

ROMANESQUE AND THE PAST

ABSTRACTS

John McNeill

An Introduction to 11th and 12th-Century Attitudes to the Past

One of the questions the conference is implicitly posing is whether there is a discernably Romanesque sense of the Past - an attitude or set of approaches to the past different to that of, say, the fourteenth century - or the fourth? And whether there is any consistency in the way this might be expressed - both across media - and across regions. By way of an introduction this paper will largely concentrate on architecture, and look at the ways in which spolia - material fragments of the past - were reused. It will suggest that the allusive capacity of spolia was important in certain areas of Europe in creating an architecture which attempted to emulate the architecture of Late Antiquity, particularly in the second half of the 11th century, though for the most part spolia was used for very specific and local reasons. It will conclude with a very brief consideration of emulation and architectural referentiality.

Eric Fernie

The Concept of the Romanesque

The Romanesque style is one of the most loosely defined and controversial of art historical periods. The paper will assess the case against it and then that for it, concentrating on architecture and examining in particular when it is supposed to have begun, how it related to the political units of the time, and how it is used in conjunction with other period labels. The presentation concludes with an assessment of the origins of the Romanesque in a broad historical context.

Richard Gem

St Peter's Basilica in Rome c.1024-1159: a model for emulation?

The aim of this contribution is to evaluate the possible role of the ancient basilica of St Peter in Rome as a model for architectural design and for religious practice in Europe between the second quarter of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth (from Pope John XIX to Pope Hadrian IV). The first section will evaluate the contemporary functions of the basilica in relation to the papacy, to the chapter of the basilica, and to pilgrims - for whom the shrine of St Peter and the *Sudarium* of Christ were the principle objects of veneration, alongside numerous other relics and altars.

The second section will describe works to the fabric of the basilica during the period, mainly from the 1120s through to the 1150s. The final section will then examine both the reasons that may have led to contemporary emulation of the basilica north of the Alps, and also the ways in which this emulation manifested itself. It will be shown that one important aspect was the reproduction of key dimensions of St Peter's, which must have been regarded as an act of deference to the basilica that 'excels other churches in its title of dignity and as a model of religion'.

Jill A. Franklin

Iconic Architecture: the *Basilica Apostolorum* and San Nazaro in Milan

Milan, imperial city, was fiercely divided between opposing religious factions under Bishop Ambrose in the late 4th century, and again some 700 years later during the papal reforms of the second half of the 11th century. The established church in mid-11th century Milan was controlled by the German Empire, and felt the full impact of purgative papal reforms, overseen from Rome by a Milanese Pope, Alexander II (1061-73), with sometimes brutal results. Critical throughout is the figure of Ambrose, bishop of Milan from 374 until 397, both as he was depicted by his contemporary biographer, Paulinus, at the beginning of the 5th century, and again c1100 in the chronicle attributed to the Milanese priest Landolfo 'the Elder.' Landolfo portrays the reformers, led by the radical cleric Arialdo of Varese (d.1066), as rabble-rousing outsiders. Both Landolfo, a conservative archpriest and supporter of marriage among the clergy, and Arialdo, leader of the *Pataria* movement and concerned to eradicate clerical abuses of simony and cohabitation, invoke Ambrose as the authority for their antithetical positions.

At the heart of events is Ambrose's apostolic reliquary church in the southern suburbs of the city, first consecrated before 386. In its original form, and again after its Romanesque refashioning, the building was loaded with Early Christian significance. The meanings embodied in the church seem to be reflected throughout the Middle Ages in the distinctive but unassuming architecture of the European priesthood, most notably in churches built in England during the late-11th century and first half of the 12th century for regular canons identifying with the apostolic tradition that inspired ecclesiastical reform, and in those of the early Cistercians, seeking to emulate the past in the name of authenticity.

Kai Kappel

Architecture as a Visual Memento? La Roccelletta in Calabria

The former monastery church S. Maria della Roccella (nicknamed La Roccellett) is one of the most important structures created during the period of Norman rule in southern Italy. For more than 120 years, the partly collapsed, partly overgrown ruins on the Ionian coast of Calabria have continued to pose riddles to researchers in the field of art history. In immediate proximity to the church are the important remains of the ancient city of Scolacium (Scylletium). Researchers are still not agreed whether La Roccelletta belongs to the early period of architecture of the Norman conquerors in southern Italy, or whether it was built in the second quarter of the 12th century.

The elongated, unstructured and originally flat-roofed nave of the church is contrasted almost antithetically with the fully vaulted eastern section: the transepts, the hall crypt and the distinctly staggered choir. Several architectural features of the Roccelletta can also be found in other Norman churches and monasteries in southern Italy. The question of influential structures north of the Alps was, therefore, raised at an early date.

Only to a limited extent, however, can La Roccelletta be regarded as a continuation of a generally recognized ecclesiastical construction type of the conquerors. The lecture will show that other, indigenous factors played a decisive role in this respect: a dialectic with the genius loci of the ancient city and a sense of deference to the mainly Greek population in the area. The outcome is certainly ambivalent: on the one hand, it resulted formally and in terms of materials in an ingenious "architecture of remembrance"; on the other hand, there are clear incongruences between the form of the building and the liturgical use to which it was put.

Claude Andrault-Schmitt

The Concepts of Archaism and/or Singularity: On the Nave Clerestory in French Romanesque Architecture between the Loire and Dordogne (circa 1050-1150)

The word 'clerestory' is typically English. It is difficult to accept the translation *clair-étage* and to define this concept in Aquitaine, where most Romanesque churches are barrel-vaulted with single-storey elevations. In western France, Normandy excepted, clerestories are generally given early dates if they derive from a high medieval tradition and are technically unadventurous, or are dated late if they carry rib vaults.

The use of clerestories is more than an archaeological marker, however, it is a meaningful choice. First, we note that some naves have been left unaltered for centuries: St Mexme at Chinon is a very striking case of this kind of conservatism. Second, and above all, we should be surprised to find a number of later naves brightly lit and covered with wooden ceilings, whereas the general taste among their contemporaries favoured stone vaulting. The example of St-Nicolas at La Chaize-le-Vicomte is particularly interesting: the main body of the building has been recently dated. It presents a great regularity related to the desire and the fortune of the founder, a lord who fought at Hastings. At Ste-Valerie at Chambon-sur-Voueize, a priory of St-Martial of Limoges, understanding the architecture is more problematic, as the high central nave was vaulted in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Through such analyses I wish to emphasize that the model used was always basilican, conceived as an image of Rome. This was embodied in different ways, some of them difficult to decode – but which include the 'poitevin-type' barrel-vaulted hall church.

Manuel Castiñeiras

The Portal at Ripoll Revisited: An Honorary Arch for the Ancestors

It is well known that during the second quarter of the twelfth century Ripoll initiated a policy of recouping and rehabilitating its glorious past, wherein the abbacy of Oliba (1008-1046) was presented as the monastery's golden age. Many of the artistic enterprises undertaken at this time look back towards that golden age. Most spectacularly, the construction of the famous sculpted portal (ca. 1134-1150) hid, as it were, a stone closet in an old wall, the façade that had been painted on the occasion of the consecration of 1032.

Ever since the nineteenth century the term *triumphal or honorary arch* has become a topos when speaking of this monumental portal at Ripoll. As was the case in Roman times, it is likely the erection of this Romanesque 'arch' was intended both to glorify illustrious men and to commemorate a special event. Indeed, the three figures carved in the lower right band might be identified as members of the Oliba Cabreta family: Oliba, Abbot of Ripoll (1008-1046), and the Counts of Besalú, Bernat Tallaferro (+ 1020) and his son Guillem I (1020-1050), buried in the cloister of Ripoll. All of them are linked with the building of the church and Oliba and Guillem were the major participants in the consecration of the basilica in the year 1032, an event that would be commemorated in the stone portal.

Moreover many of the subjects represented in the Ripoll Portal (the Promised Land of Exodus, the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, or Apostles Peter and Paul as the living stones of the church) were common in early-medieval dedication acts in Catalonia. For that reason the program of the twelfth-century portal might be an evocation of the consecration ceremony of 1032, and even a transposition in stone of the old painted decoration of the eleventh century that celebrated the same event.

Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo

Tarragona: *Lieu de mémoire*

The former Roman capital of Tarragona, in the north-eastern Iberian Peninsula, consciously incorporated its imperial past into its present: first in the early Middle Ages, before the Muslim conquest, then in the twelfth century, when the city, once again Christian, reconstructed its history through its sacred sites. Tarragona truly is a *lieu de mémoire*, a site where a sense of historical continuity persists despite losses, and is prominent in the formation of national identity. But, to that end, the narrative of Tarragona is selective. The talk will focus on the amphitheatre and the cathedral cloister, two sites with prominent Romanesque remains and very different histories. Each manifests various ways in which the past may be regarded in Romanesque art.

Daniel Prigent

Innovation and the Uses of Antiquity in the Romanesque Architecture of the Loire Valley

The use of ancient constructional techniques persisted into the eleventh century in the Loire Valley. Recent archaeological studies, together with scientific dating methods (radiocarbon, thermoluminescence, archaeomagnetism) suggest building in stone continued throughout the early Middle Ages here, and the types of masonry seen in Gallo-Roman buildings can be found throughout this period; bricks, patterned masonry, ashlar etc.

A considerable change took place during the course of the eleventh century. As the use of dressed stone increased, the blocks of ashlar arriving on site began to be cut in series, simplifying the building work. At the same time a distinct change in the treatment of roughly dressed rubble - *moellons* - can be observed. Ever since Antiquity rubble had been dressed in regular shapes, but the laying of regular courses required a considerable outlay of time. Now that builders began using undressed rubble, courses began to become irregular or disappear entirely. This method of working, which can still be found today, effectively increased productivity.

Nevertheless, alongside innovatory techniques which broke away from antique tradition, there are buildings which, even in the twelfth century, bear witness to a clear desire to imitate classical building styles; though these do remain the exception.

Laurence Cabrero-Ravel

The Recollection of the Past in the Romanesque Art of the Auvergne

Notre-Dame du Port at Clermont-Ferrand, Saint-Austremoine at Issoire, Saint-Saturnin, Saint Nectaire, Notre-Dame d'Orcival (along with Volvic, Mozac, and Ennezat), to cite simply the more significant examples, belong to a group of Auvergnat 12th-century churches characterized by repeated references to the works of the past - both works of the recent past (the 11th century) or the more distant past (the Early Middle Ages, or even Antiquity). These borrowings are significant in terms of constructional technique (the use of rubble walling, the manner whereby engaged columns are assembled), architectural preferences (existence of crypts, structural system of vaulting used over naves and crossings), the treatment of the wall (absence of articulation in upper levels of the elevation, polychromatic ornamental devices, niches, arcades), mouldings (attic bases) and architectural sculpture (especially Corinthian capitals). Only rarely are these forms associated with re-use. Integrated into a coherent architectural ensemble, and renewed by the inventiveness of the artists from Auvergne, they bear witness to a vital trend in Romanesque creativity that wavers between tradition and modernity.

Neil Stratford

Cluny and the Past

'L'histoire est la fille du temps' (Lucien Febvre). It is our present-day preoccupations which stimulate our enquiries into the past. But how can we today judge whether a building or an image was consciously quoting the past, or simply employing an iconography which had become part of continuous artistic tradition? How, for instance, would these buildings or images have looked to a monk of Cluny in the 12th century? The question can be asked, but seldom if ever answered.

Stephan Albrecht

Artistic Strategies for Institutional Memory: Trier, Villenauxe, Glastonbury

Why would an institution exploit its artistic past to represent itself? What strategies might it deploy? These are the two questions on which I intend to concentrate. For this purpose I have selected examples from three different media - painting, sculpture and architecture - from three different foundations in Germany, France and England.

Sandy Heslop

From Shell Niche to Ribbed Semi-Dome

In the late eleventh century various characteristics of Early Christian architecture were revived. Well-known instances in Anglo-Norman England include the dimensions of the churches and the use of spiral columns. In the case of the latter, these migrate from church 'furniture' to the structure of the buildings themselves. In this paper I consider the case for a potentially similar borrowing and transformation: of the shell niche and its 'new life' as ribbed semi-dome. Judging from its contexts of use, the suggestion is developed that the attraction of this form was its association with Christ's Resurrection, and heavenly ascent in general. In that respect too it would parallel the upward movement of spiral columns.

The argument is developed using monuments, objects and images ranging in date from the second century to the twelfth, and including Jewish and Moslem as well as Christian monuments such as Norwich Cathedral. The emergence, around 1100, of the shell as the sign of pilgrimage is also briefly considered, along with a renewed focus on Christ's sepulchre at the time of the Jerusalem Crusade of 1096.

Lucy Donkin

Making an Impression: Romanesque Pavements and the Creation of Architectural Memory

My paper examines the church pavement as a repository of memory, focusing on the writing of the alphabet cross during the rite of consecration. The allegorical interpretation of the rite underwent changes of wording and emphasis in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which indicate a growing interest in the imprinting of the letters. The pavement was compared both with writing tablets and with the heart inscribed or sealed with divine law. Combining conceptions of the functioning of human memory and traditions concerning the corporeality of the church building, this assigned the floor surface particular mnemonic potential. This trend will be related firstly to the commemorative role of the ground in general. Comparison can be drawn with holy *vestigia* or imprints, which testified to past events and were also associated with seals and wax tablets, while unmarked ground was also credited with the capacity to retain qualities bestowed through contact or prayer. Secondly, the paper asks how the shift in allegorical emphasis might relate to the revival of figurative pavement decoration in this period, and especially to the inclusion of commemorative images and inscriptions.

Beatrice Kitzinger

From Hrabanus Maurus to Regensburg: Romanesque Praise for the Holy Cross

The set of figural poems in praise of the Holy Cross created by the ninth-century abbot Hrabanus Maurus maintained a widespread and steady importance in monastic libraries throughout the middle ages, as numerous copies of the work dating from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries attest. Although many of these copies remain remarkably true to their Carolingian source, Hrabanus' work did not come down through the centuries unadapted. Alongside later editions that simply updated the style of Hrabanus' images to accord with modern taste, some post-Carolingian manuscripts included adjustments or entirely new visual components that bespeak particular emphases or interpretations on the part of their makers. New tracts focused on the Cross also appeared, showing various degrees of indebtedness to Hrabanus' giant forerunner. Surviving examples of both approaches allow us insight into changing conceptions of the role of a book dedicated to praise for the Holy Cross in the Romanesque period.

This paper presents two such case studies, focusing on the eleventh-century copy of Hrabanus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis* from the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 11685), and the twelfth-century anonymous illustrated tract by the same name from the cloister of Prüfening (Munich, Staatsbibliothek MS Clm 14159). The little-studied Parisian codex provides a nuanced example of additive adaptation of Hrabanus' work, tuned to the context of its reproduction through new images and marginalia. The later Prüfening manuscript represents a reconception of the *De laudibus* genre, apparently in purely 'modern', twelfth-century terms. However, examination of the two manuscripts together allows for analysis of underlying similarities in conception of the content and purpose of the books. These depart in important ways from Hrabanus' project, reflecting a common shift of emphasis rooted in the role of crosses in the high medieval church.

Hanna Vorholt

The construction of history through images in the *Liber Floridus* – observations on the cycle of the Apocalypse and the preceding miniatures

The *Liber Floridus*, compiled by Lambert of Saint-Omer between 1112 and 1121, ranks among the most famous encyclopaedic works from the Romanesque period. The autograph manuscript (Ghent, University Library, MS 92) preserves not only most of the work as Lambert left it in 1121, but it also includes evidence of how it came into being. Furthermore, the earliest surviving copy (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Gud. Lat. 1), together with other surviving *Liber Floridus* copies, has allowed scholars to reconstruct those parts which are lost in the autograph today. The most prominent among these losses, and the one which has been discussed most frequently by art historians, is the cycle of the Apocalypse. Less well-known is a sequence of three full-page miniatures which once preceded this cycle and which is now equally lost. My paper will focus on these three miniatures and discuss their relationship to the cycle of the Apocalypse. It will take the Wolfenbüttel manuscript as its point of departure and combine with it the evidence regarding the codicological structure of the autograph itself. This section of the *Liber* exemplifies how and why Lambert changed and adapted miniatures in the process of compiling the work, with a specific purpose in mind. The results from this

examination will be discussed briefly in the context of other encyclopaedic works from the same period.

Andrea Worm

Visualising History: The Rise of Pictorial Concepts in Twelfth-Century Chronicles

In the twelfth century, there was a remarkable rise in the systematisation and visualisation of knowledge, which also affected the way time and history were represented. Hugh of St Victor's *Chronicon*, for example, and Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* both apply a visual strategy to clarify and structure historical information: The first one uses a table to organise data, the second one a diagram. The *Compendium*, which will be the focus of this paper, shows genealogical succession in a system of lines and circles, to which short passages of text are adjoined, to the effect that the diagram itself is the governing structure, rather than a narrative text. The decisive advantage of a diagrammatic layout over a textual narrative is that the use of the two-dimensional body of the page for the visual display of information allows for a simultaneous perception of persons and events in the past instead of a successive one.

The *Compendium* turned out a highly influential model for visualising universal history. It is of crucial importance for the understanding of how the (biblical and post-biblical) past were perceived, interpreted and represented in the Romanesque period and far beyond.

Deborah Kahn

Uses of the Past in English Romanesque Sculpture: Beyond the Antique

The discussion of revivals in Romanesque art has for the most part focused on the survival and recuperation of classical art. In this paper I examine the renewal of pre-Conquest styles, motifs and iconography. Although there was little post-Conquest revival of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, the use of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in post-Conquest sculpture needs to be considered much more closely. Such borrowings became so entrenched that they are easily overlooked. But the larger historical question is the degree to which the interest in pre-Conquest art should be seen in the context of emergent forms of national identity in the later part of the reign of Henry I.

Gerhard Lutz

Memorising Bernward of Hildesheim in the 12th Century: A Contribution to High Medieval Imitatio

The treasury of the former Benedictine abbey church of St. Godehard in Hildesheim preserves a late 12th-century cross 56,4 cm high with enamels and a gilded bronze crucifix. The corpus shows astonishing parallels to the famous Ottonian crucifix in the Hildesheim cathedral treasury, a donation by bishop Bernward for his foundation of St. Michael's. Although the evident parallels to the Ottonian work have been noticed by earlier scholars neither the possible motives for this copying nor the broader context have been thoroughly discussed.

The dating of the cross to the last decade of the 12th century coincides with the canonization of Bernward in 1193, making a direct connection with the cult of the Ottonian bishop plausible. The inscription on the silver cross "BERNVVARDVS PRESVL FECIT HOC" shows the bishop as donor and even suggests an active role in the making of the figure ("fecit"). Moreover Bernward's contemporary, Thangmar, characterized him as an outstanding artist with experience in different art techniques. Thus his silver crucifix was probably interpreted as a work made by the holy bishop himself in the later 12th century and therefore received special attention since then. A parallel can be found a few decades earlier at the westernmost capital on the north side of the nave of St. Michael's. With its medallions it resembles the capital on Bernward's famous bronze column, which was then located at the eastern end of the nave, today in the southern transept of Hildesheim cathedral. This capital was made some years after the approval for the local veneration of Bernward in 1150. The gradual canonization of the bishop apparently stimulated a broader interest in Bernward's artistic heritage.

This paper will analyze the background of these references to Bernward and his donations in Hildesheim more closely, and pose the question as to what extent the situation in Hildesheim allows for general conclusions on artistic approaches to the past in the 12th century? Research in this field has so far concentrated either on architecture, e.g. Holy Sepulchre chapels or the use of spolia, or a few types of images, e.g. the Volto Santo. Therefore the case of Hildesheim with its references in different media promises a broader and more complex understanding of the past in the Middle Ages.

David Park

Imitation and the Past at St-Savin-sur-Gartempe

The wall paintings of St-Savin have been described by Harry Bober as ‘the finest and most famous single complex of mural paintings of medieval France’, in his article on ‘*St-Savin and the Parthenon: A Study of Prosper Mérimée’s Medievalism*’. Unlike Mérimée, the present paper will not go so far as to compare the paintings to the Parthenon sculptures or Greek vase painting, but will focus instead on the decoration of the columns: not only their celebrated fictive marbling, but also another particularly interesting and much rarer type of imitative design. It will consider to what extent such decoration looks back to antique or early Christian sources, whether its use is spatially significant, and what light it throws on the painted and carved columnar decoration of other Romanesque churches

Quitterie Cazes

The Antique sources of the Sculpture of St-Sernin at Toulouse: a Manifesto for the Gregorian Reform

A reexamination of the constructional history of St-Sernin suggests that the earliest sculpture, set into position during the 1070s, was modelled directly on carefully chosen Antique prototypes. This established the norms for Toulousain sculpture at the beginning of work of St-Sernin. The subsequent enhancement of the church's iconographical programmes by the sculpture of the high altar and its accompanying reliefs before 1096, and the two nave portals in the opening decade of the 12th century, was accompanied by explicit references to texts and images that can be associated with the early Christian period. This consistent concern for the past should be understood in the context of the Gregorian Reform, for which St-Sernin stands as a monumental manifesto.

Béla Zsolt Szakács

The Reconstruction of Pannonhalma: Archaism in Thirteenth-Century Hungary

The first Benedictine monastery in Hungary was founded at Pannonhalma by King St Stephen around 1000. Being a royal abbey, it played a crucial role in the history of Hungarian monasticism, and was at the centre of an early 16th-century monastic reform, when it became the leader of the Hungarian Benedictine congregation. The prestigious early date of its foundation, its relation to St Stephen, first king of Hungary, and its glorious past were all emphasized in its architectural renewals, as during the restoration of 1700, when not only was a Romanesque portal restored, but new ones were created.

Prior to this, in the opening decades of the 13th century, another major restoration took place. While the outer perimeter walls were retained, the church received a sexpartite vault. At the west, where the early monastic church had an apse and crypt, the apse was preserved, while the crypt was filled in and a western tribune was created. At the east a new crypt was built, whose form was modelled on the 11th-century crypt of the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany. Abbot Uros, the patron of the rebuilding at Pannonhalma, had previously been abbot of Tihany. Thus, it seems likely that Uros saw his own earlier church as a suitable model for a structure at Pannonhalma designed to compliment its early foundation date. While modern in style and technique, the structure of the renewed abbey church was intended to represent the prestigious traditions of the monastery.

Roger Stalley

Hiberno-Romanesque and the Evocation of the Past

At first sight, the distinctive version of Romanesque that emerged in Ireland appears to owe little to classical traditions. Christian iconography is rare, with Irish sculptors showing minimal interest in the human form. This is surprising, given the remarkable flowering of Christian art that took place in

Ireland two centuries earlier, much of it indebted to the late Roman world. The great stone crosses of the ninth and tenth centuries are adorned with panels of figure sculpture which, in both content and style, have been justly described as 'proto-Romanesque'. By the twelfth century these achievements were forgotten or ignored and those who commissioned architectural sculpture were more impressed by contemporary fashions, not least in metalwork. In the febrile atmosphere of the Romanesque era, when religious foundations jostled for status, *Romanitas* was overshadowed by celebrations of a more recent and local past. Yet concealed beneath an indigenous veneer are some less explicit references to Rome and the Mediterranean world.

Conrad Rudolph

Time, Place, and the Construction of History in Early Twelfth-Century Paris

Early and medieval Christianity always had a world-view of salvation. Yet, aside from Augustine's City of God, it was only in the early twelfth century, with Hugh of Saint Victor's great image, The Mystic Ark (1125-1131), that a statement on the history of salvation was put forth on a level of what might be called a truly comprehensive theory. This paper asks such questions as, why was it that this fundamental if only erratically articulated concept should be so fully worked out now? What was the relation of secular history to the history of salvation? How were they both conceptualized in the twelfth-century? And how was this all visualized - indeed, how was it that this came to receive its fullest expression not in writing but in a work of art?

The paper concludes that, in The Mystic Ark, history is conceptualized and visualized using a wide variety of methods and theories. In the immediate sense, the image was conceived of at this specific moment because of a request to Hugh regarding "the restless heart." But, strategically, he seized upon this request as an opportunity to articulate and project an aggressive, polemical world-view in the face of the particular challenges of the "new theology," using systematic theology as a formative device.

Peter Fergusson

Three Romanesque Patrons and their interest in history: Anselm of Bury, Ailred of Rievaulx, Wibert of Canterbury

Patronage in architecture in Romanesque England in the period c. 1120-60 is addressed through three case studies focused on large monastic institutions: the royal Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, the newly established Cistercian reform Abbey of Rievaulx, and the ancient Priory of Canterbury Cathedral. The extensive programs of expansion and renewal embarked on by their patrons show an awareness of selected periods of history and the need to incorporate reference to them. At Bury, Abbot Anselm's construction of the Atrium, Gate Tower, and Façade of the huge pilgrimage church invoked models in Rome, Germany, and Normandy keyed to the veneration of the royal martyr St. Edmund. At Rievaulx, Abbot Aelred's large and atypical Chapter House reflected his deep sense of monastic reform based on the *vita apostolica* and the primitive church located in antiquity. At Christ Church Canterbury, Prior Wibert's renewal of Archbishop Lanfranc's monastery referenced Old Testament biblical archetypes centered on King Solomon for show-piece features such as the Norman Staircase and fountain leading to the Prior's Court Hall. Each patron selected models from historical periods to combine with contemporary design with the goal of anchoring the institution's identity in a past updated to fit the present.