BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Oxford Romanesque Conference Abstracts

John Crook

Romanesque Shrines and their Architectural Settings

This presentation is intended as a broad introduction and overview of the physical setting of the cult of saints up to the end of the Romanesque. I shall discuss the influence of saints' cults on the architecture of the churches where they were housed. I shall also explore the way shrines (i.e. the specific monuments housing or raising up saints' bones) developed during the period under consideration, from 'tomb-shrines' to the fore-runners of the high shrines of later medieval England.

Neil Stratford

The Lazarus mausoleum revisited

At Autun hundreds of fragments survive from the mausoleum built over the supposed body of Lazarus, the friend of Christ raised from death on the third day. Excavations have recently clarified further the form of the monument and how it worked as the centre of a cult created in the mid-12th century and in some ways complementary to the much older cult of Lazarus' sister, Mary Magdalen, at nearby Vézelay. Also surviving are several accounts of how a pilgrim visited the shrine and what he saw within the mausoleum: a *tableau vivant* with figures carved in the round in stone, prophetic of so many groups in stone, ivory, wood and metal created in the Gothic period. In terms of iconography it seems possible that there was a conscious visual reference to the tomb of Lazarus at Bethany. The Autun monument is the best documented shrine in Romanesque Europe.

Barbara Franzé

For a re-præsentatio of Royal and Holy Bodies: The Monumental Tombs of Vienne in their Liturgical Settings

A Holy Sepulchre was constructed in the narthex of the Carolingian cathedral of St Maurice (Mauritius) at Vienne. The cathedral was then partially reconstructed between 1140 and 1170, during which time this Sepulchre, or imitation of the tomb of Christ, was preserved so as to become the centerpiece of a new iconographic programme.

Subsequently, in the second quarter of the 13th century, Archbishop Jean de Bernin extended the cathedral by adding four bays to the nave, and constructing a suite of lateral chapels. Bernin's cathedral extension, along with the construction of buildings for the canons on the north side of the cathedral, necessitated the destruction of three former chapels and the disruption of a cemetery which included several tombs of kings

and queens of Burgundy. In homage to their memory, the three chapels were then reconstructed to the east of the new cloister and the tombs of two queens of Burgundy were moved.

The grave of Boson, first king of Burgundy, was situated in front of the north door of the church, next to the Carolingian chapel dedicated to St. Mauritius. His bones were saved, even though the earlier tomb was destroyed, and his remains were transferred to one of the northern lateral chapels. Thus the reorganization respected the original disposition of tombs and spaces within the cathedral precinct. The coherence of the iconographic programme established in the 12th century was preserved. This coherence is essentially due to the presence of the royal body (Boson), the Holy Sepulchre, and the north, south and west doors of the cathedral.

Finally, Jean de Bernin's 13th-century work enhanced the earlier arrangements by developing a more elaborate 'scenography'. Thus, monumental statues were added to the facade of the Holy Sepulchre, which was otherwise preserved in its original position, and a new jubé was decorated with sumptuous bas-reliefs. The enhancement of the decor made the religious ceremonies and the paraliturgical dramas which took place here even more splendid. These later rituals may have been based on those that took place in the earlier churches. This hypothesis can be tested by re-evaluating the liturgical instructions found in the *Liber Ordinarius* of Vienne.

Gerhard Lutz

The Canonization of Bernward and Godehard: Hildesheim as a Cultural and Artistic Centre in the 12th and 13th Centuries

The importance of Hildesheim for medieval art history is closely connected with two of its 11th century bishops: Bernward (993-1022) and Godehard (1022-1038), who were both canonized in the 12th century. While Bernward is famous today because of his uniquely elaborate artistic donations to his foundation of St. Michael's monastery and the cathedral, Godehard was the much more popular figure in the Middle Ages. He was canonized in 1131 while his predecessor followed more than 50 years later. Godehard's greater reputation goes back to his ideal lifestyle as a Benedictine monk from Bavaria which inspired bishop Bernhard (1130-1153), a supporter of the 12th century monastic reform movements, to promote his predecessor's canonization vigorously.

Bernhard's tenure comes at a fundamental turning point in Hildesheim's history: the town became particularly prosperous at the time because of the flourishing mining sites in the Harz Mountains which were part of the diocese. At the same time Hildesheim had a renowned cathedral school with close ties to the intellectual centres in France. Bernhard as well as numerous of his confrères shared this wealthy and educated background which manifested itself in numerous donations of manuscripts and liturgical objects. This intensive heyday continued until the second quarter of the 13th century. The canonization of Bernward in 1193 was a second milestone which in turn led to radical renovation and refurnishing at St. Michael's until the 1230s.

This paper will present these as factors which led to major foundations (abbey of St. Godehard), building campaigns (Cathedral, St. Michael's), and precipitated numerous donations from ordinary monks and clerics, e.g. Bishop Bruno's library, the Stammheim Missal (J. Paul Getty Museum) or the portable altar of Thidericus from St. Godehard (British Museum). Thus, the presentation will focus not so much on an in-depth presentation of any one of these works but on the question how economic prosperity, an outstanding intellectual climate, and the cult of newly canonized local saints came together and promoted each other. Moreover, the question of how Hildesheim's situation compares with that of other European centres in this period will be raised.

Susanne Wittekind

Heribert and Anno II of Cologne: A comparison of two saintly archbishops, of their cult, and of their Romanesque shrines

Soon after their deaths, two former archbishops of Cologne, Heribert (999-1021) and Anno II (1056-1075), were venerated and their lives were written; in the 12th century their relics were elevated and transferred into precious shrines. Their cults were based in the Benedictine monasteries that each of them had founded (Deutz and Siegburg - both near Cologne), and where they were respectively buried. However, their *vitae* are very different in the ways in which they embody ideals of sainthood, as are their shrines, although similar in form, date and style.

The relics of Heribert were elevated in 1147 at Deutz and enclosed in a shrine. In the 1160s enameled medallions were added to its roof that depict scenes of Heribert's life: one side shows his professional advancement from monastic scholar to king's chancellor and archbishop of Cologne, the other depicts his visions and miracles as archbishop – the latter noticeably organised within a liturgical or ritual frame alternating between Deutz and Cologne. Through this the scenes propagate close connections between the venerated archbishop Heribert, his seat and city and his monastery and burial place at Deutz (located on the opposite bank of the Rhine). This special connection corresponds to liturgical practice: the church of St. Heribert was visited by the canons of the main convents of Cologne within the rogation days and at the feast of St. Heribert until the 16th century.

The commemoration and representation of Anno is different: Anno's first *vita* was written in 1105, followed by a second in the context of his canonization process. This succeeded in 1183 with the elevation of Anno's relics at St. Michael, Siegburg and the completion of his shrine. The reliefs and figures from this marvellous shrine were melted down during the French occupation of the Rhineland around 1800. But the pictorial programme can be reconstructed through two canvas paintings at Belecke (1764), which, fortunately, depict both sides of the shrine, and by a documentary 18th-century drawing which transcribed the inscriptions on the shrine (Paris, BNF lat. 9275, f. 1v-2r). Each side of the roof carried five scenes of Anno's life in relief, focusing on his church foundations. But even more noteworthy is the programme adopted for the long sides of the shrine. Here, instead of the apostles one side illustrates the principal relics held by the monastery in the form of images of the relevant saints, while the other shows a chronologically ordered row of saintly archbishops of Cologne, acting as predecessors of Anno who lead to his representation at the front of the shrine. Referring to the image of Cologne as 'colonia sacra', this evokes a new kind of sacral 'Amtsgenealogie' (U.Nilgen) as a means of proclaiming the elevated status and rank of archbishop that Anno, as saint and new patron of his monastery at Siegburg, enjoyed – while at Cologne the liturgical and material memory of Anno II is mainly preserved in his foundations (St. Georg, St. Maria ad Gradus).

Meredith Fluke

A Garland of Saints: Romanesque Verona and the Evocation of Rome

The Carolingian conquest of Italy in the late-8th century fundamentally altered both the landscape and institutions of Northern and Central Italy, and breathed new life in the city of Rome. As the Carolingians imaged themselves as the new Holy Roman Empire, and as Rome crystallized its image as the centre of Christian practice and cult, Rome became a city that evoked a glorious past, but also a powerful and holy present. Not surprisingly, this potent ideology encouraged cities throughout the Empire to seek and define their connections to both the Rome of the past and the present. These connections – whether real or manufactured – were solidified through numerous means: poems were written that drew comparisons between the various cities and Rome; Imperial Age monuments were rebuilt; and the relics of Roman martyr saints were incorporated into the cities' shrines, where the same saints began to fill the calendars of liturgical worship throughout the year. Often creative and multivalent in their invocations, these allusions meant to stress the glory and sanctity of the present city in their connection to Rome.

This paper discusses how one city in particular – Verona – projected its image as a second or new Rome through a series of ecclesiastical projects. At the core of the discussion will be Verona's institution of a stational system – a year-long cycle of liturgies that followed the Roman model – in the late-10th/early-11th centuries. The Veronese system included many liturgies that were entirely specific to the geography of the city of Rome, such as the Great Litany procession, a custom rarely seen outside of Roman papal practice. Here, I will discuss how the adoption of liturgies specific to Roman geography were meant to ritualize the cities' connection to Rome, and to transform them into a type of the eternal city. In addition, the paper will address the saints' dedications promoted in Verona during these centuries, and their architectural and geographic settings as a means of evoking Rome across the urban landscape. Perhaps the most interesting case is the church of Santo Stefano, an Early Christian edifice that was granted a sort of *martyrium* status due to its location and the presence of the relics of several early bishops there. In the late-10th century, Santo Stefano was most likely Verona's first parish church, and the church's eastern end was rebuilt with a double-storied ambulatory – an architectural feature that is anomalous for Veronese architecture, and for the architecture of high medieval Italy in general. Here, the early 11th-century architecture of Santo Stefano, along with its placement within the stational liturgies, will be discussed as a programmatic attempt on the part of secular priests to allude to the ancient martyrial associations of the church, and to link it with its martyrial prototype, St. Peter's in Rome.

Arturo Carlo Quintavalle

Geography in the Culture of Death: Tombs of Saints and Tombs of Counts in the Territory of Canossa

Ordinarily, the tombs of noble families are concentrated in a single location, at least in Italy, but in the case of the Attonidi dynasty – from Bonifacio and Beatrice to Matilda (d. 1115) – the family tombs seem to have been dispersed and create a striking geography of power intertwined with that of saints whose cults were housed in churches which were reconstructed with the encouragement of the family. The paper is thus concerned with the territory of Canossa, which extended through Tuscany, Emilia and parts of Lombardy.

The saints in question are those at the abbey of Nonantola, probably rebuilt within the last decade of the 11th century and housing the relics of Saint Sylvester; the abbey of Saint Apollonio within the fortress at Canossa, which celebrated and contained the relics of the dedicatory saint; Modena cathedral, where a well-known miniature in the *Relatio translationis corporis Sancti Geminiani*, depicts the translation of St Geminianus; San Benedetto al Polirone, where Saint Simeon was worshipped; and Parma Cathedral – until the early 12th century a schismatic pro-Emperor city, whose new bishop, Bernardo degli Uberti, was buried in the cathedral and was sanctified in 1137. Finally, the new cathedral of Cremona, founded in 1107 and built before 1117, housed the relics of Saint Himerius. All these buildings were intended to proclaim the unity of the reformed church subduing *manu militari*, thanks to Beatrice and Matilda of Canossa.

Donizone, Matilda of Canossa's biographer and himself a monk of Saint Apollonia at Canossa, tells us that Matilda arranged for Roman sarcophagi to be used for the burial of her ancestors in the fortress at Canossa. In his *Vita Mathildis*, Donizone also makes this same fortress, personified as a person, utter a lament on the loss of the graves of Bonifacio, Matilda's father, and Beatrice, her mother. Bonifacio was buried in Mantua, and I intend to propose a hypothesis regarding the ancient Roman sarcophagus in which he was buried; Beatrice, Matilda's mother, was buried in Pisa, perhaps initially inside the cathedral – subsequently outside, near the portal of San Ranieri, in the so-called Phaedra sarcophagus, now in the Campo Santo. Matilda herself was first buried in a humble tomb in San Benedetto Po, though her remains were transported to Rome in the 17th century, to be placed in a tomb designed by Bernini within St Peter's. Matilda was then beatified.

Thus the lives of nobles and saints are intertwined: the geography of power and the veneration of relics overlapped, as in other cases. Indeed, burial of both nobility and clergy in reused sarcophagi, usually of Roman origin, happens during the 11th century around the cathedrals of many cities – from Salerno to Florence. In the Attonidi domains examined here, ancient burials around the cathedrals of Modena and Pisa are well attested.

Just as devotion to the relics of saints is intertwined with that of heroes from the *chanson de geste* on pilgrimage roads in France and Spain, other combinations of sanctity and power can be found on the roads of Italy; thus saints, their relics enshrined precious caskets (and humble graves), are juxtaposed to Roman sarcophagi reserved to the lords of Canossa.

Rose Walker

An Itinerary of Holy Bodies: recommendations from the Pilgrim's Guide

This paper will consider a route of relics, an itinerary of holy bodies, set out in the *Pilgrim's Guide* from the *Codex Calixtinus*. Maps of the pilgrimage roads generally include all the sites mentioned in the *Guide*, and these have created a 'geography of sanctity' acknowledged by the current *camino*. Chapter 8 of the *Guide*, however, presents a more focused view, one that emphasises sites claiming to have the whole bodies of saints. At the top of this hierarchy are four 'which it has never been possible to remove from their respective sarcophagi': St James (Santiago de Compostela), St Martin (Tours), St Leonard (Noblat) and St Giles (St-Gilles-du-Gard).

Christopher Hohler describes the approach of this part of the *Guide* to 'the pretensions of French shrines' as 'at once antiquarian and flippant'. Although this paper will not subscribe totally to Hohler's view of the *Calixtinus*, it will analyse the selection – and omission – of sites with that comment in mind. The uneven treatment of saints' lives, reliquaries and tombs will be set alongside evidence for active cults and their architectural expression in the mid-12th century. The revised map revealed through this approach (see handout) will reflect both the nature of the text and say something about the way that some contemporary churchmen may have viewed the business of pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

John McNeill

Extra-Mural Developments: The 11th-Century Reconstruction of St-Eutrope at Saintes

Described by Gregory of Tours as a bishop despatched to Gaul by Pope Clement and martyred at Saintes, Eutropis [Eutrope/Eutropius] was widely believed to have been the founding bishop of Saintes. A church was built in his honour in the late 6th century by Bishop Palladius, which enshrined his tomb at a spot outside the town and above the Roman road to Bordeaux. This church was made over to Cluny in 1081, and was reconstructed with an exceptionally spacious crypt and raised choir – enjoying a dual consecration on the octave of Easter, 1096, celebrated by Pope Urban II and Ranulf, the then bishop of Saintes.

The eastern parts of the late 11th-century church survive, as does the plain stone sarcophagus of St-Eutrope, though the destruction of the nave in 1803 complicates efforts to reconstruct the original access arrangements to the transepts and east end. This paper will discuss the relative merits of the type of double-decker design adopted at Saintes, and assess the extent to which the type of architectural sculpture used in the lower church offers a clue as to why such unusual architectural strategies were employed.

Richard Gem

The Pilgrimage Church of St Martin at Tours c. 1000: Problems of Interpretation and Significance

This presentation will examine the evidence for the reconstruction of the church of St Martin at Tours following a fire in the 990s, through to its completion c. 1014/18. Responsibility for the project came within the competence of the treasurer of the chapter, Hervé of Buzançais, who held office *c*. 1001-1022. The building was erected at a period that was critical for architectural developments leading to the emergence of Romanesque in the Loire valley, but its form and hence its role in this development has long been a matter of controversy.

The building is known principally through excavations carried out in the 19th century, when a new basilica was to be erected on the site to replace that demolished at the Revolution; further limited excavations were then carried out in the 1970s. The form of the chevet was re-examined in detail by Pierre Martin in his doctoral thesis of 2010; but this did not extend to a consideration of the relationship of the chevet to the rest of the building. The paper accepts Martin's conclusions on the form of the early-11th-century chevet and relates this part of the building back to the transept and nave, for the plan of which a new proposal will be made. The design and scale of the church indicate that it was conceived with specific intentions, among which was making appropriate provision for the shrine of St Martin. The form of the shrine and its location in the building will be considered.

Claude Andrault-Schmitt

St Martial at Limoges and the Making of a Saint

Despite its complete destruction, the salient features of the abbey of St Martial are well known, thanks to extensive documentation. The first stage in the development of the great church took hold at some point between 1017 and 1031, when the monks instituted a new liturgy celebrating St Martial as their patron and presenting him as a 1st-century saint and intimate of Christ himself. These new polemical texts and the writing of the *Vita prolixior* corresponded with a new *mise-en-scène* at the tomb, in a special area that resembled a cave at the western end of the little church dedicated to Martial's mentor, St Peter. This period probably also sees the building of the ambulatory, constructed so as to connect with the northern oratories that subsequently housed elements associated with the cult.

In spite of a later dating for the crossing and the nave (1063-1095), the church continued to accommodate a number of specific *loci* at which the sanctity of St Martial was celebrated. A complex route enabled pilgrims to reach some surviving half buried buildings – the remains of a large necropolis – which the monks left visible as a demonstration of the authenticity of the saint's grave, though the numerous early medieval sarcophagi clustered here were in fact the result of later burying *ad sanctos*. The recent excavations pose a number of fascinating questions about how this necropolis, which sheltered several mausolea, might have been seen during the Carolingian period, as well as during the early Romanesque campaign.

As for the 11th-century campaigns as a whole, my purpose is not to debate how the church relates to the architecture of the so-called 'pilgrimage roads': that point is specious. Instead, I will conclude by comparing what happened at St-Martial to architectural strategies adopted elsewhere in the diocese: some of them are lightly influenced by St Martial (Le Dorat, St Leonard), and some of them very different (St Junien).

Manuel Castiñeiras

Inventing a New Antiquity: More about the sarcophagus of St. Saturnin at St-Hilaire-d'Aude.

As a number of scholars have noted, the sarcophagus of St. Saturnin at the abbey church of St-Hilaire-d'Aude – generally attributed to the enigmatic Cabestany Master - is a puzzling and potentially deceptive 12th-century work of art. Superficially it resembles a Late-Antique sarcophagus, carved in the Roman manner on three faces, though the size of the internal cavity makes it clear that it is in fact a reliquary-altar. Moreover, the style of its carvings is deliberately archaic and emulates Early Christian sculpture. In short, the intention seems to have been to create a type of fake that might persuade an onlooker to view the altar as a genuine re-used Late Antique sarcophagus.

There are other instances of the imitation of Antiquity in 12th-century Languedoc and Tuscany, in which the aim seems to have been to evoke a prestigious past. From a formal perspective this has led scholars to propose a long and varied training for the Cabestany Master in both Tuscany and Languedoc. However, certain iconographical details at St-Hilaire reveal something of the sources the artist used in carving the reliquary-altar, and offer an insight into why it was created. As Laura Bartolomé pointed out, the attempt to inject archaic and pagan themes into an otherwise 12th-century work of narrative relief sculpture relates the

sarcophagus to contemporary Tuscan Romanesque sculpture. Furthermore, the Benedictine milieu of the abbey, the interests of the family of the Trencavel counts of Carcassonne and the emerging Albigensian conflict are the historical context for the making of this 'sarcophagus'. It will be concluded that the reliquary-altar has a rhetorical role to play, distancing the community for whom it was made from heresy in an attempt reclaim the orthodoxy of the past, and implicitly drawing attention to the parallel between the troubling present and the age of St Saturnin.

Michele Luigi Vescovi

Constructing the memory of a contested saint: St Dionysius in Regensburg

In 1049, the abbot of the monastic community of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, together with some of his monks, found in a hidden corner of the church within a small bag 'every single bone' of the holy body of a saint. *Inventiones* and *translationes* of holy bodies are far from rare during the Middle Ages: what makes the case of St. Emmeram exceptional is that the bones discovered in 1049 belonged to none other than St Dionysius, better known as St Denis, the patron saint of all of Gaul, buried in the famous abbey north of Paris.

This paper, part of a larger research project on the phenomenon of contested sanctity, explores the construction of the institutional memory related to the *presence* of the holy body of St Dionysius in Regensburg, as elaborated not only though the textual tradition (namely, the *Translatio and Inventio Sancti Dyonisi Antiqvior*), but also through a new building campaign. In fact, as soon as the body of the venerated saint was discovered, the west front of the 9th-century basilica was destroyed to build a structure 'appropriate for such a patron' (as described in the *Translatio*). The new edifice – a *westbau*, in the form of a continuous transept with a crypt at its centre – was not the only novel aspect of the renewed church: on its southern flank a double portal was carved, which presents the effigies of St Emmeram (patron saint of the church) and St Dionysius. The latter is framed by an inscription that clarifies the purpose of the sculptures: "Tripartite Gaul laments its patron saint translated hither, which your image, holy Macharios Dionysius, reveals". The aim of this paper is to analyse how architecture and images not only supported the claim of the abbey of St. Emmeram, but also served, exactly as a text, to construct the abbey's institutional and hagiographical memory.

Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo

'With faithful mind': The Pilgrimage to Santo Domingo de Silos.

After the death of Domingo, abbot of Silos, in 1073, his spirit performed so many healing miracles that Silos became a destination for those seeking cures. The influx of pilgrims required several alterations to the monastery in order to accommodate supplicants while they awaited his thaumaturgical miracles.

This paper examines those accommodations, the resulting artworks, and their impact upon the monastic environment. As part of his canonization, Domingo's remains were translated to a chapel within the monastic church, in part, to discourage outsiders from intruding into the cloister, where he had originally been buried. Nevertheless, the cloister burial site was then marked by a cenotaph, with a nearby capital reproducing its epitaph. These served the monks' cult but also guided pilgrims hoping for cures from the power of the ground sanctified by the saint's presence. The interior chapel, where monks and supplicants prayed for miracles was accessible to the public through a portico in the north church wall. There, the entrance to the church was adorned with a tympanum whose imagery celebrates faith: the recognition of the Infant Jesus as the Messiah. To the sides, Shepherds gather with the midwives at the Nativity, and the Three Kings adore the Child. At the center, monumental figures of the Virgin and Joseph present the Infant to Simeon over an altar in the Temple, while he joyously receives the Child. Pilgrims could recognize their own journey in that of the Holy Family to the Temple, and Simeon's joy reflects their own recognition of the divine in Santo Domingo. The imagery expresses an important concept often recorded in the saint's miracles: that one must approach the sacred with faithful mind, without which there can be no miracle.

Montserrat Pagès i Paretas

Cults and Reliquaries as represented in the Bayeux Tapestry and Ripoll Bibles: Models and Meanings

The Bayeux Tapestry, that most precious and enigmatic embroidery depicting the conquest of England, was designed at one of two great Benedictine houses in Canterbury, either Christ Church Cathedral Priory, or, perhaps more probably, at Saint Augustine's Abbey. From the Benedictine Abbey of Santa Maria de Ripoll, the principal cultural centre of the Carolingian Spanish March, two extraordinary illuminated Romanesque bibles survive, one now in Paris, the other in Rome.

Important Carolingian Psalters were also housed at Canterbury and Ripoll, the artistic influence of which were to be significant. The famous Utrecht Psalter, *opera magna* of the school of Reims, could have come to Canterbury as early as 856 as a royal gift. This extraordinary Carolingian book, in an impressionistic classical style, lay at the root of the magnificent school of book illumination in England prior to the Norman Conquest. Despite obvious differences occasioned by a shift in medium from pen and ink to needle and thread, the Tapestry continued that style.

The Psalter of Ripoll, the *Salterium argenteum* recorded in an inventory drawn up on the death of the great abbot Oliba in 1047, disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century. Early historians describe this codex, written with letters of silver and gold on purple parchment, as magnificent. The inscription in the colophon, *Karolus gratia Dei rex et imperator Francorum*, and the character of the writing, leads one to infer that the Ripoll Psalter originated in a palatine scriptorium, either of the time of Charlemagne or that of Charles the Bald.

This paper will examine the models that lie behind the depiction of altars and reliquaries in both the Bayeux Tapestry and the Ripoll Bibles, and will examine why certain choices were made, particularly where, in parallel circumstances, the images differ.

Marta Poza Yagüe

Late 11th-Century Byzantine Echoes in the Kingdom of Aragon: Sancho Ramirez and the Relics of St Demetrios of Thessalonica

An ancient Aragonese legend tells how at the end of the 11th century, two French clerics crossed the Pyrenees, carrying the remains of an Eastern martyr, Demetrius, on the back of a mule. The animal, which was blind, did not stop until it fell dead at the foot of the castle of Loarre, the fortress which King Sancho Ramírez used as a base from which to expand the Kingdom of Aragon at the expense of the Muslims.

The story of an animal halting so as to manifest a saint's wish to remain at a particular place is a *topos;* one which is found in a number of Hispanic miracle stories as with the legend of the Christ of the Gascons in Segovia or, that of the *translatio* of the Apostle Santiago from the port of Iria on a cart pulled by oxen. There are several considerations that make this case especially interesting. The first is the origin of the saint, Demetrius of Thessalonica, an eastern saint with no cult to speak of in Western Europe prior to the end of the 11th century, when he becomes a patron saint of the Crusaders. A military saint, and protector of Christian armies fighting against the Muslims, was an appropriate saintly guardian for Sancho Ramírez on the eve of the military campaign that resulted in the conquest of Huesca. As with Santiago at the Battle of Clavijo, or San Millán at Simancas, Saint Demetrius would be the supernatural leader who protect the armies of Aragon. The destination for his relics thus comes as no surprise: the crypt of the fortress of Loarre. What could be better than a castle as the resting place for the remains of a soldier-saint.

However, there is another aspect to this story that we should question as well. The present shrine of Saint Demetrius is a Romanesque metal *chasse* which appears contemporary with the date of the arrival of the relics – i.e. late 11th century. Yet the presence in Aragon of other pieces of Byzantine manufacture of a similar date, makes one wonder if the Romanesque shrine was the original receptacle. The broadly contemporaneous

arrival of relics and exquisite pieces of ivory from the eastern Mediterranean in a small kingdom in the far west of Europe seems likely to have been connected.

My paper will analyze the convenience of this 'miraculous arrival' in Aragon, and assess what that meant for the political and religious programme of Sancho Ramírez. We will also attempt to formulate some hypotheses about what may have been the original shrine of St Demetrios.

Jeremy Knight

Bradanreolice, Burryholms and Barry Island: Saints, Shrines and Island Pilgrimage Centres in the Severn Estuary

A number of Welsh churches have evidence, documentary, architectural or archaeological, for the enshrinement of a patron saint *in pavimento ecclesie*, beneath the floor of a church in the position of honour south of the altar, often in a separate grave chapel or *eglwys y bedd* ('church of the grave').

Some of this evidence comes from a group of island pilgrimage chapels in the Severn Estuary. Two, on tidal islets at Barry near Cardiff and Burryholms in Gower, have been excavated. Each centred on a 12th-century chapel with apsidal east end, replaced in the 14th century by a square ended chancel. Barry produced evidence for cult in the form of the robbed remains of a Romanesque shrine, a 'people's altar' with relic cavity and a stone relic container. Both had associated priest's houses and at Burryholms ancillary buildings. There was no evidence for any pre-Norman timber churches, that claimed at Burryholms probably being Iron Age. The pre-Norman phases seem to have comprised unenclosed cemeteries with a 'special grave' marked in some way and identified as that of the saint.

Similar sites are known from documentary sources and field evidence on the mid-Channel islands of Steepholm and Flatholm. Only the 12th-century Augustinian pilgrimage church on Steepholm has been excavated. They were associated with local saints, Dyfan and Guaheles, the latter unconvincingly equated with Gildas. Later, St Cadog's monastery at Llancarfan and St Augustine's Bristol both laid claim to the islands. Burryholms was part of an early polyfocal monastery centred on Llangennith in west Gower, granted in Norman times to St Taurin of Evreux. Llangennith was seized as an alien Priory and granted by Henry VI to All Souls College, Oxford, who owned the village until the mid-19th century.

Ryan Lash

New Geography and Old Materiality: Church Reform and the Cult of Saint Leo on Inishark, County Galway.

A crucial component of church reform in 12th-to-13th-century Ireland was a re-orientation of the geography of ecclesiastical authority. Formalizing an island-wide diocesan hierarchy, subject ultimately to Rome, facilitated the territorializing political ambitions of both secular and ecclesiastical elites. Accordingly, scholars have depicted the patronage of Romanesque architecture and continental claustral plans at major ecclesiastical sites as material evidence for new ideologies as to the geographical source and extent of ecclesiastical authority. This paper uses new archaeological evidence from a little-known island ecclesiastical settlement to examine alternative materializations, and the political deployments of such ideologies, along the Atlantic coast of Connemara in the west of Ireland.

Seven years of survey and excavation has defined the development of an enclosed shrine complex, a stone church, and a number of penitential stations and burial grounds on Inishark between c. 950-1300. Evidence suggests a major renovation at the turn of the 13th century, possibly corresponding with the introduction of the cult of St Leo. Though the architectural and spatial settings of ritual remained consistent with earlier insular patterns, the papal connotations of St Leo distinguished the community on Inishark within a seascape of Irish saint cults of regional or national import. This paper suggests that the community on Inishark competed with nearby pilgrimage centres by invoking a new geography of ecclesiastical authority associated

with contemporary reform. These findings suggest scholars should consider a wide range of possible material engagements with reform ideology among ecclesiastical communities in 'Romanesque Ireland'.

Øystein Ekroll

The Royal and Christ-like Martyr: Creating the Cult of St Olav 1030-1200

When Trondheim became a metropolitan seat in 1153, a comprehensive cult of St Olav was consciously developed, encompassing art, liturgy, *passio*, historical writing and secular laws. At the end of the century, the Anglo-Norman cathedral was completed with an octagonal chapel around the saint's grave and shrine, drawing on an Early Christian *martyria* tradition which showed signs of rejuvenation elsewhere in the 12th century.

Around the cathedral, the infrastructure and trappings of a pilgrimage centre were developed according to the model offered by other contemporary pilgrimage destinations, especially Jerusalem - with monasteries, a pilgrim hospice, *mons gaudi*/Mountjoy, crosses, and a royal castle which was called 'Zion'.

My paper will explore the motives behind the development of the cult of St Olav and its significance for the architectural choices made in Trondheim. A connection between Nidaros Cathedral and the Holy Sepulchre Church has been suggested in the scholarly literature, and it is thus necessary to examine whether Crusader Jerusalem played a role in the construction of the physical aspects of the cult and, if so, how were these impulses transferred across Europe to Trondheim?

The first shrine of St Olav was enclosed within a second shrine in a setting comparable to the large English shrines, that is to say the shrine was set on a tall base behind the altar, with a cover that was subsequently added and which could be raised to reveal the underlying shrine. The cult of St Olav closely parallels that of other royal saints, especially St Edmund. Simultaneously, the neglected relationship of Olav to the cults of the English royal saints deserves attention, raising the question of how these might have served as models and inspiration for the cult of St Olav.

Béla Zsolt Szakács

Three Hungarian Shrines from 1083: Canonization, Reform, and Politics

The first canonizations in medieval Hungary were initiated by King Ladislas I in 1083. This was an unusually rich series of elevations, involving the relics of five saints at three locations. Two of them were performed in Székesfehérvár, where the first Hungarian king, Stephen (997-1038), was canonized together with his son, Prince Emeric. The third canonization was of Saint Gerard, bishop and protomartyr of Hungary, who was canonized in Csanád (today Cenad in Romania). The last two saints to be canonized were the hermits Andrew-Zorard and Benedict of Szalka, both of whom were elevated in Nyitra (today Nitra in Slovakia).

The original arrangement of their shrines has been revealed recently. Firstly, archaeological investigation made it clear that Saint Stephen was interred in a burial chamber, with a Roman sarcophagus above the tomb that was in turn furnished with an altar. At Csanád, a Roman sarcophagus is still venerated as the former tomb of Saint Gerard. 19th-century excavations here also revealed a former underground structure, which was part of the early church building and probably served as the original burial place of the holy bishop. Finally, during the most recent investigations in the cathedral of Nyitra, a structure beneath the upper church was identified, which clearly served as a *confessio* for the aforementioned hermit saints.

Two particular features distinguish the shrines of the saints canonized in 1083: namely, a *confessio*-like underground space and the use of Roman sarcophagi. The latter phenomenon, the reuse of Roman sarcophagi, was also popular in the reform circles associated with Pope Gregory VII (as with the tombs related to Matilda of Canossa and her ancestors). The other recurrent architectural feature, the Roman *confessio,* can also be

associated with church reformers, as with Archbishop Anno of Cologne, a dedicated supporter of the monastic reform, in Bonn.

The Hungarian canonizations of 1083 were initiated by King Ladislas I (1077-1095), who himself was venerated as a saint after 1192. At the beginning of his reign he strongly supported the Papal party. This is demonstrated by the fact that he married Adelheid, the daughter of the German counter-king, Rudolf Rheinfelden. In 1091, King Ladislas further demonstrated his commitment to Church reform, when he invited Cluniac monks from Saint-Gilles-du-Gard to Hungary in order to establish a Benedictine monastery at Somogyvár. Furthermore, ecclesiastical legislation undertaken during his rule also included significant elements of the Church reform.

Historians have argued that King Ladislas was not a genuinely dedicated supporter of the papal reform. However, the settings devised for the 1083 saints suggest differently, for the arrangement of these three shrines explicitly follows patterns of devotion that were current in reform circles, and eloquently underscores the political rhetoric of the king.

Nathalie Le Luel

Cultic and Ecclesiastical Space in the late 12th Century: The Legend of Saint Catherine at the Chapel of Notre-Dame de Pritz (Mayenne)

Already established as a pilgrimage centre in the early Middle Ages, the chapel of Notre-Dame de Pritz (near Laval) is now best known for its mural paintings, realized during several campaigns between the early 12th and 16th centuries. Serving as the parish church of Laval until c. 1160, the chapel had also been a possession of the Benedictine abbey of Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture in Le Mans since the 11th century

An extensive cycle dedicated to St Catherine of Alexandria formerly covered the northern wall of the nave. This cycle is organized in two registers which are unfortunately incomplete, with just five [or four?] scenes now visible: *Catherine tortured on the wheel*, *Catherine giving courage to future martyrs*, *Beheading of Catherine* and the *Apparition of an Angel*. These paintings are usually dated to *c.* 1200, and testify to the development of the cult of Catherine during this period (other painted examples survive in the crypt of the church of Notre-Dame of Montmorillon (Poitou), Saint-Jean-Baptiste at Château-Gontier (Mayenne Angevine), the priory of Aubeterre at Broût-Vernet (Auvergne), and the Cathedral of Le Puy-en-Velay.

At around this same date, and in a narrow geographical area, several hagiographic programmes were applied to the north walls of churches. Saint Gilles appears on the north wall of the nave of Saint-Jacques-des-Guérets (with St Nicholas to the south), and in the former chapel St. Laurent of Le Loroux-Bottereau (paintings today deposited in the parish church St. Jean). At Château-Gontier, the decapitation of saint Catherine appears in the north aisle of the transept. Finally, we also know that in the priory St. Martin of Laval, a suite of holy martyrs, represented tortured, followed one another on the northern wall of the nave before 19th-century modifications.

So why was the legend of Catherine represented on the north wall of the chapel of Notre-Dame of Pritz? What kind of link did pilgrims have with the hagiographic images? What intercession might they expect from the Holy Virgin? In parallel to an attempt to reconstruct the cycle, the purpose of this paper will be to assess why the cycle of St Catherine was painted where it was in relation to the overall organisation of the interior chapel space.

Deborah Kahn

Local Hero: Saint Eusice at Selles-sur-Cher

This paper seeks to point up the significance of the little known sculptural frieze showing the *Life and Miracles of Saint-Eusice* at Selles-sur-Cher in the diocese of Bourges, on the border between Berry and

Solonge. The dismal condition of the carvings has prevented their importance from being fully recognized. But the frieze is seminal in several ways. For one thing it is among the earliest sculptural depictions of a saint's life. It also stands as one of the first carved narrative friezes since Antiquity.

The installation of the frieze at Selles-sur-Cher was rigorous and purposeful. The reliefs of the Life of Christ and Saint-Eusice run parallel to one another around the eastern termination of the church. For the monks this was the most precious part of the structure for it contained the body of Saint-Eusice. The frieze was intended to turn the eastern termination of the church into an enormous reliquary chasse. But the narrative panels are also juxtaposed with images of sin and the demonic, and as such were intended for the town rather than the monastery. Thus, the frieze also functioned as a transformative, didactic device.

Tomasz Weclawowicz

The "Forest of Symbols" on the Romanesque Bronze Doors at Gniezno Cathedral

The entrance to a church constitutes a border-line between two worlds: the first associated with *profanum,* and the second associated with *sacrum.* Above the entrances, on the tympana of Romanesque portals, one often finds the figure of the enthroned Christ, pointing the way to Salvation. In this context, the door leading into the cathedral in Gniezno (in Greater Poland), is exceptional. It was cast in bronze in the second half of the 12th century, and was decorated with reliefs illustrating the life and death of St Adalbert. The martyrdom of Poland's patron was effectively raised to a status almost equal to that of the history of Creation and Redemption.

On each of the two wings of the door, there are nine scenes. The narrative begins at the bottom of the left wing with *Adalbert's Birth.* Next there are the scenes of his childhood. Above, at the level of the handle adorned with a lion's head, one finds the scene of Adalbert called to a priestly life, traditionally referred to as *St. Adalbert's Night Prayer.* Above we then see him as bishop of Prague and at the top, the highest scene – *The Miracle with the Jug in the Benedictine Monastery in Rome.*

On the right wing, starting at the top, the narrative continues with a scene presenting *Adalbert's Arrival in Prussia* and moves downwards to the *Baptism of a Prussian, Teaching, His Final Mass, Martyrdom…*and after *Translatio* the final scene – *Adalbert's Burial* - which ends the narrative.

Each of these wings is framed by a border adorned with running foliage, from whose s-shaped tangles various human and animal figures emerge, which can be seen as allusions to and glosses on the main narrative. For apart from the artistic value of the work itself, one can be astounded by the apparent complexity of this largely symbolic border. The unknown author of the border was clearly familiar with and moved freely in the world of symbols, and particularly in the world of symbolic creatures. In effect, he has created a type of hermeneutic puzzle, which art historians have been trying to understand and explain for over a century.

This paper aims to analyze the portal with a view to the significance of the creatures concealed within its foliate and floral frame, and discern how these animals were intended to draw attention to the particular attributes, virtues, miracles of St Adalbert, and finally to his martyrdom.

Javier Martínez de Aguirre

Templars, Hospitallers and Canons of the Holy Sepulchre on the Way of St James: Building at the Service of Lay Spirituality

A phenomenon of great interest from the point of view of the architectural renewal of the Road to Santiago was the contribution made by the new religious orders of the 12th century, in particular the Knights Hospitaller of Saint John of Jerusalem and the Regular Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. These new orders founded, or received, some very remarkable buildings. On the one hand, they erected hospitals, such as that

which Alfonso VII ordered to be built in Atapuerca in 1126 (which unfortunately no longer exists). On the other hand, they built churches in urban centres that flourished, like Santa María at Sangüesa (Navarre) or Saint John at Puertomarín (Galicia). A third group of buildings also stands out: funerary churches originally related to small hospitals but at some distance from significant urban centres, such Santo Sepulcro at Torres del Río (Navarre) and San Juan de Acre in Navarrete (La Rioja). The solutions that were adopted here were innovative, and can be explained by their funerary and sepulchral functions, in particular their adoption of centralised plans: octagonal at Torres and Greek cross with a semi-octagonal east end at Navarrete.

Two factors came together in the creation of these types of church: the funerary specialization of these orders in the 12th century (for which there is abundant documentary evidence) and, more importantly, the renewal of lay spirituality. A donation on the part of Gutierre Pérez de Reinoso in 1184 shows the extent to which the laity could influence and regulate worship in private sepulchral churches. This makes it likely that the parties responsible for the adoption of atypical architectural solutions were the secular benefactors, and it was they who specified the models - either because these evoked the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Torres del Río), or because their iconographical meanings were appropriate to salvation (Navarrete). Recently published documents show that two noblewomen were responsible for these unique buildings, and that, at least in the case of Navarrete, the church was donated to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, only after it had been finished.

These funerary churches shared figurative programmes with urban churches of the same religious orders, in which Christological and soteriological themes predominated, namely the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ and the Last Judgement.

Gaetano Curzi

Templars, Cults and Relics: The Cleveland Reliquary of the True Cross

According to the Statutes of the Order, the Templars owned an important relic of the True Cross, kept in their headquarters in Jerusalem and used in battle like a *palladium*, much as the kings and bishops of Jerusalem used the largest surviving fragment of the Cross, preserved in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. Written sources refer to several *staurothecae* maintained in various houses of the Order throughout Europe, which may also be represented in the wall decoration of several Templar churches, such as Montsaunès, Mercey and San Bevignate in Perugia.

Given these contexts, the reliquary now in the Cleveland Museum appears extremely interesting. A long inscription on the frame recounts the story of the *staurotheca* that in 1214 was inserted inside this outer frame. The relic was stolen by a priest in the Holy Land, but on his return journey the ship in which he was travelling sailed into a terrible storm. This was quieted after the priest was thrown into the sea, but not before he gave the relic to the Templars on the instructions of the Virgin. The journey then continued without further complication, until the ship landed at Brindisi.

Thus, divine will delivered the reliquary to the knights, and they surrounded it with thirty relics, visible through openings that form a *cross pattée*, the emblem of the Templar Order. The collection includes relics of St. George and St. Theodore, strongly revered in Brindisi, where the reliquary was probably made.

During the 13th century the Templars became increasingly interested in the cult of the saints, as is confirmed by the wall decoration of their buildings. By the end of the century, they were directly engaged in the canonization of Bevignate: his relics are attested in Italy and Spain, but only in contexts related to the Templar knights.