

CATALONIA IN THE ROMANESQUE PERIOD

Expansion in Twelfth Century Catalonia. Counties, Towns and the Church

Maria Bonet Donato

The Catalan territories experienced very significant territorial expansion and economic growth in the twelfth century. New institutions and new forms of government responded to these changes and boosted them. This can be seen in the redefinition of county power, the beginnings of urban governance and the introduction of new ecclesiastical organizations. In the early twelfth century, the Catalan counties were a mosaic of political powers while by the end of the century they were to some extent subject to the hegemony of the County of Barcelona, whose holder was the King of Aragon. As Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV reinforced his leadership thanks to his marriage with the heiress to the kingdom of Aragon. Additionally, he became pre-eminent among other regional powers with the conquest and administration of the Southern lands from mid-century.

From then on signs of population and economic growth become evident, manifesting themselves in the proliferation of villages, the development of cities, and an increase of artisanal, agricultural and commercial activity. As with the political situation, Barcelona led the rise in commerce, although other towns prospered as regional centers. Social and economic developments called for a new organization of power, in order to guarantee peace, and favor commerce and military efficiency. The Count and his son, King Alfonso II, known as Alfonso the Chaste, claimed responsibility for these things, just as they did military leadership. However, in practice, they favored the deployment of other powers in the territories under their dominion, urban or ecclesiastical institutions as well as their own delegates. New ecclesiastical institutions functioned as alternatives to their power, and contributed to the organization or balance of more regional powers. Catalonia consolidated itself as a political entity at the intersection of political spaces, acting as a crossroads, and favouring expansion in all senses. The movement of people, commercial traffic and cultural exchange were the best expressions of the geopolitical and economic conditions of the twelfth century.

Patrons, Institutions and Public in the Making of Catalan Romanesque Art

Manuel Castiñeiras

No one is in any doubt as to the innovative qualities and originality displayed by Catalan art between the 11th and 13th centuries. From the end of 19th century onwards scholars have pointed out its precocity in monumental sculpture, the intriguing connections between its illuminated manuscripts and early traditions of Christian iconography, the extraordinary and wide-ranging production of mural and panel painting throughout the 12th century, and even the unusual local production of embroideries. Geographical, cultural and political reasons have been invoked within the broader discourse on the peculiarities of Romanesque Catalan art in relation to contemporary art in the rest of Iberian Peninsula and in Europe. It is worth

noting that many of the trends in Catalan art are actually due to the Mediterranean position of the Catalan counties. However, this shouldn't be understood as a simple geographical fact, but as a rich cultural and artistic context to which the main agents of Catalan art responded and contributed. As in other Medieval Mediterranean lands such as Provence, Tuscany or Apulia the presence of a classical heritage and Early Christian traditions conditioned the perception of the past. Furthermore, the sea was never seen as a border, rather it acted as a connective tissue, linking Catalonia with overseas regions such as South Italy, Byzantium or the Holy Land.

Nevertheless, until the middle of the 12th century, Catalonia was not a centre but a periphery. Being outside the orbit of the major royal powers, and therefore without a courtly art, the *Marca Hispanica* remained distant from the artistic foci of Carolingian and Post-Carolingian art. Besides, it was without a metropolitan see until the conquest of Tarragona. Hence, from the very outset the local Church, together with the lay magnates, promoted artistic agency in an attempt to shore up their ecclesiastical and political status, based on their alliance with the Papacy. In this regard, Oliba, abbot of Ripoll and Cuxà and bishop of Vic, along with his comital family, were leaders in what many authors have defined as the Catalan *mini-renaissance* of the 11th Century, while Saint Ot of La Seu d'Urgell and his relatives, the Counts of Pallars, were one of the driving forces in the transformation of the monumental arts during the late 11th and early 12th centuries. The distinctive role of aristocratic women in the promotion of the minor arts (metalwork and embroidery), and the importance of 12th century ecclesiastical centres for the making of liturgical furnishing and imagery, are topics that await detailed analysis.

Although the territorial expansion of the county of Barcelona and its incorporation into the Crown of Aragon in the middle of the 12th century marked a new era and dimension for Catalan art, many outstanding examples of the figurative arts at the period should be seen as a reactivation of earlier trends, or even an extension of these earlier traditions into new media. If the "triumphal" Portal at Ripoll and the archaizing style of Cabestany were still joined to a classical tradition, the astonishing production of later Romanesque panel and mural painting around 1200 confirmed Catalonia's privileged Mediterranean position, addressing the heritage of Crusader and Byzantine Art.

A Very Short Introduction to Catalan Romanesque Architecture

John McNeill

The last of the pre-conference introductory papers is devoted to architecture, and is intended to provide a context for some, at least, of the conference visits. It is divided into three principal sections. The first concerns the historiography of Romanesque architecture in Catalunya, and the importance of the highly-organised 'excursions' mounted at the beginning of the 20th century by architects and cultural luminaries such as Lluís Domènech i Montaner and Josep Puig i Cadafalch. These were immensely effective in both establishing a field of study and a vocabulary which eventually matured under the umbrella title 'le premier art

roman' or First Romanesque. This period also, significantly, coincides with the removal of a number of important ensembles of Romanesque wall paintings from north-western Catalunya – many of which are now displayed at MNAC. The second section is concerned with the international currency of First Romanesque, and the existence of formal relationships that seemingly connect 11th-century Catalunya with a larger Mediterranean world. A final section will then concentrate on work associated with the celebrated early 11th-century pluralist and princely churchman, Oliba (971-1046), abbot of Cuxa and Ripoll and Bishop of Vic.

SESSION 1

Matilda of Canossa and the Gregorian Reform in the Towns **Arturo Carlo Quintavalle**

Matilda of Canossa (1046–1115) followed on from her father Boniface (985–1052) and mother Beatrice (1017–76) in creating a realm that stretched from Tuscany to central Emilia and on towards the Veneto and southern Lombardy. While their power was securely based on a line of castles straddling the Apennines and a system of monasteries, from Frassinoro to Nonantola and San Benedetto al Polirone, careful attention was focused also and indeed above all on the cities. Boniface planned a sort of *Regnum Italiae* in the Po Valley with its capital in Mantua, where his *palatium* was located.

The most recent historical studies underscore Matilda's active presence in the context of cities such as Reggio Emilia, Modena, Parma and Cremona, and art history must also take these findings into consideration. The period 1090–1120 saw major urban construction projects. New cathedrals were built either when pro-imperial bishops were expelled and orthodox bishops installed or when the sees were vacant. In any case, Matilda and her allies were a strong urban presence.

The activities of Wiligelmo and his assistants at Nonantola and San Benedetto al Polirone, as well as Modena, Cremona and finally Piacenza present a substantially unified picture, based on comparable books of drawings, of an anti-heretical character, the heretics being pro-imperial prelates. Matilda's policy was aimed at a map of power extending beyond death and her father's dream of a *Regnum Italiae*. Boniface is indeed buried in Mantua, with Beatrice in Pisa and Matilde at San Benedetto al Polirone. As Donizo wrote bitterly in his *Vita Mathildis* around 1115, the remains of their ancestors remained at Canossa, buried like Beatrice and perhaps Boniface in great Roman sarcophagi.

'Function, Condition and Process in Anglo-Norman Church Architecture' **Richard Gem**

The paper addresses the theme of the conference by: first, setting out a general model of how construction in the period under consideration was conditioned by three main theoretical

factors; and then, illustrating how these factors were instantiated in practice by reference to four major Romanesque church building projects in late 11th-century England

The three main factors defined in the theoretical model are:-

- (i) **The intended functions of the building**, including in the case of a church: its practical religious use for celebrating the liturgy and the monastic office; its symbolic expression of ideas; and the projection of the status of the patron.
- (ii) **The prevailing conditions limiting its realisation**, including: the available financial resources; and the technical and design skills of craftsmen.
- (iii) **The practical processes surrounding its construction**, including: the patron's brief; the administration of the works; the provision of materials; and the hiring of craftsmen.

Three of the major building projects then taken to illustrate this model are ones that were highly innovative but that, unfortunately, survive only in part, though they are well documented. The fourth example is less innovative but is better preserved. These projects are:-

- (i) Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, as rebuilt by Archbishop Lanfranc (1070-1089).
- (ii) St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, as rebuilt by Abbots Scolland (1070-1087) and Guido (1087-c.1093).
- (iii) St Albans Abbey, as rebuilt by Abbot Paul (1077-1093) and completed under Abbot Richard (1097-1119)
- (iv) Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, as extended by Archbishop Anselm (1093-1109) and completed by his successors.

The interaction in these projects between the patrons' intentions and the factors conditioning their realisation were to be seminal for the establishment and future development of Romanesque architecture in England.

From Peláez to Gelmírez. The Problem of Art Patronage at the Romanesque Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela

Jens Rueffer

The Romanesque cathedral of Santiago de Compostela was begun under the episcopacy of Diego I. Peláez between 1075 and 1078 and nearly finished under archbishop Diego II. Gelmírez (d. 1140), although it had not been consecrated by the time the bishop died. Many dignitaries and several institutions shared different aims and interests regarding the cathedral: the bishops, members of the cathedral chapter, the Kings and the Queen of Castile-León (Alfonso VI, Urraca and Alfonso VII), and finally the convent of Antealtares.

Usually, the question of artistic patronage is posed with a focus on a particular person as patron, like Abbot Suger in the case of St-Denis or Gelmírez in the case of Santiago. I am approaching the question of patronage from a different angle. By focusing on the object, and the span of time from c. 1075 to c. 1140, I will ask which persons supported the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela over this period, and which persons refused – sometimes only temporarily – to support the enterprise for special reasons. My aim is to point up the conflicts, changing interests and alliances of the different protagonists as patrons. I also wish to ask to which extent this had an influence of the design of the cathedral.

My contribution is based on a rereading of three important historical sources, the *Concordia de Antealtares*, the *Codex Calixtinus*, and the *Historia Compostellana*, as well as on the new archaeological investigation undertaken by a research group from the University of Cottbus. In analysing these texts I would like to stress the interests of the protagonists mentioned above that can be related to artistic patronage, as well as the ambiguities and the information which is not given by the texts. The result is a vivid mosaic of claims, interests and expectations, different to that which would emerge if one focussed on the patronage of a single person.

SESSION 2

The Vercelli Roll: Iconographic Tradition and Institutional Patronage **Ludovico V. Geymonat**

How was the process of creating new painted cycles in Romanesque Cathedrals affected by the presence of earlier works? How did the cult of saints and the iconography linked to a specific site maintain continuity over long periods of time and different generations of patrons? At what stage during the process did iconographic tradition come into play, and what was the role of patronage in preserving it? And, more specifically, how did a Chapter play its institutional role in the maintenance of the Cathedral's wall paintings? In answering these questions, an illuminating case study comes from the linear drawings in colour inks on the Vercelli Roll (c. 60 x 180 cm; early 13th century; Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare). The three sheets of parchment are glued together, and the roll includes no less than 27 scenes illustrating 34 episodes from the Acts of the Apostles. Two lines of verse along the short sides inform us of the main function of the roll: the drawings were made to preserve an image of the paintings in the nave of the Cathedral of Vercelli, which were in danger of being obliterated by age. The five-aisled Cathedral, adorned with Carolingian and

Romanesque paintings, was demolished and rebuilt in the early 18th century. However, a plan of the church drawn by Guarino Guarini in 1680, and recently rediscovered in the Archivio di Stato of Turin, has made it possible to reconstruct the shape and the dimensions of the original late-antique building. It is now possible to read the Vercelli Roll against Guarini's plan and reconstruct the spatial layout of the Romanesque painted cycle.

My paper will examine the drawings in Vercelli, along with a number of examples of superimposed layers of painting showing the same iconography. The focus will be on the means whereby iconographic traditions were preserved, and the role of patrons in determining continuity and change.

Inscriptions along the short sides of the roll

“† Hoc notat exemplum media testudine templum / Ut renovet novitas quod delet longa vetustas”

“Hic est descriptum media testudine pictum / Ecclesie signans ibi que sunt atque figurans”

Recent bibliography

- R.W. Scheller, *Exemplum. Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-ca. 1470)*, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 155-160
- S. Uggè, “Rotolo di pergamena con scene degli Atti degli Apostoli,” *Et Verbum caro factum est...: la Bibbia oggi e la sua trasmissione nei secoli*, Vercelli 2005, 77-80
- M. Aimone, “L'antica basilica di S. Eusebio a Vercelli in un disegno ritrovato di Guarino Guarini,” *Bollettino storico vercellese*, 34 (2005), pp. 75-101
- M. Aimone, “Ad exemplum basilicae veteris S. Petri Romae: nuovi dati e nuove ipotesi sull'antica basilica di S. Eusebio a Vercelli,” *Bollettino storico vercellese*, 35 (2006), pp. 5-67

Patronage, Romanesque architecture and the Languedoc

Eric Fernie

The March of Gothia is not widely referred to in the literature on the political and architectural history of the Mediterranean coast of France in the eleventh century. The paper offers an assessment of the relevance of the March to the First Romanesque architecture of what is now known as lower Languedoc or the larger element of the modern province of Languedoc-Roussillon.

The first part looks into what might be relevant to the character of the march in what happened to the area from the fifth century to the eighth, and then, with particular regard to the name Gothia and its marcher status, from the ninth century to the eleventh.

In terms of the First Romanesque architecture itself, the three abbey churches of Lagrasse, Quarante and Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, datable to the middle years of the eleventh century,

have been selected. They introduce the question of the route by which the style was adopted from Lombardy, directly overland via Provence, or by sea via Catalonia. The view of most scholars that it was from Catalonia is supported by the following considerations. First is the existence of horseshoe arches in buildings earlier than the eleventh century, such as Saint-Martin-des-Puits, indicating, along with the political factors of the first millennium, an existing orientation towards the Iberian peninsula. Second is the opening up of sea routes between Lombardy and Catalonia after 972. Third are the close formal relationships of the three buildings with their parallel structures in Catalonia, Lagrasse with Ripoll and Quarante and Saint-Guilhem with Cardona, including evidence that the Catalan buildings are earlier than those in Gothia. Fourth is the character of the political unit of Gothia and how that might have formed the views of the patrons involved in commissioning the buildings, including elements of cultural identification with the peninsula and differentiation from other areas.

SESSION 3

Remarks on patron inscriptions with restricted presence

Wilfried E. Keil

Patron inscriptions are usually located in clearly visible positions, meaning that they are present. These inscriptions mostly convey information regarding the donation. There are also shorter patron inscriptions that mention little more than the name of the patron. For example, on a former gateway lion from Worms Cathedral one can find the inscription ADEL(R)IC(V)S · ME · EM(IT). This text was clearly visible and names the patron and sponsor of the construction and/or decoration of some parts of the gateway.

Worms Cathedral holds another example of a patron inscription. This one, however, is of limited visibility, a patron inscription of so-called *restricted presence* (Hilgert). The Juliana-relief is located at the bottom of a pilaster in the eastern sanctuary. This architectural sculpture is directed towards the altar and is not visible to church visitors. It has three inscriptions in Romanesque majuscule: The sculptural inscription IULIANA, the artist's inscription OTTO / ME / FE/CIT and the patronal inscription AD/EL/BR/AHT / MO/NE/TA/RI/VS. Adelbraht the coiner can be connected with a person found in medieval documents. It is not certain if Adelbraht donated only the Juliana-relief or work that extended across some other parts of the sanctuary. Whatever the case, the fact that he was allowed to place his name in the sanctuary is indicative of his influence. How much influence coiners could have, recurs about half a century later. The community of coiners was economically and politically very influential in Worms. Because of their efforts, town privileges were granted to Worms by Emperor Friedrich I Barbarossa.

However, the placing of Adelbraht's inscription raises several questions concerning its function and content. Why did he leave his name in a position that afforded limited visibility? He might have done this for several reasons: The inscription could have functioned as a legal

document. The process of inscribing could be connected with the inscribing of his name in the Book of Life. The patron could also have taken care of his own *memoria*, since the priest is able to see the inscription before the Mass. In the last two cases there is the question of how much importance was given to the proximity to the altar or the tomb or the relic of a Saint. This could be seen as analogous to the tradition to being buried as close as possible to the Saints.

From pallium cum elephantis to the Marriage of Mercury and Philology: Gifts of Textiles and the Varied Strategies of Elite Women
Alexandra Gajewski and Stefanie Seeberg

Members of the medieval elite –men and women, clerical and lay – enriched the treasuries of ecclesiastical institutions with their donations of textiles, including such prestigious offerings as *pallia*, normally describing an unused, complete piece of silk. Such textiles played a central role in the liturgy and daily life of the Church. They were used to envelop precious relics, to decorate church furnishings, and to highlight the main spaces within the church; finally, they served as visible documents, demonstrating the donor's patronage of the institution. It is necessary to insist on the importance of textiles because, until quite recently, scholarship has largely overlooked this type of donation. However, in medieval lists of offerings, textiles often figure above gifts of gold and silver. The study of textiles opens a rich new arena of complex meaning linking the donor with an institution. Like other types of gifts, textiles given to monasteries carried a traditional set of expectations on both sides of the transaction. For elite women in particular, the role of founder, protector or abbess offered them an ideal field of activity, one that linked the secular and the spiritual spheres, and that helped them in establishing a position for themselves within the power structures of the day.

With female patrons and ecclesiastical institutions at the centre of this discussion, we will ask: were textiles a preferred type of donation for women? How, if at all, did their patronage differ from that of men? We will also look at women as designers of textiles. Finally, we will examine the mechanisms developed by ecclesiastical writers to encourage women in their role as donors of textiles. Two case studies throw light on the complex inter-relationship among female patrons, textiles and institutions. The first will focus on Empress Agnes of Poitou (d. 1077), and her donation to Monte Cassino Abbey of a large silk *pallium cum elephantis*. Agnes was the daughter of William V, duke of Aquitaine and Agnes of Burgundy. In 1043 she married Emperor Henry III. This 'European' background shaped her patronage, and her powerful position allowed her to link her individual *memoria* with one of the most important monastic institutions of the time that welcomed the support of the imperial family. The patterns of patronage of women like Agnes followed exemplars like Saint Radegund and the Queen of Sheba, that were astutely promoted by Church writers. Further examples of female patronage will set Agnes in context. Our second example will look at the question of elite women as patrons of textiles from an institutional perspective. The monumental tapestry

from Quedlinburg (c.1200) with representations of the Late Antique allegory, the *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, shows the strategies developed by aristocratic religious women in order to defend their institution's position. This tapestry and the story of its creation also offer intriguing comparisons with the Girona tapestry.

SESSION 4

Grandmont and the English Kings

Claude Andrault-Schmitt

After Becket's death, the prior of Grandmont near Limoges is supposed to have written to King Henry II: "we have sent back the workmen that your devotion had assigned to the church building". How do we understand this patronage? The abbey is now entirely destroyed. But the documentary record remains tantalizing, notwithstanding the numerous forgeries and mythical narratives that make it problematic

The grants from Henry (*Henricus nulli Regum pietate secundus*), Richard (*Rex Angliae Ordinis Grandimondis Mecenas*) and King John (less munificent, of course, but obviously as generous as some of his knights) are genuine. The *Pipe Rolls* can also be co-opted to help in understanding the role Henry played at Grandmont, as with an entry describing the sending of roof lead from Newcastle to La Rochelle (1175/1176). Nevertheless, there is nothing in the architecture of the church of St Mary at Grandmont that suggests royal or 'Angevin' influence.

Architecturally, we must distinguish between a very long and narrow aisleless nave, which was barrel vaulted and is associated with two chapels (about 1166?), and a gorgeous presbytery (a setting perhaps related to the beautiful reliquaries created around the date of the canonisation of the founder, Etienne de Muret, in 1189). I will argue that the church was responsive to both local and international trends, and was responsive to a broader architectural realignment as the new reformed orders adjusted to prosperity, and the increased incomes proper to stone work. Two other buildings within the diocese of Limoges will be cited: the Cistercian abbey church of Bonlieu in the north-east and the church of L'Artige near Saint-Léonard.

In its turn, Grandmont acted as a fountainhead for the little houses of the Order, all of which seem very similar to one another, from England to Languedoc, though we should remain cautious in front of such picturesque buildings as Comberoumal, near Millau. This is clearly much later than the mother house, dating from the first decades of the 13th century, and represents a type of *tardo-romanico*, the term here intended in a generational and positive sense.

King Henry II, St Hugh, and the Winchester Bible

Christopher Norton

The Winchester Bible is one of the finest of all twelfth-century manuscripts. It is celebrated for the evidence that it provides for the collaboration of a number of different artists – each of the highest quality – on a single project, and for its stylistic links with the wall-paintings at Sigena and the late twelfth-century mosaics in Sicily. There is still much that is disputed and much to learn on these topics. The present paper, however, aims to approach the Bible from the perspective of ownership and patronage, and the involvement of certain famous individuals in its production and ultimate abandonment.

The paper will begin with a brief consideration of the evidence for the involvement of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, at the start of the project. It will then focus on an important chapter in the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*. This records how King Henry II in the 1180s pressurised the community at Winchester Cathedral to give up a splendid new bible so that he could give it to Hugh of Avalon (St Hugh of Lincoln), prior of the Carthusian monastery at Witham which Henry had founded. Hugh then arranged for the bible to be returned to Winchester without the king knowing. This text has long been known but its proper significance, I believe, has never been understood. I shall argue

- that the Bible in question really is the Winchester Bible, contrary to what has been said in recent scholarship, and that this episode explains why its illuminations were never completed.
- that the episode can be dated very precisely to the mid 1180s.
- that the oft-cited statement that the Bible was intended for reading in the refectory in fact carries a very different meaning when understood as part of a subtle monastic disputation held in the shadow of a monarch whom few churchmen, after the death of Becket, dared to contradict.
- (and more tentatively) that the story suggests a reading of the mysterious, supernumerary Morgan Leaf, which illustrates episodes from the Book of Kings' in the context of King Henry II's own travails as king.

The Hospital, England and Sigena: A Footnote

Neil Stratford

Circumstantial evidence is presented to show how the Morgan master and perhaps other illuminators of the Winchester Bible could have come into contact with various leading figures of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, which established the female Hospitaller convent of Sigena in the late 1180s for Sancha and Alfonso II of Aragon.

This is a period when the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was under attack; The city of Jerusalem was lost to Saladin in October 1187.

The Prior of Saint-Gilles, the Hospital's European headquarters, gave Sigena in 1187 to Sancha, though the early charters of the convent stress that it is the Castellan of Amposta, the

Hospital's head in the kingdom of Aragon, who had ultimate guardianship of the sisters of Sigena. A group of Hospitaller brothers (*fratres*) was also resident at Sigena, which was a double community throughout its history, even if the prioress took many decisions on behalf of the sisters. The main body of this paper concerns an embassy to the West mounted by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem in the company of the Master of the Temple, Arnaud de Torri Rubea, and the Grand Master of the Hospital, Roger des Moulins in 1184-85, and the effect this may have had on Hospital foundations across the West.

SESSION 5

Profane Images under Authority of Clerical Patronage : the Romanesque Decoration of Basel Cathedral's Ambulatory.

Nathalie Le Luel

The presence of profane iconographic motifs in the decoration of a church, or any other religious buildings, is frequently and wrongly interpreted as the result of the whim of Romanesque artist. The objective of this paper is to highlight the role of the Church in the commissioning of these profane images. The overwhelming majority of these images, sometimes even licentious, were part of a program decided in advance that emanated from the clergy. I shall try to show that this iconographic repertoire did not develop outside the control of its patron, that is the Church, but that on the contrary, in a number of cases, this type of imagery seems carefully combined with classic motifs derived from the biblical repertoire. For this purpose, a concrete example of such a commission will be presented: the hemicycle capitals of the ambulatory of Basel cathedral (Switzerland). Realized during the last quarter of the 12th century, the Basel sculpture associates biblical themes with scenes of fighting and images that have emerged from a clerical literary culture. The analysis of what is a complex iconographic decoration on an eschatological theme, will be the occasion to show how the hemicycle capitals are a product of the culture of the clerks, revealing that institutional patronage lies behind the implementation of this iconographic program.

The Bridekirk Font and its Patrons

Hugh Doherty

The Bridekirk font, from the church of St Bridget in Bridekirk, Cumberland, is one of the most remarkable Romanesque furnishings to survive from northern England. The font, which very likely dates from the second quarter of the twelfth century, is celebrated not only for the quality of its design and the character of its stylistic details, but also for its runic inscription, which uses Scandinavian runes for a text in early Middle English. Together with the chancel arch, the font is all that remains of the original twelfth-century church, which was demolished and rebuilt in the 1860s. As this paper hopes to show, the quality of workmanship evidenced in the font reflects the power and wealth of its lay patrons, the Anglo-Scandinavian lords of

Allerdale, and of the small community of priests who served them. These lords, who retained close control of the church until the early thirteenth century, were the leading representatives of one of the premier ruling families of pre-Norman Cumbria; they were lords of significant local authority and clout. A revealing and valuable measure of their investment in this church, and of the standing of its community of priests, is provided by a dossier of documents, seen and copied in 1665, but now entirely lost; the dossier, which has been entirely overlooked by historians, offers a rare glimpse into the archive and operation of a twelfth-century minister community and church. The Bridekirk font therefore has much to tell us about the aspirations, interactions, and investments of patrons and audience in the twelfth century.

ON-SITE PAPER

An Anglo-Norman at Terrassa? Augustinian Canons and Thomas Becket at the End of 12th century

Carles Sánchez Márquez

The wall paintings which adorn the south transept apse of Santa Maria at Terrassa are one of the most notable items bearing on the iconography of St. Thomas Becket. They were discovered in 1917 as a result of the restoration work inside the church, which had been first consecrated the 1st of January 1112. The iconographic details of the paintings, which illustrate faithfully the murder of Becket, and the *tituli*, indicate that the agents involved in the design of the wall paintings had a close knowledge of the episode and its sources.

Pope Alexander III's canonization of Becket, only three years after his death in 1170, was a key factor for the dissemination of his cult throughout Latin Europe, especially in areas with Plantagenet connections (Kingdom of Sicily, Duchy of Aquitaine, Kingdom of Castile), where early depictions of Becket's murder can be found in ivories, reliquaries and pictorial cycles. However, in the case of Terrassa, the agents that lie behind the dissemination of Becket's cult are the distinguished houses of canons regulars of Saint-Ruf. During the second half of the 12th century, Augustinian houses attached to Saint-Ruf had an important *corpus* of manuscripts (*Vitae*, *Passio* and *Miracula*) and many liturgical texts (missals, sacramentaries, martyrologies, liturgical calendars) that refer to the archbishop of Canterbury. This marvellous *corpus* demonstrates that the cult spread quickly through the congregation of Saint-Ruf, where Becket acquired a leading role in many codices (BPMP, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 60, BNE MSS/10100 San Vicente de la Sierra) and in artistic works such as Terrassa.

Notwithstanding this, the presence of an Anglo-Norman canon – *Arveus* or *Harveus* (Harvey) – recently identifies as having been at Terrassa, could have been the driving force behind the Romanesque paintings of martyrdom of Thomas Becket. Indeed, *Arveus* played an important role in the house of canon regulars of Terrassa, in as much as he was scribe and signed documents during the second half of the 12th century. His identification as a canon with an Anglo-Norman background depends on the character of his handwriting. This conforms with

the more rapid and informal handwriting found in many Anglo-Norman royal, episcopal and baronial charters of the third quarter of the twelfth century, both in letter forms and in the treatment of the common elements of certain diagnostic forms. It seems most likely that he arrived at Terrassa from the motherhouse of St. Ruf, which was in contact with the Anglo-Norman world through Nicholas Breakspeare (Pope Adrian IV), a member of the community there, where he had risen to the positions of prior and then abbot. Although Saint-Ruf did not have any daughter houses in England, we should remember that many Augustinian houses had been founded in England by the middle of the 12th century, such as that at Merton, where Becket himself had been educated, and that some of these had close contact with the congregation of St Ruf, and were familiar with its customs precisely because of Adrian IV.

Within this larger context, the fact that a member of the community of Terrassa was Anglo-Norman, and that this community was attached to a larger congregation then actively promoting the cult of the recently canonised archbishop of Canterbury, allows us to suggest new ways of considering the dissemination of the devotional iconography of St. Thomas Becket. At the end of the 12th century, the chapel situated in the south transept was again consecrated again after being embellished with the cycle of St. Thomas Becket's martyrdom by the 'Master of Espinelves'.

SESSION 6

The artistic patronage of Abbot Gregorius at Cuixà: models and tributes

Anna Orriols

Sant Miquel de Cuixà was one of the outstanding monasteries in Catalonia between the 10th and the 12th centuries. The abbey church is the result of a project consecrated in 974/975, when Guarinus was the abbot, and the significant subsequent intervention Abbot Oliba (1008-1046). The work of both prelates is described and praised in the text of the monk Garsias (1043-46), which also provides valuable information about the liturgical furniture of which hardly anything remains today.

A century later, Abbot Gregorius (c. 1120-1146) promoted a new artistic era at Cuixà. The works which were undertaken, in all likelihood, during his abbacy can be understood in a context that was almost as splendid and ambitious as that of Oliba's period in office. The powerful figure of the great 11th-century abbot-bishop, together with his well-earned historiographic reputation, have rather overshadowed Gregorius, and reduced him to a background figure. Remarkable sculpture (the cloister, and tribune) can be attributed to his patronage, but his broader cultural importance has not received enough attention. It has been argued that he was the author, or inspirer, of the literary work extolling the legendary dynastic origins of the then powerful House of Barcelona. It must have been thanks to these links that Count Ramon Berenguer IV appointed him archbishop of Tarragona, an important position even if, at the time, it was more of a nominal than an actual post, thereby keeping him attached to his abbey. The excellent personal position enjoyed by Abbot Gregorius (his

cursus honorum), together with the prestige that already attached to the abbey's past, portrays a bright time. Furthermore, it helps explain the tribute paid to the monastery and to his memorable predecessor, Oliba, by a group of images contained in a Gospel book that was illustrated at the abbey under the mandate of Gregorius and which 'represents' the principal places of worship within the monastery. Moreover, one of those images enables us to make a new suggestion about the possible appearance of the canopy erected over the high altar by Oliba that is otherwise known only through the description of Garsias.

Episcopal Patronage in the Reform of Catalan Cathedral Canonries during the First Romanesque: An Approach

Eduardo Carrero Santamaría

The first half of the 11th century was an epoch of innovation within that oscillation between the communal and the secular that characterized the organisation of cathedral chapters prior to the widespread abandonment of the common life during the 13th and 14th centuries. In the sees of Catalonia, the bishops of Barcelona (1009), La Seu d'Urgell (1010), Vic (1017) and Girona (1019) promoted the reform of their cathedral chapters in ways that had a direct influence on the topography and layout of the precincts that surrounded their cathedrals. As well as promoting the construction of new churches, these bishops also encouraged the creation of buildings devoted to common life of the clergy. For example, in Barcelona bishop Aeci donated land adjacent to the cathedral specifically for the construction of buildings dedicated to the regular life. The document that records this donation, concise and particular in questions of urban topography, has not been sufficiently emphasized in the study of the later urban development of the surroundings of the cathedral. In the same way, we have perhaps overlooked the importance of the 'sets of churches' that characterised Catalan cathedrals during this period, churches that were integrated into a larger site in which more than one building was dedicated to Christian worship. In this respect, the cathedrals of the 11th century were inheritors of earlier architectural arrangements, either preserved or known from documents, which consisted of a diverse series of buildings set aside for worship integrated into a major urban ensemble. This paper will offer an overview that allows us to examine a movement in episcopal patronage that over ten years (1009-1019) sensitively changed Catalan cathedral architecture and its urban setting. In the same way, we will also stress the continuity that exists with earlier practises, now conducted in new buildings of a different style.

SESSION 7

The agencies behind the re-invention of flat slab relief sculpture in Medieval Spain

Rose Walker

This paper will consider the possible agency of papal legates in the rediscovery of flat relief sculpture in Spain c.1100. The broad proposition, which I have recently addressed elsewhere, is that the papal friendship circle promoted the use of antique and late antique sarcophagi as sources of artistic inspiration from the 1080s. The earliest responses involved capitals and tombs, but exterior flat slabs offered sculptors new opportunities. Cardinal Richard of Saint-Victor-de-Marseille is a central figure in this argument, and especially his attendance at the Council of Husillos in 1088 and at the Council of Palencia in 1100. The latter also welcomed Diego Gelmírez as bishop-elect of Santiago de Compostela and Peter, bishop of Pamplona. Here I want to concentrate on what may be the most developed example of that policy, the narrative depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the Puerta del Cordero at San Isidoro de León. This is a much-studied work of art, but I shall offer a variation on earlier readings of the depiction of the Sacrifice of Abraham that relates to the patronage of the infanta Urraca and Alfonso VI. I shall consider the tympanum as a whole in relation to the occupation of San Isidoro by Canons Regular in the mid-twelfth century. The preoccupations of the Canons, some fifty years after the earliest slab relief sculpture at San Isidoro, were very different, and focussed on their *raison d'être*, the clerical life within a community, and on its intellectual expression. This new Collegiate community was well aware of its position within an informal network of such institutions that included Saint-Sernin in Toulouse and Saint-Victor in Paris. I hope to demonstrate how a masterpiece produced under one agency, both personal and institutional, was re-invented under another.

The 'symbiosis' of kings and bishops in the introduction of Romanesque art in Navarre and Aragon

Javier Martínez de Aguirre

The study of the role played by bishops and kings in the construction of three of the main buildings of Spanish Romanesque art (the Monastery of Leire and the cathedrals of Jaca and Pamplona) allows us to examine intentionality, the distribution of responsibilities and the benefits of collaboration. It is possible to define this situation metaphorically through the concept of 'symbiosis', to the extent that cooperation between kings and bishops (it being difficult sometimes to distinguish between the roles played by each) combined to mutual advantage.

Traditional historiography has taken a particular interest in the role played by the monarchs in the construction of the churches of Leire and Jaca, and has rather overlooked the participation of the prelate at both sites – in large part as the result of placing too much emphasis on

documents we now know to be forgeries. If authentic diplomas were the only ones to be considered, royal intervention would be reduced to financial support in the construction of these ambitious buildings. However, indirect sources suggest that the construction of Leire was a cause for satisfaction to Sancho III (the Great), who was referred to, shortly after his death, as *desiderator et amator agmina monacorum*. In the same way, the larger historical context enables us to speculate about Sancho Ramirez's participation in the cathedral of Jaca, not only as the initiator of work on the cathedral, presumably begun shortly after his accession to the throne of Pamplona (1076), but also in the definition of its architectonic forms and figurative programme.

In the three churches that are the subject of this paper, there is evidence that the respective prelates (not always the king) had a direct knowledge of specific buildings that were taken as points of reference. At Leire the model would have been Odilon's work at Cluny, which Abbot Sancho had known personally. At Jaca, recent studies have confirmed formal connections with Early Christian basilicas first proposed by David Simon. This distant paradigm satisfied the king's pro-papal political stance (he travelled to Rome in 1068 and acknowledged his effective enfeoffment to God and to Saint Peter in 1088-1089), as well as the reform movement in which the king and the prelates Garcia Ramirez and Peter collaborated. In Pamplona, the bishop hired the famous *Maestro Esteban*, master at the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, who made use of the Galician cathedral, in plan as well as in elevation.

The key to the role played by the three above-mentioned prelates is to be found in their common monastic formation. A prosopographical analysis reveals that Sancho is the only abbot of Leire in the decades to either side of its construction that personally knew Cluny. Moreover, according to the testimony of Jotsaldo, he enjoyed Abbot Odilon's friendship. Peter, bishop of Jaca, would have been formed at San Juan de la Peña, an abbey that pioneered the introduction of the Roman liturgical reform into Iberia. Meanwhile, Pedro de Rodez was the first prelate of the Pamplonese diocese who was not from Navarre-Rioja-Aragon. This former monk of Conques was promoted to the episcopacy by the papal legate Ponce de Tomeras. Both Pedro of Jaca and Pedro de Rodez seem to have favoured the Gregorian Reform. Their new cathedrals would have served in both cases as a monumental manifesto for the new path taken in their respective dioceses.

SESSION 8

The 'Literate' Lay Donor: Textuality and the Romanesque Patron

Robert A. Maxwell

This paper examines an important but overlooked aspect of patronage in the Romanesque period, namely donors' claims to diplomatic 'literacy' as part of the visual language of donation.

Images of donors offering models of their gifts are well known in the Romanesque period. These typically show a patron presenting a small representation of his gift, including small models of churches, stained glass windows, chalices or other liturgical items. Yet while those well-known images of a kneeling patron proffering a gift have deeply conditioned our thinking about the symbolism and culture of patronage in the Middle Ages, an important but little discussed visual tradition emphasized the 'literate', or better 'diplomatic', authority of some patrons.

The 11th and 12th centuries witnessed a significant transformation in the role that the written word played owing to the sharp rise of diplomatic culture. Diplomats—with its attendant practices of notarial formulas and protocols, seals and sealing, rituals and performances—had new consequences for the relationship of the donor to his donation: increasingly donors made texts an integral part of the symbolism of their gift. We see this, for example, on a number of church facades in which an inscription identifies the donor and the circumstances of the donation written as if the inscription were the donation charter itself. In other instances, the image of a 'stone charter' on a church facade situates the donor and his donation even more concretely in the culture of diplomatics. Other images, particularly in manuscripts, take care to show the donor in the act of writing out his own donation. Many of these images point to donors' increasing concern to present themselves as actors in the specifically textual culture of diplomatics, with all of the authority that implied.

This paper examines the ways in which patrons could be portrayed as having agency in the diplomatic handling of their donation, and it explores the consequences of this new visual idiom of patronage. It proposes to view these works as in relation to what might be called the 'linguistic turn' of the Romanesque period and argues for an accounting of the role of literacy and textuality in donors' self-fashioning in the 11th and 12th centuries. Consequently, by discussing patronage as a condition within a particularly literate discourse rather than a straightforward 'cause-effect' relationship, this study also suggests a reconsideration of the terms by which modern art history has defined 'patronage' in the Middle Ages.

*St James Cathedral in Jerusalem, Melisenda and the Question of Exchange
Between East and West*

Armen Kazaryan

The Cathedral of St James belonging to the Armenian Church in Jerusalem has not been seriously studied. Some scholars (T. S. R. Boase, J. Folda, N. Kanaan-Kedar, C. Mutaftian) suggested it was constructed under the patronage of Melisenda, Queen of Jerusalem (1131–1161), who was Armenian on her mother's side, and had an interest to the Church's building.

Modern opinion stresses the Armenian features of St. James Cathedral. However, I shall propose we should return to the older evaluation of St. James as the result of a mixing of Armenian and Romanesque styles (L. H. Vincent & F. M. Abel). We can assume that interfaith pluralism, popular in the Armenian community in Jerusalem during the 12th and 13th centuries, as well as the ethnic origin and political role of queen Melisenda, formed the basis for the original architectural plan of the Armenian Cathedral.

The architecture of the Cathedral reveals its Armenian and Eastern Christian sources in its groundplan, while the approach to vaulting belongs to a Latin tradition (employing groin-vaults). The most interesting question relates to the origin of the dome. Are its sources to be found in Arabic mosques (such as those surviving at Cordoba or Toledo) or is it derived from an Armenian tradition? And what is the relationship between the blind arcading beneath the dome at St James with the exterior treatment of domes at earlier Armenian cathedrals?

The Armenian cathedral helps us to understand the 12th-century architecture of the Holy Land and its position with regard to the local traditions of the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The role played by Melisenda is thus important not only in the construction of St James, but in the way in which it reveals something of the process of cultural transmission.

SESSION 9

Romanesque Cathedrals in Northern Italy – Building processes between bishop and commune

Bruno Klein

Cathedral-building in the Middle Ages was a process which engaged a number of different people, groups and institutions. Bishops and Chapters are the first to be mentioned, although the laity - whether noble or not – may also have contributed. In 11th and 12th-century Northern Italy a particular set of circumstances seems to have emerged: on the one hand, the role of the bishops was weakened as a result of the reform of the Church. On the other hand, we begin to encounter more self-conscious citizens, who increasingly organised themselves into communes.

The rebuilding of some of the most iconic cathedrals in northern Italy was started as these new circumstances were beginning to bite, during an interregnum, in the period between the

death of the old bishop, and the election of a new one. This indicates that the construction of a cathedral was increasingly regarded as the task of the commune in its proper sense; a commune that embraces all its members, clergy and laity, as equal patrons. The process of building also created an opportunity to redefine the role of and the relationship between the major ecclesiastical and secular institutions. Finally, it facilitated and perhaps even encouraged the establishment of new institutions such as the communes themselves, or the incorporation of some of their members into specialist organisations, like guilds. Those who were responsible for the construction of the cathedrals in a practical sense, architects and sculptors, achieved a new, quasi-institutional role as “artists”.

In the light of these aspects, the construction of the well-known cathedrals of Modena and Piacenza will be reconsidered. In the case of Modena, the famous “*Relatio corporis sancti Geminiani*”, the account of the events surrounding the construction of the new church, is regarded as a precious document which reveals an unstable political situation at the moment the new cathedral was begun, and how the building process both provoked new problems for the equilibrium in the city and helped to resolve them.

In Piacenza, the cathedral is regarded as a space which gave opportunity for differing representations to the different groups. The reliefs on the pillars of the nave and the transept, showing individual persons and groups of craftsmen, are regarded as documents showing the process of civic institutionalization.

Both cathedrals are here presented as case studies concerning an important development in relations between different institutional patrons in the Middle-Ages.

Papal Agency During the Long Twelfth Century **Dorothy F. Glass**

Much --- indeed, some may say too much --- has been written about the Gregorian Reform, so named for one of its primary proponents, Pope Gregory VII (1073-85). In the arts, that Pope’s retrospective tendencies as well as those of his minions, are most evident in the numerous basilican churches, many still standing, in Rome and throughout Latium. Modeled on their Early Christian predecessors, they usually have aisles separated from the nave by *spolia* columns topped by capitals, often also *spolia*, apse mosaics, and pavements and liturgical furnishings made by the Cosmati, the multi-generational family of marbleworkers active in central Italy. Nostalgia reigned; innovation languished.

The Gregorian era in the arts may be said to have ended with Innocent II’s (1130-43) completion of the Roman church of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Thereafter, during the latter half of the twelfth century, papal patronage of the arts languished for various reasons: brief papacies, transient antipopes and the all too frequent incursions of Frederick Barbarossa into Italy. Hence, one cannot speak, as one could in the Gregorian era, of a coherent papal policy

in regard to the arts. While the Gothic style burgeoned in France and elsewhere, Italy was, by-and-large, quiescent.

It was only during the papacy of Innocent III (1198-1216) that the Pope was once again influential in the arts, not only in Rome herself, but also nationally and, perhaps, internationally. Innocent III, most often characterized as a theologian and administrator, is often overlooked as a patron of the arts because most of the works that he commissioned in Rome are only partially extant or destroyed and now known only through drawings. Yet, by casting a net beyond Rome, one can capture the influence on the arts of Innocent III's doctrines, his education at the nascent University of Paris, and his internationalization of the papal court.

ON-SITE PAPER

Patronage in the Cathedral of Tarragona: Ambition and Devotion in Cultic and Residential Spaces

Esther Lozano López, Marta Serrano Coll

The aim of this paper is to analyze the extent to which patrons influenced the construction of the cathedral of Tarragona. Rather than concentrating solely on the role of the archbishops, who have been the focus of most research thus far, we will use the available material evidence (epigraphs, iconography, texts) to assess the role of other key players in the building's design. In this respect, members of the cathedral clergy are shown to have been active participants in the design and construction of the cathedral, irrespective of their standing within the community. Part of our presentation will therefore focus on determining the precise role played by the clergy in this process. At the same time, the fact that we are also investigating the heraldic emblems evident on certain cymatia in the cloister means that we can trace their complex and extended chronology in much greater detail.

In general, despite the unequal and somewhat confusing documentary sources available to us, we aim to provide an analysis that brings together prosopographic sources and allows us to determine the role of the patrons in relation to their economic, political, social and religious context, both within and outside the ecclesiastical setting. Only in this way will we be able to understand the particularities of this exceptional building, which, as we shall see, was erected to provide a setting for the exhibition of power.