

The Dating of the Construction of the Monastery of Sacramenia¹

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The Cistercians entered Spain with the founding of the monastery of Fitero in 1140. Most of the Cistercian monasteries founded in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were located in the north of Spain in lands securely Christian. A large number of monasteries were founded during the reign of Alfonso VII, at the beginning of the Cistercian expansion in Spain. For these early monasteries there was a delay of about twenty-five to thirty years between foundation and permanent building campaigns. For example, Fitero, Huerta, Meira, Melon, Moreruela, Osera, Poblet, Sacramenia, Santes Creus, Valbuena and Veruela, were founded in the 1140s and early 1150s.² None of the permanent building campaigns of these monasteries can be dated earlier than the 1160s. During the intervening period the monks erected temporary buildings, acquired land through donation and achieved financial security for their communities. For most of the monasteries it was during the reign of Alfonso VIII of Castile, great patron of the Cistercians, that they received new donations in order to start building.³

Typical of this group is the monastery of Sacramenia, founded by the Emperor Alfonso VII in 1141. The earliest buildings were constructed under Alfonso VIII in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The eminent Spanish scholar Leopoldo Torres Balbas, who studied many of the Spanish Cistercian constructions, dated the church simply to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and the chapter house to the early thirteenth century.⁴ In 1975, Walter Cahn wrote about the chapter house, located since 1953 in Miami.⁵ He dated it to the third quarter of the twelfth century and suggested that it formed the model for the similar chapter house of the mother house of L'Escale Dieu in France and those of two other daughters of L'Escale Dieu in Spain.⁶ This earlier date for the chapter house would not only attribute important influence to Sacramenia, but would necessitate a very early date for the church which this paper will demonstrate to be somewhat earlier than the chapter house. Given the archaizing nature of much Cistercian architecture in Spain, dating such as this, based purely on style, is very difficult.

For example, the church of Valdedios resembles many of the buildings begun in the 1170s and 1180s. It follows the traditional Spanish Romanesque plan with a semicircular apse and two semicircular chapels. In the nave the two-part wall elevation has round-arched arcade openings (Figure 1). The cruciform pillars have one engaged column on each side and, in typical Cistercian manner, the nave column does not extend all the way to the floor. The nave, side aisles and transept are all provided with rib vaults, but the ribs die in the angles of the vaults with no support other than a corner of the pillars. None of these details would be

inconsistent with a date in the last two decades of the twelfth century, but the monastery of Valdedios was not founded until 1196. From documentary evidence and an inscription it is known that the church was not begun until 1218.⁷

The church of Valdedios can be contrasted with that of Palazuelos begun slightly earlier in 1213. While on the exterior Palazuelos still looks like a Romanesque building, on the interior the forms are Gothic (Figure 2). The pointed arch is used throughout. The ribs of the vaults are thin and light and rest on columns in the corners of the pillars. The polygonal apse is flooded with light from the large windows and covered with Gothic webbed vaulting. The entire appearance of the building is lighter and more open than that of Valdedios, and yet the buildings were begun about the same time. Given the tendency of many Cistercian constructions to follow forms used earlier in Spain and often much earlier in France, it is necessary to combine stylistic analysis with careful study of documentary evidence in order to date the buildings.

Unfortunately, much documentary evidence has been lost. When the Spanish monasteries were sacked and then secularized in the early nineteenth century, many archives were looted or destroyed. For the monastery of Sacramenia, our knowledge of the early donations comes from a copy of the monastery documents made in the eighteenth century and preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional.⁸ In addition a few of the original documents copied in this cartulary are preserved in other Spanish archives. The original foundation document does not survive, but the date of 1141, or in some cases 1142, has been accepted by almost all scholars.⁹ Economically the twelfth- and thirteenth-century life of the monastery can be divided into four phases. In the 1140s and 1150s the monastery received donations of land from Alfonso VIII and tithes from the Bishop of Segovia. After a gap during the short reign of Sancho III and the minority of Alfonso VIII, it again received land donations, salt and privileges between 1170 and 1208. In the thirteenth century donations to the Spanish Cistercian monasteries diminished and only rights, privileges, exemptions from taxes and tolls, and confirmations of earlier donations were received. Although Sacramenia was a royal foundation and one of the earliest Cistercian monasteries founded in Spain, it never achieved the status of Poblet, Huerta or Las Huelgas. Even though it received a substantial number of privileges from Alfonso VII and his grandson Alfonso VIII, it must have gained only a modest wealth. By 1274, in the reign of Alfonso X, it was termed "poor and much diminished," in a document exempting it from certain taxes.¹⁰ Thus the truly prosperous period for the monastery must have been the last few decades of the twelfth century and the first few decades of the thirteenth century.

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In 1172 Sacramenia received a salt mine at Bonilla in Navafria from Count Pedro Manrique and in 1173 Alfonso VIII authorized a yearly gift of 200 "cahices" (134,000 kg) of salt.¹¹ This quantity of salt could certainly not have been used by the small monastic community, and a recent study of the economics of Castilian Cistercian monasteries suggests that the sale of salt provided an important means of revenue.¹² Salt probably supplied capital for the building campaign at the monastery of Huerta, for example. Shortly after the community there acquired salt mines, Alfonso VIII laid the first stone of the church.¹³ Revenue from the sale of salt can also be connected with the building campaigns at the Cathedral of Sigüenza. The Bishop of Sigüenza gave various goods to the canons because of their poverty, but specifically set aside revenue from the salt mines for the construction of the church.¹⁴ When Alfonso VIII wanted to support the construction of the mother church of the order at Cîteaux, in France, he too gave an annual donation from salt mines.¹⁵ Thus the donations of salt given to Sacramenia in 1172 and 1173 suggest that the monastery was gathering the funds at this time to begin the building campaigns.

These dates fit well into the period in which most of the early Cistercian monasteries in Spain began building. Very few of the Spanish Cistercian churches can be dated exactly through documentary evidence, but where some dates are known, they fall into the years between 1164 and 1181.¹⁶ Fitero, La Olivia, and Veruela, all, like Sacramenia, founded from L'Escale Dieu in the 1140s, were underway in the early 1170s. This seems the most likely period for the beginning of construction at Sacramenia as well. References in the documents to actual buildings are very sparse. The first occurred in 1147 when Alfonso VII gave a pine grove to make the church and living quarters: "*Insuper dono eis et concedo pinare pro ecclesia sua et domibus faciendis usque in perpetuum. . .*"¹⁷ This must refer to the early provisional buildings since none of the Spanish monasteries began their permanent building campaigns until well after Alfonso VII's reign. In 1174, in a sentence almost identical to that used in the earlier document of his grandfather, Alfonso VIII gave wood for the church and other buildings: "*Insuper dono eis et concedo ligna de pinaribus, serris et montibus, pro ecclesia sua et domibus faciendis et aliis necessariis, usque in perpetuum.*"¹⁸ A similar donation of wood to the monastery of Poblet has been used to date the construction of the church there.¹⁹ Thus, from an historical and economic point of view it seems likely that the building campaign began in the years immediately after 1174.

Stylistically the architecture of the church of Sacramenia can be compared most closely to that of Veruela, also founded from L'Escale Dieu. The east ends of the two Spanish buildings are totally different (Figures 3 and 4). Veruela was provided with an ambulatory and radiating chapels. The east end of the church of Sacramenia is much simpler. The semicircular apse is flanked on each side by two semicircular chapels arranged in a stepped formation. The chapels are semicircular on the inside but are rectangular on the exterior. The naves and aisles, however, are strikingly similar. Both are based on a typical Cistercian Romanesque type, but covered with rib vaults in which the ribs diminish to a point in the corners of the vaults (Figure 5). In the side aisles of both churches the ribs are simple toruses and the vaults are domical in shape. Whereas the transverse arches are of a pointed horseshoe shape at Veruela, those of Sacramenia are simple, pointed arches.

The proportions of the aisles at Sacramenia are wider and squatter than at Veruela and the transverse arches are carried on pilasters rather than columns with carved capitals.

In the naves the similarity between the piers used at the two churches can be seen (Figure 6). They are cruciform with single, engaged columns on each side, or — as at Sacramenia — with a pilaster on the aisle side. The nave columns at both buildings end in a conical shape well above the floor in typical Cistercian fashion. The column bases are similar with carved balls at the corners, but at Veruela the two roll moldings which form the column bases continue all the way around the piers. The vaulting of the nave of Veruela is similar to that of the aisles in that the ribs diminish to a point without support, but the ribs have a more complex profile. The nave vaults at Sacramenia can be dated to the late fifteenth century, but the similarities between the churches of Veruela and Sacramenia argue for the conclusion that the original vaulting of the nave was also of the same type with the ribs diminishing to a point.

The elevations of both churches are composed of two stories, but the windows of Veruela are larger and the upper capitals of the nave higher so that the string course which divides the two stories is placed well below the capitals. At Sacramenia this molding forms the abaci of the upper capitals. The result is taller proportions at Veruela and a greater vertical emphasis in the unbroken column shafts. The capitals at Sacramenia are more decorative than those at Veruela, although the simplest capitals used at both churches, decorated with a rope motif, are very similar. The same Cistercian sources must have been used as the basis of both buildings.

The stylistic differences between the two churches argue for a slightly earlier date for the constructions at Sacramenia, a conclusion which accords well with the documentary evidence. Veruela is one of the few Spanish Cistercian monasteries which is well-dated. The monastery was founded in 1146 and temporary buildings constructed. By 1171 the east end was begun, for the monks were able to celebrate Mass there. By 1178 the transept had been started, although work was still underway on the ambulatory and the radiating chapels. Work progressed slowly but steadily westward until completion in 1248.²⁰ Probably by the 1180s or 1190s work on the lower parts of the nave was initiated. From documentary and economic evidence already considered, the initial building campaign at Sacramenia can be dated to the years immediately after 1174. Since construction began in the east, but may have proceeded faster on the much simpler apse, the nave was probably underway a little earlier than that of Veruela in the 1180s or 1190s. By the early years of the thirteenth century emphasis had shifted to the cloister and chapter house and the last areas of the church to be constructed, the southwest and western portals, are crudely decorated.

The capitals of the nave of the church of Sacramenia are relatively decorative for a Cistercian building of the late twelfth century (Figure 7a). Although parallels with other Cistercian buildings can be drawn for the simpler capitals, the most decorative among them can be compared to important local architecture of Segovia and Avila. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the basic Romanesque capitals of Corinthian type with volutes above and a single row of stylized leaves below, were spread along the pilgrimage roads from Toulouse to Santiago. In fact in the nave of the church of Santiago de Compostela itself, there

exist capitals similar to those of Sacramenia. The same type of leaves are used with spiraling ends forming volutes and with separately carved lobes outlined with a ridge. A second smaller row of leaves forms the upper volutes.

The lower capitals of the church of San Vicente at Avila, dated to the first half of the twelfth century, are very similar to some of the types used at Sacramenia (Figure 7b). The same spiraling leaves are employed and the arrangement is the same with the lower rows oriented to the corners and an additional pair of upper volutes which curve toward the center. A second type at Avila with lower leaves which project strongly but do not curve into spirals is also similar to some of the nave capitals at Sacramenia. The majority of the abaci at Avila are decorated with rosettes. This motif was very popular in the twelfth century all over the province of Segovia and can be seen at San Millán and San Martín Segovia, San Miguel in Sotosalbos, and San Martín in Fuentidueña just 6 km from Sacramenia. Few of the moldings and abaci are decorated in the church at Sacramenia, but where they are, such as on the molding of the southwest crossing pier, the rosette motif is employed.

The relationship between the capitals of Sacramenia and San Vicente in Avila can also explain the more developed forms used for the apse entry capitals at Sacramenia (Figure 8a). These two capitals are much more elegantly carved than the others and the forms would suggest a later date. However, there is every reason to believe that the church was built in the normal way from east to west and that this area was completed before or at about the same time as the work on the lower regions of the nave. A parallel can be drawn between the forms of these capitals and the upper capitals of San Vicente, dated after mid-century (Figure 8b). Thus, the nave capitals of Sacramenia were modeled on the earlier capitals of San Vicente, while the apse capitals were probably carved by a more experienced sculptor influenced by the later upper capitals of the same church. This would necessitate a date well after the middle of the century for the capitals of the church of Sacramenia.

The chapter house capitals employ some of the same forms as those in the church (Figure 9). Walter Cahn, however, made a connection with southwestern France, in particular with the region around Agen and the Bordelais. He dated these capitals to the third quarter of the twelfth century.²¹ Given the date we have just established for the church and its capitals, this would require that the chapter house was begun before the church. However, a comparison of the capitals and column bases of the church and chapter house does not support this sequence. The moldings of the column bases of the chapter house are thinner than those of the church, a characteristic associated with a later date. The carving of the forms of both capitals and abaci, while similar in motifs, is more naturalistic, more organic, in the chapter house, in line with the trends toward an early Gothic art. Rather than being inspired directly from southwest France, the forms of the chapter house capitals are based on those of the church which have been traced here to twelfth-century Spanish sources. Thus, if the church was not begun until 1174, the chapter house must be dated to the end of the century.

The plan of the chapter house, however, can be tied directly to southwestern France. The unusual plan is almost identical to that of the chapter house of the mother house of L'Escale Dieu (Figure 10). It is composed of nine bays with

rib vaults resting on four central columns. The ribs diminish to a point above the abaci of the capitals like those of the side aisles of the church. However, the three bays closest to the cloister are only half the size of the others and are covered by half vaults. This plan was copied by two other daughter houses of L'Escale Dieu in Spain, Veruela and La Oliva (Figure 11). The ribs of all three buildings are simple thick toruses, like those of the side aisles of the church of Sacramenia, but all the transverse arches at La Oliva, and the wall arches at Veruela have a more complex profile than the simple rectangles found at Sacramenia. Both Veruela and La Oliva have columns provided to support the vaults along the walls rather than the brackets used at Sacramenia and L'Escale Dieu. The chapter house entry at Sacramenia is almost identical to that at L'Escale Dieu with a round-arched portal flanked by double semicircular openings carried on groups of four columns. At La Oliva and at Veruela this design was extended so that an extra two groups of four columns formed the central portal.

The feature which most easily distinguishes the chapter house at Sacramenia from the other three is the rich decoration of the capitals. Those at Veruela, L'Escale Dieu, and La Oliva are all carved with stylized leaves in very low relief. It was the richness of the capitals, as well as the simpler arches and entryway, which prompted Walter Cahn to suggest such an early date for the chapter house of Sacramenia, placing it even before that of the mother house of L'Escale Dieu. The church of L'Escale Dieu was consecrated in 1160 and the chapter house was built about this time. Cahn suggested such an early date for Sacramenia judging on purely stylistic grounds and making comparisons with southern French architecture. If, however, comparisons with local twelfth century architecture in Spain are made, and the relative dates of the church and chapter house of Sacramenia are considered, the date of the chapter house cannot be before the last decade of the twelfth century, much closer to Torres Balbas' early thirteenth century date.

In summary then, documentary and economic evidence, as well as a comparison of the architecture of the church of Sacramenia to that of the well-dated church of Veruela, suggest a date of *circa* 1174 for the beginning of construction. This accords well with the building dates we possess for those monasteries founded in the 1140s. The nave was begun sometime in the 1180s and construction continued into the early thirteenth century. By comparing the column bases and capitals of the chapter house and nave we can date the chapter house capitals somewhat later. The vaulting of the chapter house is similar to that of the side aisles of the church. Hence a date in the 1190s for the chapter house is the earliest that can be considered. This restores to L'Escale Dieu the place of model for the chapter houses of its three Spanish daughters, a much more likely arrangement.

As has been noted earlier the monastery of Sacramenia was termed "poor and much diminished" by 1274. Thus all the twelfth- and thirteenth-century constructions were probably finished by mid-thirteenth century. This would include the church, chapter house, refectory, kitchen, cloister and the lay brothers' refectory.

For the monastery of Sacramenia, documentary, economic and stylistic evidence has shown that the forms employed were often thirty to fifty years behind those used in France. Thus, while stylistic comparisons with French Cistercian and non-Cistercian architecture suggest a date as

early as the mid-twelfth century for the first construction at Sacramenia, it has been seen that these dates cannot stand

when the entire context of Spanish Cistercian architecture is considered.

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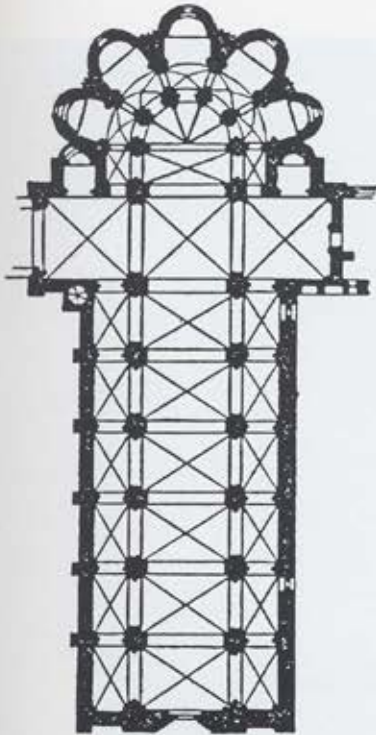
- 1 This paper is based on a dissertation directed by Professor Francois Bucher. My preliminary assessments of the monastery and the architectural problems it posed may be found in Joanne E. Sowell, "Sacramenia in Spain and Florida: A Preliminary Assessment," *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, ed. Meredith Lillich (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1982), pp. 71–77.
- 2 A controversy still remains over the date of the foundation of Morerueta, once believed to be the first Cistercian foundation in Spain. Spanish scholars are reluctant to accept a date as late as 1158 as proposed by Maur Cocheril, *Etudes sur le monachisme en Espagne et au Portugal* (Paris: Société d'éditions "Les Belles Lettres," 1966), pp. 161–180. However, a recent dissertation has found no reason to believe that Morerueta was founded before 1143. María Luisa Bueno Domínguez, "El Monasterio de Morerueta en los siglos XII y XIII," Diss. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1973, as quoted in Vicente-Angel Alvarez Palenzuela, *Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla: siglos XII–XIII* (Valladolid: Universidad, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1978), p. 132. For a discussion of the merits of the earlier date of 1131 by a Spanish scholar in reply to Cocheril see P. Guerin, "El Cister y España," *Cistercium*, XV, No. 86 (1963), 117–125.
- 3 Alfonso VIII also supported the building campaigns of the mother house of Cîteaux in France. By 1205 he had given 2,500 "maravedis" for the construction of the house of the lay brothers and another 300 rent annually from the salt mine of Atienza for building. Leopoldo Torres Balbas, *Monasterios cistercienses en Galicia* (Santiago: n.p., 1954), p. 14.
- 4 Leopoldo Torres Balbas, "El monasterio Bernardo de Sacramenia. (Segovia)," *Archivo español de arte*, 17 (1944), pp. 197–225.
- 5 The monastery buildings were secularized in 1835 and sold. In 1925 they were purchased by William Randolph Hearst who had the cloister, chapter house, and refectory dismantled and shipped to New York. In 1953 they were purchased by William S. Edgemon and E. Raymond Moss and reconstructed in North Miami Beach, Florida.
- 6 Walter Cahn, "Chapter House. Monastery of Sacramenia (Segovia)," in "Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections. XIV. The South," *Gesta*, XIV (1975), pp. 75–78.
- 7 Elie Lambert, *El arte gótico en España en los siglos XII y XIII*, 2nd ed., Trans. Cristina Rodríguez Salmones (Madrid: Ediciones Catedra, 1982), p. 83. From an inscription, the date in which the construction was begun, May 18, 1218, is known, as is the name of the architect, Master Gautier (or *Galterius*). This is rare knowledge for a Spanish Cistercian building.
- 8 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Codices 104B. Transcriptions of some of these documents are published in Julio Gonzalez, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Escuela de estudios medievales, 1960), and María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, *Santa María de Cárdbaba. Priorato de Arlanza y Granja de Sacramenia* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Departamento de Paleografía y Diplomática, 1979).
- 9 Early authors such as Manrique writing in 1643, Mendoza in 1753, Yepes in the early 17th century and Colmenares in 1640, all accept the date of 1141. Angel Manrique, *Anales Cistercienses* (Lyon: Boissat and Annon, 1642–1659), I, p. 417. B. Mendoza, *Synopsis seu brevis notitia monasteriorum congregationis Hispaniae cistercienses*, Ms. of 1753, Library of the Abbey of San Isidro de Dueñas, (bound with others), p. 32, fol. 27. Fray Antonio de Yepes, *Cronica General de la Orden de San Benito, 1609–1621*; rpt. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 123–125, ed. Justo Perez de Urbel (Madrid: Atlas, 1959–1960), VII, 314, 3. Diego de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla*, 2nd. ed. (1640; rpt. Segovia: Tomas Baeza y Gonzalez, 1921), p. 214. Alvarez Palenzuela quotes an unpublished document which puts the date at March 21, 1141. Vicente-Angel Alvarez Palenzuela, *Monasterios cistercienses en Cas-*
- tilla: siglos XII–XIII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1978), p. 176. Fr. Francisco de Bivar, a monk of Sacramenia, writing to Colmenares in 1627, could find no original document preserved at the monastery which gave the foundation date. He stated only that a catalogue of Cistercian monasteries gave the date as February 3, 1141, although he asserted that the original foundation was even earlier and this referred to a translation of the monastery or consecration of the church. Diego de Colmenares, "Aparato de la Historia de Segovia," in M. Quintanilla, "Monasterio de Sacramenia. Documentos," *Estudios Segovianos*, IV (1952), pp. 547–548. Two modern Spanish scholars, Martín Postigo, a paleographer who has worked extensively with the Sacramenia documents, and Alvarez Palenzuela who has written on the economics of the Castilian Cistercian monasteries, accept the date of 1141. Martín Postigo, p. 45. Alvarez Palenzuela, p. 135. Cocheril, Dimier, and Van der Meer use the date of 1142. Maur Cocheril, "L'implantation des Abbayes Cisterciennes dans la péninsule Ibérique," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, I (1964), pp. 234 and 285. Anselme Dimier, *Recueil des plans d'églises cisterciennes* (Grignan, Drôme: Abbaye Notre-Dame de Aiguebelle, 1949), p. 155. Frederick Van der Meer, *Atlas de l'ordre cistercien* (Paris: Editions-Sequoia, 1965), p. 294. Recuerdo Astray traces the movements of Alfonso VII and based on Colmenares' account places him in Segovia in 1141 where he found the monastery of Sacramenia on January 30. M. Recuerdo Astray, *Alfonso VII, emperador. El Imperio Hispanico en el siglo XII* (Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro," 1979), pp. 218–219.
- 10 Madrid, AHN Codices 104B, fol. 13r–v.
- 11 Madrid, AHN Codices 104B, fols. 26r–27r. The 1173 document is also published in Gonzalez, II, pp. 295–297, Doc. 175.
- 12 Alvarez Palenzuela, pp. 249–252.
- 13 Carlos de la Casa Martínez and Elias Teres Navarro, *Monasterio Cisterciense de Santa María de Huerta* (Almazan: Ingrabel, 1982) p. 35.
- 14 Leopoldo Torres Balbas, *Arquitectura gótica*, *Ars Hispaniae*, VII (Madrid: Editorial Plus–Ultra, 1952), p. 55.
- 15 Torres Balbas, *Monasterios Cistercienses en Galicia*, p. 14.
- 16 According to documentary sources La Oliva was begun in 1164 and finished by 1198, although this last date is usually interpreted by scholars as a consecration date rather than a completion date. Torres Balbas, *Arquitectura gótica*, p. 27. Armenteira was begun by 1168 and Osera and Junquera were well underway in 1193. Torres Balbas, *Monasterios Cistercienses en Galicia*, p. 34. Poblet was begun after 1166 and according to records Santes Creus was begun in 1174. Veruela was under construction in 1171 and Huerta was begun in 1179. Torres Balbas, *Arquitectura gótica*, pp. 34–37. The east end of Fitero is usually dated after 1170 while that of Valbuena was underway before 1200.
- 17 Madrid, AHN Codices 104B, fol. 2r.
- 18 Madrid, AHN Codices 104B, fol 8v–9v.
- 19 Torres Balbas, *Arquitectura gótica*, pp. 35–36.
- 20 Torres Balbas, *Arquitectura gótica*, p. 36.
- 21 There were many contacts in the 11th and 12th centuries between Agen and Spain and relationships with the art of the Agenais are no surprise in Segovia where Pedro de Agen was the first bishop. For the early contacts between Spain and Agen see Abbé Barrère, *Histoire religieuse et monumentale du diocèse d' Agen* (Agen: Achille Chairon, 1855–56), pp. 288–301. Cahn, p. 77, made his conclusions based on the complex as it stands in Miami without a comparison to the church which is still in Spain.



Figure 1, Valdedios. Begun 1218. Nave arcade of the church.



Figure 2, Palazuelos. Begun 1213. Nave of the church, looking east.



0 5 10 20 30 40 50m.

Figure 3, Plan of the church of Veruela. Anselme Dimier, *Recueil des plans d'églises cisterciennes*. (Grignan, Drôme: Notre Dame de Aiguebelle, 1949), pl. 316.

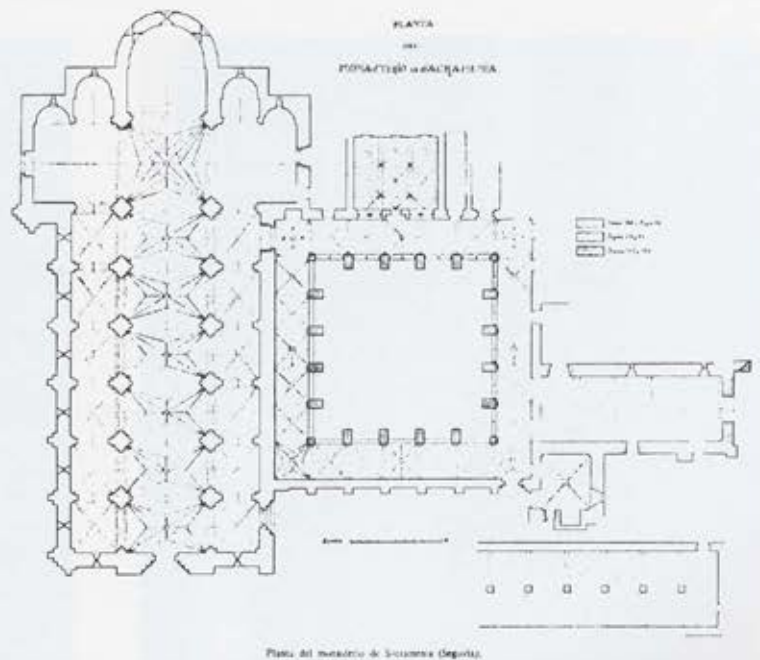


Figure 4, Plan of the monastery of Sacramenia as Torres Balbas found it in the 1920s. Leopoldo Torres Balbas, "La iglesia del monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Sierra (Segovia)," *Archivo español de arte*, 18, (1945) pp. 73-83.



Figure 5a, Veruela. Underway 1171. North aisle of the church.



Figure 5b, Sacramenia. Begun *ca.* 1174. North aisle of the church.

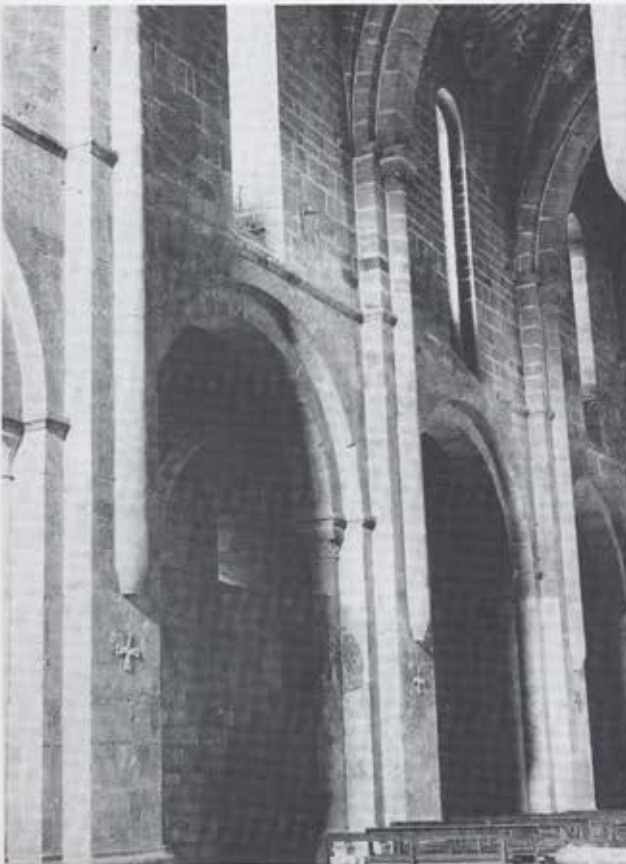


Figure 6a, Veruela. Underway 1171. Nave arcade.

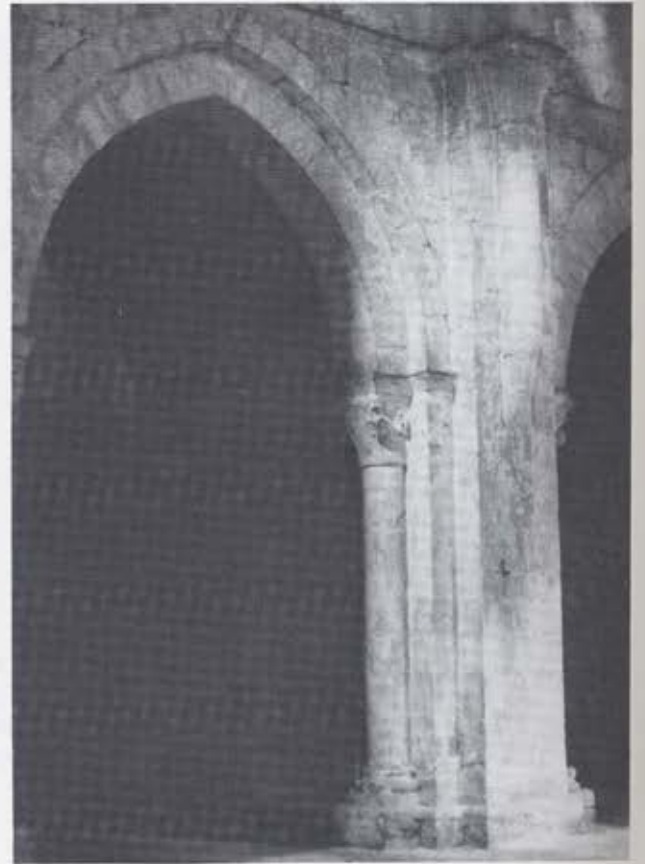


Figure 6b, Sacramenia. Begun *ca.* 1174. Nave arcade.



Figure 7a, Sacramenia. Begun *ca.* 1174. Eastern capital of first pier from crossing, south side.



Figure 7b, San Vicente, Avila. Begun early 12th century. Nave capital.



Figure 8a, Sacramenia. Begun *ca.* 1174. Capital of apse entry, north side.



Figure 8b, San Vicente, Avila. Begun early 12th century. Upper capitals of the nave arcade.



Figure 9, Sacramenia. Begun *ca.* 1174. Interior of the chapter house in North Miami Beach. Photo, Rev. Bruce E. Bailey.

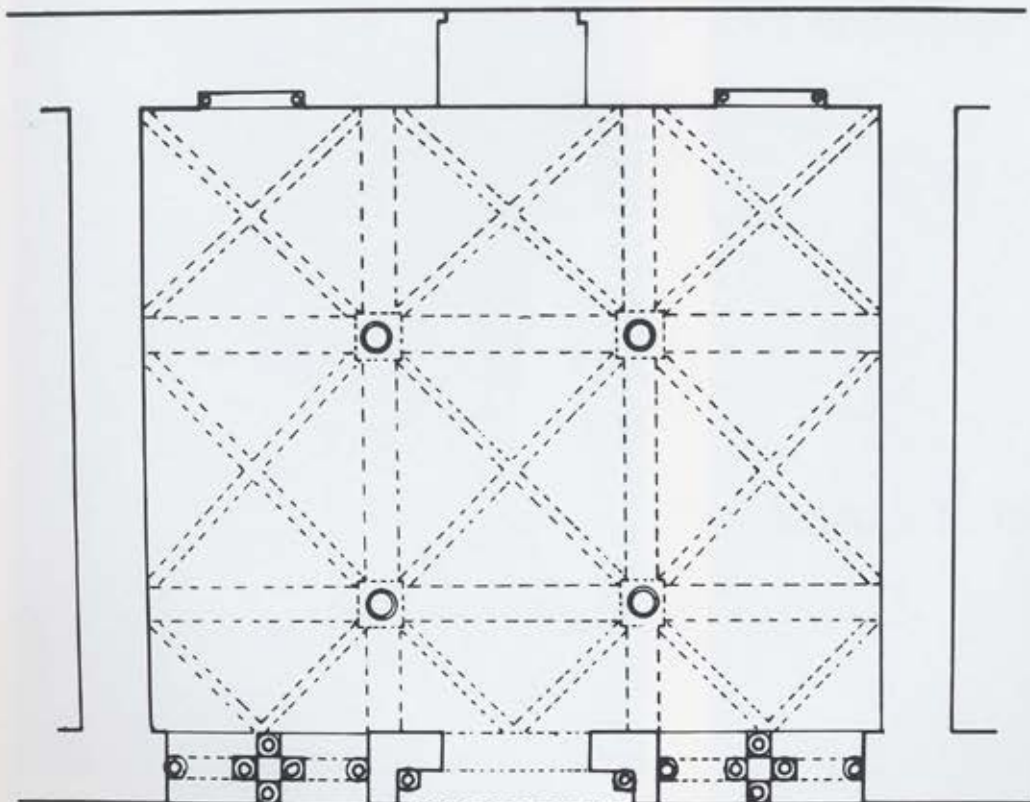


Figure 10, Plan of the chapter house of Sacramenia, North Miami Beach.



Figure 11a, La Oliva. Begun 1164. Chapter house interior.



Figure 11b, Veruela. Underway 1171. Chapter house interior.