of the Saint-Victorien church in the village of the same name (end of 13th-beginning of the 14th century, Haute Vienne department, France). The scenes depicted are the Flagellation, Crucifixion and the Holy Women at the Tomb.

more evidence, by saying "Come and see the place where the Lord lay",⁹⁷ while opening the sarcophagus and letting them be convinced by their own eyes.

Before finishing the chapter about the iconography, it is necessary to mention that during this research, examples of another composition, with the closed sarcophagus also, to my best knowledge, nonexistent anywhere else, were found in Villanueva de la Pena, Lebanza, Aguilar de Campoo, Orejana, Vallespinoso de Aguilar (fig. 9), Saint-Gilles du Gard (fig. 10), the museum of León and Santa Maria de Aguilar (now at Museo Arqueológico Nacional). A closed Tomb is quite common in the depictions of the Resurrection as victorious Christ, hovering above the Tomb, but in the scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb seems to be unique to this region under discussion. This composition and its history require further research.

It can be observed that not all the cases of the Holy Women at the Tomb motive in this region are either the angel opening the Tomb or with the closed Tomb. There are cases with the composition that is usual elsewhere, with the open Tomb.

4. Moment of lifting the altar cover in the ceremonies

In the following chapters, the examples of the plays from this region will be examined, with a particular attention to the rubrics. As the typical trait of the artwork in this region is the movement of the angel or angels, specifically their lifting the cover of the sarcophagus when the women have already arrived on the scene, particular attention will be paid to the didascalies instructing the celicole to lift something. This analysis will be based mostly on the edition of Walter Lipphardt.

4.1. The tropes before the Introit of the Mass

For the trope version, Lipphardt has grouped the texts from the South of France and from Catalonia together. For this group, he provides 34 trope examples.

Concerning the so-called trope before or in the Introit of the Mass, a 10th century troper from Apt from the basilica of St. Anna⁹⁸ has absolutely no rubrics, an 11th century troper from the same place⁹⁹ has short ones, only with the distribution of the lines: Angeli/Responsum/Angeli/Cantor/Angeli. Interestingly, this source clearly indicates where the trope starts: it is not before *Quem queritis*, but only after it has finished (line 20), and the verses alternating with the lines of the antiphon *Resurrexi* are being sung. This supports my opinion that it is far from clear whether *Quem queritis* dialogue can be considered a trope in all cases as often as it is done now - it is possible to see that at least the contemporaries did not always think that it was.

The first Apt troper offers three possible tropes to choose from to enrich the *Resurrexi* antiphon, the second one offers nine different tropes.

A troper from Arles, second half of the 12th century, in contrast clearly names this dialogue a trope (*Tropos in Resurreccione Domini*).¹⁰⁰ It has no rubrics, except

⁹⁷ paraphrase from Matthew 28:6 and Mark 16:6.

⁹⁸ LOO 40

⁹⁹ LOO 41

¹⁰⁰ LOO 42

"Respondent". Instead of singing *Quem queritis*, it offers an alternative of verses interspersed in the *Resurrexi*.

A troper from Aurillac, the church of St. Géraud from around the year 1000, also clearly separates the *Quem queritis* dialogue from the following trope, marking as a "Tropus" only what comes before the first line of the *Resurrexi*.¹⁰¹ It offers four different versions of these tropes.

Another troper from the same place from the end of the 10th century does not mark anything as a trope and offers the *Quem queritis* and two alternatives to embellish the *Resurrexi*. It has no rubrics.¹⁰²

A troper from Autun from the end of the 10th century - beginning of the 11th offers the dialogue followed by the embellished *Resurrexi*, without any rubrics.¹⁰³

A missal from Beziers cathedral from the middle of the 15th century clearly marks the dialogue as "Tropus", marking the *Resurrexi* as "Introitus" and offering no embellishments.¹⁰⁴ A manuscript of *Miscellanea liturgica* from Corbie from the 17th century does the same, except marking several verses as "Responsio".¹⁰⁵

In a consuetudo from Fleury from the 13th century the dialogue has rubrics.¹⁰⁶ No impersonation is intended, with the protagonists referred to as "Duo Diaconi" and "Duo cantores". Interestingly, if they had the *Maries* and the angels in mind, they had two of each, and not three *Maries*. The action is to take place next to the altar. There is not much movement indicated, except the cantors turning to the choir after hearing *Non est hic*. It is not clear to me why Lipphardt chose to include the fleury text among the "Southern France and Catalan" ones, because St-Benoit-sur-Loire is close to Orléans, very much in the North.

An ordinarium from Girona cathedral from the 14th century does not have rubrics indicating action for the dialogue.¹⁰⁷

A 12th century prosarium-troparium from Huesca, from the monastery of San Juan de la Pena, does not have rubrics nor any designation of the text as a trope.¹⁰⁸

The famous troper from St. Martial from Limoges from the year 933-936¹⁰⁹, the earliest extant known source with this dialogue, has thin dialogue marked as trope: "Tropi in [Die] Pasche". It provides two alternatives to the dialogue. Interestingly, it has two rubrics "Respondent" before *Ihesum* and before *Non est hic*, making it clear that the lines were divided among performers, maybe their groups, which is not unusual in the tradition of antiphonal singing. It is possible to see that if they saw the singers of the *Quem queritis* line as angels, they wanted to have at least two of them. Lipphardt has decided to insert the line *Resurrexi*, i.e. to start the antiphon after "*Deo gracias, dicite eia!*"

A troper from the same place from ca. year 1000 has no rubrics and starts the *Resurrexi* only after the end of the *Quem queritis* dialogue. It offers numerous alternatives.¹¹⁰ Three more tropers from St. Martial from the beginning to middle of the 11th century repeat the same text as LOO 53 with tiny variations of orthography.

¹⁰¹ LOO 43

¹⁰² LOO 44

¹⁰³ LOO 46

¹⁰⁴ LOO 47

¹⁰⁵ LOO 48

¹⁰⁶ LOO 49

¹⁰⁷ LOO 50

¹⁰⁸ LOO 51

¹⁰⁹ LOO 52

¹¹⁰ LOO 53

Another manuscript from the same location for "Prosae, Tropi, Cantilenae, Ludi" from the 12th or the 13th century has a heading "Hoc est de mulieribus" and no rubrics.¹¹¹

A consueta from the Palma di Mallorca cathedral from the 14th century has a ceremony during Mass, which consists of a impersonated singing of the Victime Paschali before the reading of the Gospel.¹¹² It has detailed rubrics: the cantor needs to be dressed in "vestimentis femineis coloratis" and the "presbiter" is "representando Mariam Magdalenam". This ceremony does not have the Quem queritis dialogue and is only about the disciples receiving the news of the Resurrection from Mary Magdalen.

An ordinarium from a monastery of San Juan de las Abadessas from the 15th century, close to Vic, has quite detailed rubrics: after a procession and before the Resurrexi introit, two cantors need to stand by the altar of the Virgin Mary, another two by the altar of St. John, and are to exchange the dialogue from these positions.

A processional from the Augustine canonry of Santa Maria del Estany from the 14th century is especially interesting for its rubrics.¹¹³ Two cantors are to hide behind the altar, another two are to stand before the altar. The hidden ones need to sing the Quem queritis line and while listening to the response, need to come out of their hiding place, stand at the two sides of the altar and sing Non est hic while lifting the altar cover ("palium altaris"). The ones receiving the message need to turn towards the choir and sing "Alleluya. Ad sepulchrum residens angelus..." and then to into the choir, while everybody is singing "Ecce completum...", after which the cantors begin the Resurrexi.

Several observations can be made from this. Firstly, the scene reminds of the relief in Dax. Secondly, impersonation is not implied in the text, and there are two or each Christicole and celicole (not three Christicole, like in the Visitatio plays and numerous images). Thirdly, the distance between Dax and Santa Maria del Estany is 500 km and it is necessary to cross the mountains. Lastly, the text is two centuries later than the Dax relief and most of the images that are the object of this thesis. Bearing in mind, though, that the practice usually did not change in a given location, it is possible to pay attention to this parallel between the visual art and the rubrics of the ceremony.¹¹⁴

A missal from the cathedral of Saragossa from the 15th century gives short rubrics: the two celicole need to stand at the altar in the choir, and the two Christicole - in the choir. The missal is careful to separate the following Resurrexi from what proceeded earlier by entering a title In Die Sancto Pasche Officium.¹¹⁵

A troper probably from Toulouse from the 10th and 11th centuries has no rubrics except "Respondent" and a heading "Item Tropos In Die" before the start of the Quem queritis dialogue and a Resurrexit (presumably Dominus a mortuis), a different antiphon from the usual Resurrexi (et adhuc tecum sum) in the end.¹¹⁶ In music is extant, it might help to distinguish which of the antiphons was really meant to follow.

It is not clear why Lipphardt decided to include an example from Tours,¹¹⁷ very in the North, among the examples of the South of France.

An Ordinarium from the Urgel cathedral from the 12th century¹¹⁸ orders a procession: it is unclear where the first two chants ("Stetit Angelus" and "Crucifixum" are to be sung,

¹¹¹ LOO 57

¹¹² LOO 58

¹¹³ LOO 60

¹¹⁴ To my best knowledge, this scene is not depicted on the Romanesque capitals of the cloister of the canonry.

¹¹⁵ LOO 61

¹¹⁶ LOO 62

¹¹⁷ LOO 63

¹¹⁸ LOO 64

the third one (Christus resurgens") is to be sung in front of the crucifix in the refectory, "Dicant nuns Iudei" is sung at the door. The introit, unusually, is Resurrexit Dominus a mortuis, written down unambiguously. Quem queritis, also unusually, follows after the introit. Quem queritis is marked as a trope. The solemn Mass follows. This description has many qualities that are not observed in other sources.

In a ceremonial (ceremoniale) from the same place from the 15th century,¹¹⁹ the practice remains the same: the introit for the Mass is "Resurrexit Dominus a mortuis and the Quem queritis dialogue comes not before, but after it, and is called a trope. It is to be performed by six good singers.

In another manuscript from Urgel from the 16th century¹²⁰ the dialogue is to be sung at the main altar, apparently by three groups: one on the left side of the altar, one on the right, and one in front of the altar. Two processions from the same place from the 15th century¹²¹ have no rubrics.

In a troper from the cathedral of Vic from the 12th century¹²² there are no rubrics. However, it has a line "Terre motus factus est magnus, / Angelus Domini descendit de celo" (after Posuisti), which was not observed before. It might be possible to connect the artwork in Revilla de Santullán with such an accent on the angel of the Lord, descending from heaven as described in this verse.¹²³

A troper from the beginning of the 13th century from the same place has no rubrics at all, except a heading, telling that it is a trope.¹²⁴ A procession from the 3rd quarter of the 13th century from the same place does the same.¹²⁵

An ordinarium from the Vic cathedral, written before 1234,¹²⁶ has rubrics. The action is to take place around the altar, and both Christicole and celicole are to be two in number. While singing Non est hic, the celicole are to lift the covering of the altar (pallium altaris). Richard Donovan, though he calls this text a trope, thinks that "the two clerics at the altar clearly represent, or symbolize, the angels, and the other two who answer their queries are undoubtedly thought of as the "Marys".¹²⁷

In an ordinarium from the same cathedral from the 15th century¹²⁸ the ceremony is carried out similarly, except the celicole are to stand one on the right side of the altar, another on the left. The Christicole stand in front of the altar. The ones standing in the corners are to lift the altar cover (pallium altaris) when singing Non est hic, as in the previous example. Resurrexi follows in both cases.

To conclude this section about the ceremonies connected to the introit of the Mass, when there are rubrics indicating some movement of the objects by the performers, the altar covering in this region is lifted when or before singing Non est hic. A question remains whether this is the case in the Visitatio Sepulchri plays, performed during the Easter Matins. The next chapter will attempt to answer that question.

¹¹⁹ LOO 65

¹²⁰ LOO 66

¹²¹ LOO 67 and LOO 67a

¹²² LOO 68

¹²³ The distance between Vic and Revilla de Santullán is 700 km.

¹²⁴ LOO 69

¹²⁵ LOO 70

¹²⁶ LOO 71

¹²⁷ Donovan 1958, 77

¹²⁸ LOO 72

4.2. In the Matins

This chapter will be devoted to the discussion of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the Matins, relying mostly on Lipphardt's edition. Concerning those plays, in Compostella, two out of three texts have rubrics. A fly-leaf from 12th century, with the title "*Ad Significationem Sepulchri*" does not,¹²⁹ two 15th century breviaries do. In them both the play is carried out by boys ("*pueri*") around the altar. The altar cover is never lifted, neither before singing *Non est hic*, nor before any other part.¹³⁰

In Gandia, a town a bit south of Valencia, in the 16th century (year 1550) interestingly, there is an instruction that the players need to be "*llevando en sus manos los vasos de los ungientos*", as seen in the images.¹³¹ Otherwise it is a complicated ceremony, starting with a procession that arrives at the closed door of the church, as happened also in cases from Italy, then involving a *Sepulchre* with a curtain and ending with another procession in the streets. The source calls it *Auto Sacramental que representa la Resurrección del Señor*".¹³²

There are several texts from Girona that are published by Lipphardt, but that do not include the *Quem queritis* dialogue.

In several cases, the manuscripts do not provide the text of the play, but only a notice that it was carried out, e.g. "*Postea fiat Representatio de tribus Mariis*" in Girona, St. Felix¹³³ or: "*Postea fiet Representacio que fit in ecclesia De Tribus Mariis per novos de Capitulo. Et Cantores cum Processione Clericorum ordinent Tres Marias et Mercatorem sicut ordinatum est in Tropierio. Quibus omnibus finitis, Cantores incipiant: Victime paschali laudes. Et ipsam cantando intrent chorum et hic fit Representacio Per Marias Ad Sepulchrum*" in the cathedral of Girona in the 14th century.¹³⁴ It seems that they had two or even three different plays of the *Maries* that they performed consecutively! One wishes that they had written down more about this. It is also possible to see that at least in Girona exactly the same text was used in both positions: at the end of the Matins and before the Introit of the Mass.

Only a notice is found in an ordinarium from the Vic cathedral from the 13th century: "*Deinde fiat Representacio De .III. Mariis.*",¹³⁵ in a 14th century breviary from Vic: "*Deinde fiat Officium de Tribus Mariis.*",¹³⁶ in an ordinarium from the year 1413: "*Deinde fiat Officium De Tribus Mariis si voluerint.*".¹³⁷ It is possible to see that in Vic in the 15th century the play became optional, when before it seems to have been mandatory.

It remains unclear whether in Girona the said representation included the *Quem queritis* dialogue, because in the other manuscripts from this location, one from the cathedral from the 14th century, two from the church of St. Felix from the 15th century, it does not: in three of them there is mostly antiphonal singing of the "*Victime paschali*"

¹²⁹ LOO 452

¹³⁰ LOO 453, LOO 454

¹³¹ Esquieu thinks that such cases are extremely rare (only ca. twelve in the edition of Young) and appear only if a spice merchant is included in a play. Esquieu 1993, 220-221

¹³² LOO 455

¹³³ LOO 457, Girona, church of St. Felix, first half of the 15th century.

¹³⁴ LOO 456, *Consueta*, 14th century. Lipphardt thinks that he has the text from the *troper* as LOO 58b.

¹³⁵ LOO 465

¹³⁶ LOO 466

¹³⁷ LOO 467

with some movement and action,¹³⁸ while in the fourth one there seems to be an original chant.¹³⁹ On the other hand, a troper edited by Lipphardt¹⁴⁰ seems to have it. This fact might serve as a reminder that if not the full text, but only a mention of "Representatio de tribus Mariis" or similar is extant, it is not possible to be sure what was meant by it, if there are no other extant texts from the same location or if they are diametrically different.

In Palma de Mallorca in the 14th century, the same as in Girona, only a staged antiphonal singing of the "Victime paschali" is written down.¹⁴¹

The Quem queritis dialogue is in two beviaries from Silos monastery of Santo Domingo from the 11th century. One of them has no rubrics.¹⁴² The text of the other, very interestingly, does not seem to think of the Cristicole as the Maries nor as women at all, but makes full use of the ambiguity and the universality of the term:

Interrogat Angelus et dicat ad discipulos:

Quem queritis in sepulchro hoc, Cristicole?

Respondent Discipuli et dicant:

Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.¹⁴³

It seems that the monks of Santo Domingo have completely changed the story - now, instead, the disciples come to the Tomb and meet the angel, which is not a biblical story at all. Another interpretation is possible, that proposed by Susan Rankin: that the story is happening now.¹⁴⁴ The 11th century relief at the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos, picturing the Women at the Tomb, placed right in front of the exit from the church, has the arms of the angel missing; therefore, it is unclear what he was doing. For this reason, this artwork was not included in the discussion. However, the artwork is interesting, because even if it is extremely difficult to say with surety whether an artwork is depicting men or women, the relief from Silos might have monks instead of Maries. If Carol Heitz was right, saying that some artworks might depict monks dressed like Maries instead of actual women,¹⁴⁵ then the Silos relief might be one of those cases. The text of the play, from the same century as the relief, surely thinks the discipulos should figure in the story.

In Urgel it is clear that the action is taking place at and around the altar.¹⁴⁶ One text from the Urgel cathedral from the 15th century has rubrics, with no mention of the altar cover.

So, time-wise the sources are divided in the following manner: concerning the play at the end of the Matins, only one play from the 11th century is known, from Silos; one short dialogue from Compostella without rubrics on a fly-leaf is extant from the 12th century; there is one notice made at the cathedral of Vic in the 13th century that such play is to be performed; all the remaining plays are from the 14th and 15th centuries.

In his edition, Lipphardt has included some texts from the South of Spain into his group of "Northern French", for unclear reasons. These texts, from Limoges, Narbonne, Poitiers, Saintes and Uzés, will be discussed below.

The text from an antiphonary from Limoges from around the year 1200¹⁴⁷ does not have rubrics.

¹³⁸ LOO 456, LOO 456a, LOO 459

¹³⁹ LOO 458, Girona, St. Felix, 15th c.

¹⁴⁰ LOO 58b

¹⁴¹ LOO 460

¹⁴² LOO 461

¹⁴³ LOO, 462

¹⁴⁴ Rankin 1990, 313

¹⁴⁵ Heitz 1990, 393

¹⁴⁶ LOO 464

¹⁴⁷ LOO 115

A text from Narbonne from a non-extant ordinarium of an unknown date, known through a copy from the 18th century, has quite detailed rubrics.¹⁴⁸ The ceremony was apparently called "officio Magdalene". The action is to take place at the altar. Two boys seem to need to be "super altare", later again repeated "stantes super altare" - on the altar itself. They need to have "sindone rubea in facies eorum" - red cloth over their faces.¹⁴⁹ The boys "levent cum filo pannum, qui est super libros argenti super altare in figura Sepulchri". So, it seems that there are to be silver books, covered with a cloth on the altar, which is supposed to mean the Sepulchre of Christ. The instruction "levent" is written down after "Deinde pueri dicant: Non est hic", but it seems reasonable to think that these actions were intended to take place simultaneously, because if it is meant otherwise, it is clearly indicated in the Narbonne text by "quibus dictis" or "quo dicto". Therefore, this is another example of the altar covering being lifted while singing *Non est hic*. It ends with a dramatized singing of *Victime paschali*, in my opinion, probably one of the most interesting and impressive dramatizations of this piece. The text is divided between Magdalene, Mary mother of James and Salome, there are two nameless apostles behind the pulpit, asking Magdalene what she had seen, who points to the angels on the altar when singing "Angelicos testes", who, still on the altar, repeat their message, this time to everybody in the choir, by singing "Surrexit Christus, spes mea", which leads to a universally proclaimed conclusion that "Credendum est magis". It must have been a joy to watch.

Lipphardt publishes three plays from the former Benedictine female cloister of Sainte-Croix at Poitiers, founded by Saint Radegonde, whose acquisition of the relic of the Holy Rood, the namesake of the cloister, made Venantius Fortunatus write the famous hymn *Vexilla Regis*.¹⁵⁰

One of them is from a now lost ordinarium from the 13th century, copied in the 20th century.¹⁵¹ As is usual for female cloister, the female roles are performed by the nuns, while the male roles are performed by the priests. The Easter Matins were special by this presence of a priest, because normally the nuns could and did celebrate the Matins, as well as other hours of the Divine Office, by themselves.¹⁵² In this text there is only one Mary, the Magdalene. The performers are to exit the church through the main door and then come to the window of the Sepulchre. The first dialogue with the angel, asking "Mulier, quid ploras" is to take place there, ending with the adoration of the Holy Rood. After that they need to return to the church through the main door and go to the altar of St. Michael. There, a modified *Quem queritis* dialogue takes place:

O vos Christicolae [...]?
 Querimus hoc superi [...].
 Non jacet hic [...].

This text is highly original both because of the very rare decision to modify the *Quem queritis* dialogue and because there is only one Mary. It is possible to make a parallel of this play with a capital at a female cloister Saintes, 140, km from Poitiers, which also depicts only one Mary, a very rare occurrence.

¹⁴⁸ LOO 116

¹⁴⁹ On the red face of the angel in this scene, see Petzold 1992.

¹⁵⁰ The cloister was founded in 552, originally with the Rule of St. Cesaire of Arles, but soon switched to the Rule of St. Benedict. It was destroyed during the French Revolution, but renewed at Saint-Benoit, 7 km from Poitiers, in 1965. The cloister still possesses the relic of the Holy Rood. For more on the cloister of Sainte-Croix at Poitiers, see Labande 1986, Edwards 2013 and Edwards 2019.

¹⁵¹ LOO 151

¹⁵² Ogden 2002, 144. Contrary to the Mass, the celebration of the Divine Office does not require a priest.

A short text from Poitiers from a non-extant source of unknown date, copied in the 18th century¹⁵³ has only one Mary. The dialogue is a variation on *Quem queritis*:

Ubi est Christus meus [...]?

Non est hic [...].

Surrexit Christus [...].

Such a variation is very rare, if not unique. It is also significant that before or while singing *Surrexit Christus*, "*Maria aperit os Sepulchri*". It is unsure whether the Sepulchre was the same as in the previous text from Poitiers - likely, in the form of a chapel with a window. There is a parallel with the capital from Pamplona, this artwork shows one of the women opening the sarcophagus.¹⁵⁴ This text therefore would call for further research.

The third text from Poitiers is from a 14th century breviary.¹⁵⁵ The ceremony, quite originally, is called *Cantus Mulierum Querencium Dominum*. It has the same dialogue "*O vos Christicolae*" as the first text from Poitiers (from Sainte-Croix female cloister), this time written not only in incipits, but in full. The rubrics are not noteworthy, mostly specifying which character or characters are to speak. This time, there are three women, and they are not named. The antiphon *Venite et videte locum* is sung.

A breviary from Saintes from the 13th century¹⁵⁶ does not have rubrics. From two breviaries from the 15th century, the rubrics in one only say "*Angeli*" and "*Mulieres*",¹⁵⁷ in another they are more precise, in specifying "*Angeli*" and "*Due Marie*".¹⁵⁸ So it is possible to see that the Maries were not always necessarily three.

An ordinarium from Uzés from the 14th century¹⁵⁹ clearly specifies that "*Populus*" was supposed to take part in the ceremony. The rubrics are quite detailed. Two boys ("*pueri*") as angels are supposed to be "*in loco aliquo alto abscondi*" and sing the "*Quem queritis*" verse from there. The whole choir is to sing the "*Ihesum Nazarenum*".

To conclude the previous two chapters, it is possible to note that, as expected, there is great variety in the rubrics. It was observed that when the angels are supposed to handle anything in connection with the altar, the common instruction is to lift the altar cover before or while singing the *Non est hic* antiphon. This feature is present in the texts from an Augustine canonry of Santa Maria del Estany (14th century), two ordinariums from the Vic cathedral (from the start of the 13th and from the 15th century) and an ordinarium from Narbonne (unknown date). In other cases, no mention was made of the altar cover as a prop.

Similar cases as observed in Vic, Narbonne and Santa Maria del Estany are not exclusively limited to this region. They can be found in Amiens,¹⁶⁰ Besançon (LOO 94 - the linen is lifted after the *Non est hic* and LOO 95), Bourges (LOO 97; lifting after the

¹⁵³ LOO 152

¹⁵⁴ The distance between Poitiers and Pamplona is 550 km. Pamplona is on the Camino Frances, connecting Saintes and Poitiers to Santiago de Compostella.

¹⁵⁵ LOO 153

¹⁵⁶ LOO 156

¹⁵⁷ LOO 158

¹⁵⁸ LOO 157

¹⁵⁹ LOO 173

¹⁶⁰ LOO 86

Non est hic), Chalons-sur-Marne,¹⁶¹ Chalon-sur-Saone,¹⁶² Paris (breviary from ca. 1400),¹⁶³ two manuscripts from Senlis,¹⁶⁴ Sens¹⁶⁵ and Troyes.¹⁶⁶

By contrast, in Paris Sainte-Chapelle (LOO 148 and LOO 149, respectively 14th and 15th c.) one of the Maries must secretly take the altar linen and hide it, showing it only when singing "Sudarium et vestes".

Yves Esquieu has claimed that it is usual for the angels to lift the altar cover before singing Non est hic,¹⁶⁷ but the examples he uses to support it have the angels lift it in a completely different moment:

1. [...] Dyaconi:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat.

Item dyaconi:

Venite et videte locum.

Item dyaconi:

Cito euntes.

Post hec sacerdotes accipiant sudarium de Sepulchro, et vadant supra gradus presbiterij, et extendentes sudarium cantent alta voce:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro (Monastery of St. Maximin near Trier, Young 1933, 252).

2. [...] Angeli:

Non est hic quem queritis, sed cito euntes nunciate sic discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit Ihesus.

Angeli:

Venite et videte locu ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia.

Angeli:

Cito euntes, dicite discipulis quia surrexit Dominus, alleluia, alleluia.

Tunc sacerdotes intrantes Sepulchrum lintheamina inde tollunt, et portantes ante se cantant et ostendunt omnibus, et dicunt antiphonam:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia (Raitenbuch, Young 1933, 253).

3. [...] Scholares in Sepulchro cantent:

Non est hic.

Et statim surgentes in Sepulchrum, exeuntes Sepulchrum discooperiant in parte illa ubi exeunt, et habentes cooperimentum Sepulchri in manibus cantent:

Venite et videte locum (Frizlar, Young 1933, 257).

All Esquieu's examples are from Germany, 15th century. As we have seen, nothing happens in these examples before singing Non est hic, contrary to the claim of Esquieu. Instead, the altar cover is lifted before singing either Venite et videte, or Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro.

Outside of the region under discussion, there are other cases when the altar linen is lifted while or after singing the "Venite et videte" antiphon. For example, in an ordinarium from Remiremont, 12th century:

¹⁶¹ LOO 102

¹⁶² LOO 103

¹⁶³ LOO 136

¹⁶⁴ LOO 160 and LOO 161

¹⁶⁵ LOO 164

¹⁶⁶ LOO 171

¹⁶⁷ Esquieu 1993, 224

[...] Diacones dicunt:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a morte.

Venite et videte locum ubi positus est Dominus, alleluia, alleluia.

Tunc presbyteri, accepto sudario, reuertentes cantent clam antiphonam:

Surrexit Christus et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, alleluia.

Alia antiphona:

Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus, et precedet uos in Galileam, alleluia; ibi eum videbitis, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.¹⁶⁸

As we see, the protagonists take the altar cloth only after singing "Venite et videte locum". In the rubrics from Santa Maria d'Estany, Vic, and Narbonne, in contrast, the protagonists-angels lift the palium of the altar before or while singing "non est hic", as if the palium was understood as covering something. Also remarkable is the difference in the noun: "take - accepto" instead of "lift - levent, elevantes".

Therefore, it seems not entirely impossible, that for the people of the 12th century on the Easter morning, the cloth on the altar symbolized the lid of the sarcophagus and not the shroud in the tomb.

¹⁶⁸ Young 1933, I, 248

Conclusions

This thesis affirms the initial hypothesis and argues that the region of the Northern Spain and Southern France exhibits a composition that is not found anywhere else in the world: it depicts the moment when the women are already present at the Tomb and the angel or two angels are sweeping down and uncovering the sarcophagus-shaped Tomb. At least fifteen examples of this composition exist. Also, there is a second composition that is unique to this region - depicting the moment when both the women and the angel have arrived, but the Tomb is still closed. This second composition with the closed Tomb merits further research. To my best knowledge, these two models are not found anywhere else throughout the whole history of this motive except this region.

It is observed that the relationship between the liturgical drama and the visual art in Northern Spain and Southern France is complex and subtle. Concerning the composition with the angel opening the Tomb, it is possible to conclude that an impressive burst of creativity is observed in this region. The artworks almost never copy one another, except very rare cases, even in close geographical proximity. Most of the unusual artwork analyzed in this thesis are in the localities where the liturgical drama is not extant and likely was not practiced. It is possible to think that artistic creativity was directed either to developing new original artwork or to practicing the liturgical drama, but not to both activities at once. It might also have been that in the locations where the *Quem queritis* was performed, the people were used to its stylized form. It is possible to see that to perform something resembling the Revilla de Santullán scene would have been extremely complicated, requiring stage machinery to make the angel swoop down. I argue that where people were used to seeing the dialogue performed every year, it actually might have limited their capacity to imagine the scene in different ways. It might have been that where the dialogue was performed, everybody imagined this scene in the same way; where it was not practiced, the visual images in people's heads was different for every individual. In that way, it is possible that liturgical drama produced an effect of unity of thinking and imagination, but as a result, this might have diminished diversity and originality.

Evidence shows that geographic proximity did not result in the usage of the same composition, and vice versa. The only case in this region of two images so alike that they are highly likely either copy of one another or work of the same milieu is between a parish church at the village of Revilla de Santullán and the Tarragona cathedral, both end of the 12th - beginning of the 13th century. The distance between Tarragona and Revilla de Santullán is 600 km, and it seems that it was not an obstacle at all in this transmission.

It was observed that a practice existed to lift the altar veil while singing "Non est hic, surrexit", It might be that in this setting of the play the people perceived the altar linen as the cover of the sarcophagus like-tomb. Other features also seem to remain stable: it required two angels by the two sides of the altar and three Maries. It remains a question of when and where such a setting was begun, and when and where it disseminated later. Further research is needed on this topic.

There are other numerous directions for further research. It would be interesting to look into Biblical commentaries and to see if there is any influence in any direction between the depiction of this scene and the Biblical commentaries.

It might prove fruitful to analyze the images from this region that demonstrate the usual composition, i.e., the sarcophagus Tomb already open, as was common in the rest of Europe. Such analysis would pose the question whether there also were common

peculiarities that separated those images with a seemingly usual composition from the rest of the world.

In some cases, the wings of the angel were covering the sarcophagus, like in the case of the Old Testament Arc of the Covenant, as described in Exodus. A deeper look into this parallel might give an answer to a question whether it was a conscious reference.

List of Abbreviations

LOO = Lipphardt, Walther: Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspielen, I-V, Berlin/New York 1975-1976

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Appendix (Illustrations)



1. Capital, origin: Pamplona, ca. 1130-1140, "master of the crossroads of the Cathedral of Pamplona", From the series of capitals from the cloister of the Old Cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre); Pamplona, Museo de Navarra.



2. Bas-relief, marble, 12th c. (?), Saint-Paul-le-Dax church, Dax (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France



3. Capital, 12th c., Abbaye-aux-Dames, Saintes (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), France, belltower



4. Relief, 12th c., church of Notre-Dame, Castelvieu (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), portal



5. Capital, origin: double chapter from St-Pons-de-Thomières (Occitanie, France), 2nd half of the 12th century, marble, Louvre Museum Paris



6. Capital, end of 12th c., church of St. Michael the Archangel (San Miguel Arcángel), Estella (Navarre), Spain, North portal



7. Capital, end of 12th c.—beginning of 13th c., sandstone (?), church of San Cornelio y San Cipriano, Revilla de Santullán (Castille and León), Spain, portal



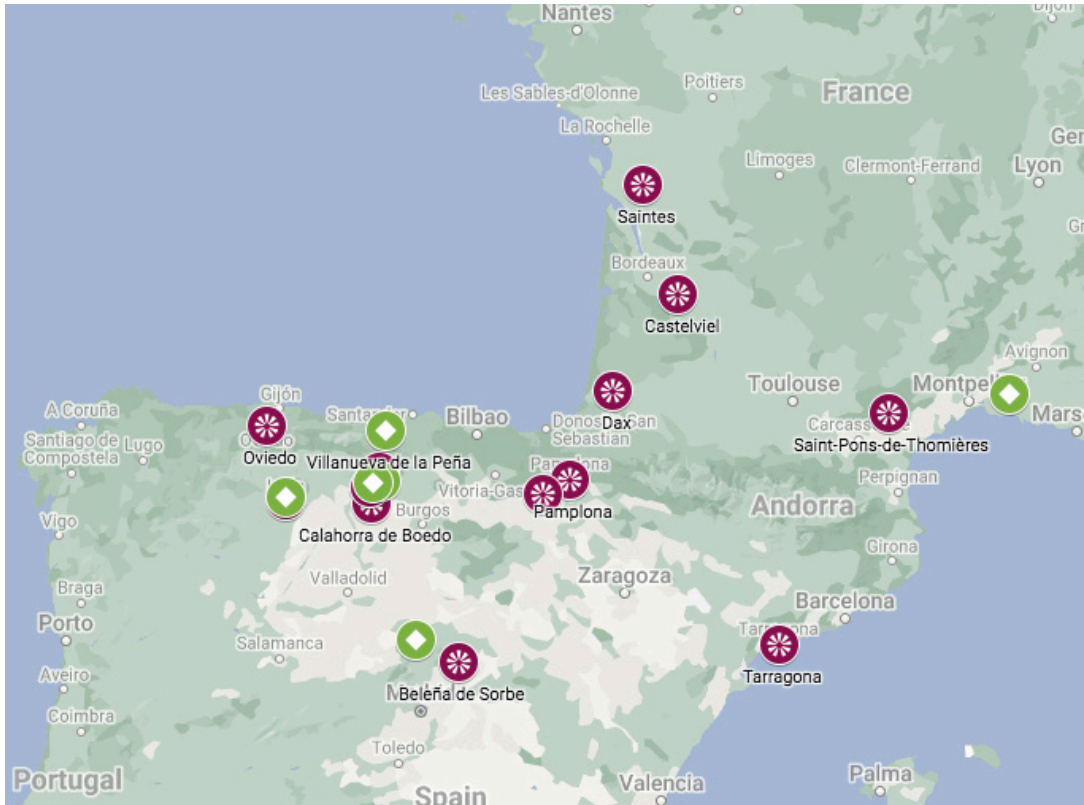
8. Retable (?), 15th c., sandstone, Museum of Augustins, Toulouse (Occitanie), France



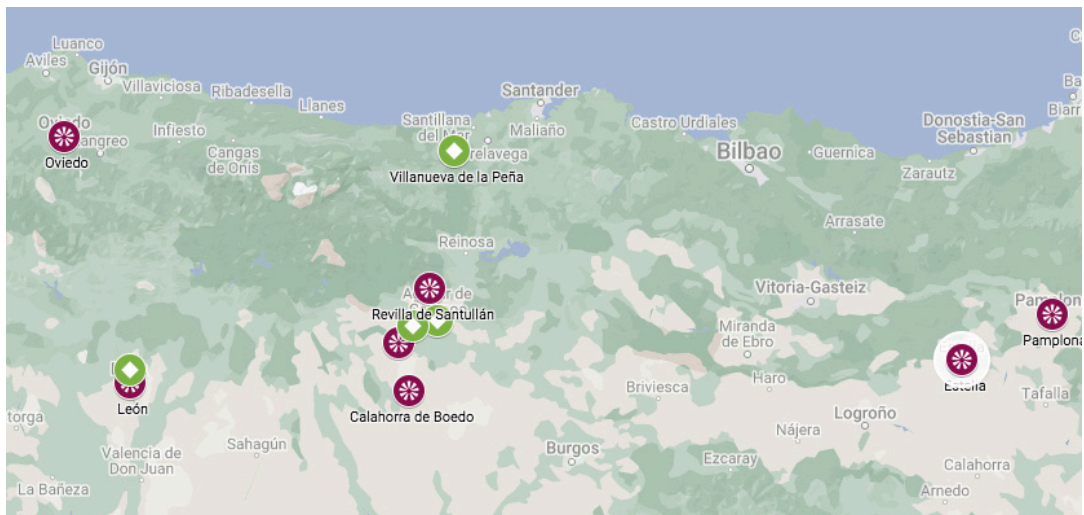
9. Capital, end of 12th c.—beginning of 13th c., Ermita de Santa Cecilia de Vallespinoso de Aguilar, Vallespinoso (Castile and Leon), Spain, portal



10. Relief, portal, ca. 1150-1155, abbey of Saint-Gilles, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (Occitanie), France



11. Map of the artworks discussed. Legend: Red - The angel opening the Tomb; Green - Closed Tomb



12. Map of the artworks on the Camino Frances. Legend: Red - The angel opening the Tomb; Green - Closed Tomb